

Taiwan Studies in Japan: 1995-2014*

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In my paper, entitled “Taiwan Studies in Japan: 1995-2014”, I would like to briefly introduce the major trends in Taiwan Studies in Japan from 1995 to 2014 by reviewing the most important book publications during this period and by discussing future possibilities and prospects for the field.¹

Taiwan Studies in Japan from 1995 to 2014 can be divided into two periods. One is from 1995 until the middle of the 2000s, which can be identified as a “Paradigm shift in Taiwan Studies”; the other is from the mid-2000s to 2014, which, on the other hand, can be identified as the “Evolution of Taiwan Studies”. For both periods, changes in Taiwan Studies in Japan was directly affected by the political and social changes in Taiwan after 1987, particularly by the rapid liberalization, democratization, and two shifts in political power by DPP in 2000 and KMT in 2008.

The task I was given is to introduce the Taiwan

studies in Japan from 1995 to 2014. However, the present situation cannot be understood without knowing its background; therefore, I will start with a brief history of Taiwan studies in postwar Japan, and I will move on to the chronological review on the state of the field during the past 20 years.

Taiwan Studies in Postwar Japan: Until 1990s

The origins of Taiwan studies in Japan can be traced to two regions: Kansai (with Osaka as the center) and Kanto area (with Tokyo as the center). In the Kansai area, the first group to start Taiwan studies was “The Association for Taiwan Studies (ATS, Taiwanshi Kenkyukai), founded in 1977.² After 30 years, the original group of around 60 members in 1997 was

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¹ Because it is impossible to cover every single paper and journal for 20 years within this limited space, I primarily focused on book publications, which are either collections of academic papers or books based on Ph.D. theses. Therefore, the books mentioned here are all academic works, not textbooks or introductory books for general readers, unless indicated. Also subtitles of the publications are omitted for the same reason.

² ATS began as a small reading group of 4 people, with Akira Morita as the leader, and three other graduate students. On Kansai area, see Sakujiro Shimomura “Taiwan Kenkyu, Kono 10nen, Korekara no 10nen, Kansai Chiiki ni okeru Taiwan Kenkyu” [Past 10 Years and Next Ten Years of Taiwan Studies, Focusing in Kansai Area] *Nihon Taiwan Gakkaiho*, No.11, May 2009, pp.11-26. Shimomura was the president of JATS from 2006-2007.

expanded to 170 members in 2007.³ Its *Gendai Taiwan Kenkyu [Journal of Taiwan Studies]* was published twice a year since 1983.⁴

The next group is “Tenri Association for Taiwan Studies” (TATS, Tenri Taiwan Gakkai), which was founded in 1991. It was formed by a group of scholars from Tenri University and Chinese Culture University in Taiwan.⁵

In the Kanto area, a study group on Taiwan led by Kuo-hui Tai began from the end of 1960s.⁶ From 1978 to 1988, the group was renamed as the Association for Modern and Contemporary History of Taiwan (AMCHT, Taiwan Kingendaishi Kenkyukai), and published the 6 volumes of *Taiwan Kingendaishi Kenkyu [Historical Studies of Taiwan in Modern Times]*.⁷ AMCHT played a central role of Taiwan studies in Japan.

Until the 1960s, there were almost no “Taiwan studies” in Japan. According to Masayoshi Matsunaga, the reasons were: 1. Japanese society as a whole avoided discussing and reflecting on the past colonial issues, 2. Views from the periphery such as Okinawa, Korea and Taiwan were lacking in the dominant “one-country centrism” in Japanese modern history studies, 3. Affected by the Cold War politics,

studies on Taiwan was not “Taiwan studies”, it was indeed the “Republic of China studies.”⁸ Surprisingly, during 24 years from 1945 to 1969, works on Taiwan were so scarce that academic books regarding Taiwan numbered no more than 10, and there were only about 350 articles and papers.⁹

Taiwan studies was long seen as one of the taboos in postwar Japanese academia, which, on the one hand, blindly perceived Communist China as an ideal society, and, on the other hand, regarded Taiwan studies as KMT propaganda, and even labeled researchers who wrote about Taiwan as KMT lobbyists.¹⁰ However, the 1970s diplomatic crisis of ROC and the shock of discovery of Suniyon (Teruo Nakamura in Japanese, Kuang-hui Li in Chinese) in Indonesia in 1974 helped shed the light to people and history of Taiwan, which had been long hidden in the back of the history of ROC. During this period, Taiwanese scholars who studied abroad in Japan had contributed greatly to developing the foundations of Taiwan studies in Japan from 1960s to 1970s. They were Yuzin Chiautong Ng, Sekai Ko, Jin Ching Liu, Chau-yan Tu, Kuo-hui Tai, and Iok-tek Ong.¹¹

Although the researchers in both Kansai and Kanto area gathered and started forming study groups about

³ ATS expanded under the leadership of Hiroshi Ishida. After Ishida passed away in 2006, Yoshiro Matsuda is in charge of ATS. Ishida was also the president of JATS from 2003-2006.

⁴ The name of the journal was changed from *Taiwanshi Kenkyukai Kaiho* (1983-1985), *Taiwanshi Kenkyu* (1986-1998), then *Gendai Taiwan Kenkyu* (1999-present).

⁵ TATS was originally named as Tenri Taiwan Kenkyukai in Japanese, and renamed in 1995.

⁶ The original members include Masahiro Wakabayashi, Masayoshi Matsunaga, and Meitetsu Haruyama.

⁷ According to Haruyama, AMCHT was originally named as “Tonei kai” in the early 1970s.

⁸ Masayoshi Matsunaga, “Tai Kokki no Ichi” [The Position of Kuo-hui Tai] in Kuo-hui Tai (Meitetsu Haruyama, Masayoshi Matsunaga, Chizuru Tainaka, Tetsushi Marukawa eds.) *Hakka, Kakyō, Taiwan, Chugoku [Hakka, Overseas Chinese, Taiwan, China]* (Kuo-hui Tai Collections I) Tokyo: Miyabi Shuppan, 2011, p.428.

⁹ This number is counted by Kuo-hui Tai. Kuo-hui Tai, “Nihon ni okeru Taiwan Kenkyu” [Taiwan Studies in Japan] in Kuo-hui Tai (Meitetsu Haruyama, Masayoshi Matsunaga, Chizuru Tainaka, Tetsushi Marukawa eds.) *Taiwanshi no Mosaku [In Search of Taiwan History]* (Kuo-hui Tai Collections II) Tokyo: Miyabi Shuppan, 2011, pp.290-296. The original article was in *Ajia Keizai* Vol.100, September 1969.

¹⁰ See, above paper by Kuo-hui Tai.

¹¹ Yuzin Chiautong Ng, *Taiwan Minshukoku no Kenkyu [Study of Taiwan Democratic Republic]* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1970). Sekai Ko, *Nihon Tochika no Taiwan [Taiwan under Japanese Rule]* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1972). Jin Ching Liu, *Sengo Taiwan Keizai Bunseki, 1945-1965 [A Structural Analysis of Political Economy in Taiwan, 1945-1965]* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1975). Chau-yan Tu, *Nihon Teikokushugika no Taiwan [Taiwan Under Japanese Imperialism]* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1975). Kuo-hui Tai, *Taiwan Musha Hoki Jiken [Musha Uprising in Taiwan]* (Tokyo: Shakai Shisousha, 1981). Iok-tek Ong, *Taiwango no Rekishiteki Kenkyu [Historical Survey on Taiwanese Language]* (Tokyo: Daiichi Shobo, 1987).

Taiwan approximately at roughly the same time, Taiwan studies did not attract much attention until 1990s. The turning point was Taiwan's abolishment of martial law in 1987, particularly the actions of Lee Teng-hui, the first Taiwanese president of ROC from 1988 to 2000, who gradually transformed the image of Taiwan, not only in Japanese academia but in Japanese society as a whole.

Taiwan's democratization under Lee's leadership was a major driving force that helped deconstruct the negative image of Taiwan studies, which had long dominated KMT oriented stereotypes. In the ten years after Taiwan's launch of liberalization and democratization, the growth and expansion of Taiwan studies in Japan reached a critical moment in the late 1990s. Now we shall look at the first period of the 20 years of Taiwan studies in Japan beginning from 1995, which I named "Paradigm shift in Taiwan Studies."

