Identity Formation in Taiwan: Researching History Textbooks in High School (2000-2010)

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Teenage is the crucial period for forming national identity; during this time, education from school is a decisive factor of shaping one’s national identity, especially to those high school students. Therefore, it is worth exploring the evolution of high school history textbook in Taiwan and its implications for national identity. As high school history textbooks witnessed numerous changes during the first decade of the 21st century, the following text aims to discuss the identity formation correlated with the reform among high school history textbooks in the corresponding period.

Keywords: Taiwan, identity formation, high school, history textbooks

Dating back to the background of high school history education in Taiwan, great changes have happened in the last decade. When Kuomintang (KMT) retreated to Taiwan in 1949, high schools in Taiwan adopted the history course standard in Nanjing which promulgated in 1948 and had been used for nearly 50 years. It was until the year of 1996 that big change happened to the senior high school history education in Taiwan, since the power to edit teaching material was open to public. The teaching syllabus ultimately changed from timeline to topics, the content of history textbooks contains National History, World History, Chinese Cultural History, and World Cultural History, and meanwhile the class hours were much shorter than before. The year of 2000 was a quite crucial timing since Taiwan experienced alternation of ruling parties, which resulted in big changes of history textbook onwards, and that is the mainspring of our research project as well. Then in 2003, as junior high school added Taiwan history as a new division of the course, high school soon changed the teaching materials again. One significant modification is Chinese history after Ming Dynasty was put in the world history, verified the so-called desinicization raised by Democratic Progressive Party (DPP). In 2004, teaching syllabus changed again and became more controversial (e.g., regard National Father Sun Yet-sen as a foreigner). After Ma Ying-jeou took in charge of Taiwan in 2009, he showed a determination of eliminating the desinicization content, however there is no effective outcome yet.

Concerning the concept of identity, it is of great significance for both individuals and countries. As an identity it defines who we are and who they are, and thus explains individuals and countries’ behavior. National identities are constituted through two basic means: current interactions between countries, and the narratives that nations tell about their history (Gries, 2004, Chapters 2-3); here we focus on the latter one. From the perspective of individuals, teenage is the crucial period for forming national identity. During this time, education from school is a decisive factor of shaping one’s national identity, especially to those high school...
students. Since youth in high school become more mature, what they learn from school might formulate his or her value towards the world. Therefore, it is worth exploring the evolution of Taiwan’s high school history textbook and its implications for national identity. The significances of this issue are as followed. First, in exploring how Taiwanese narrate history in high schools, as being aware of regime’s imbuing, we are able to remove political interference, and comprehend our history more soberly and objectively. Second, it promotes people-to-people interactions, especially for the youth. Providing with more understanding, it makes their exchanges smoother. Third, in dealing with cross-strait relations, the project helps explain behaviors on mainland, as well as Taiwan side, which facilitates social and cultural exchanges and peaceful development of cross-strait relations.

In general, the research is based on the following four questions: Firstly, how do the Taiwan’s high school history textbooks evolve and reform? Moreover, what are the differences among these great quantities of versions? In addition, why those differences have been raised? Finally, what are the effects of different versions? On the basis of varieties of existing literature as well as experiencing the field trip in Taiwan, the ultimate goal of this research is to clarify the evolution of senior high school history textbooks in Taiwan and explore its impact on the identity formation of people in Taiwan.

**Literature Review**

To have a more integrated view of the field we explore, literature reviews regarding the theory of national identity, pedagogy, close reading, iconology, and the evolution of Taiwan history education.

**National Identity**

Above all, in terms of national identity, the book named *Essays in Historical Science and National Consciousness* covers several essays about the history research in Taiwan, and illustrates the importance of the construction of history in generating the identity. The main argument was that the essential prerequisite of a common fate community is the common historical experience shared by people living in the same region, which could contribute to the national awareness.

And because the history education carried out by the government inevitably holds the political color, the history education related to the political realm deserves our attention. *The Missing Link: Exploring the Relationship Between Higher Education and Political Engagement* (Hillygus, 2005) suggests that the curriculum is influential in shaping political participation, behavior, and preferences. *Taiwan Consciousness in the Course of the Evolution of the Development of Taiwan Youth National Identity* (Dong, 2009) claims that the current Taiwan young people have a strong sense of the Republic of China rather than the Chinese nation, which could be attributed to the history education of eliminating Chinese characteristics.

