FAMILY PHOTOGRAPHS, HISTORY, AND ART EDUCATION:
A WEB OF TAIWANESE VISUAL CULTURAL SIGNS

A Thesis in
Art Education

by
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ABSTRACT

In this study, I propose a model for learning Taiwanese visual culture through tracing the roots of Taiwanese visual culture and the layers of Taiwanese cultural identity. Understanding the ways in which the Taiwanese construct their contemporary identities and the ways a study of their signs could contribute to the Taiwanese art education curriculum are the main goals of this study.

Adopting the qualitative cultural study method, this study addressed three research questions: (1) What are the roots of Taiwanese visual culture? (2) What does one specific group of middle-class family photographs from the 1920s-1940s contribute to our understanding of Taiwanese culture and identity? and (3) What might the in-depth, multifaceted interpretation of these special forms of visual culture contribute to the content of the elementary and junior high school Arts and Humanities curriculum? I searched for interview participants who had access to plenty of family photographs taken between 1920 and 1940, who had been in school during the Japanese colonial period, and who were willing to be interviewed about their family history. The ultimate goal of this study is twofold: the first investigation examines the heritage of Taiwanese visual culture through a literature review, photographic interpretation, and ethnographic interviews; the second investigation explores the content of the Taiwanese elementary and junior high school Arts and Humanities curriculum in order to build Taiwanese visual cultural identity.

My research produced three main results. First, photography functioned as a window or mirror for society and enabled me to see Taiwanese visual cultural roots and
cultural diversity. Second, there existed the phenomena of different depths of assimilation.
In the Japanese colonial period (1895-1945) the Taiwanese were affected directly by the
Japanese for about three generations. The Taiwanese were spontaneously assimilated into
Japanese civilization through fashion, modern schooling, industry, medicine, hygiene,
and the improvement of material life, but as far as ethnic assimilation, the spiritual
domain, they were still hesitant. Third, the reflection of the cultural combination and
conflicts was among the Taiwanese, the Japanese, the Chinese, and the West. The
Taiwanese culture is a hybrid culture, reflecting multiple societies, and creating a new
style of visual culture that is not the traditional Chinese, Japanese, nor Western culture.
The Taiwanese might not be able—or want—to pursue orthodox cultural status. They
accepted continual change. The Taiwanese built their own unique visual cultural identity.

Family portrait photographs reveal phenomena that exist between private and
public lives—phenomena existing in the space between local and national culture. When
we dig more deeply, we find more signs within the visual cultural web. The photographs
reveal how a personal identity is built—how individuals come to know their culture and
be understood with who they are. School teachers can design their curricula through both
global and local domains by using photographic interpretation.
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I had the idea to conduct research tracing Taiwanese visual cultural roots through photographic signs for a long time. Not until I came to the Pennsylvania State University did I get a chance to make it real. I truly cherish the opportunity to conduct this study.

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This research approaches Taiwanese visual culture by tracing Taiwanese visual cultural roots, the way Taiwanese construct contemporary Taiwanese identities, and the ways the study of these signs could contribute to Taiwanese art education curriculum.

Research Motivation

The original motivation for this investigation came about when I was six years old. I had found a strange photograph in my family album. There were numerous people dressed up in the photograph. It looked like a very old photograph; the color was faded and the dresses were old-fashioned. There were only two males but fourteen females. All of people in the photograph were very serious, and none of them were smiling. Everyone’s eyes were fixed on the camera lens. Especially strange was that part of the photograph was defaced by a black mark. Since taking photographs was very expensive during that era, I wondered who had done the defacing and why my parents had not tried to restore it. They kept the ugly photograph as a treasure.

The black mark was so obvious that I could not ignore it. I had asked my parents many times, but their mysterious answers and attitudes only increased my curiosity. I thought I had to figure out some magical things hidden in the photograph that my parents
did not want children to know. My curiosity drove me to pay continued attention to the mysterious atmosphere that I saw portrayed in this photograph.

When I grew up, I knew why the photograph was defaced, but I kept silent. In the background of the photograph, taken in the era during the Japanese colony period (1895-1945) in Taiwan, there is a political poster written to please the Japanese governor. After World War II (1945), the image of the poster in the photograph was defaced because anything that honored the Japanese colonial period was prohibited by the Kuomintang (KMT, 国民黨), the new political authority in Taiwan. Like my parents, I had learned from my environment that I did not want to be a trouble maker during the era of martial law (1949-1987). This was a time when Taiwan was under high political pressure, the government just wanted to erase any influence of the Japanese colonization. The removal of Japanese culture was not only motivated by the fact that Taiwan had been a Japanese colony, but also because China had fought against Japan for eight years (1937-1945) in the Sino-Japanese war. The KMT wanted the Taiwanese to share their hatred of the Japanese (Ong, 2000). Moreover, the KMT lost mainland China to the Communists, and withdrew to Taiwan in 1949. There were many conflicts between the mainlanders and the Taiwanese in 1945-1949 (Brown, 2004), so the Chinese politicians handled Taiwan harshly, using martial law beginning on May 20, 1949 (Yun-Liu Taiwan Hall, 2000). Under martial law, the political authority controlled “the basic rights of all citizens” (Gutmann, 1994, p. 10) such as freedom of speech, press, association, and so on (Ong, 2000; Yun-Liu Taiwan Hall, 2000). After martial law was lifted in 1987, I began to think that figuring out the in-depth multifaceted meaning inherent in the photograph could be a research topic.
The second motivation for this investigation developed when I was one of the members of the examining committee for the *Arts and Humanities* textbooks for the elementary school level assigned by the Ministry of Education of Taiwan in 2000-2003. I saw that some textbook editors had a difficult time editing localized content in textbooks because they were bound by the "grand narrative" (Lyotard, 1984, p. xxiii), orthodoxy, mainstream, and truth, they themselves had been taught. Due to their educational background and the previous Taiwanese social atmosphere, telling personal opinions and discussing local issues, "little narrative" (Lyotard, 1984, p. 60), was challenging the KMT government’s legitimacy in Taiwan and standing independence from the Republic of China (ROC). In education, telling the little narrative was a taboo during martial law period in Taiwan because every teacher should follow the national textbook edition, orthodoxy, mainstream, and truth for her/his teaching.

I have seen the process of educational reform in Taiwan since 1982, when I began to serve as a faculty member in the Taipei Municipal University of Education (the previous name was the Taipei Municipal Teachers College). Before martial law was lifted, the Taiwanese usually hid their identities pretending they were the same as the Chinese, and they had never been influenced by the Japanese in order to survive. The cultural reality was covered by the power of politicians. After martial law was lifted, most of the Taiwanese still did not know how to develop themselves or how to apply that political freedom, because they had been constrained since the Japanese colonial period and to the KMT martial law period.

I began to think about the relationship between these two motivations. By combining the two areas into a single research topic, I thought that I would find a way to
understand the multiple cultural layers of Taiwan. I also hoped to contribute to the Taiwanese art education curriculum through developing an understanding of the construction of contemporary Taiwanese identity.

**Statement of Problem**

Taiwan’s educational system has gone through a big transition in the last century. From the 1940s until the late 1990s, the Ministry of Education, the highest institution of education that conducts policy-making and supervises policy fulfillment in Taiwan, has controlled the national curriculum for elementary and secondary schools by maintaining a highly centralized system of curriculum development and textbook production (Liu, Hung, & Vickers, 2005). The teachers could not design their curricula beyond the centralized content, so they were like teaching robots, passing on the national policies.

According to Yang’s (2001, March) statement, since the development of high-tech industries in Taiwan in the 1980s, political stability and the economy have both grown rapidly. This gave the government confidence that martial law was no longer necessary to maintain national security, and as a result martial law was lifted on July 15, 1987. Since that time, democracy, pluralism, and liberalization have been sought after in every socio-cultural sphere. According to a report by the institute Taiwan Executive Yuan, the demand for educational reform was a response to meeting the changing social reality from parents, teachers, educators, officials, and politicians. The government in Taiwan has justified the need for educational reform and organized the consulting board in 1994 (http://www.sinica.edu.tw/info/edu-reform/area2/, retrieved August 30, 2007).
After educational reform was put in practice in 2001, Taiwanese teachers began to have the right to design their own curricula based on the needs of the students and the particular school environment, and to have multiple choices of textbooks, rather than the national editions.

Due to Taiwan’s unique history, ruled by the Dutch, the Spanish, the Chinese Han people, and the Japanese (all in the past 400 years), and geographic location, an island midway in the trade route between Europe and the Far East, the Taiwanese experienced the impact of outside cultures earlier than many other countries. The development of communication technologies promotes the influence of globalization. For example, in 2005, 76.2% of Taiwanese families owned a personal computer, and 66.6% were internet users (http://www.find.org.tw/find/home.aspx?page=news&id=4223, retrieved August 28, 2007). In 2001, the Taiwan Ministry of Education extended the teaching of English by introducing it in 5th grade instead of 7th grade. If it can afford to do so, every county school district has the authority to decide to begin its English curriculum in 3rd or 1st grade, even earlier than the Ministry of Education’s basic request, due to the coming of the global era (http://www.edu.tw/EDU_WEB/EDU_MGT/E0001/EDUION001/menu01/sub05/01050021b.htm#ps1, retrieved August 28, 2007).

After martial law was lifted, maintaining their indigenous identity other than the orthodox Chinese forced the Taiwanese to face the importance of localization in education. The Taiwanese needed to both globalize and localize educational reform (Hwang, 2006; Yang, 2001, March). As a result, the Ministry of Education began to implement an educational reform—the *Nine-year-integration Curriculum* (九年一貫課...
程) in 2001. The main mission of this reform is to reconstruct elementary school (grades 1-6) and junior high school (grades 7-9) curricula into a continuous coherent learning area, rather than separating the elementary and junior high school levels as the previous curricula did. The core rationales of the *Nine-year-integrated Curriculum* are to teach students democratic values, the rule of law, and humanitarian ideals (Ministry of Education, 2006). One of the important issues in the curriculum plan is curriculum decentralization, which replaces the previous curriculum standards with non-prescriptive curriculum guidelines, while the centralized and prescriptive national curriculum is replaced by school-based curricula (Liu *et al*., 2005). Before martial law was lifted, textbook content was centralized and most often China-centered, which was very different from the students’ lives. The school-based curricula are closer to the students’ everyday lives as well as the local community’s characteristics. Every school can follow the national curriculum guidelines by deciding whether or not to use suggested textbooks, and then designing its unique curriculum to reflect its local characteristics.

The goals of educational reform are definite, but deciding how to fulfill the goals in this curriculum is still a big problem. After a long period of conforming to the national standard, some art teachers either did not know how, or did not want, to design their own curricula when they began to have this option. These problems prompted me to think about how I will contribute to Taiwanese art education through my study.

Due to these motivations and my Taiwanese educational experience, I set up a model to teach Taiwanese visual culture through tracing Taiwanese visual culture’s roots and the layers of cultural identities. To understand the ways in which the Taiwanese
construct their contemporary identities and the ways that a study of these signs could contribute to the Taiwanese art education curriculum are the main goals of this study.

**Research Questions**

Taiwan has problems defining its sense of historical identity. Most Taiwanese people are confused about their identities because their government has been changed by force many times (Brown, 2004; P.-H. Chen, 2001; Chou, 2003; Corcuff, 2005; Davison, 2003; Liu et al., 2005; Takekoshi, 1907; To, 1972; Tsurumi, 1977, 1979; Vertente, Hustebaut, Xu, & Wu, 1991). The social reality was usually constrained by political forces. The purpose of this study is to reveal the buried parts, to trace what the Taiwanese visual cultural roots are, and to thereby contribute to Taiwanese art education curriculum. The fundamental questions of this study are:

1. What are the roots of Taiwanese visual culture?
2. What does one specific group of middle-class family photographs from the 1920s-1940s contribute to our understanding of Taiwanese culture and identity?
3. What might the in-depth, multifaceted interpretation of these special forms of visual culture contribute to the content of the elementary and junior high school *Arts and Humanities* curriculum?

The ultimate goal of this study is twofold: the first investigation examines the heritage of Taiwanese visual culture through a literature review, photographic interpretation, and ethnographic interviews. Through the results of this basic investigation
the second investigation emerges, which explores the content of the Taiwanese
elementary and junior high school *Arts and Humanities* curriculum and discusses how
this curriculum might be revised in order to build Taiwanese visual cultural identity.

**Research Significance**

Education was one of tools the government used to restrict peoples’ thoughts and
actions (P.-F. Chen, 2006; P.-H. Hsu, 2005; Lee, 2001; Spring, 2005). Due to Taiwan’s
complicated political history, different generations of Taiwanese children were taught
through their school education to be loyal to different governments.

After the two World Wars, many countries changed from colonies to independent
countries. The people of these countries struggled with issues of postcolonial identity
construction, which both connected and conflicted with the colonizer’s hegemony and
independent democracy (Bhabha, 1995). After World War II, when Taiwan was ceded
from Japan to the Republic of China, the Taiwanese faced a similar but even more
complicated problem. On one hand, the Taiwanese enjoyed the heritage of civilization
that the Japanese constructed in Taiwan; on the other hand, the Taiwanese were happy
that they could form their own government. They did not want any outside authority, but
the Chinese mainland politician soon came to Taiwan. The Taiwanese never had the
chance to rule themselves until martial law was lifted. After 400 years of turmoil, unique
Taiwanese characteristics and self-esteem were hidden and had almost been eliminated
by these multiple outside authorities. The facets of identity such as ancestry, nationality,
and culture are confused, and have caused conflict in the Taiwanese mind for a long time.
Most Taiwanese recognized their ethnicity as the Chinese Han people not only by genetics, but also by cultural values such as religion, gender, and ethics (C.-N. Chen, 1994); on the other hand, most Taiwanese recognized their heritage as Japanese—a lifestyle that was law-abiding, hygienic, and modern society (P.-F. Chen, 2006). In other words, the Taiwanese had changed during the rule of the outsiders, so they might define themselves as neither Chinese nor Japanese. But who were they? This self-
“misrecognition shows not just a lack of due respect. It can inflict a grievous wound, saddling its victims with a crippling self-hatred. Due recognition is not just a courtesy we owe people. It is a vital human need” (Taylor, 1994, p. 26).

When the era of democracy arrived, the Taiwanese people had to look backward and figure out who they were, in order to determine who they are and who they will become. They need to respect themselves and to be respected by others because “the forms of equal recognition have been essential to democratic culture” (Taylor, 1994, p. 27). Taylor (1994) mentions that people usually define themselves through being true to their inner voice, which means being true to the originality and potential that people can articulate and discover within themselves because the inner voice tells us the right thing to do.

School education is a way to construct students’ political recognition, to shape their integrity, to build their self-esteem, and to identify their unique characteristics. Through tracing their cultural roots, students can understand their visual cultural background and locate their positions in society that they can understand themselves. “The story—my story—should cohere in the way appropriate by the standards made available in my culture to a person of my identity” (Appiah, 1994, p. 160). The students
study visual arts through the old Taiwanese family photographs, from the historical background, the little narrative, and their daily lives to build their own visual cultural identities.

**Personal Background**

I am conducting this study because of my personal work experience. I am a professor of art at Taipei Municipal University of Education, which is an elementary (K-6) pre-service teacher training and elementary teacher continuing education institute. I have worked there for 24 years, since 1983. I attained the position of full professor of art in 1992 and I have served as both the Chair of the Art Education Department and the Director of the Graduate School of Visual Arts for five and a half years (February, 1998 - July, 2003). I have been assigned by the Ministry of Education of Taiwan to be a member of Arts Evaluation Review Team (藝術學門評鑑委員) of the Higher Education Evaluation & Accreditation Council of Taiwan (高等教育評鑑中心) for the academic year (August, 2006 - July, 2007). During my previous working experience, I observed many aspects of Taiwanese art education, which helped me to conduct a more in-depth study.

The results of my study can contribute to art education in four ways. First, I will give my suggestions to art educators, art education policy makers, and art textbook editors in Taiwan. Second, my suggestions can contribute to art education in countries that have a similar historical background and have been colonized by others. Third, my suggestions can contribute to art educators’ understanding of how to relate a private life
and local visual culture to a public society and national culture in the art education curriculum. Finally, this research could be meaningful for art educators and general educators in other countries who are interested in helping students understand how history helps shape national identity, how colonial experiences impose a dominant culture, and how studying personal stories through visual culture can help students create post-colonial identities.

**Definition of Key Terms**

There are several key terms which are critical concepts relating to this research. They are *identity*, *aborigines in Taiwan*, *Taiwanese*, and *Chinese*. The definitions for Taiwanese aborigines, Taiwanese, and Chinese are always in the process of changing and fluctuate among different time periods.

**Identity**

Everyone has her/his own identity, whether the identity is from recognition or misrecognition. The notion of individual identity is about being true to oneself and one’s own particular way of being; in other words, it concerns who I am and where I am coming from (Taylor, 1994). Everyone’s identity is created by dialoging with others (Gutmann, 1994; Taylor, 1994). If my inner voice and others’ reflection of me can be matched, I can be myself without any pretending.
Every person’s identity includes two dimensions: collective identity and personal identity. Collective identities include attributes such as religion, gender, ethnicity, sexuality, and so forth. The narratives that people tell are used in shaping their life connections, which they “can use in shaping their life planes and in telling their life stories” (Appiah, 1994, p. 160). By telling their life stories, the sharing of memories solidifies the classification of specific groups (Appiah, 1994; Taylor, 1994). Personal identities consist of intelligence, physical features, and inherent personality. The difference between collective identity and personal identity is a sociological rather than a logical distinction (Appiah, 1994), because they are intersected into a person who is shaped by dialogue, which is too complicated to distinguish. For instance, Appiah (1994) classifies “charm, wit, [and] cupidity” (p. 151) as being part of personal identity, but actually they are shaped by dialogue with others.

Taylor (1994) mentions that in a democratic society, people become fully human agents capable of understanding themselves and hence of defining their identity, through their acquisition of the abundant expressions in human language. Taylor (1994) says that language consists of not only the words people speak, but also of other modes of expression, including the “languages” of art, gesture, emotion, and so on. People learn these modes of expression through exchanges with others, and define their identity through dialogue with others. Sometimes they struggle against the things their authority figures want to see in them. The conflict with these authority figures, significant others in their early life such as parents, may continue as long as they live. People need to know that they need relationships to be fulfilled, but not to define themselves through others because they are not puppets or accessories.
Recognition is linked with identity because people’s identity is partly shaped by recognition (Taylor, 1994). The importance of recognition includes the intimate and the social relationships. Recognition in the intimate sphere operates with the understanding that the formation of identity and the self as taking place in a continuing dialogue and struggle with significant others. In the public sphere, recognition is influential in that the politics of equal recognition has come to play a bigger and bigger role. A democratic society requires such equal recognition (Taylor, 1994).

In summary, knowing my identity is to recognize who I was, who I am, and who I will become, and to achieve the right balance within my self, with others, and circumstances.

**Aborigines in Taiwan**

Aborigines have been living in Taiwan since in 4,000 B.C. (Davison, 2003). Today, there are approximately 410,000 aborigines in Taiwan, less than 2% of the Taiwanese population. They belong to the Austronesian language family (Y.-C. Chen, 2005, September; Davison, 2003).

The Austronesian languages are among the most widely distributed in the world’s language families, next to the Niger-Congo language family. The area inhabited by Austronesian people extends from Taiwan in the north to New Zealand in the south, and Easter Island in the east to Madagascar in the west. The 12 major aboriginal tribes in Taiwan are consisted of Ami, Atayal, Bunun, Paiwan, Rukai, Puyuma, Tsou, Saisiyat, Tao, Thao, Kavalan, and Truku. Each tribe has its own language and sets of customs. (Y.-C. Chen, 2005, September, p. 13)

Taiwanese aborigines were categorized by the Chinese Han people into two main groups, according to their geographical location. One was the *High Mountain* group and
the other was the *Pingpu* group (Y.-C. Chen, 2005, September). The *High Mountain* group lived deep inside the mountains and was isolated from the Chinese Han people; the *Pingpu* group lived near the plains, had more interaction and shared many common characteristics of the Han nationality with the Han people (Y.-C. Chen, 2005, September; To, 1972). The Taiwanese aborigines built an economy based on horticulture, hunting, gathering, and fishing (Davison, 2003). Although aborigines were the earliest inhabitants of Taiwan, the aboriginal tribes are still segregated from Taiwanese mainstream society. Most of them cannot compete with the Han people because they have several different language systems and life styles. If they move from the mountains to a city in the plain, they are marginalized to the edges of society (S.-S. Wang, 2001). The situation is similar to that of the Native Americans in the U.S. Their self-esteem and opportunities for education and employment are lower than that of the Han people. Their life expectancy is shorter than the average of the Taiwanese population (To, 1972).

Recently, Taiwanese political awareness about aboriginal issues has been increasing due to the arrival of multi-party democracy. The government policies now place more emphasis on aborigines in terms of equal opportunity and preserving their cultural traditions, such as arts, languages, and life-styles. The *Council of Indigenous People* (原住民委員會), a central government organization devoted to indigenous affairs, was established in 1996 to respond to the needs of the Taiwanese aborigines (http://www.apc.gov.tw/chinese/, retrieved May 9, 2007). The main problem the aborigines face is that these policies are mostly designed from the perspective of the Han political majority, whether or not they are well fitted to the aborigines’ needs, and society has changed so fast that the aborigines can hardly catch up. For a long time, they suffered
in conditions of economic depression, and were a disadvantaged minority. While the situation is improving, the aborigines are still far away from a satisfactory situation.

**Taiwanese**

The concepts behind the term “Taiwanese” are built on the relativity of relationships or different time periods. There are two main ethnic groups in Taiwan: the aborigines, whose ancestors are Austronesian people, and the Han people, whose ancestors are Chinese.

In contrast with the term aborigine, the term “Taiwanese” means the offspring of the first main wave of immigrants from China, around the 17\textsuperscript{th} and 18\textsuperscript{th} centuries. The aborigines view the Taiwanese as the dominating group. From the perspective of the second wave of immigrants, who were Chinese mainlanders from China to Taiwan after World War II, the term “Taiwanese” includes the offspring of the first wave of immigrants from China and the aborigines in Taiwan, where the Taiwanese are the group dominated by the mainlanders. Nowadays, the Chinese in mainland China and other people such as American use “Taiwanese” to mean the inhabitants of Taiwan, including the aborigines, the offspring of the first wave of immigrants from China, and the mainlanders and their offspring in Taiwan.

According to Brown (2004) in *Is Taiwan Chinese?: The impact of culture, power, and migration on changing identities*, before Taiwan came under Japanese colonial rule in 1895, people in Taiwan did not identify themselves as a unified group. Han people
viewed themselves different from the non-Han, who were the aborigines and Europeans in Taiwan.

The Han people used to call the aborigines Raw Barbarians (生蕃) until several decades ago. I still remember my impression about the name Raw Barbarians which I heard in my childhood. Han-centered thinking made the Han people look at all other ethnicities as barbarians. They called the Europeans Red-Hair Barbarians (紅毛蕃) when the Europeans arrived in Taiwan in 17th Century to show the distinction between the two ethnicities. For example, the famous building built by the Spanish in 1629 in Tanshui, north of Taiwan, is still called Red-Hair Fort (Government Information Office, Executive Yuan, 2006). The Han people in Taiwan began to think they were a unified group—Taiwanese—when they met and conflicted with the Japanese: the outsiders made the Taiwanese think they should be united to resist the outside political authority (Kho, 2002).

The term “Taiwanese” also refers to the language spoken by the majority in Taiwan, especially during the period before 1949. It was the native language of most of the Taiwanese, but today it is weakened by the legacy of the KMT Mandarin as National Language Policy. It stated that Taiwanese people could not speak languages other than Mandarin, including Taiwanese or Japanese, in public places such as schools and governmental offices, or on television and radio programs. The KMT was using language to assimilate the Taiwanese under the name of the Republic of China (ROC). The purposes of Mandarin as National Language Policy were: (1) to improve the country by uniting it; (2) to communicate and to announce government decrees; (3) to use Mandarin to build Chinese identity; (4) to take away obstructions to communication from different
dialects (http://www.edu.tw/EDU_WEB/EDU_MGT/MANDR/EDU6300001/rules/1-6-3.html?search, retrieved August 30, 2007). Mandarin had replaced the Taiwanese and Japanese languages soon after the KMT took over Taiwan. The policy caused most of the younger Taiwanese generation to lose their knowledge of their mother tongue.

**Chinese**

Brown (2004) explains that the English term “Chinese” has several meanings. First, “Chinese” refers to an ethnic identity, such as Americans of Chinese ancestry or any other country’s residents of Chinese ancestry. Second, “Chinese” refers to a national identity, such as the citizens of the People of Republic of China (PRC). Third, “Chinese” refers to the official language Mandarin Chinese. Fourth, the meaning of “Chinese” overlaps with that of the Han people, who are the ethnic majority in China, among 56 ethnic groups, and constitute 91% of the population in China.

During the nationalist period (1945-1987) the KMT government wanted to represent and legitimize the orthodoxy of China, so it educated all of Taiwan’s residents to think of themselves as if they were Chinese, including the aborigines. After martial law was lifted, most Taiwanese wanted to identify themselves as Taiwanese in order to be distinct from the Chinese, residents of the PRC.

More than half a century of colonial rule and separation from China had made the Taiwanese “incomplete” Chinese. Most Taiwanese had or little or no knowledge of Chiang Kai-shek and the nationalist government; even fewer spoke Mandarin Chinese, now a standardized “national” language. Furthermore, economic development during the colonial period had created other gaps between colonial Taiwan and war-ridden China. The occupying mainlanders led by the administrator-general of Taiwan, Chen Yi, governed Taiwan as an occupied territory instead of a liberated province. The postwar economic collapse and
Chinese graft and corruption eventually led to the discontent of the Taiwanese that culminated in a massive clash and bloody subjugation known as the 2-28 Incident of 1947. (Ching, 2001)

For the Taiwanese, the term “Chinese” evokes a complicated mix of feelings. First, most of the Taiwanese appreciate the traditional Chinese culture, and see it as their cultural roots. They cannot recognize the Chinese political authority, the red communists in mainland China, especially after China threatened Taiwan when the Taiwanese insisted on independence. Second, the term “Chinese” brings to mind the conflicts between the first wave and the second wave of immigrants to Taiwan. The opposition between the Taiwanese and the mainlanders used to be an issue during the political elections.

As a Taiwanese artist, Ching-Yin Ho (2007, May), who had been my colleague in Taipei Municipal Teachers College before she retired in 1987, states that in Taiwan Art News she was born as Japanese in the Japanese colonial period, and grew up as Chinese in the postwar period, but she would rather die being Taiwanese. No one would have dared to voice this opinion before martial law was lifted, especially a faculty member in a public college. She represents the inner voices of most Taiwanese. This inner voice has been shown in political elections with ballots. For instance, since Taiwan started general elections for President in 2000, the KMT lost the elections twice, in 2000 and 2004, because the voters used their ballots to present their Taiwanese consciousness.

**Limitations of the Study**

This cultural study has certain limitations that need to be taken into account when considering the study and its contributions. First is the selection of the two families: one
is my extended family and the other is my friend’s family. In the beginning of the study, the relationship may have helped the participants trust the researcher with their private family photographs and made the participants more open to talking about their families’ history.

Second, although Taiwan’s history can be traced into prehistory, the time period of this study is limited. I used photographs as sources and documented family history and visual culture with interviews of people in photographs as a means of data collection. This restricted the scope of the study to primarily after 1920 so that I could interview someone in one of the photographs who is still alive.

Third, those who could take a photograph in the 1920s-1940s must have been from the middle or upper class, since taking a photograph was expensive. Therefore this study cannot represent all Taiwanese social situations and is limited to one specific group of middle class people.

Fourth, the qualitative in-depth interviews took long time, so the scope of the research is limited from a few interviewees. The data are limited in personal and narrow opinions, which can not present a common view of the whole society.

Finally, a human being’s memory is limited and selective, and sometimes it may be erroneous. The interviewees may choose to recount positive experiences, and ignore negative ones by editing their responses. Oral history is telling a meaning to the listeners, not passing down the truth to the others (R. C. Smith, 2003). As Gubrium and Holstein (2003) explain: “the value of interview data lies both in their meanings and in how meanings are constructed” (p. 33). This indicates that the interview’s process and transcript are both important to the data collection. The value of interview data comes
The interview data should then be contrasted with other related information such as literature review, documents, artifacts, or other opinions to see how patterns and metaphor emerge and how the meanings are constructed.

The study is meant to trace some of the layers of Taiwanese cultural roots. The explanatory effort to interpret specific groups of Taiwanese visual culture may not be applicable to other contexts, although some groups might range across different contexts.

**Research Structure**

My research structure is displayed in a diagram (Figure 1-1) to show the relationship of every element and process of the research briefly and clearly. The three main resources for this research were: a literature review, photographic interpretations, and participant interviews. The procedures for my research project were both linear and cyclical.

In the beginning, I did a literature review and thought about my research topic. After I decided on my research topic, I searched for interview participants who would have access to plenty of family photographs taken between 1920 and 1940, who had been studying in school during the Japanese colonial period, and who were willing to be interviewed about their family history.

The procedures of interview and photographic interpretation were taken step by step. I visited every participant at least twice during my research process. During the main interview, I duplicated the photographs from my participant’s collection, and
examined the related documents and artifacts. After I went back my office, I wrote the transcripts and tried to match the photographs with the transcripts. I checked the transcripts and photographs with my participants for verification in the second interviews. If I needed to, I visited them again to refine the details.

When the data were collected, I read the photographs’ signs and gave the transcripts an initial coding. Then I thought about the transcripts’ content and the photographs again and again to see what stories they told, what patterns and metaphor would emerge, and what meanings would be constructed. I selected several issues to interpret. For example, I discuss visual signs and cultural identity, wedding dresses and cultural identity, and economic status reflected in visual signs in Chapters 4 and 5; I discuss education and economic status, cultural diversity, and class differences in Chapter 6. The research results and discovery as well as the answer to my first and second research questions are written in Chapter 7. In Chapter 8, the last chapter, I present my teaching in interpreting old family photographs for the design of the art education curriculum to answer my third question.
Figure 1-1: The research structure
Chapter 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

A literature review is the foundation and inspiration of substantial and useful research (Boote & Beile, 2005). It includes three areas: “to present results of similar studies, to relate the present study to the ongoing dialogue in the literature, and to provide a framework for comparing the results of a study with other studies” (Creswell, 1994, p. 37).

Three primary subjects relate to this study: (1) the interpretation of photographic signs—the theoretical framework for reading photographs; (2) the multiple Taiwanese visual cultural identities—the theoretical framework for understanding the fluid, variable, and complicated Taiwanese visual cultural identities, and knowing Taiwanese society and history; and (3) the development of Taiwanese art education, including art education in the Japanese colonial period and the transition of art education in contemporary Taiwan—the theoretical framework for the purposes of education and art education and their situations in Taiwan.

From these three primary subjects, I provide the foundation and inspiration of this study to understand how to read the Taiwanese old family photographs through discovering cultural roots and how to apply the little narrative and visual cultural understanding to the art education curriculum.
The Interpretation of Photographic Signs

Photographs are everywhere. People of all ages can take a photograph easily, using either a traditional film camera or a contemporary digital camera. We see photographs or their copies in private places such as personal albums and wallets and in public places such as newspapers, magazines, and advertisements.

We cannot avoid photographs in daily life. They are part of our lives, whether we like them or not. Regardless of whether or not the subjects are conscious of how they presented themselves to the camera, researchers can learn to read a photograph for signs about past conditions.


Background

Photographs are the common currency of visual communication in the industrialized world. They are also the most democratic art form: more people than ever
before can afford to use cameras to record familial events or to express personal responses to real and imagined experiences (Rosenblum, 1997).

The technology and materials of photography have been changing constantly since its invention in 1827. When we have a discussion about photographic meaning and functions, we have to put it in its historical background. A meaningful approach to the history of photography needs to stress the context of both its production and reception (Solomon-Godeau, 2003). Photography and photographs have different meanings and functions in different eras.

Rudimentary photography began in 1827, using a simple asphalt-coated plate. A camera produced a photograph by taking an exposure that lasted eight hours (Koetzle, 2002; http://inventors.about.com/library/inventors/blphotography.htm, retrieved September 8, 2007). After this, both the method and equipment improved and the process of photograph taking changed. According to Rosenblum (1997), two notable photographic systems were developed in 1839:

The outcome of one process was a unique, unduplicatable, laterally reversed monochrome picture on a metal plate that was called a daguerreotype after one of its inventors, Louis Jacques Mande Daguerre. The other system produced an image on paper that was also monochromatic and tonally as well as laterally reversed—a negative. When place in contact with another chemically treated surface and exposed to sunlight, the negative image was transferred in reverse, resulting in a picture with normal spatial and tonal values. The result of this procedure was called photogenic drawing and evolved into the calotype, or Talbotype, named after its inventor, William Henry Fox Talbot. (p. 15)

To keep the image from disappearing, the exposure time was over several hours in 1827, was reduced to less than 30 minutes in 1839 (http://inventors.about.com/library/inventors/blphotography.htm, retrieved September 8, 2007), and then to 1/4 minute in 1840 (http://old.photosharp.com.tw/photo123/history-
In 1888, a box camera, 6.5×3.5×3.5 inches, made by Eastman Kodak Company, was invented and entered the market; in 1899, a Packet Kodak Camera, smaller than the box camera, entered the market (http://old.photosharp.com.tw/photo123/history-6.htm, retrieved September 8, 2007).

These would impact people’s perceptions of reality, and represented a response to the challenge of permanently capturing a fleeting image because the image was produced more objective, machine-made, and automatic than it had ever done before. For example, painting was done by an artist through his observation and composed as well as painted by his hands, more subjectively but less objectively.

Photography was invented in Europe and quickly spread throughout the whole world because of developing industry and colonial expansion. Places in Asia came into contact with photography soon after its invention. According to Rosenblum (1997), the earliest recorded contact was through a Japanese merchant from Nagasaki who imported the first camera in 1848. Rosenblum mentions that there is evidence of experimentation with the daguerreotype process in Japan after the camera was imported, and the first portrait daguerreotypes were made by Eliphalet Brown, Jr., an American artist and photographer who followed Commodore Matthew Perry’s expedition to Japan in the same era.

Unlike Japan, China’s closed-door policy isolated it from Western ideas of progress, during the Ch’ing dynasty. However, photographers from the west began to shoot portraits in China in the early 1860s, when a Californian named Milton Miller, who owned a studio in Hong Kong, made formal, posed portraits of Cantonese merchants, Mandarins, and their families (Rosenblum, 1997). The Scottish photographer John
Thomson traveled to China and photographed workers and peasants. He included their portraits in his four-volume work *Illustrations of China and Its People*, published in England in 1873/74 (Rosenblum, 1997). It provided one of the earliest photographic records of Chinese history and geography.

Taiwan was a territory of the Ch’ing dynasty when Thomson shot his photographs. Half of the second volume, including sixteen illustrations, was taken in Formosa (Taiwan or Taiwanfu). These included photographs of the Han people, aboriginal people, and landscapes. After more than one hundred years, the publication *Illustrations of China and Its People* was republished with the name *China and Its People in Early Photographs: An Unabridged Reprint of the Classic 1873/74 Work* in 1982 (Thomson, 1982). The publication recorded the people, culture, and geography of Taiwan. As a Taiwanese, I was very moved when I saw those early photographs. The photographs showed me so much more than word documents. They helped me to understand and believe in what my ancestor’s lives and geography had been like. I tried to read not only the meanings of the subjects, but also the stories behind the photographs.

I read photographic signs from a historical perspective and place an emphasis on family photographs. My definition of family photograph is one that contains at least two family members. The physical features, such as noses, eyes, and foreheads, are a critical clue to kinship and they show us the links between family members (Hirsch, 1981).
Photographic Interpretations

“Photographs provide strikingly descriptive data, are often used to understand the subjective, and are frequently analyzed inductively” (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003, p. 132). One uses description and explanation to interpret a photograph; in addition, these are the ways to understand a photograph. A description relates words and concepts to a photograph (Baxandall, 1985). Describing is both a process of data-gathering and also a listing of facts (Barthes, 1981). Explanation could be “the point, the meaning, the sense, the tone, or the mood of the photograph” (Barrett, 2006, p. 44).

In my opinion, the slight distinction between these two is that description is more objective and more externally informative, and is generated from a literature review and participant’s interviews. Explanation, on the other hand, is more subjective and more internally interpretive and is based on the describing information, the researcher’s professional education, cultivation, and accumulated experience in reading photographic signs. Although a distinction exists between them, description and explanation are usually intermingled when used to interpret a photograph.

According to Baxandall’s (1985) statements, intention refers to works rather than to creators. In particular cases, intention describes a relationship between a photograph and its circumstances both at the moment that the photograph was taken and over time. Intention is not the narration of the mental events of photographers; intention is a pattern posited in behavior and used to give circumstantial facts and descriptive concepts a basic structure. Intention stands in relation to the photograph itself when one looks at a photograph.
Intention is presented in why the spectator reads the photograph. The spectator uses her/his perspective through her/his background and understanding to interpret the image of a photograph, the work. It is hard to apply the photographer’s—the creator’s—perspective to read a photograph, especially when it is from long ago.

Reading a photograph is the process of addressing it as an object of historical interpretation, and this “involves the identification of a selection of its causes” (Baxandall, 1985, p. 117). One has to indicate its correspondence with reality, which s/he relates to her/his sense of the presence of the photograph, the mental and physical events the participants experienced at the moment, and the place the photograph was taken (Baxandall, 1985).

**The Process of Looking at a Visual Image**

A photograph is an entire visual image; all the visual patterns of a photograph exist simultaneously, regardless of the subject or background. When looking at a photograph, one will first get a general, imprecise, and temporary sense of the whole (Baxandall, 1985). After that, the eyes move over the photograph quickly and widely to seek out the details, relations, and order with a succession of rapid fixations (Baxandall, 1985). The sequence of optical scanning is influenced both “by general scanning habits and by particular cues in the picture acting on our attention” (Baxandall, 1985, p.4). The process of looking at a photograph moves from a whole to partial scan, and also back and forth instead of in a linear direction.
Language and Photographic Description

According to Baxandall (1985), there exists an incompatibility between the pace of scanning a visual image and the pace of ordered words and concepts using language to describe an optical action. First, language is too general a tool to give a reader a precise vision of a described image; second, it is not easy to use language to describe a two-dimensional photograph because language concepts are removed from shapes and colors; third, as linear as language is, it is difficult to describe simultaneous objects by mentioning one thing before another.

How do people use language to describe an optical action? To solve this problem, people have to acknowledge that language is offering a description of how they are thinking about seeing a visual image, more than representing a visual image itself, or even representing seeing a visual image. We explain photographs only as we have considered them under some verbal description; what we are describing are our thoughts about a visual image. Description is the mediating object of explanation (Baxandall, 1985). Language is a bridge connecting a physical visual work and abstract concepts. It is difficult, if we only read a written description, to reconstruct a visual image. In other words, language cannot equal or adequately represent a visual image.

Interpretation in Photographs

Photographic interpretation consists of description and explanation, which are strongly related. It seems as necessary to describe with explanation as it is to explain with description; the relationship between describing and explaining is circular, moving from
whole to part and from part to whole (Barrett, 2006). Interpretation is to understand the subjective meaning of action in an objective manner (Schwandt, 2000). Interpretation should keep a balance between focusing on an object and being too subjective; interpretations are arguments, hypotheses backed by evidence to build a certain understanding of a photograph (Barrett, 2006). Interpreting a photograph is not an unlimited narrative, but relates to photographic information and images. The relationship between interpretation and language is that “the concept sharpens perception of the object, and the object sharpens the reference of the word” (Baxandall, 1985, p. 35).

Photographic Meanings and Functions

From a historical perspective, photographic meanings and functions are variable. The photographic signs can be seen as evidence, ritual, stage, storyteller, image, history, power, technology, and memory.

Photography as Evidence

Photographs furnish evidence when we hear something, but doubt its authenticity (Sontag, 1990). Barthes (1981) says, “Photography transformed subject into object” (p. 13). Photography is evidence when it transforms subject into object, which can be a record or a documentation to provide an objective—that is, proof that the subjects were there when the photograph was taken. On a basic level, photographs are used to prove the existence of certain facts or situations. The popular sayings “seeing is believing” and “a
picture is worth a thousand words” uphold the idea that visual documentation is more powerful than verbal description. Photography is understood as innately and inescapably performing a documentary function (Nochlin, 2003; Rosenblum, 1997; Solomon-Godeau, 2003).

[1]nsofar as any photographic image expresses an indexical relation to whatever appeared before the lens at the moment of exposure, that image is a document of something. From this expansive position, no photograph is more or less documentary than any other. (Solomon-Godeau, 2003, p. 169)

Generally, every photograph that has never been manipulated by artificial means can be looked at as visual evidence, or documentation because it is showing the particular objects had existed in a particular place and time when it was taken, even though these were subject to the photographer’s selection.

The documentaries are the extraneous result of most family photographs, and might not be the original intent of the person taking the photograph. Most family photographs are taken for the family memory. For example, I might take a portrait photograph of my family, just as a record of my family images. However, the photograph can also be evidence that my family has been to a particular place, as well as a documentation of the family members and their clothing, hair styles, etc. In other words, the documentary concept has to be based on historical orientation, not ontological cognition (Solomon-Godeau, 2003), because the documentation is a record indicating something happened in the past time, not at this moment.

The documentary concept was not so clearly defined when photography was invented. The documentary style was clearly defined by the combination of brilliant technological skill and artistic style of the photographer. Documentary images involve
capturing fact with feeling, imagination, and art, and carry more meaning than
documentary writing (Rosenblum, 1997).

Photography is better at proving the existence of an object than any other visual
art form, such as drawing, painting, or engraving because photography is more objective,
machine-made, and automatic than these visual arts, which are created. A photograph is
like a mirror that reflects the truth of the world, although the truth may only exist in a
particular place at a specific moment.

The camera makes a record of events that occur in a very short period of time,
such as a running horse, or small objects, such as a tiny insect that cannot be seen by the
human eye. It is used not only to show the historical truth, but also to help people
understand the situation of existence and to strengthen the evidence of existence when the
human eye cannot see it clearly. A photograph can be shot less in than 1/1000 second,
which is too short to count and catch with the human eye; a photograph can be magnified
large than real life, helping humans to discover details that the human eye would miss.

