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碩士論文

Master's Thesis

台灣的道德教育:
小學修身與公民教科書之比較研究 (1920-1960)
Taiwan's Moral Education: Comparative Analysis of Elementary School Ethics and Civics Textbooks (1920-1960)

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Drew McNeil

Author's Note

Japanese and Chinese names are written in the traditional order, with surname first and given name last. For some translations of Japanese and Chinese words, the original word and pronunciation are also included for reference. For Japanese words and names, the Modified Hepburn system of Romanization is used, and for Chinese words and names, the Hanyu Pinyin system is used. Exceptions to this are words or names that are already widely known in the Western world and/or were spelled differently in the past, such as Chiang Kai-Shek or Nanking (present-day Nanjing). Other exceptions include Taiwanese names, which use a different system of Romanization. Unless cited or otherwise noted, all translations are my own. Also, original Japanese/Chinese text is provided for some of the translations, but only for the longer, more relevant, and/or particularly difficult-to-translate passages.

Abstract

In the Western world religion has long played an important role in moral education and self-cultivation. Conversely, in many Asian countries which have been influenced by Chinese Confucian traditions, moral self-cultivation is one of the primary goals of education. Taiwan, which was a Japanese colony for 50 years before coming under the control of the Chinese Nationalist Party, or Kuomintang (KMT), presents a unique case for the study of ethics education, as Taiwanese schoolchildren were exposed to both Japanese and Chinese moral traditions over the course of the 20th century. Taiwan's modern education system, established by the Japanese and expanded under KMT rule, allowed the ideologies of the two governments to reach a wide audience. Government monopolies on textbook creation, the provision of free or subsidized textbooks to schools, as well as the rigid and uniform nature of the school system all ensured that textbooks would be the primary resource for both students and teachers. This research seeks to examine and evaluate Taiwanese moral education from 1920 through to 1960, a period which covers both Japanese and Chinese rule. The study will be carried out by way of a comparative analysis of elementary school ethics and civics textbooks published under both regimes.

Key words: Taiwan, moral education, textbook analysis

摘要

在西方傳統上，宗教對個人道德修養扮演重要角色。相反地，由於受到中國儒教傳統的影響，許多亞洲國家認為道德教育列為正規教育重要的一環。自十九世紀末至今，台灣經歷五十年日本政府的殖民階段，後續接受中國國民黨統治，其學童在不同政權下所接受的道德教育為一值得研究的主題。台灣近代的教育系統建立於日本政府殖民時期，之後經過國民黨政府修正。兩個政府都壟斷了教科書的編修與發行，並提供學生免費或價廉的教科書，更透過統一、嚴格的教育系統使得政府發行的教科書變成老師與學生最主要的學習資源，確保執政者之信念在民眾間可獲得推廣。本論文的目的是探討 1920 年至 1960 年期間台灣兒童所接受的道德教育。研究的方法是檢視及評估此段期間內，分別由日本殖民政府與國民黨政府所出版的小學修身與公民教科書，我們將對教科書內傳達的道德價值觀進行分析與比較。

關鍵字：台灣，道德教育，教科書分析

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1.1 Introduction and Overview

「…身修而後家齊，家齊而後國治，國治而後天下平。
自天子以至於庶人，壹是皆以修身為本。其本亂而末治者否矣…」

"…their persons being cultivated, their families were regulated. Their families being regulated, their states were rightly governed. Their states being rightly governed, the whole kingdom was made tranquil and happy. From the Son of Heaven down to the mass of the people, all must consider the cultivation of the person the root of everything besides. It cannot be, when the root is neglected, that what should spring from it will be well ordered..."

-Attributed to Confucius
(James Legge translation)

The passage above is from the *Great Learning (dà xué* 大學), one of the ancient Chinese texts which make up the traditional Confucian canon. To put it simply, the main idea reflected in the passage is that moral cultivation of the self is the basis of good governance and an orderly society. This has had immeasurable impact on Chinese philosophy, education, politics, etc. and in turn has deeply influenced many other Asian societies. Education in particular was heavily influenced by Confucian thought, and one of the key goals of education was producing a morally-sound individual. Even up until the present day this is still a key difference between Asian and Western education. In the Western world, moral education has long been closely associated with religion. Moreover, with the rise of modern, secular education systems in the United States and elsewhere, moral education has gradually disappeared from the curriculum.

Taiwan, on the other hand, is a place in which moral education is still alive and well in the curriculum. During the first half of the 20th century, Taiwan was a colony of Japan, another Asian nation whose culture also has been strongly influenced by Confucian ideas. The Japanese colonial government established Taiwan's first modern education system, and moral education was an important part of the curriculum. After the end of WWII, control of Taiwan passed to the Chinese Nationalist Party, otherwise known as the Kuomintang (國民黨) or KMT. Under the nationalist government, moral education continued to be an important part of the curriculum. However, the goals and motivations of these two governments greatly differed. How was this reflected in Taiwanese moral education?

1.2 Purpose

The principle goal of this research is to provide a more comprehensive picture of moral education in Taiwan before and after WWII via analysis of elementary school ethics and civics textbooks. The historical period to be examined is roughly from 1920 to 1960, which spans across the Japanese colonial period, the transition period after WWII, and the early years of KMT rule. This will allow for a better understanding of the change and continuity in Taiwanese ethics education over time and across regimes. It is hoped that comparative analysis of the Japanese and Chinese texts used in Taiwanese elementary schools can yield some insights regarding this transitional period in Taiwan's history. It is worth emphasizing that this study does not seek to evaluate the success or failure of ethics education in Taiwan. Rather, it seeks to investigate what moral values were being promoted by these two regimes through textbooks, and why. Identifying certain trends in Taiwanese moral education may also pave the way for further in-depth sociological studies of Taiwan and its culture.

Lee Teng-Hui (李登輝), the first directly-elected president of Taiwan and chairman of the KMT from 1988 to 2000, noted that, "Taiwan has always been ruled by power that came from abroad. Today I say this kind of thing without hesitation. Even the Nationalists are a

foreign power. They are nothing more than a political party that came to rule the Taiwanese" (Shiba 1994). As foreign regimes, both the Japanese colonial government and the KMT understood the importance of education as a tool of social control. The establishment of a modern and comprehensive education system in Taiwan allowed Japanese education to reach a significant percentage of the population. After WWII the KMT expanded upon this system and also extended compulsory education, which further increased enrollment rates. While the Japanese and KMT regimes may have had different goals, their respective educational curricula both placed a strong emphasis on ethics and the cultivation of Confucian morals. How was moral education adapted to meet regime goals and the demands of the modern state? What messages were being transmitted through ethics texts, and why? Comparative analysis of the Japanese and Chinese texts can provide a clearer picture of how these two regimes envisioned an 'ideal citizen' and an 'ideal society.' From this a number of insights can be drawn regarding these regimes and contemporary Taiwanese society as well.

1.3 Motivation

There are several motivations for pursuing this research project. The first is a personal interest in the differences between Western and Eastern moral systems and the role of ethics in education. Western morality, often steeped in religion, contrasts particularly sharply with Confucianism, which is often seen as a moral philosophy or guide to moral behavior. In the Western world, religion and morality often come into conflict with modern, secular education. However, Confucianism and moral cultivation have long played an important role in education throughout East Asia, and today this is still the case.

The next motivation for pursuing this research is that Taiwan is a unique case for comparative educational studies. Over the course of the 20th century, Taiwanese schoolchildren were presented with both Japanese and Chinese interpretations of ethics education. Both the Japanese and KMT regimes had very different interests and goals with regard to the island of Taiwan, and this is reflected in their educational goals and

curriculum content. In addition, Taiwan never experienced a formal decolonization process as other countries did. With the end of WWII control of Taiwan passed from Japan to the KMT, and significant changes in education and society in general occurred very rapidly.

The final motivation for carrying out this research is to contribute to the field of Taiwan history and help to connect Taiwan's past with its present. Taiwanese history is fragmented, and more often than not it is studied within the broader context of another discipline, such as colonial studies or Japanese history. For a long time, even in Taiwan, the island's history has been downplayed or ignored. In addition, language barriers also present a problem to researchers. It is hoped that this study can in some small help to create a clearer picture of Taiwanese history, and that a more comprehensive picture of Taiwanese history can in turn aid in the development of Taiwanese national consciousness.

1.3.1 Eastern and Western Morality

Traditionally, it is through the medium of the family or the community that children learn morals and value systems. These values vary significantly across time, place, culture, etc. yet they form an important part of our identity. The lessons we learn as children have a tendency to stick with us into adulthood and beyond, and they profoundly shape our lives in ways that are difficult to measure. In the Western world, moral teaching has been very strongly associated with religion, principally Christianity. Religious institutions have long functioned as schools and centers of learning. However, the advent of secularism, nation-states, and compulsory schooling has drastically changed the way in which children are educated in the modern era.

Thus, it is not surprising that in the United States and many other Western nations, the idea of teaching morality in schools is a very sensitive topic. Indeed, any issue that touches upon the separation of religion and the state is hotly debated, particularly in the United States. The renowned developmental psychologist and proponent of moral

education, Lawrence Kohlberg, noted that, "For many contemporary educators and social scientists, the term 'moral education' has an archaic ring, the ring of the last vestiges of the Puritan tradition in the modern school" (Kohlberg 1966, 1). Morals and religion have been highly intertwined for so long that even today in the United States moral cultivation is often seen as the purview of the family and various religious and civic organizations. In the American public school system, while some lessons may have moral implications, subjects solely dedicated to moral cultivation are rare to non-existent.

In East Asia, however, moral training has long been considered an important component of education. This line of thinking was born out of the Confucian traditions of ancient China. Throughout the dynastic periods of China up until the present day it can be argued that the primary goal of education has been the moral cultivation of self. Examples from Chinese history have long been used to provide examples of virtuous behavior which were to be emulated (Meyer 1988, 21). From China Confucian ideas spread and have influenced societies across Asia, including countries such as Japan, Korea, and Vietnam. As this study is specifically concerned with Taiwanese ethics education, it is important to understand that the two regimes in question, the Japanese colonial government and the KMT, were products of societies which were both deeply rooted in Confucianism. Thus, it is not unexpected that moral training was an important part of the curricula in Taiwan. In the West, Confucianism is often referred to as a philosophy rather than a religion, and is said to provide moral teachings without the religious trappings found in Buddhism, Taoism, or other Eastern religions. In the eyes of the Chinese as well, Confucianism is morality, not religion, and is the basis for social solidarity (Meyer 1988a, 270). Thus, this sort of morality (ethics sans religion) became part of the basic curriculum under both the Japanese and the KMT regimes, and religious issues could be avoided altogether. Having such a set and well-defined curriculum also has the added benefit of making it easier for researchers to identify key values.

1.3.2 Japanese and Chinese Regimes

To the Western observer, Taiwan presents an interesting case for the study of ethics

education. This is not only because of the prevalence of morality in the education system and the differences between Confucian and Western moral values. It is also due to the fact that over the course of the 20th century Taiwan was ruled by both the Japanese and the Chinese, and thus Taiwanese schoolchildren were presented with two different versions of ethics education. While Confucianism was a common thread connecting Japanese and Chinese moral culture and education, these two regimes had different aims and were by no means teaching the exact same values. The respective regime goals and demands of the modern state also played a role in the development of ethics education in Taiwan. The same values could be, and were, distorted and/or co-opted to serve the needs of the state.

For instance, the Japanese colonial administration was initially concerned with creating a compliant local population that was willing to work with the authorities. This was to be done for the sake of economic development and resource extraction. Uchida Kakichi (内田嘉吉), the Director of Civil Administration from 1910 to 1915 and later the 9th Governor-General of Taiwan, stated: "Education, that is, education in a colony, is not purely for the purpose of advancing education. A colonial education system must correspond to social conditions and the people's cultural level…The people of Taiwan should be taught practical skills too so they may earn a living and enjoy happiness" (Tsurumi 1977, 49). However, aside from teaching vocational skills and integrating Taiwanese into a modern economy, creating Japanese imperial citizens out of the Taiwanese was also another major goal of the colonial government. Izawa Shūji (伊澤修二), a colonial administrator who helped establish the education system in Taiwan, was a proponent of the educational theory based on the ideologies of patriotism and loyalty to the emperor (*chūkun aikoku* 忠君愛国). The main goal of schooling was to create subjects who were loyal to the emperor and the state. These ideas regarding nationalist education (*kokka shugi kyōiku* 国家主義教育) would provide the foundation for modern education in Japan and Taiwan (Tai 1999, 509-510). These ideas in turn stemmed from the Imperial Rescript on Education (*kyōiku chokugo* 教育勅語), which decreed that moral training was the foundation of education. Traditional Confucian morals such as filial piety were particularly emphasized, and were extended beyond the family to the

'divine' imperial line. One of the main aims of elementary school curriculum in Taiwan was to promote Japanese ideas and customs, as well as, "...attitudes, discipline, and habits deemed proper for all Taiwanese" (Tsurumi 1977, 58-59). Thus, it is not surprising that this transformation from Taiwanese into loyal imperial citizen was to be carried out largely by way of Japanese language and ethics classes, the two subjects which took up most of schoolchildren's time. Ultimately though, the traditional values 'deemed proper for the Taiwanese' were often aligned with the goals of the colonial government.

The KMT government also stressed Confucian morals in its elementary school curriculum, but the regime goals certainly differed from those of the Japanese colonial administration. The first two decades of KMT rule were characterized by the promotion of Chinese culture and the simultaneous purging of all traces of the colonial period. This included the heavy-handed imposition of Mandarin as the new national language as well as a ban on Japanese and Taiwanese (Hokkien) in all avenues of mass communication. Local languages such as Taiwanese, Hakka, or aboriginal languages were labeled as dialects (*fāngyán* 方言) and it was declared unpatriotic to speak in any language other than Mandarin (Sandel 2003, 529). The main goals of the KMT regime, however, were to heighten social consciousness (*mínzú yìshì* 民族意識) and promote values toward this end, which were, "…the primary means of bringing about national solidarity, which in turn constitutes the primary weapon for combating Communism and imperialism" (Chun 1994, 52). This entailed the promotion of the new national culture as well as political ideology. The KMT state, in contrast with the communist government on the mainland, portrayed itself as the custodian of traditional Chinese culture. This traditional culture naturally encompassed Confucian morals. However, more often than not Confucian virtues were used to give meaning to KMT ideology, so as to provide guidelines for social life. "Recourse to Confucian tradition in the post-imperial period, especially in its emphasis upon filial piety, was actually an attempt to extend feelings of family solidarity to the level of the nation…" (Chun 1994, 60-61). As with the Japanese colonial government, the KMT regime decided which Confucian values were appropriate, and then mixed them with healthy doses of political and nationalist ideologies.

Thus, while Confucian values played a very important role in ethics education under both regimes, the Japanese colonial government and the KMT had nearly antagonistic visions of what Taiwanese schoolchildren were to become. Moral education varied according to the goals and policies of these two authoritarian states. In a relatively short period of time Taiwanese children were subject to two different versions of ethics education, sponsored by two very different regimes. The differences as well as the similarities between the two versions of morality being presented to Taiwanese schoolchildren are worth investigating further.

1.3.3 Taiwanese History and National Consciousness

In order to bring clarity to the study of history, scholars often divide up the historical record into different time periods. These divisions can be based on significant events (e.g. WWII, the Great Depression, etc.) or even simple chronological order. This classification is inevitable in almost every academic discipline. While it is useful for study, it is important to keep in mind that these historical periods were created by scholars after the fact. For the people living during these historical transitions, the actual watershed moment is not nearly as clear and obvious as it is to the historian.

While history is far from linear, Taiwan's historical narrative is particularly fragmented. Aside from Taiwan's aboriginal people, over the past 400 years a number of different groups have laid claim to all or part of the island, including the Spanish, the Dutch, the Japanese, the Qing dynasty, etc. That being said, it is not unexpected that studies on Taiwanese history are often subsumed within larger disciplines, like China studies. In addition, historical studies on Taiwan tend to focus exclusively on one specific period within Taiwanese history (e.g. the Japanese colonial period, the Qing period, the KMT period, etc.). There are a few reasons for this. First, with regard to research, language barriers are significant. Second, Taiwan's political situation is quite unique. To attempt to thread together different periods of Taiwanese history (under the name of Taiwanese history, no less) is to assume that Taiwan is a distinct entity with its own unique history. Needless to say, this goes against the Taiwan-is-part-of-China orthodoxy which remained

unchallenged for most of the postwar period.

Thus, as a discipline, Taiwan studies is relatively young, and this can account for some of the lack of research. Research regarding Taiwanese education is particularly lacking. For instance, only a small fraction of publications in the database of the Japan Comparative Education Society (*nihon hikaku kyōiku gakkai* 日本比較教育学会) concern Taiwan, especially when compared to the number of papers on Korea and China. Indeed, despite possibilities for comparative educational research, Taiwan is often ignored, overlooked, or grouped in with broader studies of China (Yamazaki 2009, 16-19). The Taiwanese have long been under foreign rule of one kind or another. Under Japanese colonial rule, they were taught to be Japanese, and under the KMT they were taught be Chinese. What separates them from both the Japanese and the Chinese though, is a very different historical experience. Having a clearer picture of Taiwanese history can help Taiwanese to better understand themselves. It is hoped that this study can contribute to a more comprehensive picture of Taiwanese history and in doing so can help raise awareness of the Taiwanese national identity.

1.4 Literature Review

As has already been mentioned, there is a dearth of historical studies on Taiwan, especially with regard to Taiwanese ethics education. Before getting into the details, there are a few general characteristics of the literature which are worth noting. The first characteristic is that research on Taiwan is often subsumed into larger studies on China, Japan, colonialism, etc. This is in large part due to the China-centric paradigm that the KMT promoted in postwar Taiwan. Taiwan was considered part of China, and a small part at that. As such, even in Taiwan, the history of the island was largely ignored or downplayed, except where it could be connected to the greater whole of Chinese history. Taiwan's political situation (i.e. the Republic of China claiming to be the legitimate government of all China) also did not contribute to an academic environment which encouraged Taiwanese studies as a separate discipline. The second characteristic is that Taiwanese historical studies, especially comparative studies, are complicated by language

barriers. Languages such as Mandarin Chinese, Japanese, and Minnan (閩南語) are also necessary for consulting primary sources or conducting interviews. As such, most existing historical studies on Taiwanese education tend to focus on one specific period, such as the postwar KMT period, the colonial period, etc. The third characteristic is that most studies of Taiwanese moral education focus on language readers. This is true for research on colonial-era textbooks as well as postwar textbooks. The focus on language readers is not surprising, considering that the lion's share of school hours were spent on language lessons. In addition, unlike subjects such as arithmetic or the natural sciences, language lessons contained a significant amount of moral content and imparted values as well as knowledge and skills. Significantly less attention is given to ethics texts themselves. While this may be due to the fact that less class time was devoted to ethics, the content of ethics texts supported and reinforced what was learned in language lessons. Thus, close analysis of ethics texts can highlight the values and morals that were being stressed the most by the educational authorities.

Ultimately, in the years after Taiwan's democratization and decentralization of political control, more and more historical research has been conducted on Taiwan. Taiwanese education and moral education has also attracted more interest. Taiwanese history is still a small discipline, but it is growing. The following is a brief overview of some of the relevant literature on Taiwanese moral education and textbook analysis. The literature review will be divided into two sections. The first section will deal with textbook research on the Japanese colonial period, and the second section will address textbook research on Taiwan's post-war years under KMT rule.

1.4.1 Japanese Colonial-Era Research

Far and away the most exhaustive study on education in Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period is E. Patricia Tsurumi's book, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895-1945*. The book covers a wide variety of topics, including: establishment and development of the school system, curriculum design, segregation of schools, Japanization programs, Taiwanese intellectuals and political activism, etc. In addition,

there is a wealth of quantitative data, such as financial statistics, teacher-student ratios, and enrollment rates. Most relevant to this research project though, are the chapters dealing with Taiwanese textbook content. These chapters actually contain two textbook studies. The first is a critical review of an analysis by Karasawa Tomitaro (唐沢富太郎), a renowned scholar of the history of Japanese education. He analyzes 5 sets of Japanese language and ethics textbooks used in elementary schools. The texts were published in 1904, with revised editions published in 1910, 1918, 1933, and 1941. This is followed by Tsurumi's own analysis of Japanese language and ethics texts.

Karasawa's study is organized chronologically, and through comparative analysis of the 5 sets of textbooks he explains the changes that occurred over the course of the colonial period. He describes the first set of textbooks from 1904 as being characterized by nascent Japanese nationalism. Children are taught that individual success and hard work can make one's nation great. In the ethics texts there is particular emphasis on self-cultivation as the road to national greatness, and foreign figures such as Benjamin Franklin and Isaac Newton are used as examples of good conduct. In the 1910 set of texts more attention is given to topics such as loyalty, patriotism, military power, as well as the family system and the state. Humble individuals (such as dutiful servants who faithfully serve their masters) are held in higher esteem, and a link is drawn between this type of individual and national progress. The 1918 set reflects an increased international awareness, characteristic of Taisho democracy, and almost as twice as many Western personalities appear in the language readers than had previously. Yet, Karasawa notes that nationalism continues to be a very important theme, especially in the ethics texts. The 1933 set of texts marks the beginning of fascism in Japan. The Japanese language is described as the property of the Japanese race, and through stories of gods and warriors from Japanese mythology racial consciousness is further emphasized. Depictions of contemporary military life are also included. Ethics texts focus on the ideal Japanese subject who is defined by obedience and loyalty to the emperor and the state. The final set from 1941 is characterized by ultra-nationalistic and militaristic content. Japan is portrayed as the sacred country of the gods, and the ethics texts also reinforce this with lessons stressing how the Japanese people and nation are unique (Tsurumi 1977, 134-

137).

Tsurumi's textbook analysis focuses on Japanese language and ethics textbooks used in Taiwanese common schools (the segregated elementary schools designated for Taiwanese children) and also draws comparisons between these texts and their elementary school counterparts. Like Karasawa's, her analysis is chronological, and it is organized around three time periods. The first time period covers textbooks before 1922, and most attention is given to the first complete set of common school textbooks published in 1913. She notes that common school and elementary school readers during this period are very similar, and some of the content (such as folk tales, poems, etc.) was even identical. Yet, common school texts had many more Taiwanese settings, characters, clothing, etc. and dealt with topics closer to Taiwanese children. The ethics texts also show Taiwanese behaving as the Japanese intended them to. For instance, there are several illustrations showing children listening attentively to the teacher or playing in the schoolyard (Tsurumi 1977, 137-139).

The second time period in Tsurumi's analysis covers common school textbooks from 1922 to 1941. Again, Tsurumi finds that the content of language readers for both common schools and elementary schools are very similar. The difficulty level was also comparable, with a similar number of Chinese characters introduced, words per page, etc. In terms of the language used though, common school texts contained more colloquial Japanese. The morals and themes are also quite alike, and in the 1930s ethics texts more and more Japanese historical figures and lessons of good conduct from Japanese history are introduced. Despite the similarities, there are several characteristics which distinguish common school texts from their elementary school counterparts. The most important of which is the presence of strong moral overtones in common school texts. One might quip that this is to be expected in an ethics textbook. In Taiwanese texts, though, the moralizing aspects are omnipresent. To put it in perspective, Tsurumi notes: "The Japanese text imparted information; the Taiwanese text had strong overtones of good conduct" (Tsurumi 1977, 141). Taiwanese children in the stories are always shown going straight home from school and doing their homework, being honest, helping others,

obeying their parents and teachers, etc. The children in the stories of common school texts also tended to be the same age as the children studying them. The fact that these children in the stories were often engaged in some kind of virtuous or civic-minded activity also served to further emphasize public-spirited conduct. On top of pervasive moral overtones, common school texts also emphasized the power and prestige of Japan on the international stage. For instance, while both elementary school and common school readers contained a lesson on the Russo-Japanese war (in which the Japanese won a victory against the odds), common school textbooks did not contain the lesson on the Meiji emperor's call for Japan to seek knowledge from other countries. Instead, that lesson was replaced by another, which discussed the Meiji emperor's almost fatherly concern for Taiwan (Tsurumi 1977, 139-142).

The last time period in Tsurumi's analysis is the period from 1941 to 1945. As noted previously, in 1941 new textbooks were published for all elementary and common schools in Taiwan. The content reflects a nation at war, and Japanization is much more pronounced. For instance, Taiwanese settings, characters, and names are replaced with Japanese ones, and more lessons deal with the military or other nationalistic topics. But all in all, Tsurumi feels that while there is a definite trend towards ultranationalism and militarism in the common school texts, she notes that even in the editions published in the 1940s there are still significant portions of the text that do not deal with these topic. Moreover, in the elementary school texts for Japanese children, there seems to be even slightly more ultranationalistic content than in the common school texts. This finding is somewhat in opposition to Karasawa's, yet by and large both textbook analyses identify similar overall trends (Tsurumi 1977, 142-144).

Hsu Pei-Hsien's book on the modern school system in colonial-era Taiwan also contains a brief analysis of ethics texts used in common schools. The analysis covers ethics texts used after the outbreak of war, especially the 1941 editions, and it is presented within the context of broader Japanization and wartime mobilization policies enacted by the colonial government. The 'advance to the south' (*nanshin* 南進) policy of the colonial government in the late 1930s called for development of personnel resources. In a report by the

Resource Bureau in 1937, physical fitness, morals, as well as knowledge and skills were the three key elements of a citizen's quality, and this line of thinking affected education reform. There was also a major shift in curriculum towards ultra-nationalism, emperor worship, and patriotism after the promulgation of the Taiwan Education Directive (*taiwan kyōikurei* 台湾教育令) in 1937 (Hsu 2005, 113-115). With regard to the texts themselves, Hsu notes that the Imperial Rescript on Education is included in the preface of almost every text, whereas in previous editions it only appeared in the intermediate-level texts. Ideals of sacrifice, public service, and patriotism are mentioned frequently, and characters in the stories exhibit behavior which is to be modeled by Taiwanese children. According to Hsu, the two most prominent characteristics of the 1941 texts are the overarching theme of war and the continued legacy of Japanese educational reforms, which focused on child psychology. Fictional characters were used less sparingly, and morals were not directly taught and memorized but studied through stories and dialogue. While the texts increasingly featured war-related topics and even outright promotion of the war, more attention was given to textbook design so as to arouse children's interest and to make the texts more immersive (Hsu 2005, 126-130).

Tsai Chin-Tang's more recent research seeks to evaluate the influence of colonial-era ethics education. He does this by way of a critical review of past textbook analyses combined with an in-depth questionnaire survey and interviews of Taiwanese who had received Japanese education at common schools. Tsai notes that almost all prior analyses of colonial-era textbooks, including oft-cited studies by Tsurumi, make use of only partial or incomplete sets of texts. He highlights the fact that some texts are difficult or impossible to obtain, particularly those published near the end of WWII. Despite missing texts, Tsai highlights four guiding principles of ethics education which remained more or less constant from 1913 through the end of the colonial period: cultivation of the national (Japanese) spirit, obedience, honesty, and diligence (Tsai 2009, 4-7). The analysis of survey and interview data also reveals some interesting findings. Out of the 200 odd survey participants, over 65% viewed ethics classes as having the largest impact on their lives, and over 85% had positive views of the class (the highest positive response for any subject). Additionally, while the majority of respondents did not remember many specific

morals or historical figures from the ethics texts, nearly 70% clearly recalled the Imperial Rescript on Education and over 90% remembered Kimigayo (君が代), the national anthem on Japan (Tsai 2009, 16-18). Rather than militarism or emperor worship though, many respondents identified most strongly with the traditional Chinese (i.e. Confucian) virtues contained in the rescript. Respondents also had very favorable views of Japanese common school teachers, whose ethical behavior was said to also serve as a model for students. In contrast, in the interviews postwar ethics education was criticized and viewed poorly. Tsai concedes that memories can change over time and that the sharp contrast between prewar and postwar ethics education may have caused respondents to view Japanese education in a more favorable light. Despite the shortcomings of the study, the findings are significant and the topic merits further investigation (Tsai 2009, 27-29).

In addition to research on textbooks used in colonial-era Taiwan, there is also a wealth of literature on textbooks used in Meiji-era Japan. The Meiji period marked the birth of modern and universal education in Japan, which would serve as a model for colonial administrators in Taiwan. Educational trends and curriculum content developed during the Meiji period also strongly influenced education development in the colonies. For these reasons two Meiji-era textbook studies are also included in the literature review. The first is an analysis of elementary school language and ethics texts used in Japan throughout the Meiji period. The second is a comprehensive study of Meiji-era primary school history textbooks by James C. Baxter.

In her study of Meiji-era texts, Tsurumi primarily seeks to identify the values presented, and whether over time there was a shift towards traditional and Confucian values. She notes that in the early years of the Meiji period, many texts approved by the Ministry of Education were simply direct translations of Western works. Values such as individual achievement, respect for rule of law, are present. However, it is important to take into account that during the 1870s most schools were not under the direct control of the central government, and local governments still had a great deal of educational authority. The textbooks being used varied widely, and some of the most popular texts contained an eclectic mix of Western science, Japanese history, and Confucianism. Western learning

and Confucian morality both had places in the classroom (Tsurumi 1974, 249-252). In the 1880s, the political elite became more and more concerned that the people develop loyalty to the new state and the emperor, and the individualism and skepticism of Western scientific learning was viewed as dangerous. There was more government focus on ethics, and primary school ethics texts during the 1880s drew heavily from the Confucian classics. Despite this, Tsurumi highlights the fact that Japanese language classes took up most of schoolchildren's time, but few lessons in these language readers were devoted to topics such as loyalty and filial piety (Tsurumi 1974, 254-256). After the promulgation of the Imperial Rescript on Education in 1890 though, there was increased emphasis on traditional values in both language readers and ethics texts. Loyalty and filial piety were featured heavily, as were values that reinforced these two core values, such as frugality, honesty, public-spiritedness, courage, endurance, etc. From the 1900s onwards, ethics texts often used famous historical figures as examples of good conduct. Nevertheless, Tsurumi points out that some Western influence still remained, such as lessons dealing with individuals who rose from humble beginnings and achieved great things. She concludes that while there was a trend towards increased emphasis on traditional values, it was far more pronounced in the ethics texts than in language readers. In addition, even at the turn of the century, Western influences had not disappeared entirely (Tsurumi 1974, 259-260).

James Baxter's analysis focuses on history textbooks used in Meiji-era primary school and identifies them as a chief agent in defining and shaping Japanese national consciousness. He looks at not only content change over time, but also investigates changes in diction, grammar, and narrative structure. He states that in the 1870s, the widely used textbooks contained no storyline, no character development, and no causal relations between things. The grammar was simple and repetitive, as it was meant for recitation and memorization by students. Even though he describes the content as little more than a list of successive emperors, Baxter makes the important point that, "…the children who used this text must have understood despite the tedium that national history meant, before all else, the record of the imperial line" (Baxter and Fogel 2007, 319-320). From the 1880s onward, more attention was given to the Japanese nation's mythical

foundation. As stated in the Ministry of Education guidelines, one of the main purposes of history classes was to cultivate respect for the emperor and love of country (*son'nō aikoku* 尊皇愛国). Narrative structure also improves, and there is more use of honorific language and possessive pronouns such as 'we' and 'our' (*waga* 我が). Yet, he notes that there is no discussion of anything other than political and military events (Baxter and Fogel 2007, 322-323). From 1903 onwards, the Primary School Ordinance dictated that only state-compiled textbooks be used for core subjects. This, combined with the influence of the Imperial Rescript on Education, ensured that textbooks continued to promote reverence for the imperial institution. In conclusion, Baxter states that three main themes tended to dominate the texts. Sensitivity about personal and national honor, acceptance of the goal of projecting the glory of Japan and the emperor, and emphasis on the virtues of loyalty and obedience all served the state's goal of forming a Japanese historical consciousness (Baxter and Fogel 2007, 334).

1.4.2 Postwar KMT-Era Research

Jeffrey Meyer's research on moral education in Taiwan seeks to identify how moral traditions are presented in Taiwanese elementary and middle schools. He does this by way of extensive textbook analysis as well as interviews with teachers. The textbook sample is composed of all the books from the 1983-1984 school year which contain moral content. These include ethics, language, social studies, literature, history, and geography texts used in elementary and middle schools in Taiwan. Meyer first makes the point that morality is pervasive in the curriculum, and that the values taught are almost exclusively Confucian. Most if not all of these values in the texts are drawn from classic Confucian virtues, such as the Eight Virtues (*bā dé* 八德) and the Four Social Bonds (*sì wéi* 四維). Precisely because there are so many different Confucian virtues, he identifies the ones that are considered most important by tallying up how many lessons are devoted to certain virtues. His examination of ethics, language, and literature texts showed that there is a very clear priority among the virtues taught. By far the most important values are patriotism and filial piety. Other values such as diligent study, cooperation, deference, obedience, and civic virtue also appear often (Meyer 1988a, 268-271). Aside from the

morals themselves, Meyer also discusses two core characteristics of the textbooks. First, there are many conflicts between various traditional values and modern society which are not addressed. Examples include notions of family structure, gender equality, individual freedom, and competition. For instance, an urbanized, industrialized society such as contemporary Taiwan would favor a nuclear family structure, yet the traditional extended family structure seems to be favored in the texts. The second characteristic Meyer makes mention of is the overt and pervasive political indoctrination present throughout all of the textbooks in the sample. Mainland China is often presented as backwards, oppressed, etc. in contrast to a free, progressive, and prosperous Taiwan. Meyer adds that at times the indoctrination is overbearing to the point of being counterproductive (Meyer 1988a, 276-279).

Chang Kuang-Hui's analysis of postwar textbooks focuses on the development of anti-communist themes in books published between 1945 and 1963. Language readers, civics, history, and social studies texts are utilized. He notes that in texts published before 1949, promotion of patriotism and strengthening national consciousness are the defining themes. The Soviet Union is held up as a positive example, and there is no anti-communist content. Another characteristic of the pre-1949 texts is the focus on the postwar reconstruction of the nation (both economically and politically), and this reconstruction is equated with modernization. During the 1950s there were several revisions to national curriculum and new sets of texts were published. Initially though, many of the changes were minor. For example, in 1950 efforts were made to simplify some of the language and content in the texts (Chang 2003, 169-170). Other changes reflected the reality of the government having retreated to Taiwan.

However, Chang takes note of three key characteristics of textbooks published throughout the 1950s. The first is that the content was designed to instill Chinese nationalism and a Chinese identity in schoolchildren. The island of Taiwan, when even mentioned at all in the texts, is presented as always having had close historical and cultural ties. This is largely in keeping with the KMT's goals of removing Japanese influence, creating citizens of the new republic, and preparing those citizens to retake the

mainland. The second key feature of the texts is the presence of extreme anti-communist ideology, which quickly became a staple of the curriculum in the 1950s. Negative language and exaggerated illustrations were frequently used to dehumanize and delegitimize both the Chinese communists and the Russians (Chang 2003, 171-172). The last defining feature of the texts is the prevalence of lessons dealing with Chiang Kai-Shek. These lessons typically portray Chiang as a paragon of morality, representing some kind of Confucian virtue, such as patriotism, loyalty, or diligence. The lessons were designed to cultivate reverence for Chiang as the savior of the people (mínzú jiùxīng 民族救星) and were part of the larger development of his personality cult (Chang 2003, 156-159). Over the course of the 1950s and into the 1960s the three abovementioned characteristics of the texts would become increasingly prominent.