1995 to mid-2000s: Paradigm shift in Taiwan studies

From 1995 until the middle of the 2000s can be identified as a "Paradigm shift in Taiwan studies." During this period, the old paradigm drastically changed. The epoch making event that helped propel this shift was the foundation of the Japan Association for Taiwan Studies (JATS, *Nihon Taiwan Gakkai*) in 1998. The birth of JATS brought together researchers into a cross-regional, interdisciplinary, and nationwide network.

The foundation of JATS created a nationwide network and research activity for those dedicated in Taiwan studies, and "Taiwan studies" as an area studies was thus institutionalized in Japan. The first

president was Masahiro Wakabayashi.¹² Membership began with 233 in 1998, and it expanded, in ten years, to 460 members in 2008.¹³ Its *Nihon Taiwan Gakkaiho* [*Journal of the Japan Association for Taiwan Studies*] was published once a year since 1999. The evolution of Taiwan studies accelerated through this human and institutional network of researchers.

However, it is necessary to point out that this paradigm shift was greatly influenced by the real-time political change. The Third Taiwan Straits Crisis in 1995-96 was the key event. Although this event was significant for how it changed the political system through the implementation of direct presidential election system in 1996, its most significant impact was on Taiwanese identity, which, at the time, was symbolized by Lee Teng-hui. His rise to prominence even led the Peoples' Liberation Army to launch a missile exercise with the aim of preventing Lee's election. The historic defeat of the KMT and the takeover of political regime by DPP in 2000 was the cause of this paradigm shift in Taiwan studies.

It was a paradigm shift from Taiwan as an unresolved region of the divided China to a successful laboratory of economic and political advancement. And it was the paradigm shift from "Chinese-ness" to "Taiwanese-ness," which underscored Taiwanese subjectivity that had long been neglected in Japanese academia. Along with this paradigm shift, the focus of research gradually expanded from a part of Chinese history to an independent Taiwan history, from Japanese colonial period to contemporary history, and from economic development to political development.

Below, I would like to introduce the representative outcomes of Taiwan studies in Japan in this paradigm shift with regard to the treatment of the Japanese

¹²Masahiro Wakabayashi is a leading scholar of Taiwan studies in Japan. He was the first president of JATS from 1998 to 2002. The promoter was Shozo Fujii, one of the founding committee members of JATS, who brought the idea of creating the nationwide organization for Taiwan studies to Wakabayashi.

¹³The current JATS members are 436 in March 2015.

colonial era and the postwar era.

First, let us begin from the studies on Japanese colonial era. The first characteristic of this rising trend was the use of new archives such as the Official Documents of the Taiwan Governor-General's Office (Sotokufu Monjo) to analyze the functioning of colonial society.¹⁴ One example was Masami Kondo's examination of the relationships between local society and the rule of Taiwan Governor-General's Office during the Sino-Japanese War and the World War II.¹⁵

Another example was Naoto Kawarabayashi's analysis of the autonomous activities and dominant roles played by Taiwanese merchants through a focus on the tea industry.¹⁶ And another was Michiko Kitaba's study of the electric industry as a framework to perceive continuities in economic developments from the Japanese colonial era through the postwar era.¹⁷

The second characteristic of this period was a growing interest and spread of imperial studies rather than simply Japan-Taiwan colonial studies. One example was Takeshi Komagome's innovative

work that analyzed Taiwan comparatively with other regions in the Japanese empire.¹⁸ By examining the actual state of "doka" (assimilation) in the context of education and cultural integration, Komagome revealed the limitations of "doka," which only reproduced inequalities within the empire. Stimulating new studies were also done by others scholars such as Kyoko Matsuda's examination of representations of Taiwan in the empire.¹⁹ Comparative empire studies has become popular, and many important achievements were produced in various fields such as in the areas of economics, law and so on.²⁰

The last characteristic was the rediscovery of Japanese cultural influences in Taiwan. Fifty years after of the end of the World War II, it was around 1995 when colonial era writers were beginning to be rediscovered and introduced, not only by the scholars in Japan but also in Taiwan through various academic exchanges.²¹ Many introductory books for general readers were published.²² Moreover, in-depth investigations of literature movements and individual writers in the Japanese colonial era were

¹⁴For example, Yukio Hiyama, Jun Kurihara, and others have produced extensive studies by utilizing this archive.

¹⁵Masami Kondo, *Soryokusen to Taiwan [Total War and Taiwan]* (Tokyo: Tosui Shobo, 1996). The Chinese edition was published from National Taiwan University Press in 2014.

¹⁶Naoto Kawarabayashi, *Kindai Ajia to Taiwan [Modern Asia and Taiwan]* (Kyoto: Sekai Shisoshu, 2003).

¹⁷Michiko Kitaba, *Kohatsu Hatten Kogyokoku no Keizai Hatten to Denryoku Jigyo [Economic Development and Power Industry in Latter Industrialized Country]* (Kyoto: Koyo Shobo, 2003).

¹⁸Takeshi Komagome, *Shokuminchi Teikoku Nihon no Bunka Togo [Cultural Integration of the Japanese Colonial Empire]* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1996). Eiji Oguma's work is also important. Eiji Oguma, *"Nihonjin" no Kyokai [The Boundaries of the Japanese]* (Tokyo: Shinyosha, 1998).

¹⁹The issue of representation of Taiwan in Japanese empire was discussed by Kyoko Matsuda. It elucidated how Japan was able to stand on the side to "see others," not "to be seen by others," by possessing colonies and becoming an empire. Kyoko Matsuda, *Teikoku no Shisen [Eyes of Empire]* (Tokyo: Yoshikawakoubunkan, 2003).

²⁰For example, Kazuo Hori and Tetsu Nakamura eds., *Nihon Shihonshugi to Chosen, Taiwan [Japanese Capitalism and Korea, Taiwan]* (Kyoto: Kyoto University Press, 2004). Toyomi Asano and Toshihiko Matsuda eds., *Shokuminchi Teikoku Nihon no Hoteki Kozo [Legal Structure of Japanese Colonial Empire]* (Tokyo: Shinzansha, 2004).

²¹Following Hironobu Hoshina's explanation, the international academic conference on Laihe and other writers of Japanese Colonial Period held in Chinghua University at Hsinchu in 1994 had a crucial impact and importance to bring peoples' attention to the literature studies on Japanese Colonial Era. It also accelerated academic cooperation and collaboration between scholars of Japan and Taiwan. About the accomplishments of the conference, see, Sakujiro Shimomura, Toshiro Nakajima, Shozo Fujii, and Ying-che Huang eds., *Yomigaeru Taiwan Bungaku [Taiwanese Literature Revived]* (Tokyo: Toho Shoten, 1995).

²²Introductory books for general readers as follows. Sakujiro Shimomura, *Bungaku de Yomu Taiwan [Reading Taiwan from Literature]* (Tokyo: Tabata Shoten, 1994, The Chinese edition was published from Aganguard in 1997). Chie Tarumi, *Taiwan no Nihongo Bungaku [Japanese Language Literature in Taiwan]* (Tokyo: Goryu Shoin, 1995, The Chinese edition was published from Aganguard in 1998), Ikuko Okazaki, *Taiwan Bungaku [Taiwan Literature]* (Tokyo: Tabata Shoten, 1996, The Chinese edition was published from Aganguard in 1996). Shozo Fujii *Taiwan Bungaku kono 100 nen [Taiwan Literature in this 100 Years]* (Tokyo: Toho Shoten, 1998).

also publicized during this time.²³

Studies of Taiwan's indigenous people were similar. The reevaluation of indigenous culture in contemporary Taiwanese society after democratization also influenced the establishment of a new association, in Japan, for the studies on Taiwan's indigenous people.²⁴ There were new outcomes such as education system for indigenous people.²⁵ Though, it was in the field of cultural anthropology in which Japan and its colonial rule was most critically reviewed. Examples include works by Katsuhiko Yamaji, which revealed images of indigenous people from the point of view of the Governor-General of Taiwan.²⁶ On the contrary, Masaru Nakamura evaluated the complex and harmonious relationship of Japanese colonizer and indigenous people from historical perspectives.²⁷

Unique accomplishments concerning Taiwan included Hiroko Ueno's reconsideration of the Han people's male-dominated marriage structure, Akihito Aoi's elucidation of the functions and roles of shrines in Taiwan from the perspectives of urban planning,

and Takeshi Soyama's illustration of the development of modern tourism in Taiwan.²⁸ Major document compilations were also done by the research unit of Chukyo University.²⁹

Next is the postwar era. During this period, although there were some scholars who had contributed greatly to the advancement of the field of political and economic studies, studies on contemporary Taiwan was still developing.³⁰ The extensive and profound achievements on the postwar era will be discussed in the next section.

