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**TAIWANESE HOMES, JAPANESE SCHOOLS:
HAN TAIWANESE GIRLS' PRIMARY EDUCATION UNDER JAPANESE
RULE, 1895-1945**

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

HISTORY

by

Fang Yu Hu

June 2015

The Dissertation of Fang Yu Hu is
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Vice Provost and Dean of Graduate Studies

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ABSTRACT

TAIWANESE HOMES, JAPANESE SCHOOLS: HAN TAIWANESE GIRLS' PRIMARY EDUCATION UNDER JAPANESE RULE, 1895–1945

Fang Yu Hu

In 1897, the Japanese government began its effort to make modern Japanese citizens out of Han Taiwanese schoolgirls in its first overseas colony, Taiwan (1895–1945). As a latecomer and the only non-Western empire, Japanese leaders showcased educational efforts in Taiwan to cast Japan as a benevolent colonizer. Educational efforts in Taiwan targeted the masses, including girls, in contrast to most European colonies in Africa and Asia where only elites received education. Through the public education of girls, the Japanese leadership implemented its version of modern female citizenship – “good wives, wise mothers” who were essential for producing loyal and healthy male citizens necessary for building a strong empire. The education of girls was a national and colonial project as Japanese leaders embarked on nation-building and empire-building efforts.

Using a combination of archival research and interviews, this project investigates how Japanese colonial education of girls shaped the daily lives, self-perceptions, and memories of Taiwanese girls. My research suggests three patterns. First, a discrepancy existed between the intentions of the colonists and the impact on the colonized: while the colonial government intended to train Taiwanese girls to become loyal wives and mothers of the Japanese empire, the colonized sought education as a way to increase family income or enhance their daughters’

marriageability. Second, experiences in colonial schools and the impact of public education depended on one's nationality, gender, and socioeconomic status as Japanese colonial policy restructured and redefined communities and divisions. Finally, the colonial legacy lingers on as Taiwanese women and men used their Japanese educational experiences to construct colonial nostalgia and critique the postwar Chinese Nationalist government. Compared to Chinese and Koreans who suffered from Japanese imperialistic aggression, Taiwanese are known as the most pro-Japan people in East Asia. An examination of schoolgirls' memories helps explain this phenomenon and furthers our understanding of the current geopolitics in East Asia.

DEDICATION AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I dedicate my dissertation to my grandparents and the people of Taiwan, past, present, and future.

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Introduction

In 1897, two years after Japan began its half-century rise as an imperial power, it inaugurated an ambitious experiment to make modern Japanese citizens out of Han Taiwanese schoolgirls in its first overseas colony, Taiwan. As a latecomer and the only non-Western empire in the age of imperialism at the turn of the twentieth century, Japanese leaders showcased modernization efforts in Taiwan—especially that of education—to cast Japan as a benevolent colonizer to other imperialists and to the colonized population. In contrast to most European colonies in Africa and Asia where only elites received education, Japan’s educational programs in Taiwan targeted the entire population, including girls. In contrast to the pre-modern era when Qing officials honored women for their chastity and virtue inside Taiwanese homes, the modern Japanese state was explicitly calling on and mobilizing women in Taiwan to contribute as its national subjects. And yet as part of the Japanese empire, the “nation” was never simple for colonial subjects in Taiwan.

Almost as soon as Japan established colonial rule in Taiwan, it developed educational programs specifically for girls. Funded by the Japanese national treasury, the Japanese colonial government set up the Girls’ Department in the First Attached School of the National Language School for Han Taiwanese girls and women in Taipei in 1897. Although the government had also set up language-training centers and attached schools to the National Language School to teach Japanese to Taiwanese girls and boys all over Taiwan, the Girls’ Department segregated Taiwanese girls and women from Japanese students and Taiwanese boys and men who were training to

become government clerks and teachers, for training as “good wives, wise mothers.”¹ The Girls’ Department had two programs: girls ages eight to fifteen were enrolled in the primary educational program, and girls and women ages fifteen to thirty were enrolled in the handicrafts program.²

In 1898, the colonial administration established primary schools. Primary schools replaced language-training centers and attached schools as the main place to educate Taiwanese children, both girls and boys.³ As the number of Taiwanese schoolgirls and primary schools increased, the government set up more options for educating girls during its fifty years of colonial rule. Only twenty-one girls were enrolled in the primary educational program at the Girls’ Department in 1897. Toward the end of Japanese rule in 1943, a total of 289,810 Taiwanese girls, or 61% of school-age girls, were enrolled in primary schools.⁴ In 1905, the enrollment rate was 5% for boys, and less than 3% for girls. The colonial government mandated primary education as part of its wartime effort in 1943, which increased the enrollment rates to 61% of all school-age girls, and 81% of all school-age boys in

¹ Taiwan Kyōiku kai, ed. 台湾教育会, *Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi* 台湾教育沿革誌

² The colonial government elevated the status of the Girls’ Department to an attached school of the National Language School in 1898. This girls’ attached school continued its two programs until 1906, when its students in the primary educational program were transferred to a local primary school. The handicrafts program at the school remained as a secondary educational program. The attached school eventually became Taihoku Girls’ No. 3 Middle School in 1922. You Jianming 游鑑明, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan de nūzi jiaoyu* 日據時期臺灣的女子教育 [Women’s Education in Taiwan under Japanese Occupation, 1895-1945] (Taipei: Guoli Taiwan shifan daxue lishi yanjiu suo, 1988), 61, 262-264. *Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi*, 220.

³ *Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi*, 225.

⁴ You, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan de nūzi jiaoyu*, 61, 286. *Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi*, 220.

1944.⁵ There were 796 primary schools for Taiwanese children in 1938,⁶ and 1,099 national schools at the end of 1944.⁷ After completing their primary education, girls and boys had the option to enroll in two years of advanced course study program, middle school, or home economics school for girls and vocational school for boys. Students who failed their entrance exams to middle school often enrolled in the advanced course study program for a year or two in preparation of retaking the exam. There were a total of 22 girls' middle schools, including three private ones,⁸ and 22 home economics schools in Taiwan at the end of World War II.⁹

⁵ You Jianming 游鑑明 and Nishikawa Mako 西川真子 “Kyōiku” 教育 [Education], in *Taiwan joseishi nyūmon* 台湾女性史入門 [A Handbook on the History of Taiwanese Women], ed. Taiwan joseishi nyūmon hensan inkai 台湾女性史入門編纂委員会 (Kyoto: Jinbun shoin, 2008), 44.

⁶ All Taiwanese primary schools and Japanese elementary schools were renamed “national schools” (Jp. *kokugo gakkō*) in 1941, with the promulgation of the *National School Ordinance* (Jp. *kokumin gakkō rei*, 国民学校令). Therefore, the distinction between Japanese and Taiwanese schools was no longer noted on government documents. However, in 1938, there were 147 Japanese elementary schools and 796 Taiwanese primary schools for a total of 943 schools. This means that 84.41% of primary educational institutions were for Taiwanese children. If the same ratio was applied to the number of schools in 1944, then there were 928 schools for Taiwanese children. *Taiwan sōtokufu dai yon jū ni tōkei sho Shōwa jusan nen* 台湾總督府第四十二統計書 昭和十三年 [Taiwan Government-General Statistics No. 42, Showa 13th Year] (Taihoku: *Taiwan sōtokufu*, 1940), 82.

⁷ “Biao 468 li nen quan sheng xuexiao ji yuansheng shu” 表 468 歷年全省學校及員生數 [List 468 The Total Numbers of Schools and Students], in *Taiwan sheng wu shi i nen lai tongji tiyao (1894-1945)* 台灣省五十一年來統計提要(1894-1945) [Fifty-one Years of Statistics of Taiwan Province], ed. Taiwan sheng xingzheng zhang guan gong shu tongji shi 臺灣省行政長官公署統計室 (Taipei shi: Guting shuwu, 1969), accessed March 17, 2015, <http://twstudy.iis.sinica.edu.tw/twstatistic50/Edu.htm>.

⁸ For a complete list of school names and year of establishment of each school, see You, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan de nüzi jiaoyu*, 302.

⁹ Enomoto Miyuki listed each school by prefecture: six in Taihoku Prefecture, six in Taichū Prefecture, and ten in Tainan Prefecture. Most of them had *kasei jogakkō* 家

This dissertation investigates the effects of changes brought by Japanese colonial education on the daily lives, self-perceptions, and memories of the first generation of girls to receive formal education in Taiwan by paying attention to nationality, gender, and socioeconomic status. It shows a discrepancy between the intentions of the colonists and the impact on the colonized: while the colonial government intended to train Taiwanese girls to become loyal wives and mothers of the Japanese empire, the colonized (most typically the parents of these Taiwanese schoolchildren) sought education as a way to increase family income or enhance their daughters' marriageability. Experiences in colonial schools and the impact of public education depended on one's nationality, gender, and socioeconomic status as Japanese colonial policy restructured and redefined communities and divisions. Finally, an examination of the memories of former Taiwanese schoolchildren points to the important role that their colonial and gendered educational experiences played in the construction of their colonial nostalgia and their critique of the postwar generations of Taiwanese, the postwar education system, and the Chinese Nationalist government in Taiwan.

As Japan's first overseas colony and the most important strategic location for Japan's southward expansion, Taiwan was a site where Japanese leaders gained

政学校 in their schools names. Some had *shokugyō gakkō*, (職業学校), *joshi kōtō gakuin* (女子高等学院), *saihō gakuen* (裁縫学園), *gigei jogakkō* (技芸学校), and *kasei senshū gakkō* (家政専修学校) in their names. Enomoto Miyuki 榎本美由紀, "Nihon tōchi jiki taiwan no kasei kyōiku" 日本統治時期台湾の家政教育 [Home Economics Education in Taiwan under Japanese Rule] (master's thesis, Hiroshima daigaku, 2000), 62-63.

colonial administrative experiences and experimented with colonial policies that became the basis of policymaking in other colonies throughout East and Southeast Asia. The guiding principle of Japanese colonial education, assimilation (Jp. *dōka*), sought to make everyone, regardless of birthplace, into “Japanese” through teaching the Japanese “national language” (Jp. *kokugo*) and inculcating imperial ethics (Jp. *shūshin*). In essence, to become Japanese meant speaking Japanese and preparing to sacrifice oneself for the emperor. Becoming a loyal Japanese subject willing to die for the state was the goal of public education in both the metropole and the colonies.

There was an additional gender-specific goal for schoolgirls: the ideal of “good wife, wise mother” was crucial to this project of making them “Japanese.” Education was a marker of a “good wife, wise mother.” A “good wife, wise mother” was one who supported her husband and educated her children at home with knowledge and skills she obtained in school. The home was important because it was the basis of the nation, and a “good wife, wise mother” was responsible for improving the quality of the home.¹⁰ Understanding how girl graduates of primary schools were affected by an explicitly gendered colonial education will illuminate a modern nation’s making of colonial citizenship.

Literature Review and Sources

The present inquiry builds upon work undertaken since the 1980s by scholars in Taiwan and Japan who have pursued research on Han Taiwanese girls’ education

¹⁰ Kathleen Uno, “Womanhood, War, and Empire: Transmutations of ‘Good Wife, Wise Mother’ before 1931,” in *Gendering Modern Japanese History*, ed. Barbara Molony and Kathleen Uno (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005), 499.

during the colonial period.¹¹ Zhang Subi discusses the gap between educational opportunities for boys and girls.¹² You Jianming has analyzed and criticized the limited influence of colonial education on the status of Taiwanese women.¹³ These authors brought attention to the educational experience of Taiwanese women, but limited their discussions to government policy, enrollment statistics, and course curricula without placing the education of Taiwanese girls in the larger context of the Japanese empire-building project. Without a discussion of the role that education for girls played in Japanese imperialism, we cannot understand why the Japanese colonial government insisted on educating Taiwanese girls. Existing studies also limit their discussion of the impact of education for girls to the workforce and the status of women. However, education did not only increase the types of jobs that girl graduates of primary schools held, it also brought changes to their social and home life that lasted decades after colonial rule had ended.

Much of the analysis of women's education in Taiwan is found in works that focus on the "modern woman" in Taiwan, published since the 1990s. The "modern

¹¹ This literature review is drawn from Fang Yu Hu, "Taiwanese Girls' Education, 1897-1945: Policy and Practice in a Gendered Colonial System." *Eras: Monash University School of Historical Studies Online Journal*, Edition Thirteenth, Issue 1 (December 2011): 4-5, accessed January 29, 2012, <http://www.arts.monash.edu.au/publications/eras/edition-13-1/articles/fang-yu-hu-taiwanese.pdf>.

¹² Zhang Subi 張素碧, "Ri ju shiqi Taiwan nüzi jiaoyu yanjiu" 日據時期臺灣女子教育研究 [Research on Women's Education in Taiwan under Japanese Occupation], in *Zhongguo funü shi lunwen ji di er ji* 中國婦女史論文第二集 [Collection of Essays on the History of Chinese Women], ed. Li Youning and Zhang Yufa (Taipei: Taiwan shang wu yin shu guan, 1988), 314-318.

¹³ You, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan de nüzi jiaoyu*, 75-81, 254.

woman” was a crucial component of the civilizing project that Taiwanese intellectuals, mostly men, undertook to elevate Taiwan’s status to that of Japan in the 1920s.¹⁴ Ko Ikujo demonstrates that as part of the Governor-General’s effort to “reform backward Taiwanese practices,” girls’ education became important in creating the model of the “civilized” woman.¹⁵ In tracking the first women’s movement in Taiwan, Yang Cui discusses education as the second-most important factor in reforming the family system and civilizing Taiwanese society.¹⁶ In summary, existing scholarship demonstrates that the Japanese colonial government viewed girls’ education as a major colonial project in “modernizing” and “civilizing” the “backward” colony of Taiwan. However, the focus on modernization and civilization in these studies flattens the experiences of different groups among the colonized population. You Jianming and Yamamoto Reiko allude to the correlation between educational opportunities and socioeconomic status in their studies, but did

¹⁴ Fang Yu Hu, “The “Modern Woman” in Colonial Taiwan: The Intellectuals’ Construction in *Taiwan Minbao*, 1924-1927” (master’s thesis, University of Chicago, 2006), 35. The “civilization and enlightenment,” (Jp. *bunmei kaika* 文明開化) was one of the three goals of the Meiji government in the late nineteenth century. Taiwanese intellectuals no doubt were influenced by this idea also. See Isao Nishihira, “Western Influences on the Modernization of Japanese Education, 1868-1912” (PhD diss., Ohio State University, 1972), 12-18, 90-91.

¹⁵ Ko Ikujo 洪郁如, *Kindai Taiwan Josei shi: Nihon no shokumin tōchi to “Shinjosei” no tanjō* 近代台灣女性史—日本の植民統治と〈新女性〉の誕生 [The History of Modern Taiwanese Women: Japanese Colonial Rule and the Birth of the “New Woman”] (Tōkyō: Keisō Shobō, 2001), 73.

¹⁶ Yang Cui 楊翠, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan funü jiefang yundong: Yi Taiwan minbao wei fenxi changyu, 1920-1932* 日據時期臺灣婦女解放運動 以台灣民報為分析場域 1920-1932 [Taiwanese Women’s Liberation Movement under Japanese Rule: using Taiwan Minbao as Site of Analysis (1920-1932)] (Taipei Shi: Shibao wenhua chuban qiye youxian gongsi, 1993), 202-203.

not fully engage with how socioeconomic status shaped a Taiwanese girl's life.¹⁷ The impact of education depended on a Taiwanese person's gender and socioeconomic status.

Existing research tends to focus on girls' secondary schools, which physically segregated schoolgirls from schoolboys. Fewer than one-fifth of girl graduates of primary schools in Taiwan continued their education. By broadening the scope of research to include primary schools, this study not only examines the effect of colonial education on a larger population, but also explores how gendered colonial roles were imparted even in primary schools. Through an examination of girls' education, I trace how the colonial administration changed its conception of colonial womanhood—from a skillful homemaker during the early colonial period to a loyal Japanese housewife in the mid-colonial period, and finally to a loyal laborer during WWII.

This study relies heavily on three primary sources: *Taiwan Daily News* (*Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shimpō*), *the History of Education in Taiwan* (*Taiwan Kyōiku Enkakushi*), and oral interviews. The *Taiwan Daily News* was the official newspaper in Taiwan from 1898 to 1941. It provided reports on education for girls, ideal womanhood, and wartime mobilization in Taiwan and Japan. *The History of*

¹⁷ Ibid., 254. After You, Yamamoto Reiko was the next scholar who examines this topic in *Research on Higher Women's Schools in Colonial Taiwan*. Her work is a summary of surveys sent to girls' higher school alumni. While it contains rich information on students' school experiences, often in the form of direct quotations, it offers little analysis. Yamamoto Reiko 山本禮子, *Shokuminchi Taiwan no kōtō jogakkō kenkyū* 植民地台湾の高等女学校研究 [The Study of Girls' Middle Schools in Colonial Taiwan] (Tōkyō: Taiga Shuppan, 1999).

Education in Taiwan was published in 1939 by the Educational Society of Taiwan, an organization sponsored by the colonial government.¹⁸ It detailed the history of the establishment of schools and curricula from 1895 to 1936.¹⁹ Oral interviews constitute the third source. From 2011 to 2013, I conducted oral interviews with forty women and fourteen men who received a Japanese colonial education in Taiwan. Taiwanese Hoklo/Minnan was the main language used in most interviews, mixed with a few Japanese or Mandarin Chinese words. The oldest interviewee was born in 1915, and the youngest was born in 1933. Interviewees came from different counties in Taiwan. This study could not have been completed without oral interviews, which made it possible to investigate three topics: the experiences of former students on school grounds and during the wartime period, the impact of education on Taiwanese women's job prospects, social relations, and marriage, and the role that colonial education played in constructing colonial nostalgia.

Chapter Outline

Chapter One traces the formation of the concept of “good wife, wise mother” in relation to girls’ education in order to place this ideal womanhood in the context of the Japanese imperial project in East Asia. It examines how Japanese educators

¹⁸ For a detail history of the Educational Society of Taiwan (Jp. *Taiwan kyōiku kai* 台湾教育会), see Chin Kōfun (Chen Hongwen) 陳虹彬, “Nihon shokuminchi touchi ka no Taiwan kyōiku kai ni kansuru rekishi teki kenkyū” 日本植民地統治下の台湾教育会に関する歴史的研究 [Historical Study of the Educational Society of Taiwan under Japanese Colonial Rule], in *Kindai nihon kyōiku kai shi kenkyū* 近代日本教育会史研究 [The History of Educational Societies in Modern Japan], ed. Kajiyama Masashi 梶山雅史 (Tōkyō: Gakujutsu shuppan kai, 2007), 377-405.

¹⁹ I rely on *Taiwan Daily News* and secondary sources for information on schools and curricula after 1936.

formulated the concept of “good wife, wise mother” and incorporated it as part of Japanese imperial and colonial projects in China, Korea, and Taiwan. Japanese leaders adopted this ideal as part of its nation-state building project to make strong Japanese subjects by having mothers teach children at a young age. After exploring how Japanese educators and leaders spread this ideal womanhood to China and Korea, the chapter focuses on the adoption of “good wife, wise mother” in Taiwan. It discusses how the colonial government differentiated the ages when Japanese and Taiwanese girls living in Taiwan began their training as “good wives, wise mothers” by examining articles published in *Taiwan Daily News*. It then shifts to views held by Taiwanese intellectuals as examined in their articles and stories. Their writings revealed the Japanese and Chinese influences they received and the changes in the degree of colonial control in Taiwan from the 1920s to the 1940s.

Chapter Two examines the implementation of “good wife, wise mother” on the school grounds in order to understand how the curricula was gendered at the primary level. It provides an overview of educational institutions and gendered school curricula that segregated Japanese from Taiwanese children. The chapter places the discussion of the gendered curricula in schools for Taiwanese children within the context of the Japanese assimilation project to show the role that primary education played in shaping a colonial subject’s womanhood and citizenship. Obvious gender differences existed in primary schools, reflecting the colonial government’s conceptualization of gendered roles in society: educated girls came to fulfill domestic roles while boys were trained to contribute to the empire in the

agricultural or commercial sectors. Curriculum focus also changed over time. Starting in the 1920s, the colonial administration added history and geography to the school curricula as part of its intensified assimilation effort. Instead of creating simple home seamstresses, the administration could concentrate on creating knowledgeable and loyal Japanese subjects for the home.

Chapter Three shifts to WWII, exploring how the colonial government mobilized schoolgirls in Taiwan, expanding the responsibilities of the female population and blurring the distinction between Taiwanese and Japanese schoolgirls of different socioeconomic status by the end of the war. It shows how school became less of a site for general education, and more of a base for wartime mobilization. Military training, patriotic activities, and agricultural production became part of student life. The labor was gendered—schoolgirls worked on the farm and cooked for the military while schoolboys engaged in military drills and built infrastructure.

Chapter Four evaluates the impact of colonial public education on social relations, marriage practices, and work options, in addition to examining the degree to which the training of “good wife, wise mother” shaped the lives of Taiwanese women at home. The chapter discusses how education helped expand social networks and increased work opportunities for Taiwanese girls. Public education reduced and reinforced the division between people of different socioeconomic status. On the one hand, primary schools helped reduce tensions and segregation between people of different socioeconomic status because they brought students from every socioeconomic status in the same district into the same space. On the other hand,

middle schools were comprised mostly of students of upper-middle socioeconomic backgrounds. The chapter also examines the degree to which their school training prepared Taiwanese schoolgirls for their roles as wives and mothers.

The final chapter examines memories of Japanese colonialism. Surprisingly, many Taiwanese who received Japanese education are nostalgic for Japanese rule. This nostalgia is connected to the pro-Japan image that Taiwan is known for within Asia, especially compared to Chinese and Koreans who also suffered from Japanese imperialistic aggression. Some scholars might argue that the 228 Incident of 1947, where the Chinese government killed tens of thousands of Taiwanese, was the single most important factor in turning the Taiwanese against the Chinese nationalists and helped create this nostalgia for the “good old [Japanese] days.” However, I propose that one cannot ignore the impact that Japanese education had in creating this nostalgia. School was the major site where the colonized population interacted with the colonists—Taiwanese children receiving instruction from Japanese teachers. Former Taiwanese students remembered their Japanese teachers fondly because they acquired knowledge and practical skills from their teachers. The teacher-student bond was a long-lasting legacy of Japanese colonialism in Taiwan. Taiwanese women and men used their experiences with Japanese education and teachers as tools to criticize the postwar generations of Taiwanese and the Nationalist government. An examination of the memories of former Taiwanese schoolchildren helps explain the pro-Japan image and domestic politics and conflicts in postwar Taiwan.

The last chapter also discusses the gendered nature of memory. Men tend to frame their life story by their professional accomplishments, while women tend to focus on their own character and skills. The gender difference is the result of diverse educational options for men, and limited options for women throughout the fifty years of colonial rule. After graduation, most women who received a colonial education became housewives after briefly working before marriage, or worked from home after marriage. Their school days marked their childhood, and the end of school marked their transition to adulthood. Their educational experiences thus became the narrative framework for constructing themselves as better people than the postwar generations of Taiwanese. For both Taiwanese women and men, their experiences of Japanese colonial education and dissatisfactions with the postwar Nationalist rule helped form a national identity separate from that of Chinese in the postwar years.

CHAPTER 1

Ideal of Womanhood in East Asia and Colonial Taiwan: “Good Wife, Wise Mother” and Education for Girls

This chapter examines the Japanese ideal of womanhood, “good wife, wise mother” as enacted in schools in Taiwan. It first traces how the official ideal of womanhood in Japan spread with Japanese imperialism to China and Korea. The chapter then explores how the colonial government in Taiwan implemented the official ideal of womanhood differently for Japanese and Taiwanese girls. Finally, the chapter reviews Taiwanese journal articles and fictional stories to understand how Taiwanese intellectuals responded to the concept of “good wife, wise mother.” Han Taiwanese embraced Japanese beliefs regarding the correlation between education for girls and a strong, modern nation-state.

The Ideal of “Good Wife, Wise Mother” and Its Dissemination in East Asia

“Good wife, wise mother” was a new formulation of ideal of womanhood that began in Japan, and spread to Taiwan, China, and Korea. The term “good wife, wise mother” first appeared in Japan in the 1890s, and in China and Korea around 1905. This concept became widespread as East Asia faced Western encroachment, and intellectuals in these countries became deeply concerned with the survival of their nations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.²⁰ They found one means to strengthen the nation in the education of girls and women.²¹ Taiwan did not follow

²⁰ Jungwon Jin 陳姪媛, *Higashi ajia no ryōsai kenbo ron: Tsukurareta dentō 東アジアの良妻賢母論: 創られた伝統*[The Ideology of “Good Wife, Wise Mother” in East Asia: An Invented Tradition] (Tōkyō: Keisō shobō, 2006), 9.

²¹ Jin, *Higashi ajia no ryōsai kenbo ron*, 20.

this trend of adopting “good wife, wise mother” for the purpose of defending itself against the West. As a newly acquired colony of Japan, Japanese colonial officials introduced “good wife, wise mother” to Taiwan in order to secure the loyalty of the local population through the education of girls and women.

The two-character terms of “wise wife” (Jp. *ryōsai*, Ch. *xianqi*) and “good mother” (Jp. *kenbo*, Ch. *liangmu*) existed in Confucian texts. However, Nakamura Masanao, principal of Tokyo Women’s Higher Normal School, put the four-character term, *ryōsai* and *kenbo* together.²² He advocated education for girls and women after he saw the effect of such education in England. He believed that a good and wise mother was essential in the education of young children.²³ Based on his observations in England, Nakamura created “good wife, wise mother” as the ideal for the new woman in Japan.²⁴ This model was different from the ideal of womanhood of the Tokugawa period, when the responsibility of women from the samurai class was producing children and obeying one’s husband and their parents-in-law.²⁵ The ideal of womanhood in Confucian ideology required obedience and chastity in the big multi-generational and extended family household. In contrast, the concept of “good

²² Joan Judge, “The Ideology of ‘Good Wives and Wise Mothers’: Meiji Japan and Feminine Modernity in Late-Qing China,” in *Sagacious Monks and Bloodthirsty Warriors: Chinese Views of Japan in the Ming-Qing Period*, ed. Joshua A. Fogel (Norwalk, Connecticut: East Bridge, 2002), 220, 223.

²³ Jin, *Higashi ajia no ryōsai kenbo ron*, 68.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 66, 83.

²⁵ Koyama Shizuko 小山静子, *Ryōsai kenbo to iu kihan* 良妻賢母という規範 [The Standard called “Good Wife, Wise Mother”] (Tokyo: Keisō shobō, 1991), 19.

wife, wise mother” was centered on the nuclear families in modern industrial society.²⁶

Japanese leaders attempted to transform everyone under Japanese control into loyal subjects of Japan through assimilation as part of its nation-building and empire-building projects, and the concept of “good wife, wise mother” represented a gender-specific formulation of assimilation for all women in the Japanese empire. Therefore, instruction in ethics and home economics came to constitute the core of the curricula in girls’ higher education.²⁷ Since the home was the “root of the state” that decided the strength of the nation, the quality of the home rested on the quality of the housewife.²⁸ This relationship between the home and the nation meant that women’s private labor at home had public implications.²⁹ School and the home became the sites of assimilation. Assimilation for girls and women meant to be able to speak Japanese, act with Japanese mannerisms in public, dress in Japanese clothes, consume Japanese foods, and manage the household in the Japanese way as good wives and mothers.

“Good wife, wise mother” became the official ideal of womanhood and the foundation of girls’ education in Japan beginning in the Meiji period (1868–1911). With the onset of the Meiji Restoration in 1868, Japanese leaders became concerned with building a strong nation-state. They came to see the importance of educating girls in order to prepare them as future mothers who would be responsible for

²⁶ Jin, *Higashi ajia no ryōsai kenbo ron*, 25.

²⁷ Uno, “Womanhood, War, and Empire,” 503.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 499.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

teaching children at home to become modern citizens (Jp. *kokumin*) and thus ensure Japan's independence from Western powers.³⁰ The Meiji state called on women to contribute as national subjects whose duties were to manage the household and raise and educate the children.³¹ The responsibility of educating children shifted from the father to the mother during the Meiji period,³² while training of “good wife, wise mother” took place in school. After the First Sino-Japanese War, the “good wife, wise mother” concept became the official principle of girls' education as the central government promulgated the “Educational Ordinance concerning Girls' Middle School” (Jp. *kōtō jogakkō rei*) in 1899.³³

Girls' school enrollment rates in Japan increased after the First Sino-Japanese War, when Japanese policymakers and educators began to discuss the importance of creating “good wife, wise mother” through school education. They believed that “good wife, wise mother” was key to winning wars in the future, as the government would be able to mobilize women to contribute indirectly to the war effort as supportive wives of soldiers, as well as producing children—a new labor force.³⁴ The elementary school enrollment rate of girls was low in Japan during the first half of the Meiji period: 37% compared to 72% of boys in 1892, and 16,000 boys attending middle school (Jp. *chūgakkō*) while only 2,800 girls did so (Jp. *kōtō jogakkō*).³⁵

Elementary school enrollment rates for girls increased quickly in the 1890s: more

³⁰ Koyama, *Ryōsai kenbo to iu kihan*, 39.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 46.

³² *Ibid.*, 85.

³³ *Ibid.*, 42, 44, 50.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 93. Uno, “Womanhood, War, and Empire,” 500.

³⁵ Koyama, *Ryōsai kenbo to iu kihan*, 41.

than 50% of school-age girls in 1897, 59% in 1899, 70% in 1900, and 90% in 1904 as the result of an aggressive educational recruitment campaign, the inclusion of a sewing curriculum, and the training of women teachers.³⁶

Some Japanese leaders and educators came to believe that Japan's victory in the Sino-Japanese War occurred because of Japan's widespread public education, where girls received the household training to help strengthen Japan's development from the home.³⁷ Girls' middle schools became the primary grounds for training "good wives, wise mothers." Unlike boys' middle schools, girls' middle schools did not offer courses in Chinese (Jp. *kanbun*), natural history (Jp. *hakubutsu*), physical science, chemistry, law and institutions (Jp. *hōsei*), or economics. Instead, girls' middle schools offered required courses in ethics (Jp. *shūshin*), home economics (Jp. *kaji*), sewing, and music with education and handicrafts (Jp. *shugei*) classes as selective courses.³⁸ In girls' middle schools, psychology, education, and physiology were taught to prepare schoolgirls for home education of their children.³⁹ Some educators further advocated that women gain some formal teaching experience before marriage in kindergarten or elementary school.⁴⁰

After WWI, the ideal of womanhood once again changed in Japan. WWI led Japanese leaders and educators to begin advocating for more direct participation of women in building a strong nation. More women had become working women (Jp.

³⁶ Ibid., 42, 70.

³⁷ Ibid., 46.

³⁸ Ibid., 50.

³⁹ Ibid., 76.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 76.

shokugyō fujin) earning a salary.⁴¹ Moreover, Japanese educators discussed the need for Japanese women to achieve fitness and health through physical education in order to replace men’s labor during wartime as well as to produce healthy babies.⁴² They stressed the need for women to learn how to be scientific (Jp. *kagakuteki*), rational (Jp. *gōriteki*), and efficient (Jp. *nōritsuteki*) about household management.⁴³ In short, the revised concept of “good wife, wise mother” sought to train women to take care of household matters and childrearing, to become part of the labor supply, to participate in social activities (Jp. *shakai katsudō*), and to improve society by receiving higher education and physical education, obtaining scientific knowledge, and participating in wartime mobilization efforts.⁴⁴

While Japanese leaders and educators incorporated Western ideas on the education of girls into building new schools during the Meiji period, Chinese intellectuals actively obtained new knowledge and ideas from Japan, such as ideas on education and the concept of “good wife, wise mother,” through journals and translations.⁴⁵ With support from two Qing high officials, Zhang Zhidong (1837–1909) and Liu Kunyi (1830–1902), Luo Zhenyu (1866–1904) founded *The Educational World* (Ch. *Jiaoyu shijie*), the first educational journal in Chinese, in May 1901. The bimonthly journal introduced the Japanese educational system and theories to the Chinese until 1908. Both Zhang and Liu supported restructuring the

⁴¹ Ibid., 100.

⁴² Ibid., 137-139.

⁴³ Ibid., 146.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 168.

⁴⁵ Jin, *Higashi ajia no ryōsai kenbo ron*, 82.

Chinese educational system based on the Japanese model. *The Educational World* published on topics such as Meiji Japanese educational regulations, excerpts from textbooks, pedagogy, and school management techniques from Japan. Every year, *The Educational Miscellany* (Ch. *Jiaoyu congshu*) compiled and reprinted the “more important essays and translations” from *The Educational World*. The Commercial Press (Ch. *Shangwu yinshu guan*), an important publishing house in nineteenth- and twentieth-century China, also translated many Japanese elementary and middle school textbooks. It published education-related articles in *Eastern Miscellany* (Ch. *Dongfang zazhi*) and *Educational Views* (Ch. *Jiaoyu zazhi*).⁴⁶ Japanese also published journals in China to disseminate Japanese ideas in China. An example is *Shuntian Daily* (Ch. *Shuntian shibao*), founded by Nakajima Masao (1859–1943) in 1901.⁴⁷

The Chinese were first introduced in print to the Japanese concept of “good wife, wise mother” in 1903, when *The Educational Miscellany* published Luo Zhenyu’s translation of Yoshimura Torataro’s 1898 article on education for girls and women. Yoshimura argued that women, as “good wife, wise mother,” were important to the development of a nation’s civilization. He asserted, “A mother’s moral nature and intellectual capability directly influenced her descendants” and that she was therefore “the [mother] of national enlightenment and also the [mother] of the

⁴⁶ *Eastern Miscellany* published articles on education for girls and women in its “Education” section from 1904 to early 1909. *Educational View*, a monthly magazine that was founded in 1909, published articles on women’s education in China and Japan. Judge, “The Ideology of ‘Good Wives and Wise Mothers,’” 226.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 221, 225-226.

development of civilization.”⁴⁸ *Shuntian Daily* also published articles containing the terminology of “good wife, wise mother” in 1905 and 1906. Chinese intellectuals found the concept of “good wife, wise mother” attractive for two reasons. First, Japan had emerged as the victor in the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–895), soon to be followed by the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905). Second, Japan had successfully enrolled the majority of its school-age children, including girls, in its elementary schools.⁴⁹ The Chinese aspired to the Japanese level of success internationally and domestically. This ideal of womanhood became part of Chinese vocabulary by 1908.⁵⁰

Chinese publishers translated what they considered necessary for China, and not necessarily the entire text from Japanese sources. *Commercial Press* and a few other small Japanese publishing companies translated 81 books on education from Japanese into Chinese between 1894 and 1911, some of which focused on the education of girls and women. Yang Tingdong and Zhou Zupei translated Naruse Jinzō’s 1896 treatise, *Women’s Education* (Jp. *Joshi kyōiku*), into Chinese in 1901.⁵¹ Naruse (1858–1919) promoted women’s education and spread Christianity in Japan. He founded Japan Women’s University (Jp. *Nihon joshi daigaku*) in 1901 and served as its president until 1919.⁵² Chinese translators focused on advocating education for women as women, not as intellectuals as advocated by Naruse. They also omitted the

⁴⁸ Ibid., 225-226.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 224-225.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 227.

⁵¹ Ibid., 228.

⁵² Ibid., 222.

portion of Naruse's writing that called for the education of women to produce "self-sufficient, economically autonomous human beings."⁵³

Japanese educators, including Shimoda Utako and Hattori Unokichi, also helped spread the concept of "good wife, wise mother" to China by following opportunities created by Japanese imperialism.⁵⁴ Shimoda recruited students from China to study in her school, Jissen Women's School (Jp. *Jissen jogakkō*) in Japan. After graduating from institutions such as Shimoda's school in Japan, they often became teachers upon their return to China.⁵⁵ However, there were various interpretations of "good wife, wise mother." Shimoda believed that "good wife, wise mother" was an ideal for womanhood that would help strengthen East Asian countries. Her version of "good wife, wise mother" targeted women of all backgrounds and focused on training women to contribute to the nation by becoming members of the waged labor force.⁵⁶ She set up a training center for Chinese teachers in 1903 and sent teachers such as Kawahara Misako (1875–1945) to Shanghai in August 1902.⁵⁷ In contrast, Hattori taught courses in Beijing's normal schools and later established Yujiao Girls' Academy (*Ch. Yujiao nüxue tang*) in Beijing. He also established Beijing Preparatory Women's School in 1905.⁵⁸ His version of "good wife, wise mother" focused on creating upper-class stay-at-home housewives.⁵⁹

⁵³ Ibid., 229-230.

⁵⁴ Jin, *Higashi ajia no ryōsai kenbo ron*, 116-117.

⁵⁵ Judge, "The Ideology of 'Good Wives and Wise Mothers'," 232.

⁵⁶ Jin, *Higashi ajia no ryōsai kenbo ron*, 88-99, 117.

⁵⁷ Judge, "The Ideology of 'Good Wives and Wise Mothers'," 230.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 231.

⁵⁹ Jin, *Higashi ajia no ryōsai kenbo ron*, 90-92, 99-103, 109-116, 117.

Although they had different interpretations of “good wife, wise mother,” the ultimate goal at the schools that both Shimoda and Hattori established was to create “good wives, wise mothers.”⁶⁰ Japanese educators wanted to affect girls and women not only in Japan but also in its neighboring countries.

Chinese reformers adopted “good wife, wise mother” from Japanese educators with the assertion that all Chinese women were illiterate. Although the number of highly educated elite women had increased since the late Ming,⁶¹ Chinese intellectuals in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries ignored this group of elite women and made such claim in order to criticize the traditional uneducated woman figure, arguing that the future of the nation rested on educated women who would become “wise wives, good mothers.”⁶² After losing in the First Sino-Japanese War, Chinese intellectuals such as Liang Qichao advocated women’s education as essential to strengthening the nation and people. He argued:

[It] has been said that there are two fundamental principles of governance: the first is to instill an upright heart, and the second is to recruit talented people from far and wide. Children’s education establishes the foundation of both principles. Children’s education begins with the mother’s teaching, which is itself rooted in women’s education. Therefore, women’s education fundamentally determines

⁶⁰ Ibid., 110.

⁶¹ See Dorothy Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Seventeenth-Century China* (California: Stanford University Press, 1995) and Susan Mann, *The Talented Women of the Zhang Family* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

⁶² Jin, *Higashi ajia no ryōsai kenbo ron*, 4.

whether a nation will survive or be destroyed and whether it will prosper or languish in weakness.⁶³

The Qing court finally promulgated regulations to establish women's teacher training academies and girls' elementary schools in 1907.

From the late Qing period to the New Culture Movement, “good wife, wise mother” was the ideal of womanhood created as a result of educating girls. However, the New Culture Movement of the 1910s and 1920s replaced this ideal of womanhood with Nora from Henrik Ibsen's *A Doll's House*.⁶⁴ Chinese intellectuals who advocated for the liberation of women viewed “wise wives, good mothers” as the opposite of their new idea on jobs for women, free marriage, free divorce, coeducation, and a limitation on the number of children.⁶⁵ They remade “good wife, wise mother” into an image of an evil, ignorant, and wasteful stay-at-home housewife who was addicted to consumerism, didn't do any household chores, and played all day long.⁶⁶ Yet as late as 1926, Liang Qichao continued to advocate for “good wife, wise mother” to be the core of education for girls and women.⁶⁷ Moreover in the 1930s, “good wife, wise mother” made a comeback with central government support. The Great Depression caused high unemployment rates among men, and the government was concerned that a family of an unemployed man and a working

⁶³ Liang Qichao (1897), “On Women's Education” in *The Birth of Chinese Feminism: Essential Texts in Transnational Theory*, eds. Rebecca Karl, Dorothy Ko, and Lydia Liu (Columbia University Press, 2013), 194.

⁶⁴ Jin, *Higashi ajia no ryōsai kenbo ron*, 6.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 239, 240.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 22.

woman would blur the gendered division of labor of men working in the public and women working at home. Therefore, the Nanjing government and the media called upon women to return home from work in order to give birth to more children, who would become part of the military force.⁶⁸

Korean intellectuals also believed that the education of girls was crucial in getting Korean sovereignty back and to establish a modern nation-state.⁶⁹ Korea had signed the Japan-Korea Protectorate Treaty in November 1905, which made Korea a Japanese protectorate. A year after Korea became a Japanese colony, the colonial government in Korea promulgated the *Chōsen Educational Ordinance* (Jp. *Chōsen kyōiku rei*) and in August 1911 mandated the teaching of female virtues in girls' middle schools.⁷⁰ The purpose of education for girls and women as stated in the *Second Chōsen Educational Ordinance* of 1922 was the same as in Japan, with the addition of "bodily development."⁷¹ The *Third Chōsen Educational Ordinance* of 1938 stated that the ultimate goal of girls' middle school education was to produce "good wives, wise mothers" with the proper character of women of the empire.

The Japanese colonial government in Korea adopted the "good wife, wise mother" concept from Japan to Korea, but the Koreans held different views of what the purpose of the education of girls and women was supposed to be. From the mid-1930s to 1945, two schools of thoughts were present in Korea. The nationalist camp believed that "good wife, wise mother" was key to overcoming Korean

⁶⁸ Ibid., 247-248.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 22.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 36-37.

⁷¹ Ibid., 36-37.

backwardness. The pro-Japanese colonial government camp used “good wife, wise mother” as a crucial tool in suppressing Korean resistance by pushing for the imperialization process (Jp. *kōminka*) of the Korean population.⁷²

Across East Asia, then, “good wife, wise mother” became synonymous with the call for the education of girls and women in order to establish a strong nation-state. The meaning of “good wife, wise mother” changed over time and adopted local characteristics to suit local needs in Japan, China, and Korea. What remained the same was the perceived purpose of “good wife, wise mother”: the role of educated women in the home sphere was connected to the strength of the nation in order to prevent or to stop foreign encroachment. The Japanese and the Chinese used this ideal to defend themselves against Western imperialism, and pro-independence Koreans adopted it as part of an attempt to free themselves from Japanese colonialism.

As a product of the modern period, “good wife, wise mother” reflected the views and reactions of East Asian intellectuals as they were faced with the survival of their nations.⁷³ The Japanese government believed that “good wife, wise mother” would support the basis of the family-nation system in the Japanese empire. In both Korea and Taiwan, “good wife, wise mother” formed the basis of the education of the colonized women as imperial subjects.

“Good Wife, Wise Mother” and Girls’ Education in the Colony of Taiwan: The Official Government View

⁷² Ibid., 41-42.

⁷³ Ibid., 51.

The colonial government established schools for Taiwanese girls as part of the larger assimilation program through which the local population was supposed to become “Japanese.” The Japanese “national language” (*kokugo*) and ethics (*shūshin*) constituted the most important subjects within the educational program.⁷⁴ Educational policymakers in Japan widely believed that the Japanese language contained untranslatable concepts that formed the foundation of a unique Japanese identity, one that could only be obtained through the mastery of the Japanese language.⁷⁵ Instruction in ethics emphasized loyalty to the emperor, nation, and family as the core value, which ultimately meant to sacrifice oneself for the emperor.⁷⁶ This imperative to assimilate to become “Japanese” applied to both Japanese and Taiwanese in Taiwan,⁷⁷ although Japanese were presumed to be closer to being “Japanese” than the colonized. Therefore, education was segregated. Taiwanese, a “backward” people, were starting their transition to “Japanese-ness” from a more distant point than Japanese in the colony. This idea resulted in the segregation of the Han Taiwanese

⁷⁴ The rest of this subsection is drawn from Hu, “Policy and Practice in a Gendered Colonial System,” 3-4.

⁷⁵ Naoki Sakai, *Voices of the Past: The Status of Language in Eighteenth-Century Japanese Discourse* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992).

⁷⁶ Monbushō 文部省 [Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture], ed., *Kokutai no Hongi 国体の本義* [The Cardinal Principles of the National Essence: A High school Morals Textbook, 1937] (Tokyo: Monbushō, 1937), accessed May 22, 2015, <http://www.j-texts.com/showa/kokutaiah.html>.

⁷⁷ The imperative to assimilate applied to everyone in the empire, both the Japanese and the colonized. Tomiyama Ichirō 富山一郎, *Kindai nihon shakai to “Okinawajin”*: *Nihonjin ni naru to iu koto* 近代日本社会と「沖縄人」: 「日本人」になるということ [Modern Japanese Society and “Okinawans”: A Concept Called Becoming “Japanese”] (Tōkyō: Nihon keizai hyōron sha, 1990).

and the Taiwanese aboriginal population from the Japanese children in the educational system.⁷⁸

Through *Taiwan Daily News* (*Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shimpō*), the official newspaper in Taiwan from 1898 to 1941, the government mainly directly applied the terminology of “good wife, wise mother” to Japanese girls in Taiwan, and rarely to Taiwanese girls. The discussion of “good wife, wise mother” in the newspaper was always linked to girls’ middle school education, which was only available for Japanese girls until 1919, when a separate girls’ middle school was established for Taiwanese girls. When the paper addressed Taiwanese girls and women, they did so mainly to offer a status update on education for Taiwanese girls and women in general. However, an examination of school curricula for Taiwanese girls reveals that the colonial government implemented “good wife, wise mother” as the guiding principle of education for Taiwanese girls.

⁷⁸ The colonial government segregated the Taiwanese populations into three different types of schools: one for the Han Taiwanese population in the primary schools (Jp. *kōgakkō* 公学校) where the language of instruction was Taiwanese, and two systems for the two groups of aboriginal populations, those living on the plains and those living in the mountains. Those living on the plains area (Jp. *heihozoku*, Ch. *pingbuzu* 平埔族) attended “common schools for aboriginal children,” (Jp. *banjin kōgakkō* 番人公学校) while those in the mountains (Jp. *takasagozoku*, Ch. *gaoshazu* 高砂族) received education from police-administered “places of education for aboriginal children” (Jp. *bandō kyōikusho* 番童教育所). After graduating from primary schools, the aboriginal population, girls and boys, had limited, if any, choices in continuing their education. Taiwanese boys had more options than Taiwanese girls and the aboriginal population: middle school, high school, vocational schools, professional schools, and later the Taihoku Imperial University, in which they were at first segregated from the Japanese but later officially mixed with the Japanese boys.

Some Japanese in Taiwan were concerned that girls' middle schools focused heavily on imparting abstract knowledge at the expense of providing practical household training to their students. On September 8, 1905, the writer of an article in *Taiwan Daily News* titled, "Schoolgirls Part III," asserted that the society wanted to have "good wife, wise mother" as wives and mothers, and reaffirmed that the sites of production of "good wife, wise mother" was girls' middle schools. The anonymous writer of this 1905 article argued that a perfect "good wife, wise mother" was not one full of knowledge, but one with character befitting a true woman (Jp. *shinsei ni joshi taru no jinkaku*). He proposed that girls' middle schools should focus first on cultivating womanly character and ensure students were familiar with household chores. He believed that schoolgirls should conduct themselves in school in the same way as if they were managing a household (Jp. *kateiteki no gakkō*), doing chores as part of their housewife training in the dormitory. He criticized girls' middle schools for not having fulfilled their mission of producing "good wife, wise mother."⁷⁹

The training of "good wife, wise mother" was supposed to take place not only in school but also at home. On July 16, 1911, an article in *Taiwan Daily News* recommended that parents continue to train their daughters to be "good wives, wise mothers" at home during summer vacation. The article focused its attention on the

⁷⁹ Fukyū sei 不朽生, "Ron gi jogakusei (shita)" 論議 女學生(下) [Discussion and Debate: Schoolgirls III] *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], September 8, 1905.

three hundred Japanese schoolgirls who were enrolled in middle schools in Taiwan.⁸⁰ “The primary goal of education for girls is to train working habits in the household, and the second goal is school education,” the anonymous writer declared. The article claimed that although students learned how to cook, wash laundry, and perform other household chores in school, they began living an undisciplined lifestyle once they returned home during the summer break. The article advised parents to implement the same educational goals at home as in school—to train “good wives, wise mothers.” The article writer declared, “To create many ‘good wives, wise mothers’... summer break, when students are at home, is a trial period [for students] and a big responsibility for the parents.”⁸¹

Between 1898 and 1937, the colonial government also published portions of the *Taiwan Daily News* in classical Chinese (Ch. *Hanwen Taiwan Ri Ri Xin Bao*) because few Taiwanese were literate in the Japanese language. While Japanese served as the chief editors of the Chinese section, many Taiwanese worked as its writers.⁸² The longest serving editor was Ozaki Hozuma. Well-versed in classical Chinese

⁸⁰ The article only said “girls’ school” (Jp. *jogakkō* 女学校), but the anonymous writer was likely referring to the girls’ middle school for Japanese girls that had been in existence since 1907.

⁸¹ “Natsu jū yasumi to katei” 暑中休みと家庭 [Summer Vacation and Family], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], July 16, 1911.

⁸² Huang Zhiwei 黃志偉, “Taiwan ri ri xin bao jian shi” 臺灣日日新報簡史 [A Brief History of *Taiwan Daily News*], accessed April 1, 2015, <http://cdnete.lib.ncku.edu.tw/twhannews/user/intro.htm>.

poetry and writing and brush painting, Hozuma was the editor from 1901 until April 1922.⁸³

In contrast to the discussion of “good wife, wise mother” and Japanese girls’ middle school education in the Japanese section of the newspaper in the early colonial period, the Chinese section of *Taiwan Daily News* did not use the term for Taiwanese girls. In September 1898, the paper reported on two girls’ schools for Taiwanese, one in Shilin, Taipei, and one in Taichung, as the only places for educating Taiwanese girls and women in Taiwan.⁸⁴ In February 1900, the paper reported on the enrollment numbers and graduates from the primary school in Hasshiran.⁸⁵ In the same time period, the Chinese section also often reported on the education of Chinese women, such as on the establishment of Wuben Girls’ Academy (Ch. *Wuben nü shu*) in Shanghai and on Chinese women studying in Shimoda Utako’s Jissen Girls’

⁸³ Chinese version of *Taiwan Daily News* (Ch. *Hanwen Taiwan Ri Ri Xin Bao*, 漢文臺灣日日新報) was published in 1901 as part of the *Taiwan Daily News* until July 1905, when it became a separate newspaper from *Taiwan Daily News*. In 1911, the newspaper faced financial problems and stopped its independent publication, and became part of the Japanese version of *Taiwan Daily News* once again. The government stopped publishing the Chinese section in April 1937. Zhong Shumin 鍾淑敏, “Taiwan renwu zhi: Taiwan ri ri xinbao hanwen bu zhuren Wei qi xiu zhen” 臺灣人物誌 臺灣日日新報 漢文部主任 尾崎秀真 [Biographies of People in Taiwan: Ozaki Hozuma, the editor-in-chief of the Chinese Section of *Taiwan Daily News*], *Taiwan xue tong xun* 臺灣學通訊 85 (January 2015), 8-9, accessed April 1, 2015, <http://www.ntl.edu.tw/public/Attachment/512910131463.pdf>.

⁸⁴ “Jogakuseito” 女學生徒 [Female Students], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], September 25, 1898.

⁸⁵ “Zappō Hasshiran no joshi kyōiku 雜報 八芝蘭の女子教育 [Miscellaneous Report - Female Education in Hasshiran], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], February 17, 1900.

Academy in Tokyo.⁸⁶ These reports were often linked to Japanese contributions to the education of Chinese women.

The first time the term “good wife, wise mother” appeared in the classical Chinese section of *Taiwan Daily News* was in 1910, when *Taiwan Daily News* provided a short history and the current status of Mōkō Primary School.⁸⁷ Mōkō Primary School was the first primary school for teacher interns from the National Language School to practice teaching starting in 1898. Katō, the principal of Mōkō Primary School, discussed the importance that his school placed on educating girls. At Mōkō Primary School, in addition to handicrafts training in sewing, embroidery, artificial-flower making, and knitting, teachers also taught ethics, Japanese, arithmetic, singing, games, classical Chinese, drawing, and other subjects to schoolgirls in order to prepare them for a teaching career. Katō asked the news reporter, “Do you know where “good wife, wise mother” comes from? Without the education of girls and women, there would be no ‘good wife, wise mother.’” Katō added that the teaching of

⁸⁶ “Gaiji jogaku kan fumi”外事 女學簡章 [Foreign News - Brochure on Female Learning], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], January 23, 1902; “Kiyokuni jogakusei no X kyō” 清國女學生の◆京 [Schoolgirls from Qing China going to X Capital], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], June 24, 1902; “Zappō Kiyokuni jo gakusei no wagakuni ryūgaku” 清國女學生の我國留學 [Schoolgirls from Qing China studying abroad in our country], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō*, December 27, 1902; “Kiyokuni jo gakusei” 雜報 清國女學生 [Miscellaneous Schoolgirls from Qing China], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], June 19, 1903; “Gaiji ryūi jogaku”外事 留意女學 [Foreign News - Attention to Female Learning], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], March 4, 1903.

⁸⁷ “Kusamura roku kyōiku dan kata watō itten” 叢錄 教育談片 話頭一轉 [Educational Topic - Taking a Turn], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō Hanwen ban*, January 23, 1910.

girls to become “good wives, wise mothers” was a task that had to be done on school grounds. A “good wife, wise mother” would be taught to not put on thick cosmetics, he continued, or use precious metals or luxurious fabrics, because she should live a simple and frugal life. Katō also criticized foot binding as a bad custom because it prevented women from helping their husbands with production. Compared to Japanese girls who began their training of “good wife, wise mother” in girls’ middle schools, Katō’s interview suggests that the training of “good wife, wise mother” had begun in primary schools for Taiwanese girls.

Official ideals on colonial womanhood linked Taiwanese girls’ education with the home and the family in the Chinese section of *Taiwan Daily News*. The newspaper confirmed that the purpose of girls’ education was to create a “good wife, wise mother” who could create a harmonious family by educating the children with household management, sewing, and cooking skills that women acquired in school.⁸⁸ It discussed the new family model by focusing on two topics: 1) family disharmony, and 2) virtuous women and filial sons as the components of a model Taiwanese family.⁸⁹ The newspaper focused on the model woman as one with the traditional virtue of raising her children as a widow, but who also assisted the colonial

⁸⁸ Liu Jingyu 劉靜瑜, “Xin jiating xiangxiang yu xingsu: Taiwan ri ri xinbao jiating lan de fenxi yu taolun” 新家庭」的想像與型塑：《臺灣日日新報家庭欄》的分析與討論 [The Imagining and the Construction of the “New Family: An Analysis and Discussion from *Taiwan Daily News*:] (master’s thesis, Guoli zhengzhi daxue, 2009), 238.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 208-209.

government in earthquake relief and other tasks.⁹⁰ The paper criticized foot binding and the lack of women teachers as the two factors affecting the low rate of girls' education.⁹¹ The attack on foot binding was unique to Taiwan because Japanese and Korean women did not bind their feet. In Taiwan, "good wife, wise mother" became the model of the new woman because education was the main marker of this new woman. The image of this new woman was one who did not bind her feet, received modern education, could become a nursing assistant, a modern midwife, or a teacher before marriage, and was responsible for creating a happy family that would benefit society and the nation after marriage.⁹² As a woman who could contribute her labor at home and to society, this model womanhood was similar to the Japanese version of "good wife, wise mother" after WWI. However, the colonial government's repeated invocation of foot binding shows that the Japanese leaders had taken foot binding to symbolize Taiwanese women's problems in the period before Japanese arrival. "Good wife, wise mother" had a colonial twist in the Taiwanese setting.

Although the colonial administration advocated some education for Taiwanese girls and women, through *Taiwan Daily News*, it expressed anxiety about highly educated women and did not look favorably on women who could threaten men's position in society. Although the newspaper supported girls receiving primary

⁹⁰ Ibid., 210.

⁹¹ Zheng Fengqin 鄭鳳晴, "Ri ju shiqi xin nüxing de zai xian fenxi: Yi meiti jishi yu xiaoshuo chuanguo wei zhongxin" 日據時期新女性的再現分析：以媒體記事與小說創作為中心 [An Analysis of the Reproduction of the New Woman under Japanese Occupation: An Examination of News Articles and Novels] (master's thesis, Guoli Qinghua daxue, 2008), 16.

⁹² Ibid., 21, 24.

education, it did not want women to receive higher education because it linked higher education to late childbirth, wifely disobedience that could lead to divorce, wasting time at social events such as concerts and operas, women teachers taking over men teachers' jobs, and women teachers making elementary school boys girlish.⁹³ The newspaper writer also did not support women studying in big cities or overseas.⁹⁴

Compared to Chinese intellectuals in mainland China, writers for the *Taiwan Daily News* adopted the word order of “good wife, wise mother” from the Japanese. The Chinese terminology was usually written literally as “wise wife, good mother” (Ch. *xianqi liangmu*), but the news reporter who interviewed Katō wrote it the Japanese way, “good wife, wise mother” (Ch. *liangqi xianmu*).⁹⁵ This might be because the article was citing Katō, and decided to use the Japanese terminology in Chinese. It could also be because the chief editor of the Chinese section was Japanese. However, the usage of the Japanese terminology might have been a common practice among Han Taiwanese elites and intellectuals. When Li Chaoxun, clearly a Han Taiwanese, wrote a classical Chinese poem in memory of Wang Mingxu's wife in 1924, he also wrote the term in the Japanese way. Li mourned the passing of Wang's wife, whom he called a *liangqi xianmu*.⁹⁶ The adoption of the Japanese word order instead of the Chinese one suggests two things. One was that by accepting a Japanese

⁹³ Liu Jingyu, “Taiwan Ri Ri Xin Bao: Xin jia ting xiang xiang yu xing su,” 218.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 220.

⁹⁵ “Kusamura roku kyōiku dan kata watō itten.”

⁹⁶ Li Chaoxun 李朝勳, “Nanying shitan Wang Minxu xiansheng ou shi yi dao zhi 南瀛詩壇 王名許先生偶詩以悼之 [Nanyin Poetry - Poem in Memory of Mr. Wang Mingxu's Wife], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], July 3, 1924.

ideal, Taiwanese elites had accepted Japanese authority. The second is that after China's loss in the First Sino-Japanese War, Taiwanese elites apparently came to view the Japanese ideal and political system as superior to that of China's. Taiwanese elites embraced this Japanese ideal of womanhood, instead of making adjustments as Chinese intellectuals and leaders on the mainland had done.

While the Japanese section of the newspaper did not begin talking about ideals of womanhood from foreign countries until the 1930s, as discussed later in this chapter, the Chinese section of the paper discussed “good wife, wise mother” as the ideal of womanhood in Germany in 1911. The article was translated from Suzuki Tadashi's article. Suzuki had returned home from studying abroad in Germany. After describing Germany as the most hardworking and frugal nation in Europe, Suzuki praised German women as the gentlest women in Europe, and therefore the most appropriate model for Japanese women. He added that German women of all socioeconomic backgrounds focused on household management and the education of their children. Suzuki also praised the Germans for paying close attention to the education of girls and women.⁹⁷ It is unclear why Ozaki, the Japanese editor of the Chinese section, decided to translate Suzuki's article. The Japanese section of the newspaper did not publish his original article. However, it was possible that because Taiwanese elites had already been exposed to the Japanese model from all the

⁹⁷ “Yi cong Deguo jiating qinjian (Yi Lingmu dushi tan) Deguo furen zhi lixiang wei xianqi liangmu 譯叢 德國家庭勤儉(譯鈴木督氏談) 德國婦人之理想為賢妻良母 [Translation - Thrift and Simplicity of German Families (A Translation of Talk with Governor Suzuki) - German Women as model “good wives, wise mothers], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], November 7, 1911.

educational campaigns that the colonial government had initiated, Ozaki wanted to make a case for educating girls and women by providing another model.

By the 1930s, with the spread of education for Taiwanese girls, *Taiwan Daily News* published an article written in Japanese about a Taiwanese “good wife, wise mother” in 1930. Published as part of the series, “The Colorful Taiwanese Culture: Taiwanese Women” celebrated a Taiwanese widow with five children who lost her husband at the age of thirty-five.⁹⁸ The article described Zhang Hongchou as a “good wife, wise mother” who “received education in the new era, and full of talents, [she] continues to lead a courageous life.” Zhang graduated from Girls’ Attached School of the National Language School, in a group of seven graduates in 1908. At the age of sixteen, she became a teacher at Hōrai Primary School. Supposedly, Zhang focused on the education of her children and helped with bookkeeping and management of her husband’s winery. The article said that the education Zhang received became the strength for her determination to raise five children on her own after her husband’s passing. Her oldest son enrolled in Giran Agriculture Vocational School, her second oldest son in Taihoku No. 2 Normal School, and her three younger children were enrolled in Kensei Elementary School, a school that was predominantly Japanese. Besides raising her children, Zhang focused on practicing Buddhism.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ The article did not provide the birth year of Zhang Hongchou. However, it reported that Zhang was sixteen-year-old in the 41st year of Meiji Emperor’s reign (1908). Her husband died in the second year of Showa Emperor’s reign (1927). This meant that she was born in 1892, and was 35 years old in 1927.

⁹⁹ “Taiwan bunka wo irodoru hontōjin josei (ni) shin jidai ka ‘unta’ ryōsai kenbo no tenkei Taihoku dai san kōjo no dai senpai Sote wa jūroku sai no on’na kundō wakaki mibōjin Chō-shi Akachū on’na shi 臺灣文化を彩る本島人女性（二）新時代か”

Compared to articles published in Japanese and classical Chinese in *Taiwan Daily News* that focused on the importance of training “good wives, wise mothers” in school and at home in the early colonial period, the newspaper evoked the concept of “good wife, wise mother” to attack other forms of womanhood that appeared from the mid-1920s to the early 1930s. In an article published in 1925, Arita Otomatsu lamented that “good wife, wise mother” had become an anachronistic concept for the time period (Jp. *jidai sakugo*) in “Free love? Is it for ‘Good Wife, Wise Mother’?” He began by talking about Mencius’s mother as an exemplar of a mother’s responsibility. Arita criticized married women, as new women (Jp. *atarashi garu onna*) who married for love and disliked living with their in-laws, for neglecting their household responsibilities and stayed out late. He claimed that children were unfavorably influenced by seeing what their mothers did.¹⁰⁰

Another article published in *Taiwan Daily News* in 1931 mentioned “good wife, wise mother” in the context of doubting the chastity of modern women (Jp. *kindai fujin*). Yoshioka Yayoi claimed that the concept of “good wife, wise mother” could not exist in an increasingly complex society where women began to participate in the same activities as men. Yoshioka concluded that women’s virtue was a

生んだ`良妻賢母の典型 臺北第三高女の大先輩 曾ては十六歳の女訓導 若き未亡人張氏紅綢女史 [Taiwanese Women who Brightened up Taiwanese Culture II - The Model “Good Wife, Wise Mother” who was born in the New Era - Graduates of Taihoku Girls’ No. 3 Middle School - A Former Sixteen-year-old Woman Teacher - Biography of Zhang Hongchou, a young widow], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], May 31, 1930.

¹⁰⁰ Arita Otomatsu 有田音松, “Jiyū ren’ ai? Ryōsai kenbo ka” 自由戀愛? 良妻賢母か [Free romance? Good wife, wise mother“?], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], November 25, 1925.

casualty, as women wore “embarrassingly extreme clothes while walking in broad daylight.” He also criticized an increasing number of women who were requesting divorce in order to get money. He claimed that working women were more prone to be tempted by money, had a high level of vanity, and exposed themselves to a work environment that provided many temptations. It was so dangerous, he continued, that some women even cheated on their husbands. “Having lost their sense of virtue, whether it’s romantic love or marriage, modern women decided everything based on money. It is a shame that they don’t base their decisions on virtue,” he lamented.¹⁰¹

Writers like Arita and Yoshioka were likely responding to the phenomena of the “New Woman” (Jp. *atarashii onna*) that appeared in in the 1910s Japanese society, and that of the modern girl (Jp. *moga*) and other forms of the “New Woman” that emerged in the 1920s.¹⁰² Neither Arita nor Yoshioka specified which model they were attacking, but they disapproved of any model that was not “good wife, wise mother.” According to Laurel Rasplica Rodd’s study, one type of “New Woman,” represented by Yasano Akiko (1878–1942), was an individualistic and independent woman who demanded “equal, educational and social rights and responsibilities” to

¹⁰¹ Yoshioka Yayoi, “Kindai fujin to teisō no yōgo keizai teki seikatsu ishiki no henten” 近代婦人と貞操の擁護 經濟的生活意識の變轉 [Upholding the Virtue of Modern Women - Transformation of the Thinking of Economic Life], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], January 19, 1931.

