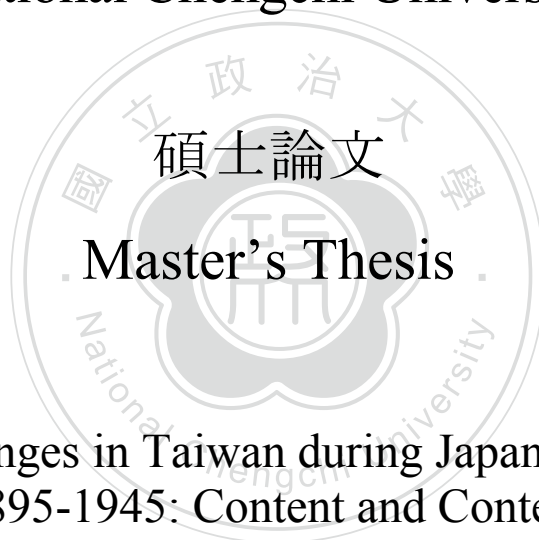


國立政治大學亞太研究英語碩士學位學程  
International Master's Program in Asia-Pacific Studies  
College of Social Sciences  
National Chengchi University



Identity Changes in Taiwan during Japanese Colonial  
Rule 1895-1945: Content and Contestation

1895-1945 年日本在台殖民時期台灣的身分認同變遷：  
定義及爭辯

Student: Torkeld Sterner

Advisor: Dr. Yuan I

中華民國 105 年 6 月

June 2016

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亞太研究英語碩士學位學程

碩士論文

A Thesis

Submitted to International Master's Program in Asia-Pacific  
Studies

National Chengchi University

In partial fulfillment of the Requirement

For the degree of Master in China Studies

中華民國 105 年 6 月

Month Year

June 2016

## **Acknowledgements**

I would like to express my gratitude and thank my thesis advisor, Professor Yuan I, for his advice, guidance, and constructive critique throughout my thesis. I would also thank my thesis committee members, Professor Wu Der-Yuan of National Chengchi University, and Professor Hsieh Chen-Yu of Soochow University, for generously agreeing to be part of my committee. I feel honored and lucky to receive their valuable advice and suggestions for my thesis. In addition I will like to express my gratitude to Professor Teng Chung-Chian for his advice throughout the process.

I would also like to express my gratitude to my parents, as well as my sisters, Elise and Aurora, for their continuing support and love throughout my life. I would like to thank my friends, both in Norway and Taiwan for their support and encouragements during my studies. Last I would like to thank Yvette for helping and supporting me during this thesis.

## Abstract

English literature on colonial era Taiwanese identity is underrepresented in contemporary scholarship. In order to shed further light on the topic I will analyze: *How did the identity of the people living on Taiwan transform during the Japanese colonial period, 1895-1945?*

I conduct my analysis using comparative method based on the framework put forth by Abdelal, Herrera, Johnston and McDermott in their *Identity as a Variable*. The paper defines collective identity as a social category that varies around two dimensions, content and contestation. The content describes the meaning of a collective identity. Contestation refers to the degree of agreement of the content of the identity. The content can be divided into four non-mutually-exclusive types: constitutive norms, social purposes, relational comparisons, and cognitive models.

During the Japanese period I argue that three constitutive norms changed on Taiwan. The Japanese transformed the Taiwanese into law-abiding citizens; they created a norm of sanitation and hygiene on the island; and they transformed the status of Women. The key forces in implementing change were the threat of punishment and education. In social purposes I argue that during the colonial era the Taiwanese elites developed a goal of improving the rights and opportunities for the Taiwanese people. The elites were divided between liberal and Marxist influence, and among the degree of acceptance for a political society within the Japanese Empire. During the colonial period, the relational comparison to the Japanese created the notion of Taiwanese as a collective unit. Japanese police changed the structure of Taiwanese society. The new structure broke down existing cleavages between different groups of Taiwanese. Over time the collective discrimination of Taiwanese by the Japanese, created a notion of Taiwanese as a single unit. In cognitive models I argue that the Japanese policies created a single community on Taiwan. The Japanese brought the modern state to Taiwan. The Japanese modernization policies created a single community on the island.

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# Chapter 1. Introduction

## 1.1. General Background

In the 50 year period from 1895 to 1945 Taiwan was a colony of the Japanese Empire. During the colonial rule the Japanese transformed society and affected the identity of the people living on the island. More than 70 years later the question of identity is still under debate. The question concerning if the people living in Taiwan are Taiwanese or Chinese is relative both in contemporary political debate as well as in academic research. One of the issues surrounding the Taiwanese identity debate is the legacy and influence from the Japanese colonial era. From a historic perspective, the 50 years of colonial rule marks separation between Taiwan and China during a time of crucial historic events. When the Japanese arrived in Taiwan the island was considered a peripheral outpost in the Chinese Empire. The Japanese modernized and brought a modern state apparatus to the colony. During the second half of the colonial rule they imposed policies of assimilation and sought to turn the Taiwanese into members of the Japanese Empire. Yet, the Japanese were a foreign power relying on the threat of force to legitimize its government. They considered themselves a superior race compared to the Taiwanese and discriminated the natives as second-rate citizens. A number of authors have established the origins of Taiwanese nationalism from the period of Japanese rule.

After the Japanese loss in the Second World War Taiwan was restored back to China. For four years of civil war the island was connected with the Mainland. As defeat in the war was eminent, the Nationalist forces retreated to Taiwan. In 1947 martial law was issued. As the one-china policies and cold war dominated the political picture in the postwar period, the question of Taiwanese identity and the effect of the colonial rule were not discussed. The official position made it clear that the people living on Taiwan were Chinese. It was not until the democratization process in the late 1980s that the question regarding identity emerged to the academic and political agenda.



## 1.2. Purpose of Study

The purpose of the study is to shed further light on the historic period and further contribute to the understanding of present day Taiwanese Identity. Since the start of the democratization process identity has become one of the most salient political dilemmas in Taiwanese politics. In every Taiwanese general election since 1996 the topic of identity has been discussed. Most contemporary scholars recognize identity as central for understanding politics in Taiwan. The identity is a factor determining the relationships and dynamics of the cross strait relation in addition to the general political landscape of Taiwan.

The legacy of the Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan is still a topic of contemporary debate. In May 2016, the official Chinese news agency Xinhua attacked Taiwanese president Tsai Ying-wen on the basis of her family's connection to the Japanese during the Japanese colonial period. "Their historical memory, perception and understanding of the Japanese colonial rule is radically different from feelings shared by the people on both sides of (the Taiwan Strait) who hated and rose against the Japanese enemies". (South China Morning Post, 2016) The editorial is an example on the Chinese official perspective of the historic period. According to official Chinese historic perspective of the era, Taiwanese hated and rose up against the Japanese enemies. The opinion stays in stark contrast to the historic memoirs shared by former Taiwanese president Lee Teng-hui. In August 2015, he claimed that: "Seventy years ago, Taiwan and Japan were of one country... Taiwanese people at the time were no doubt Japanese subjects and they did what they could to fight for their motherland." The comments caused political uproar and the former president was accused of treason. (South China Morning Post, 2015)

The English Scholarship on the Japanese colonial period in Taiwan is limited. Due to the political situation in the post war era, Taiwanese scholarship on the topic only emerged in the late 1980s. During martial law research on identity issues during the Japanese period was considered taboo due to the focus of the one-china policies. Only since the democratization has the concept of national identity been discussed in Taiwanese scholarship.

The majority of the existing scholarship on the topic has been conducted as historical surveys. A common focus on the studies is the birth of Taiwanese nationalism. The research the birth of identity from an historic perspective and does not include academic theory. Further the topics focusing on nationalism discusses identity change among a certain strata of the Taiwanese population, By applying academic theory from the social sciences I will contribute to the field by bring more comprehensive understanding of the topic. By applying the variable of contestation to the analysis. I wish to bring further light on the identity transformation of the entire Taiwanese population by analyzing both the content and contestation of the identity. Thus I will give a comprehensive understanding of the different identity changes for the entire Taiwanese population.

### **1.3. Question Statement**

For my thesis I will investigate the impact of Japanese Colonial Rule on Taiwan. My question statement reads as followed:

*How did the identity of the people living in Taiwan transform during the Japanese colonial period 1895-1945?*

### **1.4. Analytical Framework**

#### **1.4.1. Identity as a Variable**

Using the framework put forth by Abdelal, Herrera, Johnston and McDermott in *Identity as a Variable* I will conduct a longitudinal comparative case study of identity changes in Taiwan during Japanese Colonial Rule.

In *Identity as a Variable*, the authors offer an analytical framework for using identity as a variable. The paper defines collective identity as a social category that varies around two dimensions, content and contestation. Content describes the meaning of a collective identity. Contestation refers to the degree of agreement of the content within the group; does everyone agree on the content, and does the content apply on everyone in the group. The content can be divided into four non-mutually-exclusive types:

constitutive norms, social purposes, relational comparisons, and cognitive models. (Abdelal et al. 2005)

### Constitutive Norms

Constitutive norms refer to the formal and informal rules, norms, and practices that define group membership. Further the constitutive norms are the practices that lead others to recognize a group as having a separate identity. The constitutive norms identify the proper and expected behavior, as well defining the improper behavior of the members. The norms create group recognition and a sense of belonging to the group. Similarly there is a sense of obligation of the members to move according to the rules of the group. Thus the norms can be unwritten in form of social norms, or they can be codified in terms of legal obligations and laws. According to Katzenstein, the Constitutive norms are the very action that leads others to recognize an actor as having a particular identity. “The norms do not determine the preference of the group; rather, they define the boundaries and distinctive practices of a group”. (Abdelal et al.2005:4)

The internalization of norms can be manifested in three ways. First, the norms bias choice, meaning that some behaviors are consciously ruled out or regarded as inappropriate. Second, the norms may reduce the level of consciousness in choice, meaning the options are barely considered, ruled completely out of hand, or decided on the basis “common sense”. Third, the norms may be so deeply internalized that they are taken for granted and acted upon completely unconsciously. (Abdelal et al. 2005)

### Social purpose

Social purpose refers to the idea that groups might attach certain goals to their identity. The purposive content is similar to the concept of what the group wants depends on who they are. Thus identity can lead actors within the group to define collective interests, goals or preferences. Social norms set a number of obligations for the members to make the goals of the identity more likely. Nationalism and national identities can give claims to the cultivation of identity as a purpose in itself or the creation of a state that is coterminous with the nation and autonomous from a relationally defined other. (Abdelal et al. 2005: 6)

## Relational Comparisons

The content of the identity is relevant by the extent of which it is composed of comparisons and references of which it is distinguished. An identity might be defined by what it is not, in other words as the understanding of oneself in relationship to others. “Group identities in short are not personal or psychological, they are fundamentally social and relational, defined by the actors interaction with and relationship to others; therefore, identities may be contingent dependent on the actors with others and place within an institutional context”. To summarize the identity need the relational context of a different identity in order to categorize themselves as a collective unit. (Abdelal et al. 2005: 7)

## Cognitive models

Cognitive models may be described as the worldview of the members. In the broadest sense the cognitive models is the framework that allows members to make sense of social, political and economic conditions. It is related to understanding how the world works, and describing the reality of the world. According to Brumaker, Loveman and Stamatov “What cognitive perspectives suggest, in short, is that race, ethnicity and nation are not things of the world but ways of seeing the world. They are ways of understanding and identifying oneself, making sense of one's problems and predicaments. Identifying one's interest and orienting one's actions. They are ways of recognizing, identifying and classifying other people, of constructing sameness and difference, and of other coding and making sense of their action” (Brumaker et al. 2004:47)

### **1.4.2. Analytical Framework**

In my analysis I will analyze the changes within each of the four types of identity during the Japanese colonial era. Further, I will analyze if there is agreement within the group concerning the content of the identity. The framework leads me to the four working hypothesis.

- 1) The constitutive norms in Taiwanese society changed between 1895 and 1945.
- 2) During the Colonial Era Taiwanese elites developed the goal of improving the rights and opportunities for the Taiwanese.
- 3) The relational comparison to the Japanese created a notion of Taiwanese as a collective

unit.

4) The Colonial framework changed the understanding how created Taiwan as a single community.

The research covers the identity changes among the Chinese settlers in Taiwan. I do not include research of the identity changes for the multiple aboriginal societies living in Taiwan. The following table illustrates the framework of content and contestation applied to identity changes in Taiwan during Japanese colonial rule.

Table 1. Analytical framework.

Content of identity	Development of the content of identity during colonial rule.	Contestation of the content during colonial rule
Constitutive norms- The practices and social norms that define identity and leads other to recognize it.	The norms in Taiwanese society changed between 1895 and 1945.	Did the norms and practices change for the entire population?
Social purposes- Goals and purposes shared by an identity group.	The Taiwanese elites developed the goal of improving the rights and opportunities for all Taiwanese during the colonial era.	The degree of consensus among the elites regarding the goals for society?
Relational comparisons The aspect of which culture is distinguished from other cultures. The understanding of oneself in relation to others.	The relational comparison to the Japanese created a notion of Taiwanese as a collective unit.	Did all Taiwanese relate themselves in a similar fashion in relation to the Japanese?
Cognitive model The group's understanding of how the world works. The group's ontology and epistemology. How	The Colonial framework changed the worldview for the Taiwanese population and created	Did all the members of society share the colonial experience?

<p>their actions or material will be influenced by their identity. Perception of territory and what it means.</p>	<p>Taiwan as a single community</p>	
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Source: Compiled by the Author

### 1.4.3. Methodology

My paper is conducted using historic-comparative and interpretive methodology. I explore the historical processes leading to identity changes. I will focus on the Japanese colonial policies as well as the Taiwanese elites as the most important forces transforming or constructing identity on Taiwan.

I will investigate the topic as a case study. Robert K. Yin defines the case study as an “empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are clearly evident ... operational links needing to be traced over time, rather than mere frequencies or incidence” (Yin, 2014:16) I argue that the case of Japanese colonial era influencing the Taiwanese ideology corresponds to Yins the definition. The national identity on Taiwan is certainly a contemporary phenomenon from the real world. I argue that the complexity of identity and uncertainties of the colonial rule makes the historic event suited for a case study.

## 1.5. Literature Review

### 1.5.1. Contemporary scholarship on Taiwanese National Identity

I start my literature review by clarifying the notion of Taiwanese. Xiaukun Song gives an excellent breakdown of the different understandings of the term Taiwanese. First, the people of Hoklo origin are often referred to as Taiwanese. The Hoklo are descendants of settlers from Fujian and speak the language known as Taiwanese (*Taiyu*). Taiwanese can therefore be understood both as a language and the people. Second some scholars argue that Taiwanese refers to the population known as *Benshengren*, Hoklo, Hakka and Aborigines, the population on Taiwan excluding the mainlanders arriving after 1945.

Another understands Taiwanese by a territorial definition. Anyone regardless of ethnic origin that settles down on the territory of Taiwan and regards themselves as Taiwanese is Taiwanese. Fourth the understanding of Taiwanese is that of people living on the Chinese region of Taiwan. The understanding means Taiwanese not as a national identity but as a local identity for Chinese people living in the region Taiwan. (Song, 2004: 61)

Given the different approaches to nationalism there are different views and characterizations between the Taiwanese nationalism ranging from the ethnic primordial views to the principles of civic nationalism. One side is the governmental position during the time of the martial law as well as by supporters of reunification. The position states that the people on Taiwan are Chinese. The position is based on the ethnic and primordial nationalism emphasizing ethnicity and culture. The view was that the Taiwan is and has always been Chinese. The position holds that settlers arrived from Chinese provinces such as Fujian and Guangdong were ethnically Han Chinese with Chinese culture and language. The population was still Chinese during the years of Japanese rule and restored to China after the Second World War. (Chu and Lin, 2001)

Similarly Melissa Brown argues that the Taiwanese national identity is ethnic in nature. However Brown's view differ drastically from that of the martial law era. According to Brown the Taiwanese identity has developed separately from the Chinese for centuries. Migrations, marriage and political reforms are key factors in changing the identity of a people. Brown argues that in the case of Taiwan, the majority of the farmers migrating to Taiwan were single males. After moving to Taiwan they later married local women and adopted elements of aboriginal customs. Because of paternal ancestry the children would claim Han identity, however they would still continue to practice aboriginal cultures and customs. Thus, the Chinese Han identity on Taiwan would in fact be a mix between Chinese and Aboriginal cultures. Another argument of Brown is that the importance of regime changes. The combination of influences from the years of Japanese colonial rule made an impact on the cultures and identity on Taiwan. Further Brown argues that at the Chinese arrival in 1945 the people of Chinese Han descent did not have the same Chinese culture as the Mainland, but one distinct Taiwanese identity of Chinese mixed with aboriginal and Japanese influence. (Brown, 2004)

Shelley Rigger moves away from the concept of ethnic nationalisms arguing that the national identity on Taiwan has a post-nationalist form. She argues that the identity avoids identification with a nation, but emphasizes instead political virtues such as institution and citizenship. Rigger argues that the identity on Taiwan is civic in nature, and that the nationalist intellectuals “has come a very far way from original belief that Taiwan is a distinct nation in the ethno-cultural case (...) These authors look for a new, non-ethnic basis of nation.” (Rigger 1999:19) She concludes that identity on Taiwan is indeed civic.

Carl Shaw argues that the democratization process in Taiwan has changed the national identity. Shaw notes that the Taiwanese identity has changed from one of an ethnic and argues that Taiwanese nationality is an effect of the democratization process and that it therefore is civic in nature. Similarly a number of scholars argue that Taiwan has undergone a shift in national identity formation from an ethnic to one of the civic ideologies. Since the democratization Shaw argues that the national identity is tied together with the consolidation of democracy. (Shaw, 2002)

Chiang Yi-huah gives an understanding of Taiwanese identity politics. He argues that the people on Taiwan are divided between different types of nationalisms ranging from the Chinese nationalism seeking reunification to the mainland to Taiwanese Nationalism seeking to separate Taiwan from the mainland and create an independent cause. Yet Chiang argues that nationalism is not important in the Taiwanese identity.

Hsiao A-Chin recognizes culture as a key concept in understanding Taiwanese national identity. Hsiao argues that the uniqueness in Taiwanese culture in fields such as history, language and history. He sets Taiwanese culture against Chinese culture in the concept of cultural uniqueness, arguing that the unique Taiwanese culture makes Taiwan different. Hsiao argues that the concept of civic nationalism can explain nation building, but he argues that cultural uniqueness also contribute to the understanding of national identity. (Hsiao, 2001)



### 1.5.2. Scholarship on Japanese Colonial Rule in Taiwan

In the postcolonial era the topic of colonial Taiwan did not see much attention. In the political landscape of martial law focusing on Chinese culture, scholarship on identity in colonial Taiwan was considered unwanted. It was not until the democratization process of Taiwan started in the late 1980s that topic research of the origins of Taiwanese identity became more common. As a result the majority of scholarship from postwar era on colonial Japan were conducted by Japanese academics. Even as the topic gained importance in the late 1980s, there is still limited scholarship on the topic in the English Language.

One of my key sources in analyzing the impact of colonial Influence on Taiwan is Leo Ching. Ching analyses the impact of the Japanese assimilation policies and their effects on the Taiwanese population. According to Ching the Taiwanese started the formation of a Taiwanese identity during the Colonial era. During the colonial era the Japanese educated the Taiwanese elites, through this education a number of Taiwanese elites started identifying themselves as Japanese. Ching puts emphasis on the Kominka literature discussing the identity crisis happening among the Taiwanese elites and youths combining Japanese and Chinese identities. (Ching, 2000; Ching, 2001)

Patricia Tsurumi covers the history, development and influence of colonial education in Taiwan. During the 50 years of colonial rule Taiwan went from having illiteracy to almost achieving public education. The education was initially meant for the Japanese living in the colony and the Taiwanese. However over time the education became the main instrument in spreading the Japanese language and policies of assimilation. The education of the Taiwanese people was closely connected to the overall goals of the Japanese colonial government. Tsurumi considers the education as key in understanding identity change during the Japanese colonial era. (Tsurumi, 1977)

Masahiro Wakabayashi analyses the anticolonial struggles as well as the Japanese state in Taiwan. Wakabayashi stresses the importance of the role of the Taiwanese elites as mediators between the Japanese colonizers and the Taiwanese masses. The relationship

between the Taiwanese elites and intellectuals led to the establishment of a Taiwanese anticolonial movement. (Wakabayashi, 2005)

Edward I-te Chen analyses the goals, leadership and political influences on the Taiwanese anticolonial movements. According to Chen the movements arrived as a result of cooperation between the Taiwanese elites and intellectuals. The movements resorted to peaceful means of anti colonial struggles. (Chen, 1972)

For the Japanese colonial institutions I rely on the scholarship conducted by Caroline Hui-Yu Tsai. Tsai analyses the key institutions for Japanese colonial rule. I rely on her dissertation covering the Japanese adoption of the Hoko system. Tsai gives an excellent breakdown of the policies implemented by the institutions as well as how the developments affected the daily lives of the Taiwanese people. (Tsai, 1990; Tsai 2006)

In her articles and dissertation Chou Wan Yao describes colonial Taiwan during Second World War. Through the intensified assimilation processes of Kominka, the Japanese sought to mobilize and make the Taiwanese people imperial subjects. Chou recognizes the Language campaigns, the religious campaigns, the name changing campaign and the volunteer campaigns as the main areas of the Japanese mobilization. (Chou, 1991; Chou, 1996)

I also recommend the edited volume *Taiwan under Japanese Colonial Rule, 1895-1945*, edited by Liao Ping-Hui and David Der-Wei Wang. The volume offers a comprehensive collection of chapters discovering the history, culture and memory of the Japanese colonial rule. (Liao and Wang, 2006)

Compared to the other aspects of colonial rule the health implementations in Taiwan are severely studied. The studies include articles in the fields of medical science as well as public policy and governance. There is a consensus in the academic community that the Japanese did a tremendous job in implementing sanitation and eradicating diseases in Taiwan.