During the period of a "Paradigm shift in Taiwan studies" from 1995 until the middle of the 2000s, we should give the most credit to Taiwanese scholars who had received academic training and successfully obtained degrees in Japan. As mentioned previously, Taiwanese scholars have always had a major role in paving the way for the advancements of Taiwan studies in Japan. The tradition has passed down to the next generation through scholars such as Yin-che

²³On literature movements, Isao Kawahara traced the paths of New Literature Movement. Isao Kawahara, *Taiwan Shinbungaku Undo no Tenkai [Taiwan New Literature Movement]* (Tokyo: Kenbun Shuppan, 1997). New Literature Movement and the relationship with Lu Xun was discussed in Toshiro Nakajima eds., *Taiwan Shinbungaku Undo to Rojin [New Literature Movement and Lu Xun]* (Tokyo: Tohoshoten, 1997). On individual writers, comprehensive study was done on particular writers and their works by Chie Tarumi (on He-ruo Lu), and Ikuko Okazaki (on Reishi Ko). Chie Tarumi, *Ryo Kakujaku Kenkyu [Study on Lu He-ruo]* (Tokyo: Kazama Shobo, 2002). Ikuko Okazaki, *Ko Reishi Monogatari [Stories of Ko Reishi]* (Tokyo: Kenbun Shuppan, 2004).

²⁴Establishment of "Japan Jun'eki Association for Indigenous Studies" (Nihon Jun'eki Genjumin Kenkyukai) in 1994 became a new center for the scholars in the field, and bought a new direction to studies of Taiwan Indigenous People.

²⁵Yoshiro Matsuda, *Taiwan Genjumin to Nihongo Kyoiku [Indigenous people and Japanese Education]* (Kyoto: Koyo Shobo, 2004).

²⁶Katsuhiko Yamaji, *Taiwan no Shokuminchi Tochi [Colonial Rule in Taiwan]* (Tokyo: Nihon Tosho Center, 2004). He also published new book on Atayal people. See, Katsuhiko Yamaji, *Taiwan Taiyaru zoku no 100 nen [One Hundred Years of Atayal in Taiwan]* (Tokyo: Fukyosha, 2011).

²⁷Masaru Nakamura, *Taiwan Kochi Senjumin no Rekishijinruigaku [Historical Anthropology of Taiwan Indigenous People in Highlands]* (Tokyo: Ryokuin Shobo, 2003). He also has another book in reconsidering the relationship of Japanese colonizer and indigenous people through Inosuke Inoue. Masaru Nakamura, "Aikoku" to "Tasha" ["Patriotism" and the "Others"] (Tokyo: Yobel, 2006).

²⁸Hiroko Ueno, *Taiwan Kan Minzoku no Kon'in [Marriages by Taiwanese Han People]* (Tokyo: Fukyosha, 2000). Akihito Aoi, *Shokuminchi Jinja to Teikoku Nihon [Colonial Shrines and Japanese Empire]* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 2005). Takeshi Soyama, *Shokuminchi Taiwan to Kindai Tsurizumu [Colonial Taiwan and Modern Tourism]* (Tokyo: Seikyusha, 2003).

²⁹Taiwan Research Unit, Institute of Social Sciences, Chukyo University has published series of books on Japanese colonial era using the Official Documents of the Taiwan Governor-General's Office. Taiwan Research Unit, Institute of Social Sciences, Chukyo University eds., *Taiwan no kindai to Nihon [Taiwan's. Modern Times and Japan]* (Nagoya: Institute of Social Sciences, Chukyo University, 2003), *Nihon Tochika no Taiwan Shihai to Tenkai [Taiwan under Japanese Rule and its Development]* (Nagoya: Institute of Social Sciences, Chukyo University, 2003), and others.

³⁰For example, those of JATS members were: Masahiro Wakabayashi, Yasuhiro Matsuda, Shin Kawashima, Urara Shimizu, Yoshiyuki Ogasawara, Takeshi Watanabe, Naoki Maeda, Mitsutoyo Matsumoto, Hiroshi Ishida, Yukihito Sato, Momoko Kawakami, Teruo Asamoto and others.

Huang, Yi-lin Ho, Pei-feng Chen, and Yu-ru Hong.³¹ All of their studies are outstanding and have had enormous impacts, which accelerated the paradigm shift.

Yin-che Huang examines the struggles and failures of Chen Yi's government and Hsu Shou-shang's attempt to promote the philosophy of Lu Xun during the early postwar period.³² Huang questions the early postwar narrative by Waishengren who saw culturally Japanized Taiwanese as "slaves" who were brain washed by Japanese. Nevertheless, by also focusing on Hsu Shou-shang at the same time, he successfully overcomes the binary opposition of oppressor (Waishengren) and oppressed (Benshengren). This study was epoch-making for bringing the new theme of De-Japanization and Sinicization in Taiwan studies in Japan.

Yi-lin Ho critically investigated the 2. 28 incident by applying the term "politicization of ethnicity" to Waishengren and Benshengren to better understanding the incident's causes and aftermath.³³ The keyword for both Huang and Ho's works, which focus on the issues concerning De-Japanization and Sinicization after 1945, "decolonization," emerged as a major theme in this period.

Another keyword was "Taiwanese subjectivity in the acceptance of modernity." One of the studies which can be identified as the most remarkable for this period was Pei-feng Chen's work.³⁴ It was provocative for advocating Taiwanese subjectivity in learning and utilizing Japanese language under Japanese rule as the means of resistance.

The impact of Chen's advocacy was tremendous. He transformed what had traditionally been perceived as a passive image of colonized Taiwanese citizens into active subjects with their own tactics, which is explained through the idea of "resistance by selective assimilation" (juyo ni yoru teiko). He analyzed "doka" (assimilation) as a changing concept influenced by time, circumstance, and subject. Taiwanese actively accepted modernity through Japanese language, which is taken as language assimilation; however, it was not equal to ethnic assimilation, and there are significant differences between those two.

This explanation of Taiwanese subjectivity overturned the traditional model of binary opposition, and paved the way for the new generation of Taiwan studies in Japan. Another achievement was the opening up of a new genre of gender studies by Yu-ru Hong.³⁵ She delineated the subjectivity of Taiwanese people and their acceptance of modernity by examining subjective choices and decisions made by Taiwanese women themselves.

Every year, *Shigaku Zasshi* [*Journal of Historical Science*], which has a long and distinctive history in Japanese historical circle, publishes a "state of the field" research review of the previous year. For a long time, studies on Taiwan were mentioned in the very end of China section with very little space. Yet, it was categorized separately into small letters under big letters of "China" in 2000. Then, after 2 years, although still under the category of China, it finally became an independent category with large letters

³¹Other scholars are, for example, Hao-ren Wu in legal history, Cheng-ji Li in mass media and journalism studies in Colonial Era, Chi-hui Huang in Japan-Taiwan cultural relations, Wen-kun Chang in personal history of Wen-huan Chang, Chen-wei Lin in social welfare, Wen-song Chen in youth education, Wen-ru Li in analyzing Japanese colonial writers, and others.

³²Yin-che Huang, *Taiwan Bunka Saikochiku 1945-1947 no Hikari to Kage* [*The Lights and Shades of Cultural Reconstruction in Taiwan 1945-1947*] (Tokyo: Sodoshia, 1999). The Chinese edition was published from Maitian Publisher in 2007.

³³Yi-lin Ho, *2.28 Jiken* [*2.28 Incident*] (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 2003). He has also published a new book which traces the contemporary history of Taiwan with focus on 2.28 incident and its influence. See, Yi-lin Ho, *Taiwan Gendaishi* [*Contemporary History of Taiwan*] (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2014).

³⁴Pei-feng Chen, *"Doka" no Doshō imo* [*The Different Intentions Behind the Semblance of "Doka"*] (Tokyo: Sangensha, 2001). The Chinese edition was published from Maitian Publisher in 2006.

