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**The Importance and Influences of “Family Memory” in
Shaping Taiwan People’s Identity from analyzing the
life stories of 20 Taiwan People**

(Wang Chen-Yu Stephanie)

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European Research Center on Contemporary Taiwan

Eberhard Karls University, Tuebingen

Wilhelmstrasse 133

72074 Tuebingen

Ph.: +49 7071 29 72717

e-mail: ercct@uni-tuebingen.de

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**The Importance and Influences of “Family Memory” in Shaping Taiwan
People’s Identity from analyzing the life stories of 20 Taiwan People**

Abstract

This paper is an attempt to search for the root causes shaping the formation of Taiwan People’s identities, from analyzing the “family memory” of 20 Taiwan people (benshenren & waishenren). The research findings break the myth that “shenji” is the single major factor influencing the formation of Taiwan People’s identity. Interviews show that: 1)generation difference is obvious, mainly due to strong influence from education on the younger generation. 2)Geographic difference is not obvious. For younger generation, education, family and personal experience are main factor. For old generation, personal life experience is the dominant factor. 3)Gender differences do exist which reflects the education level in each gender group at that time. In conclusion, “personal life experience (個人生命經驗)” is the main factor, shaping Taiwan people’s identity.

Wang, Chen-yu (also as Stephanie Wang)

Ph.D. in *International Politics*, School of International Studies,

Peking University, Beijing, China, P.R.C.

Contact: wangzhenyu3405@gmail.com

This is a working paper(not finalized yet to be cited). Please share your comments and suggestions.

1. Introduction

Taiwan has diverse ethnicities, due to migrations in history. In the seventeenth century (1624 ~1662), the Dutch and Spanish came to occupy northern and southern Taiwan as their trading ports. Later, Zheng Cheng Gong (鄭成功) defeated the Dutch and established Ming Zheng (明鄭) in Taiwan, to restore the passing Ming Dynasty in mainland China since 1662. The emerging power of Manchu's Qing, defeated Zheng in 1683 and inherited its possession of Taiwan since then. In 1895, Japan won the first Sino-Japanese War over Qing and thus, Taiwan was ceded to Japan. Since then, the Taiwan people had experienced fifty-year Japanese colonial occupation till the end of Second World War in 1945. Taiwan was the victim of imperialism and colonialism. The ethnic compositions of Taiwan people are, aboriginal people (Proto-Malay in the south, and Lonkius", "Taiyals" and "Vonums" in the north), the Dutch, the Spanish, Han people (especially Hakka and Minna people), Japanese people, and their descendents.

During the fifty-year Japanese colonial occupation, Dr. Sun Yat-sen overthrew Qing in 1912 and established Republic of China (ROC). In 1945, Japan defeated in Second World War and declared abandonment of Taiwan. As a result, Taiwan was returned to ROC. However, in 1949, Chiang Kai-shek led Kuomintang (KMT) lost Chinese Civil War against Mao Ze Dong's Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in mainland China. Following with that, Chiang Kai-shek fleet to Taiwan with military officers, soldiers, public servants, and teachers about one million Chinese people¹ from different provinces in Mainland China. These people are called as first generation wai-shen-ren² (outsiders) comparing with those who had inhabited in Taiwan before 1945. Therefore, the word of "ben-shen-ren"³ or "dai-wan-ran"⁴ were created and became the name of ethnic group name of these earlier Chinese immigrants (Minnan⁵ from Fujien Province⁶ and Hakka⁷ mainly from Guandong Province⁸). This drops a clear-cut line between the two major ethnic groups of ben-shen-ren and wai-sen-ren with strong antagonistic sentiment toward each other.⁹

The fact of different ethnic groups in Taiwan has existed for a century; however,

¹ The accurate numbers of people were still unknown, due to insufficient information; but scholars believe the rough number of one million people is reliable based on later census record.

² 外省人 in Mandarin.

³ 本省人 in Mandarin

⁴ 台灣人 in Taiwanese (Minnan dialect).

⁵ 閩南人 in Mandarin.

⁶ 福建省 in Mandarin.

⁷ 客家人 in Mandarin

⁸ 廣東省 in Mandarin.

⁹ Aboriginal people have been called by Japanese as "banjin" and by Minnan people as "huan-a" since Japanese occupation period. When the ethnic group of ben-shen-ren and wai-shen-ren were formed, the group called shan-di-ren was also formed to represent them.

not until early 80s had the issue of Taiwanese people's ethnic identities been discussed fiercely and attracted the public awareness widely. With the development of democracy and enlarging freedom of speech, minority groups were able to attract public's attention to protect their basic human rights free from discrimination. A good example will be renaming aboriginal people from shan-di-ren¹⁰ to "yuan-ju-min"¹¹; also, Taiwan government established official institute to conserve Hakka culture. Nevertheless, recently, there is a worrisome phenomenon appearing in Taiwan's political environment that politicians are taking advantages of Taiwanese people's ethnic contradiction complex to pursuit their political ambitions. Gradually it shapes the peculiar election culture in Taiwan; candidates have been leveraging these contradictions to present propaganda which intensifies the antagonistic sentiment among Taiwanese people belonging to different ethnic groups by recalling their sufferings in the past, especially for Minnan people.

Taiwan people's pro-Japanese sentiment is well-known by their neighbor countries in Northeast Asia. The rationale of the "Japanese good old days" is assumed to be the collective memory of Taiwanese old generation by the Taiwanese young generation. Based on this logic, mainland Chinese usually jump into conclusion that Taiwan people's pro-Japanese sentiment is from the success of Kominka Movement(皇民化運動) under Japanese colonial ruling; at that time, Taiwanese all recognized themselves as Japanese, so that they could fight for the imperial Japan in Second World War, as Japanese imperial soldiers. For Korean, it is blizzard why Taiwan people favor Japan after its fifty-year brutal colonial ruling. I, myself, once was asked by Korean students that why Taiwan people like Japan?¹² Take Korea for comparison, the first thing Korean government did after Second World War was to tear down the Japanese Governor Palace built by the Japanese during its colonial ruling from 1910 to 1945. Questions like these kept bothering me in occasion encountering mainland Chinese and Korean colleagues in seminar, conferences and countless civilian interaction. Therefore, I decided to conduct a research on the Taiwanese old generation, the so-called "benshenren (本省人)" to understand what exactly they have experienced in Japanese colonial period. Meanwhile, as comparison, waishenren's life story is comparatively important to know the difference between two groups, which serves as an initial attempt to search for root cause of ethnicity complex(省籍情結) formation in Taiwan.

