

Taiwanese Identity and Chinese Culture in Chinese Textbooks in Taiwan

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This study attempts to examine the influence of politics on Taiwan national identity, its elements, and Chinese cultures taught in Chinese textbooks used in secondary schools in Taiwan. As this research aims to provide a holistic review of the Taiwanese identity and Chinese culture in textbooks, data on these issues were collected from various surveys conducted by the researcher through online platform called “Google form” and analyzed using a commonly available program called “Microsoft excel”. The research was particularly aimed at Chinese teachers at senior high school in Taiwan. The result shows that even though the teachers strongly agree that student should still study Classical Chinese, they also agreed that Chinese textbooks should increase literary work from Taiwanese authors and other Chinese-speaking country. In this article, the researcher will share some thoughts on this contradiction.

Keyword: *Taiwanese identity, National identity, Chinese culture, Chinese textbooks*

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Kamonwan Sangkasenakul

Literature Review

Despite the fact that Taiwan is a small island, it is one of the most beautiful islands in East Asia. An island full of exquisite nature, friendly people, delicious food, and wealthy culture. Taiwan's unique and rich historical background pressured Taiwanese people to acquire numerous different identities.

1. Brief historical background of Taiwan

1.1 Under the Dutch Rule

Looking back on its history at around the year 1500, according to the historical reports and evidence, show that Portuguese sailors were the first foreign group to discover the island of Taiwan. They had settled on the beautiful island and named it “Ilha Formosa” which literally means beautiful island in Portuguese. Evidence shows that in addition to the Portuguese who settled and did business on the island, there was also the Dutch company, the Verenigde OostIndische Compagnie (VOC), founded in 1602. The success of the Dutch company has made Taiwan the first destination for mainland Chinese immigrants. However, this was not the first time the mainlanders have visited, and academic reports have confirmed that Formosa Beach was used as a stopover by Chinese pirates before the Dutch company was set up. (Zhou M.F., 1994) There is also further evidence showing that indigenous Malays tribes and the Miao tribe of southern China lived here at the same time. As a result, Chinese people living on the eastern coast of mainland China crossed the Taiwan Strait to escape poverty and to settle on the island. The first group of Chinese people who lived on the island was the Hakka, in Mandarin 客家人 (kèjiā rén) means guest, stranger or visitor. (Borao, José Eugenio, 2020)

Shortly after the Dutch conquered the island in 1626, the Spaniards settled in the northern part of the island¹ and built a fortress. However, they only settled briefly after being successfully expelled from the island by the Dutch in 1642. During the 45 years of the Dutch rule (1624-1662, 1664-1668), the natives and mainlanders who lived on the island were influenced by Dutch rule. Whether it was spreading Christianity from Dutch missionaries who worked for the VOC² or learning Latin from George Candidius; the first Dutch prime minister who visited Taiwan in 1627 (Kerr, George H., 1966).

1.2 Under Gosinka Rule

Meanwhile, there was a civil war in China led by a Chinese military leader, Gosinka (鄭成功 zhèng chénggōng). He led the army and fought against the Manchus of the Qing Dynasty to occupy the ancient capital of Nanjing but was defeated by the Manchus and had no choice but to retreat to Formosa Island. To gain a firm foothold on Formosa Island in 1661, Gosinka decided to raise more than 30,000 men, set sail from Penghu Island to cross over to destroy the Dutch community. For Dutch people, they believed that the island belonged to them. However, in 1662, Gosinka successfully expelled the Dutch from the island. For this reason, Gosinka was known as the first occupant from mainland China. Moreover, this was the beginning of the Chinese government on Formosa Island (Denny Roy, 2003). Under Gosinka's ruling, he developed the island as a base against Manchu attacks. He also developed an education system, various transportation systems, and established Tainan City as the capital; the administrative center of the island and brought Chinese culture to the

¹ Today is Tanshui and Keelung, Taiwan

² Verenigde OostIndische Compagnie or The Dutch East India Company.

island. Previous studies have shown that this could be another reason why Taiwan is rooted in Chinese society, beliefs, and culture. (Andrade Tonio, 2008)

1.3 Under Qing Dynasty Rule

While Formosa was under the rule of the Qing dynasty, many mainlanders settled on the island, both in the capital – the southern part of the island and also, in the northern area – such as an important port city of Tansui (淡水 dàn shuǐ). An influx of Han people was considered the beginning of the spread of Han culture on the island. Eventually, the Han culture became the dominant culture instead of the indigenous culture. As a result, the capital city became the largest Chinese community on the island (Davidson J.W., 1988). In 1885, The Qing Imperial Court aimed to create more stability along the coast, and therefore declared Formosa Island to be a separate province from Fujian Province. Since then, Formosa was known as Taiwan province (台灣府 táiwān fǔ, today's Tainan). The court also moved the capital to Taipei, a city in the northern part of Taiwan today. (John J. Metzler, 2017)

1.4 Under Japan Rule

In 1894, an attempt to seize Korea between the Qing dynasty of China and the Empire of Japan caused the first Sino-Japan War. The war lasted almost a year until the Empire of Japan successfully invaded Shandong province and Manchuria, also intending to approach Beijing. At last, the Qing Dynasty of China sued for peace. The war led to the start of the Shimonoseki Treaty or 馬關條約 (mǎ guān tiáoyuē) in Mandarin. This also led Japan to occupy Taiwan in 1895. Taiwan was considered Japan's first colony (Ching Leo T. S., 2001). At that time, the language used among people on the island was Hokkien or Taiyu (台語 tái yǔ). Classical Chinese language was only used for formal writing in traditional private schools. (Scott & Tiun, 2007)

