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Project Details

Funding Scheme :	General Research Fund
Project Number :	750813
Project Title(English) :	The Cultural Policies in Taiwan in the 20th Century and their Relationships to the Formation of Modern Taiwanese Consciousness
Project Title(Chinese) :	二十世紀台灣文化政策與現代台灣意識形成之關係
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Panel :	Humanities, Social Sciences
Subject Area :	Social Sciences
Exercise Year :	2013 / 14
Fund Approved :	310,500
Project Status :	Completed
Completion Date :	31-5-2016
Project Objectives :	<p>To conduct a theoretically informed empirical study of the interrelationship amongst Japanese colonial legacies, KMT's Sinicization policies, Lee's bentuhua policies and Taiwanese consciousness and produce a book for publication.</p> <p>To examine how and why the Japanese colonial regime was able to occupy the native consciousness in a wide range of daily practices.</p> <p>To examine how and why the KMT regime occupied the consciousness of the native Taiwanese through the imposition of a series of Sinicization policies.</p> <p>To investigate the bentuhua policies of Lee and how they were shaped and informed by the two previous cultural policies.</p> <p>To explore how Japanese elements lingering from colonial era could become an integral part of the local Taiwanese culture and later even the cultural source against which Lee Teng-hui based his own version of bentuhua.</p>

To explore how Lee's bentuhua movement contributed to Taiwanese consciousness. That is, how the cultural separatist movement can be turned into a political separatist movement.

**Abstract as per original application
(English/Chinese):**

View

本研究旨在釐清過去一個世紀日本殖民地政權、國民黨威權式政權和李登輝政權在臺灣實施的主要文化政策，並進一步分析這些文化政策與現代臺灣意識形成之關係。本研究認為，我們應把上述的文化政策理解為一個Comaroff夫婦（Comaroff and Comaroff 1991: 4）所說把本土居民的意識殖民地化（“colonization of consciousness”的過程。在這個過程中，本土居民的意識將會被一套特殊的世界觀所取代（Comaroff and Comaroff 1991: 4）。然而，這樣並不等於說本土居民會完全被殖民地化，無差別地接納或擁抱這套外來的世界觀。相反地，這個殖民地化的過程反而是引起甚或鼓勵另外一套世界觀之形成的主要原因。本研究認為，過去一世紀於臺灣發生錯綜複雜的殖民地化過程正為現代臺灣意識埋下重要的文化歷史背景。本研究更認為，李登輝政權的文化政策，尤其是當中的「本土化」深受前政權各種文化政策的影響。國民黨威權式政權銳意把戰後臺灣社會「中國化」使得李登輝的本土化措施變相成為一個「去中國化」的過程，目的在於把臺灣從大陸那邊分割出來。有趣的是，在這個過程中去中國化措施的內容被擴大，進一步包含了所有「非」中國的文化內容。殘留在現代臺灣社會中各式各樣的日本生活模式正被李登輝所利用，使得再日本化具有相同於「本土化」的文化意思。也就是通過鼓吹或喚起殘留在臺灣的日本文化，來證明臺灣文化有別於中國文化。從這樣的角度來看，本土化其實是前政權各種措施下的獨有產物。這架構對本研究如何思考日本殖民政策、國民黨文化政策、李登輝本土化政策以及臺灣人意識形成之相互關係有著重要的影響。具體來說，本研究首先分析日本殖民政權以及國民黨政權如何間接或直接塑造本土意識之形成，展現於日常生活中各式各樣的習慣中。第二，本研究將分析國民黨的文化措施如何左右李登輝文化措施的方向。第三，本研究會分析日據時代殘留下來的日本文化如何成為本土臺灣文化不可或缺的一部份，最後甚至能成為李登輝本土化運動的原材料？最後，我們將會探究李登輝的本土化如何成就所謂的臺灣意識。也就是說，一個文化分離措施如何能變成為政治分離措施呢？

Realisation of objectives:

1) Through carrying out in-depth research on the cultural policies of the Japanese colonial rule, the KMT regime and Lee Teng-hui regime and their impacts on the daily life of the people of Taiwan, the interrelationship among the cultural policies of the

three regimes and the role of the cultural policies of the three regimes in shaping the formation process of modern Taiwanese consciousness, we were able to identify, clarify and compare the nation-making processes taken place throughout the Japanese, KMT and Lee Teng-hui regimes. Our focus on the ‘nationalizing’ and ‘renationalizing’ efforts of the regimes addresses the limitations of Benedict Anderson’s ‘imagined community’ approach, which fails to explain in detail the emergence of Taiwanese consciousness in contemporary Taiwan as it tends to ignore the actions of the crucial actors during the process and the power struggle among them. We also included a comparative perspective to compare the case of Taiwan and colonial Hong Kong after the Second World War so that we were able to better identify and explain the nature and features of the emergence of modern Taiwanese consciousness. We conducted extensive literature review, archival research, interview and ethnographic research to examine the cultural policies of the Japanese colonial government, the KMT regime and Lee Teng-hui’s regime respectively, the ways how Lee’s bentuhua policies were informed by the previous two regimes and Lee’s strategy in leading a political-separatist movement through the cultural-separatist movement.

2) Through our intensive reading of secondary material about colonial Taiwan and interview with old kōmin (imperialized citizens, referring to those who subjected themselves to the Japanese rule by giving up their Han Chinese names), we identified several important policies such as ‘the co-education between Taiwanese and Japanese’ of 1921, the ‘Law concerning the Japanese ordinances to be enforced in Taiwan’ (called Law No. 3), the use of Japanese style weddings and funerals, dressing, the worship of Shinto shrines, and the adoption of Japanese customs, language and even names through which the Japanese colonial regime occupied the native consciousness in everyday life of the people of Taiwan.

3) Through our intensive archival research on the KMT regime, we investigated how the KMT regime imposed on local people ‘a particular way of seeing and being’ and inhabited their consciousness with signs and practices of the ‘alien Chinese culture’ in order to secure full control of the native Taiwanese people. We also discovered that KMT adopted a series of policies to discipline body, manner and gender comportment to lodge into their bodies new principles that entailed a new whole set of values speaking not only to the ‘Chineseness’ but also the superiority of ‘Chineseness’.

4) By conducting interviews with former officials in charge of formulating the cultural policies during Lee’s regime, we confirmed that Lee’s cultural policy aimed to reverse the KMT’s intention to impose a Han Chinese culture on the people of Taiwan by establishing a Taiwanese culture that distanced from the Han Chinese culture.

5) Through intensive

ethnographic fieldwork in Taiwan, we discovered that Japanese elements such as language, food culture and architectural structure were fully incorporated into the lifestyle of the people of contemporary Taiwan because they were rehearsed in everyday life of the people of Taiwan. We also conducted an analysis of the change of the landscape of Hsimenting over the past century to investigate how the recent renewal of Hsimenting as a heaven for Japanese pop culture in contemporary Taiwan was related to Lee's strategy of distancing Taiwanese culture from Chinese culture. 6) Through intensive interviews with the former officials who led the Council for Cultural Affairs especially Professor Chen Chi-nan, we found out that Lee aimed to nurture a strong attachment to local communities among the people of Taiwan in order to develop among them a distinctive cultural consciousness which is different from that of the Han Chinese culture. We also visited some local communities and interviewed local people to see how they built the awareness of community among themselves on their own. According to the fact that the cultural logic of the Chinese concept of 'guojia' (nation-state), nation-state in Chinese culture is based on the same culture, history, and language, we concluded that the logical conclusion of Lee's cultural separation has to be political separation.