So, in the end of introduction, questions like the followings has been arisen:

¹⁰ 山地人 in Mandarin meaning people living in the mountain.

¹¹ 原住民 in Mandarin meaning people who original living in this place.

¹² The occasion was at United Nation University's Global Seminar in Seoul in 2003. Students from Japan, Korea, China, United States, Mongolia, Russia gathered together to discuss the possibility of Northeast Asian community-building.

- What are the main factors shaping Taiwanese people's identity?
- How do Taiwanese people identify themselves in individual level, ethnic level, cultural level, and national level?
- Is there any dramatic change in identities among the old and young generation in Taiwan? If so, what are their identities, how are they formed and why is that?

2. Research Method and Design

2.1. Research purpose

First, explore identities in various level for both the younger generation and old ones of Taiwanese people respectively; second, compare their differences and combining the similarities; and finally, analyze the possible factors resulting in the changing identities among Taiwanese people for both younger and old generation, in order to find out the truth behind politicians' political campaigns.

2.2. Research method

I adopt the interpretive social science approach to conduct a qualitative research. As for the **Grouping Principle and Explanation**, please refer to Diagram 1, the first level grouping principle is age. (The interview were done in 2004, and therefore the age of my interviewees were 8 years older in 2012.)

- Old generation of Taiwanese people: people in or above 65 years old, born before 1939¹³
- Young generation of Taiwanese people: people from 24 to 29 years old, born from 1975 to 1980¹⁴

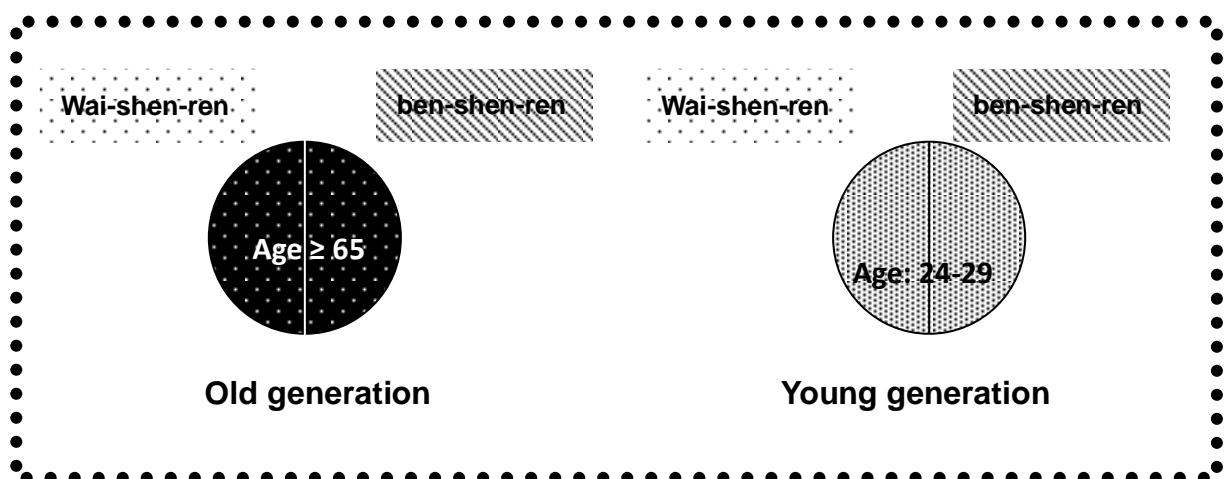


Diagram 1: Composition of Interviewees

¹³ 1st field research was conducted from 1st March to 8th April 2004.

¹⁴ 1st field research was conducted from 1st March to 8th April 2004.

Following the grouping of age, the second level of grouping principle is shen-ji¹⁵:

- Wai-shen-ren: 50% of the total interviewees in each group
- Ben-shen-ren: 50% of the total interviewees in each group

The third important factor in grouping my interviewees is their class/ education level / military rank:

- Old generation: equivalent middle-upper class reflecting in their economical life, education level, or military rank
- Young generation: college graduate with various vocations

Other grouping principles:

- The distribution of males and females
- The regional distribution of interviewees will be roughly divided into the north and south

Explanation of Grouping Principle:

Generation: I choose people older than sixty-five years old who were born before 1939, as the old generation is because that these people have experienced important historical incidents:

- (1) 日本教育 and 皇民化運動 since 1937 during Japanese colonial period
- (2) the start of Pacific War in 1941
- (3) the end of Second World War and Taiwan's restoration in 1945
- (4) 228 Incident in 1947
- (5) 金門古寧頭戰役 against Communist China in 1949 and Chiang kai-shek and KMT's retreat to Taiwan since 1949
- (6) 美麗島事件 and 白色恐怖
- (7) 中美共同防禦條約 in 1954
- (8) 八二三金門砲戰 in 1958
- (9) 退出聯合國 in 1971
- (10) 十大建設 since 1973
- (11) 中美斷交 in 1979 and so on

On the other hand, the young generation of Taiwanese people aged from 24 to 29 are people born in the beginning of Taiwan's economic boom from 1975 to 1980. Economically, they grew up in a wealthier society in their childhood with the Taiwan's Economic Miracle; educationally, military training class was diminishing, and the test of the founder of Republic of China (ROC)¹⁶, Dr. Sun Yet-sen's Three Principles of

¹⁵ 省籍 in Mandarin Chinese. The most similar meaning in English is people's origin or hometown. I think, in Japanese, 戶籍 or 出身 will be the most proper word to describe this Chinese vocabulary.

¹⁶ Republic of China is 中華民國, established in 1912 by Dr. Sun Yat-sen (孫文). That is the official name of Taiwan since 1945.

People¹⁷ were getting easier; politically, Taiwan's society was transforming into a more democratic society in their late teenage year and early twenties. They did not experience turmoil their life, but only heard it from their grandparents or learn it from textbooks.

