

TAIWANESE FEMALE STUDENTS IN JAPAN UNDER COLONIAL RULE*

YURU HONG (IKUJO KO)

Contents

Introduction

I. Colonial Rule and Studying in Japan

1. Background of the Educational Policies
2. Background of the System
 - (1) Differences in Educational Resources
 - (2) Lack of Seats in School
 - (3) Lack of Options for Tertiary Education

II. Social Transformations and Studying in Japan

1. Moving towards Modernization
2. Rising Importance of Female Educational Level
3. Sphere of Activities and Networks
4. The Function of Church

Conclusion

Introduction

“The Fujimaru on which we rode was a new ship of no less than 10,000 tons. It was a gorgeous steamship. Of course, we were only third grade visitors. — Soon after the ship left the Kirun (Jilong) harbor, it started to roll heavily. — It was always like this passing through Kirun whenever the sea was rough. The ship arrived in Shimonoseki in the morning of the third day. The Japanese family who were next to us disembarked. Then, the ship moved on again and went into Setonaikai. It was beautiful to see islands decorating the sea, which was situated in the center of the three islands of Kyushu, Honshu, and Shikoku. We had already heard of the beautiful scenery of Japan’s Setonaikai in geography class, and when it suddenly appeared before our eyes in reality, it took our breath away. It was so stunning that I could not leave the deck. The next morning, the ship arrived at Kobe.”¹

Wu Yue’e, who just graduated from Danshui girls’ high school, left Taiwan for Japan with her classmates, Liu Deyin and Zheng Yun in March 1940. She intended to continue her studies there (*ryugaku*). After arriving in Tokyo, Wu and Liu entered Toyo Women’s Dental School

* An earlier version of this paper was presented at The 57th Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, March 29 -April 3, 2005, Chicago, USA. The revised version written in Japanese was published as “Taiwanjin Josei no Naichi Ryugaku” in *Setsuzoku*, Vol. 5, 2005, pp. 254-276. This paper is re-revised version. The author is grateful to Minghui Hu and Norman Smith for their valued comments and criticism.

¹ Wu Yue’e. *Aru Taiwan Josei no Jibunshi* (Taiwanese Women’s Personal Histories) Fuyong-Shobo. 1999. pp. 46-47.

TABLE 1. THE NUMBER OF STUDENTS FROM TAIWAN AND THE TYPES OF SCHOOLS ATTENDED

	Elementary Schools	High Schools	Vocational Schools	Technical Schools	Universities	Specialized Schools	Others
1925	2	12	1	6	6		1
1926	1	9		11	11	1	4
1927	2	22		18	2	1	2
1928	2	28		34		1	1
1929	1	31		33		1	3
1930	3	19		31	31	5	10
1931	4	37		64		5	5
1932	5	31	2	73		3	6
1933	4	23		87		5	6
1934		37		152		20	
1935		31		146	12	12	2
1936		43		181	3	15	
1937		76		229	2	23	
1938		101	24	291	1	115	
1939		148	16	343		164	
1940		185	20	360	10	161	
1941		267	31	352		182	

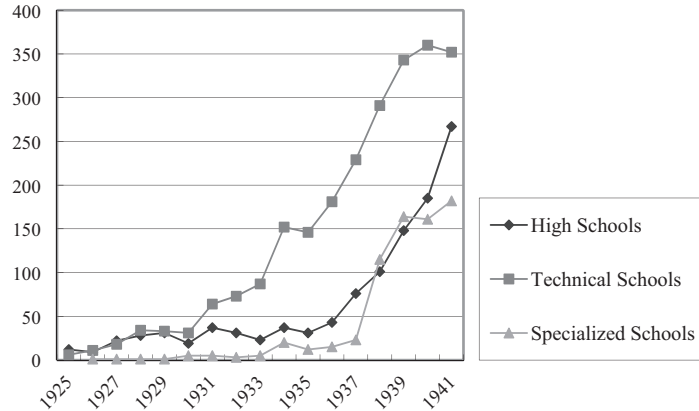
Notes: Special schools are music schools, English schools, dressmaking schools and theological schools. From You Jianming, "Riju Shiqi Taiwan de Nuzi Jiaoyu (The Education of Female Students in Colonial Taiwan)" (A Masters' thesis submitted to the Graduate School of History at Taiwan Normal University, 1987, appended charts 5-16). (Partially Revised.)