## 1.6. Outline of Paper

The thesis is divided into four chapters: Introduction, Japanese Colonial Rule in Taiwan, Analysis of Japanese Colonial Rule in Taiwan, and Conclusion.

In Chapter 1 I have established the general context of my paper. My question statement: *How did the identity of the people living on Taiwan transform during the Japanese colonial period 1895-1945?*

Further I have established that I will conduct a comparative case study based on the framework put forth from Identity as a variable using historic interpretive methodology. I will end chapter 1 with an overview of contemporary scholarship on Taiwanese national identity as well as an overview of the English literature covering the period of Japanese Colonial Rule in Taiwan.

I will start Chapter 2 by introducing the historic context of Taiwan during the Qing Dynasty. Although my thesis covers identity change in Taiwan between 1895-1945 I include Taiwan during Qing Rule in order to discuss the state of Taiwan before 1895. Thus I am establishing a basis of comparison for my analysis of identity change. The Period of Japanese rule is divided into three parts signifying the three important periods of Japanese rule on the Island. The first part covers the first half of the Japanese colonial rule. I investigate the main Japanese policies concerning governance and control of the island, and how these policies effected the Taiwanese population. I will introduce the Japanese adoption of the hoko system and Japanese colonial education. The next section will cover the period of Japanese colonial rule from the early 1920s to the start of the war. In this timespan the Japanese carried out policies aimed at assimilating the Taiwanese into Japanese. I investigate the role of the Japanese policies in establishing Taiwanese anticolonial social movements. I then explore the goals and significant areas of the Taiwanese anticolonial social movements. The third part covers the years during Second World War. During the war the Japanese intensified their assimilation policy in order to mobilize and turn the Taiwanese population into Japanese imperial subjects. I investigate the Japanese campaigns carried out to transform the population and their effect on the Taiwanese. To end Chapter 2, I will shortly discuss the restoration of Chinese rule and the postcolonial legacy. After restoration the Chinese and the Taiwanese had different

opinion of the impact of the Japanese period on the Taiwanese people. I will investigate the debate of the vestiges of the colonial period. The post-colonial debate illustrates the changed identity and the impact on identity during the period.

In Chapter 3, I conduct my analysis on identity changes during the Japanese period. I discuss changes to the content for each of the four types of content, followed by an analysis of contestation of the same category. For constitutive norms I argue that the Japanese period created the norm of law abiding citizens, created norms of sanitation as well as transformed the status of women on the Island I argue that the institutionalized threat to use force and education were key factors changing the norms in society. For contestation I argue that there is a difference between elites and masses and between urban and rural population and their colonial influence. The elites and urban population were more exposed to change, and internalized the norms further than the masses and rural population. Yet the rural population also internalized the norms.

For social purpose, I argue that the colonial context led the Taiwanese elites to create the notion of Taiwanese as a collective unit deserving improved rights. The goals of the social movements became to improve the rights and opportunities for Taiwanese people. The different social movements had different ideologies divided by liberal and Marxist philosophy. In addition the different social movement varied in their connection to Mainland and their willingness to remain within the Japanese Empire. Although their ultimate goals differed, all the social movements sought to improve the standard of living for Taiwanese.

In my analysis of relational comparison I argue that a series of Japanese interventions and policies created the notion of Taiwanese as a single identity. First the Japanese destroyed the basis of identity cleavages between Taiwanese sub ethnic groups. Further the modernization and education brought people from different parts of the island together. The Japanese also created a lingua franca between the different Taiwanese. Most important was the collective oppression and lack of unity for Taiwanese creating the notion of Taiwanese belonging to the same group. For Contestation I argue again that there is an urban-rural and elite masses divide. In addition there is a division among age. A large number of the youth entering adolescence

identified as Japanese at the end of the colonial period. The middle-aged population adopted more Japanese influences, whereas the older generations remained more within the Chinese culture.

For cognitive reality I argue that the Japanese modernization practices created a single community in Taiwan. First the Japanese brought modern governance and created a modern state based in the rule by law. Second, the modernization processes created a single economy on the island. Third, the education and mass media allowed for public sphere on the island. Discussing the contestation of the cognitive model I argue that the different opportunities for the elites and the masses created different colonial experience for the different classes of the Taiwanese population.

## **Chapter 2. Japanese Colonial Rule in Taiwan**

### **2.1. Before Japanese Rule: Qing Dynasty Taiwan**

#### **2.1.2. Historic Origin and Identities of Taiwanese**

When the Japanese entered Taiwan, the island was part of the Chinese Qing Dynasty Empire. Taiwan has been inhabited by different groups of Polynesian aborigines for thousands of years. Chinese rule on Taiwan dates back to the 16th century. After the Ming dynasty was replaced by the Qing dynasty Zheng Chenggong, known as Koxinga in western cultures, and his troops retreated to Taiwan. In 1662 Zheng defeated the Dutch and drove them out of the country. For the next 21 years Zheng would use Taiwan as a base in order to fight back and restore the Ming dynasty to power. Their reign ended in 1683 as the Qing Dynasty took control of the island. The majority of Taiwanese settlers originated from Southern Fujian or Eastern Guangdong province. From 1680 to 1811 the Chinese population on Taiwan grew from about 100,000 to 1,945,500. In 1887 Taiwan was turned into a separate region in the Chinese Empire. (Song, 2001)

By the time of the Japanese takeover Taiwan had been under Chinese rule for more than 200 years. Yet there seemed to be no cross-island common Chinese identity on the island. Instead the different groups of the island can be described as sub ethnic Han

Chinese. The two key factors of the sub divide between the different groups are the Chinese origins of the population as well as the lack of governance and control in the colony.

The Chinese population in Taiwan originated almost entirely from Southern Fujian and Eastern Guangdong province. Mountain ranges and rivers dominate the landscape of the region. The geography tended to settle the people into lowland and highland people. Separated by the mountains and rivers the different groups developed different identities. Thus the different groups immigrating to Taiwan was not the same ethnic group. According to Lamey, the Taiwanese subcultural groups differed in dialects and provenance. Most of the population was Hakka or Hokkien speakers, whose dialects remained mutually unintelligible. The Majority of Hakka speakers came mainly from eastern Guangdong province, while the Hokkien speakers came from southern areas of Fujian, especially Chuan-chou and Chan-chuao prefectures. The rivalry between the different Chuan-chou and Chan-chou groups in effect created three different sub ethnic groups in Taiwan. In addition Hokkien groups tended to settle in areas according to their local origin. All the groups shared a number of the same traditions, beliefs and forms of organization. All the groups were characterized by the prevalence of powerful kinship and surname groups. Immigrants settling in new areas tended to regroup themselves according to their surnames. Settler bands emigrating from other parts of Taiwan tended to settle according to surnames groups. (Lamey, 1981:284)

### **2.1.2. Qing Governance**

As a land-based power China was not accustomed to dealing with an overseas island as part of its territory. The main argument in holding on to Taiwan after defeating Zheng Cheng-gong was to prevent the island from being a base for attacks against the mainland. (Wang 2000:19)

From 1684 to 1895 China restricted the migration to Taiwan. Until 1760, only married men were allowed to migrate to Taiwan. After 1760 the families were allowed to enter as well. Chinese people were also prohibited from crossing the border to aboriginal reservoir or to marry aboriginal women. Reasons being, one that Chinese intruders could

cause rebellion among the aboriginals, and second that the population might turn into a force to threaten the Qing authority. Taiwanese people were forbidden to manufacture guns or extract sulphur. Only troops from the mainland were stationed in Taiwan. The Qing rulers did not enact any special legal structure to govern Taiwan. As the Qing rulers were not willing to develop Taiwan, no special laws were promoted in response to economic or social conditions and differences on the island. “The Qing general official code, which incorporated the restriction was applied to Taiwanese people, thus “Local customs, unofficial sources of law in imperial China, therefore played an important role in settler society in Taiwan”(Wang, 2000:19).

The population in Taiwan was described as having a general disrespect for the Law. Taiwan was under weak and careless control of the Chinese officials mainly living in a few villages. As reported by the American consul James Davidson: “Though industrious, the emigrants have deservedly a reputation for insubordination and lawlessness”(Mendel 1970:15)

According to Wang the disrespect can be given a number a reasons. First the prohibition of migrations was not effective. Poor men from Fujian and Guangdong migrated to Taiwan for economic opportunities. Despite the prohibition, many of them also brought their families with them. From 1680 to 1811 the Chinese population on Taiwan grew from about 100,000 to 1,945,500. As immigration was prohibited during the period, most of the people were smuggled in, or bribed officials to enter the island. Technically a vast majority of the population was considered illegal immigrants. Since the settlers had immigrated illegally, they were not compelled to follow the prohibition of entering the aboriginal lands. Chinese immigrants would cultivate the arable land they could find, even if the land was inside aboriginal territory. Settlers would acquire the land either by force, or by peaceful means such as purchase, lease or even fraud. The Qing officials turned a blind eye to settlers claiming aboriginal land. In most cases the government would consider the Chinese who occupied the aboriginal land as the rightful landowners. (Wang, 2000:20)

At the same time laws and prohibitions against intermarriage and manufacturing of weapons were neither enforced. Most of the immigrants to Taiwan were men. Many of

them wanted to marry aboriginal women. In addition to getting a family, marrying aboriginal women meant that they could also acquire her land. In the lawless environment of the island, settlers also needed weapons. Either to fight against rival groups, protecting themselves against bandits or fighting the aboriginals. (Wang, 2000:21) The taxation levels in Taiwan were considerably higher than those in the mainland. The taxations could not be changed even due to special cases like natural disasters like typhoons. As a result Taiwanese landowners concealed a number of their fields in order to pay a lower number of taxes. Officials knew about the fraud, but did not report it due to fear of uprisings due to higher taxes. (Wang, 2000:22)

Another major cause of the disrespect of the law was the incompetence and corruption of officials. As noted by Hsu Tsung-kan, “In the Empire, the Fujian government is the worst; within Fujian, the Taiwanese government is the worst”. (Wang, 2000:21) A similar observation was made by the Canadian missionary George Mackay who wrote, “From the highest to lowest, every official in Formosa has an itching palm, and the exercise of official functions is always corrupted by the money bribes”. Few of the officials on Taiwan were honest or capable. The majority of the officials did not speak the local dialects; as a result they would delegate their administrative and judicial tasks to clerks and runners. Known among locals as “tiger sires” for their ferocity, these runners would use the law to mistreat people and collect money for themselves and the officials. The officials would ignore criminal actions against the settlers. If detained, the accused would usually be released on arrival after paying bribes. Criminals thus became accustomed to the fact that they would be freed by paying a large enough bribe. (Mendel, 1970:16)

Given the disrespect for the law combined with lack of governance Taiwan severely lacked public order. The largest cause of unrest was banditry. With more settlers, but no more land, unemployment rates went higher. Young men with no job would join into gangs and brotherhoods of bandits. Over time the bandits became more violent and crimes more serious. Despite the death penalty for banditry by imperial laws. The bandits would get away after bribing officials. To the end of the Qing era, the officials were not able to resolve the banditry problem. (Mendel, 1970)



Community conflicts were another cause of disturbance in Taiwan. In addition to the aborigines the major groups of Chinese settlers consisted of Fujianese and Hakka. Immigrants from the same local groups tended to settle in the same geographical area on Taiwan. The groups would often worship different patron deities. Community conflicts would revolve around land disputes, or irrigation and commercial facilities. The local corrupt and incapable local officials were unable to settle the disputes. As a result, the local leaders would consolidate their power through ethnic ties with a focus on protecting their own members. Communal strife occurred. The division between the groups became deeper after repeated conflicts. Over time, even the smallest arguments could lead to an outbreak of a communal strife. “Bloody battles raged among ethnic and sub ethnic groups of settlers, as rivalries among families, surname groups, local associations, and whole communities found an outlet in private warfare.” Although the communal strife gradually decreased after 1860, the original ethnic sentiments remained prevalent until the end of Qing rule of the island. (Wang, 2000:23)

The third source of unrest came from uprising against the government. When dissatisfaction with the local officials reached a certain degree, a popular uprising would break out. A popular saying at the time stated that there would be “a minor revolt every three year, and a major one every five”. The protesters would usually be lower class peasants and come from each of the three ethnic groups. During the 2012 years of Qing rule, scholars have estimated a number between sixty-eight and eighty-five uprisings against the regime. During the uprisings the regime would use “righteous volunteers” from the other ethnic groups to suppress the rebellions. The volunteers would join more as revenge towards the other groups than support of the regime. The regime stayed in power, while the ethnic groups would further strengthen the resentments towards other groups. The conflict between the different ethnic groups made the people not able to join themselves against the government. (Wang, 2010:25)

### **2.1.3. Taiwanese Society, Economy and Education before 1895**

Before 1895 there was no cross-island functional government. The majority of the people were illiterate and unable to travel far beyond their native villages. They had limited means of communication, as roads connecting major cities with surrounding

villages were in in many cases just 30 cm wide and not paved. People relied on walking or single wheeled sedan chairs for transportation. Postal service between the north and the south of the country took more than one week. With the lacking infrastructure there was no integrated economy across the island. Commodity prices fluctuated greatly over different areas of the island. As an example one koku of rice could cost 5 yen 36 sen in Taipei, while the price in the southern regions would only be. 3 yen 20 sen. Another example shows price of 100 kg of coal as 1 yen in Chiayi, while the price in Taipei was only 36 sen. (Shozo, 2006:68)

The land owning system during the Qing era was complicated. Due to a triangular ownership between among plain aborigines, Chinese settlers and the state, the ownership and taxation base was not clear. The majority of taxes was not paid directly from the landowner.(Shepherd, 1993) Tsurumi describes the ownership in practice.. “The tenant worked on the land and paid an annual fixed rent in grain called shoso to a holder who possessed the right to the shoso(small rent). The holder in turn paid an annual grain rent to the holder of Taiso (great rent) , who had originally received the land from the government, an aborigine, or an aborigine tribe. The Taiso holder was the acknowledged owner insofar as ownership can be said to have existed. (Tsurumi, 1967: 113)

Before the nineteenth century, the elite group in frontier Taiwan was small. Chen argues that this was natural as Confucian scholars were not pioneer types. At the time of the takeover it was only a small portion of Taiwanese with gentry degrees. Although the exact number is not clear, According to one writer, "In 1895, Taiwan could claim only about 350 upper gentry members who at that time held the higher academic titles and degrees” an additional 5000 people was estimated some sort of lower degree. On a total, it is estimated that out of a population of about two and a half million. Only 5,350 had some sort of degree at the time of the Japanese takeover. (Chen, 1988:28) Of the entire population it is estimated that less than 1 percent were literate. The Taiwanese elites at the time could be described as Han Chinese Confucian culture. Even as the different groups were different sub ethnic groups, the Chinese population all derived from China. As a result the society belonged to Chinese culture. Families were organized in a Confucian matter, where the older members were the. Similar the majority of the male population was wearing queues. The majority of the female population was had their feet

bound. The Confucian ideas concerning women were still valid in Taiwan. The purpose of women was to carry a son for the family lineage to continue. As a result the women in Taiwan did not receive any education, and did not have any role in as members of society. (Gao, 2003:117)

The first signs of modernization in Taiwan arrived with general Liu Ming-chuan. In the period from 1887 to 1891 he started to modernize transportation, communication and land ownership on the island. Despite of Liu's ambitious plans of modernization, the success were limited. After protest from the conservative government in Beijing, the funding was cut and a number of the plans were put on hold. When the Japanese arrived in Taiwan the island was not modernized. The island was lacking communication links such as telegraph and transportation. The people were uneducated, and the government was not functioning. As the Japanese arrived in Taiwan, Taipei was described in the following matter: "Dirty water was rushing around the houses, and some people lived together with dogs and pigs. Though there were toilets in Taihoko (Taipei) excrements are found everywhere ... the inhabitants seem to possess no knowledge of sanitation." (Mendel, 1970:17)

## **2.2. Japanese Takeover**

After the Chinese loss in the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-1895, Taiwan together with the Penghu islands was ceded to Japan as the result of the Sino Japanese Peace Treaty (Shimonoseki treaty). In response to the takeover the leaders established the Republic of Formosa. Their declaration of independence stated: "all national affairs should be conducted by officials who were chosen by citizens through public election". However the leaders of the new republic were from the southern provinces of China, and fled the country only ten days after the declaration of independence. (Shozo, 2006:69)

Before the Japanese takeover, whoever wanted was allowed to move back to China. As a result, most civil servants from the Qing Dynasty fled the island. As the Japanese entered the Island they did not meet any organized resistance. The Qing soldiers stationed on the island were for the most part Cantonese; the soldiers had troubles communicating the local dialects and disbanded before the Japanese entered the island

and eventually became a gang of bandits. During the Japanese landing there was no organized resistance against the new rulers. (Shozo, 2006:70)

In the period from 1895 to 1902 the Japanese launched a series of military campaigns to pacify the island. Resistance from Taiwanese mainly arose spontaneously in reaction to disgust of the behavior and mistreatment shown by the Japanese soldiers. Taiwanese resistance mainly arose due to mistreatments by Japanese soldiers. Several leaders were initially not against the Japanese rule, but turned against the colonial power due to their unjust treatment. Japanese soldiers ruthlessly slaughtered and burned houses in some areas of Taiwan. However as some groups of people fought the Japanese, there was also groups who did not care about the war or cooperated with the Japanese. (Shozo, 2006:70)

During the pacifying period the Japanese officials ordered new laws concerning Taiwanese guerrilla activities. The penalty of such activities was always death penalty. It is worth noting that a number of the guerillas were not anticolonial in a nationalistic sense. The reaction to mistreatment was similar to their response to unjust leadership during the Qing era. If the leaders acted unjust, the Taiwanese would respond to such mistreatment by rebellion. However the response to rebellion by the Japanese compared to the Qing Government were radically different. Where the Qing era would tolerate the rebellions and hit them back with other ethnic groups, the Japanese would army would punish the rebellions as bandits by death penalty. It is estimated that 32,000 people were killed between 1895 and 1902. (Wang, 2000:110)

## **2.3. Japanese Period of Constructing and Policing**

### **2.3.1. Colonial Policy**

By 1898 the military campaigns started to give way for the era of colonial governance. In 1898 Governor General Kodama Gentaro and his deputy Goto Shimpei arrived in Taiwan. Goto became a key person in shaping colonial policy in Taiwan. The initial stage of the Japanese colonial era can be summarized as the period of construction and policing. By becoming Japanese territory and part of the Japanese Empire, the Japanese constitution should have been valid on Taiwan and created the basis of law in

the colony. However after the initial resistance and troubles governing the colony, the colonial governance proposed a change in the policy. The Japanese diet agreed to let the officials in Taiwan, not Tokyo make and policies regarding the colony. Law no. 63, relating to Law and ordinance on Taiwan was enacted August 6th 1895. Having no colonial experience the Japanese had to create new colonial policies. The first goals of the Governor General were to pacify the island and establish an economy. In order attain these goals Goto created two principles for colonial control: Rule on the principles of biology, and rule through mediation and exchanges with the Taiwanese elites. (Ching, 2001:26)

An important factor to their rule was the principles of threat and mediation toward the Taiwanese elites. In order to secure the cooperation and obedience from the Taiwanese, the colonial rulers in the Japanese in the words of Wakabayashi launched a “top-down colonialist modernization project”. Using the carrot and stick method the Japanese combined the threat of force and tight control with the promise of modernization and opportunity to mediate the elites on the island. After the takeover there was a power vacuum on the island. Previous Qing rulers had all fled the island. Those who stayed behind lost their status. In addition local strongmen and militia leaders had been destroyed or disarmed by the Japanese military. The Japanese government used economic policies to create a new land owning elite on the island. The Japanese changed the land ownership structure on Taiwan. By eliminating the shared ownership of land, they changed owners of the land and ensured that land ownership would go to the actual proprietors, and protected their rights to collect rent. The system allowed the upper classes from the Qing era remain to remain the people with fame and property. Thus the Japanese stripped the Taiwanese elites from power, but secured their economy and social status. Further the Japanese took advantage of the elites to secure a smooth transition of power. The system allowed for the colonial governance to mediate control of the Taiwanese. Judging by their willingness of cooperation, the new government would decide the future status of the Taiwanese elites. By doing so the Japanese took the place of the old rulers of redistributing power and authority. In addition the land reforms eradicated questions of land ownership and gave room for consistent collection of taxes. The collaboration of the elites became a key area for the Japanese colonizers. By the

promise of modernization and the possibilities of economic and educational advancements, the Japanese were able to seize control of the population; elites receiving privileges could not oppose a threat to the Japanese Empire. The following table explains the control mechanism during the Japanese Colonial rule. As the table shows: exchange and mediation, as well as the threat of force were key instruments in keeping control of the island. (Wakabayashi, 2006:25)



Table 2. Japanese Means of Control

Control mechanism	Target	Institutions	Purpose
Exchange and mediation	Elites	Local administration, consulting institutions, economic monopoly, distribution of authority	Manipulation of elites collaboration, non-elite obedience silent subordination through elites collaborationist mediation.
Disciplining and training	All inhabitants (Focus on students)	School education, Hoko system, Rituals, ceremonies, athletic gathering	Creating the body of the imperial subjects and disciplining its obedience
Punishment and threat	All inhabitants	Military force, police, prison system	Maintaining the public order

Source: Wakabayashi, Masahiro. 2006. "A Perspective on Studies of Taiwanese Political History: Reconsidering the Postwar Japanese Historiography of Japanese Colonial Rule in Taiwan". in *Taiwan under Japanese colonial Rule 1895-1945 History, culture, Memory*. Edited by Liao Ping-hui and Wang Der-wei David. (19-36). New York: Columbia University Press.