¹⁰² According to Laurel Rasplica Rodd, four types of “new woman” that emerged in the 1910s Japanese society, including “good wife, wise mother.” For a detail description, see Laurel Rasplica Rodd, “Yasano Akiko and the Taisho Debate over the New Woman” in *Recreating the Japanese Women, 1600-1945*, ed. Gail Lee Bernstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 175-198 For *moga*, see Miriam Silverberg, “The Modern Girl as Militant” in *Recreating the Japanese Women, 1600-1945*, ed. Gail Lee Bernstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 239-266.

men. Rodd identified another type of the “new woman” as a “good wife, wise mother” who demanded government protection with special social privileges, represented by Hiratsuka Raicho (1886–1971). Rodd presented Yamakawa Kiku (1890-1980) as the third type—a socialist who sought to change the existing economic structure to a socialist one.¹⁰³ As historians such as Miriam Silverberg and Barbara Sato have examined, in the 1920s, the modern girl emerged in Japan. The modern girl embraced consumerism, worked in a new profession, and was politically active and sexually promiscuous.¹⁰⁴ Barbara Sato argued that professional working women were another type of “New Woman” that emerged in the context of consumerism and mass media in the 1920s. The professional working woman in the 1920s was an educated woman who read and wrote for self-cultivation, and not for the nation.¹⁰⁵

The colonial government began refocusing on the concept of “good wife, wise mother” starting in the mid-1930s.¹⁰⁶ By this time, many Taiwanese were fluent in

¹⁰³ Rodd, “Yasano Akiko,” 176, 193-195.

¹⁰⁴ Silverberg, “The Modern Girl as Militant,” 51, 63.

¹⁰⁵ Barbara Sato, *The New Japanese Woman: Modernity, Media, and Women in Interwar Japan* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2003), 14.

¹⁰⁶ As the official newspaper of the colonial government, *Taiwan Daily News* supported the production of “good wife, wise mother” for the home in school, but in Takara Tomiko’s 1931 article urged changing the main focus of girls’ middle school education to producing useful human beings for society. Takara criticized the double standard the society held in regard to the two sexes. She pointed out that society viewed the conduct and romantic relationships of schoolgirls as problematic but never punished men or schoolboys for similar behavior. She agreed that students should not frequent places such as cafe and dance halls. However, she observed that schoolboys and schoolgirls frequented these places together, and to correct the conduct of schoolgirls required one to also pay attention to those of schoolboys as well. She urged, “It is time to realize that the concept of “good wife, wise mother” has a

Japanese after receiving a colonial education. They could read the Japanese section of *Taiwan Daily News*. Discussions of “good wife, wise mother” published in the newspaper reached out to both Japanese and Taiwanese readers. The newspaper published the speech that the principal of Kagi Girls’ Middle School delivered to 111 graduates in March 1935, including about 30% Taiwanese students and 70% Japanese students, on becoming “good wife, wise mother.”¹⁰⁷ In 1935, the paper published an article written by Tanaka Hozumi, the president of Waseda University. Tanaka urged young women to return to their roles as “good wives, wise mothers.” He cited Ellen

luxurious and secondary existence [to the education of girls and women]. We are supposed to guide schoolgirls who, as human beings, are supposed to live with self-awareness and shoulder responsibility as part of our society. They will not have the leisure time to be involved in romantic games. We are supposed to reflect on how female education today is unable to mobilize the energy of the youth and the passion of their interests.” Takara reprimanded parents for spoiling their children and neglecting to educate their children at home. She argued that parents should shoulder the responsibility of working with their children to create a society of men and women with good moral character. Takara dropped the nation from her discussion and focused on society instead. She also focused more on what women could do for society, and not for the home. However, she retained the rhetoric of morality and shunned romance and the socializing of girls and boys, in a stand similar to that taken by supporters of “good wife, wise mother” in the 1920s and 1930s. “Gakkō kyōiku Dai ichi shugi wo shijo wo sokoneru Ganmei na ryōsai kenbo shugi wo suteyo Takara Tomiko on’ nashi dan 學校教育第一主義か” 子女をそこねる頑迷な良妻賢母主義を捨てはよ 高良富子女史談 [Abandon the principle of the obstinate good wife and a wise mother - Discussion of Women’s History by Takara Tomiko], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], September 5, 1933.

¹⁰⁷ “Kagi denwa Kagi kōjo kinobu sotsugyō shiki kōchō kara ryōsai kenbo tare to kunji” 嘉義電話 嘉義高女 きのふ卒業式 校長から良妻賢母たれと訓示 [Telephone Call from Kagi - Kagi Girls’ Middle School - The Principal’s Speech on “Good Wife, Wise Mother” at the Commencement Yesterday], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], March 14, 1935. You Jianming’s data stated there were 37 Taiwanese students and 83 Japanese students who graduated from Kagi Girls’ Middle School. This makes the total number of graduates 120, and not 111. Nevertheless, 37 Taiwanese students out of 120 graduates meant it was 30% Taiwanese students. You, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan de nūzi jiaoyu*, 306.

Key, the famed Swedish educator, and claimed that Key proposed “good wife, wise mother” to be the ideal principle of education for girls and women. Tanaka built upon with Key’s point that sex difference necessitated different roles for men and women. He argued that women’s motherly role began with human civilization and that it was their natural role. He added that human development and culture progressed with the strength of “good wife, wise mother.”¹⁰⁸ Tanaka probably cited Key in order to argue that Japan should do what Westerners were doing also, in order to remain a strong nation-state.

Orihashi Haruyo contributed to the discussion on “good wife, wise mother” by arguing that a true “good wife, wise mother” not only cared for those inside her household, but also those outside of her family. He said:

In the same way that one would raise her own children to be happy and healthy, [a “good wife, wise mother”] should also extend her attention to children elsewhere who were not as blessed. She should also work hard to live peacefully with her husband. Isn’t that the true essence of motherhood?¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ “Sōdai Sōchō Tanaka Hotsumi Wakaki josei-tachi yo ryōsai kenbo no shimei ni kaere EREN KEI no takken ni keifuku su” 早大總長 田中穂積 若き女性たちよ 良妻賢母の使命に歸れ エレン・ケイの卓見に敬服す [President of Waseda University Tanaka Hozumi - Young Women Return to the Mission of “Good Wives, Wise Mothers” - Admiration of Ellen Key’s Idea], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], April 30, 1935.

¹⁰⁹ Orihashi Haruyo 折橋治代, Ryōsai kenbo no saikentō bānādo shō no hiniku 良妻賢母の再検討 ハーナー・シヨウの皮肉 [A Re-examination of “good wife, wise mother”: The Irony of George Bernard Shaw], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], November 18, 1935.

Orihashi criticized mothers who discarded milk when there were many slums and malnourished children. He disapproved of those “good wives, wise mothers” who “built a castle around themselves and did not take one step outside of it.”¹¹⁰ His proposal of caring for all children reflected the group mentality that wartime mobilization required: to support each other in order to win the war as a nation. While men were fighting on the battlefield, women would shoulder the responsibility of maintaining the daily life and function of the nation as mothers and wives.

As Japan entered the full-scale war with China, the colonial government not only refocused on the role of “good wife, wise mother,” but also hinted at expanding it by citing wartime activities of women from other countries. Entitled “Break the Shell of ‘Good Wife, Wise Mother,’ and Moving onto the Front Line: Chinese Women Soldiers and German Spies - Japanese Women Remained Expressionless,” an article written by an anonymous author in *Taiwan Daily News* in January 1935, reported on Chinese women soldiers, German women spies, British and French women who took over men’s posts as police, firefighters, and postal delivery personnel, and female factory workers who worked for free, in addition to doing other tasks on the home front. The report said that German women were the ideal housewives performing as “good wives, wise mothers” before the war. However, it continued, these “good wives, wise mothers” began moving from the home into the streets, and from the streets onto the battlefield as they expanded their roles and contributions to their countries. The writer expressed the desire to avoid a full-scale

¹¹⁰Ibid.

war situation like the one in Europe, where the lives of many men were lost. However, the anonymous writer conveyed a sense of relief at the fact that women were interested in and participated in military affairs.¹¹¹ The writer evoked the term “good wife, wise mother” in order to suggest that the ideal woman should expand her role from inside to outside of her home, including both the home front and the frontline during the wartime period.

Similar to the article on Chinese women soldiers and German spies, a December 1937 article on Italian women also hinted at expanding the role of women within the Japanese empire in preparation for wartime mobilization. The article first linked ideal Italian womanhood with that of Japan: “[Italian] women consider “good wife, wise mother” as their ideal role, just as we do in Japan. Their family system is also like ours.”¹¹² The anonymous writer noted that although Italian women were the center of a loving family as “good wife, wise mother,” they also participated in community service and charity, helping the poor.¹¹³

¹¹¹ “Nyonin shussei (shita) ryōsai kenbo no kara wo yabu tsute sensen e tosshin suru Shina no on’na heishi, Doitsu no supai Nihon fujin kaoiro nashi” 女人出征（下）良妻賢母の殻を破つて戦線へ突進する支那の女兵士 獨逸のスハイ 日本婦人顔色なし [Women Expedition II Break the Shell of “Good Wife, Wise Mother,” and Moving onto the Front Line: Chinese Women Soldiers and German Spies - Japanese Women Remained Expressionless], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], January 5, 1936.

¹¹² Shimoi Harukichi 下位春吉, “ITARIA fujin no seikatsu wa Nihon fujin to yoku nite wiru ryōsai kenbo ka kanojo tō no risō shushō wo zettai ni shinrai 伊太利婦人の生活は 日本婦人とよく似てゐる 良妻賢母か 彼女等の理想 首相を絶対に信賴 [Italian Women’s Life are very similar to that of Japanese Women - “Good Wife, Wise Mother” is their ideal - Absolute Trust in the Prime Minister], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō*, December 10, 1937.

¹¹³ Ibid.

According to historian Ko Ikujo, “good wife, wise mother” had two characteristics in colonial Taiwan. First, the home was the main focus of this concept; the beneficiary of girls’ education was the home, and not girls themselves. The educated woman was crucial to a harmonious marriage, in-law relations, household management, and children’s education.¹¹⁴ This first characteristic is similar to the way the concept functioned in Japan. The second characteristic was that the concept of the nation (Ch. *kuo*, Jp. *kuni*) was ambiguous in the journal. Sometimes the term “our nation” could be interpreted as Japan, and sometimes as China, because the writers intentionally avoided being specific about which country they were referring to. Ko argued that this emphasis on girls’ education, while being ambiguous about which nation girls’ education would benefit, revealed the colonial status of Taiwan because the colonial administration wanted to transform the Taiwanese to be loyal Japanese subjects, but did not want to explicitly dictate loyalty to Japan because it feared resistance from Taiwanese elites.¹¹⁵ The focus on the educated women’s role in the home appealed to the Taiwanese elite tradition of limiting women’s role to the domestic sphere. The ambiguity of specifying which nation-state the ideal woman would contribute to hinted at the uneasy relationship between the Japanese rulers and the Taiwanese elites, where the colonizer did not want to incite Chinese nationalism among the colonized elites who could potentially be leaders of colonial resistance. Although the Japanese government seemed to appeal to Taiwanese elites’ concept

¹¹⁴ Ko, *Kindai Taiwan Josei shi*, 140.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 142-143.

and was sensitive to the elites' sense of loyalty to China, the colonizers managed to spread their notion of ideal womanhood to the local elites.

While the Chinese and the Koreans adopted and changed the Japanese concept of “good wife, wise mother” to suit their needs, the colonial government in Taiwan sought to implement the same concept with a Taiwanese and colonial twist. In the early colonial period, the training of “good wife, wise mother” seemed to be an explicit mission for Japanese girls in girls' middle schools in Taiwan, compared to the presumed but not explicitly mentioned implementation of “good wife, wise mother” in the primary education of Taiwanese girls. Targeting Taiwanese elites with a classical Chinese education, the Chinese section of *Taiwan Daily News* focused on promoting girls' education as necessary in creating the ideal housewife in the home. However, as Ko Ikujo has argued, the colonial government did not always link the home to the Japanese nation explicitly. This particular discussion of the ideal of womanhood suggests that the colonizers wanted to impart their ideal of womanhood, which was linked to a strong nation-state, to the colonized Taiwanese through local elites. However, at the same time, as Ko Ikujo argues, when the colonial government talked about the role that educated women would play in the nation, it avoided naming Japan as the nation that these women would serve because the government wanted to avoid inciting Chinese nationalism. In the second half of the colonial period and especially in the 1930s, *Taiwan Daily News* evoked the concept of “good wife, wise mother” in preparation of mobilizing both Japanese and Taiwanese for the war.

Non-Government Perspectives on Education for Girls and Women

The Taiwanese people expressed their own views of the ideal of womanhood starting in the 1920s, when the first generation of Japanese-educated Taiwanese began to publish journals and stories that represented their views. The Taisho democracy era of the 1910s and the 1920s made these publications possible, when the Japanese government allowed the expression of different viewpoints. Japanese colonialism introduced the concept of education for girls as necessary for the nation through its campaign of “good wife, wise mother,” but Taiwanese thinkers from the 1920s to 1940s embraced the idea of educating girls without focusing on the ideal of “good wife, wise mother.” Like their Chinese, Japanese, and Korean counterparts, Taiwanese intellectuals embraced the idea of educating girls and women in order to strengthen Taiwanese society. While some were concerned with the role of educated girls and women in the home, many were more concerned with the liberation of women from old customs or women’s potentially dangerous behaviors to themselves. Beginning in the 1920s, Taiwanese men intellectuals who studied in Japan linked education for girls to “women’s liberation.”¹¹⁶ Some writers in Taiwan expressed their anxiety over the impact of education for girls and women. As a whole, the discussion of education for Taiwanese girls and women was not linked to their

¹¹⁶ Ko Ikujo describes two types of ideology on female education among Taiwanese intellectuals before and after the 1920s. One type was the ideology of “governing the family makes a prosperous nation” (Jp. seika kōkoku ron 齊家興國論). The “women’s liberation ideology” (Jp. *kaihō ron* 解放論) was another ideology promoted by mainly Taiwanese men with Japanese education who studied in Japan in the 1920s. Ko, *Kindai Taiwan Josei shi*, 137-138.

household roles as much as it was linked to the impact of education on girls and women as their individual rights and well-being.

Under the influence of Japanese and Chinese intellectuals living in Japan in the 1920s, Taiwanese intellectuals and students residing in Japan accepted the link between this modern education for girls and women and the level of civilization in Taiwan. These intellectuals were exposed to the ideas of democracy, liberalism, and socialism that were widespread among Japanese liberals and radicals in the 1920s. Also, along with Japanese liberals and social reformers, Taiwanese intellectuals sympathized with Koreans in the March First Movement and Chinese in the May Fourth Movement of 1919.¹¹⁷ They saw the education of girls and women as an important tool to modernize the Taiwanese society in order to create a society equal to that of the metropole.¹¹⁸ These intellectuals established the Japanese-language journal *Taiwan Youth* (Jp. *Taiwan seinen*) in Tokyo in 1920, which eventually evolved to be *Taiwan People's News*, containing Japanese- and Chinese-language articles, (Ch. *Taiwan Minbao*)¹¹⁹ in 1923. The journal advocated education for girls

¹¹⁷ Patricia E. Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895-1945* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1977), 178-179.

¹¹⁸ Hu, "The 'Modern Woman'," 36, 42.

¹¹⁹ In response to international and Japanese political developments as imperialist powers dominated and changed the world, both Chinese-educated and Japanese-educated Taiwanese intellectuals became politically active and in the 1920s founded the first independently formed Taiwanese journal to express their ideas and petition the central Japanese government for their rights. The writers consisted of politically active men and women who criticized colonial policies and traditional problems in the society. Financial backers of the journal were mostly Taiwanese living in Japan or traveling. Distribution of *Taiwan Minbao* reached 10, 000 in 1925. [if these political developments are relevant to your argument, some of this information belongs in the text.

and women and other issues¹²⁰ as an effort to elevate the status of Taiwan into the ranks of civilized societies. The journal published thirty-nine articles written by twenty-eight women intellectuals living in Japan, Taiwan, and China between 1920 and 1929.¹²¹ One of these women writers, Lin Shuangshui, received all of her education in Tokyo after the age of seven.¹²² Many women studied in mainland China, after having received at least primary education in Taiwan. For example, Lu Jinwu was studying in Hunan No. 1 Women's Normal School in China. She advocated education for girls and women, free choice in marriage, economic independence, and the right to political participation.¹²³ The three most important women reporters for the paper (Zhang Liyun, Yu Juan, and Zi Juan), studied in Jimei Women's Normal School in Xiamen, Shanghai University, and Nanjing Zhongyang University, respectively.¹²⁴

Writers of *Taiwan People's News* focused on education for girls and women, free marriage, economic independence, and political participation as part of their advocacy for the liberation of women.¹²⁵ Writers such as Lin Shuangshui and Chen Ying were influenced by “good wife, wise mother.” Lin argued that it was important

¹²⁰ In addition to education for girls and women, anti-prostitution, romantic love as the prerequisite for marriage, and women's economic independence were the other three main issues that *Taiwan Minbao* advocated in the 1920s.

¹²¹ Yang, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan funü jiefang yundong*, 456. For a list of topics Taiwanese women writers covered in the journal, see Yang Cui, 521-525. For information on the hometown of, educational background of, and topics written by Taiwanese men, see *ibid.*, 449-454.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 458.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 460.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 467-468, 469, 472-484, 485-490.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 460.

to educate women to assist their husbands and instruct their children at home in order to help Taiwanese society progress.¹²⁶ Chen agreed and believed that the education of girls and women was important in improving the quality of home education.¹²⁷

Taiwan People's News focused on liberating women from traditional customs such as arranged marriage based on bride price.¹²⁸ Writers of the journal viewed the new educated woman as someone who could think for herself, be economically independent from men, exercise, and participate in reading groups.¹²⁹ While the paper encouraged marriage for love and denounced arranged marriage, it also criticized women who chose the wrong husbands.¹³⁰ Their concerns ultimately focused on the right and the well-being of women as a group. Their decision in not focusing on the concept of “good wife, wise mother” suggests that they did not necessarily want to produce Taiwanese “good wives, wise mothers” for the Japanese empire.

Taiwanese intellectuals incorporated the impact of education for girls and women as part of their discussion of the new woman. As more Taiwanese became literate in the Japanese language, they began to write fictional works that discussed the new woman. Beginning in the 1920s and lasting until 1945, the New Taiwan Literature Movement attacked superstitious Taiwanese customs and colonial rule. It criticized practices of discrimination, unjust law, and the exploitation of farming

¹²⁶ Ibid., 458.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 457.

¹²⁸ Zheng Fengqin, “Ri ju shi qi xin nü xing de zai xian fen xi,” 32.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 35.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 41.

villages in Taiwan under Japanese colonial rule.¹³¹ Writers of the movement saw women as the perfect symbol of anti-feudal and anti-patriarchal oppression.¹³² They used the symbol of the new woman to criticize Taiwanese customs of arranged marriage with bride price, concubinage, and child brides that had to do with exchanging girls and women for money.¹³³ The colonial government disapproved of these practices, but did not completely eradicate them the way it campaigned heavily to eliminate foot binding and queues, symbols of old China under Qing rule. Taiwanese intellectuals also believed that education encouraged decision-making power and brought mental stability. Specifically, they believed that women with a middle school education had the capability of marrying for love and surviving all obstacles without committing suicide or going crazy.¹³⁴ In the minds of the Taiwanese intellectuals who participated in the New Taiwan Literature Movement, the new woman for the Taiwanese before the wartime period was an intellectual who left her home, studied overseas, received a modern education, and went to big cities.¹³⁵ From 1930 to 1935, writers of the movement portrayed the new woman as one who pursued living and economic independence.¹³⁶ In other words, she was pursuing education for her own purposes. The focus of these writers was viewing

¹³¹ Ibid., 57.

¹³² Ibid., 102.

¹³³ Ibid., 57.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 61, 71.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 108. It was rare for Taiwanese girls and women to leave Taiwan and study. A total of 4,485 girls and women studied in Japan between 1922 and 1941. For data on Taiwanese who studied in Japan, see You, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan de nüzi jiaoyu*, 320-321.

¹³⁶ Zheng, “Xin nüxing de zai xian fenxi,” 107.

women as individuals with the ability to live their lives without economic or emotional hardship.

Some fictional works expressed anxiety toward modernity, and targeted the new woman as the point of critique. *Three-Six-Nine Tabloid* (Jp. *san roku kyū kohō*, Ch. *san liu jiu xiaobao*) was a special column in newspapers and magazines that portrayed the new woman¹³⁷ negatively in the 1920s and 1930s.¹³⁸ In these stories, the new woman was often a middle school graduate, living in a big city, who was superficial, debauched, fashionable, and sociable.¹³⁹ Intellectuals supported education for women because they believed educated women helped create a progressive nation and a harmonious society. However, because they also feared the chaos brought by modernity that would destroy the morality and tradition they were familiar with, they often made schoolgirls the scapegoats in these stories. Seduced by modernity, money, and the big city, the new woman pursued fast-paced romance and only paid attention to superficial appearances.¹⁴⁰ These writers expressed a similar type of anxiety toward schoolgirls as the mainland Chinese and the Japanese.¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ The tabloid created two terminology to describe the new woman: “modern woman” (Ch. *mao duan nü* 毛斷女, literally means “women with hair cut off”) and “romantic woman” (Ch. *langman nü* 浪漫女). Zheng, “*Ri ju shi qi xin nü xing de zai xian fen xi*,” 75.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 107, 129.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 74-77.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 107.

¹⁴¹ See “Chapter 4 Unharnessed Fillies?: The Modernising Conservative Agenda on Women’s Education in the Early Republic” in Paul Bailey, *Gender and Education in China: Gender Discourses and Women’s Schooling in the Early Twentieth Century* (New York: Routledge, 2007) and Miriam Silverberg, “The Modern Girl as Militant,” 239-266.

However, as Japan entered full-scale war with China, stories in the New Taiwan Literature Movement changed as a result of the tightening control over speech by the colonial government starting in the 1930s.¹⁴² Published stories had to conform to the official ideal of “good wife, wise mother.” As a result, writers of the movement encouraged women to seek gender and family harmony in the late 1930s. As will be discussed in Chapter Three, as the war intensified, the colonial government began pressuring people to have conformist thoughts and participated in patriotic events in the imperialization movement. In the 1940s, the new woman in these stories returned to her home, the countryside, and her family. As the war continued and resources were depleted, the new woman and many others on the home front had to evacuate to the countryside to avoid attacks from air raids.¹⁴³ The war separated families, and, thus, the theme of family reunion was important.

Taiwanese writers embraced the call for educating Taiwanese girls and women, but held different views about the likely effects of that education. Some found it to help stabilize women’s lives, while some found it dangerous for society. Their views were shaped by the larger historical trends of their times: the Taisho democracy era of the 1910s and 1920s provided Taiwanese intellectuals with the freedom to advocate for the liberation of women, with education as one important tool to achieve this goal. The tightened control of the colonial government from the 1930s to the WWII period shaped Taiwanese writers’ concerns over the unethical behaviors in which educated women might be tempted to engage. Regardless of their

¹⁴² Yang, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan funü jiefang yundong*, 602.

¹⁴³ Zheng, “Xin nüxing de zai xian fenxi,” 108.

concerns, few Taiwanese writers expressed concerns for the role of educated Taiwanese girls and women in the home setting.

Conclusion

“Good wife, wise mother” was not only a national project, it was also a colonial and imperial project. The concept of “good wife, wise mother” transformed depending on the local situation and local needs. The Japanese succeeded in spreading this concept to China and Korea because they convinced East Asian intellectuals of the importance of education for girls and women in the nation-building project. “Good wife, wise mother” became part of their defensive strategy against Western imperialism.

Although Japanese colonial officials spread “good wife, wise mother” to Taiwan as part of their assimilation policy in the educational system, Taiwanese intellectuals from the 1920s to 1940s did not focus on the link between education and the roles of wives and mothers. Instead, they focused on the impact of education on liberating women from old customs or dangerous behaviors. This focus suggests that as the colonized population, Taiwanese intellectuals were not enthusiastic about the creation of “good wives, wise mothers” as part of the assimilation policy in Taiwan within the context of the larger Japanese empire-building project.

CHAPTER 2

Schoolgirls in Training: Gendered Curriculum

In developing a primary school curriculum for Taiwanese girls, the Japanese colonial government put its conception of ideal womanhood—“good wife, wise mother”—into practice through the design of school lessons. The colonial administration had two goals: to create loyal colonial subjects who were proficient in the Japanese language as part of the assimilation policy (Jp. *dōka*) and to reinforce a particular gendered division of labor to support empire-building. In contrast to training at home under the Qing, the training of “good wife, wise mother” for all classes of Taiwanese girls took place outside the home, in public schools, under Japanese rule.

As part of its assimilation policy, the colonial government curriculum taught Taiwanese children what gender roles would be expected of them: men as productive laborers outside the home, and women as supportive wives and mothers at home. While the Japanese educators shared with the Chinese Neo-Confucian ideas on women’s responsibilities in the home,¹⁴⁴ future Taiwanese mothers also had to be

¹⁴⁴ During the Tokugawa period, Japanese intellectuals adopted the teaching of Neo-Confucian principles for women about morality and their role as household managers. Martha Tocco, “Made in Japan: Meiji Women’s Education,” in *Gendering Modern Japanese History*, ed. Barbara Molony and Kathleen Uno (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005), 44. Meiji leaders, including the emperor (1852-1912); Nakamura Masanao (1832-1891), the principal of Japan’s first public girls’ middle school from the 1870s; and Mori Arimori (1847-1889), the first education minister from 1885 to 1889, all believed that educating mothers was key to teach the future generation of Japanese subjects in the home setting. Education Minister Kikuchi Dairoku (1855-1917) emphasized the importance of training “good wives, wise mothers” through the school system in June 1901. He viewed the home as the

assimilated in public schools in order to begin teaching their future preschool children to be loyal subjects of Japan.¹⁴⁵ For a Taiwanese girl, to become a loyal subject of Japan was to become a “good wife, wise mother” who received a Japanese education, spoke Japanese, and performed her duty to the empire from the domestic sphere. Not only were Taiwanese girls supposed to educate future generations, but the colonial government also saw the education of Taiwanese girls as one important method for removing Taiwanese customs that they considered unfit for a modern society, such as foot binding, infanticide, and human trafficking.¹⁴⁶ To prepare for their roles as future wives and mothers, schoolgirls received training in sewing and home economics. In

basis of the nation and the quality of the housewife as a major influence on that of the home. Education would prepare women for their role at home. Uno, “Womanhood, War, and Empire,” 497-499, 502-503.

¹⁴⁵ The Meiji state and its leaders recognized the importance of instituting public elementary education. Tocco, “Made in Japan,” 51.

¹⁴⁶ The 1919 *Taiwan Educational Ordinance* stated that one goal of educating the Taiwanese was to destroy bad customs in Taiwan through girls’ education. It did not specify what those “bad customs” were, but footbinding was one major custom that the colonial government campaigned to eradicate from Taiwan in the first decade of the 1900s. *Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi*, 324-325. The Natural Feet Organization was established by a traditional Chinese medicine doctor in Taiwan in 1900, with the support of the colonial government, which viewed footbinding, opium smoking, and the queue as the three major “bad customs” in Taiwan. This movement resonated with the one in Mainland China at the same time, but existing studies have not documented any connection between the two movements. On the anti-footbinding and the queue-cutting movements, see Wu Wenxing 吳文星, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan shehui lingdao jieji zhi yanjiu* 日據時期臺灣社會領導階級之研究 [Study on Taiwanese Elites under Japanese Occupation](Taibei: Wu’nan shujū, 1992), 247-253. On the anti-footbinding campaign, see Ko, *Kindai Taiwan Joseishi*, 23-72. In addition to footbinding, You Jianming discusses other “bad practices” (Ch. lousu 陋俗) that involved women: human trafficking where young daughters were sold as child brides or servants, or married women were sold as servants or into prostitution. She cites sources that documented how child brides were often treated like slaves and some were sold into prostitution when they grew up. You Jianming, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan de nüzi jiaoyu*, 15-18.

contrast, schoolboys took courses in agriculture, commerce, handicrafts, and/or industry to prepare for their future roles as workers of the empire. The government did not have a specific term to describe this gendered training in school; these gender roles were simply taken for granted. In this chapter, I call attention to these unmarked normative gender roles by calling the training of schoolboys “manly training” and that of schoolgirls “womanly training.” Before the advent of public education, except for a few elite girls who attended Chinese academies, most Han Taiwanese girls had received womanly training from their mothers or mothers-in-law at home.

While existing studies focus on the “good wife, wise mother” ideal in the discussion of girls’ middle schools (Jp. *kōtō jogakkō*) in the metropole,¹⁴⁷ this chapter considers the role of this ideal womanhood in Taiwanese primary education by examining how the colonial government implemented the assimilation policy and a gendered curriculum in Taiwan. Existing studies presumed that the assimilation project began in 1920s,¹⁴⁸ but this chapter shows that it had been the fundamental principle behind Japanese colonial education in Taiwan since Japanese arrival. This chapter discusses in turn the establishment of primary schools that were segregated by gender and nationality, the backgrounds of teachers who helped implement the assimilation policy on school grounds, and, finally, the school curriculum. The establishment of primary schools soon after Japan colonized Taiwan shows how anxious the Japanese colonial government was to secure a local male labor force that

¹⁴⁷ See Koyama, *Ryōsai kenbo to iu kihan*.

¹⁴⁸ Patricia Tsurumi called the educational policy before the 1920s “gradualism” and labeled it “assimilation” starting in the 1920s. Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan*, 79.

spoke Japanese and to use Taiwanese women as Japanese-language teachers to their children at home because Japanese proficiency was the most important marker of being a Japanese. A discussion of how Japanese teachers viewed their teaching responsibility to Taiwanese children reveals their role in the assimilation project. Finally, an overview of changes in primary school curricula from the beginning of colonial rule to the wartime period reveals the Japanese intention to consolidate its colonies and expand the empire.

Assimilation and Gendered Education: The Establishment of a Public School System

Reinforcing and Creating Gender Roles: Segregation by Gender

In the beginning of colonial rule, Japanese educators mainly targeted Taiwanese men and boys to train them to be Japanese-speaking workers. The first educational program was set up in Shilin, Taipei, in July 1895 to train Taiwanese men to be government clerks and Japanese-language teachers.¹⁴⁹ By September 1895, the school administration recruited twenty-one Taiwanese men and boys in the Shilin area to become its first students.¹⁵⁰ Students were divided into two programs: one for those under the age of seventeen, and one for those ages seventeen to twenty-seven.¹⁵¹ Although the age requirements changed later, the idea that students should be separated by age became the model for later educational programs.

¹⁴⁹ Japanese educator Izawa Shūji (伊澤修二) set up Shibayamaiwao Academy (*Shibayama iwao gakudō*, 芝山巖學堂) to teach Japanese to a dozen Taiwanese students. Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan*, 15.

¹⁵⁰ *Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi*, 156.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 168.

In March 1896, the colonial government set up the National Language School with an additional school attached to it, and language-training centers to train teachers and translators in Japanese and to provide primary education.¹⁵² Taiwanese living near the Shilin area attended the National Language School and its attached school, while others attended language-training centers that were set up outside of Shilin.¹⁵³ The teaching of the Japanese language contained ideological and pragmatic goals. Ideological goals were applied to all children: to impart the Japanese spirit, teach ethics, and inspire learning among the Taiwanese people.¹⁵⁴ The pragmatic goals were to secure a group of translators and a male labor force. At the language centers, students—mostly men and boys—were divided into two groups by age. The first group was in a six-month program for those between the ages of fifteen and thirty, who took courses in Japanese, reading, and essay-writing in preparation to become translators. Translators were necessary, especially in the beginning of the colonial period, because the Japanese colonial administration was unable to communicate with Taiwanese people who did not speak Mandarin Chinese.¹⁵⁵ The second group was a

¹⁵² The National Language School had a teacher-training program where its teachers gave lessons at the attached school. The attached school provided primary education. Teacher trainees observed class instruction and practiced teaching at the attached school. Shibayamawao Academy became the First Attached School of the National Language School (Jp. *Kokugo gakkō dai ichi fuzoku gakkō* 国語学校第一付属学校). Ibid., 28.

¹⁵³ In 1896, fourteen language training centers were set up across Taiwan in Taipei, Tamsui, Keelung, Hsinchu, Yilan, Taichung (in Changhua), Lugang, Miaoli, Yunlin, Tainan, Chiayi, Fengshan, Hengchun, and Penghu. Ibid., 167.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 168.

¹⁵⁵ The administration brought Mandarin Chinese speakers with them, but discovered the Taiwanese did not speak it once the Japanese were in Taiwan. The colonial government set up training programs for both Japanese and Taiwanese — Japanese

four-year experimental program of primary education for those between the ages of eight and fifteen who received lessons in Japanese, reading, essay-writing, calligraphy, and arithmetic. Tuition was free, and the first group even received a stipend.¹⁵⁶ Except for arithmetic, all courses focused on teaching the Japanese language. In December 1897, there were 834 students in the first group and 913 in the second group, at sixteen language-training centers and nineteen language-training branches.¹⁵⁷

In contrast to education for men and boys, the programs that the colonial government set up for Taiwanese women and girls in 1897 were organized around their roles as housewives and mothers. These girls and women were enrolled in the Girls' Department in the First Attached School of the Language School that was

people learned one of the local Taiwanese languages, and Taiwanese people learned Japanese. Without training these translators, the colonial administration was using two translators each time it needed to communicate with the Taiwanese: one translator who spoke Japanese and Mandarin Chinese, and one translator who spoke Mandarin Chinese and Taiwanese Hoklo. The conversation was translated from Japanese to Mandarin Chinese, then from Mandarin Chinese into Taiwanese Hoklo. *Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi*, 6-7. Li Shanglin 李尚霖, "Shirun ri zhi chuqi fu tongyi zhi xia de Taiwan guanhua shiyong zhe" 試論日治初期複通譯制下的台灣官話使用者 [A Discussion of Mandarin Chinese Speakers under the Translation System in Early Japanese Period]: 1, accessed April 23, 2015, <http://www.taiwantati.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/試論日治初期複通譯制下的台灣官話使用者-李尚霖.pdf>. For more detail on these translators, see Xu Xueji 許雪姬, "Ri zhi shiqi Taiwan de tongyi" 日治時期臺灣的通譯 [Translators in Taiwan under Japanese Rule], in *Furen lishi xuebao* 輔仁歷史學報, No. 18 (2006): 1-35.

¹⁵⁶*Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi*, 168-169, 178-179. Depending on the language-training center, some in the younger group between the ages of eight and fifteen also studied geography, history, singing, exercise, or sewing. *Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi*, 173.

¹⁵⁷ In December 1896, there were fourteen language centers and one branch center; a year later in December 1897, there were two additional language centers and eighteen branch centers. Wu, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan shifan jiaoyu zhi yanjiu*, 11-12.

founded in April 1897. This meant that female students were segregated from male students in the classroom. Women ages fifteen to thirty took courses in Japanese language, ethics, calligraphy, sewing, knitting, artificial-flower making, and singing. This was a training program for household responsibilities where womanly courses took up two-thirds of all instruction time. Girls ages eight to fifteen learned Japanese, essay-writing, reading, classical Chinese, arithmetic, and calligraphy in the primary educational program.¹⁵⁸ At this time, only twenty-one girls enrolled in Girls' Attached School to receive primary education.¹⁵⁹ No course for womanly training was included in the primary educational program in 1897. However, with the establishment of primary schools a year later, the government incorporated womanly training into the primary school curricula.

In October 1898, the colonial government promulgated the *Taiwan Primary School Ordinance*, establishing formal primary schools for Taiwanese children to meet increasing demands from Taiwanese parents and to deal with a funding deficit from the Japanese national treasury. The increasing number of enrollees at language centers made it difficult to build more schools using funds from the national treasury. The 1898 ordinance stipulated funding from local taxation and tuition to be the source. While Japanese parents in Japan no longer paid tuition for their children enrolled in elementary school after 1900, Taiwanese parents and Japanese parents living in

¹⁵⁸ You, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan de nüzi jiaoyu*, 61, 299.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 87.

Taiwan continued to pay tuition.¹⁶⁰ The colonial administration set up elementary schools for Japanese children in 1896, segregated from Taiwanese children.¹⁶¹ Similar to Taiwanese primary schools, Japanese elementary schools in Taiwan were also funded by tuition and local funding in Taiwan.¹⁶²

Primary schools were built on the premises of former language-training centers and the attached school to the National Language School that had been set up in 1896.¹⁶³ The primary school curricula supported the educational goals set up by the government: to create a Japanese-speaking local population with Japanese spirit and morality.¹⁶⁴ The establishment of formal primary schools thus represented the colonial government's focus on assimilating Taiwanese children.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁰ Li Kaiyang 李鎧揚, *Ri zhi shiqi Taiwan de jiaoyu caizheng: Yi chudeng jiaoyu fei wei tantao zhongxin* 日治時期臺灣的教育財政 — 以初等教育費為探討中心 [Educational Finances of Taiwan under Japanese Rule: A Focus on Primary Educational Costs] (Taibei shi: Guoshi guan, 2012), 61.

¹⁶¹ The colonial government had set up a program for Japanese men to receive lessons in local Taiwanese languages at the National Language School before becoming teachers in Taiwan in 1895. Primary education for Japanese children did not begin in Taiwan until after 1896. The Japanese colonial government forbade Japanese women from moving to Taiwan until 1896. Starting in April 1896, the leadership encouraged government officials to bring their wives and children to Taiwan. The presence of Japanese children created a need for Japanese elementary schools in Taiwan. *Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi*, 410-411.

¹⁶² Li, *Ri zhi shiqi Taiwan de jiaoyu caizheng*, 61.

¹⁶³ Xu Peixian 許佩賢, *Zhimin di Taiwan de jindai xuexiao* 殖民地台灣的近代學校 [Modern Schools in Colonial Taiwan] (Taibei: Yuanliu chuban she, 2005), 28.

¹⁶⁴ *Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi*, 229.

¹⁶⁵ Girls did not have many options after finishing primary schools in the early colonial period. After completing their primary education, boys could enroll in the two-year additional course study program (Jp. *hoshūka* 補習科), which was set up for boys in 1904. Its curriculum was the same as the primary school curriculum then, except with increasing difficulty: ethics, Japanese, arithmetic, Classical Chinese, exercises, and practical courses. The *New Educational Ordinance of Taiwan* of 1922

The colonial government established girls-only educational programs to increase enrollment numbers by appealing to Taiwanese parents' desire to segregate their daughters from boys. Its leaders saw Taiwanese girls as future mothers who would transmit the Japanese language outside the school setting, and thus “[nationalize] an alien people” through the Japanese language. The administration saw language transmission from mother to children at home as a more effective method than the teacher-student transmission method in the school setting.¹⁶⁶ To conform to the traditional Chinese idea that boys and girls over the age of seven should not share the same room,¹⁶⁷ the colonial government concentrated on implementing gender segregation with the establishment of the Girls' Department at

replaced the additional course study program with the advanced course study program (Jp. *kōtōka* 高等科). Its curriculum was almost identical to the primary school curriculum: ethics, Japanese, arithmetic, Japanese history, geography, science, singing, exercises, practical course, sewing, and home economics. Practical courses in agriculture, commerce, and handicraft were for boys, and sewing and home economics were for girls. Drawing and Classical Chinese were electives. The differences were: the level of difficulty was higher at the advanced course study, and drawing was required at primary school. Before the establishment of the advanced course study, Taiwanese boys could pursue more education by participating in the two-year vocational study program (Jp. *jitsugyōka* 実業科). Set up in 1912 as a basic vocational training program, the vocational study program targeted boys and had three specializations: agriculture (Jp. *nōgyōka* 農業科), industry (Jp. *kōgyōka* 工業科), and commerce (Jp. *shōgyōka* 商業科). The curriculum included Japanese, ethics, mathematics, science, drawing, exercises, and the major vocational study course. *Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi*, 261, 270, 288, 305, 318, 357, 361-362

¹⁶⁶ Office of the Governor-General of Formosa, “A Review of Educational Work in Formosa, 1916,” Department of Educational Affairs of the Office of the Governor-General of Formosa, 1916 collected in *Nihon shokuminchi kyōiku seisaku shiryō shūsei, Taiwan hen dai ikkan* 日本植民地教育政策資料集成 台湾編第 1 卷 [Collection of Japanese Colonial Educational Policy: Section on Taiwan, Volume 1], ed. Abe Hiroshi 阿部洋 (Tōkyō: Ryūkei shosha, 2007), 59

¹⁶⁷ You, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan de nüzi jiaoyu*, 60.

the National Language School, and later the Third Attached School in 1897. When the *Taiwan Primary School Ordinance* was first promulgated, girls and boys were in the same classroom. But Japanese educators cited fear, apparently on the part of the Taiwanese parents, that coeducation would threaten the cultivation of girls' gentleness and chastity.¹⁶⁸ These educators complained that because girls' education was not valued in traditional Taiwanese society, it was difficult to increase enrollment rates. Japanese educators also documented the discouraging attitude that schoolgirls in the early colonial period encountered: "Although we saw twelve [girl] enrollees during the time when language training centers were in operation, many were ridiculed by people around them. Some quit school after a few days. Although it was a difficult situation, some continued schooling by dressing up as boys."¹⁶⁹ Taiwanese people were not used to seeing girls attending schools in public in the early colonial period because few girls had done so during the Qing period. Before 1915, there were fewer than 3,000 girls enrolled in school for the first time each year. The number of new enrollees increased dramatically beginning in 1916.¹⁷⁰ In the 1920s, about 12,000 girls started school each year. New girl enrollees increased from 15,000 in 1930 to over 57,000 in 1940.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸ *Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi*, 251.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 248.

¹⁷⁰ I have not found sources or studies that explain why the number increased in 1916.

¹⁷¹ You, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan de nüzi jiaoyu*, 288.

Table 1. Number of Primary Schools and Schoolchildren

Year	Number of Taiwanese Primary Schools	Total Number of School-children	Number of Taiwanese Schoolgirls	Number of Schoolboys	Percentage of School-Age Girls Enrolled	Percentage of School-Age Boys Enrolled
1898	76	7,838	290	7,548	—	—
1908	203	35,991	3,350	32,641	1.02%	8.15%
1919	438	131,826	21,961	109,865	7.36%	32.42%
1933	769	295,061	79,864	215,197	20.61%	52.55%
1937	—	450,032	134,651	297,946	29.83%	61.84%
1941	—	680,577	259,295	421,282	48.70%	73.59%
1943	—	707,352	289,810	417,642	60.95%	80.86%

Source: *Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi*; You Jianming, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan de nūzi jiaoyu*; Patricia Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan*¹⁷²

Creating Colonial Hierarchy: Segregation by Nationality

Education was the main tool the colonial government used to implement the assimilation project. It trained Taiwanese to become Japanese not only by learning to speak Japanese, but also by imitating Japanese customs and displaying reverence to the emperor. In other words, through education, the colonial government sought to assimilate the colonized population as cultural Japanese. The assimilation policy was based on the principle of “the superiority of the Japanese national spirit.”¹⁷³ Its foundational principle was an insistence on “the possibility of transplanting the elements that constitute[d] the essence of [the Japanese] nation into a different

¹⁷² The data for the number of primary schools came from *Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi*, 408-410. The numbers and percentages of schoolchildren came from You, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan de nūzi jiaoyu*, 286, except for 1898 where the numbers came from Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan*, 19.

¹⁷³ Leo T.S. Ching, *Becoming Japanese: Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 104, 106.

people,” anyone whom the Japanese considered inferior to them.¹⁷⁴ Japan insisted on the assimilation project because it legitimized Japanese colonialism by differentiating itself from Western colonialism.¹⁷⁵ Nonetheless, discrimination was inherent in the Japanese assimilation project because Japan constructed the colonized population as Japanese subjects without giving them equal political or economic rights with the ethnic Japanese population in Taiwan.¹⁷⁶ This inherent discrimination showed up in the segregated school system that the colonial government set up in Taiwan: Japanese children attended elementary schools (Jp. *shōgakkō*), Han Taiwanese children attended primary schools (Jp. *kōgakkō*), Taiwanese aborigines’ children who lived on the plains attended aborigine primary schools (Jp. *banjin kōgakkō*), and Taiwanese aborigines who lived in the mountainous areas attended aborigine children’s educational centers (Jp. *bandō kyōikusho*).

From the start, the colonial government segregated Taiwanese and Japanese students to achieve different educational goals as a way to create a colonial hierarchy. The same year that the *Taiwan Primary School Ordinance* was promulgated, the colonial government also promulgated the *Official Elementary School System of the Governor-General’s Office of Taiwan* to set up primary education for Japanese children in Taiwan.¹⁷⁷ The physical segregation of Taiwanese and Japanese

¹⁷⁴ Leo Ching (105) cites Yee Yong-suk’s study on the ideology of assimilation in colonial Korea. Yee Yong-suk, “‘Dōka to wa nanika’ [What is ‘dōka’?], *Gendai shisō* 24, no. 7, 1996: 148-157.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 106.

¹⁷⁷ The colonial government promulgated the *Official Elementary School System of the Office of the Governor-General of Taiwan* (Jp. *Taiwan sōtokufu shōgakkō kansei*

schoolchildren and the different curricula in these two systems reinforced the unequal status of the two groups. Compared to the goal of assimilation in Taiwanese schools, educational goals in Japanese schools focused more on providing a general education that would prepare Japanese children for secondary and higher education.¹⁷⁸ Except for the fact that education was not compulsory and elementary education was not free in Taiwan, Japanese children in Taiwan received the same lessons and used the same textbooks as their counterparts in the metropole.¹⁷⁹ Enrollment rates of Japanese children in Taiwan exceeded 90% during the entire colonial period, and were over 99% starting in the 1930s.¹⁸⁰ The goal of elementary education was training

台湾総督府小学校官制) on July 28, 1898. According to this regulation, these elementary schools replaced the Fourth Attached School in which Japanese students had been enrolled since 1897. *Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi*, 411, 424-425.

¹⁷⁸ You Jianming explains that the colonial government set up programs for Japanese girls to continue their education beyond the primary level starting in 1904. In October 1904, the government set up the National Language School Third Attached School, a four-year girls' middle school that accepted elementary school graduates of ages 12 and up. In 1907, the institution was renamed Governor-General's Office Middle School (Jp. *Sōtokufu kōtō jogakkō* 総督府高等女学校). The school only accepted students from Japanese elementary schools (Jp. *kōtō shogakkō* 高等小学校). You stated that the quality of middle school education of Japanese girls was the same as that in the metropole, and exceeded that of the institutions that Taiwanese girls attended. You, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan de nüzi jiaoyu*, 62.

¹⁷⁹ Tsurumi, 33. Japanese parents in Japan no longer paid tuition for their children enrolled in elementary school after 1900, but their counterparts continued to pay tuition in Taiwan. Tuition and local funding helped finance Japanese elementary schools in Taiwan. Li, *Ri zhi shiqi Taiwan de jiaoyu caizheng*, 61.

¹⁸⁰ I do not have a source for the enrollment and attendance rates of Japanese children in Taiwan. However, I have a source that tells me the rates for Japanese girls. From this, I assume the rates for Japanese boys were the same, if not more, than those for Japanese girls. Except in 1909 when less than 90% (at 89.58%) of Japanese girls were enrolled in school, their enrollment rate always exceeded 90%. Starting in 1924, their enrollment rates increased from 98% in 1924 to 99% in 1933. Their enrollment rate

schoolchildren to become “law-abiding, productive, moral, and patriotic citizens.”¹⁸¹ Taiwanese parents and children living under Japanese rule understood that Japanese elementary schools were superior: they had better buildings and equipment, more highly qualified teachers, and a better teacher-student ratio.¹⁸² The government intended to maintain the colonizer-colonized hierarchy—where ethnic Japanese from Japan would continue to be technicians, managers, administrators, and professionals needed to develop the Taiwanese economy.¹⁸³ The purpose of primary education of Taiwanese children was to ensure a source of “unskilled and semiskilled labor for new industries” in Taiwan.¹⁸⁴ The physical segregation and difference in school curricula persisted until the end of colonial rule.

The education that Taiwanese girls received was aimed at producing gendered colonial subjects. In contrast, Japanese girls in Taiwan received a general education with less emphasis on womanly training than the one for Taiwanese girls. In 1897, the government set up the Fourth Attached School to the Language School for Japanese children, offering six years of primary education and two years of advanced study. The 1898 ordinance required Japanese schoolgirls to take ethics, reading, essay-writing, calligraphy, arithmetic, Japanese geography, Japanese history, science, drawing, singing, exercises, and sewing.¹⁸⁵ Japanese girls only had to take one

remained at 99% for the rest of the colonial period. You, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan de nüzi jiaoyu*, 286.

¹⁸¹ Tocco, “Made in Japan: Meiji Women’s Education,” 51.

¹⁸² Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan*, 96.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 53.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 58.

¹⁸⁵ *Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi*, 411.

womanly training course—sewing—compared to sewing, artificial-flower making, embroidery, and home economics—four womanly training courses—for Taiwanese girls.¹⁸⁶

In Taiwan and the metropole, Japanese girl students had higher enrollment rates and were less likely to experience gender segregation at the primary level than Taiwanese girls. Compared to Taiwanese girls who were in separate institutions of the Girls' Department and the Third Attached School in 1897,¹⁸⁷ Japanese schoolgirls by government regulation were segregated from boys from fifth grade on, but not before.¹⁸⁸ Although details of implementation for the early period are unclear, gender segregation of Japanese students varied from institution to institution in the later colonial period. For example, Nosaki Azuma was in charge of an all-boys' fourth-grade class at Keelung No. 2 Elementary School, a coed school, in 1930.¹⁸⁹ Igarashi Shigeo was in an all-boys' class as a third-grader at Karen Port Elementary School, a coed school, in the mid-1930s.¹⁹⁰ Yatsuda Harateruko recalled that her coed school,

¹⁸⁶ You, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan de nüzi jiaoyu*, 56.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 62.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 60-61.

¹⁸⁹ Nosaki Azuma 野崎東, *Shōwa wo iki ta kyōshi — Taiwan hen* 昭和を生きた教師 — 台湾編 [Teachers who lived during the Showa Period—Those who were in Taiwan], in *Nisshin shōgakkō dōsōkai* 日新小学校同窓会 [Nisshin Elementary School Alumni Association] (Tokyo: Nisshin shōgakkō dōsōkai, 1995), 12.

¹⁹⁰ Igarashi Shigeo 五十嵐重郎, “Tenkō ni tsugu tenkō soshite tenkyō” 転校につぐ転校そして転居 [Transferred School after School and Moved Elsewhere], in *Kaokayama* 花崗山 [Kaokayama] (Chiba ken: Karen kō shōgakkō dōsōkai, 2005), 30. Hayashi Takatoshi 林隆俊, “Kokyō wa utsukushiku natsukashii” 故郷は美しく懐かしい [Hometown is beautiful and nostalgic], in *Kaokayama* 花崗山 [Kaokayama], ed. Karen kō shōgakkō dōsōkai 花蓮港小学校同窓会 (Chiba ken: Karen kō shōgakkō dōsōkai, 2005), 59.

Taihoku No. 1 Normal School Attached Elementary School, had boys-only, girls-only, and mixed-gender first-grader classes when she was in first grade in 1921. As a fourth-grader, she was in a third-and-fourth grade mixed-gender class.¹⁹¹ Lin Pingchuan, a Taiwanese who attended a Japanese elementary school from 1937 to 1943, was in coed class until fourth grade, with boys and girls sitting in different columns. He recalled that gender segregation began in fifth grade.¹⁹² These cases showed that schools had control over how to implement gender segregation, and did not necessarily adhere to government regulations. There was never a Japanese girls-only elementary school in Taiwan; Japanese schoolgirls always attended coed elementary schools, although some were in girls-only classes. Even though gender segregation was implemented in some Japanese elementary schools in Taiwan, it did not seem to influence Japanese girls' enrollment rates. In 1908, 90% of school-age Japanese girls were attending elementary school in Taiwan. The percentage reached 97% in 1921, and 99% in 1934 in Taiwan.¹⁹³

Japanese acceptance of the necessity of educating girls was the reason why gender segregation was less widespread and Japanese girls' enrollment rate in Taiwan

¹⁹¹ Yatsuda Harateruko was born in 1915, and began schooling in 1921. Yatsuda Harateruko 奴田原輝子, *Kyōiku no komichi* 教育の小径 [The Pathway of Education](Tokyo: Ayumi shuppan,1985), 13, 19.

¹⁹² Lin Pingchuan (林平泉) began attending Giran Elementary School in 1937. The full transcript of Lin Pingchuan's presentation is published in Lin Pingchuan 林平泉, interview, *Yilan wenxian congkan 9 — Yilan qilao tan ri zhi xia de junshi yu jiaoyu* 宜蘭文獻叢刊 9 — 宜蘭耆老談 日治下的軍事與教育 [Collection of Yilan Primary Documents: Discussion of Military Matters and Education under Japanese Rule by Yilan Seniors], ed. Lin Huiyu 林惠玉 (Yilan: Fucheng yinshua xingye gufen youxian gongsi, 1996), 181-182.

¹⁹³ You, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan de nüzi jiaoyu*, 286.

was similar to that in the metropole. The Japanese government experienced low enrollment rates of girls at first.¹⁹⁴ Therefore, local Japanese governments implemented gender segregation in the late nineteenth century and experienced some success.¹⁹⁵ The central government required compulsory education at the primary level starting in 1872.¹⁹⁶ The elementary school enrollment rate was 72% for boys

¹⁹⁴ The Japanese government had trouble increasing girls' school attendance rates because many Japanese believed women did not need to be literate, as their only purpose was childbearing and child rearing. Kimi Kara, "Challenges to Education for Girls and Women in Modern Japan: Past and Present," in *Japanese Women: New Feminist Perspectives on the Past, Present, and Future*, ed. Kumiko Fujimura-Fanselow and Atsuko Kameda (Feminist Press, 1995), 96, 99.

¹⁹⁵ Likely influenced by the Neo-Confucian idea of gender segregation from the Tokugawa period (1603-1868), local government officials believed gender segregation would increase girls' enrollment numbers. Therefore, although national educational regulations did not stipulate gender segregation, local efforts to increase girls' enrollment numbers included gender segregation in elementary schools as a strategy. The Kokura prefectural government set up four girls' elementary schools in 1873, although three years later, these four schools were combined with boys' schools. Coeducation did not reduce girls' enrollment rates in Kokura Prefecture as over 90% of school-aged girls enrolled in school in 1901, and 98% in 1907, higher than the national average of 96%. Kitakyūshū josei shi hensan jikkō iin kai hen, ed., 北九州女性史編纂委員会, *Onna no kiseki Kita Kyūshū — Kitakyūshū josei no 100 nen shi* 北九州女性の100年史 [Traces of Women from Northern Kyūshū: The 100 Years of History of Women from Northern Kyūshū] (Tokyo: Domesu shuppan, 2005), 105, 106, 109. The Fukuoka prefectural government also recommended that local officials set up girls' elementary schools or girls-only classes in 1885. In some coed schools in Fukuoka, gender segregation was implemented in classrooms and on playgrounds. Fukuoka ken josei shi hensan jikkō iin kai 福岡県女性史編纂委員会, ed., *Hikari wo kazasu onna tachi — Fukuoka ken josei no ayumi* 光をかざす女たち — 福岡県女性のあゆみ [Women who Shed Light on History — Paths Taken by Women of Fukuoka Prefecture] (Fukuoka shi: Nishi nippon shinbun sha, 1993), 150, 151.

¹⁹⁶ Monbusho, ed. 文部省, "Gakusei" 学制 [Educational System] *Gakusei hyakunen shi shiryō hen* 学制百年史資料編 [One Hundred Years of the History of the Educational System: Primary Sources], accessed April 25, 2015, http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317943.htm.

and 37% for girls in 1892.¹⁹⁷ Girls' education became a widely accepted concept by the time the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) took place.¹⁹⁸ This was partly because Japanese parents agreed with their leaders that the mobilization of educated and loyal women was necessary to win a war.¹⁹⁹ The combination of the compulsory mandate and the Japanese parents' acceptance of education for girls resulted in over 90% of Japanese girls enrolling in school in the metropole at the turn of the twentieth century.

Teachers as Agents of Assimilation

Teachers were the main agents in the assimilation project for the colonial government. They were instrumental in helping with increasing enrollment rates by visiting the homes of school-age children.²⁰⁰ Primary schools had both Japanese and Taiwanese teachers with two types of certification: full teaching credentials and temporary. Taiwanese trained in local teacher-training programs made up the majority of primary school teachers until the start of WWII, when fully certified

¹⁹⁷ Koyama, *Ryōsai kenbo to iu kihan*, 41.

¹⁹⁸ *Fukuoka ken josei*, 151.

¹⁹⁹ Uno, "Womanhood, War, and Empire," 500.

²⁰⁰ Ou Mingzao, born in a rural area in Yilan in 1901, recalled a teacher visiting his family to recruit him to enroll in school. He said teachers first created a list of school-aged children from the household registration records at the local police station, and then investigated if these children were enrolled in school. Teachers would then visit the homes of those children who were not attending school. A full transcript of Ou Mingzao's interview (歐明灶) is published in Ou Mingzao 歐明灶, interview, *Yilan wenxian congkan 9 — Yilan qilao tan ri zhi xia de junshi yu jiaoyu* 宜蘭文獻叢刊 9 — 宜蘭耆老談 日治下的軍事與教育 [Collection of Yilan Primary Documents: Discussion of Military Matters and Education under Japanese Rule by Yilan Seniors], ed. Lin Huiyu 林惠玉 (Yilan: Fucheng yinshua xingye gufen youxian gongsi, 1996), 178-179.

Japanese teachers began to dominate primary schools.²⁰¹ Many Japanese received teacher training in Japan, and some received it in Taiwan. Fully certified Taiwanese teachers made up about one-third to one-half of all primary school teachers from 1903 to the 1930s. Japanese teachers with full teaching credentials made up nearly half of all primary school teachers during the wartime period between 1937 and 1943. In contrast, the percentage of Taiwanese temporary teachers was high in the early colonial period, ranging from a quarter to 40% of all primary school teachers from 1903 to 1922, but declining afterward until the beginning of WWII. Temporary teachers were an important group in primary education because they helped mitigate the problem of teacher shortage as a result of high percentage of Taiwanese teachers quitting. The percentage of Taiwanese temporary teachers reached its lowest of 3.6% in 1934 and began increasing steadily and reached a quarter of all primary school teachers in 1943. Japanese temporary teachers remained under 10% of all primary school teachers for most of the colonial period. In 1943, there were 24.7% Taiwanese temporary teachers, 5.85% Japanese temporary teachers, 23.22% fully certified Taiwanese teachers, and 46.20% fully certified Japanese teachers.²⁰²

²⁰¹ Wu, *Taiwan shifan jiaoyu*, 191. For detail on normal school training, see Wu, *Taiwan shifan jiaoyu*. For detail on non-normal school training programs for primary school teachers, see Xie Peijin 謝佩錦, “Ri zhi shiqi Taiwan gong xuexiao jiaoshi zhi yanjiu” 日治時期臺灣公學校教師之研究 [Study of Teachers in Taiwanese Primary Schools under Japanese Rule] (master’s thesis, Guoli Xinju shifan xueyuan, 2005).

²⁰² Japanese temporary teachers reached over 10% between 1938 and 1940, at 12.7% in 1938 and 1939, and 11.6% in 1940. For a complete list of the number of teachers and the percentage of teachers by credential, nationality, and gender between 1903 and 1943, see Appendix 4-4 in Wu, *Taiwan shifan jiaoyu*, 158-2.

Izawa Shuji, the first chief of the educational bureau in Taiwan, set up the first teacher-training program for Japanese teachers in Taiwan. He recruited the initial group of teachers from Japan starting in 1896. Izawa was also the first one to propose providing a public education for the local population.²⁰³ The government trained a total of 266 Japanese in the two- to four-month programs before September 1896. In the early colonial period, recruits were Japanese teachers with a minimum of five years of teaching experience from Japan. They received training in subjects such as the Taiwanese Hoklo or Hakka language, Japanese language pedagogy, Chinese language usage, exercises, music, and natural history.²⁰⁴ The first group of 45 recruits from Tokyo arrived in Taiwan in April 1896.²⁰⁵ Starting in September 1896, the colonial government set up a more formal training program in the National Language School. Recruits were ages eighteen to thirty with four years of middle school education. With free tuition, they would receive two years of training, taking courses in ethics, education, Japanese, classical Chinese, Taiwanese language, bookkeeping, geography, history, mathematics, science, music, and exercises before fulfilling a

²⁰³ Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan*, 13. For a brief history of early educational efforts by Izawa Shuji (1851-1917), the first chief of the education bureau in Taiwan under Japanese rule, which focused on training Japanese teachers and Taiwanese clerks and interpreters, see Tsurumi, 13-17. There was also a training program for Taiwanese because there were not enough Japanese teachers in Taiwan. For a brief description of the early teacher-training programs, see Yoshino Hidetomo 吉野秀公, *Taiwan kyōiku shi* 台湾教育史 [History of Education in Taiwan] (Taihoku: Taiwan nichichi shimpō, 1927), 10-13. For an overview of different training programs, the total number of years of training, and the number of years of compulsory service after completing the program throughout the colonial period, see Wu, *Taiwan shifan jiaoyu*, 204-205.

²⁰⁴ Wu, *Taiwan shifan jiaoyu*, 15-17.

²⁰⁵ *Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi*, 21.

minimum of three years of teaching service.²⁰⁶ In 1902, the requirement changed to Japanese ages eighteen to twenty-five.²⁰⁷ The colonial government attracted Japanese from Japan by giving recruits more benefits than teachers in Japan. For example, the starting monthly salary for Japanese teachers in Taiwan ranged from 40 to 60 yen, compared to 25 yen for teachers in Japan.²⁰⁸

Being a schoolteacher was a highly desirable and competitive profession in Taiwan, with middle-class Japanese making up the majority of the Japanese teacher population. Most Japanese teachers came from middle-class backgrounds. Most recruits for teachers' training programs came directly from Japan with middle school education, although starting in the second half of the 1920s, Japanese who grew up in Taiwan began to enroll in these programs.²⁰⁹ Among the 123 Japanese students who received teachers' training between 1898 and 1905, 80 students or two-thirds of students came from the commoner class, and one-third of them were from the former samurai class. Approximately 50% to 60% of students came from agricultural backgrounds, which was similar to the pattern in Japan.²¹⁰ In Taiwan, especially after 1922, the family background of Japanese normal school students who were raised in Taiwan was different from those in Japan. Over half of them had guardians who

²⁰⁶ Wu, *Taiwan shifan jiaoyu*, 15-17.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 20.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 79-83, 89.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 87.