(Toyo Joshi Shika Senmon Gakko), while Zheng entered Showa Women's Pharmacy School (Showa Joshi Yakugaku Senmon Gakko). There were 736 Taiwanese female students like them who went to study in Japan that year.

As shown in [Table 1], the destinations of these Taiwanese students who went to Japan ranged from elementary schools to tertiary education. Many of the female foreign students aimed at studying in female high schools for secondary education or technical colleges (*senmon gakko*) for tertiary level. From [Figure 1], comparing female high schools and technical colleges, the number of Taiwanese students who studied in specialized schools began to increase earlier on, in around 1930, and rose to 352 students in 1941. On the other hand, the number of Taiwanese students in female high schools began to increase only after 1936, and rose to 267 students in 1941. Moreover, the number of Taiwanese students who entered specialized schools (*tokushu gakko*), such as dressmaking schools and music academies also increased rapidly from the end of the 1930s.

Why did young female students in Taiwan wish to go abroad to study in Japan? In order to answer this question, in Part I, I concentrate on the institutional element under colonial rule that induced female students to choose to study in Japan, and, in Part II, I examine the pressure from Taiwanese society to send students to Japan to study. Dividing the general process of studying abroad (*ryugaku*) into three stages— (1) before they left for their destination; (2) their lives as students in a foreign place; and (3) after their studies, this paper focuses on stage (1) and examines the factors that induced these female students to study in Japan.

FIG. 1. NUMBER OF TAIWANESE FEMALE STUDENTS IN JAPAN



I. Colonial Rule and Studying in Japan

1. Background of the Educational Policies

The essential cause of Taiwanese female students studying in Japan was related to the colonial educational policies and the fundamental philosophy of the colonial government underpinning such policies. In Taiwan, the development of Japanese colonial education policies can be explained as a product of compromise between two lines — an emphasis on “assimilation” for political control, and colonialism. On the one hand, in terms of education, the regime implemented a strategy of cultural integration, in which Japanese language education, as well as loyalty towards the new suzerain, Japan, was emphasized. On the other hand, in terms of the interests of colonial management, it had to restrict the educational costs to the minimum. In the fifty years on the island, not only in international relations, but in colonial management as well, society swung between the two lines.²

Even for the colonial education targeting Taiwanese males, from the standpoint of economic interests and political power, if anything outside elementary education and specialized education caused suspicion, then how was female education perceived under colonial rule? Although supporters of assimilation, mainly composed of educators, enthusiastically endorsed education for Taiwanese women, such investment was always limited due to management and policy costs under colonial rule.

Two objectives appeared when female education was introduced. One was to carry out the popularization of “nationalistic education” as soon as these Taiwanese girls first entered school, through implanting loyalty in an identical manner to the boys, while, at the same time, eradicating traditional practices such as foot-binding. Another was to have Taiwanese women

² Regarding the formation of colonial educational policies in Taiwan in Meiji Japan, see Komagome Takeshi. *Shokuminchi Teikoku Nihon no Bunka Togo* (Cultural Integration of Imperial Japan). (Iwanami-Shoten, 1996). Also, Oguma Eiji. *Nihonjin no Kyokai* (Boundaries of “Japanese People”). (Shinyosha, 1998).

influence Taiwanese males, the main targets of colonial education, through their roles at home as wives and mothers, after they received such education. In other words, even if education were given only to males, if Taiwanese women who acted as their mothers and wives had an inappreciative attitude and defended their native culture, as a result, the effectiveness of the education for Taiwanese males would be jeopardized by these uneducated women as “destroyers of civilizations.”³

2. Background of the System

Taiwanese who studied in Japan were governed by Japanese colonial educational policies as stated above. In other words, when compared to the schools for Japanese who lived in Taiwan, the inequality of colonial education was conspicuous, as manifested in the inferiority of educational contents, facilities, and capacities of schools targeting Taiwanese. Furthermore, as time went by, competition for the limited educational resources inside Taiwanese communities became even more intense. In the following, I delineate three characteristics of the education system pertinent to Taiwanese studying in Japan.