The principles of biology was based on the ideas of conducting research and understanding of local circumstances in order to later adapt policies to fit local needs. Goto acknowledged the importance in understanding the local customs and practices in colonial governance, according to goto: "Any scheme of colonial administration, given the recent advances in science, should be based on principles of biology. What are these principles? They are to promote science and develop agriculture, industry, sanitation, communication and the police force. However one would not be able to carry out the principles of biology without understanding the traditional culture. To carry out the

principles of biology, the Japanese did extensive research in order to use existing Taiwanese structures and institutions to their own advantage”. (Tsai, 2006: 121) By analyzing existing customs and cultures, local laws and customs were regulated and changed to fit Japanese rule. Other customs were manipulated in order to gradually impose control and policies on the island. Designing the new legal structures the Governor-general sought to establish a new Taiwanese legal system by combining traditional elements of the Chinese imperial laws, with the Japanese western style laws. (Wang, 2000:58)

In 1897 Goto installed the modern police force on Taiwan. The transfer from military to police force was one of the steps to modernize Taiwan. The police organization was established on all administrative levels. The police covered a wide range of areas, including: including security, residence control, tax collection, surveillance of speech, confiscation of land, the forced purchase of insurance policy by Japanese companies. (Song, 2009:80)

The land surveys were essential in the principles of biology in drafting and implementing Japanese policies on the island. The principle can be linked to the theory of scientific colonialism. Goto believed that the best approach for effective management was based on systematic, research oriented, and scientific methods. In 1898 colonial government created the Provincial Commission for the Investigation of Old Customs in Taiwan, conducting extensive research on the traditional institutions, laws and customs of the Taiwanese society. In addition the Japanese researched extensive land surveys, in order to utilize and build a modern economy on the island. As George Barclay observed in his *Colonial Development and Population in Taiwan*:

“While under Japanese rule Taiwan probably had the distinction of being the most thoroughly inventoried colonial era in the world. Huge complications of statistics and numerous special surveys were made from year to year. The economy, the terrain, the mineral wealth, the agricultural output, industrial production and foreign trade have been studied until there is little to be added to their knowledge.” (Yao, 2006:41)



The land surveys gained the Japanese knowledge of the geography in Taiwan important for the pacifying processes and military purposes. In addition, it gave the government a basis of economic planning and policies. During the Qing period, registration of land was highly inaccurate. The land surveys discovered that the revenue yielding area was much larger than reported. The Qing regime had registered 361,447 chia of land on the island. The Japanese surveys found the number to be 777,80 chia, more than double the amount of land registered under the Qing government. As a result the Japanese were able to collect more taxes. The total land revenue in 1903 was 920,000 yen, after the land surveys the number rose to 2,980,000 yen. (Yao, 2006:51)

The first statistics surveys done by the Japanese were surveys covering public health. Including doctors, hospitals, and epidemic mortality. Goto saw the importance of public health “not because individuals had the right to healthy lives but because a good state demanded a healthy citizenry” (Chin, 1998:328) In the colonial context Goto believed that medical sciences were “the basis for improvement of the health conditions and progress of society in Taiwan. The health survey concluded that due to the lack of proper sanitation facilities combined with tropical weather it was considered unsuitable for Japanese residents to live in Taiwan. As a result the colonial rulers vowed to bring sanitation to Taiwan. One of the first measures was to promote personal hygiene. Taiwanese people were taught not wipe their nose or to rub their eyes with their hands. Unhygienic customs such as spitting in the streets were severely punished. In addition the Japanese did a series of educational preventive steps such as vaccines creation of a healthy environment. (Lo, 2002:36)

The Japanese considered Taiwanese buildings to be poorly built and bad for the health of the people. They were not only small and dirty, but also humid and poorly ventilated. Thus the Japanese required every household to double the number of windows and enlarge the window frames. A number of houses did not have bathroom or lavatory. Accordingly people took baths infrequently and used chamber pots inside. The Japanese promoted the use of bathrooms. They also build public baths and bathrooms, so that people who could not afford bathrooms could also take baths. The problem with bathrooms was taken serious by the colonial government. The use of chamber pots inside was not only unhygienic and uncivilized. But it was also a real problem because it

attracted flies and mosquitos. The Japanese perceived mosquitos as the root cause of malaria. (Wong and Yau, 2013:349)

### **2.3.2. Japanese Adoption of the Pao-chia System**

The implementation of the traditional Pao-chia system was in line with both the principles of biology and the basis of top down hegemonic control. Over time the hoko system became a key institution in controlling and mediating the population. The Pao-chia can be dated back to eleventh century. The system was set up in China proper in 1644 when the imperial court ordered local officials to set up Pao-Chia units. In 1733 Taiwan was included in the system however the rural control system was never universally adapted on the island. The lacking control, supervision, and police control the system only gained a limited degree of function on Taiwan. It was not until the last decade of Chinese rule and the start of modernization that the system gained effectiveness. (Chen, 1975:343)

In the summer of 1896, after breaking down an uprising in the Central Taiwan, the Japanese adopted the Pao-chia system in local areas in order to keep control. After the success in Central Taiwan, the system was adopted over the entire island. In October 1896 Internal Affairs department of the Government General formulated a set of rules and criteria for the system. The local authorities could grant permission for village leaders to organize self-defense associations. The goal was to protect the lives and properties of the villagers. When organizing a militia, the local groups had to get permission from the prefectural governor or the district head. Once permission had been granted the local police chief was in charge of supervision, orders, and training of the militia. For the first three years however the system did not succeed the Japanese expectation. It was not universally adopted, and never gained effectiveness. The Japanese themselves was not able to set up proper policing in the initial period and therefore was not able to control the system. (Chen, 1975:394)

After the arrival of General Kodama Gentaro and Goto Shimpei, the system gained importance. Goto found the system to be effective in dealing with insurgent problems and commanded the draft of a bill to make the system a supplementary organ of

the police. General-Governor Kodama promulgated the “Hoko Law” and the “Regulations Governing the Executions of The Hoko Law” in August 1898. The system was not mandatory applied, but central pressure combined with support from the local authorities made the system spread throughout the island, except from in aboriginal districts. Compared to the Pao-Chia system the Hoko changed the component of the registrar from individuals to household. The household referred to any individual legally living in the household, both family and hired workers. The head of the household represented the entire household. The system was only adapted for the Taiwanese. Japanese living in Taiwan did not have to register in the system. (Chen, 1975:394)

In contrast to the old system existing of three levels, *pao-chia-pai* the hoko had two levels, *pao* and *chia*. Approximately ten households made up one *chia*, and about ten *chias* made up one *pao*. The number of households in the unit however varied depending on local condition. In some cases such as cities, larger *pao* and *chia* were adopted. Each *chia* had an elected headman representing the *chia*. The leaders were elected by the members of the unit, served for two years at the time, and were eligible for reelection. The leaders had to be the leader of the household; they were supposed to come from the respectable families and had to be literate. People under twenty and people who had served a prison term was disqualified from holding the position of leader. The elected leader had to be approved by the local authorities. The leaders therefore needed to be cooperative with the local government. Similarly the leaders of the *chia* elected the leader of the *pao* (*pao cheng*). The *Pao Chengs* role was to keep law and order in his jurisdiction. Likewise the *Chia Cheng* had the same duty in the smaller units. The members of each unit paid for all the expenditure for the clerks, leaders and militia. Leaders as well as the militia members did not get salary for their job. Instead, they were given favors such as access to education, business opportunities and appointment to official positions. By giving opportunities the Japanese were able to secure the cooperation from the leaders of the units. At the same time they were able to create a working system for law and order financing itself. (Chen, 1975:395)

For the first decade after its implementation the hoko was designed to cover five areas of Taiwanese life. 1) Household registration, 2) Population movement, 3) Social security, 4) Transportation and 5) Sanitation. In addition each of the units had its own

rules it had to adopt. In practice all the rules had to 1) include the name and boundaries for the unit, 2) Regulations concerning social order and security. Such as investigations or observations of arrivals and departures in the community, 3) The role of the hoko in local administration such collecting taxes, tracking infectious diseases and, rehabilitation of opium smokers, repairing and clearing roads and bridges, and eradicating harmful insects and cattle diseases. And 4) the rules regulated the bookkeeping in terms of the level of fines and rewards for the hoko. (Tsai, 1990:89)

Two of the main purposes in the Hoko were household registration and control of movements of the population. According to the rules the head of each household had to report to their headman if any of the members of his household made a trip or stayed overnight elsewhere. They had to report about the destination, purpose and duration of the stay. Likewise they had to report the name, occupation and duration of stay for any visitors. In some cases local authorities could prohibit residents to travel or receive visitors without police permits. These restrictions were applied at times of diseases or social unrest. Whoever failed to report to their hoko officials were subjects to fines. (Tsai, 1990:91)

The fines were crucial in implementing the system. The following is an example of the fines from an 1899 Tainan hoko code. 1) Failure to hang a door placard: ¥0,05 to ¥1,5; 2) Failure to report a birth or death in the household within seven days: ¥0,05 to ¥1,5; 3) Failure to report the stay of visitors ¥0,1 to ¥3,0; 4) False report on population movement ¥0,5 to ¥3 and ¥0.2 to ¥2 for the hoko leader connived at the falsification; 5) hiding or affiliating with rebels ¥3,0 to ¥25; 6) Failure to give aid to neighbors during robbery: ¥1.0 to ¥5.0; 7) Failure to help other households in times of emergency: ¥5.0 to ¥50.0 on the whole unit; 8) Failure to guard against security problems: ¥5,0 to ¥10.0 on the whole unit. 9) Hoko official's resignation without proper reason up to ¥10.0 and 10) refusal to join the corps of able bodied men after appointed: up to ¥5.0. (Tsai, 1990:101)

The headman was responsible to make sure the people were following the rules. They also had the role of reporting to the police about suspicious people or behavior, report on population change, including births and deaths, report on diseases, assisting

officers in search of criminals, instructing the members to be law abiding, and punish those who did not follow rules. (Tsai, 1990:93)

The key to the system was the application of collective responsibility. If a member of a unit was convicted, the other members would be fined for not informing the government about the crime. In order to prevent people from helping and supporting insurgents and bandits, there was a collective punishment for ignoring the unit rules. If one of the members violated the rules of the unit, all members were punished. In the initial years, the collective responsibility was not very effective. However around 1901 the Japanese had gained control of the island and did now have an effective police force. The government appointed police officers to oversee each unit, making sure that colonial policy penetrated every corner of the policy. As the police force grew more competent the fear of collective punishment made the units cooperate with the government and report and turn in suspicious behavior. The organization and financing of the system was in line with the general policies. By giving opportunities the Japanese were able to secure the cooperation from the pao chia leaders. (Chen, 1975:398)

The hoko system was also utilized in the efforts to improve sanitary conditions on the island. Some of the obligations for the hoko leaders were to guide the people and extinct the bad habits from its members. A more practical example of the hoko is the Campaign for Rat Extermination. The campaign required each household to turn in a fixed quota of dead rats every month. The campaign was carried out through the hoko leaders in cooperation with the police. Those who exceeded their monthly quota would be rewarded. As the same time, those who failed to turn in their quoted number of rats had to pay a fine per missing rat. An example of a fine would be ¥0,5 per missing rat. The campaign was effective in removing the number of rats. In August 1912 alone, the number of caught rodents amounted to 41.923.641 In addition the hoko system would be used to detect diseases and follow up with quarantines. (Tsai, 1990:113)

The hoko system became a successful means of control over the Taiwanese people. As Goto wrote “This institution has been powerful enough to keep the native insurgents in check and preserve the peace of the community”. The effectiveness of the system was demonstrated in the first half of the 1910s after the Chinese revolution. As

supporters of Sun Yat Sen went to Taiwan to organize resistance and get Taiwan back to China, the fear of the hoko punishments made the leaders report on the activities. As a result the nationalist revolution broke down before it gained any momentum. (Chen, 1975:403)

In 1909, realizing the effectiveness of the system, the Governor General expanded the scope of the hoko from an auxiliary of the police into a legal organ of the local administration. In most cases the local pao chia worked together with police preventing crime and protecting the local areas. In some cases the police could call for assistance, for example in case of the need of extra guards, or during natural disasters such as typhoons or earthquakes. The pao chia unit was legally responsible for sweeping and repairing the roads. The pao chia also served a role in bettering the health and sanitary conditions on Taiwan. The police officers, together with the hoko leaders made sure policies were implemented. The principle of mutual responsibility made the entire community responsible and reprimanded if they didn't follow the rules. The pao chia system was also used to collect taxes. The principle of collective responsibility remained for taxation reasons. As a Japanese official quotes: "It is due to this system that though Formosans are rather heavily taxed few fail to pay taxes." (Chen, 1975:405)

Further the pao chia system was used as a way of increase productivity in the agriculture. The Japanese set up farmers associations spreading knowledge of technology and effective productions to farmers. In addition the system was used to get rid of unwanted practices As Chen 1975 notes "the pao chia system should also be given considerable credit for enabling the Japanese authorities to minimize or get rid of the age old undesirable customs such as opium-smoking, foot-binding, queue-wearing, gambling and the habit of burying silver and gold underground as a method of saving" (Chen 1975:406) Although the Japanese wanted to get rid of the undesirable customs, the customs stayed in Taiwan for some time. In the case of opium smoking, the government monopolized opium sales. Thus the opium smokers became an important source of revenue for the Japanese. In the case of queue wearing and foot binding, the government deemed it too dangerous to ban it as a ban could introduce resentment and resistance among the Taiwanese. Instead they started campaigns for change. The campaigns only had limited success. In 1915, in relation to the 20th anniversary of colonial rule, the

Japanese banned queue wearing and foot binding. The banned was carried out and enforced through the hoko system. From February to August 1915, more than 763,000 women, about 60 percent of the foot binded population, unbound their feet. In the same period more than 1.3 million Taiwanese cut off their queues, leaving only about 80,000-queue wearing Taiwanese. (Tsai, 1990:114)

Over time local Taiwanese started opposing the system. The discriminatory nature of the system, where the Japanese did not have to join, caused uproar. Likewise the rural population protested that the system kept overburdening them with extra duties due to the pao chia. Perhaps the biggest protests were against the principle of collective responsibility. The protesters argued that the system was contradictory to the principles of the modern law. Some changes were made to system, however it stayed in effect throughout the Japanese rule. Overall the hoko system was an effective instrument in implementing rule of law on Taiwan. As concluded by Song: “The tight Japanese rule regimented the Taiwanese populace into law abiding citizens” (Song, 2009:81)

### **2.3.3. Japanese Modernization**

After establishing control of the colony, Gotos priority was to create a basis for economy on the Island. The first years of running the colony proved economically costly for the Japanese government. At one point the public opinion was even in favor of selling the colony to any potential buyer. Because of the financial burden, Taiwan was separated from the Japanese budget. As a separate budget the colonial government could single handedly make financial and fiscal decisions without going through the central government in Japan. The main sources of income for the government were land tax, monopolized enterprises, governmental bonds for infrastructure enterprises, local taxes, and sugar consumption tax. The colonial budget was balanced for the first time in 1904. (Ching, 2001: 16) In order to build a base for capitalist development a number of infrastructure projects were developed. Song recognizes three key areas for the economic development. First being the land surveys, important in order to extract resources in addition creating a base for tax collection. The second key area was developing infrastructure with the construction of a railroad from connecting the North and South of the island through the east coast, and the modernization and expansion of Keelung and

Kaohsiung harbors with railroad terminals. (Song, 2009:82) In the eight-year period from 1898 to 1906 the Japanese build 5,600 km of roads six feet wide, 2,900km of roads wider than 6 feet, and 50 km of roads 24 feet wide. In addition the railway linking Keelung and Kaohsiung was finished. (Shozo, 2006:74)

As part of the steps of modernization the Japanese brought the print press. The first newspaper in Taiwan was launched in June 1896, one year after the Japanese landed on the island. One of the goals was to cater for the needs of Japanese in Taiwan. The newspapers were part of the modernization process of popularizing modern ideas and bringing contemporary news to the people. An important change happened around 1898-1900 as the newspapers went public. The right to print newspapers was given to Japanese commerce that printed newspaper according to market logic. As the newspapers became public the newspapers sought to attract Taiwanese readers. In order to cater for the Taiwanese, the papers would address public opinion including the criticism of the government. The newspapers became important tools in criticism of the colonial government. (Liao, 2006: 89)

#### **2.3.4. Japanese Education**

Education was essential in securing civil rule in the colony. The educational system was heavily influenced by the system in Meiji Japan, which developed two tracks of education. One gave a high quality, even liberal, education for the small groups scholars, technicians, and bureaucrats destined to be the rulers of the country. The other was aimed at giving the entire population basic literacy, economics usefulness, and to provide politically obedience people. It was the lower part of the education, the track used to enlighten, discipline and indoctrinate the masses that were used in Taiwan. The colonizers did not have any vision of Taiwanese being highly educated. The goal of the new education was to train the student for life and work in the new world, in addition to making them unquestionable loyal to Japan. The education was to “transform a segment of the traditional China into an integral part of modern Japan” (Tsurumi, 1977:11).

In the Japanese opinion there was severe differences between Japanese and Taiwanese. As Goto noted: “it will take at least eighty years of cultural assimilation



before the Taiwanese could be elevated to the level of Japanese”. The quote shows the Japanese ideas of superiority. The Japanese people and leaders translated the political, economical and military advantages of the Japanese into the racially superiority of the Japanese nation and people. (Ching, 2001:25)

The Japanese sought to remove the traditional temple schools in Taiwan and replace them with new schools based on modern scientific education. In the spirit of Goto of taking advantage of existing structures and use them to their advantage, the Confucian values of benevolent rule, loyalty, hieratical status relations, and family morality remained. The Japanese sought to use and manipulate their common heritage to secure cooperation from the people. The importance of the classic traditions that urged loyalty and obedience to one's superior were strengthened. Areas connecting Taiwan with the mainland were to be played down or forbidden. In addition to the cultural studies, the Japanese focused on Japanese language and arithmetic. Since the beginning of the Japanese colonial period language was considered of key importance in order to assimilate the Taiwanese. As stated in a Japanese Teacher's manual: “The Japanese spirit rests in the Japanese language, as soon as possible you must put all efforts into using as much Japanese as possible” Later on it states “It is not enough to give the ability to speak Japanese, the goal is much more. The goal is to inculcate the Japanese way of thinking and experiencing emotions and cultivate the Japanese spirit. The arithmetic was seen as the principle of all modern technologies and education. (Tsurumi, 1977:133)

When Goto arrived in Taiwan he had six goals concerning education: “Winning support for the new regime, developing a stratum of Taiwanese sufficiently well educated to service the administrative and clerical apparatus of the colonial government, educating Japanese nationals living in Taiwan, popularizing formal education for girls, producing Taiwanese teachers and medical personnel, and making the school system as economically self sufficient and possible.” In order to succeed the common schools, normal schools, and medical schools were created. The elementary school was education for Japanese nationals living in Taiwan. (Tsurumi, 1977:18)

The common school was created to educate Taiwanese. Its main function was to give Taiwanese children understanding and capabilities in the Japanese language, and to

teach them ethics and practical knowledge. The six-year education originally consisted of ethics, Japanese language, classical Chinese, arithmetic, music and gymnastics. By 1904 manuals arts, commerce and agriculture was added as electives, as well as sewing for girls. By 1906, the number of schools were 180 covering approximately 32 000 pupils. (Takeshi, 1997:313)

As the school system was evolving the Japanese struggled with attendance. Less than 60 percent of the pupils regularly attended schools. While the government did not support the Chinese education, it was looked upon as necessary in order to attract Taiwanese students to the schools. In the first years only the elites attended the schools. As Mochiji Rokasabuto, the chief of education affairs at the Governor General wrote. "The aim of the ordinary education is to educate the children of the middle and upper classes. Thus we see in Taiwan ordinary education although called ordinary education, should be referred to as elite education" (Tsurumi, 1977:25)

From the early days of the colony the Colonial government focused on including girls in the education. In the Confucian gentry a female offspring eventually married and pursued her career as loyal daughter in law, devoted mother and faithful wife within her husband's family. Neither of these roles required literacy or intellect. According Robert Von Gulik, in Confucian conceptions, the husband's interest in his wife as a human being was supposed to cease as soon as she had left his bed.

