Place, Identity and National Imagination in Postwar Taiwan

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LONDON AND NEW YORK

5 Home is a foreign country

The 'national geography' in postwar elementary education (1945–2000)

> It would be impossible to establish a country for a group of people who had no land. That would be just like orphans without a home.
>
> Common Sense *(NICT 1968b, VI: 63)*

Making the Taiwanese 'Chinese'

After spending only two weeks in Taiwan immediately following the Chinese takeover, Chen Ta-fu, a zoologist who was sent by the KMT to evaluate the existing situation on the island, was very worried. His report to the central government in April 1946 concluded that the most difficult task for the Chinese regime was education. He foresaw the potential problems of half a century of separation and was concerned about the generally negative impression of China among the Taiwanese, which, to his mind, had been created by the Japanese war propaganda (Chen Mingzhong and Chen Xingtang 1989: 3548). His wariness was not unfounded, as the KMT administration under Chen I's leadership discovered that the Taiwanese were ignorant about and sometimes even hostile towards China. Many KMT officials – such as the then Secretary-General Ke Ching-en and Taipei Takeover Commissioner Hsueh Jen-yang – believed that the Taiwanese had been ideologically 'enslaved' (*nuhua*) by the Japanese. Thus education was considered the most effective way to make the Taiwanese 'Chinese' again (ibid. 1989: 93–8, 221–31).

After the KMT retreated to Taiwan in 1949, the party-state's control over education was tightened even further. Chiang Kai-shek paid particular attention to the design of the national curriculum and the content of textbooks to ensure local loyalty from an early age. On many occasions, Chiang reiterated the importance of education and asserted that the KMT's downfall in the Civil War had been triggered by the party's failure to cultivate the 'correct' ideology in culture and education (1984c: 208; 1984h: 35). For example, in an important speech entitled 'The Relationship between Education, Revolution, and State-building' in 1951, Chiang Kai-shek concluded that: 'The most important issue in the anti-communist battle rests firmly on "education" … Our greatest defeat … was due to the mistake made in education and culture … which was difficult to identify … and not easy

to rectify' (1984c: 208). In order to recover the mainland, Chiang stressed that the anti-communist battle would be 'an ideological and intellectual ... war, [and thus] a war of education' (1984h: 37) and its success could 'determine the future of our country' (1984c: 209).

Even before the formal retrocession of Taiwan, the Ministry of Education (MOE) on the mainland had already started its preparation for takeover and decided on an education guideline specifically for Taiwan. In September 1945, the National Education Conference on the Return of Peacetime Conditions (*quanguo jiaoyu shanhou fuyuan huiyi*) was held to draft postwar education policy. During the conference, the principle of *zuguohua* (Sinicization)[1] was approved in the proposed 'Education Policy in Taiwan After the Retrocession'. The policy meant that education in postwar Taiwan would focus on the principle of 'Sinicization' so as to 'make Taiwan the ROC's Taiwan' (Chen Mingzhong and Chen Xingtang 1989: 93, 354). In order to improve the understanding of China and cultivate an affection for the motherland, it was decided that two subjects – *guowen* (Chinese language and literature) and *shidi* (Chinese history and geography) – would be prioritized (Huang Yen-pei 1991: 393). The *zuguohua* education was expected to cultivate a whole generation of postwar Taiwanese who would not only learn about China and the Chinese, but also appreciate the greatness and glory of Chinese civilization, understand their country and 'know their *place*' in the world.

This approach using education to make loyal citizens is a perfect example of how knowledge is socially constructed and education is instrumental in reproducing selected knowledge and sustaining the interests of the privileged. It has been widely recognized that schools not only disseminate knowledge systematically, but also act as the mechanism to reproduce a hegemonic culture and dominant values (Apple 1979, 1996). Sometimes unwittingly, both schools and teachers become the main agents in the process of selection, preservation, distribution and reproduction of knowledge, thereby strengthening the existing power and reinforcing its hegemony. Althusser (1971: 153–4) reminds us of the subtle but powerful influence exerted by school education and calls education the 'number one' ideological state apparatus (ISA). His concept of ISAs[2] reminds us of the hidden ideological agenda buried in the systematic transmission of (selected) knowledge and also embedded in the institutional structure. Apple (1979: 6, 26–30) describes schools as the 'mechanisms of cultural distribution' and the only institution of the many different ISAs that 'creates' people who can find no other alternatives. Thus what better vehicle than education was there to start the postwar loyalty-building and nationalist project? Although attachment to the place where one grew up usually comes naturally as 'a common human emotion', loyalty to one's homeland and country is often constructed and taught in childhood (Tuan 1977: 158–60). This *zuguohua* policy to reshape the Taiwanese in the mould of the Chinese casts a long shadow over educational development in postwar Taiwan.

Since all identities are culturally *positioned* and *framed*, the spatial element in identity formation is too crucial to be overlooked. To understand how Taiwanese identity has been constructed and changed, it is also vital to understand how one's country, homeland and home are perceived and positioned in geography-related education. Many scholars remind us that 'geography matters' because it goes beyond cold figures and neutral facts and provides the social, cultural and political context as well as material settings (Massey and Allen 1984; Warf and Arias 2009). As a discipline, geography (as well as cartography) has always been both practical and deeply political. Its seemingly neutral and scientific appearance can be misleading because the discourse is not really a true reflection of the world but rather 'an intervention in the world' (Gregory 1994: 8). As a cultural product and a political source, geographic knowledge and its related science are constantly used to serve the interests of the state both at home and abroad. Therefore the production of geographical knowledge is usually bound up tightly with militarism and government and is often used to satisfy 'nationalistic demands for civic information and the emblematic needs of an imperial civilization' (Livingstone 1992: 216–17). Although its nature as a scientific discipline has been contested in the West,[3] the subject 'Geography' immediately gained its place as a 'respectable science' when it was first introduced into Chinese education in the early twentieth century. This scientific subject was integrated within a western-style 'modern education' system that had replaced traditional Confucian education in the early 1900s.[4] In other words, geographic knowledge in its western form appeared to be closely associated with imperial power and colonial superiority. Geography education, therefore, was always regarded by Chinese scholars in the twentieth century as the key to achieving modernity.

In Taiwan's case, topics of patriotism, national pride and the concept of 'homeland' have long been highly visible in textbooks. I noticed that the fear of communist infiltration and the need to foster a strong sense of Chinese-ness in Taiwanese children featured heavily in education during the first few decades of the postwar era, and that the worldview and values conveyed in the Geography (-related) textbooks were primarily centred around the idea(l) of a Chinese homeland. However, the China-centric principle started to weaken in the late 1980s, reflecting the emerging trend outside of the educational environment to prioritize Taiwan.

The impact of postwar elementary education on the formation of Taiwanese ideology and identity has been vigorously studied. Most of the research analyzes the design of the national curriculum, examines the political ideologies in textbooks, and looks at how the China-centric principle dominated educational development.[5] Most of the research targets the problems of 'the invisibility of Taiwan' in Taiwan's education, analyzes the deeply ingrained China-centric viewpoint and criticizes the highly politicized content of textbooks.[6] Though valuable, most existing research on the impact of education has paid little attention to the politics of state spatiality instilled through and inscribed in education, and has rarely examined how geography-related education impacts on the sense of place, identity and worldview of students.

To close this gap, this chapter examines the geographic knowledge taught in elementary textbooks (1945–2000) to see how formal education tried to influence

the formation of national identity and sense of place. Though presented as neutral and scientific 'facts', the knowledge chosen for inclusion in textbooks was always selective. The considerations about what should be taught or left out, and what should be encouraged or discouraged, were all fundamentally political. Textbooks were the central and major vehicle to transmit knowledge, form values and mould ideologies. Little wonder then that Apple calls them 'official knowledge' and the 'embodiment of a large process of cultural politics' (1992). In Taiwan's postwar textbooks, it was the imagined Chinese motherland and a glorious shared destiny (between Taiwan and China) that set the tone for elementary geography education. Specifically, this chapter looks at the following issues: How did postwar elementary education encourage children to be 'Chinese?' How is the official rhetoric about 'our nation' and 'our homeland' presented in textbooks? In what ways is knowledge of 'national geography' presented and taught? How and why has Taiwan been imagined and repositioned in the national geography since the lifting of martial law? In other words, the key concern of this chapter is to shed light on the politics of state spatiality in geography education at the elementary level, especially in the teaching of 'official knowledge'.

Postwar national curriculum revisions

Before the retrocession the enrolment rate of school-age children (6–11) in Taiwan's elementary education was 71 per cent in 1945, in stark contrast to only 20 per cent in China for the same period (Chou Chu-ying 2007: 18).[7] When the Chinese takeover team arrived, they felt embarrassed to find how well the Japanese had ruled, despite the blatant discrimination under the surface of modern development (Chen Mingzhong and Chen Xingtang 1989: 358). In order to strengthen control and make Taiwanese children 'Chinese' as quickly as possible, a special scheme was launched in 1948 endeavouring to provide students with free elementary textbooks, and followed in 1949 by the introduction of a six-year compulsory education system (He Li-yu 2008: 89–108). At a time of national financial instability and postwar austerity it appeared that the KMT regime valued the long-lasting impact of education. The free textbooks were the major, if not the only, reading material for most Taiwanese children. Because elementary education was made free and mandatory, school attendance grew dramatically.[8] The combination of a free and compulsory mass education, the duration of six-year schooling, and the availability of free textbooks all impacted greatly upon the formative years of the younger generation Taiwanese. It was particularly effective at a time of scarce resources, military threats, and strictly controlled access to information during the first few decades of the postwar era. After all, the more widely accessible education was, the more effectively ideological domination could be achieved.

Because of its importance in ideological construction, the national curriculum was continuously revised over the years to foster loyalty and patriotism, deliver political ideology in line with the party-state, take account of international development and thus truthfully reflect the politics of the time.[9] The changes made in the first two postwar curriculum revisions (in 1948 and 1952) in Taiwan were relatively minor and aimed only to reflect the fast changing postwar world. Basically, the content of these two curricula were similar to the 1942 curriculum announced on the mainland. As Taiwan's economy improved and the chance of returning to the mainland seemed to recede into the background, the existing curriculum needed to be updated. Thus the curriculum introduced in 1962 ushered in a more pedagogically orientated approach and in many ways was a much improved version.

Significantly, the goal of the 1962 curriculum was to modernize both the approach and presentation of geography textbooks. The first step was to 'rectify' the Chinese traditional *fangzhi* (local gazetteers)[10] format and to change the 'unscientific' and irrational *fangzhi* tradition by adopting a western paradigm, reducing politicized content and abandoning the original format of travel writing (Sun Tang-yueh 1968). The sneering attitude towards the *fangzhi* echoed the Chinese approach of that period to achieving modernity – aspiring to catch up with the West by building scientific and technological capabilities and abandoning traditional culture and knowledge. This tactic demonstrated the century-long pursuit of modernity by the Chinese, motivated by the desire to modernize the country and enhance its international standing. Thus the conscious endeavour to create a western-style Geography education was the official measure to construct a modern education, and the curriculum revision was seen as one of the building blocks for achieving modernity. Because the objective was to rationalize content, the 1962 Geography textbooks were packed with dry descriptions and cold facts and figures and they presented a dull, impersonal and generic kind of geography with little relevance to students, their experiences and surroundings.

Although it aspired to improve education by depoliticizing and rationalizing the curriculum, the implementation of the 1962 version was soon interrupted by the Cultural Revolution that commenced on the mainland. The KMT leadership saw the upheaval in China as a rare opportunity to re-launch its mission to recover the mainland. Accordingly, the Cultural Renaissance Movement (*Zhonghua wenhua fuxing yundong*)[11] was initiated to prepare the islanders for potential warfare and to construct a KMT-defined 'Chinese tradition and culture'. The movement was really an ideological defence, designed to position the KMT as the legitimate and orthodox Chinese regime in the long line of Chinese cultural *daotong*. Working hand-in-hand with the cultural movement, an education reform was launched in 1968 as the major vehicle in the anti-communist cultural struggle. The reform comprised three aspects – the textbook standardization system (*jiaokeshu tongyi bianshenzhi*), extended mandatory education (from six to nine years) and a new national curriculum that strengthened anti-communist principles. In other words, the 1968 education reform created a longer schooling period and provided students with only one version of standardized 'official knowledge'.

Before 1968, the compilation and publication of elementary textbooks was done on two levels. Textbooks for less important subjects (such as Music, Arts, Health Education) and teaching supplements could be compiled and published by

local governments and private publishers. The responsibility for compiling and editing textbooks for the four most important subjects (Chinese, Mathematics, Science and Social Studies) had been with the National Institute for Compilation and Translation (NICT, *Guoli bianyiguan*) as from 1953. This dual system was replaced by the 'textbook standardization' system in 1968 when the NICT took responsibility for all textbook production – from compiling, writing and editing to publishing. Little wonder then that the NICT was identified as one of the most powerful ISAs in postwar Taiwan – one which monopolized the production of knowledge for many decades (Huang Ying-che 2007: 27–39). It also means that geography-related textbooks had been uniformly provided by the NICT since the early 1950s, before textbook standardization was introduced. The long history of keeping the transmission of geographical knowledge and the construction of the ROC national geography in the tight grip of the government demonstrates the importance that spatial knowledge has for the ruling regime.

Chiang Kai-shek played a crucial role in the decision to standardize textbooks. Even though he claimed that he accepted the idea of academic freedom, he was adamant that school textbooks (from elementary education to high school levels) should be standardized so as to lay the foundations for a 'correct' party (Sanminzhuyi) education (1984i). Chiang, who was also actively involved in the design of textbook content, insisted on reviewing all new textbooks and even personally 'corrected' some sentences in textbooks (Wu Cheng-mu 1994: 41–2; Fang Chih-fang 1993: 43). It is fair to say that postwar education policy in Taiwan before the mid-1970s was drawn up entirely according to Chiang's vision which came to dominate every aspect of Taiwanese students' school life. Chiang Kai-shek's ideas about what education should (and could) achieve dictated Taiwan's education development for three decades (Chun 1994; Ou Yung-sheng 1990).

The impact of the 1968 education reform was twofold: the extension of compulsory education increased the state's grip on social engineering and ideological construction while the standardization of textbooks ensured the steady transmission of unified knowledge and the dissemination of values that favoured and strengthened those in power. The policy to standardize knowledge in schools was a clear manifestation of the state's quest to achieve ideological homogeneity and to create a discourse that supported its power – i.e. a 'regime of truth' (Foucault 1980: 126–33) – in which one becomes submerged without realizing or questioning it. The textbook standardization system created an environment in all elementary and junior high schools where students used the same textbooks and had roughly the same lessons during the same week, regardless of their location, gender or socio-economic status. As a result, the geographical knowledge and worldview that schoolchildren were exposed to was not only the same, it was also almost the only source of information they received about the world.

Asple (1979) aptly argues that the knowledge that schools select, preserve and distribute is controlled by the educator and decided by those in power. The control of what kind of knowledge to teach is critical in 'enhancing the ideological dominance of certain classes' (Apple 1979: 26–7) and the effect of standardization of schooling is extremely powerful. It is therefore no wonder that the period of textbook standardization was described as 'the darkest period' in Taiwanese education history (Shih Chi-sheng 1995: 17). However, it was the combination of the three measures (new curriculum, nine-year compulsory education and standardization of textbooks) that enabled school education to act as an ideological agent that systematically prescribed unified values and built national consensus.

Because it was drawn up over-hastily, the 1968 curriculum was provisional and did not remain in place for long. Immediately after its implementation, the MOE started preparations for another revision. After much wider consultation and several carefully planned trials, a new curriculum was announced in 1975 (MOE 1975). This curriculum was acknowledged to be the first conscious step in eliminating overtly politicized content (Ou Yung-sheng 1990). This version consciously moved away from the anti-communist priority and was generally regarded as a much more forward-looking and less dogmatic curriculum than previous ones since the Second World War.[12] Its content was more up-to-date, its design and structure were relatively liberal and well thought-out, and the visual design had also improved greatly, using mostly colour illustrations and less text. As a result, it has remained in place the longest.[13] Although they might seem old-fashioned and rigid by today's standard, the textbooks of the 1975 curriculum undoubtedly ushered in Taiwan's liberalization in education.

Alongside the gradual political opening, calls for education reform had been voiced since the early 1980s. Encouraged by greater transparency and democratic governance, the policy of textbook standardization was increasingly criticized and challenged. However, it was not until martial law was lifted that the system started to relax little by little. In 1989, the 1975 version textbooks underwent a major revision. Reflecting the emergence of Taiwanese awareness and the public demand for democracy at the time, a modified 1975 curriculum – the improved edition (*gaibian ban*) – substantially rectified some of the China-centric or politically incorrect content. This improved edition laid the foundations for and led the way to the open and liberal approach in the 1993 curriculum (MOE 1993). In response to the fast political changes in Taiwan, the textbook standardization system was eventually abolished completely in 1996 at the elementary level, and the long-awaited education reform was finally commenced in 2000.[14] Taiwan's education has since then undergone massive reform and drastically restructured the nine-year compulsory education into one coherent system – 'Nine-Year Integrated Curriculum' (*jiunian yiguan kecheng*).[15]

Textbook examination

It is indeed difficult, if not impossible, to evaluate the effect or quantify the influence of formal education. However, the constant revisions of the national curriculum have demonstrated the political intention to 'get it right' in education so as to control ideological construction and satisfy political needs. Once the selected knowledge, values and political ideologies are systematically taught and constantly reinforced in schools, it is hard for children to think otherwise and not

to take what they are taught as the only universal truth. Against this background, the impact of such a tightly structured and uniformly constructed education system is undeniably immense.