³⁵Yu-ru Hong, *Kindai Taiwan Joseishi* [*History of Modern Taiwanese Women*] (Tokyo: Keiso Shobo, 2001).

since 2002.³⁶ This might seem as not a big, notable change; however, taking into account that “*Shigaku zasshi*” was a rather conservative journal with a long academic tradition, this clearly showed that the Japanese academic circle has come to recognize the unique characteristics of Taiwan studies and admitted an independent position.

During this paradigm shift, the real-time political change in Taiwan had a massive impact, and the rise of Taiwanese identity and attention to the “subjectivity of the Taiwanese” overturned the traditional analytical frame of binary opposition. The center of the focus was no longer only directed at enforcement, suppression and exploitation by the ruling structure, but now shifted to susceptibility and reactions of the Taiwanese people themselves.

Mid-2000s to 2014: Evolution of Taiwan Studies

Next, the mid-2000s to 2014 can be identified as a period of evolution for Taiwan studies. During this period and the previous one, three remarkable, growing trends can be found, which were triggered by those dynamic and unpredictable changes.

First is the increased number of publications focusing on contemporary issues rather than those of

the Japanese colonial era.

Second is the development of a new generation of authors who are free from the influence of the negative image of Taiwan under 38 years of martial law. Many have experienced studying abroad in Taiwan after 1990s, have attained proficiency in Chinese, and are able to utilize easily accessible digital databases and archival materials.³⁷

Third, new studies and publications are going beyond the long dominant framework that often presupposes a binary opposition between the colonizer and the colonized, oppressor and oppressed.

In previous generations, the focus of research traditionally revolved around the Japanese colonial era. However, contemporary issues and themes are increasingly examined by the scholars of new generations who have studied abroad in Taiwan.³⁸

This was the case especially after 2000, when scholarly works of younger generations, using new archives, perspectives and approaches, have— along with publications of senior researchers— increasingly broadened the horizon of Taiwan studies in Japan.

Around 2008, books of the long culmination of research were published by senior researchers, such as Meitetsu Haruyama, Masayoshi Matsunaga, Isao Kawahara, and Masahiro Wakabayashi (mentioned later), who are the founding members of JATS and were long in the frontline of promoting Taiwan

³⁶This transition is also pointed out in Hideyoshi Yagashiro’s extensive review, Hideyoshi Yagashiro, “Taiwan” in Nihon Shokuminchi Kenkyukai ed., *Nihon Shokuminchi Kenkyu no Genjo to Kadai [State and Issues on Japanese Colonial Studies]* (Tokyo: Atenesha, 2008).

³⁷Hironobu Hoshina points out that it was the 10 years after the late 1990s which colonial (Literature) studies started attracting peoples’ attention. It was especially because old materials such as “*Taiwan Jiho*” and “*Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpo*” became available in digital media in late 1990s, and those online materials helped greatly to better accessibility and advancement of Taiwan literature study. Hironobu Hoshina, “Taiwan Bungaku Kenkyu, kono 10 nen, korekara no 10 nen” [“Taiwan Literature Studies, This 10 Years, Another 10 Years”] “*Nihon Taiwan Gakkaiho*”, No.11, May 2009, p.71.

³⁸The pioneer who paved the way for this transition is Wakabayashi, who started his career by the study of Taiwanese resistance movement under Japanese colonial era in the early 1980s, then shifted his research theme to the political changes in contemporary Taiwan after mid-1980s. His early work, *Taiwan Konichi Undoshi Kenkyu [A Study on Anti-Japanese Movements in Taiwan]* (Tokyo: Kenbun Shuppan) was originally printed in 1983 and augmented edition was published in 2001.

Yukihito Sato, Mamie Misawa both obtained M.A. from National Taiwan University, and most of the young generations have experienced studying abroad at academic institutions in Taiwan.

studies in Japan.³⁹ Coincidentally, this occurred just 10 years after the foundation of JATS and when another political turnover — from DPP to KMT — occurred inside Taiwan.

Just as the big wave of rapid economic growth and unprecedented political democratization has now ceased to a moderate tide, if “maturity” is appropriate to describe the recent evolution of Taiwan politics and society, the term can also be applicable to this period of Taiwan Studies in Japan. This was the most visible characteristic of this period, when a diversification of research topics and analytical frameworks has brought the field to maturity.

Major research works are as follows. First, I will introduce the studies on Japanese colonial era in three categories: 1. History of Empire; 2. Governor-General and Bureaucrats; 3. Modernity and subjectivity.

1. History of Empire

There were many important works in empire

studies in this period. Toyomi Asano conducted a comprehensive and impressive study on the legal system of Japanese Empire, and his edited book on the South Sea Islands (Nanyo Gunto) had opened a new perspective by focusing on Taiwan and Okinawa in early postwar era.⁴⁰ Kiyofumi Kato delineated the different situations of former regions of Japanese Empire after its breakdown in 1945, along with the issues on Japanese repatriates.⁴¹ Hideaki Nishi carefully examined the discussions over the “Taiwan Private Law”.⁴² Akira Matsuura examined the position of Taiwan from maritime routes connecting Japan and China.⁴³ Hideyoshi Yagashiro delineated the mechanism of surface network and development of market system in Imperial Japan and Taiwan.⁴⁴

New theme of medicine in the History of Empire was examined by Wataru Iijima.⁴⁵ The role of Taiwan in 1930s “Pan-Asianism” was reconsidered in Masataka Matsuura ed.⁴⁶ The diversification of research themes and fruits of academic exchanges could be seen in Toshihiko Matsuda, eds.⁴⁷

³⁹Meitesu Haruyama, *Kindai Nihon to Taiwan [Modern Japan and Taiwan]* (Tokyo: Fujiwara Shoten, 2008). It is the collection of author’s 40 years of Taiwan studies, with the focus on political history in Japanese colonial era. He was the president of JATS from 2007 to 2011. Masayoshi Matsunaga, *Taiwan Bungaku no Omoshiroa [The Fascination of Taiwan Literature]* (Tokyo: Kenbun Shuppan, 2006) and *Taiwan wo Kangaeru Muzukashisa [The Difficulties in Considering Taiwan]* (Tokyo: Kenbun Shuppan, 2008). His work was unique in analyzing Taiwan literature and language issues in both Japanese colonial era and postwar era, from political and historical perspectives. Isao Kawahara, *Honrosareta Taiwan Bungaku [Meddled Taiwan Literature]* (Tokyo: Kenbun Shuppan, 2009).

⁴⁰Toyomi Asano, *Teikoku Nihon no Shokuminchi Hosei [Japanese Empire in the Nation State System by Legal Analysis]* (Nagoya: Nagoya University Press, 2008). Toyomi Asano ed., *Nan’yo Gunto to Teikoku, Kokusai Chitsujo [South Sea Islands and Imperial and International Order]* (Tokyo: Jigakusha, 2007).

⁴¹Kiyofumi Kato, *“Dainippon Teikoku” Hokai [Collapse of “Great Japanese Empire”]* (Tokyo: Chuokoron Shinsha, 2009). This is published in a paperback pocket edition. On this issue of Japanese repatriates, major works are by Kiyofumi Kato, Toyomi Asano and Tzuchen Yang.

⁴²Hideaki Nishi, *“Taiwan Shiho” no Seiritsu Katei [Establishment Process of “Taiwan Private Law”]* (Fukuoka: Kyusyu University Press, 2009).

⁴³Akira Matsuura, *Kindai Nihon Chugoku Taiwan Koro no Kenkyu [Maritime Routes Connecting Japan, China, and Taiwan in Modern Era]* (Osaka: Seibundo Shuppan, 2005).

⁴⁴Hideyoshi Yagashiro, *Teikoku Nihon no Ryutsu Nettowaku [Distribution Network in Imperial Japan]* (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Hyoronsha, 2012).

⁴⁵Wataru Iijima, *Mararia to Teikoku [Malaria and Empire]* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 2005). For the pioneer work on this theme of disease and medicine in Japanese Empire, see, Masatoshi Michi et al. eds., *Ekibyō, Kaihatsu, Teikoku Iryo [Disease, Development, Medical in Empire]* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 2001).