"One need to wonder, therefore, that as a rule, very little was done for the literacy education of girls and women. It was thought sufficient if they knew how to please their husband in bed, look after the young children, and perform their household tasks. They were not suppose to share the man's intellectual interests as they were forbidden to meddle with his activities outside of home"(Tsurumi, 1977:26)

Before the Japanese takeover, if any girls were taught at all, they would be taught at home and not sent to school. In 1899 the Japanese researched showed that out of 29,941 students in Chinese private schools only 65 were female. Even as the Japanese encouraged people to send their daughters to school, the girls would still stay at home,

even within families who sent their sons for schooling. In order to lure the girls into schools, the Japanese provided special classes for sewing and practical skills. They also tried to persuade respected Taiwanese families to send their daughters to school. The first girl's school was opened as early as 1897 and included an advanced department of handicrafts. Nine of the first twelve students became common school teachers straight after graduation. By 1905 the school increased the number of students to 160. (Tsurumi, 1977:27)

The administration of Governor-General Sakuma Samata (1906-1915) and Ando Sadayoshi (1915-1918) continued to build on the educational basis of Kodama and Goto. The system continued the separation between the primary schools for the Japanese living in Taiwan, and the common school for the Taiwanese. The government continued to encourage the children of the Taiwanese elites to join the Japanese education. The officials felt that if the new attitudes could be inculcated in the leadership classes, the rest of society would eventually follow their better example. The efforts to include the Taiwanese elites had some success. By 1907 the schools covered 4,5 percent of the school age population, eleven years later 15.7 percent of the population was in schools. (Tsurumi 1977:46)

The school curriculum received a number of changes during the years. An example is the changes made in 1907 where the former optional subjects of agriculture, commerce and manual arts became compulsorily in schools that offered them. The teaching of these subjects was designed to make the education more practical, and to fight the deep-rooted repugnance literate Taiwanese felt towards manual labor. The Governor General urged the teachers to conquer this prejudice by making sure the Taiwanese children learned the satisfaction of honest manual work. (Tsurumi, 1977:50) The changes continued in the 1912 curriculum, which made schooling more practical and usable for the students. The students learned about plants and were to acquaint students with physical labor and to inculcate respect and appreciation for it. Agriculture was also added to “cultivate respect for manual labor and teach work habits” (Tsurumi, 1977:50)

The first fundamental change in the school system happened in the 1910s as the colonial leadership realized that education could transform members of the traditional

society into a productive workforce of the new modernized economy. Thus they were willing to expand the school system from an education of the elites to one of the masses. Yet there were still differences between the Japanese and Taiwanese education. Where the Japanese education encouraged ambitions and the concept of succeeding to greatness through hard work, the Taiwanese curriculum was designed to discourage ambitions of the students. It was aimed to give the students basic knowledge improving the economy, improving health standards and spread Japanese ideas and customs. Japanese language and Ethics remained the key subjects to cultivating morality and loyalty towards Japan. (Tsurumi, 1977:58)

Taiwanese sending their children to the common schools were not happy about the possibility for further education of the children. The government offered two options: The highly prestigious Taihoku medical or the Japanese language teacher school. The medical school was the preferred option. A Taiwanese doctor could even compete with the lower lever Japanese official in payments. Where the Taiwanese teachers would not get paid more than a third of their Japanese counterparts. The competition to get into both schools was fierce; every year the schools only had capacity to accept one third of the applicants. Issues regarding opportunities for education became the ground for the first mobilization of the Taiwanese intellectuals. Lacking secondary education in Taiwan, the Taiwanese started sending their children to Japan for schooling. (Takeshi, 1997:320)

In 1913 it was 268 Taiwanese students in Japan, by 1915 the number had jumped to 337. The Japanese government feared that higher education for the native Taiwanese was dangerous and could breed discontent to the colony. Concerned about the growing number of Taiwanese students in Japan the government approved the middle school on the grounds that it was seen as less dangerous than sending the children to Japan. (Tsurumi, 1977:69) Wakabayashi argues that the Taichu middle school was the price to pay for the hegemony and control in the colony. In their collaboration with elites the Japanese secured a degree of cooperation among the Taiwanese people. However the elites also had to accommodate local interests and opinion. In order to keep their social status among fellow, it was important that they was the supported by ordinary citizens as well. At the time, the Japanese was in the middle of their “five year project for pacification of savage territory” a process of pacifying the aboriginal mountain areas. The

battles were in reality a series of full-scale war. Lacking economic and military support from Japan. The Governor General needed support and cooperation from Taiwanese in order to take control of the areas. Wakabayashi argues that the middle school was the prize for the Taiwanese cooperation. (Wakabayashi, 2006:25)

In 1915 Koritsu Taichu Middle School was opened. The grounds and buildings were all paid for and built by Taiwanese donation. All students of the school were required to reside in the Japanese style dormitory, eat Japanese food, wear Japanese clothing, take hot baths, and to get accustomed to other Japanese customs. The Taiwanese middle school did not match the standards of the schools for Japanese children. Vocational classes were compulsorily in all grades. The school consisted of four years of schooling compared to the five years in the Japanese schools. The school was not prerequisite for any other program of higher education in the country. Many Taiwanese continued to send their children to Japan. By 1918 it was around 500 Taiwanese students in Japan. Wakabayashi recognizes the Middle school as a key example of exchange between the local elites and the Japanese colonial government, where the Taiwanese demanded better education and opportunities in exchange for manpower and support. Further the author also recognizes the campaign for the middle school as the starting point of a coalition between the Taiwanese land-owning class and Taiwanese intellectuals. The author argues the campaign for the school can be related in a context of growing nationalist sentiment from the local elites. (Wakabayashi, 2006:27)

## **2.4. The period of Japanese Assimilation**

### **2.4.1. Japanese Assimilation Policies**

When Japanese liberal politician Itagaki Taisuke visited Taiwan in 1914 the prominent politician publicized the idea of assimilation in Taiwan assimilation society. (*Taiwan Dokakai*) The goal of the society was equality between Japanese and Taiwanese citizens on the island. Itagaki's argument was that an assimilated Taiwan would make the Japanese Empire stronger, but also more respected in the eyes of the world. The ideas gained a strong support from the Taiwanese Intellectual; however neither the Japanese

nor the colonial government liked the ideas. After a month, 3 178 people, of which 44 Japanese, had joined the association. (Chen, 1972:478)

The Japanese colonial policies noticed a change in the years before the 1920s. The policies of Goto Shimpei dominating the first years of the colonial project gave ways to the new policy of Doka, assimilation: turning the Taiwanese people Japanese. The change can be linked to the changing geopolitical landscape of the time. After the First World War the traditional relationship between states had changed. In the aftermath of the war a wave of democratization and liberal ideas was sweeping across Europe. In the same period the ideas also gained a foothold in Japan. The old generation changed for a new leadership in the Japanese Diet. In relation to Taiwan the Japanese government sought for new ways to legitimize the colony in the changing geopolitical landscape. (Ching, 2001:102)

The new General-Governor Akashi supported the assimilation policy. As a military general formerly stationed in Korea the new Governor-General put his trust in military force as the key means to keep control of the island. Akashi's assimilation policy did not come forth as a reason of human equality. Rather Akashi feared that Taiwan could get involved in an international dispute. Therefore "Akashi insisted that assimilation must take place in order to ensure Japan's permanent hold of the island ... the Taiwanese must be educated to be Japanese in order to cement Japan's hold on the island" The Japanese living in Taiwan did not support the assimilation policies, they considered assimilation economically possible and could not imagine Taiwanese as Japanese citizens. However the Governor General effectively silenced those who disagreed with him, and the assimilation policies became practice. (Tsurumi, 1977:81-84)

The lead up to the 1919 education rescript was Taiwanese pressure combined with manpower demand for skilled labor in the economy. The rescript turned all education in Taiwan into a new coordinated system. In addition a number of new educations for the Taiwanese people appeared. Adding new opportunities for secondary education and adding two new colleges. Together with the four-year medical school there were now the two-year agricultural and forestry college, as well as a commerce college. Yet there still existed two different educational systems, one for Japanese and one for Taiwanese.

Akashi sought to assimilate the Taiwanese into the Japanese system. But he envisioned the Taiwanese at the bottom latter of Japanese society. He did not imagine the Taiwanese as worthy of any leadership positions. (Shozo, 2006:72)

The 1919 rescript decreased the number of Chinese language lessons from four or five a week, to only two. At the same time two additional lessons of Japanese were given to all students. In the period the schools continued to attract students. Yet the Japanese were not able to persuade the Taiwanese into sending their daughters to the schools. Having the girls join was seen as important if Japanese customs were ever to be accepted and absorbed. At the middle school and medical school, the new policies could be seen as the students were increasingly exposed to Japanese culture. “All Middle school and medical student were required to live in Japanese style dormitories, speak Japanese all the time and live according to the customs of the Japanese culture”(Tsurumi, 1977:64)

The changing attitudes of the time can be seen by the appointment of Den Kenjiro as the first civilian Governor of the colony. In his first policy speech of 1919, he declared “that acculturation of the islands native population must extend far beyond the boundaries of normal schooling”. Den opened for better opportunities for the Taiwanese; he opened for the acceptance of qualified Taiwanese in governmental positions as well as the opening of marriages between Japanese and Taiwanese. After his speech the Governor General issued a seven-step plan for the assimilation including integrated education between Taiwanese and Japanese and the opening of a university. In 1922 all higher educations was opened to the Taiwanese. Taiwanese were in theory able to join the primary schools. The school reform tied the two schools closer together. Chinese became an elective subject in the common schools and Japanese history was now mandatory for all students. The history classes were to introduce the national policy and cultivate the national spirit. In the 1920s, effort to make schools available for a larger segment of the population the number of schools grew from 438 in 1919 to 715 in 1923. In the same period the number of students grew from 125 135 to 209 946. (Tsurumi, 1977:118)

Kenjiro’s policies of equality are described as being more impressive on paper than in action. The marriages seldom happened. The 1922 rescript opened for Taiwanese students in the Japanese schools. However it stated that students needed to meet the

academic standard in order to be admitted. In reality only a handful of students were accepted. In the educational year of 1922-1923, there were only 65 Taiwanese students among the 21 801 primary school pupils. The opening of the educational systems decreased the opportunities for Taiwanese students, the educations already in place were given to Japanese instead of Taiwanese. As illustrated by the numbers for the technical colleges; before the 1922 reform, there were 224 Japanese students and 640 Taiwanese in the college level classes. A year later the number had changed to 380 Japanese students and only 314 Taiwanese. Kenjiros policies lacked support from other Japanese officials living on the island. As the Governor spent a lot of time in Tokyo every year, officials did much of the day-to-day management of the colony. Well ruled in colonial policies and heavily influenced by the former governors, the officials portrayed themselves as more suited to understand the island than a politician from the home island. These officials did consider Taiwanese equal in neither education nor any other sphere. (Tsurumi, 1977:97-104)

The policies put forth by Den Kenjiro remained relatively unchanged for the remainder of the 1920s and early 1930s. The assimilation period kept being characterized by the mismatch of policy and actions. The official policies stated that the Taiwanese should be assimilated and turn into Japanese. Yet, there were severe discriminations of the Taiwanese. Taiwanese were not accepted to prestigious schools, they could not rise to high position in the government, and they were paid considerably less than their Japanese counterparts for the same jobs. Even with the intention of assimilation it was difficult to erase the concept of Japanese supremacy. (Ching, 2001:104)

Through the 1920s the assimilation policies gained more momentum. A small number of the Taiwanese elites were allowed in the Japanese education. An unofficial quota system made sure that no more than 10 percent of the classes were Taiwanese. Yet a small number of the Taiwanese elite was surrounded in an all-Japanese environment, being educated in the same classes surrounded by Japanese students and teachers. In the same period the female students steadily increased in number. The girls had the same curriculum as the boys. The idea that educated women was attractive started to gain foothold. An educated wife could help the children with homework. The women still



earned far less than the men. But they could still contribute to the family income or be self-supporting in times of need. (Tsurumi, 1977: 121)

In the 1920s the Taiwanese upper and middle class demands for higher education continued to grow. They were not satisfied with the educational opportunities on the island; the few opportunities of higher education in Taiwan were for the most parts occupied by the Japanese. As a result they continued to send their students to Japan for education. The colonial government was not satisfied with the number of Taiwanese students on the home island but decided to let them go on.

By the mid 1920 there were hundreds and eventually thousands of Taiwanese intellectuals with Japanese education. According to Tsurumi, “these men and women were fluent in the Japanese language, familiar with Japanese culture, at home in Japanese social settings, and well versed in the laws and institutions that governed both Japan and the colony.” Among the Japanese trained intellectuals several of them appeared to be well assimilated into the Japanese lifestyle. “The physicians, lawyers, clerks, journalists and urban school teachers appeared much closer to the Japanese rulers in lifestyle and attitude than to the poor Taiwanese peasants of rural villages.” The historian O Ikutoku draws similar conclusions: The thousands of Taiwanese, who received post secondary training in Taiwan or at the home island entered the ranks of Japanese intellectuals, becoming almost indistinguishable from them.” (Tsurumi, 1977:177) Lu Cheng-li argues that the Taiwanese intellectuals conflated the colonial imperialism with the desire for modernity. “Japan became the most important place to study abroad for Taiwanese intellectuals ... The only other choice, Mainland China, surely lags behind in its degree of modernity. As a result Japan monopolized the horizon of modernity for the Taiwanese. Without a standpoint to compare they unknowingly assumed Japan to be the most modernized nation in the most modernized nation in the world, and conflated “modernization” with “Japanization”. The inability to separate the two concepts away from each other contributed to preventing the Taiwanese intellectuals to ask questions about the colonialism. However in the 1920s the attitudes towards the colonial government started to change. (Ching, 2001:28)

## 2.4.2. Taiwanese Social Movements

In the 1920s a new generation of Taiwanese intellectuals emerged. Many of them grew up in modernized Taiwan and received education for the most part in Japan. The intellectuals in Japan became a breeding ground for anticolonial movement for Taiwanese. The Japanese intellectual society of the time flourished with western philosophies and ideas of liberal thinking. Being exposed to liberal ideas as well as interacting with students from China and Korea, the Taiwanese students became involved in the colonial opposition. The discriminatory practices are seen as key in understanding the students turning towards anticolonialism. For students at the high schools the different treatment became obvious, they would see worse Japanese students getting accepted to good schools as they were declined. People working besides Japanese workers would notice the difference in payment for the same jobs. Japanese workers were also preferred over better-qualified Taiwanese applicants for jobs. The new generation grew up in a modernized country with education. As a result they were influenced by western liberal ideas. The new intellectual class also wanted to move up the social ladder. However the opportunities for all Taiwanese were blocked by the oppressive Japanese colonial structure. At the same time the Japanese colony made it impossible to go back to China. The discrimination created the perception of Taiwanese as a collective unit deserving equal treatment. (Ching, 2001:53).

In 1920 the New People's Society (Shinminkai) was formed as the first Taiwanese political organization. The key figure in the movement was Lin Hsien-tang, a Taiwanese businessman fighting for Taiwanese reforms. The organization for the most part accounted for students and graduates from Japanese universities. At its first meeting the society approved three fundamental goals: To develop a political movement aimed at reforming the Governor General, to publish a magazine aimed at enlighten and informing the Taiwanese and Japanese, and to solicit the support of the Chinese people. Their goal of publishing a magazine was realized through the publishing of the journal *Taiwan Seinen*. The first edition stated:

“We must also establish a fundamental plan for the present and for the future. It goes without saying that the investigation and critique should not be limited by traditional thoughts and conventional opinion, but made with modern judgment and world

perspective.”(Chen, 1972:478) The journal called for the mobilization of Taiwanese. As a channel for information and enlightenment the *Taiwan Seinen* became an important instrument. The magazine was transferred to Taiwan in 1932 and became a daily paper for Taiwanese to express their emotions. The magazine lasted until 1937 when it was shut down as part of the war efforts.

For their goal of changing the Governor General their first activity was aimed at the repeal of Law no 6.3. Law no. 6.3 gave legal grounds for discrimination against the Taiwanese. Originating during the process of pacifying Taiwan. The law dating from 1896 gave the Governor General freedom to legislate and execute laws in the colony without going through the Japanese Diet. Even from the beginning the law sparked debate in the Japanese Diet for its unconstitutional nature. The law was originally meant to last for three years but was later extended. (Chen, 1972:481) The members of society had three motivations in repealing the law. The first being the unjust laws legitimizing harsh penalties and discrimination against the Taiwanese. The law included the much hated banditry law, stating death penalty for any crimes done by two or more people. It also included the laws and regulations of the Hoko system, giving mutual responsibility for all members of a community for a crime. The discriminatory nature of the Hoko, where Japanese were exempted from the law, was another factor in the resistance against the law. Second the repeal of the law would make the Governor General far more accountable to the Japanese Diet and would extend the Japanese laws to the island. The Diet tended to be far more supportive of complaints from the Taiwanese than the Governor General was. Last, a few members of the society argued that the removal of the law would eventually open for the election of Taiwanese representatives to the Japanese Diet. They did not call for complete liberation from Japanese colonial rule, but for reform within the context of the colonial sphere to allow opportunity and equality to the Taiwanese. The petitions against law no 6.3 came to a conclusion as the Diet decided to retain law no 6.3, with a few changes to the law. (Ching, 2001:106)

Within the society it was some opposition towards the ideas and methods of the society. A group led by Lin Cheng-lu claimed the group was in effect supporting the Japanese principles of assimilation. Lin was critical of the association for not recognizing the differences between Japanese and Taiwanese cultures, traditions and customs. Lin

argued that the Taiwanese should fight for the possibility to create their own laws on the island. Similar to Lin, Tsai Pei-huo was critical of the assimilation policies. In a series of articles he expressed his views on the assimilation policy. Tsai saw the assimilation policy as enforced on the Taiwanese people. In his opinion there were two types of assimilation policies, one where society naturally accepted the good parts of other another culture, and one where artificial imposed assimilation. In his opinion the policies in Taiwan was artificial and this likely to fail. Tsai created four conditions for assimilation to succeed. One the assimilation needed to be a small population in a small territory. Two, the colonizer should respect the particularities and accept the good aspects of the culture. Third, the policies should cover the laws of nature. And fourth the policies should not be called assimilation and instead follow natural trajectories. In his article it is evident that Tsai does not support the assimilation policies in Taiwan. Arguing that the assimilation policies continued to discriminate Taiwanese and keep them away from education and higher positions. Further he analyzed that the Japanese policies were centered on elevating the Japanese, thus they were likely to fail. In a series of debates in Tokyo, the young members of the society persuaded the society into giving up the idea of assimilation between Japanese and Taiwanese. They argued that the policies were for primitive cultures, and not suitable for people with distinct culture, customs and ways of thinking. (Song, 2009:99)

After the defeat concerning law 6.3 the movements sought for new options. In 1920 the possibility of self-rule started dominating the debates in Taiwanese academic circles in Tokyo. Lin Cheng-lu became a key person in the campaigns for establishing a separate Taiwanese parliament. Lin argued that between the special rights granted the Governor General in Law 6.3 and the process of assimilation, there was an opportunity for a new legislative institution that could cater to the special conditions in Taiwan while preventing dictatorship from the governor. The ideas became the basis of the movement to establish a Taiwanese Parliament. Between 1921 and 1934 Taiwanese political movements submitted fifteen petitions to the Imperial Diet asking for the establishment of a parliament on Taiwan. All of the petitions were denied. All of the petitions generally evolved around the same three arguments. First the Governor General exercised both executive and legislative power, thus breaking the fundamental principles of the Japanese

constitution. Second the general laws made by the Japanese Diet did not adequately address the socio economic differences between Japan and Taiwan. Therefore a legislature elected by the people of Taiwan was needed. The final argument argued that since Taiwan had been economically autonomous since 1905, the Governor General should not be the only authority of the colonial budget. The movement became known as the Movement for the establishment of a Taiwanese Parliament. (Ching, 2001:57)

The legislature was envisioned as a parliament elected by all members living in Taiwan irrespective of race. Functioning after a similar model to the Japanese Diet, the parliament would have the power to enact laws and approve the budget of the governor-general. They would however keep the Japanese constitution, thus turning into a federation within the Japanese state. The Japanese living in Taiwan argued that a parliament would be a step towards Taiwanese independence, denouncing the idea. The league gained support from the Taiwanese middle class and elites. It was important for the league to attract support from influential Japanese, especially members of the Diet. As each of the petitions had to be brought up by a member of the Diet. Among the supporters for a Taiwanese parliament from the House of Representatives were Abe Isoo, Tagawa Daikichiro, and Shimada Saburo. Other representatives also gave their support. Among the supporters from the House of Peers, Watanabe Noboru, and Sakatani Yoshjo, a former Minister of Finance. (Chen, 1972:486)

The movement created a dilemma for the Japanese colonial powers. On the one hand the league was operating within the legal of Japan following Japanese laws. Further the movement consolidated the Japanese rule of the island and accepted the Japanese principles of governance. Yet on the other hand, a Taiwanese parliament would give home rule to the Taiwanese. The Taiwanese outnumbered the Japanese living in Taiwan by far numbers. Any popular election would thus secure the Taiwanese interests not the Japanese on the island. Further the Governor General feared that the nationalistic spirit of the elites would spread to the rest of the island. At the hearing of the petition Governor General Den Kenjiro argued:

“The aim of the Japanese rule in Formosa was not to make the island into a self governing entity with legislative and financial autonomy, such as the one we see

in various autonomous colonies of England. Rather, by elevating the cultural standard of Formosans to that of Japanese, it purports to convert the island into an area to which the Japanese constitution may eventually be extended. Formosan demand for a separate legislature, therefore, is incompatible with the policy of Japan. It is nothing more than a scheme to transform the island into an independent country not dissimilar to England's Australia or Canada. " (Chen 1972:487)

The arguments that a parliament would lead to a demand for independence, proved effective in turning the Diet against the petition. Following Den, the other Governor Generals would make similar claims against the proposition. (Chen 1972:487)

The Japanese feared the petitions for a Taiwanese parliament and started countermeasures against the campaign. The colonial government would use three types of countermeasures against the leaders of the movement: conciliation, coercion and police repression. By conciliation the Governor Government offered to amend the composition of the consultative council and implemented a degree of local autonomy. The council consisted of high ranking Japanese officials, Den recommended including Taiwanese of "high scholarship and experience" to the council. As the Governor called the leaders of the movement to his office he strongly suggested that the leaders of the movement would get a seat if they abandoned the petition of a Taiwanese parliament. The Taiwanese refused the proposition. In October 1920 the system of local autonomy was adopted in Taiwan, with three levels of local councils. However the Japanese appointed all the members of the council, further their decisions were not binding for the local administrators. The Taiwanese criticized the measures labeling them as window dressing. After failing to change the attitudes through conciliation, the Japanese resorted to coercion. In August 1922 the Japanese announced that all Taiwanese directly involved in the movement or supporting the movement would be dismissed from positions in the government and in local school. The government encouraged Japanese firms to do the same. Merchant licenses were suspended and the banks started recalling their loans from those who were supporting the league. In October 1922 Lin Hsien-tang announced that he withdrew from all political activity following a meeting with the Governor General. (Chen, 1972:489)

Following the withdrawal of Lin the leadership of the movement changed to younger people like Tsai Pei-huo. The new leaders had the effect of radicalizing the movement. Most of the earlier work of the movement had happened in Tokyo, not in Taiwan. In 1923 Tsai together with forty other members applied for permission to establish a “League for the Establishment of a Formosan Parliament”, the permission was denied. However Tsai some time later applied an identical application in Tokyo, legally establishing the league within the Japanese laws. The legality of the league did not matter for the Governor General. On December 16<sup>th</sup> 1923 all 16 leaders of the movement were arrested. The trial attained large media attention. August 12, 1924 the court acquitted all the accused. However an appeal to the high court reversed the original verdict. During the court proceedings the Taiwanese elites argues for their stance on Japanese assimilation. Discussing assimilation Jiang Weishu argued that assimilation should be a natural process instead of a forced artificial one. In his argument Jiang made a distinction between nation citizen and race. A nation concluded elements of “the same blood tie, historical and spiritual consciousness, a common culture, the same language, customs and sentiments”. Instead Jiang argued two different nations without assimilation within the Japanese state. (Song, 2009:107)

As a result Tsai and one other member were sentenced to four months of prison, five members were sentenced to three months in prison, while the last of the members were fined or acquitted. After the arrests the movement kept fighting for a Taiwanese parliament. However the arrest further radicalized some members of the movement, making different faction and leading to a split in the movement. “Chen, 1972:488)

The League for a Taiwanese Parliament ended in the late 1920s as divisions of the ideology split the group into several different factions. In 1927 the Taiwan Culture Association, formerly part of the movement got under the leadership of a more leftist and radical group. As a result, the older more conservative members of the group broke out and formed the Popular Party. The Taiwan Cultural Association was formed in 1921 The group declared promotion of local culture to be the aim of the group. According to Chiang Wei-shu, the physicist that established the group:

“Formosans are charged with the responsibility to be the catalyst for Sino Japanese friendship, a sine qua non for the harmony of the Asian people. The harmony of the Asian people in turn is a sine qua non for world peace, the greatest aspiration of mankind... “To fulfill this historic mission, we need talent. It is to the cultivation of such human talent that this Association is dedicated. However Formosans are presently suffering from a disease. Without curing it the cultivation of talent is not possible. According my diagnosis, the disease is the result of mental malnutrition. The only cure lies in taking in more mental nourishment. The cultural movement is the only therapy” (Chen, 1972:490)

Focusing of Sino Japanese friendship was the only way the association could promote Taiwanese culture at the time, giving the Japanese focus of the assimilation of Japanese culture. According to Chen “the real aim of the movement was said to be the awakening of Formosan national consciousness and the development of a political atmosphere favorable to the ultimate enforcement of the principle of self determination”. (Chen, 1972:490)

The Cultural Association was closely connected to the League for the Establishment of a Taiwanese Parliament. The Association was noted as the home front of the league, at the time when league was run from Japan. In the mid 1920s the Cultural Association changed its purpose. Following a conflict between the Taiwanese peasants and the colonial government after 1924 land reform, the movement moved even further in a radical direction. The reform stated that all land of which the occupier could not prove ownership was to be condemned. Following the reform large forest areas were given to Japanese companies and officials leading to bloodletting incidents between farmers and representatives for Japanese companies. Following the incidents the Cultural Association sponsored a series of lectures aiming at promoting unity among the farmers. The lectures led to the establishment of several farmers unions, later merged to a national Formosans Farmers union. The leadership of the union was influenced by leftist elements and received support from the Japanese Labor Party. (Chen, 1972:491)

In addition to events for the farmers, the Association sponsored a series of events for women, artists, athletes and youth. Students from high schools and colleges were



attracted to the association, changing the composition of the movement. By the late 1920s the movement had changed. From purely promoting culture, the Association started to evolve into a nationalistic class movement. Demands within the movement called for the Association to develop a plan to mobilize the peasants against the Japanese. The elder leaders of the Association rejected the demands. In 1927 the younger members outvoted the older leadership of the association. As a response the elder members withdrew from the Association including the original founder Chiang Wei-chu. Following the breakout the Association moved further to the left. In 1929 the Association went into an open opposition to the Governor General supporting farmers, which had their cemetery condemned by the Japanese. The opposition led to the arrest of several leaders. In the aftermath radical members of the group called for proletariat revolution. In 1929 the Japanese policy struck a coordinated attack and arrested leaders from both the Farmers union and the Culture Association as suspected communists. The arrest caused members to withdraw from the organizations fearing the police oppression. After the arrests the Association lost its political power and practically ceased to exist. (Chen, 1972:493)

After withdrawing from the Cultural Association, the older more moderate members such as Chiang Wei-shui and Tsai Pei-huo formed the Popular Party. After several attempts their police permission was accepted in July 1927. The new party called for the establishment of democracy, development of a fair economic system, and elimination of social inequalities. The party focused on the local autonomy and the labor movement as the starting points for change. By 1927 the League of Establishment of a Taiwanese Parliament had already sent eight petitions to the Japanese Diet. All of them had been denied. Losing hope of their own parliament the movement searched for other options. Improving the local autonomy was considered a more plausible alternative. In April 1928 the Party presented a petition asking for four changes to the local autonomy. First, they asked for members of the local councils to be elected without regard to racial origin. Second, that the design and functions of the local councils should be modeled after the councils in Japan. Third, that the head of councils accept the position provincial governor to be elected by the members of the council. And last, all local government would have to follow decisions made by the council. As with the petitions for a Taiwanese parliament the petitions for local autonomy were not accepted. The principle

of majority rule would mean that the Japanese would lose their privileged position over the Taiwanese. (Song, 2009:87)

The question of labor movements causes disagreement within the party. One faction lead by Chiang Wei-Shui argued that promoting the labor movement was necessary in order to counteract the leftist elements in the labor unions and cultural movement. Tsai Pei-huo on the other hand argued that involvement in the labor movement was asking for police oppression and argued that they should focus on the local autonomy. The movement followed in the direction of Chiang's faction. Believing that a social movement needed the support of all classes, the Popular Party helped organize a number of unions. In 1928 twenty-nine unions were merged into one island wide union called Taiwan Koyusorenmei. The following year the unions organized a number of strikes against Japanese owned factories and companies. The strikes resulted in the arrest of several leaders in both the union as well as the Popular Party. (Chen, 1972:495) As an admirer of Sun Yat-sen, Chiang was inspired by the nationalist social movement in China. In June 1929, Chiang sent two members of the party to Nanjing in a ceremony to pay respect at Sun Yat-sen's grave. In addition he adopted a flag for the Popular Party with a white star on a blue and red background, similar to the nationalist Chinese flag. The action brought the attention of Japanese police. (Chen, 1972:495)

Fearing police repression after the labor incidents and Chinese nationalistic inspirations, Tsai established a new movement. Focusing solely on local autonomy reforms the new movement was called the League for the Attainment of Local Autonomy. The new groups distanced itself from any connection to labor class movements as well as any nationalistic connections. The league attracted Japanese members in addition to powerful Taiwanese known for collaborating with the Japanese. In order to stay clear of police attention all meetings in the social movement was conducted in Japanese. (Song, 2009:93) The Popular Party reacted with anger at the new movement calling out Tsai and his associates as traitors and expelled all members who had joined the new league. In a meeting in February 1931 the Popular Party amended its political platform in order to distinguish itself from the League for the Attainment of Local Autonomy. The new platform moved in a socialist direction calling a party for farmers and workers. The party proposed to create a united front with parties in Japan and elsewhere fighting for the

people without property. Responding to the radicalization and socialist direction of the movement, the Japanese removed the permit of the organization and arrested several key members. The changes to the platform ended the movement. Shortly after Chiang died of illness. (Chen, 1972:494)

After the police shut down the Popular Party, the League for the Attainment of Local Autonomy remained the only legal social movement on the island. The movement however was struggling to secure the support of the people. For many Taiwanese the league was a club for the upper classes of rich merchants. Many criticized them for being too linked to the Japanese regime and accused them of being a puppet organization. The movement unsuccessfully tried to get involved in a broader set of activities in order to expand their memberships. As the other efforts failed, the group continued lobbying for local autonomy. An internal report investigated by the Japanese policy concluded that the ethno national consciousness was linked with their Han Chinese lineage.

“Although it has been some forty years since Japanese rule, the island still tread in the old manners, customs, language, and believes. It is unlikely that they will rid themselves of the consciousness of the Han race... The Islanders regard Southern China with deep attachment as the land of their ancestral burial. And it is hard to deny the difficulty in wiping out their empathy for China as their fatherland.

“ (Ching, 2001:61)

In October 1934 the Governor-General announced the plans for the reform on local autonomy. The content of the reforms angered the Taiwanese, calling it a system rigged in favor of the Japanese residents. The councils, with exception of provincial municipal organs, were to be advisory organs leaving no binding obligations to the council. Only half of the members were popular vote, the rest was appointed by the government. Only people paying an annual household and income tax of more than 5 Yuan a year were allowed to vote. In addition the provincial council, were only allowed to meet for ten days every year. In September 1936 military rule was brought back to the island. Under the new leadership of Admiral Kobayashi Seizo the league was advised to disband since their purpose had been fulfilled. In the militaristic environment of the time, the league announced its voluntary dissolution in August 1937. During the period of

Kominka and war mobilization after 1937, it became impossible to create any new movements. (Ching, 2001:64)

## **2.5. War and Military Rule**

### **2.5.1. Intensified Assimilation**

In the 1930s the policies of assimilation continued and grew in strength. According to Governor General Kawamura Takeji “The Taiwanese were to become imperial subjects who dress, eat and live like Japanese do, speak Japanese tongue as their own, and guard the national spirit as Japanese born in Japan. “ (Tsurumi, 1977:134) In coordination with the military build up, Japanese military officials were brought in to teach theory and drill the students in mass assemblies. The Japanese Martial arts kendo and judo was brought into schools to secure the national spirit of the students. (Lin and Lee, 2007:325)

Throughout the colonial rule, the majority of the Japanese in Taiwan lived in the cities and urban areas. The students studying in the city were more likely to get a Japanese teacher. All secondary or higher educations on the colony were in the cities. The Taiwanese student would come from all over the islands. The Japanese became a lingua franca for the student speaking different dialects. As quoted by a former student “Japanese became our language of play and friendship as well as school.” (Tsurumi 1977:156) Acceptance and embracement for Japanese education was much higher in the city than in the countryside. Compared to the cities the Japanese enjoyed less influence in the countryside than in the urban areas. The common schools were scarce and only a handful of well off children attended the schools. The children of the lower classes such as poor owner farmers, tenants farmers, fishermen and day laborers were far less likely to join the schools. The intensified assimilation policies of the 1930s were aimed at bringing the Japanese language and culture to the lower classes. The government started campaigns and courses for adults and people outside of the education system to learn the language. Youth groups were set up across the country to develop morality, cultivate citizenship and teach the principles of self-governance and vocational training. In

addition to activities the groups would be encouraged to read Japanese newspapers and practice the language. (Tsurumi, 1977:134)

With the military expansionism created by the Japanese in the 1930s, Taiwan became strategically more important. From being a semi-periphery in the Empire the island was now looked upon as an unsinkable aircraft carrier and the bridge for further military expansion towards China, and South East Asia. The Kominka era can be seen in relation to the strategic importance. They needed soldiers and materials for their war machine. (Fong, 2006:174)

### **2.5.2. The Japanese Kominka Policies**

As Japan prepared for war, Kominka became the primary policy for Taiwan. Kominka in Japanese means to transform people into imperial subjects. The goal of the policy was to make the people true Japanese, not only in deed, but also in spirit. Kominka necessitated an objectification of Japanization by demanding the colonized to act, live and die for the emperor in defending the Japanese Empire. The Kominka movement can be viewed from two perspectives. As a continuation and intensifying process of assimilation, and as a part of wartime mobilization of the entire Japanese Empire. (Chou, 1996:42)

The term Kominka appeared for the first time in 1936. After the appointment of Governor General Kobayashi Seizo, Kominka became one of three principal policies on the colony, together with industrialization of Taiwan and a realization of the “Southern advancement”. On April 1st 1937, Chinese language was abolished from newspapers following government pressure. After 1937 all traditional Chinese lessons both in public and in private education was prohibited. The Marco Polo Bridge incident of July 7th marked the beginning of a new period for Taiwan. The period after the incident can unmistakably be categorized as the war and Kominka period on the island. (Fong, 2006:176)

As the Japanese was fighting against the Chinese, the goal of eradicating the Chinese consciousness from the Taiwanese people became more important than ever. During Kominka, whatever was deemed Japanese was to be imposed on Colonial people, while everything considered Korean or Taiwanese (or Chinese) were to be expunged in

both Colonies. (Chen, 2001:102) Four major programs became the key in the Kominka principle of turning the Taiwanese into Japanese imperial subjects, namely “religious reform”, “national language movement” the name changing campaigns and the recruitment of military volunteers. (Chou, 1996:45)

### Religious Reform

The religious reform aimed at replacing indigenous religions with the Japanese state religion Shintoism. As part of the reform a number of shrines were built in Taiwan. Thirty-eight out of a total sixty-three Japanese Shrines in Taiwan was build in between 1937 and 1943. The Colonial government encouraged people to visit the shrines. In addition to visit the shrines, the Taiwanese were also advised to keep a Japanese domestic altar (kamidana) in each household. The households were expected to worship the taima (paper amulets) distributed from the Ise Shrine, the holiest of Japanese Shinto shrines in Japan. Official figures estimated that about seven out of ten households received the Ise shrine paper amulets in 1941. Although it is not clear if the Taiwanese did indeed worship. In addition to promote the Shintoism, the colonial government also tried to remove the indigenous religions on Taiwan. Some officials under General Kobayashi Seizo even demolished Taiwanese temples and Chinese Shrines in order to destroy the local religions. The demolition of the temples revoked strong protest from local Taiwanese, and also criticism from the Japanese Diet. The temple demolition was stopped in 1940 after Hasegawa Kiyoshi was appointed the new Governor General. Yet, during Seizo’s rule almost one third of native Taiwanese temples had been destroyed. (Chou, 1991:16)

Although the Japanese put large efforts into changing the religion, they did not succeed. After the war, almost all aspects of the Shinto religion disappeared as Japanese rule came to an end. After the Japanese defeat, the colonial rulers main priority was to protect the sacred shrines from being desecrated by local population.(Chou, 1996:48)

### The national language movement

Starting in the late 1920s the Japanese colonial educators put efforts into learning the masses as much Japanese language as possible. The Kominka did not evoke great changes for the Taiwanese students. The Japanese education was already considered good

enough, and did not need substantial changes. Acceptance and embracement for Japanese education was much higher in the city than in the countryside. As a result the language movements during Kominka movements were aimed at those outside of schooling, especially the elders and the people in the countryside. (Tsurumi 1977:56)

By April 1937 there were 2.812 national language study programs with an enrollment of 185.590 students, and 1.555 basic study programs, enrolling 77.781 students. In addition to the language programs and expansion of education, the colonial government tried to discourage Taiwanese families from speaking Taiwanese dialects. Taiwanese were banned from official positions, although as Chou notes, most Taiwanese would find that they were forbidden to speak in their mother tongue only when they were boarding a bus or visiting a city hall. Among the programs promoting the language was the National Language Families. The program was for families that could prove that all members of the household used Japanese language at home. The program targeted well educated Taiwanese hoping that they would be used as positive examples for the rest of society. The title was intended as an honor. In addition the members would receive material rewards. In some cases the children in the program could be accepted to better schools or the parents given priority in employment for official positions. Although the exact number of families enrolled in the program is not clear, it is estimated that around 3.400 households received the title in Taipei, making out about 1,3 percent of the population. Given that Taipei was the capital and cultural center in the colony. It is safe to assume that the number for the rest of the island was lower. Since it was rewards and opportunities involved in the program it is hard to tell how many people actually spoke Japanese at home. Neither is it clear how many of the families actually followed the program extensively only speaking Japanese. (Chou, 1991:61)

### Name Changing Campaign

On February 11, 1940 a new set of rules concerning the household registration made it possible for Taiwanese families to change names to Japanese names. By changing names the Taiwanese would in theory become true Japanese. The Japanese gave two official reasons for the campaign. The first argument was that the assimilation of Taiwanese always had been the ultimate goal of the Japanese colonizers. As a second

reason the government claimed that “the Taiwanese had demonstrated the spirit of imperial subjects during Japan's war with China and that, in testament to this loyalty many of them wished to bear names similar to those of ethnic Japanese” (Chou, 1996:55)

The name changing programs registered households rather than individuals. If the head of the household wanted to change name, the names of all the members of the household would change. In order to qualify for the name change, there were two criteria the household needed to pass. First, the family needed to be recognized as a family where all members spoke Japanese at home. Second, the family had to endeavor to cultivate a disposition appropriate for imperial subjects and be full of public spirit. The choice of new names was restricted. The restriction included four categories. First, the names of Japanese emperors were forbidden. Second, the names of famous historical personalities were forbidden. Third, names referencing to Chinese regions or former their former Chinese name were restricted. And fourth, names of contemporary important figures and eccentric names were forbidden. (Chou, 1996:56)

In the first round only twelve households changed their names. In the following years the number rose. By 1941, 2,014 households had registered. By the end of 1943 the number had risen to 17,524 households including 126,211 individuals, almost two percent of the population. After relaxing the requirements in 1944 a larger part of the population changed their names. At the end of the war it is estimated that around 7 percent of the Taiwanese families had their names changed during the war. (Chou, 1996:58)

### Volunteer Programs

Taiwanese were not liable to military service before the war, however after the outbreak of war in 1937 the Japanese started recruiting Taiwanese as porters. In addition Taiwanese teachers were recruited as interpreters. Applicants for the first round of recruits exceeded 4000. The Japanese also recruited Taiwanese as members of the agricultural corps, cultivating land in order to feed the army. It is not known how many Taiwanese entered the war in the first round, but the number of applicants for the first round of recruits exceeded 4000. (Chou, 1991:170)



The Kominka movement reached its climax around the attack of Pearl Harbor. After Pearl Harbor the scale of mobilization was enlarged. The “army special volunteer system of Taiwan” was instituted in April 1942, and the “navy special volunteer system of Taiwan” followed in August 1943. In 1942, 425,921 Taiwanese, 14 percent of the male population turned in application for about one thousand volunteer slots. Military laborers were mobilized without changes to social or colonial structures. In Taiwan this was made possible by indoctrination, the mass media were key in shaping the image of loyal subjects in such a way that that being a laborer was praiseworthy. Wartime labor mobilization was also enhanced by a shift from requisition or recruitment to both “volunteerism” and organized local groups. Volunteers came to be called “glorious military laborers” (Tsai, 2005:114) The campaigns created mobilized a large number of Taiwanese in the war efforts.