When the news of the Shimonoseki Treaty reached the island, it caused people's furor and they tried to resist Japanese occupancy. As a consequence, a number of patriots established the "Republic of Formosa" in Taipei on May 23, 1895. This resistance caused riots in different areas on the island. Nevertheless, it took five months, before the Japanese eventually defeated Formosan forces. (Chen C. C.,1988)

Corresponding to historical data of Taiwan, the impact of the Japanese colonial period on Taiwan is still present until today. Japan's ultimate goal for Taiwan was to convert them into an imperial subject. Shortly after Japan occupied Formosa, they continued to develop the island in every important aspect of modernization, including economy, industry, culture, and basic facilities. (Chou Wan-yao, 2015).

Shortly after, Japan noticed that the primary education system was an important mechanism to gain colonial power. Japan therefore vigorously promoted the establishment of the primary education system on Formosa Island. The early stage was not very successful, but soon became popular among Taiwanese elites. As soon as their children reached the eligible age, they started to send their children to schools (Tsurumi E., 1977).

In 1936, Japan enforced the National Language Movement, called the "kokugo undō", or 國語運動 (guóyǔ yùndòng) in Mandarin, aimed to create Japanese identity among Taiwanese people. Japan first removed Chinese language courses from schools' curricula (S.L. Wang,1999). Secondly, speaking the local language is forbidden, and one must speak only Japanese as the national language. Japan also created positive reinforcements by rewarding families who speak Japanese in their households. Furthermore, they encouraged Taiwanese families to change their names from Chinese and Taiyu to Japanese names. However, there were requirements, such

as the whole family must change to a Japanese name, the whole family must speak Japanese and meet the criteria set by the Japanese government (Ching Leo T.S., 2001).

Japan later supported intermarriage between Japanese-Taiwanese and allowed their children to attend school at a higher level than primary school. (Kerr George H., 1974). Taiwanese children would learn Japanese history and culture in school. Even though there might be some history of Taiwan, it would still be in the context of Japanese history. Taiwan was under Japanese rule for 50 years, until World War II, when Japan was defeated by Allied forces. As a result, the Japanese had to return Taiwan to China, and emigrate back to Japan in 1945. (Liao Bing-hui & Wang De-wei, 2006)

While Japan was developing Formosa, there was a big change that occurred in mainland China. The different political ideologies between the Kuomintang Party and the Chinese Communist Party led to the civil war in China. Eventually, the Communist Party won and took over China. After Sun Yat-sen died in 1925, Chiang Kai-shek became the leader of the Kuomintang party. He and his men migrated to Taiwan in 1945. it was the beginning of the Kuomintang government in Taiwan. (Chang, Bi-yu, 2006)

1.5 Under Kuomintang Party Rule

The civil war in China in 1945-1949 was the reason that China and Taiwan divided into two parts: the People's Republic of China on the mainland; and the Republic of China on the Taiwan Island (ibid). After 1949, the Kuomintang Party created a political monopoly that solely ruled Taiwan for Over 50 years, along with the country's governing body, most of whom were immigrants from mainland China. The Kuomintang Party's primary goal were to transform Taiwan into a base for the renaissance of Chinese culture, as well as a combat base to return to rule China again.

Chiang Kai-shek not only brought mainlanders to Taiwan, but he also brought “The Three Principles of the People”, a political philosophy developed by Sun Yat-sen; the nationalist ideology of KMT to Taiwan. His goal was to reshape the nationalist ideologies of Taiwanese people which were influenced by the Japanese (P. Chen, 2000). This Chinese nationalism is presented in the principle of Patriotism, which the Kuomintang party believed was a principle that a good Chinese should have. (Clough Ralph, 1991)

Under the rule of the Kuomintang government, changes started with rewriting the history, schools’ curricula, and renaming the street from Japanese system which was adding street number after the name, such as Ximending no. 19 to naming street propagandized to the Three People’s Principles of Sun Yat-sen, such as Minchuan Road, Minsheng Road, as well as to carry forward Chinese spirit, such as Chunghua Road and Hsinyi Road. (Wenchuan Huang, 2011). Yet, the National Language Movement remained but promoted Mandarin as a national language instead of Japanese (Penelope Eckert, 1983).

By February 28, 1947, after decades of colonization, Taiwan again faced the most tragic and horrifying scenes of violent outbreaks. The background of the incident cannot be summarized in an only one factor, and there are broadly divided opinions about the cause of this case. However, this massacre was a major awakening of the Taiwanese consciousness of Taiwanese people (Tse j.K-P, 2000). After the Kuomintang government lifted the martial law in 1987, the “Mandarin-only policy” that influenced Taiwanese people for four decades officially came to an end. (Scott & Tiun, 2007)

Following the death of President Chiang Ching-Kuo in 1988, Lee Teng-Hui was the first president who was born in Taiwan and was directly elected. Several

historical reports mentioned that Lee was very ambitious to lead Taiwan towards democracy (Chao C. & Dickson B., 2002). Furthermore, he was also determined to gain allies around the world. It could be said that this was the time when Taiwan reaffirmed its sovereignty and independence from mainland China, by strengthening Taiwanese identity and promoting local culture (Mark Harrison, 2006). However, there are some other arguments that view this in another aspect of Lee's political ambitions for democracy.