The photographs, my research objects, show a lot of visual evidence which
existed in particular time in the past. The people present on the photograph had never
known I would take them to be my research topic when they took those photographs. The
documentary concept is based on historical orientation as well as an unexpected extra
result. I took the photographs to be my research objects as documentation for the
evidence of visual cultural signs.
**Photography as Ritual**

During the critical early development of photography, people usually took photographs at special events such as weddings, graduations, holidays, or birthdays. Taking photographs was as a ritual during events both joyous and solemn. The resulting photograph was only valued if it was successful. Everyone who was in the photograph had to open her/his eyes and to stare at the camera lens for a moment. Whether sitting or standing, everyone had to keep a stable position to avoid blurred images. This was hard to take photographs over again if an image was blurry because photographs were so expensive and the process, from the camera operation to the delivery of the photograph, took a long time.

The act of taking a photograph is a series of actions in a set order with a precise process. This process and manner is a ritual. Barthes (1981) observed that a photograph has gone through of three practices: “to do, to undergo, to look” (p. 9). Barthes (1981) states:

> I decide to “let drift” over my lips and in my eyes a faint smile which I mean to be “indefinable,” in which I might suggest, along with the qualities of my nature, my amused consciousness of the whole photographic ritual: I lend myself to the social game, I pose, I know I am posing, I want you to know that I am posing, but (to square the circle) this additional message must in no way alter the precious essence of my individuality: what I am, apart from any effigy. (pp. 11-12)

The transfer of an event to a two dimensional visual expression via ritual really happened in the first century after photography was invented because it was expensive. Having a portrait taken was not only a stately event, but also a symbol of social status; it was a time for everyone to dress up, to be excited and formal. It was an announcement that those who appeared in the photograph must be in the middle- or upper-class and had
the aesthetic taste to keep visual images. In the instant the photograph was taken, everyone in the scene was serious—no negative emotion, everyone appeared peaceful, reverent, and beautiful (Sontag, 1990). The process of taking a photograph was like joining a ritual; it was holy and inviolable.

In the family photographs I used for my research all the people, even the children, are serious, mostly without any emotional expression. The process of taking a photograph had a regular design, a step by step formula. The postures in the photographs look like they are congealed in the air. They lock in the photograph as if they were going to join a ritual, sacred and inviolable.

**Photography as Stage**

The photographic scene was like a stage: everyone had to play the self-directed role, as well as the roles handed down from the authority such as a photographer or a head of a family. Each person in the scene had his or her own motives and circumstances (Hirsch, 1981), but also had to cooperate with the group. When a photograph was taken, it was understood that each person had the responsibility to fulfill a role in the scene, like an actor on the stage. Everyone in the photograph faces the spectators, the fourth wall of the stage. They not only present themselves, but also play a role for the spectators.

The operator was the photographer and the spectators are the people who look at the photograph. They may criticize the figure, the pose, the countenance, the clothing, the relationship, the composition, the light, and even the tone of the photograph. Spectators can be sharp and acrimonious. An incidental action could bring about severe disapproval.
Everyone in the scene had to be careful to look their best because the photograph cannot be deleted. The photograph is evidence; and most of them are treasured in personal albums. Sontag (1990) says: “Nobody ever discovered ugliness through photographs. But many, through photographs, have discovered beauty” (p. 85). Photograph is designed to satisfy middle-class cravings for instructive and entertaining pictures (Rosenblum, 1997).

In the family photographs, my research data, almost everyone has dressed up to play their role—middle class, well educated, and cultured. They look beautiful. They place themselves in the position they should have. Usually, the oldest or the focus of the event, such as newlyweds, are in the center of the photograph and the younger or the maids surround the leading role to play a supporting role. The farther away from the center someone is, the less important s/he is. A photograph is a stage, everyone in the photograph playing her/his role.

Sometimes, people feel very strange when they see a photograph of themselves taken long time ago. It is as if the photograph is of a stranger, and they wonder who that other person was (Weinberg, 2001). This is just like the relationship between the role on the stage and the spectator in front of the stage; they are parted, and even criticize themselves.

When I looked at the albums with my participants, sometimes they said they forgot they had taken the photograph and could not figure out when and where the photograph was taken because it was long time ago. They felt strange about their image in the photograph and why they look unlike themselves. Sometimes seriously they criticized the people’s hair and dress styles or postures in the photograph.
Photography as Storyteller

Every photograph has a story behind the visual images. In that specific time and place, certain people were present. Information about the people’s relationships, positions, ages, genders, costumes, facial expressions, gestures, emotions, and movements are revealed in the photograph. The time of day, the season, the year; the background: these interlace to tell a story when we read a photograph. A photograph is not only a visual image, but also shows the connections between the people that are its subjects. Hirsch (1981) describes the connections in a family portrait by discussing “the family as a state whose ties are roots in property; the family as a spiritual assembly which is based on moral values; and the family as a bond of feeling which stems from instinct and passion” (p. 15).

Who is telling the photographic story? The spectator and the photograph work together to tell the story jointly. The photograph may or may not appear objective while the spectator describes the story because different perspectives give different stories to tell. Both professional and non-professional people can tell photographic stories using their unique perspectives.

On the professional side, Solomon-Godeau (2003) states that the intention in photography: “It is properly the work of historians and critics to attempt to excavate these coded and buried meanings, to bring to light those rhetorical and formal strategies that determined the work’s production, meaning, reception, and use” (p. 182). On the non-professional side, average people tell stories using their life experience, creation, and imagination.
A photograph is a piece of visual language, and the spectator reads it and gives it meaning from her or his own background, knowledge, understanding, feeling, intention, and imagination to interweave a story from the elements given. Reading a photograph is a creative process which tells our stories.

I listened to my participants telling their photographic stories, including the objective part and the creative part. The stories were interesting and attractive to me. I used my background and understanding to imagine and to interpret those stories and to assign the meanings in Chapters 4 and 5.

**Photography as Image**

The photograph is a particular sort of image reflecting the physical world and human interpretation. Photography contributes to the removal of the spectator from the time and space in the image, and is concerned with its semiotic structure and its phenomenological impact (Wells, 2004). There are many possible meanings in every sign in the photograph. Different people at different times in different places present with different interpretations of the same photograph because the photographic image evokes not only people’s memory and thought, but also their emotion and imagination at that moment. Hirsch (1981) states that reading a photograph is an imaginative exercise since reading a photograph does not happen innately.

The context and organization in which the image is encountered, be it institutional or private, may also change its impact. Collections of photographs in public or private archives are not neutral; they reflect the collector’s interests and curiosity (Wells, 2004).
It is the same as when a photographer takes a photograph, the photographer is neither neutral nor objective because s/he selects the scene. The photographer chooses the scene purposefully, and yet the camera does not discriminate between objects. The composition of a photograph was not accidental during the first century after the photography was invented; it was decided by a photographer, a professional person who had both the technological knowledge and the aesthetic taste necessary to work the camera and chose the scene.

Photographs are valuable because they can give much information which is more than writing or speaking words (Sontag, 1990). Photographs or their copies were always encountered in specific viewing situations, such in magazines and newspapers, or hung on gallery and museum walls. Every spectator uses her/his imagination to interpret the photographic content and context. “Viewing relations are inseparable from contextual determinations, and viewing relations are themselves traversed by the lived experience of class, race, gender, and nationality” (Solomon-Godeau, 2003, p. xxix). The meaning of a photograph is made through human images, which reflect the viewer’s background. Images as well as construction of meanings are neither neutral nor objective. I was neither neutral nor objective when I interpreted a photograph. I selected several photographs from my participants’ collections and I also selected the visual signs used for these meanings’ construction.
Photography as History

Photography allows us to glimpse history in both the private sphere and public society. A photograph expresses a personal scene; many photographs from the same era, viewed together, reveal the style of the time; many photographs from the same era can identify location; and photographs of many different eras and areas interweave longitude and latitude with history. Within the large context of cultural memory, photographs have become one of the important pieces of evidence in the investigation of visual cultural history.

A photograph displays evidence of the past that we cannot erase. It is in precise depiction that the photographic certainty resides, as Barthes (1981) says: “I exhaust myself realizing that this-has-been; for anyone who holds a photograph in his hand, here is a fundamental belief, an ‘ur-doxa’ nothing can undo, unless you prove to me that this image is not a photograph” (p. 107).

The improvement of technology made camera size smaller, and thus it became more popular and cheaper for people own a camera at home. Taking a photograph was no longer a professional task, but also a pastime for a large number of middle-class amateurs and companies such as Kodak aggressively marketed photography in this way. A camera was like a tool to record the family history. Those family photographs served as mementos, whose images provided later cultural historians with descriptive information about everyday buildings, artifacts, clothing, events, customs, and so on. They are the unquestionable evidence of the popular taste of an era (Rosenblum, 1997).
As photographs came to be accepted as evidence; it became apparent that images could portray of social situations and conditions. But we might ask whether these images are a real representation of the times, and of what use are they. Photography provides a base of visual cultural history investigation. The invention of photography has had a large impact on historians on two ways. First, photography provides various visual signs to associate with historians’ research which they never had access to before. Second, historians cannot totally depend on those visual signs because a photograph presents one perspective of a moment in the past. It cannot represent the whole situation and environment, so it could be a trap that guides historians to an erroneous conclusion. Historians must be very careful using a photographic image.

**Photography as Power**

Before World War II, photography was an exercise of status in Taiwan. It showed who had the status to appear in a photograph, enough money to own the photograph, was modern enough to use the equipment and technology, and who had aesthetic and sensibility tastes elite. Taking a photograph was an announcement of power to the spectators, both when the photograph was taken and afterward. The photograph could be showed in a private party or in public reproduction to broadcast this power.

“From a phenomenological viewpoint, in the Photograph, the power of authentication exceeds the power of representation” (Barthes, 1981, p. 89). In order to make the power announcement believable, people who posed in a photograph dressed up, tried to look elegant, and appeared ceremonious. Even young children knew the
seriousness of the situation, and understood that they should therefore look nice and keep a stable pose during the exposure time.

The announcement of power that photography made was not only for outside viewers but also for insiders. When a group of people took a photograph, their position in the composition of the scene was another power announcement. People who were the authorities among the group were usually in the photographic center. The amount of power held by each person decreased as they were positioned farther away from the center. The principal was usually in the center of the field of vision. This authoritative center can be seen in most of my research photographs. The oldest generation or the newlyweds are usually sitting in the center of the field of vision to announce their power.

Photography as Memory

Photography is like memory. It reawakens one’s memory of a moment that one has forgotten before viewing a photograph. It may be a photograph from childhood, of family, friends, or vacation sites visited a long time ago. Photographs keep people’s memory objective and clear without being confused or mixed up. Human memory usually degenerates with aging. Photographs help keep memory unless they become faded, damaged, or lost. Photographs arouse one’s memory whether one is willing to remember or not. Because it is a photograph, people cannot deny that they have been somewhere even if they have forgotten that they were there (Barthes, 1981).

Sometimes memory evokes happy, pleasurable, sweet, or touching emotions, but sometimes memory evokes sad, mad, miserable, or nostalgic feelings as well. Memory is
a part of one’s life. Reading a family album is similar to understanding the family’s life whether delightful or dreadful. It is because life is not always perfect. A bittersweet life is a real life. Photographs evoke people’s memory and can help people to review and to understand their lives.

**Photography as Technology**

Photography was a remarkable technological achievement in 1839 (Rosenblum, 1997). Photography changed the form and method of visual presentation. It also impacted art styles and artists (Sontag, 1990).

Photography is a modern invention, which consists of two parts: one is the operation of a camera and the other is the chemical reaction in the darkroom (Rosenblum, 1997). Photography is part of a visual culture and even an art, which is based on visual elements. The camera and the chemical reaction are products of technology. Cultural art and technology interact to create photography, which broke down the idea that they are a dichotomy. Technology is the fundamental tool of photography; visual images are its result.

The technology of photography is changing at a fast rate. From the long hours of exposure time, a lot of heavy equipment, and operation in a peculiar space in the beginning, to the box cameras and the pocket cameras that were easy to carry, to move, and to take photographs everywhere, to the auto-focus cameras that reduced fail rates; to contemporary digital cameras without any physical film, the technology of photography
has been improving all the time. When we talk about photography, we cannot ignore how technology has influenced it and how it relies on technology.

The process of photography and camera development changed the act of taking a photograph from an expensive, serious, ritualistic, power-displaying, and stage-presenting event to a cheap, funny, relaxed, entertaining and self-presenting game. Technology is the main reason for this change. We have to locate the photograph in its historical background to construct its meaning whenever we do an interpretation.

**Taiwanese Cultural Identity**

When I read the photographic signs, I have to locate the photographs in their historical background not only in terms of photographic functions and technology, but also in terms of the cultural environment to accurately determine every sign’s meaning. This study focused on a specific group of middle-class family photographs from the 1920s to the 1940s in order to contribute to our understanding of Taiwanese culture and identity, so a literature review on Taiwanese history and Taiwanese visual cultural identity is necessary.

Taylor’s (1994) statements in his article “The Politics of Recognition” about identity and recognition, which I mentioned previously in the definition of key terms in Chapter 1, are my primary source for my framework of cultural identity theory.

Other theories of cultural identity that are also important references for this paper, include K. Anthony Appiah’s (1994) theory about the ethics of identity, Melissa J. Brown’s (2004) theory about Taiwanese national identity, Wan-Yao Chou’s (2003)
theory about Taiwanese history and culture, and Amy Gutmann’s (1994) theory about multicultural society. These references relate to my research topic: the roots of Taiwanese visual culture. I will apply these theories later to understand how the Taiwanese form their cultural identities.

Background

Taiwan is a beautiful island situated off the coast of the Asian continent. The island is about 350 miles long from north to south and 80 miles from west to east and the land surface measures approximately 14,400 square miles (http://view.taiwan.net.tw/geography.asp, retrieved May 8, 2007). According to official reports, there are 22,880,454 inhabitants as of March, 2007 (http://www.ris.gov.tw/ch4/static/st1-0.html, retrieved May 8, 2007). The temperature is always warm, so much so that a popular Taiwanese adage is that the four seasons are spring, spring, spring, and spring because the trees are evergreen in Taiwan.

Two nicknames are used to refer to Taiwan; one is Formosa and the other one is Sweet Potato. A Dutch navigator, Jan Huygen van Linschoten, on a Portuguese ship passed by the island around 1590. He sailed past the island several times and called it Ilha Formosa—Beautiful Island—which became its name for the next four centuries (Chou, 2003; Davidson, 1903/1972; Vertente et al., 1991). Most Western people and publications called Taiwan “Formosa” before War World II.

The shape of Taiwan roughly that of a long oval, which is like a sweet potato. So the Taiwanese usually call themselves the Sweet Potato People. The Sweet Potato People
contains three kinds of metaphor: first, the shape of island on map looks like a sweet potato, and all inhabitants live on and are dependent on the island. The inhabitants have a special emotional attachment to the island and the nickname for them is one of kind pleasure. Second, the sweet potato was the main food 50 years ago. In the agriculture age, the economy was worse than in today’s high tech era. The sweet potato saved many people from hunger. Third, Taiwanese use this nickname to differ themselves from the Chinese mainlander since the sweet potato is a symbol of Taiwanese spirit.

Taiwan’s history is separated into seven main periods. They include: the Stone Age to the 1600s, the Dutch period (1624-1662), the Koxinga period (國姓爺鄭成功) (1662-1683), the Ch’ing dynasty period (1684-1895), the Japanese colonial period (1895-1945), the nationalist period (1945-1987), and the democratic period (1987-present).

**Taiwanese Historical Identities**

For many scholars, questions of identity and community are framed not only by issues of race, class, and gender but by a deeply political concern with place, cultural memory, and the variable terms of these scholars’ access to an “international” space of debate dominated not only by Western preoccupations. (Frow & Morris, 2000, p. 319)

Most Taiwanese people are confused about their identities because their government has been changed by force many times. The major changes in Taiwanese historical identity include:

1. In the twelfth century a few Chinese Han people from the southeast coast of China began to immigrate into Taiwan. The Han culture had an impact on the life style of the aborigines, who were Austronesian people and were speaking
a variety of Malayo-Polynesian dialects. They had been living in Taiwan since before BC 4,000 (Davison, 2003).

2. Between 1624 and 1662, the Dutch set up *The Dutch East India Company* in the south of Taiwan and ruled the southern part of the island, while Taiwan became an important entrepot in the Dutch worldwide trading network (Chou, 2003; Davidson, 1903/1972). The Taiwanese began to have contact with the western world. *The Dutch East India Company* hired a lot of Han people, who immigrated from the Fujian and Canton provinces, on the southeast coast of China. They went to Taiwan as seasonal workers, planting sugar cane and rice (Tsurumi, 1977).

3. Under Koxinga ruled, numbers of Han people immigrated to Taiwan. (Chou, 2003)

4. In 1684, Taiwan became the territory of the Ch’ing dynasty (China). The Han culture had a large impact on the aboriginal people and the island’s ecology. Many aborigines moved back up into the mountains from the plains. The Han people usually called aboriginal people *Mountain People* or *Barbarians* until several decades ago (To, 1972). Many Chinese Han people immigrated to Taiwan between the period that the Dutch ruled and when Taiwan became the territory of the Ch’ing dynasty. This was the first main wave of immigrants.

5. In 1895, Ch’ing was defeated by Japan in the Sino-Japanese War, and Taiwan was ceded to Japan by the *Treaty of Shimonoseki* (馬關條約). The Japanese government’s policy was aimed at making the Taiwanese became Japanese,
through deliberate de-Sinicization and de-Taiwanization of the culture (P.-F. Chen, 2006; Chou, 2003; Takekoshi, 1907; Tsurumi, 1977, 1979).

6. In 1945, Japan surrendered to the Allies at the end of World War II, and Japan ceded Taiwan back to China. At that time, the Chinese government was the Republic of China (ROC); therefore, Taiwan became part of the ROC. By late 1949, the political party in power, the KMT regime, lost the civil war with the Communists. As a result, the KMT withdrew to Taiwan, along with nearly 2 million refugees, including government officials and military personnel. This was the second main wave of immigrants to Taiwan. In order to bolster its authority and legitimacy, the KMT deliberately de-Japanized, and de-Taiwanized the population, in order to Sinicize it through education systems and martial law (Brown, 2004; P.-F. Chen, 2006; Corcuff, 2005; Liu et al., 2005). Martial law ruled Taiwan from 1949 to 1987. Under martial law, people were not allowed contact with people in mainland China, not even with their families and relatives. A military conscription system was instituted to serve two functions: Taiwanese youths became loyal defenders of the ROC regime while strengthening the island’s defenses against the forces of the Communist People’s Republic of China (PRC) (Liu et al., 2005).

7. After martial law was lifted in 1987, Taiwanese consciousness rose and the people gradually replaced the China-centered education curriculum. In the late 1990s, the Ministry of Education sought a version of Taiwan’s history for compulsory classes which emphasized Taiwan’s history, multicultural heritage, and contributions from many segments of society rather than
focusing only on the China-centered history (P.-H. Chen, 2001; Corcuff, 2005; Liu et al., 2005). The second major party, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP, 民進黨), was founded in 1986, and several minor parties were established in the following decades, such as the New Party (新黨) in 1993 and the People First Party (親民黨) in 2000 (Jacobs, 2005). Finally, Taiwan was becoming a multi-party democratic society.

These identity changes pose problems for Taiwan’s residents. The aborigines’ identity was diluted by the influx of Han people. They were always at a disadvantage regarding educational resources, social status, and economy, which I mentioned previously in the definition of key terms in Chapter 1. When the democratic era began, both the Taiwanese (the offspring of the first wave of Chinese immigrants) and the Mainlanders (the second wave of Chinese immigrants and their offspring), had the chance to become more aware of their origins. Due to frequent changes imposed by others on their national identity, they are confused about what their identity should be. For a long time the Taiwanese people were constrained by external governing forces, and now some do not want to think about their distinctive characteristics, but rather want to maintain a safe and easy life, which I am an insider and have my observation in Taiwan. The mainlanders are afraid of losing their Chinese identity and the political benefit they enjoy from defending the orthodoxy of the Chinese culture; they do not want to be both outsiders from Taiwan and China. When the mainlanders are in Taiwan, people say they are not Taiwanese because they are from China; when they go to mainland China, their home town or their ancestral home, people say they are outsiders from Taiwan. The

In Taiwan, indigenization has functioned as a type of nationalism that champions the legitimacy of a distinct Taiwanese identity, the character and content of which should be determined by the Taiwanese people. As such, it has contributed to the formation of, and, in turn, been enhanced by, such interrelated constructs as “Taiwan consciousness”, Taiwanese identity, Taiwanese subjectivity, cultural subjectivity, national culture, and Taiwan independence consciousness. (p. 1)

The Taiwan consciousness is praised by most of the Taiwanese but it is rejected by most Mainlanders. Currently, the social and political situations are both more complex than before, especially since the PRC threatens Taiwan often. The PRC wants to force Taiwan into joining the Chinese nation without negative reactions from other nations. Taiwan’s predicament is to maintain comfortable economic and political ties without being swallowed up or bombed by China (Brown, 2004). Even though most Taiwanese acknowledge and honor their Chinese heritage, they now claim to be not-Chinese (Brown, 2004).

Taylor (1994) mentions that human identity is partly shaped by correct recognition. When identity is shaped by the misrecognition of others, it will suffer damage and distortion when the surrounding people or society reflects a confining, demeaning, or contemptible persona. During 400 years of political turmoil, Taiwanese characteristics and self-esteem were deeply influenced by Taiwan’s external rulers. In the Taiwanese consciousness, the relationships between ancestry, nationality, and culture have been confused and conflicted for a long time. The lack of due recognition has been an unconscious product of these circumstances.
Characteristics and Problems

When external regimes brought their different cultures to Taiwan, the strong external cultures would dominate the weak internal one. In Taiwanese history, this situation happened again and again: Is there a “true” Taiwanese? Is there a “true” Taiwanese identity buried under layers of external cultures? In what ways are Taiwanese identities both reflected and created through public images?

These are very complicated questions. Before we discuss these questions, we have to clarify some characteristics about Taiwan:

1. The aborigines are currently less than 2% of the Taiwanese population (Y.-C. Chen, 2005, September; To, 1972). They are a different ethnic group than the Chinese and they have different languages and physical features (Y.-C. Chen, 2005, September; Chou, 2003; Davison, 2003; To, 1972).

2. The first written language in Taiwan was Shin-gang-yu (新港語), but not the Chinese language (Chou, 2003). Shin-gang-yu was an aboriginal language written with the Dutch alphabet. After a number of the Han people immigrated to Taiwan, the Chinese language dominated society and soon replaced Shin-gang-yu. Shin-gang-yu gradually became a dead language. The earliest Bible in Taiwan was written by Shin-gang-yu (Chou, 2003).

3. The largest population group, at least 80% of the whole population, is the offspring of the first wave immigrants. Some of them are the mixed offspring of Han males and aboriginal females (Y.-C. Chen, 2005, September; Chou, 2003; Tsurumi, 1977).
4. The population of the dominant culture was usually far less than the dominated population in Taiwan. For example, the Taiwanese population far outnumbered the Japanese rulers during the Japanese colonial period (Chou, 2003; Tsurumi, 1977). After World War II, the Chinese mainlanders ruled Taiwan, but were fewer in number than the established Taiwanese population (P.-H. Chen, 2001; Chou, 2003; Liu et al., 2005; F.-c. Wang, 2005). This was a different situation from some other immigrant countries. For example, the dominant culture in the U.S. is Caucasian, which is also the majority population in the U.S.

The process of mixing with an outsider’s culture usually follows a pattern, which is described by many publications: when the first wave and the second wave Chinese immigrated to Taiwan and when the European and the Japanese ruled Taiwan (Brown, 2004; P.-F. Chen, 2006; P.-H. Chen, 2001; Chou, 2003; Corcuff, 2005; Davison, 2003; Kho, 2002; Liu et al., 2005; Takekoshi, 1907; To, 1972; Tsurumi, 1977, 1979; Vertente et al., 1991). The native people resist the forces of the outside culture in the beginning; then the original one is dominated by the outside forces, and it learns the dominating culture in order to pretend it is part of the dominating society. Finally, the strong outside culture influences the weak original culture. These two cultures integrate and mix to form a new culture, which is neither the same as the outsider’s culture nor the original culture.

The Taiwanese have been through these cycles several times in the last 400 years. So, it is very hard to say there is a “true” Taiwanese or there is a “true” Taiwanese identity because there are only various Taiwanese identities and multiple Taiwanese cultures. We can use mixing colors as a metaphor. When two primary colors are mixed,
we get a secondary color. When the secondary color is mixed with another color, we get a third color. The more the colors are added, the further the new color is from the primary color. When we mix the colors again and again, we will get a unique color. Although we cannot call the new mixed color by the names of the original primary colors with which we began, the primary colors still exist in the mixed color as base colors. If we want to figure out of the make up of the new color, we will have to look back through the layers of its mixing history. In other words, we should look for the mixing process and the root colors through research of the available evidence.

During the occupation, the Japanese culture gradually covered and replaced the Taiwanese and Chinese cultures. The Japanese government changed Taiwanese cultural recognition through programs in public school education (P.-F. Chen, 2006). Some Taiwanese appeared to adopt Japanese culture as their own in order to thrive in their colonialized state, although the Taiwanese knew they were changing their own culture. I have heard from older Taiwanese who went through the Japanese colonial period, describing the Taiwanese changing their identity, as “Three-Leg Cat” (三腳貓) or as Kho (2002) says “Three-Legged” (三腳仔) (p. 559). The Taiwanese used to ridicule the Japanese as dogs, because they are loyal to their country and to their masters (Kho, 2002; Mendel, 1969). Three-Leg Cat means that the Taiwanese-Japanese were neither the real Japanese, four legged dog, nor the real Taiwanese, two legged human. On one hand, the Taiwanese were jealous of the Three-Leg Cats who were aggressive and benefited from the Japanese; on the other hand, the Taiwanese were angry about the Three-Leg Cats betraying their ancestors by changing their identities.
The external regime usually uses public schools as tools to influence people’s identities (Corcuff, 2005; Lee, 2001; Liu et al., 2005; Spring, 2005). This happened not only in the Japanese colonial period, but also under the KMT nationalist period (1945-1987).

In 1945, China’s KMT took over Taiwan from the Japanese because of Japan’s surrender at the end of World War II. In the beginning, most Taiwanese enthusiastically expected and welcomed the new rulers from their fatherland, but they were soon disappointed soon after (Chou, 2003; Kho, 2002; Lin & Keating, 2005). The first thing that the KMT did after taking over Taiwan was to “de-Japanize” and then to “Sinicize” Taiwanese culture. The cultural policies of Sinicizing Taiwan in the postwar period intensified when the KMT lost the civil war against Red China and retreated to Taiwan in 1949 (F.-c. Wang, 2005).

The ideology behind school textbooks in the nationalist period focused mostly on China. They were designed by the KMT regime to legitimize its rule over Taiwan and to recover the Chinese mainland (P.-H. Chen, 2001; Corcuff, 2005; Liu et al., 2005; F.-c. Wang, 2005). Goals essential to the survival of the KMT regime were: (1) to educate the population; (2) to force the native Taiwanese, including the offspring of the first wave immigrants and aborigines, to accept a Chinese national identity and Chinese nationalism (F.-c. Wang, 2005).

Under the KMT, school textbooks not only contained less information about Taiwan, but also tried to erase the traces of Japanese influence on Taiwan. Mentions of Japan were limited to the information that Japan was a foreign power that discriminated against Taiwan during its administration (Chou, 2003; F.-c. Wang, 2005). Most
Taiwanese did not appreciate the way the KMT treated their Japanese legacy, which included “the Japanese language, Japanese body gestures and dress codes, as well as modernized infrastructure, hygiene conditions, law enforcement practices, and people’s law-abiding behavior” (F.-c. Wang, 2005, p. 58).

The KMT rulers thought that the Taiwanese were enslaved by the Japanese after fifty years of colonization, so they insisted the Taiwanese should not be treated equally until they were “re-Sinicized” (F.-c. Wang, 2005). The cultural differences let the conflict between the Taiwanese and the Chinese rulers increase. For example, the Taiwanese were proud of their Japanese heritage, but the mainlanders saw that as a sign that the Taiwanese were brainwashed by their Japanese education; the Taiwanese should be closer to their fatherland rulers than the colonial rulers. A “de-Japanized Taiwan” became the top priority cultural policy for the KMT regime in Taiwan (F.-c. Wang, 2005).

From the beginning of the KMT’s rule of Taiwan, the native Taiwanese students were not allowed to speak their mother tongues in schools. If students broke this rule they were punished harshly (P.-H. Chen, 2001; F.-c. Wang, 2005; Yang, 2001, March). This is the collective memory of Taiwanese students who went to elementary schools during the nationalist period.

The KMT not only restricted the use of the Taiwanese language on campuses, but also limited the total amount of broadcasting time available for Taiwanese language programs in mass media, such as radio and television (P.-H. Chen, 2001; F.-c. Wang, 2005). In 1976, the KMT regime set up a new law regulating radio and television broadcasting, which specifically limited the total amount of broadcasting time for programs in Taiwanese dialects (F.-c. Wang, 2005).
To compare “the language policy” between the Japanese colonial period and the KMT nationalist period, it is fair to say that the KMT policy was more oppressive to the Taiwanese than that of the Japanese. For example, Taiwanese students were punished for speaking Taiwanese in school under the KMT. It caused the Taiwanese to lose their mother tongue.

**Democratic and Multicultural Society**

I saw my paternal grandmother’s irregular sized—but unbound—feet when I was very young. She told me the story about her feet. She was born in 1897, two years after the Japanese began to rule Taiwan. Her feet were bound by her mother when she was about six years old. When the Japanese began to rule Taiwan in 1895, they persuaded and exhorted Taiwanese parents to abolish foot-binding for their daughters. The practice was prohibited completely in 1915 (H.-W. Chen, 1999; P.-F. Chen, 2006). Because of the Japanese announcement, my grandmother was permitted to refuse her foot-binding when she was about ten years old. My grandmother said she spent long time learning and practicing how to walk with unbound feet. Having her feet unbound was a strange and painful experience. Not until she had adapted to her unbound feet did she understand the benefit of leaving her feet in their natural state, even though hers had been damaged.

Besides these physical examples, Taylor (1994) talks about spiritual example of the uncomfortable feeling of freedom as well. Women lived in patriarchal societies and had been induced to adopt a depreciatory image of themselves. “They have internalized a picture of their own inferiority, so that even when some of the objective obstacles to their
advancement fall away, they may be incapable of taking advantage of the new opportunities” (p. 25). Women were not only limited in taking advantage of their new opportunities, but were also condemned to suffer the pain of low self-esteem (Taylor, 1994).

The situation of adapting to the removal of an oppressive regime is similar to a girl adapting to suddenly unbound feet when they had been bound before. They both need to take time to fit in to the new situation, and may not ever fully adapt to the change. Taiwanese society was chaotic after martial law was lifted in 1987. Martial law was to the Taiwanese society like foot-binding was to a girl’s feet: both restricted development. After martial law was lifted, people were able to develop themselves, but they did not know how to apply that freedom in the beginning.

On July 14, 1987 the KMT regime announced the lifting of martial law on the next day (July 15). On July 17, 1987, Chiang Ching-Kuo (1910-1988, 蔣經國), Chiang Kai-Shek’s (1887-1975, 蔣介石) son, the President of ROC (1978-1988), said: “I am also a Taiwanese” (quoted in Jacobs, 2005, p. 33). This statement was a milestone, in that a mainlander ruler tried to turn away from China; this kind of comment had never happened before. This began the shift in focus from China to Taiwan.

After Chiang Ching-Kuo died, Lee Teng-Hui (1923- , 李登輝), a native Taiwanese man, born in the Japanese colonial period, became the President (1990-2000). Lee’s Taiwan priority policies were to re-elect congress completely and to revise the constitution to fit Taiwan’s needs, not those of China (Kho, 2002; C.-L. Lin, 2007). This leads to Taiwan entering into a multicultural era (Tu, 1996).
On May 20, 2000, the President (2000-2008), Chen Shui-Bian (1951- , 陳水扁), a native Taiwanese born in 1951, showed respect for different ethnic groups in his inauguration speech:

We must open our hearts with tolerance and respect, so that our diverse ethnic groups and different regional cultures may communicate with each other, and so that Taiwan’s local cultures may connect with the cultures of Chinese-speaking communities and other world cultures, and create a new milieu of a “cultural Taiwan in a modern century.” (quoted in Jacobs, 2005, p. 19)

Finally, Taiwan was and is becoming a democracy. The ideal circumstance is as Gutmann (1994) mentions: “A multicultural society is bound to include a wide range of such respectable moral disagreements, which offers us the opportunity to defend our views before morally serious people with whom we disagree and thereby learn from our differences” (p. 22). Taiwan gone from only one party, the KMT, to a multiple party system, and is allowing the different voices to present their claims. The Taiwanese have begun to have the basic rights of democratic citizen, such as freedom of speech, press, and association. They are learning how to respect and tolerate differences of opinion.

**Indigenization**

As I have mentioned previously, the Taiwanese identity has changed several times. The different Taiwanese identities are like the layers of an onion. Indigenization is a way to figure out the core thinking of the Taiwanese, to shape Taiwanese identities, and a way to build Taiwanese self-esteem.
The indigenization of Taiwan necessitates focusing on subjectivity of Taiwanese culture and society. In other words, indigenization is Taiwanization. It is related to and contrasted to the previous Sinicization policies.

People usually think about common ancestry or common culture as the foundation of ethnic and national identities, but actually identity is formed and solidified on the basis of common social experience, including economic and political experience, to unite an ethnic group or a nation (Brown, 2004).

Brown (2004) mentions that “between 1945 and 1991, Taiwan’s government portrayed Taiwan as ethnically Han and nationally Chinese, even claiming that it was the lawful government of mainland China” (p. 2). Since martial law was lifted in 1987, the Taiwanese people have made a different claim: Taiwanese identity includes Han culture and ancestry, Aboriginal cultures and ancestries, and Japanese culture (but not ancestry), which make up almost 400 years of its history—in fact Taiwan was separated from China for the entire twentieth century (Brown, 2004).

On the Taiwan side, three identity changes by descendants of plains Aborigines who intermarried with Han—one shift in the seventeenth century and two in the twentieth century—show the extent to which Taiwanese people and culture really are an amalgamation of Aborigine and Han contributions. These shifts also help us understand how identity changes can occur at all and how new identities come to be meaningful. (Brown, 2004, p. 3)

In Taiwan, indigenization has functioned increasingly as a type of nationalism that supports the legitimacy of a distinct Taiwanese identity. The character and content of Taiwanese identity should be determined and shaped by Taiwanese residents, not people in other countries.
The Ambiguous Situation

Caring about esteem in this context is compatible with freedom and social unity, because the society is one in which all the virtuous will be esteemed equally and for the same (right) reasons. In contrast, in a system of hierarchical honor, we are in competition; one person’s glory must be another’s shame, or at least obscurity. Our unity of purpose is shattered, and in this context attempting to win the favor of another, who by hypothesis has goals distinct from mine, must be alienating. (Taylor, 1994, p. 48)

After fifty years of rule by the Japanese, the Taiwanese accepted living in a dominated and progressive society. Did the Taiwanese hate or love the Japanese government? The answer may be both or neither. Japanese policy in Taiwan was carrot-and-stick (P.-F. Chen, 2006). The Taiwanese enjoyed the modernizing of their lives, but missed their unique identity.

After 62 years of the KMT’s nationalist period (1945-1987), what was the Taiwanese attitude to the KMT? It is very complicated. The Taiwanese were full of expectation about rulers from the fatherland, and were disappointed. The common Taiwanese phrase can express the Taiwanese feeling: “The dogs treated us better than the pigs” (Kho, 2002; Mendel, 1969). This denotes the invidious comparison between the Japanese colonist and the KMT nationalist rule.

The Taiwanese had to learn how to hide their identities behind this high pressure political atmosphere in order to survive. The cultural reality was usually controlled by the power of politicians. For the Taiwanese people, when the era of democracy arrives, then, they know that “they want respect, not condescension” (Taylor, 1994, p. 70).
Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan

Taiwan was a Japanese colony from 1895 to 1945. My research focuses on family photographs taken between the 1920s and 1940s, when Taiwan was under Japanese rule. It is necessary to provide a historical background to understand the educational situation at that time.

When the Taiwanese culture met the Japanese culture, it seemed unavoidable that the strong one would dominate over the weak, either by force or spontaneously. Different perspectives were usually reflected in their different evaluations of the same historical event. The balance between the dominating and the dominated culture was like that which existed between organisms. Their growth and decline affected each other all the time. The Taiwanese used to struggle against cultural assimilation with outsiders.

Background

The Japanese perspective on this history is that the Taiwanese should appreciate their contributions to Taiwan’s culture, because they ruled Taiwan as a model colony and pushed Taiwan to be a progressive and modern society (P.-F. Chen, 2006; Mendel, 1969; Takekoshi, 1907; Tsurumi, 1977, 1979). The Chinese mainlanders think that the Taiwanese should hate the Japanese because they were invaders who occupied Taiwan and enslaved the Taiwanese people (C. Chen, 1961; L.-h. Hsu & Chang, 1971). What is the Taiwanese perspective? The Taiwanese chose to keep silent in order to survive because they were under martial law for the longest period (1949-1987) of any population in the world (http://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E5%8F%B0%E7%81%A3, retrieved September 2, 2007). After martial law was lifted, the Taiwanese voice dared to emerge only gradually.

Before the Japanese ruled Taiwan, in the seventeenth century, a large percentage of Han people came to Taiwan from China to be seasonal workers (Chou, 2003). Most of these were males because of China’s internal political restrictions. They were either young, single men or husbands who left their wives in mainland China. During the Dutch period (1624-1662), Koxinga’s rule (1662-1683), and throughout the eighteenth century, many of these seasonal workers returned to their homes on the Chinese mainland after the growing season was over each year. Thus it was that during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries men far outnumbered women in Taiwan (Tsurumi, 1977). Some of the men who stayed in Taiwan married aboriginal women (Pingpu group) and had mixed blood offspring (Y.-C. Chen, 2005, September).
Tracing Japanese colonial education and Taiwanese cultural roots may help the Taiwanese people figure out who they were, are, and will become. Specifically, in my research, I aim to give art educators a framework to think about an art curricula which is not the result of an outsider’s authority. I investigate the groundwork of what the Japanese government attempted in Taiwan, and Japanese attitudes regarding Taiwan: what Japanese education policies were, and how teacher training was conducted in Taiwan. Also, I assess how much assimilation and change happened in Taiwan during the time of the Japanese occupation, and what sorts of differences existed between genders. Finally, I use a combination of these factors to trace Taiwanese cultural roots, and to frame my thinking about what Taiwanese art education should be like.

**Japanese Government's Expansion**

Unlike the other weak Asia countries, in the last decades of nineteenth century, Japan was capable of matching the industrial, military, and colonial establishments of Europe and America. Japanese Foreign Minister Kaoru Inoue (井上馨, 1835-1915) expressed this aim in 1887:

> What we have to do is to transform our empire and our people, and make the empire like the countries of Europe and our people like the people of Europe. To put it differently, we have to establish a new, European-style empire on the edge of Asia. (quoted in Tsurumi, 1977, p. 1)

In 1895, Japan got the chance to take a significant step toward the achievement of that European-style empire when it acquired its first colony—Taiwan—which Ch’ing dynasty ceded to Japan after the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95.
Most Asiatic countries were weak in science, technology, and modern societal systems compared with the West in the nineteenth century. Japan was the first country to take note of Western progress after the Enlightenment. Japan attempted to be the pre-eminent country in Asia, and indeed, in the world, in industry, economy, politics, military strength, and the number of colonies it controlled (P.-F. Chen, 2006). The Japanese takeover of Taiwan was one of the steps Japan took to reach this target.

With the whole world watching, Shimpei Goto (後藤新平), the Chief of the Civil Administration Bureau in Taiwan in 1898, and his colleagues determined that they should build Taiwan into a model colony (Tsurumi, 1977). Japanese colonialists believed they were bringing a superior civilization to an uncivilized people. They meant to reform Taiwan into a modern industrial society, a role model of a progressive colony to the world. Achieving these ends would prove Japan’s national power and would act as bait to attract more colonies.

**Education in Taiwan**

Taiwan was a Japanese colony from 1895 to 1945. In the first decade of Japanese rule, Goto wrote a memorandum to his superior, Gentaro Kodama (兒玉源太郎), Governor-General of Taiwan (台灣總督), and mentioned his plans for building the colonial regime:

Any scheme of colonial administration, given the present advances in science, should be based on principles of Biology. What are these principles? They are to promote science and develop agriculture, industry, sanitation, education, communications, and police force. If these are satisfactorily accomplished, we
will be able to persevere in the struggle for survival and win the struggle of the “survival of the fittest.” (quoted in Chang & Myers, 1963, p. 438)

An element of modernization, education was juxtaposed among agriculture, industry, sanitation, communications, and the police force as one of the most important and urgent sectors to control during the occupation, in order to survive and excel in their first colony. The Japanese founded a basic public education system and attempted to collapse the old-style private Chinese schools, which were teaching Chinese literature with Taiwanese pronunciation. The Japanese were afraid that old-style education could keep Chinese-Taiwanese identities embedded in the culture (P.-F. Chen, 2006; Tsurumi, 1977, 1979).

Spring (2005) in *The American School* mentions that culture wars are one aspect of ideological management:

Ideological management involves the creation and distribution of knowledge in a society. Schools play a central role in the distribution of particular knowledge to a society. Public schools were established to distribute knowledge to children and youth. Because knowledge is not neutral, there has existed a continuing debate about the political, social, and economic content of schooling. (p. 4)

While Spring was writing about the United State, his point holds for education in Taiwan, public education was a good tool for the rulers to use to manage the people’s thinking and actions. The Japanese governor had the insight to know the significance, influence, and power of school education. The result of using public schooling in this way is usually that the subjugated people are not only assimilated by the dominant culture, but they also believe in the ruler’s superiority very much.
What Foreigners Saw in Taiwan

Three of the earliest publications written in English about Taiwan and Taiwanese education under the Japanese rule show how foreigners saw Taiwan in the beginning of the 20th century. These publications were written by an American (Davidson, 1903/1972), a Japanese (Takekoshi, 1907), and an Englishman (Rutter, 1923/1995).