Besides, Chen Yujun’s book *Who We Are & What Is Taiwan: Past, Present and Future of Taiwan* leads us to acknowledge the history and identity of Taiwanese from the perspective of their own. Little historical difference could be found in this work before Japanese’s occupancy compared with the history textbook used by senior high schools in mainland China (2006, p. 56). However, after few historical facts of Taiwan are mentioned in mainland’s history textbook, Chen depicts the history of Taiwan after the establishment of PRC specifically, meanwhile analyzing the formation of identity in Taiwanese eyes—a citizen of ROC, a Chinese, as well as a Taiwanese, corresponding to the identification of state, nation, and geography relatively.
Pedagogy

On the standpoint of pedagogy, some theoretical works have also been read in order to get access to a more profound look concerning our research project. Based on the experience as well as problems exist among secondary school educational practice in America, Kenneth D. Moore in his book *Middle and Secondary School Instructional Methods* intends to find the most effective way on how to become an excellent middle school teachers from theory and practice level as well. The author focuses on the preparation work, including the setting of teaching targets, plans, strategies, the utilization of multimedia and new technique, teaching methodology and assessment, and meanwhile reminds teachers of skills and problems supposed to be paid attention to. It seems that the education theory concluded by the author is not that typical since the book only takes the situation of the U.S. into consideration. However, as the writer mentioned at the end of the book, he tries to summarize a universal discipline that could be widely used not only in America (1998, p. 560); the cases and specific teaching method list in the book are worth referring to, especially contributing great value in decreasing blindness during the process of schooling.

In Xu Taiyang’s thesis “Research on the Creative Classroom History Teaching in High Schools” (2003), the author explores how to realize both creative classroom teaching and probes the characters of creative students in details. Seven approaches have been summarized through the practice: efficient lesson preparations, motivated atmosphere, cultivating students’ creativity by combining typical feature of history teaching and setting the so-called opening questions, introducing high-technique teaching methods as well as new evaluation system into high school history teaching.

Liu Xianguo’s book *The Art of Stimulating Study Interests* highlights the manifest of interests in learning. The book figures out several strategies of how to achieve the target of stirring up students’ desire of learning apart from clarifying the significance, classification, and mode of learning interests. What is more, the last part of the book gives cases analysis on how to put those theories into practice (2004, p. 98), which leads educators, middle school teachers in particular acknowledge the way of motivating students’ study interests as a kind of art. As *interest is the best teacher*, both educators and students would benefit a lot from this work.

History Education in Taiwan

Moreover, the evolution of Taiwan history education in high school has also been explored. Written by Wang Zhongfu, a professor of Taiwan Normal University, the book *Great Change of History Education in Taiwan High School* (2005) explores the changing history of the history education in Taiwan. He gives an outline of the reforms that happened in the last 50 years and studies the functions of history education on building national recognition, the role and characteristics of the high school history textbook and the subjective consciousness in it. What is more, the author compiles numerous interviews and critical articles by public intelligences, which gives a comprehensive understanding about the impact and negative influence of the changes in history textbooks.

Zhu Yu’s article *The Basic Feature and Inspirations of New History Textbook of Senior Middle School in Taiwan* compares six versions of current history textbooks which have been used in Taiwan right now. Considered to be the best among the six versions, the author highlights superiorities of the book published by Longteng Culture Company, the character of which could be summarized as focuses on the description of historical figures, reflects the inspiration of Times, roots in the daily life, and aims at improving students’ capacity of rational thoughts (2002). Liu Xingmin’s essay “History Education and Textbooks Changes of
Primary and Secondary Schools in Taiwan During Post-War Period" (2005) gives a brief review about the history textbooks in Taiwan from 1949-2000, while emphasizes the big change during 2004’s revision. Since the history of Taiwan has become an individual part along with Chinese history and world history.

Close Reading

As for the theory of close reading, the book named Close Reading: The Reader which was edited by Frank Lentricchia and Andrew Dubois (2003) is a selection ranging from the formalist work of the New Critics to the work of later 20th century which paid more attention to the matters in political. The book introduced the term close reading which derives from the New Critics, including their critical practice and close theoretical reading of literature. Precisely, close reading is a term which asked readers to pay close attention to literary texture itself and to explore what is embodied there by noticing a specific use of language in the text like tone, phrase, figure, and so on.

Techniques of Close Reading is a book which teaches students how to utilize multiple techniques to do a close reading. The writer Barry Brummett defined close reading as “mindful, disciplined reading of an object with a view to deeper understanding of its meanings” (2010, p. 28). Further, he explained how to use diverse techniques to encode complex meanings and to tease out implications behind the text, for instance, to explore the detection of form which means the structure, pattern that organizes a text, or the empowerment in the text which is related to a specific historical context.