(1) Differences in Educational Resources

First, even though the education system was different from the one for Japanese students in Taiwan, discrimination occurred from the stage of elementary education. We can see a big difference in educational contents and school facilities when we compare the elementary schools (*kogakko*) that took in Taiwanese students and the elementary schools (*shogakko*) that targeted Japanese students. In terms of textbooks, the level of the *kogakko* for Taiwanese students was lower than that set up by The Governor-General of Taiwan, whereas the ones used by the *shogakko* for Japanese students were the same materials used by Japanese students in Japan. Because of this difference in contents, the percentage of students entering secondary schools was much higher for *shogakko* graduates than graduates from *kogakko*.⁴

When Japanese was defined as the national language (*Kokugo*) in the colonial period, it became the primary prerequisite to success for Taiwanese students whose native language was not Japanese. As a result, upper class elite families, especially officials who used Japanese in their jobs and people who used Japanese at home, actively networked with powerful Japanese, so that instead of sending their children to *kogakko*, they could send them to elementary schools for Japanese children. Among these, there were also families who sent their young daughters to Japan so that they could receive the same education as Japanese students from primary education. If we look at the number of foreign students in elementary school in Table 1, we can see that in the years between 1923 and 1933, the number did not exceed 5 students each year. Although not appearing in the data, we know, from interviews and memoirs that even beyond the years surveyed by the Governor-General of Taiwan, there were Taiwanese

³ In January and February 1908, in No. 70, 71 of *Taiwan Kyoikukai Zashi* (Taiwan Education Magazine), Takaki Heiichiro's “Honto Joji no Kyoiku ni tsuite (Regarding the Education of Girls in Taiwan)” was published. This article was most representative in such discourse. He was a veteran in carrying out female education after Taiwan was colonized. He was also a school officer and teacher at Taipei No. 3 Female High School, and had worked as a headmaster in a common school in Shinchiku-shu (Shinzu).

⁴ Sho Seikan (Zhong Chinghan). *Nihon Shokuminchi ka ni okeru Taiwan Kyoikushi*. (Education History of Taiwan under Colonial Rule.) Taga-Shuppan. 1993. pp.108-113.

students who were admitted to schools when they moved to Japan with their parents or families, and students who were raised in Japan.⁵

The differences in educational contents and resources also existed in female high schools. Before the Second World War, compared to the situation of Japan and the schools for Japanese in Taiwan, the schools for Taiwanese females placed emphasis on Japanese language and nationalistic moral education. In terms of facilities, the schools established before the latter half of 1910 were mainly for Japanese female students in Taiwan. In 1919, after the promulgation of the First Taiwan Rescript on Education, although the female high schools for Taiwanese saw some improvement, compared to the schools for Japanese, which had three years of training, the education of Taiwanese was shortened to one to two years. We can also see that the contents were much more simplified compared to those for Japanese. In the Second Rescript on Education in 1922, the admission standard for *kogakko* and *shogakko* was revised, mixing Taiwanese and Japanese students, and students were divided according to their daily usages of Japanese. In addition, a 4-year high school female school system was established for women's secondary education. However, this policy, which the colonizers praised so highly, did not increase the quota for Taiwanese female students, rather, conversely, it allowed the Taiwanese female schools to be dominated by Japanese female students in Taiwan. The number of Japanese female students increased in high schools that originally expected enrollment from Taiwanese students, thus the quota system, which secured Taiwanese female students' admission, was eroded.⁶ Since then, parents of Taiwanese students started sending their children to Japan.

(2) Lack of Seats in School

The lack of seats and the fierce competitions in entrance exams disappointed many Taiwanese students who wanted to study in female high schools in Taiwan, but it also became the second most important reason why female students chose to study in Japan. As described before, when compared to Japanese elementary school, the conditions of *kogakko* were inferior, and Taiwanese students were at a great disadvantage when they had to take the same entrance exams as those taken by Japanese students. Also, there was always a shortage in the number of female high schools and the number of seats provided for Taiwanese students, thus the improvement of their conditions was also slow.

The difficulty for Taiwanese students pursuing higher education is revealed in [Figure 2, 3, 4]. It shows details of three traditional schools targeting Taiwanese female students — Taipei No. 3 Female High School, Zhanghua Female High School, Tainan No. 2 Female High School. Even though all three schools had a rapid increase of applicants from the mid 1930s, the schools did not respond by expanding the number of admissions.