²¹⁰ This was because universities had limited admission numbers and many people used normal school as a stepping stone into politics and the business world in the early Meiji period. However, by the latter half of the 1890s, the teaching profession did not have a high social status and enjoyed fewer benefits than the industrial and business sectors, and the class background of teachers shifted from the samurai class to the peasant class. *Ibid.*, 105.

worked for the government or in the education sector, and 15% were white-collar workers.²¹¹

The colonial government implemented an admission procedure that set a higher quota for Japanese students than Taiwanese.²¹² The average admission rate for Japanese applicants was 23%, and reached the highest percentage of 60% in 1939. The Taiwanese student admission rate was 10% in 1923, and reached its lowest percentage of 2.3% in 1929.²¹³ The high acceptance rate of Japanese students compared to the low acceptance rate of Taiwanese students meant that as a whole, Taiwanese students were more academically prepared than Japanese students in normal schools. Taiwanese normal school students also came from the upper classes, compared to Japanese students who were mostly from middle-class backgrounds.²¹⁴

Table 2. Fully Certified Primary School Teachers, 1903–1943

Year	Total Number of Teachers	Number of Fully Certified Taiwanese Teachers	Percentage Fully Certified Taiwanese Teachers	Number of Fully Certified Japanese Teachers	Percentage of Fully Certified Japanese Teachers
1903	649	128	19.7%	224	34.5%
1910	1,002	332	33.2%	303	30.2%
1919	3,287	950	28.9%	827	25.2%
1922	5,011	2,012	40.2%	1,215	24.2%
1930	5,414	2,968	54.8%	1,861	34.4%
1936	6,709	2,927	43.6%	2,817	42.0%
1939	8,763	2,714	31.0%	4,268	48.7%
1941	10,770	2,701	25.1%	5,407	50.2%
1943	13,173	3,059	23.2%	6,086	46.2%

²¹¹ Ibid., 106-107.

²¹² Ibid., 100.

²¹³ Ibid., 102.

²¹⁴ Ibid., 106-107.

Source: Wu Wenxing, *Rijū shiqi Taiwan shifan jiaoyü zhi yanjiu*²¹⁵

Table 3. Temporary Primary School Teachers, 1903–1943

Year	Total Number of Teachers	Number of Taiwanese Temporary Teachers	Percentage of Taiwanese Temporary Teachers	Number of Japanese Temporary Teachers	Percentage of Japanese Temporary Teachers
1903	649	257	39.6%	40	6.2%
1910	1,002	341	34.0%	26	2.6%
1919	3,287	1,270	38.6%	240	7.3%
1922	5,011	1,439	29.8%	291	5.8%
1930	5,414	286	5.3%	299	5.5%
1936	6,709	266	4.0%	699	10.4%
1939	8,763	662	7.6%	1,119	12.7%
1941	10,770	1,633	15.2%	1,029	9.5%
1943	13,173	3,257	24.7%	771	5.9%

Source: Wu Wenxing, *Rijū shiqi Taiwan shifan jiaoyü zhi yanjiu*²¹⁶

While Taiwanese teachers hardly mentioned the guiding principle of their teaching in published interviews or memoirs, Japanese teachers recalled their duties as following the “Shibasan’iwa spirit,” the fundamental spirit of all Taiwanese educators. Shibasan’iwa was a place in Shilin, Taipei, where Taiwanese resistance fighters had killed six Japanese educators in January 1896. The colonial government called the attackers “bandits” and honored these six educators as martyrs for the education of Taiwanese children.²¹⁷ The colonial government used their deaths to symbolize the greatest sacrifice an educator could make in order to educate Taiwanese children. Teacher-training programs indoctrinated students with this

²¹⁵ Ibid., 158-2.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ *Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi*, 18, 21-31. An official account of the killing can be found in *Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi*, 22-31.

idea.²¹⁸ In *Bridge to Taiwan*, a collection of articles published in 1981, many Japanese former educators and teachers remembered the “Shibasan’iwa spirit” as the foundation of education in Taiwan. Teaching in Taiwan from 1910 to 1923, Kitō Eiji said the Shibasan’iwa spirit made him realize that an educator had to be prepared to “throw one’s life away at any time.” He taught Taiwanese students with these two goals in mind: “to improve Taiwan’s culture, and to cultivate moral national subjects.”²¹⁹ Miyazaki Saiji believed that by focusing on training national subjects (Jp. *kokumin*) using the Shibasan’iwa spirit and the Imperial Rescript on Education (Jp. *Kyōiku chokugo*) as the guiding principles,²²⁰ he and other teachers helped make education in Taiwan a success.²²¹

Many Japanese teachers, such as Ueda Sumio and Yamada Kurō, continued to show their respect to the Shibasan’iwa spirit even after Japanese rule had ended in Taiwan. Ueda Sumio recalled that the Shibasan’iwa spirit was central to education in

²¹⁸ Hayashi Shizuo 林 静雄, “Kōgakkō seikatsu” 公学校生活 [Life in Primary School], in *Taiwan e no kakehashi* 台湾への架け橋 [Bridge to Taiwan], ed. Yamamoto Ryōichi 山本良一 (Osaka: Hōrai kai kansai shibu, 1981), 206.

²¹⁹ Kitō Eiji 鬼頭榮次, “Watshi no ashiato” 私の足跡 [My footprint], in *Taiwan e no kakehashi* 台湾への架け橋 [Bridge to Taiwan], ed. Yamamoto Ryōichi 山本良一 (Osaka: Hōrai kai kansai shibu, 1981), 155.

²²⁰ A Chinese version can be found in Yoshino, *Taiwan kyōiku shi*, 112. The full original text of the *Imperial Rescript* in Japanese, a Chinese translation, and an English translation are available in “Kyōiku chokugo” 教育勅語 [Imperial Rescript on Education], in *Taiwan e no kakehashi* 台湾への架け橋 [Bridge to Taiwan], ed. Yamamoto Ryōichi 山本良一 (Osaka: Hōrai kai kansai shibu, 1981), 241-243.

²²¹ Miyazaki Saiji 宮崎才治, “Taiwan kyōiku o kaerimi te” 台湾教育を顧みて [Minding the State of Education in Taiwan], in *Taiwan e no kakehashi* 台湾への架け橋 [Bridge to Taiwan], ed. Yamamoto Ryōichi 山本良一 (Osaka: Hōrai kai kansai shibu, 1981), 209.

Taiwan. He defined it as “[the] heart to sacrifice for education [in Taiwan]. It’s the same spirit as that of those who would die for the nation. The basis of it is to love one’s country, one’s family, and the students you teach.” As a resident of Kumamoto city, Ueda would visit the grave of Hirai Kazuma, a Kumamoto native who was one of the six Japanese educators killed in 1896, to pay his respects every year on February 1.²²² Yamada began teaching in Taiwan after receiving one year of teacher training in 1925. He said he had modeled his teaching on the Shibasan’iwa spirit, and embraced the imperialization policy without hesitation.²²³ He visited Shibasan’iwa again to pay his respects when he visited Taiwan and reunited with his former students in August 1967.

Former Japanese teachers claimed impartiality was one of their guiding principles in educating Taiwanese children, as if to argue against any accusation of discrimination against Taiwanese children on school grounds. Tōyama Waketsuyoshi tied this principle to the Shibasan’iwa spirit: “[The] main goal of education in Taiwan was impartiality (Jp. *isshidōjin*) and the Shibasan’iwa spirit ... [We followed Izawa

²²² Ueda Sumio 上田寿美夫, “Sōshiju Taiwan no tsuioku” 相思樹 (台湾の追憶) [Tree of Affection: Memory of Taiwan], in *Taiwan e no kakehashi* 台湾への架け橋 [Bridge to Taiwan], ed. Yamamoto Ryōichi 山本良一 (Osaka: Hōrai kai kansai shibu, 1981), 211.

²²³ Chapter Three has a detailed discussion of the imperialization policy (Jp. *kominka*, 皇民化). Tanaka Kurō 田中九郎, “Inori tsuzuke te nijūichi nen” 祈りつづけて二十一年 [Twenty-one years of continuous praying], in *Taiwan e no kakehashi* 台湾への架け橋 [Bridge to Taiwan], ed. Yamamoto Ryōichi 山本良一 (Osaka: Hōrai kai kansai shibu, 1981), 55, 64. Tanaka Kurō 田中九郎, “Haruka nariki waga michi” 遥なりきわが道 [The Distant Road], in *Taiwan e no kakehashi* 台湾への架け橋 [Bridge to Taiwan], ed. Yamamoto Ryōichi 山本良一 (Osaka: Hōrai kai kansai shibu, 1981), 188.

Shuji's goal of] 'Let's educate the Taiwanese until they become Japanese subjects (Jp. *kokumin*).'" By linking impartiality with Japanese assimilation, Tōyama assumed that education was an equal opportunity for all non-ethnic-Japanese subjects to become Japanese. He also claimed that this impartiality and the assimilation policy did not change in the fifty years of colonial rule. He called the death of the six educators at Shibasan'iwa as embodying "the true essence of education in Taiwan."²²⁴ Tōyama's invocation of impartiality and sacrifice portrayed colonial education positively, as if colonial education was for the sake of the colonized population, and not the colonists. Watanabe Yaeko, a former primary schoolteacher in Taihoku from 1926 to the end of WWII, also evoked impartiality as the main principle of teaching in Taiwan. She proudly recalled her students thought she was fair, treating students of different nationality, socioeconomic backgrounds, and levels of literacy the same way.²²⁵ The claim of impartiality by former Japanese teachers revealed that they accepted the rhetoric of the colonial government in regard to assimilation.

Although former Japanese teachers recalled their selfless devotion to educating Taiwanese children by evoking the Shibasan'iwa spirit in the postwar years, during the colonial period, some Taiwanese and Japanese people criticized primary school teachers—Japanese and Taiwanese alike—or not fulfilling their duty

²²⁴ Tōyama Waketsuyoshi 遠山和気雄, "Hōtai ni omō hō'on kansha" 訪台に思う 報恩感謝 [Recalling the Visit to Taiwan: Repayment and Gratitude], in *Taiwan e no kakehashi* 台湾への架け橋 [Bridge to Taiwan], ed. Yamamoto Ryōichi 山本良一 (Osaka: Hōrai kai kansai shibu, 1981), 64-65.

²²⁵ Watanabe Yaeko 渡辺八重子, "Isshidōjin" 一視同仁 [Impartiality], in *Taiwan e no kakehashi* 台湾への架け橋 [Bridge to Taiwan], ed. Yamamoto Ryōichi 山本良一 (Osaka: Hōrai kai kansai shibu, 1981), 212-213.

as teachers.²²⁶ In the early 1930s, some Japanese pointed out that Japanese recruits for teachers' programs in the early colonial period went to Taiwan because they wanted to help the country, but those in the later colonial period did it to make more money. They concluded that the quality of normal school students, and therefore teachers, was not great.²²⁷ In the 1920s, when Taiwanese demanded equal educational opportunities with the Japanese, some Taiwanese intellectuals criticized Japanese educators and teachers for not devoting themselves to educating Taiwanese students. Taiwanese teachers said that if Japanese teachers in primary schools were half as serious about teaching as those in Japanese elementary schools, Taiwanese children would enjoy a quality education.²²⁸

Assimilation through School Curriculum

Curriculum of Experimental Assimilation, 1898–1919

In 1898, the colonial government designed a school curriculum to assimilate the minds and bodies of Taiwanese children. The 1898 ordinance stated the goal of the common schools as: “At the same time as to make them proficient in Japanese, the mission of common schools was to teach ethics and practical knowledge to

²²⁶ Wu, *Taiwan shifan jiaoyu*, 188-189.

²²⁷ Citing another educator, Ootorii Mamorosan 大鳥居護三 in 1925, Imamura Yoshio 今村義夫 lamented that people looked down on elementary school teachers as babysitters and paid them low salaries. Therefore, he continued, few talented people from good family backgrounds were willing to become teachers. Imamura said only mediocre people or people from poorer family backgrounds would become teachers. He also said there were rumors of some people becoming teachers to avoid the military draft. *Ibid.*, 91-92.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, 182.

Taiwanese children in order to cultivate the spirit of a national subject.”²²⁹ All students, boys and girls, were required to take six years of Japanese language, ethics, essay-writing, reading, calligraphy, arithmetic, singing, and exercise lessons, according to the 1898 ordinance. The curriculum changed slightly with the *Revised Primary School Regulation* of 1907: essay-writing, reading, and calligraphy lessons were removed, and classical Chinese was added.²³⁰

Within the educational curriculum, the Japanese language was the most important lesson that primary school children of all grade levels had to take because it functioned practically as a tool of communication and ideologically it contained Japanese spirit. Starting in 1898, out of twenty-eight hours of lessons every week, language and essay-writing, reading, and calligraphy lessons together constituted twenty-one hours for first- and second-graders, twenty-two hours for third- and fourth-graders, and twenty-three hours for fifth- and sixth-graders.²³¹ The colonial government also stated a practical purpose of the language course: the medium for

²²⁹ *Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi*, 229.

²³⁰ Reading and essay-writing lessons were incorporated into the language lesson. Calligraphy was not mentioned in the language lesson, but it was probably part of the writing exercises (*Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi*, 285). Required courses for a six-year primary school according to the *Revised Primary School Regulations* (Jp. *kogakkō kisoku kaisei* 公学校規則改正) included Japanese language, ethics, arithmetic, exercise, and singing for all six years of education. Girls had to take sewing classes starting in third grade. Boys began their occupational course in fifth grade. *Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi*, 278, 282.

²³¹ The required weekly hours of instruction for the language and essay writing course were: five hours for first and second graders, six hours for third and fourth graders, and nine hours for fifth and sixth graders. The required hours of instruction of reading were twelve hours for all grade levels. The required hours of instruction for calligraphy were four hours for first to fourth graders, and two hours for fifth and sixth graders. Language and essay writing, reading, and calligraphy lessons were essentially the teaching of the Japanese language. *Ibid.*, 233.

students to learn lessons in school. The 1898 ordinance stated: the Japanese language lesson sought to train students to be able to “express themselves and understand others in conversation and writing. [Their language proficiency would] then allow them to understand ethics, history, geography, science, industry, and other courses that are suitable for children.”²³²

Both boys and girls learned about women’s roles in language lessons as part of the assimilation process. The colonial government incorporated lessons on normative gender roles in all language readers published between 1901 and 1942.²³³

²³² Ibid., 263.

²³³ The colonial government published several language readers in five different periods. *Language Reader for Taiwan* was published in 1901 (Jp. *Taiwan kyōka-yō-sho kokugo yomihon* 台灣教科用書國語讀本 府定第一期); *Primary School Language Reader* was published in 1913 (Jp. *Kōgakkō yō yomihon* 公學校用國民讀本府定第二期); *Primary School Language Reader First Kind* was published in 1923 (Jp. *Kōgakkō yō yomihon dai ichi shu* 公學校用國語讀本(第一種) 府定第三期); *Primary School Language Reader Second Kind* was published in 1930 (Jp. *Kōgakkō yō yomihon dai ichi shu* 公學校用國語讀本(第二種) 府定第三期); *Primary School Language Reader* was published in 1937 (Jp. *Kōgakkō yō yomihon* (Jp. *Kōgakkō yō yomihon* 公學校用國語讀本府定第四期); and *Primary Level Language Reader* was published in 1942 (Jp. *Shotōka kokugo* 初等科國語 府定第五期). Textbook titles came from Wang Jinque 王錦雀, *Ri zhi shiqi Taiwan gongmin jiaoyu yu gongmin texing* 日治時期台灣公民教育與公民特性 [Civic Education and Characteristics of Citizens in Taiwan under Japanese Rule] (Taipei: Taiwan guji shuban she, 2005), 190. Lessons focused specifically on gender norms comprised 1.42% of all lessons in the first textbook, used from 1901 to 1912, 1.08% in the second textbook, used from 1913 to 1922, 0.54% in the third textbook titled *Primary School Language Reader First Kind*, used from 1923 to 1936, 0.09% in the fourth textbook titled *Primary School Language Reader*, used from 1937 to 1941, and no data for the last textbook titled *National Language Vol. 1-4* (Jp. *kokugo* コクゴ/こくこ), and *Primary Level National Language* (Jp. *shotōka kokugo* 初等科國語). Chen Hongwen 陳虹文, “Ribei zhimin tongzhi xia Taiwan jiaoyu zhengce zhi yanjiu — Yi gong xuexiao guoyu jiaoke shu neirong fenxi wei li 日本殖民統治下台灣教育政策之研究—以公學校國語教科書內容分析為例 [Study of Educational Policy in

Even though they did not take up a large portion of the course, these lessons undoubtedly helped shape schoolchildren's conceptions of gender roles. In *Language Reader*²³⁴ Volume 6 published in 1901, students learned that a woman's proper role as a wife was to clean the house, care for sick family members, ensure that children had good manners, live thriftily, be diligent about savings, and manage the hygiene of the entire family.²³⁵ The responsibility for the cleanliness (Jp. *seiketsu*), health (Jp. *kenkō*), and hygiene (Jp. *eisei*) of the entire household rested on the housewife's shoulders. Cleanliness referred to one's physical area, such as the house itself or clothes, health referred to bodily well-being, free of illnesses, while hygiene referred to daily habits and practices that served to prevent contracting and spreading diseases.²³⁶ The concepts of cleaning the household, nursing, and childrearing were not new to Taiwanese girls. During the Qing period, housewives had had to cook for the entire family, prepare washing water for their parents-in-law in the morning, clean and organize the entire house, and sew, mend, and wash clothes. During special holidays, they also had to make special foods for deity and ancestral worship.

Taiwan under Japanese Colonial Rule — An Analysis of Contents in Primary School Language Textbooks](master's thesis, Guoli Zhongxuan daxue, 2001), 79. Chen Yijun 陳怡君, "Ri zhi shiqi nüxing ziwo zhuti de shijian — lun Yang Qianhe ji qi zuopin" 日治時期女性自我主體的實踐 — 論楊千鶴及其作品 [The Practice of Subjecthood of Women under Japanese Rule — A Discussion of Yang Qianhe and Her Works] (master's thesis, Guoli Chenggong daxue, 2007), 27.

²³⁴ Language Reader Volumes 1-6 were published in 1901, Volumes 7-9 were published in 1902, and Volumes 10-12 were published in 1903. Lü Mingjun 呂明純, "Eisei seisaku to ōyake gaku-kō eisei kyōiku" 衛生政策と公學校衛生教育 [Health Policy and Health Education in Taiwanese Primary Schools] (master's thesis, Dongwu daxue, 2002), 42.

²³⁵ Ibid., 48-49.

²³⁶ Ibid., 45, 48-52, 69-72.

Taiwanese girls witnessed, if not helped perform, these tasks with their mothers at home under Qing rule.²³⁷ No doubt these practices continued into the Japanese period. The concept of hygiene was not new either, but new modern medicine indicated different hygienic practices from ones suggested by knowledge from traditional Chinese medicine.²³⁸ Schoolgirls learned about a woman's proper role in order to become one in the future; schoolboys learned about it in order to expect their wives to become such people. Lessons on normative gender roles taught in school conformed to what girls and boys were seeing, if not already doing, at home. What was new for Taiwanese girls was learning these concepts in a formal school setting using Japanese, the language that constituted the core of the assimilation project.

While the Japanese-language course was the core of the school curricula, the ethics course was the most memorable course for many Taiwanese women and men because it taught them "morality," which ultimately meant learning how to be obedient loyal subjects of Japan.²³⁹ To be a moral person who was an obedient loyal subject of Japan meant one had to carry her/himself properly at home and in society. The major themes in the ethics course were honesty, hygiene and cleanliness, proper family role and conduct, filial piety, sibling harmony, husband-wife roles, credibility, mutual assistance, public morals, law and order, empathy, sense of shame, modesty,

²³⁷ Zhuo Yiwen 卓意雯, *Qing dai Taiwan funü de shenghuo* 清代臺灣婦女的生活 [The Life of Taiwanese Women during the Qing Period] (Taibei: Zili wanbao she wenhua chuban bu, 1993), 65.

²³⁸ Lü, "Eisei seisaku," 72-73.

²³⁹ See Chapter 5 for a discussion of colonial nostalgia and the ethics course.

thrift, manners and etiquette, and rejection of superstition.²⁴⁰ Themes such as family role and conduct, filial piety, sibling harmony, and husband-wife relationship spoke to the importance of maintaining a harmonious household. Themes such as credibility, mutual assistance, public morals, and law and order were important to the existence of a stable society. These themes overlapped with the *Imperial Rescript on Education*, promulgated on October 30, 1890, on behalf of the Meiji emperor in the metropole.

The training to be a moral person in the ethics course had a gendered dimension that bound men and women to specific roles at home and in society. Although the government did not provide the specifics, the *Taiwan Primary School Regulation* of 1907 stated that teaching methods in the ethics course had to be suitable for girls' and boys' particular character (Jp. *tokusei*).²⁴¹ For example, in a lesson titled "Men's Duties and Women's Duties" from an ethics textbook used from 1914 to 1928,²⁴² students learned that men's role was outside the home and women's was inside the household. The lesson asserted that men and women were born with different characters and thus had different roles to play—men were physically strong and women were gentle by nature. The lesson then explained that men's strength served to protect the family, society, and the nation while women's gentleness served

²⁴⁰ Zhu Ruoying 祝若穎, "Taiwan Ri zhi shiqi gong xuexiao xiushen ke zhi deyu yu tonghua de quxiang yanjiu 台灣日治時期公學校修身科之德育與同化的取向研究 [A Study on the Orientation of Morality and Assimilation in the Ethics Course in Taiwanese Primary Schools under Japanese Rule] (master's thesis, Guoli Zhongzheng daxue, 2005), 86-100.

²⁴¹ *Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi*, 295.

²⁴² Chen, "Nüxing ziwo zhuti," 27.

to manage household matters in order to maintain family harmony and to raise children. By fulfilling their roles, men and women would increase the prosperity of society.²⁴³ One major premise of the ethics lesson was to train girls to be chaste and virtuous.²⁴⁴

Taiwanese schoolchildren also received training to become healthy and strong people who would obey and follow directions in the exercise course as part of being a good Japanese subject and worker. According to Article 14 of *Taiwan Primary School Regulations* of 1898, the main purpose of the exercise course was to enable children to fully develop a healthy body. This goal was gender-neutral.²⁴⁵ Primary school exercises included the basic training of group coordination, marching, and dumbbell exercises.²⁴⁶ First- and second-graders usually learned games, while older children played more competitive games like tug-of-war and obstacle race.²⁴⁷ Because formal instructional hours were short, the lesson was complemented with non-class activities such as walking tours, field trips, and hiking.²⁴⁸ The colonial government focused on body development, team training, and spirit training of schoolchildren, but discouraged individual achievement in exercise lessons and associated extracurricular activities.

²⁴³ Wang, *Taiwan gongmin jiaoyu*, 173.

²⁴⁴ *Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi*, 261.

²⁴⁵ You Jianming 游鑑明, “Ri zhi shiqi Taiwan xuexiao nūzi tiyu de fazhan” 日治時期臺灣學校女子體育的發展 [The Development of Female Physical Education in Taiwanese Schools under Japanese Rule], *Zhongyang yanjiu yuan jindai shi yanjiu suo jikan* 中央研究院近代史研究所集刊 33 (2000), 61.

²⁴⁶ Xu, *Taiwan de jindai xuexiao*, 207.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ You, “Taiwan xuexiao nūzi tiyu,” 27-30.

Although exercise lessons were given to both girls and boys, their gender difference was reflected in the different exercises they did. In the early period, instructors accommodated girls, many of whom had bound feet, by doing simple games like team formation and singing.²⁴⁹ Boys did more active exercises than girls. For example, in 1901, boys participated in running races and competitions while girls participated in marching and games at Daikekan Primary School in Shinnan Town in Hsinchu.²⁵⁰ Taiwanese parents were against exercise lessons because they believed the purpose of the lesson was to send Taiwanese into the military.²⁵¹ Teachers accommodated the Taiwanese custom of foot binding and implemented gendered exercises in order to create healthy women who would then produce healthy children.²⁵²

Students were also required to take singing lessons to further practice the Japanese language and learn about group coordination. The educational regulations stated that the singing course trained students to acquire virtue and a sense of aesthetics, in addition to learning Japanese. Teachers focused on explaining the

²⁴⁹ You Jianming has found that students at Girls' Attached School in 1898 did these simple exercises: team formation, singing, and games for thirty minutes because many girls had bound feet and could not stand for an extended period of time. You, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan de nüzi jiaoyu*, 115.

²⁵⁰ Xu, *Taiwan de jindai xuexiao*, 301.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 210.

²⁵² The colonial government was undoubtedly influenced by ideas from the metropole. Naruse Jinzō, founder of Japan Women's College, explained that physical education created bigger and stronger Japanese women, who would then be able to produce 'fit' offspring for the empire. Sumiko Otsubo, "Engendering Eugenics: Feminists and Marriage Restriction Legislation in the 1920s," in *Gendering Modern Japanese History*, ed. Barbara Molony and Kathleen Uno, 242-243.

meaning of the lyrics to Taiwanese students.²⁵³ In the August 1902 issue of the journal *Taiwan Education* (Jp. *Taiwan kyōiku zasshi*), a Japanese writer explained the benefits of the singing course in Taiwanese primary schools as follows: “Taiwanese students’ enjoyment of singing should be used to inspire their interests in other academic subjects and to assimilate them into becoming Japanese.”²⁵⁴ From early colonial rule to the 1910s, the singing course in primary schools served to supplement the Japanese language and ethics education.²⁵⁵ Japanese educators saw singing as a way to correct students’ Japanese pronunciation and to inculcate patriotism.²⁵⁶ In the early colonial period, Taiwanese parents were against singing lessons in school because they associated singing with courtesans and opera performers from the Qing period, professions with low levels of respect.²⁵⁷ Taiwanese parents viewed school as a sacred ground for learning because it provided the possibility for social mobility. Traditional Chinese academies taught the Confucian classics that prepared boys for the civil service exam. Therefore, Taiwanese parents did not accept singing to be taught on school grounds. However, Taiwanese children enjoyed it.²⁵⁸

²⁵³ *Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi*, 265. Liu Linyu 劉麟玉, *Shokuminchi ka Taiwan ni okeru gakkō shōka kyōiku no seiritsu to tenkai* 植民地下台湾における学校唱歌教育の成立と展開 [The Establishment and Development of Singing Lessons in School in Colonial Taiwan] (Tōkyō: Yūzan kaku, 2005), 47.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 86.

²⁵⁵ Okabe Yoshihiro 岡部芳広, *Shokuminchi Taiwan ni okeru kōgakkō shōka kyōiku* 植民地台湾における公学校唱歌教育 [Singing Lessons in Taiwanese Primary Schools in Colonial Taiwan] (Tōkyō: Akashi shoten, 2007), 173.

²⁵⁶ Xu, *Taiwan de jindai xuexiao*, 216.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 215.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

Taiwanese schoolchildren were required to take classical Chinese until 1922 because the colonial government used it to encourage Taiwanese parents to send their children to public school instead of traditional Chinese academies. Depending on the nationality of the students, the lessons were taught using Taiwanese Hoklo or Taiwanese Hakka, and not Japanese, by a Taiwanese teacher.²⁵⁹ The colonial government claimed that the course was useful as a communication tool between Japanese and Taiwanese in official documents and contracts,²⁶⁰ but in reality the government wanted to compete with traditional Chinese academies in enrolling Taiwanese students.²⁶¹ Without the classical Chinese course, the new public schools

²⁵⁹ The colonial government hired teachers from traditional Chinese academies to teach the Classical Chinese course. *Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi*, 197. When the Japanese educators first arrived in Taiwan, expecting to be able to teach Japanese language to Taiwanese students using Chinese, they found out how useless Chinese Mandarin (Jp. *kango* 官語) was in Taiwan. They had to learn the local languages (Jp. *dogo* 土語), Taiwanese Hoklo and Taiwanese Hakka, in order to communicate and teach. This was why the Japanese teachers who received teachers' training at the Language School and later at normal schools had to learn local languages as part of their credentialing process. (Ibid., 165-166). Before the Chinese Nationalist government took full control of Taiwan and instituted the educational system using Chinese Mandarin as the official language in the post-WWII period, Taiwanese students learned Chinese characters by reading them in Taiwanese Hoklo or Taiwanese Hakka. The government regulation used the term *Taiwango*, which referred to both Taiwanese Hoklo and Hakka languages. (Ibid., 197). However, those students who attended secondary schools studied Classical Chinese by pronouncing everything in Japanese.

²⁶⁰ *Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi*, 198. Ko Ikujo (Hung Yu-ru) 洪郁如, "Yomikaki to shokumin-chi Taiwan no shikiji mondai" 読み書きと植民地 — 台湾の識字問題 [Reading and Writing in the Colony — The Problem of Literacy in Taiwan], *Gengo bunka* 49 (2012). 76.

²⁶¹ Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan*, 20.

would have trouble getting students.²⁶² If classical Chinese was as important a communication tool as the colonial government claimed, then Japanese children in Taiwan should be receiving the lesson as well. However, they did not get classical Chinese lessons in primary school.²⁶³ As Japanese education expanded and more Taiwanese children enrolled in public schools, the need for classical Chinese in the daily lives of Taiwanese people declined as Japanese replaced classical Chinese as the language used in official documents and contracts. The decline of the number of traditional Chinese academies reflected this trend.

The classical Chinese course in the primary school curriculum was gendered in the number of hours of instruction offered to boys and girls. Both boys and girls received five hours of classical Chinese instruction in first and second grades, but starting in the third grade, boys continued to receive five hours while girls only received two, to allow time for schoolgirls to receive sewing and home economics lessons.²⁶⁴ This reduction in classical Chinese instruction suggests that the colonial administration deemed classical Chinese dispensable for girls. The government valued other subjects like the Japanese language, ethics, arithmetic, and exercises as playing a more important role in incorporating Taiwanese girls into the Japanese

²⁶² Li Peixuan 李佩瑄, “Cong hanwen duben kan ri zhi shiqi gong xuexiao hangwen jiaoyu de jindai hua 從漢文讀本看日治時期公學校漢文教育的近代化 [An Examination of Chinese Language Reader: The Modernization of Chinese Language Instruction in Taiwanese Primary Schools under Japanese Rule] (master’s thesis, Guoli Taiwan shifan daxue, 2011), 19.

²⁶³ The 1898 Ordinance did not mandate classical Chinese as part of the elementary school curriculum for Japanese children. *Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi*, 411.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 271-272.

empire. Womanly training was part of the assimilation process, but the learning of classical Chinese was not, and, thus, the colonial government prioritized the former.

Although the number of traditional Chinese academies and the total number of students declined under Japanese rule, the number of girls enrolled in these academies actually increased until 1917. The number of girls in these academies was reduced slightly between 1917 and 1922, but increased steadily from 1922 until the 1930s. This increase in the number of girls attending traditional Chinese academies suggested that Taiwanese parents valued this course for their daughters.

Table 4. The Numbers of Traditional Chinese Academies and Students

Year	Number of Schools	Number of Boy Students	Number of Girl Students	Total Number of Students
1907	873	18,236	376	18,612
1917	533	16,839	802	17,641
1923	122	4,676	607	5,283
1930	164	5,179	789	5,968
1937	33	—	—	1,808
1940	17	676	320	996

Source: Patricia Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895–1945*²⁶⁵

Arithmetic and science courses imparted new knowledge not found in traditional Chinese academies during the Qing period. In arithmetic class, Taiwanese schoolchildren learned basic mathematical operations for buying and selling goods, and they were taught how to pay attention to detail in science and drawing courses. They learned how to perform calculations of weights and measures, money, and time by addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division, in addition to using an abacus to make calculations.²⁶⁶ They also took science lessons to learn about nature, human

²⁶⁵ Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan*, 246.

²⁶⁶ *Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi*, 264.

physiology and health, workflow in agriculture, commerce, and industry, and chemical and physical reactions as observed in daily life, and were expected to make observations, make drawings, and prepare specimens.²⁶⁷ In 1921, the educational regulation also required students to reject superstition during the science lesson.²⁶⁸ Although the colonial government did not specify what superstitions it was referring to, examples included seeking deities to cure illnesses and fortune-tellers to advise on marriage-related matters.²⁶⁹ And finally, students learned to make detailed drawings after observing the shape of objects as part of the drawing lesson.²⁷⁰ These courses did not have gendered elements in them. Japanese language formed the basis of Japanese public education, and other courses such as arithmetic and science, helped make Taiwanese children into skilled and knowledgeable workers and members of society.

Gendered Training, 1898–1919

The 1898 government regulation required girls to take sewing starting in the third grade and boys to take an occupational training course in fifth and sixth grades.²⁷¹ As future housewives, schoolgirls received lessons in sewing, house maintenance, food preservation, and caring for the elderly and the young, in addition to building their character. The *Taiwan Primary School Regulations* of 1903

²⁶⁷ Ibid., 280.

²⁶⁸ Ibid., 337.

²⁶⁹ Lü, “Eisei seisaku,” 70-71.

²⁷⁰ *Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi*, 265, 280.

²⁷¹ These requirements remained the same from the 1898 *Taiwan Primary School Ordinance* to the 1907 *Revised Primary school Regulation*. Ibid., 271, 278, 283.

instructed teachers to pay special attention to the girls' home economics course.²⁷² The contents of the sewing course remained roughly the same as in the 1898 regulation, but added livestock-raising to the home economics course. It also specified that the sewing and the home economics courses sought to teach the virtue of thrift on how to choose the type, quality, and price of clothes and furniture, and how to preserve food.²⁷³ As they became older, schoolgirls received more instruction hours in sewing and home economics: three hours in third and fourth grades, and seven hours in fifth and sixth grades.²⁷⁴ In contrast, schoolboys received lessons in agriculture, commerce, and industry in practical courses to prepare for their roles as manual laborers in the future. Both courses had a colonial dimension to them—all Taiwanese schoolgirls had to learn Japanese sewing styles and all Taiwanese schoolboys, including those from elite backgrounds who were not accustomed to performing manual labor, had to take occupational courses.

Under Japanese rule, Taiwanese girls learned Taiwanese and Japanese sewing styles in school, in contrast to learning Taiwanese style at home during the Qing period. A “1912 Primary School Sewing and Home Economics Syllabus” stated that students learned Taiwanese-style sewing until the second quarter of fifth grade.²⁷⁵ Starting in the third quarter of fifth grade, students began learning Japanese-style sewing, making items such as infant aprons, cooking aprons, underskirts, and unlined

²⁷² Ibid., 263.

²⁷³ *Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi*, 299.

²⁷⁴ Ibid., 316.

²⁷⁵ Schools in Taiwan were in operation for three quarters in the year: from April to July, September to December, and January to March.

kimonos.²⁷⁶ The government incorporated Japanese-style sewing, different from previous Chinese-style in techniques and products.²⁷⁷ School regulations also stipulated that depending on classroom availability, the school administration could add embroidery, knitting, and artificial-flower making to girls' womanly training.²⁷⁸ These lessons were not as important as sewing because at home they served a more decorative function rather than a practical one.

While schoolgirls received womanly training, schoolboys received manly training to become productive workers. In February 1907, the Revision to *Primary School Regulations*²⁷⁹ stated that agriculture, commerce, and handicraft courses should be set up for boys while girls took sewing. It also stated that depending on the availability of classrooms, classical Chinese, singing, and sewing might not be offered.²⁸⁰

The establishment of the practical courses was also a way for the colonial government to force Taiwanese elites to accept colonial authority. The *Revised Primary School Regulations* of 1907 stated that the attitude Taiwanese literati held regarding agriculture, industry, and commerce was a negative one, and that schools

²⁷⁶ Takizawa Kanae 瀧澤佳奈枝, "Shokumin chi Taiwan niokeru gigei kyōiku — Dai kita dai san kōtō jogakkō o chūshin ni" 植民地台湾における技芸教育—台北第三高等女学校を中心に [Handicrafts Instruction in Colonial Taiwan: A Case Study of Taihoku No. 3 Girls' Middle School] (master's thesis, Danjiang daxue, 2005), 66

²⁷⁷ Ibid., 69.

²⁷⁸ *Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi*, 265-266.

²⁷⁹ Ibid., 279.

²⁸⁰ Ibid., 279, 289.

would work hard to correct that thinking.²⁸¹ The government also issued a confidential memorandum to teachers and local officials when it promulgated the educational regulations of 1907 and 1912 that attacked this attitude. It asserted that the Taiwanese elites looked down on “honest and useful” jobs that “required physical skill or exertion.”²⁸² Therefore, part of the motivation behind requiring these courses was to “fight the deep-rooted repugnance literate Taiwanese felt toward labor” and to ensure that Taiwanese schoolchildren “learned the satisfaction of honest manual work.”²⁸³ Although the government wanted to increase school enrollment numbers, it did not exempt Taiwanese children of elite backgrounds from taking these courses.

The colonial government implemented gender segregation to make it easier to provide gender training and preparation for the middle school entrance exams, which were gender-specific. The administration changed the minimum grade level and the number of schoolgirls at which gender segregation was to be implemented in Taiwanese primary schools between third and fifth grade as more girls enrolled in school. The *Taiwan Primary School Regulations* stipulated that each class should not have more than 60 students.²⁸⁴ According to Article 3 of the *Taiwan Primary School Organization Regulations*, when more than 20 girls enrolled in a primary school, girls had to be segregated from the boys to form their own class.²⁸⁵ In March 1904, the

²⁸¹ Ibid., 278-279.

²⁸² Tsurumi, 51.

²⁸³ Tsurumi, 50.

²⁸⁴ Ibid., 343.

²⁸⁵ *Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi*, 248.

new regulations changed the required number from 20 to 30 girl enrollees.²⁸⁶ Three years later in 1907, the requirement indicated a grade level for gender segregation—30 or more girl fifth-graders would form their own class.²⁸⁷ In 1912, the regulations increased the minimum requirement to 40 girls or more starting in the third grade to form a separate class.²⁸⁸ The rule changed to starting in the fifth grade with more than 50 girls in 1921, and to 60 girls in 1943.²⁸⁹ The grade level requirement for gender segregation likely had to do with gender training—sewing lessons began in third grade and practical course lessons began in fifth grade. Historian Yu Chien-ming notes that in coed schools, because there were fewer girl students than in girls' schools, school administrators usually combined different grade levels or classes of girls to give sewing and home economics lessons.²⁹⁰ Gender segregation allowed instructors to teach gender-specific lessons without having to take the extra step to segregate students each time a gendered lesson was given. Gender segregation in fifth and sixth grades also allowed teachers to focus on preparing students for middle school entrance exams. Middle schools were segregated by gender and teachers could concentrate on materials appropriate for each gender.

Intensified Assimilation: Schooling in the mid-Colonial Era, 1919–1937

Although the government focused on gender segregation and womanly training to encourage more girls to enroll in school, the spread of the concept of self-

²⁸⁶ Ibid., 249.

²⁸⁷ Ibid., 251.

²⁸⁸ You, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan de nüzi jiaoyu*, 64.

²⁸⁹ Ibid., 64, 68.

²⁹⁰ Ibid., 123.

determination and Japan's status as an imperial power after World War I prompted Japanese leaders to intensify the assimilation effort in order to better control the colonized population. Gender segregation and womanly training helped increase the number of schoolgirls, who were important as future mothers who would be teaching the Japanese language to their children at home. As discussed earlier, Japanese proficiency marked one as a loyal subject of Japan. The self-determination clause from Woodrow Wilson's "Fourteen Points" speech in 1918 indirectly motivated Japanese leaders to intensify assimilation in Japanese colonies. Many colonized people around the world championed this clause and initiated nationalist or independence movements. The May Fourth Movement against Japanese imperialism in China and the March First Movement for independence in Korea in 1919 were examples of these reactions. In contrast, although a few advocated independence, most Taiwanese intellectuals did not organize anti-imperialist or independence movements. Instead, the first generation of Taiwanese who received a full Japanese education in Taiwan and then studied in the metropole demanded to have the same rights, including educational opportunities and political representation, as the Japanese.²⁹¹ These movements pushed Japanese colonial governments in Korea and Taiwan to replace military rule with civilian rule in order to pacify the local

²⁹¹ Upper- and middle-class Taiwanese demanded the colonial government in Taiwan open middle schools for Taiwanese students. The colonial government agreed to their demands and set up Taichū Middle School (Jp. Taichū chūgakkō) for boys in 1915 in order to appease these Taiwanese and to slow down the number of Taiwanese studying in Japan, where they were more likely to be exposed to ideas that threatened colonial authority. Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan*, 79, 178. Wu, *Taiwan shifan jiaoyu*, 34.

populations and to prevent anti-colonial resistance.²⁹² Another motivational factor for Japanese leaders to intensify their assimilation effort was that Japan had further consolidated its status as an imperial power in the world after World War I. Japan had emerged as a political and economic victor in the war. It profited from exporting goods to warring countries. It also acquired some former German-controlled islands in the Pacific.²⁹³ Japanese leaders felt there was a need to intensify the assimilation process of their colonized populations in order to maintain control of old and new territories.²⁹⁴ In particular, women constituted half of the population, and their loyalty to the Japanese empire, hopefully to be created by assimilation, was important to the colonists.

To meet Taiwanese demands for equal educational opportunities, the colonial government formalized a complete educational system from primary to secondary education for the Taiwanese population in the *Taiwan Educational Ordinance* of 1919. The goal was the same as that of the 1898 ordinance.²⁹⁵ The ordinance stipulated that primary education would be six years, formalized the establishment of

²⁹² Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan*, 79-80.

²⁹³ For mandates of former German possessions in the Pacific after WWI, see “Mandate in the Pacific, 1919,” *World War I Document Archive*, accessed April 22, 2015, <http://net.lib.byu.edu/~rdh7/wwi/versa/vmap5.gif>.

²⁹⁴ Akashi Motojirō (1864-1919), the governor-general of Taiwan from 1918 to 1919, emphasized the importance of education as the method to control Taiwan. Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan*, 84.

²⁹⁵ The 1919 Ordinance stated, “The purpose of primary schools is pay attention to the development of children’s bodies, to teach ethics and knowledge, to teach daily necessary knowledge and skills, to cultivate national character, and to learn the national language” (Yoshino, *Taiwan kyōiku shi*, 460). The overall goal of education was to “cultivate loyal national subjects based on the Imperial Rescript of Education” (*Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi*, 324).

middle schools and vocational schools, and abolished all language schools to replace them with normal schools while maintaining physical segregation between Taiwanese and Japanese students.²⁹⁶ The establishment of middle schools, vocational schools, and normal schools signaled the government's acknowledgement of Taiwanese demands for education beyond the primary level, and its need for local professionals in the agricultural, industrial, and educational sectors. It was also the way that the colonial government dealt with reducing the number of Taiwanese students studying in the metropole, where Taiwanese were exposed to "dangerous ideas" such as socialism, democracy, and liberalism.²⁹⁷ However, educational opportunities for girls remained limited to primary and middle schools. Vocational and normal schools remained male-only institutions in 1919.

Intensifying its effort to assimilate Taiwanese children, the colonial government promulgated the *New Educational Ordinance of Taiwan* in 1922, targeting both Taiwanese and Japanese students living in Taiwan, and legally

²⁹⁶ *Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi*, 324-325. For a look at the complete ordinance, see Yoshino, *Taiwan kyōiku shi*, 377-388. After the primary educational level, Japanese students dominated middle schools and higher levels of education. For the total numbers and percentages of Taiwanese and Japanese who were enrolled in middle schools, medical schools, teacher training schools, and Taihoku Imperial University, see Wu, *Taiwan shehui lingdao jieji*, 107-108, 112. On the acceptance rates of Taiwanese and Japanese schoolgirls into middle school, see You, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan de nüzi jiaoyu*, 158. Certain middle schools, such as Taihoku No. 1 Middle School, Tainan No. 1 Middle School, Taihoku No. 1 and No. 2 Girls' Middle Schools, accepted almost exclusively Japanese students, and certain ones such as Taihoku No. 2 Middle School, Tainan No. 2 Middle School, Taihoku No. 3 Girls' Middle School, and Tainan No. 2 Girls' School, accepted almost exclusively Taiwanese students. To get a sense of the ethnic gap, see Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan*, 251-252.

²⁹⁷ Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan*, 126, 178-180.

desegregating Taiwanese and Japanese schools.²⁹⁸ However, in reality, Taiwanese and Japanese students remained segregated because the new ordinance engaged in discrimination in disguise. Before 1922, only ethnic Japanese could enroll in Japanese elementary schools. After 1922, the requirement was based on Japanese proficiency.²⁹⁹ However, the change in requirement from nationality to language proficiency did not level the playing field for Taiwanese children. Most Taiwanese children did not speak Japanese at home, and thus were unable to enroll in these Japanese schools, even after the government had legally desegregated them. Japanese educators were hesitant to desegregate schools because they feared that Japanese children might adopt Taiwanese customs should Taiwanese children outnumber Japanese children in school. They also feared that Taiwanese children with lower Japanese proficiency would “lower academic standards” in Japanese-dominant schools. Japanese parents feared that desegregation would “undermine Japanese commitment to Taiwan as a place of permanent domicile.”³⁰⁰ Segregation allowed the colonial government to allocate more resources for Japanese living in Taiwan and less for the Taiwanese to maintain colonial hierarchy where the Japanese had better resources and more rights than the Taiwanese. As the ruling minority, Japanese colonists feared that desegregation meant less resources for Japanese children in a more competitive school environment where the number of Taiwanese would exceed that of Japanese children. If more Taiwanese received the same quality education that

²⁹⁸ *Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi*, 356. For the complete revised ordinance, see Yoshino, *Taiwan kyōiku shi* 460-466.

²⁹⁹ Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan*, 99.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 95.

Japanese enjoyed, it might put Japanese graduates at a disadvantage because they had to compete equally with well-educated and well-trained Taiwanese on the same job market.

Table 5. Hours of Instruction per week according to the Revised Taiwan Educational Ordinance of 1922

	First Grade	Second Grade	Third Grade	Fourth Grade	Fifth Grade	Sixth Grade
Japanese Language	12 hours	14 hours	14 hours	14 hours	10 hours	10 hours
Ethics	2 hours	2 hours	2 hours	2 hours	2 hours	2 hours
Arithmetic	5 hours	5 hours	6 hours	6 hours	4 hours	4 hours
Japanese History	Not offered	Not offered	Not offered	Not offered	2 hours	2 hours
Geography	Not offered	Not offered	Not offered	Not offered	2 hours	2 hours
Science	Not offered	Not offered	Not offered	1 hour	2 hours	2 hours
Drawing	3 hours	3 hours	1 hour	1 hour	1 hour	1 hour
Singing			1 hour	1 hour	1 hour	1 hour
Exercises			2 hours	2 hours	2 hours	2 hours
Sewing and Home Economics	Not offered	Not offered	Not offered	2 hours	5 hours	5 hours
Vocational Courses (Boys Only)	Not offered	Not offered	Not offered	Not offered	4 hours	4 hours
Classical Chinese (Elective)	2 hours	2 hours	2 hours	2 hours	2 hours	2 hours

Source: *Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi*³⁰¹

The *New Taiwan Educational Ordinance* of 1922 added history and geography courses that sought to Japanize Taiwanese children and reduced the importance of classical Chinese lessons. The new ordinance had required courses

³⁰¹ Ibid., 379-380.

similar to those of the 1907 regulation, with the addition of Japanese history, geography, and handicrafts. Classical Chinese became an elective course.³⁰²

Gendered training remained in place: boys took occupational training courses, and girls took sewing and home economics. Most of the instructional hours continued to be spent on the Japanese language, reflecting the continuing importance the colonial government gave to language instruction in the education of Taiwanese children.

Language instruction remained important from 1922 to 1937 and continued to incorporate gender-appropriate activities into its lessons. The illustrations in the *First Primary School Language Reader*,³⁰³ used from 1923 to 1936, portrayed appropriate activities for girls and boys. In it, boys tended to play with balls and kites, run across the grass field, play hide-and-seek, go fishing, jump rope, and play with crickets. These activities allowed boys to learn how to compete with one another and to go on adventures. Girls were shown how to draw, write calligraphy, play with dolls, and play house. They learned how to nurse and care for family members, obey, and do household labor.³⁰⁴ The contrast was obvious: boys enjoyed active outdoor activities, and girls were engaged in less-active indoor activities.

³⁰² *Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi*, 361.

³⁰³ Lessons focused specifically on gender norms comprised 1.08% of the total lessons in the second textbook and 0.54% in the third textbook. Textbook titles come from Chen, “Gong xuexiao guoyu jiaoke shu,” 70, 79.

³⁰⁴ Chen Yijun created a chart of all language readers used in Taiwan under Japanese rule in her study of Yang Qianhe, a Taiwanese woman reporter during the wartime period. Chen’s main purpose was to analyze the textbooks that Yang Qianhe would have used in primary schools. Yang Qianhe was in primary school in 1928, which meant that she used the third textbook (published between 1923 and 1926). Chen, “Nüxing ziwo zhuti,” 31.

As part of its effort to intensify the assimilation process, the government emphasized Taiwanese children's relationship to society and to Japan by emphasizing the importance of the *Imperial Rescript on Education* in the ethics course. The rescript stated that one needed to be loyal to the emperor, respect one's parents, and be in harmony with siblings and friends. Schoolchildren had to memorize the entire text.

The educational regulation continued to insist on the need for schoolgirls to develop the virtues befitting housewives.³⁰⁵ The government incorporated a model Japanese woman into the ethics textbook for Taiwanese schoolgirls. In a lesson on "Women's Virtue" in the *Primary School Ethics Textbook*,³⁰⁶ used between 1923 and 1936, a Japanese woman named Nogi Shizuko was portrayed as the model woman. The lesson described her as someone with good character who possessed virtues, such as filial piety, kindness, thrift, and simplicity, and as one who learned all the skills that all women should have, such as nursing the sick. She assisted her military-officer husband and was devoted to her mother-in-law after marriage. She cared for her mother-in-law when she became sick. Regardless of how many promotions her husband received, Shizuko continued living a simple and thrifty life, exemplified by actions such as making clothes from cotton instead of a more expensive material. She was kind to people, including servants. She went to watch military drills when they took place.³⁰⁷ In other words, she performed her role as a dutiful wife and daughter-

³⁰⁵ Ibid., 334.

³⁰⁶ The story was cited in Wang, *Taiwan gongmin jiaoyu*, 172.

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

in-law in her husband's absence while he was on military duty. She did not spend money lavishly, even after her husband's promotions had increased the family income. Shizuko also did not act arrogantly toward others because of her socioeconomic status. In addition to fulfilling her household duty, she was a patriot who supported military activities. The fact that Shizuko was Japanese was important. It suggested that the colonial government wanted Taiwanese schoolgirls to strive to become ideal Japanese women with the same virtues and skills that Shizuko had.

Geography was a new course that taught the Japanese national spirit to Taiwanese students starting in 1922.³⁰⁸ Geography focused on cultivating loyalty toward Japan by teaching students about Taiwan as part of the Japanese empire and hopefully inspired them to love their country. The course sought to increase students' understanding of their country's geographical features, regions, cities and towns, climate, industries, and transportation, and introduced the geography of China and regions of the South Pacific that had an "important relationship" with Japan.³⁰⁹ A detailed understanding of Japanese geography, landscape, and development helped cultivate students' sense of familiarity with Japan, and thus helped them identify with Japan. No doubt a basic knowledge of the geography of China and the South Pacific was useful for Taiwanese men and women who were sent to serve in these areas, conquered by Japan in the 1930s and 1940s.

A new and important course, Japanese history was Japan-centric, incorporating Taiwan into its history after 1895, and purposely severing historical ties

³⁰⁸ *Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi*, 356, 365.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 365.

between Taiwan and China. The course taught Japanese history to Taiwanese children, and only included the history of Taiwan in the period after its colonization by Japan.³¹⁰ It covered Japan's past, its accomplishments, and the genealogy of the imperial household. The history textbooks used in Taiwanese primary schools were published by the colonial administration on Taiwan and omitted historical interaction between China and Taiwan.³¹¹ This omission allowed students to feel little, if any, attachment to China and the Chinese. This focus on Japanese history helped students identify with Japan and potentially cultivate their sense of Japanese nationalism.

Taiwanese schoolchildren were supposed to understand *kokutai*, or national polity, in history lessons in order to become Japanese patriots. To understand *kokutai* was to understand the emperor system, where the entire Japanese nation was a family with the emperor as the head of the household, and everyone else as filial and loyal subjects of the emperor.³¹² For this purpose, the history textbook began with the myth of Amaterasu, the Sun Goddess, as the foundation and the origin of *kokutai*. The lesson also covered the genealogy of the emperors and the *Kojiki*, the ancient

³¹⁰The title of the first textbook used in Taiwan was called *Primary School Japanese History* (Jp. *kogakkō yō nippon rekishi* 公学校用日本歴史) in 1924. In 1938, the title was changed to *Primary School National History* (Jp. *kogakkō kokushi* 公学校国史), and in 1944 to Primary Education Level National history (Jp. *shotō ka kokushi* 初等科国史), which was the same textbook used in the metropole. Cai Huiguang 蔡蕙光, "Ri zhi shiqi Taiwan gong xuexiao de lishi jiaoyu — Lishi jiaoke shu zhi fenxi" 日治時期臺灣公學校的歷史教育 — 歷史教科書之分析 [History Education in Taiwanese Primary Schools under Japanese Rule — An Analysis of History Textbooks] (master's thesis, Guoli Taiwan daxue, 2000), 25.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*, 18, 21, 24.

³¹² *Ibid.*, 37-38.

mythology that explained the origin of Japan.³¹³ The primary school history textbook also emphasized the eternity of the imperial line and the benevolence of the emperor.³¹⁴ The history course also focused on depicting the Japanese people as the main creators of a unique Japanese culture, while downplaying foreign influences from Korea, China, Europe, and America.³¹⁵

Boys chose one or two courses from the following three: agriculture, commerce, and handicrafts. Agriculture trained students in crop cultivation, fertilizer making and usage, livestock-raising, silkworm-raising, forestry, and seafood farming. Commerce, a course that targeted Taiwanese children from the towns,³¹⁶ trained students in bookkeeping, calculations, and transactions. The regulation did not specify what products were made in the handicrafts course, but it specified using materials such as plant fiber, bamboo, wood, clay, and metal to make goods with practical use, as well as to judge the quality and the prices of goods.³¹⁷

While commerce and handicraft courses continued to be boys-only courses, agriculture became part of the girls' educational curriculum, with a gender-specific element, in the late 1920s. *Education in Agriculture for Common School*, a 1927 manual, claimed that it was important for girls to receive instruction in gardening, sericulture, and chicken-raising as future housewives.³¹⁸ Agricultural lessons for

³¹³ Ibid., 41-42.

³¹⁴ Ibid., 44-45.

³¹⁵ Ibid., 54.

³¹⁶ Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan*, 50.

³¹⁷ *Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi*, 368.

³¹⁸ Inoue Tokuya 井上徳彌, *Kōgakkō nōgyō kyōiku* 公学校農業教育 [Education of Agriculture for Primary School] (Taihoku: Taiwan kodomo seikai sha, 1927), 6.

schoolgirls focused on tasks other than crop production, a task specific to boys. Schoolgirls did not receive training in crop cultivation until the wartime period. Except for the addition of agriculture lessons, the content of womanly training remained roughly the same as before the 1920s. The sewing course included a new lesson in the 1920s as teachers introduced Western-style sewing in addition to the existing Taiwanese and Japanese styles.³¹⁹ Public education unified sewing styles—Taiwanese, Japanese, and Western—among women of all socioeconomic backgrounds. By providing the same gendered training as stated in the 1898 regulation, the colonial leaders showed that they maintained the same expectations of Taiwanese schoolgirls to perform their roles at home from the early colonial period as during the middle colonial period of the 1920s.

Interviews with women born between 1915 and 1933 confirmed that schools provided sewing and cooking lessons. They began sewing lessons in either third or fifth grade and continued until sixth grade. Some recalled having cooking lessons in primary school, and some recalled receiving such lessons only in middle school.³²⁰ These former schoolgirls sewed handbags, underwear, or skirts for themselves starting in the third, fourth, or fifth grade.³²¹ You Mingzhu was a student at Giran

³¹⁹ Ibid., 69.

³²⁰ This data is based on 40 interviewees born between 1915 and 1933. Out of 40 interviewees, 27 recalled having sewing lessons that began in either third or fifth grade. Eighteen women recalled having cooking lessons. Out of those who said they did not receive cooking lessons or did not recall, two cited wartime rations as the reason for no lessons, and five remembered that only girls' middle schools provided such lessons. Interviews were conducted by Fang Yu Hu in Taiwan in August 2010 and from October 2011 to May 2013.

³²¹ Ibid.

Girls' Primary School from 1930 to 1936.³²² She said that the students learned dancing during exercise lessons, and that Japanese halberd dance was added to the curricula during the wartime period.³²³ She also recalled learning sewing. During cooking lessons, she said they learned how to make a fire, stir-fry vegetables, and cook red meat and mung bean soup.³²⁴

Although the colonial government had educated Taiwanese in schools for nearly four decades by the time Japan embarked on a full-scale war against China in 1937, it remained fearful of the impact of classical Chinese education on the loyalty of the Han Taiwanese population. It decided to remove the classical Chinese course completely from the school curricula in 1937 because colonial officials were afraid that learning Chinese would make Taiwanese children identify with China at the expense of mastering the Japanese language and forming Japanese identity.³²⁵ Only fifty-five primary schools out of 625 were still giving classical Chinese lessons in 1936. In the same year, Chinese academies had dwindled to sixty-two institutions

³²² You Mingzhu 游明珠, interview, *Yilan wenxian congkan 9 - Yilan qilao tan ri zhi xia de junshi yu jiaoyu* 宜蘭文獻叢刊 9 - 宜蘭耆老談 日治下的軍事與教育 [Collection of Yilan Primary Documents: Discussion of Military Matters and Education under Japanese Rule by Yilan Seniors], ed. Lin Huiyu 林惠玉 (Yilan: Fucheng yinshua xingye gufen youxian gongsi, 1996), 186-187.

³²³ Ibid., 188.

³²⁴ Ibid. You Mingzhu stated she was eighteen years old when she began teaching. She had received six years of primary education and four years of middle school education. This means she began schooling when she was eight years old. I presume her five years of teaching during the Japanese period were the last five years of Japanese rule. This means she began teaching in 1940. The calculation follows that she was born in 1922, and began schooling in 1930. You Mingzhu, 186-190.

³²⁵ Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan*, 112.

with fewer than 2,500 students.³²⁶ The removal of the classical Chinese course from primary schools suggests that the colonial government remained suspicious of Taiwanese, and was careful in deciding what to teach the Taiwanese as Japan began its full-scale invasion of China.

Conclusion

As part of the assimilation process, Taiwanese schoolgirls received a gendered and colonial primary education under Japanese rule. It was a gendered curriculum in the sense that Taiwanese girls began receiving training in sewing and home economics in primary school that was supposed to prepare them for their future roles as wives and mothers at home. In contrast, boys received training in agriculture, commerce, or industry to prepare their future roles as agricultural or industrial workers, or employees in the commercial sector. As future workers, they were responsible for bringing income to the family and helping Taiwan's economy progress, which ultimately benefited the Japanese empire. Primary education was colonial in that the curricula for Taiwanese children remained basic compared to that taught to their Japanese counterparts in Taiwan. Lessons in Taiwanese schools also differed from those in Japanese schools. The existence of a classical Chinese course and specific content in some courses, such as the inclusion of Taiwan in Japanese history and the teaching of Taiwanese-style sewing, marked the Taiwanese school curricula as different from the Japanese one. Over time, the colonial government

³²⁶ Ibid.

intensified the training of loyal subjects of Japan with ideology and labor skills than on gendered training, as Japan began full-scale invasion of China and the Pacific.

CHAPTER 3

Mobilizing Labor on the Home Front: The Experiences of Han Taiwanese Schoolgirls During the World War II Period, 1937–1945

This chapter explores how the colonial government mobilized Han Taiwanese schoolgirls as a major source of labor on the home front during WWII. Focusing on the mobilization of schoolgirls, it examines the intersection between war and education and the gendered dimensions of wartime labor. As the war intensified, and Han Taiwanese schoolboys trained for military service, the colonial government mobilized female labor, especially unmarried young women and schoolgirls, to ensure continuous wartime production and daily operations in Taiwan. In addition to receiving wartime training on school grounds, schoolgirls were mobilized to contribute to agricultural production and to cheer on soldiers as they left for the front. However, with intensive air raids in the final year of the war, the normal routine of schoolgirls was disrupted, and students either stopped attending school or had to evacuate to the hills. Young women who had finished elementary education contributed to the war effort by filling vacancies left by men and becoming workers and professionals.³²⁷

Previous studies on wartime Taiwan examined the political and economic situations on the frontline and the home front. Focusing on economic policies and official records as the main sources of analysis, these studies argued that the colonial government mobilized resources and people in Taiwan for the Japanese expansion

³²⁷ Chapter Four covers the paths that Taiwanese primary school graduates took and explores in more depth the creation of these women workers and professionals.

into Southeast Asia.³²⁸ Scholars have discussed the role that *kōminka*, the imperialization movement, played in shaping all policies during the wartime period.³²⁹ However, by focusing on policies and official records, these studies

³²⁸ For economic studies of wartime Taiwan, see Lin Yuru 林玉茹, *Zhanzheng bian chui yu zhimin chan ye: Zhan shi Taiwan tazhi zhushi hui she zai dong Taiwan touzi shiye de buju* 戰爭、邊陲與殖民產業：戰時臺灣拓殖株式會社在東臺灣投資事業的佈局 [War, Frontier and Colonial Industries: The Investment Layout in Eastern Taiwan of the Taiwan Colonial Settlement Corporation during the Wartime Period] (Taipei shi: Zhongyang yanjiu yuan jindai shi yanjiu suo, 2004); Xiao Mingli 蕭明禮, *Zhanzheng yu haiyun: Zhan shi nanjin zhengce xia Taiwan t zhi zh shi hui she de haiyun shiye* 戰爭與海運：戰時南進政策下台灣拓殖株式會社的海運事業 [War and Sea Transport: Sea Transport of the Taiwan Colonial Settlement Corporation under the Southern Expansion Policy during the Wartime Period] (Nantou xian Puli zhen: Guoli Jinan guoji daxue, 2004); Zhang Jingyi 張靜宜, *Zhan shi tizhi xia Taiwan teyong zuowu zengchang zhengce zhi yanjiu (1934–1944)* 戰時體制下臺灣特用作物增產政策之研究(1934–1944) [The Study of the Policy on Production Increase of Special Crops in Wartime Taiwan (1934–1944)] (Gaoxiong shi: Gaoxiong fuwen, 2007).

³²⁹ In earlier studies, scholars treated *kōminka* as a wartime political, social, and cultural movement that happened from 1936 or 1937 to 1945. These studies emphasized the movement as the means by which the colonial government gained greater and tighter control over the passive colonized population. However, more recent studies treat the movement as something that had begun in the early 1930s. These recent studies focus on the social impact of *kominka* on Taiwanese society and culture in the greater Japanese empire. For older studies, see He Yilin 何義麟, “Huangmin hua zhengce zhi yanjiu: Ri ju shidai moqi Riben dui Taiwan de jiaoyu zhengce yu jiaohua yundong” 皇民化政策之研究：日據時代末期日本對臺灣的教育政策與教化運動 [The Study of Imperialization Policy: Japan’s Educational Policy and Enlightenment Movement towards Taiwan during the late Japanese Occupation Period] (master’s thesis, Zhongguo Wenhua daxue, 1986); Zheng Liling 鄭麗玲, “Zhan shi tizhi xia de Taiwan shehui (1937–1945): Zhi’an, shihui jiaohua, junshi dongyuan” 戰時體制下的台灣社會 (1937–1945)：治安、社會教化、軍事動員 [Taiwanese Society under the Wartime Structure (1937–1945): Public Order, Social Education, Military Mobilization] (master’s thesis, Guoli Qinghua daxue, 1994); Wan-yao Chou, “The Kominka Movement in Taiwan and Korea: Comparisons and Interpretations,” in *The Japanese Wartime Empire, 1931-1945*, ed. Peter Duus, Ramon H. Myers, and Mark R. Peattie (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996), 40-70. For more recent studies, see Shi Wanshun 石婉舜 et al., eds., *Diguo li*

overemphasized the power of the government and portrayed the colonized population as passive victims of a militarized colonial regime. In an effort to offset the reliance on official accounts, some scholars have compiled oral histories of Taiwan residents who served during the war as military personnel to give voice to the colonized population.³³⁰ Still, except for military nurses and their assistants and comfort women, most of these sources were about men on the frontline, and excluded most women who worked on the home front. Yang Yahui's 1993 study differs from previous studies. Examining the wartime training of different women of different ages from different regions in Taiwan, Yang argues that as the colonial education policy and

de "difang wenhua": Huangmin hua shiqi Taiwan wen hua zhuangkuang 帝國裏的「地方文化」：皇民化時期臺灣文化狀況 [Local Culture in the Japanese Empire: Cultural Conditions in Taiwan during the Imperialization Period] (Taipei shi: Bo zhong zhe chuban youxian gongxi, 2008); Lin Chengrong 林呈蓉, *Huangmin hua shehui de shidai* 皇民化社會的時代 [The Era of Taiwanese Society during Imperialization] (Taipei shi: Taiwan shufang, 2010).