James W. Davidson was a consul of the United States for Formosa when he wrote his reports. The book *Island of Formosa past and present: History, people, resources, and commercial prospects* was published in London, New York, Yokohama, Shanghai, Hong Kong, and Singapore in 1903. Davidson (1903/1972) stated that it was hard to get any information about Formosa, as Taiwan was then known, in the English language at that time. He narrated the events in the book from his personal observations. He arrived at Taiwan in March 23, 1895, before the Japanese took over Taiwan on April 17, 1895. The purpose of the trip was to witness the war between the Formosan and the Japanese, and “to join the officials of any force and to enter any of the fortifications during the campaign” (p. 264).

He described the chaotic situation in Taiwan in 1895:

Many wealthy Chinese were the first to leave, with such treasure as they could carry. Movable property was stored away in such quarters as appeared to offer some security, and the poorer people sought safety for their valuables by burying them in the ground. (p. 262)

In June, 1904, Yosaburo Takekoshi (竹越與三郎, 1865-1959) went to Formosa to ascertain how successful Japanese attempts to colonize that beautiful island had been. After his travels, he wrote the reports *Japanese rule in Formosa*, a series of travelogues started by adventurers (Takekoshi, 1907). Takekoshi was a member of the Japanese Diet,
and wrote on behalf of the government. He wrote the reports, published in Japanese in 1905, and they were subsequently translated into English by George Braitwaite, and published in Europe and the United States in 1907. The reports were not only a record of his personal observations, but also a deliberate announcement to the Western world, intended to show how Japan was dominating Taiwan. This was designed to lend credence to the legality of Japan ruling the colony.

How did Takekoshi look at Taiwan and the Taiwanese people after nine years of Japanese rule? He described the size as tiny: only an area of 14,000 square miles and a population that didn’t exceed 3,079,692 at the time (Takekoshi, 1907).

He took a very dominating attitude, and judged Taiwanese life and values unkindly. He indicated his unequal version to Taiwanese:

The Chinaman worships money, and is ready to sacrifice everything, even life itself, if by so doing he can add to his hoard. This has made him the laughing-stock of the world; but if we look below the surface, we discover that this inordinate greed is but the natural outcome of his social surroundings and of his religious beliefs. The upper classes, seeing the utter corruption of their rulers, have lost all hope. They are disgusted with everything, and so try to find happiness by drowning themselves in wine and stuffing themselves with pork. The lower class also, knowing as many of them do by sad experience the futility of depending on the Government for either justice or protection, have with one accord come to regard money as the one and only thing they can really rely on. Thus all alike give themselves to money-making.

The Chinaman in Formosa shares neither the social pleasures nor the honours open to his friends in China. Only wine and women are left him. But he knows well that neither of these can be had without money.

The Formosan Chinaman has no higher ambition than to enjoy the mere animal pleasures of life. His sole thought is how best to gratify these low appetites; and no room is left in his mind for higher aspiration. If, therefore, you speak to him about his children’s education, he at once asks, “How much extra will it enable them to earn?” Without a satisfactory answer on this point, he is most unwilling to send his children to school. (Takekoshi, 1907, pp. 293-294)
The Japanese looked at the Taiwanese as hedonistic savages who just wanted to pursue physical pleasure and who sought money without any ethical standards. They were poorly educated and didn’t know to appreciate the benefits of education. The Taiwanese were waiting for a great empire to save them, and cultivate them from the barbarous island, thus justifying Japanese colonialism.

Owen Rutter (1923/1995) was a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society (F.R.G.S.) and visited Taiwan using this official status, so that he was received like a Japanese officer for the duration of the trip. In the preface of the book, Through Formosa: An account of Japan’s island colony, Rutter said it was an account of a journey through a beautiful and fascinating island, and it could not pretend to be a record of a standard work on Formosa. Rutter almost had no opportunity for contact with the Taiwanese without a Japanese officer present, so his reports could be influenced by the Japanese public relations policy. He said he had tried to show how, in less than thirty years, the Japanese had marvelously succeeded in developing every commercial, industrial, economic, and scientific enterprise when they took over little more than a wilderness. The only criticism he made in the book was to judge the Japanese attempt to settle and administer the aborigines.

As for the educational achievements in Taiwan, Rutter (1923/1995) said:

The Japanese pay much attention to education in Formosa, as they do everywhere else in the Empire, and there are over nine hundred schools of various descriptions in the island. Before the coming of the Japanese, State schools were unknown and, with the exception of that given by the foreign Missions, education was confined to the children of those who could afford to pay for it. Even then it consisted of little more than reading the books of Mencius and Confucius or memorizing legendary stories; there was to be obtained no modern training by means of which a student might equip himself for a useful post in commerce or public life. (p. 93)
Rutter (1923/1995) made this observation after he visited an aboriginal boarding school:

The conditions under which they live are undoubtedly improved, but whether by the process of assimilation (which is admittedly the object of the administration) they do not lose more than they gain is a moot point. Education is not compulsory, but Koshimura told me that although the children did not work on Sunday, they had no other holidays and came to the schools for five years without returning to their villages. This means that they are cut off from their homes during the five most impressionable years of their lives; they lose their own traditions, they forget their customs. In fact they leave their villages simple up-country native children, and in five years they return Japanese citizens. (pp. 218-219)

Koshimura (越村) was working in the Japanese Foreign Section of the Formosan Government at that time. Although Rutter praised the Japanese for building the public school systems in Taiwan to improve the Taiwanese pupils’ quality of life, he, from a foreign perspective, criticized the Japanese attempted assimilation via pupils’ education, and showed that the Taiwanese students had lost their cultural identities through school education.

**Education Policy**

The protection of cultural values is made possible by the way in which control of the school system is organized (Spring, 2005). In this case, the Japanese government considered which civil institutions would have to be introduced to keep order, to exploit the island’s economic resources, and to enlist cooperation from the Taiwanese (Tsurumi, 1977). Education was to play an important part in these plans.
According to the reports Japanese Rule in Formosa, Takekoshi (1907) described the system of education on the island as very inferior to Japan. He had judged the old-style Chinese education of memorization, and believed that people were selfish in trying to gain official positions through that kind of education. In the other words, after Taiwan was ruled by Japan, the Taiwanese were lucky that they had gained Japan’s modern style of education. It improved their lives, taking them beyond the barbaric, poor, greedy, and disordered society they had endured before. Even as their society was modernized, the Taiwanese people found it difficult to be subjugated.

Unfortunately, the education given under the Chinese regime, consisting as it did in memorizing meaningless and useless stories, did not help the people to secure Government positions at Peking, to gain higher degrees, to make a name for themselves, or even to better their social position, in fact it did not benefit them in any way. Thus they have never seen practical proof of the advantages of education.

It was under such conditions as these that the Government opened schools and began to teach the people the Japanese language, which they despised, and Japanese history, which they had no wish to learn. At first, as was perhaps natural, they misunderstood our motives and refused to send their children to school, thinking we taught them our language and gave them other instruction only in order that we might the more easily enslave them.

Immediately on the acquisition of Formosa, our authorities gave much thought to the subject of education, being anxious to educate the inhabitants in conformity with the policy which has been as often advocated as the best for developing a newly acquired territory—First educate the people. Our educational authorities, however, were confronted with a difficulty which they did not see how to avoid. Should they give the people a practical scientific education and thus enable them to better themselves, have more comfortable homes and make more money; or should they give such an education as would assimilate them with us, Japanese? In 1896, when civil administration was introduced, the authorities at first adopted the assimilation idea. (Takekoshi, 1907, pp. 294-296)

Shuji Izawa (伊澤修二, 1851-1917) was the first chief of the education bureau in Taiwan in 1895. He led the first assault on the massive problem of educating the Taiwanese gentry’s children. Izawa had been sent by the Japanese Ministry of Education
to study *The Bridgewater Normal School* in Massachusetts in 1875. *The Bridgewater Normal School* was founded in 1840 as one of the first normal schools in the U.S. Its name has since changed to *The Bridgewater State College* (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bridgewater_State_College, retrieved August 2, 2007).

Izawa came back to Japan as an enthusiast of Western-style education and introduced gymnastics and Western music to Japanese schoolchildren (Tsurumi, 1977). Even today, the Japanese still praise him for his contribution of music education to schooling.

Izawa proved to be more like an educator than a politician regarding his actions in Taiwan. Most Taiwanese public education systems were built by him or his subordinates, according to his ideas. Sometimes, his ideas gave too much equality to the Taiwanese and even conflicted with the governor’s colonial rule (P.-F. Chen, 2006; Tsurumi, 1977). He was the founder of the segregated education system per the Japanese empire’s request. His stay in Taiwan was not as long as the Taiwanese had hoped, because he was one person that the Taiwanese had appreciated (Tsurumi, 1977).

There were two elementary school systems in Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period. Common schools (公學校) were founded for Taiwanese children; primary schools (小學校) were founded for Japanese children. They had different curricula and different textbooks. All of the primary school’s curricula were copied from the mother country—Japan. It allowed Japanese children in Taiwan to have the same level of educational quality as children in the mother country. If they transferred back to Japan, they caught up with their Japanese peers easily. In the beginning, the common school helped transform Taiwanese education from the old-style private Chinese
education to the Japanese-style school-based education (Tsurumi, 1977). This was typically ethnically segregated. In Rutter’s opinion (1923/1995), there were reasons for segregated education to continue. Taiwanese children did not know enough Japanese language to participate in joint education. Even when Taiwanese children learned Japanese, the majority of them were still relegated to separate schools. Only a few Taiwanese children, those from higher status economically well-off families, attended school with Japanese children after 1922 (P.-F. Chen, 2006).

Each group had very different available resources, as shown by their faculty-pupil ratios (see Tables 2-1 & 2-2) and school equipment. Attendance at the different schools was also symbolic of higher-class and lower-class status. Mostly, the Taiwanese knew they functioned as a second-class society and felt inferior. Even though they did not have as much access to knowledge, they still cherished their new educational opportunities (P.-F. Chen, 2006).
Table 2-1: Faculty-pupil ratios in primary schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Academic year (April – March)</th>
<th>(1) Number of pupils enrolled</th>
<th>(2) Number of qualified teachers</th>
<th>(3) Faculty-pupil ratio (1) ÷ (2)</th>
<th>(4) All teaching staff including temporary appointments</th>
<th>(5) Faculty-pupil ratio (1) ÷ (4)</th>
<th>(6) Ratio of pupils to school-aged children</th>
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Source: Tsurumi (1977, pp. 242-243)
Table 2-2: Faculty-pupil ratios in common schools

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<tr>
<th>Academic year (April – March)</th>
<th>(1) Number of pupils enrolled</th>
<th>(2) Number of qualified teachers</th>
<th>(3) Faculty-pupil ratio (1) ÷ (2)</th>
<th>(4) All teaching staff including temporary appointments</th>
<th>(5) Faculty-pupil ratio (1) ÷ (4)</th>
<th>(6) Ratio of pupils to school-aged children</th>
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Source: Tsurumi (1977, pp. 244-245)
In 1898, Goto told his education personnel that the Japanese must take care to see that Taiwanese children did not become educated above their station in life. He was apparently opposed to opening up a wide range of vocational education facilities, arguing against this on the budgetary grounds, as well as on principle (Tsurumi, 1977).

The Japanese strategy directing the new educational forms was aimed at: Winning support for the new regime; developing a stratum of Taiwanese sufficiently well educated to service the administrative and clerical apparatus of the colonial government; educating Japanese nationals living in Taiwan; popularizing formal education for girls; producing Taiwanese teachers and medical personnel; and making the island’s school system as financially self-sufficient as possible. (Tsurumi, 1977, p. 18)

There were two aims stated in the Common School Regulations of 1898. The first was to give Taiwanese children a good command of the Japanese language; the second was to teach Taiwanese children ethics and practical knowledge, in order to cultivate the qualities of Japanese citizenship in them. The six-year common school course consisted of Ethics, Japanese language, Classical Chinese (composition, reading, and calligraphy), Arithmetic, Music, and Gymnastics. It was open to children aged eight to fourteen (Tsurumi, 1977).

Japanese rulers believed that continuing to teach Classical Chinese in the common schools would help Japan gain the loyalty and cooperation of the colony’s people, because it would show that they protected Taiwanese cultural roots (P.-F. Chen, 2006). Although the common school courses contained Chinese studies, this did not mean that the Japanese language was neglected. More attention was devoted to spoken and written Japanese than to any other subject (Tsurumi, 1977).

After several years, the Japanese common schools became more powerful and the old-style Chinese schools were diminishing in number and influence. The Japanese
government decided that it was time to replace “backward” Chinese learning with the modern, scientific education pursued so enthusiastically in Meiji Japan (Tsurumi, 1977). Politicians argued that learning the Japanese language was essential to assimilation and the creation of a unified nation. Language was considered related to values and culture (Spring, 2005). In time, they had to throw away Chinese instead of the other courses to increase Japanization as they were trying to stabilize the situation in Taiwan.

**Teachers’ Training**

Izawa’s original education proposals planned to build normal schools to train the Taiwanese as Japanese language teachers. In 1899, three normal schools were opened: Taihoku (Taipei in Japanese pronunciation), Taichu (Taichung in Japanese pronunciation), and Tainan, located in three large cities of Taiwan. The three-year normal school courses included Ethics, Japanese language, Composition, Reading, Arithmetic, Bookkeeping, Geography, History, Science, Calligraphy, Music, Gymnastics, and Pedagogy which was as Izawa had planned. Any graduate from a Japanese language institute whose age was under twenty-five was eligible to apply to a normal school (Lee, 2001; Tsurumi, 1977).

Compared with the common school courses in 1898 (Ethics, Japanese language, Classical Chinese, Arithmetic, Music, and Gymnastics) (Tsurumi, 1977), the normal school and the common school courses were very similar except for Bookkeeping, Geography, History, Science, and Pedagogy, which were only offered in the normal
schools; Classical Chinese was only for the common schools. Neither type of school had any courses relating to art, such as painting, drawing, or handicrafts.

Izawa brought the concept of music classes from the U.S. normal school and highly recommended it. Later, the Japanese established the first boarding school for Japanese boys in Taiwan. The school had a very strange course design. The studies were divided into three parts: “intellectual activities, discipline for the body and the hands, and esthetic education” (Tsurumi, 1977, p. 75). They set up the course Handicrafts which belonged to the discipline for the body and the hands curriculum, not to esthetic education. One must wonder why they would set up Handicrafts to only focus on skills and technical practice, without esthetic education.

The concept of Handicrafts could be connected with the U.S. focus on fine motor skills and hand/eye coordination. In other words, Izawa copied handicrafts’ context from manual training he witnessed in America. After the Civil War in the United States, art education served to develop human capital for industrial needs. The men from business, industry, and government argued that “manufacturing cities needed mass education in order to build a trained force of workers with industrious habits, docile temperaments, and useful skills” (Stankiewicz, 2001, p. 46). Manual training in art education was practiced in several U.S. states, including Massachusetts and at Hampton Institute in Virginia (Stankiewicz, 2001) during the time when Izawa was studying at Bridgewater Normal School (Tsurumi, 1977).

The concept of manual training was described by J. Liberty Tadd (1854-1917), who first developed his approach to manual training through his work with children and pediatric patients and believed that the hands were automatic servants of the brain.
In schools, the handicrafts were supposed to help the brain develop more than simply an aesthetic cultivation. After several decades of practice, art educators began to think that manual training not only served to enhance brain development; they needed to add more artistic values in the mid-1890s (Stankiewicz, 2001).

In 1899 the three normal schools opened, and about 150 students were admitted. In 1902, when the Japanese Language School, founded in 1895, in Taipei, the forerunner of Taipei Municipal University of Education, began a teacher training program for Taiwanese, the normal schools in Taihoku (Taipei) and Taichu (Taichung) were closed. Their facilities and equipment were taken over by the Japanese Language School and their students gathered up into that institution. Two years later the normal school in Tainan was also discontinued and its students sent to the Japanese Language School (Lee, 2001; Tsurumi, 1977).

The training for female teachers was different from what males received. Women were accepted by the higher girls’ school (three years) after completion of four years of a common school course, while men could only enter the Japanese Language School’s education course after they finished six years of common school. Taiwanese women thus had three years less schooling than Taiwanese men. Taiwanese female teachers in common schools were paid much less than Taiwanese men. The situation corresponded to the pattern in Japan: male teachers were paid more than female teachers (Tsurumi, 1977).

Under Confucian philosophy, a virtuous woman stayed at home to do domestic art more often than working outside to earn money. Some female teachers quit their jobs
after they were married or had a baby unless they could handle both the job and
housework.

In the nineteenth century, women had the same situation in the U.S. too.

The “home,” their own term for the domestic setting, had become for them a pillar
of civilization, an incubator of morals and family affections, a critical alternative
to the harsh and competitive world of trade and politics. The home was based on a
particular configuration of family members: woman at home, man at work,
children under maternal supervision or at school. (Stansell, 1987, p. 41)

Kakichi Uchida (內田嘉吉, 1864-1933), Director of Civil Administration in
Taiwan from August 1910 to November 1915, expressed his opinion at a conference in
1915. Uchida stated that Japan should restrict the development of higher education in
Taiwan. He said that the Taiwanese desired to attend higher education after common
school graduation. But he considered that the education of the colony was not purely for
the purpose of advancing education. A colonial education system must correspond to
social conditions and also the people’s cultural level. It had a mandate to resist offering
more advanced courses to Taiwanese. Unequivocally, the Japanese government in
general would dislike the Taiwanese pressuring for advancement through education
(Tsurumi, 1977).

In the Japanese colonial period, the Taiwanese were only allowed to go medical
school for doctor’s training or language school for teacher’s training after they graduated
from common school. Doctors and teachers were two occupations that addressed the
basic life needs of the Taiwanese. They were prohibited from studying law, politics, and
high-tech science. The Japanese government restricted Taiwanese fields of study and
limited the numbers of highly educated individuals, fearing that Taiwanese with too
much knowledge would wake up their identities and ideology and also gather enough power and awareness to resist their rulers (Ong, 2000).

**Assimilation and Change**

The educational tracks during colonial times were more sharply separated and unequal than Izawa, the chief of the education bureau in Taiwan, had expected. Izawa would have planned more equal education for Taiwanese. He could imagine the young Taiwanese rising to the top of the Japanese educational pyramid and making their way into the ranks of the elite that governed the empire. In a formal essay he urged that discrimination should be kept out of Taiwan. To his teacher trainee recruits, he always insisted that it was just as important for Japanese to learn the languages of Taiwan, as it was for the Taiwanese to master Japanese (Tsurumi, 1977).

Most of Izawa’s ideas didn’t come to fruition. They were generally avoided by the Governor-General, because they did not benefit the Japanese empire. Education would be used to secure the cooperation and allegiance of the Taiwanese people and perhaps eventually assimilate them; schools would help control the people (Lee, 2001; Tsurumi, 1977).

For the rulers of Japan, higher education was a means to increase the people’s competence in the Western technological and managerial skills which could fulfill the needs of the nation. Elementary schools were the basic institution used to forge a unified and loyal nation out of a population with strong regional ties (Tsurumi, 1977).
When one country is interested in controlling another, it needs to gain the allegiance of the conquered peoples. The conquerors usually attempt to mold conquered people to feel emotional ties to the conqueror’s government and society. They want the conquered to emulate the conqueror’s culture (Spring, 2005). This was the reason the Japanese were enthusiastic about establishing the common school system. They wanted the Taiwanese people to know Japanese language and history in order to assimilate them. They also strove to make the Taiwanese fit the basic requirements of industrial workers, but did not open all fields of higher education to the Taiwanese, so that they could not be elites in the society.

Gender and Education

In 1918, a special education conference convened by the Ministry of Education of Japan discussed problems related to higher education for women in Japan. Most of the participants agreed that the higher education of women in Japan was not a benefit to Japanese society because this would produce women with “dangerous thoughts.” Those higher-educated women were less dutiful as wives, daughters-in-law, and child bearers than were their less educated sisters. The higher-educated women were not conforming to the traditional Japanese societal needs, and it was feared that they might destroy the traditional structure of the society (Tsurumi, 1977).

In traditional Chinese or Asian thinking, the most prominent role for men was the political sphere, both inside and outside the family; they were the authority and the center of the traditional society. In the family, the oldest male—father, grandfather, or even
great-grandfather—controlled the household. Outside, males worked and provided for the needs of their families. Although the mother was the one to manage the household and family finances, her authority in these matters deferred to and was controlled by her husband or her father-in-law (Hsieh, 1991). Under the traditional Confucian philosophy, men were the decision-makers in a family which upheld the ideal of the “three obediences” of women: to obey the father and the older brother when young, to obey the husband when married, and to obey the sons when widowed (Hsieh, 1991).

The mother was the primary child caretaker. She was able to express her love and affection to her children in a way that the father could not, and the father was mainly responsible for socializing and disciplining the child (Hsieh, 1991). In traditional Chinese society, the special skills such as Chinese medicine passed down through families for generations, were taught to boys, but not to girls.

A woman did not need any outside education in order to succeed in this traditional society. In the Confucian scheme, a daughter eventually married and pursued her career as loyal daughter-in-law, devoted mother, and faithful wife within her husband’s family. These roles did not require literacy, much less literary talent (Tsurumi, 1977). In China as well as in Taiwan, the practice of foot-binding further restricted women’s bodily movements, such as walking rapidly or walking long distances (Hsieh, 1991). This was the way that men controlled women. They did not have the ability to go outside to connect with society. In this way men kept women from gaining knowledge, so that they respected their men, who were seen as more wise and intelligent than women.

This system was the reason that very little progress had been made in persuading even the wealthy Taiwanese to send their daughters to the common schools (Tsurumi,
Parents may have feared that school would give their daughters unsuitable ideas or encourage unfortunate connections. Japanese officials knew that the same kinds of barriers had once kept girls out of the primary school in Japan. Therefore they designed special curricula for girls, such as sewing, in the common school to entice the parents to send their girls to school (Tsurumi, 1977).

The same kind thinking could be seen in the United States. According to Stankiewicz (2001), in the late nineteenth century and the beginning of twentieth century, the “young ladies were expected to enjoy sewing and other domestic arts; their activities were supposed to center on the home” (p. 57). School manual training was different for girls and boys.

The traditional thinking limited opportunities for girls, but parents gradually came to understand the importance of sending girls to school. The ratio of girls to school-aged female children was getting higher. From the ratio 2.2% in 1915 rose to 60.7% in common schools in 1944 (see Table 2-2). This was one of important contributions of Japanese government.

The Taiwanese Attitude

Japanese built a public school system, pushed the society to modernize, abolished foot-binding for girls, encouraged girls to go to school, and elevated the economic situation in Taiwan; Japanese forced Taiwanese people to change their identities to be more Japanese, enslaved Taiwanese labor to honor the mother country, forced Taiwanese to change their mother tongue, and compelled Taiwanese to alter their surnames.
Our identity is partly shaped by recognition or its absence, often by the misrecognition of others, and so a person or group of people can suffer real damage, real distortion, if the people or society around them mirror back to them a confining or demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves. Nonrecognition or misrecognition can inflict harm, can be a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted, and reduced mode of being. (Taylor, 1994)

During the occupation, the Japanese language replaced spoken Taiwanese and written Chinese gradually. The Japanese government transferred Taiwanese cultural recognition through public school education. Some Taiwanese appeared to adopt Japanese culture as their own in order to thrive in their colonialized state although the Taiwanese knew they were misidentifying their own culture.

**Art Education Transition in Taiwan**

Taiwan had gone through a big transition in the last century. The transition was caused not only by regime changes but also by global changes such as democracy, post-colonialism, and new ways of conveying information. In other words, education did not change in isolation—the whole society influenced art education.

**Background**

A noisy development is taking place in elementary and junior high schools (grades 1-9) throughout Taiwan. The Ministry of Education is currently implementing one of its biggest educational reforms—the *Nine-year-integration Curriculum*. Its main mission was to reconstruct elementary and junior high school curricula into a continuous coherent learning area.
In Taiwan, the public school systems were founded in 1895, at the beginning of the Japanese colonial period (Chou, 2003; Tsurumi, 1977). In the beginning, the courses for the six-year segregated common schools for Taiwanese students had no courses relating to the arts (Tsurumi, 1977). It was not until 1904 that the Taiwanese students had their first optional art course, “manual arts,” in common schools (Tsurumi, 1977; Wu, 1997). In 1921, they had “painting” as a required course in common schools (Tsurumi, 1977). The subject names for arts in Taiwanese elementary and junior high schools have changed several times. Some of the names used were manual arts, painting, handcrafts, crafts, arts, arts and crafts, and arts and humanities.

The history of education reflects social changes and cultural consciousness (Yang, 2001, March). Every time the names of subjects changed, it indicated a shift in the concepts of education reform. When visual arts were integrated into the Life curriculum and the Arts and Humanities curriculum, an art education revolution was launched.

The Nine-year-integrated Curriculum was implemented in 2001. Under the new curriculum, art education was set into two stages. The first stage takes place in the first and second grade, when visual arts is integrated into the Life curriculum learning area, which includes social studies, science and technology, and arts and humanities. In the second stage, from the third grade through the ninth grade, visual arts is combined with music and the performing arts in the Arts and Humanities curriculum (Lu, 2002; Ministry of Education, 2006).

The first stage, in the Life area in the first and second grade, used to be taught by the classroom teacher. The second stage, Arts and Humanities, was separated into two phases: elementary school (grades 3-6) and junior high school (grades 7-9). Arts and
*Humanities* in the elementary school is taught by either the classroom teacher or specialized teachers such as art or music teacher. *Arts and Humanities* in the junior high school phase is taught by art, music, and performing arts teachers (see Table 2-3); they must coordinate the content of their lessons.

Table 2-3: *Arts and Humanities* curriculum in grades 1-9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Learning Area</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Teacher</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Life</td>
<td>Social Studies, Science and Technology, &amp; Arts and Humanities</td>
<td>Classroom teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Arts and Humanities</td>
<td>Visual Arts, Music, &amp; Performing Arts</td>
<td>Classroom teacher or Specialized teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Specialized teachers: visual arts, music, and performing arts teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Arts and Humanities**

Before the educational reform in Taiwan in 2001, the subject names in art education, were *Arts and Crafts* (one subject in grades 3-6) and *Arts and Crafts* (two subjects in grades 7-9). Historically, *Arts and Crafts, Arts, and Crafts* were more related to hands-on practice and art skills training than cultural understanding. The main reasons for changing the subject name to *Visual Arts* and integrating *Arts and Humanities* was to
turn the people’s attention to the humanities domain, focus less on the manual skills, and to connect with different arts forms, such as music, plays, dance, and performance. It was also to offer, as Wilson (1997) mentions, “opportunities for relating art to other school subjects as well as to the wide range of personal interests and abilities of young learners” (p.10). The purpose of general art education in young people is to develop the children’s ability and sensibility to creative and critical thinking in their life, not to cultivate professional artists (Bresler & Thompson, 2002; Gaudelius & Speirs, 2002; R. A. Smith, 2006; Wilson, 1997, 2004).

**Humanities as Liberal Arts**

“Albert W. Levi has argued that the humanities are eternally relevant because they are the liberal arts of communication, continuity, and criticism” (quoted in R. A. Smith, 2006, p. 125). R. A. Smith (2006) also mentions that the common language of artistic expression is aesthetic communication, so we have to add the fourth C: the art of creation to Levi’s interpretation. Humanities are the arts of communication, continuity, criticism, and creation, of the liberal arts.

Historically, the word humanity meant the quality which distinguishes a person from the barbarian or vulgarian. In other words, humanity meant respecting moral values and that gracious blend of learning and urbanity (Panofsky, 2001). According to Panofsky’s (2001) argument, until the Renaissance, there was not a basic difference between natural science and the humanities. Science tries to transform the chaotic variety of natural phenomena into a system called nature, while the humanities tries to transform
the chaotic variety of human records into a system called culture. If we give a definition to an art work as “a man-made object demanding to be experienced aesthetically” (p. 225), we will find the basic distinction between the humanities and natural science. The scientist studies natural phenomena and analyzes them; the humanist mentally studies human actions and creations, as well as re-enacting the actions and to re-creating the creations. Aesthetic didacticism believed art-making was a project that presents the intelligence and highest creativity of humankind since Renaissance humanism (Stankiewicz et al., 2004).

In *General Guidelines of Grade 1-9 Curriculum of Elementary and Junior High School Education*, Taiwan’s Ministry of Education (2006) indicates that humanitarian attitudes include “self-understanding and respect for others and different cultures” (p. 3). Based on this definition, “humanities” are drawn much from the democratic life, relationships, and communication of people because “visual culture can be understood in relationship to the meanings and values of people’s daily ways of living” (Krug, 2002, p. 180).

In this study, my reading and interviews about the photographs relate to personal, family, aesthetics, and local history. In addition, I use visual culture theories as intellectual tools to bring new interpretations to these photographs; a typical practice of humanities. Under the framework of the humanities, I regard people’s daily lives as experienced aesthetically as well as liberal arts to value ordinary communication, continuity, criticism, and creation as meaningful intention of their lives. To apply humanities disciplines to a historical research is an example of how we can fulfill the expansion of art education from art making to cultural understanding to catch the
educational reform core spirit and to make a practice of democratic concepts in art education.

**Nine-year-integrated Curriculum**

In 1895, the first public school system in Taiwan, common school, was an optional six years (grades 1-6). In 1943, a six-year compulsory education system was implemented in Taiwan (Tsurumi, 1977). When the Republic of China (ROC) took over Taiwan in 1945, the government continued using the six-year compulsory education system. In 1968, the national compulsory education was extended to nine years (grades 1-9). Although in 1998, the directive *Twelve Educational Reform Mandates* proposed that compulsory education should be extend to K-12 (Yang, 2001, March), it has not been put into practice yet. This was why the educational reform designed the curriculum framework from grade 1 through grade 9 instead of K-12.

With the new curriculum, nine-year-integrated curriculum, the teaching subjects are integrated into seven learning areas (Lu, 2002; Ministry of Education, 2006; Yang, 2001, March):

1. *Language Arts* includes Mandarin and English, and focuses on listening, speaking, reading, and writing of both languages.

2. *Health and Physical Education* includes physical and mental development, and athletic skills.

3. *Social Studies* includes history and culture, geography, social systems, and civic responsibilities.
4. *Arts and Humanities* includes music, visual arts, and performing arts.

5. *Science and Technology* includes themes such as resources and energy, natural life and environment, and information technology.

6. *Mathematics* includes acquiring the basic concepts and comprehension of mathematical principles in order to solve problems and develop critical thinking skills.

7. *Integrative Activities* contains group programs and activities such as counseling and resource utilization.

Beside the integration of the learning areas, one of the important issues in the curriculum plan is curriculum decentralization. After this educational reform, the Ministry of Education was not curriculum monopoly anymore. Every school can follow the national curriculum guideline by designing its unique curriculum to reflect its local characteristics. It connects to White’s (2004) argument: “If art was a deeply social human activity, then differing communities of experience might bring different values to the field” (p. 71).

*Arts and Humanities Curriculum*

The *Arts and Humanities* curriculum in school education is “to help students to cultivate an interest for arts and encourage them to enthusiastically participate in related activities, thus promoting abilities such as imagination, creativity, appreciation for the arts, and other abilities” (Ministry of Education, 2006, p. 7). This does not focus on manual skill and artistic training as had the previous curriculum in Taiwan.
The Conceptual Roots of Art Education

In order to discuss Taiwan’s concept of art education, we have to examine three topics: the concepts of traditional Chinese art and its cultivation, the circumstances of education, and the styles of art under the high pressure of the political atmosphere during the Japanese colonial period and the KMT nationalist period.

Traditional Chinese Art and Cultivation

In traditional Chinese culture, art was separated into two levels: high art and folk art. High art, especially ink painting and calligraphy, was used to cultivate a personal spirituality (T.-F. Huang, 2002). Knowing how to paint—or to appreciate—an ink painting or calligraphy was a symbol of high social status. Art was not an applied craft on this level. On the other hand, the folk arts, such as ceramics or furniture-making, were an occupation that working class people used to meet their living expenses (T.-F. Huang, 2002).

These two polar concepts influenced art education content and the strategy of teaching used prior to educational reform in Taiwan. The subject Art in elementary school used to be called Arts and Crafts, and in junior high school art was separated into two subjects: one was Arts and the other was Crafts. “Arts” was for cultivating personal morals and aesthetics; “Crafts” was for applied skill-training or helping the brain develop through improving hand-eye coordination. A big gap seemed to exist between “Arts” and “Crafts”.

Educational Circumstances

In 1936, the publication *The Higher Learning in America* by Hutchins says:

“Education implies teaching. Teaching implies knowledge. Knowledge is truth. The truth is everywhere the same. Hence education should be everywhere the same. I do not overlook the possibilities of differences in organization, in administration, in local habits and customs” (quoted in Gutmann, 1994, p. 16). This monopoly and mono-standard thinking about education indicates a dominating universal standard existing in education in the early twentieth century.

Before the educational reforms in 2001, Taiwan’s education was like a monopoly, and the Ministry of Education conducted all of the management. There was only one standard for the whole educational system in Taiwan, no matter what the differences in urban or rural areas, since education should be the same everywhere. It was similar to Hutchins’s theory. The KMT wanted to maintain the traditional Chinese culture that was mostly destroyed after the Cultural Revolution in 1966 in mainland China. The China-centered content, such as Chinese ink painting and calligraphy, had its place assured by the KMT government’s request. The government also wanted to erase the influences left by the Japanese colonists; therefore Japanese arts such as Japanese gouache and Japanese artists were not listed in any form whatsoever in the art curriculum. On the other hand, Taiwanese arts were classified as different from Chinese art, and as a result Taiwanese arts occupy a small segment of the whole. The aborigines’ art forms were at a disadvantage, and were not included in the art curriculum. The third world’s arts were not in the mainstream culture, and they could not compete with the grand Chinese culture,
hence they also did not have place. Only the Western arts symbolized a dominating and progressive trend, and as a result they were juxtaposed with the traditional Chinese arts as the major content in art textbooks. This was the narrow spectrum of art that Taiwanese students learned in art in the years past.

**Art Styles**

Taiwanese artists avoided political troubles under pressure from the government. The appreciation beauty or the sublime was almost the sum total of the arts. Artists usually selected beautiful landscapes or flowers to be their subject matter, instead of politically sensitive subjects (H.-H. Wang, 1990, August). This happened during both the Japanese colonial period and the KMT nationalist period. Traditional Chinese and Western hierarchies maintained the status of conservative styles and prevented native artists from gaining master status until martial law was lifted. These circumstances restricted the development of artists’ styles and also distanced art education from Taiwanese daily life.

**To Bridge Art Education Theories**

In the 1980s, high-tech industries and the economy were developing and grew rapidly in Taiwan. Martial law was lifted, so many Taiwanese had the opportunity to go abroad to study and to witness the development of art education in other countries. They were like bridges, helping the Taiwanese to broaden their thinking, to expand their
concepts of art education, and to share the accomplishments of other art educators and researchers. The changes in art education in Taiwan were obvious. Several popular art education scholars’ theories have influenced Taiwanese art educators.

For example, Lowenfeld (1957) stated that the different visual stages and stages of development of creation of children’s art was creative and self-expressionist. Children made art with a different purpose and sense of creativity than adults. Wilson (1997) argues that it is essential for art education to help students prepare for life through a variety of ideas and rethinking of developmental stages, symbols, and connections. Efland (2004) states that different definitions of art evoke different educational content. If art is seen in a formal context, the curriculum is associated with the formal principles of the elements and design; however, if art is seen as the expression of the artist, it becomes based on creative self-expression. Efland, Freedman, and Stuhr (1996) state that in postmodern art, culture, and critique, the pathways to art education are the concepts of plural and multiple.

In the 1980s, the teaching of art was grounded in the content and methods of art-making, art history, art criticism, and aesthetics, called Discipline-Based Art Education (DBAE) (R. A. Smith, 2004; Wilson, 1997). In the twenty-first century, the postmodern era, the unifying narrative or grand narrative has fragmented into varied little stories or little narratives (Lyotard, 1984). The art curriculum should integrate a variety of sources from all over the world and from the local culture. Interconnecting and contesting should be the basis for art education (Wilson, 2004). "In the classroom the teacher is no longer the sole authority, dispensing irrefutable facts and assigning meanings" (Gaudelius &
Speirs, 2002, p. 2) because the absolute paradigm or standard of art education is getting lost. The classroom becomes a field of communication among students and teachers (Thompson, 2002). Every student can use her/his personal experience and understanding to express, to interpret, to share, and to narrate their thinking. These theories really impacted the Taiwanese art educational reform.

**Visual Culture and Arts and Humanities Curriculum**

How can Taiwan have a harmonious integration between internationalization and localization? What is the relationship between visual culture and the Arts and Humanities curriculum? What is the place that visual culture has in the Arts and Humanities curriculum? Is it possible that visual culture might provide a bridge between the arts and the humanities?

How can Taiwan have a harmonious integration between internationalization and localization? Tension seems to be arising in this educational reform. Internationalization in education is “a complex, multidimensional learning process that includes the integrative, intercultural, interdisciplinary, comparative, transfer of knowledge-technology, contextual and global dimensions of knowledge construction” (Yang, 2001, March, p. 16). Localization in education should help the Taiwanese be aware of their cultural roots and help them to find their place in the world (Yang, 2001, March). However, internationalization and localization are not opposed to each other. Internationalization and localization exist in a harmonious integration to support the Taiwanese in having a clear self-identity and understanding of the world.
What is the relationship between visual culture and Arts and Humanities curriculum? Visual culture is a part of the arts and the humanities are the liberal arts. The previous curriculum, beginning in the Japanese colonial period and continuing into the KMT period, was mostly focused on art-making skills without any teaching of cultural understanding; it limited students’ learning in the arts. The new curriculum integrated humanities into arts, hoping to enhance students’ ability to do more critical thinking, show more consideration of others and their circumstances, and respect cultural differences. Therefore the integration of arts and humanities is not to dilute the importance of art, but to extend its content.

What is the place that visual culture has in the Arts and Humanities curriculum? Is it possible that visual culture might provide a bridge between the arts and the humanities? Without the boundaries from the earlier concepts of art, art teachers will be able to introduce content about cultural identities that create intellectual dialogue and debate between students. The contents should be socially and historically constructed. Instead of the traditional lecture where the teacher and the students did not have much interaction, “play” can be considered as a creative strategy for better cultural understanding (Garoian, 2002). As a result, change in the traditional concept of arts and teaching strategy in art education can lead to the integration of arts and humanities.

Finally, policy-making in Taiwan should have a long-term plan and complete overhaul instead of fragmentations of change. The previous policy-making caused confusion and was rejected by the teachers. It created chaos in the whole education system. Changes in teaching strategy and policy not only ensure the survival of art
education, but also create a healthy environment for future art education development. It needs art educators, art researchers, policy-makers, and parents’ cooperation.
Chapter 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The goal of this study is to trace the roots of Taiwanese visual culture through family photographs taken from the 1920s to the 1940s. Taiwan had been a Japanese colony from 1895 to 1945. The impact of the Japanese culture on the Taiwanese culture is obvious, even today. I am interested in how the multiple Taiwanese visual cultural identities were constructed and how I may contribute to Taiwanese art education through understanding the multiple Taiwanese visual cultural identities from my study. My research focused on family photographs from the 1920s to the 1940s because it was possible that I could find participants qualified for my research: those who had plenty of family historical photographs, who were pictured in the family photographs, who had been in school during the Japanese colonial period, and who are willing to be interviewed in-depth about her/his family history.

Giving the goals of this study, it was appropriate to use a qualitative research method. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2000), a qualitative researcher uses “ethnographic prose, historical narratives, first-person accounts, still photographs, life histories, fictionalized ‘facts,’ and biographical and autobiographical materials, among others” (p. 10).
Many scholars mention that the characteristics of qualitative research are very diverse. For example, Creswell (1998) explains that,

Qualitative research is an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem. The research builds a complex, holistic picture, analyzes words, reports detailed views of informants, and conducts the study in a natural setting. (p. 15)

This study also relates to concepts found in cultural studies because it uses “the oral history interview as the record of a cultural form” (R. C. Smith, 2003). Cultural studies have been defined by Frow and Morris (2000) as,

To know groups themselves through cultural activity;... to investigate the deep ambivalence of identification and desire between groups;... and to seek a politics of connections and translation across prevailing boundaries between radically separate groups. (pp. 317)

I explored and answered my research questions through a series of literature reviews, which I presented in Chapter 2, interpretations of photographic signs, and participant interviews. I was able to critically scrutinize the family narratives through the associated photographs. The family narratives reflected the layers of cultural identities. The results of this research are to make Taiwanese visual culture roots visible and build on this for the art education curriculum.

Looking for Participants

For this study I was looking for participants who were Taiwanese, who owned a plentiful amount of family photographs taken over three decades (1920s-1940s), who appeared in those family photographs, who were still alive, who were also old enough to remember their life during the Japanese colonial period (1895-1945), and who were
willing to share their family history. Due to the research needs, the participants and I would need to trust each other and the participants would have to arrange their photographs before our meeting and spend their time with me during the interviews.

Based on these criteria, I searched for participants of both genders whose ages were more than 70 years old, and who were still sharp-witted enough to be able to narrate their life history clearly. The interviews lasted more than two hours per session, and I interviewed every participant more than twice. Given this commitment, I hoped the participants would be willing and enthusiastic to be included in my study.

In the beginning, the motivation for this study came from my experience with one of my family photographs, as I mentioned in Chapter 1. I needed another family’s photographs in order to contrast, to compare, and to verify the visual cultural signs appearing on my family’s photographs. I was trying to look for participants through any direct or indirect connection; for instance, through my friends, colleagues, and students, as well as their extended connections.

Why did I look for my participants who had a connection to me instead of a random sampling? I had several reasons. First, I need to interview Taiwanese who were old enough to remember the events therefore it was necessary that they also lived during the era of high political pressure of the Japanese colonial period and the KMT nationalist period. Given this potential political nature of the interview, unconnected participants might not have been willing and comfortable enough to share their personal life stories and family photographs with a complete stranger. Second, there are not many families who had plentiful photographs taken during the 1920s-1940s. Third, the interviews would take a significant amount of time, and without the participants’ friendly cooperation, I
could not get useful information. In sum, the interviewer and interviewees needed to trust each other and have comfortable conversations, and having a connection would make this easier.