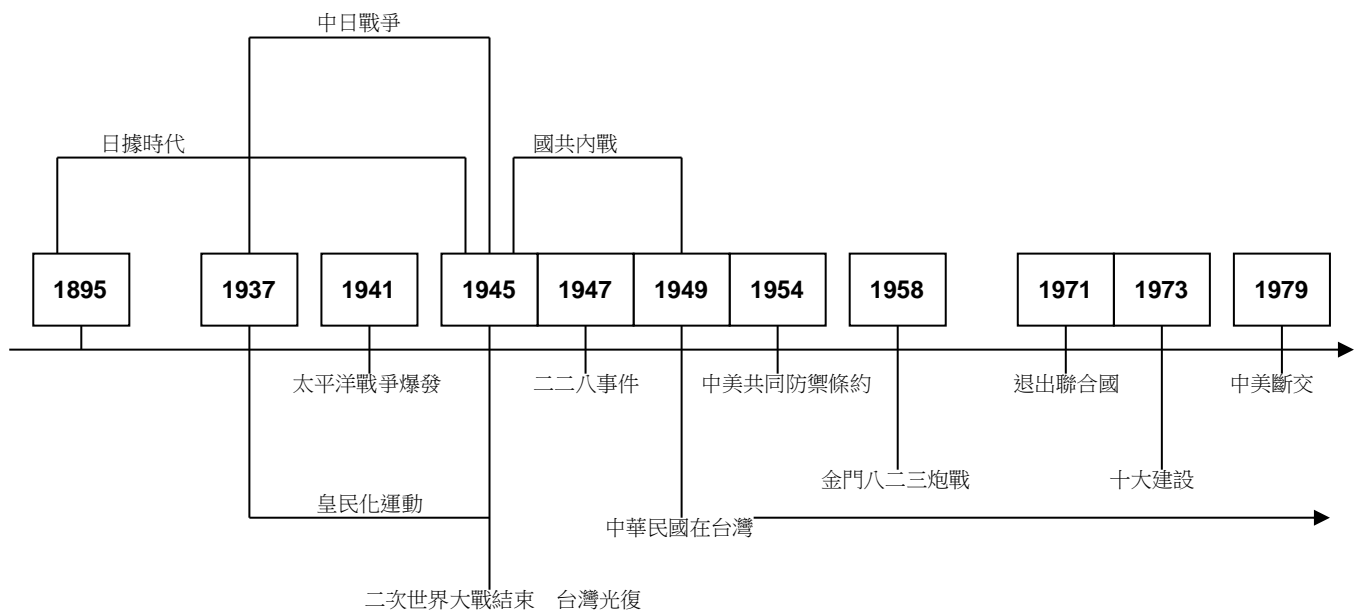


Diagram 2: Major Historical Incidents in Chronicle Order

Shen-ji issue is not the only but the most important factor altering Taiwanese people's national identity and ethnic identity (please see background for information). The definition of ben-shen-ren here means Minnan people who are from Fujen Province, and Hakka from Guangdong Province. In the group of old generation, wai-shen-ren means people who came to Taiwan after 1945 from various provinces in China, and ben-shen-ren means those Hakka and Minnan people who have been living in Taiwan before 1945. In the group of young generation, I classified ben-shen-ren is descendants whose father and mother are both ben-shen-ren, while wai-shen-ren is descendants whose parent are both wai-shen-ren or either one of their parents is wai-shen-ren.

Class level for young generation is easy to define – educational level of college graduate or above is more meaningful than wealthy level; however, for old generation, there are some supplementary measures to define interviewees' class level due to the complexity of their background during the turmoil time. For wai-shen-ren of the old generation, we cannot determine their class level by

¹⁷ 孫文的三民主義. It is ideology class of Dr. Sun Yet-sen's teaching, Three Principles of People.

education or wealth, because their education was interrupted by the war between China and Japan since 1937. Furthermore, when they came to Taiwan, most of them were poor military persons. Therefore, the most reliable way to measure their class is neither education nor wealth, but their rank in military. I choose wai-shen-ren with military rank above (including) captain in army or lieutenant in navy. If there are well-educated scholars or teachers, the classification of military rank will be ignored. For ben-shen-ren, class level will be determined by their education, and economic level that is partly decided by whether they have close relationship with Japanese people. Education level will be above (including) high school and also include those people who went to Japan for higher education¹⁸. People who were learning skills and techniques under Japanese masters are also counted. The determination of economic level will be largely related to his or her family background, vocation and closeness with Japanese people – whether they were doing business with Japanese people or working under Japanese employers.

Other grouping principles are necessary but not the most critical factors. Even distribution of sex and region is required in this qualitative research to present certain degree of objectiveness and reliability.

Interviewees: 20 people in total. Numbers of interviewees was modified on actual work in the field and the degree of convenience to access them from 30 to 20.

Time period: interviews were conducted from March 1st to April 8th, 2004.

2.3. Research Procedure:

Interviewees will be asked to fill out a simple questionnaire about his or her personal information. Following the basic information, a creative, interactive comprehensive interview will be conducted by the research, in order to have deeper understanding of each interviewee's inmost thoughts toward identity. There are several factors to form an individual's identity in different level and interviewer will try to explore interviewee's identity forming process. These factors are:

- | | | |
|-------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| ● Family | ● History | ● Economic situation |
| ● Ethnicity | ● Politics | ● Cultural influences |
| ● Education | ● Mass Media | ● Others |

Here, I present the model of an individual's identity forming process with

¹⁸ Higher education in Taiwan during Japanese colonial period was limited. Many outstanding Taiwanese high school graduates chose to study in university in Japan, especially medicine, and law majors.

various outside influencing factors since little from family education, school education and social education, to interpret the world he or she knows and identity himself or herself in this world.