Chou argues that the different generation varied in their identification as Japanese during the period. Among the youth aged fifteen to twenty-five, many perceived themselves as Japanese. The young generation was born in a modernized Taiwan receiving education in the Japanese common school. Through schooling they were indoctrinated through the Japanization period. They were too young to experience the discrimination in the working life, and were born after times of unrest. They looked upon Japan as a modern emerging power, and could not imagine life outside of the Japanese state. Compared to the younger generation, the older generation was the least affected by the Kominka period. The older generation was not educated in the Japanese education system and did not speak the language. As all the Japanese propaganda and mobilization efforts were in Japanese they were not affected by the Japanization. According to Chou the last group consisted of the middle-aged population. This generation received Japanese education, but was matured to age before the war. Through education they adopted some aspects of Japanese culture, and learned the language. However they also experienced the Japanese discrimination practices and were treated as second-rate citizens throughout their lives. The group, especially the middle class was described as very ambivalent towards the Kominka policies. On some aspects they accepted the movement, for example the group was described as enthusiastically learning Japanese. And was well accustomed to use the Japanese language. However, like the rest of society, the middle-

aged group refused the Japanese religion. The group was reluctant to change their names in the name changing movement. However the group seemed to support the Volunteer programs. Many of the volunteers in the program were from this generation. It is not clear why so many people joined the volunteer program. The population might have been pressured to join the programs, a number of cases indicates that the Taiwanese were pressured and forced to join the military program. Other reasons could be the massive propaganda machine aimed at the volunteer program. The Japanese put large focus on the recruitment of volunteers. (Chou, 1990:224)

## **2.6. Aftermath of Japanese Colonial rule: Restoration to China**

The Cairo declaration, December 2nd 1943, declared that after the defeat of Japan; Taiwan, Penghu and Manchuria should be returned to China. On October 25th 1945 Taiwan was restored to Chinese rule. The majority of Taiwanese were happy to return to China. In Taipei 30.000 people showed up to welcome the KMT. Yet, part of the joy of reunification was short lived. (Rigger, 1999:55) Chang Chun-hung remembered the emotions as the Taiwanese greeted the Chinese soldiers:

“We all took flags to and went to welcome them...that was really how we felt-entering the embrace of our fatherland. But although we accepted the mainland takeover, we immediately began to sense a conflict of culture. Moreover the conflict of culture was extremely intense. It was discovered that the Japanese culture of which we had originally loathed, was compared to the culture of our fatherland, a strong culture a superior culture. And the culture of the rulers is a worthless, inferior, an inferior kind of barbaric culture, That kind of conflict was extremely intense and transformed us from the heights of identification to the heights of hostility.”(Wahman, 1994:95)

In the 50 years of colonial rule the Japanese had transformed the island from a peripheral outpost to a modern state. The population rose from about two and a half million in 1895 to around six million people in 1945. During the second half of the Japanese rule, the foreign rulers sought to assimilate the Taiwanese into Japanese. For the eight last years the assimilation policies were aggressively enforced. By the end of the

war 71,2 percent of the school age children were enrolled in school, 80,86 percent of the boys and 60,95 percent of the girls. A number of the population growing up in the colony had to some degree been affected by the war. A number of the Taiwanese people came to identify with Japan. The historian Ye Shitao claimed that two thirds of the Taiwanese had been Japanized by the end of the war. (Huang, 2006:312)

For the Chinese masses the 50 years of Colonial rule had made differences. More than half a century cut apart from China had made the Taiwanese incomplete Chinese. “Most Taiwanese had little or no knowledge about Chiang Kai-Shek and the nationalist government, and even fewer spoke Mandarin Chinese the new national language. (Ching, 2001:36)

The New government considered the people enslaved during colonial rule. All aspects of Japanese culture adopted during the colonial rule were products of enslavement. The education was labeled slavery education, thus needing eradication. All Japanese thoughts, customs, habits and culture were targets for the eradication. The Japanese culture had to be replaced by the Chinese revolutionary spirit based on the three principles of Sun Yat Sen. As seen in the *Taiwan Xinhengbao* editorial:

“Taiwan has been under the oppressive rule of Japanese imperialism. The Japanese spread numerous poisonous elements to numb and captivate the Taiwanese people so they will have no clear idea about the motherland, and will gradually distance themselves in order to achieve the goals of Japanization and imperialization... We think it is an urgent task for us to eradicate the poisonous elements of thoughts that Japan has been creating for 50 years; and it should be done immediately” (Huang, 2006:315)

After the end of the war the Taiwanese people continued to speak Japanese. It is estimated that around 70 percent of Taiwanese used Japanese by the end of Japanese rule. As a result the government initially allowed some Japanese sections in the newspapers. In June 1946 the government launched a national Language promotion committee to promote Mandarin. In September 1946 an order forbade the middle schools to use Japanese in education arguing that since the province had been restored for over a year,

the national language should be promoted. A proclamation banning Japanese from newspapers and magazines were issued. The Taiwanese intellectuals did not react well to the cultural reconfiguration. The change of language and removal of the status of Japanese and Japanese education led to changes for a number of Taiwanese. In the Japanese common schools, they learned to read and write in Japanese. In the new state, jobs required Chinese abilities. Thus for a large number of the Taiwanese elites their education was redeemed useless. Instead of appointing local Taiwanese the new government would fill leadership and higher positions with Mainland Chinese. In addition the Chinese were rumored not to trust Taiwanese because of the Japanese influence. Chen Yi was alleged to have stated “the Taiwanese had been slaves of the Japanese and would therefore have to complete resinicisation before exercising full political-cultural rights. (Fairbanks, et al, 1973:902)

In response to the changing status of the elites evoked a series of responses from the Taiwanese elites. The Taiwanese response to the changing policies shows the difference between Taiwanese and Chinese and the effects of Japanese colonial rule. During the colonial rule some aspects of society had become deeply rooted in the population. In the editorials for the Taiwanese independent newspaper *Minbao* the author argues that the Japanese rule brought positive changes to the Taiwanese as well.

“Taiwan was originally an orderly society...Many from outside like to say that the Taiwanese were under 50 years of Japanese enslavement, their thoughts distorted and thus not fit for holding political power. This is pure nonsense. It is completely incorrect unless they have another motivation for saying so... We can firmly state that 99 out of 100 people were not being enslaved. It is shallow, insulting and self-deceiving to to label someone as being enslaved just because they cannot speak fluently or write completely in Mandarin-Chinese... One cannot claim the Taiwanese had been transformed or imply they are useless because a superficial phenomena such as speaking the Japanese language or possessing a temperament that is similar to Japanese, or because they do not speak and write beautiful Mandarin... Taiwanese people, though under oppressive Japanese rule, had nevertheless been baptized by a high level of capitalism; there are very few

feudalistic vestiges left among the people. This is something we can be proud of".  
(Huang, 2006:321)

Over the time the opposition from the Taiwanese elites continued to rise. They were unhappy about their status in society and the policies of the provincial government. The nationalist movement created during Japanese colonial rule resurfaced with The Home Rule Movement demanding rights of political self-determination. The opposition of colonial rule culminated in the 228 Incident. After the incident martial law was implemented on Taiwan. The martial law marks the definite end of the colonial rule, and the beginning of a new era.

## **Chapter 3. Identity Changes During Japanese Rule: Content and Contestation**

### **3.1. Constitutive Norms**

#### **3.1.2. Constitutive Norms: Content**

For my analysis of constitutive norms will I compare the development and creation of norms during the colonial era. The analysis will argue that the Japanese colonial era established rule of law in Taiwan, established norms and behavior of sanitation, and transformed the status of women.

#### Creating Rule of Law

One of the fundamental changes to society on Taiwan was the establishment of rule of law. Descriptions of Taiwan before 1895 describe a lawless society dominated by chaos, as exemplified by the American council James Davidson: "Though industrious, the emigrants have deservedly a reputation for insubordination and lawlessness". (Mendel, 1970:15)

Wang recognizes inability to enforce laws and prohibitions combined with the incapable and corrupt officials as the key reasons for the disrespect of law during Qing rule. Given the disrespect of law society also lacked public order. Taiwan was plagued with problems

of banditry, sub ethnic conflicts as well as uprisings against the government. (Wang, 2000:21)

As the Japanese gained control of Taiwan their main priority was to pacify and turn the population into law-abiding citizens. The Japanese relied on two aspects of control in order to transform the behavior of the people. The number one factor implementing change was through the use of force. Secondly they sought to transform the behavior through education.

The military campaigns were the first step of the pacification campaigns. The campaign was launched as a purge towards bandits and Taiwanese opposition. It is worth noting that the Japanese used the term bandit both for real bandits and for political rebels. In the campaigns the Japanese established temporary courts issuing death penalties for banditry. From 1895 to 1902 The Japanese killed an estimated 32,000 Taiwanese “bandits”. The military campaigns removed the majority of causes for disturbances and set up Japanese institutions over the entire island. (Wang, 2000:107)

As Deputy Goto came to power the Japanese established civil laws and created a modern day police force. The Japanese adopted the hoko system as means to gain control of society. The hoko system became a key instrument in enforcing control on the population. The system established household registration and control of movements of the population. The system allowed for the Japanese control the population and isolate bandits from society. (Tsai, 1990)

Two levels of justice enforced the system. In addition to the Japanese police authorities, the system relied on local leaders to take control of their local hoko unit. The role of the local leader was to keep law and order in his jurisdiction. The leaders did not get salary for their job; instead they were given favors such as access to education, business opportunities and appointment to official positions. By giving opportunities the Japanese were able to secure the cooperation from the leaders of the units. (Tsai, 1990)

Two of the main purposes in the Hoko were household registration and control of population movement. According to the rules the head of each household had to report to their headman if any of the members of his household made a trip or stayed overnight

elsewhere. They had to report about the destination, purpose and duration of the stay. Likewise they had to report the name, occupation and duration of stay for any visitors. In some cases local authorities could prohibit residents to travel or receive visitors without police permits. These restrictions were applied at times of diseases or social unrest. Whoever failed to report to their hoko officials were subjects to fines. The fines were crucial in implementing the system and ranged from minor fines for small offences such as failing to hanging up a door sign, to more serious fines for offenses such as affiliating with against rebels, or failure to help out in times of emergency. The headman was responsible to make sure the people were following the rules. They also had the role of reporting to the police about suspicious people or behavior, report on population change, including births and deaths, report on diseases, assisting officers in search of criminals, instructing the members to be law abiding, and punish those who did not follow rules. (Tsai, 1990:91)

The key to the system was the application of collective responsibility. If one person of the unit were convicted, the other members would be fined for not informing the government about the crime. In order to prevent the people from helping and supporting insurgents and bandits, there were collective punishments for ignoring the unit rules. If a member of the unit violated the rules, all members were punished. In the initial years, the collective responsibility was not very effective. With lacking police control, the authorities were not able to follow up and punish crimes. However around 1901 the Japanese gained control of the island and had a working police force. The government appointed police officers to oversee each unit. Making sure that colonial policy penetrated every corner of society. As the police force grew more competent, the fear of collective punishment made the units cooperative with the government and reported and turned in suspicious behavior. Concluding about the effectiveness of the hoko system, Goto wrote: “This institution has been powerful enough to keep the native insurgents in check and preserve the peace of community”(Chen, 1975:406). Song recognizes the threat of force as the key source in establishing rule of law on Taiwan: “The tight Japanese rule regimented the Taiwanese populace into law abiding citizens” (Song, 2009:81) On the internalization of Law and order in society Wang notes: “Having little choice the Taiwanese people obeyed the Japanese leadership. After not too long the Taiwanese

learned the advantages of the modern institutions and shared in on them.” (Wang, 2000: 174)

The second step of creating an orderly society was through education. The goal of the new education was to train the student for life and work in the new world, in addition to making them unquestionable loyal to Japan. The education was to “transform a segment of the traditional China into an integral part of modern Japan” (Tsurumi, 1977:11).

In the spirit of Goto of taking advantage of existing structures and use them to their advantage, the Confucian values of benevolent rule, loyalty, hieratical status relations, and family morality were used to teach the importance of rules and obedience. The Japanese sought to use and manipulate their common heritage to secure cooperation from the people. The importance of the classic traditions that urged loyalty and obedience to one's superior were strengthened. Areas connecting Taiwan with the mainland were to be played down or forbidden. In the classroom the students learned the importance of respecting authorities and follow the rules. Through their education ethics classes were mandatory for the students. (Tsurumi, 1977)

#### Norms of sanitation

Before the Japanese colonial era Taipei was described in the following fashion “Dirty water was rushing around the houses, and some people lived together with dogs and pigs. Though there were toilets in Taihoko (Taipei) excrements are found everywhere... The inhabitants seem to possess no knowledge of sanitation”(Mendell, 1970:17) The Japanese health survey of 1898 concluded that Taiwan was considered unsuitable for Japanese citizens to live in due to the lack of sanitation combined with the tropical climate. The majority of Taiwanese did not have lavatories or bathrooms and the island was infested disease such as malaria. (Lo, 2003)

The Japanese methods for implementing hygiene and sanitation in society were similar to their policies implementing rule of law. The norms were changed through a combination of force and education. In addition the colonial regime facilitated for sanitation by building water works and regional hospitals, with rigid adherence concerning sewage disposal, water supplies, and drug controls. As the Japanese imposed



sanitation on the Taiwanese, one of the first measures was a series of laws concerning personal hygiene. Taiwanese people were taught not wipe their nose or to rub their eyes with their hands, unhygienic customs such as spitting in the streets were severely punished. (Lo, 2002:36) In addition the Japanese considered Taiwanese buildings to be poorly built and bad for the health. They were not only small and dirty, but also humid and poorly ventilated. Thus the Japanese required every household to double the number of windows and enlarge the window frames. A number of houses did not have bathroom or lavatory. Accordingly people took baths infrequently and used chamber pots inside. The Japanese promoted the use of bathrooms and build public baths and bathrooms so that people who could not afford bathrooms also could take baths. The use of chamber pots inside was considered not only unhygienic and uncivilized, but it was also a real problem because it attracted disease bearers such flies and mosquitos. As a result the use of chamber pots inside were forbidden. (Wong and Yau, 2013:349)

In addition to general rules, the Japanese also utilized the hoko system in order to implement sanitation on the island. First, the hoko leaders were thought to guide the members of the hoko and extinct their bad habits. More important the hoko created a system for disease detection and quarantine. The hoko leaders were responsible to detect and report diseases in their hoko. When diseases were detected, the police would organize system of quarantines in order to prevent the diseases from spreading. Leaders failing to report diseases would be penalized. In addition the hoko imposed measures preventing diseases. The system would be utilized in order to make sure the entire population got vaccinated. In the hoko would organize house cleaning and rat extinction campaign. The campaign is an example of how the policies were carried out in practice. Each household was required to turn in a fixed quota of dead rats every month. The campaign was carried out through the hoko leaders in cooperation with the police. Those who exceeded their monthly quota would be rewarded. As the same time, those who failed to turn in their quoted number of rats had to pay a fine per missing rat. An example of a fine would be ¥0,5 per missing rat. The campaign was effective in removing the number of rats. In August 1912 alone, the number of caught rodents amounted to 41.923.641. (Tsai, 1990:113)

The Japanese also utilized the education in order to establish norms of hygiene. Taiwanese people were taught not wipe their nose or to rub their eyes with their hands. The lessons and changing attitudes learned from the common schools were aimed at transforming sanitation on the island. From early age, one of the key lessons in the Japanese education system was to learn about the importance of cleanliness. The students were forced to wash themselves and told stories about the importance of keeping a clean environment. The classes also told the student to improve the cleanliness of their parents and the rest of the their families. Summarizing the effect of the Japanese colonial education on the Taiwanese population Tsurumi notes: “The common school probably convinced more Taiwanese to boil their water and wash their hands after using the toilet than of the majesty of the Japanese emperor.” (Tsurumi, 1977:215)

#### Changing Status of Women

In addition to the implementation of law and order and hygiene, I argue that the changing status of women also were essential in transforming Taiwanese society. Before Japanese rule Taiwan held a traditional gender role in the society. Nothing in the traditional Chinese culture supported the education of woman. In both high and folk culture, women were expected to stay at home and take care of their husbands.

The Japanese education included education for girls. Before 1895 the literacy levels in Taiwan was low in general, but only a handful of women were able to read. In 1899 the Japanese researched showed that out of 29,941 students in Chinese private schools only 65 were female. From the early stages of colonial rule, the Japanese government urged for the women to join the education. As seen by Governor General Gotos six goals for education: “Winning support for the new regime, developing a stratum of Taiwanese sufficiently well educated to service the administrative and clerical apparatus of the colonial government, educating Japanese nationals living in Taiwan, popularizing formal education for girls, producing Taiwanese teachers and medical personnel, and making the school system as economically self sufficient and possible.” popularize education for girls was included as one of the key goals in education (Tsurumi, 1977:18)

In order to attract the girls the government tried to persuade important families to send their daughters to schools in the hope that others would follow their example. The schools also added special classes teaching popular and practical skills such as sewing in order to attract the girls. In 1906 girl's secondary education was opened. By 1935, 25 percent of the female elementary school aged education was in school. By the end of the war in 1945 this number has raised to 60 percent. Further the Japanese education used the same curriculum for both sexes. The girls would study the same classes as their brothers. The school textbooks portrayed similar gender roles for both girls and boys. For example one could see the illustrations of both girls and boys doing domestic tasks like sweeping or taking care of the elderly. The girls also participated in sports activities and competitions at their schools. The high demand for girls' high schools by the end of the Japanese era shows the acceptance of female education in Taiwan at the time. (Tsurumi, 1977:220)

The education was related to other developments changing the status of woman. The ancient practice of foot binding in Chinese culture was diminished. Societies against foot binding were strongly supported by the Japanese government as early as in the initial phases of Japanese rule. By 1914 foot binding was prohibited by and public feeling was against it. The unbound feet made it possible for the female population to join the workforce. By 1940 the female workforce accounted for about 40 percent of the factory workforce. Education was important for the woman joining the workforce. By 1943, 93 percent of the women who worked in shops or offices had received education. Almost all of these were graduates from the higher girls schools. The Taiwanese women also involved in politics and were involved in the different anti colonial movement. (Tsai, 1990), (Tsurumi, 1977)

### **3.1.2. Constitutive Norms: Contestation**

The pushing factor in initiating rule of law was the colonial government. For the establishment of rule of law the two forces implementing change were threat of punishment and education. The basis of the system was the threat of force. With the exception of the aboriginal highlands the hoko system penetrated the entire Taiwanese population and the majority of the changes were implemented through this system. Based

on the police coverage and control the members of society had no choice but to obey the Japanese rulers. Based on police penetration of social life, I will conclude that members of society were forced to adopt a certain standard of rule by law.

The second force in implementing change was education. Some parts of the Taiwanese population were more exposed to change and Japanese influence than others. As Wakabayashi noted the Japanese launched a top down colonization process. As a result the elites were far more exposed to a Japanese environment than the masses. For the first decade of Japanese rule the education was only for the elites. As Mochiji Rokusaburo the chief of education affairs at the governor-general wrote: “The aim of the ordinary education is to educate the children of the middle and upper classes. Thus we see in Taiwan ordinary education although called ordinary education, should be referred to as elite education”(Tsurumi, 1977:25) The elites started receiving Japanese schooling earlier than the masses, thus were exposed to Japanese ideas over a longer time period. In the educational system, all middle school and medical student were required to live in Japanese style dormitories, speak Japanese all the time, and live according to the customs of the Japanese culture. It was not until the 1920s that the education was opened for a larger populace, and in the 1930s that the education was adopted by the masses. Throughout colonial rule, the Japanese enjoyed less influence in the countryside than in the urban areas. In the urban areas the common schools were scarce and only a handful of well off children attended the schools. The children of the lower classes such as poor farmers, tenants, fishermen and day laborers were far less likely to join the schools. The intensified assimilation policies of the 1930s were aimed at bringing the Japanese language and culture to the lower classes. (Tsurumi, 1977:64), (Wakabayashi, 2006)

Similar to the distinction between the elites and masses, there was a distinction in colonial experience between the urban and rural population. The majority of the Japanese in Taiwan lived in the cities and urban areas. As a result the students studying in the city were more likely to get a Japanese teacher. All secondary or higher education on the colony was in the cities. The Taiwanese student would come from all over the islands. The Japanese became a lingua franca for the student speaking different dialects. As quoted by a former student “Japanese became our language of play and friendship as well as school.” Acceptance and embracement for Japanese education was much higher in the

city than in the countryside. The Japanese enjoyed less influence in the countryside than in the urban areas. In the urban areas the common schools were scarce and only a handful of well off children attended the schools. The children of the lower classes such as poor farmers, tenants, fishermen and day laborers were far less likely to join the schools. As a result, the elites and urban population were influenced and educated by the Japanese for a longer time, thus implemented the norms further than the rural masses. (Tsurumi 1977:156)

Similar to the process of implementing rule of law the, the process of establishing sanitation also derived from force and education. Like the process of rule of law, the colonial government also initiated the new sanitation process. However the government implemented rule of law on their own, the role of the Taiwanese elites are important in understanding the achievements of the Japanese in the medical field.