³³⁰ This collection includes people who worked on the front line and the home front, but only one account of a female teacher was included among accounts of men: Lin Huiyu 林惠玉, ed., *Yilan qilao tan ri zhi xia de chanye* 宜蘭耆老談日治下的產業 [The Elderly of Yilan Talking about Industries under Japanese Rule] (Yilan shi: Yilan xian li wenhua zhongxin, 1998). The following volumes focused on former military personnel: Zheng Liling 鄭麗玲, *Taiwan ren Riben bing de zhanzheng jingyan* 臺灣人日本兵的戰爭經驗 [The Wartime Experiences of Taiwanese-Japanese Soldiers] (Taipei xian Banqiao Shi: Taipei xian li wenhua zhongxin, 1995); Chou Wan-yao 周婉窈, ed., *Taiji riben bing zuotan hui jilu bing xiangguan ziliao* 台籍日本兵座談會記錄并相關資料 [Interviews and Records of Ethnic-Taiwanese Japanese soldiers] (Taipei shi: Zhongyang yanjiu yuan Taiwan shi yanjiu suo chouban chu, 1997); Li Zhanpin 李展平, ed., *Feng huo suiyue: Taiwan ren de zhan shi jinyan* 烽火歲月：臺灣人的戰時經驗 [Era of the Flames: Taiwanese People's Wartime Experience] (Nantou shi: Guoshi guan Taiwan wenxian guan, 2005); Ts'ai, Hui-yu 蔡慧玉, ed., *Zouguo liang ge shidai de ren: Taiji riben bing* 走過兩個時代的人：臺籍日本兵 [People Who Lived Through Two Historical Periods: Ethnic-Taiwanese Soldiers of Japan] (Taipei shi: Zhongyang yanjiu yuan Taiwan shi yanjiu suo, 1997).

wartime mobilization reinforced the women-home relationship, the government incorporated the concept that labor for the nation was an important part of wifely virtues.³³¹ The making of imperial subjects was gendered.

Understanding the role that the young educated female population in a colony played on the home front will help us understand the extent to which the Japanese government differentially mobilized the colonial population depending on age, gender, and region. Even colonized children and youths were not exempt from participating in this total war.³³² This examination will incorporate Leo Ching's argument that *kōminka* was not a continuation of colonial policy of assimilation (Jp. *dōka*), but a disruptive change that shifted the responsibility of becoming Japanese from the colonial state to colonized population—in their transformation from “living as Japanese to being a Japanese willing to die” for the emperor. Ching asserts that cultural assimilation in *kōminka* freed the Taiwanese from the political and economic inequality inherent in the assimilation policy as they adopted Japanese names and spoke Japanese only to show their loyalty toward Japan.³³³

³³¹ Yang Yahui 楊雅慧, “Zhan shi tizhi xia de Taiwan funü (1937–1945): Riben zhimin zhengfu de jiaohua yu dongyuan” 戰時體制下的臺灣婦女(1937–1945):日本殖民政府的教化與動員 [Taiwanese Women Under Wartime Policy (1937–1945): The Education and Mobilization of the Japanese Colonial Government] (master's thesis, Guoli Qinghua daxue, 1993), 89, 93.

³³² The concept of the “total war” meant that the war was not only fought by soldiers, but was supported by the cooperative efforts of everyone in the empire, from businesses, the media, and intellectuals to common people organized in groups such as women's groups and youth groups. See Louise Young, *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1998).

³³³ Ching, *Becoming “Japanese,”* 94-97, 104.

The role of Taiwan in Japanese Expansion and *Kōminka*

To understand the role that schoolgirls and educated young women played on the home front, we have to first understand the role that the Japanese leaders had set for Taiwan from the mid-1930s to 1945. The appointment in September 1936 of Kobayashi Seizō, the first governor-general of Taiwan of military background after eighteen years of civilian rule, signaled Japan's ambitions in Southeast Asia and the Pacific.³³⁴ Kobayashi set three goals for Taiwan: imperialization (Jp. *kōminka*), industrialization (Jp. *kōgyōka*), and southern expansion (Jp. *nanshinka*). The goal of *kōminka* was to turn Taiwanese into loyal Japanese imperial subjects. The purpose of industrialization was to transform Taiwan into an important site of agricultural processing with links to South China and Southeast Asia.³³⁵ The mission of

³³⁴ One typical way to periodize Taiwan's history under Japanese rule is: pacification and early establishment (1895–1919), civilian rule (1919–1936), and wartime imperialization (1936–1945). The governors-general of the first and the last periods were from military backgrounds, either generals or admirals. Pacification and infrastructure building marked the first period. One admiral and six lieutenant-generals or generals were appointed to the position. The civilian period began in 1919 with the appointment of Den Kenjirō (1919–1923), who was a member of the cabinet. Nine governors-general of civilian backgrounds served in Taiwan until 1936. Kobayashi Seizō's appointment (1936–1940) marked the beginning of the third period. Admiral Hasegawa Kiyoshi (1940–1944) and General Andō Rikichi (1944–1945) served as the last two governors-general. Huang Chaotang 黃昭堂, *Taiwan zongdu fu* 台灣總督府 [The Office of the Governor-General of Taiwan] (Taipei shi: Ziyou shidai, 1989); Xue Qin 薛琴, "Taiwan zongdu fu" 臺灣總督府 [The Office of the Governor-General of Taiwan], in *Taiwan da baike quanshu* 台灣大百科全書 [Encyclopedia of Taiwan], last modified September 24, 2009, <http://nrch.culture.tw/twpedia.php?id=2658>.

³³⁵ Hui-yu Caroline Ts'ai, "Total War, Labor Drafts, and Colonial Administration: Wartime Mobilization in Taiwan (1936–1945)," *Asian Labor in the Wartime Japanese Empire*, ed. Paul H. Kratoska (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 2005, 101-126, 365-372), 105.

nanshinka was to transform Taiwan into the core base for Japan's expansion into Southeast Asia and the Pacific. These three goals foreshadowed the role that the Taiwanese would play on the frontline and the home front in Japan's full-scale war in China and the Pacific.³³⁶

The *kōminka* movement was the single most important marker of the colonial effort to transform the thinking of the colonized population in order to mobilize them for the war. *Kōminka* began in 1937, when the Japanese leadership started a full-scale invasion of China and became increasingly concerned about the loyalty of the Taiwanese population. Because the Han Taiwanese people shared the same ancestors with the Han population in mainland China, Japanese military leaders questioned the loyalty of the Han Taiwanese population.³³⁷ The goal of *kōminka* was to increase Japanese-ness and reduce Chinese-ness among the Han Taiwanese population through policies such as the spread of the Japanese language, name changes from Taiwanese to Japanese, military service, Shintō shrine worship, the banning of Taiwanese operas and puppet shows, and the critique of superstitions and traditional marriage and funeral practices.³³⁸ These policies show the colonial effort to change the way of life of every Taiwanese.

³³⁶ Zhuang Tianci 莊天賜, *Er ci dazhan xia de Taibei da kongxi* 二次大戰下的台北大空襲 [Major Air Raids in Taipei during WWII] (Taipei shi: Taipei shi zhengfu wenhua ju Taipei er er ba ji'nian guan, 2007), 7.

³³⁷ Cai Jintang 蔡錦堂, *Zhan zheng tizhi xia de Taiwan* 戰爭體制下的台灣 [Taiwan Under the Wartime Organization] (Taipei shi: Richuang she wen hua, 2006), 16-17.

³³⁸ *Ibid.*, 17-18.

Neighborhood groups organized by the *hokō* system set up training centers that began to mentally and physically prepare the Taiwanese for the war on the home front. Instituted among the Han Taiwanese population only, the *hokō* system was one in which neighbors shared the same responsibility for group conduct, with corresponding rewards and punishments. One *kō* was made up of ten households, and ten *kō* made up one *ho*. Although it had its origins in the *baojia* system from the Qing period, the *hokō* system was a new form of control closely linked with the colonial police administration.³³⁹ Elementary school graduates were required to enter the youth training centers, and some were then selected to join *sōteitan*, the able-bodied men's group.³⁴⁰ This group supported police activities, conducted household registration verification, and was responsible for disaster prevention and readiness. *Sōteitan* also assisted with government propaganda, maintained law and order, and promoted hygienic practices. Membership was open to men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-five, who were eligible to serve in the military and possessed an elementary school diploma, a good command of the Japanese language, and loyalty to the Japanese empire.³⁴¹ Married women were also incorporated into neighborhood groups as *hokō fujintan* (*hokō* women's groups). Women's groups

³³⁹ Ts'ai, "Total War, Labor Drafts, and Colonial Administration," 120-121. For a more comprehensive explanation of the *hōkō* system, see Hui-yu Caroline Ts'ai, *Taiwan in Japan's Empire-Building: An Institutional Approach to Colonial Engineering* (UK: Routledge and Academia Sinica, 2008).

³⁴⁰ Zheng, "Zhan shi tizhi xia de Taiwan shehui," 29.

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 30-31.

performed tasks including counter-espionage, crime prevention, public hygiene, Japanese-language promotion, and the reformation of old customs.³⁴²

As the war intensified, demand for the labor of the colonized population increased. The colonial government began to train Taiwanese specifically for labor in agricultural and industrial production. The founding of the *Kōmin hōkō* Association (Public Service Association of Imperial Subjects) on April 19, 1941, officially marked full-scale mobilization of Taiwanese subjects, able-bodied men and youths in particular, to increase industrial and food production for Japanese expansion in China and Southeast Asia.³⁴³ The association established training centers for youths and single women ages fifteen and up in the agricultural, fishing, mining, and industrial sectors.³⁴⁴ In the agricultural sector, the colonial government aimed to increase production of rice and sweet potatoes. The industrial and mining sectors focused on steel, iron, copper, light metal, coal, and electricity.³⁴⁵ This training created skilled labor at a time when the Japanese leadership had an increasing need to support the military campaigns in occupied territories. In addition to food and industrial production, the *Kōmin hōkō* Association also promoted the practices of thrifty and simple living, monetary savings, and metal recycling.³⁴⁶ The promotion of these practices pressured the Taiwanese to show their patriotism in their daily lives.

Taiwanese Male Labor on the Frontline

³⁴² Ibid., 33.

³⁴³ Ibid., 87, 94.

³⁴⁴ Ibid., 94-95.

³⁴⁵ Ibid., 95.

³⁴⁶ Ibid.

The colonial government's increasing demand for Taiwanese men to provide military service foreshadowed the need to mobilize female labor on the home front. The colonial government solicited and drafted Taiwanese men for military service at different stages of the war: military porters (Jp. *gunpu*) in 1937, military civilian employees (Jp. *gunzoku*) around 1937,³⁴⁷ volunteer soldiers (Jp. *shiganhei*) in 1942, and conscripted soldiers in 1945. The Japanese leadership had instituted the volunteer army system in Korea as early as 1938, but did not begin the same policy in Taiwan because Korea was geographically closer to where the war began—Northeastern China. With Japan's expansion into Southeast Asia and the Pacific, Taiwan became strategically more important in the war.³⁴⁸ Also, as casualties increased and the supply of Japanese draftees could not meet the demand of Japan's expansion into Southeast Asia and the Pacific, the leadership turned to Taiwanese men as a source for combat forces. By offering their service and their lives on the

³⁴⁷ I have not come across any works that provide a starting date or year for the recruitment of military civilian employees. Scholars often discuss military civilian employees alongside military porters. Chou Wan-yao stated that the nature of the civilian employees was top secret, and thus their records are not accessible (Chou 68). I use 1937 as the date when military civilian employees were recruited because of Chou's description of a former military porter/civilian employee who received military honors in 1941. Li Ming of Anping, Tainan, Taiwan joined the military as military porter in September 1937, but won the award as military civilian in 1941 (Chou 156). Li Ming's story hints at the blurry distinction between military porter and military civilians. Chou Wan-yao 周婉筠, *Hai xing xi de niandai - Riben zhimin tongzhi mo qi Taiwan shi lunji* 海行兮的年代—日本殖民統治末期臺灣史論集 [The Era of "When I go to the Sea" ("Umi yukaba"): Collection of Essays of Taiwanese History from the Late Japanese Colonial Rule] (Taipei: Xunchen wenhua gongsi, 2003), 68, 156.

³⁴⁸ Zheng, "Zhan shi tizhi xia de Taiwan shehui (1937-1945), 96-97.

frontline, what Leo Ching calls “the materialization of assimilatory practices,” Taiwanese men thus became imperial Japanese subjects.³⁴⁹

The Taiwanese population experienced the first drain of male labor when Taiwanese men were shipped out of Taiwan as voluntary military porters starting at the beginning of the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945). The first round of approximately 850 Taiwanese military porter recruits was sent to Shanghai in September 1937 to transport food supplies, luggage, and ammunitions.³⁵⁰ Some of the later rounds of military porter recruits worked as military farmers who grew vegetables for military consumption in Mainland China and Southeast Asia.³⁵¹ In addition to these tasks, military porters were also responsible for construction work on the frontline.³⁵² Recruits were elementary school graduates around the age of twenty. Their monthly pay was thirty yen, comparable to a police officer’s pay.³⁵³ Among all Taiwanese men who served in the military during the war, military porters formed the largest group.³⁵⁴

³⁴⁹ Ching, *Becoming “Japanese,”* 104.

³⁵⁰ Cai, *Zhanzheng tizhi xia de Taiwan*, 97-98. Ts’ai, “Total War, Labor Drafts, and Colonial Administration,” 112, 369.

³⁵¹ Taiwanese military farmers were involved in agricultural production near Hankou, Anqing, Wuchang, Nanjing, and Shanghai, and on Hainan Island. In October 1941, one group also went to Indochina and the Philippines to help with agricultural production. Other corps later went to gather raw materials and information and maintain social order in Malaya and Singapore. Ts’ai, “Total War, Labor Drafts, and Colonial Administration,” 112.

³⁵² Zheng, “Zhan shi tizhi xia de Taiwan shehui (1937–1945),” 97. Ts’ai, “Total War, Labor Drafts, and Colonial Administration,” 111.

³⁵³ Zheng, “Zhan shi tizhi xia de Taiwan shehui (1937–1945),” 78.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 96.

Recruited at around the same time or shortly after the military porters, the civilian employees of the military were a smaller group but were very important in the daily operations of the Japanese military. The civilian employees performed technical, legal, prison, translation, and other miscellaneous tasks. Most civilian employees were Japanese, but with the intensification of the war, Taiwanese men were mobilized. Although becoming a civilian employee required only an elementary school diploma, many positions required secondary school education or technical knowledge.³⁵⁵ Because they had a higher level of education and more technical skills than the military porters, the civilian employees also enjoyed higher status and better pay and benefits than the military porters.³⁵⁶ Holders of degrees beyond the elementary level were considered highly educated in Taiwan at the time. The existence of the civilian employees demonstrates that the Japanese leadership successfully mobilized highly educated colonized men into the military. Moreover, their absence created vacancies in white-collar jobs that they would have taken at home. Women took many of these jobs in men's absence, such as teaching, which was predominantly a man's occupation.

With Japan's expansion into Southeast Asia and the Pacific in 1941, the Japanese colonial government found it necessary to permit members of the colonized population to become official soldiers. In June 1941, the Japanese cabinet decided to implement the special army volunteer system, which went into effect in February

³⁵⁵ Cai, *Zhanzheng tizhi xia de Taiwan*, 109. Examples of civilian employees: military doctor, pharmacist, medical assistants, nurse, nursing assistant, veterinarian, and personnel who worked with preventing poultry diseases.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 109-110.

1942.³⁵⁷ Men over the age of seventeen were eligible to volunteer,³⁵⁸ and had to pass physical, oral, and written exams before entering the training center. In addition to implementing a military routine in trainees' daily lives, the training included lessons in Japanese language and national history. At the first round of application, around 1,000 were accepted out of more than 420,000 volunteers in Taiwan.³⁵⁹ Several factors contributed to this high number of volunteers. Some volunteers honestly felt that they were Japanese and wanted to serve their nation. Some of those of poorer backgrounds wanted to help support their families because the pay was much higher than that for jobs they could get at home. Many also explained that they were pressured to volunteer because those who did not would be seen as unpatriotic in the eyes of the colonial administration.³⁶⁰ As Leo Ching observes, *kōminka* forced the Taiwanese to internalize their status as “an incomplete ‘imperial subject’” who had to show their loyalty through their actions.³⁶¹ With Japanese expansion in the Pacific, Japanese leadership had to increase its naval forces. The Japanese leadership implemented a special navy volunteer system in August 1943 in both Taiwan and Korea. Some were assigned overseas, but most recruits stayed in Taiwan.³⁶² As a

³⁵⁷ The special army volunteers system (Jp. *rikugun tokubetsu shiganheisei* 陸軍特別志願兵制) also accepted applications for military police reserves and nurses.

³⁵⁸ Zheng cited Chen Qianwu's experience of being forced to sign the volunteer pledge. Chen explained that he would be labeled a “non-citizen” (Jp. *hikokumin*) if he did not volunteer. The label “non-citizen” basically meant traitor. Zheng, “Zhan shi tizhi xia de Taiwan shehui,” 84-85.

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 83-84.

³⁶⁰ Zheng, “Zhan shi tizhi xia de Taiwan shehui,” 94-95.

³⁶¹ Ching, *Becoming “Japanese,”* 132.

³⁶² Zheng, “Zhan shi tizhi xia de Taiwan shehui,” 86, 87, 89, 91. Youth aged 16 to 24 were recruited. Between 1943 and 1945, six rounds of navy recruits were trained in

further sign of how much the Japanese combat force was overstretched, a military draft was implemented in Taiwan in January 1945. Most of the 45,726 Taiwanese men who went through physical examination were assigned to military units as active duty soldiers.³⁶³

The change in military policy from only recruiting military porters and civilian employees to recruiting active duty soldiers signals the change of status of Taiwanese recruits from the bottom to the top of the military ranks, the same as Japanese soldiers. Taiwanese recruits were initially placed in lower ranks than Japanese soldiers. The military placed soldiers (Jp. *gunjin*) at the highest level of importance, and followed by animals in descending order: military horse (Jp. *gunma*), military dog (Jp. *gunken*), and military pigeon (Jp. *gunkō*). Military civilian employees (Jp. *gunzoku*) were ranked second to last, and military porters (Jp. *gunpu*) were last.³⁶⁴ However, implementation of the volunteer system in 1941, and then conscription of the Taiwanese population in 1945, signaled the importance of Taiwanese men in Japan's expansion into Southeast Asia. The central and the colonial governments eventually had to place Taiwanese recruits at the same rank as Japanese soldiers.

The Mobilization of Taiwanese Youth on the Home Front

Taiwan. The first round of 1,000 recruits and the second round of 2,000 recruits were assigned abroad, while the last four rounds of recruits, each of 2,000 volunteers, stayed in Taiwan. A total of 92,000 army and navy recruits stayed in Taiwan, 10,000 were sent to Japan, 23,000 were sent to mainland China, and over 60,000 were sent to the South Pacific.

³⁶³ Ibid., 91.

³⁶⁴ Ts'ai, "Total War, Labor Drafts, and Colonial Administration," 112, 369.

Taiwanese male and female youths under the age of twenty-five who were not enrolled in school were perhaps the most important group that the colonial government targeted for war mobilization. The colonial government assigned gendered roles to these youths. These youths were important as agricultural and military laborers on the home front and reserves for soldiers and nurses.³⁶⁵ Although members of youth groups were drawn from primary school graduates from the upper classes before 1939, lower-middle-class youths, regardless of if they completed a primary school education or not, became part of youth groups starting in 1939.³⁶⁶ In December 1937, there were a total of 36,000 youth group members, female and male combined. Female youth group members increased from 10,411 to 31,864, and male youth group members from 25,909 to 62,906, between 1937 and 1938.³⁶⁷ By 1944, there were 421,000 male youth group members and 313,000 female youth group members.³⁶⁸ From 1941 to 1945, the colonial government used youth centers to give lectures on production-related topics, and to train young women in nursing skills. These lessons required Japanese proficiency. All able-bodied males in Taiwan, including teenagers, were required to have basic military training in the event that the battle pushed inland.³⁶⁹ In addition to military training, the youth centers also provided lessons in job training, agriculture, fisheries, factory production, and mining

³⁶⁵ Miyazaki Seiko 宮崎聖子, *Shokuminki Taiwan ni okeru seinendan to chiiki no henyō* 植民地期台湾における青年団と地域の変容 [Youth Groups and Local Changes in Taiwan under Japanese Colonial Rule] (Tōkyō: Ochanomizu shobō, 2008), 228-229, 359.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 360.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 218.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 345, 366.

³⁶⁹ Zheng, “Zhan shi tizhi xia de Taiwan shehui,” 86.

to male youth ages seventeen to twenty-five. Each locale organized the labor force differently according to age, gender, or profession.

Young women not enrolled in schools were targeted to receive training in emergency nursing skills. Girls' middle schools (Jp. *jogakkō*), vocational schools (Jp. *jitsugyō gakkō*), and other youth training centers became places where two- to three-hour lecture sessions were given over the course of two months.³⁷⁰ Lin Zi, a farmer's wife in her early twenties during the war, had been born in 1915 and raised as a farmer's daughter without any responsibility for chores. She had to learn how to apply medicine and bandage injured soldiers under government direction. She also recalled having to pack medical supplies in order to bandage injured soldiers with pieces of thin cloth.³⁷¹ Giran (Yilan) Town (Jp. *Giran-gai*) sponsored two three-hour training sessions that took place in late July 1938, targeting housewives. Five hundred people from women's patriotic groups, national defense women's groups, and female youth groups participated in these training sessions.³⁷² While many young women who trained at these centers probably stayed on the home front like Lin Zi, some went abroad to participate in the war effort. Between 1942 and 1944, approximately 900 unmarried Taiwanese women between the ages of 16 and 25 worked as assistant

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 64.

³⁷¹ Lin Zi, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taipei, Taiwan, August 25, 2010.

³⁷² “Kyūgo-hō kōshū kai Katei no shufu ni” 救護法講習會 家庭の主婦に [Seminar on Emergency Medical Relief for Housewives], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], July 28, 1938.

nurses or qualified nurses abroad, mostly in Guangdong, Hong Kong, and the Philippines.³⁷³

Early in the war, youth training centers focused on technical skills in agricultural and industrial production and nursing, but in 1944 the focus of youth training centers shifted to military service in order to meet the increasing demand for soldiers. Opened in 1944, the imperial subject training center targeted male youths ages sixteen to nineteen who had never received any formal education. Youths ages sixteen to seventeen were required to learn Japanese, and those ages eighteen and nineteen received military training. Formed in May 1944, the youth school was another training place that targeted youths ages thirteen to nineteen who held elementary school diplomas. Both youth training centers focused their attention especially on youths ages eighteen and nineteen, who would be drafted into the military once they turned twenty.³⁷⁴ The targets and the training at these youth centers showed that as Taiwanese male youths were mobilized for military service, Taiwanese women and girls would have to fill the gaps in the labor force left by the male recruits.

The colonial government required both young men and women to join youth groups to receive military training, but assigned different roles to them: men as soldiers and women as nurses on the frontline. Young working women and men with an elementary school diploma had to join the youth group (Jp. *seinendan*) after graduation to participate in military drills and patriotic events. A worker at the water

³⁷³ Ts'ai, "Total War, Labor Drafts, and Colonial Administration," 113.

³⁷⁴ Zheng, "Zhan shi tizhi xia de Taiwan shehui," 93-94.

company, Zhan Muchun, recalled that he had to participate in drills from 9 a.m. to noon, although they did not practice with guns or swords.³⁷⁵ Their training was meant to prepare them for their military service on the frontline. A local government clerk during the later Pacific War (1941–1945), Wu Surong testified that every graduate from her school had to join the youth group. She characterized the training as militaristic, with a focus on strengthening bodies and minds. Members of the youth group were pressured to volunteer for service on the frontline. However, it was no simple volunteer work. They had to take an exam to serve on the frontline, or as Surong sardonically put it, “To die, we had to take an exam.” After passing her written and oral exams, Surong became a nurse who assisted with autopsies in a military hospital in Guangdong.³⁷⁶ Muchun volunteered for military service, but withdrew his application after his grandmother dissuaded him.³⁷⁷ Muchun’s and Surong’s stories suggested the gendered difference in the role that Taiwanese youth played, even though they received similar training at the youth centers.

With able-bodied men working in the military and in the factories, women and youth became major sources of labor on the home front. Each prefecture and local government organized the labor force differently. Taihoku (Taipei) Prefecture organized the labor force into three groups: the general public, schools, and youth. Shinchiku (Hsinchu) Prefecture organized the labor force into groups of young

³⁷⁵ Zhan Muchun, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taipei, Taiwan, November 17, 2012.

³⁷⁶ Wu Surong, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taoyuan, Taiwan, November 29, 2011.

³⁷⁷ Zhan Muchun, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

women, married women, and workers by profession. The youth corps and the schools performed more than half of all labor on the home front.³⁷⁸

Increasing Presence of Female Labor During the War

Female and child labor filled in the vacuum created by the war in the educational, service, and agricultural sectors on the home front. Two-thirds of the thirty-three women I interviewed who held a primary school degree by 1944 worked outside the home by the end of the war.³⁷⁹ Women with primary school degrees were active in a wide range of fields. Factory work required some years of education and clerical jobs required primary or middle school education.³⁸⁰ These jobs required

³⁷⁸ Ts'ai, "Total War, Labor Drafts, and Colonial Administration," 109.

³⁷⁹ Out of 40 women I interviewed, 33 completed primary education by 1944, and two more women received a primary school diploma by the end of the war in 1945. While eight women were still in school and three women stayed at home, 22 of the 33 women I interviewed who finished primary school by 1944 worked outside the home. There were seven teachers, two bookkeeping clerks, one cook, one bus conductor, one vegetable vendor, and one local government clerk. There were also three women who worked in a socks factory, two in the textile industry, one in the railway company, one in a medical clinic, one in the post office, and one in the broadcasting office.

³⁸⁰ A socks factory in Hokutō (Ch. Beitou 北投), Taipei, trained three groups of girls with a primary school diploma. See "Hokut sei jokō kōshū shūryō 北投製女工講習修了 [Beitou Factory Women Training Course Completed], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], March 25, 1930. Zheng Xiumei found that female workers in pineapple processing factories were required to hold a primary school degree; see Zheng Xiumei 鄭秀美, "Ri zhi shiqi Taiwan funü laodong qun xiang" 日治時期臺灣婦女勞動群相(1895-1937) [Working Women during the Japanese Colonial Rule in Taiwan (1895-1937)] (master's thesis: Guoli Chenggong daxue, 2007), 91. An advertisement from the East Asia Shipbuilding Corporation (Jp. *Tō-a zōsen kabushiki kaisha* 東亞造船株式會社) stated that the company was looking to hire female clerks with middle school diplomas and good arithmetic ability; see "Tō -a kaisha zōsen kabushikikaisha ginōsha gō joshi jimuin boshū" 東亞造船株式會社技能者及女子事務員募集 [Recruitment of Technicians and Female Clerks at East Asia Shipping Company], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報

Japanese proficiency because the work involved dealings with Japanese supervisors, coworkers, and clients. Taiwanese women were already active in various manufacturing jobs before 1937. For example, women were 98.3% of the workforce in the woven hats industry (154,781 women), and 35% (15,294) of the workforce in the food processing industry in 1936. In 1937, 54.2% (3,290 women) of all tea production workers were women.³⁸¹ Lower-class women were working in light industries, and middle- and upper-class women were working in the education, medical, and sectors before the war.³⁸² During the wartime period, the number of

[Taiwan Daily News], February 9, 1944, morning edition 3. Taiwan Fiber Cargo Supply Association- Taitō Branch (Jp. *Taiwan seni shūka haikyū shuishutsu kumiai Taitōshibu* 台灣纖維集貨配給輸移出組合台東支部) sought female clerks with a minimum education level of advanced course at primary school (Jp. *kokumin gakkō kōtōka* 国民学校高等科) (You, “Taiwan de zhiye funü,” 32). Many jobs, such as teachers, nurses, midwives, and store clerks, required additional training at seminars (Jp. *kōshūsho* 講習所). One large-scale seminar had 100 primary school graduates, who learned abacus, business bookkeeping, business arithmetic, insurance, and trade (Ibid., 33). A minimum of three years of primary school education was one requirement for short-term midwife training seminars, and the completion of the advanced course at primary schools or two years of middle school was required for formal training at medical schools (Ibid., 135, 138). Teachers received 52 days to one year of training. The completion of the advanced course at primary schools or two years of middle school was required for the nurse courses (Ibid., 167). You Jianming 游鑑明, “Ri ju shiqi Taiwan de zhiye funü” 日據時期台灣的職業婦女 [Professional Taiwanese Women During the Japanese Occupation Period] (PhD diss., Guoli Taiwan shifan daxue, 1995).

³⁸¹ Zheng, *Taiwan funü laodong qun xiang*, 49, 51, 65, 78.

³⁸² You Jianming has examined closely teachers, midwives, and nurses. See You Jianming 游鑑明, “Ri ju shiqi gong xuexiao de Taiji nü jiaoshi” 日據時期公學校的台籍女教師 [Taiwanese Women Teachers in Primary Schools under Japanese Occupation], in *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan shi guo ji xue shu yanjiu hui lunwen ji* 日據時期台灣史國際學術研究會論文集 [Essay Collection from the International Academic Conference on the History of Taiwan under Japanese Occupation], ed. Guoli Taiwan daxue lishi xi 國立臺灣大學歷史系, 559-633 (Taipei: Taiwan daxue lishi xi, 1993); You Jianming 游鑑明, “Ri ju shiqi Taiwan de chang po” 日據時期台灣的產婆

women working in those fields increased and the types of work they did expanded. For example in 1944, the first class of forty women was admitted to the training course for tunnel construction in Shinchiku Prefecture in Taiwan.³⁸³ An increasing number of women had begun to work outside the home before the war, but the job vacancies left by men who joined the military accelerated this process and expanded it into new fields.³⁸⁴

The number of Taiwanese and Japanese women teachers, both fully certified and temporary ones, increased during the wartime period, although men teachers remained dominant. Between 1903 and 1943, the number of fully certified Taiwanese women teachers in primary schools remained under 300 most of the time, and peaked

[Midwives in Taiwan under Japanese Occupation], *Jindai Zhong guo funü shi yanjiu* 近代中國婦女史研究 1 (1993): 49-88; You Jianming 游鑑明, “Ri ju shiqi de Taiji hushi” 日據時期的臺籍護士 [Taiwanese Nurses under Japanese Occupation], *Zhongyang yanjiu yuan jindai shi yanjiu suo ji kan* 中央研究院近代史研究所集刊, No. 23, Vol. 1 (1994): 367-404. For an overview of jobs held by Taiwanese women around 1930, see You Jianming 游鑑明, “Ri ju shiqi de zhiye bianqian yu funü diwei” 日據時期的職業變遷與婦女地位 [Transformation of Work and the Status of Women under Japanese Occupation], in *Taiwan jindai shi: Shehui pian* 台灣近代史社會篇 [Modern Taiwanese History: Social History], ed. Taiwan sheng wenxian weiyuan hui 臺灣省文獻委員會 (Taizhong: Taiwan sheng zhengfu yinshua chang, 1995), 101-137.

³⁸³ “Joshi kōin yōsei daiichikai nyūsho-shiki” 女子工員養成第一回入所式 [Training of Female Workers: The Ceremony for the First Class], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], March 8, 1944.

³⁸⁴ Similar patterns also occurred in the United States during WWII. As Ruth Milkman has found, American women continued to work in what was considered to be women’s jobs from the prewar into the wartime period. She argues that the war had “shifted the location of” what Americans viewed as women’s jobs but did not completely remove the gendered division of work in various fields. Ruth Milkman, *Gender at Work: The Dynamics of Job Segregation by Sex during World War II* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 9.

at 781 in 1942, or 13.55% of all Taiwanese teachers in primary schools, compared to 2,640 Taiwanese men teachers, or 45.89%. The number of Taiwanese women temporary teachers remained under 400 during most of the colonial period, and peaked at 1,565 in 1943, or 24.78% of all Taiwanese primary teachers, compared to 1,692 men temporary teachers, or 26.79%, in the same year.³⁸⁵ The number of Japanese women teachers increased over time: fully certified teachers peaked at 1,288 in 1943, and temporary teachers peaked at 917 in 1941.³⁸⁶ Beginning in 1940, Taihoku No. 1 Normal School, Taichū Normal School, and Tainan Normal School also set up 52-day women's seminar courses (Jp. *rinji kyōin yōseikai*) for those with middle school diplomas. In 1941, six-month training programs for those who completed the advanced course at elementary school were set up in Taihoku (Taipei), Shinchiku (Hsinchu), Taichū (Taichung), Tainan, and Takao (Kaohsiung).³⁸⁷

The teaching field was a common choice for upper-middle-class women in the sample of women I interviewed. Seven became teachers before the end of the war in 1945, of whom four teachers were girls' middle school graduates. Several interviewees remembered that there were fewer Japanese male teachers because men were off fighting the war. To become a teacher, one trained at a normal school, girl's secondary school, or the short-term training centers, and took the examination for a teaching credential. Most Taiwanese female teachers received training through their middle schools (Jp. *kōtō jogakkō*) or short-term training centers (Jp. *kōshūka*,

³⁸⁵ For a full statistics of Taiwanese women and men teachers in primary schools between 1903 and 1943, see You Jianming, "Taiji nü jiaoshi", 618.

³⁸⁶ Wu, *Taiwan shifan jiaoyu*, 158-2.

³⁸⁷ You, "Taiwan de zhiye funü", 39.

enshūka).³⁸⁸ Those born in the early 1920s received more teacher training than those born in the late 1920s because of vacancies and because the need for teachers increased toward the end of the war. Lin Banhui (b. 1920), Wang Zhirui (b. 1923), Lan Muqiao (b. 1923), and Cai Huiru (b. 1925) were older than Xia Yuchia (b. 1927), Hu Yan (b. 1927) and Lan Xuyan (b. 1928), and received one year of teacher training after finishing their middle school education.³⁸⁹ However, Xia Yuchia, Hu Yan, and Lan Xuyan were mobilized to become teachers in accelerated teacher training programs during the war in order to fill the vacant teaching positions left by Japanese and Taiwanese men who had joined the military.³⁹⁰ Xia Yuchia was likely in the six-month program for the advanced course graduates at elementary school, and Hu Yan and Lan Xuyan probably received training at the 52-day program for middle school graduates.

Many primary schools in Taiwan faced a shortage of teachers by the mid-1930s. The colonial government tried to mitigate the problem by increasing the

³⁸⁸ You Jianming explained that most women teachers from Taiwanese primary schools came from the short-term training centers between 1919 and 1928. After 1928, normal schools in Taiwan set up a one-year course for women. Starting from 1940, Taihoku No. 2 Normal School, Taichū Normal School, and Tainan Normal School also set up one-year training programs for women. Another way of training women teachers was through girls' middle schools and other teacher training groups. *Ibid.*, 46-47, 49.

³⁸⁹ Lin Banhui, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Yunlin, Taiwan, July 11, 2012. Lan Muqiao, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Hsinchu, Taiwan, September 22, 2012.

³⁹⁰ Xia Yuchia, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taichung, Taiwan, June 19, 2012. Hu Yan, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Yunlin, Taiwan, September 21, 2012. Lan Xuyan, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Yunlin, Taiwan, September 21, 2012.

number of classes at normal schools.³⁹¹ By January 1937, many prefectural governments turned to short-term training centers (Jp. *danki kōshū*) to supply teachers.³⁹² However, these countermeasures did not solve the shortage problem, and the prefectural governments of Taichū (Taichung), Tainan, and Girun City (Keelung) turned to Japan for teacher supply. The problem with a shortage of teachers was likely the result of low retention rates. The majority of teachers at primary schools were Taiwanese men who often quit teaching after completing their required five years of service because of discriminatory practices.³⁹³ On March 24, 1937, *Taiwan Daily News* reported that the Taichū prefectural government had decided to hire seventy-eight teachers from Japan.³⁹⁴ On June 21, 1942, *Taiwan Daily News* reported

³⁹¹ “Shōkogakkō Kyōin fusoku hikī shō kakuchō kaku shihan gakukau sōtokufu bunkyō tōkyoku-kata kōkyū-chū” 小公學校 教員不足 將擴張各師範學校 總督府文教當局方講究中 [Teacher Shortage in Shōgakkō and Kogakkō: Discussion to Expand Programs at All Normal Schools by the Ministry of Education at Government-General of Taiwan], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], June 12, 1936.

³⁹² “Tanki kōshū de kyōin o yōsei kyōin fusoku no chō kyūsaku” 短期講習で 教員を養成 教員不足 の廳急策 [Emergency Countermeasure for Teacher Shortage: The Training of Teachers at Short-term Training Centers], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], January 16, 1937.

³⁹³ The required number of years of service varied, but was usually three or five years (Wu, *Taiwan shifan jiaoyu*, 204-205). Between 1922 and 1937, fully certified Taiwanese teachers made up half of all primary school teachers, and Japanese teachers only one-third. After 1937, the number of fully certified Japanese teachers began to exceed that of Taiwanese teachers (Ibid., 163). Taiwanese men teachers received one-third or less of the salary of Japanese men teachers (Ibid., 171). They were very unlikely to receive promotion and experienced second-class citizen treatment from fellow Japanese teachers. School administration limited Taiwanese teachers to teach lower-grade levels of students or Classical Chinese only (Ibid., 180, 206-207).

³⁹⁴ “Taichū shū ka kyōin fusoku naichi inyū shichijū hachi mei” 臺中州下 教員不足 內地移入七十八名 [Shortage of Teachers in Taichū Prefecture: The Hiring of 78

that Tainan Prefecture had hired sixty-three male teachers and sixty-four female teachers from a temporary teacher's training center, Tainan Normal School, and Tainan No. 2 Girls' School.³⁹⁵ The fact that almost as many women were hired as men, in this hitherto male-dominated profession, suggested that the teaching profession at the primary educational level was becoming feminized.

There were two types of credentials: temporary (Jp. *daiyō kyōin*) and fully certified (Jp. *gōkaku kyōin*). Temporary teachers received training at short-term training centers, while fully certified teachers received training at normal schools.³⁹⁶ Starting in 1938, the number of temporary women teachers exceeded that of men teachers at Taiwanese primary schools.³⁹⁷ As the chart below shows, the number of Taiwanese women teachers, fully credentialed and especially substitute-certified teachers increased between 1937 and 1943. Even though the colonial government continued to keep the school acceptance rate high for Japanese students, fifteen times

Teachers from the Metropole], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], March 24, 1937.

³⁹⁵ “Kyōin fusoku kaishō e shin kyōin hyaku nijū nana mei su tatsu” 教員不足 解消へ新教員百廿七名巢立つ [The Formation of 127 New Teachers – Solution to Teacher Shortage], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], June 21, 1942.

³⁹⁶ You, *Gong xuexiao de taiji nu jiaoshi*, 46.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 51.

the acceptance rate of the Taiwanese,³⁹⁸ the chart shows that as the war progressed, more women joined the teaching profession.³⁹⁹

Table 6. Number of Fully Certified Teachers by Nationality and Gender

	Taiwanese Men	Taiwanese Women	Japanese Men	Japanese Women
1903	128	—	224	—
1913	451	—	417	—
1922	1,823	189	1,084	131
1931	2,732	246	1,777	283
1936	2,703	224	2,450	367
1937	2,672	219	2,960	491
1938	2,668	163	3,195	403
1939	2,566	148	3,777	491
1940	2,425	156	4,258	633
1941	2,420	281	4,449	958
1942	—	—	—	—
1943	2,569	490	4,798	1,288

Source: Wu Wenxing, *Ri ju shi qi Tai wan shi fan jiao yu zhi yan jiu*⁴⁰⁰

Table 7. Number of Temporary Teachers by Nationality and Gender

	Taiwanese Men	Taiwanese Women	Japanese Men	Japanese Women
1903	223	34	35	5
1913	293	76	80	12
1922	1,223	270	14	151
1931	156	98	153	110
1936	131	135	356	343
1937	107	162	263	365
1938	220	274	387	618
1939	310	352	373	746
1940	419	568	231	873
1941	729	904	112	917
1942	—	—	—	—
1943	1,692	1,565	68	703

³⁹⁸ Li Yuanhui 李園會, *Ri ju shi qi Taiwan shifan jiaoyu zhidu* 日據時期臺灣師範教育制度 [Teacher Training Educational System in Taiwan During the Japanese Occupation Period] (Taipei shi: Nan tian shuju, 1997), 305.

³⁹⁹ Ibid., 381. A 1929 document explained that the colonial government had the rule that women teachers could not exceed one-third of the entire teaching faculty. However, it is unclear if this rule was strictly enforced, or if this rule changed during the wartime period. See Yu, *Gong xuexiao de taiji nu jiaoshi*, 50.

⁴⁰⁰ Wu, *Taiwan shifan jiaoyu*, 158-1 - 158-2.

Source: Wu Wenxing, *Ri ju shi qi Tai wan shi fan jiao yu zhi yan jiu*⁴⁰¹

The Mobilization of Schoolgirl Labor: Learning Inside the School Grounds

School was the most important site where Taiwanese children of different backgrounds learned to be loyal and skillful imperial subjects who worked together for the empire in gender-specific roles. The year the Second Sino-Japanese War began in 1937, there were 450,032 Taiwanese children enrolled in primary schools, with 134,651 girls, or nearly 30% of all schoolchildren. In 1943, the year when the colonial government decided to make primary education compulsory in Taiwan, 707,352 Taiwanese children enrolled in national schools, with 289,810 girls, or nearly 41% of all school children.⁴⁰² The colonial government deemed it necessary to assimilate as many Taiwanese children as possible in order to secure a supply for the labor force and for the military. It was no longer enough to take courses such as Japanese and ethics to become imperial subjects. To become a loyal Japanese imperial subject, one had to perform actions associated with this identity.⁴⁰³ Receiving military and nursing training, participating in marching, letter-writing, care-package production, and metal recycling, and living a thrifty and simple life defined the “bodily practice of everyday life” that Tomiyama Ichirō argues was an

⁴⁰¹ Wu, *Taiwan shifan jiaoyu*, 158-1 - 158-2.

⁴⁰² You, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan de nüzi jiaoyu*, 286.

⁴⁰³ Ching asserts that “bodily procedures must presuppose the furtive presence of the colonial state and the massive mobilization effort of the Pacific War that are instrumental in setting up the transferential relationship of the colonial subject towards imperial power.” Ching, *Becoming “Japanese,”* 90.

important part of becoming Japanese.⁴⁰⁴ The bodily discipline involved in all of these trainings and activities spoke to the virtues of obedience, good manners, cooperation, and teamwork that became part of the postwar narratives of former schoolgirls. These former schoolgirls, in recent interviews, used their experiences to explain why they were nostalgic for Japanese rule.

Ying Xinrui was born in 1931 to a literati family in Shilin, Taipei, but given away to a farming family when she was only a few months old. Xu Kuidi was born in the same year to a tea merchant family in Xiluo, Yunlin. Although they came from different family backgrounds and different regions of Taiwan, they received the same military lessons in school. Xinrui and her classmates at Hokutō Primary in Taipei, and Kuidi and her classmates at Nishinishi Girls' Primary School in Yunlin, learned how to use a bamboo or wooden stick to attack the enemy.⁴⁰⁵ These lessons continued into middle school. Born three years before Xinrui and Kuidi to a gold mine owner and a former primary school teacher, Lin Xianyan also remembered learning various skills as a student at Taichū Girls' No. 2 Middle School (Jp. *Taichū daisan kōtō jogakkō*):

[We] girls also learned swordsmanship (Jp. *kendō*). We used a long knife [and learned] how to carry [and] use it. We also received training on how to use old-style guns from hundreds of years ago ... We also used bamboo sticks with sharp ends. We were taught to use them to

⁴⁰⁴ Leo Ching cites Tomiyama Ichirō, who coined the term “discipline” to describe the “materialization” of the ideology of “becoming Japanese.” Ibid.

⁴⁰⁵ Ying Xinrui, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taipei, Taiwan, April 9, 2013. Xu Kuidi, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Yunlin, Taiwan, September 20, 2012.

fight against the Americans if they came, to attack them while wearing white headbands around our heads. We trained with the bamboo stick every day. We were taught that the Americans despised us, and if they saw us girls they would definitely want to violate us. Therefore, we were taught that we had to kill Americans with bamboo sticks.⁴⁰⁶

Xiyan's narrative of their bamboo spear training echoed how the Japanese government portrayed Japan and its enemy during the wartime period. The government portrayed Japan as "the purifying sun or the sword of righteousness" in contrast to the image of the America/Britain as demon (*oni*) who was violent and destructive. The sword of righteousness was often a bayonet.⁴⁰⁷ Japanese government propaganda posters depicted the Americans and the British as demons that could be brought down by a bayonet.⁴⁰⁸ Instead of a bayonet, Xiyan and her classmates used bamboo spears to practice thrusting at their target in school. Schools required military training, where boys practiced with loaded weapons and girls practiced with bamboo spears, hand grenades, and halberds.⁴⁰⁹

In the process of demonizing Americans, Xiyan's teacher taught them to defend themselves to protect their own chastity. The lesson thus had two purposes: to

⁴⁰⁶ Lin Xiyan, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taipei, Taiwan, June 28, 2012.

⁴⁰⁷ John W. Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race & Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), 250.

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 246.

⁴⁰⁹ Eric J. Johnson, "Under Ideological Fire: Illustrated Wartime Propaganda for Children," in *Under Fire: Childhood in the Shadow of War*, ed. Elizabeth Goodenough and Andrea Immel (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2008), 74.

imbue schoolgirls with the idea of defending their chastity and imparting military skills on a practical level. The self-defense training that these primary and secondary schoolgirls received also suggested that the colonial government was preparing for an invasion of the home front. Just as male youths were mobilized for military training on school grounds and in youth groups, so were female youths in secondary schools. The justification for military training was gendered: male training for fighting for one's country, and female training for defending one's virtue. On a practical level, schoolboys were trained for the front line and in the factories, and schoolgirls were trained for nursing and self-defense roles on the home front.

Marching was another important subject of training in school that emphasized the concepts of uniformity and obedience on a collective level. A 1937 manual on physical education for primary schools provided instructions for the exercises for both genders.⁴¹⁰ The section on “games and singing,” which included activities for girls only, included marching, skating, and waving the Japanese flag.⁴¹¹ These exercises taught girls how to march in a uniform and organized fashion in preparation for the war effort on the home front. Xu Kuidi and her classmates had to practice marching every afternoon in the fifth and sixth grades at Nishinishi Girls' Primary

⁴¹⁰ Hayakawa Kidaisu 早川喜代須, *Shōkōgakkō taikyōikuno tokuhuteki shidō to jissai* 小公学校体育の特殊的指導と実際 [Particular Instructions and Practices for Physical Education at Primary and Common Schools] (Taichū: Tanabe Shoten, 1937).

⁴¹¹ Mounting march was (Jp. *mautein maachi* マウテインマーチ) performed by groups of three girls who synchronized their movements with the *Mounting March* music, skating was (Jp. *sukei teingu* スケーティング) performed by two girls who synchronized their moves with the *Skating* music, and waving the Japanese flag (Jp. *hirugaeru nisshōki* 翻る日章旗) was holding and waving the national flag. Ibid., 102-117.

School. The training in physical education helped prepare for their participation in war celebration marches in the early war period.

Like other schoolchildren of both genders, Xu Kuidi and her classmates showed off their training at lantern victory parades sponsored by the colonial government as an occasion for Taiwanese to show their patriotism and loyalty. However, their participation was more the result of a demonstration of their wartime training, rather than an expression of truly felt patriotism on the part of the students. Lantern victory parades (Jp. *chōchin gyōretsu*) began in September 1937, two months after the advent of full-scale war between China and Japan. The *Taiwan Daily News* reported that the Japanese army had scored victories in China, and, thus, the colonial government planned an island-wide lantern parade on the evening of September 27, 1937. The purpose of the parade was to “show gratitude to the imperial army, to pray for the continued victorious battles of the imperial army, and to rally the morale of the residents of Taiwan.”⁴¹² Wu Surong, born in 1926 to a woodcraft factory owner in Daxi in northern Taiwan, remembered that as fourth- or fifth-graders in Daike Primary School, she and her classmates participated in lantern parades at Daxi Town whenever Japan won a battle. Wu explained that students had to wear uniforms and met on the school grounds. Their teachers then led them to downtown Daxi for the victory parade. They held lanterns, and with high spirits sang military songs they had

⁴¹² “Kōgun kenshō wo shukuga zentō de chōchin gyōretsu asu isseini kyokō ” 皇軍健勝を祝賀 全島で提燈行列 あす一齊に舉行 [The Celebration of the Victory of the Imperial Army: Lantern Victory Parades across the Entire Island], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], September 26, 1937.

learned in school while marching around the downtown area for about an hour.⁴¹³ Other women remembered similar experiences.⁴¹⁴ Thirty thousand people in Tainan City participated in a lantern parade to show their loyalty to the empire on May 20, 1938. Participants, included *shogakkō*, *kogakkō*, and girls' primary school (Jp. *joshi kogakkō*) students along with eighty other groups, gathered to join a victory celebration ceremony at Tainan Shrine to mark the start of the march.⁴¹⁵ Takao City held a lantern parade on February 11, 1939, to celebrate the takeover of Hainan Island in China. Over 10,000 participants comprised of local soldiers (Jp. *kyōgun*), home defense groups, students, and women's groups gathered at 6:30 p.m. and began marching at 7 p.m. They sang patriotic songs and marched to the Takao Bridge, the closest point to Hainan Island.⁴¹⁶ These parades coincided with victorious battles, which served to construct the Japanese empire as strong, and its territory as ever-expanding. The unofficial rule of school- and group-based participation showed that institutions were the basic units of mobilization. Because participation in victory parades was mandatory, one cannot conclude that participation reflected students'

⁴¹³ Wu Surong, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁴¹⁴ These women were: Zeng Hin (b.1930), Li Piqing (b. 1931), Ying Xinrui (b. 1931), Lan Beiyin (b. 1933), Cai Huiru (b. 1925), and Lin Xianyan (b. 1928).

⁴¹⁵ “Kanki no hi no umi shimin san man sankā shite chōchin gyōretsu-zu wa saiu tsuite hatagyōretsu” 歡喜の火の海 市民三萬參加して 提燈 行列晝は細雨ついて 旗行列 [Happy Sea of Fire - 30,000 Citizens Participated in Lantern Parade under Drizzles], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], May 21, 1938.

⁴¹⁶ “Endō wa hi no umi Takao no chōchin gyōretsu” 沿道は火の海高雄の 提燈 行列 [Sea of Fire on the Streets: Lantern Parade in Takao], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], February 12, 1939.

patriotism. Rather, participation in the parades was part of students' wartime training, coordinated by their primary school teachers.

Letter-writing was another wartime activity that some primary school teachers required of their students to make the colonized population appreciate the sacrifice the colonists made in order to maintain their lifestyle on the home front. Ying Xinrui (b. 1931), a former Hokutō Primary student in Taipei, recited the letter she wrote, “Thanks to you soldiers we are able to lead a happy life, we are able to go to school.”⁴¹⁷ However, former students remembered that teachers only sent the best letters to Japanese soldiers on the battlefield. Wu Surong recalled that the letter she wrote in Japanese won first place in her class, and was then sent to the battlefield.⁴¹⁸ As the best student in her class, Zhu Qiufong (b. 1931) wrote many letters on the behalf of her classmates at Tansui Girls' Primary School (Jp. *Tansui joshi kogakkō*). Qiufong cried upon reading replies from soldiers, who sent letters of gratitude.⁴¹⁹ This schoolgirl-soldier connection brought the colonized youth closer to the colonists' war. In both narratives, Surong and Qiufong characterized themselves as good students with excellent writing skills. Recalling their letter-writing experiences during the wartime period provided them with a chance to incorporate their belief that education is good, and that they performed their roles as good students. It also highlights how special they were—as top students at a time when not every girl received an education. As will be discussed further in Chapter Five, this construction of their

⁴¹⁷ Ying Xinrui, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taipei, Taiwan, November 9, 2011.

⁴¹⁸ Wu Surong, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁴¹⁹ Zhu Qiufong, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taipei, Taiwan, October 27, 2011.

identity became the backdrop of their nostalgia for Japanese rule, a time they recalled as one when Japanese education produced fine students such as themselves, in comparison to the misbehaving and disrespectful children who received a postwar Chinese Nationalist education.

Making care packages was another activity that connected students with soldiers on the frontline to create a sense of a shared war experience. Qiufong's school, Tansui Girls' Primary, along with Tansui Boys' Primary (Jp. *Tansui kogakkō*) and Tansui Shogakkō, each sent letters and fifty bags of care packages on behalf of schoolchildren in 1938.⁴²⁰ A student at a Japanese children's elementary school in Taipei City, Lin Xianyan and her mostly Japanese classmates made care packages (Jp. *irōbuku*) as instructed by their teachers in primary and middle schools. "The teacher taught us what to write on the bag, such as 'Hang in there!' (Jp. *ganbatte*), or 'Come home quickly after defeating the enemy,'" she recalled.⁴²¹ Care packages included letters, soap, towels, snacks, and cologne. Soldiers were reportedly joyful after receiving these care packages.⁴²² As with the letter-writing activity, the care-package activity also forced children to remember and to feel grateful for soldiers' sacrifices. Both activities also served to create personal connections between

⁴²⁰ "Imon bukuro hyaku gojū gakkou ni kitaku tansui-gai Tada Eikichi-shi bikyo" 慰問袋百五十學校に寄託 淡水街多田榮吉氏美舉 [Ohta Eikichi from Tansui Town donated 150 care packages to School], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], May 26, 1938.

⁴²¹ Lin Xianyan, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁴²² "Imon bukuro wo tsuida" 慰問袋を着いだ [Care packages arrived!], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], July 23, 1938.

Japanese soldiers and Taiwanese children in the context of this imperial expansionist war.

Schoolgirls were also taught basic medical skills during the wartime period as reserves of nurses at home and on the frontline. Xu Kuidi's classmate, Lan Laizhu (b. 1933), and her fellow fifth- and sixth-graders learned how to treat wounds and to bandage injured soldiers.⁴²³ Single and married young women received emergency medical relief training in youth centers, but Laizhu's story reveals that even primary schoolgirls were mobilized to receive medical training. This medical training created a large body of lay nurses who were needed on the home front, and a potential force of future professional nurses on the battlefield.

In addition to physical training, teachers also taught students the concepts of thrift and patriotism. The rising sun lunch box (Jp. *hinomaru bentō*) was an important item that embodied both concepts. The idea behind the lunch box originated at a girls' school in Hiroshima Prefecture in 1937. The school administration wanted to encourage students to be thrifty by requiring them to bring rice and a salty plum on Mondays. Because the resulting image of the lunch box resembled the Japanese flag, it became immensely popular in the metropole. The idea of this lunch box was exported to Taiwan, and teachers required primary school students to bring it to class or on field trips (Jp. *ensoku*).⁴²⁴ Li Piqing (b. 1931), Ying Xinrui's classmate at Hokutō Primary, associated this lunch with kamikaze missions: "During the wartime period, we had to bring a lunch box with white rice

⁴²³ Lan Laizhu, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Yunlin, Taiwan, September 10, 2012.

⁴²⁴ Cai, *Zhan zheng tizhi xia de Taiwan*, 144-145.

and red plum whenever a kamikaze succeeded ... We were not allowed to bring vegetables that day. Our teacher instructed us to bring white rice and a red plum only. It was the Japanese flag.”⁴²⁵ Although Piqing ate her lunch to celebrate a strategic success, Lu Zhunju (b. 1930) at Minato Primary School in Tainan recalled the purpose of the lunch differently. She said it was for praying for safety. “Once a week or month, we had to have a lunch box with nothing but a salty plum in it. It was required [by the school],” Zhunju explained. However, she also remembered that some students resisted this rule: “Some students wouldn’t eat just that, so they hid some goodies underneath the rice.”⁴²⁶ Both Piqing’s and Zhunju’s accounts suggested that there was still enough rice for students to fulfill this assignment in the earlier period of the war. This type of lunch disappeared after intensive air raids hit Taiwan in 1944 and 1945, when material goods became scarce, and most Taiwanese, including wealthy families, were eating yams as the main staple food.

Students’ outward appearances were also regulated to reflect thrift and simplicity during the wartime period. In November 1940, the colonial government implemented the “Ordinance of the National Uniform of the Greater Japanese Empire” (Jp. *Dai Nippon teikoku kokuminfuku rei*) in Taiwan, which mandated that all schoolboys and men wear 50-yen uniforms of earth-yellow or auburn-amber color, instead of the 100-yen Western suit. Secondary school boys changed their uniform to the mandated colors and shaved their heads. Women and girls were told not to perm their hair, and not to wear Western dresses or hats, high heels, or

⁴²⁵ Li Piqing, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taipei, Taiwan, May 20, 2012.

⁴²⁶ Lu Zhunju, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Tainan, Taiwan, July 12, 2012.

makeup. Women and girls were also asked to wear *monpe*, a simple farmer woman's work clothes.⁴²⁷ In addition to the mobilized labor and the low rations, everyone also had to embody simplicity and thrift in their appearances. Both Lan Laizhu, a student during the war, and Lin Zi, a farmer's wife in her early twenties from Taipei who learned basic nursing skills, made *monpe* for themselves during the wartime period.⁴²⁸ Zi remembered the activity as a special wartime requirement for young women like her, but Laizhu framed the activity differently. As an avid seamstress for decades, Laizhu recalled the activity to testify to her continued interest and excellent skills in sewing: "My teacher asked who would like to learn how to make *monpe*, and I was the only one in the entire class who volunteered to learn it."⁴²⁹ Her account of the *monpe*-making activity serves to support her presentation of herself as an excellent student who was eager to learn everything from her teacher. To have the proper wartime wear was an individual act but also served to show a collective spirit.

Students were also mobilized to participate in the metal recycling program during the wartime period as a representation of thrift and patriotism. In September 1942, the colonial government requested that residents in Taiwan donate metals for weapon production, including iron, copper, aluminum, tin, copper-mixed gold, lead, gold, and white gold. People were forced to donate items such as temple bells, streetlights, billboards, postal boxes, copper statues, metal doors, and metal fencing.

⁴²⁷ Ibid., 143-144.

⁴²⁸ Lan Laizhu, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Yunlin, Taiwan, September 19, 2012. Lin Zi, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taipei, Taiwan, April 9, 2013.

⁴²⁹ Lan Laizhu, interview by Fang Yu Hu, September 19, 2012.

Higashiishi County in Bokushi ordered all of its primary schools and village organizations to donate scraps (Jp. *haibutsu*).⁴³⁰ Taiwanese women were especially sad to have to sell their jewelry, usually part of their dowries, to the government at a low price.⁴³¹ Takao Branch of Women’s Patriotic Association (Jp. *Aifu Takao shibu*) mobilized its members to sell wristwatches, locks, hairpins, and other gold-material accessories to raise money for the nation. Schools in Takao also informed their students to convey the message to their families to participate in this activity.⁴³² Li Piqing recalled a metal collection school assignment as a student at Hokutō Primary. Her teacher told them to collect glass bottles, metal nails, iron, and anything that could be made into bombs as a vacation assignment: “We would get points for stuff we collected and submitted to her. Each item was assigned a point value. We did it for two consecutive years [approximately in 1942 and 1943].⁴³³ The assignment began when I was in the fifth grade,” Piqing recounted. She happily recalled that she always submitted a lot because of her father’s position as the owner of a major hot

⁴³⁰ “Haihin wo keibai” 廢品を競賣 [Auction of Scraps], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], August 2, 1938.

⁴³¹ Cai, *Zhan zheng tizhi xia de Taiwan*, 152-154.

⁴³² “Chiji fujin shihan sossen udedokei ya kusari, kanzashi wo baikyaku Aifu Takao shibu in katsuyaku” 知事夫人示範 率先、腕時計や鎖、簪を賣卻 愛婦高雄支部員活躍 [Mrs. [Prefectural] Governor Setting the Example - The Sales of Wrist Watch, Locks, and Hair pins - Active Members of Takao Branch of Patriotic Women’s Association], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], August 10, 1938.

⁴³³ Li and her classmates belonged to the class of 1944. They began first grade in April 1937. Fifth grade was from April 1942 to March 1943, and sixth grade was from April 1943 to March 1944.

spring resort in the local area, which allowed her to gather many bottles and cans.⁴³⁴ Her classmate, Ying Xinrui, also remembered this assignment: “At that time, we had to pick up a bottle, and even one broken iron nail ... Those [scraps] were going to be made into weapons.”⁴³⁵ These stories illustrate the degree to which the war had penetrated the lives of schoolchildren. As material goods became scarcer and the war intensified, primary schoolchildren of both genders were mobilized to collect metal scraps and glasses for the war effort.

The Mobilization of Schoolgirl Labor: Working Outside the School Grounds

Taiwanese schoolgirls received gendered training and performed gendered tasks as part of becoming Japanese during the wartime period. In addition to training and activities inside the school ground, the “bodily practice of everyday life” of schoolgirls was extended to outside the school ground. Schoolgirls worked as agricultural laborers, made food for the military, and provided comfort and showed gratitude to soldiers during hospital visits, concerts, and through *senninbari*, a piece of white cloth with good luck messages sewn on. Their interactions with soldiers, directly and indirectly, served to show both students and soldiers that the soldiers were fighting the war for the sake of the children and others at home. The physical and mental training that they received in school was put to practical use during the wartime period. Their training and roles were limited to the feminine sphere of sewing, cooking, and caring for others, but because these activities were performed with teamwork and cooperation, school and the war created a new space for

⁴³⁴ Li Piqing, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taipei, Taiwan.

⁴³⁵ Ying Xinrui, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

schoolgirls to make new friends and to work in public. Education and the war separated the female from the male population. The male population had a more militant experience of the war: schoolboys received intensive military training, and youths and able-bodied men worked in factories or served on the frontline. In contrast, the female population stepped outside the home sphere and established a wider social network than the generations before them on the school grounds and at work.

After the onset of the Pacific War in December 1941, students became fully mobilized. In January 1942, the colonial government mandated that students from the secondary school level up were to form student public service teams (Jp. *gakusei hōkō tai*) to mobilize students for various military training, agricultural production, and other manual labor tasks.⁴³⁶ Two years later in November 1944, the colonial government issued the “Enforcement Regulation to the Ordinance on Student Labor” to intensify the mobilization effort by assigning students to work in military factories, agricultural production, military base construction, military service, combat training, shrine cleaning, and hospital visits. The colonial government mobilized student soldiers (Jp. *gakutohei*) who held high school degrees and above to perform military-related tasks in Taiwan starting on October 19, 1943.⁴³⁷ Secondary school students,

⁴³⁶ Li, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan shifan jiaoyu zhidu*, 282.