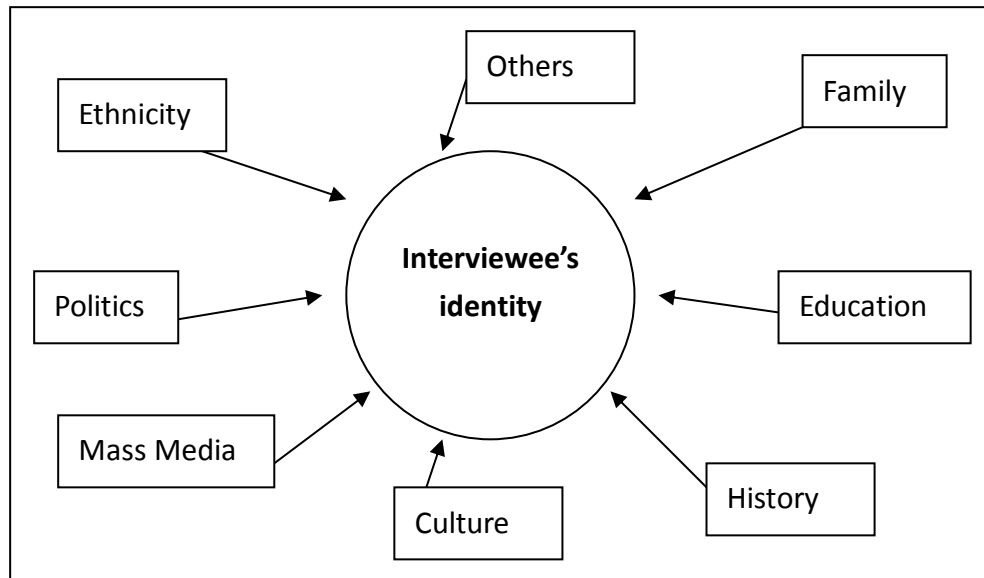


Diagram 3: Individual identity's forming process

Approach of interview:

Self-exploration exercise, pictures, commercial messages (CM) made by political parties relating to election or other election propaganda, and personal experience sharing style interview will be the content of interview. Interviewer will record (hand-writing or with tape recorder), photograph or video tape the content of interview based on ethic and integrity and respect toward individual's rights to disclose some very personal experiences or not. Later, I will present my research result to my interviewees. Interviewer will also inform interviewees the intention and purpose of this research project before interview starts. After finishing interviewing, interviewer will interpret and analyze gathered information. The content of questions is as follow (Any necessary modification depending on various interviewees' background and willingness to answer will be made.)

3. Research Findings and Insights

Initial findings on generation, geographic, and gender differences:

1. Generation difference is obvious, mainly due to strong influence from education on the younger generation (young: old generation = 6 : 14).

- Geographic difference is not obvious in my research (north: south= 2: 12). For younger generation, education, family and personal experience are main factors. For old generation, personal life experience is the single main factor.
- Gender differences do exist which reflects the education level in each gender group at that time (man: female= 8:4)

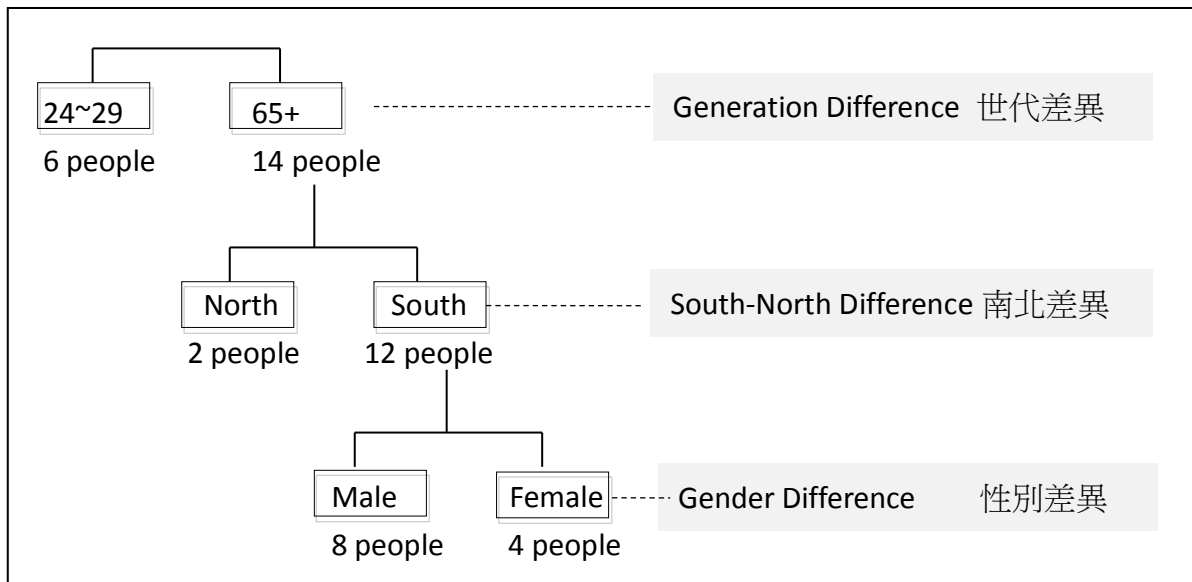


Diagram 4: Composition of Generation, Geographic, and Gender Differences

Presentation of interviewees

Region	North				South			
Age	24-29		65+		24-29		65+	
Shen-ji	B	W	B	W	B	W	B	W
No./sex	1F	2F	1M	1M	2M	1F	4M, 2F	4M, 2F

B= ben-shen-ren, W= wai-shen-ren, M=male, F=female, number represent the number of interviewees. Total interviewees are 20 people.

List of interviewees and personal background

North, 24-29 BF:

Miss C (24) is born in a Minnan and Hakka family, and working as a police officer.

North, 24-29WF:

Miss M (24) was born in pure wai-shen-ren family, and working full-time with student status, taking her second major in university.

Miss H (24) was born in a pure wai-shen-ren family, is a master student.

North, 65+ BM:

Mr. L (70) was born in a Minnan family, and used to be a police officer and experienced early days of KMT-led politics.

North, 65+WM:

Mr. W (74) was born in Fujian in China, and can speak Fujian dialect which is similar to Taiwanese. He was a businessman.

South, 24-29BM:

Mr. C (24) was born in a pure Minnan family, and is a master student.

Mr. S (24) was born in a ben-shen-ren/wai-shen-ren mixed family, and is master student.

South, 24-29WF:

Miss T (26) was born in a wai-shen-ren/ben-shen-ren mixed family, is working in Taipei.

South, 65+BM:

Mr. L (87) was born in 1917 during Japanese occupation period in a Minnan family, received Japanese education until 1945(公學校+農業學校). He is a Taiwanese Rotarian.

Mr. H (71) was born in Japanese occupation period in a Minnan family, and once studied in Japanese shogakou (小學校). He is a Taiwanese Rotarian.

Mr. S (68) was born in a poor Minnan family, and is working as a junior high school's principle. He had two years' experience in Japanese elementary.