Table 1: Brief timeline of important events in Taiwan history

16th Century

Year	Event
1544	Portuguese sailors were the first foreign group to discover the island of Taiwan, and named it “Ilha Formosa”.

17th Century

Year	Event
1604	the Dutch company founded “the Verenigde OostIndische Compagnie (VOC)”
1626	the Spaniards settled in the northern part of the island, and built a fortress.
1642	The Spaniards expelled from the island by the Dutch
1627	George Candidius; the first Dutch prime minister visited Taiwan.
1661	First encounter between Gosinka, a Chinese military leader, and the Dutch settlers.
1662	Gosinka successfully expelled the Dutch from the island

19th century

Year	Event
1885	Qing imperial court declared Formosa Island to be a separate province, which was known as Taiwan province. (台灣府, today’s Tainan)
1894	The first Sino-Japan War.
1895	China and Japan signed the Shimonoseki Treaty.
	Japan occupied Taiwan.
	Taiwanese patriots established the “Republic of Formosa”

20th Century

Year	Event
1936	Japan enforced the National Language Movement, called the “Kominka Movement,” aimed to create Japanese identity among Taiwanese people.
1945	During World War II, Japan was defeated by allied forces and had to return Taiwan to China.
1925	Sun Yat-sen died, Chiang Kai-shek became the leader of the Kuomintang party.
1945	Chiang Kai-shek and Mainland Chinese migrated to Taiwan.
1947	The 228 Incident.
1972	The Kuomintang government announced to stop broadcasting local TV and radio programs those report in dialect altogether.
1987	the Kuomintang government lifted martial law.
	the “Mandarin-only policy” officially came to an end.
1988	Lee Teng-Hui was directly elected and was the first president who was born in Taiwan.

2. Identity

2.1 The definition of Identity

The meaning of identity comes from the Latin word "identitas", the root word of which was "idem"; means similarity. "Identity" in English has two meanings. It is a similar interpretation based on the correlation and comparison of people and things in two aspects, which are similarity and difference (Richard Jenkins, 1996). In addition, Jenkins also suggested that identity is inherent in itself, not born with a person or thing. As a matter of fact, it was created and always has a dynamic character.

This has also been investigated in a previous study by Berger and Luckmann (1967) that identity arises through social processes. It can be stabilized, modified, or reformatted depending on social relationships. In other words, identity is about understanding and recognizing oneself and others. It is the component and existence that we perceive about ourselves and how others perceive us. There is a social process

of identity formation and inheritance. It also depends on the context of social relationships with other people and other groups.

2.2 Ethnic Identity

According to anthropological concepts, ethnic identity can be divided into concepts. The first concept is called *Primordialism*, which is what is considered to be a thing that is inherent since birth. This concept believes that there is no change, only similarity, and unity. More importantly, there are obvious thresholds that distinguish us from other groups; to identify oneself through a common origin story that we belong to the same ethnic group. Furthermore, we often claim to have a common history and common ancestors. The second concept is called *Social Constructionism*. This concept is believed to be built by cultural processes and social factors that have created similarities within the same group and made differences between groups across generations. Includes how groups create, maintain, and change their social and cultural identities. It is noteworthy that ethnic identity is often established by government officials through the work and representation of discourse, which influences the establishment, superiority, and control of the government over the people of ethnic groups. (Philip, 2007)

Fredrik Barth describes ethnic identity as “ascription and identification by the actors themselves” (Barth, 1996). It shows that the classification of people is largely determined by their origin. This is the source of the definition of the organizational characteristics of an ethnic group, as the members of the ethnic group have common cultural characteristics, according to Bath's assumptions.

In other words, ethnic identity is a product of the past with the same origin. Includes social connections, cultural exchanges, languages , and religions. Nonetheless, historical aspects show that identity is more than just a fixed, stable,

immutable thing. Identity changes frequently and new ones can be adopted. As a result, you can replace the previous identity with a new one. Ethnic identities are created, maintained, and transformed through the interaction of ourselves with others. (Banks, 1996; Barth, 1969)

2.3 National Identity

There are two components to national identity, which nation and collective identity. The basic meaning of a nation is "to name a group of people who have history, territory, legends, historical memories, public culture, economy, rights, legal conditions, and obligations of members of society as a whole." (Smith, 1991). Collective identities are personal identity and social identity such as language, religion, profession, and ethnic origin.

The majority of previous research emphasized that Taiwan was forced to change its identity a few times in the past. For instance, prior to the occupation of Japan in 1945, native Taiwanese identity was the national identity of Taiwanese people. Yet another identity that changed after the Japanese's rule in Taiwan. It was also different from the identity of the mainlanders (Hughes, 2016). After the migration of the Kuomintang Party and the mainlanders, a new identity that praised China's nationalism emerged. Undoubtedly, this Chinese identity was strengthened after the influx of mainlanders.