By examining the KMT-orientated 'discourse of place' in elementary textbooks, this chapter unravels the ideological webs and investigates the geographical (and national) imagination that was spun by the state. After all, this chapter is not a historical account of what kind of geography education there has been or a condemnation of the unfairness of KMT China-centric policies. Instead, it is concerned with the politics of state spatiality in education. Moreover, by dissecting geographical knowledge in postwar textbooks, it examines how the ideas of 'home', 'homeland' and 'country' were conveyed in elementary education, precisely because these ideas are not geographical reality, but reflect the social relations and the dominant values that existed in Taiwan at the time. The idea of 'home' (and hence 'self') is the foundation for identity formation and the other two concepts – nation and homeland – have also directly influenced students' sense of place and greatly impacted on how they perceive themselves as part of the greater world.

The most reflected on and idealized place of all is the notion of 'home'. It is often romanticized as the 'ideal place' and a personal refuge and is associated with affection, protection and nourishment. Likewise, the idea of 'homeland' has also been constructed as a haven providing security, comfort and a sense of belonging for a particular group of people. One's sense of identity reflects the place one comes from and is tightly bound up with the culture of the place. It is therefore no wonder that most people think of their culture as 'home', a place where one originated from and ultimately belongs to (Hall 1995). Hence, the feeling of 'inside-ness' is the major component of place identity and gives one the comfort of 'belonging' not only to a group of people but also to a piece of land. This sense of inside-ness/outside-ness (by extension, the feeling of selfness/otherness, inclusion/exclusion) is created not only by one's physical, social and mental position, but also by the intention to identify (or not to identify) with the place.

Unlike the intimate experience that one develops at home, the other two concepts – 'nation' and 'homeland' – do not evolve by themselves but need to be taught and cultivated. This mapping of 'sense of place' in elementary textbooks explores the ways in which children's collective sense of place and worldview have been moulded. By examining these related ideas in textbooks, it becomes clear that postwar geography education has presented a particular way of seeing and knowing the world and has also imposed an officially sanctioned identity.

Generally speaking, geographical education at the elementary level is taught as an integrated subject worldwide (Gerber 2001: 351–3). To allow children to gradually develop their spatial comprehension and geographical knowledge is often taught as a key component of an integrated humanities or social studies course. Nevertheless, before 1968, 'geography' (*dili*) was taught in Taiwan's postwar elementary education as an independent subject in Year 5 and Year 6, and was mainly dedicated to domestic (i.e. Chinese) geography.[16] In addition, geography-related topics were touched upon in 'Common Sense' (*changshi*)[17] (usually for Years 1–2) and 'Social Studies' (*shehui*) (usually for Years 3–4). It was only after the curriculum reform in 1968 that geographical knowledge was integrated into 'Social Studies' with two other subjects ('History' and 'Citizenship').

My research focuses on the examination of 92 elementary textbooks (of the above-mentioned geography-related subjects) that were published by the NICT between 1945 and 2000 before the new education system was introduced.[18] There were many different versions and editions of textbooks over the decades, and hence the choice of which textbooks to examine was not straightforward.[19] In addition to the constant curriculum revisions, another factor making the choice difficult was the long turnover period before a whole set of new elementary textbooks was in place, which usually took six years after each revision. Therefore the transitional stage inevitably extended well into the period after the new curriculum had started, and textbooks based on both curricula were used in schools simultaneously. It should also be noted that the editing and compilation of Taiwan's early postwar textbooks were complicated and unique because of its colonial legacy and the language barrier after 50 years of Japanese rule.[20]

To reduce confusion, the 92 textbooks that I examined are the official textbooks that were recorded and stored in the Digital Archive of Textbooks (*jiaokeshu shuwei wenku*) in Taiwan's Textbook Library (under the jurisdiction of the NICT). A detailed catalogue of the 92 analyzed textbooks is listed in Appendix II. They are divided into six categories according to curriculum version, i.e. post-1945, 1952, 1962, 1968, 1975 and 1993. Because the design of the national curriculum after the 1975 version became less politicized and paved the way for the recent education reform, the textbooks of the last two curricula will sometimes be referred to as the 'later textbooks' in the following discussion, while the first four curricula will be specified as the 'earlier textbooks'. In addition, I also looked at different versions of the national curriculum and teaching guidelines and examined the 'hidden curriculum'[21] in order to gain an in-depth understanding not only of what was taught and valued, but also what was discouraged or even punished in schools.

Recurrent themes in textbooks

Before the political atmosphere started to relax in the 1980s, the anti-communist content in education was omnipresent and manifested itself in many forms, from the obvious tactics of condemning communist regimes and their brutality and celebrating Taiwan's achievement in contrast with the atrocities on the mainland, to many indirect and veiled attempts to encourage students to love their country (Zhonghua),[22] foster affection for the Chinese motherland and their ancestral home, and strengthen allegiance to the ROC. Identity politics in Taiwan have changed beyond recognition since the late 1980s, yet the regime's effort to control identity construction through education has been sustained whichever party has been in power.[23] Even though different in presentation, structure and

editorial priorities, all textbooks before the 1993 curriculum conveyed a sense of Chinese-ness. Moreover, despite the constant assertion of the principle of 'from near to far',[24] the textbooks prioritized a geography education that focused mainly on national issues and nationalist pride, emphasizing a 'selfless attitude' to achieve national interests and to ward off any communist influence. In other words, the priority of postwar geography education was to foster patriotism, a strong Chinese identity and a strict anti-communist ideology.

During the immediate aftermath of the takeover of Taiwan, it was an arduous but important task to foster loyalty and to encourage a strong sense of Chinese identity after 50 years of Japanese rule. Most Taiwanese students had very little knowledge (and most likely a negative impression) of 'that place' across the Strait. To effectively instill in them a positive concept of *zuguo* and strengthen their loyalty, textbooks relied heavily on the romanticization of China as the 'homeland' and on the enhancement of (favourable) knowledge about China. In order to improve the understanding of the ROC and foster patriotism, the KMT authorities understandably placed overwhelming emphasis on China in textbooks. In addition, a more 'intimate' approach was also adopted to cultivate affection and arouse nostalgia for their cultural and ethnic origin. Thus the image of China (i.e. the mainland) was idealized as the ancestral home and long-forgotten origin.

The patriotism fostered in Taiwan's education was two-dimensional, using different phrases to identify students with China (as their 'homeland') and the Chinese (as their 'people'). On the national level, students were taught to pledge their allegiance to the *Zhonghua minguo* (ROC) – which was supposedly China's legitimate political regime and the cultural heir to Chinese history and *daotong* (i.e. 'Confucian orthodoxy'). On a personal level, students were encouraged to conceptualize *Zhonghua* (i.e. China) as their (ancestral and cultural) homeland and affirm their loyalty to *Zhonghua minzu* (the Chinese nation, the Chinese people) as a generic and abstract idea of *we* – including Chinese land, culture and people as a whole. Used interchangeably in textbooks, these phrases were often prefixed with the word *wo* ('my' or 'our', also 'I' or 'we'), to create an unmistakable identification with and become the 'insiders' of China, such as *woguo* (our country), *wo Zhonghua* (our Zhonghua), *wo Zhonghua minzu* (we Chinese), *wo Zhonghua minguo* (our ROC). Interestingly, the interchangeable usage of these identifiers seemed to suggest that they were the same thing, either the abstract ideas of the glorious nation and culture or the political existence of the ROC.

To create this abstract idea of 'we' and 'us', a strategy was developed to mix the China-centric sentiment with some local flavour as proof of the close ties between the two sides of the Taiwan Strait. Since the 1970s, the overwhelming importance placed on the Chinese motherland has been reduced in proportion as the emphasis on Taiwan has increased. Even so, the fundamental principle remained the same and presented Taiwan as the local embodiment of Chinese culture and customs. It was not until democratization after the mid-1980s that the importance of the Chinese origin decreased dramatically. The central position of Taiwan came to the fore and dominated the pedagogical principle in 1993-version

textbooks. Over the decades, the definitions of 'homeland' and 'country' have subtly shifted to reflect different political climates. However, nationalistic themes, patriotic sentiments and the tendency to romanticize the ideas of 'origin' have not changed. There are two dimensions of these recurring topics, as discussed below, emphasizing collective loyalty and strengthening personal attachment.

Our country – nationalist approach

The theme of patriotism has always been consciously incorporated into the education of children worldwide, and a sense of national loyalty and pride is taught early in schools. It is no surprise that the patriotic sentiment permeated the postwar textbooks for every subject in Taiwan. To develop and encourage patriotism, the recurring themes usually focused on introducing national geography and national territory, fostering a strong sense of national pride, cultivating great affection for China and popularizing national symbols and logos.

National geography

Generally speaking, geographic knowledge about China and ROC political geography were the main components of geography education. Three geographical 'facts' about the ROC were repeated throughout the postwar decades, these being its national capital, administrative divisions and national territory. This means that most textbooks consistently claimed that the ROC, being the lawful Chinese regime, consisted of 35 provinces, two *difang* (Mongolia and Tibet) and one Special Administrative Region (Hainan), and that its capital was Nanjing. This rhetoric was consistent with the party line and remained the same until the mid-1990s, being the backbone of the ROC national imagination and representative of the whole of China.

Before 1968, geography was an independent subject for older children in Years 5 and 6. Unlike the textbooks for younger children, the idea of the 'nation' in Geography textbooks was enhanced by geographical knowledge about China and was thus reinforced by a sense of ownership and entitlement. Accordingly, three out of the four volumes of Geography textbooks were dedicated to Chinese geography. Since the relationship between a modern state and its subjects is primarily territory-based, a clearly defined 'national territory' was not only important in improving students' knowledge and a sense of belonging, but it was also essential for the consolidation of political power. Thus the early textbooks demonstrated a strong China-centric perspective and reflected the KMT's perception of China.

Before the geography curriculum underwent modernization in the 1962 revision, Geography textbooks had always started with two lessons – 'Our National Territory' (*woguo de jiangyu*) (I) and (II) – and an 'ROC Map' (Figure 5.1). The main character, Teacher Hua, starts off the lessons by pointing out the East Asia region on a world map and exclaims: 'This is our ROC. Judge for yourself, how many other countries in the world are as big as ours?' In addition to the extolment of how

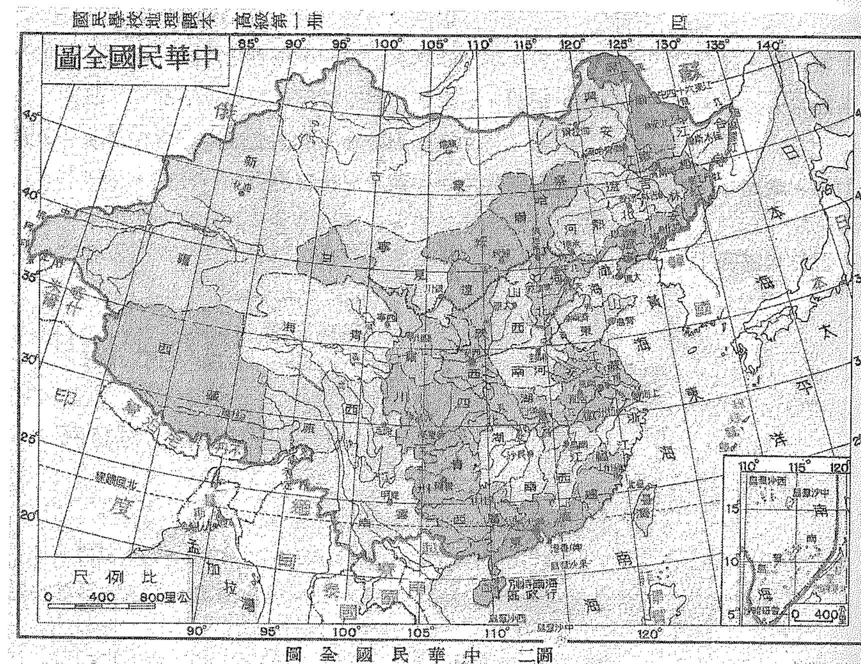

Figure 5.1 'Map of the ROC' (NICT 1952b, I: 4). (Courtesy of the NAER)

glorious China is and how outstanding the Chinese people are, Teacher Hua declares: 'The ROC territory as a whole is indivisible and inseparable. It is a complete entity' (NICT post-1945b, I: 1–2; post-1945c, I: 1–2).[25] At the end of the second lesson, he concludes, 'All of the Chinese territory, territorial waters, and airspace belong to us, and we should try our best to protect its integrity' (ibid. I: 3–4).

The insistence on ROC sovereignty and the 'wholeness' of national territory had been the consistent theme of most textbooks. However, the proportion of (Chinese) domestic geography was reduced after the curriculum revision in 1962 from three-quarters to one-half.[26] It was further decreased when geography was integrated into 'Social Studies' in 1968.[27] As a result, information about Chinese geography was presented in a much simpler and more comprehensive manner, and the presence of China in Social Studies textbooks was pared down dramatically, even though the basic content and fundamental principle remained the same. Ever since then, the geographical knowledge about China in Social Studies textbooks, as a general trend, continued to decrease – from two sections (amounting to two-thirds of one volume) in the 1968- version textbooks to one section in the 1975 version, and finally to less than one lesson in the 1993 version. Even more significantly, in geography teaching after 1975, China was referred to as 'the mainland region' (*dalu diqu*), replacing the usual postwar terms of 'our ROC', 'our Zhonghua' or 'our *dalu*'.

National pride

The glorification of Zhonghua and the celebration of the greatness of China were most prevalent in the earlier textbooks. The lessons for younger year groups (Years 1 to 3, aged 7 to 9) concentrated on the romanticization of China and encouraged patriotic fervour through simple poems and illustrations. For older children (Years 4 to 6, aged 10 to 12), in order to cultivate the loyalty that the regime desired, postwar textbooks presented China as a glorious and great nation, referring to it as the 'land of splendours' (*jinxiu heshan*) (NICT post-1945b, II: 43; post-1945c, II: 50; 1962a, IV: 5, 68, 70–2; 1968b, VI: 1, 63; 1975b, X: 8; 1975c, VII: 82; X: 36).[28] This extolment appeared again and again in textbooks to boost children's sense of pride and patriotism. China was often associated with descriptions such as: 'a long history' (*lishi youjiu*) (NICT post-1945a, V: 17; 1968b, I: 1, 5); 'splendid culture', 'magnificent old civilization' (*wenhua canlan*; *wenhua fada*; *wenhua youjiu*; *wenming guguo*) (NICT post-1945a, V: 17; 1962a, I: 52; 1968b, IV: 57; VI: 1; VIII: 77; 1975a, X: 6; 1975c, VII: 32); 'fabulous landscape' (*shanchuan zhuangli*) (NICT post-1945a, V: 17; 1968b, I: 55; 1975a, X: 23); 'plentiful produce and rich soil' (*wuchan furao*; *wuchan fengfu*) (NICY post-1945a, V: 17; 1968b, I: 5; IV: 57; VI: 1); and 'a vast territory with rich natural resources' (*dida-wubo*) (NICT post-1945a, V: 17; 1952b, I: 1–2; 1968b, I: 1; VII: 17; 1993, IX: 64). In addition, the descriptions of the Chinese were extremely ethnic-centric, verging on racism and suggesting Chinese superiority: 'the first-class race in the world' (*diyideng minzu*) (NICT post-1945a, VII: 23–4), 'the greatness of the Chinese race' (*Zhonghua Minzu de weida*) (NICT post-1945b, II: 42; post-1945c, II: 48), 'the brilliant race (*minzu youxiu*)' (NICT 1952b, I: 2; 1968b V: 19, 72), 'a nation with the longest history' (*lishi zui youjiu de minzu*) (NICT 1962a, I: 44), and 'the greatest … the most rational … the most moral nation in the world' (*shijie shan zui weida … zui jiangdaoli … zui zhongshi daode de minzu*) (NICT 1968b, V: 72).

The earlier textbooks were full of this kind of complacency, encouraging students to be patriotic and proud of being Chinese. It was particularly obvious in the Common Sense textbooks for the lower-year groups. For example, to impress the young children and create the image of a strong country, China's international standing was described as 'the chief of East Asia' (*lingxiu Dong Ya*) and 'one of the world's top four countries' (*minglie siqiang*) alongside America, Britain and Russia (NICT post-1945a, VII: 17, 27; 1968b, IV: 57). This approach not only tried to establish a high status for China as one of the most influential world powers, it also conveyed a sense of superiority over defeated Japan, Taiwan's colonial master before 1945, and thus placed Zhonghua at the centre of students' national imagination. In addition, similar lessons in earlier textbooks also encouraged students to develop an unwavering patriotism and commitment to the national interest. The following phrases were found in the earlier textbooks for children as young as 10 years: to 'die for one's country' (*wei guo sinan*) (NICT post-1945a, VII: 14); to 'save the country from annihilation' (*jiuwang tucun*) (NICT 1968b, VII: 19); to 'strive to build the country' (*jianguo xingbang*

yao nuli) (NICT post-1945a, VI: 49); and to avoid the 'disaster of total extinction of our country and the Chinese race' (*wangguo miezhong zhi huo*) (NICT 1968b, VII: 22).