⁴³⁷ “Enforcement Regulation for the Ordinance on Student Labor” (Jp. *gakusei kinrō rei shikō kisoku* 學生勤勞令施行規則). This regulation was based on the “Ordinance on Student Labor” issued in Japan in August 1944. Li, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan shifan jiaoyu zhidu*, 283.

male and female, were mobilized for military construction during a period of heavy labor demand.

Activities that students performed outside the school grounds were completed in groups. As part of the new regulations on student mobilization, schoolgirls performed many tasks in the agricultural sector as temporary workers. Taihoku Prefecture was the first place to try to implement this plan, which targeted young women in female youth groups, and formed a women's special patriotic agriculture volunteer corps in 1941.⁴³⁸ Shinchiku Prefecture sought to mobilize its 800,000 residents, targeting women, children, and primary school and vocational school students to work on rice transplanting.⁴³⁹ Students at girls' middle schools were the cream of the crop—they came from upper-middle-class backgrounds and had good enough grades to attend secondary schools. Their family background allowed them to focus on schoolwork, with little to no knowledge of chores and labor. However, schools mobilized their labor during the wartime period. Lin Xianyan remembered

⁴³⁸ “Hontō no fujoshi gun wo nōkō ni dōin no keikaku Taihoku shū de kakkitekina kokoromi” 本島の婦女子群を農耕に動員の計畫 臺北州で劃期的な試み [The Plan to Mobilize Women and Children of the Island to Farm - The Attempt in Taihoku Prefecture], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], April 15, 1941. “Hontōjin fujoshi mo suiden de hataraku nōgyō hōkoku teishin tai kessei” 本島人婦女子も水田で働く 農業報國挺身隊結成 [Taiwanese Women and Children Working on the Farmland - The Formation of Special Agricultural Patriotic Corps], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], May 13, 1941.

⁴³⁹ “Fujoshi mo jidō mo suiden ni shutsudō zōsan e kyo shū kairō undō chiji-san mo waraji haki de taue” 婦女子も兒童も水田に出動 増産へ舉州皆勞運動 知事さんも草鞋穿きで田植 [Women and Children Working on the Farm- Every Prefecture Mobilized Labor Forces to Increase Production - Mayor also Transplanted Rice While Wearing Grass Sandals], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], March 14, 1943.

the agricultural tasks that her school required students at Taichū Girls' No. 2 Middle School to perform: "On the school grounds, we planted yams, vegetables, and even carried fertilizer ... So I learned how to plant crops from that time period."⁴⁴⁰

Because of the war, girls from wealthy family backgrounds learned manual skills at school that they would not have acquired otherwise. During the wartime period, class distinctions became less prominent as people of all backgrounds were mobilized for the war on both fronts.

Agricultural production was one key role that Taiwan played in the empire during the wartime period. Taiwan became an important grain supplier within the Japanese empire because of the intensifying urbanization in the metropole, an increasingly large military, the redirection of resources to the military, and droughts in Chosen (Korea) and the Kansai area in Japan in 1939.⁴⁴¹ The purpose of the wartime agricultural system was to provide food for the war effort, and to move agricultural surplus to the industrial sector. To accomplish these two goals, agricultural production had to increase with capital investment and technology. However, even with the incorporation of technology into agricultural production, manual labor was still necessary. The government also forced farmers to achieve a certain quota of production.⁴⁴² In 1942, the colonial government mandated that only

⁴⁴⁰ Lin Xianyan 's memory of these crops corresponded to colonial policy of crop planting during the wartime period. Refer to the next paragraph for more detail. Lin Xianyan, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁴⁴¹ Lin Jiwen 林繼文, *Riben ju Tai mo qi zhanzheng dongyuan tixi zhi yanjiu* 日本據台末期戰爭動員體系之研究[A Study of Wartime Mobilization in Taiwan during the Late Japanese Occupation Period] (Taipei: Dao xiang chu ban she, 1996), 117-118.

⁴⁴² *Ibid.*, 110-111.

rice, sugarcane, sweet potatoes, vegetables, Corchorus (Jp. *kōma*, Ch. *huangma*) and a few other crops could be planted. These restrictions served to ensure sufficient production of important crops that supported two important elements of the war—people and fuel.⁴⁴³ Because Taiwan’s agricultural production was crucial to the empire, girls and women, including middle school girls like Lin Xianyan, were mobilized to work on the farm.

The need for laborers to increase agricultural production during the wartime period resulted in the training and labor mobilization not only of middle school students, but also of young children at primary schools to work in the fields. A young daughter-in-law of a farmer family in Taipei who did not do any chores as a child, Ying Xinrui still recalled vividly the sickening experience of catching Asiatic rice borers, rice-eating worms, with her classmates in the fields as a student at Hokutō Primary.⁴⁴⁴ Her classmate, Tang Yan, came from a farming household in the rural area. She recalled the different reactions that her classmates had toward rice borers: “We countryside kids weren’t scared when we saw the worms. But those city kids were screaming when they saw them. They were more fortunate and didn’t have to work in the farm.”⁴⁴⁵ Lin Shuqing (b. 1932), the daughter of a taxi and bus driver, and her classmates at Nishinishi Girls’ Primary were assigned to catch tree-eating insects and Asiatic rice borers during vacation. Shuqing and her fellow schoolmate Xu Kuidi,

⁴⁴³Zhang, *Zhan shi tizhi xia Taiwan teyong zuowu zengchan zhengce zhi yanjiu*, 173.

⁴⁴⁴Ying Xinrui, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁴⁴⁵Tang Yan, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taipei, Taiwan, January 18, 2013.

daughter of a local tea merchant, remembered that they also had to make compost.⁴⁴⁶ Ying Xinrui recalled gathering grass and plants, and working with her classmates to cover the pile at Hokutō Primary.⁴⁴⁷ As reported in *Taiwan Daily News*, sixth-graders at Shinten Minami Primary and local youth group members visited a model farm and watched how farmers made compost.⁴⁴⁸ In addition to harvesting rice, Lin Shuqing also remembered having to process vegetables:

The soldiers didn't have much to eat. So [someone] would take cabbages, pickle them with salt, and put all of them in a bucket. They would tell us to go and cut the cabbage one leaf at a time. We would then sun-dry them [on top of the graves].⁴⁴⁹ Then send [the cabbage] to soldiers on the battlefield.⁴⁵⁰

Tasks were age-specific. A student at Akebono Primary School in Taichū City from 1939–1945, Lan Qinhua remembered that students from different grade levels at Akebono Elementary performed different tasks:

⁴⁴⁶ Lin Shuqing, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Yunlin, Taiwan, September 20, 2012; Xu Kuidi, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁴⁴⁷ Ying Xinrui, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taipei, Taiwan, April 9, 2013.

⁴⁴⁸ “Shinten kokuminkō seito taihi seizō ni shihan” 新店國民校生徒堆肥製造に示範 [A Demonstration of Compost Making to Shinten National School Students], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], December 7, 1941.

⁴⁴⁹ The head of the Taiwan Cotton Cultivation Group (Jp. Taiwan menka saibai kumiai 台灣棉花栽培組合), Yokosawa Jirō (橫澤次郎), had suggested the cultivation of plant fiber on abandoned land along the coast and in the forests. This suggests that perhaps to increase production during the wartime period, the colonial government mobilized labor to work on any land available, including graveyards. Zhang, *Zhan shi tizhi xia Taiwan te yong zuo wu zeng chan zheng ce zhi yanjiu*, 63.

⁴⁵⁰ Lin Shuqing, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

In the fifth grade, we had to go to a place that was five to seven kilometers away, and carried rocks to pave an airplane runway ... But younger students would harvest rice for the military ... The younger students would also grow castor oil plants. This was how all of us were required to do manual labor, and thus didn't study much. We didn't really have school lessons in the fifth and the sixth grades.⁴⁵¹

These accounts suggest that the school grounds had become a site of labor mobilization where students, young and old, of all class backgrounds, had to perform the same tasks of rice harvesting and worm-catching during the wartime period. Most of these students did not come from farming families, and had not had to help out at home. Nevertheless, the war required the labor of amateurs, including students. This was why school became the place to teach students some agricultural skills. The introduction to a 1939 manual on educating primary schoolgirls on agriculture stated, “Although Taiwanese women do not like to do laboring tasks outdoors, we need to guide them to correct that attitude. It is important for a housewife to understand completely the importance of agriculture.”⁴⁵² In this same manual, instructors were advised to teach schoolgirls how to plant chrysanthemums, cucumbers, green onions,

⁴⁵¹ Lan Qinhu, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taichung, Taiwan, June 19, 2012.

⁴⁵² Taihoku daini shihan gakkō fuzoku kōgakkō keimei kai 台北第二師範學校附屬公學校啓明會, ed. *Kōgakkō joshi nōgyō kyōju saimoku dai go roku gakunen yō* 公學校女子農業教授細目第五六學年用 [Details for Instruction on Agriculture for Primary School Girls—For Fifth and Sixth Graders to use] (Taihoku: Taihoku daini shihan gakkō fuzoku kōgakkō keimei kai, 1939), 1.

and white radishes (*daikon*).⁴⁵³ Manual labor was not something that girls from wealthy backgrounds performed. It was also not something that all young children performed at home. However, the war entered their schools, and turned everyone into manual laborers regardless of their age, gender, or prior experiences.

Another role that schoolgirls played was expression of gratitude toward and providing comfort (Jp. *irō*) to the soldiers in person, and military hospitals were an important site to show their gratitude as a collective. Teachers took elementary and secondary school students to visit military hospitals. Three hundred male and female students at Taihoku No. 1 Normal School, where most students were Japanese, visited a military hospital in Taihoku and cleaned up patient rooms on February 16, 1938. At a later time the same day, 200 second-year schoolgirls from Taihoku No. 1 Girls' School, another predominantly Japanese school, brought flowers and helped clean the hospital as well. These older students showed their appreciation for the soldiers with hospital cleanup. Elementary students, on the other hand, tended to perform for these soldiers who were recovering. On February 17, 1938, students from the predominantly Taiwanese Attached Elementary School of Taihoku No. 1 Normal School visited the military hospital in Taihoku to perform for the injured soldiers.⁴⁵⁴ Young students also made donations to these soldiers in person. Elementary school

⁴⁵³ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁴ “Ichi shi danjo seito to dai ichi kōjosei ga rikugun byōin no seisō ni hōshi ” 一師男女生徒と第一高女生が陸軍病院の清掃に奉仕 [Male and Female Students from Taihoku No. 1 Normal School and Taihoku Girls' No. 1 Middle School Volunteered to Clean the Military Hospital], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], February 17, 1938.

students, along with women's patriotic groups and middle school students in Taipei, donated money and goods during their visits to the military hospital in Taihoku in 1938.⁴⁵⁵ Showing gratitude toward soldiers was something that every civilian was expected to do, from officials, married Japanese women, and elderly Taiwanese women to students of all levels. Using the basic sewing skills that their Japanese teacher taught them, Ying Xinrui and some of her classmates also made tablecloths (Tw ho. *to-po*) and gave them to injured soldiers at the veteran rehabilitation hospital near Beitou.⁴⁵⁶ Students also visited soldiers stationed near their towns. Zhu Qiufong (b. 1931) described the time when her teacher took her class to visit soldiers stationed in Danshui. Her class sang Japanese songs they had learned at school for these soldiers during the visit.⁴⁵⁷ These visits served to reaffirm the feminine quality of schoolgirls who had to become major players on the home front. As potential future wives and mothers of imperial soldiers, schoolgirls showed their nurturing and supportive nature in these visits. They also showed their unity by visiting as a group. The feminine qualities they were expected to exhibit and the acquired skills of schoolgirls set them apart from schoolboys and indicated a gender differentiation in becoming Japanese imperial subjects.

Major school events like athletic meets (Jp. *undōkai*), arts and performances festivals (Jp. *gakugeikai*), and concerts (Jp. *ongakukai*) became one of the main

⁴⁵⁵ “Rikugun byōin e no omonaru imon-sha” 陸軍病院への主なる慰問者 [Main Visitors to the Military Hospital], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], February 22, 1938.

⁴⁵⁶ Ying Xinrui, interview by Fang Yu Hu, November 9, 2011.

⁴⁵⁷ Zhu Qiufong, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

ways that the colonial government mobilized elementary and secondary school students to support soldiers and military families. *Taiwan Daily News* reported that Lan Qinhuang's school, Akebono Elementary in Taichung, held an arts and performance festival for soldiers (Jp. *imon gakugeikai*) on January 20, 1938.⁴⁵⁸ Japanese and Taiwanese children's elementary schools (Jp. *shōgakkō, danshi kōgakkō, joshi kōgakkō*), where Lin Shuqing and Lan Laizhu attended kindergarten, and female youth groups in Xiluo held a four-hour joint concert (Jp. *ongaku gakugeikai*) for soldiers and their families on February 20, 1938.⁴⁵⁹ Primary schools and kindergarten in Takao City did a similar joint event for the imperial army two weeks later.⁴⁶⁰ Shinchiku Girls' Middle School sponsored a concert for families of deceased soldiers and active soldiers on March 5, 1938.⁴⁶¹ Faculty and female youth groups at Giran Girls' Primary (Jp. *Giran joshi kogakkō*) sang for the families of soldiers (Jp. *kazoku i'ankai*) on March 6, 1938.⁴⁶² Students sang patriotic songs at these events, which served two purposes. The first was to demonstrate the success of

⁴⁵⁸ “Imon gakugeikai” 慰問學藝會 [An Arts and Performances Festival to Show Appreciation [to Soldiers]], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], January 19, 1938.

⁴⁵⁹ “Nishinishi de imon no yoru” 西螺で慰問の夕 [The Night of Appreciation in Nishinishi], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], February 18, 1938.

⁴⁶⁰ “Rengō gakugeikai” 聯合學藝會 [A United Arts and Performances Festival], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], 3/7/1938, edition 5.

⁴⁶¹ “Shinchiku kōjo no imon ongaku kai” 新竹高女の慰問音樂會 [Appreciation Concert at Shinchiku Girls' Middle School], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], 3/3/1938, edition 2.

⁴⁶² “Appreciation Event for Soldiers' Families Took Place at Girls' Primary School” [家族慰安會女子公で開催], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], 3/7/1938, edition 5.

colonial education, where students' patriotic performances symbolized their patriotic spirits. The second purpose was to reassure soldiers and their families that the war was for the sake of these children and young people.

Senninbari, “thousand-person-stitches,” was another symbol of women's gendered role during the war. *Senninbari* was a white piece of cloth with red stitches sewn on, supposedly by 1,000 women. It represented female handiwork and unity on the home front. Created during the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), *senninbari* represented 1,000 women's good wishes for the soldiers. The phrase “Continued Luck in the Fortunes of War” (Jp. *buunchōkyō*) and the image of a tiger were sewn on the cloth. The tiger image represented safe return, which came from a Japanese proverb: a tiger would return home safely even when it travelled far away.⁴⁶³ In October 1941, *Taiwan Daily News* reported that Taiwanese women had embraced this activity at a time when Japanese and Taiwanese people had come together for the sake of the country. Each stitch on the *senninbari* came to represent the unity of all women on the home front.⁴⁶⁴ All female residents of the empire, young and old, could be asked to sew one stitch on the cloth.⁴⁶⁵ Many Taiwanese schoolgirls and young working women recalled sewing stitches on *senninbari*. Wu Surong recalled

⁴⁶³ “Forever Luck in the War” (Jp. *bu'unchōkyō* 武運長久). Cai, *Zhan zheng tizhi xia de Taiwan*, 159-160.

⁴⁶⁴ “Senninbari ni jūgo otome no magokoro” 千人針に銃後乙女の眞心 [Senninbari: The True Feelings of Maidens on the Home Front], *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], October 3, 1941.

⁴⁶⁵ Lin Xianyan said that men wouldn't know how to sew. She said any female member of the empire who knew how to sew could stitch one knot on the *senninbari*. Lin Xianyan, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taipei, Taiwan, April 12, 2013.

making *senninbari* outside of the school grounds when she was an elementary school student in Daxi.⁴⁶⁶ A primary school student at Hokutō Primary, Li Piqing recalled that some students from her school tied the *senninbari* to soldiers who were teachers from her school.⁴⁶⁷ Cai Huiru (b. 1925) participated in the making of *senninbari* inside the Tainan No. 2 Girls' Middle School (Jp. *Tainan daini kōtō jogakkō*) where each student sewed three stitches.⁴⁶⁸ Schoolgirls, who learned sewing in the third, fourth, or fifth grade, were excellent candidates for the *senninbari* project because it tied them to the war effort. Sewing as a feminine skill also became a patriotic skill, linking an individual activity of sewing one piece of clothing to a collective activity.

In addition, the colonial government put schoolgirls' cooking skills to practical use during the wartime period. Some girls like Ying Xinrui learned how to make sushi, *miso* soup, and fried rice as primary students, while some like Cai Huiru learned later at girls' middle school.⁴⁶⁹ Foods made during class became lunch for teachers and students.⁴⁷⁰ This skill became useful during the war. Lin Xianyan, a student from 1941 to 1944 at Taichū Girls' No. 2 Middle School (Jp. *Taichū daini kōtō jogakkō*), with approximately an equal number of Japanese and Taiwanese students, recalled:

⁴⁶⁶ Wu Surong, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁴⁶⁷ Li Piqing, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁴⁶⁸ Cai Huiru, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taipei, Taiwan, April 30, 2013.

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid. Ying Xinrui, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taipei, Taiwan, August 20, 2010.

⁴⁷⁰ Ying Xinrui, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taipei, Taiwan, August 20, 2010. Zeng Hin, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Los Angeles, California, U.S.A., March 22, 2010.

I was the class president then. The class president had to call on each classmate [to help out]. It was dark, with no electricity. But we had to walk toward the school in the dark, and made rice and sushi from this big pot ... Rice was scarce then, but we had to make it. While [the rice] was still hot, we had to make rice balls (Jp. *onigiri*). It was where I learned how to make triangular rice balls ... It was all scarce stuff. But not one of us schoolgirls ate any. We students were obedient then. We wrapped the stuff. In the early morning, the rice balls were transported to the soldiers by truck. [The rice balls] were made by every schoolgirl in my school, and not just people in my class. [The task] required the [labor of the] entire school, or else we wouldn't make it in time. Goods were scarce but we didn't eat any of them. We did this when I was in my third or fourth year in girls' secondary school during high wartime. It was toward the end of the war when there weren't many material goods.⁴⁷¹

Xianyan's narrative highlights several aspects of the colonial education of girls: the virtues of cooking, helping the nation, teamwork, and obedience. Working as a team, Xianyan and her schoolmates put their cooking training to use. They did not sleep and worked at night to feed the soldiers who were defending the nation. At a time when food was scarce, these schoolgirls obeyed the teachers' instruction to make rice balls without eating any. This task shows schoolgirls' loyalty and obedience. Xianyan's

⁴⁷¹ Lin Xianyan, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

family was wealthy, and house servants performed every chore at home. However, Xianyan had to learn how to do many tasks in school. Her account also reinforces her narrative of being an excellent student who was chosen as the class leader by her teacher, as a class leader was always the top student in each class. She fulfilled her role as a class leader, and as a good student who was responsible and honest. These characteristics also represented Liu's characterization of the values that Japanese education taught her and other members of her generation.

Disrupted School Life

Starting around 1943, when Chinese and American air raids began in Taiwan, the balance between school lessons and wartime labor became increasingly disrupted by the intensifying war. Former students remembered that the American air raids eventually stopped them from going to school. Students who lived in Shinchiku were the first to experience American air raids in Taiwan when Americans attacked Shinchiku Airport on November 25, 1943.⁴⁷² After this first air raid, the colonial government began to have more drills across the island. The colonial government mobilized the Taiwanese, especially women and students, for air raid drills. Instead of mobilizing men to conduct the drills, women were often assigned to conduct air raid drills while men watched because most men already had assigned tasks to perform, and students had military training in school. Therefore, women were targeted for these drills.⁴⁷³ During the drills, women mainly worked on the tasks of nursing and ration distribution. However, during the air raids at the end of the war, women also

⁴⁷²Zhuang, *Taipei da kong xi*, 31.

⁴⁷³Zheng, "Zhan shi tizhi xia de Taiwan shehui," 41.

had to fight bomb fires and take care of unexploded bombs because there was not enough manpower available.⁴⁷⁴

Students continued to attend school as the war intensified and the shadow of the air raids became larger and larger. Xu Kuidi remembered that the older students had to be responsible for the younger students at Nishinishi Girls' Primary. In the morning, everyone gathered at the specified meeting place, and older primary school students (fifth- and sixth-graders) had to lead younger students to school. As fifth- and sixth-graders in 1943–1944, Kuidi and her classmates also had to lead first-graders to the bomb shelter when the air raid siren sounded.⁴⁷⁵ Kuidi's schoolmate, Lin Shuqing, recalled that their graduation trip and talent shows (Jp. *yūkeikai*) were canceled because of the war.⁴⁷⁶

Air raids on Taiwan became more intense as time went on.⁴⁷⁷ The most devastating air battle in the Pacific War took place on October 12, 1944. This air battle continued for five days, and about 600 of 4,320 aircraft used were damaged. Students residing in major cities in Taiwan experienced intense air raids between October 12 and October 18. Aircraft dropped more than 4,800 explosive bombs, 710 firebombs, and 11,000 propaganda pamphlets. The air raids resulted in 738 deaths,

⁴⁷⁴ Zhuang, *Taipei da kong xi*, 15.

⁴⁷⁵ Xu Kuidi, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁴⁷⁶ Lin Shuqing, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁴⁷⁷ Studies of the last two to three years, especially the last year, of the war were difficult because the Japanese destroyed many sources upon their defeat, and also because the air raids destroyed many sources. For the rest of the chapter I try to piece together student lives during the air raids with interview materials, a teacher's memoir, and the official newspaper, *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* [Taiwan Daily News], which ended its print run in 1944. Scholars, such as Wan-yao Chou, have lamented the difficulty of conducting research about the last few years of the war.

366 seriously injured, 748 people with minor injuries, and 6,042 buildings damaged. Takao (Kaohsiung) was the most seriously hit area in the October attack.⁴⁷⁸ The American aircraft targeted airports, factories, and the transportation infrastructure. In Taihoku, the capital of the colony, Matsuyama Airport, Taihoku Tobacco Factory, Taihoku Railway Factory, bridges in Taihoku, Taihoku Commercial School, and Wakamatsu Primary School were hit in the October 1944 attack. Beginning in January 1945, after the Americans took over Luzon and gained control of the Philippines, American aircraft flew directly to Taiwan. The air raids became regularized at 8 p.m., 10 p.m., midnight, and 2 a.m.⁴⁷⁹ The bombing focused on airports, mostly in central and southern Taiwan. However, the bombings spread, and by the beginning of June 1945, most city areas were turned into flat wasteland. By this time, most school functions had stopped, and students had evacuated with their families to more remote areas. American aircraft attacked Shinchiku Airport, Takao Okayama Airport, Takao Harbor, Tainan Airport, Sun Moon Lake Electricity Plant, military buildings and residential areas in Tainan, sugar refineries, and Keelung Harbor.⁴⁸⁰ Besides explosive bombs, firebombs, and propaganda pamphlets, the American aircrafts sometimes dropped tobacco and sushi.⁴⁸¹ The Americans probably hoped to gain the support of the starving Taiwanese people as foods became scarcer in the last two years of the war. The colonial government, through the police and *Kōmin hōkō* Association, ordered residents of Taiwan to turn in American

⁴⁷⁸ Zhuang, *Taipei da kongxi*, 33.

⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 37-38.

⁴⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 43-45.

⁴⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 35.

propaganda pamphlets to the police station. American surveys in the postwar years found that most Taiwanese followed that order. Police received 11,620 pieces of propaganda pamphlets.⁴⁸²

The intensity of air raids prompted the Japanese leadership to take action. By March 1945, the Japanese cabinet in the metropole passed the “Outline for Education in the Decisive Battle” and ordered school operation to stop for a year from April 1945 to March 30, 1946, at all levels except the elementary level. In Taiwan, all the upperclassmen in middle schools, vocational schools, and universities were called to serve at military bases and work on defense works along the coast, while the advanced courses (Jp. *kōtōka*) at elementary schools and lowerclassmen at middle school were called to work at military factories.⁴⁸³

Teachers and primary and middle school students tried to continue their daily routine, but this normalcy became increasingly difficult to maintain as the home front suffered military attacks. Lan Qinhua at Akebono Primary School in Taichū lamented that they did not have commencement when she finished primary school in March 1945.⁴⁸⁴ The cancellation was probably because resources had become scarcer and the colonial government was concerned over air raids. Going to school in the same city of Taichū, Lin Xianyan and her classmates at Taichū Girls’ No. 2 Middle School had their commencement in March 1944. However, the air raid siren sounded in the midst of the ceremony. Half of the students quickly emptied the auditorium to return to their

⁴⁸²Zhuang, *Taipei da kong xi*, 35.

⁴⁸³Li, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan shifan jiaoyu zhidu*, 283.

⁴⁸⁴Lan Qinhua, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

families. Further south of Taichū, Hu Yan, an eighteen-year-old teacher in Yunlin in the last year of the war, led her students to the nearby bomb shelter when an air raid came during class.⁴⁸⁵

In the north, Zhu Qiufong's fellow classmates at Taihoku Girls' No. 3 Middle School were worried about her because she lived in Tamsui, an important port in northern Taiwan. Tamsui suffered severely from the air raid:

Bombs burned Tamsui all night. My Taipei classmates were worried about me, because they could see Tamsui burning. Some bombs were dropped in the bomb shelters. People died, and rice balls had bloodstains on them. We had an underground shelter in my house. [That place] had many bullet holes. We didn't dare to stay in the house.⁴⁸⁶

A second-year student in middle school, Qiufong stopped going to school and returned to her family during the intense air raids in 1945. Her one-line characterization of her classmates' concern for her created an image of a close bond amongst schoolgirls.⁴⁸⁷

Although evacuation was a family-based activity, the war brought the colonizers and the colonized populations together in the new place. An eleven- or

⁴⁸⁵ Hu Yan, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁴⁸⁶ Zhu Qiufong, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁴⁸⁷ Qiufong's annual reunion with her classmates reinforced their friendship, and helped her frame her wartime experience with friendship. Chapter Four discusses school reunions as part of a new social network that public schools unintentionally created under Japanese rule.

twelve-year-old student during the evacuation, Lan Beiyin evacuated with her family to a remote area in Taichung, where they came in contact with Japanese soldiers:

One could feel [the intensity of] the war more in the cities. So the evacuation began. My father's friend lived in Nantun, a more remote area ... His friend's house was big. He lent us two rooms. [We lived there because] it was the wartime period, and we didn't dare to live in the city ... Some [Japanese] soldiers lived at the local vocational school of agriculture (Jp. *nōgyō gakkō*). Whenever the air raid began, those soldiers would come to hide in our place. That house was big, with fruit trees and a yard ... There were about twenty soldiers ... There was a Japanese soldier who told me that I looked like his younger sister who was in Japan ... One time a bomb landed on the school. We saw a big piece of bombshell (metal) near our place. One soldier who didn't run fast enough had his hearing damaged by the bombing. We were scared ... We chatted with Japanese soldiers, but didn't eat together.⁴⁸⁸

Beiyin's account illustrates that air raids had destroyed homes in the cities and military buildings to the point that Japanese soldiers and Taiwanese civilians had to evacuate to the same place. Taiwanese schoolgirls and their families feared for their lives and lived under constant threat from air raids. The colonists' war brought the colonists and the colonized together. They shared the same space and the same

⁴⁸⁸ Lan Beiyin, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taipei, Taiwan, May 29, 2012.

experience during the air raids. In her narrative, Beiyin expressed no fear or any negative feelings toward these Japanese soldiers. Instead, her account suggests that soldiers were as vulnerable as civilians, if not more, whenever they had to evacuate to where Beiyin's family was.⁴⁸⁹ The vivid descriptions of their fear and memories of wartime air raids suggest that Beiyin's generation continues to live with those experiences today.

As Lan Beiyin's story suggests, although the air raids were scary and the evacuation was chaotic, these were not completely miserable memories. A Taipei resident in her early twenties during the air raids, Xu Xianxian was curious about the bombs. Xianxian was working in the banking industry after graduating from girls' home economics school (Jp. *kasei gakkō*). She rushed home after work because air raids had become regularized and everyone expected them at certain hours:

We all ate, and showered quickly [after work]. At around 9 p.m., we all went hiding [in the bomb shelters] ... It was when the moon was out. American planes flew all over our heads. The planes looked beautiful, but we were also very scared. The planes flew over our heads. If they had dropped the bombs then, you know [we would have died]. But we were also curious, [we wondered] what American planes were like. It was very bright. They dropped fluorescent light and the entire Taipei City became very bright. It

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid.

was prettier than the night lit up by the moonlight. So we were curious and wanted to see, but we were also scared.⁴⁹⁰

Young women and girls were able to entertain themselves even during the wartime period. A recent elementary graduate during the air raids, Zeng Chamei, along with her mother and sister, evacuated with their relatives to an area near Shinten, Taipei. She played in the graveyard with relatives, classmates, and neighbors in Shinten.”⁴⁹¹ Playing in the graveyard was something that city dwellers like Zeng and her classmates did not have the chance to do at home. Zhu Qiufong, a Tamsui native, evacuated to her grandparents’ home. She had fun there:

We were in the mountains, so we didn’t have to worry about food. We ate rice, and raised chickens, and so we had chicken and eggs. Other people would eat yams and dry *daikon*. We also had bamboo shoots ... I was happy. Sometimes we would catch shrimp from the stream. We used rope, and got some type of grass, and made a loop. We put some [worms] on it, then lured shrimp. We then pushed them into the net to catch them. It was fun. We also had a mandarin orange garden so we would pick some, too. We had plentiful food then. We had rice.⁴⁹²

Qiufong was having fun while not going to school. Her sense of fun was partly increased by her hesitation about attending girls’ middle school in Taipei. Qiufong

⁴⁹⁰ Xu Xianxian, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taipei, Taiwan, July 9, 2012.

⁴⁹¹ Zeng Chamei, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taipei, Taiwan, November 9, 2012.

⁴⁹² Zhu Qiufong, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

did not want to attend school in Taipei because she would be away from home. She envied her older sister who had failed the entrance exam to Taihoku Girls' No. 3 Middle School (Jp. *Taihoku daisan kōtō jogakkō*), and instead attended the local private Christian school, Tansui Girls' Academy (Jp. *Tansui jogakuin*). Watching how her older sister enjoyed a good home life with frequent visits by her sister's teachers, Qiufong wanted the same lifestyle. She enjoyed her primary school life, but was depressed because she had long commutes to her middle school in Taipei.⁴⁹³ However, she could not do anything about it because Taihoku Girls' No. 3 Middle School was the best school for Taiwanese girls, and her parents were happy that she was admitted. Thus, Qiufong probably welcomed the change brought by the evacuation. Having plenty of food to eat and catching shrimp in the mountains also helped make Qiufong happy even though she was away from home in a new environment. Having to commute far to school and later witnessing the violence of the air raids in her hometown of Tamsui, Qiufong was probably glad that her new life was peaceful and close to her family. All evacuees were city dwellers who had to adjust their lives to the new environment in remote areas. However, they were with their families.

Some students did not evacuate with their families; instead, they evacuated with their school. Shiozawa Akiraka was the Japanese-language and math teacher from 1932 to 1945 and the director of Girls' Division in 1945 at Taihoku No. 1 Normal School (Jp. *Taihoku daiichi shihan gakkō*). He was also the educational

⁴⁹³ Ibid.

affairs director (Jp. *kyōmu kachō*) and in charge of strengthening the bomb shelters, ensuring the food supply, and providing training for students.⁴⁹⁴ He left a detailed account of his life as an evacuee and the process in which he was sent back to Japan. After returning to Japan in 1946, he created a 1,427-centimeter by 21-centimeter scroll that provides insights to the lives of student evacuees.⁴⁹⁵

Even though Japanese men, including teachers, were drafted into the military, the colonial government tried to maintain school functions on the home front by recalling teachers such as Shiozawa back to teaching. Shiozawa was drafted into the military on March 1945, but he was called to head the Girls' Division at Taihoku Normal School at the Sōfuyu Branch School in Taichū starting in July 1945. Because of the air raids, the buildings of the entire Girls' Division were destroyed. This was why 353 people, including 250 students, were evacuated to the hills of Taichū Prefecture.⁴⁹⁶ When Shiozawa first arrived onsite, most people had contracted malaria. He implemented hygienic measures and everyone recovered by the end of July.⁴⁹⁷ Even though they had evacuated to the hills, Shiozawa and others at the Girls' Division tried to maintain their school life. Along with other staff and the students, Shiozawa used three classrooms from Sōfuyu Elementary School (Jp. *Sōfuyu kokumin*

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid., 1, 6.

⁴⁹⁵ Shizawa Akira 塩澤亮, *Cong Taizhong shuangdong shusan xuexiao dao neidi fuyuan: Yi wei Taibei nu zi shifan xuexiao jiaoshou zai zhanzheng mo qi de jilu* 從臺中雙冬疏散學校到內地復員：一位臺北女子師範學校教授在戰爭末期的紀錄 [From Taichū Sōfuyu Branch School to Teaching in the Metropole: The Record of A Professor at Girls' Division at Taihoku Normal School in the Late Wartime Period] (Natou shi: Guoshi guan Taiwan wenxian guan, 2006), 1.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid., 14, 40.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid., 18, 22.

gakkō) and built three dormitories and a kitchen with bamboo.⁴⁹⁸ They stayed in a village of forty to fifty households, with two hundred Taiwanese Hoklo and Hakka people, who mostly planted bananas for a living.⁴⁹⁹ Local people, probably with the help of students from Girls' Division, planted yams and Taiwan green taro; they also planted garland chrysanthemum, green onion, eggplant, cabbage, Napa cabbage, corn, etc. Students would receive some food at harvest time.⁵⁰⁰ Their kitchen hired six Taiwanese cooks and one woman to cook everything, and six students from the cooking class also helped out.⁵⁰¹ Students also built a poultry yard to raise fifty geese, chicken, ducks, and rabbits. They also opened a vegetable stand.⁵⁰² Perhaps because of food shortages during the wartime period, two teachers even killed two kraits, one of the most poisonous snakes in the world, and grilled them as food for everyone.⁵⁰³ Staff and students worked hard to provide foods for themselves during the evacuation period.

However, even while they were living in the hills, students still had to entertain soldiers during the wartime period. Shiozawa's students had to make fans, and then visit military corps during their time in Sōfuyu. They had to put on theatrical

⁴⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁵⁰⁰ Shiozawa's scroll did not specify who did the labor. However, generally during wartime in Taiwan, student labor was mobilized to help farmers with agricultural production. Therefore, these crops and vegetables were probably the products of both the locals and the students. *Ibid.*, 24.

⁵⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁵⁰² *Ibid.*, 32.

⁵⁰³ *Ibid.*, 34.

acts and perform dances for the soldiers.⁵⁰⁴ The efforts of Shiozawa, other faculty, the staff, and students to keep school functions running in a new setting, reveal how much teachers and students wished to maintain normalcy even during the most intensified period of the war.

Conclusion

School was an important site to mobilize female subjects to participate during the war effort in colonial Taiwan. Education and the war mobilized schoolgirls of all backgrounds to learn and to work together for the nation and for the war. The colonial government sought to create patriotic, obedient, and cooperative schoolgirls through individual- and group-oriented activities. Individual activities tended to cultivate their characters and establish a connection with soldiers, while collective activities showcased their patriotic spirits and teamwork. The reduced number of men on the home front required schoolgirls and women to enter the labor force. Although some war-support activities were expected of every person in the empire, many activities relied on the feminine training of cooking, sewing, and nurturing that the schoolgirls received in school. School was the space and the medium that created groups of schoolgirls with strong friendship bonds, because in addition to formal instruction time, they also spent time marching together and visiting hospitals together during the wartime period. In the process of receiving physical and mental training and participating in agricultural production and patriotic activities such as marching and visiting injured soldiers, schoolgirls became Japanese imperial subjects during

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid., 30.

kōminka. Although there were a few similarities, what defined the loyalty to the empire of schoolgirls was different from that of schoolboys because they played different gender roles within and for the empire.

The wartime mobilization that seemed to be leveling across class lines, and at times, also across divides between Japanese and Taiwanese to a certain degree, and the shared wartime experience with the colonists, contributed to the positive memories of former schoolgirls. The narratives of some interviewees help us understand their experiences as Japanese subjects. Some proudly emphasized their academic excellence. Some used the skills they learned and the characters they developed to explain why their education was good, and thus why they remain thankful for the Japanese. However, the educational system remained inherently discriminatory. Also, the implementation of military draft of Taiwanese men in the late stage of the war reveals that the colonial government continued to give the Taiwanese different treatment from the Japanese population because it remained skeptical of the loyalty of the Taiwanese.

CHAPTER 4

Life after Primary School Education

This chapter evaluates changes that took place in Taiwanese society between the Qing period from 1683 to 1895 and the Japanese period from 1895 to 1945 by exploring the impact of public education on social relations, marriage practices, and work options. It also examines the degree to which the training of “good wife, wise mother” shaped the lives of Taiwanese women at home. Although many Taiwanese girls remained uneducated, compared to the situation during the Qing period, a growing number received some form of public education by the end of Japanese colonial rule in 1945. The life course of a Taiwanese woman depended on whether she received education. Primary schools were meant to create citizens and be social levelers. In middle schools, where the colonial administration did not make educational access a priority, attendance became a means for social mobility. Among girls in the Taiwanese upper-middle class, middle school education became a status symbol where girls could improve their marriage and work prospects to move up or maintain their upper-middle class status in a colonized society.

This chapter will first explore the changes that education brought to social relations and marriage practices. Paths followed by girl graduates of primary schools will be discussed next, with an emphasis on increased job opportunities for educated girls. Finally, the chapter examines how colonial education did not change how educated girls performed their expected duties in the home setting.

Family socioeconomic background was the single most important factor in determining the educational level a Taiwanese girl attained, her post-school work, and her marriage. Receiving a Japanese education allowed Taiwanese lower-class families to broaden the types of work their daughters could do in order to supplement family income. For upper-class families, in contrast, education became a status symbol. Although girls and women remained bound by older social expectations and practices, Japanese public education brought changes to the lives of Taiwanese girls and women across the socioeconomic spectrum by expanding girls' social networks, creating chances for girls and boys to interact with each other, and increasing girls' educational and work opportunities. For girls of lower socioeconomic status, these changes were the most profound.

Social Relations

Schools established during the Japanese period provided a new site for the formation of social relations in Taiwan. Primary schools were egalitarian compared to the class segregation that was embedded in secondary schools. Japanese colonial government policy put Taiwanese children from the same geographic area into the same primary school. This meant that students of diverse socioeconomic status were in the same classroom. In girls' middle schools, most of the students came from upper-middle class backgrounds because the cost of tuition was high. Upper-middle class families saw more education as the way to affirm their socioeconomic status and to improve their daughters' marriageability. In the broader context, ethnic segregation remained at all levels of school, determined by government policy at the primary

level and by discriminatory admission practices in the post-primary levels, including middle school, vocational school, high school, and university. This section focuses on the impact of primary schools and girls' middle schools to illuminate the formation of new social relations that continued into the postwar years.

Primary schools not only brought together students of diverse socioeconomic status, they also gathered students of both genders. Schools established under Japanese rule provided opportunities for girls and boys to interact with each other. Children usually practiced self-segregation because of existing social expectations. However, they could not avoid contact with the opposite gender as they commuted to school on public transportation and attended school together. For those who worked after completing their education, they also came into contact with members of the opposite gender in the workplace.

Education changed marriage practices indirectly by deciding the educational level and job opportunities of Taiwanese girls. Lower-class women were less likely to pursue further education, but more likely to work outside their homes. Thus, they were able to meet their husbands through work. Upper-class women were more likely to pursue more education, but were less likely to meet potential mates because they tended to stay at home after completing their middle school education. Their parents continued to decide their marriage partners for them. Middle school education became a tool to improve marriage prospects as it represented upper social status for both upper- and lower-class girls that was previously only attainable by upper-class girls.

Friendship

Before the establishment of primary schools, most people interacted with others of the same socioeconomic status through family networks and in their neighborhoods. Starting at the turn of the twentieth century, Taiwanese children from every socioeconomic status who lived in the same district became enrolled in the same primary school. School thus became a type of egalitarian site for students to meet and interact with others whom they otherwise would never have met. Public schools helped reduce tensions and segregation between Taiwanese people of different socioeconomic status by bringing together people of all backgrounds. However in both primary and secondary schools, the ethnic divide remained: Taiwanese and Japanese children attended segregated primary schools, and the educational system greatly privileged Japanese students in secondary schools.

In addition to learning together, times spent playing together on school grounds helped consolidate the bond between students. Classmates played with each other, regardless of their family backgrounds.⁵⁰⁵ Students recalled playing jump rope as their primary activity during their ten-minute breaks in school.⁵⁰⁶ Playing together was not the only activity that strengthened these bonds; they also helped each other out. For example, Li Piqing came from an upper class family. Her father owned two

⁵⁰⁵ Interviewees were hesitant to describe the financial status of their families. I got a sense of their socioeconomic status based on a combination of their father's occupation, their final educational level, material goods, such as shoes, that they owned, and types of foods they recalled eating, such as rice compared to sweet potatoes.

⁵⁰⁶ Li Piqing, interview by Fang Yu Hu. Tang Yan.

hot spring resorts in the area and constantly donated money to her school.⁵⁰⁷ Both Piqing and her classmate, Tang Yan, received tutoring help from her classmates during breaks.⁵⁰⁸ Yan came from a working class background—her father was a manual worker in the area. Yan explained:

All the classmates were nice and would teach me. They wouldn't look down on you just because they had something, and you didn't. They had sympathy. That's why we still meet up today... Classmates from Beitou were all good people. They didn't look down on [a classmate] because [she was] poor... But the people in [my hometown] were mostly landlords, and looked down on poor people. So I never participated in reunion events with those people.⁵⁰⁹

Yan spent her first three years of school in her hometown, and the next four years in Hokuto Primary School in Beitou. Yan's experience shows both the egalitarian atmosphere in primary school and the potential conflicts among students of different socioeconomic backgrounds. Yan continues to meet with classmates from Hokuto Primary School—their annual reunion began in 1973 and is ongoing.⁵¹⁰ However, she refuses to see classmates from her hometown, with whom she spent almost the same number of years, because she had experienced class discrimination from them.⁵¹¹

⁵⁰⁷ Li Piqing, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taipei, Taiwan, April 23, 2013.

⁵⁰⁸ Li Piqing, May 20, 2012.

⁵⁰⁹ Tang Yan.

⁵¹⁰ Yan's reunion date was noted on their reunion photograph, courtesy of Li Piqing.

⁵¹¹ Tang Yan, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

Although school provided opportunities for cross-class interactions, Taiwanese parents continued to shape whom their daughters could interact with outside the school ground. Lan Qinhua from Taichung recalled that girls and boys in her neighborhood played together, but her parents forbid such activities. She explained:

I wasn't allowed to go outdoors... So when I heard neighbors playing outside, I would get a stool, stand on it, and look out the window to watch them. I wasn't allowed to go out because [my father] called them wild kids, and said that I would become bad [if I played with them]. So I played with my siblings inside the house, like hide-and-seek, or kick-the-can... Back then, most parents weren't educated, and would swear at their kids, using vulgar language, very vulgar language. That was why my father didn't allow us to go out because he was afraid that I would learn bad stuff.⁵¹²

The concern that Qinhua's parents had that her neighbors might be a bad influence reveals that parents were concerned with the negative impact that interaction between children of different status and educational level might have on their children in the same neighborhood. Outside the school setting, the old practice of parents deciding the social network of their children continued, but children could decide whom they interacted with inside the school ground.

⁵¹² Lan Qinhua, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

While primary schools provided social network opportunities that cut across class lines by gathering students of different backgrounds in the same neighborhood, middle schools reinforced class segregation by gathering students of similar socioeconomic backgrounds. Only upper-middle class families could send their daughters to receive a middle school education. Tuition at girls' middle school cost 3.5 to 29 times as much as primary school⁵¹³—2.5 to 2.9 yen per month,⁵¹⁴ compared to 10 to 70 sen per month at primary schools.⁵¹⁵ A new bank clerk with a business school degree earned a monthly salary of 28 to 32 yen, and a Taiwanese substitute teacher with a middle school degree earned 30 yen per month, which meant an annual salary of 360 yen.⁵¹⁶ A carpenter in Taipei earned 1.4 yen daily in 1930.⁵¹⁷ More than

⁵¹³ For simplicity, I divided the maximum tuition at girls' middle school (2.9 yen) by the minimum tuition cost at primary school (10 sen) to get the biggest difference between the two costs. I divided the minimum tuition at girls' middle school (2.5 yen) by the maximum tuition cost at primary school (70 sen) to get the smallest difference between the two costs. See the next two footnotes on how I obtained the numbers of monthly tuition cost.

⁵¹⁴ The 1922 regulation stipulated tuition at girls' middle school to be 24 yen per year, but gave individual schools the flexibility to make adjustments. Tuition ranged from 30 to 35 yen per year. Dividing 30 yen and 35 yen annually by 12 months yields 2.5 to 2.91 yen per month. Adding the cost of uniforms, books, supplies, field trip, and other fees, the total cost of sending a daughter to middle school was at least 93.60 yen per year, and at most 180.30 yen. For a sample of cost breakdown, see You, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan de nüzi jiaoyu*, 149-150. For schoolgirls who lived in the dormitory, monthly lodging and food was about 16 yen at Taihoku Girls' No. 3 Middle School in 1939, enough to purchase 141 kg of rice. *Ibid.*, 151.

⁵¹⁵ 100 sen equals one yen. Primary school tuition changed over time. The lowest cost was 0.027 yen and the upper limit was 0.6000 yen per month in 1905. From 1923 to 1933, the lowest cost was 10 sen and the highest was 50 sen per month. From 1934 to 1937, the lowest was 10 sen and the highest was 70 sen. *Ibid.*, 297.

⁵¹⁶ Taiwanese normal school graduates earned a monthly salary of 40 to 55 yen between 1920 and 1945. For a more complete list of changes in monthly salary by ethnicity set by the colonial government between 1920 and 1945, see Wu, *Taiwan shifan jiaoyu*, 173.

86% of Taiwanese parents of the entering class of 1940 at Taihoku Girls' No. 3 Middle School had an annual income above 10,000 yen. Only 0.51% of the parents earned below 1,000 yen per year, and 3.57% earned between 1,000 and 5,000 yen.⁵¹⁸ About 45% of parents who sent their daughters to Taihoku Girls' No. 3 School worked in the commercial sector, 12% in the industrial sector, and a total of 20% worked in the public sector or were self-employed in 1940. Only about 2% of parents worked in the agricultural sector, and 12% in the industrial sector in 1940.⁵¹⁹ Parents of girls' middle school students included landlords, doctors, government officials, and business people.⁵²⁰ Students of higher socioeconomic status were more likely to pursue more education because they could afford the tuition. Parents of upper-class

⁵¹⁷ Ko, *Kindai Taiwan Josei shi*, 157.

⁵¹⁸ Wu Wenxing found that families with 2,000 yen or more were considered well-off. Those making 10,000 yen or more were considered rich (Wu, *Taiwan shifan jiaoyu*, 108). For the total number, percentage, and level of income of Taiwanese parents who sent their daughters to Taihoku Girl's No. 3 Middle School between 1925 and 1940, see You, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan de nüzi jiaoyu*, 313.

⁵¹⁹ You Jianming's chart did not differentiate between the professions of Taiwanese and those of Japanese parents. For the total number, percentage, and type of work of Taiwanese and Japanese parents whose daughters attended Taihoku Girl's No. 3 Middle School between 1925 and 1940, see You, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan de nüzi jiaoyu*, 311.

⁵²⁰ Ueno Hiroko 植野弘子, "Shokuminchi Taiwan niokeru kōtō jōgakkōsei no 'nihon'—seigatsu bunka no henyō ni kansuru shiron" 植民地台湾における高等女学校生の「日本」—生活文化の変容に関する試論[The 'Japan' of Middle Schoolgirls in Colonial Taiwan: A Preliminary Discussion of the Transformation of Their Life Culture], in *Sengo Taiwan ni okeru nihon: Shokuminchi keiken no renzoku henbō riyō* 戦後台湾における〈日本〉: 植民地経験の連続・変貌・利用 [The 'Japan' in Postwar Taiwan: The Formation, Transformation, and Use of Colonial Experience], ed. Igarashi Masako 五十嵐真子 and Mio Yūko 三尾裕子 (Tōkyō: Fūkyō sha, 2006), 131.

backgrounds sent their daughters to middle school because higher education symbolized elite social status.⁵²¹

Daughters of upper-middle class families, who were highly proficient in Japanese, attended middle school to become wives of government officials and businessmen who could socialize with Japanese guests.⁵²² In traditional practices during the Qing period, elite women only left their marital homes to visit temples or their natal families. When visitors were present in their marital households, women hid in their rooms. Under Japanese rule, schools allowed upper-middle class Taiwanese women to become visible in public first as schoolgirls, and then also as visitors to scenic and popular sites. Attending to their guests at home also became part of their household responsibility.⁵²³ Girls' middle school education in Taiwan produced women well versed in upper-middle-class hobbies and culture, with scientific knowledge in areas such as science and home economics, cultural aesthetic practices such as flower arrangement and tea ceremony, and training in Western-style etiquette and social dance.⁵²⁴

Girls' middle school graduates continued to embrace the Japanese practices they had learned in school in the postwar years because their middle school education symbolized their upper-middle class social status, according to Ueno Hiroko. Her research shows that Taiwanese girls' middle school graduates embraced sewing—making clothes for their family members—as one symbol of their middle school

⁵²¹ Ko, *Kindai Taiwan Josei shi*, 123.

⁵²² *Ibid.*, 122-123.

⁵²³ *Ibid.*, 114-115.

⁵²⁴ *Ibid.*, 168.

education in the postwar years.⁵²⁵ Sewing in Japanese and Western styles, handicrafts, and etiquette constituted the making of "good wives, wise mothers" in girls' middle schools within the Japanese empire.⁵²⁶ Ueno has found that Taiwanese women continued to write and read in Japanese in the postwar years, such as perusing Japanese magazines on knitting.⁵²⁷ Ueno observes that girls' middle school graduates continued to obtain new knowledge through Japanese magazines, books, and newspapers. She argues that unlike Taiwanese men who had to learn Chinese to work in the public realm, Taiwanese girls' middle school graduates retained their Japanese proficiency, and further developed the skills and knowledge that they had begun learning under Japanese rule through these Japanese publications.⁵²⁸ These women also wrote letters to their friends using Japanese.⁵²⁹

Just as primary school reunions symbolized the continued existence of cross-class friendship, girls' middle school graduates also safeguarded their social network established in middle school in large-scale reunions. In 1974, Taihoku Girls' No. 3 Middle School held its third reunion in Hua'n'an Hotel in Beitou, Taipei. A total of 1,598 people, including 957 Taiwanese students, and five Japanese teachers and 21 Japanese students and their families and descendants, attended this third reunion.⁵³⁰

⁵²⁵ Ueno, "Kōtō jōgakkōsei no 'nihon'," 137.

⁵²⁶ Ibid., 134.

⁵²⁷ Ibid., 137.

⁵²⁸ Ibid., 144.

⁵²⁹ Ibid., 146.

⁵³⁰ Alumni Association 三高女校友聯誼會 ed., *Di san gao deng nü xuexiao ba shi wu zhou nen xiao qing ji' nian* 第三高等女學校八十五週年校慶紀念 [Commemoration of the Eighty-Fifth Anniversary of the Establishment of Taihoku Girls' No. 3 School] (Taipei: Modeng jiating chuban gongsi, 1982), 70-71.

Their schedule of events included Japanese singing and Japanese-style dancing performances.⁵³¹ At the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of her middle school, Shinchiku Girls' Middle School, Lan Muqiao joined other graduates, both Japanese and Taiwanese, and former Japanese teachers at a hotel restaurant. Speaking exclusively in Japanese, Muqiao and other graduates performed dances while wearing Japanese kimonos.⁵³² The presence of former Japanese teachers and students was probably the main motivation for using Japanese as the language of communication at the reunions of girls' middle schools. The fact that former students planned the majority of entertainment to be Japanese dances and songs while wearing the Japanese kimono suggests that Taiwanese students had incorporated their Japanese education into their personal identity.

Taiwanese students' embracing of their middle school education symbolizes their positive feelings about Japanization. Girls' middle school students understood themselves as embodying Japanization (Jp. *nihonka*) that was "Japanese" (Jp. *nihon teki*) and "modern" (Jp. *kindaiteki*).⁵³³ Girls' middle school was the original site of production of ideal Japanese women citizens—"good wives, wise mothers." As discussed in Chapters One and Two, the training of ideal women began in primary schools for Taiwanese girls and intensified in girls' middle schools after they were

⁵³¹ Alumni Association 三高女校友聯誼會 ed., *Guang hui bai nen—Taibei di san gao deng nü xuexiao chuang xiao bai nen ji' nian zhi* 光輝百年 台北第三高等女學校創校百年紀念誌 [A Brilliant Century—Commemoration of the One Hundred Years of the Establishment of Taihoku Girls' No. 3 Middle School] (Taipei: San gao nü xiaoyou lianyihui, 1997), 14.

⁵³² Lan Muqiao, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁵³³ Ueno, "Kōtō jōgakkōsei no 'nihon'," 148.

formally established in 1919.⁵³⁴ This production of Japanese women citizens out of both ethnically Japanese and Han Taiwanese girls in girls' middle schools in Taiwan was facilitated by teachers, who were almost exclusively Japanese.⁵³⁵ They helped Japanize, modernize, and feminize Taiwanese schoolgirls. As discussed in Chapter Three, wartime mobilization on the home front during WWII produced a generation of Taiwanese women who embraced the seemingly egalitarian teachings and trainings from their teachers and continued to behave accordingly in the postwar years.

Relationships with the Opposite Gender

Primary school provided opportunities for students to see and interact with members of the opposite sex, while government policy mandated sex segregation beyond primary school. Although most primary schools and classes were coed, most schoolgirls remained shy about interacting with boys. All-girls' primary schools and classes existed, but most classes were coed because there were not enough girls attending school to make strict gender segregation practical, especially in the earlier colonial period and in rural areas.⁵³⁶ Nevertheless, in interviews women recall strict self-imposed gender segregation at all times. Hu Yinmei recalled that girls and boys played separately in school. Although she was in a coed classroom, she characterized potential interaction as "shameful, embarrassing... Teachers didn't tell us [not to

⁵³⁴ See Chapter Two on a discussion of the *Taiwan Educational Ordinance* of 1919.

⁵³⁵ In 1925, 97.7% of teachers in girls' middle schools were Japanese, and 96.0% were Japanese in 1940. Yamamoto, *Taiwan no kōtō jogakkō*, 64, 65.

⁵³⁶ See Chapter Two for more detail on government policy on gender segregation on school grounds.

interact with the opposite sex]. Parents didn't tell us either. It was we ourselves who felt embarrassed. Boys didn't come to play with us. Boys didn't try to be naughty with girls. At least boys in my class didn't try."⁵³⁷ For others, such as Lu Zhunju from Tainan and Xia Yuchia from Taichung, who were in girls-only classes in the 1930s, it was perhaps easier to just not interact with boys. Zhunju explained she played with only her classmates because she knew them better than students from neighboring classes. Yuchia provided a similar explanation to that of Yinmei:

We didn't really play together. 'Men and women must keep their distance from each other.'⁵³⁸ No one taught us, it was natural that way.

Sometimes both [girls' and boys'] classes had to do joint activities together. Boys didn't really want to hold girls' hands. [And so they] barely held onto each other's fingertips.⁵³⁹

This account of holding hands suggests that teachers did not forbid boys and girls from having physical contact with each other, but students themselves did not want to touch each other.

Guided by the Confucian idea of gender segregation, the social expectation of proper behavior was likely the reason why most schoolgirls practiced self-segregation. Lin Shuqing from Yunlin suffered from this expectation. She did not

⁵³⁷ Hu Yinmei, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taipei, Taiwan, August 18, 2012.

⁵³⁸ Yuchia said this phrase in Mandarin Chinese, 'Men and women must keep their distance from each other' [Ch. *nan nü shou shou bu qin* 男女授受不親]. It is a classical Chinese proverb that literally means men and women should not give or accept things from each other directly with their hands. It is a moral guidance for men and women to make sure they do not become involved with each other unless they are married. Xia Yuchia, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁵³⁹ Ibid..

"dare to talk to boys," otherwise she would be punished. She recalled that along with two other girls, boys often called out her name in public. "We didn't even know those boys, let alone talking to them. They would call out our names... And then our parents would misunderstand... [Our parents] hit us as a result of [some boys] called our names. Even those boys we didn't know would call out our names." Shuqing's mother hit her, and her friend's father beat her friend after someone had reported their "improper behavior" with boys.⁵⁴⁰

Although several women characterized gender segregation as natural, existing social practices reinforced this idea. Lan Muqiao commuted to school by bus between 1937 and 1942 as a middle school student in Hsinchu.⁵⁴¹ She recalled that when she first became a commuter, there were few students and thus girls going to Shinchiku Girls' Middle School and boys going to Shinchiku Middle School rode in the same bus. But in the middle of her first year at the middle school, both schools abolished the use of coed buses. This resulted in the segregation of girls and boys into different buses. After departing from the bus at Hsinchu Station, girls would line up on the left-hand side and boys on the right before walking to their respective schools. Muqiao explained that gender segregation was also practiced in the cafes, where boys sat in the front and girls sat in the back. This enforcement of sex segregation might have

⁵⁴⁰ Lin Shuqing, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁵⁴¹ School year under Japanese rule began in April. Lan was born in December 1923. She said she began schooling when she was eight sui, which meant she was probably seven years old. This means she began schooling in 1931. After six years of primary school, she would have been a twelve- or thirteen-year-old first-year middle school student. This meant 1937. Middle school education was four years. She had one additional year of teacher training. Therefore, she was probably commuting from 1937 to 1942. Lan Muqiao, interview by Fang Yu Hu

been a result of the government effort to remove romance—which was more likely when girls and boys shared the same physical space—as one possible distraction from the minds of students as they received wartime training on school grounds. Articles on "good wife, wise mother" published in *Taiwan Daily News* during the wartime period, discussed in Chapter One, and wartime training discussed in Chapter Three illustrate the scale of government effort in constructing clear gender roles specifically during wartime.

Although many girls purposefully avoided interacting with boys, interactions were unavoidable. Xia Yuchia recalled that a boy once went to her house to borrow her dictionary when she was in the fifth or sixth grade. She turned him away as a sign that she was "embarrassed." She related this incident in the context of her description of her reputation as a top student in school, mentioning that this boy was also a top student.⁵⁴² The boy might have simply wanted to socialize with a fellow top student. However, the gender difference outweighed the opportunity to learn with another student for Yuchia. Lan Xuyan from Yunlin was in a coed class in the fifth grade around 1940.⁵⁴³ When her class went on a trip to Taipei, she recalled that the boys saved seats for girls on the train.⁵⁴⁴ Xuyan's experience shows collegiality between the two sexes. In contrast, Ying Xinrui recalled boys pushing girls around during morning sessions (Jp. *chōkai*), when students lined up on the track field to listen to

⁵⁴² Xia Yuchia, interview by Fang Yu Hu

⁵⁴³ Lan Xuyan was born in 1928, and began school when she was eight *sui*. Thus, she probably began school in April 1935 or 1936. It would be 1940 or 1941 when she was in fifth grade. Lan Xuyan, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁵⁴⁴ This trip was likely a graduation field trip for the sixth graders. Ibid.

the principal and other teachers speak. The girls' response was verbal, "Did you see a demon or what?"⁵⁴⁵ The girls spoke in Japanese because they were on the school grounds. But they likely translated this phrase directly from Taiwanese Hoklo, in which this phrase carried the unsaid message of "an unusual behavior or behavior that was out of ordinary" as caused by having seen a demon. When they met up again in the postwar years, one of the former boys recalled the incident and described those girls as "mean."⁵⁴⁶ Xinrui explained that she and her classmates did not want to let boys bully them.⁵⁴⁷ Xinrui was in an all-girl class. There were two all-girl classes and two all boys' classes at her grade level.⁵⁴⁸ Perhaps this tension occurred because they were not classmates. Many interviewees recalled that they only interacted with their classmates. Students in a coed class might be more collegial with each other, girls or boys, because they were classmates, while students in segregated classrooms were less experienced in interacting with the opposite sex. No doubt the social expectation to avoid contact with the opposite sex in public played a role in creating tensions between some girls and boys—children who were aware of this social expectation but nevertheless interacted with each other when they saw each other in school.

Marriage

⁵⁴⁵ Ying used the following phrase, "Did you see a demon?" (Jp. *oni o mita ka* 鬼を見たか).

⁵⁴⁶ Ying used the phrase *chhiah-pê-pê* (Tw. Hoklo 赤 pê-pê; Ch. *xiong ba ba* 兇巴巴).

⁵⁴⁷ Ying Xinrui, interview by Fang Yu Hu, November 9, 2011.

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid.

Japanese education shaped marriage practices by providing girl graduates of primary and middle schools with opportunities to work outside their homes, which increased their chances of meeting possible future husbands. Incidences of marriage based on love rose, with an increasingly educated population in coed primary school and work environments. New marriage practices continued into the postwar period.

Meeting someone at work or via introduction by a third party from work were common ways that these women met their future husbands. This was more common for lower-class and middle-class women than for upper-class women whose families wanted to improve their job prospects with a degree in hand in order to work to help supplement family income. Although education indirectly helped introduce this new way of meeting potential spouses, parents held onto their power of accepting marriage proposals. Zeng Hin met her husband through work, and faced her mother's disapproval. She met her husband when she worked as a waitress and her husband was a cook at the restaurant in the postwar years. They dated for a couple of years before she married him at the age of eighteen. Her mother was against their marriage because she wanted Hin to continue to contribute to family income. Her mother only agreed to let them marry after receiving a sizeable bride price.⁵⁴⁹ In contrast, Hu Yinmei decided her own marriage with no issue because her parents had already passed away. She was working as a cook for Japanese teachers when she met her husband, a tailor who made suit jackets and pants across the street. They thus met

⁵⁴⁹ Zeng Hin gave birth to her first child before she was nineteen years old. She likely got married when she was eighteen years of age. Zeng Hin, interviewed by Fang Yu Hu.

without introduction by a third party. She got married at the age of twenty-two-year-old during the Japanese period.⁵⁵⁰

The incidence of marriage based on love rose because boys and girls and men and women had more chances to interact with each other as they saw each other in public. Commuting to school or work was an important means of social interaction. Lin Shuqing met her husband when she was a middle school student commuting to school. Her husband saw her on the train. He wrote love letters to her for five years.⁵⁵¹ Lan Muqiao also met her first husband when she was commuting to work. He was a local policeman and she was a teacher. He greeted her every morning and eventually wrote her a love letter.⁵⁵² Both stories reveal that letter writing was an important medium in romantic relationship, possibly because both the sender and the recipient were literate. Their literacy was possible because of Japanese education.

The campaign for marriage based on free love among some Taiwanese intellectuals might have helped spread the concept of romantic marriages starting in the 1920s. These intellectuals advocated free love as the condition for marriage as part of their campaign for women's rights.⁵⁵³ Some Taiwanese students studied in Xiamen, Guangdong, Shanghai, and Nanjing in the 1920s.⁵⁵⁴ They paid attention to the history of Chinese feminism from the late nineteenth century to their time. Issues they looked at included education for girls and the anti-footbinding movement in late

⁵⁵⁰ Hu Yinmei, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁵⁵¹ Lin Shuqing, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁵⁵² Lan Muqiao, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁵⁵³ “Li yong jie hun lai shi xing zhengce” 利用結婚來實行政策 [Utilize Marriage to Implement Policy], *Taiwan Minbao* 台灣民報, Scroll 3, No. 2, January 11, 1925.