In the midst of Taiwan's identity crisis between 1971 and 1973, 27 countries broke diplomatic relations with Taiwan. This unfortunate situation has led Chiang Ching-kuo to adopt a "total diplomacy" policy that emphasized wide range of international relations in politics, economy, science, technology, culture, and sports. (Sittiphol K & Worrasak M, 2015)

Moreover, the establishment of the identity of Taiwan's democratic political system began to develop in 1980. This was because both President Chiang Ching-kuo and the Kuomintang party were under pressure from the international political situation affecting Taiwan. Domestic, economic, and political factors influenced this change. Importantly, the government was under pressure from farmers and workers demanding a greater share of their economic interests.

The steadily growing labor market demanded a higher share of the company's profits and further demanded about working conditions and welfare. The pressure also came from other groups such as women, civil society, and the middle class who wanted more political rights and freedoms (Davison, 2003). This led to the so-called "Kaohsiung Incident," also known as the "Formosa Incident". Finally, 135 members of the "Tangwai" People's Movement formed the "Democratic Progressive Party"³, founded on September 28, 1986. (Davison, 2003; Hughes, 2016)

After the Cold War, the values of liberal democracy became the most important structure in politics. It affected the state transition in many countries, including Taiwan. Taiwan's democratic process began in 1950, when magazines and newspapers openly discussed and criticized the Kuomintang government. Similar to 1970, there was criticism of the Kuomintang from party leaders outside the Kuomintang. However, all discussions about "Taiwan's independent party" and "Communist Party" were still prohibited.

Since 1987, political identity has proved to be a core issue in the development of democracy, not only in multi-party politics but also in electoral politics. This includes the incorporation of various provisions into the Constitution that allows elections to the Legislative Yuan/ Parliament, National Assembly/ upper house, and

³ Democratic Progressive Party (DPP). In Chinese 民進黨 mín jìn dǎng.

president. People are able to hold public demonstration and express their opinions freely. All of these represent the progress of Taiwan's democratization process (Hughes, 2016).

In addition, Taiwan held its first general election in 1992 and its first direct presidential election in 1996. This shows that only the Taiwanese can determine the fate of Taiwan (Chen, 2012). The process of democratization initiated by the Kuomintang could be said to have redefined Taiwan's national identity and national interests. (Heo Horowitz & Tan, 2007)

2.4 Cultural Identity

The idea of "Culture" was born in the 18th century, based on the basic principles of anthropology, sociology, and modern psychology (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952). In 1871, Sir Edward Burnett Tylor, founder of cultural anthropology, coined the meaning of "culture" in English. The "Culture" specified by Tyler is the sum of knowledge systems, beliefs, arts, morals, skills, and customs because it is a member of society. Culture is a system of beliefs and social values fundamental to human behavior. But also, the rules of how people live in a society (the way of life) but also the rules. Culture is a tradition that is passed down from one generation to the next.

In the 19th century, the etymology of "Culture" came from the word "Cultivar", which means to plow the land. In addition, it means incubation, exquisite, beautiful, fertile, and complete. In 1871, "Culture" became widely accepted in English. It is Tyler who is the originator of the word "culture" in English, the first anthropologist to use the term culture based on the word "Kultur" which means "Cultivation" in German.

A cultural theorist, Stuart Hall, pointed out that the concept of cultural identity has usually played a decisive role in all postcolonial struggles. In addition, he offers two concepts of cultural identity. The first sense of cultural identity is a shared culture by people with a common history and ancestors, a kind of collective true self hidden within others, “unification”. The second sense of cultural identity is about “what we really are” and “what we have become” after history has intervened. More specifically, he further explained:

Cultural identity is a matter of ‘becoming’ as well as of ‘being’. It belongs to the future as much as to the past. It is not something which already exists, transcending place, time, history, and culture. Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But, like everything which is historical they undergo constant transformation. Far from being eternally fixed in some essentialised past, they are subject to the continuous ‘play’ of history, culture, and power.

(Hall, 1994)

However, when under a different context, there may be various connections, and affect the expression of another person in another form. (Jirat Suppakarn, 2002)

Hall and Gay (1996) also characterize identity as being formed in culture at a particular point in time, rather than spontaneously, as culture is a social construct and not a permanent element. Rather, it is a circuit known as the "Circuit of Culture".

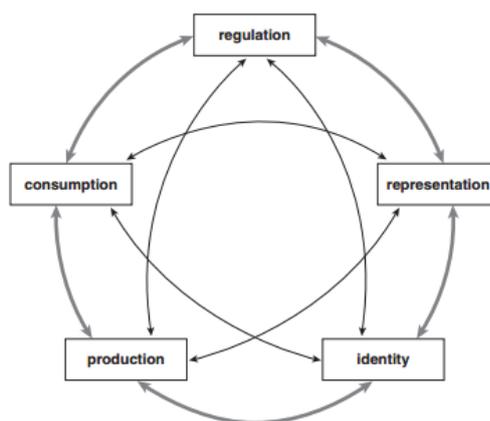


FIGURE 1. The Circuit of Culture (Hall, 1997)

Based on Figure 1, the circuit of culture and identity creation are shown. It explains that identities have a process of being produced, being consumed, and being manipulated, regulate, and belong to those cultures. Furthermore, there is also the creation of meanings through symbolic systems of representation. This is related to various locations, various identities that we choose to use or used to create our identity.

Barth (1969) further emphasized that cultural identity is created, reinforced, and transformed in the context of interaction and contact. Ethnic Group and Boundaries is a political narrative. Decision making and modifying goals having a common culture caused by the process of preserving ethnic borders. It creates a difference between people in the group and outside the group, by creating an image of similarity within the group. This idea later became the centre of anthropological research in racial groups.