In terms of presentation, colour illustrations were gradually introduced into textbooks over the years to attract attention and give prominence. The glorification of Zhonghua and the encouragement of patriotism became much more colourful and the content of textbooks more relevant to students' lives. For example, the lesson *weida de Zhonghua* (Great Zhonghua) in the 1962 version featured a 'Double Tenth' National Day (*shuangshi jie*) parade and was taught in early October to coincide with the actual celebrations (NICT 1962a, I: 52–3)[29] (Figure 5.2). A double-page spread, of which the text takes up only a quarter, depicts a parade of uniformed students marching on the street, waving the national flag and holding up photographs of political leaders. On National Day students would have a similar experience to that described in the lesson of taking part in school events and witnessing the celebrations on the streets and in the media. In addition to the usual extolment of the greatness of China, the celebration of the greatness of Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek was given equal weight. An anti-communist message was clearly stated in the lesson, calling on students to embark on a mission to fight Communism, recover China and eventually establish a strong country. In effect, the lesson created a code of conduct, not only showing the students how to behave in the national celebrations, but also guiding them to be patriotic and to express patriotic feelings through action.

Figure 5.2 'The Great Zhonghua' (NICT 1962a, I: 52–3). (Courtesy of the NAER)

Although visually colourful and well presented, the next (1968) version textbooks were overtly more politicized and China-centric because of the political pressure from the Cultural Renaissance Movement. The opening section of the eight-volume Social Studies textbook was 'Lovely Zhonghua (*ke'ai de Zhonghua*), which praised the beauty of China but bore little relevance to children's daily lives (NICT 1968b, I: 1–2) (Figure 5.3). It was illustrated by a double-page spread, with the text superimposed on a golden cutout in the shape of an ROC map. Four famous landscapes were arranged around the map, positioned according to their geographic location – the Gobi Desert in the northwest, Guilin in the southeast, *Zhaoling pailou* in the northeast[30] and Taiwan's Shihmen Dam[31] in the southeast. The text inserted in the centre stated: 'Zhonghua Zhonghua, I love Zhonghua ... the population is vast, yet we are closely connected like a family' (NICT 1968b, I: 1–2). Although the praise for China was similar to that in previous versions, the language here was much more formal and impersonal than that used in the 1962 version. In addition to the usual extolment of China's long history, rich resources and huge population, half of the lesson in fact emphasized the greatness of Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek, linking the abstract idea of one's country with political leaders. It suggested that the idea of Zhonghua was equivalent to that of the two political leaders and the greatness of Zhonghua also vouched for the superiority of Sun and Chiang.

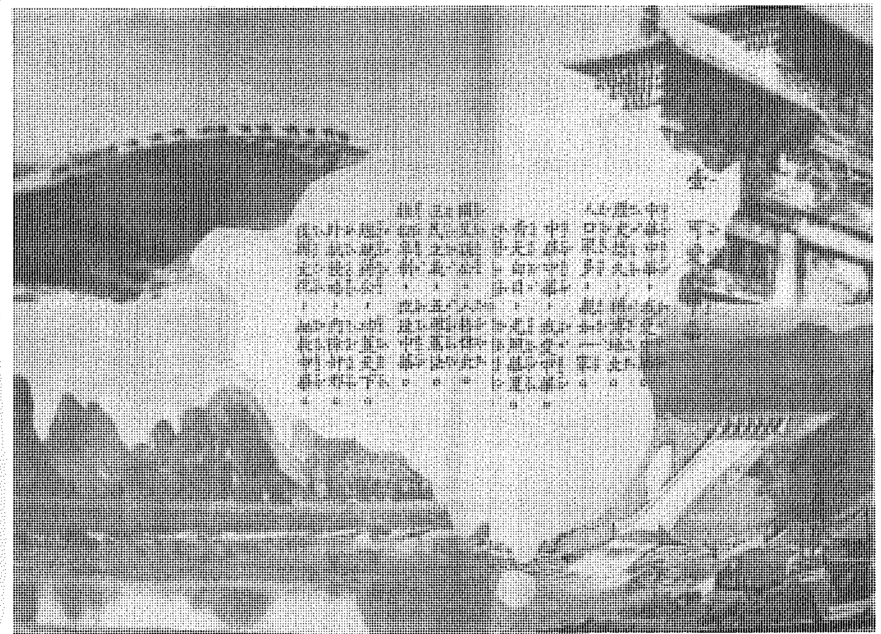

Figure 5.3 'Lovely Zhonghua' (NICT 1968b, I: 1–2). (Courtesy of the NAER)

National symbols

Generally speaking, ROC national symbols were ubiquitous in elementary education – such as the national flag, the *qiuhaitang* icon of the ROC territorial map, the icon of *shuangshi* (double-tenth),[32] portraits of national leaders, political emblems and traditional philosophy – in both textbooks and in the physical setting of schools. The indoctrination laid the foundations for and naturalized patriotic sentiment in education. Moreover, it was also a strategy to legitimize ROC sovereignty and support KMT authority. It was therefore no surprise to find that lessons were filled with benevolent descriptions of political leaders, prominent images of national icons and politically significant place names and slogans. In comparison to textual description, the visualization of national icons was particularly powerful. For example, in the above-mentioned lesson 'Lovely Zhonghua' (NICT 1968b, I: 1–2), the rough silhouette of the ROC map in bright yellow was eye-catching, and its text eulogized the 'glorious influence' of the KMT, represented by its party emblem *qingtian bairi*[33] and its *datong*[34] philosophy.

The importance of the visual representation of national icons was demonstrated in the lesson 'National Flag' in an earlier textbook (NICT post-1945a, I: 7). At the beginning of the Chinese takeover, textbooks were mostly printed on rough paper in black and white. This particular lesson had the only coloured illustration in all eight volumes of Common Sense textbooks (Figure 5.4). The image of the ROC national flag dominated the page to ensure that Taiwanese students could easily recognize and correctly draw their national flag. The overwhelming usage of the national flag and other icons in textbooks and in schools later became even more prominent and penetrated school life. The most common icons in the earlier textbooks included the sign of *shuangshi*, the ROC map, a book of Sanminzhuyi, the image of the then President and the Presidential Office. They were used liberally as visual decoration or as the material setting imitating the students' daily environment. Thus they were not just used to accentuate national pride (e.g. the National Day celebration, NICT 1968a, III: 28–9; 1975a, I: 23; 1975b, I: 24–5), but were also ubiquitously employed to show the normality of their existence in students' daily lives (e.g. Children's Day) (NICT 1968a, II: 25), mark the seasonal change (e.g. New Year celebration) (NICT 1975b, I: 51) and demonstrate the layout of a typical elementary school (NICT 1975b, I: 6–7).

The usage of political leaders (particularly Chiang Kai-shek) as a national icon was most interesting. It seems that the hyped-up descriptions of their greatness were in fact an indicator of a period of political instability. For example, Chiang Kai-shek was first referred to simply as 'President Chiang' in the 1950s textbooks (NICT post-1945a, VIII: 50), but the extolment reached its peak in the 1960s, when he was revered as 'the great leader' (*weida de lingxiu*) (NICT 1962a, II: 70; 1975a, VII; 83; 1975b, IV: 81–2), 'the saviour of the Zhonghua nation' (*Zhonghua Minzu jiuxing*) (NICT 1952a, II: 6; 1962a, I: 59; 1968b, I: 18; IV: 55; VII: 53, 69) and 'the world's great man' (*shijie de weiren*) (NICT 1952a, II: 6; 1962a, I: 59; 1968b, I: 18; IV: 55; 1975a, II: 37–9, 45; 1975b, VII: 82). These descriptions were gradually toned down and replaced with much more neutral

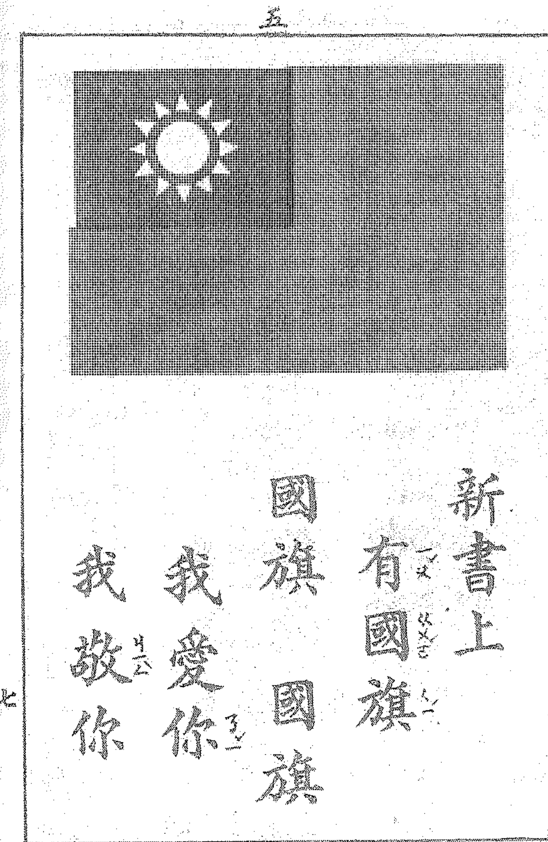

Figure 5.4 'National Flag' (NICT post-1945a, I: 7). (Courtesy of the NAER)

ones, such as 'Mr President Chiang Kai-shek' (*Zhongtong Jiang Zhongzheng xiansheng*) (NICT 1968a, III: 35–8), and the glorification diminished rapidly in the 1980s. The more personal and intimate approach was also reflected in the visual representation of Chiang, the early image of a military strongman being replaced with that of a gentle old man, who was devoted to his children and grandchildren and close to the people. By the 1990s, the once prominent status of Chiang Kai-shek was reduced, and his presence was almost entirely absent from textbooks and his statues and portraits removed from the campus.

Qiuhaitang

Of all national icons, the shape of the Chinese territory has always had the potential to arouse emotion and nostalgia. Since the turn of the twentieth century, the

shape of the Chinese territory was commonly compared to a begonia leaf (*qiuhaitang ye*). The analogy between a 'complete Chinese territory' and a perfect 'begonia leaf' had entered education as early as the 1920s[35] and begonia leaf-shaped maps of China were commonly found in the textbooks of the time (Figure 5.5). Even though the maps in the textbooks of the early twentieth century were rough and inaccurate, the recurrence of *qiuhaitang*-shaped maps enabled students to easily identify (Republican) Chinese territory. Against the background of imperial aggression, the romance of *qiuhaitang*, a beautiful and fragile land, became deeply rooted in the national psyche. Although territorial boundaries might be altered in history (e.g. Mongolia declared independence), the deep-rooted romance of an unimpaired begonia leaf (i.e. an intact national territory) lived on.

The mass popularity of the novel *Qiuhaitang* [*Begonia*] by Qin Shouou did much to confirm this analogy. *Qiuhaitang* was considered the most popular novel during the Sino-Japanese War period and its nationalist implications reflected the

Figure 5.5 'Let's Celebrate' (NICT 1975b, I: 24). (Courtesy of the NAER)

misfortune that befell China at the time. In the novel Qin Shouou associated the innocent protagonist (Qiu Haitang) with the quality of purity and decency, and drew comparisons between Qiu's own 'unfulfilled manhood' and China's frustrated sovereignty (D. Wang 2003: 152). To express his patriotism, Qiu Haitang drew an insect-infested begonia leaf which symbolized China traumatized by imperialist encroachment. Because of the mass appeal and popularity of the novel, this analogy became ingrained in the consciousness of the Chinese people and the story has been repeatedly adapted in various media – film, television, stage play, etc. The image of China as a begonia leaf was thus imprinted in the public imagination as the embodiment of 'the spirit of the Chinese people' and a popular 'representation of Republican China' (ibid.: 137, 161).

Anderson (1991: 175–6) calls the usage of a distinctive shape of any national territory a 'tactic of logoization', because the 'map as logo' can be reproduced infinitely in posters, publications, consumer goods, merchandise, decorations and designs, etc. Owing to their easy accessibility, instant visibility, recognizability and detachment from reality, map logos are extremely useful in penetrating 'deep into the popular imagination, forming a powerful emblem for the anticolonial nationalisms being born'. In education, the influence of a map logo is even more powerful, and the omnipresence of the *qiuhaitang* icon in textbooks created the illusion of a scientific and pre-existing fact that is often taken as 'true'. Because of this well-known analogy, students could easily identify the icon and associated it with the ROC and the concept of national integrity. Hence, it was utilized in textbooks to strengthen the ROC's national imagination, and also served to legitimize its territorial claims on both Tibet and Mongolia.

One of the most striking textbook designs was the cover of the early Common Sense (post-1945 version), which applied national icons conspicuously (Figure 5.6). It used rich symbolism, encouraging students to take part in the construction of a modern China. The illustration was dominated by two schoolchildren on a raised platform with a towering building on top of a pile of books, and suggested that the nation-building process was based on knowledge, education and modern construction. The boy, on the left, holds out a ruler, measuring and constructing the building blocks at the centre, while the girl, on the right, steps up from below to paint the ROC map logo. While the boy is firmly positioned on the stage, the girl's posture is full of action and suggests a keenness to catch up with her male counterpart in the construction of the nation. On the platform floor, there are still loose blocks waiting to be added. Where the girl stands, a scale is shown to indicate the ideal of equality in the future. On the horizon, the nation's bright future based on science and technology is symbolized by a cargo ship and airplanes. The illustration embodied the KMT's modernist dream and depicted the promising prospect of national power and development. Here, the map logo of *qiuhaitang* set the nationalist tone for the visual reading. Clearly, the cover design aimed to portray a new China, to be built by a whole new generation of educated youth taking central position on the global stage.

Of course, the use of the ROC map logo was not limited to the earlier textbooks but was continuously applied throughout the postwar decades. It was not until the

Figure 5.6 The cover of Common Sense textbook (NICT post-1945a, I). (Courtesy of the NAER)

1990s, however, that the romantic spell of the *qiuhaitang* image was broken. By formally recognizing Mongolian independence and the existence of the PRC, the once 'perfect shape' was 'deformed' by the exclusion of Mongolia. As a result, in the textbooks of the 1993 curriculum version, the map logo, the once intact *qiuhaitang*, was intersected by a borderline. Consequently, the maps of China were no longer marked as the 'map of the ROC', but entitled 'map of the mainland region' towards the end of the 1990s. A new map logo of Taiwan – *fanshu*[36] – started to emerge and came to dominate not only the textbooks but also Taiwanese daily life.

By presenting a simple image, without the help of any text or captions, the familiar contour and border lines of a map logo, no matter how roughly drawn, suggest that those borders are natural and the territorial claim absolute. Thus the *qiuhaitang* logo not only idealized the national imagination and warranted an unquestionable

territorial reality, but also naturalized the existence of the ROC and the KMT regime. In fact, the simpler the map was, the more iconic it became. These images made it clear to students that 'this is the ROC and *our* national territory'.

Our homeland – personal attachment

Unlike the previous tactic to enhance knowledge about China, the romanticization of the idea of 'homeland' was a much more intimate approach to foster affection and create commitment. In the earlier textbooks the sentiment of 'homesickness' was presented as sweet nostalgia and a passionate pursuit of 'origins' and 'roots'. The textbooks presented an idea of the 'homeland' as a romantic 'collective memory' and consciously constructed China as the true homeland and spiritual belonging of the Han Chinese worldwide, even though the 'China' of the textbooks was primarily the mainland. By immersing the students in melancholic longing, the strategy of nostalgia created a seemingly shared history and established imagined ethnic and cultural roots (Lowenthal 1985: 4–13). This pull of the past not only glorified the image of China, but also idealized the notion of a shared origin that provided a sense of spiritual belonging for students to yearn for. In order to construct a romantic homeland, several recurring themes were highlighted in elementary textbooks, including the importance of *laojia* and *guxiang*, a sense of 'we are family', home is where one's father came from and a Han-centric perspective.

Laojia and guxiang

In contrast to the consistent emphasis in the official curriculum on the importance of students' own environment and the editorial principle of 'from-near-to-far', local geography was almost entirely absent and the focus of 'domestic geography' was primarily placed on the mainland in the earlier textbooks (B. Chang 2011). Mainland China was typically referred to as *laojia* (old home),[37] *guxiang* (native village, old home, homeland) or *woguo* (our country) (NICT post-1945a, V: 17; 1962a, I: 1; IV: 3; 1962b, I: 46; II: 12). These terms were used interchangeably to indicate the origin of the Taiwanese, i.e. China. For example, in the post-1945 version, the lesson 'I Love Zhonghua' called China 'the *laojia* of our fellow countrymen' (*women tongbao de laojia*), and ended the lesson by stating 'I love our *laojia*, I love Zhonghua' (NICT post-1945a, V: 17). In other words, Taiwanese students were incorporated into the Chinese nation and were encouraged to see Zhonghua (i.e. the mainland) as their ancestral home. Similar messages could be found in many textbooks for all subjects. For example, in a lesson of Social Studies (NICT 1962a, IV: 2–5), Hsin-min's[38] father reminds him not to forget their splendid homeland in Nanjing and that he should take responsibility for recovering the lost land one day. Here, the naming of Nanjing as *guxiang* was highly symbolic. Since Nanjing was the ROC capital, the father's desire to return home echoed the national goal of recovering the mainland that was bequeathed to the Taiwanese younger generation.