I was able to identify the participants through conversations with my extended family, friends, colleagues, and students. In the beginning, I contacted each potential participant by phone, explaining the purpose of my research and asking the potential participant if s/he was willing to participate. I then met them informally to check whether or not there were enough family photographs of sufficient quality, and if the participants’ characteristics fit my needs. Finally, I selected Jo Shen, Participant 1, female, born in 1932, and Li Shen, Participant 2, female, born in 1934, both of them are my mother’s younger cousin, from my extended family (see Figure 4-2, Shen family structure); Henry Chang, Participant 3, male, born in 1926, my friend’s father (see Figure 5-1, Chang family structure) to be my main participants (see Appendix B). Some of their family members supported or supplemented their narratives.

The Shens, including Jo, Li, and Kuo-Ching, my mother’s brother, collected their family photographs and showed me around 100 pieces, but some of the quality was not good because of they were poorly preserved. Finally, I only selected 6 pieces among these photographs related to my study and discuss them in Chapter 4. The Changs’ collections of their family photographs were very plentiful and were very well preserved. Henry showed at least 200 pieces of his family photographs to me and I selected 35 photographs related to my study and discuss them mostly in Chapter 5.
Interviews

In qualitative research, researchers are usually the observers and the person who is being observed is a sort of participant. If people cannot directly observe the research subject-matter, which may be historical in nature, they have to find more oblique ways to validate their accounts. In my study the direct information, which came from interviews and photographs, was considered my primary source; indirect information, such as that which might be gathered from conversations with relatives of those in the photograph, was considered my secondary source.

Before I started this study, I submitted my application for the use of human participants (for social science research) to the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at the Pennsylvania State University on February, 2006, and was approved on April 8, 2006. After the approval was granted, I began to arrange the details of the study process, especially the interviews, because the interviewees’ narratives are a bridge between the photographs and the meanings inherent in the photographs.

The interviews were held step by step until I selected the final participants. I asked whether the participant was willing to be interviewed in his or her home, or in my office at the Taipei Municipal University of Education. All of my participants chose to be interviewed in their homes. The first time I met each participant I followed the steps that IRB requested:

1. I asked whether the participant agreed to have a photograph taken by digital camera, and have the interview recorded by audio. I would preserve the

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1 The approval number is “22660.”
recordings in a locked and safe place, and when I traveled overseas I put the data in my carry-on case. All participants gave their permission.

2. I asked participants to respond to my protocol questions.

3. I gave each participant a consent form (see Appendix A), which was completed before any interviews took place. I was responsible for obtaining consent forms from the participants.

The Protocol Questions

The questions for the interviews are designed in an open-ended style. I conducted every interview, and these questions were asked face-to-face:

1. In what situation did your family take the photograph? Could you describe the situation and introduce the members of your family and the background of the photograph?

2. Could you describe your childhood life including family, education, and society? How did issues such as the economy, politics, language, customs, dress, gender, family structure, adopted children, religion, and so forth, impact your childhood?

3. In the Japanese colonial period, did you envy Japanese families or the Taiwanese families who spoke Japanese? Did they symbolize a higher class?

4. What were the evident differences in daily life between the Japanese colonial period and the Republic of China period in Taiwan? Which one did you like more? Why?
5. In your opinion, what are Taiwanese cultural characteristics?

Although I designed the questions for the interviews, it could not be avoided that the participants sometimes did not respond to my questions, and discussed their own tangential topics. I did not cut any conversation out of the interviews, so that some interviews took more than two hours. The interviews were recorded by audio during the whole process, after which I made word-for-word transcripts to see what patterns and metaphor would emerge.

My Role in this Study

Following Baxandall’s (1985) text, Patterns of Intention, when we discuss the ‘understanding’ of other cultures and actors, we have to distinguish between participants’ understanding and observers’ understanding. The participant understands and knows his culture immediately and spontaneously without any rational self-consciousness; the observer does not have this kind of sense. The observer’s function is different from the participant’s. According to Baxandall (1985), the observer works from comparisons (that are not made by the participants) to generalizations, because an observer will give special consideration to the other culture. An observer’s stance, outside of the culture they are observing, allows them a unique perspective, because the participant is less likely to have the same sense of detachment.

My role in this study was that of both an observer and an indirect participant. I was an observer because I conducted the interviews, and also because I was born in 1956, after the photographs were taken, and so I am removed from the subject by time. As an
observer, the advantage I brought to my study was twofold. First, I was far away from the subject by time, so I had a broad view and had a different perspective from my participants. Second, I have taken qualitative research courses at the Pennsylvania State University about how to do qualitative research and conduct an in-depth interview, so I could work from comparisons to generalizations with an objective attitude. The disadvantage of my study was that sometimes I could not keep the sense of detachment from my participants because I knew all of them for a long time. For example, when my participants told childhood stories that I have heard from other family members, I might use my understanding not ask more details.

I was an indirect participant because I grew up in the same geographical area and I have the same native language, so that I was deeply involved in the cultural circumstances. As an indirect participant, the advantage I brought to my study was threefold. First, I had conversations with my participants directly without any problems. My participants mostly spoke Taiwanese and sometimes they spoke Chinese and Japanese during my interviews. Henry also spoke a little English when he talked about his uncle, K. W. Chan. The Taiwanese language is my mother tongue. Chinese was the Taiwanese official language after World War II, so I studied it in school. Sometimes, my parents spoke Japanese at home in daily life when I was young, so I can understand simple conversations in Japanese. English is the academic language I used during my study at the Pennsylvania State University. The languages I know helped me have easy and smooth interviews with my participants. Younger generations Taiwanese may not have this kind advantage, to speak the Taiwanese language fluently, because they lost their mother tongue due to the KMT’s Mandarin as National Language Policy. Second, I
understand the geography in Taiwan, so when my participants talked about any county or village in Taiwan, I figured out the location of those places quickly. Third, I understand Taiwanese cultural circumstances and life styles. I knew my participants wanted to point out and what was a taboo for the Taiwanese culture. My participants and I had close and good quality conversations without misunderstandings.

**Materials Contributing to the Study**

Taiwan has been under many political authorities in the past four hundred years. The culture has many layers because of the numerous political changes; some of the cultural layers are still visible in contemporary Taiwanese society. Some layers are hidden, and their meaning must be explored through indirect evidence. Interpreting old photographs is a way to explore the cultural layers through the visual signs in the images.

Not many independent studies explore visual cultural meaning in Taiwanese family photographs, although some have featured collections of historical photographs, such as Taiwan memory: Digital Photo Museum (http://www.sinica.edu.tw/photo/, retrieved September 3, 2007), Taiwan memory: Historical photograph database (http://www.airiti.com/history/, retrieved September 3, 2007). However, these studies mostly focus on photographic display and description, and contain little interpretation.

In this research project I investigated how the Taiwanese have constructed their visual cultural identities in a politically dominated society, and also gain an in-depth understanding of Taiwanese visual culture in order to contribute to Taiwanese art education.
In order to produce accounts and narratives that are rich in detail and that will reveal local, personal, political, historical, and visual issues in context. I use open-ended interviews, accompanied by documents and artifacts. Many social scientists do generate their data, through field observation, interviewing, producing videotapes, taping proceedings of meetings, and so on. There are also other sources of data: published documents of all kinds and private documents like letters and diaries. In some kinds of library research, the researcher will even use the library much like an ethnographer (Strauss, 1987).

In this study the photographs, 41 pieces, are the main historical visual objects. Other objects, documents such as a marriage certificate, a title deed, an invitation card, a registered residence certificate, a newspaper, a letter (see Appendix C), and artifacts such as a dress, cloth, a vase, and other decorations (see Appendix D), are helpful for understanding the situation of the life story. Photographs, documents, and artifacts are not the only for data collection, but also help to evoke the interviewees’ memories.

**Data Coding and Analysis**

Interviews and family photograph collections were the main data in this study. I used qualitative research methodology to code and analyze the visual signs in these family photographs, what stories my participants wanted to tell, what patterns and metaphor emerged, and what meaning my participants constructed through their photographic description.
Data Managing

After every interview, I took two steps to manage the audio records: first, I made transcripts from the interview word-for-word in Chinese; second, I translated the transcripts from Chinese to English (see Appendix E).

Transcripts from Interviews

All of my interviewees are Taiwanese, so their native language is Taiwanese. All the main interviewees are more than 72 years old and had their elementary education during the Japanese colonial period. Some of them went to middle schools, and all of them worked after World War II in the KMT nationalist period. In other words, every one of them can speak at least three different languages fluently: Taiwanese, Chinese, and Japanese. Participant 3, Henry Chang, also can speak English because English was his major in college. All of them spoke the Taiwanese language most often, and they sometimes spoke different kinds of language during the interviews. The common writing language among interviewer and interviewees was Chinese, so the transcripts were written in Chinese to reflect the closest meaning between the narratives and the words. Also, the Chinese transcripts were easy for my participants to read and edit. If the Chinese words could not represent the Taiwanese, Japanese, or English meaning appropriately, I made a note to explain it.

I had the main interview with Jo and Li Shen at Jo’s house in Taipei, north of Taiwan, on September 22, 2006 and visited Li again at Li’s house on September 26, 2006 to ask for more details. I wrote the transcripts word-for-word in Chinese from the audio
records after the interviews and took the transcripts to visit Jo and Li at Li’s house on January 17, 2007 for verification. Jo and Li are sisters and live in the same building, so they preferred to be interviewed together and checked and edited the transcripts together.

I had the main interview with Henry Chang and his family at Henry’s house in Tainan, south of Taiwan, on October 14 and 15, 2006. I wrote the transcripts word-for-word in Chinese from the audio records and translated them to English after the interviews. I took both the Chinese original transcripts and the English versions to Henry and his family on May 22, 2007 for verification. Henry checked and edited the transcripts, both the Chinese and the English versions.

Translating Transcripts from the Chinese to English Version

After the Chinese transcripts were finished, I translated all the transcripts from the Chinese into English version by myself. I conducted the interviews, so I could catch the meaning directly. This also allowed me to follow the IRB request that the raw records only be touched by the researcher. Some narratives did not have a direct translated meaning between Chinese and English, and I would rather explain more to avoid diluting or changing the meaning.

Coding Process and Analysis

After the data management, I read every transcript numerous times. I followed several steps coding data and doing analysis. First, I assigned every paragraph of the
transcripts a number for the use of identifying and quoting them in my writing. Second, I made an initial coding to identify patterns and metaphor found in recurring concepts and words. Third, I coded prose patterns and metaphor for discovering what was important and what could be talked and learned by others. Fourth, I found the patterns and metaphor between the parts. Last, I double-checked the personal narratives with historical dates and content recorded in literature, documents, and artifacts to see if they were contradictory.

In the beginning, I gave every paragraph of each interview transcript a number. For example, in the number P1-092206-05, P1 is participant 1, Jo Shen; 092206 is the interview’s date, September 22, 2006; 05 is the fifth paragraph of the transcript of the interview. When I quoted a paragraph or cited the content of the transcripts in this thesis, I presented the number at the end of the quotation or citation as a reference.

After I translated all of the transcripts into English I gave every paragraph a category or several categories depending on its meanings. I did this initial coding using my intuition. If the areas were too broad I tried to subdivide them. The codes included identity, fashion, gender, ethnicity, heritage, family relationships, politics, education, class, technology, photography, economic status, and religion.

I identified each category as,

Identity: Character in different national or cultural recognition or different time period, such as the Japanese, the Han, Ch’ing dynasty.

Fashion: A revealing of quality of dress, costume, or hair styles.

Gender: The cultural or psychological characteristics connected with one sex.
Ethnicity: A particular ethnic group, such as the aborigines, the Taiwanese, the Chinese, or the Japanese.

Heritage: Something, such as culture, concepts, behavior, or property, transmitted by a predecessor.

Family relationships: The relationship between family members. For example, husband, wife, and concubine, or parent and daughter.

Politics: Something, such as political action or political affairs, concerned with winning and holding control.

Education: The systems or concepts of education or the action of educating.

Class: A group of people with the same social status.

Technology: The technical accomplishment applying to daily life.

Photography: The development, accomplishment, and process of producing images by a photographer and camera.

Economic status: A people or a family’s economic level.

Religion: The beliefs, attitudes, and practices under a supernatural constraint.

After the categories were given, I then checked the relationships of the codes. For instance, religion seldom appeared with the others. The Shens were Buddhist and the Changs were Christian. They did not mention about their religion much during the interviews; education always appeared with politics, economic status, and class because they influenced by each other often. Gradually, from the relatedness of the categories, patterns and metaphor emerged. The identification of “pattern” in *Merriam-Webster’s College Dictionary* is: “a reliable sample of trait, acts, tendencies, or other observable characteristics of a person, group, or institution” (Merriam-Webster, 2003, p. 909), and
“metaphor” is “a figure of speech in which a word or phrase literally denoting one kind of object or idea is use in place of another to suggest a likeness or analogy between them” (Merriam-Webster, 2003, p. 780). A “pattern” is generalized from phenomena, behavior, or concepts. A “metaphor” is full of transformation between two objects or ideas.

After the previous steps, I focused on prose patterns and metaphor, because the people created their experience as symbolic expressions (R. C. Smith, 2003). As an indirect participant, I knew the cultural characteristics of the Taiwanese circumstances directly and as a researcher I got information from literature reviews and face-to-face interviews. I found that foot-binding related to gender, economic status, class, family relationship, identity, and heritage of Chinese culture; frog metaphor implied femininity and the dominated status of women; education, class, and politics were all the causes and results of each other; photography related to economic status, class, fashion, identity, and technology. After checking several times, I cut religion as a category because it rarely appeared in the interview transcripts and rarely related to the other categories.

Finally, I double-checked the relationship between narratives and historical time. When I had questions I could not answer, I visited my participants again to figure out the exact order of events, or asked them to provide more documents or artifacts for evidence. For example, Henry told me several time about the time of Figure 5-2 was taken in 1903, but I had doubted it might be taken later because Jan-Zi, Henry’s mother was born in 1898 and she looked taller than a 5 year-old girl when the photograph was taken. After I checked several documents, certificates of registered residence, I found Jan-Zi’s mother adopted a boy in 1905. The boy presents on the photograph, so Figure 5-2 would take
after the family adopted the boy. It reveals 1905 is more reasonable than 1903 because of the length of three children and the purpose of taking the photograph.

**Analysis**

For the analysis of the photographs, I focused on my research, not how the photographer took the photograph, for four reasons. First, this was a documentary photograph instead of an art piece. Even though the photographer’s ideas and skills are expressed within the photograph, a practical purpose strongly guided the format. Second, the photographer’s role was to take a photograph in such a way that his visual interest was directed to an end (Baxandall, 1985). Third, it is difficult to find out what the intent of the photographer was (Barrett, 2006), and so verification of intent becomes problematic. Fourth, language is such a general and limited tool that I cannot represent the photograph by using it, and so I can only explain the representation of thinking about having seen the photograph (Baxandall, 1985) and asking how this photograph produces meanings (Nealon & Giroux, 2003).

After all the interview data were managed and coded, I began to analyze the interviews’ content. I used interviews “to reconstruct links among personal experience, collective memory, and broad historical processes” (R. C. Smith, 2003, p. 204) to tell the story. I found several categories of issues for each family and I discuss these in Chapters 4 and 5 respectively. When the issues were shared by each family, I highlighted the connection and discussed them in Chapter 6.
Data Verification and Validation

Baxandall (1985) states several methods of verifying an interpretation and validating external appropriateness. I have applied Baxandall’s ideas to verify and to validate my research results:

1. To test a historical or cultural explanation.
2. To contrast with different photographer’s photographs taken in the same era.
3. To test any intentional account of an action for consistency with other performances by the same actor; in other words, to contrast with the same photographer’s different photographs.
4. To construe the intentional behavior’s internal rationality as a sort of acted-out logical process such as a ‘practical syllogism’. The process should come in the form of a finished work which should point us to the more traditional method of interpretation. The process of a syllogism is to move from a major premise to a minor premise to reach a conclusion. For example, the upper class photographed their memorable events; if one belonged to the upper class, it was very likely one took photographs to document important events.
5. To check that the research results conceivable in the given cultural atmosphere and verify its sense of “legitimacy” and “generic appropriateness.” It refers to the need for internal adequacy in explanation. What the researcher asserts should correspond with the photograph in every part, and it should be actively consistent with those parts constituting a whole. The whole should be standing in a legitimate relation to the external facts.
I also used Paul Thompson’s extrapolation of basic principles fundamental to the research verification and validation with interviews: “crosscheck information found in interviews with as many other published, oral, and archival sources as possible;…read the interview with as wide a historical and theoretical understanding of relevant subjects as possible” (quoted in R. C. Smith, 2003, p. 204).
Chapter 4

WRITING THE STORIES OF THE SHEN FAMILY

My first motivation for this study was evoked by one of my family photographs (Figure 4-1). The photograph was taken in 1938 when my mother was 7 years old. My curiously about this photograph led me to the idea to conduct research tracing the Taiwanese visual cultural roots through photographic signs. I was teaching studio art at a college and I did not have opportunity to bring my idea to fruition. Not until I came to the Pennsylvania State University in 2003, did I get a chance to make it real. These interviews are my main data collection in this study. I conducted the interviews as oral history to understand the meaning of these photographs background.

Selecting Research Participants

I have heard my mother’s childhood stories many times. I thought that if I could conduct a study of these family photographs, my mother would doubtless have been my first participant. Unfortunately, she passed away unexpectedly in 2005, before I received IRB approval. I was very sad that I lost my most important potential participant. After my mother’s passing I was still motivated to continue with the research, for academic reasons as well as in remembrance of my mother.
When I decided to research this topic in 2004, I had asked my mother more about her parents’ history and where I could get more of her original family photographs. My mother took me to the home of one of her younger half-brothers. My grandfather had stayed with him until he passed away in 1982. My uncle showed me many family photographs which were taken during the Japanese colonial period. My mother and her half-siblings had close relationships, and they visited each other several times a year. So when I asked my uncle to show me the family photographs, he was willing to find all photographs he had kept. Unfortunately, the quality of the photographs was not good because his house was attacked by termites several years ago. His wife had exposed the photographs to the sun to kill the termites. Most of the photographs were faded because of the solarization, and the details were lost, although dim figures could still be seen. After that, my mother said two of her cousins, Jo and Li, might have kept some photographs. She believed that any photographs they kept would be in better condition, because Jo and Li were more artistic. Finally, I selected Jo and Li as my participants.

In Figure 4-1, there are 16 people in the photograph, and as far as I know only 3 of these people are still alive; one is my mother’s younger sister, who is the baby held by her mother, and two of her cousins. Her sister was born in 1936, and subsequently adopted by another family several months after the photograph was taken. Although we maintain a close connection, she is too young to remember the situation when the photograph was taken. She is also too young to remember the Japanese colonial period.

In the photograph, Jo is the girl in the middle of the first row, riding a tricycle. Li is the girl beside Jo wearing a kimono. Jo was 6 years old and Li was 4 years old when the photograph was taken. At the end of World War II, Jo was 13 years old and Li was 11
years old. Their childhoods were spent mostly in the Japanese colonial period. They can remember their childhood clearly, during the era of culture shock between the traditional Taiwanese culture—their cultural roots and the semi-modern Japanese culture—more comfortable and civilized.

The interview Process

I took qualitative research courses at the Pennsylvania State University to study how to conduct an in-depth interview, to observe and make field notes, to use materials such as documents and artifacts for verification. I also took history of photography
courses for understanding the meanings, functions, and developments of photography. These courses informed my qualitative study method of family photographs.

Before the interviews, I arranged the copies of my mother’s family photographs which I took from my uncle’s and my mother’s collection. From these photographs, I designed the questions I would like to ask my participants.

I gave Jo and Li each a phone call and made an appointment one week before the interview. I have not seen them often, although we all live in the same district in Taipei City. During my childhood I imagined that Jo and Li both had successful husbands who were wealthy businessmen, and that their economic status was much higher than that of my family. When I was young, I did not want to be intimidated so I used to refuse to go with my mother when she visited them.

Although Jo and Li always treated me kindly, I was a little nervous before I called them. I did not know whether they would really want to see me or not, especially since our connection, my mother, had passed away. I visited them at 9:00 a.m. on September 22, 2006. After I arrived at Jo’s door she gave me a wholehearted welcome, and my nervous feeling left. Jo called Li, who lives in the same building, to come down her apartment. They gave me an enthusiastic reception. In the beginning, I thanked Jo and Li for being my participants. Both Li and Jo were very happy I was conducting this research because I focused on their family story, and they thought it was time that the Taiwanese should to study their own visual culture. They thought that the Taiwanese were ruled by the outside authorities and seen as an inferior class for a long time. The Taiwanese did not have the chance to study, appreciate, and develop their own visual culture through school education or in a public forum. The Taiwanese students were asked to learn the
authorities’ taste in visual art, art history, and art forms. The authorities used to look at the Taiwanese arts as folk arts removed from the orthodox and high art, so it is rarely presented in textbooks or in public.

In the beginning, both of Jo and Li agreed to have their pictures taken with my digital camera, and be recorded by audio, with the understanding that the recordings would be preserved in a locked and safe place. After that, I gave each of them two copies of the consent form and got their signatures. Both of them allowed me to use their real names in this research. I completed the consent forms and all of us kept one copy.

They took out their albums and artifacts, and narrated their stories and life experiences together. They began to reminisce and told me much about their childhoods, as well as my mother’s—more than I had expected. We talked the whole morning until noon, and they invited me to have lunch with them in a Japanese style restaurant. After lunch, I went back to my office to arrange the records. Before I left, I asked them if I might interview them again and I got Li’s permission. I subsequently did another interview at Li’s apartment at 2:30 p.m. on September 26, 2006, while Jo was traveling in mainland China with her ink painting teacher. The interview was conducted throughout the whole afternoon. I asked some questions about things which were unclear from our last talk and Li gave me more details about her and Jo’s childhoods.

The main interviews were held on September 22 and September 26, 2006, and I made copies of their historical family photographs with their permission at that time. After the interviews, I tried to match the interview content and images in the photographs I was given. During this time, I reviewed more literature to double-check the photographs and the content of the interviews and to help me uncover the relationship between the
family and their social situation. For example, Jo and Li talked about their grandmother’s foot-binding quite a bit, so I began to think it could be an issue to discuss in this study. I was wondering who was asked to have foot-binding, why it was required, what the aesthetic feeling of foot-binding was, and when foot-binding was prohibited. I searched papers relating to foot-binding before and after the interviews. The literature review, interviews, and photographic interpretations were in cycles.

After I transcribed the records into text, I went to their building and met with both of them on January 17, 2007 to make sure the information was appropriate and correct. On March 28, 2007, I went to their apartments and met both of them again to see their family historical collections such as vases, plates, cloth, decorations, and daily household objects. I was very touched when Jo gave me one of the mementos from her mother’s dowry, a piece of cloth that is almost 80 years old. She told me because I was interested in old photographs and Taiwanese culture, I would cherish the cloth more than her own children would, so she wanted me to keep the cloth. My Aunts were very sweet to me.

The Shen Family

Before I conducted this research, I was hesitant to learn about my mother’s original family in a typical paternal society. The old Taiwanese female generation, such as my mother, used to keep silent and hide behind their husbands. My mother’s father had several concubines—my grandmother was his first wife, who fell out of her husband’s favor after she bore four daughters and no boys. When I was young, I thought
my mother might not have had a happy childhood, so I avoided asking her much about her parents’ family.

**Shens’ Family Background**

My great-grandfather (1875-1928, my participants Jo and Li’s grandfather) was a wealthy farm owner during the Ch’ing dynasty and the Japanese colonial period. My great-grandmother (1877-1948) was from a scholarly family, and her father was an official in the Ch’ing dynasty (P1-092206-01). Her family’s social status was higher than that of my great-grandfather. In traditional Taiwanese society, the social status of a scholar in the government was higher than a successful businessman or a farm landowner (P1-092206-23). My great-grandmother was a mistress and she always stayed in the upstairs; she could not come downstairs when she was a maiden (P1-092206-24). In the Ch’ing dynasty, a Taiwanese middle or upper class maiden, as a mistress, should stay at home making embroidery, playing music, painting, or reading all day because she could not present herself in public not only because she had foot-binding, but also because she was as a pet. She could not speak or touch males other than her family (男女授受不親). She was protected by the older generation of males in her family before she married. She must be a virgin, foot-bound, and cultured in order to increase her value for getting a good marriage (H.-W. Chen, 1999).

My great-grandmother was a mistress. Why did she want to marry my great-grandfather, a country landowner? According to Jo and Li’s narrative:
Jo: When young ladies heard that the Japanese were coming, they all got married as soon as possible...Our grandmother said: Everybody was afraid of being raped by the Japanese...Every women made herself look uglier and wore unattractive clothes to avoid rape. (P1-092206-23)

Li: A Young woman should make herself uglier and marry as soon as possible at the beginning of the war. If a father found a young single male, who was from a family of similar or even worse social and economic status, the father would ask the male to marry his daughter quickly. Otherwise, why would our grandmother have married our grandfather? Our grandmother’s social and economic status was better than our grandfather’s before they were married. (P2-092206-23)

They married around in the end of 1894 or the beginning of 1895, before the Japanese came, and had their first child, a girl, in 1897. My maternal grandfather (1900-1982) was their second child but the first boy, so he inherited the most property from his father. My grandfather only had a younger full brother and four full sisters. In addition, he had several younger half-brothers and half-sisters born by a concubine.

My maternal grandmother was from a wealthy farm landowner family too. She married around 1920 and her and my grandfather’s economic and social status was similar at that time. Although my grandmother was from a wealthy and powerful family, it did not shield her from her husband having a concubine because she did not give her husband’s family any boys. My grandfather had an excuse to marry concubines after my grandmother bore four daughters. Although my grandmother had born two sons, they died soon after birth. One of concubines bore four sons for him. The most important duty of a married woman was to bear sons for her husband in traditional Taiwanese society.

The only full-brother (1911-1946) of my grandfather had two daughters, born by his first wife, and one posthumous son, born by his maid. The two daughters, Jo and Li, are my research participants. The first wife took care of the posthumous boy after he was
born. The boy was regarded as a son in the family, in order to keep the family line, although they did not know whether the boy was really their father’s own son or not.

Li: John (the maid’s son, anonymous) might be our father’s posthumous son. Dana (the maid, anonymous) was already pregnant when our father passed away. We do not know whether John was our father’s son or not. Anyway, we needed a boy to keep the family line, although we did not do any DNA examination to figure out the truth. Our mother asked Dana and her baby to stay in our family. Someone said the baby looked like our father because they both had big heads. (P2-092206-21)

The maid left their home and married an old mainlander soldier in Taipei around 10 years after Jo and Li’s father passed away, while John was a teenager. After the maid was married for several years, Jo and Li had visited her at her home in Taipei and talked with her husband. Her husband praised their mother, who was an unusual woman and had a tolerant mind to bring up the boy. The Shen family structure is shown in Figure 4-2.
Figure 4-2: Shen family structure
Key: M: male, F: female, P1: participant 1, P2: participant 2
The Shen’s home town and their property were in the Dounan countryside, Yunlin County, in the middle of Taiwan. Most of their property declined in value after World War II, when the KMT began to put into practice *Land Reform* (土地改革) in Taiwan in 1949. *Land Reform* included three main steps: *Farm Land 37.5% Rent Reduction* (三七五減租) in 1949, *Sale of Public Lands* (公地放領) in 1951, and *Land-to-the-Tiller* (耕者有其田) in 1953 (C. Chen, 1961). For the KMT, there were two purposes to the *Land Reform*: one was to help tenant-peasants improve their economic status; the other one was to quickly collapse the landowners’ power to avoid opposition to the KMT regime in Taiwan (Yun-Liu Taiwan Hall, 2002).

During and after World War II, most of the Shen daughters, my mother’s generation, got married, left home, followed their husbands, and had stable lives. Most of the Shen concubine’s sons were not well educated during the changing of the political regimes. The Shens’ social status and financial situation were declining, and they lacked the ability to return to their former station. Finally, they all moved out of their home town in the 1960s. The old house is still standing, but it is getting tumble-down.

**Jo Shen’s Brief Biography and Characteristics**

Jo was her parents’ first child, born in 1932. Her mother was from a wealthy business family in the city. She married a country landowner’s son because their financial status was similar. In Figure 4-1, Jo’s mother is in the second row, the third from the right. She wears a Western style dress and looks more fashionable than the country women.
Jo went to Dounan common school in the age of 7. According to Li’s narration:

“Our life was very artistic in the past time. We had many trees and flowers in the courtyard” (P2-092206-02).

Li: The interior design was in the Japanese style. Beside the house there was a small Japanese-style garden. We had several big stones in the garden and a fish pond. There was a deep hole in the center of the pond. I used to jump in the hole for fun, and play with the goldfish. When I was in the hole, the water came up almost to my waist. I still have a clear memory of the scene. There was a large decorative boulder beside the pond. (P2-092606-05)

Her family had a good and stable life until Jo was in the fifth grade, one year before the end of World War II. At that time the Taiwanese were made to contribute all production and useful materials to the Japanese government to fight against China in the Sino-Japanese War. This economic downturn involved all of Taiwan. They had to hand over all metal to the government, even a pin, and had to give all farm produce to the government, too (P2-092606-02; P1-092206-16).

After she graduated from the common school, Jo took an examination for entrance to junior high school in the March of 1945, before the end of World War II. She got a better score than some of her classmates, who had also passed the examination, but Jo failed the examination because her family did not change to a Japanese surname. As a result, she did not have priority to enter the best girl’s junior high school in Yunlin County.

Li: After World War II, my father took my sister to take the entrance examination again. We did not get priority consideration because we had not changed to a Japanese surname, which was the Japanese policy in Taiwan during the wartime. If my family had changed to Japanese names, my sister would have gotten additional points to be accepted by the school. My sister's achievement was better than three other Taiwanese who were accepted by the school. Two of the accepted students had fathers who were both medical doctors, and I do
not know the other student’s family situation. All of the three students had changed their surnames. (P2-092606-19)

Jo took the examination again in the next year, 1946, after the Japanese withdrew from Taiwan. The school did not reserve any designated places, such as it had for the Japanese and the Taiwanese who changed to the Japanese surnames, so Jo passed the entrance examination easily.

Jo’s father passed away because of disease in the year after she entered the junior high school. Her family’s economic status declined not only in wartime and due to the Land Reform, but also because her father was very sick. Her mother spent much money to return her father to good health.

Li: We were in a growth spurt, and we needed more nutrition but our father was sick and passed away later. Before our father passed away, our mother borrowed 3,000-4,000 dollars from a bank at that time…Just to borrow money in order to cure our father’s disease. The poor man did not have any opportunity to go to a hospital when he was sick. To cure a disease was like to spend property at that time…A lot of people had no medicine and were dying at that time. (P2-092206-18)

Jo: It was a large sum, 3,000-4,000 dollars…A box of glucose was worth 1,700 dollars, and could only be obtained through the black market. (P1-092206-18)

Li: It would have been better if Farm Land 37.5% Rent Reduction had not happened at that time. Our family had borrowed 4,000 dollars before our father passed away. Our mother was very frugal and thrifty, to pay off the borrowed money, and also bought a piece of farmland jointly with our fourth aunt. Because of Farm Land 37.5% Rent Reduction we lost all of our rentals. We were too frugal to have enough nutrition. We only ate vegetables everyday at that time. (P2-092206-20)

After Jo graduated from junior high school (grades 7-9), she went to senior high school (grades 10-12) in the same girl’s school. It was rare that a girl had so much education at that time. Jo graduated from high school in 1952.

Li: In my village, we were the only four girls to go to junior high school. They were your mother, my elder sister, a relative, and I. Only my elder sister and I went to a senior high school at that time…Our parents paid more attention to
education than the others, and they were also wealthy enough to afford the necessities. Otherwise, all children went to work after graduating from common schools. (P2-092606-16)

Her father used to check Jo’s school report card, and required that she get an A in every subject. If she did not get all A’s, she would have been punished. The usual punishment was to kneel in the front room facing her ancestors’ names to reflect on her lack of studying.

Jo got married in 1954. Jo’s husband graduated from a Business School at National Taiwan University. After she was married, Jo was a homemaker who did not work outside the home and her husband was the center of her life. She has a son and a daughter, and both of them are married. Her son continued and succeeded in her husband’s business, an international trade company in Taipei. Her daughter immigrated to Chicago, Illinois around 10 years ago. Jo’s husband passed away a few years ago, and now she stays at home alone in a big apartment. Since her children are grown up, Jo takes painting lessons once week learning ink wash and calligraphy. She is an unusual Taiwanese lady because she continues to learn throughout her whole life.

**Li Shen’s Brief Biography and Characteristics**

Li (b. 1934) is two years younger than Jo. In their childhood, Li was healthier and grew faster than Jo, so she was almost as tall as Jo in Figure 4-1. They look like twins.

When they were young, Li used to follow Jo. They went to the same schools, from common school to high school. After Jo was married, Jo’s husband introduced his best friend, his university classmate, to Li and he became Li’s husband in 1956. Although
they have their own families, Li and Jo bought apartments in the same building and remain very close.

Li has two sons, both of them married. The older son joined his father’s company after he graduated from university; the younger son went abroad to study in the U.S. and stay to work in Los Angeles, California after he earned a Master’s degree. Li stays with her husband at a big apartment. Li supported her husband to develop his business. Her husband is center of the family.

Li and Jo both adhere to traditional Taiwanese female culture. They keep their houses clean and artistic. They cook everyday. They looked after their children by themselves when the children were young, and now sometimes take care of their grandchildren when needed. They are normal families in Taiwan, except that their economic status is higher than the Taiwanese average.

Every time I visited Li, she always gave me the Japanese style food she cooked. She is very good at cooking. She used to watch a program on Japanese television in order to learn new things such as cooking. Li’s life style was obviously influenced by the Japanese because she was growing up under the Japanese colonial rule. She watches a certain program on Japanese television for several reasons to learn new things from Japan, to keep understanding the Japanese language, and to remember past times.

Jo and Li and my mother were all born by first wives, so they were proud of their direct lineage. This caused closer feelings for each other than the other half siblings or cousins had.
The Shens’ Life Stories

The Shens’ life stories are explored through Jo’s and Li’s narratives, my reading of the photographic signs, and my memory of my mother’s oral stories. The issues I discuss in this chapter are visual signs and cultural identities, foot-binding, economic status, social class, and the conflicts between cultures.

Visual Signs and Cultural Identities

Taking pictures becomes a substitute for seeing. Of course, you have to look in order to direct your lens to the desired object… But looking is not seeing. Seeing is a human function, one of the greatest gifts with which man is endowed; it requires activity, inner openness, interests, patience, and concentration. (Bauman, 1995, pp. 132-4; quoted in Dahlberg et al., 1999, p. 156)

I have in my possession a photograph taken in central Taiwan in 1938 (Figure 4-1). This photograph of my mother’s family contains visual evidence relating to three important multicultural categories: fashion and manner of dress, gender, and politics. The photograph reflects various cultural relationships and conflicts among Taiwan, China, Japan, and the West. Each visual element in the photograph is a sign that has threads that lead to other multicultural, gender-related, and political signs.

This photograph is of my mother’s extended family, and it includes her family’s long story and reveals some of the complex social phenomena of Taiwan at the beginning of World War II. My mother was 7 years old when the photograph was taken.

The photograph includes three generations:

1. The first generation: my great-grandmother Bao Lin (Jo and Li’s grandmother), wearing a traditional Han dress, was the only one of oldest
generation sitting in the center.

2. The second generation: my grandfather Gang Shen, stood on his mother’s left and his younger brother, Han-Chuan Shen (Jo and Li’s father), on his mother’s right, both of them wearing western suits; my grandmother Shi Huang (the first wife of my grandfather), wearing a traditional Han dress, sat in the third position on the left side; the concubine of my grandfather, wearing a cheongsam (Manchuria female one-piece dress), sat in the second position of the left side; my grandfather’s brother’s first wife (Jo and Li’s mother), wearing a Western dress, sat in the third position on the right side; my grandfather’s younger sister sat in the second position on the right side; and my grandfather’s cousin sat on the right. In addition to the relatives, there was also a young maid crouching in the front row on the left side. She would bear a posthumous child (Jo and Li’s brother) to Han-Chuan Shen several years later.

3. The third generation: my mother Hsuen-Hwa Shen, crouching in the front row the second from the left; her older sisters, one, Lee-Hwa Shen, in the second row on the left side and one, Yin-Hwa Shen, crouching in the front row the second from the right; her younger sister Su-Yu Lin, the baby being held by her mother; and her three cousins, Jo, Li and the girl Linda (anonymous), crouching in the front row on the right side, who was a maid as well as an adopted daughter of my grandfather’s younger sister, since she never married nor bore a child. When the photograph was taken, the third generation was all female—as seen in the photograph.
When was the photograph actually taken? No one in the family remembers clearly. I discovered from my interviews and investigation that the photograph may possibly have been taken in April or May 1938. There are three reasons.

1. The youngest baby was born in December 1936. In the photograph she was held by her mother, and she was looked to be about one and half years old.
2. The family members are wearing clothing that would have been worn at the beginning of summer.
3. The Sino-Japanese War began in July 7, 1937—the poster relating to the war was probably made after that date.

**Fashion and Manner of Dress**

At least four different styles of dress were shown in this photograph. There are: (1) the Western male three-piece suit and the female one-piece dress; (2) Traditional Han female two-piece dresses; (3) Manchuria female one-piece dress; and (4) the Japanese female kimono. The photograph reveals quite a multi-cultural mix of clothing. Behind this complex multi-cultural phenomenon, there is a deep set of social relationships awaiting deconstruction.

1. The Western male three-piece suit and female one-piece dress

The three-piece dark suit is worn by two gentlemen: It has a single-breasted jacket and it is worn with a dark necktie and a white shirt. This suit may be read as a sign of male authority: modern, professional, and wealthy. At that time, a person who wore a three-piece suit would be a businessman, a landowner, an official, or a professional
person who had contact with the outside—it is indicative of high social status. The wearer was not a farmer, although most of the population was farmers at that time.

The male fashion in the Western World in 1937 was a three-piece wool suit with a single-breasted three-button jacket and with a collarless single-breasted waistcoat and wide trousers with cuffs. The shirt was used to white with cotton collar-attached. The tie was made of silk (Peacock, 1997b). Compared to the Western World fashion in 1937, the three-piece-suit in the photograph that the two gentlemen wore was as good as the western fashion in fabric or tailoring.

The female fashion in the Western World was varied. The main style in 1936 was a “round neckline, top-stitched facing, matching panel seams and hip-level patch pockets, short flared raglan sleeves, padded shoulders, bloused bodice, cord lacing decoration [on] each side, centre-front from neck to bustline, flared skirt, panel seams ended in pleats, [and a] white leather belt” (Peacock, 1997b, p. 55). In 1937, it was a “bloused bodice, stepped button fastening under round neckline, vertical epaulettes, padded shoulders, puff sleeves, wide self-fabric buckled belt, [and a] flared skirt” (Peacock, 1997b, p. 56).

In the 1920s, Western woman wanted to look youthful. Female fashion was an elaborately trimmed dress with high waist position and ankle-length skirt (Braun-Ronsdorf, 1964; Byrde, 1986; Peacock, 1997a). Compared to the 1930s, women emerged mature, understated, cautious, and sophisticated. By 1935 the look which had emerged was epitomized by the suit. A sleek, fitted jacket, with square neckline, padded shoulders and a tiny waist in its proper place, was teamed with a skirt or dress in matching fabric. This outfit was looked more elegant and chic than the 1920s was (Peacock, 1997b).

As previously described, there were very different styles in western female
fashion between 1920s and 1930s. In the photograph, all the young ladies whose ages were between 17-30 years old wore the western style one-piece dresses. The dress of my mother’s eldest sister, who was 17 years old, looked much like the 1920s style: unfitted bodice with hip-level belt to hem of flared skirt, wide neckline, peter-pan collar, ends tied into bow, short sleeves with narrow cuffs. Otherwise, the other three young ladies’ dresses looked much like 1930s style: bloused bodice, stepped button fastening under round neckline, wide self-fabric buckled belt, flared skirt. They look as if they wanted to show how modern they were by emulating Western fashion.

2. Traditional Han female two-piece dress

The traditional Han female two-piece dress had a stand-up collar, wide coat, and fabric buttons on the oblique from middle collar to right armpit and a wide full-length skirt. This dress signifies the authority of older female: classical, traditional, plain, and dignified. It also has a direct connection to Chinese tradition and it is a sign pointing to the roots of and inheritance within Taiwanese culture. It was usually worn by the first wife—who presented herself as gentlewoman and who held the most important female position in the home. And of course it is also a sign that it was unnecessary for the first wife to appear sexually attractive to her husband. Li said: “At a young age they gave birth many times, wore Chinese clothes, and had their hair combed into a bun, so they seem to look old” (P2-092206-04).

My great-grandfather had passed away around 10 years before the photograph was taken. My great-grandmother was the first wife of my great-grandfather and she was the oldest generation in the family at that time. In the photograph she has a solemn look and in actually she was the most powerful individual possessing authority to manage the
affairs of all the other family members.

In traditional Eastern cultures, the authority granted to members of the oldest generation was the prevailing order within the family structure. Indeed, it ranked just behind gender. In a family, if the two oldest members were of the same generation, then the male held the dominant position of authority. If the oldest member was female, then the offspring owed her much respect, and she usually held the dominant position.

In the photograph, my great-grandmother sat in the center, which was a sign of her authority. My grandmother sat on my great-grandmother’s right side because my grandmother was my great-grandmother’s oldest son’s first wife. Usually, an oldest son was an heir, and his first wife would inherit his mother’s status in the future. This was also why they both wore the same style dress—to indicate the implicit inheritance. Although Han dress made them looked older, wearing it was a sign of authority that they didn’t want to relinquish, moreover it was rather good-looking. At the time the photograph was taken, my grandmother was about thirty-eight years old. In the dress and the hair style, she looked older than her actual age.

For them, every-day dresses were usually cotton and the color was black, dark blue or gray. For special holidays, such as new-year, the older generation’s birthday or for children’s wedding celebrations, the fabric would be more luxurious—often silk with colorful embroidery.