Mr. S (63), born in Minnan family, worked in rice shop. He has served in the army in 823 Fight against the Communist China.

South, 65+BF:

Mrs. T (70) was born in pure Minnan family, and used to be a full-time housewife. Have experience on Japanese occupation life for 10 years.

Miss S (61) was born in pure Minnan family, is working as a teacher.

South, 65+WM:

Mr. C (75) was born in China, finished college education in China and came to Taiwan by accident on a trip to Taiwan. Later, he became a high rank military person, and after retirement, he transferred himself into a successful businessman.

Mr. T (75) was born in China, came to Taiwan with a status of middle rank of Navy lieutenant.

Mr. H (72) born in China, traveled with classmates and teachers to Taiwan. After arriving Taiwan, he served in the Navy.

Mr. L (62) was born in Taiwan, is working in Kaohsiung City Government.

South, 65+WF:

Mrs.C (76) was born in China, and came to Taiwan with military troops.

Mrs. L (74) was born in China, came to Taiwan with husband in postwar period.

Insights from Interviews:

There are important insights I found from in-depth interviews with twenty Taiwan people to break the myths of ethnicity complex issues in Taiwan.

- **Family memory of disfavoring sentiment toward Japanese is commonly existing among first generation waishenren.(source from master thesis, chapter 6)**

For first generation waishenren, their family memory is unique in having a very identical impression on Japanese, the degree is from disfavor feeling to the extent of anti-Japanese sentiment. According to my interviewees' words, almost all of them came to Taiwan due to the warship between China and Japan. Mr. H (72) traveled with his classmates and teachers from the north part of China to Taiwan. He was tore apart from his family due to warship against Japan. Mr. C (75) came to Taiwan while he was on a trip with friends to Taiwan. He expected to return home soon; however, the warship kept him in Taiwan and later on he had no chances to go home. Mrs. C (75) and Mrs. L (72) came to Taiwan with their husbands while running away from famine in China. All of them experienced the Second World War against Japan. They all lost their family and witnessed brutal killing done by the Japanese army in China. Generally speaking, mainlanders' Japanese consciousness is unflavored feeling and hatred.

- **Family memory of strong Chinese consciousness and national identities among second generation waishenren, due to legacy/ heritage (家庭傳承)(source from Ph.D thesis, chapter 2)**

The unique creation of "juancun(眷村)" is how Chinese symbols(中國意象) were reserved and become fundamentals of second generation waishenren's Chinese identity. From various oral histories of juancun residents, it showed that "juancun" is a place mix and re-create Taiwanese specially owned Chinese culture. (will be elaborate)

- **Myth of benshenren's pro-Japanese sentiment. It is built up by complex and dynamic factors, through education, personal experience, transitional period between Japanese colonial Period to KMT Ruling, and impact from 228 incident**

(source from master thesis, chapter 6)

(1) Japanese education – recalling their school life

Most of my interviewees are in their late sixties or early seventies. Their memory of Japanese occupation and contact with Japanese people are mainly from their school life. Mr. H (71) recalls his elementary school days:

“My father graduated from “shihan gakou” 師範學校 and working as a teacher in kougakou 公學校, and my mother is a full-time housewife. I had lived in the teacher’s dormitory with many Japanese teachers and their family. When I reached the age to attend elementary school, my father’s school principle’s daughter also reaches the age to school. My father wants me to company her; therefore, I did not attend kougakou which only for Taiwanese, but shogakou 小學校 for mainly Japanese and some elite Taiwanese people’s children. But I think attending shogakou is not good—“jimerareta”¹⁹!! In the school, second grade students discipline the first grade, third grade students discipline the second, and so on and so forth.²⁰ It is very “kibishi.” Although higher class disciplines the lower, I think Taiwanese students received more serious discipline. Also, I felt the education I received at that time is “obey whatever teachers say,” like the class 修身.....(suddenly jumped back to the discipline topic) I was beat by Japanese senbai everyday. I could not stand it anymore. Therefore, after one semester in shogakou, I returned to Taiwanese people’s kougakou.”

Mr. L (87) recalled his childhood, and life in agriculture school days:

“生まれて十一月うちのお爺さんは昔日本時代の所長という役員です。田舎の所役場の所長です。お父さんは非常にかしこいので、所長の下書記という仕事をやっていました。結局はちちが早くなくなちゃって、お爺さんとお母さんが私に育てられた。私は公学校に入った。三十五名の先生のうちにただ二人の先生は台湾人だった。一人は英語の先生、他には科学の先生。学校の中に、もし台湾語をしゃべったら、記録されるよ。だから、皆日本語、なるべく台湾語を話さないように。その後、中等学校がつくれないから、農業学校に入った。私には農業学校の記憶が一番印象的だ。

農業学校に入ったあと、非常に真面目になった。二年生から五年生まで、級長になって、軍事訓練や体育などの成績がよかった。

戦時体制になりまして、満州事件が起こってから、軍事訓練は非常に厳しくなった。我々はみんな強制的に学寮にはいっています。学校で、上級生は権力があるよ。もし下級生の行為が悪い、上級生は彼らにたたいてもよろしいですよ。

その時の生活は兵隊の生活です。鉄砲もあります。一週間に教練二時間だけ

¹⁹ I assumed when Mr. H said this, it reflects that he was bullied by his schoolmates in shogakou.

²⁰ I think he means the senbai-kohai system in Japanese culture.

と、満州事件があったから、その代わり、特別教練がある。毎日二時間です。あの時はね、一生懸命にこうして、軍事訓練をする。国のためになるだと、天皇陛下のためになるだという……。実に忠義という気持ちがいっぱいある。天皇陛下のためならば、死んでもかまわないという、あういう教育をされたですよ。私みたいに、そうなん真実に信じてない人もいるけど、表面に天皇陛下に対して絶対悪口言えません。それは学校からの影響、または環境からの影響です。”

The general impression of Japanese education that Mr. H (71) and Mr. L (87) received is very strict and severe. Both of them mentioned the senbai-kohai system in school, and moreover, Mr. L (87) experienced severe military training since entering agriculture school. Especially after Manchurian Incident happened, it was getting more and more strict. Mr. H (71) and Mr. L (87) had ten-year gap in age. As Mr. L (87) said, due to influences from education and external environment, Taiwanese people were very loyalty to the Emperor, at least in the surface. However, if compare the degree of loyalty between Mr. L (87) and Mr. H (71) (especially later in their interviews), I found Mr. H (71) has relatively lower obedience and influences from Japanese occupation than Mr. L (87). One possible reason might be that he did not receive the full set Japanese education and thoughts firm enough; a good example is that he could not stand the system in Japanese elementary school and switched to kougakou for Taiwanese people. Also, Mr. H (71) said, “ at that time, we were all kids. That does not really matter Japanese or Taiwanese, because we are only kids and know nothing.”