Summary of objectives addressed:

	Objectives	Addressed	Percentage achieved
1.	To conduct a theoretically informed empirical study of the interrelationship amongst Japanese colonial legacies, KMT's Sinicization policies, Lee's bentuhua policies and Taiwanese consciousness and produce a book for publication.	Yes	100%
2.	To examine how and why the Japanese colonial regime was able to occupy the native consciousness in a wide range of daily practices.	Yes	100%
3.	To examine how and why the KMT regime occupied the consciousness of the native Taiwanese through the imposition of a series of Sinicization policies.	Yes	100%
4.	To investigate the bentuhua policies of Lee and how they were shaped and informed by the two previous cultural policies.	Yes	100%

5.	To explore how Japanese elements lingering from colonial era could become an integral part of the local Taiwanese culture and later even the cultural source against which Lee Teng-hui based his own version of bentuhua.	Yes	100%
6.	To explore how Lee's bentuhua movement contributed to Taiwanese consciousness. That is, how the cultural separatist movement can be turned into a political separatist movement.	Yes	100%

Research Outcome

Major findings and research outcome:

Our research reveals how the formation of modern Taiwanese consciousness has to be understood as a complex process informed by complex articulations and mediations among the Japanese colonial policies, KMT's Sinicization policies and Lee Teng-hui's bentuhua policies. Specifically, the research enables us to better understand how the Japanese and 'Chinese' elements had been discarded, inserted and reshaped by the three different regimes to construct the local Taiwanese subjectivity. We are working on seven monographs—among them six have been contracted—to present the findings of the research and to reveal the dynamics of the transformation of modern Taiwanese consciousness under the three regimes. The contracted manuscripts in preparation include four Chinese books examining respectively the relationship between the cultural policies of the Japanese colonial rule, the KMT regime and the Lee Teng-hui regime, the emergence and development of modern Taiwanese consciousness (Part C, Item 3-5) and the identity formation processes in post-war Taiwan and Hong Kong (Part C Item 2); one Japanese book comparing the nation-making processes in Taiwan and Hong Kong after the Second World War (Part C, Item 1) and one English book comparing the cultural policies of the three regimes in Taiwan and the British colonial rule and the Chinese rule in Hong Kong (Part C, Item 6). We are also working on another English manuscript—which we will send out to seek a book contract very soon—examining the nationalizing and renationalizing processes of the KMT and Lee Teng-hui regimes and their impacts on the development of Taiwanese identity today. For the Japanese book (Part C, Item 1), we have already completed the whole manuscript and sent it out for translation. The book will be published by the end of 2017. We will also complete all the remaining manuscripts by the end of 2017. We will try our very best to make sure that all the monographs

	derived from the current research project will be published by the end of 2018.			
<p>Potential for further development of the research and the proposed course of action:</p>	<p>We are convinced that further research should be carried out to investigate the interaction between the state and the people in the three regimes in modern Taiwan (Japanese colonial rule, KMT rule and Lee Teng-hui's regime). Further development of the research should focus on two interrelated aspects. First, we believe that further research should focus on examining the resistance and collaboration of the Taiwanese people with the respective regimes to investigate how and why the Taiwanese acted, responded and interacted with the regimes in those specific ways and how their identity and subjectivity were formed and reformed through the process. Second, further research should also be carried out to examine how the three regimes systematically exercised authority over the Taiwanese through their power of the control and distribution of the material, social and political resources. For instance, to better understand the impact of the KMT rule on the people, we should examine how the regime established a comprehensive welfare system for civil servants, military personnel and educators in order to foster the dependence of the latter on the former. We shall prepare and submit another GRF proposal in the near future to investigate these issues.</p>			
<p>Layman's Summary of Completion Report:</p>	<p>Our research revealed that the emergence and formation of modern Taiwanese consciousness is a complex process informed by the cultural policies of the three regimes namely, the Japanese colonial rule, the KMT rule and Lee Teng-hui's regime. Our research showed that in order to understand the nature and transformation of modern Taiwanese consciousness, we should not study the three regimes independently but interdependently. We demonstrated that Lee's bentuhua policies, which aimed to inhabit a Taiwan-centric instead of China-centric 'way of seeing and being' among the people, were informed by the Japanization efforts of the Japanese colonial government and the de-Japanization and re-Sinicization policies of the KMT regime. We further explained how Lee, through emphasizing the Japanese elements during the bentuhua movement, attempted to construct a new Taiwanese consciousness which is culturally distant from China and one which therefore provided a cultural argument for a politically independent Taiwan. The research also results in a series of monographs to be published in English, Japanese and Chinese to reach and engage the widest audience possible.</p>			
<p>Research Output</p>				
<p>Peer-reviewed journal publication(s) arising directly from this research project : (* denotes the corresponding author)</p>	<p>Year of Publication</p>	<p>Author(s)</p>	<p>Title and Journal/Book</p>	<p>Accessible from Institution Repository</p>