A type of identity that is synonymous with cultural identity is 'Collective Identity'. The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Sociology defined the collective identity as the collective meaning of the group. These common meanings stem from the shared interests and experiences of the group members. It answers the question of who we

are. Collective identity is not a permanent element; however, it is formed through political struggle, social movements, interactions, and social reactions (George Ritzer, 2007). Melucci (1995) concluded that collective identity is the identity of a group or culture or of an individual, which is influenced by the group or culture in which she or he coexists.

Methods

Research Instruments

The official curriculum guidelines were collected from the Ministry of Education websites in Taiwan. Relevant textbooks were obtained via local informants and Taiwan National Library. The questionnaire used to collect data was divided into three parts: 1) Respondent's general information, 2) Survey on the language usage of the respondents, 3) Opinion survey on the content of Mandarin textbooks. The questionnaire included multiple choices, linear numeric scale, Likert scale and open-end question.

Data Collection

According to Ministry of Education official website, all 518 secondary schools of Taiwan were requested to invite secondary schools' Chinese teachers to take part in the online survey. The request for participation were sent via official school's email. The invitation email contained a link to the researcher's profile and to the questionnaire. The estimate time to complete the questionnaire is approximately ten minutes. The first few items addressed basic demographics. The remainder of the questionnaire addressed questions related to the context in the selected Chinese textbooks use in secondary school in Taiwan.

Data Analysis

This study analyzed 10th, 11th, and 12th grade Chinese textbooks published and used between 2005 and 2020. In Taiwan, schools have somewhat autonomy in choosing textbooks from various publishers. Publishers design textbooks according to the national curriculum guidelines. The lessons chosen in the questionnaire were based on the poll of an anonymous publisher in Taiwan. The data analysis of the questionnaire part 1 and part 2 was done by descriptive statistics consisting of percentages, presented in the form of descriptive tables. In Part 3, the data was analyzed using Microsoft Excel in descriptive statistic, which consists of mean and standard deviation and the interpretation.

Findings and Analyses

The result of the questionnaire contains 3 parts: 1) respondent's basic information; 2) language use and 3) opinions on the content of Mandarin textbooks.

Based on the Table 2 below, the total of respondents consists of 164 Highschool Mandarin Teachers who completed the questionnaire. It was conquered by female respondents of 81% with 133 teachers, while 18.9% consist of 31 male teachers. Most of the teacher were aged 51-55 years old at 27.88%, followed by teachers of age 46-50 years old at 22%, and the smallest teachers were aged under 25 years old of 1.2%. 65.24 % of the teachers have master's degree as their education and the small portion of 4.87% has Doctoral Degree as their education.

Moreover, the information in Table 2 points out that most of the respondents are Taiwanese Hokkien at 73.7% or 121 teachers. Their background of fathers and mothers also as Taiwanese Hokkien are at 75% and 78.65%, respectively. 100% of respondents were born in Taiwan. Most of the teachers are teaching at school located

in Taipei with 24.4% or 40 teachers, second is in Taichung with 22.56% or 37 teachers, and the minimum of 0.6% of 1 teacher teaches at school located in Yunlin.



Table 2: Respondents' basic information

	Number	%
Q1: Gender		
Female	133	81.1
Male	31	18.9
Q2: Age		
below 25	2	1.2
25-30	17	10.37
31-35	21	12.8
36-40	22	13.4
41-45	31	19
46-50	36	22
51-55	17	27.88
56-60	13	7.92
61-65	5	3.04
Q3: Educational Background		
Bachelor	49	29.87
Master	107	65.24
Doctoral	8	4.87
Q4: Country of origin		
Taiwan Hokkien	121	73.7
Taiwan Hakka	18	10.97
Another ethnicity	19	11.58
Aboriginal	3	1.82
Overseas Chinese	0	0
other	3	1.82
Q5: Father's country of origin		
Taiwan Hokkien	123	75
Taiwan Hakka	15	9.14
Another ethnicity	22	13.4
Aboriginal	3	1.82
Overseas Chinese	1	0.6
other	0	0
Q6: Mother's country of origin		
Taiwan Hokkien	129	78.65
Taiwan Hakka	21	12.8
Another ethnicity	12	7.31
Aboriginal	2	1.21
Overseas Chinese	0	0
other	0	0
Q7: Place of birth		
Taiwan	164	100
Mainland China	0	0
Overseas	0	0
Q8: Country or City of the school		
Taipei	40	24.4
New Taipei	5	3.04
Taoyuan	3	1.82
Taichung	37	22.56
Tainan	11	6.7
Kaohsiung	30	18.3
Hualien	9	5.48
Taitung	6	3.65
Changhua	9	5.48
Pingdong	2	1.21
Chiayi	3	1.82
Yilan	2	1.21
Nantou	2	1.21
Yunlin	1	0.6

Based on table 3 – the topic of language usage, it seemed that the language the respondents use most at home is Mandarin language at 78.65% or 129 people, followed by Hokkien language at 20.73% or 34 people, and Hakka language with only 0.6% or 1 person. Respondents were able to choose multiple answers for question number two to number four. According to the data, Mandarin language is still the language that most respondents are fluent in, is the language that respondents spoke growing up, as well as is the language that respondents used at schools, at 99.39%, 99.39% and 98.78%, respectively. Hokkien language is the second language that respondents use at home, spoke growing up and use at school, at 60.97%, 87.19% and 24.4%, respectively. The statistics have shown that aboriginal language has been used the least at home, the least number of respondents spoke growing up, and used the least at school with only 0.6% of 1 respondent. Furthermore, none of the respondent used Hakka language at school.