Iconology

In addition, the concept of iconology is other theory we must refer to since visual analysis is a necessary aspect along with the process of our research. Visual Thinking written by Rudolf Arnheim (1997) is a book explores visual perception as a cognitive activity, to study sensory experience as particular arts. The author thinks that the artistic activity is a way of reasoning, combining perceiving and thinking. He explored the intelligence of perception on vision, senses, shapes, and brightness and studies the function of the images as pictures, symbols, and signs. He also tries to find out what abstraction is, how to extract, and how to think with pure shapes.

Written by W. J. T. Mitchell, Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology clarifies the idea of imagery and the related notions like picturing, imagining, perceiving, and imitating. It studies what is an image and the difference between images and words in terms of nature and convention, space and time. Besides, he studies the rhetoric of iconoclasm, while using the interpretive procedures of ideological analysis to reveal the meaning behind the imagery. He thinks “the notion of ideology is rooted in the concept of imagery, and reenacts the ancient struggles of iconoclasm, idolatry, and fetishism” (1986, p. 4).

Methodology

Pedagogy

As an important subject associated with the topic, pedagogy has formulated an independent and comprehensive discipline including varieties of research paradigms. From the perspective of education methodology, the research methods of qualitative and quantitative, actions, narrative, and case studies are involved in pedagogy area and make the field become a lab experiment of a great number of research measures. According to our literature review, referring to some other theoretical works, three modes of teaching methods have been summarized below: (1) external observer, (2) internal participator, (3) practicing intervener. The
following table shows the similarities and differences among three methods in regards to several aspects, which can be widely used in the teaching process.

Table 1

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<th>Similarities and Differences Between Three Teaching Methods</th>
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For the research mode of external observer, rather than implanting their own values, educators are not supposed to let their objective views, expectations, and consciousness of history alone, so that achieve the goal of realizing universal education. Based on the analysis, meanwhile depending on the technique of analyzing and converting, the essence of knowledge could be transferred to students (Moore, 1998, pp. 150-174). The core concept of this mode considers both knowledge and education world which are totally existing and have been waiting for discovered for a long time; as long as we find out proper methods and techniques, we will find out the law of education itself.

Combining the thinking measures of humanities and philosophy, a paradigm of internal participator has formulated, which can provide students with knowledge both comprehensively and veritibly. It seems quite similarly compared with the paradigm of external observer (Moore, 1998, p. 276). However, the main disparity between the two modes is the reversed research object; in other words, the participator is the observer to some extent.

Neither external observer nor internal participator could entirely get rid of the influence by objective awareness, therefore another paradigm, practicing intervener has showed up (Moore, 1998, p. 341). Form the aspect of this methodology, both listening and communication are necessary; what is more, critical attitude is far more significance. It focuses on the process of building up a constructed world, as well as exploring the changing knowledge world. Since the theory pays more attention to interference, while our knowledge network is updating rather than a static one, during the process of exchanging, individuals get released both from education research and itself.

The Incidents Under Analysis

When it comes to our research, as one of essential purposes is to explore how and to what extent the high school history textbooks influence the youth and give rise to the identity, a systematic content analysis of textbooks’ coverage is a necessary starting point. We collected different versions of history textbooks published in Taiwan since 1996 and analyzed differences of the narration of two specific local incidents between each version qualitatively from the two aspects: (1) themes and texts; (2) photos. Apart from that, combining with the background of each version, we explored what caused those differences to uncover the implication of

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1 Table 1 was made up by the writer.
Because Taiwan has many versions of high school textbooks, high schools choose which version they use by themselves respectively, and they may change the version as time goes on. So far, there is no official data about utilization rate of high school textbooks. Consequently, in order to collect credible data, we selected textbooks published by the biggest textbook publishing house—Nanyi and decided to analyze 228 and Formosa Incident in great detail.

The study took the Taiwan Uprising of February 28 (228 Incident) as an analysis factor because the incident was so important that it represents conflicts between natives and mainlanders in Taiwan, and becomes a deep scar in many Taiwanese hearts. Moreover, the incident later became one of the origins of Taiwanese independence movement. The 228 Incident contains many sensitive issues; therefore how the textbook narrates it shows the government’s attitude toward the incident and reflects official-expressed identity in Taiwan.

The Formosa Incident is another case that supposed to be discussed throughout the paper. As a democracy movement which was suppressed by KMT in Kaohsiung City on December 10th, 1979—the International Human Rights Day. It is the largest protest after the 228 Incident, which has significant influence to the modern history of Taiwan’s development, and has great impact on Taiwan society to step into democracy, freedom, and human rights. It also plays a considerable role in today’s Taiwan politics and even the maintenance of the sovereignty.