To support the discourse about the Chinese homeland, the most common tactic was to popularize the narrative that the majority of Taiwanese were the descendents of Chinese migrants who had left the mainland since the late seventeenth century and emphasize the close ties between Taiwan and the Minnan area in China (NICT 1962a, I: 46; 1975a, II: 33; 1975b, II: 33; 1993, VII: 95). Even in the less politicized 1975-version textbooks, a similar message was conveyed through the simple map of Chinese migration routes to Taiwan. The map, entitled 'Our *laojia*' (*women de laojia*) (Figure 5.7), delivered a clear message that the Taiwanese were 'originally from the mainland' (NICT 1975a, II: 33). The visualization not only showed the close proximity of Taiwan and China, but also demonstrated the cultural lineage through the insertion of pictures of similar artifacts and architectural styles across the Strait, linking Chinese cultural influence closely with Taiwanese development.

Again in the 1993-version, when most references to Chinese influence had been removed from the text, an illustration of the strong bonds between the two sides of the Strait remained. These vein-like migration routes echoed the theme of the lesson – searching for one's roots (*xungen*) and knowing one's origin. Such

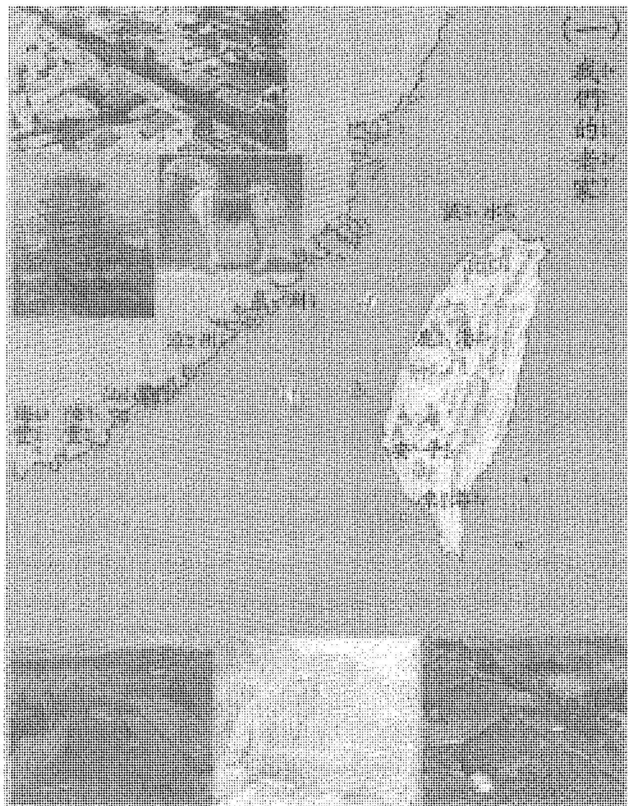

Figure 5.7 'Our Laojia' (NICT 1975a, II: 33). (Courtesy of the NAER)

visual representation of cross-Strait links was extremely powerful in reinforcing the claim that all residents of Taiwan (the original immigrants and the newly arrived mainlanders) should work together for a better future, regardless of how long they had been there (NICT 1975a, VII: 36–7; VIII: 140; 1993, VII: 91). The usage of set terminologies and clever manipulation of images supported the narrative that 'we are all from the mainland' (*women cong dalu lai*) (NICT 1968b, IV: 1–2; 1975a, VII: 54–7) and thus established a common mindset that China (i.e. the mainland) was the spiritual homeland of all Taiwanese.

We are family

By the mid-1960s the phrases that had previously been used to refer to the mainland, such as *laojia* and *guxiang*, were gradually phased out and there emerged a new approach to interpreting the relationship between Taiwan and China as 'one family' – i.e. the islanders and those from (and on) the mainland belonged to one (Chinese) family. Taiwanese students were encouraged to see themselves as members of this big family, as textbooks constantly reiterated the statement 'we are all Chinese' (*women doushi Zhongguoren*) (NICT post-1945a, I: 30; 1962a, I: 47–8; 1968b, V: 19). The focus was thus shifted from fostering loyalty to a particular piece of land (mainland China) to cultivating a kinship with fellow Han Chinese wherever they were. Although this rhetoric started in the 1962-version textbooks, it became more prominent after the 1968 version – comparing one's country to a family, naming Huangdi[39] as the common ancestor, and urging all members of the family to befriend each other (NICT 1968b, V: 21, 23, 28; VI: 1, 63). The previous rhetoric –Taiwan is part of glorious Zhonghua – was replaced by another – both Taiwanese and mainlanders belong to the same Zhonghua family.

To justify the rhetoric of 'we are family', the national myth of a shared origin had to be firmly established. The metaphor of tree and roots was often used to construct a sense of family. For example, the lesson 'In Search of Our Roots (*zhuixun women de gen*)' (NICT 1975a, VII: 36–7) best demonstrated how the sense of 'one family' was invented (Figure 5.8). It used the allegory of a tree to explain the ethnic origin shared by all Chinese people worldwide. The lesson has a double-page spread consisting mainly of illustrations and photographs. On the left hand side, the page is dominated by the complicated aerial root system of an ancient banyan tree. Symbolically, this 'tree of (Chinese) life' is the source of the vigour, excellence and achievement of the Chinese and suggests one single origin that nourished a shared Zhonghua culture and enabled the Chinese to thrive and prosper. There are three superimposed images – an image of a tree formed by a *quihaitang*-shaped canopy and two photos of almost identical houses across the Strait in the same Minnan style. There is only one caption – 'All children of Huangdi are from the same origin' (*huangdi zisun doushi tonggen sheng*).

On the right-hand page, the main text is superimposed on the image of a full moon – a common metaphor in Chinese literature to describe the 'family reunion', suggest a longing for home and symbolize a perfect union.[40] Under the full

Figure 5.8 'In Search of Our Roots' (NICT 1975a, VII: 36–7). (Courtesy of the NAER)

moon, a father figure delivers a message emphasizing the importance of home and homeland. Holding a boy on his lap, he points at the full moon and asks: 'Where does the water come from if there is no fountainhead? How can plants grow and flourish if there are no roots? Where will one be if we do not have ancestors? … There is always a root for everything'. Under the guidance of a father figure, students are taught to appreciate the shared Chinese origin, value the importance of national unity and strive for the greater good of the 'big family' so as to build a 'New China' as envisioned by the KMT.[41]

To enable young children to understand this intangible and abstract idea, a new approach was devised to compare the concept of 'country' to one's family. At the same time, this strategy reflected the political anxiety caused by heightened isolation internationally and growing conflicts between the mainlanders and the islanders in the 1970s. The need to strengthen cultural connections and ethnic ties between Taiwan and China became increasingly urgent. In other words, the emphasis was shifted from persuading the Taiwanese to 'be Chinese' to constructing a harmonious and also homogeneous Chinese family. The subtle modification had the effect of connecting the mainlanders and the Taiwanese on a more equal footing and categorizing people from both sides of the Taiwan Straits as one group.

References to the mainland as the 'ancestral home' were ubiquitous in textbooks. Many lessons in the earlier textbooks emphasized the importance of a harmonious and united country, describing the Huang-Huai Plain (*Huanghuai pingyuan*)[42] as 'the cradle of all Chinese' (NICT 1962b, II: 42; 1968b, VI: 1) and regarding Huangdi as the symbolic ancestor (NICT 1962a, I: 47–8; 1968b, V: 21, 28). To complete this myth and strengthen the national imagination of 'cultural China', the overseas Chinese were described as the 'children of Zhonghua' (*Zhonghua ernu*) (NICT 1962a, II: 44; 1968b, V: 36). This approach of creating a sense of 'one family' reflected a new trend, which not only highlighted the multicultural and multi-racial components within this Chinese family, but also aimed at cementing the ties between various groups in Taiwan.

Home is 'where one's father is from'

It is natural for those who had left their hometown to yearn for the place where they were born and grew up, and even to romanticize its warmth and security. In this sense, the place where one grew up became part of a person, not only forming his or her values, character and behaviours, but also shaping their intimate feelings and identity (Bachelard 1994). Thus the idea of *jiaxiang* usually conveys a strong sense of 'being' and 'belonging', and arouses a longing to 'return'. However, postwar education fostered and called for another kind of homesickness. By teaching the students to empathize with their fathers' nostalgia and to imitate what they *should* feel and behave, the textbooks evoked second-hand homesickness and an inauthentic yearning for a distant land to which most students had never been.

This 'taught homesickness' manifested itself in many textbooks over the years. Significantly, the idea(l) of 'we are family' was usually conveyed by father figures in the textbooks, such as a male teacher, headmaster or local political leader. For example, a headmaster in a Social Studies lesson teaches the students to show respect for the national flag and national anthem, and also reminds them to constantly bear in mind their mission to rescue their suffering fellow countrymen on the mainland (NICT 1962a, I: 61–2). In another lesson a male village head encourages students at their graduation ceremony to strive to be good citizens and establish a new China of Sanminzhuyi (NICT 1962a, II: 70). Apparently, there was no sign of female characters playing a crucial leading role or giving guidance. Two main groups of people in Taiwan were represented in Social Studies textbooks by two sets of father and son – schoolboy Hsin-min and his father, and schoolboy Chien-kuo[43] and his father. The former represented those who came from mainland China after the Second World War, while the latter represented the local Taiwanese whose ancestors had come to Taiwan 150 years earlier. The discourse of 'we are family' and the eventual goal of 'returning to the old home' were clearly passed down from father to son. As an example of the mainlanders in Taiwan, Hsin-min's father laments that their homeland in Nanjing has been occupied by the 'evil communist bandits' (*wan'e de gongfei*) and exhorts his son always to remember to recover that splendid land (NICT 1962a, IV: 2–5). As a representative of Taiwan's younger generation responding to their fathers' call 'not to forget their homeland', Hsin-min solemnly declares: 'We should recover the mainland as soon as possible' (ibid.: 9). In comparison, Chien-kuo's father, representing the local Taiwanese, elaborates on the strong cultural and ethnic connections between Taiwan and China and calls Fujian their *laojia*

(ibid.: 46–8). Using the idealistic metaphor of 'home', he says that one's country is like 'the home of its people', and hence, all Chinese are 'the children of Huangdi' and members of the Chinese family.[44] Thus all members of this big family (including the Han, Manchurians, Mongolians and Muslims as well as all ethnic minorities) should endeavour to support each other and build the family together (NICT 1962a, I: 48; 1968b, V: 21–4, 29–32). In other words, children were encouraged to 'miss' their fathers' home and prioritize where their father (or male ancestors) came from rather than pay attention to the *here* and the *now* of their own lives in Taiwan, give equal weight to their mother's identity or consider alternative viewpoints.

A Han-centric perspective

Obviously, the 'one family' message of this period placed the emphasis squarely on creating ethnic harmony and particularly on easing the deep ethnic conflicts.[45] Hence, it was interesting to see how the textbooks used Hsin-min's and Chien-kuo's fathers to stress their Chinese-ness. It is ironic, however, that there was no mention of Taiwan's minority groups in such a narrowly defined 'multi-racial' discourse. In fact, Taiwan's indigenous peoples had been forgotten in most of the textbooks. Any positive reference to Taiwan and Taiwan's development, both textual and visual, always had to do with the contribution of the Chinese (either the Han Chinese people, the Qing court or the postwar KMT regime). The absence of the indigenous peoples created the illusion that Taiwan's development only started after the arrival of the Chinese.

The Han-centric mentality had long been entrenched in Taiwan's education and was particularly rife in earlier textbooks. Almost all the authoritative figures in these earlier textbooks (such as teachers, police, community heads and civil servants) were male Han Chinese. Such an all-encompassing 'Chinese identity' was a discourse created by the mainlander-dominated regime and transmitted through education with a strong patriarchal tendency.[46] Taiwan's indigenous people were at most grouped with other Chinese ethnic minorities and presented as part of the fabric of a great multicultural and multi-racial family (Figure 5.9). On the surface the ethnic discourse stressed a harmonious ethnic relationship. In reality, the myth of a 'multi-racial melting pot' of cultural China implied a homogeneity of all ethnic minorities. Only by conforming to Chinese values and ideology and accepting the dominance of Chinese culture could these minorities be elevated and considered 'cultured' and, therefore, part of the Chinese family. As a result, Taiwanese indigenous peoples were marginalized and disappeared into a homogeneous category of 'the Chinese minority'.

Moreover, in the discussion of the island's history and development, the indigenous peoples were portrayed as barbaric and primitive in contrast to the civilized and cultivated Chinese. Although the textbooks recognized that they had arrived much earlier than the Han Chinese, they were described as *turen* (the native) or at best *shandi tongbao* (mountain compatriots), confining their existence to the deep mountains (e.g. NICT post-1945a, VII: 51; 1962a, I: 49; IV: 12; 1975a, VII:

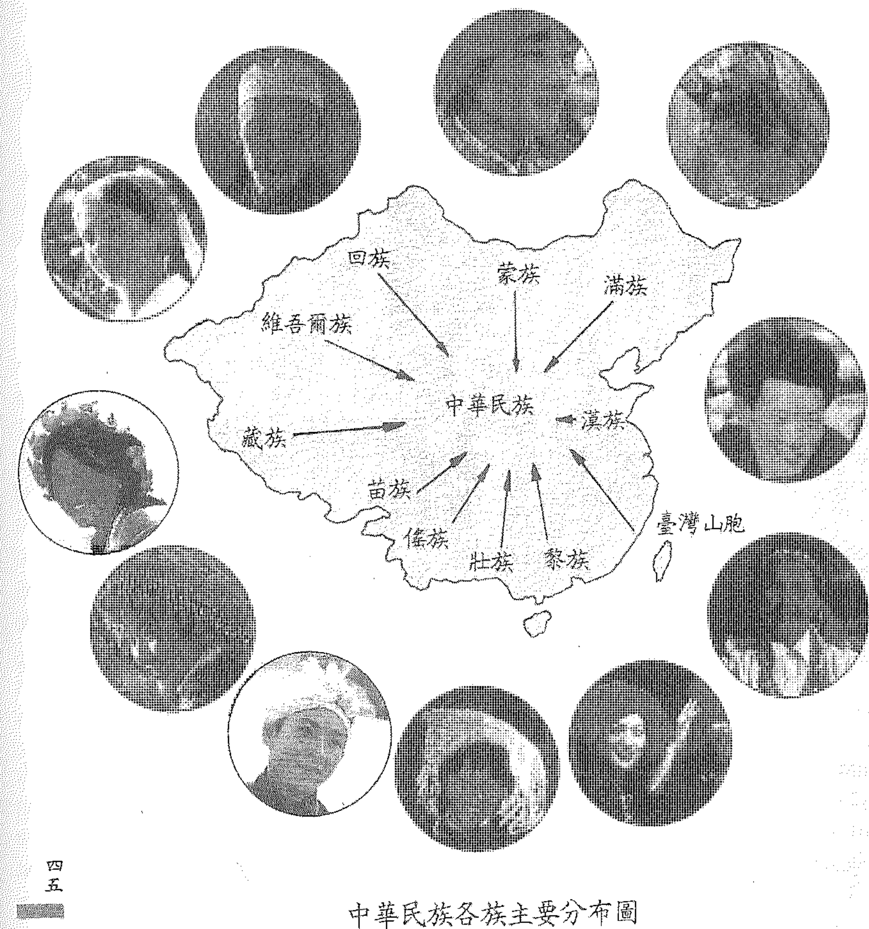

Figure 5.9 'Distribution of Chinese Ethnic Minorities' (NICT 1975c, IX: 45). (Courtesy of the NAER)

44–5, 53; 1975b, IX: 10, 45). After their earlier role as merely the 'Chinese minority', Taiwanese indigenous people started to make a brief appearance in the 1975-version Social Studies textbooks. However, the ways in which they were presented makes disturbing reading. For instance, the serious social issues that the indigenous peoples faced in the mountain areas – such as unemployment, the exodus of young people and lack of public services – were presented as unique problems brought about by their traditional lifestyle, alcoholism and low productivity (NICT 1975a, VI: 66; 1975b, VI: 66). In addition, textbooks tended to emphasize and even mythify their differences and exoticism. For example, the story of a Chinese interpreter Wu Feng[47] (Figure 5.10) appeared in both the 1962

事，辦理山地同胞的事情。「吳鳳做了通事以後，熱心為山地人服務。在他四十多年的服務期間，山地人的生活一天天的進步了。因此，他們都對他非常尊敬。當時山地同胞有一種風俗，就是用人頭祭神。吳鳳很誠懇的勸導他們，不要做這種殘忍的事。有一年，發生地震和旱災，山地同胞以為是神降的災禍，向吳鳳要人頭來祭神。吳鳳勸阻無效，便對他們說：『好吧！就給你們一個人頭。明天早晨有一個穿著紅色衣服，戴著紅色頭巾的人，從那山坡經過，你們就把他殺了。』第二天早晨，他自己穿著紅色的衣服，戴著紅色的頭巾，騎著馬，走上那山坡。山地人看到了，立刻就把他射死。後來發現被殺的是他們最尊敬的吳鳳，驚惶萬分，也非常悲痛。」

最後，新民的父親又說：「吳鳳是犧牲了。但是他的偉大精神，感動了這些山地同胞，以後他們再也不用人頭祭神了。」

研究與討論

（一）本地有那些迷信，有什麼壞處？
（二）吳鳳為什麼不怕死？
（三）吳鳳做人做事的態度，有那些地方值得我們效法？
（四）參觀附近的古蹟，並研究古蹟的由來。
（五）本地有那些鄉賢？講述他們對社會的貢獻。

Figure 5.10 'A Local Virtuous Man', Social Studies (NICT 1962a, I: 50–1). (Courtesy of the NAER)

and 1975 versions of Social Studies textbooks (NICT 1962a, I: 49–51; 1975a, III: 65–7, 74). The lessons praised Wu's brave sacrifice as a 'selfless' act in an attempt to stop the local headhunting tradition.[48] It was not until 1989 that the lesson was removed from all textbooks after fierce protests from activists against the demeaning representation of indigenous peoples in general and the fabrication of the story in particular. After the education reform in 2000 the number of references to indigenous peoples in the textbooks increased threefold, and they were portrayed in a more positive light.[49]

Starting from the 1990s, the China-centric tendency became considerably less prominent and Taiwan's complex colonial history and multi-ethnic mix were presented in a more balanced way. The differences are best seen by comparing the changes in presentation and the approach to introducing how Taiwan progressed through time in the later textbooks. Although the content about Taiwan had increased in the 1975-version textbooks, the introduction to Taiwan's history still started with the arrival of the Han Chinese (NICT 1975a, VII: 60–7; 1975b, VII: 58–65). The indigenous people only appeared in the lesson about the contribution made by Shen Baozhen, the then Imperial Inspector Minister of the Qing court. It stated that: 'Whenever we think about the development of the mountain areas, we will think of Shen Baozhen' (NICT 1975a, VII: 68; 1975b, VII: 66). The illustration on the same page showed a Qing official benevolently

placing his hand on the shoulder of an indigenous chieftain. The encounter between the Qing Chinese and the indigenous people was symbolically portrayed against a background of Qing soldiers engaged in road construction on higher ground, with the slightly smaller figures of indigenous people being placed lower down in the misty wilderness.