Table 3 also shows that 39.63% or 65 respondents occasionally use classical Chinese in daily life. The most favourite type of contents in selected Chinese textbook is classical Chinese at 64.02% or 105 respondents, the classical novel at 60.36% or 99 respondents, and only 0.60% or 1 respondent who likes all type of contents in Chinese textbooks. The lesson called “Updo (髻)” is the most favourite contemporary literature in the Chinese textbook at 20.73% or 34 respondents, followed by the lesson called “Flying Fish Season-Arayo (飛魚季-Arayo)” at 10.36% or 17 respondents, and the least favourite contemporary literature in Chinese textbook at 1.21% or 2 respondents are the lesson called “Out of Context (斷章)” and “Lone Walk of the Wolf (狼之獨步)”.

Table 3: Language usage (Multiple Choice)

	Number	%
Q1: What language do you speak most at home? (Only choice)		
Mandarin	129	78.65
Hokkien	34	20.73
Hakka	1	0.6
Aboriginal Language	0	0
Other	0	0
Q2: What language are you fluent in? (Multiple options)		
Mandarin	163	99.39
Hokkien	100	60.97
Hakka	2	1.21
Aboriginal Language	1	0.6
Other	4	2.43
Q3: Which language did you speak growing up? (Multiple options)		
Mandarin	163	99.39
Hokkien	143	87.19
Hakka	16	9.75
Aboriginal Language	1	0.6
Other	6	3.65
Q4: What language do you normally use at work or school? (Multiple options)		
Mandarin	162	98.78
Hokkien	40	24.4
Hakka	0	0
Aboriginal Language	1	0.6
Other	0	0
Q5: Do you have the opportunity to use classical Chinese in your daily life? (Only choice)		
Always	7	4.26
Frequently	31	18.9
Occasionally	65	39.63
Rarely	53	32
Never	8	4.87
Q6: What is your favourite type of literacy work in Chinese textbook? (Multiple options)		
Modern prose	95	57.92
Classical Chinese	105	64.02
Modern poem	68	41.46
Verse	79	48.17
Classical novel	99	60.36
Translated work	31	21.95
All mentioned above	1	0.6
Q7: Which one of the contemporary literatures in the Chinese textbook is your favourite (Only choice)		
Kong Yiji (孔乙己)	15	9.14
A Weighing Stick (一桿「稱仔」)	7	4.26
Updo (髻)	34	20.73
A Fantasy of being a Genius (天才夢)	12	7.31
Warriors, Cheers! (戰士·乾杯!)	9	5.48
Grand Tour (壯遊)	7	4.26
The Trip to Yushan Mountain (玉山去來)	7	4.26
Flying Fish Season-Arayo (飛魚季-Arayo)	17	10.36
From Astrology to Astronomy (從占星術到天文學)	5	3.04
Dolphin Fish (鬼頭刀)	11	6.7
Ninth Flavour (第九味)	14	8.53
Out of Context (斷章)	2	1.21
Lone Walk of the Wolf (狼之獨步)	2	1.21
The Dialectic of Love (愛的辯證)	5	3.04
Actress (坤伶)	4	2.43

Data in table 4 below were analysed using the Likert “5-level Rating Scale”.

The researcher found the mean and standard deviation, then interpret the results in five levels, using the following criteria by Best (Best, John W, 1995).

The interpretation of questions number one to four is as follow:

Average score 4.50 – 5.00 interpreted as strongly agree

Average score 3.50 - 4.49 interpreted as agree

Average score 2.50 – 3.49 interpreted as neither agree nor disagree

Average score 1.50 – 2.49 interpreted as disagree

Average score 1.00 – 1.49 interpreted as strongly disagree

Based on table 4, the most remarkable result to emerge from the data is that the respondents strongly agree that high school students should study classical Chinese ($\bar{x}=4.63$). The respondents also agree that Chinese textbook should increase literature works from Taiwanese author ($\bar{x}=3.81$), as well as increase the contemporary works from authors who are from other Chinese speaking regions, such as mainland China, Hong Kong, Macau, Singapore, and Malaysia ($\bar{x}=3.82$). However, there is no concrete agreement on the gap between the content of Chinese textbooks and the lives of people today ($\bar{x}=2.69$).