⁴⁶Masataka Matsuura ed., *Showa, Ajia Shugi no Jitsuzo” [Showa era Japan and the Reality of Pan-Asianism]* (Kyoto: Minerva Shobo, 2007).

⁴⁷Toshihiko Matsuda and Jung-Won Jin eds., *Chiiki Shakai kara miru Teikoku Nihon to Shokuminchi [Imperial Japan and Colonies from the Perspectives of Local Communities]* (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2013). Toshihiko Matsuda ed., *Shokuminchi Teikoku Nihon ni okeru Shihai to Chiiki Shakai [Rule and Local Communities under Japanese Colonial Empire]* (Kyoto: International Research Center for Japanese Studies, 2013).

The construction of scholarship and accumulation of knowledge in the Japanese Empire was also a hot topic.⁴⁸ On the issues of “study abroad” to mainland Japan, Hsu-feng Chi identified the traces of Taiwanese elites who studied in mainland Japan for higher education, and also described Tokyo in Taisho period as a vibrant and dynamic academic arena for elites from East Asia to encounter each other.⁴⁹ In addition, the roles and functions of Taihoku Imperial University is reexamined in Tetsuya Sakai, and Toshihiko Matsuda eds.⁵⁰

From the viewpoint of the legacy of Empire and its continuity before and after 1945, the development and inheritance of heavy industries throughout Japanese colonial era and postwar era were examined by Teruhiro Minato and Chiao-yang Hong.⁵¹

2. Governor-General and Bureaucrats

Not only the Governor-General of Taiwan itself, but studies on individual bureaucrats also had splendid new results. This theme was already brought into discussion previously, but it flourished later in this period.⁵² Makiko Okamoto clarified

structures and systems of colonial government by analyzing bureaucrats who played an important role in implementing policies to Taiwan and Korea.⁵³ Further discussions by various scholars were done in Toshihiko Matsuda and Atsushi Yamada eds.⁵⁴

Masahiro Noguchi approached the rule of Governor-General of Taiwan from the aspect of cooperation by Taiwanese.⁵⁵ Nationality and family registration system was examined by Masataka Endo.⁵⁶ The overall view on Social Welfare was investigated by Masako Otomo.⁵⁷ Chi-lin Chang illustrated the Kojin Shimomura’s transition from Educational Bureaucrats to a writer, focusing on his experiences in Taiwan.⁵⁸

3. Modernity and subjectivity

On the issue of modernity and subjectivity, the contribution of Mamie Misawa in indicating a new direction from the perspectives of media history is noteworthy. Her unique study examined the ambiguous position and sentiment of the Taiwanese by focusing individual Taiwanese film producers, who tried to survive and pursue their dreams through negotiations under the control of nation-state system.⁵⁹ Her work

⁴⁸For example, Taketoshi Yamamoto, Koji Tanaka, Shinya Sugiyama, Akira Suehiro, Shin’ichi Yamamuro, Mio Kishimoto, Shozo Fujii and Tetsuya Sakai eds., *Iwanami Koza* “Teikoku” *Nihon no Gakuchi* (*Iwanami Series*) [*The Scholarship and Knowledge of “Imperial” Japan*] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2006).

⁴⁹Hsu-feng Chi, *Taishoki Taiwanjin no “Nihon Ryugaku” Kenkyu* [*The Study of Taiwanese Students in Japan during the Taisho Era*] (Tokyo: Ryukei Shosha, 2012).

⁵⁰Tetsuya Sakai, and Toshihiko Matsuda eds., *Teikoku to Koto Kyoiku* [*Empire and Higher Education*] (Kyoto: International Research Center for Japanese Studies, 2013).

⁵¹Teruhiro Minato, *Kindai Taiwan no Denryoku Sangyo* [*Power Industry in Modern Taiwan*] (Tokyo: Ochanomizu Shobo, 2011). Chiao-yang Hong, *Taiwan Zosen Koshi no Kenkyu* [*Study on Taiwan Ship Manufacturing Company*] (Tokyo: Ochanomizu Shobo, 2011). The Chinese edition was published from Yuan-Liou Publishing in 2011.

⁵²For example, Shoichi Namikata and Yoshiaki Horikoshi eds., *Kindai Nihon no Keizai Kanryo* [*Economic Bureaucrats of Modern Japan*] (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Hyoronsha, 2000).

⁵³Makiko Okamoto, *Shokuminchi Kanryo no Seijishi* [*Politics of Colonial Bureaucrats*] (Tokyo: Sangensha, 2008).

⁵⁴Toshihiko Matsuda and Atsushi Yamada eds, *Nihon no Chosen, Taiwan Shihai to Shokuminchi Kanryo* [*Colonial Bureaucrats and Japan’s Rule in Korea and Taiwan*] (Kyoto: International Research Center for Japanese Studies, 2008).

⁵⁵Masahiro Noguchi, *Taiwan Sotokufu no Tochi Seisaku to Taiwanjin* [*The Ruling Policy of Governor-General of Taiwan and Taiwanese*] (Tokyo: Waseda University Press, 2012).

⁵⁶Masataka Endo, *Kindai Nihon no Shokuminchi Tochi ni okeru Kokuseki to Koseki* [*Nationality and Family Registration of Japanese Colonies in Modern Japan*] (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 2010)

⁵⁷Masako Otomo, *Teikoku Nihon no Shokuminchi Shakaijigyo Seisaku Kenkyu* [*Studies on Social Welfare in Japanese Empire*] (Kyoto: Minerva Shobo, 2007).

⁵⁸Chi-lin Chang, *Taiwan ni okeru Shimomura Kojin* [*Kojin Shimomura in Taiwan*] (Tokyo: Toho Shoten, 2009).

⁵⁹Mamie Misawa, “Teikoku” to “Sokoku” no Hazama [*Between “Empire” and “Fatherland”*] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2010). The Chinese edition was published from National Taiwan University Press in 2012.

delineated the disillusionment of those film producers and their subjectivity caught between Japanese empire and homeland China. In short, it was also the struggles of subjectivity between colonial modernity and nationalistic antagonism.

Analyzing modernity and subjectivity from education also had fruitful results. Seiko Miyazaki examined Youth Associations (Seinendan) and how the members of those associations accepted modernity by learning language and culture by the ruler's to utilize for their social elevation.⁶⁰ Others, Lin-Yu Liou and Yoshihiro Okabe both discussed the methods and intentions of modern song education under Japanese Colonial Rule.⁶¹ Chizuru Tainaka illustrated the transitions of local peoples' cultural values through changing styles in funerals.⁶²

The first comprehensive book on the modern and contemporary history of Taiwan literature by Japanese scholars, including Indigenous literature, was published as Toshiro Nakajima, Isao Kawahara and Sakujiro Shimomura eds.⁶³ Kyoko Hashimoto, Tsukasa Izumi both examined the atmosphere and conditions of the literary world in Taiwan under Japanese rule.⁶⁴ Pei-feng Chen's analysis of Taiwanese subjectivity from understanding changing concept and usage of Chinese language under Japanese Rule is also important and stimulating.⁶⁵

On indigenous peoples, Kyoko Matsuda examines the tension between "seeing" and "being seen" by the imperial state.⁶⁶ Yoshiro Matsuda and Kae Kitamura both examined education system of indigenous people, but Kitamura's emphasis is on the "subjectivity of the colonized," and her attitude is more critical in questioning the traditional, single and linear discourse of education policy towards "doka" and effectiveness of the indigenous education system itself.⁶⁷

In contrast to the previous period, studies on the postwar era during this period had various new achievements with new perspectives.

Concerning the general concerns and direction of Taiwan Studies in the postwar era, Masahiro Wakabayashi, the first president of JATS, had pointed out the main categories as follows: 1. "development"; 2. "democratization"; and 3. "identity".⁶⁸ Following Wakabayashi's indication, the author would like to add one more category of "ethnicity" to introduce the representative studies on postwar era.

Next, I would like to move on to the studies on the postwar era through four categories: 1. KMT, Cold War, democratization; 2. Indigenization and identity; 3. Ethnicity and society; and 4. Development and environment.

⁶⁰Seiko Miyazaki, *Shokuminchi Taiwan ni okeru Seinendan to Chiiki no Henyo [Transformation of Youth Association and Local Community in Colonial Taiwan]* (Tokyo: Ochanomizu Shobo, 2008).