In the improved edition of the 1975-version textbooks, which were published mostly in the 1990s, the presentation changed, but the Han-centric tendency remained. The opening pages about Taiwan's past included a double-page illustration depicting three scenes – a difficult sea voyage undertaken by Chinese settlers through rough water (i.e. indicating the Chinese origin of the islanders); the backbreaking work by the Han settlers to turn the wilderness into farmland (i.e. attributing Taiwan's development solely to the Chinese); and the construction of a railway by the Qing (symbolizing that the foundations of Taiwan's modernity were laid by the Chinese) (Figure 5.11). It was apparent that the story about Taiwan's development was told from a Chinese perspective: Taiwan was regarded as a Chinese island, and its development was their achievement alone. In similar lessons in the 1993-version textbooks the account of Taiwan's development was modified to include the pre-Han existence of the indigenous peoples and also the island's long and complicated colonial history and heritage (Figure 5.12). The images of the same opening pages about Taiwan's development presented different stages of the island's past – indigenous hunter and gatherer, European explorer, Chinese immigrants and Qing rule, Japanese modernization and postwar mass education and construction programmes. Paired with the rich visual images, the text emphasized the multi-racial and multicultural characteristics of Taiwanese society. In this way, the new textbooks took a much more progressive view of Taiwan (not simply as a Chinese island), considering its multiple cultural influences and reducing the China-centric tendency. Even so, it was still presented

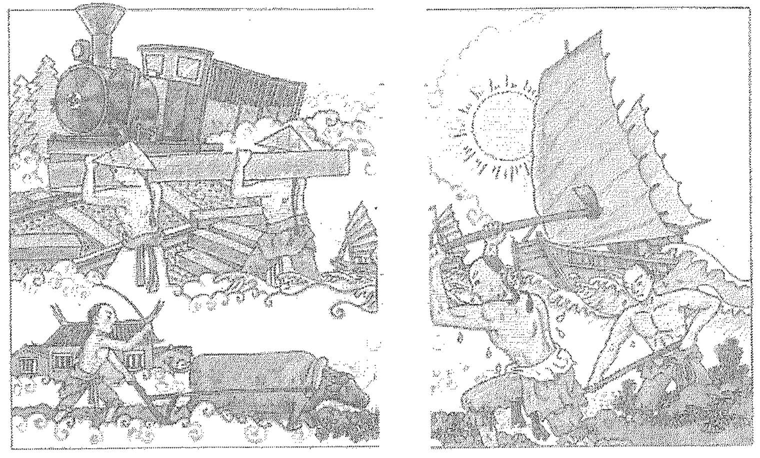

Figure 5.11 'Taiwan's Development' (NICT 1975a, VII: 46–7). (Courtesy of the NAER)

Figure 5.12 'The Characteristics of Taiwan's Development' (NICT 1993, VII: 126–7). (Courtesy of the NAER)

from a Han-centric viewpoint, while the indigenous people's voices were muted and their position on the island seemed to be fixed in the distant past.

Patriotism starts young

Both affection for the homeland and loyalty to the country are taught in childhood and strengthened through education. Patriotic sentiment was tacitly incorporated into lessons as part of model behaviour and daily practices. In the earlier textbooks, patriotism was generally taught by guiding children to behave correctly and prioritizing national needs over personal preferences. Older students were encouraged to take responsibility for safeguarding the integrity of national territory (NICT 1952b, I: 2) and to learn from the example of the anti-Japanese heroes who had 'died for their country without regard for their own safety' (*fen bu gu shen, weiguo sinan*) (NICT post-1945a, VII: 14). For younger year groups, patriotism was instilled in daily routines and embedded in behavioural guidelines. Although the themes might be varied, the lessons usually encouraged patriotic awareness and a high regard for the collective national interest. For example, the lesson 'Exhibition of Summer Fabrics' (*xiabu zhanlanhui*) urged students to always choose *guohuo* (national products, i.e. Chinese products); this was presented as a measure to support national industry (ibid. IV: 39). Instead of showing the innovations of the textile industry and the quality of new fabrics

(as stated in the text), the illustration of the lesson focused on the decoration of the exhibition entrance. Taking centre stage in the picture were the two national flags and slogans on each side of the entrance which read: 'Improving Industries' and 'Promoting *guohuo*'. With the crowds gathered under the flags and the slogans, it seemed to suggest public support of the regime and the national goals. The lesson then concluded: '*Guohuo* are truly lovely. We should always use *guohuo*'. The theme of supporting and purchasing *guohuo* had also been a common theme in the early postwar textbooks for many other subjects and associated consumer choice directly with the expression of patriotism.[50]

Similarly, there were also lessons that encouraged students to become involved in the nation-building process through personal efforts, by being either thrifty or efficient. In their own small way children could also contribute to achieving the national goal and be patriotic. For example, the lesson 'Airplanes in the Sky' (*feiji mantienfei*) exhorted students to get into the habit of saving regularly: 'The money we save can be donated to build airplanes … All the airplanes [donated by the students] are to be named "Chinese Children" and will be the envy of the world' (NICT post-1945a, III: 34).[51] A similar tactic was also used in the lesson 'Calendar' (*rili*) to advocate an economical and efficient way of life:

> Watching time fly by without a trace, I am anxious. Thinking of my future, I need to develop a stronger physique and do well academically … Considering [the future of] my country, the mission of national construction has not been accomplished, and the scourge of communism has yet to be eliminated. We cannot waste even one more second, and should endeavor to build and revive our country. (Ibid. VI: 49)

In another lesson 'A Scenario in Air-Raid Drill' students were taught how to behave in the event of an air raid' (ibid. VIII: 54–5). During a period of cross-Strait tension and real military threat, the lesson instructed students on how to react appropriately and orderly in an air strike. It truthfully reflected the wartime atmosphere and also vividly manifested the existence of the state in daily life.[52]

Thus, to connect young people closely with the national fate, the textbooks emphasized the consequences of personal actions on the national goal. Students' personal undertakings – working hard at school, building up a good physique, adopting the 'right' lifestyle and behaving calmly in a crisis – were all linked to the greater national interest and were considered patriotic. Moreover, patriotism could be achieved through small deeds and sustained by correct attitudes, such as consuming *guohuo*, following official rules and guidelines, saving money and time, and generally being industrious. All of a sudden, the abstract idea of patriotism was summed up in the simplest actions of being frugal with money and time. It meant everyone could be patriotic and it was easy to achieve. As a result, children were taught to believe that their destiny was closely connected to and determined by their own prudent behaviour and conscientious attitude.

Cross-strait tensions relaxed after the mid-1970s, and the content of textbooks seemed to be less politically driven. The emphasis on patriotism shifted from

prioritizing national needs to encouraging students' good behaviour. The focus of *Social Studies* was modified to foster 'lively good students, and decent Chinese' (*huohuo popo de hao xuesheng, tangtang zhengzheng de Zhongguoren*).[53] The previous tactics of linking young people with the immediate national goal and the anti-communist mission were adjusted to encourage morality, correct behaviour, teamwork and also academic and physical excellence. As a result, the textbooks of the 1968 and 1975 curricula redefined what being a 'good student' entailed. In addition to the usual criteria of academic excellence and good manners, a long list of model behaviour was drawn up – being respectful to teachers and the elderly, showing filial obedience to parents and fraternal affection to siblings, sharing housework at home, behaving with propriety,[54] exercising regularly, being supportive of and sympathetic to others at school, keeping good time, and leading a modern and healthy lifestyle (NICT 1968b, I: 23–7; II: 32–8; 1975a, II: 23–7, 51–2). The guidelines for being a 'good' child were to be obedient, industrious and moral. In other words, the patriotic sentiment had been diluted and replaced by the aspiration to be a model student.

Mundane nationalism in school spaces and daily routine

Patriotism was not only taught in textbooks, but it was also integrated into daily routines and school behaviour. It was through the socialization process that education fostered students' patriotism and made them conform and behave in a certain way. Given that elementary school children are less able to comprehend the abstract idea of 'the nation', patriotic education not only started young, but it was also cultivated in the more mundane aspects of everyday school life – daily routines and rituals in school, spatial arrangement of the campus and classrooms, and discipline and behaviour. In other words, patriotic education also relied on the hidden curriculum – including factors such as the school setting and atmosphere, peer group pressure, school rules and evaluation criteria, school clubs and activities, the daily schedule and the selection of teaching materials. By encouraging or discouraging certain behaviours, and reinforcing or degrading certain ideologies and values, the hidden curriculum is a subtle form of social control and an effective way to make students conform (Vallance 1973–4; Giroux and Purpel 1983; J. Martin 1976). Therefore the school environment played a crucial role in reinforcing patriotism, making students toe the line, naturalizing 'good behaviour' and normalizing nationalistic values. Whether it was the values ingrained in the textbooks, the physical environment of the campus, the routines of school life or the ways in which students were taught and assessed, all of this had the effect of entrenching the official ideology without being explicitly stated.

Many spatial factors, such as how a school was built, how the campus was designed and how the classroom was arranged, were carefully designed to play a crucial role in shaping the minds of young people and achieving the goal of national education. During the early postwar era, most school buildings were simple and crude wooden structures, often remaining from the Japanese period. A typical local elementary school consisted of seven classrooms in a row (each year-group occupying one classroom and a staffroom attached on the end), with a simple courtyard and a small flagpole in the front (Chen Hsin-an 2004: 18). This was the standard format of the Japanese 'kōgakkō'.[55] Soon after the end of the Second World War, the problems of inadequate classrooms and lack of facilities emerged.[56] To make matters worse, many schools had to accommodate homeless soldiers immediately after the KMT retreat when no arrangement was in place to cope with the sudden influx of Nationalist military forces. In 1965 the 'Architectural Criteria and Facility Standards for Elementary and Junior High Schools' were announced, providing design formats and guidelines for future school construction. School construction was stringently regulated, and even the average construction cost was standardized (Yu Tsung-hsien 1990: 15). After compulsory education was extended from six to nine years in 1968, student numbers grew dramatically and the need to build more schools became increasingly urgent. The old wooden structures were replaced by concrete (or brick) buildings, and new schools were built all over the island (Tang Chih-min 1997: 1336). As a general rule, the above guidelines dominated the style of new schools for the next two and half decades,[57] and this standardization of school architecture and campus facilities quickly became widespread (Tang Chih-min 1997: 130–6).

The presence of the state also loomed large in the standardization of school spaces: the 'unified' campus format provided a similar educational setting throughout the island. Regardless of locality or scale, the layout of each classroom was virtually identical as were the design of school buildings and campus, schools' daily routines and teaching schedule, and the essential facilities. Thus almost all classrooms and assembly halls were equipped with leaders' photos, ROC map and national flag; the focal point of most school sports fields was the flagpole platform; famous quotes from political leaders' writings (and speeches) were made into banners and posters displayed around the campus[58] or formulated into weekly agendas in school assembly for discussion and to set examples of 'good behaviour' (e.g. abidance by the law, public spirit, filial piety, patriotism). There was usually a statue of a historical figure or political leader placed near the school entrance or next to the flag platform. Political slogans were often painted on the school walls, in the corridors or on two sides of the assembly hall. In addition, the *qiuhaitang* map logo was ubiquitous, either painted on the side of the school building or in a form of paper map used as a teaching aid and hung on the classroom wall. The daily ritual of raising and lowering the national flag (at the beginning and end of the school day) also provided a framework for a 'normal' school day. Echoing this 'uniformity' of school life and campus environment, the illustrations in textbooks usually reflected the real-life standard setting and school routine.

Within this tightly controlled education system the spatial arrangement of schools as well as the national curriculum and textbooks created a living environment that mirrored the KMT political ideology. Many Taiwanese who grew up and were educated during this period have strong memories of nationalist icons and patriotic practices which were naturalized as school routines and which informed day-to-day norms and values. Thus day in, day out, students were

immersed in a campus that was rife with national icons, political symbols and social conventions and expectations. Little wonder then that it was difficult for them not to conform and think otherwise. This kind of 'banal nationalism' was practised with little or no conscious awareness on the part of young people and became their 'second nature' (Billig 1995: 42).

By the 1990s the new textbooks presented a much more moderate picture of what a 'good student' should be like. Although the education authorities continued to encourage 'good behaviours' (such as filial piety and good manners), the explicit emphasis on patriotism had been reduced considerably (NICT 1993, II: 40–3). By the end of the 1990s the most common expression of patriotism was participation in the flag raising and lowering ceremony and paying respect to the national flag (Figure 5.13). Thus the 1993-version curriculum seemed to place more emphasis on 'correct behaviour' than on the national interest.

The dilution of (Chinese) nationalist sentiment in recent decades did not signify the disappearance of patriotic education or a relaxation in the transmission of political ideology in education. Rather, loyalty to the ROC has been diverted and reshaped into a fervent attachment to Taiwan, in the name of loving one's *xiangtu* (native soil) and *jiaxiang* (hometown). As the result of growing Taiwanese awareness, the ideas associated with Taiwan, where the postwar generation was born and bred, have been transformed from the peripheral and secondary 'local' to gradually take primacy and even become the synonym of 'the nation'. Thus, to understand the implications of such a change, the following sections will trace the subtle elevation of Taiwan's 'place' as it has been inscribed

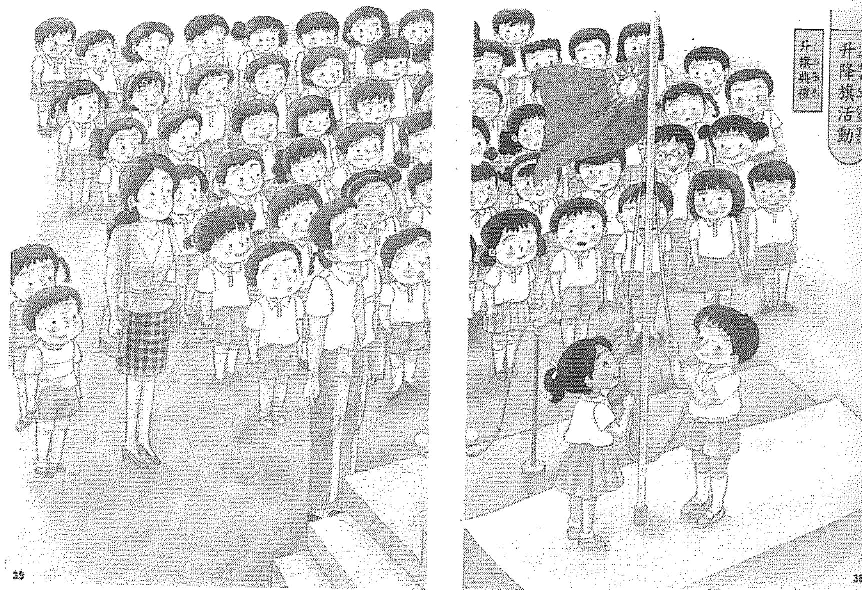

Figure 5.13 'Raising and Lowering the National Flag' (NICT 1993, I: 38–9). (Courtesy of the NAER)

in education over the decades and examine the growing visibility and importance of the island in textbooks.