The Theory of Closing Reading & Visual Analysis

Narrative fidelity and postmodernism history approach play key role in dealing with the subject as well. The research paid attention to selection of materials, and distinguished the facts and narratives to dig into hidden intentions of the narrators. Regarding textual analysis, we adopted method of close reading and analyzed 228 and Formosa Incident from their background, the course of two events, their legacy and shed light on the setting of chapter and section as well. Apart from that, we moved to the conclusion to sum up the evolution of textbook and its implication for identity.

Since a single language cannot let the students have a comprehensive understanding, visual theories are also applicable in this study. Pictures could help students reshape historical images and reproduce the historical events, have better analysis and understanding, and contribute to the emotional education of students, so as to achieve the purpose of the ideological education and self-awareness. As Thomas Michelle’s Pictorial Turn theory explains, image can render themselves as language, and claim to rethink the relationship between the image and the language from the image and the language itself, to break down the control to the image from the language (2005, pp. 55-58). He pointed out that the image becomes the subject of human science and, of course, this does not mean that image completely replaces the language, but the emphasis that the humanities begins to focus on its icon characteristics (nonverbal features); the purpose was to explain the theme and ideas of the image (Panofsky, 1972, pp. 21-25).

Analysis

According to our analysis, there are four phases of narration in high school textbooks. In accordance with education reform, the Ministry of Education put forward new history curricular guidelines in 1995, 2005, and 2011. Under different curricular guidelines, the narratives of the 228 Incident and Formosa Incident vary. The table below shows time scope for these four phases and their curricular guideline.
Table 2

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<th>Phase</th>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>4</td>
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Our analysis consists of three parts. First, we will illustrate the evolution of high school textbooks in telling the 228 Incident and Formosa Incident respectively, and their differences. Then we will explore the reasons for changes in the textbooks. Finally we will examine the identity which textbooks in high school have reflected.

The Evolution of High School Textbooks and Their Differences

The 228 Incident. In the first phase, there was no content about the 228 Incident. The second phase’s textbooks had a brief introduction of the incident covering about one page. While the third phase had many detailed information and covered about two pages, the last phase only has some slight changes comparing to the former one. As the first phase had no content about the 228 Incident, the following paragraphs will illustrate the next three phases how these textbooks narrate the 228 Incident and their differences.

In regard to setting of chapter and section, from the second phase on, the 228 Incident had an independent title. In the second phase textbooks, it was under Chapter 18 Establishment of Taiwan Experience, Section 1 Recovering Taiwan and the Government Moving to Taiwan. In the third and fourth phase, the 228 Incident was under Chapter 4 Contemporary Taiwan and World, Section 1 From Authoritarian to Democracy.

In terms of the background of the 228 Incident, the second phase textbooks just began with the fact that a Tobacco Monopoly Bureau enforcement team confiscated contraband cigarettes on February 27, 1947 as an immediate cause of the 228 Incident. The background of the incident, for instance, the government’s improper policies, and the background of Taiwan under Japanese rule and Chinese civil war which were setting in the former titles, did not belong to the content of the 228 Incident as an independent title. As for the third phase textbooks, it explained the background in details, including the Governing Council’s improper policies, tough socioeconomic conditions, cultural factors, the influence of Japanese rule and Chinese civil war. As for the fourth phase, its description is almost the same as the third one.

Regarding the course of event, the second phase textbooks only had a general introduction. People presented petitions and security forces fired machine guns at demonstrators. Then the government and civilians tried to negotiate but ended up with bloody repression. The second phase textbooks pointed out that during the repression, Keelung, Chiayi, and Kaohsiung were the places that suffered the most severe casualties. The government then launched Qingxiang Campaign (Cleaning-Up in the Countryside campaign). But the second phase did not explain what Qingxiang was, and only stated that the society was in the atmosphere of terror.

As for the third and fourth phase textbooks, they were more detailed about how the government and civilians negotiated and about Qingxiang Campaign. In order to deal with the incident, public representatives and gentries set up the 228 Committee to communicate with the government. The textbooks used notes to explain Committee’s appeal, which reflected natives’ hope to begin reforms in Taiwan, including formulating

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Table 2 was made up by the writer.
provincial autonomy law, holding direct elections for county and city mayors, guaranteeing more political rights for native Taiwanese. In dealing with the incident, the textbooks revealed that the president of the Governing Council Chen Yi pretended to compromise but actually dispatched the army from mainland China to crackdown the demonstrators. The third phase textbooks used the word *Xuyuweiyi* (meaning courteously but without sincerity), a very negative word to express Chen Yi’s insincere willingness to negotiate with the civilians. However, the fourth phase textbooks only used the word *Anzhong* (meaning secretly and stealthily), a more gentle word. As for repression, the third and fourth phase did not list the places where suffered the most, as the second phase did.