3. Manchuria female one-piece dress (cheongsam)

Manchuria was located in northeast China. The major Chinese ethnic group in Mainland China is Han. Han society is centered in Manchuria and was different from other Chinese ethnic groups. Manchurians saw themselves as foreigners who invaded
China in the 17th Century during the Ch’ing dynasty (1644-1911). The Manchurian female one-piece dress has a stand-up collar and fabric buttons on the oblique from middle collar to right armpit, a tight full-length skirt which was split on both sides from the thighs to bottom hemline. The dress is derived from the traditional Manchuria style, but changed during the 1930s to be more fashionable. It was popular in Shanghai Tang for a courtesan in 1930s. In Taiwan, cheongsams were worn by bar girls or courtesans in the Japanese colonial period (H.-W. Chen, 1999). Even today, it is still a fashion symbol. It is sexy, curvaceous, modern, progressive, beautiful, and symbol fashion—a costume which has both Chinese and Western influences.

In the photograph, only the concubine wore the Manchurian one-piece dress. The concubine was a bar girl as well as an actress before she married my grandfather. She looked younger, more modern, fashionable, and beautiful than my grandmother. This was usually how the concubine was expected to look.

4. Japanese female kimono

The young girls, Li and the baby, in the photograph are wearing Japan robe a simple cotton kimono for every-day wear. The formal kimono was very expensive, noble, and elegant and was worn only on special holidays.

In Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period, especially before the Sino-Japanese war, no one knew how long the occupation would last. The older generation of Taiwanese people wanted to maintain their Chinese cultural roots. Many in the younger generation who were born during the Japanese colonial period, and sometimes even their parents, wanted to adopt features of Japanese culture. They thought Japanese culture would dominate Taiwanese Chinese society for the foreseeable future. It was very
popular for young children and young ladies to wear a Japanese style robe both for everyday use and at holidays in order to show their affinity with the Japanese occupiers.

Li also wore a pair of Japanese sandals to match her robe—which was the way a traditional Japanese girl would have dressed that we see on the traditional Japanese fashion shows. For the Taiwanese, it also was considered a fashionable style and perhaps also a political statement because it may have expressed the parents’ attitude toward the occupation.

**Gender**

In most traditional Asian societies, the male was the central authority around which the family revolved. Only males could maintain the family line. Indeed, the family name is an important symbol of the family line. It was the duty for the head male to maintain the line successively from one generation to the next.

In Taiwan, the offspring got his/her last name from his/her father in *Common Marriage* family. The *Common Marriage* practice was for the bride to stay at the groom’s home and live with his family, who would at least include the groom’s parents and his siblings. When they had a child, s/he was given the father’s last name. Every male, especially the oldest son, was obligated to have his son maintain the family name. If a married male did not produce a son, there were three traditional solutions that existed in Taiwan during that time (H.-W. Chen, 1999). They were:
1. The couples were required to adopt a boy. The boy was usually acquired from a poor family or a relative such as the couples’ brother, sister, or cousin’s family.

2. If he could afford it, the male could marry another woman without divorcing the first wife. The concubine’s first contribution was to bear a boy for the family. The concubine’s position in the family was usually lower than the first wife. To have more than one wife was legal during that time.

3. If the couple had only daughters and no son, they could arrange for a daughter (usually the oldest daughter) to have a Special Marriage (招贅) when she grew up. During that time, Taiwanese families usually had big families that included at least two generations and sometimes extended to five generations. In a Special Marriage the groom, usually from a poor family, may have had many brothers. Consequently his original family didn’t care about relinquishing the name of their family. The groom stayed at bride’s home and lived with her family. In these situations the groom would lose his dominant male position and his status in society because he ranked lower than the other males in the family. Unless the male was from a poor family or the young couple loved each other very much, did usually he not want to participate in this special form of marriage if he had a choice. One of their male children, usually the first or the second boy, was required to have the mother’s last name to keep the maternal family line, but the other children could still keep the father’s last name.

The second and third situations usually occurred in rich families.
In the photograph as we can see, the third generation is all female. My grandmother had four daughters and her sister-in-law had two daughters. This meant that my grandfather and his brother both had excuses to get married more than once. The lady wearing the cheongsam was my grandfather’s first concubine. They didn’t have a child after having been married for several years, consequently the lady left my grandfather. After that, my mother’s oldest sister, when she turned to eighteen years old, was asked by her family to have a special marriage in order to maintain the family line. This actually occurred in 1939, one year after the photograph was taken. Eventually she had five boys and her second son was given her last name. In the same year, after my aunt married, my grandfather had his third marriage (Figure 4-3) and had his first son in 1940. After that his second concubine bore four boys—my mother’s half-brothers. Today, the first, the second, and part of the third generation of the family in the photograph (Figure 4-1) have passed away. Only a few members of the third generation are still alive. Still they maintain a close relationship with their half-brothers.
Politics

What was the political situation in Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period? Many Taiwanese were disappointed that the Ch’ing dynasty ceded Taiwan to Japan in 1895. It seemed that Taiwan was redundant and unnecessary to the Mainland. The Taiwanese were treated as orphans who were abandoned by their fatherland. They complained about their native country and initially they were reluctant to accept the
Japanese government. Their many protests led to conflicts with the Japanese government at the beginning of colonial period (Chou, 2003; Kho, 2002).

There is a poster in the background on the left side of the photograph. The poster written in Chinese calligraphy directly proclaims “*Long live, to celebrate...Kou [sic] was caved in*”; it meant “Japan has defeated China and we wish Japan a long life.” Taiwan was a Japanese colony from 1895 to 1945. The poster may have been painted to please the Japanese governor or it may even be a sign of temporary loyalty by giving the appearance of siding with the Japanese. In August 1945, the Japanese surrendered and were forced to leave Taiwan. Shortly thereafter the government of Taiwan came under the control of the KMT, the Republic of China. At that time, the family members were afraid that the Republic of China governor would seek reprisal against them because during the occupation they had expressed their loyalty to Japan. One of my family members used black paint on the photograph to cover part of the poster. Some time later, someone had even tried to erase the offending poster from the photograph, but it was still not totally removed. The photograph contains evidence of two different attempts to obliterate Japan.

When I interviewed Jo and Li, showing them the photograph (Figure 4-1) from my mother’s collection and asking for information about this photograph, both of them said they had the same photograph. I asked them whether the poster in their photographs was covered by a black mark. They said their photographs were not covered by anything but they hid the photographs in secret places before martial law was lifted because they did not want people, other than their family members, to know their family’s political affiliation in the Japanese colonial period. I was curious, and asked them to show me the
photograph. As we see the Figure 4-4, the photograph was duplicated from Jo’s collections and the poster is clear.

In this ambiguous situation, in 1945, the Taiwanese people didn’t know whether they had won or lost in World War II. It might have been either. The relationship between the Taiwanese and the Japanese government was confusing. The problem was that the Taiwanese identified themselves with neither. China thought that the restoration was a wonderful thing. On the other hand, the aboriginal and most of the Taiwanese thought, so what? China would be yet another foreign authority coming to occupy the island. The Taiwanese seemed never to govern themselves (Chou, 2003).
Most Taiwanese residents hoped only that they could have a stable, peaceful, and safe existence. For a human, isn’t this a basic desire? They were probably afraid to think about what the country was, what loyalty was, and to whom they belonged. These issues called for high level thinking by public officials. If the new regime could give them a stable life, they would obey the new authority. This historical background has made it difficult for the Taiwanese people to think about their identity (J.-J. Huang, 2003). Figure 4-1 is visual evidence supporting that the Taiwanese found it difficult to think about their identity because their identity was like a ship steered by wind—built by the outside authority. Only by following the authority’s direction could the Taiwanese have a chance for survival.

Historically, in order to be safe, the Taiwanese have always had to appear to please external governors. The Japanese government was an external regime; nevertheless, it is interesting to examine the relationship between the Taiwanese people and Japan.

For the Taiwanese people, it was hard to say where their loyalties lay. Although Japan was an external regime, it sought to make Taiwan an exemplary colony. Japan built a semi-modern industrial society in Taiwan and generally did not treat the Taiwanese harshly because to do so would have contradicted the idea of a model of colony (Ching, 2001; Chou, 2003; J.-J. Huang, 2003).
Conclusion

Because of their historical background, the Taiwanese people have been subject to many cultural influences which have combined to form contemporary Taiwanese culture and visual culture. This photograph not only tells a family story, it also contains much about the complexities of Taiwanese culture—it is a sign of just how multicultural Taiwan was in 1938.

Through this project, by attending to the manner of dress, the photograph reveals influences from Western, Chinese, Manchurian, and Japanese cultures. It is itself a multicultural phenomenon. A study of the photograph explicates social and economic conditions, it shows how fashion information flowed from one culture to another, and it reveals contemporary tastes in fashion.

The photograph shows the social construction of gender. The male held the dominant position; the first function of a female in marriage was to bear sons (H.-H. Chen, 1999). It reflects a Taiwanese proverb: a female’s fate is just a seed fluttering in the air not knowing the best place rest in the ground and whether it will flower or not (查某人菜仔命). We couldn’t anticipate a female’s fate before she married and bore a son.

In politics, within a hundred year period, Taiwanese national sovereignty changed several times. Consequently most Taiwanese people were at least somewhat confused about their national identity. Most of the older generations of Taiwanese probably wished that their offspring would not become associated with politics because political situations were so likely to change and because political attachments had become associated with so much persecution, tragedy, and unhappiness.
Although the phenomena, manner of dress, gender, and politics in the photograph may appear to be three distinct features, actually they are woven together in an interconnected web.

**Foot-binding, Economic Status, and Social Class**

Who had foot-binding? Who could not have foot-binding? Social class was the main condition determining foot-binding, and economic status influenced social class because economic status was one of the conditions of social class. A woman who had foot-binding needed a maid to serve her for the rest of her life. The maid could not have foot-binding because she needed to be free to act to serve a mistress.

**Causalities of Foot-binding**

Why did these Taiwanese women have their feet bound? First, it accentuated the difference between the male and the female. The males wanted to be the center of the world, so the females were made into a dominated class. Second, it made a clear distinction between different classes. Only middle and upper class women could afford to have foot-binding (H.-W. Chen, 1999). Third, it was a mark of dissimilarity between the Han ethnicity and the other minor ethnicities (Cassel, 2007, February). Han were the dominating ethnicity in China as well as in Taiwan, so they wanted to be distinct from what they saw as the barbarians. Fourth, it was used to restrict female action. In traditional Taiwanese society, women were a sort of property and protected by men.
Foot-binding limited women’s agency because they physically could not go far or go alone (H.-W. Chen, 1999; Hsieh, 1991). In the other words, it was easy to localize and to protect them. Fifth, it was considered attractive to males. When a foot-bound woman was walking, her small feet could not support her body, so she walked with a sway, and looked weak and sexy (Hsieh, 1991). Sixth, it was used by women to secure a high-class marriage. Foot-binding was a visual symbol of high social standing, limiting which class of man she could marry. Foot-binding and social class were thus interrelated (Cassel, 2007, February).

The foot-binding culture followed the Han people immigrating from China to Taiwan. Han society practiced it, but the aborigines have never had foot-binding. Foot-binding was popular during Ch’ing dynasty in Taiwan and influenced women very much.

From Jo and Li’s narratives, we learn about the family relationships and how much pain their grandmother endured because of foot-binding. Their grandmother was born in a middle upper-class family in 1877, before the Japanese came to Taiwan.

Jo: Our grandmother had small Three-inch golden lotuses (三寸金蓮). We were very close to our grandmother. We had to help her to clear up her soles almost every evening. (P1-092206-02)
Chen: Was it necessary to open the foot-binding cloth strip everyday?
Jo: Yes, it was necessary to wash it everyday. I have kept a pair of her white silk socks to this day. The foot-binding cloth strip was a white bandage. (P1-092206-02)
Chen: How was it worn?
Jo: The foot-binding cloth was wound first, and the socks were worn over it. (P1-092206-02)
Chen: What were the feet like when the cloth was removed?
Jo: How pitiable the feet were! The soles of the feet were bent, and the toes and the heel were crooked into a chink. The feet became very small. The small Three-inch Feet were made this way. (P1-092206-02)
Chen: Were they crooked by force?
Jo: Yes. The toes and heel were forced together and made to grow crooked. The whole sole of the foot was bulged. (P1-092206-02)
Chen: Were the feet unbound while washing them in the evening?
Jo: Must be unbound. We had to wipe the chink of the foot with cotton. (P1-092206-02)

Jo: I had asked our grandmother: “Were you painful because your feet were deformed?” She said: “Oh, I was crying every day whenever I heard it was time for foot-binding. I was in a lot of pain and cried”. (P1-092206-26)

Chen: How old was she when the foot-binding started?
Jo: I remembered she started at 6 years old. She was crying everyday. Although she was an adult, we had to go to her room to help her clean her feet everyday. She could not clean her feet by herself. (P1-092206-26)

Li: We had to use cotton, vitriol, and powder to clear her feet chinks and to keep the chinks dry. When we unwound the foot-binding cloth there was a really bad sour smell. (P2-092206-26)

Chen: Were the foot-binding bandage washed everyday?
Jo: They were like socks, so they should be washed everyday. This was the reason a foot-bound lady needed servants to help her. (P1-092206-26)

Chen: Did any female servants bind their feet?
Jo: No, servants could not. (P1-092206-26)

Li: That was the reason that a child born by a servant or concubine could be called “the barefoot mom’s child” because their mother did not have foot-binding. My father’s half-siblings, born by a servant who became my grandfather’s concubine later, were called “the barefoot mom’s children.” The servant’s children would register as the first wife’s children, not their own mother. The concubine was in my grandmother’s generation, but we only called her “Sister Jan (anonymous).” (P2-092206-27)

Chen: Could this be regarded as reducing the servant’s (concubine’s) personal value?
Li: You are getting it right; we never called her grandmother Jan or grand-stepmother. We called her name directly. (P2-092206-27)

Chen: Did your grandmother ask you to do so?
Li: Certainly. It was the rule. We could not treat a servant or a concubine as equal with us at that time. (P2-092206-27)
In Taiwanese society, the younger generation should not call the older generation by name because it was not good manners. It only happened if one’s purpose was to belittle someone else. A woman who had bound feet could be a middle or upper class first wife and dominate the concubines. It appears that the first wife had the authority to handle the family, when in actually, the man was the family dictator. Family life was chaotic and unequal, where situations such as conflicts between a wife and a concubine, or the inconvenience of a foot-bound lady were caused by the male prerogative.

Figure 4-5: Jo’s grandmother and her sisters (wearing the traditional Han dresses, six foot-binding ladies from the left in the first row) and her family, 1941
**The Ironic Phenomenon of Equality**

The photograph’s background (Figure 4-5), the front of Jo and Li’s house, is the same as in Figure 4-1 (4-4). On the bottom of the photograph, the words tell the place and the time when the photograph was taken. Jo and Li’s grandmother is on the third position from the left in the first row. Her sisters came to visit her several days after her 64th birthday (the 65th birthday by the Chinese count). Jo and Li’s grandmother invited the photographer, her relative, to her house to take the commemorative photograph. Although the photograph is faded, we still can see that all of the old ladies, wearing the Han dresses, had bound feet.

My grandfather, holding a baby, his first son born by his concubine, is standing in the center of the second row. He was happy and proud that he had a son when he was 40 years old. The man on the left beside my grandfather, also holding a boy, was his oldest daughter’s husband. My grandfather asked his oldest daughter, Lee-Hwa, (standing on the left) to have a special marriage, so Lee-Hwa and her husband were staying with the Shen family. After they were married, Lee-Hwa bore a girl (being held by the lady in the second row) in 1939, and after that she bore a boy, who was around two months old when the photograph was taken.

Except Jo and Li’s grandmother and her sisters, who are dressed up, the family wears dresses which look more like leisure or informal clothing than they did in Figure 4-1 (4-4). For example, the three males, my grandfather, his son-in-law, and his brother (who is the man on the right side of my grandfather), have no neckties. Why is there such a visible difference between these two photographs, since they were only 3 years part?
I have inferred several reasons. Wartime was coming and the economic situation in Taiwan was getting worse, so the Shens either could not afford to follow world fashion as they did before (Figure 4-6), or it was not appropriate to intentionally show their wealth in public at that time. Although the Sino-Japanese War began in 1937, the Taiwanese got involved gradually. Not until 1941 did the Taiwanese feel the economic situation getting worse.

Figure 4-6: Jo (left) and Li wear Kimonos, around 1939

Jo: During the wartime (1941-1945), we were getting nothing to eat. Although we had our farmland, we could not save any rice for us, ourselves. We used to hide some rice and stealthily bury it in an urn underground. We had to dig out from underground when we needed rice to cook. (P1-092206-16)

Li: We had to grind off the rice husks before we cooked it. (P2-092206-16)
Li: When we were pestling rice, we had to send someone to hide under the tree in the front yard. The function of that person was to check whether any police were coming to our house or not. If a police officer was coming, the person would run back home and notify the family quickly. We had to hide the tools and rice as soon as possible… We used a piece of flexible cloth under the pestle, made of a bamboo barrel, to reduce the noise. We had to pestle rice stealthily because it was illegal. (P2-092206-17)

Jo: The police would go on patrol at dinner time. If the police saw that we were eating white rice, we would be arrested. Everyone could only eat sweet potato in wartime. (P1-092206-17)

Li: The school teacher had to check everyone’s lunchbox brought from each student’s home to see what they ate during lunch time. (P2-092206-17)

The economic situation got worse and worse after 1941. The photograph in Figure 4-7 shows that Jo and Li could only wear their old and shabby uniforms after school. The hem of Li’s skirt and the cuffs of sleeve in Figure 4-7 are coming off because the economy was bad and all metal, even a pin, had to be handed over to the Japanese government for making weapons. So she could not repair her skirt edge or sleeve cuffs.

The background of Figures 4-1 (4-4), 4-5, and 4-7, are the same, and unconsciously reveal the changing status of the family. The iron grating of the windows was changed to a wooden grating, after the family handed the iron grating over to the Japanese government. This visual evidence proves the economic status was getting worse, and the quality of life for the Taiwanese was declining.
Li: This is my tattered school uniform skirt. The photograph was taken when I was in fourth grade, during the wartime. (P2-092606-01)
Chen: Was the economy very bad in Taiwan in 1944-45?
Li: Yes. All factories were attacked by allied forces during the wartime. (P2-092606-01)
Li: How much of the harvest the peasants could keep was according to how many people were in the peasant family. The government allotted everyone’s proportion. (P2-092606-02)
Li: If there was any iron in the house, the owner had to give it all. For example, if you had any metal at home, you had to pay out all of it, such as gold, silver, and iron etc. Some people had buried gold underground stealthily. But the Japanese government said they had detectors which could discover the metal. (P2-092606-02)
Foot-binding was completely prohibited by the Japanese government in 1915 (H.-W. Chen, 1999; P.-F. Chen, 2006). The girls born after 1910 did not have their feet bound. The girls born between 1890 and 1910 might keep or unbind their foot-binding. It gradually eliminated visual corporeal evidence of social class. Wartime caused the economic situation to worsen, so everyone was getting poorer. The daily needs of the Taiwanese were dependent on an allocation from the Japanese government. No one had privileges to get more in their allocation. The ironic phenomenon was that the Taiwanese society was becoming more equal than before, in disregarding gender and economic status.

**Discussion of the Conflicts**

There were many conflicts, such as double standards, existing in gender and class in Taiwanese society. The conflicts were interwoven by gender, class, and other elements. Sometimes, males seemed to have more privilege than the females, and sometimes authority came with power regardless of gender or class.

**Frog Metaphor**

In traditional Taiwanese society, a “frog” (pronouncing as water chicken, 水雞) was a negative and inferior metaphor for a woman. It implied that the body shape of a frog and female genitalia were similar. Traditional Taiwanese lower classes even called a woman’s pudendum “frog” directly. This was why Jo could not directly say “frog” in her
narrative the first time, because she thought that saying “frog” was uncouth. Jo and Li both used “haha” to cover up their anxiety and shyness about being rude.

Li: Have you ever heard one of our grandmother’s famous sayings? (P2-092206-07)
Jo: Haha, a whole bunch of ...(P1-092206-07)
Li: A whole bunch of frogs, haha. (P2-092206-07)
Jo: The third generations of our big family were all girls. (P1-092206-07)
Li: It was from a historical allusion about the statement of “the whole bunch of frogs,” because frogs were tied to a whole bunch after they were fished. (P2-092206-07)

A whole bunch of frogs implied a whole bunch of girls coming together. The third generations of the Shens born by first wives were all girls. They were Lee-Hwa (b. 1921), Yin-Hwa (b. 1929), Shuen-Hwa (b. 1931), Jo (b. 1932), Li (b. 1934), and Su-Yu (b. 1936). My great-grandmother was waiting for a grandson for a long time. Whenever a granddaughter was born, she was disappointed once again. This was why she used the ironic metaphor to console herself. In traditional Taiwanese society, one thought every baby was reincarnated. The Shen girls must be a group, like a whole bunch of frogs, before their reincarnation, so they were born to the same extending family to continue their relationship.

Favoring male children was an unquestioned phenomenon in Taiwan several decades ago. Only a male could continue the family line. The young female was usually only an accessory in a family. The parents of a girl used to complain about her, saying “the pig was thin but the dog was fat” (豬不肥肥到狗) when their daughter was brighter than their son was. A pig’s function was getting fat so the humans could eat it; a dog’s function was watching the house, so to be fat was unnecessary. The meaning of this adage is that the son was not bright and didn’t like learning, but the daughter was bright
and liked learning. Why couldn’t they exchange, the dull son for the bright daughter? Because the daughter would marry and she would then be the daughter-in-law of another family. A son would be at home with the parents for a time. Also, if the daughter was too bright and creative she might not obey the rules and be a good wife. If the son was bright, he could care for his family. A popular Chinese idiom says: “For a female, having no talent is a virtue” (女子無才便是德), which implied the same expectancy of girls.

**Double Standards between Genders**

Taiwanese society evaluated females and males using a double standard. When a woman had good looks and had no talent, people used to praise her virtue. A man was expected go to outside his family to create his business and to pursue whatever he wanted in order to show his masculinity.

Jo: The social conventions were bad at that time. Some of the rich men even had several concubines. (P1-092206-06)
Li: Your grandfather’s concubine treated members of our family very kind… She was a bar girl before she married your grandfather…It was a pity because she had no children. It was too bad that she did not give any child to your grandfather. (P2-092206-06)
Li: Your grandfather’s concubine was very fashionable. She was like a star in the photograph (Figure 4-1). (P2-092206-29)

Society forced women into being chaste by using foot-binding and other methods such as “having no talent is a virtue”, or “avoid touching males other than family.” The foot-bound woman could not be influenced by outsiders, and so was kept pure. A man could go outside and do whatever he wanted. A female could not complain to her
husband if he was faithless in their marriage. And she even had to be the hostess to any
guests he brought home.

Jo: Women in my mother generation acted like saints. They had to tolerate their
husbands disregard for their marriage. (P1-092206-14)
Jo: Our father had girlfriends everywhere just like Bohu Tang (唐伯虎, the
leading role of a traditional Chinese opera). (P1-092206-14)
Li: A lot of women wanted to follow our father. (P2-092206-14)
Jo: He took some women back home when I was old enough to know there was
something happening. He had taken 2 or 3 women back home. Our mother
had to cook meal to entertain them. (P1-092206-14)
Li: He had rented a house in Dounan and kept a concubine, Judy (anonymous),
there. Judy had a daughter younger than me. I do not know whether she was
our father’s daughter or not. Judy and our father broke up several years later. I
heard from someone, perhaps our mother, say that the young girl’s facial
features looked like mine. I had played with her and carried her on my back
several times. If I could carry her, it meant I was older than her by a few years.
(P2-092206-14)
Li: Our mother once had a quarrel with our father and our father was very angry
that he splashed her with water. (P2-092206-14)
Li: He often invited the Japanese to our house and had meals. Our mother had to
cook to entertain his guests. Our mother was good at cooking. (P2-092206-15)

The genders were unequal. Women were supposed to keep their virtue and pure
characteristics to please males; the males were dominating the world selfishly. Although
the quarrel between their parents happened a long time ago, Jo and Li were still bitter and
angry with their father for his rude manner and the fact that he had girlfriends other than
their mother. They had more sympathy and positive feelings for their mother.

**The Wars between Girls**

The maid was in an inferior situation in her host family. A maid was sold or given
by her poor parents to a wealthy family. In her childhood, she had to work for the family,
including cleaning up the house, taking care of babies, cooking meals, washing clothes, and so on. Compared with the host’s children, she was inferior.

How a maid increased her covert authority is interesting according to Jo and Li’s narratives.

Li: The girl on the right of the photograph (Figure 4-1) is my fourth aunt’s maid, called Linda (anonymous). (P2-092206-09)
Chen: Was Linda given by someone to your fourth aunt?
Li: No. She was bought by my fourth aunt… Linda had a strong physique, so that all of us were afraid of her when we were young. (P2-092206-09)
Jo: All of us were afraid of Linda. (P1-092206-09)
Li: Yes, all of us were afraid of Linda. Our grandmother lived in the front house with her oldest son, your grandfather. The fourth aunt and Linda lived there too. There had a guava tree in the back yard. The guava fruits were very delicious. We children used to play in the back yard. Whenever we climbed the guava tree to pluck guava fruits, Linda would run out and roar at once. She said the guava fruits should be reserved for our grandmother. We could not pick them. (P2-092206-09)
Chen: Linda used your grandmother as an excuse. Did she use this reason to suppress you?
Li: Right. Otherwise, how could Linda shout at us? (P2-092206-09)

Linda used both her strong physique and the grandmother’s power as her authority to reserve the guava fruits. Jo and Li knew that Linda made use of her strong physique and their grandmother’s power to shout at them and to keep the fruits for herself. They were too young to fight against her. The power rested with the physical threat and the spiritual classes among the girls.

**Female’s Destiny**

A lucky maid might be given to a kind family, and be treated as a daughter. After she grew up, her host prepared her dowry and let her marry a young man as a first wife. Unfortunately, in some families, if the maid was good looking, the host might keep her to
be his concubine when she grew up. This was a maid’s predicament. If she was beautiful, she might be the concubine of her host and have an inferior status, but without having to worry about finances for the rest of her life. If she was ugly and lucky enough, she might be a first wife and have a formal family.

A Chinese adage said: “A beautiful girl often has an unfortunate life” (紅顏薄命). This adage was used twofold: to comfort an ugly girl and to taunt a good looking girl. A popular belief was that a female’s future was dependent on her figure.

Li: Women have two kinds of different destinies. For a woman to have a good life, she needs facial features that look simple and honest… Other than simple and honest, the other destiny is beautiful. This is not only my own opinion… Good looking does not equal a good life. The older generations usually said to marry a simple and honest lady rather than to marry a good looking lady. A simple and honest lady could be calm and steady… If a lady’s face looked skinny and delicate, she may not have a good life. That kind of good looking lady usually does not have a good life. (P2-092206-38)

Jo: How could you gauge whether a lady will have a good life? Except for the previous method, the only other one is by looking her fingers. If the fingertips are sharp, the lady will be poor. The sharp fingers are just like a broom; sweeping the rice urn… These kind ladies have no idea how to store rice, the life essentials. (P1-092206-38)

A female used to have an inferior status compared to a male, but she had to shoulder not only her destiny but also the success of the whole family. There were many excuses and used to criticize a woman because of her figure.

Summary

The Shen family, a landowning country family, tells life stories that are full of connected issues. There are a lot of visual signs to read, such as:
1. Various fashions: The male Western three-piece suit and female Western one-piece dress, traditional female Han two-piece dress, Manchurian one-piece dress (cheongsam), and Japanese kimono existed in a specific place and time simultaneously.

2. Mobile identities: The Shens changed their identities from citizens of the Ch’ing dynasty to citizens of Japan, and then to citizens of the Republic of China within several decades.

3. Inferior females: In a male-centered society, females were like property—maid, daughter, or birth tool, wife and concubine to contrast the male’s accomplishments.

4. Privileged masters: Economic status formed the class differences and social construction, landowner contrasted with tenant-peasant, mistress contrasted with maid, and the well-educated contrasted with the illiterate.

5. Conflicting genders: The conflicts existed between husband and wife, wife and concubine, and maiden and maid.

These issues are associated with social changes and personal values. From the juxtaposition of issues, we learn how to construct visual cultural identity and knowledge within a web of visual signs. We can interpret and reinterpret these visual signs for possible content—personal, local, and little narratives—for the Arts and Humanities curriculum. From the personal, local, and little narratives, contrasted with the previous nationwide, orthodox, and grand narratives, and from visual culture understanding contrasted with previous art making, I found a way to enhance art education.
Chapter 5

WRITING THE STORIES OF THE CHANG FAMILY

In this study, I needed one family in addition to my family to be my participants in order to contrast, compare, and verify the Taiwanese visual cultural roots through the interpretation of photographic signs.

The functions of the interviews in this study are twofold: the first function reveals the meaning of the photographic background of the Chang’s collection; the second function is to provide a contrast with the Shen family interviews to know common and different situations in the society.

Selecting Research Participants

Green Chang was my college classmate in the 1970s, when both of us majored in art studio at National Taiwan Normal University (國立台灣師範大學). We are from the same home town, Yunlin County in the middle of Taiwan. Several years after we graduated from college, we became colleagues in the Department of Art Education at Taipei Municipal University of Education, in Taiwan. We maintain a close, long-term friendship because we have known each other for a long time and our fields of interest are so similar.
One day in 2005, when I went back to Taiwan and passed through his office, we had a conversation. I told him my doctoral research topic at The Pennsylvania State University was “family photographs, identities, and visual culture”, and I was looking for research subjects that were not from my family. He asked me if I would be interested in his family photographs because his father collects many of them and arranges them in order.

During our conversation, he showed me an album he kept in his office. The photographs were copies of part of his father’s collection. They were historical, delicate, beautiful, and plentiful. I was excited because they met my research criteria of various visual culture signs exactly. I was excited was not only by the photographic quality and quantity, but also by the fact that I have known his family for a long time. I met his parents when I was an undergraduate student. I remember that his parents were very nice and enthusiastic. Knowledge of the subject’s cultural background and mutual trust are necessary and important elements of an in-depth interview, especially involving a family history, which may reveal very personal stories, feelings, and visual cultural roots.

**The Interview Process**

I called Henry Chang a few weeks before the interview was conducted to explain my research topic and to ask him whether he was willing to be my participant. I got his permission. I took a train to Tainan on October 14, 2006. Green went to his parents’ house two days earlier. He picked me up from the Tainan Train Station and took me to his parents’ house. I arrived at Henry’s house at 10: 30 a.m. on October 14, 2006.
In the beginning, I thanked Henry and his family for being my participants. They gave me a very warm reception. I knew the family when I was a college student and I had been to their home several times before, so I felt familiar with them. I asked for and received their permission for me to take photographs of them with a digital camera and be recorded by audio. I explained that the recordings would be preserved by me in a locked and safe place.

After that, I gave two copies of the consent form to Henry and got his signature. He agreed that I could use his real name in this research. I completed the consent forms and both of us kept one copy.

The main interviews were held on October 14 and 15, and I made copies of their family photographs with their permission on those two days. On October 14, the first interview was from 10:30 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. We focused on Henry parents’ lives and his childhood. After the interview, Henry invited me to have lunch with his, wife, son, and older daughter in a traditional Taiwanese restaurant. After lunch, we took a rest until 3:00 p.m. Then, I began to duplicate the photographs that Henry had collected. It took the whole afternoon, until the sky was getting dark. Henry’s wife, Min Ye took me and their son and daughter to a Japanese restaurant located in a department store downtown for dinner. Henry did not go to the restaurant because of a toothache. After dinner, I stayed at Green’s sister’s apartment overnight. The second day, October 15, I conducted interviews again from 10:30 a.m. to noon. We focused on Henry’s adult life, including his wedding.

During this time, I reviewed more literature to double check the photographs and the content of the interviews and to help me uncover the relationship between the families and their social situation.
After the interviews, I tried to match the interview content and images in the photographs I was given. On November 20, 2006, I had a business meeting in Tainan. I went to Tainan one day early, on November 19, 2006, to visit Henry’s family again to make sure the information was appropriate and correct.

On May 22, 2007, I went to Henry’s home at 9:30 a.m. I asked some questions about topics I did not understand clearly, took more photographs, artifacts, and documents, and figured out the correct date of important events. Henry’s younger daughter, son-in-law, and granddaughter were there, too. They invited me to have lunch together in a Japanese restaurant. After lunch, Henry continued to check the draft both Chinese and English transcripts carefully until 5:00 p.m. I caught a train at 5:37 p.m. to go back home. The interviews were ended happily.

The Chang Family

Henry Chang’s home town was Douliou in the middle of Taiwan. Henry’s mother was from Tainan City in the south of Taiwan. Henry stayed at Douliou until he moved to Tainan City, teaching English in a high school in 1956. His parents stayed in Douliou until they passed away.

Henry Chang’s Brief Biography

Green’s father Henry was born in 1926, which was the political peak of the Japanese colonial period in Taiwan. Henry was in kindergarten for 2 years (1930-32), and
then went to primary school for 6 years (1932-38). After he graduated from primary school, he left his home town and went to Tainan, a big city in the south of Taiwan, to study in a Presbyterian Church high school, *Chang Jung High School* (長榮中學). He first studied in a pre-high school course for one year (1938-39), and then studied in the high school for 5 years (1939-44). During this time, the Sino-Japanese war was happening in mainland China, not in Taiwan. When he graduated from high school, World War II was intensely being fought. He soon went to Japan and joined the Japanese army. After World War II, he returned to Taiwan in 1945. He studied briefly in a teachers college in 1946 and quit the school in the next year. After that, he went to Hong Kong and studied at the Hong Kong Government Institute. After he graduated, he went back to Taiwan and became a high school English teacher for 35 years, retiring in 1987.

After his retirement, he accepted an offer from the *Chang Jung High School* to be the editor-in-chief for a book about the century-long history of the school. *Chang Jung High School* was the first school in Taiwan to be founded by the English Presbyterian Church, in 1885. He finished writing and editing the manuscript, and it was published in 1991.

To complete the writing of the school’s history would have been an impossible mission without Henry Chang. Henry collected a large amount of data from historical documents and artifacts. He put the data in chronological order and triangulated the evidence many different ways. He also could understand the school’s many documents, written in four different languages—Taiwanese, Japanese, Mandarin, and English. The operation of the school passed through three different political authorities—the Ch’ing dynasty, the Japanese colonial period, and the Republic of China, which used three
different official languages, including Taiwanese, Japanese, and Mandarin. In addition, the school’s original support was the English Presbyterian Church, whose documents were written in English. Henry said that editing the book was an once-in-a-lifetime opportunity (一期一会), so he cherished it.

Henry is more than 80 years old and still healthy. He lives with his wife and has a simple life in Tainan. He maintains close connections with his three children and their families.

**Henry Chang's Family Background**

Henry’s father, Drew Chang (1898-1974), was the owner of a big drugstore in Douliou, which is in the middle of Taiwan. His family owned the drugstore for several generations. Their economic status was middle-upper class. His father had studied in Japan from high school to college preparation and could be regarded as the pillar of the community. Henry’s mother, Jan-Zi (1898-1995) was a beautiful and famous lady of note before she got married (P3-101406-10). She was from a wealthy Tainan family. Henry’s maternal grandmother (1874-1934) maintained an easy life although Henry’s maternal grandfather passed away early.

After she got married, Henry’s mother maintained a close relationship with her original family. She took her children back Tainan often during their vacations. Henry enjoyed the visits with his mother’s family, such as his grandmother, aunt, and uncles.

One of his uncles owned a photography studio in Tainan. Whenever they went to Tainan, his uncle took photographs for them. Henry has a large collection of photographs,
not only because he was from a wealthy family, but also his uncle was a photographer, so
that they had more opportunities to sit for photographs.

Henry’s aunt, Co-Zi, married a gentleman, K. W. Chan (1901-1970) who had studied at the Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania, USA. He was an unusually genteel person in conservative society. He was from a very wealthy family who operated a business in international trade between Taiwan and Hong Kong. The couple had no children of their own, so they regarded Henry as their own child.

Henry went to a primary school where the majority of students were Japanese. Only one sixth of the students were Taiwanese. For a Taiwanese child to go to a primary school, his/her parents had to be strong personages of high economic status and political status in the town (P.-F. Chen, 2006). The Taiwanese children were customarily sent to common schools. The teachers’ qualifications and textbooks used in common schools and primary schools were different. In short, the fact that Henry went to primary school is evidence that his family had a high standing in the town.

Henry was the oldest grandson on both his maternal and paternal sides, so he was given much attention. In the traditional Eastern society, the young male generation had more privileges than the female did. Henry grew up in an environment of material wealth and mental stimulation. He was luckier than most other Taiwanese children.
Figure 5-1: Chang family structure

Key: M: male, F: female, P3: participant 1, P4: participant 4, P5: participant 5
Henry Chang’s Characteristics

Henry is fluent in four different languages—Taiwanese, Japanese, English, and Mandarin; and a little Cantonese. Taiwanese is his native language; Japanese was the language used in his schools; English was his major in college; Mandarin became the official language of the country when he began to work in Taiwan; and, since he had studied in Hong Kong for 3 years, he learned Cantonese, the Hong-Kong common language there. His facility with languages is an unusual ability in Taiwanese society. In his generation, people might know three languages if they were well educated, but fluency in four languages is more difficult, and rare among the general population.

Henry has a professional specialty in the collection and arrangement of historical relics. He keeps his personal materials such as photographs, diplomas, letters, and even travel tickets very well maintained and in order. Although he is more than 80 years old, he still has a very good memory and clear thinking.

These characteristics were the reasons that he could be assigned as the editor-in-chief for the school’s history, and these are the reasons that I selected him to be my participant, also.

The Changs’ Life Stories

Henry collected a lot of his family photographs, especially those of his mother and his aunt. His mother and aunt had taken more photographs than was typical for members of their generation. Henry keeps those photographs very organized, so that when I conducted the study of Henry’s narrative, I started my research from Henry’s
mother and her family. I had seen Henry’s mother, Jan-Zi, once in the 1980s, while she was more than 80 years old. In my memory, she was a pious Christian and she looked healthy, elegant, and kind. It was amazing that his mother was born in 1898, and the photographs are so old, but the people in those photographs still looked very stylish.

**Jan-Zi’s Early Years**

The oldest photograph Henry collected was taken in 1905 (Figure 5-2). It pictures Henry’s maternal grandmother (Lo Chen, 1874-1934), mother (Jan-Zi, 1898-1995), aunt (Co-Zi, 1900-1975), and uncle (Zong, 1902-?). His grandfather had passed away in 1902, 3 years earlier than the photograph was taken. His grandmother only bore two daughters, Jan-Zi and Co-Zi. After her husband passed away, Henry’s grandmother adopted a boy on April 10, 1905 to keep the family line going. Zong was born by her brother and his wife. I found the exact day from the family certificate of registered residence from the Japanese colonial period. This photograph might have been taken soon after Henry’s grandmother adopted Zong, to commemorate that event, so everyone wore formal dresses and looked very serious.
Henry: This was taken during the Ch’ing dynasty. This was my grandmother, what she wore was the clothing of the pure Chinese style, with embroidery on the clothes. The children all wore the same kind of clothes, and they all wore jade necklace on their necks. Only a wealthy household’s children could wear jade. (P3-101406-03)
Since Henry’s maternal grandfather was very wealthy, he drank and slept all the time, and consequently passed away when he was less than 40 years old (P3-101406-04). Henry’s grandmother had to keep the family developing on her own. From the photograph, we can see that the cloth everyone wears is very delicate and stylish. Henry’s grandmother sits on a chair made of bamboo. She wears a two-piece Han dress, earrings, and a ring on the ring finger of her left hand. She also holds a purse between her two hands. Two girls have almost the same style of dresses, pants, and the same decoration on their heads. The girl on the right, Jan-Zi, also wears a jade bracelet on her left arm. The boy wears a suit of dark colored clothes. All three children wear jade necklaces. Jade worn on the neck could be for avoiding evil spirits as well as decoration (P3-101406-03). A modern clock is on a table in the background. All of these items reveal that this was a very wealthy family in 1905.

Henry: My grandmother was a wealthy woman. She had a lot of houses and property so that she had income from the rent of houses, and the rent of land. It was good enough to have an easy life. (P3-101406-10)

In this traditional male-centered society, a widow was hard-pressed to support a family on her own, unless she had a lot of property. From the photographic signs and Henry’s narrative, it is evident that the family did not have any financial problems.

This photograph seems to have been taken outside, not in a studio, because of the shadow, the stone floor, and the background’s steps and drop cloth. It was a temporary scene created just for the photograph. Every detail is clear, showing that the photographic technology was already very good at that time. Everyone stared at the camera lens and kept a stable pose, even the 3-year old boy. This photograph includes all the functions of photography that I mentioned in Chapter 2: evidence, ritual, stage, storyteller, image,
history, power, technology, and memory. They took this photograph as evidence because the mother adopted a son, who began to belong to this family. The family was wealthy enough to afford it. It has ritualistic overtones because they commemorated the adopting event. It is like a stage because all of them face the spectators and play their roles competently. It functions as storyteller because there are lots of visual signs telling stories of gender, manner dress of family structure, a wealthy widow, and economic status, and that these happened in a specific time and place. It is an image because visual signs in the photograph are providing much more information than writing or speaking words could. It tells about history because the photograph displays evidence of the family’s past that we cannot erase. It reveals power because it shows the family’s economic status was very powerful. We know that the mother was the center of power not only because her position is in the center of the photograph, but also because she has a seat. It reveals technology because it exposes the accomplishment of photographic technology in the beginning of the 20th century. It serves as memory because it evokes people’s memory of what life style these people in the photograph had.

Beautiful Ladies

After Jan-Zi and Co-Zi grew to adulthood; they both looked beautiful, fashionable, and had good temperaments. They wear the same pattern and style of dresses in Figure 5-3, taken the day before Jan-Zi’s wedding.
Henry: They all studied in the old-style private school... The parents invited tutors to teach the girls at their house... They all studied classical Chinese, including the *Four Books* (四書), the *Five Classics* (五經)... Some wealthy families would not allow their daughters to go out. They had the tutor come to their house to teach the girls. (P3-101406-15)

The two sisters were very close, so that Jan-Zi and Co-Zi were reluctant to part. After Jan-Zi married and moved to Douliou, her family members were lonelier than before. They took a photograph to remember their daughter by. The photograph seems to have been taken in a studio. The sisters wear the same style, Shanghai style, of dresses revealing that their relationship is so close that it even extends to their sense of fashion.