Jiaxiang and *xiangtu*

In the early patriotic education students' loyalty was primarily to the Chinese homeland, and thus Taiwan was positioned as the local and the peripheral. This attitude was most evident in the visualization of Taiwan in textbook maps. For example, the map 'The Place of Our Country in the World' (NICT 1952a, I: 32) showed the central position of the ROC on a world map but strangely did not indicate where Taiwan was (Figure 5.14). Instead, the island was merely shown as a small and nameless red dot to the north of the Philippines (which was clearly indicated). Even on the 'Map of Taiwan' (NICT post-1945b, I: 6) in the early Geography textbooks the island was presented as an empty space. Geographical

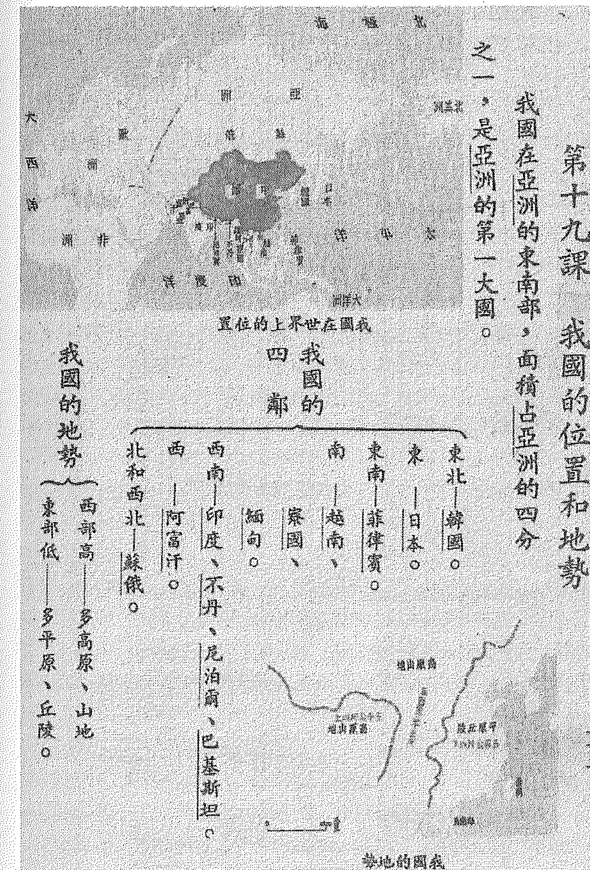

Figure 5.14 'The Position and Geographical Features of Our Country' (NICT 1952a, I: 32). (Courtesy of the NAER)

facts about the place – such as its important cities, rivers, mountains, ports, latitude and longitude – were kept to a minimum and simplified. Since maps give students the impression of the world 'as it is', the ways in which their island was presented in these textbooks seemed to imply that it was unimportant and irrelevant. Moreover, it created an artificial homogeneity between the mainland and Taiwan, putting them indiscriminately under one category, 'the ROC'.

In the early postwar era, the terms *guxiang* and *laojia* had often been used to refer to the mainland and the ROC, while Taiwan was rarely mentioned. The status of Taiwan in postwar geography education had always been underplayed. Starting from the 1962 version curriculum, however, Social Studies textbooks began to at least acknowledge the students' place of residence as *jiaxiang*. For example, in the process of teaching students to read maps a 1962-version Geography lesson asked students to identify where their *jiaxiang* was in relation to Nanjing on a map of China. Instead of teaching students to understand Taiwan and local geographical features, the lesson made a disparaging comment about the island: 'In the middle of this massive wall map [of China], the size of our *jiaxiang* is so minute that it is even smaller than a soy bean' (NICT 1962b, II: 12).

In the 1968-version textbooks, however, the presence of Taiwan became increasingly visible, and the island was usually described as 'our native land' (*women de xiangtu*), 'our hometown' (*women de jiaxiang*), 'the place where we live' (*women juzhu de difang*) and 'a good place for survival and development' (NICT 1968a, IV: 3–18; 1968b, I: 19; II: 6; IV: 55, 57). Although the definition and usage of *jiaxiang*, *guxiang* and *xiangtu* were ambivalent at first, they later became accepted and common references for Taiwan as an all-encompassing idea of 'the local' after the 1970s. In contrast, the spiritual homeland (*guxiang* on the mainland) still dominated the national imagination in education for a long time.

The idea of *jiaxiang* was ambiguous. For example, in a three-lesson section entitled 'Lovely Hometown' (*ke'ai de jiaxiang*), there is a clear definition of *jiaxiang* in the opening lesson: 'a place where we grew up … studied, worked, played and sang … No matter where we are now – in the countryside, in the city, by the sea or in the mountains – it [the hometown] is the place we will always remember and yearn for' (NICT 1962a, I: 1). These lines seemed to identify *jiaxiang* as the place that informed students' experience of growing up and daily life. However, in the following lessons the two groups of children (two local children Hsin-min and Chien-kuo and two newcomers Hsiao-ying and Hsiao-hua) express their affection for their *jiaxiang*, but the idea has become fuzzier and even contradictory. For example, Hsiao-ying expresses her longing for her *jiaxiang*, a nearby city where she grew up and which she recently left, even though she adores the new place she has moved to. Unlike Hsiao-ying, the local boy Hsin-min declares his desire to go back to his *jiaxiang* – which, according to his father, is in Nanjing (NICT 1962a, I: 5). In this 1962 curriculum, therefore, the definition of *jiaxiang* was ambiguous, because it seemed not only to include one's birthplace and one's own environment, but also to prioritize where one's father and his ancestors came from.

In comparison, the usage and implications of the term *xiangtu* had been paradoxical. Literally, *xiangtu* means 'native soil', which indicates rootedness and a strong association with the native land. On the one hand, it is an acknowledgement of and a direct response to the surrounding environment; therefore it is seen to have connotations of groundedness and honesty. On the other hand, under the impact of modernization and industrialization, the term conveys a negative implication and is sometimes used as an insult, associated with backwardness, narrow-mindedness, coarseness and rusticity (Fei Xiaotong 1993: 4). In comparison to the phrases such as *laojia* and *guxiang*, the term *xiangtu* made its entrance in the 1962-version textbooks and was used to refer to the Taiwanese countryside. In contrast to the extolling of China (e.g. sophisticated culture, splendid landscape, glorious civilization and long history) the content about Taiwan in the textbooks was mostly associated with wilderness, lack of sophistication, colonial history and, at best, the living example of the Chinese 'local'. The clear distinction between the nation (the ROC, China) and the local (the province, Taiwan) reflected an interesting strategy. It was carried out not only to identify *xiangtu* as everything local (i.e. Taiwanese) and to distinguish it from the concept of the nation, but also to put the island squarely in its secondary place.

Under the surface of anonymous sameness there was an embedded hierarchy in the different presentation of the mainland and Taiwan. While the descriptions of Taiwan may have gradually changed and have appeared positive on the face of it, they gave subtle hints of the island's backwardness and 'wilderness'. Before the 1975 curriculum Taiwan was described as 'a natural park' (*tianran de da gongyuan*) (NICT 1962b, III: 10; 1968b, IV: 25), an idyllic 'natural picture' (*tianran tuhua*) (NICT 1968b, IV: 21) and a land of 'undeveloped wilderness' (*manhuang weipi*) with deep forests and no farmland or housing (NICT 1962a, IV: 12). This once 'deserted island' (*huangdao*) was transformed into a 'happy land' (*letu*) only after the arrival of the Chinese pioneers (NICT 1968b, IV: 1). Taiwan was portrayed in these earlier textbooks as a Chinese backwater humiliated by imperialist invasions and traumatized by colonial rule. In other words, calling Taiwan *xiangtu* seemed to suggest a second-rate China.

Taiwan's marginal status was also reflected in the disguise of anonymity and universality whenever the island was mentioned in textbooks. The lessons in the earlier Social Studies and Common Sense textbooks usually had an anonymous and generic setting with no reference to any particular place, in order to present the content in a homogenous manner and be applicable to every school in any location. Thus, whenever the lesson was related to the students' immediate environment and daily life or to contemporary events, place names were often obscured. At the same time, the schools, villages or towns mentioned in the textbooks either remained nameless or were given generic names with political or cultural symbolism, such as *Zhongshan* (Sun Yat-sen's first name), *Zhongzheng* (Chiang Kai-shek's first name), *ziyou* (freedom), *heping* (peace), *minzu* (the nation) and *minsheng* (people's livelihood). In addition, another kind of phrase was frequently used in textbooks to encourage a spirit of self-reliance and independence. These included *zizhu* (self-help), *zifa* (self-initiation), *zili* (self-reliance) and *zixin* (self-confidence) (e.g. NICT post-1945a, IV: 17; VIII: 21; 1952a, I: 4; NICT 1962a, I: 30; II: 68; IV: 2, 46, 66; 1975a, V; VI). Real places

in Taiwan that were mentioned in textbooks were exceptions and included big cities, famous tourist spots or major postwar constructions (e.g. the Shihmen Dam, the Hsilo Bridge, the Cross-island Highway) (NICT 1962a, IV: 44–57).

Even in the later textbooks, although photographs of the Taiwanese countryside and cities were used, captions simply described them as a 'city', a 'hill', a 'mountain', the 'forest', a 'river', etc. without specifying where and what they were. The unidentifiable locations and faceless places in the textbooks created a sense of anonymity and indifference. This artificial homogeneity, however, also unwittingly created a sense of placelessness and an attitude of spatial indifference. The placeless features in geography education about Taiwan helped to generate the illusion of 'one family'.

The transformation from 'the local' to *shequ*

Over the years the marginal status of Taiwan gradually improved. However, it was not until the prospect of 'returning to *laojia*' appeared to dwindle that the island started to assume a more significant role in the ROC imagination. The island's importance increased dramatically after a series of diplomatic defeats in the 1970s. It was no longer just the 'anti-communist fortress (*fangong baolei*)' (NICT 1968b, III: 3), 'the lighthouse of world freedom (*ziyou de dengta*)' (NICT 1975a, VII: 30), or 'the operational base for launching the anti-communist war (*fangong fuguo de jidi*)' (NICT 1952b, I: 2; 1962b, IV: 29, 69, 73-5; 1968b, IV: 20, 38; 1975b, VIII: 116, 137); it had also become central to the ROC national imagination.

Following the rapid industrialization of Taiwan the reality of the outside world inevitably crept into textbooks, despite the sustained emphasis on patriotism, anti-communist mentality and China-centric ideology. A new literary wave – the native-soil literature (*xiangtu wenxue*) – emerged in the 1970s to challenge the officially promoted but long outdated genres – 'combat literature' (*zhandou wenxue*) and the 'literature of nostalgia' (*xiangchou wenxue*) – that had dominated Taiwan's literary scene in previous decades (S. Chang 1999; X. Tang 1999). Although the *xiangtu* had previously carried the negative connotation of coarseness and lack of sophistication (Fei Xiaotong 1993: 1–7), the usage of the term underwent transformation in the 1970s and 1980s.

By the late 1970s the concept of *xiangtu* was no longer associated with second-class (and second-hand) Chinese culture, people, customs and place. It had gradually shed the image of a lesser version of China, even though at this stage it was still understood within a China-centric framework with a rosy glow of nostalgia in an increasingly industrialized society. The concept of *xiangtu* assumed a positive connotation suggesting a quality of honesty, integrity, straightforwardness and groundedness and was used to refer to both the countryside and the down-to-earth local. This reduced negativity was also reflected in education so that students were allowed to know their surrounding environment better and take pride in being 'the local'. Where in the 1962-version Social Studies textbooks the living environment of Taiwanese students was divided into two – 'the countryside' and 'the city' – reflecting the substantial impact of industrialization that was taking place at the time (NICT 1962a, I: 7–10), in the 1968-version textbooks the division between city and countryside was expanded to define specific types of 'community' (*shequ*) on the island – farming, fishing, city and mountain communities.

This emphasis on community coincided with the official launch of the 'Community Development Programme of Taiwan Province' in 1968. The programme was the ROC's direct response to the UN's call for community development, which had seen remarkable growth worldwide. According to the UN 'community development' was 'a process designed to create conditions of economic and social progress for the whole community with its active participation and the fullest possible reliance on the community's initiative' (1955: 6). At this stage the policy of community development in Taiwan focused mainly on the construction of local infrastructure (such as setting up water supply systems, improving sanitation and transport links and providing health care). In addition, in response to the social problems caused by rapid economic growth, the authorities initiated a programme to accelerate rural development alongside the Ten Major Construction Projects in the early 1970s. In Taiwan's increasingly affluent and industrialized society the goal in education reflected the official concern about rural deterioration and addressed the imbalance between rural and urban development (Tang Chi-ming 1997: 14–15). As a result, the idea of the Chinese homeland became increasingly irrelevant compared to the emerging social issues at hand.[59]

In the endeavour to improve local development Social Studies textbooks also appealed to students to become involved in community affairs as a kind of exercise in democratic education. However, the textbooks seemed to encourage children to participate in local affairs and support national policy but to leave the decision-making to local opinion leaders, who were usually men, either village elders or local officials (NICT 1975a, VI: 10, 17). Two paradoxes emerged regarding the promotion of local communities. First, although this new emphasis on *shequ* in Taiwan's textbooks seemed to respond to a global trend that advocated the ideal of local autonomy and the importance of locality, the policy of encouraging localism and local decision-making was ironically imposed from above, rather than being a grass-roots initiative. Secondly, the depictions of localism at work were dominated by male decision-makers. The local leaders portrayed in the textbooks were all men, with no female participation and no discussion of issues that related to women's concerns. In other words, democratic participation seemed limited to 'supporting' policies rather than participating in the decision-making process.

Successful 'Taiwan model'

Before the 1975 curriculum revision the image of Taiwan conveyed in elementary textbooks was generally that of a valuable 'asset' in the anti-communist struggle because it was the only territory directly under the control of the KMT

and the last foothold of the ROC. Its role had thus been utilitarian and secondary and its presence in the textbooks was required to serve as a foil for China and as living proof of successful KMT governance.

The abstract idea of 'our nation' was always directed to China, though for elementary students the materialization of the idea of the 'nation' had to rely on Taiwan. During the darkest period of the Cultural Revolution on the mainland, Taiwan had taken on the role of being the beacon of Chinese culture and the ideal of modern China. It was described in textbooks as the 'national territory of freedom' (*ziyou de guotu*) (NICT 1962a, I: 62) with 'rich natural resources and produce' (ibid, IV: 29; 1975c, VII: 27, 56, 82). People in Taiwan were described as 'happy and carefree' (NICT 1968b, IV: 59), leading 'a life of democracy ... freedom ... and equality' (NICT 1962a, IV: 58). In other words, the island was often presented as 'Free China' in contrast to the poverty-stricken communist mainland. Because of its immense 'usefulness' – rich resources, plentiful produce, prosperous economy and physical closeness to the mainland – it was portrayed as a *baodao* (treasure island). The phrase *baodao* first appeared in textbooks in the 1950s but became more commonly used between the 1960s and 1980s (e.g. NICT 1952b, I: 10; 1962a, IV: 11, 28; 1968b, IV: 19–20, 59; 1975a, VII: 4, 6, 16, 20, 82; VIII: 45). The illustrations (and maps) of the ROC (and the Taiwan region) always placed China at the centre, which produced an angle of looking from the centre (the mainland) to the marginal islands. Because of this China-centric projection the visualization of the ROC and Taiwan generally reflected the mainlanders' viewpoint. The only exception was the illustration of the lesson 'Beautiful Baodao' (Figure 5.15) which presented a Taiwan-centric perspective, placing the island in the foreground and looking from the island to the mainland.[60]

The promotion of Taiwanese communities and a positive portrayal of Taiwan's modern lifestyle steadily replaced the once important, but now distant and diluted, presence of China. From the voting of student representatives in schools and the operation of self-governing communities to the running of local elections, all the descriptions and illustrations in textbooks supported Taiwan's claim to being more democratic and advanced than the PRC (NICT 1962a, II: 62–3, 65, 68; 1968b, IV: 39–42; 1975a, V; VIII 14–19; 1993, V: 6–30). By juxtaposing the images of the righteous and the evil, the 'Free China' (the KMT Taiwan) and the enslaved homeland (the communist mainland), the image of the mainland was transformed from romantic 'homeland' to one of human misery. For example, the lesson 'Life in Taiwan Today' in the 1962-version textbooks (NICT 1962a, IV: 58–9) contrasted the tragedy of 'one country, two lifestyles' (Figure 5.16). Taiwan's prosperity contrasted strongly with the social turbulence and natural disasters in China. On the right of this double-page spread the illustrations portray a modern, prosperous and happy society in Taiwan, with modern development and traditional values in balance. The family is shown as happy and well-off, and the youngest child holds up the ROC flag as a kind of political statement and identification. In contrast, the illustration on the 'left' of the double-page spread depicts communist society. A barren land is portrayed at the top, with

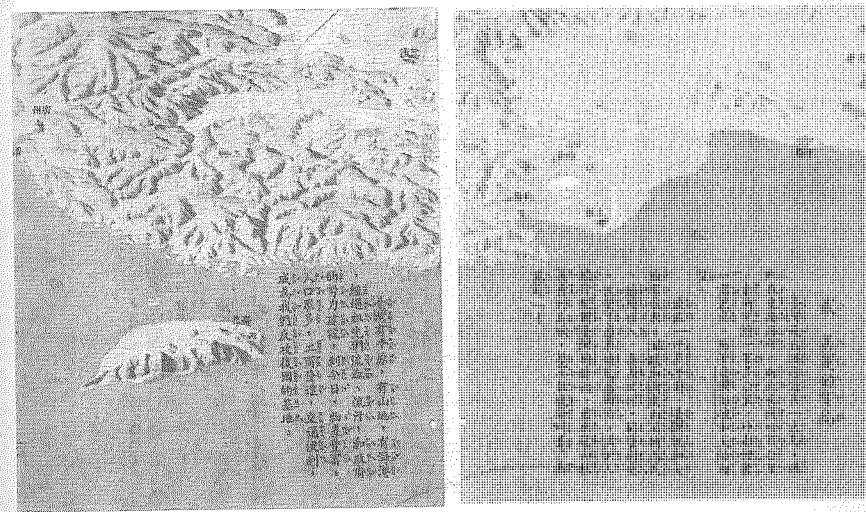

Figure 5.15 'Beautiful Baodao' (NICT 1968b, IV: 19–20). (Courtesy of the NAER)

Figure 5.16 'Life in Taiwan Today' (NICT 1962a, IV: 58–9). (Courtesy of the NAER)

farmland going to waste and houses in disrepair, while the lower half of the page shows a scene of human misery on the mainland. In this portrayal of the mainland the once glorious *zuguo* is no longer, the 'homeland' is abandoned, the family broken, the people destitute and traditional values destroyed. The visualization of a People's Commune seems to be more effective than mere textual description.