Robert Martin's textbook analysis seeks to examine the socialization of schoolchildren in Taiwan and China by identifying the virtues, models, and norms presented to them in the texts. Her textbook sample is composed of elementary school language readers from Taiwan and China. The Taiwanese texts were published in 1970, while the Chinese texts were published in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Martin finds that the predominant feature of the Taiwanese texts is their emphasis on filial piety. Patriotism and diligent study are also stressed, but as manifestations of filial piety, the most important virtue (Martin 1975, 244-246). This contrasts sharply with the messages of the Chinese texts, which promote public-spirited conduct, self-sacrifice, and hard work (i.e. manual labor). With regard to social relationships, the family is presented as the primary social unit in the Taiwanese texts, but the Chinese texts attempt to weaken the traditional role of the family. Instead, more attention is devoted to an individual's responsibility to the work brigade, production unit, community, etc. (Martin 1975, 246-252). The Chinese texts also present a variety of role models, such as farmers, soldiers, workers, but the Taiwanese texts simply present traditional paragons of virtue pulled from Chinese history. Attitudes towards nature, academics, manual labor, the government, etc. also differ considerably. Martin concludes that children in Taiwan and China are "…being socialized to be citizens of two divergent societies" (Martin 1975, 260).

More recent research by Chang Bi-Yu investigates the KMT's Sinicization agenda through an analysis of postwar Taiwanese elementary geography education. His textbook sample covers geography, social studies, and 'general knowledge' texts (i.e. all the texts which taught geographic knowledge) published between 1945 and 1968. Chang identifies five characteristics which contributed to the construction of a Chinese national identity. The two most important characteristics are patriotism and anti-communist ideology. He notes that these two themes pervade all of the texts, and are particularly prevalent in the textbooks used during the first few years of elementary school. With regard to patriotism, love of China and its image as the ancestral homeland are heavily emphasized. In addition, leaders (i.e. Sun Yat-Sen and Chiang Kai-Shek) and symbols of the Republic of China (ROC) are given high status, and children are taught how to demonstrate their patriotism through actions such as participating in the National Day parade and saluting the flag. Even actions such as encouraging thrift and buying local products are also considered patriotic (Chang 2011, 389-392). The second of the key elements in the texts is anti-communist ideology. The Chinese communists are branded as bandits who colluded with the Russians to usurp China. In later editions of the texts, outright hostility towards Russia and communists is toned down, and instead Taiwan's development is compared to a backward and miserable China. Full color illustrations are also employed to highlight the stark differences, with images of a bright, modern, and prosperous Taiwan alongside images of a gloomy, barren, and poor China (Chang 2011, 392-394). The anti-communist theme also allows children to identify an enemy from which the mainland must be recovered.

The third characteristic of the texts is emphasis on territorial claims. The ROC is naturally proclaimed to be the legitimate government of the whole of China, and while the KMT did not have control over mainland China, the inviolable integrity of the ROC is repeatedly stressed. Maps of the ROC are also used to visualize territorial claims. The image of a begonia leaf-shaped China appears often in the texts, and makes it easy for schoolchildren to recognize the boundaries of the ROC. Lessons on lost territory are also presented, and these losses are presented to students as a national disgrace. While the children are taught to feel humiliated about this, they are also reminded of their duty to

recover these lost territories. The fourth characteristic of the texts is learned homesickness for the Chinese homeland. This was another way in which the KMT attempted to construct a Chinese identity. Taiwanese children are presented with a sense of nostalgia for a distant homeland. Characters throughout the texts make frequent mention of the desire to return home. There is also a focus on the cultural, ethnic, and ancestral connections between Taiwan and China, which Chang notes was also an attempt by the KMT to try and reduce conflicts between the mainlanders in Taiwan and local Taiwanese (Chang 2011, 394-398). The fifth and final theme is the subordination of Taiwan. The island of Taiwan is largely ignored in the texts. Among all the textbooks analyzed, there is only one lesson devoted to the island of Taiwan, and Chang estimates that on average only about 3% of textbook content is concerned with Taiwan. When Taiwan is mentioned in the texts, it is usually only to make a reference to China. Chang identifies three ways in which Taiwan is addressed in the texts: ethnic and historical ties between Taiwan and China, Taiwan's rich resources, and the KMT's postwar achievements in Taiwan (Chang 2011, 399-400). From his analysis he concludes that the main aims of KMT geography education was to create a new generation of children with a Chinese identity and to foster loyalty to the KMT regime. In closing, he also ties the study's findings to present-day Taiwan's identity problem: "Being constantly taught to be 'Chinese first, Taiwanese second', the post-war generation of Taiwanese was discouraged from exploring, understanding, or establishing an intimate relationship with their own environment; the lack of affection, understanding and experience of one's locality jeopardized the development of a satisfying and rooted identity" (Chang 2011, 402).

Su Ya-Chen's research examines how political ideologies and values are represented in elementary school social studies texts. This is done by way of comparative analysis of two sets of texts published during the last three decades of the 20th century. The first set of texts was published between 1978 and 1989, and the second set was published between 1989 and 1995. Through the use of several focus questions, Su investigates not only changes in political ideologies and values over time, but also looks at the portrayal of ethnic groups and minorities as well as the narrative style used. The findings are organized around four main themes: ethnic/political kinship between China and Taiwan;

nationalism and national identity; legitimization of the KMT and their achievements; and legitimization of women's experiences.

Unsurprisingly, the first set of texts places strong emphasis on the ethnic and political ties between China and Taiwan. For instance, aside from the Chinese settlers who came over to Taiwan, the text also states that the aboriginal people are also closely related to ethnic groups from the south of mainland China. The construction of railroads, telegraph lines, etc. under Qing imperial rule and administrators such as Liu Ming-Chuan (劉銘傳) are also praised. The second set of texts briefly discusses Taiwan under the rule of the Dutch, the Japanese, etc. However, the message of kinship with China is still the primary message of the texts. With regard to national identity, Su notes that nationalism is defined as a reaction against foreign aggression and imperialism, and that the textbook content largely serves to reinforce loyalty to the Chinese homeland. Negative stereotypes of foreign colonization are emphasized and positive aspects are ignored. In particular, much attention is given to the idea that all Taiwanese people resisted Japanese rule and gladly welcomed the KMT. No mention is made of the 228 massacre or any other conflicts between Taiwanese and mainlanders. While over the years there were several changes made to the textbook content, Su finds that the narrative and core message of the two sets of texts are largely unchanged (Su 2007, 219-225).

With regard to legitimization of the KMT and their achievements, the first set of texts unconditionally expresses the idea of the KMT as the sole, legitimate government of all of China and Taiwan. Taiwan is also presented as a base from which to stage the eventual reunification of China. Sharp contrast is also drawn between the democratic, prosperous, and progressive Taiwan and the oppressed, poor, and backward mainland China, which corroborates Chang's findings. The second set of texts no longer features sections regarding the duty of reunification with mainland China, and instead is more concerned with Taiwan's economic development. Su notes that while there are fewer overt political messages, the theme of KMT accomplishments in Taiwan is still heavily emphasized. As for women's experiences, in the first set of texts no space is devoted to women's experiences or perspectives, and minority groups are largely ignored as well. In the

second set of texts, some attention is given to increased female participation in the economy, yet traditional gender roles are still reinforced. The chapter in question mentions that women in the work force face the additional burdens of child-care and household chores (Su 2007, 226-229). Su concludes that the texts largely present selective, conservative, government-endorsed views. While she identified some trends which pointed towards increasing cultural diversity and gender equality, she noted that the core messages of the texts changed little. That is, the ideologies presented served to reinforce a unified Chinese national identity, draw contrast between the KMT and other groups which controlled Taiwan (such as the Dutch or the Japanese), and enhance the legitimacy of the KMT and the ROC. Content which was deemed sensitive or controversial was excluded (Su 2007, 229-232).

A similar study on Taiwanese moral education by Kao Jian-He focuses solely on civics and ethics education, and analyzes elementary school texts published between 1952 and 1989. The study also includes a wealth of detail on the various reforms and changes to the national curriculum standards made since the 1930s. The textbook analysis covers civics and ethics texts in their various incarnations, including the *Civics* (*gōngmín* 公民) series of the 1950s, *Civics and Morality* (*gōngmín yǔ dàodé* 公民與道德), and *Life and Human Relationships* (*shēnghuó yǔ lúnlǐ* 生活與倫理) used from the 1960s onwards. Kao notes that the content of the civics texts of the 1950s draw heavily on documents such as Sun Yat-Sen's will, the speeches of Chiang Kai-Shek, and national policies. He also notes that the two themes of Sinicization and anti-communism are prevalent throughout these texts. This is largely a reflection of the political situation of the KMT in Taiwan, especially with regard to the communist threat and local unrest. As such, the texts reflect the government's goals of stressing Chinese ethnic identity and preparing to retake the mainland. Kao also classifies the morals in the texts into different units. The first unit is the self, followed by the family, the school, the nation, and finally the world. The morals presented include a wide array of traditional values. Examples include filial piety and diligence, which are presented in the context of the family, and loyalty and courage, which are presented in the context of the nation (Kao 2007, 45-52). This progression of morals from the self to the rest of humanity is reminiscent of the powerful Confucian idea

that world peace and harmony are rooted in cultivation of the self. Reforms initiated in the late 1950s culminated in the publication of *Civics and Morality* in 1962, which placed more emphasis on morality in the texts. Despite this though, Kao notes that for the most part the layout and main themes of the text remain the same, with themes such as anti-communism becoming even more prominent (Kao 2007, 69-78). The analysis continues with a discussion of the more recent texts and how they come to more accurately reflect Taiwan's changed political situation.

While extensive studies of Taiwanese textbooks are available, there are few that compare texts from different periods in Taiwan's historiography. As mentioned previously, studies on Taiwanese education tend to be grouped in with larger disciplines, such as Japanese history, Chinese history, colonial history, etc. The abovementioned studies also tend to use 1945 as a starting point or as an ending point. That being said, the findings of these in-depth studies provide important background information, examples of analytical tools, and points of departure for future studies. They also can help to identify trends in education at the time and in general can help to better understand which ideologies were being transmitted through textbooks and why.

2. Methodology

2.1 Unit of Analysis

In this study the examination of moral education in Taiwan from 1920-1960 will be carried out primarily by way of analysis of Taiwanese elementary school ethics and civics textbooks. Textbooks have been chosen as the unit of analysis for several reasons. First and foremost, textbooks have played, and continue to play, a vital role in Taiwanese education. They are still the single most important resource for teachers, as they contain the curriculum-mandated material and also serve as a guide to the creation of lesson plans, activities, etc. Textbooks may be an even more important resource for students because of the system of standardized entrance examinations in Taiwan. Proceeding to the next level of education, such as secondary schooling or university, requires that students pass the appropriate entrance examination, which largely tests for knowledge of textbook content.

Another reasons textbooks have been selected as the unit of analysis is the centralized nature of the education system in Taiwan. This centralization is in part due to the uniform examination system, but mainly due to the government-mandated curriculum standards. Under both Japanese and KMT rule the government had a near monopoly on the textbook creation process. During the Japanese colonial period, the Government-General of Taiwan (*taiwan sotōkufu* 台湾総督府) had complete jurisdiction over the curriculum for common schools. Similarly, during the post-war years the National Institute for Compilation and Translation (*guólì biānyìguǎn* 國立編譯館), or the NICT, under the Ministry of Education was responsible for the production, review, and adoption of textbooks. The textbook market was not actually deregulated until well into the 1990s. (Law 2002, 68-69). Having textbook production and review under the same arm of the government ensured that only government-approved ideologies reached the target

audience.

As for why elementary school ethics and civics texts were selected over other types of texts? First, younger children absorb knowledge more readily, and according to psychological theory, the greater part of an individual's moral development takes place in their youth (Paolitto 1977, 76-79). Moreover, elementary schools are the most prevalent type of educational institution and are the most widely attended. This was especially true during the Japanese colonial period when secondary schooling opportunities for Taiwanese were extremely limited. Thus, elementary school texts were reaching the greatest possible audience of school-age children. To add to this, elementary school was compulsory. While compulsory education was not instituted until 1943 under Japanese rule, the KMT continued this policy after the war and later expanded upon it (Hsu 2005, 116). Language classes by far took up most of students' time, yet ethics was recognized as a vital part of the curriculum. During the Japanese colonial period, ethics textbooks were used to reinforce what was learned in Japanese language lessons (Tsurumi 1977, 144). During the KMT period also, moral education was an important part of the curriculum and a significant amount of time was dedicated to the subject (Republic of China Ministry of Education 1948).

It is important to note though, that these textbooks offer a partial view of what students were learning at the time. Rather, they offer a clear picture of what the state wanted students to learn. However, considering the high level of government control over curriculum design and textbook creation, as well as the uniform nature of the education system, we can be reasonably sure that the same textbooks and their messages were reaching a wide audience (i.e. all students who attended elementary schools islandwide). Indeed, by 1944 over 70% of school-age children were enrolled in elementary schools (Tsurumi 1977, 148). By 1949 the attendance rate had risen to 79%, and by 1953 the attendance rate had risen to over 1 million students, or 87.7% of the school-age population (Republic of China Ministry of Education 1954). From textbook content, a number of insights regarding the expectations of the state, contemporary society, culture, values, etc. can be drawn.

2.2 Description of Textbook Sample

The textbook sample consists of 14 elementary school ethics and civics textbooks used in Taiwan from 1920 to 1960. All of the textbooks were obtained from the textbook archives of the NICT in Taipei. The texts can be divided into two groups. The first group consists of 7 ethics textbooks that were published between 1920 and 1945 under the Japanese colonial administration. They were all compiled, edited, and printed by the Taiwan Government-General. The texts are written in Japanese, and the average length of each is about 50 pages. These textbooks were used in the common schools designated for Taiwanese children. As mentioned in the literature review, these books differed from those being used in the elementary schools designated for the children of Japanese nationals, which were the same textbooks as those used in Japan. The difficulty level and content of elementary school texts and common school texts was very similar, but the most significant difference was in the underlying messages of the text. For instance, the texts for Japanese children contained messages regarding individual achievement and the relationship between hard work and success. Meanwhile, texts for Taiwanese children stressed values such as honesty, obedience, and harmonious living (Hsu 2005, 16-17).

The second group of textbooks in the sample consists of 7 civics textbooks that were published between 1945 and 1960 under the KMT regime. They were all produced by the National Institute for Compilation and Translation. The texts are written in Mandarin, and the average length of each is about 25 pages. They were used in elementary schools across Taiwan. It is worth noting here that during the early years of KMT rule war on the mainland was a significant drain on Taiwan's already battered economy. Because of the initial lack of funding for education, old versions of textbooks were used for quite a while and up until the KMT retreated to Taiwan in 1949 only a small number of new editions were published (He 2006).

As with any study relying on textbook analysis, the selection of the sample is extremely important. This is especially true for longitudinal and comparative studies. Conclusions

and theories drawn from the study are based on the sample, and thus the most complete and representative samples yield the best results. However, time and resource constraints often make it difficult to obtain and analyze complete sets of textbooks. In some cases, the textbooks simply cannot be found. For instance, as noted in the literature review, there are several volumes missing from the sets of Japanese colonial-era textbooks published near the end of WWII. In lieu of complete textbook sets, this study opts for a smaller and more diverse sample. Care was taken to make the sample more diverse by selecting books from different series (where applicable), different grade levels, as well as from different years. In addition, change and continuity in the national curriculum, as well as the publication of revised series of texts were also taken into account in the selection process.

A final point worth taking into consideration is the education budget of the two regimes. More specifically, due to financial constraints older versions of textbooks remained in use, even after major changes to educational curriculum or after newer versions were available. Simply because the central government announced revisions to the national curriculum or released new editions of textbooks did not necessarily guarantee change at the local level. Moreover, while there was some lag between publication of new texts and actual dissemination to the schools, the number of different texts in circulation was not particularly large, especially considering tight government controls over the publication of educational materials. According to the UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision, even in strong economies with high academic and technical standards the development of new textbooks can take many years. Also, the life of a textbook can be well over 10 years (Pingel 2009, 35-36). Considering the above, it can be said that the textbook sample used in this study presents a reasonably accurate depiction of ethics education from 1920-1960. The details of the textbooks in the sample are presented below in Tables A and B.

Table A: Details of Japanese Ethics Textbooks Used in the Analysis

Title (Japanese)	Title (English)	Publication Year	Editor	# of Lessons	# of Pages
公學校 修身書 (巻一) 兒童用	*Common School Ethics (Vol. 1)*	1921	Government-General of Taiwan (臺灣總督府)	18	16
公學校 修身書 (巻五) 兒童用	*Common School Ethics (Vol. 5)*	1930		25	56
公學校 修身書 (巻六) 兒童用	*Common School Ethics (Vol. 6)*	1930		25	56
ヨイコドモ (上)	*Good Children (Beginner)*	1942		N/A	39
ヨイコドモ (下)	*Good Children (Advanced)*	1942		20	45
初等科修身 (二)	*Elementary-Level Ethics (Vol. 2)*	1943		20	80
公學校高等 科修身書 (巻一) 兒童用	*Common School Advanced-Level Ethics (Vol. 1)*	1944		26	83

Table B: Details of Chinese Civics Textbooks Used in the Analysis

Title (Chinese)	Title (English)	Publication Year	Editor	# of Lessons	# of Pages
公民 (第一冊)	*Civics (Vol. 1)*	1948	National Institute for Compilation and Translation (國立編譯館)	12	22
公民 (第二冊)	*Civics (Vol. 2)*	1948		12	25
公民 (第三冊)	*Civics (Vol. 3)*	1948		12	28
公民 (第四冊)	*Civics (Vol. 4)*	1950		10	21
公民課本 (第一冊)	*Civics Textbook (Vol. 1)*	1957		12	19
公民課本 (第一冊)	*Civics Textbook (Vol. 1)*	1958		10	13
公民課本 (第三冊)	*Civics Textbook (Vol. 3)*	1959		10	16

2.3 Analytical Framework

The purpose of this study is to provide a more comprehensive picture of Taiwanese moral education from 1920 to 1960 through comparative textbook analysis. The analysis section will be roughly divided into two parts. First, the Japanese texts will be examined, followed by the Chinese texts. The aim is to identify the key moral values in the texts and

also to examine the presentation of ideas and the portrayal of different groups in society. Changes over time within the two sets of texts will also be noted, and possible explanations for such change will be explored. The discussion section will broadly compare and contrast the ideas and messages presented in the textbooks of both regimes. In this way change and continuity within regimes and between regimes can be observed.

The guidelines from UNESCO's manual on textbook research were helpful in creating the analytical framework used in this study. The manual provides a wide array of possible methodological approaches and refers the reader to several examples of prior textbook research. It also provides other criteria for analysis, including the education system, curricula, textbook publishing, maps and illustrations, factual accuracy of content, etc. The focus questions used in this paper were in part derived from many of the ideas presented in the manual. Many of these additional criteria will also be addressed in the sections containing relevant background information. In addition to UNESCO's handbook, there are a few other ideas that influenced the development of the analytical section of this paper. The first is the idea that one the fundamental concerns of curriculum design and curriculum studies in general is social control. Related ideas about different forms of knowledge, both overt and covert, and their function have also contributed to the study (Apple and King 1977, 342-347). Specifically relevant to this research is the distinction between the formal curriculum and hidden curriculum. That is, the contrast "…between what is openly intended that students learn and what, although not openly intended, they do, in fact, learn" (Martin 1976, 136). This provides an important lens through which to view textbook content.

What messages were the Japanese and KMT regimes attempting to transmit through these elementary school ethics and civics texts? What moral values were being transmitted to schoolchildren? How do the values and ideologies of the Japanese texts differ from those of the Chinese texts? These are the questions at the heart of the study. Considering this and other factors, the bulk of the study will consist of content analysis of the two groups of texts, along with comparison and contrast of findings. In addition, vertical analysis will also be employed. That is, any change over time within the sets of Japanese and Chinese

texts will also be noted. The content analysis will be divided up into three sections. The first will briefly cover basic presentation of content in the texts, such as lesson format, illustrations, narrative structure, etc. The next two sections will each be based on the following focus questions:

1) What ideologies and moral values are represented in the two groups of textbooks? What are the primary messages of the two groups of textbooks?

2) How do the textbooks portray different groups in society (ethnicity, gender, occupation, etc.)?

The first section will identify and list out the various moral values that are presented in the texts, in order of importance. For this, a modified version of the analytical tool used by Karasawa, Meyer, Tsai, and others will be employed. This tool helps to simplify and condense content which allows for broader content analysis. This section will also identify broad themes within the texts and will address how these moral values fit into the messages being promoted by the educational authorities.

The second section will focus more on aspects of the hidden curriculum. Specifically, how are different groups of people depicted in the texts, and what sort of social norms and expectations might these depictions convey to students? These groups will include ethnic groups, gender, the family, and different professions. The discussion section will broadly compare the two groups of texts, utilizing the synthesized results from the previous sections.

The focus questions listed above are intentionally broad, and this leaves room to examine more subtle and pointed questions which can help to draw conclusions about why certain values are included in the texts. For instance, what values are considered most important, and why? What is emphasized and what is omitted? What illustrations are presented, and why? All of these questions and more will be explored in the analysis.

3. Historical Background of Japanese Colonial Period

3.1 Japanese Colonialism

The First Sino-Japanese War formally came to an end with the signing of the Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895, and with its signing Japan acquired its first colony: Taiwan. The acquisition of Taiwan, however, was not actually one of the goals of the Japanese negotiators. Many argued that Japan, lacking adequate capital and burdened by war debt as it was, could hardly afford the luxury of a colony. During the first three years after annexation, on top of the inability to effectively control the local population, the expense of governing Taiwan was so great that Japan considered selling it to France for one hundred million yen (Chen 1977, 62). Yet colonial holdings came with great prestige, and this, combined with opportunism, can better explain how Taiwan became Japan's first colony. As such, Taiwan would become Japan's model colony, and thus began an effort to prove Japan's worth as an imperialist power and form its own version of "manifest destiny" (Ching 2001, 17) Up until 1895 Japan's experience with regard to colonization was extremely limited, and thus it did not possess any clear attitudes or goals with respect to empire. For instance, in Hokkaido the Japanese government focused on settlement and the replication of Japanese society and institutions. This calls to mind the settlement colonies of Great Britain, yet this sort of settlement of foreign territories was not really a guiding ideology for Western imperialism.

Whether or not the Japanese empire had a single guiding ideology is the subject of much debate, as the ideas circulating at the highest levels of Japanese bureaucracy changed over time. In addition, there were competing pressures among Japanese elites. The military also played a key role in Japanese expansionism and colonial affairs. Worries over a clash with other imperialist nations (most notably England and Russia) led the military to interpret security in ever broader terms. For example, Yamagata Aritomo (山

縣有朋), the founder of the modern army in Japan, distinguished between, "...Japan's line of sovereignty, the home islands, and its line of advantage or interest, which included Korea" (Jansen 1984, 67-68). This ring around the Japanese home islands was seen not only as a defensive buffer, but also an area of Japanese economic influence. As the newest member of the group of imperialist nations, Japan was also heavily influenced by past and current trends in Western thought. Hindsight was an advantage for Japan in terms of being able to compare and contrast various approaches to colonialism. Social Darwinism, the various models of colonialism (most notably the British, French, and German models), and the progressive spirit of the Meiji period all influenced Japanese colonial policy to some extent.

However, rather than the British model of securing raw materials and tapping the export market potential of colonies, Japanese colonialism leaned more towards the French and German patterns of colonialism. That is, the government was far more active in colonial affairs and more assertive in its control over them. That is not to say that British colonial policy was ignored. For instance, the Japanese followed British example in distinguishing the colonial rulers from the colonized. Examples of this include the construction of the impressive Government-General Building, which symbolized the authority and permanence of the regime, as well as the wearing of uniforms and separate living arrangements for colonial officials (Jansen 1984, 88).

Economics and strategic concerns aside, one of the reasons for investing in its colonies was "the desirability of their being *ultimately* integrated with Japan, both culturally and politically…Japan had a civilizing – or perhaps one should, modernizing – mission, which applied as much to promoting education and public health and economic development as it did to political behavior" (Beasley 1994, 143-144).

3.2 Assimilation

Whereas most Western empires were far-flung and colonized peoples bore little resemblance to their colonizers, a unique feature of the Japanese empire was that it was

relatively territorially contiguous, and it was largely made up of peoples racially and culturally similar to the Japanese. While Western ideas regarding colonialism were influential, these affinities led to the development of the doctrine of assimilation (*dōka* 同化). That is, the belief that the colonized peoples could be molded into Japanese imperial citizens, mind, body, and spirit. In his analysis of Japanese imperial ideologies, Mark R. Peattie identifies four ideas which were central to *dōka*. The first was *dōbun dōshu* (同文同種), which is often translated as 'same script, same race.' This referred to Chinese characters and the shared cultural heritage from China. The second can be characterized by the phrase *isshi dōjin* (一視同仁), which in the literature is translated as 'impartiality and equal favor.' This idea has its roots in the Chinese Confucian tradition, and was used to express the idea that all the subjects of the Japanese empire shared equally in the beneficence of the emperor. A third facet of assimilationist thought was the belief that the Japanese race was descended from the imperial family, who were themselves descended from the gods. The concept of the empire as a family could be extended beyond Japan, with non-Japanese populations becoming imperial citizens (*kōmin* 皇民). Lastly, there was a belief that the Japanese were exceedingly adept at assimilating foreign people and ideas. This belief was mostly founded on claims that the Japanese had assimilated Chinese culture in the past and had also successfully absorbed Western ideas in the modern era. This belief still persisted despite the fact that the colonial reality (a minority Japanese population attempting to affect change in a majority alien population) was quite different from any previous Japanese historical experiences (Peattie 1984, 96-98).

As has just been summarized above, Japanese ideas on assimilation stemmed from the cultural and racial affinities between colonizer and colonized (as opposed the French colonial experience, where assimilation was rooted in the republican ideals of the French revolution). Yet, similar to their Western counterparts, the Japanese also presented themselves as the bearers of modernization and superior culture. This in itself presents an interesting paradox. Early Japanese assimilation efforts in Taiwan have been thus described: "…assimilation still suggests the inferior status implied by the word 'colony,' for it connotes one-sided changed on the part of the subject people – not of the nationals

who are acclaimed bearers of a superior culture" (Lamley 1971, 496). The shared traits of the Japanese and their Asian neighbors were stressed loudly and often by the Japanese government. But rather than serving as a practical guide to policy, slogans such as *dōbun dōshu* and *isshi dōjin* were more of an attempt to counter Western colonial expansion by presenting Japanese rule as benevolent in the face of Western greed and aggression. In practice, segregation and discrimination were commonplace and the Taiwanese lacked any sort of representation or in say in government. Meanwhile, Japanese feelings of superiority and their monopoly on positions of power and privilege stifled any chance of true assimilation.

Regardless of the reality though, assimilation was without a doubt central to the conduct of colonial affairs, perhaps most so in Taiwan. At its core, assimilationist thought in general reflected "… humanitarian sentiments mixed with feelings of superiority, and a strong belief in progress reflecting the spirit of the Meiji period" (Lamley 1971, 498-500). The concept appealed to a wide array of Japanese elites mostly because it was so vague and easily adaptable. What constituted the ideal goals and methods of assimilation could vary considerably, depending on one's perspective. In Taiwan, the vehicle for progress in the broadest sense, material improvement as well as cultural development, would be education. This belief in the transformative power of education and the widespread implementation of a modern education system were some of the hallmarks of the Meiji period in Japan. To more fully understand the system and curriculum that would be put in place in Taiwan, it is very helpful to first have a clearer picture of what was going on in Meiji-era Japan with regard to education.

3.3 Education in Meiji-Era Japan

The first modern school system in Japan was established during the beginning of the Meiji period. The rapid expansion in the number of schools and the steady increase in school attendance rates underscore the great importance Meiji policymakers placed on education. In 1872, the year after the Ministry of Education was established, the Education System Ordinance (*gakusei* 学制) was put into effect. In that same year, only

28% of eligible students (40% of boys and 15% of girls) were enrolled, and almost 80% of the population was illiterate. However, by 1910 over 98% of children were attending elementary school and illiteracy rapidly disappeared (Stevenson 1991, 110).

The education system during this period has been described by many scholars as a two-track system. More specifically, the system has been characterized as having a dumbbell configuration. That is, "…a small corps of highly, even liberally, educated scholars, technicians, and bureaucrats on one end; on the other, an entire population trained to basic literacy and economic usefulness and political obedience, up through the primary level; and very little in between." While the central government in Tokyo channeled most of its funding towards the cultivation of the highly-educated elite corps, elementary public education was by no means neglected. The central government did, however, move to shift the costs of this education to the provinces. By the end of the 19th century general cost-cutting on their part had resulted in around 70% of elementary public school funding being financed by local governments (Tsurumi 1984, 276-277). Developments in education during this period, particularly with regard to public elementary schooling, would heavily influence the development of the school system and curriculum in Taiwan.

From the outset of the Meiji period, educators and policymakers had already recognized that education was vital to the process of nation building. Additionally, as mentioned above, another important function of elementary education for the population at large was to remind them of their place in society. While they often disagreed, nationalists and proponents of Confucianism found common ground in ethics education. By the close of the 19th century much more emphasis was being placed on traditional Confucian values such as loyalty and respect for authority (especially the emperor and the imperial family). Aside from serving the interests of state-builders and Confucian educators, there are a few different reasons as to why traditional ethics began to take on a more important role in education.

In Japanese history, perhaps even in world history, the Meiji period stands out as a period of rapid change. Particularly remarkable is the rapid influx of Western ideas and

technology, as well as the rapid rate at which they were absorbed by the Japanese. However, that is not to say that there was no friction whatsoever. Regarding the ideological trends in education during the Meiji period, Tsurumi notes: “A picture of late nineteenth-century Japanese education which portrays a wave of heavy Westernization during the 1870s, followed by a strong traditionalist reaction against this in the 1880s which led, in turn, to an amalgam of traditional and National Statist values in the last decade of the century is by no means a completely distorted portrait, but it is a greatly oversimplified version of what actually happened” (Tsurumi 1974, 259). The massive influx of Western ideas and philosophies during the early years of the Meiji period did indeed prompt a conservative backlash among bureaucrats and education officials. The Meiji emperor, in part influenced by scholars of the Chinese classics who were close to him, also advocated for Confucian ethics in education (Oshiba 1961, 230). This heralded a shift towards ‘moral education’ and increased emphasis on traditional values, such as frugality, honesty, patience, obedience, etc. Not surprisingly, chief among these values were loyalty and filial piety. However, it is important to keep in mind that the ideas circulating among education officials and policymakers differed somewhat from what was actually being taught in classrooms.

So which values were being taught in the classrooms of Meiji-era Japan then? Keeping in mind that the Meiji period was a time of rapid change and foreign influences, it is not surprising that this would be reflected in the elementary school curriculum. Direct translations of Western textbooks, as well as texts heavily modeled after European and American versions, were not uncommon during the first few decades of the Meiji period. The influence of Western law was also apparent, with some textbooks emphasizing the importance of the constitution, paying taxes, and other national duties. At the same time though, ethics and language texts with nationalist and Confucian content were also being used. Tsurumi’s analysis of language and ethics texts (the subjects which took up most class time and also contained significant moral content) provides a clearer picture. While there was an overall trend towards traditional Confucian and national-statist ethics in the later years of the Meiji period, Tsurumi concludes that: “…at no time during the Meiji period did one of the three main groups of values, which may be called Western,

Confucian-traditionalist and National-Statist, completely drive out any of the other two groups. Throughout the Meiji period all three groups remained, in varying degrees, in the primary school textbooks; indeed, they stayed in these texts until the end of the Second World War" (Tsurumi 1974, 260). In summary, Meiji children were presented with diverse (if sometimes contradictory) values.

3.4 The Imperial Rescript on Education

Ultimately, moral cultivation of the self (*shūshin* 修身) and the transmission of traditional values, as well as the cultivation of nationalism, would become guiding ideologies of education. These ideas would be enshrined in the Imperial Rescript on Education, which was promulgated by the emperor himself in 1890. This rescript would lay out the fundamental moral character of the empire, and it would serve as the foundation of moral training throughout Japan and the colonies. What is of most significance to this research though is that the rescript had a central place in the elementary public school system. This was especially true for ethics classes and curriculum development, yet it was certainly not limited to them. The rescript was memorized by all schoolchildren throughout the empire, and was read at important school ceremonies, where it was worshipped alongside the imperial portrait. Its influence remained largely undiminished until the end of WWII. An English translation of the rescript from the Japanese Ministry of Education, Science and Culture (*nihon monbushō* 日本文部省) reads as follows:

"Know ye Our subjects, our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted it. Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. It is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, that herein also lies the source of Our education. Ye Our Subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends be loyal; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and then develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore, advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the

Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourself courageously to the State; and thus promote and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval in heaven and earth" (Lin 2000, 144).

While the rescript was not particularly lengthy, it clearly displayed the aims of Japanese education during the Meiji period. Even from the first sentence alone, a number of inferences can be drawn. The student learns their place in society, that is, a subject of the empire. Additionally, the ancient origins of the Japanese empire are also briefly touched upon. This is further evidence of how the Meiji-era elite viewed education as an important tool for nation-building. As is often the case in nationalist discourse, the state's origins are ancient and mythical, yet at the same time they can be traced to the present day. The divinity of the 'unbroken imperial line' is tied to the origins of the state. This linear and unbroken conception of history is far from accurate, but it lends legitimacy to the state, is easy for the young learner to digest, and it is extremely useful with regard to nation building and the cultivation of patriotic sentiment.

The core of the rescript though, is loyalty and filial piety, which is the 'fundamental character of Our Empire' as well as 'the source of Our education.' While loyalty and filial piety are both traditional Confucian values, they were easily adapted to fit the needs of Meiji statists. The rescript continues by highlighting several other values, such as modesty, benevolence, pursuit of learning, etc. Respect for the constitution and rule of law is also referenced, a nod to the influence of Western institutions and ideas. Sharon Nolte refers to the rescript as, "a document of consensus," as it contained references to Confucian social hierarchy, Shinto imperial divinity, and Western constitutionalism (Nolte and Onishi 1983, 284). Additionally, she notes that the rescript was issued without the necessary signatures of ministers of state which were required by law under the constitution. From this she draws the conclusion that the rescript was intended to exist outside a legal or political framework: "The authority of the Emperor was to be used to guide his subjects' social and moral behavior outside the structure of the Constitution and the law" (Nolte and Onishi 1983, 284-285). The Imperial Rescript on Education, derived from the moral authority of the emperor, would have important implications for education

in the colonies.