This girl in Figure 5-4 was Jan-Zi’s dowry. She followed when Jan-Zi moved to Douliou, to serve her daily needs. Wealthy families used to prepare one or two girls to be a bride dowry because all of the brides had foot-binding, and needed a maid to help...
arrange their lives (H.-W. Chen, 1999). The maid seems about 10-12 years old at that time. She has natural feet, so I conjecture that she was either born to a poor family or she was born the year the Japanese prohibited foot-binding. She is holding an umbrella and standing beside her hostess. All of these signs reveal that there were different classes and positions.

The umbrella reflects several meanings. First, class difference: the maid is standing and holds an umbrella, servicing the sitting mistress. Second, economic status: the material and style of the umbrella was not common in Taiwan at that time, so it was a fashionable and expensive goods overseas imported. Third, aesthetic taste: the
photograph was taken inside a studio, so umbrella was unnecessary—it was for showing high class aesthetic taste, as well as for decoration.

Comparing Figure 5-3 with Figure 5-4, the dress and chair styles of Figure 5-3 are more close to a Western style. In Figure 5-3, Jan-Zi and Co-Zi both wear Shanghai style dresses, which have both Chinese and Western influences. For the scene’s harmony, Co-Zi sits on a Western style chair. In Figure 5-4, Jan-Zi and her maid both wear traditional Han style clothes, so Jan-Zi sits on a Chinese style chair. Both of these two photographs were taken on the eve before Jan-Zi’s wedding and they were possibly taken by the same photographer. The lights on both photographs come from the top left side. Due to the chairs and the dress styles, the photographer had aesthetic taste and design.

Figure 5-5: Drew and Jan-Zi, taken after their wedding, 1923
Henry: This was taken at the yard in my mother’s childhood home…My parents’ wedding was held in Tainan, my mother’s home town, and after that they went back to Douliou, my father’s home town, to host a reception. The women wore these kinds of clothes at that time. (P3-101406-02)

The bride and groom were born in the same year, 1898. They married when they were both 25. In Figure 5-5, the groom wears Western-style formal clothes: shirt, vest, bow tie, leather shoes, and white gloves, as well as a formal hat. The bride wears a Shanghai-style dress, high-heeled shoes, a pair of bracelets, and a necklace, as well as a purse. Her feet seem smaller than normal. The dresses Jan-Zi wears in Figure 5-3 and Figure 5-5 seem to be the same one, because the layers and the waves of the skirts look so similar.

Traditional Taiwanese culture did not encourage people to openly express their feelings for the opposite sex. Although they were newlyweds, Drew and Jan-Zi kept a distance without any body contact. This photograph is evidence that the Taiwanese were very conservative about showing their feelings for the opposite sex in public. For the Taiwanese, a wedding was more like a ritual rather than a ceremony because everyone was more solemn and serious and less joyous and merry.

There are a large decorative boulder, potted plants, and a Chinese-style table in the background. The photograph was taken outside and the floor seems the same as in Figure 5-2. The scene was at Jan-Zi parents’ yard. From the dresses and the scene, they are showing they are high-class in both finance and social status.
Jan-Zi’s younger sister, Co-Zi was unlike her generation of girls in that she got married very late—not until she was 31 years old. She was in many photographs throughout her life, from young to old. Figure 5-6 is one of the photographs taken in her single period. She seems to be a city girl, fashionable, modern, and Western stylish. In her generation, most of the Taiwanese women were married before they turned 20, used to wear dark colored Han dresses, and already had born several children at her age.

Co-Zi was an unusual lady. I wonder whether no one was a good could match for her, she did not want to marry in her youth, or she did not have a father to help her; otherwise, why did she, such a beautiful and wealthy lady, marry so late? In male-centered society, an unmarried woman was her parents’ shame because they could not find a good gentleman for her. No one knows the exact reasons Co-Zi married so late.
Henry: My grandfather told my father that he had to go to Japan to study, and that my mother had to stay in Taiwan after they married. My father was depressed and could not study attentively in Japan. After that, my grandfather knew he missed his new wife and finally agreed to let my mother to go Japan and stay with my father. (P3-101406-16)

After Henry’s mother arrived in Japan, his parents took this photograph (Figure 5-7). The couple stayed in Japan for one year. When Drew’s father was very sick, they were called to come back to Taiwan as soon as possible. Drew had only finished his college preparation classes at that time, and he did not have the chance to go back to Japan to study again because he had to handle his father’s drugstore. Henry was born in 1926, after his parents had already moved back to Taiwan.
Jan-Zi and her husband rented a house in Japan and made friends with their landlord’s daughter (Figure 5-8). Two young ladies, one wearing a Western sailor-style dress, the other one wearing a traditional Japanese kimono interweave the meeting of the Western and Eastern cultures.

Figure 5-7 and Figure 5-8 were taken in Japan, so these two photographs must be taken by other photographers, not Henry’s uncle. Unlike most other photographs taken at the studio in Taiwan, the backgrounds of these two photographs are simple and without much decoration. Although these photographs were taken to memorialize and document the important events in the family, we can still see the different styles between different photographers.
In Figure 5-9, from the left to the right: Henry’s Sister Zoe (anonymous), mother, uncle, grandmother, cousin, aunt, and his aunt’s adopted daughter (maid) Rose (anonymous). Henry sat on the chair in the front.

Henry: This was my mother. My mother took me back to her parents’ home in Tainan when I was about two years old. The clothing is changed compared to before. My mother’s clothes and skirt were made of silks and satins, shiny and glistening, very beautiful. Although I was only a child at that time, I noticed that my mother's clothes were shiny and glistened. These two girls… the left one was my Sister Zoe (who took care of me), and the right one was my aunt’s adopted daughter. My mother had only one sister. My aunt was married to a rich trader’s son four years after when the photograph was taken. (P3-101406-06)

Henry’s aunt adopted a daughter before she got married. A wealthy unmarried lady often adopted a daughter as a maid, to attend to her daily needs (H.-W. Chen, 1999).
For example, in Figure 4-1, Linda was adopted by Jo’s aunt, who never married in her whole life.

In Figure 5-9, both young maids’ clothes looked good and stylish. They were lucky girls because their mistresses treated them kindly, almost as a member of the family. Henry still misses his Sister Zoe, because while Henry was a primary school student, she took care of him until she got married and moved out of the house.

Chen: How did the maids come to your home? Did their parents sell them to your family?
Henry: They could be regarded as adopted daughters! The countryside farmers did not understand about birth control, so that they had many children and wanted to give some to a wealthy family. The girls were not sold to us. They could be regarded as adopted daughters more than as maids. When they grew up to be big girls, my family would prepare dowries for them and let them get married. Sister Zoe was married when I studied in the primary school. (P3-101406-08)

The scene of Figure 5-9 seems to have been taken at a photography studio. It reveals that they made some preparation for the photograph, so all the people dressed up, even the two maids. If Henry did not tell me the two girls were maids, I would never have known by the way they dressed.
In Figure 5-10, we see from the left to the right, the maid (Co-Zi’s adopted daughter) Rose, Henry’s aunt (Co-Zi), mother, grandmother, father, uncle, and aunt. The photographs in Figures 5-9 and 5-10 seem to have been taken close together, because of the height of Rose and the hair style of Co-Zi. In Figure 5-10, all of the adults had prepared for the photograph, so all of them had dressed up. Rose seems to have joined the group as an afterthought, because she is wearing daily clothes, and no shoes. The composition of the photograph is symmetrical, with the aunts standing in an arranged position, so Rose seems superfluous. It unconsciously reveals a maid’s daily condition.
The photograph (Figure 5-11) was taken in the bride’s parent house. The first row from the left to the right: Rose, Henry’s aunt (the bride), mother, grandmother, Henry, father, and uncle (the bridegroom). The second row from the left to the right: Henry’s Sister Zoe, grandaunt, baby, granduncle, uncle. This photograph seems to have been taken on the same day or a few days after Co-Zi’s wedding ceremony because Henry’s parents and Henry are wearing the same clothes and shoes as they are in Co-Zi’s wedding photograph, Figure 5-14.

Henry: The background of this photograph was my grandmother’s native house—an old wooden house…This was my grandmother, this was my aunt, and one of the two girls, the left one in the back row, was my mother’s young maid, who looked after me specially. I used to call her Sister Zoe, whose job was to take care of me…This one (Sister Zoe) was taking care of the baby; the other...
one on the left was my aunt’s maid as well as her adopted daughter, whose job was to service my aunt in daily life. (P3-101406-08)

Henry’s grandmother built a new reinforced concrete house and moved to the new house from the old wooden house, shown in the background of Figure 5-11, in 1933. This photograph (Figure 5-12) was taken during the new house dedication ceremony. Co-Zi is in the third from the left in the first row and Henry’s mother, Jan-Zi, is beside Co-Zi holding Henry’s younger brother. Henry stands between his mother and his grandmother.

Henry’s grandmother became sick after she moved to the new house and passed away on November, 1934. Although Henry’s mother still took Henry and his siblings back to Tainan to visit his aunt and uncle, he felt he lost something because his grandmother used to cosset him very much. Henry cherishes these photographs because...
his grandmother is there, prodding his memory so he can tell his offspring about the wonderful life he had with his grandmother.

Jan-Zi’s father had passed away when she was 4 years old, and her sister Co-Zi was 2 years old. Their mother tried to give them a wonderful life to make up for the absence of a father. The photographs show their easy life as well as their fashion sense.

**Wedding Dresses and Cultural Identities**

Henry’s mother, Jan-Zi, and father, Drew, got married in 1923, and his aunt, Co-Zi, married his uncle in 1931. Eight years elapsed between the sister’s weddings, but they wore totally different styles of wedding dress. The prevailing cultural identities may have caused them to have the differences.
In Figure 5-13, from left to right we see Henry’s uncle, grandfather, father, mother, grandmother, and aunt (his father’s elder sister). It was taken in Douliou when Henry’s parents were married. Note the differences in dress by age and gender. His father, Drew wore a full suit with a Western-style coat, and his mother, Jan-Zi wore the traditional Chinese Han-style bridal dress. The other young male on the left wore a Western-style suit; the oldest male wore the traditional Chinese Han-style clothes. The two ladies on the right both wore traditional Chinese Han-style two-piece dresses.

According to Henry’s narrative interview, newlyweds’ clothes were sometimes borrowed from others. There were some stores at that time which rented clothes. The newlyweds got married in Tainan, the bride’s home town. After that, they went back to the bridegroom’s home town, Dauliou, and took this photograph. The background of this photograph is an old house, the bridegroom’s home, as well as the first home of the new couple.

Jan-Zi, the bride, began her foot-binding when she was 5 or 6 years old. Later, the Japanese government forbade the Taiwanese to practice foot-binding, and her feet were unbound when she was about 8 or 9 years old. This was the reason why her feet look smaller than normal feet.

The older generation, the bridegroom’s parents, are sitting on chairs. The younger generation, the newlyweds and the bridegroom’s sister and her husband, are all standing. The newlyweds stood in the middle, the most important position, because they were the protagonists on the wedding day. According to traditional culture, the parents sat down and the younger generations stood as a courtesy to show respect and give precedence to the elder generations. In this photograph the family shows strict compliance for
respecting seniority. The arrangement of the people might have been conducted by the photographer or the parents. No matter who arranged the composition in the photograph, everyone accepted his/her position when the photograph was taken.

Henry’s aunt Co-Zi, his mother’s younger sister, was married to a gentleman whose home town was in Chi-Hou, an island beside Kaohsiung City, along the south and west coast of Taiwan. One had to take a ship to go to Chi-Hou from Kaohsiung. Co-Zi’s husband studied in the Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania, USA before the wedding. After they married, they stayed in Taiwan for a while.
In Figure 5-14, Henry is the boy, second on the right in the front row. He was sleeping when he was called to sit for the photograph, so he felt tired and looks like he’s in a sleeping posture. He wore sailor's clothes and slippers.

According to Henry’s description, the older ladies used to wear dark colored Chinese Han-style clothes; the younger, fashionable ladies, such as Henry’s mother, wore Shanghai-style dresses; and students used to wear their uniforms to a dress-up occasion. When the pupils got older they used to change to Western suits.

There are also two young girls holding flowers beside the bride and bridegroom and wearing Japanese kimonos. It was a Taiwanese custom for two cute girls or one girl and one boy to wear formal dress and hold flowers to accompany the newlyweds in a wedding ceremony. It was many young Taiwanese girls’ dream to be the flower girl at a wedding.

Figure 5-15: Co-Zi’s wedding II, March 7, 1931
The bride was very fashionable, and had not undergone any foot-binding (Figure 5-15). Co-Zi did not obey her mother, as her older sister did, and avoided foot-binding when she was young. Jan-Zi was more obedient, and her feet were bound at a young age.

**Similarities and Differences**

The similarities in costume between these two wedding photographs are that the young males wore Western-style suits; the older males wore the traditional Chinese Han-style clothes; and the old females wore the traditional Chinese Han-style two-piece dresses.

The most prominent difference between the two wedding photographs is in the brides’ dresses. These two brides grew up in the same family, had the same parents, had only 2 years difference in their ages, and both married wealthy husbands who had been studying overseas. Why did their dresses have these evident differences?

In Figure 5-13, the bride wore a traditional Chinese Han-style wedding dress and hat. There is luxurious embroidery on the dress; the stole has macramé on the edge; and the bride also wore a waistband. The bride wore all Chinese Han-style clothing except for her shoes. The leather high-heeled shoes were totally Western-style and fitted her special small feet.

In Figures 5-14 and 5-15 the bride wore a Western-style white wedding dress, veil, and normal size fancy leather high-heeled shoes. The dress was not long enough to cover her legs completely, so we can see that she seems to be wearing silk stockings. The bride was modern, fashionable, and progressive.
Comparing the differences in the two bride’s dresses proves to be complicated. In short, the disparity could be caused by differences in the characters of each bride, the time when the wedding took place, the family styles of their respective bridegrooms, and the dominant culture.

1. Personal characteristics of each bride

According to Henry’s narrative, his mother, Jan-Zi, was the oldest child and she was more obedient than her sister. Her foot-binding gives evidence of this. Jan-Zi obeyed her mother’s command to have her feet bound at a young age. To have her feet bound was a bitterly painful process; the soles of feet were bent, and the toes and the heel were crooked into a chink to make the foot become very small. A three inch foot was the ideal (Cassel, 2007, February; H.-W. Chen, 1999). No girl wanted to have her feet bound, and to undergo such a process shows that she succumbed to authority.

Henry: My aunt did not obey her mother and avoided foot-binding when she was young. My mother was more obedient, so she had foot-binding. (P3-101406-07)

In a certificate of the family’s registered residence in the Japanese colonial period, I saw the record that Jan-Zi had food-binding and Co-Zi did not. It fits Henry’s narratives.

The Japanese government prohibited foot-binding in 1915 (P.-F. Chen, 2006). After the Japanese began to rule Taiwan in 1895, the Japanese government attempted to persuade parents not to bind the feet of their daughters, but many middle and upper class families continued to do so. They did not know how long the Japanese would rule the Taiwanese, so they prepared their daughters for a future in Taiwan that might be ruled by the Ch’ing dynasty again in the near future. In the Ch’ing dynasty, foot-binding was a symbol that a girl was from a good family, both in economic status and social status, and
it was the responsibility of the parents to prepare for the girls’ future. Most girls did succumb to their parent’s authority.

According to a record, there were 18 foot-bound, 6 foot-bound and then unbound, and 11 natural-foot girls who graduated from *Da-Dao-Cheng Girls Common School* (大稻埕女子公學校) in Taipei in 1917 (H.-W. Chen, 1999). These girls’ ages were around 12-15 years old, except one who was 17 years old. This is several months younger than Co-Zi was, so all of the girls were younger than Jan-Zi and Co-Zi. Foot-binding and natural-foot juxtaposed in Taiwan at that time.

Co-Zi did not succumb to her mother’s authority to have her feet bound although many girls still had their feet bound at that time. She was an unusual girl, since she dared to go against her mother’s authority at a young age. She must have had a very strong personal character. As she wore the fancy Western-style wedding dress, and the skirt was so short as to reveal her legs, we can see that she still maintained her self-confident and elegant posture when the photograph was taken.

2. The wedding time differences

Jan-Zi got married in 1923; Co-Zi in 1931. Although these events were only 8 years apart, Taiwanese society had changed. In 1926, the Japanese emperor was changing from the emperor Taisho (大正) to the emperor Showa (昭和), and the Japanese became more modern. For this reason, white, Western-style wedding dresses began to be imported and appeared in Taiwanese society around that time. Co-Zi’s wedding ceremony was at the beginning of this period of change, so she had the chance to be at the vanguard wearing a white Western-style wedding dress.
The costumes of the people, other than the brides, in the two photos are very similar. Only the young males wore Western-style suits. The rest of the people wore Chinese Han-style dresses. In terms of gender differences males had more and earlier contact with the outside world than females did, so they looked more Occidentalized and modernistic than the females. In terms of generational differences the older generations kept their original cultural identities more than the younger generations did. The younger generations were assimilated by the rulers, or fashions, easier and quicker. The younger generations do not carry on much tradition, so they internalize changes, such as political identity, fashion, or new languages, easier than the older generations do.

3. The family styles of their respective bridegrooms

Jan-Zi’s husband, Drew Chang, had been studying in Japan (high school and college preparatory) for several years. His family owned a big drugstore in Douliou which was a local business and their economic status was very high. He had contact with the Western world indirectly while in Japan. Compared to the other villagers, his family was more modern because Drew had studied abroad and had more chances to contact the outside world than villagers did. They could be regarded as the pillar of the community. Compared to Co-Zi’s husband’s family, the Chang family was more conservative.

The evidence of their conservatism also appears in the family members’ positions in the photograph. As I have mentioned above, this was manifested in the way the family followed the veneration of the older generation, which was an aspect of Eastern culture. The older generations had more privilege and authority than the younger generations did. In the photograph this is shown by their seated position.
Co-Zi’s husband, Ki Wong Chan, had studied in Hong Kong (high school) and the U.S. (university) (Figure 5-16). His family operated a business in international trade between Taiwan and Hong Kong. He had direct contact with the Western world when he was young. He might have asked his wife to wear a white Western-style wedding dress to align with his taste. No matter who made the decision, the newlyweds accepted the Western-style wedding dress.
4. The dominant culture

According to my interpretation of these two photographs, I have found evidence of a dominating culture and a dominated culture in the visual signs. If a new culture replaces an old one, the new one becomes dominant and the old one becomes dominated. In the figure 5-13, Jan-Zi still showed her Ch’ing dynasty sensibilities through her wedding dress. Jan-Zi was born in 1898, after the Japanese had ruled Taiwan for three years. As the first child she had more contact and learned more from her parents than her younger siblings. She accepted the traditional Chinese Han-style dress, revealing her cultural identity as closer to the Ch’ing dynasty. In other photographs of her taken later, Jan-Zi wears traditional Chinese Han-style dress and Shanghai-style dress often, revealing her tendency to identify with Chinese cultural identity.

In Figure 5-14, Co-Zi accepted a white Western-style wedding dress, revealing her cultural identity as more tending toward the West. The two flower girls standing beside the newlyweds wore kimonos, revealing the diversity of dress and acceptance of the ruler’s culture. These are visual signs that show the process of assimilating.

According to a survey, among 766 young women who passed through a street in Taipei in 1942, 583 wore Western dresses, 12 wore kimonos, and 170 wore traditional Han dresses (H.-W. Chen, 1999). The young Taiwanese women adopted the Western visual culture, the dominating culture, more than their traditional Han visual culture at that time.
Conclusion

From these two photographs, I found many visual cultural signs and changes. Males received outside visual culture easier than females did and younger generations received outside visual culture easier than older generations did. The outside visual culture replaced the old one and the new one became dominate and the old one became dominated. This circulation is an important element causing Taiwanese visual cultural changes.

In two wedding photographs there were multicultural phenomena and evidence of cultural layers. The political authority changed often, and the Taiwanese accepted the dominating culture easily, either spontaneously or by force. Whenever we talk about Taiwanese visual cultural identities, we have to consider the element of time. Taiwanese cultural identities are mobile and fluid. The ethnic element affected identity recognition, but when the Taiwanese had more contact with the outside world, it was not the only element anymore.

Henry Chang’s Childhood

Henry was his parents’ first child, born on March 23, 1926. His family had high expectations for him, especially since he was a boy. He got a lot of close attention and was loved dearly, which shows in the fact that he had a lot more photographs taken than other Taiwanese children of his generation did. His earliest photograph (Figure 5-17) was taken when he was 100 days old, around July 2, 1926.
In the era of high infant mortality, if a baby survived 100 days was cause to celebrate. In Figure 5-17, Henry wears a kimono and a soft cap. He sits on a sofa and looks very healthy. The photograph’s details are clear, even the baby’s face, except his two soles and his left hand. It reveals that the quality of photography was good at that time, but it would have taken time to expose the film, so the soles and the left hand are a little blurred.

Figure 5-17: Henry was 100 days old, 1926

Henry explained that his uncle, a cousin of his mother, was a photographer and owner of a photograph studio in Tainan. When his mother took him to Tainan to visit his grandmother, his uncle usually took a photograph for them. In Figure 5-18, the uncle holds Henry. This photograph was taken inside of the studio in 1928, when Henry was
two years old. The scene is in a work room, not a formal customer room in the studio. On
the right, in the background, the wooden frameworks seem to be the equipment of the
studio. On the middle of the top it is a signboard with Japanese writing. It seems to be
either a studio license or a certificate of membership in an association, words are not
clear. In the left background, several photographs are hanging on the wall. The uncle
wears a pair of Japanese clogs. Henry holds something which seems to be equipment for
a camera.

Henry: The photograph studio named *Tokyo Photograph Studio* was in Tainan. My uncle had studied photography in Japan. (P3-101406-09)
Chen: Was the size of a camera very big at that time?
Henry: Yes, the color of camera was black, and the lens could be lengthened and
shortened…the photographer’s head should be entirely covered by the cloth, while he took a photograph. The camera size was pretty big. (P3-101406-09)
Two years later in 1930, Henry and his uncle again took a photograph at the studio (Figure 5-19), while Henry was a kindergarten pupil. The scene was in a formal customer room, unlike Figure 5-18 in the work room. Henry and his uncle sit on a bench. There is a backrest cushion behind Henry to help the small boy sit on the bench.

On the right bottom of the photograph is a raised seal with several words, spelling several words “Tainan Chen Shashin Studio (台南陳寫真館).” The studio had two names; one was Tainan Chen Shashin Studio, shown on the photograph, and the other one was Tokyo Photograph Studio (台南東京寫真館), mentioned in Henry’s narrative and in the seal on Figure 5-21.

Figure 5-19: Henry and his uncle at the photograph studio, 1930
In the same year, Henry took a second photograph (Figure 5-20). The scene looks as if it is outside. The background on the right is a row of fence. It seems suburban, and the community looks spacious and tranquil. I almost believed this photograph was taken outside when I first saw it, but the shadow of Henry shows the light is from the right side, which does not fit with the sun behind Henry in the background. My interpretation is that his uncle took the photograph inside the studio and, since the background scenery was very big, Henry rode a tricycle on the scenery.

Henry: I was riding the tricycle and carrying a toy rifle on my back. My family's economic status was good, so I had toys. (P3-101406-31)

Figure 5-20: Henry, a tricycle, and a toy rifle, 1930
In the colonial period the Taiwanese economy was undeveloped, so to have a tricycle and a toy rifle was unusual because tricycles or toys were luxury items, which were unnecessary in basic life. This indicates that the family must have been wealthy and valued the importance of toys to a child.

In Figure 4-1, Jo also rides a tricycle. To have a tricycle for children to play with was a symbol of a wealthy family. Only if the family did not have any financial challenges in meeting the needs of daily life would they consider buying toys for children. Compared to some of the poor tenant-peasant’s lives, the children of the Shens and Changs were very lucky. In the Japanese colonial period, most Taiwan farmland belonged to landowners and tenant-peasants had to rent farmland from landowners. The unfair relationship between landowners and tenant-peasants made the landowners wealthier and the tenant-peasants poorer (H.-W. Chen, 1999; Kho, 2002). The Shens and the Changs were both landowners, possessing a lot of farmlands, so they had higher economic statuses than the tenant-peasants did. They lost most of their farmland after several decades when the KMT practiced *Land Reform* in Taiwan in 1949-1953 (C. Chen, 1961).

In 1931, Henry (left), his mother, and his younger brother had a photograph taken at the studio (Figure 5-21). The bench they sit on looks the same as the one in Figure 5-19. There is the same kind of backrest cushion behind Henry, too. The dress and the shoes that Henry’s mother is wearing look the same as in Figure 5-14 and Figure 5-11, taken during and after Co-Zi’s wedding ceremony. Jan-Zi wears a Shanghai-style dress, and there are a lot of small, light colored pom-poms on the skirt edge. Figure 5-21 might have been taken in the same period as the Figures 5-11 and 5-14.
Green: Is your mother’s dress Chinese Han-style? (P5-101406-02)
Henry: This is Shanghai-style, the pattern is stripes. (P3-101406-09)
Green: Is this Western-style clothing? (P5-101406-02)
Henry: Could be regarded as Chinese and Western styles combined! I do not know either. The dress was good-looking with this stand-up collar. My mother liked wearing this style of dress very much in her youth. (P3-101406-09)

Figure 5-21: Henry, mother, and younger brother, 1931

Henry is holding an ice lolly on his right hand. I thought the ice lolly might be a fake, but Henry said that was a real ice lolly and he had worried that the ice lolly would melt. I was wondering how long the exposure for the photograph was.

Chen: While taking the photograph, did the exposing take a long time?
Henry: Yes, we had to keep a stable pose and wait for the photographer to press the shutter to get a click. So I had to hold the ice lolly and keep a stable pose for a while. (P3-101406-09)

In the same year, 1931, Henry had another photograph taken at the studio (Figure 5-22). The special things in this photograph are the toy dog and the Japanese clogs, which were never shown in a photograph with Henry before.

Chen: Why did you have a blown-up plastic toy dog at that time? Henry: That was a rubber dog, not a plastic dog…I had the clogs, a pair of formal Japanese clogs…I placed this pair at my grandmother’s house in Tainan because I went there often…This (a photograph album, held in his hands) was taken in my uncle's photograph studio, so he gave me his photograph album to play with. (P3-101406-33)
Figure 5-23 was taken outside in a natural scene, which was different from the other photographs taken before. The photographs taken before were either taken inside the studio or outside arranged in an artificial scene. The natural setting of this photograph means that the camera would be smaller than before and easy to carry to the beach for the taking of this photograph.

Figure 5-23: The Chang family on a beach, 1935

Henry: We were in Si-Zi Gulf (西子灣) of Kaohsjung…This was my uncle, who wore a one-piece swimming suit. The men used to wear the one-piece of swimming suit and cap. The women did not wear a swimming suit, they wore a dress. I was very happy whenever my mother took me back to her parent’s house or my aunt’s place during the summer break because my aunt would help my mother to look after me and to spoil me. (P3-101406-44)
Henry’s maternal grandmother passed away on November, 1934, when Henry was 8 years old. This photograph (Figure 5-23) was taken in the summer after his grandmother died. Kaohsjung is the second biggest city located south of Tainan. Henry’s aunt was married to a man in Kaohsjung. They went to Kaohsjung to his aunt’s place in the summer and to play on the beach. Henry’s father Drew is on the left of the first row, Henry is the second from the right of the first row, and Henry’s mother, Jan-Zi, is holding his younger sister (born in 1933) in the middle of the back row.

The gender differences are obvious in this photograph. Only the males wear swimming suits and are playing. The females are wearing everyday dresses and are watching. For a Taiwanese female, to wear a swimming suit in public was unusual at that time. A woman who presented her body in public seemed like a prostitute at that time (H.-W. Chen, 1999).

Henry went to kindergarten in 1930 and to primary school in 1932. Most of his primary school classmates were Japanese, and only a few were Taiwanese. Figure 5-24 was taken in 1937. Henry is on the left, the third pupil on the second row. The students, both girls and boys, wear school uniforms. The girls’ hair styles are all the same: it used to be called Watermelon Rind, because it is like a piece of watermelon rind which covers a head. The boys all have what was called a butch haircut. Those were the typical Japanese student styles. Both the girls’ and boys’ hair were cut this way to make grooming easy. It was not necessary for the pupils to spend much time arranging their hair in order to concentrate their studying, fitting their parents’ and teachers’ expectations.
After one year, Henry had a photograph taken (Figure 5-25) with his classmates and the class teacher (right) and the school principal (left) in 1938. The majority of his classmates were Japanese, and only a few were from wealthy Taiwanese families. All of them look delicate and dainty because the Japanese emphasized neatness and hygiene in their lives (Kho, 2002). In addition, the economic status of both the Japanese and the Taiwanese students in primary schools were higher than the average of the Taiwanese (P.-F. Chen, 2006), so they could afford to buy new and fitted uniforms and leather shoes. Most of poor Taiwanese students used to take over their older sibling’s or cousins’ clothes and shoes until those were tattered. This was the main reason why primary school students looked more delicate and daintier than common school students did.
In Figures 5-24 and 5-25 there are fewer girls than boys. In 1937 and 1938 in Taiwan when the photographs were taken, the ratio of Japanese pupils to school-aged children, both girls and boys, was 99.5% (Tsurumi, 1977; see Table 2-1). There was no difference between girl’s and boy’s ratios to school-aged children. Why, then, did the boys number more than the girls? The possible answer is that the “extra” boys are primarily Taiwanese students. After 1922, the Japanese allowed a few additional Taiwanese children go to primary schools (P.-F. Chen, 2006; P.-H. Hsu, 2005). Parents wanted their boys to compete with the Japanese and the rest of the world, so they sent their boys to primary schools if their social class and economic status fit the Japanese
requirement. Most of the girls would be housekeepers, not competing with the outsiders in the future, so their parents would rather give them a peaceful life without much competition. This resulted in the Taiwanese parents only sending their boys to primary schools and keeping their girls at common schools. The Japanese built public school systems, primary schools for the Japanese and common school for the Taiwanese, when they took over Taiwan in 1895. Not until 1922 did the Japanese allow a few Taiwanese students going to primary schools. Only those whose parents were privileged people attended primary school. The students in primary were more powerful because their parents knew the importance of education more than the parents in the countryside did.

In Figure 5-26, the words on the bottom show the photograph was taken at Henry’s paternal grandmother’s 64th birthday. His grandmother wears Han-style clothes and pants and sits in the middle as the family center. His paternal grandfather had passed away before Henry was born.
Henry: This photograph was taken on my paternal grandmother’s 64th birthday. I (the left one) was in sixth grade of a primary school at that time. The adults from the right to the left were: my uncle, my father, my aunt, my grandmother, my mother, and my other aunt; the children on the first row were: my cousin, my youngest brother, my sister, and my two cousins; the last row the right was my younger brother and the left was my cousin, who would be a doctor later. (P3-101406-49)

Chen: Is the horizontal inscribed board, “Ping-Fang-Hall,” (品芳堂) in the top of the photograph (Figure 5-26) the same one you are hanging on your house wall now?

Henry: Yes, it is (see Appendix D). I brought it from my old house to set up here. Ping-Fang means good quality or noble character. (P101406-49)
In Figure 5-27, Henry, his father, and several children are wearing the same clothes as in Figure 5-26, so it was possibly taken on the same day. Henry’s father is the right one; Henry is the tallest among the children. The background is the drugstore building, which combines Western style with Japanese style architectures.

Henry was a boy, an oldest grandson, from a middle-upper class family, and he went to a primary school, so he had a lot of privileges, like the Japanese in the colonial period. Henry had a wonderful childhood both materially and emotionally and had a lot
of good quality photographs of him unlike most Taiwanese children of his generation. According to his narratives, he did not feel any discrimination from the Japanese. For him, he really had a happy childhood.

**Economic Status Reflected in Visual Signs**

After the Japanese ruled Taiwan, the Taiwanese had more opportunities for contact with the modern world, such as a modern school system, industry, medicine, hygiene, and so on. Photography was one of the modern accomplishments just being imported from the West to Japan and then to Taiwan. Photography was a good tool to record the process of social development and to reflect social phenomena. For instance, most newlyweds liked to take photographs to record their wedding ceremony, so the wedding dress could be reflected cultural conditions, economic status, class, and social changes.

**The Changing Wedding Dress**

After Western-style full wedding dress began to be imported to Taiwan around the 1930s, as we saw with Co-Zi’s wedding dress discussed earlier, almost all the Taiwanese brides started wearing that kind of wedding dress no matter if they were city girls or country girls. The Western-style full wedding dress was a sign of the dominating culture catching the attention of all the young people.

Henry: One was an honorable person if the wedding ceremony was very grand and the bride wore such a Western-style full dress. (P3-101406-45)
Figure 5-28 is a photograph of a wedding of some of Henry’s relatives. Henry’s father was the first adult on the right. The bride wears a Western-style full white wedding dress, and the bridegroom wears a Western-style suit and is holding a hat. From the background, the woven bamboo wall of the house, the clothes the guests wear, and the number of the guests, we know the newlyweds might not have been from wealthy and eminent families, but they still were as current and fashionable as they could be.

Figure 5-29 also was taken about 1938. Although the Sino-Japanese war began in 1937, the battle was in China, not in Taiwan. Not until 1941, when the Japanese made a whole-hearted effort in the war, were Taiwanese influenced at all. From Figure 5-30, we can determine that this was a luxury wedding. The trees in the background were pruned
into shapes; every guest was very dressed up; some of ladies also wear hats. Even children have formal dresses, including kimonos and Western-style dresses. Henry’s father is on the left of the second row.

Figure 5-29: A luxury wedding I, around 1938

Henry: This photograph was probably taken about 1938, when I graduated from my primary school. This bridegroom was Mr. Yang, whose house was very big, and the garden was big too…Yes, he had a big and wealthy household. This photograph was taken in his yard. It is because of fashion that the women wore hats…Otherwise, who would wear a hat in the countryside? Only the wealthy woman wore a hat. It says that the clothing reflects the era. (P3-101406-52)
Figure 5-30 also shows a luxury wedding. A lot of guests, the big house, and the clothes that the guests wear show that the newlyweds were from wealthy and eminent families.

Henry: This was a big and wealthy household too. You see the clothing; the old women wore the Han-style clothes and the young women wore the Western-style clothes…My mother wore the Western-style clothes (the left person standing behind the bride). (P3-101406-53)

In traditional Taiwanese culture, the color red was a lucky symbol used for weddings or any fortunate events, such as the New Year or a birthday; the color white was an unfortunate symbol used for a funeral.
In the 18th and 19th centuries, traditional Japanese wedding dresses were white kimonos. In the Japanese culture, white is the color of God and it means pure and neat. “White” symbolizes the end of the bride’s single life as well as the beginning of her new life with her new family (http://www.weddingblog.com.tw/?cat=9, retrieved September 8, 2007). Although a white kimono was the Japanese traditional wedding dress, I have never seen a Taiwanese bride who had worn that kind of wedding dress, whether in a literature review or my photograph collections.

The Western-style white wedding dress was in conflict with the traditional Taiwanese cultural values assigned to colors, but it conquered the Taiwanese quickly. Western-style dress was the dominating culture permeating into the Taiwanese society strongly, quickly, and unwittingly. Fashion has a silent power to carry out a quiet cultural revolution without any oppression.

**Loyalty to the Colonialist**

After the Sino-Japanese war started, the Japanese began to require the Taiwanese to show their loyalty to the colonialists. The rulers practiced policies of loyalty assimilation (同化運動) such as the Kominka Movement (Imperialization movement, 皇民化運動), the National Language Movement (changing to the Japanese language in families, 國語家庭), and the Name-changing Movement (changing to the Japanese surname, 改姓名) (P.-F. Chen, 2006; Lamley, 1999). It caused many Taiwanese wedding rituals to be held in Japanese temples as a show of loyalty to the colonialists. The
wedding rituals were taken charge of by the temple director, who were wearing special clothes and stood behind the newlyweds, as in Figure 5-31, in a Japanese temple. After the wedding ritual, the newlyweds used to take a photograph in front of the temple entrance.

Figure 5-31: A Japanese temple wedding, around 1938

Henry: The temple director was the one taking a plank in the middle… The girls holding flowers wore kimonos, otherwise, Han clothes, western-style clothes, suits, etc. My younger brother (the boy standing on the second right of the first row) was about six or seven years old at that time. This was my aunt’s relative who got married, and the bride wore the white formal dress at that time. In about 1938, in a wealthy family, the bride would wear a formal
western-style wedding dress, the bridegroom wore a suit, and the guests all wore full dress. This was an honorable family. (P3-101406-50)

The diversity is obvious, showing in every guest’s clothes in Figure 5-31, including Western-style, Japanese-style, and Chinese Han-style. Some of ladies and gentlemen also wear formal hats. Two Japanese national flags are hanging on the wall of the temple, the background building. The Japanese did not only want the Taiwanese to be loyal to the colonialists, but also wanted the Taiwanese to assimilate everything Japanese, including their wedding ceremonies.

**Wartime Was Coming**

The Sino-Japanese war was pressing and the economy was worse in 1941. Evidence of this can be seen in wedding photographs. The bridegrooms changed from Western-style suits to Japanese national clothes, a sort of military uniform, to display their loyalty to the Japanese. Every guest’s clothes were getting plain (Figure 5-32), which reveals that the economic situation was not as good as before. Henry’s mother, Jan-Zi, even wears the same dress that she wore to a wedding three years previous, in 1938 (Figure 5-30).

Henry: At that time an honorable bride always wore a western-style white formal dress, and the bridegroom wore suit without any exception. When the war was getting fiercer, some of bridegrooms changed to wear the national clothes. The national clothes became the people's formal dress. (P3-101406-57)
When the war was very pressing in 1943, all economic prosperity was gone, especially in the countryside. On one hand, the brides could not afford the price of Western-style wedding dresses anymore; on the other hand, the newlyweds should display their sympathy and commiseration with the war, so they could not reveal their happy feelings and extravagance in public. In Figure 5-33, the bride only wears a veil on her head to display her bridal identity.

The countryside peasants used to rent farms from landowners, as I discussed previously. Most of the people in the city were landowners, businessmen, or professionals, whose economic status was higher than the countryside farmer’s. The opportunities for countryside peasants to come in contact with the outside world were
less than the city people had because countryside peasants were working in rural farmlands.

Figure 5-33: A wartime wedding, around 1943

Henry: The countryside people were poor, the bride could not afford a white formal dress…The family could not afford the whole formal dress, so the bride only wore her everyday dress and a veil to her wedding ceremony. This was the way that the poor peasants dressed. The city brides used to wear formal dresses, were luckier than the countryside poor brides were…The war was getting very fierce at that time. (P3-101406-59)

During these hard economic times, some children, such as the one boy on the right in Figure 5-33, did not have appropriate clothes for formal events; school uniforms were considered his best clothes, and were suitable for formal occasions. The girl on the left wore a short Japanese robe but no shoes. These visual signs tell us how the bride built her bridal identity and how the countryside family supported the newlyweds during
wartime. This family was not the poorest because the poorest families even could not afford to take a photograph.

**The Blurred Wedding Photograph**

After Henry graduated from the primary school, he left home and went to Chang Jung High School, Tainan, for one year of preparatory courses and five years of high school. Henry graduated from Chang Jung High School, joined the Japanese army, and went to Japan in 1944. After World War II, he went back Taiwan. He then went abroad, entering the Hong Kong Government Institute in 1947. After he graduated from the Hong Kong Government Institute in 1950, he went back to Taiwan, and got married in 1951.

Almost every photograph I collected, from 1905 through the 1940s, is of good quality, every detail is clear. But the quality of Henry’s wedding photograph is not as good as I had expected (Figure 5-34). The photograph is more blurred than the ones he had taken of him in his childhood. According to my interpretation, a wedding ceremony was an important occasion, and the photographic technology would have progressed. Why is the photograph so blurred?
Chen: The photograph was a little blurred. What kind film did you use? Was the film quality not so good at that time?

Henry: One kind of aviation film... The Japanese aviation army left this film here while they were withdrawing from Taiwan after World War II. The film was using to detect the war in the high altitude. The film was cut to a small size from a big one. It was not good for getting a clear result. (P3-101506-01)

Chen: It was even worse than that in 1920s.

Henry: In the 1920s, it was formal glass film. Whenever taking a photograph, the photographer had to insert a piece of glass film to the camera at that time. This one (Henry’s wedding photograph) could be regarded as substitute, so the result was not good... The war was over and Japan never produced film anymore. We could not buy any formal film at that time. (P3-101506-01)

After World War II, the Japanese economy was getting worse, since they were defeated and had to recover from ruins of the war. Film was a kind of luxury not
necessary for daily life, so Henry could not buy the same kind quality formal film as he had before. The film was also past the expiration date, so the quality was not good.

**Conclusion**

From these photographs, we can read not only the visual signs, but also the meaning behind the signs. These wedding photographs related technology, the political situation, and socio-economic status deeply. I also found some interesting phenomena in the photographs.

1. Gender separation

   In most of the photographs, the crowd separates unintentionally into two groups: females on one side and males on the other side because traditional Taiwanese culture did not encourage people to openly express their feelings for the opposite sex. A woman and a man were not supposed to have any physical contact in public places.

   This phenomenon of gender separation lasted until decades ago. No girl or boy wanted to sit beside the opposite sex when I was an elementary school student. If someone sat beside a child of the opposite sex, s/he would get lots of derision from her/his classmates.

2. No one is smiling

   Almost all of the people in the photographs were very solemn, without any smiling. Taking a photograph was expensive at that time; a wedding ceremony was a serious event, and the photograph would only be successful if everyone kept a stable pose for the length of the exposure in order to get a clear photograph.
3. The artificial scene

The wedding photographs I collected were all taken in an artificial scene: none were in a natural although some of these are outside, they are still very structured photographs environment. The first row was made up of people in chairs, the newlyweds sat in the middle, and the older family members such as the newlyweds’ parents or grandparents sat by the sides. The newlyweds were in the photograph’s core, so the people with closer relationships to them sat in the closer positions. The second row is comprised of people standing. If they had a third or fourth row, they used to stand on stairs in order for everyone’s face to be seen clearly. When the photograph was taken, everyone faced forward, gazed at the camera lens, and kept a stable pose. The camera’s perspective was on the same level and vantage as the subjects. It was the result of the wedding, and did not show the actual ceremony. It was completely an artificial scene.