The Japanese brought principles of western medicine and created a medical school in Taipei. Unlike other education in the colony, the medical school was also open to the Taiwanese. Doctor the one field where Taiwanese could raise to a high position and earn salaries equivalent of the Japanese. Thus, doctors became the most prestigious position in Taiwan. The doctors were part of the elite and gained enormous respect from the entire population. Taiwanese medical schools graduates fully supported the policies of sanitation. The doctors did a tremendous job in spreading knowledge and improving the general health on the island. Through their status and trust in society the graduate managed to convince the majority of the population to vaccinate and follow the new sanitation practices. (Lo, 2002)

The norms implemented through the force, through education and through the work of the Taiwanese doctors the practices of sanitation and hygiene were internalized by the Taiwanese. As quoted by a schoolteacher looking back at the colonial era, the cleanliness became expected behavior for the Taiwanese. “The colonialism was very bad, it kept the Taiwanese people down ... But one good thing did it do, It made great difference in people's health because the Japanese people pay a great deal of attention to cleanliness ... Why in the early day there were people here who wouldn't dream of taking a bath every day. Now, not to bathe would be unthinkable.” (Tsurumi, 1977:25)

The education of women followed the same pattern of Japanese influence as society in general. The daughters from rich families were more likely to join the schools than the poor. In the initial days the education was only available for the elites. The Japanese also applied pressure trying to persuade the elites into sending their girls to school. Compared it was only until 1942 that the Japanese made education mandatory for everyone. By 1945, 60 percent of the female school aged population was enrolled in school. The demand for girl's high schools shows the acceptance of the girls education. The Japanese enjoyed less influence in the countryside than in the urban areas. In the urban areas the common schools were scarce and only a handful of well off children attended the schools. The children of the lower classes such as poor farmers, tenants, fishermen and day laborers were far less likely to join the schools. The intensified assimilation policies of the 1930s were aimed at bringing the Japanese language and culture to the lower classes.

### **3.2. Social Purpose**

#### **3.2.1. Social Purpose: Content and Contestation**

For my analysis of social purpose I derive from analytical framework of analyzing the content and contestation in two separate sections. Instead I combine them to a single section arguing that due to the differences between the different movements, and the colonial setting, the Taiwanese elites developed a common goal off improving the rights and opportunities for the Taiwanese.

The Social movements in Taiwan started with the Assimilation Society. The movement was initiated by Lin Hsien-tang and supported by the Japanese politician Itagaki Taisuke. In his 1914 speech Itagaki called for assimilation between Taiwanese and Japanese. He reprimanded the Japanese as perceiving Taiwanese as inferior to the Japanese and declared that racial assimilation was impossible without racial equality. In practice he proposed: equal economic opportunities, legalization of mixed marriage, propagation of Japanese language, more emigration from Japan, and the publication of a newspaper. The goals of the organization can be perceived in two categories. Itagaki called for the equal treatment of the Taiwanese and Japanese. Yet, equality of the people

was made contingent on the assimilation of Taiwanese to Japanese culture. The ideas of Itagaki still gained support from Taiwanese. In the first month the movement attracted 3,198 members. The members supported the society on the basis of equal rights. In the era of Japanese discrimination equal treatment was the best one could hope for. (Chen, 1972)

Where the Assimilation Society lacked a clear political platform and clear goals. The New People's Society had an initial set of goals for their movement. At their first meeting the Society called for: 1) the development of a movement to change the Governor General. 2) To publish a magazine to enlighten the Taiwanese and inform the Japanese about conditions on the island. 3) To solicit the support of the Chinese people. Through their actions the movement focused more on the two first goals than the Chinese involvement. Their goal of enlighten the people was addressed through the publication of the newspaper *Taiwan Seinen*. The paper became a popular independent newspaper for Taiwanese, eventually moving to Taiwan and evolved into a key voice for the suppressed Taiwanese. For their goals of changing the Governor-General the main battles were against Law no. 6.3. Removing the law was important on three premises. First the law gave legal grounds for discriminatory and unjust laws against Taiwanese. At the time the hoko law was still only valid for Taiwanese. Similar the banditry law gave death penalty to any crime committed by two or more people. Second the law would take power away from the Governor General and move it to the Japanese Diet. As the Japanese Diet was more positive responsive towards demands and complaints than from Taiwan than the governor, the members assumed that a transition of power would therefore increase the likelihood positive change. As the third goal, some members hoped that the removal of the law would make it more likely for Taiwan to elect their own members to the Japanese Diet. (Chen, 1972)

Within the society there were disagreement about the principles of the support of integration. The group led by Lin Cheng-lu was critical of the lack of distinction of Taiwanese culture and customs, arguing that Japanese laws would not be relevant for the Taiwanese people. The younger members of the movement were critical of the principles of the assimilation policies. In an article Tsai Pei-huo expressed his view on the assimilation policy. Tsai saw the assimilation policy as enforced on the Taiwanese people.

In his opinion there were two types of assimilation policies, one where society naturally accepted the good parts of other another culture, and one where artificial imposed assimilation. In his opinion the policies in Taiwan was artificial and this likely to fail. Tsai created four conditions for assimilation to succeed. One the assimilation needed to be a small population in a small territory. Two, the colonizer should respect the particularities and accept the good aspects of the culture. Third, the policies should cover the laws of nature. And fourth the policies should not be called assimilation and instead follow natural trajectories. In his article it is evident that Tsai does not support the assimilation polices in Taiwan. Arguing that the assimilation polices continued to discriminate Taiwanese and keep them away from education and higher positions. Further he analyzed that the Japanese policies were centered on elevating the Japanese and were likely to fail over time. In a series of debates in Tokyo, the young members of the society persuaded the society into giving up the idea of assimilation between Japanese and Taiwanese. They argued that the assimilation policies were meant for primitive cultures, and not suitable for people with distinct culture, customs and ways of thinking such as the people in Taiwan.(Song, 2009:99)

The League for the Establishment of a Taiwanese Parliament aimed at establishing a Taiwanese parliament. In their vision all residents on the island, regardless of race, would elect the legislative body. The parliament would have the power to legislate laws and pass the budget of the island. The parliament would stay within the Japanese constitution and in effect make Taiwan a part of a federation within the Japanese Empire. Their arguments concerning the establishment evolved around three feats. First, that the practices of the Governor General in performing both legislative and executive powers did not follow the Japanese constitution. Second, Due to the unique practices and customs in Taiwan, the island needed laws uniquely targeting the colony. And last the fact that Taiwan was economically independent should make the island responsible for its own budgets. In a series of articles in Taiwan Youth Lin Cheng-lu elaborated the basis of establishing a separate Taiwanese parliament. Lin argued that there was a possibility for a third option of governance in-between the authoritarian system based on law 6.3 and the ideas of assimilation leading to equality. Given their set



of specific origin, history, specific customs, culture, traditions, and mind set the three and a half million Taiwanese could not be assimilated into Japanese. (Song, 2009:102)

The Taiwan Cultural Association started as an organization promoting local culture. In its first years the movement focused on spreading and preserving local Chinese customs. The members offered Chinese language and literature classes, Chinese history, as well as classes in geography, sociology and journalism. In addition they did classes on public health and European philosophy. The Association also supported Chinese operas in local dialects. During the 1920s the movement changed focus. It started fighting for workers right supporting and creating labor unions. The group organized events for the youth, athletes, artist and women. Over time the organization called for a class movement, mobilizing the peasantry against the Japanese. (Chen, 1972)

The Popular Party original platform had three goals: establishment of Democracy, development of a fair economic system and the elimination of social inequalities. As a step towards democracy the movement was petitioning for changes and reforms promoting local autonomy. The movement also took part in the labor movement taking a role as a counterweight to the leftist principles of the Cultural Association. The movement helped organize labor unions and succeeded in uniting 27 unions into one large union. The movement organized strikes against Japanese corporations and was eventually shut down. In the late 1920s the League of Attainment of Local autonomy split from the Popular Party and solely argued for increased local autonomy on Taiwan. The league wanted to extend the Japanese model for local legislature to Taiwan. (Chen, 1972)

As seen by the different ideas and goals of the movement there was differences between them. The movements mainly differentiated between two dimensions. Ideologically the groups differed in influences from liberal and Marxist ideology. Politically the groups differed concerning their perspective between the future of Taiwan, either as part of China or Japan. In addition to the ideological and political dimensions, the colonial context is important in understanding the social movements. The Japanese government was an authoritarian regime. In the years of assimilation the movements went against the policies of the state in developing an anticolonial discourse, due to the

authoritarian environment as a police state, there was always the threat of suppression from the Japanese colonizers.

The groups influenced by liberal ideas opted for a gradual reform within the legal framework. The movement argued that the people had rights of self-determination in addition to social and legal equality. The groups influenced by Marxist philosophies adopted the principles of class struggle and of the Taiwanese as an oppressed people, arguing that revolution was the only way to break free from the colonial oppression. With Marxist elements and visions of revolutions, the Marxists were oppressed and imprisoned by the colonial government. In comparison the liberal movements stayed within the legal framework of Japan. Thus the movements were to a large degree accepted by the colonial government. On the political dimension, there was a divide within the liberal movement over the willingness to work within the existing Japanese framework. Some movements accepted the future of Taiwan within the Japanese state, while other members hoped for a return to China. (Ching, 2001:54)

The colonial context is important in understanding the social movements. Analyzing the Assimilation Society the colonial context is clear. Lin Hsien-tang needed support from a prominent Japanese politician in order to advocate change. At the time any action without the support of a prominent Japanese politician was unthinkable. In the ideological sense the movement is advocating the liberal ideas of equality. However politically the movement advocated further assimilation between the Taiwanese and Japanese. In the colonial context the members supported the society on the basis of equal rights, in the era of Japanese discrimination, equal treatment was the best one could hope for.

Similar, The New People's Society were also influenced by liberal ideas. They opted for the retrieval of Law 6.3 thus gaining more rights and social equality. Yet on the political dimension, the repeal of the law would not change the colonial structure. Taiwan would still be within the Japanese Empire. Bringing Japanese laws to Taiwan would bring Taiwan further towards the Japan and increase the likelihood of assimilation on the island.

The League for Establishing a Taiwanese Parliament based itself on a liberal dimension. They argued that because of the cultural and socio-economic differences between Taiwan and Japan, Taiwanese should have self-rule for issues regarding the island. Thus the movement aimed for self-determination and self-rule. On the political dimension the movement still opted to stay in Japanese Empire within the Japanese constitution. However the focus on the uniqueness of Taiwanese culture and the need of a separate parliament clearly indicates a break between the group and the Japanese state. Tsai Pei-huo's article against assimilation further indicates the opposition towards the Japanese. However in colonial context, a break from the Japanese state seemed unthinkable, therefore the movement had to operate within the Japanese Empire.

The League for Attainment of Local Autonomy advocated for local autonomy in Taiwan. Thus the league can be seen in relation to the liberal thoughts. On the political dimension, it is clear that the movement accepted a life in the Japanese Empire. The league wanted local autonomy based on the Japanese model, further consolidating Taiwanese within the Japanese state.

On the political dimension it is clear that The Cultural Association were against the Japanese rulers. The movement focused on preserving Taiwanese culture. Given that the traditional culture in Taiwan derived from traditional Chinese culture, one can argue that the movement was indeed advocating the Chinese aspects of the culture. Politically the movement looked upon Taiwan as part of China and focused on preserving the Chinese cultures against the Japanese assimilation policies. In its first years the movement did not have an ideological platform. However in the late 1920s the Association changed towards a more leftist ideology. As the movement focused on workers rights, the Association also developed closer ties with the Japanese labor parties and other leftist Japanese groups and people. Analyzing the ideological changes in the social movements, members of the popular party were arrested once the movement changed to a more Marxist approach of class movements

After breaking away from the Cultural Association the Popular Party developed a combination of liberal approach with the Marxist influences. The party advocated self rule, but also workers rights. On the political dimension the party applied for change

within the existing structure. However the Popular party was also influenced by Chinese ideas. As an admirer of Sun Yat-sen, Chiang was inspired by the nationalist social movement in China. In June 1929, Chiang sent two members of the party to Nanjing in a ceremony at his grave. In addition he adopted a flag for the Popular party with a white star on a blue and red background, similar to the KMT flag. The actions of the leaders show a clear positive attitude towards China. Based on their logo and visits to China one can assume that the movement was positive to reunification with China. However in the colonial context there are few evidences that the movement advocated reunification. It is important to note that the social movements happened within the colonial Japanese police state at a time where the Japanese tried to convert the Taiwanese into Japanese subjects. Given the historical context one can assume that advocating reunification with China would lead to suppression of the organization or possible imprisonment for the leaders.

The colonial context makes it difficult to analyze the real political motivations of the movements. Thus it is hard to make any conclusion whether or not the members of the social movements wished unification with China or not. A Japanese police report from concluded:

They do not have much expectation for the future China. Instead they emphasize the islanders independent existence. If the return to China results in more repressive rule than today there is nothing to gain from it. Therefore they do not reject Japan outright, and only plan for the betterment of the interest and the well being of Taiwan for the sake of Taiwanese. (Ching, 2001:61)

The report further concludes that this might only be temporary, and that in the future there might be more wishes to join China. In the colonial context it is hard to make an outright conclusion about their nationalistic views and attitudes towards China. (Ching, 2001:61)

It is evident that the different movements were divided politically and ideologically. Some of the leaders such as Tsai Pei-huo openly argued that Taiwan was a separate Han identity. While other leaders such as Chiang Wei-shu were more inspired by Chinese ideas. In addition members of the League For Attainments of Local Autonomy

completely accepted Japanese rule on the island. Based on the different political opinions of the leaders I am not able to conclude about any consensus on the political dimension. However as Ching have pointed out “The importance of these anti colonial struggles lies in the articulation of Taiwanese as a distinctive and autonomous ethos, either within the Japanese Empire or within the Han Chinese ethnology” (Ching, 2001:53) I will argue that the common notion between all the movements was to increase right and opportunities for Taiwanese. Even if it was through gradual change within the existing framework of the Japanese Empire, or as revolution leading to independence, the main goal of the social movements and civil society at the time was to improve the liberal rights and opportunities for the Taiwanese.

### **3.3. Relational Comparisons**

#### **3.3.1. Relational Comparisons: Content**

For relational comparison I argue that the colonial context and relational comparison to the Japanese created the notion of Taiwanese as a common identity. I argue that at the time of the Japanese landing in 1895 there were neither a single Taiwanese, nor a single Chinese identity on the island. I argue that the Japanese broke down the cleavages in the existing structures and unknowingly facilitated for the notion of Taiwanese as a single unit.

In 1895 there seemed to be no cross-island common Chinese identity in Taiwan. Instead the different groups of the island can be described as belonging to different Sub ethnic Han Chinese identities. The two key factors in the sub divide were the different Chinese origins of the population as well as the lack of governance and control of the colony. The Chinese population in Taiwan originated almost entirely from Southern Fujian and Eastern Guangdong province. Isolated and cut apart by the geography of the area, the native population developed different identities. Thus the different groups emigrating to Taiwan was not the same ethnic group. The Taiwanese sub ethnic groups differed in dialects and provenance. Most of the population was Hakka or Hokkien speakers, whose dialects remained mutually unintelligible. In addition to the separation between Hakka and Hokkien speakers, the rivalry between different Hokkien groups in

effect created three different sub ethnic groups in Taiwan. The different groups tended to settle in areas according to their local origin. The groups shared a number of the same traditions, beliefs and forms of organization. All the groups were characterized by the prevalence of powerful kinship and surname groups. Immigrants settling in new areas tended to regroup themselves according to their surnames. Settler bands emigrating from other parts of Taiwan tended to settle in surnames groups as well. (Lamey, 1981)

The lacking governance structures on Taiwan created even deeper cleavages and divide between the different ethnic groups. Community conflicts would arise concerning irrigation, commercial facilities, or land disputes. The corrupt and incapable local officials were unable to settle the disputes. As a result, the local leaders consolidated their power through ethnic ties with a focus on protecting their own members. The division between the groups became deeper after repeated conflicts. Over time, even the smallest arguments could lead to outbreaks of communal strife. In addition, during uprisings the regime would use “righteous volunteers” from the other ethnic groups to suppress the rebellions. The volunteers would often join more as revenge towards other ethnic groups than support of the regime. In this system, the regime stayed in power, while the ethnic groups further strengthened the resentments towards other groups. According to Wang, the ethnic divide was part of a Chinese policy aimed at preventing a single Taiwanese identity challenging the government, and potentially uses the island as a potential base for future attack against China. Under this system the people did not develop a single identity, neither Chinese nor Taiwanese. Instead the groups shared local identities based on their original origin in China. (Wang, 2010:23)

When the Japanese arrived in Taiwan, their main priority was to pacify and take control over the island. From 1895 the Japanese launched a series of military campaigns. The military campaigns crushed existing local power structures, and replaced them with a modern Japanese state apparatus. By crushing the existing structures, the Japanese removed some of the cleavages between the different sub ethnic groups in Taiwan. As the Japanese took control of the island, the collective identity was shaped in relation to the Japanese. In the initial stages the Japanese crushed existing power structures on the island replacing them with modern day institutions and rule of law. Before 1895 local leaders would consolidate their power through ethnic ties with a focus

on protecting their own members. In the modern system, the government and the law created a safe environment for the people. Thus the Japanese state removed one of the consolidating factors separating the different ethnicities. In addition the Japanese adopted a different form of hegemonic control. In the Qing era, the government purposefully kept the identities divided in order to prevent a unified identity challenging the government. Compared the Japanese created a top down hierarchal structure for control. Legitimizing rule through threats and mediation. The new system removed the feudal system and element of revenge from society. Although the identities were still divided, the Japanese governance removed the basis for further divide, thus creating an environment with less ethnic cleavages. (Wang, 2010)

In the 1910s a new generation of Taiwanese elites emerged. Through the Japanese colonial education the students were educated, over time the students and the elites started demanding more education. The events surrounding the opening of the Taichu middle schools shows a growing demand for opportunities by the Taiwanese. The colonial Japanese rulers considered themselves racially superior to the Taiwanese. On the basis that Japan was a superior culture they discrimination against the native population. The discrimination was implemented legally as well as through social structures. Legally practices such as the Hoko system only applied to the Taiwanese citizens. The system forced tasks and obligation on the citizens, and was only enforced for Taiwanese. Further the Taiwanese lacked the civil rights and rights of suffrage given to them by the Japanese Constitution. In the social aspect there were two different tracks of education: a high quality education for Japanese residing in Taiwan and a separate basic education for Taiwanese. Until the 1920s only a limited number of the Taiwanese were able to join the education. When the students had finished their education the discrimination continued. Taiwanese would get paid less than Japanese for the same position. Taiwanese were neither able to rise to high-ranking positions. (Ching, 2001)

Starting around 1918 the Japanese adopted assimilation policies. The policies aimed at turning the population into Japanese. The process of becoming Japanese was based on the superiority of the Japanese culture, and further consolidated the Taiwanese as second rank citizens. In the same period the number of Taiwanese elites started to grow. The new intellectual elites grew up in modernized Taiwan and large a large number

of them received education in Japan. The Japanese intellectual society of the time was dominated by western philosophies and ideas of liberal thinking. Being exposed to liberal ideas as well as interacting with students from China and Korea the Taiwanese students became involved in the colonial opposition. Through their education they learned about society and also became more ambitious and started demanding more possibilities. The ethnic discrimination against the entire Taiwanese community, under the discrimination the people of the island started to develop a sense of being in the single community with a common identity. The colonial context meant that the people of the island could not look toward China for advancement in society. Similar the advancement within Taiwan was blocked by the colonial structures. Based on liberal principles the liberals demanded rights on the basis that they were different from Japanese and needed separate laws. In the colonial context, any signs of Chinese culture were forbidden, thus the elites created a notion of Taiwanese as a separate identity. As a way of protesting against the colonial mistreatments and advocate change, the Taiwanese elites started developing a nationalist discourse based on Taiwanese as a common identity for the people.

### **3.3.2. Relational Comparison Contestation:**

As discussed in my analysis of constitutive norms The Japanese relied on system of top down hegemonic control mediating the elites as a way winning over the masses. Within the system the elites were given more opportunities for education and progress in the age of modernization. As a result the elites were more exposed to the Japanese influences in society while the masses remained more Chinese. At the end of the Japanese era, I also argue that there was a generational difference between the older and younger generations concerning their identification and influences from the Japanese state.

In relation to the Japanese the elites and urban population gained more of the benefits from the Japanese rule. They had more opportunities in education. The Japanese brought a modern day capitalist system, created jobs for Taiwanese commerce and traders. The urban areas were also the first to gain electricity and had access to modern hospitals. Yet the urban population experienced more of the discrimination from the Japanese. For students at the high schools the different treatment became obvious. People working besides Japanese workers would notice the difference in payment for the same jobs.



Japanese workers were preferred over better-qualified Taiwanese applicants for jobs. Compared the rural population received less benefits, but did not interact with the Japanese in their daily lives. Still the new rulers gave them extra duties, in the hoko system the rural population has more duties such as building roads and maintaining , or draining the swamps for mosquitos. (Tsai, 1990)

In the 1930s the policies of assimilation were intensified. During the period of Kominka the Japanese tried to turn the Taiwanese into Japanese imperial subjects. Through education and through the Kominka movements religious, name changing, language and volunteer movement, a number of Taiwanese started developing a Japanese feeling. During the Kominka period a number of people started developing a Japanese identity.