⁵⁵⁴ Yang, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan funü jiefang yundong*, 145.

nineteenth-century China, and the establishment of girls' schools and the issue of suffrage for women in the 1910s. According to Yang Cui, Taiwanese intellectuals focused on the same five issues raised by the May Fourth Movement on the mainland: equal educational opportunities, economic independence, free marriage and family reform, women's political participation, and the anti-prostitution movement. They also republished works by Hu Shi, Chen Duxiu and Lu Xun. Hu Shi's play, *Life Event: Marriage*, was influential among Taiwanese intellectuals and was performed in Taiwan.⁵⁵⁵ Yang Cui argued that Taiwan's colonial status was reflected in the combination of Taiwanese feminism with the anticolonial movement and the movement to liberate the proletariat in the 1920s.⁵⁵⁶ Taiwanese intellectuals were also influenced by leftist and feminist movements in Japan. They published articles on women's political participation, the equal education movement, the anti-prostitution movement, and the consumer cooperation movement.⁵⁵⁷

Although the concept of romantic marriage existed in Taiwan and was advocated by some Taiwanese intellectuals, my personal interviews revealed that many stories of romantic relationships ended sadly. Born in 1928 to a business

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid., 151-153.

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid., 154.

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid., 143. The consumer cooperation movement was “one of the ‘three pillars of socialism,’ along with trade unionism and political socialism. It was meant to emancipate workers from exploitation as consumers, producers, and citizens” (Ellen Furlough and Carl Strikwerda, ed., *Consumers Against Capitalism? Consumer Cooperation in Europe, North America, and Japan 1840–1990* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1999), 3). For more detail, see Ruth Grubel, “The Consumer Co-op in Japan: Building Democratic Alternatives to State-Led Capitalism,” in *Consumers Against Capitalism? Consumer Cooperation in Europe, North America, and Japan 1840–1990*, ed. Ellen Furlough and Carl Strikwerda (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1999), 303-330.

family, Wang Pipai had an older sister who eloped with their tutor's son in spite of their grandfather's opposition. Their grandfather cited their young age as the reason for opposing the relationship. Her sister's decision disrupted family relations and remained a taboo topic in her family.⁵⁵⁸ Shuqing married for love, but her husband repeatedly cheated on her after they got married. She expressed her anger and pain with tears during the interview.⁵⁵⁹ Muqiao's police husband courted her, but cheated on her with a married Japanese woman. Although her parents-in-law asked her to return home for the sake of their three children, she insisted that her then-husband leave the woman or she would obtain a divorce, which she eventually did.⁵⁶⁰ Shuqing wanted to divorce her husband after she found out about his infidelity. However, neighbors and family convinced her to stay in the marriage for her young children.⁵⁶¹ Although the reasons why these two women made different choices were unclear, it was possible that Muqiao was able to make a decision more easily because she continued to work after marriage, while Shuqing had quit her job.⁵⁶² The new form of education made these romantic encounters possible, but romance did not guarantee

⁵⁵⁸ This narrative on her marriage and her sister's story were told by Wang Pipai's daughter because Wang was too shy to recount how she met her husband. Wang did not tell me about her sister's elopement, likely because it was a family taboo and she might have believed it was shameful. It was Wang's daughter who was present at the interview who told me this story when I asked Wang if she knew of any romantic relationships. Pipai's daughter was excited in her narratives—probably because romance was widespread among the younger generation—while Pipai remained reserved and quiet. Wang Pipai, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taipei, Taiwan, April 20, 2013.

⁵⁵⁹ Lin Shuqing, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁵⁶⁰ Lan Muqiao, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁵⁶¹ Lin Shuqing, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁵⁶² Ibid. Lan Muqiao, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

happiness. Except for Pipai's sister who was attending school and receiving tutoring in Nanjing, Shuqing was commuting to school and Muqiao was commuting to work in Taiwan when they met their husbands.

Although there were incidents of romantic marriages in Taiwan under Japanese rule, arranged marriages remained the main form of marriage because families held onto old practices of gender segregation and absolute obedience towards parents. Xu Xianxian called gender segregation an "automatic" part of proper and good behavior:

We girls back in the day behaved. If my mother hadn't said anything about marriage, I wouldn't have thought about it. We girls didn't go see movies with boys. No, we didn't do that. At that time, we would go home after work. When it was time to work, we worked... We didn't go out with people randomly... We men and women were not casual, unlike people today... In the workplace, we also didn't talk to men casually⁵⁶³

Xianxian's characterization of a girl's good and proper behavior with respect to the opposite sex is an example of how unmarried girls and young women behaved in a society that did not look favorably on romance. Reports of socially unacceptable relationships before marriage probably made an impression on Taiwanese minds and the social practice of gender segregation remained strong. For example, on October 4, 1930, *Taiwan Daily News*

⁵⁶³ Xu Xianxian, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

reported that a twenty-one-year-old factory worker was three months pregnant, and committed suicide after her father discovered her relationship with a fellow worker in June 1930.⁵⁶⁴ Gao Chinyan offered another reason for upholding arranged marriages for people of her generation, who were born in the 1920s and the 1930s and were of marriageable age in the 1940s and the 1950s. She emphasized children's obedience to their parents as key:

Yeah, some people had free love, but parents didn't recognize it. So [marriage] was always [arranged] through matchmaking. Back in the day, parents decided for you, and people obeyed their parents. You yourselves didn't know if the match was good or bad. We didn't think about it. We thought marriage was marriage. We didn't think about divorce either.⁵⁶⁵

Although these girls received an education, and some even had had degrees from girls' middle school or home economics school, they continued to be bound by social expectations and obeyed their family's decisions.

Women of upper-middle class backgrounds were more likely to have an arranged marriage than their lower-class counterparts, as their families worked to maintain family socioeconomic status. Extended family connections and school networks often produced marriage candidates. Classmates introduced their cousins to upper-class men. Sometimes they went out in groups. Sometimes men asked their

⁵⁶⁴ The article was cited in Zheng, "Taiwan funü laudong qun xiang," 110.

⁵⁶⁵ Gao Chinyan, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Tainan, Taiwan, July 13, 2012.

parents to arrange their marriage.⁵⁶⁶ Wang Pipai, whose sister eloped with her lover, got married through family connections. Her future husband was a classmate of her brother; the two played rugby together in school. They also enjoyed listening to classical music together. Her brother knew her future husband to be an honest man. Also, her brother thought that he would be a good match for her because, training to become a physician, he could take care of her, since she was frail. Following the old custom of not showing her face in front of strangers, she peeked at him from her backyard whenever he visited her house.⁵⁶⁷ Both Lan Xuyan's and Li Piqing's fathers arranged for them to marry one of their employees, at a construction company and at a hot spring hotel respectively.⁵⁶⁸ According to Hu Yan, Xuyan's friend, Xuyan was involved in a romantic relationship with a playboy, but her father arranged for her to marry someone else.⁵⁶⁹ Xuyan recalled, " My father made the decision for me. I didn't dare to protest."⁵⁷⁰

My interviews reveal that arranged marriages took place more often for women of upper-middle class backgrounds than those of lower-middle class backgrounds. Upper-middle class women tended to stay at home because their parents

⁵⁶⁶ Chin-ju Lin "Modern Daughters-in-Law in Colonial Taiwanese Families," *Journal of Family History*, Vol. 30 No. 2 (April 2005): 209, accessed January 12, 2012, <http://jfh.sagepub.com>.

⁵⁶⁷ This narrative on her marriage and her sister's story were told by Wang Pipai's daughter because Wang was too shy to recount how she met her husband. Wang Pipai, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁵⁶⁸ Xuyan's father owned a construction company that built bridges and dikes. As mentioned earlier, Piqing's father owned two hot spring hotels. Lan Xuyan, interview by Fang Yu Hu. Li Piqing, interview by Fang Yu Hu, May 20, 2012.

⁵⁶⁹ Hu. Yan, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁵⁷⁰ Lan Xuyan, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

did not want them to show their faces in public.⁵⁷¹ Their family members arranged their marriages with someone of equivalent status. In contrast, lower-middle class women were more likely to work after graduation. Therefore, education indirectly led lower-middle class women away from the older practice of arranged marriages.

Paths after Primary School Graduation: Further Education and Work

Socioeconomic backgrounds determined the paths that girl graduates of primary schools followed. The four choices were: to pursue further education or not pursue, and to work or not. Throughout the entire colonial period, over 80% of Taiwanese girls who completed primary education did not pursue further education because their parents did not believe it was necessary.⁵⁷² Many of those stayed at home; others went to work. The few lucky ones from upper-middle class backgrounds chose educational opportunities from the limited options that the colonial government provided. After these few finished school, most stayed home while those who worked were likely to become teachers. Taiwanese women were more likely than Japanese women to work,⁵⁷³ but those who worked were more likely to be primary school graduates, not middle school graduates. Between 1924 and 1936, 80% of girls' middle school graduates did not seek more schooling. Out of this group, more than 70% did not work.⁵⁷⁴

⁵⁷¹ You, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan de nüzi jiaoyu*, 216.

⁵⁷² *Ibid.*, 323.

⁵⁷³ You, “Zhiye bian qian yu funü diwei.” 103.

⁵⁷⁴ You, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan de nüzi jiaoyu*, 215.

Options in further education included advanced coursework programs at primary schools (Jp. *kōtōka*), middle schools, and home economics schools.⁵⁷⁵ Between 1909 and 1936, the number of Taiwanese girls who pursued more education after primary school increased. In 1909, only 10 graduates pursued more education after primary school. By 1936, more than 11,900 girls did so. As more children received education and a new middle class was created, mainly teachers and physicians in vocational schools, the Japanese-educated generations of Taiwanese came to accept education for girls. The number of girls attending primary schools increased, as did the number of girl graduates who pursued further education. By the end of WWII, a total of twenty-two girls' middle schools had been established, including three private schools.⁵⁷⁶ Although the number of girls' middle schools and students increased, the acceptance rate of Taiwanese applicants remained low, at roughly 12% to 15% each year.⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷⁵ For statistics in girls' middle schools and other places of learning, see *ibid.*, 305-306, 308-310.

⁵⁷⁶ The government established the most new schools in the 1920s and the 1940s—six in each of those two decades. Eight schools were in northern Taiwan, three in central Taiwan, seven in the south, three in the east, and one in the Pescadores islands. For a complete list of school names and year of establishment of each school, see *ibid.*, 302. For a complete data on applicants and enrollees by ethnicity per school, see *ibid.*, 303-306, 308.

⁵⁷⁷ Between 1922 and 1937, the average lowest acceptance rate of Taiwanese girls was 27.30% at Takao Girls' Middle School, and the highest acceptance rate was 59.35% at Tainan Girls' No. 1 Middle School. The lowest acceptance rate of Taiwanese girls was 7.50% at Kagi Girls' Middle School in 1927. The highest acceptance rate was 100% at Taihoku Girls' No. 2 Middle School in 1928. Sometimes acceptance rate of Taiwanese girls was high in Japanese-dominant schools because only a few students who knew they could get admitted applied to those schools. This was compared to Taiwanese-dominant schools where competition

Table 8. Taiwanese Girl Primary School Graduates and Their Subsequent Educational History

	Total Number of girls who graduated from primary school	Total Number of girl graduates who pursued more education	Percentage of girl graduates who pursued more education	Total Number of girl graduates who did not pursue more education	Percentage of girl graduates who did not pursue more education
1909	86	10	11.63%	76	88.37%
1911	158	15	9.49%	143	90.51%
1915	392	56	14.29%	336	85.71%
1919	1,145	230	20.09%	915	79.91%
1920	1,310	340	25.95%	970	74.05%
1924	3,588	514	14.33%	3,074	85.67%
1928	5,099	226	14.24%	4,373	85.76%
1932	6,640	1,123	16.91%	5,517	83.09%
1936	11,924	1,987	16.66%	9,937	83.34%

Source: You, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan de nüzi jiaoyu*⁵⁷⁸

With some Japanese education, many young girls began working outside the home. In 1920, 41.37% of Taiwanese women worked, although the percentage dropped to 25.4% in 1930 after the Great Depression of 1929.⁵⁷⁹ During the wartime period, the shortage of male labor in all sectors encouraged companies to hire women. In 1943, the workforce in all companies was 93% women, who were mostly primary school graduates. Those with middle school or higher degrees comprised 38% of this group.⁵⁸⁰

among Taiwanese was fierce. For a complete list of acceptance rates by ethnicity and by school, see *ibid.*, 307.

⁵⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 323. For year-by-year data on the numbers of Taiwanese and Japanese schoolgirls between 1909 to 1936, refer to *ibid.*, 323.

⁵⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 325.

⁵⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 219.

Economic developments under the Japanese created new jobs for Taiwanese girls and women. Women working to supplement their family income was not a new phenomenon during the Japanese period, as many women had done so during the Qing period. However, the educational system instituted and the economic developments of the Japanese period expanded the fields in which women worked. While the main form of economic production in Qing Taiwan had been subsistence agriculture, the economy under the Japanese became more diverse as the Japanese colonial administration transformed trade, transport, communications, and financing.⁵⁸¹ The gross value of industrial production increased from 263.8 million yen in 1929 to 386.4 million yen in Taiwan in 1938. In 1937, the gross value of production of textile industry was 5 million yen, the metal industry was 8 million yen, the lumber industry was 5.5 million yen, the printing and binding industry was 5 million yen, and the chemical industry, mainly producing fertilizers, was 33.7 million yen.⁵⁸² In 1915, about half of all factories began using machines and hired a minimum of five workers. By 1936, over three-quarters of all factories were of this type.⁵⁸³ Women comprised of 28% of all factory workers in 1914, and increased to 37% in 1938.⁵⁸⁴

⁵⁸¹ Chang Han-Yu and Ramon H. Myers, "Japanese Colonial Development Policy in Taiwan, 1895–1906: A Case of Bureaucratic Entrepreneurship," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (August 1963): 433-434, accessed February 20, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2049857>.

⁵⁸² A. J. Grajdanzev, "Formosa (Taiwan) under Japanese Rule," *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (September 1942): 322, accessed January 19, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2752241>.

⁵⁸³ Zheng, "Taiwan funü laodong qun xiang," 31.

⁵⁸⁴ You, "Zhiye bian qian yu funü diwei," 102.

Taiwanese during the Qing period were not fond of the idea of women showing themselves in public, but did not forbid them to work from home to contribute to family finances.⁵⁸⁵ Lower and middle class women were responsible for household chores, such as cleaning, sewing, chopping wood, drawing water, pounding rice, and other farming tasks. They also supplemented family income by doing laundry for other people, sewing, picking tea leaves, picking peanuts, and knitting hemp mats.⁵⁸⁶ Women who lived by the sea also gathered clams and oysters and farmed while their husbands fished.⁵⁸⁷ These patterns continued in the early Japanese colonial period. According to a 1905 government survey, out of those women who worked, nearly 41% worked in the agricultural sector at least part-time, and 33% of women who worked were under the age of fifteen.⁵⁸⁸

The increase in women workers under Japanese rule was at least in part a result of official and social acceptance of working women. Both the colonial government and Taiwanese intellectuals encouraged women to work in the 1920s after the end of WWI. Women filled in at factory and other jobs vacated by men who were fighting the war on the frontlines during WWI. WWI mobilization motivated some individuals in Japan to value women's work outside the home, and Taiwanese intellectuals who studied in Japan absorbed their ideas. This discussion also reached Taiwan directly. In 1920, *Taiwan Daily News* published a series of articles on the benefits of side jobs for women: training women to be diligent and to assist with

⁵⁸⁵ Zheng, “Taiwan funü laudong qun xiang,” 12.

⁵⁸⁶ Ibid., 13-14.

⁵⁸⁷ You, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan de nüzi jiaoyu*, 19.

⁵⁸⁸ Ibid., 19.

family budget planning. *Taiwan People's News* published articles in the 1920s that focused on women's rights and advocated gender equality by allowing women to work in the same professions as men. Writers at *Taiwan People's News* emphasized that working women would be economically independent from men and thus elevate women's status.⁵⁸⁹ They also linked women's economic independence with a healthy marriage.⁵⁹⁰ The main purpose of advocating for women's rights, in their view, was to create a modern Taiwanese society comparable to that of Japan.

Young girls aged fifteen to nineteen constituted the majority of the working women population, because married women tended to drop out of the waged labor sector. In 1920, 11.68% of the total working population was young women aged sixteen to twenty. In 1930, 16.16% of all workers were women aged fifteen to nineteen. Interestingly, only 59 girls under the age of fifteen worked in 1920, but the number increased to 41,366 in 1930.⁵⁹¹ The increase in workers under fifteen years of age was shaped by three factors. The first was educational requirements: many companies showed a preference for people with a minimum of primary school education. Both girls and boys could begin working at age 12 after finishing their

⁵⁸⁹ You Jianming examined several articles on this topic. You, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan de nüzi jiaoyu*, 218, 222-223.

⁵⁹⁰ “Dui yu Taibei zhiye furen de chu yi” 對於臺北職業婦人的芻議 [Debate on Taipei Working Women], *Taiwan Minbao* 台灣民報, No. 75, October 18, 1925.

⁵⁹¹ In 1920, 81,450 out of 697,085 total Taiwanese working women, or 11.68%, were aged sixteen to twenty; and 63,464 were aged twenty-one to twenty-five, or 9.10% of all Taiwanese working women. In 1930, 86,940 out of 538,086 women, or 16.16% of working women, were between fifteen and nineteen years of age; and 60,633 women were between twenty and twenty-four years of age, or 11.27%. For more statistics on the numbers of enrollees by ethnicity and gender, see You, “Zhiye bian qian yu funü diwei,” 104-106.

primary education.⁵⁹² Many employers at factories and new professions preferred hiring women with a minimum primary education. New professions included nurses, midwives, bus conductors, telephone operators, bank tellers, and government workers at the Monopoly Bureau, the post office, and the Telecommunication Department. Nurses and midwives had to receive further specialized training after primary school.⁵⁹³ Employers characterized Taiwanese women as obedient workers gifted with endurance - working all day without showing fatigue, and not defying their supervisors.⁵⁹⁴ Employers' characterization of Taiwanese women, and the education Taiwanese women received, increased work opportunities outside the home. Places such as the Monopoly Bureau and banks asked schools to recommend graduates to apply to work there. Bank tellers were required to be skilled abacus users. The Telephone Bureau and automobile companies gave written examinations to applicants. As a result, in 1922, the Taihoku Motors Company recruited a total of ten

⁵⁹² The Primary School Regulation Revision in 1904 stipulated children to be at least seven years old to enroll in primary school. The *Taiwan Educational Ordinance* of 1919 (*Taiwan kyōiku rei*) stipulated that children had to be at least seven years of age to be admitted to primary schools. Therefore in 1920, the youngest primary school graduates were thirteen years old when they finished school. The youngest girls with primary school diploma were aged thirteen when they began working. The revision in 1921 (*Shin Taiwan kyōiku rei*) lowered the age limit by one to six years of age. This means that in 1930, the youngest primary school graduates were twelve years of age when they began working. *Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi*, 260-261, 329, 376.

⁵⁹³ You, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan de nüzi jiaoyu*, 217.

⁵⁹⁴ I summarized the quote by Mr. Kai, director at Taiwan Hemp Production Company (Jp. *Taiwan sei asa kaishat*, 台湾製麻会社), from the article, “Taiwan no jokō” 台湾の女工 [Taiwanese Women Workers] in *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], cited in Zheng, “Taiwan funü laudong qun xiang,” 80-81.

Taiwanese and Japanese women conductors out of more than one hundred applicants.⁵⁹⁵

The second reason for the increase in young girl workers was that more girls received a basic Japanese education starting in the 1920s thanks to the government campaign to educate children, Taiwanese parents' embrace of education, and families needing their daughters to supplement family income.⁵⁹⁶ Government campaigns to educate children and Taiwanese parents' embrace of education helped increase the number of schoolgirls. By the 1930s, many children were second-generation primary school students, with at least one parent who had attended primary schools. Out of the forty women interviewees I spoke to, twenty-three of them had at least one parent who had received some form of education.⁵⁹⁷

The third reason was family financial needs. Ko Ikujo has found that Taiwanese elites, urban dwellers, and business families found Japanese proficiency a necessity in life in order to interact with Japanese people in business transactions and public agencies. The Taiwanese realized that the Japanese language and arithmetic

⁵⁹⁵ You, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan de nüzi jiaoyu*, 220.

⁵⁹⁶ See Chapter Two for the enrollment numbers of Taiwanese girls.

⁵⁹⁷ At least one parent of thirteen women attended primary school. One interviewee specifically stated her father attended a Chinese academy. But most interviewees who stated that one of their parents studied classical Chinese (Tw. Hoklo *hanbun*; Ch. *hanwen*, Jp. *kanbun* 漢文) did not specify where. It was unclear if their fathers received lessons in classical Chinese in traditional Chinese academies or in primary school. The number of Chinese academies had dwindled from 1,707 in 1898 to 17 in 1940, and the number of students decreased from 29,941 to 996 between 1898 and 1940 (Ko, "Yomikaki to shokumin-chi," 92). Therefore, I suspect most Taiwanese who studied Classical Chinese did so in primary schools. Primary schools required classical Chinese lessons until 1922, when it became an elective course. The course was completely removed from the school curriculum in 1937. Refer to Chapter Two for the history of classical Chinese lessons in the primary school curriculum.

learned in school were useful in their daily lives and business transactions.⁵⁹⁸

Families that did not need the labor of their daughters at home sent their daughters to work outside the home to supplement family income. Education was one method to increase work opportunities for their daughters. For example, Zeng Meilin worked as a bus conductor for four years after finishing primary school in the late 1930s to help her family. After quitting her job as a bus conductor, Meilin attended sewing school and began making clothes, all the while continuing to contribute to her family's finances.⁵⁹⁹ It was not unusual for Meilin and other women to get additional training after finishing primary school in order to get practical skills as seamstresses or bookkeepers.⁶⁰⁰

After 1924, the majority of girl graduates of primary school ended up working. Between 1925 and 1937, 21% to 33% of those who did not continue schooling worked in the agricultural sector, which included raising silkworms and livestock. The next most popular job was in the service sector. Between 17% and 32% of primary school girl graduates worked in the service sector between 1925 and 1937. The number of girl graduates working in the service sector exceeded those in

⁵⁹⁸ Hong Gua realized that the Japanese language that one learned in school was a necessary tool in doing business with Japanese people in Taiwan, and when going to Japan on business trips. Ko, "Yomikaki to shokumin-chi," 84. Chen Wenmin translated for Japanese soldiers, used abacus to do calculations, and weighed tea for her father (Ibid., 85). Ibid., 78, 85.

⁵⁹⁹ Zeng Meilin was born in Taipei in 1924. She began school when she was eight sui, which meant seven years old and thus likely was in 1931. When she finished primary school, it was probably 1937. Zeng Meilin, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taipei, Taiwan, September 26, 2012.

⁶⁰⁰ Another interviewee, Zeng Yukui, took accounting lessons before getting a job as a bookkeeper. Zeng Yukui, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taipei, Taiwan, August 25, 2010.

the agricultural sector starting in 1934. Household servants comprised the greatest number in the service sector. The number of household servants increased from 196 people in 1925 to 2,987 people in 1937. The number of household servants with primary school degrees exceeded that in the agricultural sector in 1933. You Jianming notes that the increasing popularity of working as housekeepers for upper-middle class families was a symptom of the decline of the countryside and the rise of the city. Approximately six to eight percent of primary school girl graduates worked in the commercial sector, many in sales positions, in the food industry, hotels, and insurance companies. Only about two to five percent worked in factories, such as light industries producing fiber, paper, food, and bamboo.⁶⁰¹ My interviewees informed me that many agricultural families sent their daughters to work outside the home and kept the sons to work on the farm, as was the case with Zeng Xiuying and Yin Agao. Xiuying's family sent her to work in the factory and kept her brothers at home to work on the farm.⁶⁰² Agao worked as a housekeeper at a Japanese home because her labor was not needed at home. Her father, uncles, and two male cousins provided enough agricultural labor at home.⁶⁰³

Moving from lower to upper class, women of upper-middle class backgrounds sometimes did not attend middle school, but worked in white-collar jobs after graduation. Lu Zhunju, daughter of a Tainan businessman in Tainan, worked for the

⁶⁰¹ You, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan de nüzi jiaoyu*, 214, 325.

⁶⁰² Zeng Xiuying, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taipei, Taiwan, April 9, 2013.

⁶⁰³ Yin Agao, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taipei, Taiwan, October 4, 2011.

broadcast station after her mother discouraged her from more schooling.⁶⁰⁴ The eldest of two daughters of a wood shop owner, Wu Surong was a good student and her teacher encouraged her to apply to Taihoku Girls' No. 3 Middle School. However, her grandfather forbade her from attending school so far away from home. He only allowed her to attend an advanced course after primary school because she could complete one at a primary school nearby. Surong worked as a government clerk at Daxi Town Office after finishing two years of her advanced course. She later volunteered to become an assistant nurse in Guangdong during the wartime period.⁶⁰⁵ Dong Jianmi worked at the post office after completing advanced course study in Tainan. Her family owned a school supplies store. Her two older brothers attended middle school in Japan. Taiwanese families who could afford to send their children to study in Japan were wealthy. Because her father passed away when she was eleven years old, and her mother raised all six children on her own, Jianmi began working after six years of primary education and two years of advanced study, instead of continuing on to middle school.⁶⁰⁶ In the cases of Shurong, Zhunju, and Jianmi, their families could afford the financial burden of middle school education. But their family circumstances prevented them from pursuing higher degrees.

The ethnicity of girls' middle school students helped determine their paths after graduation. Certain jobs hired more Japanese women than Taiwanese women, such as government positions, because the colonial government and companies

⁶⁰⁴ Lu Zhunju, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁶⁰⁵ Wu Surong, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁶⁰⁶ Dong Jianmi, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taipei, Taiwan, June 14, 2012.

practiced an unspoken policy of hiring Japanese for white-collar jobs while keeping the Taiwanese in blue-collar jobs. For example, only 2% out of more than 580 women operators at the Telephone Bureau were Taiwanese. The bureau preferred to hire graduates from Taihoku No. 1 Girls' Middle School, a predominantly Japanese school.⁶⁰⁷ In 1940, Taihoku No. 1 Girls' Middle School had 87.96% graduates ready to apply to jobs, No. 2 School had 43.78%, and No. 3 had 27.50%.⁶⁰⁸ No. 1 and No. 2 schools were predominantly attended by Japanese students, and No. 3 was predominantly Taiwanese.

Teaching was the chosen profession for those Taiwanese graduates who worked. In the early colonial period, the equivalent of middle school education for Taiwanese girls was the Girls' Attached School that was established in 1897. Graduates of Girls' Attached School, which only produced students from the handicrafts program, returned to their school to teach. The *Taiwan Educational Ordinance* of 1919 changed the Third Attached School to Taihoku Girls' Common Middle School,⁶⁰⁹ and set one year of teacher training after the completion of middle school education for its enrollees. Students would receive training in education and Classical Chinese.⁶¹⁰ The revision to the *Taiwan Educational Ordinance* in 1922 stated that normal schools should enroll female students, but for unknown reasons the

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid., 220.

⁶⁰⁸ You, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan de nüzi jiaoyu*, 219.

⁶⁰⁹ The colonial government changed renamed the Third Attached School to Second Attached School in 1902 (Ibid., 263). Taihoku Girls' Common Middle School was for Taiwanese girls (Jp. *Taihoku joshi kôtô futsu gakkô*, 台北女子高等普通学校), and girls' middle school was for Japanese girls (Jp. *kôtô jogakkô*, 高等女学校).

⁶¹⁰ Ibid., 65.

revision was not implemented. Taiwanese girls who wished to become teachers had to receive training in middle school.⁶¹¹ Only in 1928 did the government set up a teacher-training program at the Department of Teacher Training in Taihoku No. 1 Teachers' High School and Taiwanese women began receiving training at teacher's schools.⁶¹² Despite that, girls' middle schools continued to be an important training place for Taiwanese women teachers.⁶¹³ In 1943, the government finally set up a Women's Branch to train women teachers at Taihoku Normal School.⁶¹⁴ However, the government never set up an independent teacher's training school for women in Taiwan.⁶¹⁵ In 1922, 34.25% of Taiwanese girl graduates of middle schools were working as teachers, 38.53% were former teachers who likely retired upon marriage, and 1.53% became nurses, midwives, government clerks, or bank tellers.⁶¹⁶

My interview data revealed a similar pattern - girls' middle school graduates were more likely to become teachers. Out of six interviewees who graduated from girls' middle school or home economics school before Japanese colonial rule ended, two became teachers in Taiwan and two became teachers in Xiamen, China during the wartime period.⁶¹⁷ Lin Banhui was born into a landlord family in Yunlin, southern Taiwan in 1920. She completed a one-year teacher's training program at her middle

⁶¹¹ You Jianming did not explain the reason why there was no recruitment. *Ibid.*, 65.

⁶¹² *Ibid.*, 65.

⁶¹³ *Ibid.*, 66.

⁶¹⁴ Wu, *Taiwan shifan jiaoyu*, 67.

⁶¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 69.

⁶¹⁶ You, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan de nüzi jiaoyu*, 215.

⁶¹⁷ Lin Banhui and Lan Muqiao became teachers in Taiwan; Wang Zhirui and Cai Huiru became teachers at Xiamen; Xu Xianxian worked at a bank and then an insurance company, and Wang Pipai stayed at home after finishing middle school. Interviews conducted by Fang Yu Hu. in Taiwan in 2012 and 2013.

school, Kagi Girls' Middle School, before becoming a teacher.⁶¹⁸ Born three years after Lin, Lan Muqiao followed a similar path at Shinchiku Girls' Middle School. Her father owned a factory that manufactured rooftops and bricks.⁶¹⁹ Hu Yan and Lan Xuyan became substitute teachers after completing a few months of teacher training program, after they finished their program at Hokukō Home Economics School.⁶²⁰ Hu Yan was born into a landlord family, where her father was also a local official.⁶²¹ Lan Xuyan was born a year after Hu, to a landlord family who also operated a construction business. She was planning to study in Japan when the war broke out, and ended up staying in Taiwan.⁶²²

Impact of Education inside the Home

After they completed their education or had worked outside their homes for a few years, educated girls ultimately got married and had to perform chores in the new household.⁶²³ Primary school did not prepare Taiwanese girls for these marriage responsibilities because Japanese-style homemaking was not applicable to Taiwanese homes. The womanly training that Taiwanese schoolgirls received in primary school was less effective in preparing them for their roles as future brides than the training they received at home before or after marriage. Womanly training in sewing and cooking was supposed to teach schoolgirls how to make and mend clothes and to

⁶¹⁸ Lin Banhui, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁶¹⁹ Lan Muqiao, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁶²⁰ Hu. Yan, interview by Fang Yu Hu. Lan Xuyan, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁶²¹ Hu. Yan, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁶²² Lan Xuyan, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁶²³ Every one of my interviewees got married, women and men, except for Lin Banhui, who remained single. Her family members forbade me from asking for more detail.

cook for their marital family. But the sewing training that Taiwanese schoolgirls received in school was too basic to enable them to make clothes for the entire family. Some women took additional sewing lessons after graduating from primary school in order to make clothes to supplement their family income after marriage. The lessons taught in school about how to cook Japanese foods were not useful because Taiwanese did not eat Japanese food at home. Taiwanese schoolgirls either learned cooking from their mothers before marriage or from their mothers-in-law after marriage. In other words, although the colonial government incorporated the “good wife, wise mother” ideal into the primary school curriculum, Taiwanese women did not use such skills after marriage.

Under the Qing, most women received training to fulfill their roles as wives and mothers at home, with the understanding that a woman would secure her social status after giving birth to sons.⁶²⁴ Before the Japanese arrival, a few elite women received some lessons at Chinese academies, and a few Taiwanese aborigine women were enrolled in missionary schools, such as Tamsui Girls’ Academy in Taipei and Xinlou Girls’ School in Tainan in the late nineteenth century.⁶²⁵ Zeng Xiumei notes that Taiwanese women remained diligent from the Qing period to the Japanese period. What changed, Zeng observes, was that women were able to learn new knowledge and not bind their feet as part of the new labor force.⁶²⁶

⁶²⁴ Zheng, “Taiwan funü laudong qun xiang,” 14.

⁶²⁵ You, *Ri ju shiqi Taiwan de nüzi jiaoyu*, 28, 31-33.

⁶²⁶ Zheng, “Taiwan funü laudong qun xiang,” 15.

Women of upper-middle class backgrounds were less likely than lower-class women to help out with household chores before marriage. Born to a pair of teachers in 1922, Xu Xianxian did not have to do chores because her family hired servants. However, her mother made sure all of her daughters observed her while she cooked. Xu explained, "My mother said that you must know how to do something yourself, then you can supervise others to do the same tasks."⁶²⁷ Her story hinted at one of a housewife's duties at home - supervision of house servants. Lan Beiyin was born to a business family in Lugang in 1933. Her father taught her how to use an abacus. He also knew how to cook and required her to watch him while he cooked.⁶²⁸ Zeng Meilin was born in 1924 in Taipei to a construction company owner. Although her father planted cabbage and other crops at home, she did not have to help out. She remembered playing at home. Her mother mended all the clothes and pants of her children, and she watched her mother to learn the basics of sewing before she took a four-month sewing class. After finishing primary school, she became a bus conductor for about four years. After marriage, she made clothes at home to supplement the family income.⁶²⁹ These stories suggested that Taiwanese parents believed that even when their daughters did not do chores at home before marriage, they had to be familiar with the process through prior observation so they could cook or sew if they were required to do so in their marital families.

⁶²⁷ Xu Xianxian, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁶²⁸ Lan Beiyin, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁶²⁹ Zeng Meilin, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

Women from upper-middle class backgrounds also had more opportunities than their lower-class counterparts to learn from men in the household because these men tended to be more educated than those in lower-class families. Lu Zhunju was born in 1930 to a businessman and a housewife in Tainan. Her father taught her and her siblings how to swim. He also told them stories from *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (Ch. *Sanguo yanyi*) and a folktale on why dogs would attack roosters on sight.⁶³⁰ Zhu Qiufong learned classical Chinese from her grandfather before she began primary schooling. Her grandfather was a local official, and her family owned a school supplies shop in the Tamsui area in Taipei. She also enjoyed listening to stories from *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (Ch. *San guo yan yi*) from Chinese history that her grandfather told her.⁶³¹

If they did not learn the necessary household skills before marriage, which many upper-middle class women did not, they learned the skills from their mothers-in-law after marriage. Although their family backgrounds allowed them to attend middle schools where womanly training was the focus of their education, these women could not apply the cooking or sewing skills they learned in middle school to their life after marriage. Lu Zhunju's family hired cooks at home and thus she never cooked until after her marriage. Her marital family's business was miso making, and they hired thirty to forty workers. Lu had to cook one meal of congee and two meals of rice for all the workers to eat every day. Cooking made her cry because she had

⁶³⁰ Lu Zhunju, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁶³¹ Zhu Qiufong, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

never had to do it before marriage.⁶³² Pan Hen-hong was born in 1914 and married in 1934 to a rural extended family with forty-two members. She recalled, "You were expected to learn everything about domestic affairs before you got married. But I never did. My mother told me that I needed to know the principles so that I could make clothes when I needed to." She helped her mother-in-law when it was her mother-in-law's turn to cook in the big family.⁶³³ By helping out her mother-in-law, Pan eventually learned how to do household chores.

Women of lower class backgrounds were more likely to learn to do household chores such as cooking, cleaning, babysitting younger siblings, and planting crops before marriage because their families needed their labor. Tang Yan was the daughter of a railroad employee and a seamstress. She had to wake up at 5:00am every day to carry two buckets of water, making nine trips, from the well to her home. Sometimes she went to get water at midnight before bedtime. After carrying the water in the morning, she had to cook congee as breakfast for her parents before she went to school. After school, she did not stay to play because she had chores to do at home. She pounded rice, worked on the farm, dug up yams, fed the chickens, and cooked dinner. Tang said that because her parents were busy and there were not enough helping hands, she had to do the chores. For this reason, she did not have time to do her homework and always received corporal punishment from her teacher the next

⁶³² Lu Zhunju, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁶³³ Pan Hen-hong, interview with Chin-ju Lin, in Lin, "Modern Daughters-in-Law in Colonial Taiwanese Families," 195.

day.⁶³⁴ Tang's experience was very different from that of upper-middle-class girls, who were able to focus on their studies or played at home after school.

Conclusion

Education shaped the life course of a Han Taiwanese woman in various ways depending on her socioeconomic background. A lower-class girl was likely to graduate from primary school and work outside her home before marriage because her family needed the money. She kept in touch with her primary school classmates from her hometown mainly by attending annual reunion events. A middle-class girl probably attended middle school. If she worked, she likely became a teacher.

According to my interviews, a girl who worked probably met her husband through co-workers or her supervisors. An upper-class girl likely attended middle school and stayed at home after graduation. My interview data suggests that the parents of an educated girl likely arranged her marriage who shared a similar family background. Both the middle-class and the upper-class women might have participated in their primary school reunions, but they definitely attended their middle school reunions, which were larger and more extravagant than the primary school ones.

As changes brought by public education influenced their lives, educated girls continued to deal with preexisting gender expectations and older practices. Primary schools bridged class lines while middle schools affirmed class lines. Girls and boys could interact with each other, but they remained physically segregated in school and at other public places because older expectations of gender segregation remained

⁶³⁴ Tang Yan, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

strong. With some education, Taiwanese girls enjoyed increased work opportunities outside the home setting. These new workplaces were where many romances blossomed. However, society at large and parents at home did not look favorably on such romances. Many parents continued to arrange marriages for their children. Educated girls did not apply what they learned in school to their lives as wives and mothers. Although some older practices persisted, the lives of Taiwanese girls changed dramatically because of Japanese colonial education. The effects of Japanese colonial education remained visible in Taiwanese homes and society in the postwar period.

CHAPTER 5

Colonial Memory and Nostalgia

I don't feel nostalgic for Japanese rule. The Japanese didn't value the Taiwanese, and the Taiwanese returned the favor. Japanese looked at Taiwanese as Chankoro (Jp. Chinese slaves). --- Xu Xianxian⁶³⁵

People like us prefer to be ruled by the Japanese. --- Zhan Yiku⁶³⁶

Things were managed properly during the Japanese period. But times are different now. After the Chinese Nationalists came, it became chaotic. --- Lin Shuqing⁶³⁷

Introduction

Liu Yanyan's critique of Japanese treatment of Taiwanese echoes many accounts by formerly colonized people around the world. But many Taiwanese like Zhan Yiku and Lin Shuqing, who received a Japanese education during the colonial period, are nostalgic for Japanese rule. This chapter examines the memory and experiences of former students from the colonized population in Taiwan.

Understanding nostalgia is important because it continues to shape discussions of the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized populations.⁶³⁸ Japan continues

⁶³⁵ Some Japanese from the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century used the following derogatory terms to refer to ethnic Han Chinese people: *Shinajin* (支那人) and *Chankoro* (清國奴). Xu Xianxian, interview with Fang Yu Hu.

⁶³⁶ Zhan Yiku was born in 1931 in Taipei. Zhan Yiku, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taipei, Taiwan, May 24, 2012.

⁶³⁷ Lin Shuqing, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁶³⁸ Rob McQueen, "The remembrance of things past and present: An introduction to GLR/IPCS symposia on nostalgia and Colonial Melancholia," *Griffith Law Review*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (2011): 248, accessed February 2, 2015,

to evoke condemnation from Chinese and Korean governments and citizens for its imperial aggression in the first half of the twentieth century. Historical memory of Japanese aggression in Korea and China sparks anti-Japanese sentiments in current times. These sentiments become especially visible in Chinese and Japanese government protests against Japan over revisionist history in Japanese textbooks and top Japanese official visits to Yasukuni Shrine, which houses top WWII war criminals. Territorial disputes in Dokdo/Takeshima Island and the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands also continue to heighten tensions between Japan and Korea, and between Japan and China. Taiwan is an anomaly in this climate as the Taiwanese not only do not engage in anti-Japanese activities, but are known for being one of the more Japan-friendly Asian countries. In contrast to strong anti-Japanese and nationalist sentiments on the Korean peninsula during and after the Korean colonial experience,⁶³⁹ many Taiwanese were less critical of Japanese colonialism because of their experiences under the postwar Chinese Nationalist government. Nostalgia toward Japan became a

<http://search.informit.com.au/documentSummary;dn=557046604159033;res=IELHSS>

⁶³⁹ Anti-Japanese sentiment remained high in the 1990s and beyond. The democratization process that began in the late 1980s in South Korea also provided the opportunity for people to express their anger towards Japan (David Hundt and Roland Bleiker, “Colonial Memories in Korea and Japan,” *Asian Perspective*, Vol. 31, Special Issue on “Reconciliation between China and Japan” (2007): 68-69, accessed January 20, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42704577>). In contrast, democratization in 1990s Taiwanese society led to the creation of Taiwan Studies where many scholars reevaluated Japanese rule as positive for Taiwan. This means that in the same time period with similar political developments in both societies, the Koreans continued to express strong anti-Japanese sentiment while the Taiwanese openly praised Japan. For a further discussion of the point of tensions between Korea and Japan after WWII, see David Hundt and Roland Bleiker, “Colonial Memories in Korea and Japan.”

tool to criticize the postwar government and society. This chapter seeks to discuss the way in which the colonial educational experiences of these Taiwanese shaped the making of this pro-Japan sentiment and nostalgia for Japanese rule.

Scholars have found, unsurprisingly, that former colonizers around the world often express nostalgia for the colonial past, remembering their modernizing and civilizing efforts in the colonies. Patricia Me. E. Lorcin finds that works such as those by Elspeth Husley's semi-autobiographical and biographical works about her childhood in Kenya focus on settler hardships in modernizing "primitive and empty areas."⁶⁴⁰ Kobayashi Yoshinori, a conservative Japanese manga artist, portrays "Japan as the harbinger of the future, as the country best suited to bring civilization, along with urbanization and increased trade, to a backward continent," something they believed Japan achieved before and during WWII.⁶⁴¹ Kobayashi and other conservatives even go as far to attribute Taiwan's democracy today to Japanese colonial rule.⁶⁴²

However, colonizers are not the only ones who are nostalgic; colonized people sometimes invoke their colonial experiences to express their anxiety over social

⁶⁴⁰ Patricia M. E. Lorcin lists other works by Nigel Pavitt, Mirella Ricciardi, Marie Cardinal, and Serge Durieux that focus on mutual cooperation and harmony between the colonizer and the colonized populations. Patricia M. E. Lorcin, "Imperial Nostalgia; Colonial Nostalgia: Differences of Theory, Similarities of Practice?," *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques*, Vol. 39, No. 3, Nostalgia in Modern France: Bright New Ideas about a Melancholy Subject (Winter 2013): 104-105.

⁶⁴¹ Barak Kushner, "Nationality and Nostalgia: The Manipulation of Memory in Japan, Taiwan, and China since 1990," *The International History Review*, Vol. 29, No. 4 (December 2007): 803, 805, accessed January 19, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40110927>.

⁶⁴² Ibid.

changes and economic uncertainties. In his study of Zanzibar City, William Cunningham Bissell found that Zanzibar residents born during and after British colonial rule talked nostalgically about British rule as a means to criticize the present.⁶⁴³ During his fieldwork in Zanzibar in the mid-1990s, he heard residents talking about British rule as a period when laws and rules were enforced, government planning and management were effective, and their city was “clean and orderly.” Zanzibar residents blamed the current state of affairs on “a failure of moral will” where people were no longer faithful, the government was incompetent or became indifferent to people’s livelihood, and people had become selfish and greedy.⁶⁴⁴

Elements in the narratives of Taiwanese women and men I interviewed show that their nostalgia for Japanese rule allows them to express “social critique and protest” and also “to conjoin space and time, placing them in a state of creative tension and mobilizing them for reciprocal comment and contrast” in ways similar to the accounts of Zanzibar residents.⁶⁴⁵ Japanese-educated Taiwanese often cite social order and good manners under Japanese rule as the standard of measurement for a good society. In the recollections of this group of Taiwanese, this characterization of Japanese rule stood in contrast to the chaotic postwar Chinese Nationalist rule. Some argue that the 228 Incident of 1947 was the single most important factor in turning many Taiwanese, particularly victims of the Incident, against the Chinese

⁶⁴³ William Cunningham Bissell, “Engaging Colonial Nostalgia,” *Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (May 2005): 215, accessed January 19, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3651534>.

⁶⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 222.

⁶⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 239.

Nationalists,⁶⁴⁶ helping to create this nostalgia for the “good old [Japanese] days.” On February 28, 1947, Chinese Nationalist troops fired on Taiwanese protesters who demanded the government to punish some government workers and police officers for beating a woman who was selling tobacco illegally.⁶⁴⁷ The firing on protesters sparked widespread angry resistance from the Taiwanese. As a result, the Nanjing government sent more troops to Taiwan. In the subsequent weeks, Chinese troops rounded up and executed at least 18,000 Taiwanese, including many high school students and educated elites who were community leaders.⁶⁴⁸ Although the 228

⁶⁴⁶ Evan N. Dawley reviewed studies that examine identity formation in Taiwan, including those that discuss how the 228 Incident contributed to the formation of a Taiwanese identity. For a survey of some studies, see Evan N. Dawley, “The Question of Identity in Recent Scholarship on the History of Taiwan,” *The China Quarterly*, No. 198 (June 2009), 448-449, accessed January 19, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27756461>.

⁶⁴⁷ The catalyst of the 228 Incident occurred on February 27, 1947. Several workers from the Monopoly Bureau (Ch. *zhuan mai ju*) and a few police officers confiscated a woman tobacco vendor’s tobaccos and cash because only the government could sell tobaccos. The woman begged for forgiveness but received beating, and bystanders became angry. The following day, on February 28, some Taiwanese protesters gathered in front of the Monopoly Bureau to demand punishment of the Bureau workers for the beating of the woman. For more detail, see Chen Cuilian 陳翠蓮, “Er er ba shijian” 二二八事件 [228 Incident], in *Taiwan da baike quanshu* 台灣大百科全書 [Encyclopedia of Taiwan], last modified September 24, 2009, <http://nrch.culture.tw/twpedia.php?id=3864>.

⁶⁴⁸ Lindi Gail Arrigo, “Fifty Years after ‘2-2-8’: The Lingering Legacy of State Terror in the Consolidation of Bourgeois Democracy in Taiwan”: 47, *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations*, Vol. 23, No. 1/2, ASIA (1997): 47, accessed May 18, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23263489>. Some educated elites and community leaders fled Taiwan and went into exile in Japan and the U.S. Taiwan thus lost many leaders who could potentially challenge the Nationalist government in Taiwan. Those community leaders who remained in Taiwan either collaborated with the Nationalist government, or stayed away from politics. The period of martial law overlapped with the period of White Terror in Taiwan, and scholars and people in Taiwan used the two terms interchangeably. The Nationalist government instituted martial law on

Incident shaped Taiwanese identity formation and turned some against the Nationalist government, not everyone was affected by or aware of the 228 Incident.

Scholars such as Wan-yao Chou, Cai Jintang, and Leo Ching offer multiple explanations for this nostalgia of Japanese rule. Their works discuss colonial nostalgia by focusing on the last generation of Taiwanese who received formal Japanese education. Wan-yao Chou and Cai Jintang grounded their analysis in the pre-1945 historical experiences of the last generation of Taiwanese under Japanese rule, defined by Chou as those born between 1920 and 1935.⁶⁴⁹ Focusing on the

Taiwan three times: the first time was during the 228 Incident in 1947, the second time on December 10, 1947, and the third time was on May 19, 1949. The 1949 martial law lasted thirty-eight years until July 15, 1987. During the martial law period, the government limited freedom of expression and media. The ROC National Assembly adopted the “Temporary Provisions Effective During the Period of the Communist Rebellion” (Ch. *Donyuan kanluan shiqi linshi tiaokuan*) on April 18, 1948, which the government used to arrest and prosecute people under martial law. The Nationalist government arrested, imprisoned, and executed dissidents, mainly political leftists and Taiwan-independence activists from both leftist and rightist camps, by accusing them of rebelling against the government or committing espionage. The Nationalist government abolished the provision on April 30, 1991 and formally ended the White Terror period in 1992. For more detail, see Su Ruiqiang 蘇瑞鏘, “Baise kongbu” 白色恐怖 [White Terror], in *Taiwan da baike quanshu* 台灣大百科全書 [Encyclopedia of Taiwan], last modified March 22, 2012, <http://nrch.culture.tw/twpedia.php?id=3864>. Xue Huayuan 薛化元, “Donyuan kanluan shiqi linshi tiaokuan” 動員戡亂時期臨時條款 [Temporary Provisions during the period of the Communist Rebellion], in *Taiwan da baike quanshu* 台灣大百科全書 [Encyclopedia of Taiwan], last modified September 24, 2009, <http://nrch.cca.gov.tw/twpedia.php?id=3860>. Liu Hengwen 劉恆姮, “Jieyan” 戒嚴 [Martial Law], in *Taiwan da baike quanshu* 台灣大百科全書 [Encyclopedia of Taiwan], last modified September 24, 2009, <http://nrch.cca.gov.tw/twpedia.php?id=3861>.

⁶⁴⁹ The last generation refers to the last generation of Taiwanese, ranging from elementary school children to young adults, who received some Japanese education before 1945. With their Japanese education as the defining feature of this generation, Chou Wan-yao has defined the last generation as those born between 1920 and 1930,

wartime period, Wan-yao Chou argues that the last generation of Taiwanese feels nostalgic for Japanese rule because wartime policy and training heightened their Japanese patriotism. She also points out that wartime chaos blurred the distinctions between Japanese and Taiwanese lives.⁶⁵⁰ Yet although the Japanese implemented *kominka* programs in both Korea and Taiwan, the Koreans did not feel nostalgic towards Japanese rule. Cai Jintang stretches his analysis further back in time, and argues that the last generation of Taiwanese is nostalgic for Japanese rule because most of them were too young or not elite enough to know about the history of movements for autonomy and against the Japanese in the 1920s. His other explanation is similar to Chou's: that the intense experience of the wartime period narrowed the discrepancy between Japanese and Taiwanese in Taiwan.⁶⁵¹ Both studies turn to the war, which constituted the formative years of this last generation of Taiwanese, to explain not only why they were nostalgic about the Japanese period, but also why the last generation felt a sense of belonging to the Japanese empire. Leo

or up to 1935 because there was no clear cut-off line for the birth year due to the fact that the age when children could begin attending primary school varied. Chou Wan-yao 周婉窈, Preface to *Hai xing xi de niandai—Ribei zhimin tongzhi moqi Taiwan shi lunji* 海行兮的年代—日本殖民統治末期臺灣史論集 [The Era of “When I go to the Sea” (“Umi yukaba”): Collection of Essays of Taiwanese History from the Late Japanese Colonial Rule]] (Taipei: Xun chen wen hua gong si, 2003), (2).

⁶⁵⁰ Ibid., (11).

⁶⁵¹ Cai Jintang 蔡錦堂, “Nihon jidai tōji jidai to Kokumintō tōchi jidai ni koette ikita Taiwanjin no nihonkan” 日本時代統治時代と国民党統治時代に跨って生きた台湾人の日本観 [Views of Japan from Taiwanese who lived under Japanese Rule and Chinese Nationalist Rule], in *Sengo Taiwan ni okeru nihon: Shokuminchi keiken no renzoku henbō riyō* 戦後台湾における〈日本〉：植民地経験の連続・変貌・利用 [The “Japan” in Postwar Taiwan: The Formation, Transformation, and Use of Colonial Experience], ed. Igarashi Masako 五十嵐真子 and Mio Yūko 三尾裕子 (Tōkyō: Fūkyōsha, 2006), 22-23.

Ching, in contrast, explains this nostalgia by grounding his analysis in geopolitics of East Asia since the 1990s. He examines four published memoirs in Japanese in the 1990s and the 2000s, written by the last generation of Taiwanese as they were aging and dying. He argues that their anxiety was a “symptom” of the decline of Japan and the rise of China in the region. He suggests that these Taiwanese with Japanese education wanted to claim belonging in and to express the sense of abandonment by Japan.⁶⁵² In sum, by focusing on the pre-1945 historical experiences of the last generation of Taiwanese, Wan-yao Chou and Cai Jintang emphasize the past as the main cause of nostalgia, while Leo Ching focuses on using the present to explain these people’s nostalgia.

Joining the discussion initiated by Chou, Cai, and Ching, this chapter takes up both past and present approaches by focusing on the educational experiences of the last generation of Taiwanese people from the colonial era and their critique against Chinese Nationalist rule to examine the role that gender played in the construction of this nostalgia for Japanese rule. This chapter argues that in addition to their postwar experiences, Taiwanese people’s Japanese education and their sense of social stability under Japanese rule played a vital role in creating this nostalgia. By the end of colonial rule in 1945, the school enrollment rate in Taiwan was over 70%. Many Taiwanese men and women educated under Japanese rule have positive memories of

⁶⁵² Leo T.S. Ching, “Colonial Nostalgia or Postcolonial Anxiety: The Dosan Generation In Between ‘Restoration’ and ‘Defeat’,” in *Sino-Japanese Transculturation: From the Late Nineteenth Century to the End of the Pacific War*, ed. Richard King, Cody Poulton, and Katsuhiko Endo (Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2012), 213.

their Japanese teachers and praise law and order in Taiwan then. There is a gendered difference, however, in that men tend to criticize corruption in school and at work under the Chinese Nationalist rule, while women focus on criticizing the failures of the postwar educational system in producing upright and well-mannered younger generations. Although they paint a rosy picture of Japanese rule, these men and women also cite stories of discrimination.

Patricia M.E. Lorcin argues that colonial nostalgia is “a collective sentiment that remains grounded in personal or familial experience..., [and] the belief in benevolent modernity, and the relative bonhomie of the colonial lifestyle.” This chapter shows that Taiwanese like Zhan Yiku and Lin Shuqing practice colonial nostalgia as they evoke personal experiences under Japanese rule when they speak positively of Japanese rule. This type of nostalgia is different from imperial nostalgia practice by Japanese conservatives, such as Kobayashi the manga artist,⁶⁵³ who seek to build a strong nationalist identity.

Focusing on colonial nostalgia of this last generation of Taiwanese, this chapter will first discuss the major themes that emerged from interviews with Japanese-educated Taiwanese men and women between 2010 and 2013: equality, modernization, and the Japanese character. Next, the chapter will examine gender

⁶⁵³ We should note that this generation of Taiwanese practice what Patricia M.E. Lorcin calls colonial nostalgia, and not imperial nostalgia. Lorcin defines colonial nostalgia as one “associated with the loss of sociocultural standing or..., the colonial lifestyle,” while imperial nostalgia is one “associated with the loss of empire..., the decline of national grandeur and the international power politics connected to economic and political hegemony.” Lorcin, “Imperial Nostalgia; Colonial Nostalgia,” 97, 102.

differences in the narrative frameworks of these interviewees: Taiwanese men focus on criticizing postwar corruption in their narratives of nostalgia for period of Japanese rule, while women focus on the cultivation of their minds and skills and personal experiences with teachers in constructing their nostalgia. Finally, the chapter explores limitations on the nostalgia that these Taiwanese men and women have for Japanese rule: their educational experiences and their analysis of Japan's defeat reveal unmistakably unequal power relations between the colonizer and the colonized populations.

Major Themes in Colonial Nostalgia for Japanese Rule

The socioeconomic and regional backgrounds of Taiwanese men and women educated under the Japanese system are diverse. Among my interviewees, some came from a wealthy landlord background, and some were of poor manual laborer status. They were born between 1915 and 1933. Places where they grew up range from Taipei in the north to Kaohsiung in southern Taiwan. Japanese-educated Taiwanese men and women, in their adulthood, are more troubled by the changes that occurred after 1945 than the discriminatory practices and wartime chaos they experienced as children, teenagers, and young adults under Japanese rule. They acknowledge that the Japanese colonial administration exploited Taiwan to benefit the metropole and to prove itself the equal of Euro-American imperial powers. The exploitation of the Taiwanese people was evident in Japanese political, social, and economic policies that privileged the ethnic Japanese at the expense of the Taiwanese. However, these facts lose some of their force in light of how the postwar inflation and the extraction

of Taiwanese resources for the Civil War between Nationalists and Communists made Taiwanese lives unstable, and came to a head in the 228 Incident of 1947. The Chinese suppression of the 228 Uprising, the subsequent forty years of martial law, and oppression under an authoritarian government consolidated the view of the Chinese Nationalist government as a corrupt, dishonest, disorderly, and oppressive regime in the eyes of Japanese-educated Taiwanese. As a result of living under fear during the martial law years, these Taiwanese reminisce about Japanese rule as way to express their dissatisfaction with the Chinese Nationalist government, because the Japanese rule was the only other regime with which they were familiar.

Living under the Japanese Colonists vs. the Chinese Nationalists

With the Japanese surrender on August 15, 1945, Taiwan was retroceded to China, and came under the rule of the Chinese Nationalist party on October 25, 1945. Han Taiwanese people were joyous as they returned to the embrace of their ancestral nation.⁶⁵⁴ Parades comprised of local leaders, office workers, and school children who had been “standing many hours in the sun” welcomed Chinese troops⁶⁵⁵ as liberators

⁶⁵⁴ Sheng Cuilian 沈翠蓮, *Taiwan xiaoxue shizi peiyushi* 台灣小學師資培育史 [The History of Elementary School Teacher Training Programs in Taiwan] (Taipei: Wu’nan tushu chuban gufen you xian gongsi, 2004), 32.

⁶⁵⁵ This dissertation focuses on the Han Taiwanese population, who are ethnic Han Chinese. Most of their ancestors immigrated to Taiwan from Fujian and Guangdong provinces from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. “Taiwanese” is commonly used to refer to those of ethnic Han Chinese background who have been residing in Taiwan before 1945. Throughout this chapter, “Taiwanese” refers to Han Taiwanese. “Chinese” refers to those who moved to Taiwan, especially with the Chinese Nationalist government, between 1945 and 1949. *Benshengren* (Ch. people of this province) is a common term used in Taiwan to describe Han Taiwanese, and *waishengren* (Ch. people from outside of this province) is a term to describe this new group of Chinese immigrants.

as the troops landed in Taiwan. The Nationalist government even taught the Taiwanese celebratory songs to celebrate “the return of Taiwan to its ancestral land.”⁶⁵⁶ With the arrival of poorly equipped Chinese troops who had fought eight years of war against the Japanese, Taiwanese people’s enthusiasm dwindled. The stark contrast between the disorderly Chinese troops in ragged uniforms and the more-disciplined and better-equipped Japanese troops was noted by the local population.⁶⁵⁷ Local residents derided the lack of familiarity Chinese troops and migrants demonstrated with modern infrastructure, such as water faucets. Nevertheless, the standards of living in Taiwan improved in the postwar years under Nationalist rule. Interviewees focused instead on the behaviors of mainland Chinese (Ch. *waishengren*), the postwar generations of Taiwanese, and the postwar Nationalist government.

⁶⁵⁶ Xia Yuchia recalled and sang some songs in Taiwanese Hoklo during the interview. Xia Yuchia, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁶⁵⁷ George Kerr, an Assistant Naval Attaché for the United States, notes that educated Taiwanese saw that China survived Japanese invasion with American help and would continue to rely on America. These Taiwanese expected the people on Taiwan to “attain political dignity and equality, and that Formosa would become China’s most modern model province.” But Chinese leaders viewed Taiwanese with suspicion and collected intelligence on wealthy and educated Taiwanese. George Kerr, “Chapter III: The Surrender on Formosa, 1945,” in *Formosa Betrayed* (Upland, CA: Taiwan Publishing Co., 2005), accessed February 7, 2015, <http://www.romanization.com/books/formosabetrayed/chap03.html>. One of my interviewees, Xia Yuchia, expressed obvious distain for Chinese soldiers when she talked about her impression of those who arrived in Taiwan after WWII. She admired how clean and orderly Japanese soldiers looked. Her son kept on calling this “a misunderstanding.” He also explained that Chinese soldiers had ragged clothes and carried pots on their backs because they had fought eight years of war against the Japanese. Yuchia was not convinced and did not change her opinion of the difference between Chinese and Japanese soldiers. Xia Yuchia, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

Japanese-educated Taiwanese experienced hardship in the immediate postwar decade. Lieutenant General Keh King-en, who was the nominal Mission Chief who arrived in Taiwan with “an escort of about one hundred American officers and men” on October 5, 1945, called Taiwan “a degraded territory” that was “beyond the pale of true Chinese civilization” and the residents “a degraded people.”⁶⁵⁸ Taiwan experienced inflation and currency problems brought by the Nationalist government from 1945 to 1948. The Nationalist government took over all Japanese assets, and owned over 70% of the non-agricultural economy. Postwar Taiwan experienced trade deficits, food shortages, and shortfalls in raw materials and crucial commodities that had to be made up with American military or development aid.⁶⁵⁹ The per capita gross national product in 1946-1950 was only 42% of its 1931-1935 peak.⁶⁶⁰ Taiwanese exports and imports in Asia dropped because Taiwan had lost Japan and Mainland China as markets. In 1950, its overall share of exports to Asia dropped from 83% to 66% in 1960, and imports from Asia dropped from 68% to 50%.⁶⁶¹ Trade as a percentage of GNP increased from 27.45% in 1960 to 95.6% in 1988.⁶⁶² The “mainlanders monopolized the state-owned, heavy industry and bureaucratic sectors

⁶⁵⁸ Kerr, “The Surrender on Formosa, 1945.”

⁶⁵⁹ Christopher Howe, “Taiwan in the 20th Century: Model or Victim? Development Problems in a Small Asian Economy,” *The China Quarterly*, No. 165, *Taiwan in the 20th Century* (March 2001): 49, accessed February 3, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3451105>.

⁶⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 50.

⁶⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 52.

⁶⁶² *Ibid.*, 52.

and, for most, their outlook was a short-term one, based on belief in a rapid return to the mainland.”⁶⁶³

In the long run, the economy improved and educational rates increased under the Nationalist government. Between 1968 and 1979, the per capita income in Taiwan increased from \$719 to \$1,370. Wealth disparity also decreased. In 1952, the top 20 percent of people earned fifteen times the amount of the bottom 20 percent of people. But the gap narrowed to five times in 1964. The average annual increase in GNP in Taiwan between 1952 and 1973 exceeded 8.74%.⁶⁶⁴ The unemployment rate was less than 1% before 1974, and only increased to 3.2% after 1974.⁶⁶⁵ Taiwan led other Asian countries in getting itself out of a recession in the mid-1970s.⁶⁶⁶ More students eventually received education under Nationalist rule than during the Japanese period. Over 70% of school-aged Taiwanese children attended elementary school under Japanese rule in 1943, compared to 99.57% under Nationalist rule in 1977. In 1977, 94.21% of junior-high-school-age students attended junior high school,⁶⁶⁷ and 29% of students who took college entrance exams received placement.⁶⁶⁸

One explanation for why many Taiwanese are more nostalgic for Japanese rule than most Koreans is the level of pre-colonization developments and the impact of Japanese political economic, and social policies on the colonized population.

⁶⁶³ Ibid., 53.

⁶⁶⁴ Christopher J. Lucas, “The Politics of National Development and Education in Taiwan,” *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (January 1982): 211, accessed February 3, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/421587>.

⁶⁶⁵ Ibid., 217.

⁶⁶⁶ Ibid., 220.

⁶⁶⁷ Ibid., 212.

⁶⁶⁸ Ibid., 213.