⁶¹Lin-Yu Liou, *Shokuminchika no Taiwan ni okeru Gakko Shoka Kyoiku no Seiritsu to Tenkai [The Establishment and Development of School Song Education on the Colonial Taiwan]* (Tokyo: Yuzankaku, 2005). Yoshihiro Okabe, *Shokuminchi Taiwan ni okeru Kogakko Shoka Kyoiku [Singing Education of Common Schools in Colonial Taiwan]* (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 2007).

⁶²Chizuru Tainaka, *Sougi no Shokuminchi Shakaishi [The Social History of Funerals under Colonialism]* (Tokyo: Fukyosha, 2008).

⁶³Toshiro Nakajima, Isao Kawahara and Sakujiro Shimomura eds., *Taiwan Kingendai Bungakushi [Modern and Contemporary History of Taiwan Literature]* (Tokyo: Kenbun Shuppan, 2014).

⁶⁴Kyoko Hashimoto, *Kareito Bungakushi to Sono Jidai [Kareito Bungakushi and its Times]* (Tokyo: Sangensha, 2012). The Chinese edition was published from National Taiwan University Press in 2014. Tsukasa Izumi, *Nihon Tochiki Taiwan to Teikoku no "Bundan" [Taiwan Under Japanese Rule and Imperial Japan's Literary World]* (Tokyo: Hitsuji Shobo, 2012).

⁶⁵Pei-feng Chen, *Nihon Tochi to Shokuminchi Kanbun [Japanese Rule and Colonial Chinese Language]* (Tokyo: Sangensha, 2012). The Chinese edition was published from Socio Publishing in 2013.

⁶⁶Kyoko Matsuda, *The Logic of Empire [Teikoku no Shiko]* (Tokyo: Yushisha, 2014).

⁶⁷Yoshiro Matsuda, *Taiwan Genjumin no Shakaiteki Kyoka Jigyo [Aboriginal Society and Education in Colonial Taiwan]* (Kyoto: Koyo Shobo, 2011). Kae Kitamura, *Nihon Shokuminchi Tochika no Taiwan Genjumin Kyoikushi [History of Taiwan Indigenous Education under Japanese Colonial Rule]* (Sapporo: Hokkaido University Press, 2008).

⁶⁸Masahiro Wakabayashi "Taiwan Kenkyu no Imaji" ["The Image of Taiwan Studies"] *Nihon Taiwan Gakkaiho*, No.1, May 1999, p. 3.

4. KMT, Cold War, democratization

During this period of evolution of Taiwan studies, the most notable theme was the further investigation on KMT and its transformation from dictatorship to democratization. For example, Mitsutoyo Matsumoto's study of the changing role and functions of KMT party-owned enterprises, which actually worked to support stability in the democratization process.⁶⁹

Among them, the representative study was Yasuhiro Matsuda's work, which clarified the process of KMT's reorganization and Chiang Kai-Shek's attempt to resuscitate the party and the state in the 1950s.⁷⁰ His study asserted the importance of conducting studies which connect divided time and space, such as the similarity and difference between the KMT regime before and after the retreat to Taiwan in 1949, toward a more comprehensive understanding of the history of the ROC in Taiwan.

On the other hand is Masahiro Wakabayashi's work on the transformations of the KMT and ROC.⁷¹ Raising the analytical framework of "Taiwanization of ROC," his impressive work examined the full metamorphosis of the ROC's political and social systems as the process of Taiwanization progressed from 1945 to 2008. Moreover, Masahiro Wakabayashi, et al. is useful

in understanding the changing state and analytical frames of Taiwan politics through discussions by the representative scholars in the field.⁷²

Shin Kawashima, Yasuhiro Matsuda, Yongming Yang and Urara Shimizu eds, *Nittai Kankeishi 1945-2008 [Japan- Taiwan Relations 1945-2008]* was the first academic book to approach the "international" relationship between Japan and Taiwan.⁷³ On the cross-strait relationship, Madoka Fukuda elucidated "One China Policy" by the PRC as not a priori but, rather, as formed by the changing environment of international politics.⁷⁴ Sachiko Hirakawa, on the other hand, described what she calls a "Japanese Formula", establishing diplomatic relationship with PRC while maintaining informal relationship with ROC, to solve "Two-China" dilemma after 1970s spread to the other countries.⁷⁵ Wei-Hsiu Huang analyzed the policy making process of Lee Teng-hui's Administration over Cross-strait relationship.⁷⁶

One of the unique outcomes of this period is the investigation in the role of Taiwan during "Cultural Cold War".⁷⁷ Various aspects of information and mass media on "Free China," KMT's radio and movie policy under Cold War, were examined by Shin Kawashima and Mamie Misawa.⁷⁸

⁶⁹Mitsutoyo Matsumoto, *Chugoku Kokuminto "Toei Jigyo" no Kenkyu [A Study of KMT "Party-owned Enterprises"]* (Tokyo: Japan Association for Asian Studies, 2002).

⁷⁰Yasuhiro Matsuda, *Taiwan ni okeru Ittodokusaitaisei no Seiritsu [The Establishment of Taiwan's One-party Dictatorial System]* (Tokyo: Keio University Press, 2006).

⁷¹Masahiro Wakabayashi, *Taiwan no Seiji [Politics in Taiwan]* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 2008). The Chinese edition was published from National Taiwan University Press in 2014.

⁷²Election studies by Yoshiyuki Ogasawara, Party system studies by Tsuyoshi Kishikawa, Party organization studies by Mitsutoyo Matsumoto, Japan-Taiwan Relations by Urara Shimizu, US-Taiwan Relations by Naoki Maeda, China-Taiwan Relations by Yasuhiro Matsuda. Masahiro Wakabayashi et al. eds., *Gendai Taiwan Seiji wo Yomitoku [Understanding Contemporary Taiwan Politics]* (Tokyo: Kenbun Shuppan, 2014).

⁷³Shin Kawashima, Yasuhiro Matsuda, Yongming Yang and Urara Shimizu eds., *Nittai Kankeishi 1945-2008 [Japan- Taiwan Relations 1945-2008]* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 2009).

⁷⁴Madoka Fukuda, *Chugoku Gaiko to Taiwan [The PRC's Diplomacy and Taiwan]* (Tokyo: Keio University Press, 2013). Other researchers such as Ryo Sahashi examined from the perspective and involvement of the United States.

⁷⁵Sachiko Hirakawa, *"Futatsu no Chugoku" to Nihon Hoshiki ["Two-China" and Japanese Formula]* (Tokyo: Keisho Shobo, 2012).

⁷⁶Wei-Hsiu Huang, *Ri Toki Seiken no Tairiku Seisaku Kettei Katei [The Decision-Making Process under Lee Teng-hui's Administration toward Mainland China, 1996-2000]* (Okayama: Daigaku Kyoiku Shuppan, 2012).

⁷⁷Toshihiko Kishi, and Yuka Tsuchida eds., *Bunka Reisen no Jidai [De-Centering the Cultural Cold War]* (Tokyo: Kokusai Shoin, 2009).

⁷⁸Toshihiko Kishi, Shin Kawashima, and An Suk Son eds., *Senso, Rajio, Kioku [War, Radio, and Memories]* (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2006). Mamie Misawa, Shin Kawashima, and Takumi Sato eds., *Denpa, Den'ei, Denshi [Radiowave, Movie, and Television]* (Tokyo: Seikyusha, 2012).