Moreover, the third and fourth textbooks had a note for Qingxiang Campaign that it contained checking registered residence, tracking down and arresting criminals, confiscating the weapons, and dealing with surrender. According to the note, Qingxiang Campaign lasted until May 1947, which led to retaliatory arrest and killing, leaving deep scar to Taiwanese.

What is worth mentioning is that the textbooks from 2009 to 2011 quoted *the Fig* written by Wu Cho-liu, which is an autobiographical fiction. The textbooks cited Wu’s experience during the 228 Incident, which gave a vivid picture of history. However, the latest textbooks under new curricular guideline remove Wu’s work. Another difference between the third phase textbooks and the fourth ones is that the third phase still used Republic of China calendar without annotating Common Era, but the fourth phase directly uses Common Era, and only annotates ROC calendar in brackets.

Regarding the legacy of the 228 Incident, the second phase only had one sentence—the 228 Incident has long time been a taboo, and has profound influence for Taiwan’s political environment and people’s feeling. It did not use words to present official’s attitude and reflection, rather it used pictures. The third and fourth phase textbooks stated explicitly that the incident left Taiwanese agony and fear beyond expression and cast shadow on Taiwan’s ethnic relations. As for the government’s apology and reflection, the textbooks highlighted the role of democratization in facing up to history and wrote that the government established memorial, made an open apology, and compensated for the victims.

Besides the text, pictures alongside also tell how government try to build Taiwan national identity, as “Images have a power in our world undreamed of by the ancient idolaters” (Mitchell, 1986, p. 8). Therefore, the analysis on pictures is also necessary and the attached pictures illustrate the description of the 228 Incident has been changing.

Under the second phase textbooks it explored the 228 Incident specifically and attached three pictures. The first picture is the inscription of the 228 Monument. This monument is the first monument in memory of the victims in the 228 Incident and was built by the public. The inscription recorded how this incident happened. It demanded the decedents to swear to remember this tragic event and forbid such tragedy to happen again.
The second picture is that the government redressed their wrongs. President Li Denghui on behalf of the Kuomintang expressed apology to the public and victims’ family, on the inauguration ceremony of the 228 Monument. Li Denghui looks serious and sincere in the photo, and distinctly expresses government’s attitude to reconcile the conflicts between mainlanders and natives.

The third picture is about the 228 Monument. It is located in the 228 memorial park. The design intention of this monument is very special. It uses simple geometry form to represent the rehabilitation of order. The cubes represent the man-made order. The sphere represents the natural order. The cone comes from the shape of earth kiln, representing country life. The designer hid many symbolic meaning in this monument, who once said the cube is cut from the sphere, meaning the natural order is damaged by human being, and the natural order should be regain by the human power. The combination of the cubes and cones stands for the peaceful relation between the southern Fujianese, the Hakkas, the mainlanders, and the aborigines.
These pictures are all photographs about public and official deeds to commemorate the victims. It shows the government’s effort and resolution to face up to that period of history, and to acknowledge their terrible faults. As the 228 Incident is a collision between mainland officials and local Taiwanese, these photographs show the Kuomintang’s regret and apology for having done the massacre. They also show the government’s recognition of the local Taiwan movement, in turn a way to support the Taiwan local identity.

The pictures used in the third phase textbooks had some changes. The history textbooks between 2006 and 2008 used two pictures. The first picture is the same second picture used in the former phase, which is that Li Denghui expressed the official apology to the victims’ family and the public.