Summary

The Changs collected many family photographs, which interweave and reflect social, economic, and aesthetic development in Taiwan. From a web of visual signs we see how people establish their visual cultural identity through the clothing of daily life and wedding dress; we see the process of one culture assimilating dominated culture was accomplished through fashion, a silent visual cultural revolution; we see how economic status influenced wedding dress selection and aesthetic taste. This investigation contributes to our understanding of one specific group’s visual culture and identity. Multicultural phenomena existed between cultural conflicts and cultural connections in
Taiwan several decades ago. The photographs give us opportunities to interpret and reinterpret visual signs and the relationships between several subjects. The visual arts, performing arts, science and technology, and social studies are thus integrated into *Arts and Humanities* field.
From the coding of the interview transcripts, I found education, economic status, and class, were the categories which were the most interrelated. In this chapter, I discuss the relationships between education and economic status, education and cultural diversity, and education and class.

**Education and Economic Status**

Under the Japanese colonial rule, the Japanese built the first public education system in Taiwan. A lot of Taiwanese began to have the opportunity to accept modern elementary education, but not everyone. The colonialist did not encourage the Taiwanese to pursue more than an elementary education. In this domain, I discuss the causes behind who was chosen to have access to more education, and what results or benefits they had from that opportunity.

**Economic Status Was an Educational Condition**

In traditional Taiwanese society, the social classes from high to low were: scholars, farmers, workers, and businessmen (士農工商). Not everyone could be a
scholar, because to train as a scholar was dependent on one’s wisdom and on one’s economic status. Why were businessmen the last? One of the reasons was that businessmen usually used deceitful methods for making money. For that reason, the businessmen were the last class during and before the Ch’ing dynasty.

In the first two decades after the Japanese set up the public school systems, the ratios of Taiwanese pupils to all school-aged children were still very low. Until 1915, the ratios of males were 16.0% and the females were only 2.2% (Tsurumi, 1977; see Table 2-2). Why were the ratios of Taiwanese pupils to all school-aged children so low? Several possible reasons exist. First, ignorant parents could not understand the importance of modern education to a child (Takekoshi, 1907). Second, the common schools were not in every village, so the distance was too far to send a child to a school (Tsurumi, 1977). Third, children were a sort of work force, so they had to help their families labor (P.-F. Chen, 2006). Fourth, some wealthy families worried that their children, especially girls, would be negatively influenced by the outsiders, so they hired tutors to teach their children at home (P3-101406-15). Except for the last reason, all of these reasons were related to a poor economic situation.

The ratios of students to middle school-aged teenagers were far less than those in common schools. Li talked about why some students could not have more education because all children went to work after graduating from common schools if their parents could not afford the necessities (P2-092606-16).

When Henry and I looked at a photograph (Figure 6-1) which showed all high school students wearing neat and tidy uniforms, I wondered why everyone could afford to buy a refined uniform during the colonial wartime.
Henry was on the left of the second row. All his friends in this photograph were his roommates and two year older than Henry was. Henry had the photograph taken to celebrate his friends’ graduation from the high school.

Chen: Was this clothing bought from the school store? Or did the school provide those free for everyone?
Henry: We bought. The school ordered the uniforms in unison, after that the students bought them from the school stores. (P3-101406-12)
Chen: Could anyone not afford to buy the uniform because the family was poor?
Henry: If someone had studied at a middle school, his family would not too bad. His family economic status should be at least upper-middle level. A child from a poor family might be working at that age without any chance to study at a high school. (P3-101406-12)
In sum, from these narratives, we know that economic status was an essential condition for education. Without enough financial support, the desire to go to school would never be actualized. The level of education that one could attain was tied to the economic status of one’s family.

**Education Improving Economic Status**

To receive higher education was the most important condition to belong to a higher social class, as well as a route to earning more money to improve economic status. In other words, education, especially higher education, could change one’s economic status and social status.

Henry talked about the different choices among vocational education and university education for families in different financial situations:

Henry: The main goal of vocational education was that students could get working quickly. If one would not go to work at once, he could study in a high school, and then enter the preparatory classes for higher education. The preparatory courses for higher education were assigned into liberal arts and science; the science could also divide into industrial science and medical science. After one graduated from preparatory school, he used to go to a university. (P3-101406-12)

The length of each stage in the Japanese education system was six years for elementary school, including primary school and common school, five years for high school, three years for university preparatory (高等學校), and three years for university (C.-L. Chen, 1996). After six years of elementary school, one could enter the vocational education system.
Henry: The preparatory course took three years. After a preparatory, one could be promoted to the same university directly... If a student finished the preparatory, and entered to the Tokyo Emperor University, he could be elite, real elite. (P3-101406-12)

The Japanese had eight emperor universities. Six were located in Japan, one was located in Korea, and the other was located in Taiwan, while Korea and Taiwan were both Japanese colonies. The Emperor University in Taipei was the forerunner of the National Taiwan University (C.-L. Chen, 1996). The Tokyo Emperor University was the most famous emperor university at that time, so someone who could study there must be elite and belong to a high social class, as well as be admired and respected by the common people.

*Taipei Emperor University* was the only university in Taiwan during the colonial period. The top Taiwanese students either went abroad, studying in Japan, or stayed in Taiwan, studying in the *Taipei Emperor University*.

Henry: It is named the *Taipei Emperor University*, divided into Arts College, Medical College, and Agricultural College. After one finished the higher education preparatory school, he could apply to a university. Because the higher education preparatory schools were all public, students applied to a university according to his achievement. Someone who was outstanding went to the Tokyo Emperor University or the Kyoto Emperor University. If an outstanding student could not afford the tuition and his daily expenses in a university, he could study in a special vocational higher education. After his graduation, he could work as soon as possible. By studying in the special vocational higher education one could become a technician. (P3-101406-12)

A technician could be a foreman in a factory. Those who graduated from a university could be professional people or a high official, which indicates that education, economic status, and social class were all affected by each other.

A lot of Taiwanese knew that getting more education could improve their economic status, however, for a poor family, to have a common school education was an
extravagant aspiration; to have education more than a common school was almost impossible. Having parents who understood the importance of modern education and supported their children was a condition of gaining more education, but financial ability was the primary limiting factor.

As Lyotard (1984) says: “The ruling class is and will continue to be the class of decision makers” (p. 14). This resulted in a cycle, the higher economic status and social class parents sent their children to get more education, so these children would continue to be the elite in the future. The elite let their children have good education and be elite again in the next generation. The bottom layer of the pyramid usually stayed on the bottom.

**Education and Cultural Diversity**

In the 19th century, in order to absorb Western culture and popularize it in society, the Japanese had to translate a large amount of Western writing and used this to introduce people to Western culture (P.-F. Chen, 2006). In a short time, the Taiwanese met the Japanese culture and Western culture simultaneously and regarded them as modern, progressive, sophisticated, and high-class symbols. Education was a bridge to establish contact among diverse cultural groups, and was a powerful push toward cultural assimilation. These influences and results are obvious in the style of dress people wore.
Impact of Education on Dress Styles

Schools were not only a place to study knowledge, but also a place to meet others from many different cultures. Well-educated people wore primarily Western-style dress, and to a lesser extent, Japanese-style dress. In the photographs, some of the younger Taiwanese wore a sort of Chinese Han-style dress, called a Shanghai-style dress, which were not actually a pure Chinese Han-style of dress. Shanghai-style dresses combined the Chinese and Western styles.

Henry: Someone who had been educated in the Japanese colonial period used to wear Western-style suits. For example, my uncle had studied in a medical school, so he used to wear Western-style suits... The ones who had been educated wearing modern suits. For example, my father (b. 1898), and my mother (b. 1898) wore the modern clothes. (P3-101406-01)

Henry: The photograph was taken in the time of the Japanese colonial period. Women began to wear the Japanese style clothes sometimes. (P3-101406-05)

Chen: Did older ladies wear Han-style clothes during the Japanese colonial period?
Henry: Yes, the older ladies used to wear dark colored Han-style clothes. The younger ones, like my mother, wore Shanghai-style dress and students wore their uniforms. (P3-101406-07)

Henry: Shanghai style dress could be regarded as the Chinese and Western styles combining... It was good-looking with this stand-up collar. (P3-101406-09)

Chen: Did one who had been well-educated wear less of the traditional Han clothes and more of the Western suits?
Henry: Yes, all Western suits. They would certainly wear Western suits! You see that everybody wore suits, all fashionable designs, and every garment was very unique. (P3-101406-14)

Henry: One was a fashionable and upper class lady who would wear a hat; otherwise, the ordinary lady did not wear a hat. (P3-101406-68)

Li: Smoking a pipe looked more stylish at the time... It was very fashionable when taking a walking stick, wearing a Western cap, and wearing a Western long jacket at that time. The fashions came from people who studied abroad in Europe and were passed to Japan, after that it was introduced to Taiwan. (P2-092206-02)
Undoubtedly, education let the Taiwanese come in contact with the outside fashion world, which let them broader their choices for displaying their modern taste. I was wondering how and where they got the high quality Western-style dresses, and who could afford these prices in the colonial period.

Chen: Did your mother and aunt buy the dresses overseas or ask for tailor-made in Taiwan?
Henry: There were several advanced tailor-made clothes shops in Tainan at that time, so they all bought clothes there. It was very expensive! Every piece of clothing was very beautiful. (P3-101406-14)

Chen: Were your clothes bought from a store when you were young? Or did your mother ask a dressmaker to make them for you?
Li: No, our mother did these for us. She learned how to make clothes from the Japanese magazine such as Madam's... (P2-092206-29)
Jo: Madam's Club (the name of magazine). (P1-092206-29)
Li: The kind of magazine was very popular during the Japanese colonial period. (P2-092206-29)
Jo: It was a kind of woman’s magazine. (P1-092206-29)
Li: A woman’s magazine. Our mother made the clothes for us, and later she also made the Japanese style clothes for her grandchildren too. (P2-092206-29)

Some people bought dresses from stores, and others made their own. I remember my mother had told me that her mother used to ask a dressmaker to make dresses for her children several times a year.

Economic status was a condition for deciding how many dresses they could buy or make; education was the catalyst that enabled the Taiwanese to make contact with the foreigners to absorb their fashion culture.

Education influenced dress styles, and dress styles were an obvious symbol showing which class they belonged to. In sum, education and dress were the important methods for distinguishing people from different classes.
Education Shaping Cultural Assimilation

Education offered an opportunity for the Taiwanese to contact people other than Taiwanese, and to absorb different cultures. Most Taiwanese ancestors were from China, but Taiwan is an island isolated from the mainland of China. Travel was much more difficult then, and Taiwan gradually developed a special oceanic culture, distinct from Chinese continental culture, over several centuries.

Although the traditional Han culture still existed in older Taiwanese generations, the new generation, especially those born after the Japanese ruled, accepted the Japanese culture and Western culture easily. Japanese culture and Western culture were regarded as well-educated, so the dominating culture assimilated the Taiwanese in this way. The Taiwanese thought that they should wear Western-style dresses to formal occasions and even wanted to throw out their original dresses because they wanted to please themselves as well as the rulers.

Chen: Was the traditional cheongsam worn less than the other style of clothes in the past?
Henry: The traditional cheongsam was so Chinese Han-style that the Japanese did not like it. For this reason, not too many people wanted to wear it. (P3-101406-66)
Henry: That was around 1938-39. The Taiwanese had been annexed by the Japanese and assimilated into the Japanese. (P3-101406-57)
Henry: Only a Western-style suit fitted in a formal occasion. (P3-101406-37)
Henry: Western-style. The bridegroom must wear suit certainly. (P3-101406-45)

Dress styles in daily life were influenced by outsiders, and the colonists were deeply affected through education. The well-educated Taiwanese knew the Japanese language, and were the communication avenue between the Japanese and the uneducated
Taiwanese. They benefited from knowing both languages by giving their children educational advantages.

Li: My father’s aptitude was enthusiastic. He used to help the poor villagers to convey their opinions to the Japanese. For example, the Japanese officials used to ask him to communicate to the villagers to plant sugarcane. The Japanese officials usually said that whenever they came to our house, they felt they were in Japan. They communicated with my father in Japanese easily without any problem. Certainly, my family had the Japanese taste and style. (P2-092606-04)

Chen: As for your father’s generation, do you know whether he identified with the Japanese culture more?

Li: Yes, he identified the Japanese culture more. We grew up under the Japanese cultural atmosphere and we were educated to be very courteous. Whenever we went back home after school, we met guests in our living room, we had to give our respect to the guests. We had to say “good afternoon,” or “good morning” in Japanese language to the guests. (P2-092606-11)

I was wondering whether the Taiwanese were assimilated spontaneously or by oppression. Did the Taiwanese attitude vary in domains other than dress styles and modern education? I thought about the poster in Figure 4-1 and a parade photograph (Figure 6-2) found from Henry’s album.

Li and Jo were too young to know whether the poster was shown spontaneously or because of oppression. They guessed the poster might have been written by my grandfather spontaneously, but they remember whenever the Japanese won a war; the chief of the village would ask every family to show their pleasure.

Henry is older than Li and Jo. I thought that he might clearly remember more details about the actual Taiwanese attitude.
Chen: Did you have any celebrating parades when Japan defeated China and captured a city from China?

Henry: Yes, we had. The street on the photograph (Figure 6-2) was the street in front of the Douliou Train Station. This was the celebrating parade...If Nan-King, Han-Kou etc., had been captured by Japan, we had to celebrate soon. If Japan had any victory, the civilians should have a parade. We students all had to go out and join the parade. (P3-101406-62)

Chen: Did you parade spontaneously or was it government stipulated?

Henry: No one was spontaneous. All parades were stipulated by the government. (P3-101406-62)

Chen: Did you wear that kind of clothing in the parade spontaneously? Or were you required to wear it by the government?

Henry: We bought it by ourselves. (P3-101406-63)

Chen: By yourselves? Did you express loyalty to Japan?

Henry: That was all that Japanese government required us to do at that time. (P3-101406-63)
For the Taiwanese, they were assimilated into Japanese civilization through fashion, modern schooling, industry, medicine, hygiene, and the improvement of material life spontaneously, but in ethnic assimilation of the spiritual domain, they were still hesitant. This was why the parade would be required by the government, because to celebrate the Japanese victory was to accept that China lost. This conflicted deeply with their original ethnic identity.

**Education and Class Difference**

Although in the modern school system everyone had the opportunity to go to school, two class differences obviously existed. Social justice was influenced by gender and ethnicity.

**Gender Difference**

Girls were considered inferior to boys, as I have mentioned previously. This caused the ratio of female students to school-aged children to be far less than the ratio for males, and females fell into marriage at a young age, without their own career.

**Girls and Education**

In traditional Taiwanese society, the males were the family center. Only the males kept the family line going and the society developing, so it was thought that the males should contact the outside world and be well-educated, if their parents could afford it.
The females would become some other family’s daughters-in-law when they grew up, so it was not necessary to put much investment into them.

Li: My mother had told us that her grandmother’s idea was very old-fashioned because she only allowed the boys to study in middle schools. If a girl wanted to go to the middle school, her grandmother would say: “Do not take a chair to support the other’s butt.” It meant to cultivate a girl was not worth it because the girl would be the other family’s daughter-in-law in the end. (P2-092606-20)

“Do not take a chair to support the other’s butt” (不要拿椅子去墊別人的屁股) was a popular and vulgar metaphor in Taiwan describing their perspective about education for a girl. It made many girls’ regret that they did not have any chance to go to school and get more education to improve their destiny. It was an obvious unfair situation between genders.

**Girls and Marriage**

Most Taiwanese females could not have their own careers after they were married. The first duty of a married woman was to give birth to a boy for her family rather than to own her career. Min is Henry’s wife, who joined in our conversation during the whole interviews process.

Min: If a woman did not give birth to a boy for the family, she would be very shamed and could not lift her head up in the family, as well as in society, at that time. (P4-101406-07)

Min: My father was very serious when disciplining his children. All of us had to obey the rules which my father decided. I liked someone else in my youth, but my father disagreed with my feeling. I was well-behaved and obedient. (P4-101506-10)

Min: I was very obedient, but I felt disequilibrium sometimes. Before I got married, I was a young mistress and doing nothing about domestic chores. After I got married, I had to do every domestic chore. (P4-101506-05)
Min: I got married at the age of 21-year old. It was not young to be married at that time (P4-101506-06). When I turned 20 years old, my father mentioned my marriage, often, and when I heard this from him I used to slip away (P4-101506-08).

Henry: I was there and I was good, so that her father decided she had to marry me. (P3-101506-10)

Min: A woman was so obedient it was easy for others to make decisions for her…I had asked my father whether I could postpone my wedding because I had work and I liked my work. I worked in a bank. (P4-101506-10)

To have a nice marriage was the main goal for a girl, and to have sons was the main accomplishment of her life. Women’s value and destinies were established by others, not by themselves.

**Ethnic Difference**

Besides gender differences, discrimination based on ethnicity was the other unfair phenomenon which existed in Taiwanese society during the colonial period. The Japanese practiced a segregated education when they first ruled Taiwan. The Taiwanese pupils went to common schools, and the Japanese pupils went to primary schools. In 1922, the Japanese revised the segregated education laws and allowed a few Taiwanese pupils whose families were wealthy or whose parents were from high social classes to go to primary schools (P.-F. Chen, 2006). The number was from 1/20 (P.-F. Chen, 2006) to 1/6 (P3-101406-13) in every school.

Li: If a Taiwanese wanted to study in a primary school, his/her parents must be high status in the society. One of my junior high school classmates, a Taiwanese, her father had studied in Japan and contacted the Japanese often, so that she could study at a primary school. Only high social status and rich Taiwanese children could study in a primary school, which was like a noble school. There was not any primary school in Dounan, so I could not go to a primary school. (P2-092606-13)
Henry: Most of the Taiwanese children studied in the common schools while the Japanese children studied in the primary schools at that time. In a primary school, the Japanese children were the majority. Otherwise, the Taiwanese children who were the minority were those whose families were on the top of society, such as wealthy people, Congressmen, or doctors. Because my father had been studying in Japan and he also owned a very large drugstore, he could be regarded as the local strong personage, so that his children could study in the primary school…Taiwanese's planned number was about 1/6 of every class in the primary school…There were about 30 students in a class, so 1/6 of 30 are 5. It meant about 4 or 5 Taiwanese children could be in every class in a primary school. (P3-101406-13)

Henry: The Taiwanese children used to play with the Taiwanese children. Though I study in the primary school, I had played with the Japanese children in my school and I used to play with Taiwanese children often after school…Because I was more special I could play with any children no matter if he was a Japanese child or a Taiwanese child. (P3-101406-24)

For a Taiwanese pupil, a primary school was a noble school. I wondered whether they were discriminated against by the Japanese since they were a minority.

Chen: Did the Japanese respect the local gentry?
Henry: Certainly. If a Taiwanese had been in Japan and came back Taiwan, the Japanese would pay their courteous reception to him specially. (P3-101406-25)

Chen: Had the Japanese racially discriminated the Taiwanese?
Henry: No, the Japanese were very kind. If I told a Japanese person my father’s name, the Japanese were all very kind to me. (P3-101406-25)

Li: When I was very young, my father was not the head of the basic community unit yet, (he usually helped the villagers to communicate to the Japanese). My father and my fourth uncle had the highest academic degrees in the village. They both graduated from a continue-school, which was the same as a middle school. (P2-092606-03)

Both Henry and Li do not feel they were discriminated against by the Japanese.

The reasons might be that their fathers were members of the local gentry and both of them could speak the Japanese language fluently. If they had been from a different group they might have different feelings and opinions about discrimination.
Summary

From this investigation, I found that several relationships between different factors existed in the Japanese colonial period.

1. Economic status was an essential condition for education and education could change one’s economic status and social status. Economic status and education influenced each other deeply.

2. Education influenced dress styles, and dress styles were an obvious symbol showing class. Education and dress were the important methods for distinguishing people from different classes.

3. Education offered an opportunity for the Taiwanese to have contact with people other than Taiwanese, and to absorb different cultures.

4. The Taiwanese were assimilated into Japanese civilization, but they were still hesitant about ethnic or spiritual assimilation. The colonial period was not long enough for them to think of themselves as Japanese.

5. An unfair level of education existed between genders. The first duty of a married woman was to give birth to a boy for her family rather than to advance her own education and career.

6. Educational opportunities based on ethnicity were one unfair phenomenon which existed in Taiwanese society during the colonial period.
Chapter 7

RESEARCH RESULTS AND DISCOVERIES

In this chapter, I discuss my research results and discovery from the research processes and examine the theories described in the literature.

Research Results

From the research process, I found three main results. The first is that photography functioned as a window or mirror for society to see Taiwanese visual cultural roots and cultural diversity. The second is that I found the phenomena of different depths of assimilation. The third is the reflection of the cultural combination and conflicts among the Taiwanese, the Japanese, the Chinese, and the West.

Windows and Mirrors of the Society

To read every photograph in my research material is like opening a window to search through the Taiwanese visual cultural layers. It is also like illuminating a mirror to reflect cultural identity. By reading more photographs, I am able to open more windows and to illuminate more mirrors and reveal the deeper visual cultural roots.
Photography and its Functions

When photography began to be used to Taiwan, most of the Taiwanese were afraid the camera would take out their spirit. Rutter (1923/1995) wrote this description after observing the Taiwanese in the countryside: “they believed that if you took their likeness they came to an early and untimely end” (p. 100). The camera was “too recent an invention for any semi-civilized person to have deeply rooted religious prejudices against it” (pp. 100-101).

Photography was an advanced technology in the late nineteenth century and even in the early half of the twentieth century. A few of the young Taiwanese went abroad to Japan to learn photography; afterwards, they owned studios in Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period. The photographer was as a person whose status lay between that of a scientist and an artist at that time.

Both the Shens and the Changs have plenty of family photographs. Some of the photographs were taken before and during the time Rutter was in Taiwan in the 1920s. Why were they not afraid that the cameras would take their spirits, as in Rutter’s description?

There are three reasons that they did not have this fear. First, they were all well-educated people, so they knew the belief that the photography would take out their spirit was a superstition. Second, they were middle and upper class families, so they had opportunities for contact with advanced technology and could afford it. Third, and the most important reason, was that both families had relatives who owned photography studios, so they had more occasions to take photographs than the common people did.
Li: We had a relative, who was a relative on our grandmother’s side. We called the relative “uncle,” who owned a photography shop, a photograph studio. At that time, to own a photograph studio was a symbol of high-tech and modernity. Whenever we had a party, we invited the photograph studio owner, the photographer, to come to our house to take photographs. (P2-092206-34)

Henry: The photograph studio owner was my uncle…My uncle had studied photography in Japan. (P3-101406-09)

The photographers played the role of visual cultural recorder unwittingly, and revealed the changing of Taiwanese visual culture and who reflected historical cultural identities. These photographs include plenty of visual cultural signs such as manner of dress, gender, cultural identity, economic development, and social structure. Because of their historical background, the Taiwanese people have been subject to many cultural influences, which have combined to form contemporary Taiwanese culture and a unique visual culture. These photographs not only tell a family story, they also contain much information about the complexities of Taiwanese culture—signs of just how multicultural Taiwan was in 1920s-1940s.

The photographs reveal influences from Western, Chinese, and Japanese cultures in the multiple styles of dress chosen by the people in them. A study of the photograph explicates social and economic conditions; it shows how fashion information flowed from one culture to another. It reveals contemporary tastes in fashion, but it also indicates how those fashions were primarily from outside Taiwan. Taiwanese fashion in the 1920s-1940s was a mixed salad—beautiful, harmonious, colorful, and plentiful—but where was the main dish that showed the people’s primary identity?

Taiwanese culture is a hybrid culture, reflecting multiple societies, and creating a new style of visual culture that is not the traditional Chinese, Japanese, or Western
culture. The Taiwanese might not be able or want to pursue orthodox cultural status because they are like the mixed-color metaphor that I discussed in Chapter 2. The more cultures are added, the further the new culture is from the orthodox culture. They accepted the changes more easily than a stable situation. From the never-ending changes, the Taiwanese built their own unique visual cultural identity. The culture mix is a good fit for the multicultural phenomena in Taiwan.

**The Essential Family Cultural Value**

From the two families' photographs and narratives, we have seen that the family structure was serious and obvious: the males dominated the females, the older generation dominated the younger generation, and the first wife dominated the concubine.

1. Male centered

   The photographs and the narratives show the social construction of gender. The male had more legitimacy to keep the family line than the female did. The two families illuminated how the family line was kept when they had no son of their own: they made a special marriage and either the husband married a concubine or they adopted a son. For example, the third generations of the Shens were all girls, so the oldest of the third generation, Lee-Hwa, was asked to have a special marriage, so one of her sons has her last name, to keep Shen family line going; also, the second generation, the two brothers, had concubines to bear their sons. In the Chang family, Jan-Zi had no brother, so her mother adopted a son to keep the family line after Jan-Zi’s father was passed away. These solutions were discussed in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5.
Male-centeredness was the Han people's tradition, handed down from China. It conflicted with some Taiwanese aboriginal cultures because some of them, such as the biggest tribe Ami, were matrilineal societies (S.-S. Wang, 2001). Hence, this made centeredness is evidence that the Han culture impacted the aboriginal culture.

2. Respect for the older generations

In most of the family photographs in my research project, the oldest generation sits in the center of the first row. Placement in the photograph's center reflects one of Taiwan's essential cultural values: respect for the older generations. In a traditional family, the oldest generation had absolute authority and privilege. Respect for older people was a societal norm that well-educated people followed. This is revealed in both families’ photographs.

When the photographs were taken, the oldest generation of the Shen family, Jo and Li’s grandmother, and the Chang family, Henry’s grandmother, were females because they were widows. Their husbands passed away early, so they each became the family authority. They wore the traditional Han style dresses, which were dark in color, and looked solemn, so that they looked older. The older one looked, the more respectable one seemed.

3. Orthodoxy of the first wife

Although to have a concubine was legal during the Japanese colonial period, the first wife had a more orthodox status than a concubine had in a family. In the traditional Taiwanese society, the male used to handle the outside world, and the female conducted affairs inside the family (男主外女主內). When they faced the outside world, the male
had the absolute authority to represent his family. When they closed the door, the female became the family authority after the husband.

A common situation that existed in traditional Taiwanese society occurred when a son born by a concubine. He would be registered under the first wife’s name (P2-092206-27). In other words, the concubine could be regarded as a birth tool. A man might have a concubine for both carnal desire and to insure the family line. A wife tolerated her husband’s concubine because of social custom and because she feared her husband’s authority. To maintain her psychological balance, the first wife used to dominate the concubine. The concubine became inferior in the family, so she used to compete for her husband’s love by using female sexual attraction. Some families were like battle zones, due to the women fighting. If the first wife and the concubine could get along, people used to praise the husband, saying that he conducted the family very well, not because of the females’ cooperation. All accomplishments belonged to the males, and all negative effects were attributed to the females.

The Assimilated Domains

Taiwan was the first colony of Japan and the Japanese wanted Taiwan to be their colonial model, so they treated the Taiwanese better than they did the people in other countries. The older generation of Taiwanese, such as my three main participants, had lived through the colonial period, and used to appreciate the Japanese very much, even though they knew that the Japanese built Taiwan in to a semi-modern society for their own aggrandizement, and not for the sake of the Taiwanese.
It is obvious from their narratives that my participants had been deeply assimilated by the Japanese. For example, most of the time when I finished my interview, my participants invited me to a Japanese-style restaurant. They like Japanese food, they like Japanese commodities, such as fashion and electronic equipment, they like to travel in Japan, and they are proud of their Japanese legacy.

Why were they assimilated, how was the process of assimilation accomplished, and how much were they assimilated? I will answer these questions as part of my research results.

Assimilation can be divided into two layers: the first layer, the surface meaning, is civilization assimilation, and the second layer, the deeper meaning, is ethnic assimilation (P.-F. Chen, 2006). Japan ruled Taiwan for 50 years. The Taiwanese were affected directly by the Japanese for about three generations. The first generation was born during the Ch’ing dynasty and had their adulthood in the Japanese colonial period; the second generation was born and lived most of their lives in the Japanese colonial period; the third generation was born in the Japanese colonial period and had their adulthood in the KMT nationalism period. How deeply the Taiwanese were assimilated corresponds to which generation they belonged to.

I could be regarded as the fourth generation affected indirectly by the Japanese because I was a child of the third generation born after World War II in the KMT nationalist period. I was familiar with the second generation (my grandparents) and the third generations’ (my parents) life styles and language which were their Japanese legacy. Often during my childhood the adults spoke in Japanese when they did not want their children to understand; they spoke the Japanese language with their well-educated friends.
to distinguish their class and to show their collective memory; they made Japanese robes to be their children and grandchildren’s pajamas; they taught their children the simple Japanese songs and language at home; they cut their daughters hair as a Watermelon Rind as they had done in their childhood. This indirect influence from the Japanese helped ease my conversation with my participants because I knew some of their languages and life styles and understood the inside meanings of their narratives. In the other words, we had our understanding during the conversation. Later generations would not have these kinds of cultural understanding.

Why did the Taiwanese assimilate? They had to change their identity in order to assimilate. It was a big challenge to a person to change her/his identity. According to Jo and Li’s narratives, because the Japanese built a safer society in Taiwan than the Ch’ing dynasty did, their grandparents appreciated the improvements that the Japanese made in Taiwan.

Jo and Li’s grandmother was afraid that she might be violated by the Japanese in the beginning, so she married someone as soon as possible. Gradually, she understood the purpose of the Japanese and enjoyed the benefits that the Japanese brought to Taiwan, such as social security and modern living. The people who were born in the Ch’ing dynasty, the first generation in the Japanese colonial period, accepted, enjoyed, and were assimilated by the Japanese on the surface. The first generation born during the Ch’ing dynasty and never were educated in the Japanese-style school, so they might not have spoken the Japanese language nor understood the Japanese culture, but they were affected by the modernization of daily life, and assimilated by the Japanese civilization. It was hard to change their ethnic identity to reach a deeper assimilation because school
education and language were two ways used to carry out cultural recognition. They appreciated and enjoyed the Japanese style life because they felt better than they had before. Jo and Li’s narratives tell about how the Japanese had improved the Taiwanese social security very much.

Jo: Our grandmother was born in the time of the Ch’ing dynasty. (P1-092206-22)
Li: She said that the Japanese government coming to Taiwan and managing Taiwan was a good thing at that time, because the bandits disappeared. (P2-092206-22)

Li: They came out to rob, and then kidnapped the wealthy people…Our grandfather was the target for the bandits to kidnap. He had to hire some bodyguards to protect him. He used to run and hide in the sugarcane farm when he knew the bandits would come… Our grandfather had to flee to the sugarcane farm with his bodyguards and hide in a dark place quickly. (P2-092206-36)

Li: After the Japanese government came to rule Taiwan, those bandits disappeared. (P2-092206-36)

Jo and Li’s grandmother, Bao, was from a scholarly and wealthy family. Bao and her parents maintained a close connection after she married. To stay connected she had to pay expensive terms before security Taiwan got better.

Chen: Did your grandmother identify herself as a Ch’ing dynasty citizen or a Japanese citizen?
Li: In her spirit, she was a Ch’ing dynasty citizen. But in the political society, she would like to think about she was a Japanese citizen because under the Japanese rules, Taiwan became a safe society. (P2-092606-10)

Li: Before the Japanese ruled Taiwan, whenever my grandmother went back to her parents’ home, she had to hire bodyguards to protect her on the way. She went home by a sedan-chair because she could not walk… The roads were not developed, and beside the roads were sugarcane farms. The sugarcanes were very high, and the bandits used to hide in the sugarcane. They were waiting to rob. So everyone who went out had to hire bodyguards for protection. Whenever my grandmother went out it was a big production, and expensive. (P2-092606-10)
Compared with the first generation, the second generation was assimilated more deeply because they were educated in Japanese-style schools, could speak the Japanese language, and even found jobs in the Japanese government.

Li: My father identified himself with the Japanese culture more. We grew up under the Japanese cultural atmosphere and we were educated to be very courteous. (P2-092606-11)

Chen: Were you angry about the different treatment between the Japanese and the Taiwanese, such as educational opportunities?

Li: No, I was not. It might be because we cooperated with the Japanese and also paid attention to the hygiene very much. Except for when Jo took the exam, everything was going well. My father was not the acting official, but he could communicate with the Japanese about whatever he wanted. (P2-092606-19)

The third generation was born during the Japanese colonial period, but they had their adulthood after the Japanese withdrew from Taiwan. They cherish the memory of the modern Japanese lifestyle. If the Japanese had ruled Taiwan for longer than 50 years, the Taiwanese would be more deeply affected. They did assimilate the civilization, but with a longer Japanese rule they would have been ethnically assimilated. In the other words, 50 years of Japanese rule caused civilization assimilation, but it was not enough for ethnic assimilation.

The other main reason that assimilation was not deeper was because there was still an ethnic gap between the Taiwanese and the Japanese and intermarriages were rare. I discussed the ethnic difference causing educational opportunities in Chapter 6. Most Taiwanese were inferior to the Japanese, so it was hard to see ethnic assimilation through intermarriages although “the Japanese and the Taiwanese Intermarriage Law” was in practice in 1933 (Kho, 2002). As I observed, only a few Japanese females married high social status Taiwanese males such as medical doctors, dentists, or professors. I remember my childhood dentist, born around 1920, and was older than my parents,
married a Japanese woman who was cultured and had manners. If a Japanese male married a Taiwanese female, they might move back to the males’ fatherland after World War II when the Japanese withdrew from Taiwan.

**The Cultural Conflicts**

Most Taiwanese enjoyed and appreciated the way that Japan changed Taiwan into a semi-modern society, but in their spiritual domain they still kept their Han identity. When World War II ended, Japan surrendered to the Allies and Taiwan was not a territory of Japan anymore. The Japanese began to withdraw from Taiwan. On one hand, the Taiwanese had accepted the Japanese as part of their society and were reluctant to let them go; on the other hand, the Taiwanese were happy and anticipated a return to their fatherland—the Republic of China (Chou, 2003; Kho, 2002; Lin & Keating, 2005).

Henry joined the Japanese army after he graduated from high school in 1944. In 1945, when World II ended, he was sent back to Taiwan. He met the Chinese soldiers just arriving at Keelung Harbor, in the north of Taiwan, from China. He had a very bad impression of the Chinese soldiers. He was disappointed that the soldiers from his fatherland were dirty, worn-out, and ungracious when they met. The Japanese soldiers had been neat and gracious, so Henry was very conflicted, and his mood was complicated.

Henry: When I came back to Keelung Harbor in Taiwan from Japan after World War II, I saw those Chinese soldiers were so dirty, their clothes looked like worn-out pajamas, and also they carried their clothes, shoes, and cooking pots on umbrellas over their shoulders … At that time, I had a very bad mood. (P3-101406-67)
China was weak since the Ch’ing dynasty and had gone through eight years of World War II, so its national power was feeble. Not only were the soldiers ungracious, but also the officials were corrupt (P.-F. Chen, 2006; Chou, 2003; Z.-C. Lin, 2005; Lin & Keating, 2005; Ong, 2000). Many Taiwanese struggled with the transition. They could not go back to the semi-modern society of the Japanese colonial period, and they could not accept the corrupt Chinese government either (Ong, 2000). Li has the same kind of feelings to the mainlanders. She appreciated the modern Japanese life style and really hated that the Chinese ruled Taiwan in disorder.

Chen: How did you fit into the society when the government changed from the Japanese to the Chinese? Did you have any problems?
Li: I almost could not accept the Chinese when I heard they were coming to Taiwan after World War II. I had a very bad feeling. Someone said the Chinese were like pigs. The government was a pig government because everything was messy…A pig government. Even now, I still want to say “get back to China.” They made Taiwan a messy situation. They were ignorant and did not have any knowledge of hygiene. (P2-092606-12)

Li was so angry when she talked about the mainlanders. She thought that the Chinese put Taiwan back into an undeveloped and even messy situation. The mainlanders who fled from China to Taiwan were from the two ends of the educational spectrum. One was well-educated and had high positions as officials, and the other one was uneducated, on the bottom of society such as low-ranking members of the army or refugees. The high position officials dominated the Taiwanese and the low position people broke down the order of the Taiwanese society.

Li said that in the Japanese colonial period, although some of the Taiwanese were not well-educated, they tried to improve themselves by doing their best. Everyone made a positive attempt at their life.
Li: In the Japanese colonial period, most of the Taiwanese were educated to know words. Although some of villagers could not read, they went to the continuing-education classes at a temple in the evening. Although they could not pronounce the correct Japanese accent, they tried to learn...They were studying seriously and conscientiously in the evening school. (P2-092606-12)

Mandarin replaced the Japanese language as the official language, causing many Taiwanese to lose their positions in the government. This was the other reason that the Taiwanese were unwilling for the mainlanders to rule Taiwan. The Taiwanese changed their official language from Taiwanese to Japanese in 1895. After 50 years, the Taiwanese finally learned Japanese and spoke it fluently, and then they had to change their official language to Chinese in 1945. They could not build on past language fluency, causing breakdowns in culture and communication. Because the official language changed, the Taiwanese found it hard to reach a high position in every occupation. It was unfair to expect the Taiwanese to compete with the high position mainlanders before martial law was lifted. As I mentioned in Chapter 6, education, economy, and social class were influenced by each other.

The Taiwanese were in a dilemma, standing at a crossroads several decades after World War II. The civilizations of the Japanese and the ethnic Chinese were on the two sides. Which assimilation would the Taiwanese want? Some Taiwanese used political parties to express their anger over the long time spent under pressure, and when martial law was lifted, said that they had the right to choose their standpoint. Finally, most Taiwanese choose being uniquely Taiwanese. As Taylor (1994) states, in a democratic society, people become fully human agents, capable of understanding themselves, and hence of defining their identity.
Discovery from the Research Process

Since I came to the Pennsylvania State University in 2003, I have had the opportunity to fulfill my motivation for this research in practice. The research process was full of surprises and difficulty, but I truly enjoyed it. Visual culture study is amazing and full of plentiful visual signs, more than words can describe. The time axis and the space axis weave a complicated historical visual scene. I had to make a painstaking investigation to figure out these multiple meaning. From the research process, I was surprised at the plentiful cultural layers that exist in Taiwan over just several decades. The research process is like playing a game, because it is full of interesting discoveries, adventure, and difficulties; the research process is like the humanities, as full of creation, criticism, continuity, and communication as liberal arts (R. A. Smith, 2006). Only one who has gone through the process can understand it.

Predicament of Language Translation

The most difficult part of this research was that my participants spoke at least three different kinds of languages, and I had to write down words in Chinese and then translate them into English. The culture and circumstance shape the language, so it is sometimes too hard to find an appropriate word to bridge two kinds of language. I could only catch the meanings layered in the interviews and visual signs in that atmosphere of cultural understanding. Other than the language difficulty, there was also existed conflict between language and acts, as R. C. Smith’s (2003) argument shows:
Contemporary thought on narrative is structured by two contradictory ideas: Language is a set of rules that impose categories of knowledge upon speakers, but all performative acts are unique expressions that push against boundaries established by genre, content, or form of expression. (p. 210)

The conversation’s tone, circumstance, and atmosphere as well as body language are too complicated to describe through within language. According to Baxandall’s (1985) theory, language is difficult to use to describe a simultaneous scene. What I describe and interpret in this research is due to my understanding, not the conversation itself.

**Narrative limitation**

I constantly had to triangulate between literature reviews, photographic interpretations, and participant interviews, including documents and artifacts, to figure out the meaning and the multiple Taiwanese visual culture roots by tracing the two families’ photographs.

The human memory is limited and sometimes selective, and participants repeated and emphasized things that those were important to them and skipped things that they did not want to share with others, so I could not count on all of the interview information, although their narratives were full of meanings. I had to check the documents, artifacts, literature, and so on to figure out the circumstances of events or the exact timeline.

Eventually, from the long time process, I have a clearer picture of the two families, and have feedback to offer to the two families. I did not only receive information in a one-way exchange from my participants, but I will also supply some information back to them after my investigation. This is mutually beneficial—the researcher got information from the participant interviews and the participants got feedback, such as a family
chronicle editing, from the researcher. The warm and enthusiastic research process caused the participants to be more willing to share their life stories. The more information the researcher got, the deeper the research is.
Chapter 8

CONCLUSION: REFLECTIONS ON ART EDUCATION

I thought if space is the X axis and time is the Y axis, the coordinates feature of my country, Taiwan, the small island, must be like a piece of quilt which is mystical, beautiful, and dainty. It would show many different colors, different scales, different hues, different textures, different materials, different patterns, and different shapes in a whole piece of quilt and it would be the unique in the world.

Every study in Taiwanese visual culture would contribute a small piece of the quilt and the more studies that are conducted, more pieces of the quilt we can see. In our postmodern era, everyone can contribute her/his piece, little narrative, interpretation, or reinterpretation to the quilt, to make it multiple and colorful. The quilt is unlimited in size, color, scale, hue, texture, material, pattern, and shape because it is a collective art work made by the people who are interested in joining this creative action.

To interpret family photographs is like making a piece of the quilt. The piece is both unique and part of the larger whole of Taiwanese visual culture. It is unique because the family and the photograph exist in a specific space and time. It is part of the larger whole because the photograph and its interpretation is only one small part of the whole quilt. Both of these aspects need to be examined intertextuality. As Wilson and Kao
2003) state “encouraging students to use the texts of others within their own texts is an important aspect of integrated instruction and learning” (p. 6).

This study seeks situated a particular object, a family photograph, within a process of interviews, investigation, interpretation, and analysis in order to understand a neglected aspect of Taiwanese visual culture. This neglected facet has the prospect of adding new content to the Taiwanese visual arts curriculum. Duncum (2004) argues about the importance of family photography: “The historical development of family photography is sketched to help indicate its immense importance in maintaining a sense of self, family life, and social cohesion” (p.2). Family photography is as a part of visual culture could be interpreted, reinterpreted, created, recreated, and learned in art program at Taiwanese schools.

**Boundaries of Arts and Humanities Curriculum**

What are the boundaries of the field of art education? If the form of artworks changes, if the artworld transforms itself, if new theories of art arise, and if there are revolutions in the realm of visual culture, then should art education also change? (Wilson, 2000, p. 25)

One of the purposes of this study is to use its results to reflect on Taiwanese art education. In Taiwan, political authority, the official language, the assimilation of other cultures, and national education standards were constantly changing. How can art education be defined within this shifting a boundary of a nationwide uniform curriculum?

The research results prompt me to ask the questions: how well do the Taiwanese know their culture or cultures? How well do the new generations of Taiwanese students read the signs and connections that reveal the various Taiwanese visual cultures? Should
not the reading of common visual signs from family-, folk-, and other popular cultures
become a part of the *Arts and Humanities* curriculum of every Taiwanese child?