Table 4: Opinion on the content of Mandarin textbooks (Likert Scale)

	\bar{x}	S.D.	Evaluation
Q1: Do you agree that high school students should study classical Chinese?	4.63	0.54	Strongly agree
Q2: Do you agree that Chinese textbooks should supplement the works of Taiwanese authors?	3.81	1.17	Agree
Q3: Do you agree that Chinese textbooks should supplement the works of contemporary Chinese authors in other Chinese-speaking regions (such as mainland China, Hong Kong, Macau, Singapore, and Malaysia, etc.)?	3.82	1.19	Agree
Q4: Do you feel that there is a big gap between the content of Chinese textbooks and the life of people nowadays?	2.69	0.38	Neither agree nor disagree

The interpretation of questions number five and six is as follow (Best, John W, 1995):

Average score 4.50 – 5.00 interpreted as very strong

Average score 3.50 - 4.49 interpreted as strong

Average score 2.50 – 3.49 interpreted as normal

Average score 1.50 – 2.49 interpreted as weak

Average score 1.00 – 1.49 interpreted as very weak

The data presented in the table below, the respondents agreed that these five lessons as follow: “The Story of Lukang’s Ride (鹿港乘桴記)”, “Kong Yiji (孔乙己)”, “Updo (髻)”, “Actress (坤伶)”, and “Mistake (錯誤)” ($\bar{x}=3.26$, $\bar{x}=3.92$, $\bar{x}=3.57$, $\bar{x}=3.52$, and $\bar{x}=3.81$, respectively), that contained strong Chinese culture content. As for the last question, the respondents voted seven lessons as follow: “The Story of Lukang’s Ride (鹿港乘桴記)”, Persuasion Theory (勸和論), A Weighing Stick (一桿「稱仔」), Warriors, Cheers! (戰士，乾杯！), The Trip to Yushan Mountain (玉山去來), Flying Fish Season-Arayo (飛魚季-Arayo), and Dolphin Fish (鬼頭刀) ($\bar{x}=3.75$, $\bar{x}=3.65$, $\bar{x}=4.03$, $\bar{x}=3.61$, $\bar{x}=3.98$, $\bar{x}=3.90$, and $\bar{x}=3.84$, respectively), that contained strong Taiwanese consciousness. According to the data, the Taiwan consciousness was the least represented in “Saying Good-bye to Cambridge Again (再別康橋)”, “Out of Context (斷章)”, and “Mistake (錯誤)” ($\bar{x}=2.33$, $\bar{x}=2.48$, and $\bar{x}=2.44$, respectively).

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Q5: Please evaluate the Chinese culture content in the following items.

	\bar{x}	S.D.	Interpretation
The Story of Lukang's Ride (鹿港乘桴記)	3.26	0.15	Strong
The Rise of Feminist Awareness (畫菊自序)	3.24	0.81	Normal
Persuasion Theory (勸和論)	3.47	0.86	Normal
Kong Yiji (孔乙己)	3.92	0.77	Strong
A Weighing Stick (一桿「稱仔」)	3.37	0.84	Normal
Updo (髻)	3.57	0.92	Strong
A Fantasy of being a Genius (天才夢)	3.27	0.71	Normal
Warriors, Cheers! (戰士，乾杯！)	3.31	1.08	Normal
Grand Tour (壯遊)	3.00	0.85	Normal
The Trip to Yushan Mountain (玉山去來)	2.96	0.94	Normal
Flying Fish Season-Arayo (飛魚季-Arayo)	2.90	0.95	Normal
From Astrology to Astronomy (從占星術到天文學)	2.87	0.86	Normal
Dolphin Fish (鬼頭刀)	3.03	0.97	Normal
Ninth Flavour (第九味)	3.29	0.96	Normal
Saying Good-bye to Cambridge Again (再別康橋)	3.28	0.92	Normal
Out of Context (斷章)	3.25	0.89	Normal
Lone Walk of the Wolf (狼之獨步)	3.17	0.76	Normal
The Dialectic of Love (愛的辯證)	3.29	0.81	Normal
Actress (坤伶)	3.52	0.85	Strong
Mistake (錯誤)	3.81	0.90	Strong
Wild Goose (雁)	3.21	0.77	Normal

Q6: Please evaluate Taiwan consciousness in the following items.

	\bar{x}	SD	Interpretation
The Story of Lukang's Ride (鹿港乘桴記)	3.75	0.92	Strong
The Rise of Feminist Awareness (畫菊自序)	3.24	0.90	Normal
Persuasion Theory (勸和論)	3.65	0.90	Strong
Kong Yiji (孔乙己)	2.44	0.98	Weak
A Weighing Stick (一桿「稱仔」)	4.03	1.30	Strong
Updo (髻)	2.84	0.95	Normal
A Fantasy of being a Genius (天才夢)	2.52	0.90	Normal
Warriors, Cheers! (戰士，乾杯！)	3.61	1.36	Strong
Grand Tour (壯遊)	3.09	0.87	Normal
The Trip to Yushan Mountain (玉山去來)	3.98	1.00	Strong
Flying Fish Season-Arayo (飛魚季-Arayo)	3.90	1.10	Strong
From Astrology to Astronomy (從占星術到天文學)	2.99	0.95	Normal
Dolphin Fish (鬼頭刀)	3.84	0.89	Strong
Ninth Flavour (第九味)	3.31	0.92	Normal
Saying Good-bye to Cambridge Again (再別康橋)	2.33	0.97	Weak
Out of Context (斷章)	2.48	0.82	Weak
Lone Walk of the Wolf (狼之獨步)	2.65	1.09	Normal
The Dialectic of Love (愛的辯證)	2.65	0.98	Normal
Actress (坤伶)	2.57	0.96	Normal
Mistake (錯誤)	2.44	0.89	Weak
Wild Goose (雁)	2.98	1.25	Normal