The second picture is a woodcut painting called terrible inspection. It depicts a collision on Twatiutia (Dadaocheng) which led to the 228 Incident. In this painting, the monopoly officers use gun to hit an old woman; other people were hit down and surrendered. They’re terrified, scared, and irritated. The painting is of contrast black and white, expressing a heavy brutal atmosphere. Woodcut painting is a special art form in China. The modern woodcut paintings are promoted by Lu Xun and strongly care about politics and social reality, showing humanistic concerns. This woodcut painting on textbook is drawn by Huang Rongcan who witnessed the 228 Incident and was killed later for his active participation. This painting uses expressionism technique and is very appealing. Using the painting of intense emotion can directly convey the suffering of the victims to the students. When this textbook edition was published, it was the time that Democratic Progressive Party was in charge. To use this picture manifested the government’s intention to support the deeds of the Taiwan local people and promote Taiwan local identity.
The history textbooks from 2009 to 2011 add four more pictures besides the already two pictures from 2006 to 2008. The third and fourth are diagrams about the percentage of Taiwan local officials in Taiwan’s government in 1945 and 1946. In 1945, there were 56% Taiwanese, while in 1946 there were only 22% Taiwanese. The fifth picture is a diagram about the price index variation of the 12 months in 1946. The price doubled more than twice from the beginning to the end. There is also a vivid realistic cartoon which illustrates that price soaring situation. The cartoon tells that a package of rice was first 400 yuan, which soon became 700 yuan and then 1,000 yuan and then 1,500 yuan, finally even 1,800 yuan. Using diagrams can understand the incident’s background more directly and clearly. At this time it is the Kuomintang who held the power and the textbooks continued to reaffirm the Taiwan local people’s revolts. Besides an emotional resonates, this edition paid more attention on the causes of the 228 Incident, which are the price soaring and deficient local Taiwanese officials.
Under the latest textbooks in 2012 there are four pictures about the 228 Incident. This edition preserves the two diagrams about the percentage of Taiwanese officials in government and the photo of Li Denghui’s apology. It replaces the price index variation diagram and the price soaring cartoon with a photocopy of a newspaper report on the price uprising. This report was on 12 Feb. 1947, just 16 days before the 228 Incident. It said the price soars, especially for rice and gold, causing social unrest. The newspaper report is more objective and less vivid. This edition under the charge of Kuomintang appears to focus more on the incident itself rather than to arouse a nationalist sentiment.

**Formosa Incident.** In the Taiwan high school history textbook before 2000, there was no reference to any information about Formosa Incident. However, people began to shed light on this incident in the second phase textbooks. In the 18th chapter named Establishment of Taiwan Experience, the representation of Formosa Incident is under the subheading called Development of Political Party. There is just one sentence describing the incident: “On 10th December the 68th year of the Republic Era, Formosa Incident outbroke in Kaohsiung and the elite outside the Kuomintang was arrested”.

But in the third phase textbook, the incident itself has become a subheading named Formosa Incident and Its Impact. Moreover, compared by the former phase, more attention has been paid to this incident which was depicted by two long paragraphs. The main process of the incident is as following: “On 10th December the
68th year of the Republic Era, Formosa magazine held the International Human Rights Day celebrations on the street in Kaohsiung city, and a violent fight occurred there between police and the people. Afterwards, many elite outside the Kuomintang was arrested. Including Huang Xinjie, eight people were prosecuted by military law and were arrested in the name of rebellion, which was the historical event called Formosa Incident”.

As for the direct reason why Formosa Incident happened, the following sentences could explain which were in the same paragraph with the above-mentioned sentence describing the main process of the incident in the second phase textbooks: “People outside the Kuomintang, mainly those who founded the magazine Formosa, took the way of mass rally to expand their political voice and rights, which made their relationship with the ruling party became strained”.

But in the third phase textbooks, actually, what was mentioned above was not viewed as a direct trigger for Formosa Incident; instead, it was regarded as a part of background and big setting which featured lots of magazines appealing for democratic political reform in 1970s. Further, the third phase textbooks detailedly depicted the status of other magazines like The University Magazine and The Liberty of China which integrated the historical background of several aspects Formosa Incident arose from.

As for the direct cause of Formosa Incident in the third phase, the break of diplomatic relationship between America and Taiwan was the trigger. It was because America claimed to break the diplomatic relationship with Taiwan that the president Jiang Jingguo used his right of taking emergency action to stop adding the central representative seats in the election, which compressed the space for non-party people to participate in government and political affairs and intensified the political tensions between the Kuomintang and people outside the party. Thus, Formosa Incident broke out.

In terms of what happened after Formosa Incident, the second phase textbooks only mentioned that non-party people successively utilized names of Election Club and Public Policy Studies Outside the Party to continue to develop and attempted to be organized. Besides, the book briefly referred to the establishment of Democratic Progressive Party and the lift of martial law.

On the contrary, the third phase textbooks put a lot of emphasis on the impact of Formosa Incident. Firstly, many young lawyers who defended the arrested non-party people began to cut a striking figure in the political arena. Secondly, people outside the Kuomintang made great progress in democratic movement and established Democratic Progressive Party. Finally, there was a trend of the rise of public self-consciousness, and Jiang Jingguo, compelled by the situation, lifted material law and the ban on political parties, press, and people’s freedom of rally. That generated tremendous changes in terms of Taiwan’s politics.