Scholars have found that the standards of living and economic development in Taiwan under Japanese rose in comparison to before the Japanese arrival, which helped contribute to a positive evaluation of Japanese colonialism by the local population. In contrast, Korea had an independent domestic political system and a more developed economic system with increasing engagement with foreign trade twenty years before it became a Japanese protectorate in 1905.⁶⁶⁹ Economic policies took more time to become effective in the relatively more complex Korean economy, and thus made less impression on the Koreans. In comparison, Taiwanese could sense the immediate changes brought about due to Japanese economic policies.⁶⁷⁰ Furthermore, the strategic importance of Korea meant that military concerns took precedence over economic ones, in contrast to Taiwan's relatively light military control⁶⁷¹ that allowed the colonial administration to focus on economic development after the early colonial period.⁶⁷² There were also more police per capita in Korea

⁶⁶⁹ Dennis McNamara's study portrays Taiwan's economy before Japanese arrival as having had little growth (Dennis L. McNamara, "Comparative Colonial Response: Korea and Taiwan," *Korean Studies*, Vol. 10 (1986): 57, accessed January 19, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23718831>). But Christopher Howe's study shows that Taiwan was integral to East Asian trade in the late sixteenth century, international trade under Dutch rule in the seventeenth century and international trade as a treaty port under Qing rule in the mid-nineteenth century. Howe, "Taiwan in the 20th Century," 38-40.

⁶⁷⁰ McNamara, "Comparative Colonial Response: Korea and Taiwan," 58.

⁶⁷¹ Military and police control was strong for the Taiwanese aboriginal groups, compared to for the Han Taiwanese population. The strong control of the aboriginal groups led to the famous Musha Incident of 1930. For more detail, see Leo Ching, *Becoming "Japanese,"* 133-148; Ho I 戴国, ed., *Taiwan musha hōki jiken: Kenkyū to shiryō* 台湾霧社蜂起事件: 研究与資料 [Taiwan Musha Incident: Research and Sources] (Tōkyō: Shakai shisōsha, 1981).

⁶⁷² McNamara, "Comparative Colonial Response," 59.

than in Taiwan.⁶⁷³ More police meant that tensions between Japanese colonists and the local colonized population were more intense in Korea as the police were the face of colonial authority in everyday life. The New School Movement in Korea before 1910 created many schools, including Christian schools, which supported patriotism and Western learning, which was not the case in Taiwan. Classical Chinese academies also remained strong and numerous in Korea and reinforced a strong Confucian identity, while the number of such academies in Taiwan dwindled and many literati returned to mainland China when Japan colonized Taiwan. Korean literati, in contrast, retained influence when they supported petitions for independence.⁶⁷⁴

The discontent among Taiwanese that culminated in the 228 Incident suggests that this nostalgia for Japanese rule might have begun soon after the incident. By February 1947, the Taiwanese were frustrated with the new Chinese Nationalist government. An article published in *Damingbao* in Tapei on January 20, 1947, reported on the Taiwan Political Reconstruction Association appeal to the Central Government at Nanjing:

In Taiwan there were once complete census records, detailed cadastral surveys, complete police nets, good sanitary conditions, convenient transportation, and popular education. The guild system was popularized, and all waste land brought under cultivation. The general

⁶⁷³ Ibid., 60. In 1937, there was one policeman for every 1,052 people in Japan proper, and one for every 580 people in Taiwan. Grajdanzev, "Formosa (Taiwan) under Japanese Rule," 323.

⁶⁷⁴ McNamara, "Comparative Colonial Response," 61.

cultural level in Taiwan is high, and Formosans are possessed of sufficient comprehension of, and ability for, local autonomy. In other words, we were quite safe when leaving the doors open at night; things lost in the road were not pocketed; every piece of land was fully utilized and merchandise well distributed. At present, due solely to the administrative inefficiency of the Government, a peculiar situation which is strange to Formosans has been brought about, and thus opportunities are not available to able Formosans. For the purpose of restoring a comfortable and civilized Taiwan, the Provincial Government authorities have only to reform their own inefficient system and noxious attitude, and to try to recover swiftly the pre-war conditions. At the same time, they must be more reasonable in the appointment of officials. The Government need not start everything from the very beginning.⁶⁷⁵

These Taiwanese representatives voiced an increasing frustration that many Taiwanese had toward the Nationalist government.

Equality under Colonial Rule

The issue of equality and discrimination is one major theme that emerged from the accounts of Taiwanese men and women who received Japanese education. Although they experienced systematic discrimination under Japanese rule, they

⁶⁷⁵ Kerr quoted the article from *Damingbao* in his book. George Kerr, "Chapter XI: On the Eve of Disaster," in *Formosa Betrayed* (Upland, CA: Taiwan Publishing Co., 2005), accessed February 7, 2015, <http://www.romanization.com/books/formosabetrayed/chap11.html>.

rationalized Japanese discriminatory practices and insisted that they received equal treatment. Based on personal experiences before and after 1945, they painted a different historical memory from those born after 1945 and educated in the postwar period. The Nationalist government pushed for sinicization programs in postwar Taiwanese society, and thus “marginalized and discredited” Taiwan’s “historical memories and cultural traditions.”⁶⁷⁶

To de-Japanize and re-Sinify the Taiwanese population, the postwar government promulgated educational guidelines⁶⁷⁷ based on Sun Yat-sen’s Three Principles of the People (Ch. *sanmin zhuyi*), which sought to instill Chinese nationalism and to train the Taiwanese to speak Mandarin.⁶⁷⁸ Using Mandarin Chinese as the language of instruction, the school curriculum focused on teaching Chinese history, literature, traditions, and geography. Students were punished for speaking their native languages of Taiwanese Hoklo, Taiwanese Hakka, and any of the Taiwanese aboriginal languages. The whole purpose of the educational curriculum was to teach students to be loyal Chinese nationalists.⁶⁷⁹ Because

⁶⁷⁶ Kushner, “Nationality and Nostalgia,” 808.

⁶⁷⁷ The Ministry of Education of Republic of China promulgated this educational guideline in June 1950: The “Essentials of the Implementation of Nation-Building Education During the Period of Rebellion” [Ch. *Kan luan jian guo jiao yu shi shi gang yao*, 戡亂建國教育實施綱要]. Zhou Zhihong 周志弘, “Jiaoyu kongzhi” 教育控制 [Educational Control], in *Taiwan da baike quanshu* 台灣大百科全書 [Encyclopedia of Taiwan], last modified September 24, 2009, <http://nrch.culture.tw/twpedia.php?id=3945>.

⁶⁷⁸ Kushner, “Nationality and Nostalgia,” 808.

⁶⁷⁹ Ya-Chen Su, “Ideological Representations of Taiwan’s History: An Analysis of Elementary Social Studies Textbooks, 1978-1995,” *Curriculum Inquiry*, Vol. 37, No. 3 (September 2007): 209-210, accessed February 3, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30053219>.

education was the main gateway to training loyal subjects, just as normal school teachers were mostly Japanese under Japanese rule, Mainlanders dominated the ranks in the postwar years to ensure that future teachers would be Chinese patriots who championed the Three Principles of the People.⁶⁸⁰

Under the party-state education of the Chinese Nationalist government, post-1945 generations of Taiwanese children learned that Japan was an aggressive and ambitious nation and that Japanese rule in Taiwan had been an illegal encroachment on Chinese sovereignty.⁶⁸¹ They also learned that the Japanese colonizers exploited Taiwanese people and resources and Taiwanese people suffered from lack of freedom of speech and rights to private property.⁶⁸² The official narrative taught students that the Taiwanese resisted Japanese colonial rule because of their loyalty to their home country, China.⁶⁸³

Keenly aware of the Chinese Nationalist characterization of Japanese rule, Taiwanese men and women countered this official narrative during their interviews. Lin Kahui was a seventeen-year-old attending a commercial vocational school in Tainan in 1945, and became an elementary school teacher of forty years in the

⁶⁸⁰ Sheng, *Taiwan xiaoxue shizi*, 50-51.

⁶⁸¹ Ya-Chen Su analyzed two series of social studies textbooks, 1978-1989, and 1989-1995, to understand how the Chinese Nationalist government represented ideological and political issues in elementary schools (Su, "Ideological Representations of Taiwan's History," 215-216). She provided an account of the portrayal of Japanese colonial rule in the first series, 1978-1989 (Ibid., 222, 223). Although she only provided analysis for textbooks used after 1978, the negative portrayal of Japanese colonialism was unlikely less so in the pre-1978 period when the Chinese Nationalist government worked on de-Japanize and re-sinicize the Taiwanese population through education.

⁶⁸² Ibid., 223.

⁶⁸³ Ibid., 225.

postwar period. Kahui criticized the Chinese Nationalist attempt to change Taiwanese people's favorable view of Japan through education. He asserted that it was wrong for the government⁶⁸⁴ to ignore Japanese modernization efforts and make the Taiwanese view Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan negatively.⁶⁸⁵ He praised the colonial government for building a modern infrastructure in Taiwan, such as dam construction and the establishment of public education. He strongly believed that this infrastructure was part of the Japanese colonial government's efforts to elevate Taiwan's standard of living and level of civilization.⁶⁸⁶ With six years of primary education and several years of factory work under Japanese rule, Zeng Xiuying from Taipei commented that younger Taiwanese proclaim the Japanese colonizers as evil, but she thinks differently. She said, "I thought they were fine, not mean. I have a good impression of the Japanese people. I didn't dislike them. Nowadays, the Taiwanese people are educated by the Chinese people to severely criticize the

⁶⁸⁴ The "government" Lin Kahui mentioned here refers to the Chinese Nationalist government, and not the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) rule from 2000-2008. Under the presidency of a pro-Taiwan independence party, the Democratic Progressive Party, a textbook change introduced Taiwanese history as a field independent from Chinese history. The new history section discusses Japanese modernization in Taiwan. Even before the DPP came into power, the democratization process of the 1990s helped create a change in school curriculum that moved away from sinicization and toward the formation of a Taiwanese identity. Christopher Hughes and Robert Stone, "Nation-Building and Curriculum Reform in Hong Kong and Taiwan," *The China Quarterly*, No. 160 (December 1999): 985-988, accessed February 3, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/656050>.

⁶⁸⁵ Lin Kahui, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Kaohisung, Taiwan, July 15, 2012.

⁶⁸⁶ Lin Kahui used these terms: standard of living (Tw. Hoklo *chúi-chún*; Ch. *shuizhun*) and level of civilization (文化程度, Tw. Hoklo *būn-hòa thêng-tō*; Ch. *wenhua chengdu*) in his interview. Ibid.

Japanese.”⁶⁸⁷ Many Taiwanese such as Lin Kahui and Zeng Xiuying who received some Japanese education countered the Nationalist narrative of pure Japanese exploitation of the Taiwanese by insisting on the accomplishments of the Japanese colonial government.

Taiwanese men and women of the generation that had experienced colonialism rationalized discrimination under Japanese rule in their narratives in their efforts to deny its negative impact on the Taiwanese. Lin Xianyan, a seventeen-year-old graduate of Taichū Girls’ No. 2 Middle School⁶⁸⁸ when the war ended in 1945, insisted that no discrimination existed under Japanese rule. When asked if her teachers treated students differently based on one’s ethnicity, Xianyan proudly cited the equal number of Japanese and Taiwanese enrollees at her middle school. Even though Japanese only comprised five percent of the total population in Taiwan, she did not find it unfair that her school enrolled equal numbers of Japanese and Taiwanese students. She also insisted that no discrimination occurred among students. She claimed that at her school, a girl’s grades, and not ethnicity, determined how she was treated by her classmates. If she received good grades, she would receive respect from her classmates. If she did not, her classmates would ignore her. Xianyan’s focus is merit, not ethnicity. This focus on merit might be a result of an image the colonial government created in order to pacify any potential anger from the colonized population over inequality. For example, as part of the military service program of the

⁶⁸⁷ Zeng Xiuying, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taipei, Taiwan, April 9, 2013.

⁶⁸⁸ Lin Xianyan attended Taichū Girls’ No. 2 Middle School (Jp. *Taichū daini kōtō jogakkō* 台中第二高等女学校), founded in 1942.

kōminka movement, historian Takashi Fujitani found that Japanese officers were supposed to welcome Korean military volunteers and promote them based on merit.⁶⁸⁹ In this way, merit meant everyone could compete equally. This idea of merit was important during the wartime period, when the colonial state mobilized everyone, including the colonized, to make sacrifices for the empire. Xianyan had to focus on merit to prove equality between Japanese and Taiwanese students in Taiwan. To focus on ethnicity would reveal preferential practices embedded in the educational system.

Lin Kahui knew that only a few Taiwanese children with elite status were able to attend Japanese elementary schools. Instead of criticizing the system as discriminatory against non-elite Taiwanese, Kahui explained why the segregation was rational: the Japanese elementary schools in Taiwan were established to be similar to the ones in Japan, and the Taiwanese primary schools were created to better suit the local population. He also claimed that the few Taiwanese who attended Japanese schools did not experience discrimination in school:

Although it seems that there was discrimination, in reality it was for the purpose of administering Taiwan. It wasn't that they looked down on the Taiwanese. My evaluation of the primary education

⁶⁸⁹ Takashi Fujitani, *Race for Empire: Koreans as Japanese and Japanese as Americans during World War II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 268.

implemented under the Japanese is positive, and I really miss my Japanese teachers.⁶⁹⁰

His memory of Japanese teachers deepened his evaluation of Japanese rule: “They administered Taiwan with great efforts... Japanese teachers taught [Taiwanese] students with real kindness. Why do I say that? They didn’t act like they were superior to the Taiwanese, or look down on the Taiwanese. Everything was fair.”⁶⁹¹

To Kahui, Japanese teachers symbolized Japanese rule. He saw the kindness his teachers showed to students as a manifestation of the general attitude of Japanese administrators in Taiwan. Kahui repeatedly stopped his friend, Tang Xinde, from criticizing the Chinese Nationalists and the Mainlanders who arrived in Taiwan after 1949 and from talking about the 228 Incident. Because of the 228 Incident and the White Terror era, many Taiwanese of Kahui’s generation avoided talking about politics, and told their descendants to avoid politics as well. This is the reason why there is no direct comparison between Japanese rule and Chinese Nationalist rule in Kahui’s narrative. Instead of direct comparison, Kahui focused on praising Japanese education to express his nostalgia.

Wu Surong shared a similar evaluation of her Japanese teachers. Surong and her teacher continued to visit each other after she began to work as a local district clerk in the 1940s. Her impression of Japanese people was based on her memory of her teachers. She recalled, “I have a very good impression of the Japanese people.

⁶⁹⁰ Lin Kahui used the word 排除 (Tw. Hoklo *pâi-tî*; Ch. *paichu*), which literally means exclusion, to refer to “discrimination.” Lin Kahui, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁶⁹¹ Ibid.

The Japanese teachers treated students well... They didn't discriminate against us. They didn't do anything bad to us." Her positive impression of her Japanese teachers became the basis for her positive impression of all Japanese people and her nostalgia for Japanese rule.

Taiwanese men and women made a distinction between discrimination experienced in personal relationships and discrimination embedded in their educational system. Taiwanese parents and students were aware that middle school administrators practiced ethnic discrimination and admitted students based on their nationality during the Japanese period. Taiwanese knew that Taihoku No. 1 Middle School was the best middle school in Taiwan, and all top students, whether Japanese or Taiwanese, aimed to study there. However, Taiwanese parents also knew that Taihoku No. 1 was for Japanese students, and Taihoku No. 2 Middle School was for Taiwanese children. According to some Taiwanese students who attended Taihoku No. 2, the few Japanese who were enrolled in their school were not smart enough to pass the entrance exam for Taihoku No. 1, and were then admitted into No. 2 School. They also said that many Taiwanese with higher academic performance failed the entrance exam to No. 2 school, but those few Japanese were admitted simply because they were Japanese.⁶⁹² However, these Taiwanese men and women excused the

⁶⁹² Two anonymous interviewees from Tsurumi's research provided these accounts about Taihoku No. 1 and No. 2. Person A said he wanted to take the entrance exam for Taihoku No. 1 Middle School, but his father told him he could only get into No. 2 because he was Taiwanese. Person B recalled the Japanese students with lower academic performance. Tsurumi conducted most of her interviews in June-July 1969 (Tsurumi, 287-288). Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan*, 158.

systematic discrimination due to fond memories of their kind and fair teachers in their narratives.

Reminiscing about Japanese Teachers to Praise Japanese Rule

On February 2, 1973,⁶⁹³ a group of thirty-nine women gathered at Songshan Airport in Taipei, Taiwan. They waited anxiously. Excitement was high. They wondered if their teacher would remember their faces. As Kimura-sensei emerged from the airport terminal, the women immediately gathered around her. One after another asked her, “Do you remember me, Kimura-sensei?” They saw their Kimura-sensei overwhelmed with happiness, and the tears would not stop. Now in their forties, the last time these women had seen Kimura-sensei was when they were in their early teens three decades earlier. Most of them last saw their teacher at graduation from Hokutō Primary School in 1943, and a few of them visited her before the end of the war. At the order of the Chinese Nationalist government, Kimura-sensei and her mother had to leave Taiwan. A few of them regretted not sending their teacher off with food, scarce at the time, when she left Taiwan. Two out of fifty students, Huang Chinlang and Ying Xinrui, had been writing letters to Kimura-sensei before this reunion. It was those letters that brought Kimura and her students together once again. During the course of her ten-day visit,⁶⁹⁴ Kimura’s students took her sightseeing. At the end of her trip, Kimura made her students

⁶⁹³ Date as remembered by Li Piqing, and year as recorded by their photograph. Photo courtesy of Li Piqing.

⁶⁹⁴ Li Piqing, interview by Fang Yu Hu, May 20, 2012.

promise to hold annual reunions with each other. They have kept their promise.⁶⁹⁵

Each reunion event entailed visiting a tourist site and eating together. Packing foods and snacks, they hired a small van to go to a tourist spot, such as Sanxia in the Taipei area, and had a picnic at the site. They chatted until it was dark, when they headed to a restaurant before returning home.⁶⁹⁶

Like the women in Huang Chinlang and Ying Xinrui's class, many women and men who received Japanese education before 1945 held reunions and invited their Japanese teachers to Taiwan starting in the 1960s and 1970s.⁶⁹⁷ Former students began reunions at this time because they had more time after their children reached adulthood. A few even had grandchildren.⁶⁹⁸ These reunions confirmed the bond between students as well as between teachers and students, and also provided an occasion for the expression of nostalgia.

⁶⁹⁵ I reconstructed the scenario from the following interviews: Ying Xinrui, interview by Fang Yu Hu, August 20, 2010; Ying Xinrui, interview by Fang Yu Hu, November 24, 2011; Huang Chinlang, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taipei, Taiwan, August 20, 2011; Li Piqing, interview by Fang Yu Hu, May 20, 2012. The total numbers of former students, those who welcomed Kimura-sensei at Songshan Airport, and those who joined the reunion event during Kimura's visit, were counted from photographs courtesy of Ying Xinrui and Li Piqing.

⁶⁹⁶ Lan Dan, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taipei, Taiwan, May 16, 2012.

⁶⁹⁷ For example, Tanaka Kurō visited Taiwan to attend reunion with his former students on August 10, 1967, 21 years since he last saw them. Miyazaki Saiji had a reunion with his former students in Taiwan in 1976. Tanaka, "Inori tsuzuke te nijūichi nen," 52. Miyazaki, "Taiwan kyōiku o kaerimi te," 209. For more individual accounts, see Yamamoto Ryōichi 山本良一, ed., *Taiwan e no kakehashi* 台湾への架け橋 [Bridge to Taiwan] (Osaka: Hōrai kai kansai shibu, 1981).

⁶⁹⁸ Wu Surong explained that when she and her classmates were in their thirties, they were too busy with working and childrearing. They found more time in their forties and fifties, after their children had grown up, to organize reunions. Wu Surong, interview by Fang Yu Hu. There were women like Li Piqing who remained busy with childrearing and could not attend reunions. Li Piqing, interview by Fang Yu Hu, April 23, 2013.

The fond memories that Taiwanese men and women had of their Japanese teachers was perhaps the strongest factor in creating and strengthening this colonial nostalgia for Japanese rule. Because Japanese teachers became synonymous with Japanese education, Japanese rule, and all Japanese people in the minds of these Taiwanese, praising their Japanese teachers meant praising the Japanese colonial period as a whole. Wu Surong recalled that her fifth-sixth grade teacher, a Japanese man, almost got into a physical fight with a Taiwanese teacher, to punish the next-door class for bullying his students. Surong's Japanese male teacher used to trade calligraphy lessons for music lessons with the teacher next door. The bullying and Surong's teacher's response created such bitterness that the lesson exchange stopped for an entire year.⁶⁹⁹ This was just one incident that Surong cited to show how much her Japanese teacher looked after them.

Both former schoolgirls and schoolboys remembered that Japanese teachers worked selflessly to help Taiwanese students. Lan Binshan, who received eight years of primary and secondary education under Japanese rule, and eight years of secondary and higher education under Chinese Nationalist rule, characterized his Japanese teachers as good, strict, fair, kind, and selfless. He said his teachers knew when to reward, and when to properly punish students for the sake of the students' development. In contrast, he criticized postwar teachers for acting selfishly without devoting themselves to students. He recounted a specific story where a student needed a transcript copy to apply for scholarships, but was held up when a college

⁶⁹⁹ Wu Surong, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

professor refused to submit final grade reports until after he had received his salary. This could be an exception, a rare case of a selfish teacher who used his student to obtain his goal. However, Binshan told this story as part of his grand narrative of the selfless devotion of teachers from the Japanese period. This case acted as a comparison of postwar teachers to Japanese-era teachers. He concludes, “For the sake of their education, these teachers [from the Japanese period] did their best [for the students]. They didn’t do these things for the sake of their salary. Nowadays, I observe that many teachers, from elementary school to college and graduate school, everyone is doing it for their salary.”⁷⁰⁰ He believed that greed had taken precedence over devotion to and passion for their students’ well-being in the postwar years. Binshan cited many instances of corruption under the Nationalist government. No doubt greed, especially of educators who were supposed to work selflessly for the children, was one main marker of corruption under the Nationalist government. A primary school graduate, Zeng Yukui, shared a similar view. She compared teachers of both periods: “It wasn’t like today’s society where if a student kisses up or if the student’s family has money, then the teacher would take more care of that student. No, it wasn’t like that back then. Back then, teachers would take care of you if you worked hard in your studies and obeyed [their instructions].”⁷⁰¹ Yukui emphasized that her teachers from the Japanese period evaluated a student based on her diligence and obedience, and not on one’s flattering skills or family background.

⁷⁰⁰ Lan Binshan, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taipei, Taiwan, November 24, 2012.

⁷⁰¹ Zeng Yukui, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

Other interviewees also fondly recalled how their Japanese teachers gave free tutoring to prepare students for middle school entrance exams.⁷⁰² Lin Jiao'e, born in 1931, had a Japanese woman teacher from first through third grade. She recalled no discrimination from her teacher. She said her teacher really loved and cared for them. She had two Taiwanese and a Japanese teacher from fourth through sixth grade. She said these three teachers worked hard to tutor students after school and provided sample exams free of charge. Her teachers also remained in contact with their parents and persuaded parents to let their children continue school. "I think Japanese education trained us to have manners, to respect the elderly and our teachers, to value ethics, to be patriotic and do good teamwork."⁷⁰³

Although the colonial government criticized primary school teachers who did not follow the school curriculum to create well-rounded imperial subjects, it could not stop teachers from preparing students for middle school exams by using instruction time for arts, music, exercises, or calligraphy to teach Japanese and arithmetic. In

⁷⁰² Anyone who took the entrance exam to a middle school or a vocational school after primary school or advanced course study received free tutoring from their teachers. Some examples are: Zhou Mingde received free tutoring from his teacher when he was preparing to take the entrance exam for Tamsui Middle School (Jp. *Tamsui chūgakkō*, 淡水中学校) in Taipei (Zhou Mingde, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taipei, Taiwan, April 17, 2013); both Lin Banhui and Lin Shuqing also received free tutoring from their teachers to prepare the entrance exam for Torao Girls' Middle School (Jp. *Torao kōtō jogakkō* 虎尾高等女学校) (Lin Banhui, interview by Fang Yu Hu; Lin Shuqing, interview by Fang Yu Hu).

⁷⁰³ Lin Jiao'e was born in 1931 and attended a primary school. A full transcript of Lin Jiao'e's interview published in Lin Jiao'e 林嬌娥, talk, *Yilan wenxian congkan 9—Yilan qilao tan ri zhi xia de junshi yu jiaoyu* 宜蘭文獻叢刊 9—宜蘭耆老談 日治下的軍事與教育 [Collection of Yilan Primary Documents: Discussion of Military Matters and Education under Japanese Rule by Yilan Seniors], ed. Lin Huiyu 林惠玉 (Yilan: Fucheng yinshua xingye gufen youxian gongsi, 1996), 186.

1937, the colonial government banned teachers from using Japanese elementary school textbooks in primary school because it deviated from what the administration wanted Taiwanese students to learn from primary school textbooks, designed for Taiwanese children. The government also banned Taiwanese students from using teacher's manuals to study for entrance exams. However, the middle school entrance exam was based on curriculum in Japanese elementary schools, not Taiwanese primary schools. Without extra tutoring or additional reference materials, Taiwanese students had no chance of passing the exam. This was part of the reason why many former Taiwanese students recalled their teachers as kind and diligent. Students also remembered their teachers fondly because some teachers used their own money to give awards and help students from poorer backgrounds. Some teachers did not take winter or summer vacations in order to tutor students. Parents could volunteer to pay for tutoring fees, but many gave gifts in place of money.⁷⁰⁴ These accounts portrayed Japanese teachers as selfless and caring educators whose main goal was to educate students, and not individuals driven by greed. The positive image of Japanese teachers contributed to Taiwanese men and women's colonial nostalgia for Japanese rule.

Jian Zhenmao said Japanese teachers treated Taiwanese students with love without looking down on them. He recalled his Japanese teachers taught him about leadership and group work and encouraged him to enter drawing and haiku contests. He entered the contests and received awards. He said, "Japanese education valued

⁷⁰⁴ These stories came from Wu, *Taiwan shifan jiaoyu*, 193-195.

honesty the most.” His primary school principal, always a Japanese, gave him a job on campus after he finished the advanced course of study.⁷⁰⁵

While some Taiwanese women focused on remembering what their teachers had done to help students, men like Tang Xinde focused on learning from his Japanese teachers as role models. With vivid gestures, Xinde described in detail how his teacher practiced hygiene. He recalled:

[My teacher] would extinguish his cigarette in a piece [of something] and put it into his pocket. It left a great impression on me. When blowing one’s nose, we Taiwanese blew it on our left and right side. But after he blew his nose, [my teacher] put the handkerchief into his pocket... We students watched the teacher and we understood what the proper behavior was.⁷⁰⁶

Tang emphasized teaching with action over teaching with words. He also compared his Japanese teacher’s action with Taiwanese behavior to show how his impression of Japanese teachers contributed to his nostalgia for the Japanese period. Xinde’s friend, Lin Kahui, summarized: “The teachers practiced the actions, and the students

⁷⁰⁵ Jian Zhenmao’s principal hired him as a manual worker who was responsible for ringing the school bell. Jian Zhenmao 簡震茂, talk, *Yilan wenxian congkan 9—Yilan qilao tan ri zhi xia de junshi yu jiaoyu* 宜蘭文獻叢刊 9—宜蘭耆老談 日治下的軍事與教育 [Collection of Yilan Primary Documents: Discussion of Military Matters and Education under Japanese Rule by Yilan Seniors], ed. Lin Huiyu 林惠玉 (Yilan: Fucheng yinshua xingye gufen youxian gongsi, 1996), 183-184.

⁷⁰⁶ Tang Xinde, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Kaohsiung, Taiwan, July 15, 2012.

watched and learned. The teacher didn't lecture about any of it. No, they actually did them, and students learned [those behaviors directly from the teachers]."⁷⁰⁷

Even teachers' use of corporal punishment did not mar the fond memories of their Japanese teachers by Taiwanese men and women. Instead, they cited corporal punishment as explaining why students behaved better under Japanese rule. Working as a twenty-one-year-old chef-in-training after graduating from primary school under Japanese rule, Huang Caidi believed he received a good primary education from his teachers because "Japanese education was more strict" and deployed corporal punishment. He linked children's good behavior to the implementation of corporal punishment. His approval of corporal punishment became the basis of criticizing students who misbehaved today: "The times are not as good [as the Japanese period]... Nowadays, kids don't follow rules."⁷⁰⁸ Hu Aqiao, who was 13 when she graduated and went on to work in a sock factory in Taipei, also believed that students in her generation behaved well because their teachers were allowed to hit students. She equated corporal punishment with strict teaching.⁷⁰⁹ Not only did these students not resent their teachers for hitting them, but this method of teaching became part of the reason why they remember their teachers as good and effective educators. The absence of corporal punishment in contemporary Taiwanese schools became a symbol of the failure of contemporary education in training the younger generations to be rule-abiding citizens.

⁷⁰⁷ Lin Kahui, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁷⁰⁸ Huang Caidi, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taipei, September 23, 2012.

⁷⁰⁹ Hu Aqiao, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taipei, Taiwan, October 5, 2011.

Characterizing Japanese Supervisors and Coworkers

Japanese teachers became the main representatives of the Japanese people, but for those Taiwanese men and women in the workforce, their supervisors and coworkers also contributed toward the nostalgic feelings for Japanese rule. Lin Kahui cited the value that Japanese employers placed on the ability of their employees, “During the Japanese occupation period, even if you didn’t have much education, as long as you had ability, they would gradually promote you.... they valued your true ability... If you are willing to exercise/develop it, then they would promote you.”⁷¹⁰ Kahui’s friend, Tang Xinde, provided his experience to support Kahui’s evaluation. Xinde had begun working at the nearby sugar refinery after graduating from primary school. He reminisced about how his Japanese supervisors appreciated his work and promoted him even though he was only a young primary school graduate. He continued working in the same place under Chinese Nationalist rule, and had experience working with Chinese people. Xinde complained that there were Chinese soldiers who received veteran retirement funds at the same time that they received salaries as employees in his office.⁷¹¹ He did not complain about all Chinese workers

⁷¹⁰ Lin Kahui used the term 實力 (Tw. Hoklo *sit-lèk*; Ch. *shili*) to describe “true ability.” Lin Kahui, interview by Fang Yu Hu in Kaohisung, Taiwan, on July 15, 2012.

⁷¹¹ Although I do not have the numbers for veterans, 47.3% of all Mainlander retirees received retirement, pensions, and insurance compared to 6.7% of Taiwanese retirees in 2000. Only 19.4% of Mainlanders relied mainly on their children to support their livelihood, compared to 54.6% of Taiwanese. Luo Mingqing 駱明慶, “Gao pukao fen sheng qu ding e luqu yu tezhong kaoshi de sheng ji shaixuan xiaoguo” 高普考分省區定額錄取與特種考試的省籍篩選效果 [The Effect of Acceptance Rate with Established Quota and Special Exam with Screening by Home Province in Civil

because Xinde identified with those Chinese superiors who shared a common language - they studied abroad in Japan and spoke Japanese to Xinde and other Taiwanese workers. In contrast to Chinese superiors who had received higher education and spoke Japanese, Chinese soldiers spoke no Japanese and were less educated than those Chinese superiors and possibly the Taiwanese workers. He complained that although they were not actually working, some Chinese veterans were on the payroll in his office while simultaneously receiving veterans' funds. Xinde asserted that these veterans were taking away money and job opportunities from the Taiwanese by getting two paychecks. His negative impression of these Chinese veteran employees made him recall a more fond memory of Japanese people with whom he was familiar:

I liked Japanese people. Since I was young, I had been with Japanese people. When I was in school, there were Japanese teachers. And when I worked, I was around Japanese people. I accept Japan more. Japanese people are more hygienic. Their hygienic practices and everything are better. You can feel safe with Japanese products.⁷¹²

Xinde focused on characterizing Japanese employers in his account. He began his discussion with his Japanese supervisor, but generalized his evaluation to all Japanese. For Xinde, his positive impression of these Japanese he knew became the basis for judging all Japanese, Japan the nation, and Japanese things to be good.

Service Examinations], *Jingji lunwen congkan* 經濟論文叢刊 [Taiwan Economic Review], 31:1 (2003): 88, accessed April 29, 2015, <http://homepage.ntu.edu.tw/~luohm/selection.pdf>.

⁷¹² Tang Xinde, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Kaohisung, Taiwan, July 15, 2012.

Taiwanese men had more chances to work outside the home than Taiwanese women, but the few women who did work also had fond memories of their Japanese superiors and coworkers. These memories served as the prototype for all Japanese people in their minds. Wu Surong was working as a local government clerk after graduating from primary school and before she became a nursing assistant in Guangdong, China during the war. She worked in a local school nurse's office in Taiwan in the postwar years, an experience she remembered less positively than her earlier work as a clerk. She remembered her Japanese teachers and coworkers fondly, and criticized the work environment in the postwar years:

I have a very good impression of the Japanese people. The Japanese teachers treated students well... After I graduated, when I worked at the local government office, I had many Japanese co-workers, and they were nice too. The Japanese people really treasured their subordinates... I worked in both the Japanese and the Chinese periods. One didn't need to kiss up to their superiors to get by – they only needed to [quietly] fulfill their duty and work [during the Japanese period]. But during the Chinese period, we had to kiss up to our superiors. Those who kissed up or could smooth-talk were better off. I think these two points show the difference between the Japanese and the Chinese periods.⁷¹³

⁷¹³ Wu Surong, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

Like Xinde, Surong's good impression of Japanese people as a whole came from her Japanese teachers, supervisors, and coworkers. Her observations at work allowed her to compare the work environments in both periods, and she identified the Japanese period as the preferable work environment.

In addition to her work experiences, Surong's nursing assistant experience in Guangdong also provided her with the chance to generalize about Japanese and Chinese people. She remembered that the Japanese military really took care of Surong and her fellow Taiwanese nursing assistants, and worried about their well-being when Japanese soldiers were repatriated to Japan after the war. She also recalled that the Japanese military made sure there was enough food for them, but the Chinese troops took food and all material goods from them after Japan's defeat. She said:

It was when I was [in Guangdong] that I felt that the Chinese were bad people. If you had nothing [to offer us], why did you take us [in]? We were fine with the Japanese. If you're going to take over, and say "you're first class citizens," how can you treat us this way? We were so pitiful... I think that the Japanese people were better. I've been with them. They were not as selfish. Chinese people were very selfish.⁷¹⁴

In addition to Japanese teachers, supervisors, and coworkers, Japanese military personnel became part of Surong's generalization about all Japanese people. In her view, the different treatment of Taiwanese assistant nurses by the Japanese and the

⁷¹⁴ Wu Surong used the term 可憐 (Tw. Hoklo *khó-liân*; Ch. *kelian*) to describe their "pitiful" state of affairs. Wu Surong, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

Chinese came to represent the different characteristics of these two groups of people—Japanese as caring, and Chinese as selfish. This difference made Surong nostalgic for Japanese people and Japanese rule. Based on her educational and work experiences, Surong had high praise for the Japanese people and an unfavorable impression of Chinese people who arrived in Taiwan after 1945. Taiwanese like Xinde and Surong who interacted with Japanese and Chinese at workplace came to formulate their generalized opinions of Japanese and Chinese people in the postwar years, often strengthening their nostalgia for Japanese rule in order to criticize Chinese Nationalist rule.

Colonial Nostalgia – Gender Similarities and Differences in Narrative

Frameworks

Both Taiwanese men and women are nostalgic about the era of Japanese rule, but they differ in their narrative frameworks. Taiwanese men are more likely than women to use their educational and work experiences during the Japanese period to point out corruption under Chinese Nationalist rule. Taiwanese women are more likely than men to recount their colonial-era educational experiences so as to construct themselves as better human beings than the younger generations. Women's narratives link their dissatisfaction with the behavior of the younger generations to the failure of the postwar educational system.

Japanese Education and Corruption under Chinese Nationalist Rule

The high expectations that many Taiwanese men held when Taiwan was retroceded to China in 1945 became disappointments in the postwar years. Many

Taiwanese assumed that they would be able to compete equally with their Chinese counterparts in political, social, and economic arenas in the postwar years. Taiwanese men often expected that the diligence and intelligence that had pushed them forward under Japanese rule would continue to work to their benefit, this time without the handicap of suffering from systematic discrimination as the colonized population. However, they quickly became disillusioned as they witnessed the privilege that the new wave of Chinese immigrants enjoyed and the widespread corruption in postwar Taiwan.

Newspapers in the 1940s reported on various corrupt behaviors of Mainlanders in Taiwan. Between November 1, 1945 and April 30, 1946, *People's News* (Ch. *Minbao*) reported on instances of harassment and bullying that Mainlander bureaucrats and soldiers committed against the Taiwanese. Some acts included Mainlanders taking money and houses from the Taiwanese. Tales of government officials who stole money from the government and sold public companies to their relatives at a low price were widely reported. These events caused resentment among the Taiwanese who had lived under a strict legal and orderly system under the Japanese. On March 5, 1947, the newspaper *News* (Ch. *Xinwenbao*) summarized Taiwanese people's impression of the Nationalist officials in the following "Seventeen Word Poem" (Ch. *Shiqishi*) that was circulated among the Taiwanese:

Driving a Pike car, they act all mighty. Supervisors smoke and read the newspaper while at work. Mr. Li stares at a beauty, and the section chief gets angry. Every day is the same. When the bell rings at noon,

they open their drawers to eat from a lunch box. Those working at the General Affairs section are most flirtatious and do not need to worry about money. When the clock strikes 5:30 p.m., they go to Beitou [a place famous for sex workers].⁷¹⁵

This popular poem summarizes how the Taiwanese at the time perceived the material prestige that Mainlanders enjoyed, and the lack of a work ethic among Mainlander workers. This was a stark contrast to the wartime mobilization that the Taiwanese experienced, when Taiwanese worked hard and contributed their labor to the empire, in both paid and unpaid work. Also, the fresh and recent memory of the scarcity of food and material goods during the wartime period and the colonial government demand that everyone live thriftily and simply no doubt acted as a comparison to the corruption, excess, and leisure of the Mainlanders when the Taiwanese saw that Mainlanders had money to drive Pike cars and spend on sex workers.

The Chinese government replaced Japanese with mainland Chinese in top official posts, and adopted a higher quota to mainland Chinese for civil service exam takers. Although 76% of bureaucrats were Taiwanese in March 1946, most of them occupied lower-rank positions. Only one out of 51 top government positions at the central and local levels, such as city and county mayors and heads and deputy heads of government bureaus, was Taiwanese.⁷¹⁶ In 1956, over 35% of people working in

⁷¹⁵ Sheng, *Taiwan xiaoxue shizi*, 34.

⁷¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 34-35.

the public and the education sectors altogether were Mainlanders.⁷¹⁷ The Nationalist government also replaced Japanese with Mainlanders as the head of the Ministry of Education and normal school principals in Taiwan.⁷¹⁸ Mainlanders consisted of 15% of the population in Taiwan, but their representation in the public sector, education sector, and school admissions was much higher than 15%.

Taiwanese were probably aware of some institutional discrimination under the Nationalist government, such as a set quota in the civil service sector. Although there was no quota when the civil service examination system was established in mainland China in 1927, the Nationalist government set a quota for bureaucrats by population of each province in 1947.⁷¹⁹ Pretending it retained control of all of China including Outer Mongolia, which had become independent in 1921, the Nationalist government set the quota of bureaucrats for each province by using the 1947 census. This system lasted until 1992. The result was that only seven Taiwanese could pass the exam, while 179 spots, or 96% of the spots available, were reserved for mainland Chinese in 1950.⁷²⁰ As the population of Taiwan increased, the number of bureaucratic spots allocated for the Taiwanese increased proportionally to 21 in 1991, but it remained

⁷¹⁷ Luo Mingqing 駱明慶, “Jiaoyu chengjiu de shengji yu xingbie chayi” 教育成就的省籍與性別差異 [Educational Success: Difference in Home Province and Gender], *Jingji lunwen congkan* 經濟論文叢刊 [Taiwan Economic Review], 29: 2 (2001): 147, accessed April 29, 2015, <http://homepage.ntu.edu.tw/~luohm/attainment.pdf>.

⁷¹⁸ Sheng, *Taiwan xiaoxue shizi*, 43-44.

⁷¹⁹ Xiao Zhiyuan 蕭智遠, “Liang’an gongwu renyuan kaoxuan zhidu zhi bijiao yanjiu” 兩岸公務人員考選制度之比較研究 [A Comparative Study of Civil Service Recruitment Systems Across the Taiwan Strait] (master’s thesis, Guoli zhengzhi daxue, 2006), 65.

⁷²⁰ For individual quota set for each province in 1991, see Luo, “Gao pukao fen sheng qu,” 90-91.

low at 3.5% out of a total of 599 spots.⁷²¹ In practice, the government also gave preferential treatment to Mainlanders. For example, the minimum passing score for the civil service exam was 60 points in 1978. The government accepted Mainlanders who scored 10 points below this minimum.⁷²²

In addition to the regular exams that took place at the same time each year, the government also called for special exams to take place whenever it saw a need in certain areas, such as the police force and public transportation, or simply made appointments that put Mainlanders and their associates at an advantage over the Taiwanese. Three categories dominated the special exams: police officers, veterans who wished to become government bureaucrats, and public transportation personnel. The category of special exams for veterans who wished to become government bureaucrats had a 44.15% acceptance rate. Therefore, although these special exams did not have set quota by ethnicity, they benefited Mainlanders because most veterans were Mainlanders. The passing rate in special exams was also 3.56 times higher than regular exams.⁷²³ The government also evoked two regulations that allowed the government to appoint people without taking or passing an exam. As a result, 22.8%

⁷²¹ Ibid., 90.

⁷²² A total of 606 Taiwanese passed the exam with a score of 60 points or higher. After score adjustment, only 172 Mainlanders scored 50 points or higher. The government allocated a total of 570 spots to Mainlanders, but made adjustments. As a result, the government placed all 606 Taiwanese and 172 Mainlanders in 1978. The number of Taiwanese entering the civil service increased over time. But still, in 1974, 47.3% of all bureaucrats were Mainlanders. Ibid., 88, 92.

⁷²³ Ibid., 94.

of government bureaucrats were appointed by these regulations. The head of each department could make appointments as political favors.⁷²⁴

Besides the inherent unfairness in the examination system, the civil service system perpetuated unequal treatment under Nationalist rule. For example, children of civil servants enjoyed virtually free tuition at both public and private colleges before 1994.⁷²⁵ This meant that their children were more likely to get better jobs with higher pay. Between 1954 and 1960, Mainlanders comprised 39% of students at National Taiwan University, the number one university in Taiwan. They made up over 45% of the student population in the 1960s, and 41% in the 1970s.⁷²⁶

Lan Binshan, a high academic achiever, continued to work under the new educational system, but encountered problems from the new government. Binshan was a fourteen-year-old middle school student when the war ended. He completed junior high school, and continued on to senior high school and college in the new era. He contrasted his experiences from the two periods:

Japanese people helped me a lot. In contrast, Chinese people were the ones who hurt me. Because when I needed education, I didn't get any

⁷²⁴ Xiao, "Liang'an gongwu ren yuan," 68.

⁷²⁵ Ibid., 88.

⁷²⁶ Luo Mingqing 駱明慶, "Shui shi taida xuesheng?—Xingbie, shengji yu chengxiang chayi" 誰是台大學生? — 性別、省籍與城鄉差異 [Who are the students at National Taiwan University? Difference in Gender, Home Province, and City/Town], *Jingji lunwen congkan* 經濟論文叢刊 [Taiwan Economic Review], 30: 1 (Mar 2002), 122, accessed April 29, 2015, <http://homepage.ntu.edu.tw/~luohm/NTU.pdf>. For a breakdown of students at National Taiwan University by ethnicity, gender, field of study, and generation, see *ibid.*, 124-125.

lessons. Furthermore, they told me to participate in politics. I replied that I had no interest in politics. After that, no matter where I went, someone would follow me there. Even when I was [studying] in Japan, someone followed me. They assigned “professional students” to follow me. That was how I lived through those days.⁷²⁷

Lan’s critique stemmed from his educational experiences, where he was learning from teachers during the Japanese period, but basically educated himself throughout middle school, high school, and college during the Chinese period. He criticized the widespread dishonest practices at the college level under Chinese Nationalist rule. As a student at National Taiwan University in the early 1950s, he observed that the Chinese Nationalist government had allowed cheating by students who hired people to take college entrance exam and to attend class on their behalf. He explained, “The Chinese Nationalists only wanted to make sure that no one overthrew their authority, [and that] no one rebelled. They didn’t care if your educational degree was fake.”⁷²⁸ He also complained of unqualified educators—even tofu vendors from Fuzhou, China were recruited to become middle school principals in postwar Taiwan. During the 228 Incident, the government also tried to hunt him down for potential organized anti-government group activity just for taking a commemorative group picture with his teacher and other classmates. He refused to participate in the culture of bribery that

⁷²⁷ Lan Binshan used the term 職業學生 (Tw. Hoklo *chit-giáp hák-seng*; Ch. *zhiye xuesheng*). This term actually refers to people who are not real students, but people who work professionally for a government with the goal of spying on other students and reporting these students’ activities to the government. I have translated the term as “professional student.” Lan Binshan, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁷²⁸ Ibid.

would advance his career.⁷²⁹ To him, the Chinese Nationalist government became synonymous with all Chinese people. Accordingly, Lan Binshan's postwar experiences formed the foundation of his nostalgia for the Japanese period as he compared his educational experiences under Japanese rule to the postwar period.

The quality of teachers is a point that some Taiwanese who received Japanese education made to argue that the Japanese era was better than the Nationalist era. The teaching profession had been highly respected in Taiwan before, during, and after Japanese rule.⁷³⁰ The Chinese classical training during the Qing period and the highly competitive normal school examination system under the Japanese and the Nationalists produced a small, high-quality group of teachers. However, under Japanese rule, very few Taiwanese could enter the teaching profession. Many teachers were Japanese with more education than most Taiwanese people. The colonial government appointed teachers who were normal school graduates as government officials and these teachers wore government official uniforms.⁷³¹ In the postwar years, only the top 10% of junior high school graduates passed the entrance exam to enter normal junior colleges in Taiwan.⁷³² But as part of their nostalgic account, some Taiwanese who received a Japanese education argue that the quality of teachers had changed in the postwar Taiwanese society.

⁷²⁹ Ibid.

⁷³⁰ Bih-Jen Fwu and Hsiou-Huai Wang, "The Social Status of Teachers in Taiwan," *Comparative Education*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (May 2002): 212, accessed February 3, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3099785>.

⁷³¹ Ibid., 217.

⁷³² Ibid., 214.

There are other explanations as to why people like Lan Binshan criticized the lower quality of teachers. First, for decades the Nationalist government put teachers on the front line of the re-sinicization process to create loyal nationalists, starting in the immediate postwar years.⁷³³ Taiwanese who grew up learning Japanese in school and remembered Japanese rule and postwar problems, such as inflation and food shortages, probably resisted and resented the sinicization programs they or their children had to learn in schools in the postwar era. In reality, these Taiwanese were indirectly criticizing the government policy of creating Chinese nationalists by directing their attention to the low quality of teachers. Second, the number of teacher-training institutions increased after the 1994 reform, which resulted in higher acceptance rates and number of teachers. The teaching profession was prestigious during the Japanese era partly because the acceptance rate of normal schools was low and the number of teachers was low. However, an increase in acceptance rate and the number of teachers led Taiwanese who grew up under the Japanese system to think that the teaching profession had become less prestigious. The 1994 Teacher Education Act allowed all regular universities to set up teacher-training programs for K-12 teachers. This is in contrast to the traditional normal junior colleges and three normal universities that trained all teachers before 1994.⁷³⁴ The reform happened as Taiwan moved to become a more pluralist society and part of the neoliberal global economy after the end of martial law in 1987. Some Taiwanese have criticized the school system as “being too rigid and inflexible to respond to imminent demands

⁷³³ Ibid., 218.

⁷³⁴ Ibid., 214.

from the fast-changing labour market.” The number of new programs increased from 25 in 1995 to 63 in 2000. The lowest admission rates were at 15%.⁷³⁵ The increased number of teacher-training programs and the higher admission rates, although still competitive, no doubt left an impression of lower quality of teachers on Taiwanese who grew up under the Japanese system.

The third reason why some Taiwanese had the impression that the quality of teachers was lower than during the Japanese period was because the Nationalist government had also lowered qualifications to meet a teacher shortage.⁷³⁶ The Department of Education of the Nationalist government announced the selection method of middle school and elementary school teachers on November 22, 1945. To become a primary school teacher, one had to have a degree from a normal school, a teacher-training program of a senior middle school from Mainland China, or a senior high school in the Japanese colonial system. Other qualifications included: a degree from a senior middle school from Mainland China with one year of teaching experience, or a degree from a middle school, girl’s middle school, or vocational school from the Japanese colonial system with two years of teaching experience.⁷³⁷ The announced selection method showed that the Nationalist government was recruiting those with teaching experience to solve the problem of teacher shortage in postwar Taiwan.

⁷³⁵ Ibid., 219.

⁷³⁶ Some local officials pocketed funding that was allocated to pay for teachers’ salary to make private investment for their own benefits. Sheng, *Taiwan xiaoxue shizi*, 39-40.

⁷³⁷ Ibid., 56.

Taiwanese nostalgia for Japanese rule was partly constructed by Taiwanese impression of the low educational level of mainland Chinese, which was not necessarily true as many Taiwanese had believed. How many Mainlander teachers met the degree qualification that the Nationalist government required is difficult to pin down, but as a whole, Mainlanders who moved to Taiwan had a higher educational level than the Taiwanese. Over 34% of Mainlanders born before 1949 received higher education, compared to 7% of Taiwanese. Among those born in 1940, nearly 35% of Mainlander men and 3.5% of Mainlander women had a college degree, compared to 5.3% of Taiwanese men and 0.8% of Taiwanese women. The gap between Mainlanders and Taiwanese decreased as Taiwan's economic growth helped most residents in Taiwan get more education and as education became more widespread. The percentage of college degree holders had to do with the educational level of their parents. Mainlander fathers tended to be more highly educated than Taiwanese fathers, mothers, or Mainlander mothers.⁷³⁸ For the Taiwanese, any post-primary level education, such as middle school, girls' middle school, and normal school, was out of their reach during the Japanese period because of institutional discriminatory admission practices that ensured Japanese dominance at these institutions.

Many Taiwanese criticized Mainlander teachers for their lack of proper educational level and devotion to students. Zhang Jintu, a teacher during and after the Japanese period, recalled the teaching quality of Mainlanders to be questionable. He

⁷³⁸ Luo, "Jiaoyu chengjiu," 126.

was at a lecture at Tamsui Elementary School after the war. The lecturers were one captain in the army and one air force lieutenant. Taiwanese teachers asked them to teach *bopomofo*, a phonetic alphabet of Chinese Mandarin, but they did not know how to teach it. There were also different approaches to pedagogy that caused tension between the two groups. Mainlander teachers taught math using a different method from the Taiwanese teachers. Jintu said there was also a certain school with over half of its teachers being veterans who could not speak Mandarin Chinese well, and taught math terribly.⁷³⁹ Zeng Shirong, another former teacher, also recalled that Mainlander teachers were not devoted to teaching. He recalled they would read newspapers after class, and used school desks and chairs as fuel to cook after school.⁷⁴⁰ A combination of teacher qualifications and different teaching methods led Taiwanese teachers to criticize Mainlander teachers and to lament the inferior quality of teachers in the postwar period.

Wu Sheng, a former teacher, complained that Taiwanese and Mainlanders were on different pay scales. He was born to a farming household in Shulin, Taipei, in 1919. After completing one year of advanced course study, he passed the exam to enter Taihoku No. 2 Middle School.⁷⁴¹ From 1941 until 1945, he taught at Dojō

⁷³⁹ Zhang Jintu 張金塗, interview by Zhang Wenlong 張文隆, in *Taiwan ren jiaoshi de shidai jinyan* 臺灣人教師的時代經驗 [Experiences of Taiwanese Teachers], ed. Zhang Yanxian 張炎憲 (Taipei xian: Taibei xian li wenhua zhongxin, 1996), 31.

⁷⁴⁰ Sheng Cuilian cited Zeng Shirong in her research. Sheng, *Taiwan xiaoxue shizi*, 39.

⁷⁴¹ Wu Sheng 吳生, interview by Zhang Wenlong 張文隆, in *Taiwan ren jiaoshi de shidai jinyan* 臺灣人教師的時代經驗 [Experiences of Taiwanese Teachers], ed. Zhang Yanxian 張炎憲 (Taipei xian: Taibei xian li wenhua zhongxin, 1996), 35.

Primary School. He said the Nationalist government considered Taiwanese teachers to be half-Japanese and refused to raise their salary. Sheng's school told him that his salary was high enough. According to Sheng, even though the government claimed that Mainlanders had higher education than the Taiwanese and kept on raising their salary, one of his coworkers, a Mainlander, told Sheng that he had not even graduated from middle school. That Mainlander teacher was able to become a teacher by finding three witnesses to testify that he had finished a normal school education. This Mainlander was able to become a principal until retirement. In contrast, Sheng, who graduated from a top middle school in Taiwan, could not even become a dean of student at his school. He said, "You can see how much the Guomintang insulted us!"⁷⁴² Sheng's story suggests that the teacher selection method the Nationalist government established was not the issue here, but the verification of qualifications was a major issue as some Mainlanders falsified their qualifications.

Although government policy was sound, many Taiwanese teachers testified that the Nationalist government recruited unqualified Mainlanders to become schoolteachers and principals. Zheng Shunmao's teaching experience testified to the existence of monetary corruption under the new government. Zheng was a twenty-year-old who was getting ready to enroll in a medical school in Tokyo when the war ended. As a result, he did not become a medical student. After finishing college, he planned to work in the financial sector but was assigned to a newspaper agency after he took the civil service exam. He did not want to work for the newspaper agency

⁷⁴² Ibid., 35, 41.

because he thought his Chinese was not good enough as a result of his Japanese education. He chose to become a math teacher because math was his strongest subject in middle school. Although he was initially excited about Taiwan's return to China because he believed that Taiwanese youth would no longer suffer from Japanese discrimination, he soon became disillusioned. In 1980, he retired from teaching after having been a math teacher at the middle school level for twenty years in postwar Taiwan. He then became a deputy general manager at a bank owned by a relative.⁷⁴³ Zheng reminisced that the Japanese had at least established a set of standards for teacher credentialing, while bribery was the only requirement for one to become a school principal in postwar Taiwan.⁷⁴⁴ In his view, merit and diligence were not enough to earn professional promotion in the postwar years.

Hu Yan, a substitute teacher in Taiwanese primary school during the wartime period, taught for decades after 1945. She said that in postwar society, jobs in fields such as banking and the postal services provided more benefits than the teaching field, resulting in a reluctance to become teachers on the part of Taiwanese men. She complained, “[The teaching profession] was cheap and bad. That is why Taiwan's education has failed. It was all the [Chinese] veterans who came to teach. Their [Mandarin] pronunciation wasn't standard. They [also] didn't know how to teach math... They didn't have proper schooling [or training], yet they became teachers.”⁷⁴⁵

⁷⁴³ Zheng Shunmao 鄭舜茂, *Lü tang ju shi man tan di yi bu di yi bu* 綠堂掬石漫談第一部 [Lütang jushi monologue Vol. 1] (Taipei: Zheng Shunmao, 2003), 21, 24, 65, 69.

⁷⁴⁴ Zheng Shunmao, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taipei, Taiwan, August 27, 2010.

⁷⁴⁵ Hu Yan, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

the quality of teachers in the postwar years. Hu Yan's criticism of the lack of proper schooling of teachers in the postwar years is especially interesting considering the fact that Hu Yan herself was not a normal school graduate, but a girls' home economics graduate with some training in a normal school.

Taiwanese women were more likely than Taiwanese men to focus on personal relationships in constructing their nostalgia for Japanese rule. They recounted fond memories of their Japanese teachers and transformed their nostalgia for their teachers into nostalgia for Japanese rule and contemporary Japan. Cai Huiru, born in 1925 and the sole daughter of a Monopoly Bureau (Jp. *hanbaikyoku*) employee, could not restrain her excitement in recalling how proud her teacher was of her achievements in middle school. Her math teacher, a strict teacher who gave difficult lessons, announced Cai's perfect score on a math exam, the first in the school's history, in front of the entire school. After completing a middle school education, Cai became a teacher in Xiamen, China⁷⁴⁶ in the last two to three years of the war, where she worked with other Japanese teachers. She summarized her evaluation of the Japanese teachers in this way:

Teachers didn't hit students. Everyone was a good teacher. Everyone took care of me. Even though we were Taiwanese children, the teachers took care of us. That's why, even today, every Taiwanese feels nostalgic about Japan. Even now, it's nostalgic for me... We

⁷⁴⁶ Japan had set up Taiwanese schools in Xiamen/Amoy for children of Taiwanese, who were Japanese subjects conducting business in Xiamen as of 1910. Japan took over Xiamen in 1938. *Taiwan kyōiku enkaku shi*, 511-513.

weren't bullied, we were taken care of, and we were helped. We received an education from them. That's why we're thankful.⁷⁴⁷

Her nostalgia has made her fond of Japan even today.⁷⁴⁸

Taiwanese women's nostalgia came from the bonds they formed with their teachers. Born in 1931, Ying Xinrui, a child daughter-in-law in a rich farming family in rural Taipei, remembered that her teacher encouraged her to study hard so that she could get into a better middle school than her older sister, who had not been given away by their parents. Her teacher focused on Xinrui's sister because her teacher wanted to inspire her to surpass her sister, who was already luckier in the sense that she was not given away as a child daughter-in-law. When Xinrui wanted to continue schooling and her teacher tried to persuade her mother-in-law, her mother-in-law refused on the grounds that none of her mother-in-law's sons received education beyond the primary level. Her mother-in-law did not believe that girls should be better educated than boys. Xinrui said that her biological father's insistence was the reason why she received any education at all.⁷⁴⁹

Xinrui's diligence and the resulting improvement earned her high praise from her teacher, who taught her class for the entire six years of primary school. Holding a grudge against her mother for giving her away, Xinrui considered her teacher to be like her real mother.⁷⁵⁰ The personal bond Xinrui felt with her teacher that was formed during six years of her childhood was transformed to her nostalgia for her

⁷⁴⁷ Cai Huiru, interview by Fang Yu Hu, April 30, 2013.

⁷⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁹ Ying Xinrui, interview by Fang Yu Hu, November 9, 2011.

⁷⁵⁰ Ibid.

school years and Japanese rule. This sense of bond was not only felt by Taiwanese students, but also Japanese teachers. For example, Tanaka Kuro, a former Japanese teacher, characterized his bond with his Taiwanese students as “the parent-child bond that cannot be severed.”⁷⁵¹

Other former schoolgirls recalled their Japanese teachers fondly by describing special attention that they received from their teachers. Their accounts of special attention reveal the tendency of Taiwanese women to showcase their school performances. Unlike men who were able to establish themselves in the work place, many Taiwanese women became housewives and their educational experiences became the only tool they had to construct their identity outside the home. What seems to contemporary eyes to be inappropriate behavior and labor exploitation by the teachers was not understood that way in 1930s and 1940s Taiwan. To Taiwanese students, spending time alone with their teachers by performing labor indicated that they had acquired their teachers’ favor. The daughter of a wood shop owner, Wu Surong, recalled,

Two to four of us would carry water to his place after school many times a week, but not every day. He didn’t force us or tell us to do it, but we volunteered... We saw that the teacher’s wife was carrying water, so we helped her out and carried the water. The dorm was right next to the school ground, so we could see them. The teacher’s wife was nice. They treated us to food sometimes, like snacks. Sometimes

⁷⁵¹ Tanaka, “Inori tsuzuke te nijūichi nen,” 52.

at night, I would sit in front of his dorm room and look at the stars in the sky.⁷⁵²

Surong's account reveals the role that class background and location played in who received the teacher's favor. She and several of her classmates who lived near the school and whose families did not require their labor after school carried water to her teacher's dormitory because there was no source of water in her teacher's room.

Although other women did not specify the reason why their teachers chose them to do labor or visit their homes, these women's excellent academic performance and family backgrounds were probably the reason behind these teachers' choices. Born in 1927 to a business family in Taichung City in central Taiwan, Xia Yuchia fondly remembered her teachers, who were all Japanese men: "We had a great relationship with our teachers., they really took care of me... I ate lunch with my teachers. I was close to my teachers."⁷⁵³ Cai Huiru also fondly recalled that Japanese women teachers who did not teach her also called her to play on the school grounds on Sundays when she was in primary school.⁷⁵⁴ Spending time with their teachers during lunch breaks made these students feel special, even when teachers called on them to perform services. These former students also interpreted the special attention that their teachers gave them as a sign that their teachers really cared about them. Xia Yuchia, Lan Beiyin, and Cai Huiru were chosen because they were top students in

⁷⁵² Wu Surong, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁷⁵³ Xia Yuchia, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁷⁵⁴ Cai Huiru, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taipei, Taiwan, on April 30, 2013.

their respective classes.⁷⁵⁵ Cai received recognition from her school for her academic performance when she graduated. Cai also claimed she was famous in her school for great performances at sports festivals and talent shows sponsored by the school. She asserted that all teachers in the school knew of her reputation, and thus paid special attention to her.⁷⁵⁶

From Taiwanese women's accounts, Japanese teachers commonly called upon primary school children to perform labor at their residences. Lan Beiyin remembered, "On our days off, our teacher would call on three or four of us to go clean his house."⁷⁵⁷ Lan's teacher was not the only one who used student labor outside the school grounds. Born in 1932 to a taxi and bus driver in Xiluo, Lin Shuqing also recalled that her male Japanese teacher called on students to clean his place on the weekends. Her teacher was married but had come to Taiwan alone. With a smiling face, Liao recalled proudly:

Every weekend [our teacher] would call on three to four students to mop the floor at his place. Those students who were called on by the teacher were happy. Those who weren't called would chant, "teacher's pet, teacher's pet!" I was always called on by the teacher. Those four students who were chosen were happy to have been chosen. We would get the bucket and water, and then clean his room... The four of us always got called on by the teacher. I don't know why the teacher

⁷⁵⁵ Xia Yuchia, interview by Fang Yu Hu. Lan Beiyin, interview by Fang Yu Hu, May 29, 2012.

⁷⁵⁶ Cai Huiru, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁷⁵⁷ Lan Beiyin, interview by Fang Yu Hu, April 25, 2013.

picked the three or four of us. All of us really liked to be called on by the teacher. When those students who weren't picked chanted "teacher's pet," the teacher would be smiling... The teacher didn't treat us to anything afterwards. There was no need. We would clean the whole floor, and then return home... It was once a week.⁷⁵⁸

Students like Lin Shuqing did not feel that their teachers were taking advantage of them; instead they felt honored to get chosen to clean their teacher's place. These labor activities became part of their fond memories of their Japanese teachers because they created a special memory with their teachers, something not all of their classmates had the opportunity to do.

Students sometimes performed non-manual tasks, which might have made their parents worrisome. Born to a business family in Lugang in central Taiwan in 1933, Lan Beiyin did not perform manual labor for her teachers that some of the other interviewees did. She recalled that her music teacher would call her to sing for them during lunch breaks. Another teacher would call on her to massage his back during lunchtime.⁷⁵⁹ Lan Beiyin found these times spent with her teachers fun, and recalled that her classmates who were not chosen by her teachers were jealous and resentful towards her.⁷⁶⁰ Although former students such as Beiyin did not feel that their teachers were taking advantage of them, reports from the colonial era showed that Taiwanese parents were anxious about sexual harassment from schoolteachers,

⁷⁵⁸ Lin Shuqing, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁷⁵⁹ Lan Beiyin, interview by Fang Yu Hu, May 29, 2012.