About the education related to the symbol of Great Japan Empire, the emperor, Mr. L (87) pointed out,

“天皇陛下について、天皇陛下の写真、あれは御真影という、校長室の金庫の中にあります。教育勅語は天皇陛下に教育に関する勅語です。毎日読むのではなく、儀式の時にそれを必ず読む。朝会の時、君が代という国歌があります。必ず、この歌を歌う。その時に、日本は軍国主義で、満州国を作ったことも学校で先生から教えてもらった。²¹”

The consciousness of being the emperor’s citizen was strengthened through every day’s national anthem singing and kyoiku chokugo’s reading. Unconsciously, emperor is someone they all know and respect. For Taiwanese people older than seventy years’ old, Japanese education and emperor is really something deeply rooted in their mind. They could speak out loudly the kyoiku chokugo and sing

²¹ Mr. L (87) talked to me in Japanese when he recalled his childhood under Japanese Occupation Period. He even memorized the “kyoiku chokugo” and sang the national anthem to me during the interview.

kimigayo in loud voice to me when I touch this part in the interview.

(2) Life under Japanese occupation

Life under Japanese occupation differs from family to family; however, generally speaking, Taiwanese people regard Japanese people are very kibishi²² and life under Japanese occupation is under tight control, especially when the Japan announced Second War World. The police system under Japanese occupation was very severe. The most serious victims should be the aboriginal people in the mountain areas. Because Japanese people want the precious deer leather, woods and other natural recourses, they use armed polices to manage aboriginal people. In 1930, mushajiken 霧社事件 happened in Taichung's mountain area, musha 霧社. There were 134 Japanese people killed by the aboriginal people due to unbearable tight control over the villages; later, for revenge, Japanese polices killed around a thousand aboriginal people²³. For Taiwanese people living in the plain areas, they have different feelings toward Japanese occupation. According to Mrs. S (70), she claims, "everything was very nice under Japanese occupation." Furthermore, she said,

"Japanese people, they really treat me well. I studied elementary school for six years, then attended koutoue 高等科. After that, I found a job in County Government, working as a soumu 総務. They (Her Japanese bosses) treated me really nice. Very good, very good!"²⁴

Another interviewee, Mr. C (72) mentioned,

"My life under Japanese occupation was very wealthy. My father ran a rice shop, doing business with Japanese and Taiwanese people. He worked very hard, so that he passed his land and property in front of Taichung train station to me when he passed away. I attended kougakou and had been the best student in class. I always wore neat and clean uniform to school. I felt very spirited. I had a happy childhood under Japanese occupation."

There are transitional period of time between the end of Japanese occupation and early days of Chinese KMT's coming. As I observe, although the general impression on Japanese occupation is severe police and tight control, the positive

²² There is a saying, Japanese people are like dogs.

²³ 広辞苑：霧社事件。1930年、台湾台中州霧社で発生した殖民地圧制に対する高山族の武装蜂起事件。日本人134名が殺害され、軍隊警察により武力鎮圧。鎮圧後の報復によるものも含め、約1千名の高山族住民が死亡。

²⁴ The interviewee replied me in Taiwanese (Minnan dialect) and whenever it is something about Japan occupation, she will switch it to Japanese. It is a very interesting experience, seeing her changing the languages.

sides of Japanese occupation appeared once compared with Chinese KMT's early days' ruling. Mrs. S (70) mentioned, " After all, I still think life under Japanese occupation is good. I remember at that time, there were few thefts, and everything was under control." When I ask her how was the wartime under Japanese occupation, she replied,

"It was hard, but not too tough; though we had to sougai 疎外(alienation) all the time. During that period of time, I lost the job in the County Government and started to work in the military base in Fonshan 鳳山. Because I was working in the army, so that I can bring pork, fish, and other meat home to eat. I can also eat rice. Japanese people treated me really nice."²⁵ "

However, another interviewee, Mr. S (68) born in a poor family had different life experiences during this period of time. He said,

"I was born in a very poor family. Life under Japanese occupation was very tough. We hardly had chances to contact Japanese people. Our class was different, and the gap was huge. My parents had little money but many children to feed. During the wartime (1941-45 especially), we hardly had rice and meat to eat; usually we ate yam and beans. Life was really tough."

When I ask them about the transitional period of time between the Japanese and Chinese KMT's ruling, there are different experiences and thoughts from them. Mr. S (68) said,

"I think there is not too big differences between life under Japanese occupation, especially the end of it and early days of Chinese KMT's ruling. My family was poor in both times. The former one was lack of food, and the latter one also lack of food. However, Chinese KMT's government helped me out through free education of Normal School 師範學校 and food distribution. Therefore, I decided to study in Normal School and became a teacher. Before I graduated from the school, the County Government distributing rice to my family every month—we had been three-class poor family 三級貧戶²⁶ before 1956."

From Mr. C (72), Mr. S (68) and Mrs. S (70)'s stories, we can understand differential images on life under Japanese occupation do exist. The main reason for this result is due to differences of economic standard in each family and their background. Both Mr. C (72) and Mrs. S (70) were born in a wealthy family

²⁵ The case of Mrs. S (70) is very special. Usually people cannot have rice and meat to eat during the wartime. I could only say she is very luck, and just because of her personal experiences, she still have very positive images on Japanese occupation.

²⁶ The poorest class in social welfare standard in Taiwan.

with close contact with Japanese people, while Mr. S (68) was born in a three-class poor family and struggling hard for surviving.

Moreover, according to Mr. L (87), “there is differential treatment on Taiwanese people and Japanese.”