3.5 Japanese Education in Colonial-Era Taiwan

Izawa Shūji, the experienced educator who became the first head of Taiwan's Bureau of Educational Affairs in 1895, contributed much in laying the foundations of the education system in Taiwan. Izawa's vision for the future of education in Taiwan was unique among Japanese at the time, because he sought to duplicate in its entirety the education system that was available in the Japanese home islands. Moreover, he believed strongly that Taiwanese could be 'elevated' to the level of the Japanese. While serving in the Ministry of Education in Tokyo, Izawa was influenced by an educational theory based on the belief in patriotism and loyalty to the emperor. According to this theory, the main goal of schooling was to create subjects who were loyal to the emperor and the state. This transformation into a loyal imperial subject was to be carried out mainly by way of Japanese language education, yet all other lessons were also intended to impart values such as loyalty and patriotism. The Japanese language, also known as the national language (*kokugo* 国語), was believed to contain the national character of Japan. The centrality of Japanese language education was one of the hallmarks of Izawa's conception of nationalist education (Tai 1999, 509-510). In this context, nationalist education can best be described as education in the service of the state. That is, education would be fully financed by the state, and in turn it would create patriotic and loyal citizens. However, this system was never quite realized in Japan, as the majority of the costs of education were borne by local governments, while the central government invested most heavily in training its own elite corps of bureaucrats.

Coming to Taiwan in 1895, Izawa saw the chance to build a school system from the ground up. As early as 1895 Izawa had already started an experimental Japanese course and by 1896 the colonial government had begun establishing 14 Japanese language schools (*kokugo denshūsho* 国語伝習所). A central institution for the training of language teachers and interpreters was also established. Izawa himself being well-versed in foreign languages and cultures, he encouraged the Japanese to learn Minnan, a dialect

of Chinese and the local language of Taiwan (Tai 1999, 501-511). While Izawa did encourage the Japanese residents of Taiwan to learn Minnan, it was out of necessity rather than out of appreciation of multiculturalism. In the early years of colonial rule communication difficulties between the Japanese and the locals were significant. This is further highlighted by the fact that the government invested heavily to establish Japanese language schools, even while they were engaging in military campaigns to pacify armed rebel groups throughout Taiwan. That being said though, with budget constraints and other serious problems to deal with (problems such as sanitation, security, and the economy, etc.), the colonial government did not consider Izawa's educational goals to be urgent. Izawa only served in Taiwan for a short time, and his ultimate aim of assimilation of the Taiwanese through *kokugo* was not to be realized. However the influence of nationalist education and Izawa's ideas on the transformative power of the Japanese language would leave their mark on the education system in Taiwan in the decades to come. This would be particularly apparent during the end of the 1930s, when the colonial administration drastically stepped up the promotion of *kokugo* with the aim of transforming the Taiwanese into loyal imperial citizens.

3.6 The *Kōminka* Movement

Political and military concerns for the most part dictated colonial policy. Considering that many of those who held the position of Governor-General were from military backgrounds, this should not be terribly surprising. In the earlier years of colonial administration there was support for ideas such as assimilation and even 'homeland extensionism' (*naichienchō shugi* 内地延長主義), whereby Taiwanese would enjoy all of the rights and privileges granted to Japanese citizens. Gotō Shinpei (後藤新平), one of the island's most effective civil administrators and the architect of colonial policy in Taiwan, was a proponent of gradual assimilation, and was quoted as having said that it would take at least 80 years for the Taiwanese to be 'elevated' to the level of the Japanese (Ching 2001, 25). While support for these ideas continued to exist in one form or another, military considerations and demands placed on the colony beginning in the 1930s made the philosophy of assimilation impractical. The outbreak of war in China and the Pacific

made it clear that a gradualist approach was not feasible.

The *Kōminka* Movement (*kōminka undou* 皇民化運動) was a government mobilization campaign. *Kōminka* was essentially the process by which the Taiwanese would be made into imperial subjects, and the movement was part of a larger military strategy known as the Southern Expansion Doctrine (*nanshinron* 南進論). This strategy was particularly popular among the navy during the 1930s, and it is no small coincidence that it was developed at a think tank based out of the Taihoku Imperial University in present-day Taipei (Beasley 1994). The strategy called for a naval advance into southeast Asia in order to secure raw materials for the economy and war effort. National self-sufficiency and the quest for natural resources often consumed the thoughts of military and political planners. In order to project military power into southeast Asia, it was thus necessary to turn Taiwan into a base for further expansion. *Kōminka* was therefore a vital social component of this strategy, as it aimed to turn the Taiwanese into loyal Japanese subjects who were willing and able to cooperate under wartime conditions.

The appointment of retired navy admiral Kobayashi Seizō (小林躋造) in 1936 marked a shift in colonial policy. Kobayashi outlined the three policy priorities of his administration: development of military industry, promotion of *kōminka*, and preparation for the southern advance (*nanshin* 南進) by transforming Taiwan into a military staging area (Chu and Lin 2001, 109). The *Kōminka* Movement itself encompassed four major campaigns. The first was the national language movement (*kokugo undō* 国語運動), in which the government intensified the promotion of Japanese and banned the use of local languages. The second, a name-changing campaign (*kaiseimei seisaku* 改姓名政策), encouraged Taiwanese families to change their Chinese name to a Japanese one. The third, a military recruitment campaign (*shiganhei seido* 志願兵制度), was part of the mobilization of Taiwanese for the war effort. Last was the temple reorganization campaign (*jibyō seiri undō* 寺廟整理運動), which was an attempt to eradicate Taiwanese folk religion (Lee 2012).

The *Kōminka* Movement was designed to assimilate the Taiwanese at an extremely rapid rate to meet wartime demands, but it was also largely an effort to reach those outside of the education system. Japanization was already well underway in the colony's common schools. That being said, the national language movement had perhaps the strongest direct impact on education. Japanization was quickly accelerated in schools and speaking in another language was grounds for physical punishment. Patriotic activities such as flag-raising ceremonies and readings of the Imperial Rescript on Education took up more and more of school time. In short, schooling became increasingly geared towards preparing students for war and maximizing support the war effort (Lin 1997, 19-25). Additionally, under the national language movement, in 1937 all non-Japanese publications were banned. Taiwanese were encouraged to use Japanese in their everyday life, and public use of other languages was discouraged. A wide range of schools for the very young and very old were also opened with the goal of teaching the national language to all Taiwanese under the age of seventy (Tai 1999, 518). Classical Chinese as a subject was also dropped from the common school curriculum, and in 1939 all private schools (*shobō* 書房) which taught the Confucian classics in Chinese/Taiwanese were banned outright (Li 2008, 66). This, on top of the compulsory education law instituted in 1943, pushed even more children into the school system. At this point though, the aim was to train Taiwanese to be able to cooperate with the Japanese on the battlefield (Tai 1999, 518-519). As noted in prior studies, education and textbooks quickly became another tool with which to mobilize the population for war.

3.7 The School System in Colonial-Era Taiwan

The modern school system is an organization which, through curriculum, textbooks, etc., is best equipped to transmit the ideals, expectations, and intentions of the government to the people (Hsu 2005, 110). Thus, not only was the modern school system a vital component of nation-building in the Japanese home islands, but it was also an integral part of Japanese colonial policy. The previously mentioned language schools would eventually become the basic building block of the modern school system in Taiwan. First off, it is worth noting that primary education under Japanese colonial rule was divided

into three parts: education for Japanese (i.e. Japanese citizens who came over to Taiwan from the Japanese home islands), education for Taiwanese, and education for aboriginals. Japanese children were educated in elementary schools (*shōgakkō* 小学校), while Taiwanese children were educated in common schools (*kōgakkō* 公学校). Common schools were the successors to the language schools initially established by Izawa. The language schools were quickly expanded upon and upgraded, and from 1898 onwards they became known as common schools (Lin 2000, 114). Common schools and smaller sub-schools and learning centers for aboriginal children were also established, but they were extremely few in number. Access to aboriginal villages in mountainous areas was limited, and hostilities between aboriginal groups and the colonial government also complicated matters. In 1906 there were still only a handful of schools for aboriginal children (*banjin kōgakkō* 蕃人公学校) which were attended by only around 1,000 students in total. To put these numbers in perspective, in the same year there were already over 150 common schools with over 22,000 students attending (Lin 2000, 117-119).

It is important to keep in mind though, that there were significant differences between these three tracks of schooling. First, elementary schools for Japanese had better teaching staff, materials, and facilities. Average annual expenditures per Japanese child were almost twice the expenditures per Taiwanese child (Lin 2000, 229). The standards of these schools were more or less the same as their counterparts in the Japanese home islands. Second, the laws and regulations governing education in Taiwan were different from those in Japan. Elementary schools in Taiwan were overseen by the Ministry of Education in Japan. For instance, in 1907 reform of school regulations in Japan resulted in compulsory education being extended from 4 years to 6 years. This, however, only applied to elementary schools in Taiwan, not common schools (Lin 2000, 115). Colonial authorities had control over almost every aspect of common schools though, from budgeting and expansion of the school system to textbook publishing and curriculum design. Third, because the government's expectations of Taiwanese students and Japanese students differed substantially, the educational goals and curriculum designed by the government also differed for each group. For example, elementary school texts for Japanese emphasized individual achievement and stories of individuals being able to

attain success through hard work. These types of stories were featured less prominently in common school texts, which instead placed emphasis on values such as honesty, obedience, and harmonious living (Hsu 2005, 17).

Once young Taiwanese graduated from common school though, further opportunities for education were limited. Initially, students could only pursue either teaching or medicine, as doctors and teachers were in short supply. The colonial government wanted to focus on elementary schooling and encouraged Taiwanese to pursue agriculture rather than educate them for higher positions in society that would not be opened to them. While the government's message was one of assimilation, in practice Taiwanese were only to be assimilated at the bottom of the social hierarchy (Tsurumi 1979, 625). This is reminiscent of the dumbbell configuration of education that evolved in Meiji-era Japan. That is, the masses were to be trained in basic literacy and numeracy while secondary and tertiary education was available for only a select few. However, pressure and growing demand from local Taiwanese as well as the Japanese in Taiwan caused the colonial administration to offer more secondary education. This was also likely due to the fact that more and more wealthy Taiwanese were sending their children to be educated in Japan, where they might acquire radical ideas. In 1915 the first middle school was opened for Taiwanese, and in the following years new secondary and college-level institutions for agriculture, forestry, commerce, and engineering were also established. Many two-year vocational schools were also established and academic secondary schooling was upgraded (Tsurumi 1979, 622). However, all of these institutions were still inferior to those provided for Japanese and Taiwanese were generally denied access to Japanese facilities.

3.8 Common School Curriculum

As mentioned previously, common schools were the primary schools designated for Taiwanese children. They formed the backbone of the Japanese education system in Taiwan. Most importantly though, is that they were completely under the jurisdiction of the government general (Tsurumi 1977, 108). So what exactly were children in common

school learning? As noted in the literature review section, curriculum and textbook content did vary somewhat over time, and this was due to a wide variety of factors, including educational reforms, political developments in Japan, and especially the outbreak of war in the late 1930s. Naturally, the majority of class time was devoted to Japanese language. Language, ethics, and arithmetic were considered essential subjects. Ethics lessons supported and reinforced Japanese language lessons, as both the Japanese readers and ethics texts had quite a bit of shared content. Manual arts and physical education were also considered fairly important. Science, history, and geography were considered desirable but nonessential, and for the most part were not even taught during the first few years of common school (Tsurumi 1977, 133).

One of the primary functions of the common school itself was to Japanize Taiwanese children. This is reflected in the fact that the classes which took up most of students' time, Japanese language and ethics, were used for the transmission of values as well as skills and knowledge. The intentions and goals of the colonial government become even more apparent when common school and elementary school curriculum and textbook content are compared. While the elementary schools for Japanese children had better teachers and facilities, the curriculum was not entirely different. In her analysis of common school texts, Tsurumi notes: "Their textbooks aimed to make of them faithful Japanese followers, not able Japanese leaders. Given this, it is interesting that the curricula of these schools were not generally of a lower academic level than what was taught in primary schools. Common school textbooks were not watered-down versions of primary school books; only the ideological content was significantly modified" (Tsurumi 1977, 145).

4. Historical Background of Early Kuomintang Period

4.1 Chinese Nationalism

The Xinhai Revolution in 1911 and the disintegration of the Qing dynasty certainly marked a turning point in Chinese history. The revolution was hardly an isolated incident though. The success of the revolution and the subsequent birth of the Republic of China (ROC) and the Chinese Nationalist Party were simply manifestations of the massive changes that were sweeping across China in the early 20th century. Western influences, anti-imperialist sentiment, and traditional Chinese ideas were all influential parts of the ideological landscape. Perhaps the most influential idea though, was that of Chinese nationalism. Interestingly enough, prior to the Xinhai Revolution the idea of a nation as a "territorially distinct, politically bounded and ethnically identifiable group of people" did not exist in the Chinese language. The current term in Chinese for the word 'ethnic group' (*mínzú* 民族) was actually borrowed from Japanese (Chun 1994, 51). Prior to this foreigners had simply been regarded as barbarians, and the world outside the Chinese civilization was largely ignored. After the collapse of the Qing empire, factionalism became rampant and large areas of territory came under the control of various warlords. The primary goal of the nationalist revolution was to form a united and sovereign Chinese nation. But more importantly, the KMT linked the idea of the Chinese nation (as they defined it) with the formation of a modern state.

The KMT thus took on the task of nation building. A nation, as defined by Benedict Anderson, is an "imagined political community…imagined as both inherently limited and inherently sovereign" (Anderson 1991, 5-6). That citizens have a common identity and shared values is also another hallmark of a nation. This modern definition of the nation-state is quite different from the traditional conception of the Chinese civilization. In the aftermath of the collapse of the Qing empire, the KMT not only had to contend with securing and consolidating territory, but also had to heighten national consciousness as

well as define and construct the national culture. First and foremost though, the KMT had the very specific political objective of creating a sovereign Chinese state, and this involved bargaining with or subduing the various warlords who controlled vast swathes of land. As such, political reform, promotion of political ideology, and even infrastructure and economic affairs often took a backseat to military concerns. Rather than looking at the KMT's various military campaigns or evaluating their governance in China, this section will focus on the ideological component of the KMT's nation-building efforts. In particular, how did the KMT define what it meant to be Chinese? What did it mean to be a good citizen of the Republic of China? What were the values and symbols of the new republic? Examining the KMT state-building efforts in China and their conceptions of Chinese nationalism can help to understand the ideas that pervaded postwar education in Taiwan.

4.2 The Three Principles of the People

The KMT faced the challenge of having to create a new system of universal values that could replace the old hierarchical order. There was not only competition among various armed groups, but there was a competition of ideas. Well before the founding of the KMT, ideas on what the future of China would look like were already being developed. The ideologies behind the 1911 revolution were rooted in the political thought of the revolutionary leader Sun Yat-Sen. More specifically, Sun's political philosophy known as the Three Principles of the People (*sānmín zhǔyì* 三民主義) would come to embody the goals and principles of the ROC. The principles were first outlined in 1905 and evolved slightly over time but essentially took on their final form after a series of lectures by Sun in 1924. After Sun's death other KMT leaders, most notably Chiang Kai-Shek, contributed to the party ideology, but Sun's core ideas remained dominant. Even to this day, Sun's principles still remain the official ideology of the ROC and KMT (Yu 1991, 896).

The first of the three principles is nationalism (*mínzú zhǔyì* 民族主義). Initially, this nationalism was defined only in terms of the Han race (*hànzú* 漢族) in opposition to the

Manchus. However, by the time the struggle against the Qing empire was winding down in 1911, Sun's nationalism had become associated with racial assimilation and uniting all of China's ethnic groups under one common identity. Moreover, to Sun the strengthening of the Chinese national spirit was vital to the survival of the Chinese race and restoring China to its former glory. This is unsurprising, especially when considering the historical backdrop: a legacy of foreign aggression, anti-imperialist sentiment, and the very clear and present threat of further encroachment by foreign powers. Interestingly, Sun, who had spent much of his life overseas and was himself a product of Western learning, looked to traditional Chinese values as the basis for Chinese nationalism. Sun believed that Chinese civilization and morality was innately superior and that values such as loyalty, filial piety, benevolence, justice, etc. could bind the Chinese nation together (Yu 1991, 898). Indeed, in creating his political philosophy, his most important intellectual inspiration was the teachings of Confucius. Confucianism provided nationalism with a moral foundation, and traditional ideas were employed to support more practical policies and meet the immediate needs of the state (Gregor 1981, 61-65). Linking Chinese nationalism to traditional Chinese values would have very important implications for the future of the ROC, especially with regard to the education system.

The second principle, democracy (*mínquán zhǔyì* 民權主義), was to provide the model of governance for the ROC. While initially there was disagreement about how political modernization was to be pursued, there was a consensus in favor of a republican government. A government based on rule of law and legitimized by a constitution was one of the ideas that commanded universal support among the revolutionaries. The new republican government would have five branches and also blended modern and traditional ideas. Three branches were adapted from the American model (executive, legislative, and judicial branches) and two branches from Chinese tradition. The examination branch, based on the old imperial examination system, oversees the selection of civil servants, and the control branch or censorate maintains oversight over the other branches to guard against corruption and inefficiency (Clough 1996, 1056-1058). While all were committed to the end goal of a constitutional democracy, there was some debate on how best to reach that goal. Eventually though, Sun's conception of a gradual, three-

stage process of political development would become part of the KMT party doctrine. The three stages of revolution, as they were known, were pulled from Sun's broader plan of national reconstruction. The first stage was to be a period of military government, during which military force would be used to unify China. Sun stated that the second stage was to be a transitional period, in which "…the revolutionary government will exercise the right of political tutelage in accordance with the provisional constitution" (De Bary et al. 2000, 328-330). Essentially, during this period people would receive training from the KMT state in the administration of local government. The third and final stage of the revolution was to be the introduction of constitutional government, complete with the people's rights of election, initiative, referendum, and recall. While perhaps not as powerful an idea as nationalism, Sun's ideas on democracy called for a powerful, well-organized party-state. This, along with the proposed period of political tutelage, would also have important consequences for Taiwanese society.

The people's livelihood (*mínshēng zhǔyì* 民生主義) is the third and last of the Three Principles of the People. Here, the word livelihood is used to indicate the well-being of the people, and this entailed massive changes to China's economic and social systems. Sun's recipe for economic and social modernization had several components, including reform of the education system, development of agriculture, enhanced exploitation of natural resources, and construction of modern transport and communication systems which would aid industry and commerce (Yu 1991, 901-902). This would be carried out by way of adoption of Western technology and ideas. In addition, equalization of land ownership, social distribution of wealth, and national control over certain sectors of the economy were also important elements of the modernization program. While the people's livelihood model for socioeconomic progress tended towards socialism, capitalism was not rejected outright. Sun and others wanted to guard against the inequalities of capitalism, while at the same time encouraging private entrepreneurship and ownership and seeking foreign investment (Yu 1991, 902-904). Again, such a program of reform called for a strong and centralized state. At the same though, the plan also demonstrates some of the social values of the KMT.

The Three Principles of the People highlight the KMT's political goals but also indicated the intent to massively expand state capacity and to intervene in various aspects of society. Perhaps most important though, was the idea that the state alone is capable of deciding national interests. The state was to be "the political embodiment of the national will, acting for the common good" (Fitzgerald 1990, 325-326). The state was also to define the national culture and the role of citizens in working for this common good. The education system thus became an important channel through which the KMT could promote its ideologies. To better understand the education system and curriculum of postwar Taiwan, it is helpful to see how the KMT first promoted its ideas in China prior to the outbreak of war.

4.3 Symbolism and the Party-State

The symbols adopted by Sun and the nationalists lent legitimacy to the new republic and were part of the effort to turn Chinese people into national citizens. Changes in behavior, dress, customs, etc. were also used to differentiate themselves from other groups. Whereas previously symbols such as the national flag were seen to transcend politics, the symbols of the Nationalist government were imbued with a clearly defined party ideology. The commemorations following Sun's death and the Northern Expedition spread these symbols across China, but more importantly these symbols came to exclusively identify party membership with nationalism (Harrison 2000, 173). Thus, promotion of these symbols were not only an important aspect of nation-building, but also served to enhance the legitimacy of the KMT. Identifying the symbols and their role in KMT ideology can help provide understanding with regard to how and why these symbols were employed during the postwar period.

One of the ways in which revolutionaries and party members first began to identify themselves was through dress and appearance. Campaigns to end the practices such as foot binding and queue wearing were one instance of this. The adoption of Western modes of dress, etiquette, and customs also helped to identify members of this new community. Greetings such as the Western-style bow and handshake, as opposed to the

kowtow and other Qing-era greetings, also became a symbols. Characters in textbooks published in the 1920s and 1930s also wore Western-style clothing and schoolchildren were presented with new norms of proper behavior, such as bowing to the national flag (Harrison 2000, 61-64). The introduction of the solar calendar and celebration of holidays such as National Day (*guóqìng rì* 國慶日), complete with military parades, also became norms of the Nationalist government. These norms and behaviors initially were considered largely apolitical and patriotic, and they were widely adopted by different groups across China. By the 1930s, while these symbols had not become less patriotic per se, they had become heavily politicized and were increasingly associated with the KMT and their definition of patriotism.

Among the most important symbols though were the national flag and national anthem. While there were several different regional versions of national flags being used, in 1928 the Shining Sun flag was adopted by the KMT as the national flag of the Republic of China. This flag featured the party emblem of the KMT on a red background and it was a personal symbol of Sun Yat-Sen. The use of Sun's flag is also significant in that it was another part of Chiang's efforts to cast an image of himself as Sun's faithful disciple. Chiang also employed Confucian precepts of loyalty and filial piety to inspire respect, and his portrayal of himself as the loyal follower of Sun and leader of the nation would eventually evolve into a personality cult (Taylor 2006, 98-107). This would have important ramifications for post-WWII ethics education in Taiwan. The selection of a new national anthem also demonstrated the importance of party ideology over national symbolism. The song ultimately chosen as the new national anthem was taken word for word from a speech made by Sun Yat-Sen about the Three Principles of the People (Harrison 2000, 192-196).

After his death Sun himself also became a symbol of the nation and of the KMT, as the great leader who all but singlehandedly brought about the revolution. The importance placed upon these symbols and their use in propaganda was considerable. Special publicity troops were tasked with undertaking propaganda activities in enemy and occupied territory, and at the beginning of the Northern Expedition each division of the

army carried the following: "…40,000 printed sheets of slogans, 10,000 portraits of Sun Yatsen, 10,000 copies of Sun Yatsen's will, 12,000 illustrated leaflets, 2,000 Shining Sun flags, 400 copies of each of nineteen different booklets explaining the party's ideas, 32,000 leaflets and 4,000 reports" (Harrison 2000, 179). These symbols of the party and the nation were forced on the people in a heavy-handed way, and several laws, such as those banning the use of the lunar calendar, were extremely unpopular. The KMT began to form an exclusive definition of citizenship and patriotism, supported by symbols, and they would continue to refine and reinforce this definition after retreating to Taiwan.

4.4 Nationalist Education and the Nanking Decade

In 1922 a School Reform Decree was promulgated by the new Ministry of Education. The reforms were the product of progressive-minded educators at the MOE, with the stated aims of promoting democratic education and developing the individual. Democratic education essentially meant, "…liberation from the mentality, persisting from the abolished Civil Service Examinations, that mastery of a single body of classical knowledge was the object of education, and that the function of one level of education was uniquely to prepare for the next level of status, culminating in official appointment" (Keenan 1974, 225). Similarly, development of the individual was concerned with flexibility in secondary schooling and training individuals to meet the needs of society. However, the reforms were short-lived. Social and cultural concerns were trumped by politics and war. As such, reform could not be carried out in a fractured political environment with weak governance. In 1925, the killing of Chinese demonstrators by foreign-backed police forces again whipped up anti-foreign and nationalist sentiment throughout China. Demands for nationalist education became more widely accepted, and many national educational associations began to call for increased emphasis on national consciousness and military training in education. National goals and the state would once again come to play a dominant role in education (Keenan 1974, 236-237).

The factionalism and power struggles that occurred in the years following the 1911 revolution were not only among various groups in China, but also within the KMT itself.

In 1926 though, a coup by Chiang Kai-Shek weakened the position of the communists within the KMT and helped to consolidate his own power (Wu 1968, 601). What followed was a military campaign known as the Northern Expedition (*běi fá* 北伐) which was an attempt to unify China by eliminating rival governments and warlords in the north. The campaign and the establishment of Nanking as the new capital in 1927 ushered in a brief period of relative stability. During this period, known as the Nanking Decade, the KMT governed much of China from their base in Nanking and expanded their efforts to educate and train the new citizens of the Republic of China. It is important to note though, that the KMT was not the dominant political force in all of the areas under its control. Some resented the financial demands imposed on them by the new state, and in some areas local governments and elites retained their power (Eastman 1986, 550-551). Factionalism was still very much a part of the KMT as well, with several cliques which opposed Chiang. In addition, the regime's number one priority was unification of China by military force. Defense spending accounted for around half of government expenditures, and social and economic development programs received almost no funding (Paauw 1957, 216-217). Thus it comes as no surprise that there was no real unified system of education, and several different models of citizenship training coexisted simultaneously during the Nanking Decade. Nevertheless, the Nationalists administered more territory during this period than they ever had previously, and the party's ideological reach was extensive. Through education and training, the party sought to establish authoritarian control over society and transform people into citizens of the new republic.

4.5 Citizenship Training During the Nanking Decade

The forms of education and training which were promoted by KMT and government leaders during the Nanking Decade can be classified into three groups: military training; arts, athletics, and practical skills; and Confucian moral cultivation (Culp 2006, 542). While military training in schools had been present to some extent in the 1910s and 1920s, it took up little time and/or split time with regular physical education classes. Military parades and reviews were an important component of National Day celebrations

though, and schools would often participate by way of athletic meets which featured physical and military drills (Harrison 2000, 107-108). After 1927, Japanese military incursions in northern China caused students to demand more extensive military training, which in turn prompted the KMT and local governments to expand its scope. While the move to expand military training in schools was proposed by students, the KMT quickly moved to co-opt their nationalist sentiment and combine military training with Nationalist party doctrine (Liu 2012, 206-207). Not only military drill itself, but military training also provided discipline and nurtured obedience and loyalty to the party state. In the mid-1930s military training was further intensified and was complemented by other civic training programs such as Chiang Kai-Shek's New Life Movement (*xīnshēnghuó yùndòng* 新生活運動). The aim was the militarization of everyday school routines, including dress, etiquette, organization, relations of authority, and other daily activities such as raising and lowering the national flag. More intense training programs in the summer also were implemented for high school students (Culp 2006, 535-536). The militarization of schooling and everyday routine was partly in response to imperialist aggression, but was also indicative of the Nationalist party's influence. Indeed, KMT rule during the Nanking decade has been described as 'Confucian fascism,' and these programs were but one manifestation of such governance (Wakeman 1997, 421-425). Militarization of schooling would later become an important feature of education in Taiwan after WWII.

The popularity of athletics, the arts, and practical skills reflected the influence of American ideas and progressive educators in the early years of the ROC. Individual and team sports, theater, music, dance, and other extracurricular activities were often organized by student government organizations (*xuéshēng zìzhìhuì* 學生自治會). Through these activities students could develop individuality and a degree of independence. Scouting, with its broad mix of skills training, including surveying, mapmaking, transmitting messages, fishing, etc., also gave students a great deal of freedom and independence. However, after 1927 scouting organizations were centralized and brought under party control, and in 1930 student government organizations were also reorganized in order to try to contain these associations within school and better control

student activism (Culp 2006, 538-539). Despite this, student government associations were still exhorted to take part in building the new nation by organizing departments for managing various extracurricular activities.

Aside from fascist and progressive models of training, the traditional Confucian approach to moral cultivation also had a place in schools during the Nanking Decade. State-approved textbooks on civics and party doctrine presented examples of proper ethical relationships. The traditional family structure was idealized, and close relationships between teachers and students were encouraged through homeroom instruction on morals and other mentoring programs (Culp 2006, 541). Teachers were also to act as moral exemplars, encourage self-reflection, and help students make critical moral judgments. Ultimately though, the pluralism of civic education created citizens which the party could not control. Different models of civic training provided a basis from which students could criticize the KMT and its policies. After relocating to Taiwan, KMT leaders would draw on their experience with civic education during the Nanking Decade, specifically with regard to party control of education and youth organizations.

4.6 The New Life Movement

As the head of the armed forces and the Nationalist government, Chiang Kai-Shek had a significant impact on the development of KMT ideology and policy. Unlike Sun Yat-Sen who had spent a great deal of time overseas, Chiang was steeped in traditional Chinese culture, religion, and military life (Loh 1970). Chiang's developing personality cult and the quasi-fascist nature of the KMT organization provided a platform through which his personal ideologies could reach a wider audience. One example of this is the New Life Movement initiated in 1934. The ideological movement began as part of the effort to rebuild war-torn Jiangxi province through the cultivation of hygienic habits and personal morals. It was believed that by adjusting individual behavior and morals, China could undergo a moral renaissance of sorts. In theory the movement would lead to a total transformation of society, starting from the most basic aspects of life and proceeding to more complex social issues.

For the most part, the New Life Movement stressed public health and disciplined, orderly behavior. There were also reforms that sought to address other social problems, such as gambling, opium use, and lavish expenditures on weddings and funerals, which traditionally had imposed a financial burden on the poor. In addition the government also encouraged the people to use domestically-produced goods (Dirlik 1975, 950). Ultimately though, the movement was a failure. In light of the fact that the government largely neglected social and economic development consistently, citizens may have found it hard to attach great importance to cultivating seemingly mundane habits such as not smoking in public or always keeping to one side of the street while walking.

The New Life Movement was largely a reaction to the new social forces that were sweeping China. The Nationalists' attempts at social change though were to be a top-down affair. That is, they were to be closely supervised and orchestrated by the KMT elite so that social change would serve the goals of the state. Orchestrating social change among the masses was actually a tactic borrowed from the communists' playbook. However, the communists' actually involved the masses in social change and worked to improve their livelihoods. The KMT's neglect of social and economic development was perhaps the largest contributing factor to the collapse of the New Life Movement. Even in the province of Jiangxi where the movement began, enthusiasm dwindled within a few years. That being said, the movement is significant in that it highlighted Chiang's strong personal conviction that moral training could transform society, and it would also influence school curriculum development to some extent during the 1930s and 1940s (Averill 1981, 602-605). Moreover, aside from public health and orderly conduct, the movement also reflected the continued influence of Confucian conservatism. While the movement was ultimately a failure, its implementation reflected the KMT leadership's goal of "controlled popular mobilization" and provides important insight into KMT ideology (Dirlik 1975, 947-948).

4.7 Retreat to Taiwan and KMT Reform

After Japan's surrender in 1945 the Nationalists gained control of Taiwan. However, they faced the task of governing a population that had been under Japanese rule for the last 50 years and had little experience of the Nationalist struggle on the mainland. Any hopes and expectations of the Taiwanese for self-determination or a degree of independence were crushed though. Inflation, KMT carpetbaggers and economic exploitation exacerbated an already tense situation, and this culminated in the 228 Massacre in 1947. This purge of Taiwanese elites, intellectuals, dissidents, etc. was followed by brutal suppression of dissent in Taiwan and imposition of martial law (Chu and Lin 2001, 111-113). By 1949, the communists had taken control of mainland China and the KMT had retreated to Taiwan, preparing for the inevitable communist invasion. However, the outbreak of war on the Korean peninsula in 1950 and American intervention would give the KMT breathing room. U.S. military and economic aided the Nationalists greatly, but more importantly Taiwan became an important part of the American strategy to contain communism, thus ensuring the survival of the KMT.

A strong military component was a key feature of the Nationalist party, as it had been almost continually engaged in warfare with communists, the Japanese, and local warlords since 1924. After retreating to Taiwan, the state's overriding concern was defense against communist invasion (Clough 1996, 1055). In addition, in 1947 Chiang Kai-Shek had already identified corruption, lack of morals, and weak national spirit as chief weaknesses of the KMT and primary reasons why they were losing ground to the communists. In 1949 he initiated an overhaul of the party and military and put together a reform commission. The resulting reforms called for intensified military training and political education. In addition, the reform commission identified causes of the collapse of the KMT on the mainland, such as the party being disconnected from common people, party factionalism, lack of morals and discipline, etc (Eastman 1981, 662-666). Party reform and increased focus on discipline, loyalty, and anti-communist ideology would result in even more political indoctrination being reinforced in schools.

4.8 Anti-Communist Ideology

After losing the mainland to the communists and retreating to Taiwan, the KMT underwent several major changes. The elimination of Chiang Kai-Shek's rivals and subdual of much of the factionalism that plagued the KMT on the mainland was one important change. This nicely complemented the KMT's reform of the party structure. The return to a Leninist-style party structure allowed for a centralized hierarchy, penetration of government and society, and centralized decision-making. All of these changes were undertaken with the primary goal of defeating the CCP and retaking the mainland in mind (Dickson 1993, 62-63). Governing Taiwan was of secondary importance.

The external threats and challenges that the KMT faced were also significantly different than those that it had faced on the mainland some decades previously. The type of total warfare that existed on the mainland was replaced by the looming threat of communism and communist invasion. As such, the promotion of anti-communist ideology became one of the cornerstones of the government's strategy to prepare Taiwanese to retake the mainland. Anti-communist themes appeared not only in education, but in media and throughout society in general.

4.9 Elementary School Curriculum

After retreating to Taiwan the KMT inherited the education system established by the Japanese. 6-year compulsory schooling implemented by the Japanese was also continued by the KMT. The curriculum though underwent massive changes, as the government sought to remove Japanese influence (*qùrìběnhuà* 去日本化) and instill traditional Chinese culture and KMT ideology. Mandating the use of Mandarin in schools was an important component of these policies (Bush 2011). Security was also a major concern, and early on one of the primary stated goals of education was to prepare Taiwanese citizens to retake the mainland and to "eradicate the poison of communism" (Republic of China Ministry of Education 1954, 1-6).

In 1945 a committee was established for the review and editing of national curriculum and teaching materials to be used in Taiwan. Up until 1950, older editions of textbooks that had been drafted on the mainland were also used in Taiwan. Updates were made again to the curriculum standards and textbooks in 1950, 1951, and 1954. However, these were not major overhauls, and the core curriculum remained largely the same during this period (Chang 2003, 7-8). Additionally, textbook publication did not always keep pace with the promulgation of new curriculum updates. However, over the course of the 1950s there was an increased emphasis on the promotion of Chinese national identity, anti-communist ideology, and Chiang Kai-Shek's developing personality cult (Chang 2003, 169-172).