By 1945, after several years of war and intense assimilation through the Kominka policies, there was a distinction between the different generations of Taiwanese and their level of Japanization. As Chou argues, Taiwanese of different ages reacted differently to the movement. Many of the youth aged fifteen to twenty-five during the Kominka period perceived themselves as Japanese by the end of the war. The young generation was born in a modernized Taiwan and receiving education in the Japanese common school. They were too young to experience discrimination in working life, and did not experience a time of unrest with accompanying harsh Japanese policies and penalties. They looked upon Japan as a modern emerging power and could not imagine Taiwan outside of the Japanese Empire. The Kominka movement had two goals. One was to turn the people into Japanese imperial citizens; the other was to mobilize the people for the war efforts. Being in the age to become soldiers, the majority of the campaigns during Kominka movement were aimed precisely at young generation at the time of formative change. Therefore there is no wonder that the younger generations developed more Japanese feelings. (Chou, 1990:224)

The older generation was not much affected by the period of Kominka and war. The older generation was not educated in the Japanese education system. As a result they did not speak the language. Many of the people were too old to learn a new language, and the Japanese rulers did not put substantial efforts of teaching them the national language.

As all the Japanese propaganda and mobilization efforts were in Japanese they were not affected by the Japanization and remained more of the Chinese aspects of culture. (Chou, 1990:225)

According to Chou the last group consisted of the people who had received some degree of Japanese education, but were matured to age before the war. The group, especially the middle class was described as very ambivalent. The group was described as enthusiastically learning Japanese, and was well accustomed to use the Japanese language. Through the Japanese education, the group was influenced by Japanese culture and customs. A large portion of the group seemed to have accepted the fact that Taiwan was a permanent territory of Japan and that independence or reunification with was unlikely. Yet the group experiences the discrimination from the Japanese. It was the same group who initiated the anti colonial movements. Analyzing the four different Kominka practices one finds that group learned the Japanese language. However, like the rest of society, the middle-aged group refused the Japanese religion. The group was reluctant to change their names in the name changing movement. However the group seemed to support the Volunteer programs. Many of the volunteers in the program were from this generation. It is not clear why so many people joined the volunteer program. The population might have been pressured to join the programs. Other reasons could be the massive propaganda machine aimed at the volunteer program. The Japanese put large focus on the recruitment of volunteers. (Chou, 1990:227)

At the end of the war we can see that only a limited numbers of people identified themselves Japanese. During the Japanese colonial era the Taiwanese changed from being divided into different sub ethnic groups and instead changed to a single common identity on the island.

### **3.4. Cognitive Reality**

#### **3.4.1. Cognitive Reality: Content**

Through the establishment of a modern state apparatus and a series of modernization policies the Japanese changed the Taiwanese society. At the time of the

Japanese takeover there was no single community on the island. I argue that the Japanese policies created a single community in Taiwan.

Before 1895 I argue that there was not a single community in Taiwan. There was not a functioning state. In addition the lacking links of communication between the different groups, contributed to a series of small ethnic communities instead of a single community. In the most basic sense Max Weber defines a state as a human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory. Based on the Weber's definition I argue that the Qing dynasty in Taiwan was not a modern state. As established earlier it is evident that the state apparatus in Taiwan was severely lacking. From the 16<sup>th</sup> century Chinese officials were not able enact prohibitions and hinder the emigrant settling on the island. The government officials were further described as incompetent and corrupt. Because of the lacking governance the population had a general disrespect of law. Under the prevailing conditions local communities established local rule based on ethnic ties and surname affiliation. As Wang argues: Due to the lacking functionality of Qing general official code for Taiwan. "Local customs, unofficial sources of law in imperial China, therefore played an important role in settler society in Taiwan. In addition before 1895 local strongmen in effect controlled their own kingdoms within the Qing governmental system with social organizations and the possibility to create policies and impose punishments upon their members. Further, the Qing government did not establish a proper system for tax base and tax collection. The taxation levels in Taiwan were considerably higher than those in the mainland. As a result Taiwanese landowners concealed a number of their fields in order to pay a lower amount of taxes. Officials knew about the fraud, but did not enforce changes due to fear of uprisings. Qing Taiwan it is evident that the Qing government did not have monopoly of violence. Due to the lacking functionality of Qing general official code for Taiwan. "Local customs, unofficial sources of law in imperial China, therefore played an important role in settler society in Taiwan" (Wang, 2000:110)

In addition to the lacking governance the lacking modernization hindered a single community on the island. Before 1895 the majority of the population on Taiwan was uneducated, less than half percent of the Taiwanese population knew how to read and write. The population had limited opportunities for travel or social movements. Roads

connecting major cities with surrounding villages were in many cases just 30 cm wide and not paved. People relied on walking or single wheeled sedan chairs for transportation. The average Taiwanese did not have the ability to travel far beyond their native villages. The building of a telegraph was started during Liu Min-quan's modernization period, however the line never reached operational state. Postal service between the north and the south of the country took more than one week. As a result in addition to missing means of communication the different groups of Taiwanese spoke different languages unintelligible for each other. The economy on the island was neither developed. The commodity prices fluctuated greatly from one part of the island to the other.

Compared to the previous rulers, the Japanese certainly was a modernized state. As one of the key principles in a modern state the Japanese established rule of law. During the military quests after 1895 local militias and strongmen would revolt against the Japanese. The revolts were based in a similar fashion to revolts during the Qing period. The consequences of an uprising illustrate the difference between the old and new regime. Where the Qing rulers would send other ethnic groups to break down the uprisings, the Japanese sent trained soldiers. The strongmen with their militias were categorized as bandits and punished by death. After pacifying the area. The Japanese rulers installed a modern day police force. As previously discussed through policing and modern intuitions the Japanese monopolized violence and laws on the island. The new laws based on Japanese legal principles influenced by western law. In the new system all inhabitants were responsible towards the law. (Wang, 2000:107)

At the economic level the Japanese established a new tax base and a functioning collection system. The land surveys discovered a revenue yielding area much larger than reported. The Qing regime had registered 361,447 chia of land on the island. The Japanese surveys found the number to be 777,850 chia. More than double the amount of land registered under the Qing government. As a result, Taiwanese had to pay taxes for a larger portion of their land. In addition the Japanese changed the landowner structure on the colony. (Yao, 2006:51) After establishing a functioning government the Japanese started a process of modernization and education on the island. The railroad connecting the North and South of the island through the east coast was opened. From 1898 to 1906 the Japanese build 5,600 km of roads six feet wide, 2,900km of roads wider than 6

feet, And 50 km of roads 24 feet wide. In addition they finished the railway linking Keelung and Kaohsiung and installed telegraph lines across the island. (Shozo, 2006:74) The new communication links made travel time between the different areas much shorter. The links created new standards of mobilization for the Taiwanese as it was possible to work in the cities without being disconnected from their native villages. A separate feat of the modernization was the establishment of a modernized economy after capitalist principles. The new economy created jobs in the cities and led to urbanization. In the urban environment, people from all corners of the island would live and work together. The communication links made it possible for the people to travel home. By interacting and connecting, the Taiwanese started to develop into a single community.

Over time, the Japanese brought education to the masses. Before 1895 less than a half percent of the people could read. By the 1944 of the school aged population was enrolled in schools. As discussed above the schooling and modernization created new norms for sanitation and helped eradicate diseases previously spread over the island. In addition the education also changed the status of women in society. Through school the majority of people became literate. Japanese became the lingua franca for Taiwanese people from different parts of the island. At the same time as people learned the read, mass media was introduced to the island. The newspapers were part of the modernization process of popularizing modern ideas and bringing news to the people. An important change happened around 1898-1900 as the newspapers went public. The right to print newspapers was given to Japanese commerce that printed newspaper according to market logic. As the newspapers became public the newspapers sought to attract Taiwanese readers. In order to attract readers, the papers would address public opinion including the criticism of the government. The newspapers became important tools in criticism of the colonial government. (Liao, 2006: 83) Through the newspapers the Taiwanese public got news and information of events happening across the island and abroad. Through contributions such as editorials and articles Taiwanese were able to express themselves and have their expression read by fellow citizens. Thus creating public sphere and civil society on the island. Overall the new functioning government combined with the physical and intellectual modernization, changed society on Taiwan from a divided agricultural society to a modern single community.

### 3.4.1. Cognitive Reality: Contestation

The Japanese colonial rule established Taiwan as a single community for the entire Chinese population. Yet the different layers of society experienced different colonial realities. The colonial elites responded positively to prospect of modernization. They accepted the offer of education as a way of improving their lives. Through the Japanese education the elites were influenced by Japanese culture and customs. In the initial phases of colonial rule it was only the elites and urban population that was included in the Japanese education. The Japanese education was aimed at changing the norms and culture of the Taiwanese.

The goal of the new education was to train the student for life and work in the new world and to making them unquestionable loyal to Japan. The education was to “transform a segment of the traditional China into an integral part of modern Japan” (Tsurumi, 1977:11). In order to do so the Japanese educators took advantage of existing structures and used them to advance the Japanese agenda; classic traditions that urged loyalty and obedience to one's superior were strengthened and areas connecting Taiwan with the mainland were to be played down or forbidden. In order to incorporate the Taiwanese people the Japanese started with the elites. “The officials felt that if the new attitudes could be inculcated in the leadership classes, others would eventually follow their better example” (Tsurumi 1977:46)

The common school was created to educate Taiwanese. The main function of the school was to give Taiwanese children understanding and capabilities in the Japanese language, and to teach them ethics and practical knowledge. It was aimed to give the students basic knowledge improving the economy, improving health standards and spread Japanese ideas and customs. Japanese language and Ethics remained the key subjects to cultivating morality and loyalty towards Japan. (Tsurumi, 1977:58) In the middle schools, all students were required to reside in the Japanese style dormitory, eat Japanese food, wear Japanese clothing, take hot baths, and to get accustomed to other Japanese customs. In the 1920s the assimilation polices at the schools were further strengthen. At the times the Japanese included education of the girls. Having the girls join was seen as important if Japanese customs were ever to accepted and absorbed. At the schools, the middle

school and medical school students were increasingly exposed to Japanese culture. “All Middle school and medical student were required to live in Japanese style dormitories, speak Japanese all the time and live according to the customs of the Japanese culture”(Tsurumi, 1977:64)

Lu Cheng-li argues that the Taiwanese intellectuals conflated the colonial imperialism with the desire for modernity. “Japan became the most important place to study abroad for Taiwanese intellectuals ... The only other choice, Mainland China, surely lags behind in its degree of modernity. As a result Japan monopolized the horizon of modernity for the Taiwanese. Without a standpoint to compare they unknowingly assumed Japan to be the most modernized nation in the most modernized nation in the world, and conflated “modernization” with “Japanization”. The inability to separate the two concepts away from each other contributed to preventing the Taiwanese intellectuals to ask questions about the colonialism. (Ching, 2001:28) Similar is the notion that the elites assimilated aspects of the Japanese lifestyles. “These men and women were fluent in the Japanese language, familiar with Japanese culture, at home in Japanese social settings, and well versed in the laws and institutions that governed both Japan and the colony.” Among the Japanese trained intellectuals several of them appeared to be well assimilated into the Japanese lifestyle. “The physicians, lawyers, clerks, journalists and urban school teachers appeared much closer to the Japanese rulers in lifestyle and attitude than to the poor Taiwanese peasants of rural villages.” O Ikutoku draws similar conclusions: The thousands of Taiwanese, who received post secondary training in Taiwan or at the home island entered the ranks of Japanese intellectuals, becoming almost indistinguishable from them.” (Tsurumi, 1977:177) The elites applied more of the benefits from the modernization. Traders and commerce were able to trade with the Japanese. As the elites got education before the masses they were able to read newspapers and take part in the public sphere.

Further the modernization created new understanding of the world. Before the Japanese rule, the majority of the Taiwanese did not travel, after modernization Taiwanese intellectuals would study abroad. Becoming cosmopolitan citizens. Although the elites were able to take more advantage of the system they were still oppressed in the Japanese system.

In contrast life was harder for the rural poorer parts of the population, the changes was not due to desire of exploring modernity. However the Japanese colonial period also change the understanding of the world for the lower classes. Yet the everyday life changed for the masses as well. To this day its citizens remember the period through the safety and orderliness. After the Japanese assimilation processes in the 1920s, the Japanese adopted education for the masses. In the end of the 1940, 70 percent of the school age population was enrolled in school. Although the Taiwanese masses were less influenced by the Japanese culturally, their everyday life certainly changed during the 50 years of colonial rule.

#### **4. Conclusion**

Through the framework of identity as a variable I have analyzed the impact of the Japanese colonial era on Taiwanese identity through the research question: *How did the identity of the people living on Taiwan transform during the Japanese colonial period 1895-1945?* Comparing Taiwan before 1895 to the situation 50 years later, it is evident that the years of colonial rule fundamentally changed society in Taiwan.

Analyzing the constitutive norms of Taiwan. The years of colonial rule transformed the people on Taiwan into law-abiding citizens. Before 1895 Taiwan was dominated by lawlessness and lack of functioning government. Compared to the previous rulers the Japanese was a modern state. It implemented a police state through tight control. A key instrument for control was the Hoko system. The Japanese ruthlessly enforced the laws and regulations. As a result the Taiwanese did not have any option but to obey. The Japanese also modernized the Taiwanese economy and established education. An important aspect of the education was the importance of law and order as well as obedience. Over time the Taiwanese saw the benefits of being law-abiding citizens and adopted the norms into their own culture.

Further the years of colonial rule the Japanese also created norms of sanitation. Before 1895 Taiwan had serious health problems. The Japanese brought modern medicine and established hospital and training for doctors. In the initial years the health reforms was implemented through force. In addition the Japanese education put a lot of



focus on the importance and benefits of cleanliness. Together with the Japanese reforms, the status of the Taiwanese doctors combined with their efforts to improve the situation was key in improving the health on the Island. By the end of Japanese rule, Taiwanese people had adapted the Japanese sanitation practices.

In addition the Japanese colonial era transformed the status of women. Before 1895 women did not enjoy a high status in Taiwan. They were not educated and only a handful could read. The Japanese colonizers included girls in their education policies. Over time education of girls grew more accepted. As women got educated, some women joined the workforce.

During the 50 years of colonial rule people in the cities and upper classes were more influenced by the Japanese than the masses. The elites received education for a longer time than the masses. In addition they received more of the benefits of modernization. However due to the strict control in the colony, the norm of law-abiding citizens was applied all over the island.

The norms of cleanliness were applied all over the island, but they were internalized further in urban areas. Education of girls was more accepted in urban areas than rural. Girls' education was also more accepted among the elites than the masses.

For social purpose I have established that in the 1920s a new class of Taiwanese intellectuals established the goal of increasing the rights and opportunities for the Taiwanese. After being educated in the Japanese system the intellectuals aspired high ambitions. However in the Japanese oppressive regime the Taiwanese were blocked from gaining importance and high positions. Taiwanese enjoyed less rights, got paid less, and were discriminated against on almost all levels of society. At the time the Taiwanese intellectuals formed anti colonial social movements. The movements started with the claims of equal rights for Taiwanese and Japanese citizens and for less oppression against the Taiwanese. The movements developed into claims of self-rule and campaign advocating a Taiwanese parliament. The movement started a campaign of enlightenment of the people, and gave publication in order to inspire and inform the population. Other social movements focused on promoting local cultures and securing them in a time of

Japanese dominance. The social movements derived on two dimensions, between liberal and Marxist thoughts and between their opinion regarding Taiwan in the context of China or Japan. The movements inspired by Marxist thought proposed a revolutionary approach to change. Movements inspired by liberal thought aimed at gradual change through reforms. Some of the movement such as the Assimilation society, and New People's society aimed at social reforms and equal rights within the Japanese system. Although the social movements used different approaches and had a different opinion on China, they all aimed at improving the situation for the Taiwanese living on Taiwan. The movement articulated a notion of Taiwanese as a single unit, deserving more rights and a better standard of living.

Analyzing relational comparisons I have established that the Japanese period created the notion of Taiwanese as a collective unit. In the initial period of Japanese rule the Japanese broke down existing structures in Taiwan replacing them with new Japanese structures. By doing so, the Japanese started breaking down the cleavages dividing different sub ethnic groups on the island. Following, the Japanese modernized the island and started educating the Taiwanese. In the modern urbanized society Taiwanese started interacting and living alongside people from other parts of the island. The Japanese discriminated the Taiwanese. They perceived themselves as a superior race and culture compared to native population. Taiwanese were legally and socially discriminated against. Taiwanese were paid worse than Japanese and could not rise to high positions. In the lack of opportunities and collective suppression created an in-group mentality of Taiwanese as a single unit. Thus the Japanese had unknowingly created a Taiwanese identity. In the 1920s the Japanese started the assimilation policy known as doka. The goal was to turn the Taiwanese people into Japanese. The policy change led to more people in school and a higher Japanese influence among the people. However the Japanese kept discriminating and distancing themselves from Taiwanese. However some people especially elites and intellectuals started adopting some aspects of Japanese culture and customs. However the majority of the masses remained in the Chinese culture.

In the last eight years of the colonial rule, the Japanese entered a period of war mobilization and Japanization. They mobilized the people through language campaigns; name changing campaign, religious campaign and volunteer campaigns. As Japan was in

war with China they sought to eradicate the Chinese consciousness from the Taiwanese people. The effects of the Kominka war mobilization varied among the different generations of Japanese. Many of the youth entering adolescence at the time developed feelings as Japanese. For the middle-aged population, the majority remained more ambiguous towards the campaign, surrounding the elites. The masses and the older generations were not affected by the Japanization and remained in the traditional Chinese culture.

Finally for cognitive models I have established that the Taiwanese community emerged as a single community during the colonial era. The Japanese colonial government created a modern state apparatus. Through policies of modernization the Japanese established communication links, a single economy, urbanization, and education. In the new community Taiwanese from all corners of the island communicated and interacted with each other. The new medias such as newspapers created public sphere on the island. From a feudalistic system Taiwan turned in to a modern state. Overall the Japanese policies of education transformed Taiwan into a single community. The different layers of society had different opportunities in the system and acted differently towards the new rulers. The Japanese education sought to make the Taiwanese Japanese. In the quest for modernity a number of Taiwanese elites accepted the education and became more influenced by Japanese practices and customs. The masses were less influenced by the Japanese and retained more of their Chinese culture, customs and way of life.

For my thesis I set to explore the identity changes in Taiwanese identities. Overall it is safe to say that society in Taiwan changed during the Japanese. My finding indicates that a new identity was born on Taiwan during Japanese colonial rule. The Taiwanese people changed a number of their constitutive norms, created goals of improved conditions for the Taiwanese, noticed themselves as a common unit, and transformed into a single community. However the colonial context combined with the unsettled relationship with China complicates the conclusion. Even as the Taiwanese developed a Taiwanese identity the majority of the people did not abandon their Chinese identity. After the war the majority of Taiwanese welcomed back the Chinese to the island. Due to the unsettled relationship with China I am not able to confirm Taiwanese as a separate

new identity. Instead I argue that Taiwanese emerged as a subset of Chinese identity. In 1945 argue that it was still not a national identity but more a regional identity. However the identity of the people differed from the mainland, and thus made it a unique Taiwanese identity. Over time it is possible that this Taiwanese could develop into a separate Taiwanese national identity. As a conclusion I conclude that the Japanese colonial era transformed Taiwan from a feudal outpost with multiple identities into a single community and a new modernized Taiwanese identity.

For my thesis I set to explore the different identity changes for the Taiwanese population during colonial rule. My contribution to the scholarly field lies in the application of academic scholarship to the topic of colonial rule. The significance of my finding lies in the variable of contestation, as it is evident that different strata of the Taiwanese population experienced different identity changes during the Japanese colonial rule. Over although identity changed, the entire population did not necessarily change into the same population. In the troubled identity of modern day Taiwan the analysis of contestation is bringing further knowledge to the understanding of Taiwanese identity.

#### **4.1. Suggestions for Future Research**

As established in this thesis the Japanese period brought changes to Taiwan. Over time the Japanese developed Japanese sentiments and contributed to a single community among the Chinese settlers on the island. However, in addition to the Taiwanese, Taiwan is inhabited by numerous aboriginal communities, for future research I will recommend scholarship on the aboriginal population and their meeting with the Japanese.

Second, my research covered the Japanese rule in Taiwan covering the time span from 1895 to 1945. In 1945 the Japanese period came to an abrupt ending as the Japanese lost the war and Taiwan was seeded back to China. The Chinese government started the process of making the population Chinese again. Postwar Taiwan culminated in the 228 Incident, bringing martial law to the island. For future research I will recommend study on the transition for Taiwanese from members of the Japanese Empire to members of Republic of China. I will especially focus on the role of the Kominka generation; the

generation aged 15 to 25 at the end of the war, having reached adulthood during the time of Japanese mobilization and propaganda during the war.

Third I argue that the Japanese period is important in understanding current relations between China, Taiwan, and Japan. For future research I recommend looking at the role of the Japanese period in international relations between the three countries. In addition research of institutional and cultural vestiges from the colonial era in coteremporary Taiwan will bring further information to the identity debate, and more understanding of the cross straight relations.

As seen in my analysis of contestation, different strata of the Taiwanese society experienced different changes to their identity. For future research I recommend analysis of the geographical as social vestiges from the different aspects of Japanese colonial rule, applied to contemporary Taiwanese scholarship. It is evident that some local communities experienced more changes to their identity than others. For future research I will recommend looking at local differences during the colonial era, and compare it to developments in the postcolonial era.

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