The coverage of Formosa Incident in the history textbook of the latest version is basically the same as description in the third phase. But there are some subtle differences in the use of words and expressions, and some content was deleted but some was added. For example, the version of the latest mentioned that after the break of diplomatic relationship with America, the government suspended the election campaign that year because they worried about the stability of the society.

Excluding the close reading we have done, visual analysis was also put into use concerning the Formosa Incident. The Republic of China from 2000 to 2005, the description, pictures and layout of the Formosa Incident are the same. With total three text illustrations, respectively referring to the liberal outsider (Tangwai) magazine, “The Eighties” and “Formosa” founded in June 1979 and August respectively. It represents the two routes of the Tangwai Movement before the Formosa Incident. The second illustration is a black and white photo of the defense lawyer of military trials in the Formosa Incident. In the front row from left, there are Guo
Jiren, Li Shengxiong, Gao Ruizheng, Zheng Qinglong, Jiang Pengjian, Zhang Zhengxiong, Jin Fuzheng; and the back row from left, there are Zheng Sheng, You Qing, Chen Shui-bian, Cheung Junxiong, Su Zhenchang, Xie Changting, and Lv Chuansheng.

Because after the Formosa Incident, among them there are many people in democratic movement, to become the Taiwan politics Angle in the future; this picture is employed as the text illustration in the history text book. The third picture shows the formation of the Democratic Progressive Party the Republic of China in September 1986; non-party people held the inaugural meeting of the DPP in the grand hotel. Members of the DPP were trumpeting, which represents a breakthrough in party ban for years.
Figure 10. Inaugural meeting of the DPP at Grand Hotel.

Differs from the textbook from 2000 to 2005, *Formosa Magazine* covered with bright red color instead of black and white images, making this event more thorough popular feeling.


The black and white photo of the Formosa Incident military big trial lawyer was still exist, but deleted the picture of the set-up of the DPP. Under the administration of DPP, a photo of Formosa big trial was encoded in the textbook. In 1979, *Formosa Magazine* held the conference on human rights in Kaohsiung City, because of the fierce conflicts between the masses and authority, government of non-party people (now the DPP members) who were arrested and convicted.
Another which was cut apart from the textbook is the China times editorial office every day at last photo of the day, which means that a lot of unreasonable restrictions were lifted slowly.

In the history textbook of 2012 version, all the photos were deleted and only left a picture of an authority or conflict with the marcher’s scenes. In the evening of December 10, 1979, in the picture marchers were holding a torch, a symbol of the aura of universal human rights. On the other are heavily armed authority; a fierce conflict broke out and led to injury.
IDENTITY FORMATION IN TAIWAN

It can be seen from the results of image analysis, the description of how the Formosa Incident from origins as well as indifference, cover up the people and the conflict of the ruling party, in the end the conflict in the form of pictures show completely in the textbook. The text illustrations under pictures show the progress of Taiwan's democracy, which vividly reflect what the government want to instill in Taiwan people for self-identity information. As mentioned above that an illustration not only can take the place of a text, in addition, it can help student to have a clear understanding of historical events, more can create a great stimulus to promote ideological consciousness, thus exerting a subtle influence on the establishment and impact of Taiwanese identity.

Reasons for Differences in the Textbooks

There are three major reasons why textbooks in four phases are different. The education reform and change of course outlines, rotation of ruling parties, and political and social transforms since 1980s in Taiwan all lead to changes in narratives of two incidents in textbooks.

The first reason is change of course outlines. All the senior high school history textbooks in Taiwan must be written and revised strictly referring to the curriculum outline made up by the Ministry of Education. In our research scope, from 1996 to 2012, the course outline of senior high school history textbooks experienced four big changes, which directly influenced the modification of textbooks.

In Senior High School History Curriculum Standards (1985), the origin of Chinese history dated back to prehistoric era and stipulated that the content of history should cover the kingdoms of Xia, Shang, Zhou till the triumph of Anti-Japanese War, while the concept of Taiwan history did not show up under this syllabus. However in the 1995 one, the outline attached much attention to the content of Taiwan history after the Opium War, as the word Taiwan had been used frequently. What is more, titles like the establishment of Taiwan experience, changes of Taiwan culture and society had been added and take a high proportion of the book in history teaching. And after the Chinese history was totally separated out from Taiwan history, the practice of desinification led by DP and KMT was confirmed in the History of Taiwan textbook (2003). History of Taiwan became an individual book in history teaching, which aimed to be seen in the history course outline of 2005.