“実は日本人と台湾人は区別がある。台湾人は本島人と呼ぶ、日本人は内地人と読み。台湾人と日本人区別ことを感じされた。五年生の時、軽蔑してるということ経験した。あの時の教官は台湾人に軽蔑した。”

Special case: Mr. L (87) sent abroad and work for the sugar company

(3) Transitional period between Japanese occupation and Chinese KMT’s ruling

I discovered that by a large the favoring feelings toward Japanese people from Taiwanese people are resulted from a comparison between Japanese and early day’s Chinese administration. When I asked my interviewees their first impression on Chinese KMT’s soldiers, Mr. H (71) said²⁷,

“When Taiwan was restored to China, Chiang Kai-shek’s KMT administration sent military personnel to take over Taiwan. Our teacher brought the whole class to the train station to welcome them. We brought national flags, and we were very excited about their coming. However, when we saw them, we felt so shocked and surprised. They carried Chinese woks on their shoulders, wearing straw sandals—they look so different from the Japanese soldiers in neat uniform with good spirit. (Mr. H burst out laughing when describing the scenes.) Then we just said “shinaheitai 支那兵隊! shinaheitai 支那兵隊!” That is the so-called shinaheitai 支那兵隊 (laugh)!²⁸”

Mr. C (72) also burst out laughing and said similar observation as Mr. H (71). It seems that the poor image of Chinese KMT’s dispatched take-over army 中國國民黨接收軍 was commonly recognized by the Taiwanese people at that time. Mr. L (87) said,

“I felt so shocked when seeing Chinese soldiers in poor clothes, not even say it is a military uniform (laugh). I felt really disappointed especially later the corruptive Chinese administrator made our life miserable. KMT is really bad.”

²⁷ Mr. H (71) talked me in two languages, Taiwanese (Minnan dialect) and Japanese when he made this statement.

²⁸ The name for Chinese soldiers as shinaheitai 支那兵隊 is called by the Japanese with discrimination and humiliation during Japanese occupation. Taiwanese people were taught that Chinese soldiers were really weak, but Japanese “royal” army 日本皇軍 is never beatable—especially in early twenty century, China was defeated by Japanese army almost every warship.

Mrs. S (70) also said,

"I though it is circus show on the street. They dressed up like farmers or workers, not look like Imperial Japanese Army's soldiers, so spirited!! We saw them and said shinaheshi! Shinaheshi! (Chinese soldiers in Japanese.)"

Although Taiwanese people seems surprised when seeing the first poor Chinese army, they still believed that a Chinese run administration will be far better than previous colonizer, Japan.²⁹ Mr. L (87) was sent to Singapore, working in the Sugarcane factory for Japan, expressed his feelings about returning to China,

"台湾に帰るのは楽しみ、中国人になるね、それとも楽しみね。なぜなら、日本人は内地人ね、台湾人は本島人ね。すごし差別があるのは感じている。だけど、口にだせない。中国に帰るのはうれしい原因は、まず、日本人の暴くはないね、それだけ。日本軍は自分のいいことをい言う、でも、台湾に帰って、国民党はそなにだめだった、そう思っていなかった。"

Life under Japanese colonization was not an easy; thus, Taiwanese people were looking forward to the takeover by ROC. Although the first impression the Chinese Army gave to Taiwan people was not very positive, they were still looking forward to returning to motherland, China's administration. The main reason makes Taiwanese people lost faith on Chinese KMT's administration is the "February 28 Incident" in 1947. It results in Taiwan people's high disappointment on their Chinese-blood political entities, KMT-led ROC.

(4) Impact from the February 28 Incident—strengthen Taiwanese people's Japanese consciousness

When I interviewee Mr. H (71), whether he felt he was a Japanese living under Japanese occupation, he replied,

"I knew I am not Japanese. Before my grandfather passed away, he called all of us in front of his bed and told us, 'you are not Japanese; you are Chinese. Your ancestors are from Chan-zo 漳州, Fujian.'³⁰ He kept repeating this to us, and therefore, we all understand we are Chinese, not Japanese."

From his talk, I understand that Taiwanese people, in fact, recognize

²⁹ From interviewee in the documentary file of Restoration of February 28 Incident. Taipei, 2004.

³⁰ Mr. H (71) showed me the note he kept with him all the time. The note is written his ancestral home: 福建省, 泉州府, 廣頭村七里十三都. He showed this note to his son when he went abroad to study. First time, I feel such a strong tie with Chinese root from Mr. H (71).

themselves as Chinese. The idea of “being a Taiwanese” has not born yet. Mr. L (87) also expressed his favoring feeling to become a Chinese as I quoted his words above. So, what on earth happened to Taiwan after Chinese KMT’s restoration? The answer is February 28 Incident.

These Taiwanese interviewees also shared with me what they experienced and saw during February 28 Incident. Mr. H (71) said,

“ The news from Kee-lung passed rapidly to Kaohsiung, and I saw crowds on the street in front of the station. Everything was in a mess. My mother went out that night and kept in the tunnel right in front of the station for a night, because she heard many shooting outside. My father was a school’s principle, and he was set up by some people and charged by the police for a few days. Some people discovered under the stage of one classroom, guns were hidden there. However, my father did not know anything about that. Fortunately, he was not shoot due to this and regarded as innocent. In one word, the atmosphere at that time was very scary and people were afraid of going out alone.”

It is not because of the success of kouminka-seisaku 皇民化政策 on Taiwan people under Japanese colonization, so that Taiwan people’s Japanese consciousness are so strong; it is because the comparison between the corruptive Chen Yi’s administration and not- corruptive (or corruptive in a indirect way) Japanese colonial administration, so that Taiwan people’s Japanese consciousness was fermented into strong Japanese complex. There are many examples heard from interviewees which will be introduced later.

- **Fermentation and impact from 228 Incident on benshenren second generation’s national identity. My personal comment: it’s understandable if victims dislike being Chinese, but not reasonable for benshenren second generation to feel the same. (source from Ph.D. thesis Chapter 2 & 4)**

It is interesting that some of the second or third generation benshenren (strictly speaking, there is no third generation benshenren), though they did not experience 228 incident, but still have very negative images on KMT ruling, and at the same time having strong Taiwanese national identity. It is similar to second generation waishenren to inherit “Chinese identity” from their parents (first generation waishenren)

- **Anti-corruption sentiment is the main reason why Japanese colonial period was being remembered**

There is a saying that the dog leaves, but the pig comes 犬去豬來. This

means the strict and cold Japanese polices left Taiwan, but the greedy and poor Chinese people came. Mrs. S (70) pointed out,

“ Life under Japanese occupation is better than the Chinese. We seldom had thefts and robbery before, but in the early days of Chinese administration, theft problem was very serious. Also, the currencies we used every day was suddenly depreciated around 10 times. Life became harder and harder.”