5. Indigenization and identity

On the issue of changing identities in Taiwan, Chuan-tiong Lim raised the new regional concept of a “peripheral East Asia” to understand Taiwan in comparison with Okinawa and Hong Kong, from the perspectives of historical commonalities in changing identities caused by the successive and multiple rules by major world powers.⁷⁹

Changing national identities under indigenization process was well investigated in the field of education. Naoya Yamazaki and Chu-mei Lin both discussed the relationships between political changes and national identity, from the viewpoint of indigenization of educational contents in public schools, especially focusing on local education.⁸⁰

Miwako Akamatsu discussed the interactive relationship between authors and readers, to reveal the transformation process from an anti-communist literary arena to the Taiwan literature arena as a focal point for Taiwan identity after democratization.⁸¹

Using analytical concepts of “De-Japanization,” and the transition from “Sinicization” to “Indigenization,” Atsushi Sugano traced the history of postwar cultural policy from 1945 to 1987, and pointed out the origin of cultural indigenization actually could be traced

back in Chang Ching-kuo Era.⁸² His other book on language policy, questions the traditional binary opposition of “imposing” and “imposed” over language education.⁸³

6. Ethnicity and society

Two volumes by Yuko Mio eds reexamine Japan’s colonial legacy, and its influence and narratives in contemporary Taiwan from cultural approach.⁸⁴ Ichiro Numazaki analyzed the transitional process of ethnicity and society of Taiwan by using the concept “from the bi-layer to multiple-layer structure”.⁸⁵

New studies on social movement was done by Junko Hoshi, which explained the logic and system of community empowerment movement with case studies of Meinong district in Kaohsiung, in comparison to Japanese experiences.⁸⁶ There were also accomplishments on Taiwan Indigenous Peoples: for example, Naoki Ishigaki reconsidered the movement on Bunun People through fieldwork, and Tadasu Matsuoka traced the history and commonality from the Japanese colonial era to the postwar era until the 1970s, explaining how aboriginal society was embedded into the nation-state’s centralized system.⁸⁷

Other studies include Hisahiko Kamizuru analysis

⁷⁹Chuan-tiong Lim, *“Henkyo Higashi Ajia” no Aidentiti Politikusu [Identity Politics in “Peripheral East Asia”]* (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 2005).

⁸⁰Naoya Yamazaki, *Sengo Taiwan no Kyoiku to Nashonaru Aidentiti [National Identity and Postwar Education in Taiwan]* (Tokyo: Toshindo, 2009). Chu-mei Lin, *“Kyodo” to shite no Taiwan [Taiwan as a “Homeland”]* (Tokyo: Toshindo, 2009).

⁸¹Miwako Akamatsu, *Taiwan Bungaku to Bungaku Kyanpu [Taiwan Literature and Literature Camp]* (Tokyo: Toho Shoten, 2012). The relation between literature and politics under KMT’s anti-communism policy is discussed in Ching-chuan Hsu, *Taiwan Gendai Bungaku no Kenkyu [A Study on Contemporary Taiwan Literature]* (Kyoto: Koyo Shobo, 2008).

⁸²Atsushi Sugano, *Taiwan no Kokka to Bunka [The Nation and Culture of Taiwan]* (Tokyo: Keiso Shobo, 2011).

⁸³Atsushi Sugano, *Taiwan no Gengo to Moji [The Language and Characters of Taiwan]* (Tokyo: Keiso Shobo, 2012). On the other hand, Hitoshi Nakagawa focused on the role of Iok-tek Ong and the dismantling process of national language towards multilingualism. Hitoshi Nakagawa, *Sengo Taiwan no Gengo Seisaku [Language Policy in Postwar Taiwan]* (Tokyo: Toho Shoten, 2009).

⁸⁴Masako Igarashi and Yuko Mio eds., *Sengo Taiwan ni okeru “Nihon” [“Japan” in Postwar Taiwan]* (Tokyo: Fukyosha, 2006). Hiroko Ueno and Yuko Mio eds., *Taiwan ni okeru “Shokuminchi Keiken” [“Colonial Experience” in Taiwan]* (Tokyo: Fukyosha, 2011).

⁸⁵Ichiro Numazaki, *Taiwan Shakai no Keisei to Henyo [Formation and the Transformation of the Taiwan Society]* (Sendai: Tohoku University Press, 2014). This is a paperback edition.

⁸⁶Junko Hoshi, *Gendai Taiwan Comyuniti Undo no Chiiki Shakaigaku [Contemporary Community Development in Rural Taiwan]* (Tokyo: Ochanomizu Shobo, 2013).

⁸⁷Naoki Ishigaki, *Gendai Taiwan wo Ikiru Genjumin [Indigenous People Living in Contemporary Taiwan]* (Tokyo: Fukyosha, 2011). Other researcher on this theme is Maoko Miyaoka from the case study of Tsou people. Tadasu Matsuoka, *Taiwan Genjumin Shakai no Chihoka [Localization of Taiwan Aboriginal Society]* (Tokyo: Kenbun Shuppan, 2012).

of the logic of network construction among local Han people in cities.⁸⁸ Ethnicity and society were also observed from religion: for example, Masako Igarashi discussed various aspects of society which even influenced the religions themselves, and Yohei Fujino examined Christianity.⁸⁹

On other issues of ethnicity, Tetsushi Marukawa has argued the lost possibilities of literature cooperation between writers of Benshengren and Waishengren in the early postwar era, and ethnic influence in the postwar media is examined by I-Hsuan Lin.⁹⁰

7. Development and environment

Until the end of the 1980s, the major concern of Taiwan studies on social sciences was economic advancement, which pursued reasons why Taiwan's achieving economic miracle and becoming one of the NIES, but avoided discussion of political matters. Economic development in the postwar era is examined by Teruo Asamoto, Tetsuo Sonoda, and the changing economic relationship of Taiwan and China after democratization was discussed by Hiroshi Ishida.⁹¹

Focus on the changing role of Small and Medium Enterprises (SME) had been examined in various studies. In representative studies on computer and high tech industry, Yukihiro Sato and Momoko

Kawakami both not only analyzed the mechanisms of late-developing industrialization, but also succeeded in delineating the active role played by engineers and workers in constructing networks among manufacturers.⁹² Others studies include Jun Akabane's, comparative study of the LCD panel industry and revealed how the catch-up process by Taiwanese manufacturers was influenced by the commitment of Japanese manufacturers.⁹³

The relationship between industrialization, democratization, and the environmental policy and environmental protection movement was discussed in works by Tadayoshi Terao et al.⁹⁴ Questions over environmental safety and sustainable development in East Asia, including Taiwan, which triggered by the East Japan Earthquake in 2011 and Fukushima nuclear disaster, were discussed by Soochol Lee, et al.⁹⁵

Compared to the previous period, we can see the diversification of research themes and analytical frameworks. As already stated above, book publications based on Ph.D. dissertations by the scholars of new generation and their remarkable achievements could be observed in the numbers of award-winning publications during the two decades, which are indicated in the table below. Obviously, we

⁸⁸Hisahiko Kamizuru, *Taiwan Kanminzoku no Network Kochiku no Genri [The Principle in Constructing Network by Taiwan Han People]* (Hiroshima: Keisuisha, 2005).

⁸⁹Masako Igarashi, *Gendai Taiwan Shukyo no Shoso [Aspects of Religion in Contemporary Taiwan]* (Kyoto: Jinbun Shoin, 2006). Yohei Fujino discusses the role of Folk Christianity in Taiwan by mainly examining the True Jesus Church. Yohei Fujino, *Taiwan ni okeru Minshu Kirisutokyo no Jinruigaku [An Anthropology of Folk Christianity in Taiwan]* (Tokyo: Fukuyosha, 2013). On the other hand, Kimimasa Matsugane examines the spread of Buddhism in both Japanese Colonial Era and Postwar Era.

⁹⁰Tetsushi Marukawa, *Taiwan ni okeru Datsushokuminchika to Sokokuka [Decolonization and Sinicization in Taiwan]* (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 2007). I-Hsuan Lin, *Taiwan no Esunisiti and Media [Ethnicity and Media in Taiwan]* (Tokyo: Rikkyo University Press, 2014).

⁹¹Teruo Asamoto, *Kaihatsu Keizaigaku to Taiwan no Keiken [Development Economics and the Experience of Taiwan]* (Tokyo: Keiso Shobo, 2004). His latest book is Teruo Asamoto, *Taiwan no Kigyo Senryaku [Corporate Strategy in Taiwan]* (Tokyo: Keiso Shobo, 2014). Tetsuo Sonoda, *Sengo Taiwan Keizai no Jisshoteki Kenkyu [The Empirical Study of Postwar Taiwan Economy]* (Tokyo: Yachiyo Shuppan, 2005). Hiroshi Ishida, *Taiwan Minshuka to Chutai Keizai Kankei [Democratization in Taiwan and China-Taiwan Relationships]* (Suita: Kansai University Press, 2005).

⁹²Yukihiro Sato, *Taiwan Hai-tekku Sangyo no Seiei to Hatten [The Formation and Development of Taiwan's High-tech Industries]* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2007). Sato is the president of JATS from 2015, after Mamoru Yamaguchi from 2011 to 2015. Momoko Kawakami, *Asshuku sareta Sangyo Hatten [Compressed Industrial Development]* (Nagoya: Nagoya University Press, 2012).