	*Heung Wah Wong, Hoi Yan Yau, Karin Ling-fung Chau	Renationalizing Taiwan, Depoliticizing Hong Kong (Japanese monograph)	No
	*Heung Wah Wong, Hoi Yan Yau, Karin Ling-fung Chau	Guozuhua yu quzhengzhihua: zhanhou Taiwan yu Xianggang shenfen jiangou zhi renleixue tanjiu (國族化與去政治化：戰後台灣與香港身份建構之人類學比較探究) [Nationalizing Taiwan, Depoliticizing Hong Kong: an anthropological analysis of identity formation in postwar Taiwan and Hong Kong] (Chinese monograph)	No
	*Heung Wah Wong, Hoi Yan Yau	Peiyu Taiwan zhuti wei Riben keti: zaitai Riben zhimin zhengce zhi renleixue tanjiu(培育台灣主題為日本客體：在台日本殖民政策之人類學探究) [Making Taiwanese Subject to Japanese Object: An Anthropological Study of the Japanese Colonial Rule in Taiwan]	No

		(Chinese monograph)	
	*Heung Wah Wong, Hoi Yan Yau	Chongzhi Taiwan zhuti wei Zhongguo keti: zhanhou guomindang zhengquan xia wenhua zhengce zhi renleixue tanjiu (重置台灣主體為中國客體：戰後國民黨政權下文化政策之人類學探究) [Converting Taiwanese Subject to Chinese Object: An Anthropological Study of the KMT Cultural Policies in Postwar Taiwan] (Chinese monograph)	No
	*Heung Wah Wong, Hoi Yan Yau	Nizhuan Zhongguo keti wei Taiwan zhuti: lidenghui zhenquan xia wenhua zhengce zhi renleixue tanjiu (逆轉中國客體為台灣主體：李登輝政權下文化政策之人類學探究) [Reversing Chinese Object to Taiwanese Subject: An Anthropological Study of Lee Teng-hui's Cultural Policies in Contemporary Taiwan]	No

		(Chinese monograph)	
	*Heung Wah Wong, Hoi Yan Yau, Karin Ling-fung Chau	Cultural Policies and Identity Formation in Taiwan and Hong Kong (English monograph)	No
Recognized international conference(s) in which paper(s) related to this research project was/were delivered :	Month/Year/City	Title	Conference Name
	10/2014/Hong Kong	Two or Three Things I Know about Boundaries	After the Leviathan? About the Creation of Global lines of politics and polity in and after the Age of Extremes
	04/2016/Kobe	Becoming Japanese is to Become Taiwanese: Lee Teng-hui and the formation of Taiwanese consciousness	The 11th Annual Conference of The Asian Studies Association of Hong Kong (ASAHK)
	04/2016/Kobe	Renationalizing Taiwan, Depoliticalizing Hong Kong	The 11th Annual Conference of The Asian Studies Association of Hong Kong (ASAHK)
Other impact (e.g. award of patents or prizes, collaboration with other research institutions, technology transfer, etc.):	N/A		

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