Major subjects included civics, Chinese language, physical education, singing, geography, history, art, arithmetic, and natural sciences (Republic of China Ministry of Education 1948, 2-3). Different subjects were grouped together and/or their names were changed over the years. For example, the subject 'general knowledge' (*cháng shì* 常識) contained lessons on ethics, history, geography, and the natural sciences. However, the abovementioned core subjects continued to exist in one form or another. The subject that by far took up the most time though was Chinese language. Language classes alone took up more than one third of total class time, and curriculum goals constantly emphasized the way in which Chinese language should be used to cultivate national consciousness (Chang 2003). Ethics, general knowledge, and physical education also took up a good deal of class time.

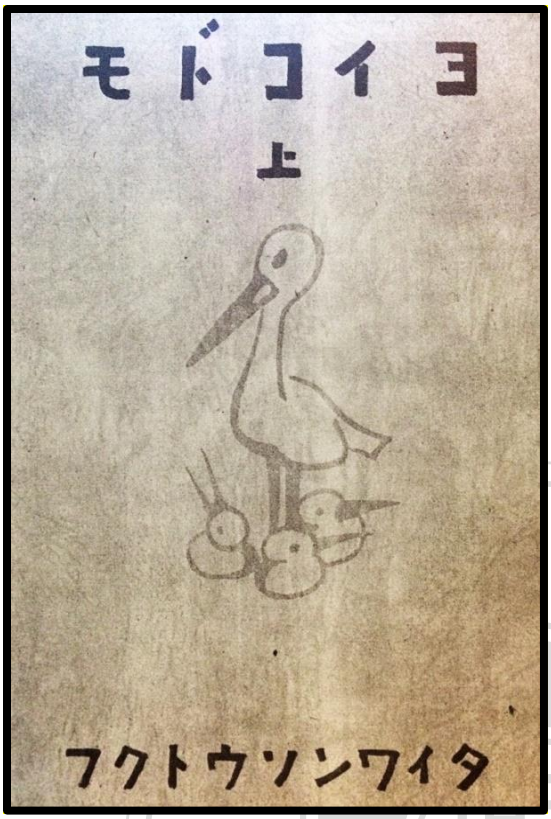
National control of curriculum and textbooks ensured that the state's education goals would be met. What were these goals? One of the primary functions of education during the early postwar years was to Sincize Taiwanese children. The China-centric curriculum, Confucian morality, and use of Mandarin were all part of the effort to reinforce Chinese national identity. Legitimization of the party and promotion of KMT ideology, such as the Three Principles of the People, were also important goals, with the stated aim of recovering mainland China. Anti-communist propaganda was also a strong component of

this ideology in the early years. Cultivation of hygienic habits and morals such as patriotism and discipline are also indicative of how the KMT promoted virtues that were compatible with state goals, while avoiding difficult moral issues like individual freedom and democracy (Republic of China Ministry of Education 1948, 13). In this way, the KMT regime was remarkably similar to the Japanese colonial administration.

5. Content Analysis of Japanese Ethics Textbooks

5.1 Presentation

This section will briefly cover how materials are presented in the ethics texts, including illustrations, lesson structure, narrative style, etc. As with any textbook, the first thing that children see is the cover. The Japanese textbook covers are printed in black and white and most do not feature illustrations. In addition to the title and volume number, every book without exception also has 'Government-General of Taiwan' printed on the cover. This may simply be just for administrative and publishing purposes, but it also serves to remind students of who their government is. With regard to design they are largely unadorned and otherwise unremarkable. The exception to this though is the *Good Children* series of texts, which featured color illustrations on the cover. The *Good Children* series was intended for younger children, and color illustrations were likely an effort to arouse students' interest. However, it is worth noting that these texts were published in 1942 when war in the Pacific was well underway. Even in the face of total war, the colonial government was still able to spare the expense of color illustrations. This gives some idea as to the level of importance which authorities attached to educational affairs.



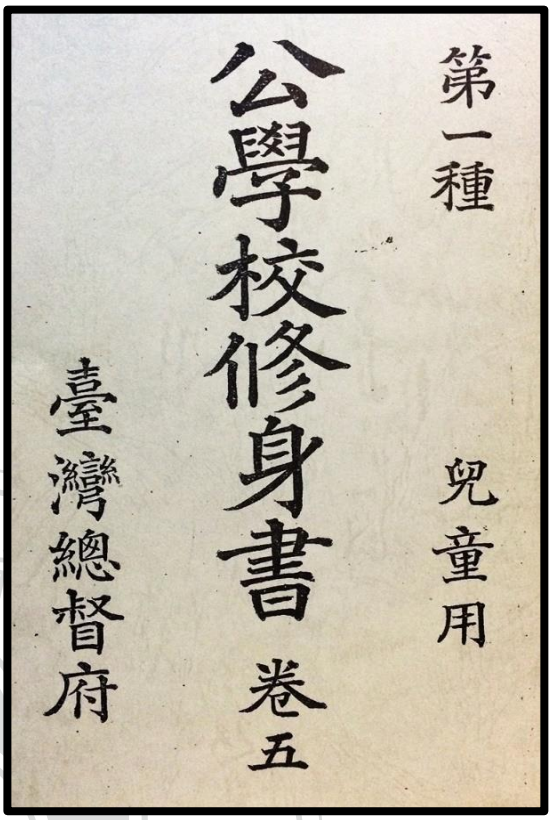
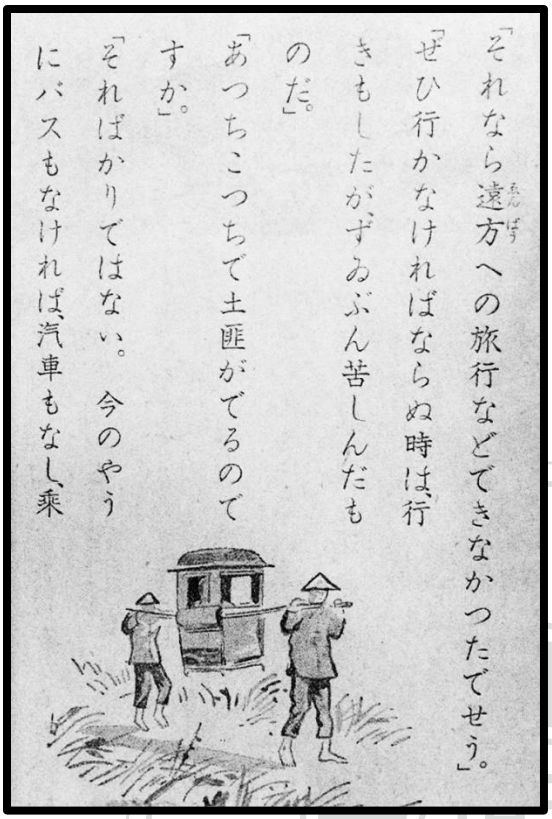


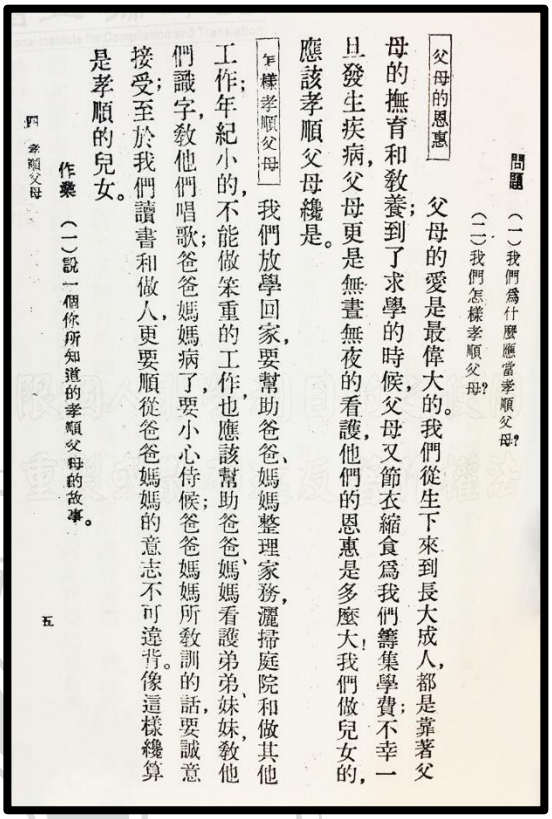
Image A (left): Front cover of *Good Children, Beginner (1942)*.
Image B (right): Front cover of *Common School Ethics, Vol. 5 (1930)*.

The books intended for younger children contain far more pictures. Several of these illustrated lessons feature very little text and are intended to be supplemented with lectures from the teacher's manual. While the *Good Children* series of texts features colored illustrations, the rest of the illustrations in other texts are black and white. Even the texts for older children still feature illustrations.

Lessons are usually presented either through instructions and commands or through stories. The first type of lessons, the authoritative lessons, simply present information as if it were objective fact, and provide students with orders and instructions on what they should and should not do. The second type of lessons, the allegorical lessons, teaches moral values through storytelling.



「それなら遠方への旅行などできなかつたでせう。」
「ぜひ行かなければならぬ時は、行きもしたがずゐぶん苦しんだものだ。」
「あつちこつちで土匪がでるのですか。」
「そればかりではない。今のやうにバスもなければ、汽車もなし、乘



問題 (一)我們爲什麼應當孝順父母?
(二)我們怎樣孝順父母?

父母的恩惠 父母的愛是最偉大的。我們從生下來到長大成人，都是靠著父母的撫育和教養；到了求學的時候，父母又節衣縮食爲我們籌集學費；不幸一旦發生疾病，父母更是無晝無夜的看護，他們的恩惠是多麼大！我們做兒女的，應該孝順父母纔是。

怎樣孝順父母 我們放學回家，要幫助爸爸、媽媽整理家務，灑掃庭院和做其他工作；年紀小的，不能做笨重的工作，也應該幫助爸爸媽媽看護弟弟妹妹，教他們識字，教他們唱歌；爸爸媽媽病了，要小心侍候；爸爸媽媽所教訓的話，要誠意接受；至於我們讀書和做人，更要順從爸爸媽媽的意志不可違背。像這樣纔算是孝順的兒女。

作業 (一)說一個你所知道的孝順父母的故事。

Image C (left): Typical page of Japanese text from *Elementary-Level Ethics, Vol. 2 (1943)*.
Image D (right): Typical page of Chinese text from *Civics Textbook, Vol. 1 (1957)*.

Each text contains around 20 lessons, and each lesson is about 2 or 3 pages. There are far more pages in the Japanese texts than in the Chinese ones, but this is partly due to the inclusion of illustrations and partly due to the nature of the language (i.e. Japanese in general requires more space than Chinese does to convey the same amount of information). The lesson titles and number of lessons in each textbook are listed in Tables C-H on the following pages. Information for the book *Good Children, Beginner (1942)* is not provided because the table of contents page was missing from the original copy.

Table C:

Common School Ethics, Vol. 1 (1921)

Lesson #	Lesson Title
1	School
2	Be on Time
3	Get Along With Friends
4	Show Good Manners
5	Orderliness
6	Be Clean
7	Obligation to One's Parents
8	Obey One's Parents' Instructions
9	Get Along With Siblings
10	His Majesty the Emperor
11	Study Kokugo
12	Kindness
13	Our Things and Other People's Things
14	Do Not Tell Lies
15	Do Not Hide One's Faults and Errors
16	Do Not Harm Living Things
17	Do Not Cause Trouble For Others
18	Good Children

Table D:

Common School Ethics, Vol. 5 (1930)

Lesson #	Chapter Title
1	The Empire of Japan
2	Our Imperial Family
3	Loyalty
4	Public Good
5	Charity
6	Hygiene (Part 1)
7	Hygiene (Part 2)
8	Cooperation
9	Civic Virtue
10	Self-Control
11	Thrift
12	Diligence
13	Respect Teachers
14	Etiquette
15	Relatives
16	Compassion
17	Virtuous Acts
18	Think Carefully
19	Take Responsibilities Seriously
20	Honesty
21	Integrity
22	Tolerance
23	The Duty of Paying Taxes
24	National Holidays / Festival Days
25	Good Japanese

Table E:

Common School Ethics, Vol. 6 (1930)

Lesson #	Lesson Title
1	Kotai Jingu Shrine
2	Reverence
3	The Development of the U.N.
4	Diplomatic Relations
5	Patriotism and Loyalty to the Emperor
6	Ancestors and the Family
7	The Duties of Boys and the Duties of Girls
8	Self-Reliance and Self-Support
9	Occupations
10	Inventions
11	The Ingenuity of Nishin
12	Hobbies
13	Conscience
14	Self-Reflection
15	Integrity
16	Repaying One's Debts
17	Co-Existence and Co-Prosperity
18	Public Good
19	Regional Organization
20	Abiding By the Laws
21	Education
22	The Imperial Rescript on Education
23	The Imperial Rescript on Education (Cont.)
24	The Imperial Rescript on Education (Cont.)
25	The Imperial Rescript on Education (Cont.)

Table F:

Good Children, Advanced (1942)

Lesson #	Lesson Title
1	Second Graders
2	Morning Assembly
3	His Majesty the Emperor
4	The Seasonal Festivals in May
5	The Soldier
6	The Trader
7	The Frog and the Willow Tree
8	Taking Care of One's Affairs By Oneself
9	The Neighborhood
10	Do Not Forget the Debt You Owe
11	Festivals
12	Picnic
13	Rice Harvesting
14	Do Not Be Greedy
15	Strong Children
16	Aunts and Uncles
17	Grandfather's Birthday
18	Empire Day
19	The Park
20	Good Children

Table G:

Elementary-Level Ethics, Vol. 2 (1943)

Lesson #	Lesson Title
1	Japan is the Land of the Gods
2	Kyoto
3	Kimi Ga Yo
4	Yasukuni Shrine
5	The People of Miyakojima
6	Taiwan in the Old Days and Taiwan Today
7	Our Village
8	Father's Portrait
9	Do Not Be Two-Faced
10	Air Defence Drills
11	Yoshihisa Shinno
12	The Emperor Meiji's Birthday
13	General Nogita's Childhood
14	Celebration of the Imperial Rescript
15	Patriotic Savings
16	The Ferry
17	Expression
18	Kurume Gasuri
19	The Clever Youth
20	The South and Us

Table H:

Common School Advanced-Level Ethics, Vol. 1 (1944)

Lesson #	Lesson Title
1	Our Nation
2	Patriotism
3	The Family
4	Respect For Elders
5	Physical Health
6	Occupations
7	Diligence
8	Frankness
9	Self-Reflection
10	Courage
11	Enterprising Spirit
12	Wealth
13	Honor
14	Responsibility
15	Cooperation
16	Tolerance
17	Discipline
18	Civic Virtue
19	Justice
20	Residents of the Towns and Cities
21	Social Relations
22	Diplomatic Relations
23	The Imperial Rescript of 1908 (Part 1)
24	The Imperial Rescript of 1908 (Part 2)
25	The Imperial Rescript of 1908 (Part 3)
26	The Imperial Rescript on Promotion of the National Spirit

5.2 Moral Values

Unlike many other studies of Taiwanese textbooks which focus on language readers, this study is concerned with moral education. This is worth repeating because while language readers contain some moral content, ethics and civics textbooks focus much more heavily on morality. The lessons were designed to impart one or more moral values and the texts when viewed as a whole also contain moral or ideological themes. First, each lesson was analyzed and the primary moral value being presented was identified. This is not quite as simple as it sounds. This is because there are often several values presented in any one lesson. Moreover, some of the values presented in the lessons appear in a very subtle fashion. On top of this, the editors of the textbooks make a conscious effort to draw connections between certain morals in order to emphasize certain values and also to help schoolchildren review material from past lessons. That being said, the ethic that left the strongest impression was deemed to be the primary moral value. This by nature is a subjective process, as each reader brings a different perspective and notices different things, yet the benefits of being able to quantify even some of the data greatly facilitate the analysis. The results have been summarized in Table I on the following page. The next few sections will attempt to make up for any shortcomings by providing a more in-depth look at how each of these primary morals is presented in the texts.

Table I: Table of Moral Values (Japanese Texts)

Textbook Title / **Value Content**[1]	Common School Ethics, Vol. 1 (1921)	Common School Ethics, Vol. 5 (1930)	Common School Ethics, Vol. 6 (1930)	Good Children, Beginner (1942)	Good Children, Advanced (1942)	Elementary-Level Ethics, Vol. 2 (1943)	Common School Advanced-Level Ethics, Vol. 1 (1944)	**Total**	**%**
Loyalty/ Patriotism	1	8	8	3	6	8	6	40	26.3%
Diligence/ Persistence	3	2	6	2	3	2	4	22	14.4%
Empathy/ Compassion	5	1	1	1	2	1		11	7.2%
Civic Virtue	1	3	1				5	10	6.5%
Responsibility/ Duty		3	3		2	1	1	10	6.5%
Obedience			1	2	1	2	2	9	5.9%
Filial Piety	2		2	2		1	1	8	5.2%
Health/ Hygiene	1	2		3			1	7	4.5%
Etiquette	1	1		3		1		6	3.9%
Honesty	2			1			1	4	2.6%
Integrity		1	2				1	4	2.6%
Other	2	4	1	1	6	4	4	22	14.4%
Total	18	25	25	18	20	20	26	152	100.0%

Before getting into the discussion of the moral values, there are a few points to be made with regard to Table I. First, several of the values have been grouped together. This was done partly for the sake of simplification, but also because they typically appear together in the texts. For instance, patriotism and loyalty are by definition very different ideas.

[1] The value content categories listed in table above have been translated from the following Japanese terms (in order from top to bottom): 忠義/愛国, 勤勉/堅持, 同情, 公徳, 責任/義務, 服従, 孝順, 健康/衛生, 礼儀, 正直, 廉潔, その他.

However, when patriotism is defined as loyalty to the nation and the imperial family, it becomes much more difficult to neatly separate them. Next, the 'Other' category includes all of the other moral values which do not fall under any of the other categories but did not appear in the texts often enough to justify having their own category. While few in number, there were some lessons which did not seem to contain any moral message whatsoever, and they are also included in the 'Other' category.

In addition, health and hygiene, while are not actually moral virtues per se, are also included in the table. This is because the Japanese colonial government, most notably under the administration of Gotō Shinpei, made public health a priority. Public health planning included educating the Taiwanese population on basic hygiene and other healthy habits, so as to reduce threats to public health. Of these threats, perhaps the most significant was infectious diseases like malaria, which had plagued the Japanese army during their pacification campaign. That being said, lessons on health and hygiene take up enough space in the texts to be considered worth mentioning. Thus, how the colonial government associated health and hygiene with being a better person is the question to be examined.

The last point to be made is with regard to 'Etiquette' category. Etiquette is a fairly broad category, encompassing manners, fashion, norms regarding behavior, etc. It goes without saying that Western and Japanese notions of etiquette are quite different. In the United States, displaying morally sound behavior or judgment is for the most part not related to whether one is polite or not. American history, as well as film and other entertainment media, is filled with characters that may be good at heart but are rough around the edges. This is not quite the case in Japan. In Japan more value is placed on social cohesion, and etiquette is considered extremely important for getting along with others. Etiquette also strongly reflects one's family upbringing and education, and in general is an important part of Japanese culture and identity. For these reasons, along with the fact that it appears regularly in the ethics texts, etiquette is also included as a moral value.

5.2.1 Loyalty/Patriotism

Considering the Japanese colonial administration's commitment to nationalist education and the influence of the Imperial Rescript on Education, that loyalty and patriotism are the most prevalent values should not be terribly surprising. These values are the most prevalent not only in absolute terms but also in relative terms. Looking at the numbers, the amount of content dedicated to loyalty and patriotism is four or five times greater than most of the other values presented. The amount of content dedicated to these two values is also fairly consistent in all of the texts, with the exception of the volume from 1921.

First, it would be helpful to provide definitions. Philosophical and technical arguments aside, in the most general sense loyalty is devotion or commitment to a person, group, cause, etc. and patriotism is love of country. Obviously, these are very distinct and separate notions. As mentioned previously though, in the texts they have an almost symbiotic relationship. An excerpt from the lesson titled 'The Empire of Japan' provides a typical example of this:

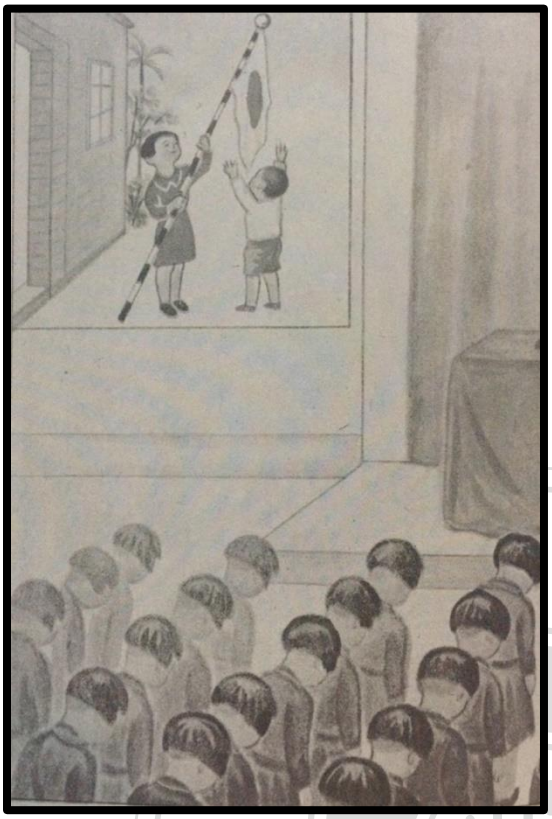
「...我が國は皇室を中心として、全國が一つの大きな家族のやうになって、だんだん榮えてきました。御代々の天皇様は臣民を子のやうにおいつくしみになり、臣民は天皇様を親のやうにおしたひ申して忠義をつくしてきました。世界に國はたくさんありますが、我が國のやうに萬世一系の天皇様をいたゞき、皇室と國民が一つになってゐる國は外にはございません。私どもはかやうなありがたい國に生まれ、かやうな尊い皇室をいたゞいてゐることを幸福に思ひ、よい日本人となって我が大日本帝國のためにつくさなければなりません。」

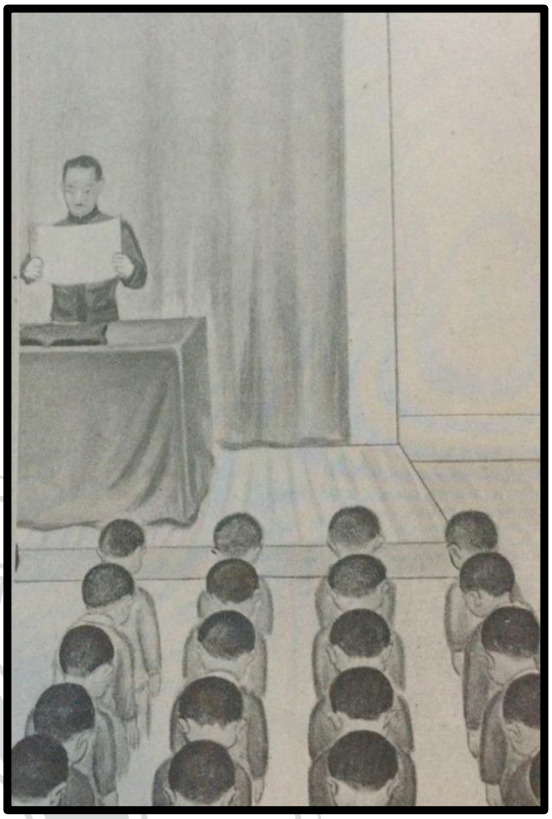
"…with the imperial family as the heart of our nation, the whole country has become as one big family, and has gradually flourished. Generation after generation

> the emperor has loved his subjects as he would his own child. His subjects have in turn loved him as they would their father, and have served him loyally. There are many countries in the world, but there is only one country like ours, ruled by the emperor from an unbroken imperial line and where the imperial family and the people are one. We are grateful to be born in such a country and feel blessed by the rule of the sacred imperial family. We will become good Japanese and serve the great empire of Japan to the best of our abilities." [2]

This identification of patriotism with loyalty to the imperial family goes back to the Meiji period. For one, there was a trend towards traditional values, and loyalty was enshrined in the Imperial Rescript on Education as one of the foundations of education. With regard to the rescript itself, it is worth noting that it appears in its original form in the front of every intermediate level textbook (i.e. from Vol. 4 onwards). After 1941, the rescript began appearing in lower level textbooks as well, from Vol. 2 onwards (Hsu 2005, 121-130). The rescript also featured heavily in school assemblies and festival days, where it was read aloud by teachers or the school principal.

[2] *Common School Ethics, Vol. 5 (1930),* 2-3.





Images E-F: Students bow their heads during a reading of the Imperial Rescript on Education.

Secondly, there was a trend towards nationalist education. Izawa Shūji, one of the administrators who helped to lay the foundation of Taiwan's education system, was influenced by the idea of combining the power of the Japanese language with the ideology of patriotism and loyalty to the emperor (*chūkun aikoku* 忠君愛国) to create loyal Japanese citizens. With the emperor as the symbol of the state, loyalty to the imperial family became synonymous with loyalty to the state, and vice versa. Considering the very fine line between loyalty to one's country and patriotism, it was hardly a stretch to connect the two.

5.2.1.1 Loyalty

Loyalty is one the underpinnings of any society, and in its broadest sense, one could

theoretically be loyal to almost anything, including abstract concepts like causes or ideas. Loyalty can also be between equals. In the Western world one of the more common depictions of loyalty is that of loyalty between friends, brothers, or members of a group. In the United States, fraternal organizations, team sports, universities, etc. all cultivate loyalty among their group members. Another popular conception of loyalty is that of the loyalty between soldiers, or brothers-in-arms. Recruitment efforts by the U.S. military, the portrayal of soldiers in film and literature, as well as veterans themselves all paint a picture of the unbreakable bonds of loyalty between soldiers. Considering the wartime environment of the late colonial period and the appeals to loyalty and patriotism, a Western reader might expect to see the 'brothers-in-arms' conception of loyalty appear in the textbooks. However, this is not the case at all. To better understand the narrow interpretation of loyalty presented in the texts, it is helpful to first to understand that the Japanese term *chūkun* (忠君) means loyalty to one's ruler or master. It specifically describes the bonds of loyalty between subjects and rulers. This type of loyalty can be traced back to Japan's feudal period, when retainers pledged loyalty to local warlords.

The story of Kusunoki Masashige (楠木正成) is a prime example of this. Kusunoki was a 14th-century samurai who loyally served the emperor Go-Daigo, and he is one of the protagonists of the lesson entitled 'Loyalty.' In this lesson he is described as determinedly carrying out the emperor's commands, raising a loyalist army, and defeating rebel armies many times in battle. This enables the emperor to return to Kyoto, but soon after he is betrayed by another samurai who is marching on Kyoto with an army. Kusunoki loyally follows the emperor's orders and marches out to defend the city, even though he knows this is a tactical error and he will be defeated. Before he leaves, Kusunoki says to his young son Masatsura: "After I die on the battlefield, you must carry out my will, which is to serve the Emperor loyally to the best of your ability. This is the foremost act of filial piety."[3] Predictably, Kusunoki dies in battle, and his son is heartbroken to the point of wanting to commit suicide. However, his mother reprimands him, reminding him of his commitment to the emperor, and Masatsura eventually grows up to serve the next emperor. The lesson ends with Masatsura also dying on the battlefield in service to the

[3] *Common School Ethics, Vol. 5 (1930),* 6-7.

emperor. The ending, while not entirely necessary, further serves to emphasize the main idea of the story.

Another lesson with a similar theme is the lesson entitled 'Empire Day.' Empire Day, now known as National Foundation Day (*kenkoku kinen no hi* 建国記念の日), was a Japanese national holiday commemorating the accession of the mythical first emperor Jimmu (神武天皇). In the story, the land is filled with villains and the people are suffering. Jimmu and his soldiers set out to conquer the villains, and the soldiers "fought and gave their lives for the emperor."[4] This and similar phrases appear many times throughout all of the texts. Then, a golden hawk comes to the emperor's aid, blinding his enemies. This allows him to win the day, and those that he defeated become his retainers.

Not all of the stories are pulled from history though. The lesson entitled 'The Soldier' features illustrations of contemporary soldiers carrying rifles with fixed bayonets. Featured in the *Good Children, Advanced (1942)*, it is probably the most obvious example of Japanese authorities' efforts to link loyalty to the emperor and the war effort. The text from the lesson is as follows:

> "I love soldiers. They fearlessly advance through fire and water. The soldiers lay down their lives and do the work of his majesty the emperor. The soldiers of Japan are the bravest and most loyal soldiers in the entire world. When I grow up I hope to become a soldier."[5]

[4] *Good Children, Advanced (1942),* 41.
[5] *Good Children, Advanced (1942),* 10-11.

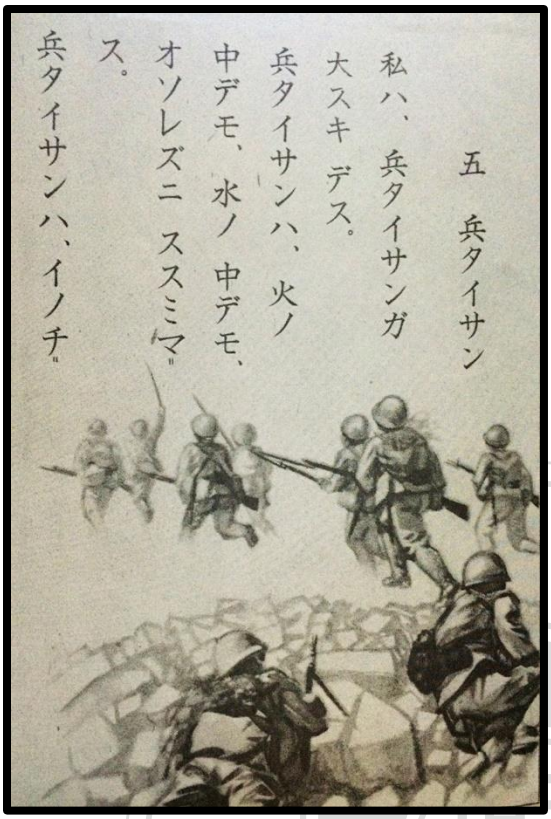


Image G: One of the illustrations in the lesson entitled 'The Soldier' in *Good Children, Advanced (1942)*.

However, not all of the stories deal with soldiers, warriors, and emperors. There are several other lessons that deal with a more humble version of the loyalty between master and servant. The story of Nakae Toju (中江藤樹) and his loyal servant is one such example. Nakae was a scholar of Confucianism who believed that the highest virtue was filial piety. In the story, Nakae leaves his job and returns to his hometown to care for his sick mother. There is also a servant in Nakae's household who had served their family for generations. But Nakae's household was not very wealthy to begin with and because Nakae left his job, he cannot continue to pay his servant and decides to let him go. He gives the servant some money and then tells him to return to his hometown and maybe start a business or some similar venture. The servant then tells Nakae that he will not accept any money and begs Nakae to let him continue to serve him. In the end, Nakae feels pity for the servant and is moved by his loyalty, and they both return to Nakae's

hometown. Interestingly, the title of this lesson is ‘Compassion.’ However, much of the story is actually devoted to the descriptions and actions of the loyal servant.

While most of the lessons present ethical principles in the form of stories, there are quite a few lessons that simply present information in a matter-of-fact way. For instance, consider the way in which the ethic of loyalty is presented in the lesson entitled ‘Our Imperial Family.’ The lesson reads almost like a list of the members of the current imperial family, with descriptions of their names, titles, occupations, etc. Unsurprisingly, the male children of age are all involved in the military, and they are all described as compassionate, lively, and disciplined. The last sentence in the lesson reads: “For us imperial subjects, there is no greater happiness than the continued prosperity of the imperial family.”[6] Similarly, the lesson entitled ‘Our Nation’ describes how the imperial line has always been close to the people, and it covers the various deeds that emperors past and present have done to benefit the people and increase national prestige. For example, the Meiji emperor established the prefectural system (abolishing the feudal system of land ownership), and contributed to improvements in transportation, education, politics (namely the constitution), the military, etc. The Showa emperor is credited with protecting Asia during WWI and helping to bring about world peace. These passages are interspersed with the seemingly ubiquitous descriptions of the relationship between the emperor and his subjects. An excerpt from the chapter is as follows:

「萬民もまた互に心を合せて皇室を宗家と仰ぎ、天皇を大御親とあがめて忠義をつくして來ました...私どもは至誠を以て君國の為に盡くし、この國体の光輝を益發揚するやうに心掛けなければなりません。」

“The whole nation has together with one heart look up to the imperial family as the origin of their own families. They revere the emperor like a father, and continue to loyally serve him to the best of their abilities…we must devote ourselves entirely for the benefit of ruler and country, and continuously endeavor to exalt the glory of our

[6] *Common School Ethics, Vol. 5 (1930),* 5.

national spirit."[7]

5.2.1.2 Patriotism

Patriotism, like loyalty, is very malleable in terms of how it can be defined. How does one express love for one's country? This is certainly a question that is open to interpretation. The Japanese colonial authorities however had a much stricter definition of what constituted patriotism. There are four main ways in which patriotism is promoted or expressed in the textbooks. First and foremost, as was mentioned in the previous section, patriotism is directly associated with the love for the imperial family. Provided one doesn't think too much, the following logic starts to make sense:

「…我が國は…萬世一系の天皇を戴き、君臣は父子のやうな關係の國柄ですから、國民が愛國の念に富むのは當然で、其の事蹟は國史の上に立派な成跡をのこしてゐます。」

"…our country is ruled by an unbroken imperial line, and the bond between the emperor and his subjects is like the bond between a father and son, which is reflected in our nation's character. Because of this, that the citizens abound with patriotic spirit is a matter of course, and evidence of this lies in the magnificent achievements in our nation's history."[8]

This passage above was pulled from the chapter entitled 'Patriotism.' Aside from loyalty to the emperor, the chapter also discusses another facet of patriotism. Namely, patriotism can also be expressed by contributing to the material and cultural advancement of the nation. The lesson entitled 'Patriotic Savings' tells the story of a little boy (the narrator) who uses his savings to buy war bonds. One day on the way home from school he sees an advertisement at the post office and asks his father about it. His father explains the concept of war bonds, and the lesson ends with the narrator using his savings (and some

[7] *Common School Advanced-Level Ethics, Vol. 1 (1944),* 4-5.
[8] *Common School Advanced-Level Ethics, Vol. 1 (1944),* 6.

extra money that his father kicked in) to buy two war bonds. Understandably, not everyone would be able to give their lives or their money for the nation. According to the textbooks, for these citizens the best way to support the nation is to be a productive member of society by engaging in work or study. The exhortations to apply oneself fully to work and study for the good of the nation appear almost constantly throughout all of the texts. This also ties in with many of the lessons on the virtue of diligence. The following examples show how this sentiment is frequently phrased:

「…よく其の職業に勵み、出征軍人の慰問や軍人家族の救護などに努めたのも、愛國心を發揮した立派な例です。」

"…applying oneself to one's occupation, providing care packages to soldiers departing for the front or providing relief to their families, these are also excellent examples of how patriotism is displayed..."[9]

「私どもはよく我が身を修めて改良有為の人となり、昔の人にならって、國の大事に際しては身命をさゝげて君國を守り、平時に於ては各その職分を盡くして、我が國の富強を増し文明をすすめ、忠君愛國の實を擧げなければなりません。」

"We must cultivate our person and become virtuous and capable people. We must learn from those in the past and in times of national crisis we must give our lives to protect the emperor and country. In peacetime we must apply ourselves to our work as best we can in order to increase our nation's wealth and power and to advance its culture, as well as to display patriotism and loyalty to the emperor in our conduct ."[10]

「…日常の職務に勵んで各其の職分を盡すのは最も手近な愛國の道です。」

[9] *Common School Advanced-Level Ethics, Vol. 1 (1944),* 6.
[10] *Common School Ethics, Vol. 6 (1930),* 12-13.