To replace the 'disappearing' homeland, the image of Taiwan in textbooks was dramatically transformed from the unrefined and backward *xiangtu* to a symbol of integrity and modernity, shifting from the periphery to the centre. The island thus became the embodiment of the ROC and the epitome of Chinese modernity. In the 1975-version textbooks this contrast was toned down and modified to concentrate on Taiwan's achievement and democratic progress. The meaning of the place 'Taiwan' thus changed from a useful *baodao* to a 'good place' (*hao difang*) in its own right and was depicted as 'the model region' (*mofan diqu*) or even 'heaven on earth' (*renjian tiantang*) (NICT 1975a, VII: 7, 15; VIII: 104). In the process of seeking survival and becoming established in the international community, Taiwan was no longer an island for exile or a temporary refuge, but rather it was transformed into a new home providing prosperity and safety.

The rise of Taiwanese awareness in the 1980s was also reflected in textbooks, with students being encouraged to know, love, and protect their own environment – Taiwan (NICT 1962a, I: 1; II: 12; IV: 62; 1968a, IV: 3–18; 1975a, III: 5; VI: 6; 1993, VI: 6, 8, 14). Specifically, there were two dimensions to this. On the one hand, environmental issues started to emerge in the wake of rapid industrialization. Starting from the 1968 version, the principle of encouraging students to understand their own environment was emphasized repeatedly in the 'Editorial Guidelines' (NICT 1968b, I~VIII: 1; 1975a, I~XII: 1; 1975b, I~XII: 1) and 'Editorial Message' (NICT 1975c, I~VIII: 3; 1993, I~VIII: 3) of every textbook. Textbooks started to discuss the problems of pollution, for example, and stressed students' responsibility for environmental protection. On the other hand, textbooks showcased local cultures and touched upon contemporary social issues. Such change indicated a positive development and created a more intimate relationship between students and their locality. Moreover, the definition of *jiaxiang* had become more specific in the 1975-version textbooks, being 'the place where one grew up and lived' rather than 'where one's ancestor came from' (NICT 1975c, VI: 6). This version had already consciously prompted teachers to introduce and explore local knowledge and stated that: 'We all love our adorable hometown and will try our best to improve any imperfection, in order to make it the ideal living place in everyone's heart' (ibid., VI: 8). To demonstrate this point, illustrations and photographs of China were dramatically reduced and were replaced by Taiwanese examples. Moving away from the previous focus on encouraging affection for the Chinese homeland and aspiring to be 'decent Chinese', the educational goal was adjusted to teach students to be 'good modern citizens' (NICT 1975c, I~IV: 1).

Although the 'roots' of Taiwanese children had long been firmly planted in the nostalgic web of cultural China, the setting and experience of a 'modern Chinese life' depicted in the textbooks has been a genuinely Taiwanese one since the

1970s. For example, the common description about China being the *jinxiu heshan* (land of splendours) was rephrased in later Social Studies textbooks to refer to Taiwan as 'this beautiful national territory with splendid landscape and rich resources!' (*heshan jinxiu wuchan furao zhi meili de guotu*) (NICT 1975a, VII: 82). In addition, praise for Taiwan's modernization in textbooks has focused mainly on its postwar economic miracle – prosperity, industrialization and unprecedented economic performance. The prosperous modern lifestyle and economic development in Taiwan have been interpreted as a 'Taiwan experience' (*Taiwan jingyan*), while this 'Taiwan model' (*Taiwan moshi*) is seen as setting the example for backward communist China (NICT 1975a, VIII: 120, 122, 128; 1975b, XI: 78).

By the late 1980s, the rise of the opposition and political openness created opportunities to reverse the China-centric tendency. The lack of local knowledge and day-to-day relevance in education of the previous decades had been severely criticized and became the major concern in the education reform of the 1990s (Mao Ching-ju and Chang Chien-cheng 2005: 23). A new module 'Local Studies' (*xiangtu jiaoxue*) was first introduced into some elementary schools in areas under the control of the opposition[61] and was included officially in the 1993 curriculum to cover Taiwan's history, geography, environment, arts and local languages.[62] This new module was seen as the embodiment of localization and paved the way for indigenous education (Chuang Wan-Shou and Lin Shu-hui 2003).[63] The once marginalized island finally took its rightful place in the centre, laying the foundations for students' geographical imagination and enabling them to relate geographical knowledge and experiences to their lived environment. Before the DPP came to power in 2000, indigenization had already become the guiding principle in the thinking on education reform. As a result, the ways in which Taiwan was presented in textbooks changed considerably. The description *baodao* disappeared from textbooks, and instead, the island was romanticized as 'the beautiful island' (*meilidao*; *meili de daoyu*; *meili zhi dao*), 'the beautiful national land' (*meili de guotu*) and 'Formosa' (*fu-er-mo-sha*) (NICT 1962b, III: 7; 1975a, VII: 82–3, 93; 1993, VII: 101). In 2002, the MOE thus made the dramatic decision to replace Nanjing with Taipei as the national capital in textbooks, to truthfully reflect ROC territory (Huang I-ching 2002).

Conclusion

The early geographic education was designed to foster loyalty to the Chinese regime and affection for a Chinese homeland. Like the ambitious and unashamed British education policy in nineteenth-century India (Anderson 1991: 90–3),[64] Taiwan's postwar education had aimed to create 'a class of persons' who were culturally 'Chinese' despite their origins, class and socio-economic background. The overwhelming China-centric, Han-orientated and male chauvinist tendency not only dominated and cast a long shadow over postwar education well into the 1980s, but it also shaped students' geographical imagination and worldview for decades. As a result, Taiwanese children were taught to be strangers in their own

land, which was a tactic widely used by colonizers as the ideological entrapment that confounded colonial subjects (Pal 1973: 332). Postwar education systematically alienated students from their own environment and imposed a 'Chinese Diaspora' identity upon them.[65] Seemingly, postwar geography education was designed to produce a generation of forever homeless. This created a widening gap between the artificially constructed sense of Chinese-ness and children's lived environment and personal experiences.

In order to understand the correspondence between ideology, politics and place, this chapter has focused on the distorted and incomplete spatiality in education and analyzed the correlation between the changes that have taken place in education and in politics. The investigation of geography-related textbooks has revealed underlying power relations and has also demonstrated the state's involvement in the construction of 'sense of place' and the formation of national identity through education.

Furthermore, education, as the most powerful and reliable ISA in reproducing dominant ideologies, had closely followed and mirrored the dominant political values and had forcefully reproduced China-centric values before Taiwan's democratization. The education apparatus and curriculum have thus responded swiftly to political changes. When the political rhetoric of 'Chinese homeland' became increasingly absurd and outdated, the discourse of indigenization and the appeal for *xiangtu* emerged in the 1990s, resulting in the revival and promotion of once 'secondary' or even condemned values and sensitive issues, such as Taiwan independence. What has taken place in Taiwan's education reform of the last few decades reflects exactly the changing trend in political hegemony. Against the background of rising Taiwanese consciousness the image of Taiwan in elementary education has changed beyond recognition.

In addition to the aforementioned China-centric and male chauvinist ideology, another pedagogical principle has also been essential and is still crucial to Taiwanese education – i.e. an emphasis on the importance of one's country. Although the idea of 'the country (ROC)' has changed dramatically since the 1990s, from implying mainly (mainland) China to signifying Taiwan, the principle to prioritize and advocate collective interests remains vital. The geographical imagination fostered in postwar education seemed only to cultivate a sense of place at national level, while the personal and local sense of place was suppressed. This imbalance between the local and the nation stemmed from and was deeply rooted in the KMT's preparation for psychological warfare in the late 1940s. Lack of intimate knowledge of and affection for one's locality resulted in a distorted sense of place, a skewed worldview and an anchorless identity and, consequently, no understanding of or interest in one's own surroundings.

I am not suggesting that the romanticization of 'Chinese homeland' in education was purely a political conspiracy or a conscious scheme to 'brainwash' local children. Yet, early postwar education had a profound effect in alienating children from their own environment. The strong sense of Chinese-ness that was constructed in early education reflected the nostalgic yearning of the aging KMT mainlander politicians. For them the idea of *laojia* portrayed in textbooks was

like what Bachelard (1994: 5–6) described as 'the land of Motionless Childhood' and 'memories of protection' in which they constantly relived and sought comfort. The exiled Chinese politicians brought their *lares* with them and refurbished the island with their memories of a distant childhood and the dreams of their youth. The nostalgic sentiment conveyed in textbooks revealed the feeling of the mainlander leaders themselves rather than any affection developed naturally by the students. The desire to return to Chinese *laojia* was romanticized to encourage students to take on the role of 'Chinese diaspora'. Paradoxically, in the process of the KMT regime's 'making home' on the island, the mainlander-dominated education made the islanders feel 'homeless' and like outsiders in their own home.

People's 'place in the world' not only informs their sense of identity and belonging and indicates their social standing, but it also enables them to navigate in their 'lifeworld'. The term 'lifeworld' was coined by Anne Buttimer to mean 'the culturally defined spatio-temporal setting or horizon of everyday life' (1976: 277–92). The concept is associated with the taken-for-granted spatial context and provides a psychological grid to navigate in life and stretch one's 'horizons of reach' (Buttimer 1980: 170). Since every person is 'surrounded by concentric "layers" of lived space', the understanding of one's 'place in the world' (both as an individual and as a member of the collective) also has different scales – i.e. personal, local, regional, national and transnational. Buttimer calls the exchange and movement between one's home and 'horizons of reach outward from that home' as an ongoing process of 'centring' (ibid. 166–74). Hence, without an intimate understanding of one's own surroundings and an anchored spiritual centre, one's lived space becomes meaningless, the fundamental sense of place obscure and one's lifeworld chaotic.

The obscurity of one's sense of place is not a small matter that merely causes inconvenience in life, but rather it seriously obstructs one's ability to understand the outside world and go beyond one's immediate surroundings. Thus, a place-conscious education is of crucial importance and has a vital influence on the shaping of students' sense of identity. The inadequacy of 'place consciousness' and the problem of anchorlessness severely cripple people's abilities to go about their daily life, develop a sense of identity and expand their horizon. The inability to appreciate and engage one's own locality leads to an impoverishment of life experience and potential (Gruenewald 2003: 645). This is exactly how postwar education operated for a long time, providing a schooling experience of placelessness. Taiwan had been presented in postwar education for many decades as a 'flatscape' (Relph 1976) – a faceless and meaningless nowhere-land.[66] Thus the gaze, the longing and the dream of *laojia* had been directed towards the mainland and concentrated on a China-centric rhetoric of the past, but never on the *here* and *now*.

Notes

1 *Zuguo* means 'fatherland', 'motherland' or 'ancestral country'; *hua* is a suffixed compound borrowed from Modern Japanese, meaning '-ization' (to make …

become …). In this context *zuguohua* means 'to make … become Chinese' and thus 'sinicization'.

2 In Althusser's view (1971), the ISAs function not by coercion or punishment, but rather by ideology. They are the state's means of exercising covert force, i.e. schools, religions and religious institutions, legal and political systems, cultural ISA, etc. In contrast to the Repressive State Apparatus (RSA) that uses violence and coercion against its subjects, the ISAs operate differently and are sometimes more invisible and effective.

3 'Geography' was promoted by the Europeans and was transformed into a 'scientific discipline' in the second half of the nineteenth century (Livingstone 1992: 177–215).

4 In the mid-nineteenth century, missionary schools were set up in China, some of which included 'Geography' in the curriculum. However, the impact of these missionary schools was limited at the time, and the content of geography education was heavily influenced by the style of the traditional gazette (Yang Yao 1991; Si Chi 2005).

5 For example, Chen Po-chang (1991) examined Taiwan's national curricula and found them over-politicized, over-moralizing and showing an overwhelming male chauvinist mentality; Shih Chi-sheng (1995) argued that three characteristics dominated Taiwan's education before the mid-1990s – centralization, monopolization and instrumentalization; Yang Tsu-hsiang (1992) found a high percentage of political content in textbooks – 18.24 per cent in elementary education and 26.91 per cent at junior high school level; Wang Chien-yao (2008) examined the post-1949 development of elementary curricula and compared particular aspects of each version. In addition, research on the ideological impact on secondary education has also been prolific, such as Yen Ching-hsiang (1997), Liu Hsiao-fen (1991), etc.

6 In recent years, quite a few Master's theses have focused on the representation of Taiwan in the new curriculum implemented in 2000. Before 2000, there was very little research on geography education and most of this was focused on the junior high school level.

7 The enrolment rate of children (aged 6–11) in elementary education rose steadily over the years. The rate was 71.31 per cent in 1944 during the last period of Japanese rule. The rate remained below 80 per cent before 1950 and increased to 92.33 per cent in 1955 (Wang Chih-ting 1978: 186).

8 According to the MOE (2011), the enrolment rate rose to 81.49 per cent in 1951, 92.33 per cent in 1955 and 97.67 per cent in 1968; it has consistently remained above 99 per cent since 1979.

9 Not only was the national curriculum repeatedly revised, even when the curriculum remained the same, the MOE constantly modified the content and design, made updates and changed ways of delivering the same themes.

10 The term *fangzhi* is used to describe traditional local records. They were compendiums of information pertaining to a particular region. They usually consisted of a section on maps followed by various topics (such as local history, geography, literature, water conservation, etc.).

11 A Chinese Culture Restoration Committee (CCRC, *Zhonghua wenhua fuxing yundong tuixing weiyuanhui*) was established to promote a KMT-defined Chinese tradition and culture.

12 There is no doubt that the 1975 curriculum was the result of a conscious endeavour to depoliticize and bring education back to 'learning' rather than being a vehicle for party political propaganda. In 1971 historian Wang Tien-min took office as Director of the NICT and was in charge of the 1975 curriculum revision. In Chi Pang-yuan's best-selling memoirs *Juliuhe*, she described her five-year experience working under Wang and striving to overcome political obstacles (2009: 400–43). Most committee members of the textbook editorial boards at that time were prominent academics. She witnessed how hard they had fought to uphold academic excellence while avoiding ideological landmines and fending off political accusations along the way.

13 The content of the 1975-version textbooks is now considered to be too top-down and 'scholar-led' and is thus criticized for ignoring important pedagogical factors such as teachers' inputs and students' psychological development (Wang Chien-yao 2008).

14 The call for the liberalization of the education system started in the early 1980s and came from many quarters, including intellectuals, social activists and NGOs. However, it was not until 1994 that things started to change. Under great pressure both from the electorate and the opposition party, many suggestions made by the activists and academics were transformed into policies. At the same time, academic freedom also gained ground after the University Law was promulgated in the same year (Hsueh Hsiao-hua 1996).

15 In 1994, the 'Education Reform Committee' (*jiaoyu gaige shenyi weiyuanhui*) was set up under the Executive Yuan and was chaired by Lee Yuan-tseh – a Nobel laureate in chemistry and then President of Academia Sinica (*Zhongyang yanjiuyuan*) – to investigate and make suggestions for education reform. Although controversial, their inquiry was fruitful, resulting in many fundamental changes, such as the implementation of a Nine-Year Integrated Curriculum, an overhaul of the examination system, encouragement of vocational education, etc. Generally speaking, the reform that was introduced in 2000 made fundamental changes to the system and structure over and above curriculum revision (MOE 2008: 11).

16 Two years of elementary geography education consisted of four volumes of textbooks. Before the 1968 curriculum revision, three of the four volumes focused on domestic geography and the last volume usually concentrated on world geography. Domestic geography started with an introduction to general geographical data on the ROC; this was followed by one lesson on Taiwan while the rest concentrated on Chinese geography. Each lesson was centred on one Chinese region and gave brief descriptions of its topography, population, resources, transport links and major cities.

17 The subject 'Common Sense' was briefly combined with 'Chinese' as a single subject – *Guoyu changshi* (Chinese Language and Common Sense). After 1948 the subject was separated from Chinese language learning and became an independent subject for lower-year students. To reduce confusion, all of the *Guoyu changshi* textbooks are also referred to as 'Common Sense'.

18 In Taiwan the academic year is divided into two semesters (September to January and February to the end of June). As a general rule there is one textbook per semester for each subject. However, the compilation, printing and design of textbooks in the early postwar era were extremely complicated and messy. For example, the 1948 curriculum committee decided to abolish the use of textbooks for 'Common Sense' for the lower year groups (Year 1–2).

19 The NICT would frequently fine-tune and revise the content of each version of the textbooks, which created different editions with minor (or sometimes major) changes. This made examination and comparison even more complicated and confusing. For example, the 1975-version Social Studies textbooks underwent major revisions twice and had several editions. The first edition of Vol. 1 was published in 1978, but its *Xiuding chuban* (revised first edition) was published in 1985 and its *Gaibian chuban* (new improved edition) in 1989. Volume 12 of its *Gaibian chuban* was published in 1995, even though the next (1993 version) curriculum had already been announced and was being introduced stage by stage.