When the arts and the humanities are placed in relationship to one another within
integrated curriculum, we would like to think that there is a visionary connection
of self-knowledge and interests to social, democratic, and humane interests both
shared and desired by humans. (Wilson & Kao, 2003, p. 4)

One way that visual culture provides a connection between the arts and the
humanities is because visual culture includes both the personal and the public, high art
and low art, professional and amateur, individual and society, local and universal, and
spirit and material.

**Various Ways in Teaching Family Photography**

When the Ministry of Education dismissed the centralization of the curriculum
and replaced it with a school-based curriculum 2001, art teachers had more flexibility to
design their own art courses. This is corresponds to global trends as Stankiewicz (2001)
explains:

In the nineteenth century, heroic styles of leadership were expected and the art
curriculum often reflected one person’s vision. By contrast, curriculum
development today is more likely to reflect a shared vision emerging from a group
process. Teachers are less often regarded as passive pawns who will follow
administrative dictates. Art teachers bring individual strengths and interests to
their work; many choose to extend their professional commitment into community
aesthetic values. (p. 128)

In order to apply my research to my teaching and to know how it reflects on art
education, I created a new course named *Old Family Photographs and Taiwanese Visual
Culture* in the Graduate School of Visual Arts at Taipei Municipal University of
Education in the Fall 2006 (see Appendix F) and Spring 2007 semesters. There were 19
students in this class and all of them were elementary school teachers or art teachers. They came to the program to improve their teaching as well as to get their master’s degrees.

The course is designed to meet for three hours every two weeks, nine times a semester, for two semesters. In the beginning, the fall 2006 semester, I asked my students to find one of her/his family’s or extended family’s, historical photographs taken at least 50 years ago. Their assignment was to interview the people who were in the photograph and who might know the photographic background and story.

During the first class I introduced the theories of photographic history, meanings, such as Rosenblum’s (1997) *A world history of photography* and course overview to students. In the second class I discussed Sontag’s (1990) *On photography* and my research to explain how to use qualitative research to interpret a family photograph. In the third I discussed the theories of the small narrative and the grand narrative in the postmodern condition (Lyotard, 1984) and educational reform in Taiwan. The fourth class I discussed Duncum’s (2004) *Family photography* and the art class. After these classes, my students began their interviews. The rest of the classes that first semester had students presenting their family photographs. The interpretation lasted for around 40 minutes for each student.

After every student presentation, we discussed and shared the research processes, results, and suggestions. I asked my students to think about photography’s functions such as evidence, ritual, stage, storyteller, image, history, power, technology, and memory, or any function other than these, and whether they found any connection between their photographs and these functions.
I also asked them whether they increased their understanding of their family. Some of students told me that they had never known their family history so deeply before this study. Some of them told me that in order to do this study; they had a closer talk with their parents or grandparents than they ever had. Some of them told me they had never examined their family’s relationships or emotions before this study. Some of them told me they had never known their parents or grandparents’ aesthetic tastes. Some of them told me they had found out about their parents or grandparents’ accomplishments when they were young.

I asked them whether they increased their knowledge about Taiwan both history and geography. Some of them told me they did not know Taiwanese history during the Japanese colonial period as clearly before they did the literature review and interview. Some of them told me they did not know much about their mother’s hometown. Some of them told me in order to do this study; they went back their hometown which they had not visited for a long time.

I asked them whether they increased their knowledge in school-based Arts and Humanities curriculum. Some of them told me they knew more about how to create and design a school-based Arts and Humanities curriculum in their own teaching after this study. Some of them told me they will create their curricula not only in photographic interpretation but also photographic images making because using a camera is very common among elementary and high school students.

Most students did not have any problem doing the assignment. Only two students, S1 and S2, said they could not find any family photographs taken 50 years ago. I suggested that they look for a photograph from their extended family, friends, teaching
schools, or any other connections. Finally, S1 selected a photograph her friend taken on
the church front for her assignment’s subject. S2 used her parents wedding photograph
taken 40 years ago doing her assignment because the wedding photograph had a profound
meaning for her.

In the second semester, Spring 2007, I focused on art-making based on the
students’ own lives, especially the connections and reflections with their families. I was
surprised that the students accomplished so much, both in their presentations and their
art-making.

Many signs exist in these photographs. When we dig more deeply, we find more
signs within the visual cultural web. Almost everyone has a family photograph—a
portrait that contains a record of the family’s memories, relationships, roots, and history.
Each family portrait is a narrative revealing a private and personal family life. Family
portrait photographs also reveal phenomena that exist between private and public lives—
phenomena that exist in the space between local and national culture. Thus, if we wished
to study Taiwanese society as a whole, then many different families’ portrait photographs
could be combined and interpreted in order to understand common, public, and national
circumstances that were present during the period when the photographs were taken. The
photographs reveal how a personal identity is built—how individuals come to know their
culture and understand with who they are.

In every presentation, I found the connections between the students’ family stories
and the photographic signs. They interwove features of Taiwanese visual culture such as
dress manner, hair style, family relationship, family structure, hygiene, economic status,
religion, gender, and so on. From the photographs my students collected, I saw common
Taiwanese visual culture phenomena. For example, the hair style of pupils. All the boys had a butch cut and all the girls had *Watermelon Rind*; the older females wore the Han style dresses and the younger males wore the western suits; and the oldest generations sat in the center.

Two of my students, S3 and S4, had bicycles showing on photographs, revealing bicycles were a high economic status symbol at the time. They wanted to show off with their family. Another student, S5, had a photograph of her parents-in-law taken in front of the Japanese temple. She interviewed her father-in-law to understand their religious beliefs and rituals in the Japanese colonial period.

One of my students, S6, had a photograph taken in a very special house front. There were eight pillars; her grandfather’s and grandfather’s siblings’ names were carved on each of the pillars. S6 was wondering what her great-grandfather would do if he had more than eight children. The reinforced concrete house had combined the western, Japanese, and Taiwanese styles especially; there were many different kinds of alphabets such as Chinese, English, and Japanese carved on the outside wall for decoration. It was really a hybrid cultural phenomenon.

The more studies we conduct, the more clearly these features emerge. This gives me an idea that I have to create a platform for a Web site in the future. If anyone wants to share her/his family photographs or stories, s/he can display and discuss them in the platform.

This research should be conducted quickly because the generations who went through the Japanese colonial period are getting older and older. Now is the time to lay the groundwork for this research. As a Taiwanese, This is a very interesting responsibility.
In my future research, I will explore the Taiwanese life stories using means other than visual signs by extending my investigation to music and the performing arts. For example, what kind of life did the people in the photograph have, what songs did they sing, what literature did they read, what language did they spoke in the family, what textbooks did they study in school, and what role did they fulfill in society. This content can be the bridge among visual arts, music, and performing arts to make every subject a connection to the *Arts and Humanities* curriculum. As Wilson and Kao (2003) state “The more texts one knows, the more texts one can relate to other texts, and now the more references to other texts that one can detect within a single text, the more knowledge—the more educated—one is” (p.6). These concepts just fit the needs of *Arts and Humanities* curriculum.
References


Corcuff, S. (2005). History textbooks, identity politics, and ethnic introspection in Taiwan: The June 1997 knowing Taiwan textbooks controversy and the question it raised on the various approaches to "Han" identity. In E. Vickers & A. Jones
(Eds.), *History education and national identity in East Asia* (pp. 133-169). New York: Routledge.


Appendix A

IRB Consent Form

Informed Consent Form for Social Science Research
The Pennsylvania State University

Title of Project: Family Photographs, History, and Art Education:
A Web of Taiwanese Visual Cultural Signs

Principal Investigator: Chiu-Jhin Chen
Mailing Address: 207 Arts Cottage, the Pennsylvania State University,
University Park, PA 16802
Email Address: cuc13@psu.edu
Telephone Number: 814-278****, 02-2362**** (Taiwan)

Advisor: Dr. Yvonne Gaudelius
Mailing Address: 115 Arts Building, The Pennsylvania State University,
University Park, PA 16802
Email Address: ymg100@psu.edu
Telephone Number: 814-865-9523

1. Purpose of the Study:
The purpose of this research study is to approach Taiwanese visual culture through a
tracing of Taiwanese visual culture roots, the ways these construct contemporary
Taiwanese identity, and the ways a study of these signs could contribute to Taiwanese
art education curricula.

2. Procedures to be followed:
You will be asked to answer 5 questions on an interview. We will have two
interviews and will be taped and recorded.

3. Benefits:
The potential benefits are to contribute to Taiwanese art education curricula design
and to help Taiwanese people construct their visual cultural identities.

4. Duration/Time:
It will take about 2 hours to complete each interview. You will be interviewed twice.

5. Statement of Confidentiality:
The researcher will have access to the personal identifiers. If the participant gives
permission s/he will be personally identified in the dissertation. If the participant
doesn’t give permission a pseudonym will be used and other personal identified will
not be included.

6. Data Stored:
Audio tapes will be protected in a locked cabinet t researcher’s place. Coding and
analysis of the data and digital photographs will be stored on the researcher’s home
computer with password protection. Transporting data back to USA from Taiwan by researcher’s carried and locked luggage. Raw data recordings will be destroyed 25 years after the study is conducted. The researcher will burn the audio types and delete digital photographs and computer’s data.

7. Right to Ask Questions:
You can ask questions about this research. Contact Chiu-Jhin Chen at 814-278**** (USA), 02-2362**** (Taiwan) with questions. You can also call this number if you have complaints or concerns about this research.

8. Voluntary Participation:
Your decision to be in this research is voluntary. You can stop at any time. You do not have to answer any questions you do not want to answer. Refusal to take part in or withdrawing from this study will involve no penalty or loss of benefits you would receive otherwise.

You must be 18 years of age or older to consent to take part in this research study. If you agree to take part in this research study and the information outlined above, please sign your name and indicate the date below.

You will be given a copy of this signed and dated consent form for your records.

Using Pictures:

________ I agree for family pictures to be used in the research.

________ I DO NOT agree for family pictures to be used in the research.

Using Name:

________ I agree for my name to be used in the research. Please list my name as

____________________________

________ I DO NOT agree for my name to be used in the research.

_______________________________________     _____________________
Participant Signature       Date

_______________________________________  _____________________
Person Obtaining Consent      Date
Chinese Version

Informed Consent Form for Social Science Research

The Pennsylvania State University

研究名稱: Family Photographs, History, and Art Education: A Web of Taiwanese Visual Cultural Signs
家族照片、歷史、藝術教育: 台灣視覺文化符號網絡

研究者: Chiu-Jhin Chen (陳秋瑾)
通信住址: 207 Arts Cottage, the Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA 16802
Email: cu13@psu.edu
電話: 814-278**** (美國), 02-2362**** (台灣)

指導教授: Yvonne Gaudelius 博士
通信住址: 115 Arts Building, the Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA 16802
Email: ymg100@psu.edu
電話: 814-865-9523

1. 研究目的:
本研究企圖透過追尋台灣視覺文化的根源，以建構台灣當代文化認同的途徑，並運用到台灣藝術教育的課程。

2. 研究過程:
在一次的訪談中，有五個問題希望您回答。我們共有兩次訪談，會有錄音記錄。

3. 利益:
這個研究潛藏的利益是希望研究結果能貢獻給台灣藝術教育課程設計，並幫助台灣人建立視覺文化的認同。

4. 訪談時間:
參與者將被訪問兩次，每次大約 2 小時。

5. 文件機密:
只有研究者(陳秋瑾)有權取出相關訪談資料。如果被訪談者答應，將以真實姓名和身份出現在博士論文中。如果被訪談者不願意以真實姓名和身份出現在博士論文中，將以匿名代之。所有訪談的錄音和轉成文字檔都將保存在研究者的個人電腦中，並加以鎖碼保護之。
6. 資料保存:
訪談錄音帶將保存在研究者家中上鎖的櫃子中。資料分析檔案將保存在研究者的個人電腦，需要有密碼才可以閱讀。這些資料將放在小型上鎖手提箱從台灣帶到美國。原始資料將保存 25 年後銷毀，訪談錄音帶和手寫的紀錄焚毀，電腦資料予以刪除。

7. 聯絡人員:
如對本研究有任何疑問，請連絡研究者：陳秋瑾(814-278****美國，或 02-2362****，台灣)。

8. 參與自願者:
您參與此研究的決定為自願的。您可以在任何時間終止，同時，您可以拒絕回答任何您不想回答的問題。

您必須滿 18 歲或大於 18 歲才能同意參與本研究。如果您同意參與本研究並同意上述訊息，請在下方簽名。同意書有兩份，簽名及簽日期後，一份研究者保存，一份給您，請妥善保存您的同意書。

使用照片：

_________ 我同意我家人的照片被使用在這個研究。

_________ 我不同意我家人的照片被使用在這個研究。

使用名字：

_________ 我同意我的名字出現在這個研究。請使用如下的名字 ________________

_________ 我不同意我的名字出現在這個研究。

_________________________________  _____________________
參與者簽名 西曆日期（月/日/年）

_________________________________  _____________________
研究者簽名 西曆日期（月/日/年）
Appendix B

Face-to-Face Interviews

Participant 1, Jo Shen
Participant 2, Li Shen

Participant 3, Henry Chang
Participant 4, Min Ye

Min Ye, Chiu-Jhin Chen, and Henry Chang, 2006
Appendix C

Documents

The Shen family property lists, around 1915

The Chang family registered certificate, around 1919

K. W. Chan’s letters, around 1939
Appendix D

Artifacts

The dowries of Jo’s mother, around 1930

The Changs’ horizontal drugstore sign Ping-Fang-Hall, 1928
Appendix E

Sample of Interview Transcripts

Shen Family
Interview Time: 9:00 a.m. - 12:00 p.m., September 22, 2006.
Place: At the home of Jo in Taipei City, Taiwan
Interviewer - researcher
C: Chen, Chiu-Jhin
Interviewees - participants
P1: Shen, Jo (born in 1932, a younger cousin of interviewer’s mother)
P2: Shen, Li (born in 1934, a younger cousin of interviewer’s mother)
Verification: The Participants, Jo and Li, and Interviewer, Chen, checked the Chinese drafts of the interview together from 10:30 a.m. - 12:00 p.m. at Li’s house on January 17, 2007.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>訪談稿</th>
<th>Interview draft</th>
<th>Coding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C：大老婆肚量很大，照相時還讓小老婆坐旁邊。</td>
<td>The first wife must have been kind and tolerant because she let the concubine sit next to her while taking the photo.</td>
<td>P2-092206-06 Gender Family relationship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2：這個小老婆人很好。</td>
<td>Li: Your grandfather’s concubine treated members of our family very kind.</td>
<td>P2-092206-06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P1：她很好。</td>
<td>P1: She was very fine.</td>
<td>P1-092206-06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2：你阿嬤（大老婆）EQ 很高。跟我媽媽相處也很好，雖然偶有一點計較，但都不是正面的衝突。那個</td>
<td>P2: Your grandmother’s (the first wife) EQ was very good. She was good at getting along with my mother, although sometimes they had a few arguments, but not directly. The concubine treated the family very</td>
<td>P2-092206-06 Gender Family relationship Class</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Looking at the family photograph taken in 1938 again.
| 小老婆待人也很好，
我突然記不得她的名字，她是從酒家來的。 | kindly as well. Suddenly I cannot remember her name. She was a bar girl before she married your grandfather |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C：她是不是藝妓？小老婆長得很書卷氣很秀氣。</td>
<td>C: Was she a geisha? The concubine looks cultured and beautiful.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2：可惜她沒生小孩。</td>
<td>P2: It was a pity because she had no children. It was too bad that she did not give any children to your grandfather.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C：這個小女傭代娜（阿強之母）是你媽媽的陪嫁嗎？</td>
<td>C: Was this maid, Dana (anonymous, John’s mother), your mother's dowry?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P1：不是。她是被當來的，當個幾年後，就要還回他娘家。</td>
<td>P1: No. She was pawned to our family by her father. After a few years, she could return to her parent's home when the indenture came to an end.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2：小女傭的爸爸愛賭博，賭到家徒四壁。我曾去過她家。</td>
<td>P2: Dana’s father liked gambling, and lost all of his property. I had been to her home once.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P1：姑娘家裡只有一個爐子，很可憐。所以她媽媽來探視時，我媽媽就給她一些吃的穿的，她就很開心。</td>
<td>P1: There was only a stove at her home. How pitiable her family was. When Dana’s mother came to our house to visit her, my mother always gave her some food or clothes. Her mother looked very happy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C: 她爸爸就是賭到把女兒拿去當了？</td>
<td>C: Did her father pawn his daughter when he gambled away his money?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2: 是啊，賭輸把女兒拿去抵賭債。</td>
<td>P2: Yes, he gambled and pawned his daughter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C: 她還活著嗎？</td>
<td>C: Is she still alive?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P1: 沒了。</td>
<td>P1: No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2: 以前我曾教她做衣服。她愛漂亮也很聰明。</td>
<td>P2: I had taught Dana to make clothes in the past. She was very bright and liked to be looking beautiful.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2: 她很會唱歌，做事時都在唱日本歌。</td>
<td>P2: She could sing very well. She usually sang Japanese songs while doing house work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P1: 我媽媽那時候讓她去學做頭髮、做衣服。她自己賺一點零用錢。</td>
<td>P1: Our mother gave her free time to learn hair styling, and clothes-making. So that she could save pocket money for herself.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C: 她差你幾歲？</td>
<td>C: How many years were between you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2: 差沒幾歲。</td>
<td>P2: Only several years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P1: 她多我 5 或 6 歲。我當時 6 歲，她好像 11 歲。</td>
<td>P1: She was 5 or 6 years older than I was. When I was 6 years old at that time, she was about 11 years old.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2: 她很會唱歌，做事時都在唱日本歌。</td>
<td>P2: She could sing very well. She usually sang Japanese songs while doing house work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P1: 我媽媽那時候讓她去學做頭髮、做衣服。她自己賺一點零用錢。</td>
<td>P1: Our mother gave her free time to learn hair styling, and clothes-making. So that she could save pocket money for herself.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C: 細傭細傭是怎麼分派的？買的時候就約定好的嗎？</td>
<td>C: How were inside and outside servants assigned? Were they assigned when they were sold?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2: 細傭是專門服侍太太，在她身邊的。粗傭就是做工作的。</td>
<td>P2: The inside servant was meant to specially serve the mistress of the house. The outside servant did the work on the outside of her room.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P1: 所以她們（細傭）會進去房間、燒洗澡水等，如果有綁腳就要幫忙洗腳。</td>
<td>P1: So the inside servant could enter the mistress’s room. She had to boil water for bathing and help the madam to wash her bound feet, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2: 幫忙洗頭髮。</td>
<td>P2: And help the mistress to wash her hair.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P1: 細傭就是煮飯、洗衣服、帶小孩。有時候細傭也會幫忙帶小孩。</td>
<td>P1: The outside servant had to cook, wash clothes, and take care of the children. Sometimes the inside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C: 這是有錢人才能做到。</td>
<td>C: Could only wealthy families afford this?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2: 對。（因為陪嫁的細、粗傭，加上新娘）就多三口人，（夫家）這邊也要養得起。</td>
<td>P2: Yes. After the newlyweds married, the groom had to be able to afford three more people's daily needs, including the bride, the inside servant, and the outside servant.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Interview Time: 2:30 p.m. - 4:30 p.m., September 26, 2006.
Place: At the home of Participant 2 in Taipei City, Taiwan
Interviewer - researcher
C: Chen, Chiu-Jhin
Interviewee - participant
P2: Shen, Li
Verification: The Participants, Jo and Li, and Interviewer Chen checked Chinese drafts of the interview drafts together from 10:30 a.m.-12:00 p.m. on January 17, 2007.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C: 到了你爸爸那一代，是不是比較認同日本文化呢？</th>
<th>C: As for your father’s generation, do you know whether he identified with the Japanese culture more?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P2: 他非常認同（日本文化）。我們都是在那種日本文化的氣氛下長大，我們被教育要很有禮貌。有時候客廳有客人，我們放學回來都從客廳進去再進去房間，都一定要跟客人問好。「今日は」意思是午安，如果在早上，就說「お早よう御座居ます」意思是早安。</td>
<td>P2: Yes. My father identified the Japanese culture more. We grew up under the Japanese cultural atmosphere and we were educated to be very courteous. Whenever we went back home after school, we met guests in our living room, we had to give our respect to the guests. We had to say “good afternoon,” or “good morning” in Japanese language to the guests.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C: 很日本式的生活？</th>
<th>C: Was it totally Japanese-style?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P2: 都日本式的。</td>
<td>P2: Yes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Chang Family**

Interview Times: 10:30 a.m. - 12:30 p.m. and 3:00-5:30 p.m., October 14, 2006.
10:30 a.m. - 12:00 p.m., October 15, 2006.

Place: At the home of Henry Chang, Participant 3 (P3), in Tainan City, Taiwan

Interviewer - researcher
C: Chen, Chiu-Jhin

Interviewees - participants
P3: Chang, Henry K. (born in 1926)
P4: Ye, Min (born in 1932, the wife of Henry Chang)
P5: Chang, Green (born in 1954, the son of Henry Chang, my friend)

Verification: The Participant, Henry, and Interviewer Chen have checked the interview drafts, both in Chinese and English, together at 9:30 a.m.-12:30 p.m. and 3:00-5:30 p.m. on May 22, 2007.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>拜訪稿</th>
<th>Interview draft</th>
<th>Coding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="https://example.com/image" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>Pictures of Henry’s parents were taken after their wedding in 1923.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C:這照片是在相館照的\n還是家裡？</td>
<td>C: Was this photograph taken at a photograph studio or at home?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3:在我媽媽家的院子拍的。</td>
<td>P3: This was taken at the yard in my mother’s childhood home.</td>
<td>P3-101406-02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C：背景還有假山。</td>
<td>C: There was a large decorative boulder in the background.</td>
<td>Economic status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3:這是在台南院子拍的。我的雙親在台南結婚後就回來斗六請客。那時候的女人就穿這種衣服。</td>
<td>P3: My parents’ wedding was held in Tainan, my mother’s home town, and after that they went back to Douliou, my father’s home town, to host a reception. The women wore these kinds of clothes at that time.</td>
<td>Fashion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C：你媽媽很有綁腳？</td>
<td>C: Did your mother have bound feet?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3:我媽媽有綁腳。但是後來日本政府禁止台灣人綁腳。我媽媽綁腳綁到要進入小學的時候才放開，所以她的腳比正常的小。</td>
<td>P3: Yes, she did. Later, the Japanese government forbade the Taiwanese to have foot-binding. My mother had foot-binding, and then unbound when she began to go to elementary school. So her feet were smaller than normal ones.</td>
<td>Gender Class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>P3:</strong> The photograph was taken in Tokyo around 1924. Henry’s father was standing, the second from the right.</td>
<td><strong>P3:</strong> The photograph was taken in the time of the Japanese colonial period. Women began to wear the Japanese style clothes sometimes.</td>
<td><strong>P3-101406-05</strong> Fashion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>C:</strong> What organization are people from in the photo?</td>
<td><strong>C:</strong> Could this kind of suit be regarded as a Chinese tunic suit?</td>
<td><strong>P3-101406-05</strong> Fashion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>P3:</strong> This was the time when my father went to Tokyo to study in a university. These men were his classmates at the university, and these women were the classmates' wives, or the female classmates, or members of an association, etc. I do not know for certain if these people were Japanese or Taiwanese. The women wore these Japanese-style clothes, and the men, such as Japanese students, wore either the Japanese robes or suits like the ones that appear in the photo.</td>
<td><strong>P3:</strong> No. Japanese students all wore this kind of suit, named Tsume-eri. Tsume-eri is a stand-up collar.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>P3:</strong> Henry’s aunt’s wedding photograph was taken in Chi-Hou, Kaohsiung in 1931. Henry was the second on the right in the front row.</td>
<td><strong>C:</strong> This photograph is preserved very well.</td>
<td><strong>P3-101406-07</strong> Heritage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C: 我阿姨和姨丈結婚時拍的照片，非常珍貴。</td>
<td>wedding. It is very precious.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C: 結婚照片。</td>
<td>C: A wedding photograph.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3: 旗后(津)是高雄旁邊的小島，要從高雄搭船過去，有時候還會暈船。我姨丈當時是唸 University of Pennsylvania 的Wharton School，還真不是普通的唷。我爸爸在這邊，我當時是在睡覺時被叫起來拍照的，情緒不好，一臉睡相，穿著拖鞋，水兵衣服。天氣冷冷的。</td>
<td>P3: Chi-Hou was an island beside Kaohsiung City; you had to take a ship to go over from Kaohsiung. Sometimes I was seasick. My aunt’s husband was studying in the Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania, USA, before they were married. My god, he was not an ordinary person at that time. I was sleeping before the photograph was taken. I was awakened to take the photograph so that I felt bad and looked sleepy. I wore sailor's clothes and slippers. I remember the weather was cold.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C: 這是水手服。</td>
<td>C: This is a sailor suit.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3: (指著照片上的人)後來女人都穿這種衣服。</td>
<td>P3: (Pointing to the people on the photo) The women all wore these kinds of clothes.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C: 年紀比較大的人穿這種衣服嗎？</td>
<td>C: Did older ladies wear Han-style clothes during the Japanese colonial period?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3: 比較大的都穿這種黑色彩的漢服。如果比較年輕的，像是我媽媽穿這個什麼式的我不知道，學生則是穿這種衣服。</td>
<td>P3: Yes, the older ladies used to wear dark colored Han-style clothes. The younger ones, like my mother, wore Shanghai-style dress and students wore their uniforms.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C: 學生穿制服？</td>
<td>C: Why did students wear uniforms to a wedding ceremony?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3: 小學生穿制服，如果再大一點就穿西裝。</td>
<td>P3: The pupils used to wear uniforms, and as they got older they started wearing western suits.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C: 男生穿西裝。</td>
<td>C: Yes.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C: 這兩個穿和服的是花童嗎？</td>
<td>C: Who were the two girls wearing kimonos and holding flowers?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3: 花童是我親戚的女兒</td>
<td>P3: I do not know who the flower girls were.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C:</td>
<td>原文</td>
<td>P3:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C:</td>
<td>兒，我不太記得是誰了，當時我年紀太小了。這個比我大，可能是我的表姊。</td>
<td>were. They might be my relative's daughters. I was too young to remember at that time. They were older than I was. They might be my cousins.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3:</td>
<td>她沒有綁腳。</td>
<td>She had no foot-binding.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C:</td>
<td>沒有綁腳</td>
<td>Oh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3:</td>
<td>我阿姨小時候她媽媽要幫她綁腳，她說她不要。我媽媽比較聽話，所以有綁腳。</td>
<td>My aunt did not obey her mother and avoided foot-binding when she was young. My mother was more obedient, so she had foot-binding.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C:</td>
<td>她們兩個差幾歲？</td>
<td>How many years apart were your mother and your aunt?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3:</td>
<td>好像是三歲。</td>
<td>It seems like three years part.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C:</td>
<td>那時候他們真時髦，你看這鞋子。</td>
<td>They were very fashionable at that time, you see the shoes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3:</td>
<td>這照片在旗後，我姨丈的家拍的。</td>
<td>This photograph was taken in front of my aunt's husband's house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C:</td>
<td>你阿姨結婚的時候，你是幾歲？</td>
<td>How old were you when your aunt got married?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3:</td>
<td>那時候我上幼稚園，大約四、五歲。</td>
<td>I went to kindergarten when my aunt got married. I was about four or five years old at that time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C:</td>
<td>你是什麼時候生的？</td>
<td>When were you born?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3:</td>
<td>我 1926 年生的。</td>
<td>I was born in 1926.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3:</td>
<td>這是真正的洋裝。</td>
<td>This is a real western-style wedding dress that the bride wore.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C:</td>
<td>那個時候這種洋裝很先進。</td>
<td>This kind of western-style dress was a very advanced look at that time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3:</td>
<td>因為他們是留學生的關係。</td>
<td>Because they had been abroad to study.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix F

My Teaching Syllabus

Graduate School of Visual Arts
Taipei Municipal University of Education

Special Topics: Old Family Photographs and Taiwanese Visual Culture—I
Fall 2006/ 1st semester of 2: theory and application
Thursday, every other week, 6:30-9:40 p.m.
305 Arts Building

Instructor: Chiu-Jhin Chen
Office: 411 Arts Building
Phone: (02) 2311-3040 ext. 6903
Email: ccj@tmue.edu.tw
Office Hours: Tuesday, 5:00 – 7:00 p.m. and other times as necessary by appointment.

COURSE DESCRIPTION
Photographs are the common currency of visual communication in the industrialized world. Many people use cameras to record family events or to express personal responses to real and imagined experiences. In this course, we will examine old family photographs to trace Taiwanese visual cultural roots. During the semester we will be exploring a range of questions, including:

- What are the functions and visual cultural signs of photography?
- Can we learn Taiwanese visual cultural characteristics through old family photographs? How?
• What are the differences between teaching art in the past and teaching visual arts in the present *Arts and Humanities* curriculum?

• What might the in-depth, multifaceted interpretation of these special forms of visual culture contribute to the content of the elementary and junior high school *Arts and Humanities* curriculum?

**COURSE GOALS**

In this course, students will develop and conduct their own family photographic research projects. Each student will find one of her/his family’s or extended family’s historical photograph taken at least 50 years ago. The student will then interview the people who are in the photograph and who might know its background and story. Students will present their research project in class and write a final paper.

Goals for student learning include:

• Applying methods of qualitative cultural study by defining research questions, using primary and secondary sources, and finding the deep visual cultural meanings from a literature review, photographic interpretations, and interviews, as well as documents and artifacts.

• Developing abilities to design a school-based little narrative and relating life experiences to the *Arts and Humanities* curriculum.

**COURSE REQUIREMENTS**

This course has four major components: (1) every student has to read the assigned readings, respond to classmates’ presentations, and participate in class discussion; (2) every student has to write a 1-2 page proposal for the research paper/project; (3) every student has to present her/his research project in a 30 minute lecture and a 10 minute question and answer period in class; (4) every student has to write a 15-20 page final paper about the research project.
READING


COURSE CALENDAR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Reading and Discussion</th>
<th>Presentation</th>
<th>Assignments, etc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 9/28/06</td>
<td>Duncum, <em>Family photography and the art class</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 10/12/06</td>
<td>Sontag, <em>On photography</em></td>
<td>Instructor presents qualitative photographic research project</td>
<td>Sign up for presentation day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 10/26/06</td>
<td>Lyotard, <em>The postmodern condition: A report on knowledge</em>. pp. 11-38</td>
<td></td>
<td>1-2 page research proposals due</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 11/9/06</td>
<td>Duncum, <em>Family photography and the art class</em></td>
<td>3 students presenting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 11/23/06</td>
<td>Literature review of student’s project</td>
<td>4 students presenting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 12/7/06</td>
<td>Literature review of student’s project</td>
<td>4 students presenting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 12/21/06</td>
<td>Literature review of student’s project</td>
<td>4 students presenting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 1/4/07</td>
<td>Literature review of student’s project</td>
<td>4 students presenting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 1/18/07</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Discussion and review Final paper due</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
GRADING

Assignments will be given points toward the final grade as follows:

1. Discussing the weekly readings and responding to classmates’ presentations 30 points
2. Written proposal for photographic research project (due Oct. 26, 2006) 10 points
3. Oral presentation of research project (30 minutes presenting, 10 minutes discussing) 30 points
4. Final research paper (due Jan. 18, 2007) 30 points
### Appendix G

**Time Line of Taiwanese History, Arts, and Education**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Western Year</th>
<th>Chinese Year</th>
<th>Japanese Year</th>
<th>History</th>
<th>Arts and Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4,000 B.C.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Aborigines live in Taiwan.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1100-1200</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-A few Han (Chinese) begin to immigrate to Taiwan.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1590s</td>
<td></td>
<td>2250s</td>
<td>-A Dutch navigator, Jan Huygen van Linschoten, passes by the island (Taiwan) on a Portuguese ship and calls it <em>Ilha Formosa</em>—beautiful island.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1624-1662</td>
<td></td>
<td>2284-2322</td>
<td>-Under the rule of the <em>Dutch East India Company</em>, Taiwan becomes an important entrepot in Holland’s worldwide trading network. Many Han people begin to immigrate into Taiwan from China.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1629</td>
<td></td>
<td>2289</td>
<td>-Fort <em>San Domingo</em> is built by the Spanish in Tanshui, a harbor in the north of Taiwan. Later, the Dutch invaded it and the fort becomes known as the <em>Red-Hair Fort</em>.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1662-1683</td>
<td></td>
<td>2322-2343</td>
<td>-Koxinga (<em>國姓爺鄭成功</em>) period.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1665</td>
<td></td>
<td>2325</td>
<td>-The <em>Confucian Temple</em>, known as “first among Taiwanese schools” is built in Tainan, the capital of Taiwan in the <em>Koxinga</em> period.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1684</td>
<td></td>
<td>2344</td>
<td>-Taiwan becomes a territory of the <em>Ch’ing Dynasty</em>.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1684-1895</td>
<td></td>
<td>2344-2555</td>
<td>-<em>Ch’ing dynasty</em>.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td></td>
<td>2513</td>
<td>-The <em>Lin Family Mansion and Garden</em> is built in Taipei County.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td></td>
<td>2545</td>
<td>-Chang Jung High School (<em>長榮中學</em>) is founded in Tainan by the British Presbyterian Church.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Era</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>光緒 20</td>
<td>2554</td>
<td>-Sino-Japanese War starts.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>光緒 21</td>
<td>2555</td>
<td>-Taiwan is ceded to Japan by the Treaty of Shimonoseki (馬關條約). -Sukenori Kabayama (樺山資紀) is the first Governor General in Taiwan. Taiwan enters into the Japanese colonial period (1895-1945). -Taipei is the capital during the Japanese colonial period.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>光緒 22</td>
<td>2556</td>
<td>-The Japanese government announces Six-Three Law in order to give Taiwan’s Governor General the authority to make it own laws in Taiwan.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>光緒 23</td>
<td>2557</td>
<td>-May 8 is the last date for the Taiwanese to choose their nationality.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>光緒 24</td>
<td>2558</td>
<td>-Taiwan Bank is opened.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>光緒 25</td>
<td>2559</td>
<td>-A Taiwanese doctor, Yu-Jei Huang (黃玉階), organizes the Taipei Natural Foot Association to do propaganda for unbound feet. -The Refined Sugar Company is founded.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>光緒 26</td>
<td>2560</td>
<td>-A Taiwanese doctor, Yu-Jei Huang (黃玉階), organizes the Taipei Natural Foot Association to do propaganda for unbound feet. -The Refired Sugar Company is founded.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>光緒 28</td>
<td>2562</td>
<td>-When the Japanese Language School in Taipei begins teacher training programs for the Taiwanese, the normal schools in Taipei and Taichung are closed.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Period</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Period</td>
<td>Event Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1904 | 光緒 30 | 1904 | 明治 37 | - The normal school in Tainan is closed.  
- Manual Arts becomes an optional course in common schools. |
| 1905 | 光緒 31 | 1905 | 明治 38 | - The first time census is conducted. The population is approximately 3 million, 10 thousand.  
- There are approximately 800 thousand women with bound feet, which is 56.9% of the Taiwanese women.  
- Language institutes are discontinued and the students transfer to common schools. |
| 1908 | 光緒 34 | 1908 | 明治 41 | - The lengthwise railroad, from Keelung (基隆) to Kaohsiung (高雄), in the west of Taiwan becomes operational. |
| 1912 | 民國 1 | 1912 | 大正 1 | - The Republic of China is established. |
| 1914 | 民國 3 | 1914 | 大正 3 | - The Assimilation Movement Association is established by the Japanese and the Taiwanese gentry.  
- World War I begins.  
- Tanshui High School is founded by the Canada Presbyterian Church.  
- Barbarian Common School Rules are enacted. |
| 1915 | 民國 4 | 1915 | 大正 4 | - Foot-binding is completely abolished in Taiwan. |
| 1916 | 民國 5 | 1916 | 大正 5 | - Taiwan’s oldest female educational institution, Tanshui Girls School, is founded. |
| 1921 | 民國 10 | 1921 | 大正 10 | - The Taiwan Cultural Association is established.  
- Painting becomes a required course in common schools. |
| 1922 | 民國 11 | 1922 | 大正 11 | - New Taiwan Education Instruction is announced. It decrees that the Japanese and the Taiwanese receive the same instruction and lifts segregated education. |
| 1927 | 民國 16 | 1927 | 昭和 2 | - The first Taiwan Art Exhibition is launched. |
| 1933 | 民國 22 | 1933 | 昭和 8 | - The Japanese and the Taiwanese Intermarriage Law is created in Taiwan. |
| 1934 | 民國 23 | 1934 | 昭和 9 | - The first Taiwanese art association, Tai-Yang Art Association, is founded. |
| 1937 | 民國 26 | 1937 | 昭和 12 | - Sino-Japanese War is started.  
- The government abolishes Chinese columns appearing in any newspaper in Taiwan.  
- The National Language Movement (國語家庭) changing the language at home begins in Taipei; the rest of
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th></th>
<th>The island follows.</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>民國 27 2598 昭和 13</td>
<td>- The National General Mobilization Law is created in Taiwan.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>民國 28 2599 昭和 14</td>
<td>- Governor General Kobayashi Seizo announces Kominka Movement (Imperialization movement 昭和十二年, Industrialization, and South Strategy policies in Taiwan.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>民國 29 2600 昭和 15</td>
<td>- Name-changing Movement (改姓名, changing to the Japanese surname) is begun.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>民國 30 2601 昭和 16</td>
<td>- The Japanese armies attack the USA at Pearl Harbor.</td>
<td>- Common schools and primary schools are merged, creating elementary schools.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>民國 31 2602 昭和 17</td>
<td>- The first of the Taiwanese volunteers join the Japanese army.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>民國 32 2603 昭和 18</td>
<td>- China (ROC), USA, and Britain sign Cairo Declaration.</td>
<td>- 6 years of education becomes compulsory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>民國 34 2604 昭和 20</td>
<td>- The US Air Force drops two Atomic bombs in Japan.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>民國 35 2605 昭和 21</td>
<td>- Japan surrenders to the Allies, so Taiwan becomes part of the ROC.</td>
<td>- Taiwan enters to the Nationalist period.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>民國 36 2606 昭和 22</td>
<td>- The ROC Chief Executive of Taiwan abolishes Japanese columns appearing in any newspaper in Taiwan.</td>
<td>- The school systems change from the Japanese language to Mandarin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>民國 37 2607 昭和 23</td>
<td>- 2-28 Incident happens between the mainlanders and the Taiwanese in Taiwan.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>民國 38 2608 昭和 24</td>
<td>- The temporary law Mobilization of Suppressing Rebellion is created in Taiwan.</td>
<td>- The first Art major in Taiwan, Department of Arts at National Taiwan Normal University is founded.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- ROC loses the civil war with the Communists, and nearly 2 million refugees immigrate into Taiwan from China.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Martial Law is established.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Land Reform: Farm Land 37.5% Rent Reduction (三七五減租) is begun.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- To fulfill Finance Reform one New Taiwanese dollar changes to four</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>297 thousand Old Taiwanese dollars.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>Korean War is started.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>Legislative Yuan passes the law of Sale of Public Lands (公地放領).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>The government prohibits the Japanese and the Taiwanese languages teaching.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>Land-to-the-Tiller (耕者有其田) is created.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>The first art college, National College of Arts is founded in Taipei County.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>The national standard of art education curriculum in compulsory education is revised.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Department of Fine Art at Chinese Culture University is founded.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Department of Arts at National Taiwan Normal University changes its name to Department of Fine Arts.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>Compulsory education is extended from 6 years to 9 years. The national standard of art education curriculum in compulsory education is revised.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>ROC withdraws from the United Nations.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>Chiang Kai-Shek dies. He was President for 27 years. The national standard of art education curriculum in compulsory education is revised.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Chiang Ching-Kuo (1910-1988, 蔣經國) becomes the President.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>National Institute of the Arts is founded in Taipei.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>Department of Fine Arts at Tunghai University is founded. Taipei Fine Art Museum is opened.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Democratic Progressive Party (DPP, 民進黨) is founded.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Martial law is lifted. Taiwan enters in to a Democratic Period. Mainlanders are allowed to visit their relatives in mainland China. Department of Art Education at National Hsinchu Teachers College is founded.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>Chiang Ching-Kuo dies.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Year of Republic of China</td>
<td>Year of Japanese Govenrment</td>
<td>Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>民國78 2649 平成1</td>
<td>-Department of Art Education at Taipei Municipal Teachers College is founded.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>民國79 2650 平成2</td>
<td>-Lee Teng-Hui (1923- , 李登輝) becomes the President.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>民國80 2651 平成3</td>
<td>-Lee Teng-Hui announces the lifting of Mobilization of Suppressing Rebellion.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>民國82 2653 平成5</td>
<td>-New Party (新黨) is founded.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>民國85 2656 平成8</td>
<td>-Lee Teng-Hui, a native Taiwanese man born in the Japanese colonial period, becomes the first President elected by the common people. -The Council of Indigenous People (原住民委員會) is established.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>民國89 2660 平成12</td>
<td>-Chen Shui-Bian (陳水扁), a native Taiwanese, becomes the President. -People First Party (親民黨) is founded.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>民國90 2661 平成13</td>
<td>-Nine-year-integration Curriculum is implemented in grades 1-9. -National College of Arts changes its name to National Taiwan University of Arts. -National Institute of the Arts changes its name to Taipei National University of the Arts.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>民國94 2665 平成17</td>
<td>-Taipei Municipal Teachers College changes its name to Taipei Municipal University of Education.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>民國96 2667 平成19</td>
<td>-Department of Art Education at Taipei Municipal University of Education changes its name to Department of Visual Arts.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
VITA

Chiu-Jhin Chen

Education
Ph.D. in Art Education, the Pennsylvania State University, University Park, 2007.
M. A. in Art, National Taiwan Normal University, Taipei, Taiwan, 1983.
B. A. in Art, National Taiwan Normal University, Taipei, Taiwan, 1979.

Professional Experience
Professor, *Taipei Municipal University of Education* (The previous name was *Taipei Municipal Teachers College*), Taiwan, 1992- present.
Chairperson of Department of Art Education & Director of Graduate School of Visual Arts, *Taipei Municipal Teachers College*, Taiwan, February 1998- July 2003.
Associate Professor, *Taipei Municipal Teachers College*, Taiwan, 1988-92.

Publications

Art Exhibitions