> "…thoroughly engaging in one's occupation and fulfilling one's duty to the best of one's ability: this is the path to patriotism that is closest at hand."[11]

The third way in which patriotism is promoted in the texts is through the Shinto (神道) religion. As part of the ethics curriculum, students were required to participate in various religious ceremonies and to respect the gods. This was because of the close relationship between Shinto and the divinity of the unbroken imperial line (Hsu 2005, 119). As such, there are also several lessons in the texts concerned with visits to shrines and the celebration of various festivals. The chapter entitled 'National Holidays/Festival Days' is basically a list of holidays with a brief description of each holiday and their dates. It also includes a reminder that because these are important ceremonial days, students must be sure to display the spirit of patriotism and loyalty to the emperor. Interestingly, specific Taiwanese holidays are also mentioned, including the commemoration of the establishment of the colonial government and the annual festival held at Taiwan Grand Shrine (*taiwan jinja* 台湾神社). In *Elementary-Level Ethics, Vol. 2 (1943)* there is also a lesson about Yasukuni Shrine (*yasukuni jinja* 靖国神社), which is dedicated to Japan's war dead. The lesson features an actual photograph of the shrine, and it describes how all of those enshrined at Yasukuni gave up their lives for the emperor and the nation. It also mentions that the recently constructed Taiwan Martyr Shrine (*taiwan gokoku jinja* 台湾護国神社) is the Taiwanese equivalent of Yasukuni Shrine.

The last way in which the texts encourage patriotism is through promotion of the Japanese language. One example of this can be found in *Good Children, Beginner (1942)*, which was intended for very young children. The second-to-last lesson features a policeman praising a little boy for his Japanese language ability. The boy then replies that everyone in his family speaks Japanese, even his four-year-old sister. Granted, these types of lessons only make up a small portion of lessons that deal with patriotism and loyalty, but it is important to keep in mind that the Japanese language was closely

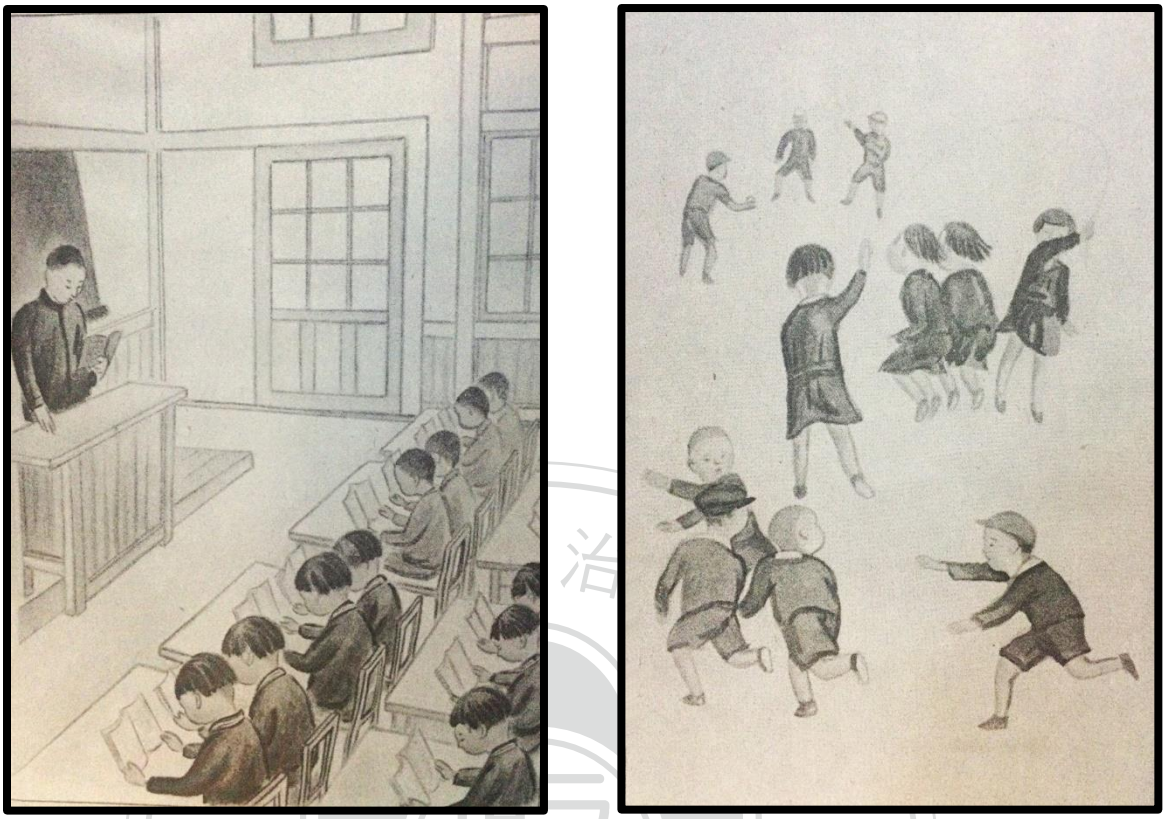
[11] *Common School Advanced-Level Ethics, Vol. 1 (1944)*, 8.

associated with patriotism and was heavily promoted both in school and outside of it.

5.2.2 Diligence/Persistence

After patriotism and loyalty, the virtues that appear most frequently are diligence and persistence. Again, for simplicity's sake, these virtues are defined in the most basic sense of the word. With over 14% of lessons focusing on these virtues, even the textbooks intended for lower level classes consistently feature these types of lessons. For the youngest children, illustrations were accompanied by lectures that were pulled from the relevant teacher's manual. For instance, Images H-I on the next page were to be accompanied by the following lecture:

> "School is to make you a good person. But as you heard at the school entrance ceremony, you cannot become a good person automatically just by coming to school. There are several things you must do. Even if it is hot and windy, even if the roads are bad, even if you are not feeling well, still you must come to school. You must heed what your parents say and what your teacher teaches. And you must be like the children in these pictures: you must study hard and you must play hard" (Tsurumi 1977, 137-139).



Images H-I: Children ‘studying hard and playing hard.’

Again, the lessons are more or less presented in one of two formats. The first format presents various stories featuring virtuous characters from Japanese history. The other format is more direct, and these lessons simply tell the student why being diligent and persevering is good, and why not being so is bad. Moreover, illustrations, when present, typically show children staying up late at night studying, or sitting attentively in class, etc. Very rarely are the children or other characters in the stories shown exhibiting less than ideal behavior.

The first format, consisting of stories, almost exclusively features characters pulled from Japanese history. One such example is Takamine Jōkichi (高峰譲吉), a Japanese chemist and researcher. Takamine is described as having loved learning even as a child, and he continued his studies in Nagasaki and other parts of Japan, eventually studying abroad in England and later moving to the United States. The story also discusses his diligent

research and his achievements, such as the isolation of the hormone adrenaline and other enzymes used in chemical fertilizers. The story ends with the following line: "Other than becoming famous, Jōkichi also made many discoveries and won many awards for his work, which was a great service to the country and to mankind."[12] A similar story describes Inō Tadataka, a surveyor and cartographer who is credited with making the first map of Japan using modern surveying techniques. The lesson entitled 'Diligence' in *Common School Ethics, Vol. 5 (1930)* discusses how a young Inō worked very hard at the family business (sake and soy sauce brewing) and made his family very prosperous. At age 50 he retires, but instead of remaining idle he goes to Edo (江戸) and studies vigorously. After several years of study, the shogunate tasked Inō with surveying Japan's coastlines. Inō spends the rest of his life surveying the coastlines of Japan, and at the age of 72 he had finished surveying all of Japan's main islands. The lesson ends with the Japanese equivalent of the proverb, 'where there's a will, there's a way.'

The famous story of Ono no Michikaze (小野道風) also makes an appearance. Ono was a well-known calligrapher known as one of the founders of Japanese-style calligraphy. In the lesson entitled 'The Frog and the Willow Tree,' a young Ono is discouraged with the lack of progress in his studies and considers quitting altogether. One day while walking he sees a frog repeatedly jumping up and trying to reach a low-hanging willow tree branch. The frog fails many times but eventually reaches the branch, and Ono is moved by this. He determinedly pursues his studies, and eventually becomes a famous calligrapher.

The main difference between these three stories is that the first two connect diligence with helping the nation. This connection between diligence and helping the nation is very pronounced in many of the stories. The type of story which encourages academic pursuits for their own sake all but disappear in the texts published in the 1940s. Instead, these type of stories begin to feature individuals in labor intensive jobs, who do their jobs well and without complaint.

[12] *Common School Ethics, Vol. 6 (1930),* 23-24.

The second lesson format reads a bit more like a set of instructions or a lecture. In these lessons, there is frequent mention of the correct attitude towards work. Hard work is described as something that everyone must do in order to make society function. The lesson entitled 'Occupations' from *Common School Ethics, Vol. 6 (1930)* is a prime example of this type of lesson:

> 「人が職業に従事するのは人としての本分を盡すもので、生活のためばかりではありません。いくら家に財産のある人でも、何事もしないで遊んでゐるのは、人としてまことに恥ずかしいことです。およそ職業に従事するには責任を重んじ、誠實・勤勉でなければなりません。又自分の職業を尊重し、常に樂しんで従事するやうにしなければなりません。職業に貴賤の別はありませんが、従事する人の精神によって、世間から貴ばれもし卑しまれもします。」
>
> "Pursuing an occupation is not just about doing one's duty as a person to earn a living. No matter how much wealth one's family has, doing nothing and idling away one's time is truly shameful. As a rule, one must take responsibilities seriously and must be honest and diligent when pursuing an occupation. Also, one must respect their own work and always enjoy engaging in their occupation. There is no distinction between high-class and low-class work, but with regard to the attitude of the worker, there are respectable and poor attitudes."[13]

The lesson also advises that children should pursue the same job as their parents, and that changing occupations should not be done needlessly. The lesson entitled 'Education' in the same textbook does indeed discuss education, but for the most part it is in the context of work and bringing prosperity to the country: "If we become virtuous and capable people who are able to carry out our tasks, then we can be said to be good Japanese."[14] It is worth mentioning that many of these types of lessons focus on work or even labor, and

[13] *Common School Ethics, Vol. 6 (1930),* 20.
[14] *Common School Ethics, Vol. 6 (1930),* 46.

academic learning is usually mentioned only because it can improve one's working efficiency or otherwise help to benefit the country.

5.2.3 Empathy/Compassion

Lessons which focus on empathy and compassion also appear quite regularly in the texts, taking up about 7% of all lessons. Empathy and compassion have a close relationship, one being the ability to identify with the feelings of others, and the other being the ability to identify with the misfortune of others and having a desire to help. In most of the lessons, empathy is not really discussed on its own. There are no passages about trying to understand the feelings of others. There are however quite a few which make the student think about helping those less fortunate than them.

Another interesting way in which these virtues are portrayed in the texts is through kindness to animals. In the lesson entitled 'Do Not Harm Living Things,' the little boy A-Jin stops another boy from throwing rocks at a frog. In another lesson, children see a trader and his water buffalo (commonly used as a working animal in Taiwan) resting in the shade of a tree. The children notice that the water buffalo looks tired so they give the trader a bucket of water to shower him with, which makes the water buffalo very happy. This respect for living things may reflect other aspects of Japanese culture, such as appreciation of nature and the influence of Buddhism.

Looking at Table I, the textbook from 1921 contains 5 lessons on empathy and compassion while the rest of the volumes have one or two at most. This may be due to the fact that the 1921 textbook is intended for younger children, so more emphasis might be placed on social skills and virtues that help children get along with one another. However, the *Good Children* series of books is also intended for younger children, yet such virtues are not emphasized as strongly. This may reflect the changing demands of the Japanese colonial government. Compassion during wartime is probably not the easiest message to sell either.

Other than compassion for living things, the texts also mention individuals who help those less fortunate than them. The story of Ishii Jūji (石井十次), a doctor who dedicated his life to caring for orphans, is one such example. The lesson entitled 'The People of Miyakojima' in *Elementary-Level Ethics, Vol. 2 (1943)* features a story about the people of Okinawa who rescue the crew of a shipwrecked German trading vessel. After the crew recovers and returns to Germany, they tell their story of the kindness of the Japanese people. These two stories are slightly different, which is perhaps part of a broader trend in the texts. The story of Ishii Jūji was published in 1930, while the latter was published in 1943. The real difference though, is that while both stories emphasize the virtue of compassion, 'The People of Miyakojima' stresses the virtue of the Japanese people. On the other hand, other stories feature the compassion of individuals or neighbors helping neighbors, etc. The virtue is not associated with being Japanese.

5.2.4 Civic Virtue

Civic virtue is actually a collection of various values and habits that are important for the success of a community. This is perhaps one of the more interesting virtues, because it is dependent on how one defines a successful community. In Japan, an Asian society that has been heavily influenced by Confucianism, social cohesion and harmony are highly valued. This is reflected in the fact that over 6% of lessons are dedicated to civic virtue.

There is one particular idea which is central to Japanese civic virtue that appears quite frequently, not only in the lessons that focus on civic virtue but throughout the texts in general. It can perhaps be summed up by the following phrase: *hito ni meiwaku wo kakenai yōni* (人に迷惑をかけないように). This phrase roughly translates as "so as not to inconvenience others" or "so as not to cause trouble for others." This idea is still very much a part of contemporary Japanese society, and it is an important characteristic of a society in which the group is valued more than the individual. It is also present in Taiwanese society as well, but whether this is due to Japanese influence is certainly debatable. This sort of civic virtue stands in contrast to many Western societies and American society in particular.

Civic virtue is defined in the aptly-titled lesson 'Civic Virtue' in *Common School Advanced-Level Ethics, Vol. 1 (1944)*. The definition is as follows:

> 「私どもは知ってゐる人と知らない人との区別なく、誰にでも迷惑をかけないやうにし、一般の幸福を増すやうに圖らなければなりません。かやうに人が公衆の為を考えて行動するの公徳です。」

> "We must not distinguish between people we know and people we don't know. We must try to promote the general well-being of others and not inconvenience them, no matter who they are. People thinking and acting in this way for the public good is known as civic virtue."[15]

The lesson goes on to describe the various in ways in which one exercises civic virtue, such as not littering, cooperating with others, keeping to the left side of the road when walking, and even trying to take up the least amount of space possible when riding on public transport. There is a very strong emphasis on not inconveniencing others. Another similar lesson on civic virtue stresses the point that abusing public property not only harms oneself, but it also harms others. This emphasis on the importance of the group over the individual is perhaps one of the more genuine and non-politicized virtues present in the text. That is, this idea was already very much a part of Japanese society at the time. It likely evolved out of the desire for an orderly society rather than any overt political calculations or plans for social control.

This message on not inconveniencing others is not limited to the lessons on civic virtue though. Lessons on health/hygiene and etiquette also stress this idea. In the lesson entitled 'Hygiene (Part 2),' not taking care of one's health is linked to harming other people. The text states that if one is not careful and contracts an infectious disease, this is not just a personal problem but is a great inconvenience to the public. Such careless

[15] *Common School Advanced-Level Ethics, Vol. 1 (1944)*, 59-60.

behavior is described as inexcusable. Other lessons on etiquette also stress the importance of thinking of others. For instance, one must choose one's words carefully, because poor word choice can not only reflect badly one's character, but it can also harm relations with others.

5.2.5 Responsibility/Duty

In English the words responsibility and duty are used almost interchangeably. The difference is very subtle. Essentially, the former is optional while the latter is mandated. For the purposes of this study though, they will be grouped in the same category. This is also because the ethics texts do not make any such distinction between the two. Again, the aptly-titled lesson 'Responsibility' provides a handy definition:

> 「人は誰でも引受けて果さなければならない務があります。この務はどこまでも立派にし遂げ、又した事の善し悪しについても、あくまで其の結果を自分に引受けなければなりません。之を責任といひます。」
>
> "No matter the individual, everyone has tasks that they must carry out and complete. No matter how pleasant or unpleasant, one must stubbornly carry out these tasks until their conclusion and take the consequences upon oneself. This is called responsibility."[16]

The lesson continues on with the story of Kira Heijirō (吉良平治郎), a postman who is tasked with transporting mail to and from post offices in Hokkaido. The distance between the two post offices was several miles, and Kira traveled the distance on foot. One evening there was a very fierce blizzard, and Kira was caught far from any village and without shelter. Heedless of his own safety and mindful of his great responsibility, Kira used his own coat to protect the mail bag from getting wet. He then wrapped a cloth around a piece of bamboo and used it to mark the spot where the mail bag was, so it

[16] *Common School Advanced-Level Ethics, Vol. 1 (1944)*, 46.

could be found after the blizzard. Later, a search party finds Kira frozen to death, but they find the mail bag as well with all the mail undamaged. Everyone is awed by Kira's deep sense of responsibility.

This story is representative of many of the lessons on responsibility that appear in the texts. This is because it teaches that responsibility must be carried out, even at great cost to oneself. This is part of the ethos of the individual being subservient to the group, which is a recurring theme throughout the texts. Several stories in the text glorify self-sacrifice in the name of responsibility, which can ultimately be viewed as one's responsibility to the nation. Well before war in China and the beginning of the *kōminka* movement, the ideal of self-sacrifice in the line of duty was already very much present in the ethics texts. For instance, consider the lesson entitled 'Take Responsibilities Seriously' from *Common School Ethics, Vol. 5 (1930)*. The lesson features the ill-fated training run of a Japanese submarine. Due to some technical failure, the submarine ends up taking on water and sinks to the bottom of the sea. The captain, Sakuma Tsutomu (佐久間勉), calmly orders the crew to take emergency action, but to no avail. He then writes his last words, first apologizing to the emperor for losing the submarine and his men. He also records the cause of the accident and time for future reference, and apologizes to the families of his subordinates. When the submarine is eventually pulled up, all of the crew members were found to have died at their posts. The ending is nearly the same as the story of Kira Heijirō, with everyone being deeply moved by the submarine crew's sense of responsibility.

While not all of the stories feature self-sacrifice in the line of duty, it is perhaps the most common theme among these lessons. Other lessons feature children being more responsible for their own affairs and not relying on their parents for everything. The virtue of responsibility also manifests itself in the ideas of *giri* (義理) and *on* (恩), which are still very much a part of Japanese society today. *Giri* can roughly be translated as 'duty' or 'obligation' while *on* is closer to 'favor' or 'debt of gratitude.' These ideas represent a system of social obligations that are an integral part of Japanese culture. The lesson entitled 'Repaying One's Debts' best exemplifies how ideas of responsibility and

duty are portrayed. In the lesson, duty to the emperor, one's parents, and one's teachers are all mentioned as the most important obligations. However, this idea is extended even to nature and all people who have made the world a better place through inventions and discoveries, etc. The lesson cautions students to never forget the various debts that they owe other people. This is quite different from the way an American child might be taught about responsibility. In Japanese society though, the line between favors and these sorts of debts are almost indistinguishable. However, this special form of responsibility does force children to think about others, which complements the general theme of civic virtue that is present in the texts.

5.2.6 Filial Piety

Despite the assertions of the Imperial Rescript on Education that traditional morality such as filial piety is the source of education, filial piety appears in only about 5% of lessons. Filial piety as a virtue seems to have largely been co-opted in order to instill loyalty to the emperor. The most common reference to filial piety in the texts does not actually appear in the lessons on filial piety, and it is only loosely related to the family. A typical example is as follows:

> 「…皇祖皇宗は常に國を以て家と思し召され、慈母が赤子を愛するやうに臣民をおいつくしみになりました。」
>
> "…the ancestors of the imperial family have always thought of the nation as their own family, and as a mother loves her child, so too have they devoted themselves to their subjects."[17]

In other lessons, filial piety is often presented in conjunction with another virtue, such as obedience. For instance, consider the title of the lesson 'Obey One's Parents' Instructions.' There are also other instances in the texts of children being reminded to

[17]*Common School Advanced-Level Ethics, Vol. 1 (1944)*, 3.

obey their parents as well as their teachers. But typically the idea that stands out here is obedience to one's elders, rather than filial piety alone. There are also a few lessons which stress the importance of the family and respecting one's parents and ancestors. However, these lessons tend to describe the family in terms of socioeconomics and also implicitly touch on other virtues, such as diligence, obedience, etc. Even one of the lessons on health/hygiene states that taking care of one's health is the most basic form of filial piety. All in all, despite official proclamations to the contrary, filial piety does not seem be terribly important. Rather, this important Confucian value could be conveniently exploited by the colonial government, as it essentially could be related to any other virtue.

5.2.7 Other Virtues

The other virtues listed in Table I but not yet covered, including obedience, health/hygiene, etiquette, honesty, integrity, etc. will only be briefly mentioned here. This is because these ethics and their presentation in the texts are rather straightforward and there are no new insights to discuss, and/or the amount of content devoted to these ethics is too small to warrant discussion.

Virtues such as obedience, honesty, and integrity are all rooted in traditional Confucian values. As mentioned in the literature review, values which were originally intended to be the basis for social order were easily co-opted to suit the needs of the modern state. Whether it was for resource extraction or cooperation with mobilization for war, the Japanese colonial government required a population that was compliant. Obedience in the texts is generally presented in two ways. The first way is by teaching respect for authority, through the use of authority figures such as elders, teachers, parents, and government officials. The second way is by teaching respect for the rule of law itself. The lessons on honesty and integrity also leave little to the imagination as well, cautioning children against dishonesty and using examples of famously virtuous characters.

Etiquette is also one of the more straightforward values. These types of lessons are

typically more concerned with procedure and form rather than any substantial inquiry into why certain actions are considered part of etiquette. Examples of this in the text include descriptions of bowing, correct posture, eating habits, serving guests, choosing one's words carefully, etc.

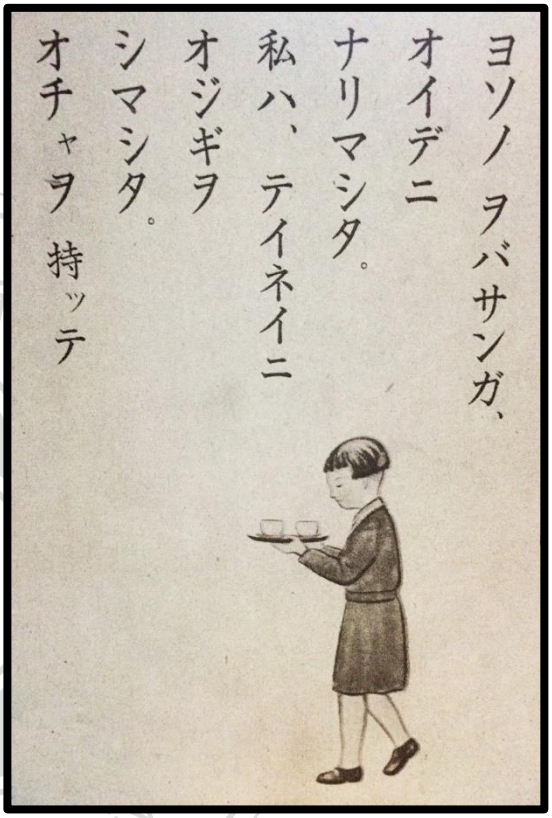


Image J (left): A young boy demonstrates the correct way to bow.
Image K (right): A young girl politely offers tea to some guests.

There are also other lessons which don't necessarily impart any moral values, such as the lesson entitled 'Picnic,' which simply describes a class fieldtrip to a nearby mountain. It would really be a stretch to say such lessons contain ideological or political material. Rather, these lessons likely just reflect educators' attempts to make the books more appealing by having stories that more closely resemble the lives of the children reading them. A handful of other moral virtues also make sporadic appearances throughout the textbooks, including frugality, punctuality, self-discipline, humility, endurance, and even

ingenuity. While they only take up a small amount of space proportionally, the variety of virtues present and lack of connection to the overall themes of loyalty and service to the state leads one to agree with Tsurumi's conclusion that common school textbooks were not just watered-down versions of their elementary school counterparts, nor was all of the content intended to politically indoctrinate students or make them into loyal Japanese citizens.

5.3 Portrayal of Groups

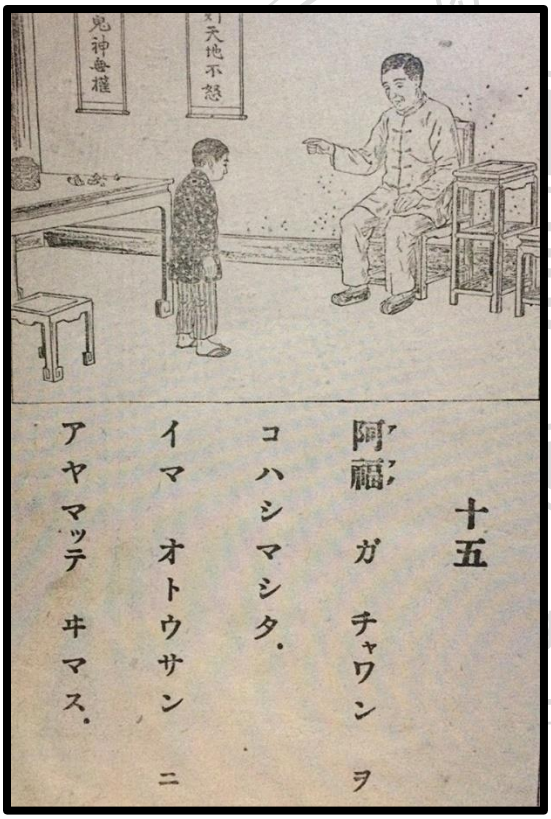
Analyzing how different groups are portrayed in the textbooks can provide some insight into how those groups were treated in society. More accurately though, it provides a window onto the hidden curriculum, and shows how the colonial administration wanted schoolchildren to think about these certain groups of people. Illustrations also provide additional cues as to how children were to view certain groups. In the United States today, sensitivity regarding race, gender, and religion play a very important role in how certain groups are depicted in textbooks. Certainly, the Japanese educational authorities were not dealing with a diverse society like the United States, nor did they face significant public criticism or pressure. All the same though, their depictions of different groups, as well as the selection and omission of certain details in illustrations, were all part of a carefully designed curriculum. Thus, how different genders, professions, ethnic groups, etc. were portrayed in the textbooks is worth investigating. The following section will cover in more detail the depictions of various groups in the textbooks.

5.3.1 Ethnic Groups

Considering the education goals of the colonial government and the fact that schools were at the center of the Japanization process, it is not surprising that most of the characters in the textbooks are Japanese. While in the early Meiji-era textbooks there are some Chinese and Western historical figures, this phenomenon had all but disappeared by WWI. In addition, the words denoting either Chinese or Taiwanese ethnicity never appear in any of the texts. This was part of the effort to suppress any non-Japanese identity.

Taiwanese characters and settings do appear in the texts though, but there is a trend of them being phased out over the years. As noted in the literature review, with the outbreak of war and the beginning of the *kōminka* movement in the late 1930s, Taiwanese characters and settings were removed from many of the texts.

If the Taiwanese characters are never actually referred to by their ethnicity, how can they be accurately identified as Taiwanese? The short answer is, they can't. However, looking at family names and styles of clothing can provide a degree of certainty as to the ethnic identity of characters in the texts. The following Images M-L provide a clear example.



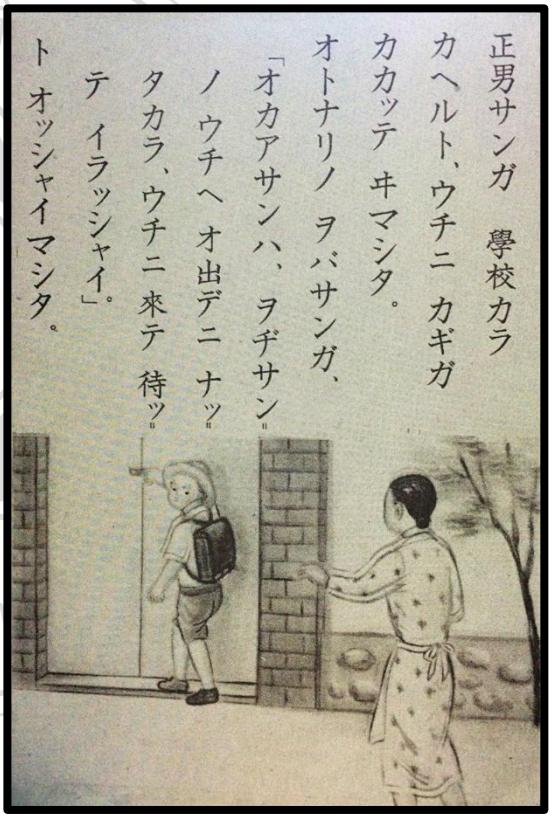


Image L (left): The clothing of the boy and his father as well as the furniture and decorations in their home are characteristic of the traditional Chinese style.
Image M (right): The young boy's school uniform and the woman's dress are both characteristic of Western-style dress which was popular in contemporary Japan.

Image L is from 1921, while Image M came 20 years afterwards. The difference is very stark. In Image L the little boy is being lectured by his father, and both are wearing the traditional Chinese-style shirts and trousers, which was characteristic of dress in Taiwan prior to the arrival of the Japanese. The house is filled with Chinese-style furniture and other decorations, and both father and son are wearing shoes in the house, which would not be done in a Japanese household. Additionally, the little boy's name is A-Fuku (阿福), which is the Japanese reading of a typical Taiwanese name. Conversely, Image M features the little boy Masao-san (正男さん) who is wearing a Western-style elementary school uniform. Such uniforms were in use in Japan at the time and are still in use today. Another key feature of this uniform is the backpack, known as a *randoseru* (ランドセル). This style of backpack was initially adopted by the Japanese military during the Edo period and later during the Meiji period it gradually came to be associated with elementary school students. Masao-san's neighbor is also wearing a Western-style dress, without the trousers associated with traditional Chinese dress.

The textbook from 1921 almost exclusively features Taiwanese characters and settings. There are many palm trees and tropical plants, and buildings feature Chinese-style architecture. The children wear Chinese-style clothes and shoes and also have Taiwanese names. By 1930 though, Taiwanese characters and settings become much less noticeable. Only one lesson from *Common School Ethics, Vol. 5 (1930)* features a story with a Taiwanese setting and non-Japanese protagonist. The lesson features the story of Sōkin (曹謹), a Qing dynasty magistrate in charge of a county in southern Taiwan. The story tells of how Sōkin addresses a serious drought in the region by overseeing the construction of a canal. After the canal is completed, the area becomes prosperous and the local people display their gratitude by naming the canal after Sōkin. However, in the story no actual background is provided on Sōkin. The story simply begins without any introduction: "When Sōkin became the magistrate of Fengshan county, the region was plagued by drought-induced famine, and the people faced serious hardships."[18]

[18] *Common School Ethics, Vol. 5 (1930),* 8.

Other Taiwanese characters do appear in texts published in the 1930s and 1940s, but it is never explicitly mentioned that they are Taiwanese. This has to be deduced from details in the story, such as their age. Another good example of this is the lesson entitled 'Taiwan in the Old Days and Taiwan Today.' In this lesson, a grandfather tells the children about how so much in Taiwan has improved since the old days. For example, to go from Taihoku (台北) to Tainan (台南) required more than ten days of traveling, but Japanese improvements to transportation infrastructure considerably reduced the travel time. The story is also narrated in perfect Japanese, and there is really no hint (other than his age) that the grandfather himself isn't Japanese. Even these types of stories only feature the 'Taiwanese grandfather' character though, and they are few and far between.

In contrast, every lesson which features characters from Japanese history will also include a brief introduction of the person. This may include their birthplace, family background, occupation, and/or descriptions of their personality. Where there are illustrations, these historical figures are usually shown wearing traditional Japanese clothing or modern military uniforms. Another interesting characteristic of these lessons is that the historical character is usually mentioned as having naturally embodied a certain moral virtue. Some typical examples are as follows:

「渡邊崋山は、小さい時からすなほな人で、よく父母のいひつけを守り、少しも父母に心配をかけるやうなことはありませんでした。」

"Since he was very young, Watanabe Kazan was obedient and listened to his parents' instructions, never causing them any worry."[19]

「光圀は身分の高い人でしたが、常に儉約を守り衣服や食物などをつとめて質素にしました。」

"Mitsukuni was high-ranking person, but he was always very frugal and maintained

[19] *Elementary-Level Ethics, Vol. 2 (1943),* 25-26.

a modest lifestyle."[20]

Very rarely are they described as having learned their virtue from someone else. Again, if one doesn't think too much, it would be easy conclude from the texts that the Japanese are naturally virtuous. This would seem to defeat the purpose of learning to be virtuous in school though.

Western characters and places hardly feature at all in any of the texts. When they appear, no context or background is provided. The lesson featuring the German sailors who are rescued by the people of Okinawa is one such example. America and England are occasionally mentioned, but only as destinations for study or business. In the books published in the 1940s America and England are also briefly mentioned in the context of the war. This is about the extent of the Western presence in the texts. While the presence or lack of certain ethnicities may be slightly distorted due to the sample size, the overall focus on Japanese identity and lack of Taiwanese characters are clear.

5.3.2 Gender

While the Japanese colonial administration was committed to giving both boys and girls a modern education, this did not mean that boys and girls were to be equals. That Japanese society is deeply patriarchal goes without saying, and in Taiwan opportunities for girls' education were particularly limited. As the education system developed, girls also began to attend common schools in increasing numbers, but opportunities for schooling were by and large restricted to girls from wealthy families. The government's educational goals for boys and girls also differed. The idea of producing 'good wives and wise mothers' (*ryōsai kenbo* 良妻賢母) was one of the aims of girls' education in Taiwan as well as Japan (Hu 2011, 4-12). Strict gender roles are also explicitly supported in the texts themselves. An excerpt from the lesson 'The Duties of Boys and the Duties of Girls' is as follows:

[20] *Common School Ethics, Vol. 5 (1930),* 24-25.