20 Under Japanese rule the major languages spoken in Taiwan were Japanese, Minnan dialect and Hakka dialect. In 1932, only 22.7 per cent of Taiwanese could speak Japanese. However, the *Kominka* Movement (the movement to make the Taiwanese subjects of the Japanese Emperor) was imposed after the Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1937. Japanese authorities in Taiwan not only reinforced the learning of Japanese, but also banned the learning and usage of Chinese. After this, the percentage of fluent Japanese speakers among the Taiwanese rose to 51 per cent in 1940 and increased rapidly to 71 per cent in 1944 (Huang Hsuan-fan 1993: 93). As a result, early postwar

education in Taiwan was very different from other regions in China, and the selection of appropriate textbooks and content for Taiwanese students was extremely complex. For example, textbooks for four important subjects (Chinese, Mandarin, Chinese history and Sanminzhuyi) were shipped directly from the mainland during the period immediately after the takeover. Textbooks for other not-so-important subjects were compiled or rewritten locally, and some lessons (science-related subjects in particular) were translations from old Japanese textbooks (Ou Yung-sheng 1990).

21 The term 'hidden curriculum' is used in pedagogy to refer to hidden educational intent and design, which is not openly asserted (Vallance 1973–4; Giroux and Purpel 1983; Martin 1976). In his research, Ou Yung-sheng (1990) looked at the hidden curriculum embedded in Social Studies textbooks in the elementary curriculum and found their content extremely problematic.

22 The term 'Zhonghua' literally means 'splendour in the centre' and has been traditionally used to refer to China.

23 Over the years the aspirations of the ruling classes to cultivate loyal and honest citizens have been similar. In the earlier textbooks the educational goals were clearly declared in the 'Editorial Guidelines' (*bianji yaozhi*) at the beginning of every textbook to 'introduce the vast and beautiful land and boundless resources of our country' (NICA post-1945b, I~IV: i; post-1945c, I~IV: i) and to 'strengthen the national spirit', 'cultivate patriotism' and make students 'decent Chinese' (*tangtang zhengzheng de Zhongguoren*) (1952b, I~IV: i; 1962b, I~IV: i; 1968b, I~VIII: i). Even in the 1990s (while both the revised 1975-version and the 1993-version textbooks were in use), the goal was modified to encourage students to be 'decent citizens' (*tangtang zhengzheng de guomin*) (1975b, V~II: i–ii; 1975c, V~XII: i–ii; 1993, IX~XII: 2–3).

24 This principle can be found in many versions of the national curriculum (MOE 1948: 137–8; 1952: 133; 1962: 245–6, 255) and also in Si Chi's research (2005: 24, 133–47).

25 When referred to, all textbooks will be indicated by their curriculum version (e.g. 1962a, 1968b, 1993, etc.), volume number (e.g. I, IV, VII, etc.) and page numbers.

26 Unlike previous curricula, the 1962 curriculum reduced the proportion of detailed description about China, increased general knowledge about geology, and focused on cartographic and geographical skills. Hence, the themes of the 1962 geography curriculum became more varied and included 'general geographical concepts and skills' (NICT 1962b, I), 'general introduction to Chinese geography' (NICT 1962b, II), 'detailed characteristics of Chinese regions' (NICT 1962b, III) and 'world geography' (NICT 1962b, IV).

27 The content of many lessons in the 1968-version Social Studies textbook was similar (sometimes even identical) to the sentences used in the Geography textbooks of the previous versions, such as 'Our Country' (NICT 1968b I: 3–6), 'Our National Territory', 'The Topography of Our Country', 'The Weather of Our Country', 'The Administrative Divisions and Geographical Regions in Our Country' (ibid. V: 1–18).

28 *Heshan* literally means 'rivers and mountains' and usually refers to 'national territory'.

29 To commemorate the birth of Nationalist China and the Wuchang Uprising on 10 October 1911, the ROC's National Day is usually called 'Double Tenth'. This date is still celebrated as the 'National Day' in Taiwan.

30 *Pailou* is a Chinese traditional architectural style, acting as the gateway. *Zhaoling pailou* is located inside of Beiling Park (*Beiling gongyuan*) in Shenyang Province. The park was originally the mausoleum of the second Qing emperor, Huang Taiji, thus the name Beiling (i.e. the Northern Tomb). In 1928 the site became a park and was opened to the public.

31 After an eight-year construction period the Shihmen Dam was completed in 1964, not long before the curriculum was revised. It was praised as one of the most significant postwar constructions in Taiwan.

32 The sign of *shuangshi* is composed of two morphemes of 'ten' (十) and fittingly takes the shape of the Chinese character *gong* (廾), which is a variant form of the word *nian*

(廿) meaning 'twenty'. Because of its geometric simplicity the character 廾 has bee often used as an icon representing the ROC and its political heritage.

33 *Qingtian bairi* literally means 'blue sky with a white sun'. This is the design of th KMT party flag, which is also inserted into the ROC national flag. Hence it is ofte taken to be the national emblem of the ROC.

34 *Datong* is a classical Chinese philosophy, literally meaning the 'great unity', 'grea harmony' or the 'great community'. According to Schrecker (2004: 23–8, 32) ther are no books on the *datong* tradition in English. Combining various sources, h suggested several appropriate translations for this term – 'the great commonwealth 'the great communion', 'era of world brotherhood' and 'great community'. The term first appeared in the *Book of History* and has been elaborated and transformed over th centuries. For example, it was used by Qing reformer Kang Youwei in his *Datong Sh* (*The Book of Great Unity*). By the early twentieth century it had become an importar concept that was adopted by Sun Yat-sen in his Sanminzhuyi, and it was also used i the text of the ROC national anthem.

35 For example, a Red Army soldier recalled her geography teacher in the 1920s: 'drew … a map of China … to show the children how it resembled a begonia leaf. The teache began to cry when she told her students how China, big and rich in resources as it was had been invaded by other countries' (Young 2001: 20).

36 In Chinese it means 'sweet potato' or 'yam'. The term *fanshu* is the romanization i Mandarin and *han-tsî* (or *han-tsû*) in Hoklo.

37 This term literally means 'old home' or 'old house', usually referring to one' hometown or ancestral home.

38 The name Hsin-min (*xinmin*) literally means 'new citizen', which symbolized th child's identity as a new citizen of the ROC.

39 In Chinese mythology *Huangdi* is considered the ancestor of the Han Chinese.

40 Many famous poems used this analogy either to symbolize the poet's homesicknes or express the sadness of separation from family and loved ones, such as Du Fu' 'Thinking of My Brothers on a Moonlit Night' (*yueye yi shedi*) and 'Moonlit Night (*yueye*), Li Bai's 'Night Thoughts' (*jingye si*) and 'The Borderland Moon' (*guanshan yue*), Ziye's 'Autumn Song' (*ziye wuge*) and Zhang Jiuling's 'Looking at the Moon an Longing for a Distant Lover' (*wang yue huaiyuan*).

41 Phrases such as *xin Zhongguo* or *Sanminzhuyi xin Zhongguo* recurred again and agair in textbooks throughout the postwar years until the mid-1990s. For example, NICT post-1945a, VII: 16; post-1945b, II: 42; 1962a, I: 59; II: 70; IV: 76; 1968b, IV: 55, 69 VIII: 104; 1975a, VIII: 140; 1975b, XI: 71.

42 The Huan-Huai Plain is the area around the lower reaches of the Yellow Rive (*Huanghe*) and the Huai River (*Huaihe*) Basin. It is said to be where the Han people originated.

43 The name Chien-kuo (*jianguo*) literally means 'building up the country', which was a popular name in nationalist Taiwan, especially during the early postwar years.

44 Similar statements also appeared in later versions, claiming that the Chinese were the 'children of Huangdi' and shared the same ethnic roots (NICT 1968b, V: 21–4; 1975a, VII: 37).

45 After the Chinese takeover in 1945 the initial excitement soon turned to disappointment because of rampant corruption, discrimination against the Taiwanese and harsh and unfair economic restrictions. In 1947 tension between local Taiwanese and the Chinese rulers came to a head in the 28 February Incident (see Chapter 1, note 14). Inflamed by the incident, the conflict and distrust between the local Taiwanese and the mainlanders deepened (Kerr 1966).

46 In the earlier textbooks there was very little place for women. In the Common Sense or Social Studies textbooks of this period most of the female figures performed their roles dutifully as 'good daughters', 'good students', 'good wives' or 'good mothers', supporting the overall image of 'a traditional Chinese lifestyle'. In accordance with

their male counterparts or in support of male authority, their presence was purely tokenistic. Even though they were later given some kind of profession (such as teacher or clerk), the textbooks continued to portray them performing their duties as mothers and housekeepers. The issue of gender stereotyping in Taiwan's textbooks has been well researched (e.g. Li Yuan-chen 1994; Huang Wan-chun 1998; Huang Li-li 1999).

47 The death of Wu Feng was recorded in several *fangzhi* of the Qing period. However, the situation regarding his death was mythified and popularized in Japanese propaganda as a discourse about the barbarity of the indigenous peoples and the need for their 'cultivation'. In postwar textbooks, however, Wu Feng's story was moralized to emphasize his self-sacrifice for the greater good. For a detailed discussion about the transformation of Wu Feng's story, see Wu Feng shishi yangjiu xiaozu (1990) and Jiwasi Bawang (2001).

48 Wu Feng's story had been recounted in other subjects. Lessons about Wu Feng appeared in early versions of Chinese (*guoyu*) – including the post-1945 version (Vol. 4), 1952 version (Vol. 8) and 1962 version (Vol. 8) – and later in Life and Ethics (*Shenghuo yu lunli*) – 1968 version (Vol. 11) and 1975 version (Vol. 1).

49 Even though the depiction of Taiwan's indigenous peoples improved, their image has always been stereotyped. Seemingly frozen in time, their 'improved' representations focus mainly on their traditional customs, lifestyle, costumes and festivals and overlook their historical standing, contemporary development and social issues. Even new textbooks still seem to present the indigenous peoples as 'colourful' and exotic and tend to museumize their 'primitive' traits (such as customs, myths, dancing and singing) (Liao Ming-chieh 2008: 180–95).

50 The lesson 'Everybody Uses Chinese Products' (*dajia dou yong Zhongguohuo*) (NICT post-1945a, I: 30) introduced different fabrics used in daily life and stressed their 'Chinese-ness': 'These are the products of our country. We are all Chinese, and all of us should use Chinese products'. In other subjects, *guohuo* was also a recurring topic. For example, 'Love to Use *Guohuo*' (*aiyong guohuo*) (in *Maths* [1962 version] III: Lesson 11; [1968 version] IV:, Lesson 15), 'They Are All *Guohuo*' (*doushi guohuo*) (in *Guoyu* [1952 version] II: Lesson 27), 'Patriotism and the Love for *Guohuo*' (*aiguo aiyong guohuo*) (in *Shenghuo yu Lunli* [1968 version] V: Lesson 17).

51 A similar lesson – 'No. 1 Children's Dedication Plane' (*Ertong baoguo diyihao*) – appeared later (NICT post-1945a, VIII: 53). The lesson 'Airplanes in the Sky' served as a guideline encouraging children to be thrifty, while 'No.1 Children's Dedication Plane' recorded an actual event in 1938 at the beginning of the Sino-Japanese war.

52 A similar lesson is found in Common Sense (ibid. post-1945a, II: 18) for Year 1 students, 'How to React in an Air-Raid' (*pao jingbao*), which taught children how to identify different kinds of signals.

53 This had been included in the guideline for the 1968 and 1975 national curricula and appeared in their 'Editorial Guidelines' in the textbooks. In the 1993-version textbooks, however, the emphasis of the latter part of 'being a decent Chinese' was modified to encourage students to be 'decent citizens'.

54 One lesson focused mainly on 'daily proprieties' (*shenghuo guifan*). These are the proper ways of behaving that students are recommended to follow in daily life. In addition to obeying school rules, the 'daily proprieties' also included: (1) keeping regular daily routine; (2) sustaining public order; (3) taking care of public property; (4) adhering to proper etiquette (NICT 1968b, VIII: 69–72).

55 Kōgakkō was the elementary education institution set up specifically for local Taiwanese children during the Japanese period. The term literally meant 'common schools'.

56 The lack of investment and improvement in school buildings was caused by several factors. It was partly due to the sharp increase in the birth rate and the influx of mainlanders; also, to some extent, it was because the wooden structure of the classrooms was naturally flimsy and easily damaged; in addition, it was due to severe financial difficulties during the military crisis of the 1950s when school renovation seemed to be low on the government agenda. There were many discussions in the provincial assembly about the urgent need to repair old classrooms and build new ones, to set up new schools in remote areas and to build accommodation for teachers in rural mountain areas (e.g. STTPA 1951: 250; STPA 1963b: 613–16).

57 In 1981 the MOE revised the guidelines. Because of a more open political atmosphere and improved public finances, school development and new constructions were allowed to be more flexible. However, it was not until the 1990s that the concept of open spaces for learning started to have an impact on campus design. After the 921 Earthquake in 1999, in which thousands of schools were damaged, the 'open space' concept was increasingly put into practice in the process of rebuilding them (Chen Hsin-an 2004: 24, 36–50; Chuang Hsiu-tien 2002: 23).

58 Political slogans and banners were displayed everywhere. Popular phrases such as *shixing Sanminzhuyi* (carry out Sanminzhuyi); *xiaomie wane gongfei* (wipe out the evil communists); *fangong dalu guangfu heshan* (launch an attack on the mainland to revive our nation); *zhuangjing ziqiang chubian bujings* (be strong and calm during crises), etc. were paimted not only on the walls of classrooms and assembly halls, but also in workplaces, cinemas and public buildings.

59 The community development efforts at this early stage were only embryonic and thus very different from the 'Community Construction Movement' (*shequ zongti yingzao yundong*) in the 1990s, which has played a crucial role in the surge of local consciousness.

60 This illustration (NICT 1968b, IV: 19–20) presented a rare Taiwan perspective and surprisingly preceded the trend promoting a new local-focused education proposed by Tu Cheng-shen in 2004.

61 These pioneering places included: Taipei County, Ilan County, Hsinchu County, Tainan County, Kaohsiung County and Pingtung County. Although they promoted *muyu* (mother tongue) teaching, once power changed hands, as in Pingtung, the provision was dropped.

62 During the 1993 curriculum revision an optional module 'Local Studies' was introduced in elementary education (and a similar module in junior high schools in 1994). In 1997 a new subject – 'Getting to Know Taiwan' (*renshi Taiwan*) – was also added to the new junior high school curriculum. The introduction of the new subject triggered fierce debates (F. Wang 2005). After the new education system – 'Nine-Year Integrated Curriculum' – was launched in 2001, local knowledge was prioritized in all subjects.

63 Even with the declared intention of strengthening local knowledge there were still many difficulties along the way. For example, the number of teaching hours allocated to 'Local Studies' was insufficient. According to Li Chin-an (1997), the teaching of local languages accounted for only 1/40th of the time spent learning Mandarin and Chinese. In addition, its status as an 'optional module' was also an indication of its secondary position. After countless petitions the MOE finally made it a compulsory module in 2000. From summer 2001, all elementary schools students have to take a 'local languages' (*xiangtu yuyan*) module for two hours per week. It includes Minnan yu (aka Hoklo, Taiwanese Min, *Tai-gi*, etc.), Hakka dialect and indigenous Austronesian languages (Chen Man-ling 1999).

64 In 1834 Babington Macaulay was appointed president of the Committee of Public Instruction in Bengal. He drastically reduced the funding for the oriental institutions and focused on importing 'a knowledge of English literature and science'. In his 1835 'Minute on Indian Education', he asserted that education in India was to create 'a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect' (Macaulay 2003: 237).

65 The word 'diaspora' derives from the Greek – *dia* means 'through', 'across' or 'over', and *speiro* means 'to sow or scatter seeds' (Cohen 2008: xiv, 21; Braziel and Mannur 2003: 1). Although the term 'diaspora' historically referred to the Jewish people and

their collective exile, the definition has expanded in the last few decades to include: 'a group of people who were forced to leave "home", with a collective memory of the (Chinese) homeland, and who were a minority in the host country'. The contemporary definition of 'diaspora' has been broadened further to include a few key markers – 'collective memory', 'the will to survive as a minority' and 'the time factor' (Lal *et al.* 2006: 18). The issue of whether or not the Taiwanese could be categorized as 'Chinese Diaspora' is contested. Historically, the Chinese Diaspora is generally considered a 'trade diaspora', which has a pattern of circular migration best described as 'sojourning' (Cohen 2008: 45–6). Clearly, Han settlers in Taiwan do not always fit this pattern. In other discussions of the Chinese Diaspora, the inclusion of the Taiwanese is contested (Ma and Cartier 2003). Moreover, the issue becomes even more complicated and divisive if both mainlanders and islanders are considered a homogenous group.

66 According to Relph, 'a placeless geography, lacking both diverse landscapes and significant places' is a flatscape (1976: 79), and thus a meaningful sense of place cannot be developed. In the case of Taiwan's early elementary education, children's geographical knowledge was alienated from reality and their lived environment. In other words, Taiwan was constructed in early geography education as 'a flatscape' (B. Chang 2011).

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