During the years 2005 – 2022, the discussion on the different narratives of Chinese textbooks have never stopped. The most recent National Basic Education Curriculum is called “12-year National Basic Education Curriculum” (十二年國民基本教育課程綱要). According to the 12-year National Basic Education Curriculum Outline, Chinese subject learning content for senior high school is divided into three

major themes: "Writing Section" (文字篇章), "Text Expression" (文本表達) and "Cultural Connotation" (文化內涵). "Writing Section" reflects the structural characteristics of language and text. This part is divided into four items: transcription symbols, words, segments, and articles. "Text Expression", refers to sentences, paragraphs or chapters composed of language words and other symbols that follow semantic rules. It can be divided into five categories: "narrative texts", "expressive texts", "explanative texts", "argumentative texts" and "applied text". "Cultural connotation" highlights the cultural significance contained in the text, which is divided into three categories: "Material Culture", "Community Culture" and "Spiritual Culture". The definitions are as follows:

- Material culture: the cultural connotations of food, clothing, housing, transportation, and technology related to life.
 - Community culture: The cultural connotations of ethics, norms, and institutions related to the community.
 - Spiritual culture: the cultural connotations of art, belief, and thought.
- (Curriculum & Instruction Resources Network, n.d.)

The lessons in Chinese textbook are normally divided into six sections: 1) lesson's title and learning focus, 2) explanatory notes, 3) author's biography which provides the author's name, nationality, and year of birth, 4) lesson content usually provided in Taiwanese phonetic transcription symbols (注音 zhùyīn) and additional vocabulary in the footnote section, 5) question and discussion. The literacy work in Chinese textbook is divided into two big category which are classical Chinese literacy (文言文 wényánwén)⁴ and vernacular literary language (白話文 báihuàwén)⁵.

⁴ Classical Chinese content simply defined as a traditional style of written Chinese. It is also one of the major literary heritages of the world (Nienhauser, William H, 2019).

According to statistics, Taiwan is primarily a Han Chinese society, claiming that more than 95% of its population is Han Chinese, even though there are 16 officially registered indigenous groups in Taiwan. Mandarin remained the official language in Taiwan (Government Portal of the Republic of China, n.d.). In these past few years, Taiwan has been continuously running towards their dream of being independent and to be out of the shadow of China. Many academic works examine this process and have been trying to define the process of “Taiwanization”. In the perspective of education, Taiwanization is now seen as a process of shifting away from “Chinese-centric” (Lin, 2008; Summer, 2010). As we can see from the reformation of the National Basic Curriculum. The recent use curriculum of Chinese subject reduced the proportion of classical Chinese literacy to 35%-45%, and reduced the recommended literacy works to 15 essays only (Ministry of Education, 2017). In the field of culture, the term of Taiwanization can be found in several academic research, and defined Taiwanization as a process designed to create and integrate new multicultural and hybrid cultures and identities (Amae, Y. & Jens, D, 2011). Amae, Damm and Chuang also suggested that:

“Taiwanization should be considered in the context of a multicultural, global and hybrid society with various ethnic groups and a high degree of diversity, not in the context of Taiwan as a Hoklo-dominated society in essentialist terms. (...)”

In a perspective of cultural identity, there are recognizable evidence show that China and Taiwan have been sharing some element of Chinese culture. The most transparent element is the language.⁶ Perhaps this might be the case, according to the

⁵ Vernacular literary language is the vernacular form of written language. It was originally limited to a particular genre of popular literature, mainly medieval stories recorded by storyteller (Norman, 1997).

⁶ Taiwan uses traditional Chinese characters, while in China uses simplified Chinese character.

data in the survey, as most of the Chinese teachers are still strongly agreeing that students should study classical Chinese. Interestingly, they also agreed that Chinese textbooks should increase the literacy works from Taiwanese authors, as well as from other Chinese-speaking authors.

Conclusion

The more fight Taiwan has been putting in to find their own identity, the more pressure it gets for Ministry of Education. The result of this, the Annual Review Conference of the Curriculum Review Conference for Senior Secondary Schools and Below (高級中等以下學校課程審議會審議大會) of the year 2017⁷, voted to elaborate the content in Chinese textbooks away from “Chinese-centric” angle toward a “Taiwan-centric”, by introduced the “Native Language” as a compulsory subject in school, and also to increase the content related to Taiwan aboriginal, and to increase the literacy work from Taiwanese authors (Ministry of Education, 2017).

Throughout both tragic and memorable experiences that Taiwan has been facing until present day, Taiwan has been constantly fighting for its independence, recognition on the international stage, and its own identity. For all these past years through colonisation, modernization, democratization, sinicization, to taiwanization, Taiwan has not just fought for individual freedom and democracy, but also to maintain a distinct national identity.

It is an unforeseen scenario and difficult to accurately predict the future of Taiwan, as Erick Erickson, a psychologist sees the formation of identity as a life-long process (Erikson, E. H. 1968). As a peace advocate and an outsider, we can only hope that eventually Taiwan will regain their national identity and receive their peace as they deserve.

⁷ The Republic of China calendar 106 (民國 106)

Suggestion

Materials and documents for this study were prepared for several months, and as the study progressed, researchers realized the limitations of this study. The first difficulty revealed in subsequent studies was that the public program, "wordsift", was limited to English only and could not analyse information in Mandarin. Secondly, although this project seemed to be a small project within 3 months, it is still advisable to extend the research period to 6 months or 1 year. Future researchers will be able to reach out to more respondents about the questionnaire and, most importantly, get better results.

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