Mr. C (72) also said,

“ When doing business with government, we had to find the right person and give him some money; things will become easier.” He also shared with me a very personal thing happening to his family member. He said, “my brother was caught by the Chinese soldiers in Feb. 28 Incident, due to misunderstanding. The whole family was very worried and did not know how to do. Fortunately, one of our relative’s husband is a wai-shen-ren as a teacher. We asked him to help us contact the military man to search for my brother. Eventually, we made an appointment with the court prosecutor in the top floor in our house. The deal was made that if we gave him two boxes of gold, he would consider releasing my brother. We prepared it in a round metal-made cigarette box. We cut off the three-fourth of the cigarettes from the top, and put the gold in the bottom, and then we sealed the bottom. I was sent by the family to visit the prosecutor with our wai-shen-ren relative and personally saw that he was satisfied with the gifts. Three days later, my brother was released and the whole family felt finally relived. Money does work to those Chinese pigs! I think we are very lucky, because many people did not have contact with wai-shen-ren and their loved ones sacrificed without knowing why.”

From their personal experiences, I realize why the old generation of Taiwan people cherishing the memory of the Japanese colonial days.

Therefore, we can understand that perhaps for Taiwan people, to certain degree, they have strong tie with Japanese cultures and due to anti-corruptive Chinese administration, a favorable feeling to Japanese identification rises. It seems that personal experiences and the degree of wealth are influential to the strengthening of Japanese consciousness to build up firm Japanese complex within Taiwan people’s minds.

4. Concluding Words and Questions Yet to Be Answered

(1) No matter one is wai-shen-ren or ben-shen-ren, the most influential factor determining the formation of oneself’s national identities, political attitude and ethnic consciousness is one’s personal life experience, deriving from “family memory”. Regional and gender differences in the young generation of Taiwan people is vague, while for the old generation, regional

differences is limited, and sexual differences do exist.

(2) The fact that people's ethnic differences are well recognized by Taiwan people; however, when politics intervene it, ethnic differences recognition will get fermented. It promotes ethnic mobilization and political mobilization, and ethnic consciousness will be reflected on people's political behaviors to strengthen ethnicity complex; for example, voting behaviors in elections.

(3) February 28 Incident is a historical incident, in pursuit of overthrowing the corruptive Chen, Yi's administration, not the beginning of Taiwan's Independence Movement, and cannot be symbolic as the hatred between mainlanders and Taiwanese people—they are all victims.

Limitation of this research is that my interview sample is limited in twenty people. If researchers further want to obtain overall Taiwan people's thoughts, a quantitative research will be suggested.

There are still lots of pending issues for consideration/ unsolved problems/ unanswered questions. In short, Taiwan is a place with many ethnic groups. Although the majority is from China, due to different life experiences of each ethnic group in the past, people share different views toward same thing. The most important thing for us is to develop a multicultural education model to educate the next generation, in order to live in the country in harmony based on trust and respect among ethnic groups, not only in Taiwan, but also with Mainland Chinese on cross-strait relations.

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Appendix 1

Sample questions:

Section 1: Basic personal information:

Name:

Sex: M / F

Ethnicity: 1) ben-shen-ren Minnan / Hakka 2) Aboriginal People 3) wai-shen-ren

Place of birth:

Language spoken: (most comfortable)

Education level

(Military rank)

Family member:

Other background information:

Section 2: Self-identity exercise:

1. Please introduce yourself in ten sentences:

For example:

I am Wang, Chen-yu.

I am a master student.

I am from Taiwan.

Section 3: Educational influences

1. What is your education background?
2. Could you briefly introduce your school days?
3. Recalling to your school days, what subject is the most unforgettable? What class is most influential to you? Is there any teacher influencing you a lot?
4. What is your opinion toward the education you have received?
5. During your school days, is there any important incident happened that influence your whole life?
6. Other questions with open answers

Based on the answers of previous sections, interviewer flexibly adjust the order and style of questions, and the way of asking which are most relevant to interviewee's personal experience.

Section 4: History related questions:

1. If recalling your history class or any history books you have ever read, what specific incident or certain period of time is most memorable or favorable?
2. If talking to Taiwan's history, what are the five most important historical incidents you will

think of to represent Taiwan's history.

3. Recalling history since you were born, is there any crucial historical incident influencing your life a lot?
4. Relating to history, when talking about Japan/China/Taiwan, what will you think of right away?
Please give me five historical incidents to describe.
5. Other questions with open answers

Section 5: Mass Media's influences:

1. Among newspaper, gossip magazine, TV, radio, and others, please rank 1 to 5 representing your frequency of use to get information. Why is that?
2. Could you tell me the most favorite show on Taiwan's TV program? Why is that?
3. What is your intention to do use Mass Media? What do you want to get from mass media?
For example: learning new things, entertainment, get to know latest news...etc.
4. From TV/ newspaper/gossip magazine/ radio/others, what kind of impression you have got to describe Japan/China/Taiwan?
5. Other questions with open answers.

Section 6: Influences from Politics:

With the development of democracy in Taiwan, people are enjoying high-degree freedom of speech to express their feelings in politics. This section is to examine how much politics shapes one's identity or how much one get involve in politics.

1. What kind of impression/opinion do you have toward the political situation in Japan/China/Taiwan?
2. Do you favor any political party? Why is that?
3. Show them the CM << Love makes everyone a family>> produced by KMT party with the implication of ethnic groups among Taiwanese people. What do them feel about the commercial?
4. Show them the CM << Official test for governmental officers>> produced by KMT party with the implication of ethnic groups among Taiwanese people. What do them feel about the commercial?
5. Who do you think the most influential politician altering Taiwanese fate?
6. What politician do you admire most? And why?

Section 7: Cultural identity questions:

1. What would you describe the essence of Japanese/Chinese/Taiwanese culture?
2. What do you like most? And why is that?
3. Please give me five people/books/art pieces/food to describe Japanese/Chinese/Taiwanese culture.