Another change could be seen in the history course outline of 2009. History of Taiwan became an individual book in history teaching; started from the late Ming Dynasty, Taiwan history was totally separated out from Chinese history, which verified the practicing of desinification raised by DDP. After KMT came into power again in 2009, President Ma intended to reduce the content of desinification. However, this did not go as planned, and the contents of history textbooks in Taiwan continued to be changed.

More changes could be seen in the history course outline of 2012. History of Taiwan became an individual book in history teaching, and the content of Taiwan history was separated out from Chinese history. However, in the history course outline of 2012, the content of Taiwan history was not as prominent as before, and the content of Chinese history was still emphasized. This led to the conclusion that Taiwan history was not as significant as before in the history course outline.

The second reason is political and social transforms since 1980s. The political and social transforms since 1980s in Taiwan led to changes in the content of history textbooks. The political and social transforms since 1980s in Taiwan led to changes in the content of history textbooks, and the content of Taiwan history was emphasized in the history course outline.

There are three major reasons why textbooks in four phases are different. The education reform and change of course outlines, rotation of ruling parties, and political and social transforms since 1980s in Taiwan lead to differences in high school textbooks.
dialects in the broadcast media should be local Taiwan language and the channels ought to focus on aboriginal affairs. The textbooks are rewritten to emphasize Taiwan. There was Taiwan name rectification campaign to change the name of company or organization containing the word “China” to “Taiwan”.

**Implications for Identity in Taiwan**

In terms of narratives of the 228 Incident and Formosa Incident, textbooks in Taiwan high school have grown out of nothing, and became more and more detailed. This process demonstrates more and more Taiwan consciousness, and cultivates an “island” identity. First, regarding setting of chapter and section, the titles including *Establishment of Taiwan Experience, Contemporary Taiwan and World,* and *From Authoritarian to Democracy,* all give expression to a Taiwanese perspective, instead of a Chinese perspective. Especially the chapter *From Authoritarian to Democracy* clearly shows its respect for values like democracy, which is a crucial source for Taiwanese identity and pride. Besides, giving these two incidents independent titles displays the rise of native concern.

In regard to selection of words, Taiwan consciousness could be seen when reading between the lines. Comparing cross strait’s selection of word, mainland China uses “mainland” as Taiwan’s counterpart, but Taiwan more and more frequently uses “China” as Taiwan’s counterpart, and uses “Taiwan” as an independent subject.

As the contents of the 228 Incident and Formosa Incident are more and more in details, high school textbooks in Taiwan are focusing more on how people in this island leave and how to develop a better Taiwan, promoting a native identity, which emphasize the island’s distinctiveness. Accordingly, Chinese consciousness is declining. China has become the “other”, in a sense how Taiwanese define “we”. In general, increasing Taiwanese native identity is adaptive to education reforms and the trend of social and political transforms in Taiwan since 1980s.

**Conclusion**

The main purpose of the research is to analyze diverse versions of Taiwan high school history textbooks after 1996 and to see how they established local Taiwanese identity by the contents. To have a deeper understanding of the relationship between each version and Taiwanese identity, we took the method of close reading with great attention to texts and photos, and chose two typical local incidents to explore, namely 228 and Formosa Incident.

In the process of the fieldwork, there are mainly four diverse versions published in four different periods. Precisely, the first version (1996-1999) did not make any reference to the two incidents which the second version (2000-2005) began to shed light on. Afterwards, considerable changes occurred in the third version (2006-2011), and a sea of contents were added to depict, which made the narration more integrated. 2012 witnessed the forth version in which the coverage was roughly the same as that in the third version except for a few expression revised. Accordingly, there is an increasing trend of paying more attention to 228 and Formosa Incident.

Besides, the reason why the trend happened deserves our attention. There are three major dimensions related. The most essential reason was that the 1990s Taiwan political arena witnessed a gigantic and vigorous movement associated with desinolization and appealing for localization. For example, the direct presidential election in 1996 and the breaking news that Democratic Progressive Party replaced the Kuomintang and
became the ruling party in 2000 had enormous impact on the syllabus of history textbooks and the way of writing Taiwan local history.

As what was stated in the history textbooks, it could be deduced that when students read more recently published history textbooks, they would have more understanding of the land where they live and acquire more imagination for Taiwan in the past, so as to better combine their experience in Taiwan and to identify with the land under their feet. So in conclusion, Taiwan history textbooks have paid more and more attention to local incidents with more detailed description which embodied their more desire to construct Taiwan native consciousness and to establish the identity of Taiwanese.

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