⁷⁶⁰ Lan Beiyin, interview by Fang Yu Hu, April 25, 2013.

especially in girls' middle schools. Newspapers reported on teachers taking advantage of students in various ways, such as sexual harassment. Teachers and principals flirted with and hugged middle school girls and touched their breasts. The report stated that many students did not report such incidents because they feared their grades would drop if they did. There were also reports of teachers making students cook or clean for them, or make and serve tea to teachers' friends. Parents were also concerned about teacher-student romance. The colonial government focused on teaching Japanese elementary school students how to protect themselves from sexual harassment, but not Taiwanese students.⁷⁶¹

While students remembered volunteering to serve their teachers, some teachers recalled paid work. Mikami Takatoshi, a sixth-grader teacher at Kannon Primary School, paid three yen to students who were on duty at the teacher's dormitory to clean his place, heat up his bath water, and help with cooking.⁷⁶² Lu Lietong also remembered a similar system - a part-time job for students to run errands, clean the hot bath area, and carry and heat up bath water for teachers.⁷⁶³

Cultivating Personal Qualities and Skills of Taiwanese Students

⁷⁶¹ Zheng, "Xin nüxing de zai xian fenxi," 36-37.

⁷⁶² Mikami Takatoshi 三上孝俊, "Waga kokoro no 'Karenkō' わが心の「花蓮公」 [The "Karen Primary School" in Our Hearts], in *Taiwan e no kakehashi* 台湾への架け橋 [Bridge to Taiwan], ed. Yamamoto Ryōichi 山本良一 (Osaka: Hōrai kai kansai shibu, 1981), 41.

⁷⁶³ Ro Retsu-tsu (Lü Lietong) 呂烈通, "Watashi wa kekkon shiki hikaeshitsu no shinzoku—ippan dochira ni hairu beki ka" 私は結婚式控室の親族 一般どちらに入るべきか [Was I supposed to go into the waiting room for family relatives, or the general area], in *Taiwan e no kakehashi* 台湾への架け橋 [Bridge to Taiwan], ed. Yamamoto Ryōichi 山本良一 (Osaka: Hōrai kai kansai shibu, 1981), 109.

Different wartime mobilization experiences helped create a gender difference in memory. Unlike their male counterparts who remembered the wartime period less fondly because they were mobilized to serve in the military, Taiwanese women recalled the war years as a time where good behavior was cultivated, and practical skills acquired. These behaviors and skills became part of the narratives that demonstrated the positive aspects of Japanese rule. Women acknowledged that their life during the wartime period was difficult, especially when the government began food rationing in 1939 and when air raids intensified in 1945. Nevertheless, they cited their law-abiding behavior and sewing and cooking skills they had learned under Japanese rule to set themselves apart from the younger generations who were educated under the postwar educational system. In their critique of the younger generations, these women praised their Japanese education and blamed contemporary education for failing to produce well-mannered youth to bolster their sense of identity and place in society. Educated under a system based on creating “good wives, wise mothers,” these women probably felt compelled to comment on and judge the impact of the postwar educational system as mothers.

Practical Skills

Acquiring practical life skills was one major point that many women interviewees emphasized to demonstrate the success of Japanese education, in contrast to the failure of Chinese education. Lin Xianyan, a girls’ middle school graduate whose father owned a gold mine, proudly stated that she learned how to cook for a large group of people during the wartime mobilization effort, despite

coming from a rich family background.⁷⁶⁴ Women often used their sewing and cooking courses as evidence that their education was more practical and thus, better than the one in Taiwan today. Born in 1930 to a business family in Tainan City, Lu Zhunju said that in her generation, primary school graduates like her would acquire the necessary skills to work outside the home after six years of education. After finishing primary school, she worked at the broadcasting station for several years until the Japanese returned to Japan. She is confident that primary school graduates in Taiwan today would not be able to work like people in her generation did because of insufficient training in school.⁷⁶⁵ Because neither had a professional life after marriage, both Lin Xianyan and Lu Zhunju sought to establish their identity as skillful and educated women based on their educational experiences. They became stay-at-home moms after marriage.

In contrast to Taiwanese women, Taiwanese man like Huang Kuosan did not see the wartime period as an opportunity to obtain skills. Huang was a student at an industrial vocational school when the colonial government mobilized the labor of all vocational school students. He was unhappy that he had to work an eight-hour day at a military airport without wages and at the expense of school training. He explained, “As citizens, you had the obligation to contribute your labor. It was mandatory labor. The Ministry of Education mobilized students. This was a national matter. The

⁷⁶⁴ Lin Xianyan, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁷⁶⁵ Even though Japan lost in 1945, Lu Zhunju likely worked until 1947-1948. She began schooling when she was eight years old (*sui*), which would be around 1937-1938, and would have graduated in 1943 or 1944. She said she worked at the Broadcasting Company for four years. Lu Zhunju, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

country demanded that you do something [for the nation], and you had to fulfill [your duty].”⁷⁶⁶ His unhappiness suggests that he was not exactly as patriotic as Japanese subjects. During the interview, Huang avoided comparing his Japanese and Chinese educational experiences. He only said it has to do with national character. He criticized the half-hearted and sloppy attitude of everyone in contemporary Taiwan, compared to the serious work attitude that everyone, from adult to child, had during the Japanese period.⁷⁶⁷

Personal Quality and the Shūshin Lesson

One defining marker in many Taiwanese women’s narrative framework is their focus on the cultivation of their minds and bodies. They praised their Japanese education for cultivating better behavior in them than the contemporary education has done for Taiwanese youth today. Many recalled memorizing the “Imperial Rescript on Education” and believed the Rescript to be good. The Japanese government had issued the Rescript in 1890 as the guiding principle of education within the Japanese empire.

The Rescript became linked to Japanese *seishin*, a term that means spirit. This Japanese spirit supposedly embodied virtues such as honesty, loyalty, purity, filial piety, diligence, lawfulness, fairness, accountability, and hygiene. Some scholars

⁷⁶⁶ Huang Kuosan used the term 勞務工 (Tw. Hoklo *lō-bū-kang*; Ch. *laowugong*) to refer to “manual labor,” Huang Kuosan, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taipei, Taiwan, November 7, 2012.

⁷⁶⁷ Huang Kuosan used the term 民族性 (Tw. Hoklo *bîn-chòk-sèng*; Ch. *minzuxing*) to refer to “national character,” and 馬馬虎虎 (Tw. Hoklo *má-má-hu-hu*; Ch. Mandarin, *mamahuhu*) as “half-hearted and sloppy.” Huang Kuosan, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

argue that *seishin* was supposedly uniquely Japanese as the Japanese emperor embodied all of these virtues and he was the head of the Japanese nation.⁷⁶⁸ Nitobe Inazo (1862-1933), a Meiji politician, attributed this *seishin* to the samurai class. He argued that this *seishin* is *Bushido*, the way of the warrior, and that it set the moral standard for Japan.⁷⁶⁹ Included in his list of virtues in *Bushido* were loyalty to one's sovereign and family, filial piety, patriotism, politeness, and veracity.⁷⁷⁰ Nitobe argued that this *seishin* "permeated all social classes" in Japan and this moral spirit was known as the *Yamato Damashii*, the Soul of Japan.⁷⁷¹ Lin Xianyan recalled that her elementary school teacher required her and her classmates to recite the "Imperial Rescript on Education" while standing outdoors in the cold. Thinking back, she appreciated the lessons listed in the Rescript: harmonious relationship with siblings and friends, filial piety, and the meaning of being a good person. She linked the memorization of this Rescript to the cultivation of *seishin* among people who received a Japanese education before 1945.⁷⁷²

Some Taiwanese women discussed *seishin* to criticize Chinese people in postwar Taiwan. Lan Qinhua, who completed six years of primary education in 1945

⁷⁶⁸ Brian Masaru Hayashi, *For the Sake of Our Japanese Brethren: Assimilation, Nationalism, and Protestantism Among the Japanese of Los Angeles, 1895-1942* (California: Stanford University Press, 1995), 86.

⁷⁶⁹ Inazo Nitobe, *Bushido, the Soul of Japan* (Tokyo: Teibi Publishing Company, 1904), 149.

⁷⁷⁰ For further discussion of all the virtues that the Japanese *seishin* embodied, see *ibid.*, 10, 13, 45, 56, 79-80.

⁷⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 149-150.

⁷⁷² During the interview, Lin Xianyan said that General MacArthur removed the teaching of the Rescript from the Japanese school curriculum because the Americans believed the Rescript was the force behind the cultivation of the Japanese *seishin*. Lin Xianyan, interview by Fang Yu Hu, June 28, 2012.

and junior high and teacher's training school in the postwar years, discussed *seishin* to criticize mainland Chinese as cheaters, swindlers, tricksters, and thieves. She defined *seishin* as obedience, honesty, decisiveness, loyalty to Japan, and uprightness. She compared the teaching and the practice of Japanese and Chinese in Taiwan. She said Japanese people practiced what they preached to students: teaching students how to be upright, serious, diligent people. In contrast, she claimed that Chinese education taught Taiwanese students to be upright Chinese people but the Chinese people in Taiwan did the opposite, becoming liars and swindlers.⁷⁷³ Wu Surong cited *seishin* as something that the Japanese education taught to children. She stated, "We Taiwanese over the age of 70 still have this Japanese *seishin*. How do you explain it? It's being honest as a person, [and] being thrifty."⁷⁷⁴ She asserted that her Japanese education had trained her generation in the virtues of honesty and thrift, two qualities that contemporary Taiwanese youth lack in Wu's view. To criticize the failure to educate the postwar generations properly becomes a mode of criticizing the government.

The virtue of *junjō*⁷⁷⁵ was something that Lin Xianyan evoked repeatedly in her narrative of wartime mobilization in order to create a unique identity for her generation of women with middle school education. The word *junjō* has two meanings: purity and self-sacrificing devotion. According to John Dower, the Japanese evoked the concept of purity to distinguish themselves as racially different

⁷⁷³ Lan Qinhu, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁷⁷⁴ Wu Surong, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁷⁷⁵ *Junjō* is written as 純情 and Lin Xianyan actually pronounced this word in Taiwanese Hoklo (*sūn-chêng*). I use the Japanese Romanization because the word origin is Japanese. It does not exist in Taiwanese Hoklo. It is unclear if she learned the term in school or from books in the postwar years.

and superior as a nation in the twentieth century. Supposedly this purity could only be appreciated and achieved by Japan and its people.⁷⁷⁶ The Japanese argued that they were “historically purer than other peoples genetically and morally” in order to support their belief in the “divine origins of the Yamato race.” Japanese military aggression in the 1930s and 1940s reflected the desire to purify the Japanese nation, Asia, and the world in order to achieve “a higher state of perfection and purity”, to “restore a past racial and spiritual purity largely lost in recent times.”⁷⁷⁷ During the wartime period, this purity was transformed into sacrificing one’s life for this purpose of spiritual cleansing.⁷⁷⁸ The *kamikaze* mission was one example of purity through self-sacrifice.⁷⁷⁹ Lin Xianyan, the only interviewee I spoke to who attended a Japanese elementary school, mainly cited her middle school experience as formative of her identity and nostalgia for the Japanese period. She explained that during the war years when everything was rationed and people did not have rice to eat, not one student from her school stole any of the rice balls they prepared for the troops: “Everyone was *junjō*, so not one took [rice balls] home... What we were happy about was that after cooking the rice on the metal pot/wok, we got to eat the remaining rice that was burned at the bottom. It became our breakfast. We were happy to eat it.”⁷⁸⁰ Not only did Xianyan and her classmates not steal any food, but as daughters of elite and upper-middle class backgrounds, they were content with eating leftovers.

⁷⁷⁶ Dower, *War Without Mercy*, 216.

⁷⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 215.

⁷⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 215-216.

⁷⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 232.

⁷⁸⁰ Lin Xianyan, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taipei, Taiwan, April 12, 2013.

Students from her school were also assigned to make camouflage nets for military tanks. She recalled having to finish the nets at home, but no one stole any materials because “At that time, everyone was *junjō*, and didn’t steal. Nowadays in the Chinese period, people would steal parts to make things, but not back then.”⁷⁸¹ To Xianyan, the sacrifices that she and her classmates made for the war effort made them pure. She linked her wartime behavior with a virtue that existed under Japanese rule, which in her eyes had disappeared under Chinese Nationalist rule.

Lin Xianyan specified that this *junjō* was uniquely a schoolgirl virtue. In explaining why schoolgirls from Taihoku Girls’ No. 1 Middle School were sent to gather some precious metals that were dispersed in the hills, Xianyan said that the colonial authority “didn’t dare to call on adults to gather those diamonds. Adults wouldn’t be as pure-hearted... Girls back then had really pure hearts.”⁷⁸² Perhaps over time, Lin had forgotten that she got this concept of *junjō* from her Japanese education and training. She recalled it as something that middle school girls – young female students with education – possessed. In another part of the interview, Xianyan explained that the Japanese teachers presumed a certain virtue that educated Japanese women held. Teachers taught Xianyan and her classmates that the Americans were demons (Jp. *oni*) who were out to violate Japanese women’s chastity.⁷⁸³ Middle school girls, including girls like Lin and her Taiwanese classmates who were under

⁷⁸¹ Ibid.

⁷⁸² Lin Xianyan used the term 純 (Jp. *jun*; Tw. Hoklo *sūn*; Ch. *chun*). The term literally means purity, but the context in which Lin used the term means pure heart. Lin Xianyan, interview by Fang Yu Hu, April 12, 2013.

⁷⁸³ Lin Xianyan used the Japanese term *oni* (鬼) to describe the Americans. Ibid.

Japanese rule, had to learn how to use bamboo spears for self-defense should the Americans land and attempt to violate them.⁷⁸⁴ As Vera Mackie has observed, the “preservation of women’s chastity, purity and fidelity was part of a gendered division of wartime labour.”⁷⁸⁵ This *junjō* quality from girls’ middle school during the Japanese period set Xianyan and other women like her apart from the postwar generations.

In her evaluation of Japanese education, Cai Huiru attributed cultivation of personal quality to the course on *shūshin* (Japanese word for “ethics” and “morals”):

I approve Japanese education whole-heartedly – it was a good education. Compared to Chinese education, it was really good... In the old days, *shūshin* was taught. But there is no such lesson in the Chinese education now. That’s why everyone is messed up (Jp. *mecha-mecha*) now... They do many bad things. In the old days, *shūshin* was taught properly to children from the time they were young... At a young age, one had to be taught that kind of sentiment (Jp. *kanjō*), teach them how to be a proper human being. It is too late to teach them once they became adults. Right now, robbery and murder happen, amongst many other problems. The Chinese education was no good (Jp. *dame*), that is the state of education right now. (Cai shook her head many times). I think that when one compares the educational systems, Japanese

⁷⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁸⁵ Vera Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan: Citizenship, Embodiment and Sexuality* (Cambridge University Press, 2003), 110.

education was the correct way of teaching, and the real way of education... I strongly disapprove of the Chinese education in Taiwan right now...⁷⁸⁶

Her critique of the current educational system in Taiwan is obvious, and she compared the current system to the standard in her mind - the Japanese education she knew. Like many interviewees, both men and women, who remembered the *shūshin* course, but had trouble explaining the actual content of the lesson, Cai did not explain what the *shūshin* course taught. She used the *shūshin* course to launch an attack on the contemporary educational system in Taiwan. Lan Laizhu shared the same view as Cai, but provided some concepts that the *shūshin* course taught. Born in 1930 as the daughter of a local official in Xiluo, Yunlin in southern Taiwan, Lan Laizhu was a second-year student at Torao Girls' Middle School when Japan lost the war. She completed high school in the postwar years. She criticized the lack of manners of Taiwanese children today:

I'm saying that we should have the *shūshin* course so that children won't become bad... [Children nowadays] have no manners. They are not courteous towards others. Nowadays they would kill their parents, beat them. Don't you feel the same way?! It's no longer about lack of manners. It's more like the order of Heaven and Earth has been flipped. Some don't allow their parents to eat, and some swindle their parents' wealth. There was no such behavior in the old days."⁷⁸⁷

⁷⁸⁶ Cai Huiru, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taipei, Taiwan, May 14, 2013.

⁷⁸⁷ Lan Laizhu, interview by Fang Yu Hu, September 10, 2012.

Hu Yan explained that the *shūshin* course taught students about daily life routine and manners. She also said that her teacher instilled the spirit of perseverance in fourth graders when her teacher forced fourth graders to walk several kilometers from school to the ocean and back in commemoration of Navy Day, even after students became exhausted in hot weather.⁷⁸⁸ Hu Yan believed that the *shūshin* course trained the Taiwanese to be law-abiding people during the Japanese period, and thus the society then was more orderly.⁷⁸⁹ These women attributed social ills in contemporary Taiwanese society to education. They framed their narratives this way in order to separate themselves from the younger generations.

Shun Minsha from Yunlin also tied his *shūshin* lesson to children's behavior.

He recalled the course taught children right from wrong:

Like when you see a rock in the middle of the road, you would move it aside so people don't trip over it. It's like doing good deeds, and not doing bad things. [The course also taught children to be] courteous to others... But nowadays, there is no more such thing... When I was in Taipei.. and tried to get a seat, some youngsters, both men and women, sat cross-legged. [And no one gave up their seat to elders], there was no such thing. [That's why] I say the education now is worse. When we were kids, and took the bus, if I saw a woman with

⁷⁸⁸ Hu Yan, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁷⁸⁹ Ibid.

children, or an elderly person, or whoever, I would give up my seat for them.⁷⁹⁰

He also remembered that his teachers taught him how to sit properly without crossing one's legs.⁷⁹¹ To Shun, the *shūshin* course taught students how to train their minds to be considerate, to be courteous, and to be respectful of others while training their bodies, maintaining a proper sitting pose. Their disapproval of the younger generations' lack of proper behavior made them nostalgic for Japanese rule because they placed the responsibility of teaching proper behavior on the educational process. By citing the *shūshin* course, Shun and other women linked their educational experiences to what they considered to be proper behavior.

Manners, Rule of Law, and Order

A central aspect of Taiwanese women's nostalgia for Japanese rule revolved around memories of the cultivation of discipline and good manners. Following rules and having good manners were prominent elements discussed by Taiwanese women when they expressed nostalgia for Japanese rule. Taiwanese women claimed that they continued to practice good manners and follow rules that their teachers had taught them. A graduate of primary school, Xu Bian remembered that her Taiwanese and Japanese teachers were great instructors. "They taught us not to do evil, not to steal from or swindle others," she recalled.⁷⁹² Students remembered their lessons even after graduation. After six years of primary education, Lan Dan completed one year of

⁷⁹⁰ Shun, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Tainan, Taiwan, July 12, 2012.

⁷⁹¹ Ibid.

⁷⁹² Xu Bian, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taipei, Taiwan, October 16, 2011.

advanced coursework before the air raids forced her family to move back to their hometown. Lan Dan recalled her promise to her teacher and school:

We were not allowed to perm our hair, wear make-up, or have boyfriends within two years after graduation. Who was watching over us? Well, we had to keep the promise that we had made. We obeyed our teacher's words. We had to regulate ourselves. We couldn't betray the trust of our teacher.⁷⁹³

Even without supervision and despite no longer being a student, Lan Dan felt obligated to follow the lessons her teacher had laid out about how to behave. Her discussion of the behavior of herself and her classmates serves as a contrast to the conduct of the younger generations. She criticized the casual clothes, the publicly displayed affection, and the lack of greetings towards elders in public areas in Taiwanese society today. She believed that these behaviors were signs that the educational system had failed to educate the people.⁷⁹⁴ Similar to Lan Dan's critique, Lu Zhunju also linked behavior with education: "People back then behaved better. I think in comparison, my generation didn't have any strange behavior or habits. We've been following rules ever since we were young."⁷⁹⁵ Lu believes that respecting and obeying rules would keep people on the right path. By "strange behavior or habits," she was referring to people's rudeness and their revealing and

⁷⁹³ Lan Dan, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁷⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁵ Lu Zhunju, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

untidy clothing.⁷⁹⁶ Women like Lan Dan and Lu Zhunju believe that their behavior separates them from the younger generations.

The Limits of Nostalgia

Many Taiwanese men and women expressed nostalgia for colonial Japanese rule, incorporating important gender differences into the narrative frameworks they constructed. Although Taiwanese men and women praised Japanese modernization efforts in Taiwan and characterized Japanese teachers and supervisors for their role in a benevolent and non-discriminatory colonial regime, their narratives nevertheless revealed Taiwanese dissatisfaction with Japanese rule that originated from the inherent unequal power relations between Japanese and Taiwanese.

Ethnic Inequality under Japanese Rule

As discussed earlier, Taiwanese men and women who are nostalgic for Japanese rule insisted on equality under Japanese rule to paint a rosy picture of Japanese colonialism as their strategy to criticize corruption in the postwar years, but their accounts often reveal systematic discrimination against Taiwanese people. Men recalled ethnic inequality in the school system, at work, and in military service during the Japanese period.

Born in 1924 in Tainan in southern Taiwan into a landlord family, Ye Yingkun graduated from a Taiwanese primary school, was enrolled in one year of post-primary advanced course study, five years of middle school (Jp. *chūgakkō*), and two years of high school (Jp. *kōtō gakkō*) before he was drafted into the military in

⁷⁹⁶ Ibid.

1945.⁷⁹⁷ He became a psychiatrist in the postwar years. He knew that *shōgakkō* was established for the Japanese students, but he emphasized that those schools did not segregate the Taiwanese children. He provided enrollment rates at *shōgakkō* – ninety percent of Japanese students and ten percent of Taiwanese children – as proof that Taiwanese children were not completely shut out of Japanese schools because they had the opportunity to attend *shōgakkō*.⁷⁹⁸ Ye Yingkun's account reveals that he did not find the segregated system problematic.

Ye Yingkun was also aware that Tainan No. 1 Middle School was mainly for Japanese boys, and Tainan No. 2 Middle School was for Taiwanese boys. However, this segregation did not bother him. It was probably because he failed the entrance exam for Tainan No. 2 school after he finished primary school, but passed the entrance exam for Tainan No. 1 school after one year of advanced course study. As a result, he attended a Japanese-dominant school, which at the time was commonly known as better than Taiwanese schools. Taiwanese students experienced more difficulty getting into Japanese middle schools. Perhaps his educational success made him more forgiving of the segregated system than if he had been blocked from obtaining higher education.

The workplace was another site of discrimination under Japanese that Taiwanese men mentioned, but of which they were not critical. Ye Yingkun knew that the Japanese in Taiwan earned higher salaries than the Taiwanese. However, he

⁷⁹⁷ Senior high school (Jp. *kōtō gakkō* 高等学校) was a three-year program for boys only, but the Japanese government reduced the number of years of study in order to produce graduates who would be eligible for military service.

⁷⁹⁸ Ye Yingkun, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Taipei, Taiwan, June 28, 2012.

justified this difference in salary by saying that the Japanese were working overseas as if on a long-term business trip, and thus incurred more expenses than the Taiwanese.⁷⁹⁹ Ye's account reveals that he either ignored, or was ignorant of, the fact that many Japanese workers in Taiwan, especially public employees, had free public housing. Also, many Japanese became permanent settlers in Taiwan. Having free public housing meant that Japanese workers' higher pay was not justified; and the business-trip travel expense argument does not work for permanent settlers. In the end, his narrative reveals that he accepted the colonial government's systematic differential treatment of the colonizers and the colonized and the privileges that Japanese colonizers enjoyed in Taiwan. His acceptance of the colonial structure indicates that he did not feel he suffered from the discriminatory practices; instead, he saw himself as on his way to becoming part of the Japanese elites as a student in predominantly Japanese middle and high schools.

Although Taiwanese men experienced differential treatment in military service, many interviewees welcomed the discrimination because they did not want to die on the frontline. This reluctance to serve in the military seems to hint at the failure of Japanese education in indoctrinating Taiwanese youth into sacrificing their lives for the emperor and the Japanese empire. No matter how nostalgic for Japanese rule these men are today, their accounts of military service reveal that they did not wholeheartedly identify with the Japanese empire. Born in 1923, Lin Xianjin, a farmer's son in Kaohisung who completed primary school education and two years of

⁷⁹⁹ Ibid.

kōtōka, was aware that Japanese men, not Taiwanese men, were drafted into the military before the 1940s. Not only did he not criticize this different treatment, he and other Taiwanese men seemed to prefer not serving in the military. Many were forced to volunteer.⁸⁰⁰ He also acknowledged that the Japanese government distrusted the Taiwanese even after it had coerced Taiwanese men into serving in the military. When Lin Xianjin was in training, the military leaders took precautions: they took regular roll calls at dawn and at bedtime to ensure that no one had deserted. At military training, the Japanese leaders provided hoes instead of guns to Taiwanese trainees. Lin Xianjin was unhappy that they did not practice with real guns as soldiers, but explained that the government wanted to prevent another Musha Incident (1930),⁸⁰¹ a Taiwanese aboriginal uprising against the colonial government, from

⁸⁰⁰ Lin Xianjin and his friend, Tang Xinde mentioned that no one could refuse not to write the slip to “volunteer” for military service (Lin Xianjin, interview by Fang Yu Hu, Kaohsiung, Taiwan, July 15, 2012. Tang Xinde, interview by Fang Yu Hu). As noted in Chapter Three, the Japanese colonial government recruited military porters and civilian employees in 1937, and implemented the military volunteer system for army soldiers in 1942, and for naval personnel in 1943, and drafted Taiwanese men in 1945.

⁸⁰¹ The Musha Incident, (Jp. Musha jiken; Ch. Mandarin Wushe shijian; 霧社事件), was an uprising by the Seediq tribe in Nantou area that shocked the Japanese colonial authorities in Taiwan and the Japanese Diet in 1930. The Japanese authority believed the Seediq tribe and other Taiwanese aborigines had been pacified and Japanized for decades, but the Seediq tribe planned this surprise uprising. The rebels killed over 100 Japanese men, women, and children who were present at the annual sports festival in the local elementary school. The Japanese suppression of the uprising lasted for a couple of months, resulting in a virtual extinction of the entire tribe. Many Seediq women and children committed suicide. This incident forced the colonial government to change its policy from treating Taiwanese aboriginal populations as savages who needed to be civilized to a policy of incorporation and assimilation. For more detail, see Leo T.S. Ching, “Savage Construction and Civility Making: The Musha Incident and Aboriginal Representations in Colonial Taiwan,” *positions*,

happening again. He praised Japanese handling of the uprising and the fact that they had forgiven the rebels, even though the entire tribe was mostly killed or dead.⁸⁰² Although he understood the distrust of Taiwanese that the Japanese government had, Lin Xianjin probably identified more with the ruling Japanese than the ruled Taiwanese aborigines who were involved in the Musha Incident. This is because he was educated in the Japanese system, and had little in common with Taiwanese aborigines who lived high up in the mountains. Also, the government suppression of information regarding the Musha Incident probably ensured that the general Han Taiwanese population either had no opinion on the incident or sided with the Japanese rulers.

The Taiwanese men's account of their reluctance to join military service shows that their nostalgia for Japanese rule was not without contradiction. Ye Yingkun finished high school in 1945 when he turned twenty years old, the same year when the military draft of Taiwanese men began.⁸⁰³ He was aware that Japan was losing the war, and that to become a soldier meant death: "Those who served in the military would die, especially if you were sent to the South Pacific."⁸⁰⁴ He resisted being selected as the representative of the first group of draftees in Taipei to thank the emperor for the honor of the draft at a commemorative ceremony in Taipei. The ceremony served to celebrate the induction of Taiwanese men to become real imperial

Winter 2000 8(3): 796, accessed February 13, 2014, <https://muse-jhu-edu.oca.ucsc.edu/journals/positions/v008/8.3ching.html>. .

⁸⁰² Lin Xianjin, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁸⁰³ Ye Yingkun used the term 南方 (Tw. Hoklo *lâm-hong*; Ch. *nanfang*) to refer to the area south of Taiwan, the South Pacific. Ye Yingkun, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁸⁰⁴ Ibid.

subjects (Jp. *kōmin*) by virtue of becoming formal imperial soldiers. Even though Ye Yingkun resisted the call, pressures from local Taiwanese leaders forced him to perform his role. On the difference between when Japanese men were drafted (1937) and when Taiwanese men were drafted (1945), Ye explained that it was either because of Japanese distrust or Taiwanese non-compliance:

Japanese citizens⁸⁰⁵ had three obligations: to pay taxes, to receive education— compulsory education—and one more thing, to serve in the military. Taiwanese were Japanese subjects, but for a long time, they didn't allow us to be formal soldiers. I am not sure if it was because they didn't trust us or that we wouldn't have complied with the policy.⁸⁰⁶

Although he did not want to serve in the military because he did not want to die, Ye Yingkun did not criticize military service itself, seeing it as an important part of being an imperial male citizen of Japan. Different from Lin Xianjin's explanation of Japanese distrust as stemming from the desire to prevent another local uprising, Ye Yingkun was probably referring to Han Taiwanese people's ethnicity as the basis of Japanese distrust and Taiwanese non-compliance. The Japanese government

⁸⁰⁵ It is obvious that Ye Yingkun defined Japanese citizenry as a male category because of military service. For a further discussion on how Japanese citizenry in the pre-1945 era was based on gender, class, and ethnicity, see Kim Puja 金富子, *Keizokusuru shokuminchi shugi to jendā: Kokumin gainen josei no shintai kioku to sekinin* 継続する植民地主義とジェンダー — 「国民」概念・女性の身体・記憶と責任 [The Continuation of Colonialism and Gender: The Concept of “Citizenry”, Women's Body, Memory, and Responsibility] (Yokohama: Seori shobō, 2011).

⁸⁰⁶ Ye Yingkun, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

distrusted the Taiwanese, as ethnic Han people, to serve as soldiers in the war against China, Han Taiwanese people's ancestral land. But the great loss of manpower towards the end of the war eventually forced the Japanese government to draft Taiwanese men.

Using a flat tone during the entire interview, Xu Xianxian's account of the absence of discrimination and her indifferent feelings toward her Japanese classmates and coworkers reveal the complex feelings of Taiwanese who were educated under Japanese rule and tried to be politically neutral in contemporary Taiwan. Xianxian recalled no discrimination from her Japanese teachers or classmates when she attended the Taipei Women's Home Economics School (Jp. *Taihoku kasei jogakkō*), a school with predominantly Japanese students. She explained that because the colonial government had set up the school for students, the government would fire any teacher who discriminated against any students. At reunions, she described the interaction between Japanese and Taiwanese students as cordial without any strong bonds to make anyone feel sad when it was time to part. As a twenty-three-year-old bank employee in Taipei in 1945, she recalled a difference in compensation for the Japanese workers, but experienced no overt discrimination at work. She proclaimed that her Japanese educational experience was smooth because she did not get bullied. She said, "Everyone got along well. They all respected me... But that typist at my work, for some reason, really hated the Japanese... I was more easygoing because we had to treat each other courteously."⁸⁰⁷ Her description shows that she wanted to paint

⁸⁰⁷ Xu Xianxian, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

herself as a friendly person, unlike her coworker. However, her self-description of being respected by the Japanese contradicts her claim that the Japanese looked down on the Taiwanese. She also revealed that she felt indifferent when the Japanese were repatriated because she did not have bonds with them. If everyone got along well and she was well respected, why did she not feel sad when parting with her Japanese supervisors and coworkers when they were repatriated, and her classmates when reunions ended? Her use of an indifferent tone during the entire interview marks her as the only interviewee who did not display any feelings about the past or the present—there was no nostalgia for or anger towards Japanese colonialism, no praise or criticism of the postwar Chinese Nationalist government, and no commentaries on youths in contemporary Taiwan. Her indifferent tone and contradictory account suggest that the 228 Incident, the White Terror period, and martial law period had created an environment in which Taiwanese of her generation remain hesitant to make political commentary, even after democratization has taken place for over two decades now. Xianxian had witnessed and experienced discriminatory practices under the Japanese, but the lack of direct critique of Japanese colonialism hints at the volatile political climate and opposing opinions currently in Taiwan. Xianxian perhaps did not want to make any comment that might become politically incorrect under a new regime, given Taiwan's current political status. Also, many Taiwanese from her generation are nostalgic for Japanese rule, but she is not. The younger generations might be more critical of Japanese colonialism because of the postwar

sinicization programs of the Nationalist government. Perhaps Xianxian did not want to offend anyone by offering her opinion.

Explaining Japan's Defeat to Express Regret?

Although many Taiwanese men and women are nostalgic for their Japanese teachers and Japanese rule and portray their teachers and Japanese rule in a positive light, they criticized Japan's wartime strategies to express their regret at Japan's defeat. Huang Kuosan, an industrial vocational school student in the last year of the war, observed that the Japanese expansion was too quick without sufficient resources to back it up. He said, "The US had money, but Japan didn't have money. Although Japan occupied so many countries, it did not have the force to rule them. So in the end, [Japan lost the war]."⁸⁰⁸ A middle school student in 1945, Lan Binshan also linked Japan's defeat to its lack of material goods. He cited the example of the government requiring all citizens to submit metal window bars to make weapons and bullets to illustrate the degree of material scarcity.⁸⁰⁹ Both Huang Kuosan and Lan Binshan expressed their nostalgia for Japanese rule, and criticized many practices under Chinese Nationalist rule. This does not mean that they approved of everything that the Japanese government had done. Perhaps their critique of Japan's wartime policy was meant to express their regret about Japan's defeat. If Japan had not lost the war, perhaps Taiwan would still be under Japanese control today.

Taiwanese women also offered some criticisms of Japan's wartime practices.

Even though Lin Xianyan praised Japanese rule and was critical of Chinese

⁸⁰⁸ Huang Kuosan, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁸⁰⁹ Lan Binshan, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

Nationalist rule, her narrative reveals the discrepancy between what the Japanese government intended, and what Taiwanese schoolgirls like Xianyan thought of their actions. In her account of making camouflage tank nets, Xianyan emphasized the virtue of endurance rather than that of sacrifice for the nation. She said, “We all bled [while making the net], but no one moaned or complained. It was said that we were serving the nation, as if we had to die for the nation.”⁸¹⁰ Her main point was to showcase the virtue of schoolgirls working diligently without complaining about pain. She used a tone of distaste when she mentioned that “serving the nation” meant dying for the nation. In other parts of the interview, Xianyan laughed at the backwardness of Japanese technology, especially in comparison with American technology. In her discussion of training to use bamboo sticks to thrust at American soldiers, Lin commented, “[The Americans] already had the atomic bomb. [But] we [were still using] bamboo sticks that were this long... We practiced every day, and how we would thrust the stick at [the Americans] if they came.”⁸¹¹ Although she enjoyed obtaining skills during the wartime mobilization process, and used her wartime experiences to express schoolgirl virtues, Xianyan did not want to die for the Japanese empire. Despite that, she was also unhappy with Japan’s defeat. This is the complex and perhaps contradictory position that many Taiwanese took.

Many others expressed their desire for the war to end in order to return to their peaceful lives without food and other rations. Zeng Xiuying, born in 1926 to a farmer family in Taipei, was working at a sock factory after graduating from primary school.

⁸¹⁰ Lin Xianyan, interview by Fang Yu Hu, April 12, 2013.

⁸¹¹ Ibid.

She said that everyone was happy that the war ended because the war caused a food shortage.⁸¹² Lan Beiyin also talked about how her family became happy when Japan lost because it meant that they no longer had to stay evacuated at a family friend's house, and could return home.⁸¹³ Their accounts reveal the strong desire of the Taiwanese to return to life before the war. The focus in their narrative was the desire to return to normalcy, and not the desire to "return to the ancestral land."

Conclusion

Taiwanese men and women constructed their nostalgia for Japanese rule by insisting on the lack of discrimination from Japanese colonizers, focusing on the modernization efforts, and characterizing Japanese teachers and supervisors as good human beings. However, gender differences existed in their narrative frameworks. Taiwanese men were more likely than women to use their educational and work experiences during the Japanese period to point out corruption under Chinese Nationalist rule. At the same time that they offered their criticisms, these men provided contradictory narratives that asserted ethnic equality while revealing ethnic segregation between the Japanese and the Taiwanese. Their narratives often point out the systematic inequality in the school system and the work environment under Japanese rule. Their critique of Chinese Nationalist corruption and the contradictions in their accounts show the complex Taiwanese identity formed at the intersection of Japanese colonialism and Chinese authoritarianism. With fewer educational and work experiences than men, Taiwanese women are more likely to recount their educational

⁸¹² Zeng Xiuying, interview by Fang Yu Hu.

⁸¹³ Lan Beiyin, interview by Fang Yu Hu, April 25, 2013.

experiences so as to list personal qualities that they had learned through Japanese colonial education in order to portray themselves as better human beings than the younger generations of Taiwanese.

Taiwanese people continue to struggle to figure out their national identity by looking back to their colonial history under Japanese rule. As Barak Kushner notes, Taiwan is a point of contention between Sino-Japanese relations,⁸¹⁴ and thus the stability of East Asia. He observes that Taiwanese history is “played out in opposition to China’s and in the shadow of Japan’s.”⁸¹⁵

⁸¹⁴ Kushner, “Nationality and Nostalgia,” 796.

⁸¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 810.

Appendix A

Interview Method

From October 2011 to May 2013, I conducted oral interviews with forty women and fourteen men who received a Japanese colonial education, with some preliminary interviews conducted in August 2010. I interviewed most people once, and conducted follow-up interviews with ten women. I located these interviewees through family and friend connections. I prepared some interview questions beforehand, but changed and added questions according to each interviewee. Some interviewees spoke to me by themselves, while some were accompanied by my grandmother, or their spouses or children. Taiwanese Hoklo/Minnan was the main language used in most interviews, mixed with a few Japanese or Chinese Mandarin words. The Japanese language was used almost exclusively in three interviews. Another interview was conducted using Taiwanese Hoklo and Taiwanese Hakka, and one was conducted half in Taiwanese Hoklo and half in Chinese Mandarin. Some existing studies have used Japanese or Chinese Mandarin to conduct interviews. But the majority of Taiwanese who are fluent in Japanese or Chinese Mandarin with a Japanese education tend to be more highly educated and of higher socioeconomic status. The use of Taiwanese Hoklo in interviews is important because it allows the inclusion of different groups of Taiwanese whose primary language was Taiwanese Hoklo. The oldest interviewee was born in 1915, and the youngest was born in 1933. Interviewees came from different counties in Taiwan. Half of all interviewees received primary education in the Taipei area in northern Taiwan, and a quarter of them in either Yunlin or Tainan in southern Taiwan.

Appendix B

Handout to Interviewees

Fang Yu Hu

胡芳瑜

Department of History

歷史系

University of California, Santa Cruz

美國加州大學聖塔克魯斯分校

Title: Girls' Primary Education in Japanese-Colonized Taiwan, 1897-1945

日本殖民地時代的台灣漢人女子初等教育

PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH

口述歷史訪問

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Fang Yu Hu, from the department of History at the University of California, Santa Cruz. You were asked to be a possible participant in this study because you were born before 1935, the age group that had received some education during the Japanese colonial period. Your participation in this research study is voluntary.

美國加州大學聖塔克魯斯分校歷史系的胡芳瑜邀請您參加這個口述歷史研究, 您被邀請原因是您是在 1935 前出生, 有受過日本教育的人士, 您的參與是自願的。

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

研究的目標

This study will be used for academic research purposes. This study is designed to assess how the experiences of the gendered education affected the thinking and actions of men and women in Taiwan to analyze the degree in which education helped to colonize and modernize subjects in empires, and the legacy of colonial education.

這研究中收集的資料將會是使用在學術上的報告, 這研究預定深入了解受日本殖民地時代初等教育的台灣男女學生在校的親身經驗和感想, 討論教育對於帝國的殖民地化和近代化的影響, 及了解殖民地教育對於戰時與戰後台灣教育的影響。

Information gathered from this study will be used in Fang Yu Hu's dissertation thesis and possibly for publication.

這研究中收集的資料將會是使用在胡芳瑜的博士論文, 學術上的報告和出版品裡。

PROCEDURES

研究方式

If you volunteer to participate in this study, we would ask you to do the following:

- Answer questions about your experiences and views as you feel comfortable
- Participate in an one-hour interview, or longer with your consent, and possibly with follow-up interviews
- Consent to be recorded in video or audio format.

如您參加這個研究, 將請您:

- 回答一些您自願回答關於您的經驗和感想的問題。
- 參與一個小時的訪問, 或許如您願意可延長, 有再次訪問的可能。
- 如您同意, 將會錄音與錄影這段訪問。

POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

訪問過程中的困境與不悅

If you feel uncomfortable for any reason with answering any question at any time, please inform the investigator and the investigator will change her question.

如您在訪問的過程中對於問題感到任何不悅, 請通知訪問者, 訪問者將會改變問題。

POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO SUBJECTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

被訪問者與社會大眾的影響

Your participation in the research may increase the academia and the public's understanding of school experiences and the effect of colonial education in Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period. You will not directly benefit from your participation in this research, except having your story recorded and potentially made public.

您的參與將有助於學術界和社會大眾,對於日本殖民地時代初等教育的台灣男女學生在校的親身經驗和感想有更深入的了解。除了您的經驗會被紀錄與公開, 您將不會直接得到任何利益。

The results of this research may increase the academia and the public's understanding of Taiwan's past, which will contribute to the understanding of post-war Taiwan educational system, people's attitude toward education, and identity issue.

這個研究的結果將加深學術界與社會大眾瞭解台灣歷史及戰後台灣教育制度間的關聯, 以及教育的重要性的看法與國家認同。

CONFIDENTIALITY

資料保密

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law.

Confidentiality will be maintained by means of keeping the recorded audio and video files in the harddrive at the residence of Fang Yu Hu. Only Fang Yu Hu will have access to these files. The files can be disclosed to others only with your permission, or the permission of your kin if you are unavailable.

如這研究中收集的資料可指證到您的資料將會保密, 如無法律上的規定要求或您的同意, 不會公開。胡芳瑜將是這研究中收集的資料 錄音與錄影檔案的唯一使用者, 所有檔案將存留電腦硬碟裡, 如無您或您的家人的同意, 不會公開於第三者。

We would need your permission to keep your data for use in future research studies that examine the history of Taiwanese women's lives. If you agree, the data will be stored in harddrives at Fang Yu Hu's residence. Only Fang Yu Hu will have access to these files. The files can be disclosed to others only with your permission.

如有您的同意, 胡芳瑜將保留這研究中收集您的資料以便將來使用在關於臺灣女性生活史的研究, 如有您的同意, 您的資料將保留在胡芳瑜的電腦硬碟裡。胡芳瑜將是這研究中收集的資料 錄音與錄影檔案的唯一使用者。如無您或您的家人的同意, 不會公開於第三者。

PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

參與及退出

You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind.

您可選擇參與不參與這項研究, 您可隨時在訪問過程中退出研究。

IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATORS

研究者的資料

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact:
Fang Yu Hu, Floor 5, No. 122, Lane 109, Section 2, Mujha Road, Wunshan District,
Taipei City, Taiwan, 02-2936-7143. Mobile phone: 0919-249-471.

如您有任何問題, 請與胡芳瑜聯絡, 住址: 臺北市文山區 11647 木柵路二段 109 巷 122 號 5 樓, 電話: 02-2936-7143. 手機 : 0919-249-471.

RIGHTS OF RESEARCH SUBJECTS

被訪問者的權利

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. You are not waiving any legal rights because of your participation in this research study.

您可選擇參與不參與這項研究, 您可隨時在訪問過程中選擇停止訪問, 您的參與不影響您法律上的權利。

Appendix C

Sample Interview Questions (English Translation)

Basic and Family Background

1. What is your full name?
2. When and where were you born?
3. What did your parents do for living?
4. How many siblings did you have?
5. How many of your siblings went to school?
6. Were your parents educated? Up to what level?
7. What was your relationship with your parents like?
8. What was your relationship with your siblings like?
9. What was the division of labor at home?
10. What was your home space like? What did you have there?
11. What did you eat at home?
12. Who was the most influential person for you at home? Why?
13. What did your parents or older siblings tell you about schools and/or getting an education?
14. What were your grandparents like? Your uncles and aunts?
15. Did you think your family treated girls and boys differently? How so? Why did you think so?

School Experience

1. When did you start schooling? Why?
2. What school did you attend?
3. How did you get to school everyday?
4. What classes did you have? Your favorite? Your least favorite? Why?
5. What do you remember about the following classes:
 - national (Japanese) language
 - math/arithmetics
 - physical education
 - handicraft, sewing, etc. “girl” classes
 - music/singing
 - art
 - ethics/moral
 - science
 - history
6. Did you play with your classmates during recess? What did you play?
7. Did you play with your friends outside school?
8. What did you think of your teacher? Was your teacher Japanese or Taiwanese? Was he/she strict? Nice?
9. What language did you use to talk to your classmates inside school? Outside school?
10. Did you wear uniforms?

11. How much was tuition? Supplies? Who paid for them?
12. Did you have health check-ups in school?
13. How did you like school? Why or why not?

Post-primary education experiences

1. What did you do after graduating from primary school? Why?
2. Who decided your path?
3. If you continued your education- where did you go? Did you take a test? How much was tuition. (Note: similar questions as to the section, "School Experience")
4. If you got a job- how did you get it? Where and what did you do?
5. When did you get married? What was your spouse like?

Social life/friends

1. Did you keep in touch with your friends outside school?
2. Did you keep in touch after graduation? How?
3. Did you have good friends? What were they like?
4. Tell me about your reunions. When did it start? What did you do? How often do you have one?
5. What is your favorite memory from childhood?
6. What is your most memorable experience from childhood?
7. What did you do for fun? Did anyone teach you?

Miscellaneous- wartime and post-1945

1. Did you think about who you were during the Japanese colonial period- Japanese, Taiwanese, or local identity?
2. Wartime- What do you remember from the wartime period? What did you do at school/home/work? What did your family, relatives, and friends do?
3. Do you remember the 228 Incident (a 1947 uprising by the Taiwanese against the Chinese Nationalist government)? What do you remember?
4. How did you live in the post-1945 period?
5. How did you meet your spouse? What was your spouse's educational level? Their job?
6. How many children did you have? When did you start having children? How many of them went to school? Why?
7. What did you think of your educational experiences from the Japanese period?
8. Do you think children should be educated? Why or why not?

Appendix D Sample Interview Questions (Chinese)

口述歷史訪問：一些問題
(實際訪問時會因受訪人的經驗和回答，而問其他問題)

基本資料和家庭背景

1. 您的姓名，出生地點，出生年月日
2. 您的父母的教育程度(漢文?日文?)與職業
3. 父母會日本話嗎?家裡用什麼語言溝通?
4. 您有幾位兄弟姐妹?幾位哥哥?姐姐?妹妹?弟弟?
5. 每一位兄弟姐妹最高的教育程度
6. 每一位兄弟姐妹畢業後的職業
7. 在家裡的家事分配
8. 在家裡吃什麼?
9. 家裡有時鐘?收音機嗎?有訂或是買報紙嗎?
10. 父母親在家裡有教您什麼?家事?做人道理?
11. 對您而言，家庭裡最影響您的人
12. 父母對待兒女是否相同?為何您這麼認同呢?
13. 爸媽或家人有帶您出去過嗎?去玩嗎?去哪裡?家庭旅遊?
14. 在家有拜拜嗎?日本神明?臺灣神明?祖先?

公(小)學校經驗

- 您幾歲時開始上學?是誰叫您去上學?附近鄰居的小孩都有去上學嗎?男女都有嗎?
- 您上哪間公學校?
- 您是否每天都有去上課?上課前做什麼準備?
- 有無開朝會?在校拜神社,拜天皇或日本神明?
- 您在學校上什麼課?最喜歡哪一堂課?最不喜歡哪一課?為什麼?
- 您對以下的這些課程有什麼印象,幾年級開始學習?國語、算數、修身、体操、理科、音樂、圖畫、書字、裁縫、地理、歷史、農業、種菜種花?家事?
- 運動會的記憶?遊藝會,學藝會的記憶?都做什麼?
- 遠足,校外教學的記憶?去哪裡?走路還是坐車?坐火車的經驗?
- 您在上學時間,有休息時間時都在做什麼?
- 放假時您有跟小學朋友一起玩嗎?
- 您對學校老師有什麼印象?台灣人還是日本人?男女?未婚還是已婚?日本老師有家人在台灣嗎?老師好還是壞?兇、嚴格?有什麼好的,壞的,或是特殊的回憶嗎?

- 在校都跟同學用哪種語言溝通？台語？日語？客語？會不說日語嗎？跟家人呢？
 - 上學穿什麼？制服、鞋子？吃什麼？有帶便當嗎？帶書包？
 - 在校有無健康檢查？老師有教學生洗手、洗臉、刷牙嗎？
 - 喜歡上學嗎？
1. 您上學的一天過程是什麼？

公(小)學校畢業後

6. 公(小)學校畢業後做什麼？升學？工作？在家裡？是誰決定的？
7. 如升學，上哪裡？有考試嗎？學費？
 1. 您是否每天都有去上課？
 2. 您在學校上什麼課？
 3. 您對學校老師有什麼印象？台灣人還是日本人？好還是壞？兇？嚴格？
 4. 在校都跟同學用哪種語言溝通？台語？日語？客語？跟父母兄弟姐妹呢？
8. 如就業，做什麼？在哪裡工作？有無日本人、台灣人同事或上司？男女有幾個？

人際關係

8. 有無跟同學畢業後繼續聯絡？
9. 有無交到好朋友？
10. 男女的關係如何？有一起聊天或玩耍嗎？
11. 有開或參加同學會嗎？幾歲時開始？都做什麼？去哪裡？多久一次？
12. 畢業後有跟老師繼續聯絡嗎？寫信？看他們？開同學會？

婚姻孩子：

1. 幾歲時結婚？怎麼認識的？
2. 配偶的最高的教育程度？
3. 結婚時，配偶的職業？配偶的家庭階級？
4. 生幾個小孩？男女？
5. 每一位孩子最高的教育程度
6. 在家有教小孩讀書嗎？他們不懂時，有教她們嗎？
7. 跟配偶和小孩都用哪種語言溝通？台語？客語？日語？北京話？
8. 您如會講北京話，是何時學的？您會看中國字（漢字）嗎？
9. 您在家裡扮演什麼角色？有做家事？教導小孩？

其他：

9. 小時候印象最深的事是什麼？
10. 您小時候沒在讀書（例如：下課後，放假）時，都做什麼？
11. 日本政府是否有規定每年大清掃？
12. 對警察的印象？
13. 日治時期有無跟日本人接觸？怎麼知道他們是日本人？

14. 戰時您幾歲？您記得什麼？有寫信慰勞軍隊嗎？有做工嗎？
15. 有到車站送兵人去戰場嗎？是否有戰爭勝利遊行？學校有分東西嗎？
16. 戰時有變成國語家庭嗎？
17. 走空襲的記憶？
18. 戰時吃什麼？有やみ嗎？配級？
19. 如何知道日本敗戰？家人有何反應？
20. 戰後初期的生活？如果就學，有何改變？如果工作，有換工作嗎？
21. 戰後有去過日本嗎？幾次？那裏？
22. 現在有看日文書籍或電視節目嗎？
23. 您對於日治時期的教育有何感想？與中國教育做比較？您覺得教育重要嗎？

APPENDIX E
Interviewee Data: Family Background

Women	Birth Year	Hometown	Father's work	Mother's work	Father's Educational Level	Mother's Educational Level
Cai Huiru	1925	Tainan	Monopoly branch manager	housewife	vocational school	private tutor for classical Chinese
Dong Jianmi	1930	Tainan	school supplies store	school supplies shop	probably some schooling	classical Chinese
Gao Chinyan	1929	Tainan	vegetable vendor	housewife	primary school	none
Hu Aqiao	1932	Taipei	agriculture	housewife	—	—
Hu Yan	1927	Yunlin	local official, landlord	housewife	classical Chinese	none
Hu Yinmei	1918	Miaoli	pork vendor	housewife	classical Chinese	none

Women	Birth Year	Hometown	Father's work	Mother's work	Father's Educational Level	Mother's Educational Level
Huang Chihlang	1932	Taipei	hospital kitchen manager	washed people's laundry & housewife	none	none
Lan Beiyin	1933	Lugang	businessman & bank worker	—	business school	unknown
Lan Dan	1932	Taipei	manual worker	gardening	none	unknown
Lan Laizhu	1933	Yunlin	local leader	housewife	knew Japanese and classical Chinese	knew Japanese and classical Chinese
Lan Muqiao	1923	Hsinchu	factory owner of bricks and rooflops	—	classical Chinese	classical Chinese
Lan Qinhua	1932	Taichung	Buddhist missionary	—	knew Japanese, Chinese, and English	—

Women	Birth Year	Hometown	Father's work	Mother's work	Father's Educational Level	Mother's Educational Level
Lan Xuyan	1928	Yunlin	agriculture & construction	housewife	classical Chinese	none
Li Piqing	1931	Taipei	hot spring hotel owner	(hired servants)	some Japanese education	none
Lin Banhui	1920	Yunlin	agriculture & business	(hired servants)	none	none
Lin Banxiao	1924	Taipei	agriculture	—	—	—
Lin Shuqing	1932	Yunlin	bus/taxi driver	housewife	primary school	none
Lin Xianyan	1928	Taipei	mine owner	former teacher (hired servants at home)	vocational school/college	teacher's school
Lin Zi	1915	Taipei	agriculture	housewife	classical Chinese	none
Lu Zhunju	1930	Tainan	business	housewife	none	none

Women	Birth Year	Hometown	Father's work	Mother's work	Father's Educational Level	Mother's Educational Level
Tang Yan	1930	Taipei	railway worker	seamstress	none	none
Wang Pipai	1928	Taipei	business	business	self studied at a Chinese academy	none - but could read classical Chinese
Wang Qiu	1931	Taoyuan	agriculture	housewife	—	—
Wang Zhirui	1923	Taichung	teacher	—	teacher's school	private tutor for classical Chinese
Wu Surong	1926	Taoyuan	wood shop owner	housewife	none	none
Xia Yuchia	1927	Taichung	business	housewife	primary school	primary school
Xu Bian	1928	Hsinchu	sugar refinery worker	—	none	none

Women	Birth Year	Hometown	Father's work	Mother's work	Father's Educational Level	Mother's Educational Level
Xu Kuidi	1931	Yunlin	tea business	housewife	classical Chinese	none
Xu Xianxian	1922	Taipei	teacher	teacher, then housewife	teacher's school	teacher's school
Ying Agao	1930	Taipei	agriculture	housewife	classical Chinese	none
Ying Xinrui	1931	Taipei	agriculture	housewife	biological father: normal school	—
Zeng Chamei	1930	Taipei	business	seamstress	none	none
Zeng Hin	1930	Taipei	chicken vendor	housewife	some primary schooling	none
Zeng Meilin	1924	Taipei	construction	housewife	none	primary school up to third grade
Zeng Xiuying	1926	Taipei	agriculture	housewife	none	none

Women	Birth Year	Hometown	Father's work	Mother's work	Father's Educational Level	Mother's Educational Level
Zeng Yukui	1929	Taipei	chicken vendor	housewife	some primary schooling	none
Zhan Chaodi	1931	Taipei	railway official	housewife	some Japanese education	none
Zhan Mei	1931	Taipei	agriculture	housewife	—	—
Zhan Yiku	1931	Taipei	local leader	(hired servants)	classical Chinese	classical Chinese
Zhu Qiufong	1931	Taipei	school supplies store	school supplies store	primary school	primary school

Note 1: Most interviewees said their fathers worked in the agricultural sector without specifying if they were landlords, rich farmers, middle farmers, or poor farmers.

Note 2: Most interviewees said their mothers were housewives—some housewives did all the chores at home, but some wealthy ones hired servants to do most, if not all chores, at home.

Note 3: Interviewees who said their parents received some classical Chinese lessons did not specify if the lessons took place in Japanese public schools or private Chinese academies.

Note 4: "Unknown" indicates that the interviewee did not know the answer to the question; "—" indicates that the information was not mentioned during the interview.

Men	Birth year	Hometown	Father's work	Mother's work	Father's Educational Level	Mother's Educational Level
Huang Caidi	1924	Taipei	manual labor	housewife	none	none
Huang Kuosan	1931	Chiayi	rickshaw driver	housewife	primary school	primary school
Lan Binshan	1931	Taipei	landlord	—	—	classical Chinese
Lan Zikuan	1926	Taipei	railway worker	housewife	primary school	—
Lin Kahui	1928	Kaohsiung	agriculture	housewife	unknown	unknown
Lin Xianjin	1923	Kaohsiung	agriculture	housewife	classical Chinese	none
Shun Minsha	1932	Yunlin	fisherman, then manual labor	housewife	Chinese academy	none
Tang Xinde	1929	Kaohsiung	agriculture	housewife	unknown	unknown

Men	Birth year	Hometown	Father's work	Mother's work	Father's Educational Level	Mother's Educational Level
Xu Zengru	1922	Taipei	agriculture	housewife	primary school & classical Chinese	none
Ye Yingxi	1924	Tainan	landlord	housewife	primary school & a British school in Amoy/Xiamen	classical Chinese
Zeng Zhunmao	1928	Tainan	teacher	housewife	teacher's school	unknown
Zeng Zhunrong	1929	Tainan	teacher	housewife	teacher's school	unknown
Zhan Muchun	1924	Taipei	agriculture	housewife	none	none
Zou Minde	1924	Taipei	company worker	housewife	—	—

Appendix F

Interviewee Data: Educational Background and Occupation

Women	Name of Primary school	Path after Primary Education	Highest level of education or post-educational job	Japanese-era highest level of education
Cai Huiru	Meiji Girls' Primary	Tainan Girls' No. 2 Middle School	teacher at Amoy	middle school
Dong Jianmi	—	Advanced course study - two years	postal office clerk	advanced course study
Gao Chinyan	Tainan Normal School Attached Primary School	medical clinic clerk ("nurse-like")	medical clinic clerk ("nurse-like")	primary education
Hu Aqiao	Hokutō Primary	socks factory	factory worker	primary education
Hu Yan	Gyūchō Primary	Hokukō Home Economics School	teacher	home economics school, then one year of teacher-training program
Hu Yinmei	—	Cook of Japanese police and teachers	food vendor (postwar)	primary education
Huang Chinlang	Hokutō Primary	Taihoku Girls' No. 3 Middle School	high school (postwar)	Taihoku Girls' No. 3 Middle School - second-year student
Lan Beiyin	Suie Primary (1st-4th grade Fall), Saiwa Primary (4th grade Spring), Nanton (5th grade)	sewing lessons	sewing lessons (postwar)	primary school - five years

Women	Name of Primary school	Path after Primary Education	Highest level of education or post-educational job	Japanese-era highest level of education
Lan Dan	Hokutō Primary	Advanced course study - one year	vegetable vendor & doctor's clinic trainee ("nurse-trainee")	Advanced course study - one year
Lan Laizhu	Nishinish Girls' Primary	Huwei Girls' Jr. High (postwar)	Huwei Girls' Jr. High (postwar)	Torao Girls' Middle School - 2nd year
Lan Muqiao	Shinpo Primary	Shinchiku Girls' Middle School	teacher	middle school with teacher's certificate; teacher
Lan Qinhu	Akebono Primary	Taichung Girls' Jr. High (postwar)	master's degree in Japan (postwar)	primary education
Lan Xuyan	Hokukō Girls' Primary (1st-4th grades); Miyamae Primary (5th-6th grades)	Hokukō Home Economics School	teacher	home economics school, then one year of teacher-training program
Li Piqing	Hokutō Primary	Advanced course study - one year	Taipei Middle School Girls' Department - one year	Advanced course study - one year
Lin Banhui	Nishinish Girls' Primary	Kagi Girls' Middle school	teacher	middle school with one year of teacher training
Lin Banxiao	—	Primary School 2-3 years, then special workshop	restaurant help hand	training workshop
Lin Shuqing	Nishinish Girls' Primary	Advanced course study - one year	secretary at a middle school (postwar)	

Women	Name of Primary school	Path after Primary Education	Highest level of education or post-educational job	Japanese-era highest level of education
Lin Xianyan	Asahi Elementary	Taichū Girls' No. 2 School	Yanpin University (postwar)	middle school
Lin Zi	Sōsan Primary	Home	none	primary education
Lu Zhunju	Minato Primary	Broadcasting Bureau	Broadcasting Bureau worker	primary education
Tang Yan	Kōkosui Primary (1st-3rd grades); Hokutō Primary (4th-6th grades)	grocery store salesperson, then at a bowl factory, and then a socks factory	vegetable vendor	primary education
Wang Pipai	Itabashi Primary	Taihoku Girls' No. 3 Middle School	none	middle school
Wang Qiu	—	didn't work for a few years, then at a watch factory	factory worker	primary school - two years
Wang Zhirui	Taichū Normal School Attached Primary School	Shōka Girls' Middle School	teacher at Amoy	middle school with teacher's certificate; teacher at Amoy
Wu Surong	Daike Primary	Advanced course study - two years	local government clerk	advanced course study
Xia Yuchia	Taichū Normal School Attached Primary School	Teachers' Training Program	teacher	teacher-training program

Women	Name of Primary school	Path after Primary Education	Highest level of education or post-educational job	Japanese-era highest level of education
Xu Bian	Tōmon Primary	Advanced course study - two years	Railway telegraph operator	primary education
Xu Kuidi	Nishinish Girls' Primary	government banned her from middle school (her family's registry is Fujian province, not Taiwan)	Huwei Girls' Jr. High (postwar)	primary education
Xu Xianxian	Daitōtei Girls' Primary	Advanced course study - one year	bank clerk	Taihoku Girls' Home Economics School
Ying Agao	—	ironing clothes	ironing clothes	primary education
Ying Xinrui	Hokutō Primary	Advanced course study - one year	sewing lessons - seamstress	Advanced course study - one year
Zeng Chamei	Nisshin Primary	Yanpin Jr. High (postwar)	normal school (postwar)	primary school
Zeng Hin	Hokutō Primary	didn't graduate; helped at home & worked	food vendor	primary school - to 6th grade Fall semester
Zeng Meilin	Dairyū Primary	bus conductor	bus conductor	primary education
Zeng Xiuying	Hokutō Primary	Factory worker	factory worker	primary education
Zeng Yukui	Hokutō Primary	Advanced course study - two years	store accountant	Accounting night class
Zhan Chaodi	Hokutō Primary	clothing factory	factory worker	primary education
Zhan Mei	Hokutō Primary	none	none	primary school - five years

Women	Name of Primary school	Path after Primary Education	Highest level of education or post-educational job	Japanese-era highest level of education
Zhan Yiku	Hokutō Primary	Advanced course study - one year	Taipei Girls' No. 2 Jr. High (postwar)	Taihoku Girls' No. 3 Middle School - first-year student
Zhu Qiufong	Tansui Girls' Primary	Taihoku Girls' No. 3 Middle School	teacher's normal school (postwar)	Taihoku Girls' No. 3 Middle School - second-year student

Men	Primary school	Post-Primary School path	Job under Japanese rule	Japanese-era highest level of education
Huang Caidi	Hokutō Primary	apprenticeship at a restaurant	chef	primary education
Huang Kuosan	Tamio Primary	vocational school in industry	student	vocational school in industry
Lan Binshan	—	middle school	student	middle school - two years
Lan Zikuan	Hokutō Primary	youth school (Jp. seinen gakkō)	Railway telegraph operator	youth school
Lin Kahui	Omoe Primary	vocational school in commerce	student	vocational school in commerce
Lin Xianjin	Omoe Primary	Advanced course study - two years	(student) soldier-in-training	Advanced course study - two years
Shun Minsha	—	helped out at home: salt drying	lumber industry	primary education
Tang Xinde	Omoe Primary	sugar refinery	sugar refinery	primary education
Xu Zengru	Ishipai Primary	Advanced course study - two years	teacher; teacher's vocational school (postwar)	teacher's training program

Men	Primary school	Post-Primary School path	Job under Japanese rule	Japanese-era highest level of education
Ye Yingkun	—	Advanced course study - one year	(student) soldier-in-training	senior high school
Zeng Zhunmao	Takara Primary	Tainan No. 2 Middle School	student	Tainan No. 2 Middle School
Zeng Zhunrong	Takara Primary	middle school	student	middle school
Zhan Muchun	Shusoron Primary	Japan Airlines, then Department of Water	Japan Airlines, then Department of Water	accounting lessons
Zou Minde	Tansui Primary	Tansui Middle School	Bureau of Meteorology	middle school

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