「男子も女子も人として國民として行ふべき道に違ひはありません。世の繁榮をはかったり、一身の品行を慎んだりしなければならないことは男子も女子も全く同様です。しかし男子と女子は生まれながらにして身体も違ひ性質も違ってゐますから、實際の務はおのづからわかれてゐます。強くはきはきとしてゐるのは男子のもちまへで、やさしくおだやかなのは女子のもちまへです。それで家族を保護し國や社會のためにつくすやうなことは男子の務で、家のないを治めて一家の和樂をはかり、また子供を養育するやうなことは女子の務です。」

"There is no difference in the way in which boys and girls should conduct themselves as individuals and as citizens. Both must conduct themselves morally and aim to help society prosper. In this boys and girls are absolutely the same. However, because from birth boys and girls are different both in body and in temperament, in actuality their duties are naturally separate. Boys are by nature strong and restless while girls are by nature gentle and calm. Accordingly, tasks such as protecting the home and serving the nation and society are the duties of boys, while tasks such as managing the home, promoting harmony within the family, and raising and educating children are the duties of girls."[21]

A patriarchal society, traditional beliefs about the inherent nature of boys and girls and their roles, as well as certain educational goals of the colonial government all can help explain why there are almost no female characters present in the ethics texts. Moreover, all of the elders and other authority figures in the texts are also male, including policemen, teachers, principals, and officials. In some of the books intended for younger children there are illustrations which feature girls playing and studying, but they are never mentioned in the text and there are very few important female characters in general. Where they do appear, female characters are usually servants, mothers, or working women of some kind. The lesson entitled 'Kurume Gasuri' is the only one which features a female protagonist. The lesson features a weaving girl named Denko who

[21] *Common School Ethics, Vol. 6 (1930),* 15-16.

through her own ingenuity discovers a new technique for weaving patterns on silk. The design becomes very famous and popular, but this does not help Denko advance her own position. Rather, more emphasis is placed on how ingenuity can be enable one to create new and beautiful things.

5.3.3 Family

Despite the heavy emphasis on family relationships and filial piety in the Imperial Rescript on Education, the family as a unit actually does not appear often in the texts. In line with the beliefs on the nature of boys and girls, the father is the head of household who earns money for the family while the mother is responsible for taking care of the home and raising children. There is little deviation from this model in the texts. However, the family seems to be viewed primarily as an economic unit and a source of authority and control. More emphasis is placed on wealth and reputation of a family than on relationships among family members. Other lessons discuss issues such as family assets and inheritance. There are also many historical figures such as Inō Tadataka (伊能忠敬), Morimura Ichizaemon (森村市左衛門), and Takada Zensaeimon (高田善左衛門), who worked very hard to build up (or restore) their families' fortunes and reputations. The lesson entitled 'Ancestors and the Family' also speaks to this idea. The lesson begins by describing the roles of a mother and father within the family, and continues on with a description of one's ancestors and the best way to repay the debt owed to them. A passage from the lesson is as follows:

「一家の中で一人でも多くよい人がゐて、業務に勵み公共の事に力を盡せば、一家の繁榮を増すばかりでなく、家の名譽を高めることにもなります。また一人でも不心得の者がゐて、惡いことをしたり務を怠ったりすれば、一家の不名譽となりその繁榮をさまたげます。それ故一家の人々は皆心を合せ、各自の本分を守り、品行をつゝしんで、その家の名譽と繁榮の為に力をつくし、祖先に對してはよい子孫となり、子孫に對しては立派な祖先となるやうに心がけなければなりません。」

> "Within a family even if there is one good person who applies himself to his work and serves the public to the best of his ability, then not only will that family prosper but that family's prestige will also increase. Also, if even one member of a family is imprudent, and does bad things and slacks off in doing their duty, then that family's reputation will suffer and it will prevent them from prospering. Thus everyone in the family must work together and fulfill their duties, conduct themselves morally, and give their all for the sake of the reputation and prosperity of the family. We must endeavor to be a credit to our ancestors and to set an excellent example for our own descendants."[22]

An almost identical message is presented in the lesson entitled 'The Family' more than a decade later. There are other lessons which remind students of the debts that they owe their parents and/or contain more explicit examples of filial piety. By and large though, the characters in the ethics texts tend to achieve great things on their own, or with only minimal support from their family. The emphasis on personal achievement and self-reliance present in many of the lessons is definitely a break with the traditional Confucian ideals of filial piety.

5.3.4 Occupations

Despite investments in education, the colonial government did not intend for native Taiwanese to take up higher-ranking positions in government or in the professions. Similar to the dumbbell configuration of education in Meiji-era Japan, the masses were to be trained in literacy, basic economic usefulness, and political obedience, while a small corps of elites received higher education and specialized training. In Taiwan though, these elite positions were all occupied by Japanese, thus negating the need to provide higher levels of education to Taiwanese.

That being said, there were opportunities for advancement through the Japanese colonial

[22] *Common School Ethics, Vol. 6 (1930),* 14-15.

education system. Agricultural specialists, technicians, teachers, doctors, and other skilled labor was not readily available in Japan, and thus native Taiwanese of ability were channeled into certain fields to meet the needs of the state. There is an interesting discrepancy though between the characters and role models presented in the texts and the actuality of the work prospects for Taiwanese. Two lessons, both entitled 'Occupations,' present a clear picture of what sort of work the colonial government expected native Taiwanese to pursue. Not coincidentally, both lessons emphasize that taking up the work of one's ancestors is ideal, and that changing jobs is to be avoided if possible. An excerpt from one of the lessons is as follows:

「職業には種々ありますが、農・工・商は國民の多數が從事して居るもので、國民の生活に密接な關係があり、其の發達すると否とは國家の盛衰に關係します。それで是等の職業に從事するものは、其の職業の重要なことをよく辨へて忠實に働き、其の業の發達を圖らなければなりません。農・工・商の外にもいろいろの職業がありますが、皆社會に必要なことに變わりはありません。特に國家の公務に從事するものは公の機關として働くのですから、一層國家社會のために盡す心掛が大切です。父祖傳來の職業はなるべく改めないのがよいのですが、新に職業を選ぶ必要のあるものは、先づ職業の性質をよくしらべ、自分の健康・才能・趣味などを考へ、教師・父兄・先輩にも相談して慎重に決定しなければなりません。」

"There are many different types of occupations, but the majority of citizens are engaged in agriculture, industry, and commerce, all of which are closely related to the livelihoods of the people, and growth, or lack thereof, in these occupations is related to the welfare of the nation. Therefore those who engage in these occupations must be mindful of the importance of their work, devote themselves to their tasks, and bear in mind the growth and development of other industries. There are a variety of other occupations outside of agriculture, industry, and commerce, but all are equally necessary to society. This is especially true for those engaged in state affairs

> because they work as agents of the government, and thus it is even more important that they be mindful of the fact that they are serving society and the nation. While it is desirable that one should not change the occupation handed by one's ancestors, those that must choose a new occupation must first look closely at the nature of the work. They must also think about their own physical health, ability, and interests, and should consult with teachers, parents, older brothers, and mentors before carefully making a decision."[23]

Considering that most Taiwanese were engaged in agriculture and that Taiwan was an important source of agricultural products for Japan, it is not surprising that Taiwanese children would be encouraged to remain in agriculture. However, as mentioned above, the professions of most of the characters featured in the texts are professions that for the most part were inaccessible to Taiwanese. This was especially true for those Taiwanese not from very wealthy families. Surprisingly, the profession which appears most frequently in the texts is that of the scholar. Members of the military and businessmen are also featured quite often. Teachers, doctors, farmers, policemen, government officials, and servants also make sporadic appearances, but in general scholars, businessmen, and members of the military are the main professions portrayed throughout the texts.

Considering the obstacles Taiwanese faced in pursuing higher education, it is interesting that scholars would be featured so often in the texts. These scholars include a wide range of academics, scientists, Confucian scholars, agriculturalists, and even artists. They are typically featured as always having had an interest in learning from a young age, and through diligence and dedication to their studies they are able to make some kind of contribution to their family, society, and or/ the nation. The lessons about the chemist Takamine Jōkichi, the cartographer Inō Tadataka, and the calligrapher Ono no Michikaze all contain similar storylines. What is most interesting is that sometimes becoming a great scholar is portrayed as the end goal, as opposed to contributing to the nation and society. The lesson entitled 'Self-Control' tells the story of Murakami Senshō (村上専精), who overcomes poverty and adversity through hard work and perseverance. The lesson ends

[23] *Common School Advanced-Level Ethics, Vol. 1 (1944)*, 20-21.

with the following line:

「專精はその後も學問のためにいろいろ難儀をしましたが、しじゅう困難にうちかってとうとう立派な學者になりました。」

"Thereafter Senshō suffered many hardships in his pursuit of learning, but he continued to overcome adversity and in the end became a distinguished scholar."[24]

This reflects the respect for scholars and scholarship that is deeply embedded in many Asian societies. While scholars are for the most part portrayed as being diligent in studies and applying their learning for the benefit of the nation, there are still other instances which seem to encourage pursuit of learning for its own sake.

The frequency with which businessmen and entrepreneurs appear in the texts is also a bit surprising. However, the lessons are very careful not to glorify pursuit of wealth. Wealth is good, but it should be used to support the family, country, and society at large. The stories featuring businessmen are for the most part rags-to-riches stories. Through hard work and persistence, ordinary men become very wealthy. The point of the story though is usually how they contribute to the nation through their occupation or by giving of their wealth. Some characters, such as the cartographer Inō Tadataka or the businessman Ushijima Kinji (牛島謹爾) are described as having retired from business in order to pursue other activities that help the nation. Engaging in entrepreneurial activity and becoming wealthy is more or a less a sideshow to their contributions to the nation. Similar to the portrayal of scholars, businessmen seem to be featured in the texts to demonstrate the virtue of hard work as well as to show how wealth and power should be used to aid the nation.

The portrayal of military figures in the texts is perhaps easier to comprehend than the depiction of scholars and businessmen. This is probably in part a reflection of Japan's

[24] *Common School Ethics, Vol. 5 (1930),* 24.

past, during which shogun held real power and samurai were at the top of the social hierarchy. However, this is also indicative of the power of the Japanese military and the outsized role they played in shaping national policy. Some of the characters featured are warriors from long ago, but for the most part they are modern military figures, such as Nogi Maresuke (乃木希典), a hero of the Russo-Japanese War, and Kitashirakawa Yoshihisa (北白川宮能久親王), an imperial prince and general who died during the military campaign to pacify Taiwan in 1895. All of them though are portrayed as the embodiment of some moral virtue, usually loyalty or responsibility. Military figures, even common soldiers, are generally portrayed as being virtuous simply because of their occupation, which further serves to cultivate respect and admiration for the military among students.

All in all, the frequency with which certain professions appear in the texts and the way they are portrayed seems to clash somewhat with government policies. Taiwanese students were not encouraged to pursue higher education in general, and combat roles in the military were also closed to them until near the end of the war. Teachers, skilled technicians, doctors, and other professionals needed by the colonial government are not really featured in the texts though, while scholars, businessmen, etc. are. That being said, the textbooks are careful not to support pursuit of wealth or knowledge for their own sake. Ultimately, rather than portraying certain professions as desirable, the common theme is that status, knowledge, wealth, and power should all be used to aid the nation and society, no matter one's profession.

6. Content Analysis of Chinese Civics Textbooks

6.1 Presentation

The covers of the Chinese civics textbooks differ from their Japanese counterparts in that almost all of them are illustrated. The only exceptions are 2 of the *Civics* textbooks published in 1948, which only feature a flowery border. In addition to the title and volume number, all of the textbooks also have 'National Institute for Compilation and Translation' as well as 'Authorized by the Ministry of Education' printed on the cover. As with the Japanese texts, this could also serve as a sort of branding, in order to remind students that this knowledge is 'official' and that the textbooks are published by the government. The cover illustrations for the most part feature children bowing to the national flag or to the teacher.

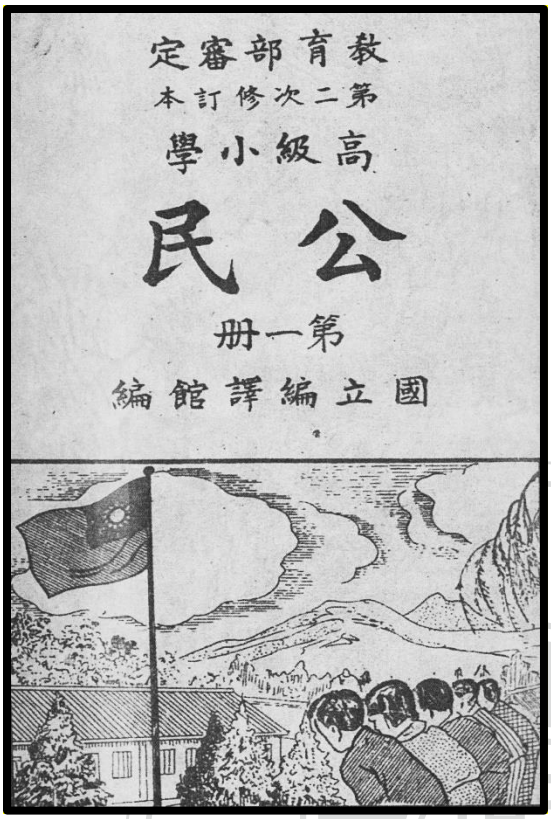
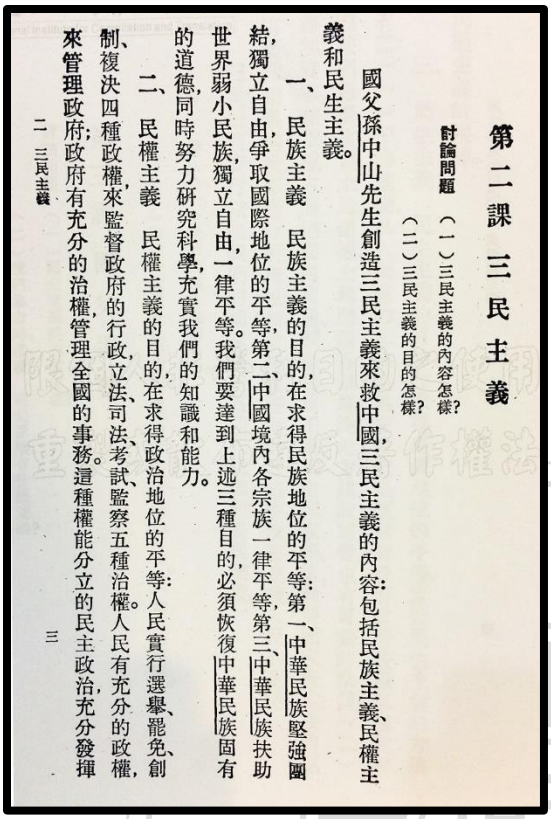


Image N (left): Front cover of *Civics, Vol. 1 (1948)*.
Image O (right): Front cover of *Civics Textbook (1957)*.

In contrast with their Japanese counterparts, the civics textbooks contain almost no illustrations. They also do not contain allegorical lessons. All lessons are presented in an authoritative way. Students are taught about what they must do and must not do, and they are presented with lists of information to memorize. The texts are clearly geared towards memorization and testing. Other characteristics of the texts which highlight this focus on memorization are the discussion and homework questions. At the beginning of each lesson there are discussion questions which essentially tell students what to read for. Homework assignments or review questions also follow each lesson, and they typically just reinforce the main points of the lessons. Due to revisions made after 1948, the content of the 1950s textbooks is also easier to comprehend (i.e. less difficult words, simpler explanations, etc.).



第二課 三民主義

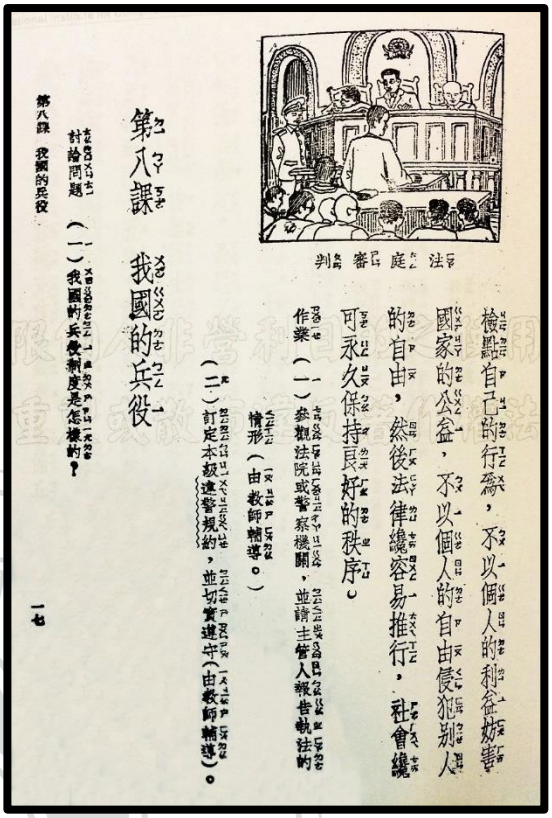
討論問題 （一）三民主義的內容怎樣？

（二）三民主義的目的怎樣？

國父孫中山先生創造三民主義來救中國，三民主義的內容：包括民族主義、民權主義和民生主義。

一、民族主義　民族主義的目的，在求得民族地位的平等：第一、中華民族堅強團結，獨立自由，爭取國際地位的平等；第二、中國境內各宗族一律平等；第三、中華民族扶助世界弱小民族，獨立自由，一律平等。我們要達到上述三種目的，必須恢復中華民族固有的道德，同時努力研究科學，充實我們的知識和能力。

二、民權主義　民權主義的目的，在求得政治地位的平等：人民實行選舉、罷免、創制、複決四種政權，來監督政府的行政、立法、司法、考試、監察五種治權。人民有充分的政權，來管理政府；政府有充分的治權，管理全國的事務。這種權能分立的民主政治，充分發揮



法庭審判

檢點自己的行為，不以個人的利益妨害國家的公益，不以個人的自由侵犯別人的自由，然後法律纔容易推行，社會纔可永久保持良好的秩序。

作業（一）參觀法院或警察機關，並請主管人報告執法的情形（由教師輔導。）

（二）訂定本級遵守規約，並切實遵守（由教師輔導）。

第八課 我國的兵役

討論問題 （一）我國的兵役制度是怎樣的？

Image P (left): Typical page of text from the *Civics* series published in 1948.
Image Q (right): Typical page of text from the post-1948 series of textbooks.

The lesson titles and number of lessons in each textbook are listed in Tables J-P on the following pages.

Table J:

Civics, Vol. 1 (1948)

Lesson #	Lesson Title
1	Self-Cultivation
2	Organization of the Family
3	Economics of the Household
4	Everyone's Place in the Family and Their Responsibilities
5	The Meaning and Purpose of the 'New Life'
6	Putting the 'New Life' Into Practice
7	Survey and Reform of Local Customs
8	Forming and Developing an Organization
9	Participating in Group Activities: Holding Assemblies and Forming Associations
10	Types of Meetings and Procedures
11	The Formation and Development of Society
12	Everyone's Duty and Responsibility to Society

Table K:

Civics, Vol. 2 (1948)

Lesson #	Chapter Title
1	Establishing the *Bao-Jia* System
2	Organization and Functions of Local Public Offices
3	Organization and Functions of County-Level Governments
4	The Meaning of Regional Autonomy and How It Works
5	The Meaning of Nationalism
6	How to Carry Forward Nationalism
7	The Meaning of Democracy
8	Indirect Democracy and Direct Democracy
9	Popular Sovereignty and the Power of Government
10	The Meaning of the People's Livelihood
11	Equalization of Land Ownership and Control of Capital
12	Developing State-Run Industries

Table L:

Civics, Vol. 3 (1948)

Lesson #	Lesson Title
1	The History and Organization of the Chinese Nationalist Party
2	The Principles and Policies of the Chinese Nationalist Party
3	Organization and Functions of Provincial and Municipal Governments
4	Organization and Functions of the Central Government
5	The Relationship Between the Central Government and the Provincial/Muncipal Governments
6	Building the Economy and Economic Policy
7	Grain Management
8	Taxes and Government Bonds
9	The Significance and Implementation of Building the National Economy
10	Organization and Operation of Cooperatives

Table M:

Civics, Vol. 4 (1950)

Lesson #	Lesson Title
1	The Origins and Evolution of Nations
2	Organization of A Nation
3	The State System and Political System
4	The Relationship Between the People and the State
5	The Nature and Purpose of the Constitution
6	The Constitution of the Republic of China
7	Obeying the Laws of the Nation
8	Our Nation's Military Service
9	Our Nation's Military System
10	Our Nation's Responsibility to the Rest of the World

Table N:

Civics Textbook, Vol. 1 (1957)

Lesson #	Lesson Title
1	What is A Citizen?
2	Organization of the Family
3	Economics of the Household
4	Filial Piety
5	The Meaning and Purpose of the 'New Life'
6	Putting the 'New Life' Into Practice
7	Local Customs
8	Forming and Developing an Organization
9	Participating in Group Activities: Holding Assemblies and Forming Associations
10	Meeting Procedures
11	The Formation and Development of Society
12	Everyone's Duty and Responsibility to Society

Table O:

Civics Textbook, Vol. 1 (1958)

Lesson #	Chapter Title
1	The Individual and the Group
2	Nationals and Citizens
3	The Responsibilities of A Citizen
4	The Cultivation of A Citizen
5	Organization of the Family
6	The Importance of Family
7	Work Within the Family
8	Virtues of the Family
9	Relationships Between Relatives
10	Relationships With Neighbors
11	The Individual and the Group
12	Nationals and Citizens

Table P:

Civics Textbook, Vol. 3 (1959)

Lesson #	Lesson Title
1	Our Nation and People
2	The Three Principles of the People
3	The Last Will of the Father of the Nation
4	The Constitution of the Republic of China
5	The Rights and Duties of the People
6	Regional Autonomy
7	The Central Government
8	Development of Society
9	Development of National Defense
10	The Basics of International Etiquette

6.2 Moral Values

As with the Japanese ethics texts, the Chinese civics texts were analyzed lesson by lesson and where possible the primary moral value being presented was identified. Identifying moral content in the civics texts is slightly more complicated because of prevalence of political ideologies and other content with seemingly no apparent relation to morality. This is to be expected though, as by definition ethics and civics differ. The former is primarily concerned with morality, both personal and public. The latter is concerned with educating citizens about the workings of the government, their rights and duties, as well as morals, especially with regard to public space and society. Ethics as a standalone course was removed from the KMT's national curriculum for elementary schools in 1932 (Kao 2007, 33). However, civics training remained an integral part of the curriculum, and overall it contained more moral content than any of the other social studies courses such as geography and history.

As in the previous Table I, an attempt has been made to quantify some of the data in order to facilitate analysis. The results are presented in Table Q on the following page. However, in light of the differences between the ethics and civics texts, the contents of the civics texts have been divided into two categories: political knowledge and moral knowledge. The first category for the most part comprises basic information about the government, the constitution and laws, duties and rights of citizens, etc. This information tends to promote and support the political ideologies of the KMT government. However, that is not to say that the lessons that focus on political knowledge are devoid of moral content. Rather, morals are presented very subtly in conjunction with political knowledge. The second category, moral knowledge, features lessons which place more emphasis on individual virtues and focus less on practical knowledge of governance. Even these lessons are not entirely free of political ideology though. Again, the process by which these lessons are classified into one category or the other is subjective, but hopefully the detailed analysis in the following sections will make up for any shortcomings.

Table Q: Table of Moral Values (Chinese Texts)

Textbook Title / **Value Content**[25]	*Civics, Vol. 1, (1948)*	*Civics, Vol. 2, (1948)*	*Civics, Vol. 3, (1948)*	*Civics, Vol. 4, (1950)*	*Civics Textbook, Vol. 1 (1957)*	*Civics Textbook, Vol. 1 (1958)*	*Civics Textbook, Vol. 3 (1959)*	**Total**	**%**
Political Knowledge									
Organization/ Functions of Government		6	7	4			3	20	25.7%
State Policy		5	3				4	12	15.4%
Democratic Process	3				3			6	7.7%
Rights and Duties				2		2	1	5	6.4%
Moral Knowledge									
Confucian Morals/ Family Relations	3		1		3	4		11	14.1%
Health/Hygiene	2				2			4	5.2%
Cooperation				1		2		3	3.8%
Patriotism		1	1				1	3	3.8%
Self-Cultivation	1				1	1		3	3.8%
Other	3			3	3	1	1	11	14.1%
Total	12	12	12	10	12	10	10	78	100.0%

Before getting into the discussion of the content, there are a few categories in Table Q which could use some clarification. First, the category of 'Confucian Morals/Family

[25] The value content categories listed in table above have been translated from the following Chinese terms (in order from top to bottom): 政治知識: 政府的組織和職權, 國家政策, 民主體制的過程, 權利與義務; 道德知識: 儒教道德/五倫, 健康/衛生, 合作, 愛國, 個人修養, 其他.

Relations' is actually composed of many different moral virtues. This category includes lessons featuring groupings of classic Confucian values such as the Eight Virtues (*bā dé* 八德) and the Four Social Bonds (*sì wéi* 四維), which are difficult to separate, especially when considering that they are often presented together within a single lesson. However, most of the lessons in this category actually deal with the virtue of filial piety and other Confucian ideas on family relations.

As with the Japanese ethics texts, health and hygiene have also been given their own category. This is because the KMT, like the Japanese colonial administration, also sought to educate people about hygiene and public health issues. The promotion of physical fitness, public health, and hygienic habits were also hallmarks of Chiang Kai-Shek's New Life Movement. As such, investigating the relationship between physical health and being a good citizen can provide some insight into the government's motivation for placing these lessons in the civics texts. Lastly, the 'Other' category includes a scattering of moral values which did not appear often enough in the texts to justify having their own category. It also includes the odd lesson which could not be easily classified due to lack of identifiable political ideologies or moral values.

6.2.1 Political Knowledge

As mentioned in the previous section, civics textbooks contain much more political knowledge than the ethics textbooks used during the Japanese colonial period. On the whole, the lessons dealing with political knowledge are overwhelmingly concerned with teaching students about the KMT's political ideologies. Legitimization of the KMT, promotion of the Three Principles of the People, Sino-centric nationalism, and anti-communist ideology are the major themes that are present throughout the texts. The political indoctrination is extremely heavy. That being said, these ideas and their importance in the texts have been discussed in the literature review and other sections, and therefore the following section will only touch on political ideology as it pertains to moral education. The question at hand is, how do the texts teach how to be a good Chinese citizen and a good person within the context of all these political ideas?

Again, the lessons focusing on political knowledge are by no means just a collection of objective facts about the government and political participation. There is still some moral content which is concealed in these lessons. For instance, many of the lessons on democratic process serve to inculcate obedience, and other lessons on national policy also serve to instill students with patriotic fervor. Thus, the analysis of the following categories will focus more on the hidden curriculum rather than the political ideology or the various lists of facts about the constitution, government structure, etc.

6.2.1.1 Organization/Functions of Government

This category includes lessons which introduce all kinds of information about the constitution, public finance, the structure and responsibilities of the government, etc. There is also quite a bit of emphasis on rule of law and separation of powers between the central governments and regional governments. While the lessons in this category tend to be very dry reading (e.g. long lists of the departments that make up a local government and their functions), many of them also tend to reinforce one or more of three key themes of obedience, patriotism, and the importance of the group over the individual.

Obedience as a value is taught in several ways, and in conjunction with several overt political messages. The first way is through making the student understand that China is built on rule of law, and that the law must be obeyed. The central government though had almost total control over the drafting of laws. Thus, the phrase ‘we must all follow the law’ in actuality means ‘citizens must obey the central government.’ This very narrow definition of obedience reflects the KMT’s monopoly on political power and their symbiotic relationship with the government. These ideas are reflected in the lesson entitled ‘The Nature and Purpose of the Constitution’ which appears in *Civics, Vol. 4 (1950)*. The lesson begins by describing the power of the constitution and how it forms the basis of law in a country. Should ordinary laws come into conflict with any part of the constitution, the constitution always prevails. This is followed by a basic description of the contents of a constitution, along with the statement that it provides a fixed model of

behavior for the people. This is interesting, especially when considering that the constitution simply lays out the rights and duties of citizens, but does not otherwise seek to regulate their behavior. The lesson ends with the follow assertion:

> 「大家都應該有遵重憲法和遵守憲法的精神。這樣纔能成為一個法治的國家，使國家達到富強康樂的地位。」
>
> "Everyone should have the spirit of respect for and obedience to the constitution. Only then can we become a nation of law, and help the country become wealthy, strong, happy, and peaceful."[26]

When taken in context, this message of obedience becomes more apparent. This lesson is followed by two more lessons on the constitution and other national laws. The following lesson entitled 'The Constitution of the Republic of China' begins with a discussion of how the constitution was created by the national assembly of the central government, thus ushering in a period of constitutional law, the last stage described in Sun Yat Sen's three stages of revolution. The words 'the people's national assembly' (*guómín dàhuì* 國民大會) and 'the people's government' (*guómín zhèngfǔ* 國民政府) are also underlined for emphasis, further highlighting their connection to the constitution. One of the discussion questions at the beginning of the chapter also asks who created the constitution. The lesson ends with descriptions of the national assembly and the government as the most powerful sources of political authority and political power, respectively. While on paper the national assembly is elected by the people, it is important to note that elections for members of the national assembly were suspended due to war. Additionally, after the KMT retreated to Taiwan in 1949 these elections were suspended indefinitely for the ostensible reason that the government could not hold elections (because they no longer controlled the mainland). The homework at the end of the chapter also asks students to study the constitution itself. The lesson entitled 'The Constitution of the Republic of China' also appears again in *Civics, Vol. 3 (1959)*. The lesson content is almost exactly

[26] *Civics, Vol. 4 (1950)*, 12.

the same, but there is more emphasis on the Three Principles of the People and their role as the foundation of the constitution, and the word 'government' has been replaced by 'central government' (*zhōngyang zhèngfǔ* 中央政府).

The last of these three lessons entitled 'Obeying the Laws of the Nation' continues to emphasize obedience. It compares the laws of the nation to the rules of the school, which is an environment students are already familiar with (and also an environment which reinforces deference to authority). It also defines different types of laws, such as criminal law. The lesson ends with a reminder to students to be obedient. The last few sentences of the lesson are as follows:

> 「我們既然明白了法律的作用，在學校裏就要遵守校規，在社會上就要遵守國家法律。我們必須隨時隨地檢點自己的行為，不以個人的利益妨害國家的公益，不以個人的自由侵犯別人的自由，然後法律纔容易推行，社會纔課永久保持良好的秩序。」
>
> "Since we now know about the functions of law, in school we must obey the rules of school, and in society were must obey the laws of the nation. We must be careful about our behavior at all times and in all places. We must not allow individual gain to jeopardize the greater good of the nation. We must not allow individual freedom to infringe on the freedom of others. Only then can the law be easily carried out, and society will be able to maintain sound and lasting order."[27]

Another way in which obedience is stressed is by emphasizing hierarchy, both in society and within the government itself. The lessons are organized in a way that emphasizes this fashion. First, students learn about the lower levels of societal organization, such as the *bao-jia* (保甲) system of community policing. This is followed by discussions of local governments, including township, county-level, municipal, and provincial-level governments. Naturally, this progression culminates in lessons concerning the central

[27] *Civics, Vol. 4 (1950)*, 16-17.

government and the relationship between the central government and regional governments. The lesson entitled 'The Relationship Between the Central Government and the Provincial/Muncipal Governments' provides the best example of hierarchy. It begins with a speech on 'The Issue of Strengthening Unification.' The opening of the speech is as follows:

> 「大家要知道，要求我們的國加強盛，第一件緊要的事，就是要全國各地方一致擁護中央政府，不得有任何違背或破壞的舉動。怎樣才可以做到這個地步呢?就是要各省（市）政府切實認清它和中央政府的關係。」
>
> "Everyone must know, in order to make our country powerful and prosperous the most crucial thing is to have the entire country unanimously support the central government. There must not be any kind of action taken that would counter or disrupt this. How to bring about such a situation? It can be done by having each provincial/municipal government clearly understand their relationship with the central government."[28]

This is followed by a list of rules which govern this relationship. However, the relationship is clearly one-sided in favor of the central government. While the lower-level governments are tasked with operating autonomously within their region, their laws cannot contradict the constitution or the laws of the central government. Any laws that do so will be "rendered null without exception."[29] The lesson continues with the statement that lower-level governments must earnestly obey the directives of the central government, and any violation of these directives will result in disciplinary action being taken by the central government. Any resulting punishment must be complied with. While there is quite a bit of discussion about the separation of powers between the central government and regional governments in the civics texts in general, there is no mention of what should happen if the central government infringes on the rights of provincial/municipal governments. The speech ends with the declaration that the country

[28] *Civics, Vol. 3 (1948)*, 11.
[29] *Civics, Vol. 3 (1948)*, 11.

has been unified under the leadership of Chiang Kai-Shek, and that everyone must support him and the central government by strengthening this unification.

Other lessons also regularly feature governments having to answer to or having to get permission from a higher power. For instance, the lesson on organizing the *bao-jia* system states that any activities or elections must be reported to the local government office. The following definitions of regional autonomy from the texts further serve to illustrate the point:

> 「一個地方的公民依照法律的許可，在政府的監督下，組織自治，以處理地方上的公共事務，這叫做地方自治。」
>
> "The citizens of a region, in accordance with the permissions prescribed by law, and under the supervision of the government, organize autonomous groups in order to carry out the public affairs of a region. This is called regional autonomy."[30]
>
> 「地方自治，是地方的公民，在政府監督下，。依法組織團體，制定規章，。選舉職員，來管理本地方的公共事務。」
>
> "Regional autonomy is when the citizens of a region, under the supervision of government and in accordance with the law, form groups, draft regulations, and elect staff to manage the public affairs of the region."[31]

This emphasis on government supervision and obeying the law is clear. It also appears in just about every lesson involving the formation of local organizations. For example, the lesson entitled 'Organization and Operation of Cooperatives' states that the formation of the cooperative is only complete once it has been registered with the relevant managing authorities. The function of the lower levels of government is also always described in the context of carrying out orders of higher-level governments. Naturally then, all levels of

[30] *Civics, Vol. 2 (1948)*, 8.
[31] *Civics Textbook, Vol. 3 (1959)*, 9.

government carry out the will of the central government.

All of this content serves to familiarize schoolchildren with a society that can only function when everyone follows the rules. This doesn't just apply to individuals, but also to governments and public officials. At the time, a republic based on the rule of law was still a relatively new phenomenon in Chinese history, especially in light of the long history of absolute monarchy and officials using power to benefit themselves. Looking back at the Table Q, one can also see that lessons on the organization and functions of government are particularly concentrated in the textbooks published in 1948. During this decade the KMT was primarily concerned with unification of the mainland by employing military and political power. Whatever the case, emphasis on obedience essentially served to legitimize and strengthen the authority of the central government, and in turn, the KMT.

6.2.1.2 State Policy

Lessons on the policies of the KMT state also take up a considerable 15% of lessons in the sample. Like the lessons on the organization and functions of government, many of these lessons simply feature lists of policy goals or tasks that must be carried out. The ideological and moral content though? This lies in the thoughts of Sun Yat-Sen. The texts draw heavily on the Three Principles of the People and other programs of nation-building developed by Sun. The lessons do feature doses of patriotic sentiment as well, which are blended together with Sun's ideologies and policies. While promotion of KMT policies is the focus of these lessons, there are themes of patriotism and Sino-centric nationalism throughout the texts which are particularly noticeable in these lessons.