⁹³Jun Akabane, *Higashi Ajia Ekisho Paneru Sangyo no Hatten [Development of LCD Panel Industry in East Asia]* (Tokyo: Keiso Shobo, 2014).

⁹⁴Tadayoshi Terao, ed., *Kankyo Seisaku no Keisei Katei [Formation Process of Environmental Policies]* (Tokyo: IDE-JETRO, 2013).

⁹⁵Soochoel Lee eds., *Higashi Ajia no Enerugi Kankyo Seisaku [Energy and Environmental Policy in East Asia]* (Tokyo: Showado, 2014).

can see that 9 out of 12 books are originally Ph.D. thesis (indicated in†) and focus on contemporary issues and themes rather than on the Japanese colonial era.

Table: Award winning books on Taiwan (1995-2014)

Author	Title	Publisher (Year)	Award (Year)
Masahiro Wakabayashi	<i>Sho Keikoku to Ri Toki</i> [Chiang Ching-kuo and Lee Teng-hui]	University of Tokyo Press (1997)	19 th Suntory Book Prize for Academic Works (1997)
Yu-ru Hong	<i>Kindai Taiwan Joseishi</i> † [History of modern Taiwanese Women]	Keiso Shobo, (2001)	17 th Aoyama Nao Award for Women Studies (2002)
Yi-lin Ho	<i>2.28 Jiken</i> † [2.28 Incident]	University of Tokyo Press, (2003)	20 th Masayoshi Ohira Memorial Prize (2004)
Yasuhiro Matsuda	<i>Taiwan ni okeru Ittoudokusaitaisei no Seiritsu</i> † [The Establishment of Taiwan's One-party Dictatorial System]	Keio University Press, (2006)	1. 28 th Award for the Promotion of Studies on Developing Countries, JETRO-IDE (2007) 2. 2 nd Junzo Kashiyama Prize (2007)
Yukihito Sato	<i>Taiwan Hai-tekku Sangyo no Seisei to Hatten</i> † [The Formation and Development of Taiwan's High-tech Industries]	Iwanami Shoten (2007)	19 th Asia-Pacific Award, Special Prize (2007)
Masako Otomo	<i>Teikoku Nihon no Shokuminchi Shakaijigyo Seisaku Kenkyu</i> † [Studies on Social Welfare in Japanese Empire]	Minerva Shobo, (2007)	10 th Sompo Japan Foundation Awards (2008)
Toyomi Asano	<i>Teikoku Nihon-no Shokuminchi Housei</i> † [Japanese Empire in the Nation State System by Legal Analysis]	Nagoya University Press (2008)	1. 25 th Masayoshi Ohira Memorial Prize (2009) 2. 38 th Yoshida Shigeru Prize (2009)
Masahiro Wakabayashi	<i>Taiwan no Seiji</i> [Politics in Taiwan]	University of Tokyo Press (2008)	1. 20 th Asia-Pacific Prize (2008) 2. 4 th Junzo Kashiyama Prize (2009)
Chu-mei Lin	<i>“Kyodo” to shite no Taiwan</i> † [Taiwan as a “Native Land”]	Toshindo (2009)	8 th Asia-Pacific Research Prize, “Commendation” (2009)
Atsushi Sugano	<i>Taiwan no Kokka to Bunka</i> † [The Nation and Culture of Taiwan]	Keiso Shobo (2011)	33 rd Award for the Promotion of Studies on Developing Countries, JETRO-IDE (2012)
Momoko Kawakami	<i>Asshuku sareta Sangyo Hatten</i> † [Compressed Industrial Development]	Nagoya University Press (2012)	29 th Masayoshi Ohira Memorial Prize (2013)
Madoka Fukuda	<i>Chugoku Gaiko to Taiwan</i> † [The PRC's Diplomacy and Taiwan]	Keio University Press (2013)	25 th Asia-Pacific Prize (2013)

Conclusion

In conclusion, during the “Paradigm shift in Taiwan Studies” from 1995 until the middle of the 2000s, in addition to Japanese scholars, new generation of Taiwanese scholars — who were trained to conduct research in Japan by studying abroad in major academic institutions — have successfully brought

new questions into historical discourse by examining the importance of subjectivity of the colonized rather than focusing on the traditional discourse of enforcement, suppression and exploitation.

Next, during “Evolution of Taiwan Studies” from the mid-2000s to 2014, there was a diversification of research themes and topics. The direction of this research was most represented by the concept

of “Taiwanization of ROC” by Wakabayashi. In other words, it was the change of analytical frame from “Taiwan for ROC” to “Taiwan as ROC.” This transformation is still in the progress, and this is the uniqueness and fascinating character of Taiwan studies, which still attracts attention from many researchers.

Throughout both periods, the transitions were not only from Japanese colonial period to contemporary issues, but also from economic development to political development, and from a part of Chinese history to an independent Taiwan history (or from Chinese identity to Taiwanese identity).

Taiwan has become one of the highly democratized, global centers for high-tech industry. Nevertheless, the rise of China has changed the map of economic hegemony in East Asia, and this development has led to ambiguities between competition and interdependence with China. The opposite directions of two “I”s, “Identity” in domestic politics and “Interdependence” in cross-strait economy, will definitely continue to stimulate the direction of Taiwan studies.

Due to the rise of China and the growing interest in contemporary China studies, some say that Taiwan studies is in decline or in a critical situation. Nonetheless, the author is rather optimistic about the future prospect of Taiwan studies in Japan. Because the author currently holds an academic position in Okinawa, the presence of Taiwan as the closest neighbor, is overwhelmingly significant. Studies on Okinawa-Taiwan relation have become a popular

research topic. Taiwan is not a remote area, it is just across the border. There are still people who have and had personal experiences and memories on Taiwan. This factor of closeness, geographical and intimate emotional distance is one of the advantages of Taiwan studies in Japan.

Therefore, the author is not pessimistic for the future development of Taiwan studies in Japan. It will remain important. The increase in the number of Ph.D. dissertations relating to Taiwan, researchers whose expertise are contemporary Taiwan politics or economy, and awards given to the research of those fields are the fruits of the progress of Taiwan studies in Japan in 20 years.⁹⁶

Nowadays, Taiwan has become the new center of Taiwan Studies, and the advantages which were long held by Japanese academic circles, especially on the Japanese colonial era, are no longer the same. Then, what Japanese scholars can contribute to Taiwan studies? Regarding this point, many scholars recognize the most advantage is as being “others”.⁹⁷ In this globalized era of Taiwan Studies, the role of Japanese scholars is also changing; nevertheless, despite the decreasing advantages compared to the previous generations, there are still advantages left based on our historically accumulated knowledge and academic traditions, and we as Japanese scholars must continue to strive and pursue the uniqueness of our own contributions to the advancement and development of Taiwan Studies in the global arena.

⁹⁶The number of Ph.D. thesis submitted in Japan regarding Taiwan as follows: 90 (1975-1984), 128 (1985-1994), 238 (1995-2004), 358 (2005-2014). This is including all disciplines and fields, so the number will be less if omitting those on natural sciences; however, this increase in Ph.D. thesis can be one indication to understand the increase academic attention and interest over Taiwan. Nevertheless, Yasuhiro Matsuda describe the characteristics of Taiwan studies in Japan as: 1. deeply depended by individual and volunteer efforts, not by organizational and institutional backups, 2. most of the studies were done in the field of humanities, such as literature, history, anthropology, linguistics and so on. In particular sections of the Taiwan studies, especially in social sciences, still need to be aided to promote its future development. The foundation of Japan Study Center in major universities in Taiwan since 2009 for taking an account, training of young scholars and increase in the field of social sciences cannot be neglected. Yasuhiro Matsuda “Taiwan Seiji Kenkyu ha Dokokara kite Doko he Mukauka?” [“Where did Taiwan Political Study come from, and where is it heading for?”] *Nihon Taiwan Gakkaiho*, No.11, May 2009, pp. 33-34.

⁹⁷Japanese scholars as being the “others,” we are capable in keeping distance from being influenced by politics, which enable us to have more critical and objective manner in observing Taiwan, while scholars in Taiwan face difficulties maintaining distance from the domestic politics.

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