As mentioned previously, the KMT was heavily invested in the task of nation-building. Cultivating patriotic sentiment among the people and developing the Chinese national consciousness were thus vital to their mission. Considering that Sun's ideas formed the foundation of KMT ideology, it is not surprising at all that they are frequently employed in the texts. In these lessons though, patriotism is narrowly defined as carrying out the

will of Sun Yat-Sen and the Three Principles of the People. In other words, being a good citizen is working to make the Chinese nation and the Chinese people powerful and wealthy, especially vis-à-vis Western countries. This is the stated goal in a number of lessons, and the one entitled 'The Three Principles of the People' exemplifies this. The lesson is basically a list of the Three Principles, their meaning, and the various government policies necessary to carry them out. For instance, the idea of livelihood is connected to government land reform, taxation, and control of private capital. The lesson ends with the following line:

「三民主義實行以後，我們的國家纔能富強，人民纔能安居樂業。」

"Only after the Three Principles of the People are carried can our nation become wealthy and strong, and only then can the people live in peace and work happily."[32]

The lesson entitled 'How to Carry Forward Nationalism' also echoes this sentiment. The lesson is also in list format. The first point discusses how the inherent morality of the Chinese people must be restored, by being loyal to the country, filial to one's parents, etc. The second point discusses restoring traditional Chinese knowledge, such as the Confucian idea that self-cultivation can lead to world peace. This section also mentions various things invented by the Chinese people and their great contribution to the world. The third point advocates studying Western science but using Chinese morality as a foundation. The lesson ends with the following line:

「…幾十年後，中華民族一定可以比外國格外富強康樂，而民族主義也可以發揚光大。」

"…in a few decades, the Chinese people can surely become even wealthier, stronger, and more peaceful and happy than other foreign countries, and the principle of nationalism can be carried out."[33]

[32] *Civics Textbook, Vol. 3 (1959)*, 4.
[33] *Civics, Vol. 2 (1948)*, 13.

While most of the lessons are really just lists of government policies, the purpose of all these policies is clear: strengthen the Chinese nation and people. Other lessons in the 'Patriotism' category, while few in number, also echo this sentiment. The lesson entitled 'Choices and Types of Professions' is a great example. It discusses professions and how to choose one. The lesson begins by providing a definition of a profession:

「凡一個人利用自己的體力，智力，和一切技能，替社會國家，就叫做職業。」

"Every individual uses their physical strength, intelligence, and all of their skills to serve society and the nation. This is called engaging in a profession."[34]

This is followed by a description of how work can bring wealth to one's family and society, and discusses various types of professions. According to the text, there are around 540 types. How to choose one then? Luckily, the textbook provides an answer:

「社會上的職業既然很多，我們究竟做那種職業才好呢? 這就是怎樣擇業的問題。大概說來，擇業時做重要注意的有兩點: 第一，國家的需要。例如 蔣主席在中國之命運中以小學教師，飛行員，鄉社自治員，邊疆屯墾員，工程師五種職業，屬望全國青年，我們將來就業的時候，最好在這五種中選擇一種，作為終身職業，報效國家。」

"Since there are so many different types of professions in society, in the end how do we know which type of job to do? This is the quandary of choosing a profession. Generally speaking, when choosing one's profession there are two points to pay attention to. The first is: the needs of the nation. For example, in *China's Destiny* Chairman Chiang mentions five professions: elementary school teachers, pilots, members of agricultural cooperatives, frontier cultivators, and engineers. In the future when we are looking for work, it would be best to choose from among these

[34] *Civics, Vol. 3 (1948)*, 26.

five, make it our lifelong career, and render service to the nation."[35]

Another way that patriotism appears in the text is through appeals to ethnic nationalism. As has already been noted, descriptions of the glorious achievements of China and the Chinese people appear in several different lessons throughout the sample. A typical example of this appears in the lesson entitled 'Our Nation and People.' The lesson begins with the story of China's political transition, from dictatorship to democracy. This is followed by descriptions of how vast China is, with abundant natural resources and a glorious history, along with the obligatory mention of China's great contribution to the rest of the world. The Chinese people are described as having innate and lofty morals, a strong national consciousness, and the ability to harmoniously unite many different groups under the banner of one nation. The closing statement "From a magnificent people, a magnificent nation is formed" hammers home the point.[36]

These lessons tie in with the lessons on obedience. That is, students are being presented with the idea that following the government's instructions is not only the behavior of a law-abiding citizen, but it will bring China wealth and power and restore it to its rightful place in the world. A patriotic citizen is thus a person who behaves in this way, putting the country before himself.

6.2.1.3 Democratic Process

While in Table Q lessons on democratic process account for more than 7% of lessons, this figure is misleading. This is because the lessons contained in *Civics, Vol. 1 (1948)* and *Civics Textbook, Vol. 1 (1957)* are nearly identical in terms of content. These lessons are quite interesting, if only because the KMT ideological promotion is not so heavy-handed. The lessons teach students about forming organizations, group activities, and democratic meeting procedures and etiquette. In *Civics, Vol. 1 (1948)*, the lesson is told from the point of view of students as they start a club at school. The focus though is not

[35] *Civics, Vol. 3 (1948)*, 27.
[36] *Civics Textbook, Vol. 3 (1959)*, 2.

on what the students do, but how they go about doing it, hence the category label of 'Democratic Process.' These lessons seem to present a microcosm of political theater. However, the focus on discipline and procedure familiarizes students with the rules of the game so to speak, but doesn't teach them what the game is really about, thus reinforcing the idea that a good citizen is an obedient citizen who respects authority.

In the lessons many details are discussed, including rules, the roles of leadership and members, electing group members to said roles, how to conduct a democratic debate, etc. The way the content is presented though emphasizes knowing one's place within the group and adherence to procedure. The following exchange between the teacher and students in *Civics, Vol. 1 (1948)* is a typical example of this:

" 'Since you have a definite purpose, forming a study group at school and doing research together, (letting other students join) is not only possible, but also necessary. I think that you don't need to limit your group to classmates from our grade. You can make public the recruitment of members and allow all classmates who are interested in the natural sciences to join. However, when there are many people it can easily become disorderly, so you must have a sound organization. The people who lead and the people who are being led, both must earnestly take responsibility and work together. Only then can the group develop.' Teacher Hua earnestly advised.

' Teacher Hua, we have already gotten everything organized. Li Hua, Sun Zhong Guo, and Wu Xiu Yun have been elected as council members, and Li Hua is a permanent member of the council. In carrying out all meeting affairs, we have adopted the spirit of the System of Democratic Centralism. Ordinarily we conduct research freely or discuss with each other, but during meetings every member has the opportunity to contribute their opinion. If a majority of members pass a proposal, then it must be carried out and members also must comply with it.'

'Ah, but you still need to pay attention to the issue of group discipline.'

'We have already passed some general rules and a joint pledge which everyone must abide by. There are also specific rules regarding the rights and duties of members.'

'Great! Keep up the good work!' "[37]

From the conversation it is clear that order is one of the primary concerns of the teacher. In addition, having a sound organization is more or less equated to everyone having a role and knowing their place. Roles which carry authority, such as the position of chairman, are also presented. This is a reflection of the KMT power structure, in which the chairman of the party (i.e. Chiang Kai-Shek) is the real authority. Thus the school setting serves as a microcosm of society. In the science club at school the chairman is the authority figure that students can identify with, and in society the chairman of the KMT is the authority figure that citizens identify with. The lesson entitled 'Types of Meetings and Procedures' further emphasizes the importance of authority figures. In this lesson, all of the students hold a meeting, presided over by the chairman, a student named Li Hua, who is described as possessing the best leadership ability. After this brief introduction though, Li Hua is not referred to by name in the lesson. He is only referred to as 'the chairman.' The following passage from the lesson provides an example of how the texts cultivate obedience and respect for authority:

「主席報告完了，接著討論簡章和個同學提出的議案。個同學先後得到主席許可，依次起立發言，秩序一點不紊亂。發言人說明提案，主席立即徵求附議，主席再把提案向大家報告，請大家討論。」

"The chairman finished his speech, and then discussed the general rules and the proposals suggested by each classmate. One after the other each classmate received permission from the chairman, and in succession they stood up and made a statement, and the proceedings were not in the least bit disorderly. After students

[37] *Civics, Vol. 1 (1948)*, 14-15.

> finished explaining their proposals, the chairman immediately called for a second to the motion. If someone seconded the motion, the chairman then again informed everyone about the proposal and called for everyone to discuss it."[38]

In just a few short sentences, the chairman appears several times. Indirectly, this may give students that the idea that democratic process invariably must have a powerful leader who controls proceedings. While the abovementioned lessons are from the 1948 edition of the *Civics* series, the lessons on democratic process in *Civics Textbook, Vol. 1 (1957)* are almost identical in terms of content. The main difference is that the content is not presented in the form of student-teacher dialogue. There are no characters in the lesson, and instead correct meeting procedure is presented in list format. Either way, the conception of democratic process in the texts is slightly distorted. However, this is likely intentional, and the emphasis on obedience and respect for authority makes it clear how the KMT expected good citizens to engage in politics.

6.2.1.4 Rights and Duties

The lessons on rights and duties are perhaps the most straightforward, and unsurprisingly they serve to educate students about their rights and duties as citizens. In keeping with the other themes in the texts, there is more emphasis on duties than rights. The rights of citizens such as voting rights, powers of referendum, recall, etc. granted by the constitution are also discussed. However, these topics are not presented in detail, and in general more attention is paid to responsibilities of citizens. A famous quotation by Sun Yat-Sen is also used several times to emphasize responsibility and duty. Sun said, "Serving others is the purpose of life."[39] But the meaning of service, and who is being served, is open to interpretation. In the context of civics lessons though, service means serving society and the country by paying taxes, serving in the military, etc.

As with the Japanese ethics texts, there is little differentiation between responsibility and

[38] *Civics, Vol. 1 (1948)*, 19.
[39] *Civics, Vol. 1 (1948)*, 23.

duty. Citizens have both a legal and moral obligation to complete these duties. Even the exercise of political rights is portrayed as a responsibility. The lesson from *Civics, Vol. 4 (1950)* entitled 'The Relationship Between the People and the State' provides a list of the rights and duties of citizens. The lesson begins by emphasizing the close relationship between people and the state, saying that people cannot leave the nation and survive on their own. This is followed by a list of six types of rights guaranteed by law, including freedom (freedom of speech, freedom of the press, etc.), equality, survival (right to work, hold assets, etc.), appeal (the right to sue and solve disputes through law), political participation, and the right to take civil service examinations. Four duties are also listed, including obeying the law, paying taxes, military service, and compulsory education. By itself, this lesson is not biased one way or the other. Looking at the subsequent lessons in the same text though (with titles such as: 'Obeying the Laws of the Nation,' 'Our Nation's Military Service,' 'Our Nation's Military System,' and 'Our Nation's Responsibility to the Rest of the World') the emphasis on responsibility and duty becomes more apparent.

There is also a trend of increasing emphasis over the years on the duties of a citizen. The lesson entitled 'The Rights and Duties of the People' from *Civics Textbook, Vol. 3 (1959)* also lists out a citizen's rights and duties. However, duties are now presented before rights and are given more detail, the text emphasizes citizens' obligations to the nation (and not vice-versa), and the language is more commanding. An excerpt from the lesson is as follows:

「人民對於，有應盡的義務，也有應享的權利。應盡的義務，不能避免，應享的權利，也不要放棄。我國憲法第二章規定人民的權利和義務，分條例舉，很未詳盡。全國人民，應當切實遵行。」

"With regard to the nation, the people have duties and rights. Their duties cannot be avoided, and their rights also cannot be abandoned. Article 2 of our nation's constitution stipulates the rights and duties of the people, and each ordinance is

detailed and thorough. All the people of our nation should earnestly obey (them).”[40]

From these types of lessons then, children learn about the moral value of responsibility. Obeying the law, paying taxes, serving in the military, and going to school are all portrayed as the behaviors of responsible citizens. Other aspects such as social responsibility or other moral obligations are largely neglected, which only serves to further highlight the politicization of responsibility.

6.2.2 Moral Knowledge

While the majority of civics lessons are devoted to political knowledge, there are still many lessons that deal with the family, healthy habits, personal morals, and other topics that are not heavily politicized. Even in these lessons though, political ideology never disappears entirely. In addition, as has already been observed, many of these morals serve the greater political agenda of the KMT. While there are exceptions, not much attention is given to any single value. Rather, there is more focus on restoring and exhibiting the innate morality of the Chinese people. This innate morality is for the most part a collection of Confucian values. The following section will examine how various moral values are presented and the implications thereof.

6.2.2.1 Confucian Morals/Family Relations

For the sake of convenience, the various Confucian virtues and ideas on family relations have been grouped together. This is mostly because they are often presented together in the texts. For instance, several lessons discuss groupings of moral values drawn from the Confucian classics, such as the Eight Virtues (*bā dé* 八德) and the Four Social Bonds (*sì wéi* 四維). The one moral virtue that stands out though is filial piety. Of the many lessons throughout the texts that are about the family, the majority of them promote filial piety either directly or indirectly. The lesson entitled ‘Organization of the Household’ in *Civics*

[40] *Civics Textbook, Vol. 3 (1959)*, 7-8.

Textbook, Vol. 1 (1958) is a typical example. The lesson begins by stating that in general there are three types of families. The first is the 'large' family, which includes grandparents and extended family all living together. The second is the 'small' family, perhaps better known as the nuclear family, consisting of only parents and children. The third is the 'medium-size' family, which is described as follows:

「這種家庭是祖父母，父母，子女，等同居，成年的伯叔和兄姊都分別獨立生活。伯叔多的，祖父母可以任選一家同住，也可以由各家輪流奉養。這種形式的家庭，在鄉村城市都很適宜。對於父母能盡孝道，兄弟間也不至養成依賴習慣，所以比較前兩種家庭，就有更多的優點。」

"In this type of family grandparents, parents, and children all live together while adult aunts and uncles have their own separate lives. If a family has many uncles, grandparents can choose one family to live with or each family can take turns caring for them. This type of family is suitable for both the countryside as well as the city. Children will be able to be filial to their grandparents and won't cultivate habits of dependency, so when compared to the previous two types of families, (this type of family) has the most advantages."[41]

Filial piety aside, this passage is also representative of support for the traditional family structure which appears in lessons throughout all of the textbooks, regardless of publication year. The family model of three generations living under one roof (*sāndài tóngtáng* 三代同堂) is presented as the ideal family because it enables people to carry out their filial duty. This is in spite of the fact that trends of urbanization and industrialization in Taiwan would have been accompanied by the appearance of more and more 'small' families.

Another lesson entitled 'Everyone's Place in the Family and Their Responsibilities' also emphasizes filial piety and also gives schoolchildren examples of model behavior. The

[41] *Civics Textbook, Vol. 1 (1958)*, 7.

lesson features a teacher correcting his students' diaries. In the first diary, the student goes home after school and helps mom and dad with housework. In the words of the student: "I think sweeping the yard and doing other tasks is so much fun."[42] In the second diary another student laments that he cannot help his parents with heavy work, but even so he can still do tasks like help his parents watch over his little sister. The third diary ends with the question "As sons and daughters, how can we fulfill our filial duties to our parents?"[43] The teacher comments on this last diary, saying that being filial involves going to school and studying, and helping one's parents at home and obeying their wishes.

As for other Confucian virtues, they are typically presented in clusters. The lesson entitled 'Professional Morals' is a good example. It simply features a numbered list of ten virtues that one should have when engaging in a profession. These virtues include loyalty, responsibility, frugality, obedience, trust, etc. Other lessons such as the one entitled 'The Meaning and Purpose of the New Life' are concerned with propriety, justice, integrity, and honor (*lǐyìliánchǐ* 禮義廉恥) These virtues, also known as the Four Social Bonds, are described in the texts as innate characteristics of the Chinese people. The lesson in question uses Chiang Kai-Shek's New Life Movement ideology to explain how to incorporate these virtues into everyday life. For instance, being filial and disciplined are examples of propriety, and protecting the country is an example of honorable behavior. All in all though, these virtues are flexible enough that they can be employed by the KMT state to promote certain patterns of behavior. As the supposed custodian of Chinese culture, the KMT government was in a good position to use Confucian morality to support state goals. In this case, filial piety and family relations are used to show children that being a good citizen starts with obedience in the home.

6.2.2.2 Health/Hygiene

Unlike lessons on health and hygiene in the Japanese texts, which focus on public health

[42] *Civics, Vol. 1 (1948)*, 6-7.
[43] *Civics, Vol. 1 (1948)*, 7.

issues, their counterparts in the civics texts focus more on individual health and healthy habits. Lessons in this category either stress the importance of physical health in general or reflect the influence of Chiang Kai-Shek's New Life Movement. With regard to physical health, a key idea that is often repeated in the texts is that a strong body is necessary to be a good citizen. Without a strong body, one cannot attend school, engage in an occupation, and ultimately cannot help serve the country. So, in a sort of roundabout way, maintaining a strong body is one way to be a patriotic citizen. The lessons classified under 'Self-Cultivation' also echo this theme. While it goes unsaid in the texts, physical fitness was also an aspect of the KMT's efforts to introduce more martial training into schools.

The lessons about New Life Movement ideas are focused on the cultivation of specific healthy habits and stamping out certain undesirable habits. Strict regulation of individual behavior was one of the hallmarks of the New Life Movement, and likely one of the reasons why it failed so spectacularly. Despite having failed only a few years after its introduction in China though, Chiang Kai-Shek's personal ideologies still manage to find their way into textbooks published even as late as 1957. The lesson entitled 'Putting the New Life Into Practice' from *Civics Textbook, Vol. 1 (1957)* provides a list of dos and don'ts for students. An excerpt from the lesson is as follows:

「一，食－我們吃飯，要有一定的時間，和一定的分量，食物、食具和餐廳要保持清潔；吃的時候，不說話，要安靜，要坐端正，不亂拋飯屑和肉骨、魚刺。二，衣－我們的衣服，要簡單樸素，整齊清潔，材料要用國貨，不必過於華麗。三，住－我們的宿舍，要陽光充足，空氣流通；用具要簡單；廚房廁所要打掃清潔；注意公共衛生，與鄰居相處要和好，遇有疾病，要互相扶助。四，行－我們走路，態度要穩重，腳步要輕快，胸部要挺起，兩眼平視，要靠右邊走；不隨處便溺不任意吐痰，遇見老師尊長要行禮；進出禮堂和教室要遵守秩序，不爭先恐後。」

"1, Eating: When we eat, we must have set mealtimes and set amounts of food. We

must keep food, utensils, and the cafeteria clean. When we eat, we must not talk and must eat quietly, sit upright in our seats, and not randomly toss scraps of food or bones. 2, Clothing: Our clothing must be simple and plain, neat and clean. The material must be of Chinese manufacture, and must not be overly luxurious. 3, Living: Our dormitories must be well-lit and well-ventilated. Utensils must be simple, and we must sweep and clean the kitchen and bathroom. We must pay attention to public hygiene and get along with our neighbors. If someone is sick we must cooperate and help each other. 4, Conduct: When we walk our attitude must be modest, our pace must be brisk, our chest must be out, and our eyes should be facing straight ahead. We must keep to the right when walking, and must not urinate or spit whenever and wherever we feel like it. When we see teachers or elders we must bow, and when entering the auditorium or classroom we must be orderly and not rush to get ahead of others."[44]

Interestingly, the healthy and hygienic habits that appear in the passage are never really explained. Why must things be kept clean? Why must rooms be ventilated? As they are presented, it seems like such habits are simply just good manners. Rather than any reference to public health concerns, these habits are equated with other habits such as keeping to the right when walking. Other lessons mention bad habits such as gambling, smoking, superstition, spending money on lavish weddings and funerals (which in the past had driven many poor families into debt), etc. However, all in all there seems to be more focus on controlling and regulating behavior than really making an effort to promote public health concepts and otherwise improve society.

6.2.2.3 Other Virtues

The other virtues listed in Table Q and the remaining lessons classified under the 'Other' category will only be briefly covered here. This is because they either appear too infrequently to warrant much discussion and/or they exhibit the same characteristics as other lessons which have already been described above.

[44] *Civics Textbook, Vol. 1 (1957)*, 8.

The virtue of cooperation is typically presented within lessons about the family, neighbors, or group activities. The formation of groups, such as societies or governments, naturally calls for cooperation among members. The texts note that in early human history this was for survival, but now cooperation is deemed necessary in order to make the nation wealthy and strong. Considering the other themes presented in the texts, it is not too difficult to imagine how cooperation might be presented. Perhaps the most important takeaway though is that the group (be it family, society, or nation) is more important than the individual, and individuals must make sacrifices for the group.

Other lessons in the 'Other' category also sporadically feature moral values such as diligence, frugality, and obedience. There is really not a terrible amount of variety though. Somewhat surprisingly, there are also a few lessons that don't seem to contain either moral or political values. For instance, there are a few lessons on the development of society which discuss mankind's transition from hunting and gathering societies to industrialized ones. This sort of lesson may provide tacit support for the KMT's industrialization policy, but considering the heavy-handed way in which most other political ideas are presented, this is unlikely. All in all, moral values, where they are presented in the civics texts, are tied to specific political ideologies. Aside from a few traditional Confucian values such as filial piety, most moral values are intertwined with KMT ideologies, such as promotion of a Chinese identity, the Three Principles of the People, and anti-communist sentiment.

6.3 Portrayal of Groups

As mentioned previously, the way groups are portrayed in the textbooks is an important part of the hidden curriculum, and in a way it is a reflection of society. More accurately, it is a reflection of the government's vision of society, and the inclusion or omission of various groups does send subtle cues about how schoolchildren should think. For instance, for many decades after WWII Taiwanese textbooks only featured ethnic Chinese characters. This particular example is part of the deliberate attempt by the government to

strengthen Taiwan's connection to China and cultivate a Sino-centric national identity. While this is one of the more obvious examples, portrayal of different genders, professions, and other groups in society are all part of a carefully designed national curriculum. Thus, analysis of the portrayal of these groups can help to identify the more subtle messages being transmitted through the civics texts. As with the Japanese texts, the following section will analyze the depictions of ethnicity, gender, the family, occupations, and other groups.

6.3.1 Ethnic Groups

Since large numbers of Chinese settlers first began immigrating to Taiwan several hundred years ago, ethnic Chinese have made up the majority of the Taiwanese population. Even today, aboriginals and other groups account for only a small percentage of the population. That being said, as an ethnically homogenous nation, the portrayal of ethnic groups is not nearly as sensitive as it is in other nations like the United States. Yet, at the same time the topic of Taiwanese identity has received much scholarly attention, which is largely due to Taiwan's unique political situation and history of being ruled by foreign regimes. In the civics texts the Chinese are the only ethnic group featured, and this is just one facet of the KMT's efforts to stamp out Japanese influence and promote an ethnic Chinese national identity in Taiwan.

For the most part, the texts assume that everyone is Chinese. Lessons use wording that reinforces this, such as, "We Chinese..." (*wǒmen zhōngguórén* 我們中國人…) or "Our China…" (*wǒmen zhōngguó* 我們中國). No other ethnic groups are ever even mentioned in the texts. Foreign countries such as England and the United States are mentioned, but only with regard to their science and technology, which should be adopted by China. Taiwan is only mentioned once or twice throughout all of the texts and even then it is only referred to in passing as Taiwan Province (*táiwānshěng* 台灣省). For the most part, portrayal of the Chinese people is done in a passive way. All of the characters and historical and political figures, as well as the various settings and place names in the text are all Chinese. Several of the characters in the *Civics* series from 1948 have a Chinese

character in their name (*huá* 華) which is typically used as an abbreviation for China and Chinese culture. There are also a few lessons which openly promote the greatness of the Chinese people. These lessons typically discuss how the Chinese people possess innate morality, have a strong sense of national identity, and have contributed much to the rest of the world in terms of culture and various inventions. One would think that if the Chinese people really possessed such a strong sense of national identity, there wouldn't be much of a need for the constant reinforcement of said identity.

Interestingly, for all the emphasis on Chinese national identity and references to China's glorious history, there are no illustrations of anyone wearing Chinese garb. While there are few illustrations in general, all of them without exception feature individuals dressed in Western clothing. The adoption of Western dress in the early republican period not only became a symbol of the new nationalism, but was also associated with modernity. All in all, the omission of all other ethnic groups and positive portrayal of the Chinese people demonstrate the KMT's single-minded focus on the promotion of the Chinese national identity.

6.3.2 Gender

China and Taiwan both underwent massive social, political, and economic changes over the course of the 20th century. For women, life improved in a number of ways. Eradication of practices such as foot binding, trends of urbanization and industrialization, and compulsory schooling for all children allowed girls more opportunities to develop and participate in society. That being said, China's deeply patriarchal culture did not change overnight. The following sentence from the text exemplifies this:

「我們中國對於家庭道德，一向是很重視的，認為應當做到：父(母)慈善、子(女)孝、兄(姊)友第(妹)恭。」

"Our China has always placed importance on the virtues of the family, and it is believed that one should be a benevolent father (mother) and filial son (daughter),

and to show love and respect as good brothers (sisters) should."[45]

The Chinese text in this passage contains idioms pulled from the Confucian classics, and the original idioms do not mention female relationships. The characters for mother, daughter, and sister have been added in parentheses almost as an afterthought. Ultimately though, the almost total absence of female characters in the textbooks to some extent reflects society and the KMT's views of women's participation in political life.

The *Civics* series of texts from 1948 presents lessons from the perspective of students, several of which are given names and appear many times throughout the texts. The only female character in these texts, named Zhou Ai-Juan (周愛娟), is simply described as being the youngest in the class. There is little else in the way of character development, and she does not appear in the lessons or contribute to the class as often as the other characters. Besides students, most of the other characters that appear in the lessons are male authority figures, such as the teacher, school principal, and various government officials. Where there are illustrations that feature female students or citizens, they are usually in the minority and in the background.

Civics texts are intended to teach students about government and political life, among other things. That girls are largely absent from the texts provides some idea as to the minimal role they were expected to play in political affairs. Like the Japanese texts, the only real female authority figure in the textbooks is that of the mother. However, the mother's authority is essentially limited to taking care of the home and raising children. The lesson entitled 'Work Within the Family' is just one example of the promotion of traditional gender roles. The lesson describes types of work found within a family. An excerpt from the lesson is as follows:

「一，主要的職業－每一個家庭都要有一種主要的職業，使經濟收入，課以維持生活費用。職業種有的是農，有的是工，有的是商，也有的是軍公教育和其

[45] *Civics Textbook, Vol. 1 (1958)*, 11.

他自由職業人員。這些工作，多半是由父親去擔任。二，日常的家務－家庭的日常家務是很多的，一般說來，可分為飲食、衣服、居住、保育兒女和家庭副業等項。這些工作多半是由母親來料理。」

"1, Main Occupation: Every family must have a main occupation, which can earn income and cover living costs. Some occupations are agricultural, some are industrial, and some are commercial. Some are in the military, education, and public service sectors, or are freelance. It is mostly fathers who will take charge of these jobs. 2, Everyday Household Duties: There are many everyday household tasks. In general, they can be divided into food and drink, clothing, housing, childcare, and side businesses, etc. It is mostly mothers who handle these tasks."[46]

While not outright discouraging women from working outside the home, the textbooks present a model family in which women do not do so. Also, the mother's role within the family is really the only important female role featured in the lessons. This aspect of gender will be discussed further in the following section.

6.3.3 Family

The family is one of the social units in the texts which receive a great deal of attention, and the household is one of the most common social settings that appear throughout the texts. Confucian ideas regarding family relationships have strongly influenced how the family unit is portrayed in the texts. More specifically, many of the lessons pertaining to family relationships emphasize the importance of everyone knowing their role. For schoolchildren then, their roles are largely dictated by the virtue of filial piety. Lessons which feature students as main characters typically show them either at home or at school, and all social life seems to revolve around one or the other. The children in the lessons all exhibit ideal behavior. They are diligent at school, and are often shown studying on the weekends or going to the library to read up on some political documents.

[46] *Civics Textbook, Vol. 1 (1958)*, 9-10.

At home they play the roles of filial children, helping out with housework or watching their younger siblings. Parents (mostly fathers) are also portrayed as role models by providing advice, caring for their children, and in general constantly making sacrifices for them. This portrayal of the family further reinforces the theme of filial piety.

The roles of family members are also divided up according to gender. Fathers work outside the home, and mothers take care of the family. While the texts do not explicitly say that girls do not have a part to play in politics, it is implied that being a mother is the most important role that they have. Chinese tradition is also used to support this view. For instance, the ancient philosopher Mencius' (孟子) mother and her search for the ideal environment in which to raise children (*mèngmǔ sānqiān* 孟母三遷) is mentioned as an example of a female role model.

While the family is an economic unit as well as a social unit, far more attention is given to social aspects. A prime example of this is the fact that large families and extended families are described as being objectively better. This is because family members will then be able to carry out their roles as filial sons and daughters. With regard to family types, only large, medium-size, and small families are ever mentioned. There is no mention at all of other family structures, such as single-parent families. In addition, there is not even a hint of the possibility that one's family might not be a positive and happy environment. Problems that affect families like domestic violence, serious illnesses, alcoholism, gambling, etc. are never mentioned. In the texts it is generally taken as an objective truth that children owe parents a great debt and must be obedient.

6.3.4 Occupations

Compared with the Japanese texts, there is significantly less variety in terms of the professions that appear in the lessons. This is largely due to the fact that the formats of the civics and ethics texts are quite different. The civics texts have fewer characters in general simply because most of the lessons are just presented as lists of facts and rules. Only the *Civics* series from 1948 contains characters which appear regularly. However,

even accounting for this, there is still very little variety in terms of occupations presented. Aside from students, the only professions which are featured in the texts are teachers and government officials. Military service is also featured, but to a lesser extent.

First, it is helpful to see how the government viewed work in general. The lesson entitled 'Choices and Types of Professions' is one of the only lessons that directly deals with the topic of work. An excerpt from the lesson is as follows:

> 「職業的種類很多，根據本所調查，大約有五百四十多種，實際上也許更多，社會的各種組織既然天天變化，職業的種類自然也天天增加，很難畫分清楚，現在大概分為農業、工業、商業、家事、藝術、醫藥、教師、公職、個人服務等九種。此外凡遊手好閒、不做工作的人，都可以說是沒有職業的人，最為可恥。」
>
> "There are many different types of professions. According to our (professional guidance center) study, there are more than 540 types, and in actuality there are maybe even more. Since society is changing rapidly, it is only natural that different types of professions are also being created, and it is difficult to clearly divide them up. At present, professions can generally be divided into 9 different types, including agriculture, industry, commerce, housework, arts, medicine, education, public service, and other personal services. In addition, there are those who just idle about and do not work. These people can be said to not have a profession, and this is most shameful."[47]

In keeping with the format of the rest of the lessons, this one also simply lists out types of professions. In other lessons there are sporadic references to agricultural, industrial, and commercial occupations. These three groupings are likely taken from the four traditional occupations of ancient China (*shìnónggōngshāng* 士農工商). Notably, the fourth occupation of gentry-scholar is not mentioned, even though the modern government

[47] *Civics, Vol. 3 (1948)*, 26-27.

bureaucrat essentially occupies this position. The lesson continues by telling students that when choosing an occupation they must first take into account the needs of the country. From this, it is evident that work is for the purpose of serving the country, and that not having a profession is the equivalent of not being productive and patriotic, which is shameful.

Similar to the social hierarchy of occupations in ancient China, there is also a fairly clear hierarchy of occupations in the texts. Naturally, students are first introduced to this hierarchy in the form of student-teacher interactions. In the 1948 series of texts, the character Teacher Hua (華老師) is the main authority figure. He guides and directs discussion, and has the answers to every question. The students are always portrayed as agreeing with him or stating that his advice and ideas are very good. Another small detail which further emphasizes the authority of teachers lies in the homework section at the end of each lesson. A great many of these homework assignments are followed by a statement in parentheses which says to follow the teacher's advice or instructions (*yóu jiàoshī fǔdǎo* 由教師輔導). Essentially, in the civics texts teachers are presented as authority figures, and are not portrayed as scholars or as having a career that students might aspire to.

While teachers are portrayed as authority figures, they are not at the top of the social hierarchy of occupations. Above them are the various government officials, including county governors, heads of township governments, and other directors of various government departments. When featured as characters, both teachers and students are portrayed as being deferent to them through actions such as bowing or using polite language. The importance of officials is also emphasized by the fact that more content is devoted to descriptions of different positions in government and their roles than anything else. Like teachers though, government officials are also essentially portrayed as authority figures. However, unlike teachers their authority extends beyond the school to the realm of politics and law. This hierarchy among occupations and cultivation of respect for authority is a reflection of the hierarchy in society, in which lower government branches answer to higher ones, with the central government at the top.

Additionally, the government and the people are portrayed as distinct and separate entities. The idea of a 'government of the people, by the people, for the people' is one familiar to most Americans. The phrase, pulled from Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, refers to American representative democracy. This idea also heavily influenced the thinking of Sun Yat-Sen. However, in the civics texts the government is never really described as being made up of 'the people.' That people form governments is a fact that is never mentioned. The government as an entity is portrayed as a creation of Sun Yat-Sen, and it also seems to know what is best for the nation. The lesson entitled 'Popular Sovereignty and the Power of Government' provides an example of this in the form of a story about Sun Yat-Sen and a taxi driver in Shanghai. Sun is in a hurry to meet a friend, and the taxi driver speeds off along back roads that Sun is unfamiliar with. Sun is upset because he thinks the taxi driver is purposefully taking a longer route, however they arrive at the destination with time to spare. The relationship between passenger and driver is equated to the people and the government, respectively. While it makes for a good story, in reality the relationship between passenger and driver is not a relationship between two equals. The real power rests with the driver, or government.

Military service is the last occupation that appears in the civics texts. Military service is typically presented as one of the duties of citizens, which doesn't exactly make it sound enticing as an occupation. However, there are appeals to honor, glory, and patriotism. The following excerpt from the lesson entitled 'Our Nation's Military Service' provides a good example:

「我們對於兵役的態度：服兵役是國民應盡的義務，也是最光榮的一件事。我們應該努力鍛鍊身體，充實軍事知識，準備到達兵役年齡時，奮勇去當兵，忠誠衛國，以盡國民的天職。」

"Our Attitude Towards Military Service: Serving in the military is one of the duties that citizens must carry out, and it is also the most glorious. We should endeavor to train our bodies and enrich our knowledge of military affairs to prepare for when we

come of age to serve in the military. At that time we must be resolute and serve in the army, devote ourselves to defending the country, and make these tasks our mission in life."[48]

This and several other lessons which cover military service for the most part present soldiering as a patriotic duty, and not an occupation. With nationwide conscription already in effect, students had no choice in the matter anyway. It is important to note as well that unlike in the Japanese texts, members of the military are not featured as authority figures or moral exemplars. Perhaps the only exception to this is Chiang Kai-Shek, but he is usually referred to by the title of chairman and not by military rank. Ultimately though, civics lessons focus on a select few occupations in order to instill in children obedience, respect for authority, patriotism, and duty.

[48] *Civics, Vol. 4 (1950)*, 19.

7. Discussion

Drawing on the data gleaned from the previous two sections, this section will identify and discuss the similarities and differences between the two sets of texts. The focus will be on comparing and contrasting main ideas and broad themes, in order to trace continuity and change in moral education over time and across different regimes. Similar to the analysis section, this section will also be divided into several subsections. The first two sections will be concerned with general presentation of ideas within the texts, including narrative structure, use of illustrations, etc. The third section will cover moral values, political ideologies, and other related concepts. The fourth section will discuss the portrayal of groups in the texts and the implications thereof, and the last section will address the theme of group identity.

7.1 Presentation

One of the most glaring differences between the two sets of texts is the actual format of the textbook. In the Japanese texts, there is far more variety in terms of lesson formatting. The majority of lessons from the Japanese ethics texts can be classified under one of two different categories based on their format and narrative style. The first category is the authoritative lessons. These types of lessons are the most common, and they for the most part simply impart information in a matter-of-fact way. Ideas and opinions, even when obviously biased, are presented as objective facts. The following excerpt from the lesson entitled ‘Hobbies’ is just one of many such examples:

「讀書はゐながら古今東西の事柄を知ることが出來、又まのあたり偉い人の尊い教訓や發明の苦心などを聞くことが出來ます。その上讀書はいつどこででも出來るのですから最もよい趣味です。」

> "Through reading one can learn about things from different ages and different countries without even leaving one's chair. Also, one can personally learn about the valuable teachings, ingenuity, and diligence of great men. Furthermore, because one can read books anywhere and at any time, reading is the best hobby."[49]

While advocating reading is not really a bad thing at all, this example highlights how certain ideas are presented. The lesson on occupations makes similar claims that some jobs are better than others without really explaining why. These authoritative lessons not only present ideas as irrefutable facts, but also use commanding language. Orders, commands, imperative wording, reminders of personal responsibility and duty, and pressure to conform are all present in these lessons. Students are often reminded that they need to, must, or should behave in a certain way. In addition, they are taught that everyone behaves in a certain way, and therefore they must as well. Conversely, they are also taught that if they do bad things or do not behave as they should, then they will bring shame on themselves and their families, and/or bring harm to the country and society. The authoritative lessons, through their tone and wording, make it clear to students which kinds of behavior are acceptable and which kinds are not. They also leave little room for discussion and debate, thus reinforcing obedience. The heavy bias and presentation of certain ideas as fact also present students with a distorted picture of reality.

The second category is the allegorical lessons. These lessons more or less read like parables, and teach moral values and ethical behavior through storytelling. While not as numerous as the authoritative lessons, these types of lessons are not few in number. They appear in every textbook and on average account for at least one-third of all lessons. While there are some folktales, especially in the textbooks intended for younger children, most of these stories feature characters from ancient and modern Japanese history. In the texts published in the 1940s there are also several lessons which are told from the perspective of the narrator, who is a student. These lessons still present examples of moral behavior, but the setting is Taiwan and all of the other characters are people that Taiwanese schoolchildren might encounter in their everyday life, such as parents,

[49] *Common School Ethics, Vol. 6 (1930),* 27.

grandparents, teachers, and other students. Overall, there is quite a wide array of characters, from mythical emperors and warriors of old to kindly neighbors and elderly grandfathers. The allegorical lessons are perhaps the most engaging and interesting of all the lessons in the textbooks. All over the world stories have been used to teach morals and pass on knowledge. Parables in Western religions, Aesop's fables, and classical Chinese tales are just a few of countless examples. Thus, it is not surprising at all that the Japanese texts make use of stories to transmit moral values and other ideas.

On the contrary, the Chinese civics texts only contain authoritative lessons, and in terms of presentation they are even more commanding than their Japanese counterparts. There is one noteworthy difference though between the texts published in 1948 and those published afterwards, and this lies in the use of characters. The *Civics* series from 1948 features several main characters that are featured consistently throughout each of the three texts. These characters are for the most part students, parents, teachers, school administrators, or government officials. These lessons seem to try and engage with students by using everyday characters and settings, but the dialogue and character development are lacking. The conversations between teachers, students, and government officials are too scripted and dogmatic to be believable. The following excerpts show how the same lesson looks with characters added in (i.e. in 1948) and without them (i.e. in the 1950s).

With characters:

「孫忠國說：我家裏的人很多，有祖父、祖母、父親、母親、伯父、伯母，還有兩個堂兄、一個妹妹，大家團聚在一起，做起事來，互相幫助，非常親熱；不國有時也會因著一點小事，起了爭執，影響家庭的快樂。趙勤點點頭。你的家庭呢？孫忠國反問著。趙勤說：我家裏的人很少，只有父親、母親和一個小的弟弟，雖然沒有爭執，但是一切工作，都靠父親和母親去做，沒有人幫忙。」

"Sun Zhong Guo said, 'There are many people in my family, including my grandpa

and grandma, father and mother, uncle and aunt, two cousins, and a little sister. Everyone comes together to get things done and helps each other out, and the atmosphere is very warm and friendly. However sometimes one small thing causes arguments and it affects the whole family.' Zhao Qin nods. 'What about your family?' asks Sun Zhong Guo. Zhao Qin says, 'There are very few people in my family. There is only dad, mom, and my little brother. While we don't have arguments, we have to depend on dad and mom to do all the work, and there is no one to help.' "[50]

Without characters:

「大家庭的人很多，有祖父、祖母、父親、母親、伯叔父母，還有堂兄弟、堂姊妹等，大家團聚在一起，非常親熱，做起事來，互相幫助，更能表現很大的力量；不過容易養成依賴性，各人不求進取，有時也會為著一點小事，發生爭執，影響家庭的快樂。小家庭的人很少，只有父親、母親和未成年的兄弟姊妹。雖能和樂相處，沒有爭執，但是一切工作，都靠父親和母親去做，沒有人幫忙。」

"Large families have many people, including grandfathers and grandmothers, fathers and mothers, uncles and aunts, as well as cousins, etc. When everyone comes together the atmosphere is very warm and friendly, and when they help each other out they can get much more done. However, it is easy for everyone to cultivate habits of dependency and lose ambition. Sometimes one small thing causes arguments and it affects the whole family. Small families do not have very many people. They only have fathers, mothers, and young brothers or sisters. While everyone gets along and there are no arguments, with no one else to help the family must depend on fathers and mothers to do all of the work."[51]

The characters from the 1948 series of texts also lack depth. As mentioned previously, the

[50] *Civics, Vol. 1 (1948)*, 3.
[51] *Civics Textbook, Vol. 1 (1957)*, 2-3.

schoolchildren all exhibit model behavior, which means they behave exactly as good children and citizens are expected to behave. They are typically shown studying or helping out with chores at home. They also in general are very enthusiastic and show great interest in exciting topics such as the grain management, the organization of municipal governments, and operation of agricultural cooperatives. In short, they don't really behave like children. It is likely that these characters were phased out in later editions of the texts simply because they were so unbelievable.

The only other figures that are featured with any regularly in the rest of the civics texts are Chiang Kai-Shek and Sun Yat-Sen. Sun's popularity was already well-established by the end of WWII, and his ideas are central to KMT ideology and policy. Thus, it is not surprising that Sun, who is always referred to in the textbooks as the father of the nation (*guófù* 國父), is a recurring character. Chiang Kai-Shek, while not nearly as popular as Sun, worked to create an image of himself as Sun's protégé and was steadily forming his own personality cult. Ultimately though, the appearance of Sun and Chiang in the texts further serves to lend legitimacy to the KMT's organization and ideas, in addition to cultivating respect for their leaders. In this way, the civics texts are remarkably similar to their Japanese counterparts. The Japanese ethics texts also made use of political and military figures such as the Meiji emperor and general Nogi Maresuke in order to cultivate respect, loyalty, and obedience to the Japanese imperial institution.

With regard to presentation, the last major characteristic of the Chinese civics texts is that the lessons are very much geared towards standardized testing and rote memorization. Every lesson begins with a set of focus questions or discussion questions which essentially identify the main points of the lesson and tell the student what to read for. The following are examples of the discussion questions from the lesson entitled 'Organization of the Family' in *Civics Textbook, Vol. 1 (1958)*:

"1. How many different types of family organization are there?

2. Which type of family has the most advantages?"[52]

Sure enough, the lesson always provides the answer to these questions, and usually in a very obvious way. Sometimes, the questions are simply rephrased as declarative statements. Also, at the end of every lesson are homework assignments and/or review questions. The homework and review questions just reinforce the point of the lesson. For instance, the homework for the lesson just mentioned above is as follows:

"1. Individually present the organizational structure of everyone's family.
2. Write down the advantages and disadvantages of large and small families."[53]

Also, the civics lessons are filled with lists. There are lists of rules to obey, lists of rights and duties, lists of government functions, lists of policy goals, etc. Even the list of lists is exhaustive. The discussion questions, homework, and extensive use of numbered lists in the lessons all point to emphasis on rote memorization and testing. This is a very different approach from those used in the Japanese texts, and it is also one of the reasons why the civics texts are so difficult to engage with.

7.2 Illustrations

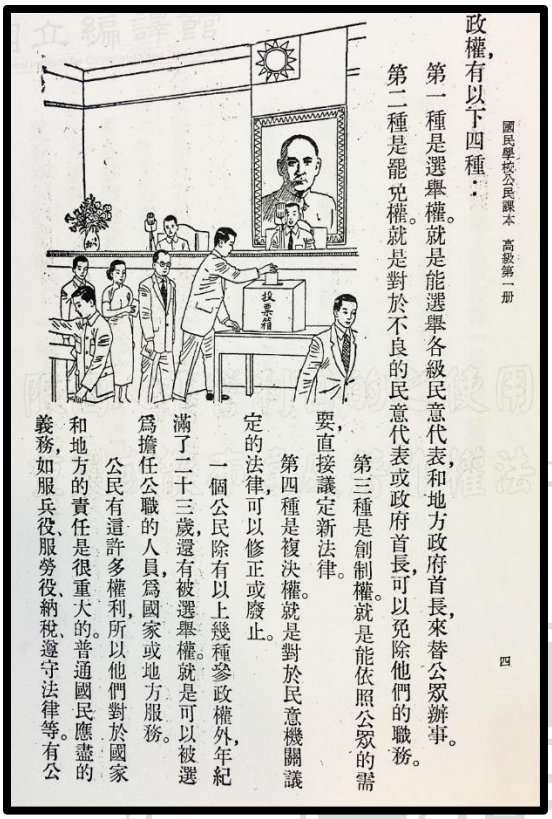
Another major difference with regard to presentation of material lies in the use of illustrations. Again, the Japanese texts not only feature far more illustrations than their Chinese counterparts, but there is more variety overall in terms of illustrated content. In the Japanese ethics texts, the great majority of illustrations are featured in the texts for younger children. These lessons typically feature illustrations alone or with small amounts of text, and are meant to be accompanied by lectures found in the teachers' manuals. Pictures, especially the colored illustrations of school life which appear in the texts published in the 1940s, would naturally help to engage younger children and help them to visualize the moral values that were being taught. At their core though, these

[52] *Civics Textbook, Vol. 1 (1958)*, 6-7.
[53] *Civics Textbook, Vol. 1 (1958)*, 7.

lessons still can be classified as mostly authoritative, as they typically directly instruct children what to do or what not to do. The rest of the ethics texts for older children still feature some black and white illustrations. Pictures of temples, characters in the lessons, famous places, landscapes, and everyday life all serve to make the lessons a little more engaging. The texts published in the 1940s even feature some photographs.

In contrast, the Chinese civics texts feature almost no illustrations. There are illustrations on many of the covers though, unlike their Japanese counterparts. The covers of the *Civics* series shows students bowing to the national flag, and the covers of the *Civics Textbook* series show students either bowing to the teacher or shaking hands with a man in a suit (likely the teacher).

Illustrations only appear in texts published after 1950, and even then there are on average only about one or two per book. The illustrations feature the constitution, the president's office, and other civic activities like people voting or holding a trial. These all essentially serve to reinforce KMT authority and respect for the rule of law. There are no illustrations featuring children or school life.



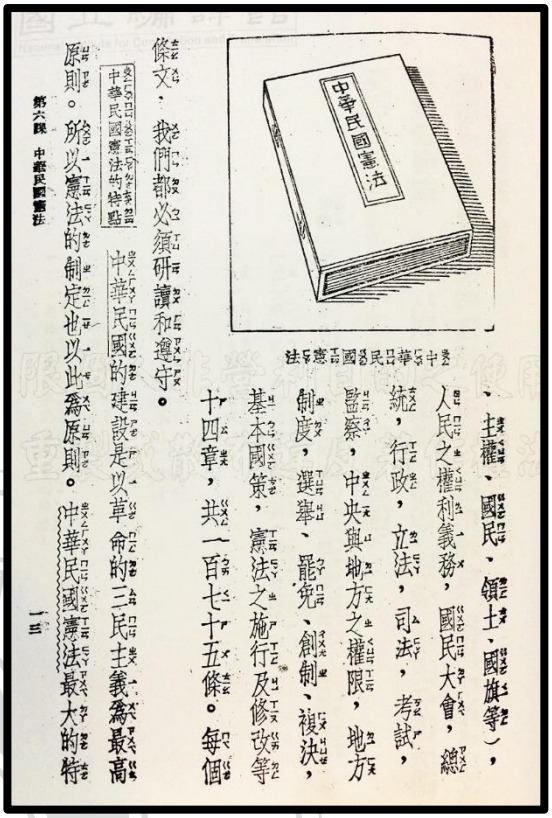


Image R (left): Men and women casting their ballots before the national flag and portrait of Sun Yat-Sen.

Image S (right): The constitution of the Republic of China.

7.3 Moral Values

For all their differences, the Japanese colonial government and the KMT regime had several things in common. For one, they came to Taiwan as a foreign regime. In addition, at one point or another they both had to govern the island while prosecuting a war or under threat of war. They also came from societies that were heavily influenced by Confucianism and had similar ideas regarding education. That being said, the way these regimes approached ethics education was quite different, in presentation as well as content. The most glaring difference between the two sets of textbooks is the overwhelming focus on political ideology in the civics lessons. More than half of all lessons in the civics texts are devoted to knowledge of the government, national policies

and laws, rights and duties of citizens, etc. As has already been described in the analysis, these lessons are not devoid of moral values. However, on the whole there is much less variety in terms of moral values presented, and moral values tend to be relegated to the hidden curriculum and/or are used to support government ideologies.

Political ideology and other content aside, what moral values are the same? Looking at Tables I and Q, at a glance it becomes apparent that there are few parallels between the two sets of texts. It is important to keep in mind that the tables and quantitative data are just a rough guideline, and do not completely capture broad themes and other complexities. That being said, the most noteworthy similarity between the two sets of texts is emphasis on patriotism. In the Japanese ethics texts patriotism is closely associated with loyalty to the imperial line, while in the civics texts patriotism is typically defined in terms of ethnic nationalism. Despite these differences, around 26% of ethics lessons and almost 20% of civics lessons (including the 'State Policy' category) focus on patriotism. These numbers are slightly misleading though, as patriotic themes are prevalent throughout all of the textbooks. Considering that both regimes were attempting to construct a new national identity for the Taiwanese, the abundance of patriotic content in both sets of texts is expected.

In addition to patriotism, both sets of texts contain a small, but not negligible, number of lessons which focus on health and hygiene as well as responsibility (including the 'Rights and Duties' category for the civics texts). In both sets of texts, responsibility as a moral value is very narrowly defined as responsibility to the nation and to society. This definition of responsibility meshes easily with other virtues that the authorities wanted to instill in citizens, such as obedience, patriotism, and diligence. As for lessons on health and hygiene, while the ethics texts focus more on disease prevention and basic sanitation, the civics text focus more on personal hygienic habits. Nevertheless, the fact that these lessons are a part of moral education reflects government concern for public health issues.

Filial piety is also featured in both civics and ethics texts. However, despite the official

proclamations by the Japanese government that traditional morality (i.e. filial piety) was to be the foundation of education, filial piety is largely an afterthought in the ethics texts. On the other hand, in the civics texts lessons which focus on family relations and traditional Confucian morals account for over 14% of lessons. On top of this, the importance of filial piety and the importance of the family as a group are themes which are repeated throughout all of the civics texts.

This is where the similarities end though. Lessons reinforcing obedience account for more than 30% of total civics lessons (including the categories 'Organization/Functions of Government' and 'Democratic Process'). This stands in stark contrast to the ethics texts, where the primary theme is loyalty to the emperor and the state, and lessons focusing on obedience only account for around 6% of total lessons. Both regimes sought to use education to create compliant and obedient citizens, but they went about it in very different ways. The Japanese texts aim at inculcating loyalty and other values in order to make the Taiwanese want what the government wanted. On the other hand, the civics texts simply command and demand. They tell the Taiwanese that they should do what the government wants them to do.

Another important difference is the emphasis on diligence and persistence in the ethics texts, which take up over 14% of lessons in the sample. Conversely, there are no lessons which focus on these virtues in the civics texts. Granted, students are portrayed as being hard-working at home and diligent in their studies, but this is never the focus of the lesson. Rather, this portrayal provides students with a role model and is used to stress other more important values. For instance, being diligent in one's studies is described as an extension of filial piety. Similarly, there are several other moral values that appear only sporadically in the civics texts, but they are never expounded upon and only serve to support political ideology or main themes of obedience, patriotism, and filial piety. Again, this stands in contrast with the ethics texts, which present a wide array of moral values and provide details.

In summary, the Chinese civics textbooks are primarily concerned with instilling students

with the KMT's political ideologies. Moral values remain in the background and are for the most part only used to support these ideologies. Thus, it is unsurprising that much importance is placed on obedience, patriotism, filial piety, and responsibility. Conversely, the Japanese ethics textbooks provide significantly more attention to a far wider array of moral values. The main themes of patriotism and loyalty to the emperor are prevalent throughout the texts though, indicating that government ideology is still one the most important influences in the texts. Other values such as diligence, responsibility, empathy, civic virtue, etc. are also used in support of regime goals. On the whole though, the political ideology in the civics text is far more overbearing and repetitive.

7.4 Portrayal of Groups

A top priority for both the Japanese and KMT governments was instilling Taiwanese children with national consciousness. Under the Japanese regime, Taiwanese learned how to become Japanese citizens of the empire. Under the KMT regime, they learned how to become Chinese citizens of the Republic of China. The way different ethnic groups are portrayed (or not portrayed) in the texts is a reflection of this. Considering the focus on Japanization and Sinicization respectively, the fact that Taiwan and the Taiwanese largely go without mention is not surprising.

The ethics textbooks do feature Taiwanese characters, even though they are never actually referred to as being Taiwanese. However, over the next two decades they are gradually replaced by Japanese. Ethnic Japanese are also equated with moral virtue and modernity. Japanization becomes even more apparent in the books published during the 1940s, exemplified by the extensive use of inclusive pronouns such as 'we' and 'us' (*watashitachi* 私たち) and increased emphasis on the Japanese race and loyalty to the emperor.

In the Chinese civics texts, the promotion of Chinese national identity is even more apparent. All characters are Chinese, and the students are constantly reminded that they too are Chinese through the use of certain phrases such as "We Chinese..." (*wǒmen zhōng*

guórén 我們中國人…) or "Our China…" (*wǒmen zhōngguó* 我們中國). There are also many lessons which discuss the cultural and historical achievements of the Chinese nation. The Chinese people are also described in glowing terms, such as possessing innate morality and a strong sense of national identity. Various Chinese inventions are also listed as evidence of the Chinese people's great contribution to the rest of the world.

With regard to gender as well, the Japanese and Chinese texts are quite similar. Both promote traditional gender roles, and girls are taught that they are responsible for taking care of the home, raising children, and doing housework. Female characters appear only sporadically, and even then they typically play the role of wise and supportive mother or dutiful daughter. Despite talk of gender equality and girls being enrolled in schools in increasing numbers, the portrayal of gender in the ethics and civics texts seems to reflect the existing patriarchal society and culture more than any government influence.

As for the presentation of family, the Japanese and Chinese texts differ considerably. In the ethics texts, most emphasis is placed on family reputation and the family as an economic unit. While there are lessons which touch on family relationships and filial piety, they are not common. More attention is devoted to topics such as making one's ancestors proud or leaving an inheritance behind. Also, most of the characters seem to achieve great things on their own. This is all in contrast with the civics texts, in which the family is one of the key settings and filial piety is one of the primary virtues. Lessons which deal with family relations, family structure, and filial piety all serve to teach children about their roles within the family. In addition, there is support for large, traditional families over smaller ones, despite the fact that the pressures of urbanization and industrialization might drive Taiwanese to have fewer children. In general, the family is portrayed in a way that reinforces roles and the ideal of filial piety. It is the most important group featured in the civics texts, second only to the nation.

The portrayals of occupations in the two sets of texts also differ. The Japanese texts present a much wider array of occupations than their Chinese counterparts. In the civics texts, students, teachers, and government officials are the main professions portrayed.

Military service is also mentioned as well. The way that professions are shown depicts a hierarchical society and reinforces obedience. In the school, the authority figure is the teacher, but in society the authority figure is the government official. When choosing a profession, students are encouraged to think about the needs of the country first. In the Japanese texts, many different professions are presented, but scholars, military figures, and businessmen are most prominent. This is somewhat at odds with government policy, which encouraged Taiwanese to remain in agriculture or to only pursue certain higher-status professions in fields such as teaching or medicine. That being said, like the civics texts, the portrayal of professions emphasizes using one's knowledge and wealth to aid the country and society. All in all, there is very little in the way of professional guidance. Whatever course they pursue, students are exhorted to keep the good of the nation at the forefront of their thoughts.

7.5 Group Identity

Perhaps the most important characteristics that the two sets of texts share is that they both reinforce collectivism and group identity. This is evidenced by the common theme of placing the importance of the group above individual concerns. Interestingly, this is cultural rather than moral in nature, and stands in stark contrast to the individualism of the Western world. In the texts, this devaluation of individualism is manifested in a number of ways. While they are no lessons that exclusively deal with this topic, the theme is present in many lessons. Lessons on patriotism, responsibility, filial piety, civic virtue, etc. all are used to reinforce the idea that the group is more important than the self. This group could be the nation, society, one's family, neighbors, peer groups, etc. While both Japanese and Chinese texts exhibit this theme, there are some slight differences.

In the Japanese texts, one way individualism is suppressed is through emphasis on self-sacrifice. Self-sacrifice ranges from being willing to suffer hardship for the sake of others to sacrificing one's life. The emphasis on being willing to sacrifice one's life is perhaps the most common though, and this sentiment is typically contained in lessons on loyalty and patriotism. Lessons on duty and responsibility also portray individuals as having such

a strong sense of responsibility that they are willing to give up their own lives to carry out their duties. The key point is that the sacrifice is made for the emperor and the nation. Soldiers and warriors are often depicted sacrificing themselves, and other lessons also instruct students to be ready to do the same. The following is just one of many examples of this:

「…もし國に事變が起ったら勇氣を奮ひ一身をさゝげて、君國のために盡さなければなりません。」

"…should a national emergency arise, we must muster our courage, sacrifice ourselves, and for the sake of our ruler and nation we must serve to the utmost of our abilities."[54]

The role of the individual is diminished to the point where sacrificing it for the greater good is portrayed as the best course of action. Defense of the nation and preservation of the imperial line is seen as more important than life itself. There are also instances of individuals being compared to organs in the body. That is, if one does not function as it should then the whole body suffers. This is not unlike the metaphorical cog in the machine. Similar comparisons exist in the Chinese civics texts.

The other main way the individual is portrayed as subordinate to the group is through constant reminders to think of others first. This line of thinking appears in a variety of lessons, including lessons on etiquette, health and hygiene, civic virtue, empathy and compassion, etc. What all of these lessons have in common is that they teach children to consider others and to behave in a way that does not cause trouble or inconvenience for others. This is a very important concept in Japanese culture, and in the textbook it is extended to classmates, neighbors, family, and others in society and the nation.

「體が弱くて度々病氣になるのは自分の不幸であるばかりでなく、一家の難

[54] *Common School Ethics, Vol. 6 (1930),* 51.

儀になり又國家の損失にもなります。」

"Having a weak constitution and often getting sick is not merely one's own misfortune. It brings hardship upon one's family and is also a loss to the nation."[55]

Other lessons encourage students to think of others by maintaining clean public space, not damaging public property, waiting in line for things, etc. In general, students are taught to think of others before themselves, because it makes society more harmonious. While this is not suppression of individualism on the same level as self-sacrifice, it still forces the students to think about themselves as a member of a group first.

The Chinese civics texts also emphasize the importance of the group over the individual, but in a different manner. Instead of encouraging students to think of others more generally, the lessons constantly remind students that they are part of a group. These groups include the family, school clubs, society at large, the Chinese ethnicity, the nation, etc. The nation though is by far the most important group. The lessons use patriotism and nationalism to reinforce group identity. Students must not only think about their own benefit, but must think about how to benefit the Chinese nation. The following excerpts from the texts are just a few examples of how students are encouraged to put the nation and the group before themselves.

「我們既然明白了法律的作用，在學校裏就要遵守校規，在社會上就要遵守國家法律。我們必須隨時隨地檢點自己的行為，不以個人的利益妨害國家的公益，不以個人的自由侵犯別人的自由，然後法律纔容易推行，社會纔課永久保持良好的秩序。」

"We must not allow individual gain to jeopardize the greater good of the nation. We must not allow individual freedom to infringe on the freedom of others. Only then can the law be easily carried out, and society will be able to maintain sound and

[55] *Common School Ethics, Vol. 5 (1930)*, 15.

lasting order."[56]

「節約是一種美德，和吝嗇不同。吝嗇是自私自利，節約是把應該節省下來的財物儲蓄起來，移作將來其他有益的用途，或貢獻國家，或用於公共福利…我們把錢儲蓄在國家銀行，或郵局裏面，或購買國家債票，不但應當可靠而且對國家也有很大的幫助。」

"Frugality is a virtue, and is different from miserliness. Miserliness is being selfish with no regard for others, while frugality is saving one's leftover money and making use of it in the future, contributing it to the nation, or using it for public good… Saving our money in the national bank or post office, or using it to buy national bonds is not only safe and reliable, but it also is a great help to the nation."[57]

The other way in which civics texts promote this idea is by emphasizing responsibility. Every individual has a role within the group and is responsible for carrying out that role. The lesson entitled 'Everyone's Duty and Responsibility to Society' further accentuates the importance of the group over the individual. Lessons on democratic process and on the rights and duties of citizens also reinforce this. The following excerpt from the lesson entitled 'The Individual and the Group' clearly spells out which is more important:

「在家庭裏，我們和父母、兄弟、姊妹在一七，這家庭就是一個團體。有了這個團體，我們纔能得到撫養，生長成人。在學校裏，我們和許多同學、老師在一起，著學校也是一個團體。有了這個團體，我們纔能受到教育，增長知識。在社會上，我們還要參加很多團體，這纔能在生活上，得到各種互助合作的利益。我們的國家，更是一個大團體。有了國家的保護，全國的人纔能享受安定的生活和幸福。從上面的一些話，可以知道每一個人都是不能離開團體生活的。我們年紀小的人，需要團體的幫助更多。所以我們應當愛護團體，並且要在團體中盡到個人的責任。」

[56] *Civics, Vol. 4 (1950)*, 17.
[57] *Civics Textbook, Vol. 1 (1957)*, 4.

> "The family, and being together with our parents and siblings, is a group. Only because we have this group can we be taken care of and grow up to become adults. The school, and being together with our classmates and teachers, is also a group. Only because we have this group can we receive an education and increase our knowledge. In society, we must participate in many groups, only then can we can obtain the various benefits of mutual cooperation in our lives. Our nation is thus a big group. Only because we have the protection of the country can the people live safely and happily. From this, we can know that an individual cannot leave the group and live on their own. We are young, so we need the help of the group even more. So, we must love and protect the group, and do our utmost to fulfill our individual responsibilities within the group."[58]

Unlike the Japanese texts, the civics texts for the most part do not include any lessons which stress the importance of individual achievement. This further reinforces the idea that the individual is only as important as his/her role in the group. While not a moral value, the theme of placing the group above the individual is a key characteristic that both sets of texts share. This theme is also one of the more distinct features of Taiwanese moral education, especially when compared to Western culture and morality.

[58] *Civics Textbook, Vol. 1 (1958)*, 1-2.

8. Conclusion

8.1 Challenges and Possibilities for Future Research

One of the major challenges in pursuing this type of research project lies in accessing primary sources. Obtaining copies of certain textbooks from the Japanese colonial period are at best difficult, and at worst impossible. This highlights one of the primary shortcomings of this study, which is the sample size. Additionally, ethics texts from the Japanese colonial period and civics texts from the KMT era are only one part of moral education in Taiwan. While these texts were the core of moral education during these time periods, ethics and civics are fundamentally different. This study opted for a wide variety of civics and ethics texts in order to take a broad view of moral education in Taiwan from 1920-1960. Future studies could be improved by using more complete sets of texts, where available. In addition, the time period could be expanded in order to better incorporate change over time and obtain a more comprehensive picture of moral education in Taiwan. Language barriers present another challenge, as the scholars best equipped to study Taiwanese history may not publish in English and vice versa. Yet this challenge will always exist, and the shortcomings of this study could best be overcome by enlarging the sample size and expanding the historical time frame.

First, it is recognized that a small sample size can distort the findings of any study, and this one is no exception. While the more obvious characteristics and broader trends are noted, this study is really intended to serve as a base from to which to further investigate moral education in Taiwan. In future studies, other textbooks that contain significant amounts of moral content could also be incorporated into the sample. This could help to overcome lack of access to certain texts. In addition, ethics and civics as standalone courses were not always part of the curriculum during the Japanese colonial period as well as after WWII. For instance, in the early years of the Japanese colonial period, moral content was incorporated into the Japanese language readers and there were no

standalone ethics texts. Similarly, ethics as a standalone course was not part of the KMT's national curriculum in the decade after WWII, but this would change in the 1960s with the publication of the *Civics and Morality* (*gōngmín yǔ dàodé* 公民與道德) series of textbooks. Expanding the sample size will allow for a much more comprehensive investigation of moral education in Taiwan. Textbooks aside, supplementary materials such as teachers' manuals could also be utilized. Another possibility might involve comparing national curriculum standards with the actuality of textbook content. While this study opted to focus almost exclusively on textbook content, many other textbook studies include detailed studies of national curriculum reform in order to track change over time.

Lastly, the time frame could also be adjusted in order to better examine change over time or to focus on a more clearly-defined historical period. The time period being covered in this study (1920-1960) covers the later years of the Japanese colonial period and the early years of KMT rule. The political situation of these regimes and the challenges they faced changed over time, and this also can distort the findings of the study to some extent. To say that 1920-1945 and 1945-1960 accurately represent moral education under the Japanese and KMT regimes respectively is unfair. However, this period is of interest because it covers an important transition in Taiwanese history. That being said, expanding the time frame of the study can allow for a more balanced view of moral education under both regimes. All in all, this study is simply a beginning, and there are many possibilities for more comprehensive comparative studies of Taiwan's moral education.

8.2 Conclusion

In Taiwan and many other Asian societies, moral self-cultivation has traditionally been an important part, if not the primary goal, of education. This reflects the strong influence of Chinese culture and Confucian thought. Over the course of the 20th century though, moral education in Taiwan was reshaped by the Japanese colonial government and the KMT regime. When taking a broad look at these two regimes and their policies, a few similarities become apparent. Both regimes were foreign (i.e. having origins outside of

Taiwan), both regimes at one point or another were governing Taiwan under wartime conditions, and both Japanese and Chinese culture were heavily influenced by Confucian thought, specifically with regard to education.

In light of this, it is not surprising that both ethics and civics textbooks stress many of the same values. While patriotism is the most prominent of these shared values, there are several others, including obedience, responsibility, and filial piety. The portrayal of the Japanese and Chinese ethnic groups in both sets of texts also highlights the importance that both regimes placed on the promotion of nationalism. The portrayal of boys and girls also upholds support for traditional gender roles.

Despite the resemblances, closer analysis of the textbooks reveals that there are far more differences. The political ideology in the Chinese civics texts is unrelenting. Moral values are largely relegated to the hidden curriculum and/or serve to support KMT ideology. This is likely why far more content is devoted to obedience than to any other value. Nationalistic patriotism also accounts for a significant amount of content, and there is also much emphasis on filial piety and reinforcing the importance of family relationships. A small number of other values, such as responsibility and cooperation, are also given attention. Ultimately though, there is little variety in terms of moral content and it is largely used to support regime goals, such as the promotion of a Sino-centric identity, anti-communist ideology, and the legitimization of the KMT.

Conversely, the Japanese ethics texts present a wide array of moral values. While political ideology is of course present, it is not as pervasive and overbearing as it is in the civics texts. Patriotism and loyalty to the emperor are the strongest themes within the texts, reflecting the legacy of contemporary educational theory and the belief that patriotism and loyalty to the emperor should be the basis of Japanese nationalism. Diligence and persistence are also important virtues, followed by others such as empathy, civic virtue, responsibility, etc. Like the civics texts though, moral values are also used to support regime goals, such as creating loyal and patriotic imperial citizens, and creating a population willing to work with the colonial government.

After the end of WWII, the removal of Japanese influence was one of the educational goals of the KMT regime. It was decided that Taiwanese were not ready for full-fledged democracy because of the lingering influence of Japanese 'slave education.' Looking back though, many Taiwanese who had received Japanese education remember it fondly. Also, as mentioned in the literature review, surveys have shown that ethics class in particular was viewed favorably and also viewed as having a positive and lasting impact on one's life. Memories do change over time, and the sharp contrast between Japanese and Chinese moral education may also have contributed to this phenomenon.

In spite of all the differences, perhaps the strongest common thread connecting prewar and postwar moral education is the emphasis on collectivism over individualism. In both sets of texts, patriotism, responsibility, filial piety, etc. are all used to remind students that they belong to a group. The nation, society, family, neighbors, school, etc. are all examples of such groups. The texts also reinforce the idea that the group is more important than the self. The Chinese texts place stress on the nation, family, and one's role within these groups. The Japanese texts focus on the nation as well, but they also emphasize individual sacrifice for the sake of the group, and in general encourage children to first think about others in society so as not to inconvenience them. Ultimately, both sets of texts stress collectivism and group identity, devalue individualism, and encourage students to place more importance on the success of the group than individual achievement. This differs greatly from Western cultural values such as individual freedom and personal achievement. While impossible to ascertain for sure, perhaps the commonalities among Japanese and Chinese moral education have in some small way contributed to the peace, stability, and high level of social capital which characterize Taiwanese society today.

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