The difficulty for Taiwanese female students compared to Japanese in entering female high

⁵ For example, Pastor Gao Junming, in 1939, transferred to an elementary school in Japan with his brothers when he was a fifth year student in Taiwanese Common School (Kogakko). (Narrated by Gao Junming, Gao Li Lizhen, Recorded by Hu Huiling. *Shizijia Zhi Lu*. (Road of the Cross) Wangchunfeng Wenhua, 2001, pp. 66-78.)

⁶ For reference, please see Yamamoto Reiko. *Shokuminchi Taiwan no Koto Jogakuko kenkyu* (A Study of Female High Schools in Colonial Taiwan) (Taga-Shuppan. 1999). According to the author, in Zhanghua Female High School, which mostly targeted Taiwanese, the ratio of Taiwanese to Japanese was 5 to 1, but after the new Rescript on Education in 1940, the numbers were almost equal. The admission rate was 13 to 60, and that shows that Taiwanese females were at a disadvantage.

FIG. 2. NUMBER OF TAIWANESE APPLICANTS AND ADMISSIONS IN TAIPEI NO. 3 FEMALE HIGH SCHOOL

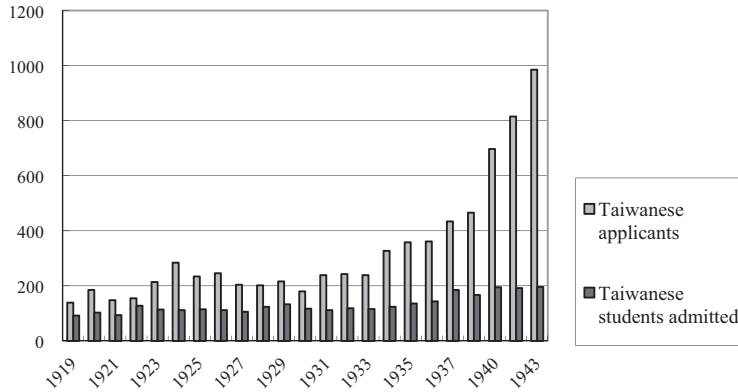


FIG. 3. NUMBER OF TAIWANESE APPLICANTS AND ADMISSIONS IN ZHANGHUA FEMALE HIGH SCHOOL

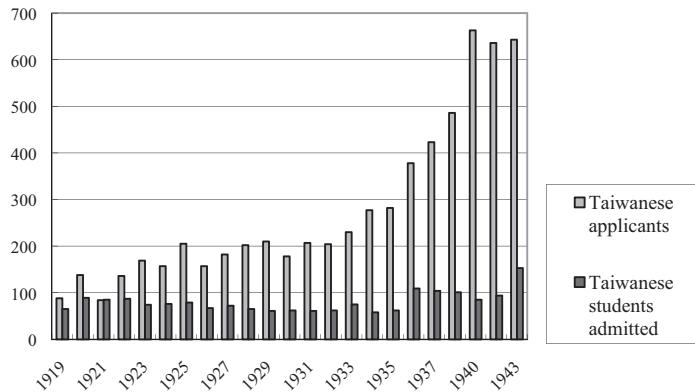


FIG. 4. NUMBER OF TAIWANESE APPLICANTS AND ADMISSIONS IN TAINAN NO. 2 FEMALE HIGH SCHOOL

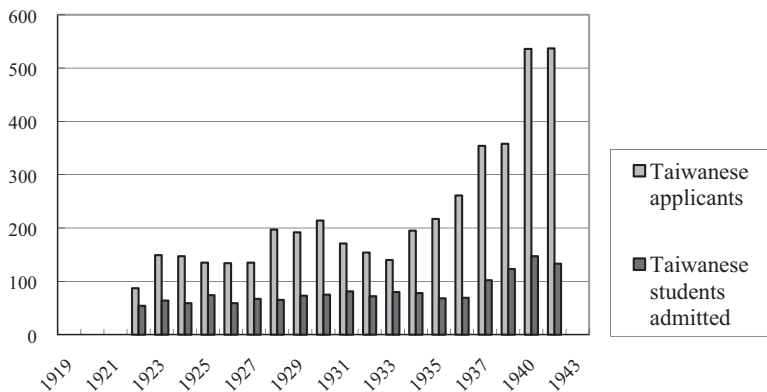


FIG. 5. NUMBER OF JAPANESE APPLICANTS AND ADMISSIONS IN TAIPEI NO. 1 FEMALE HIGH SCHOOL

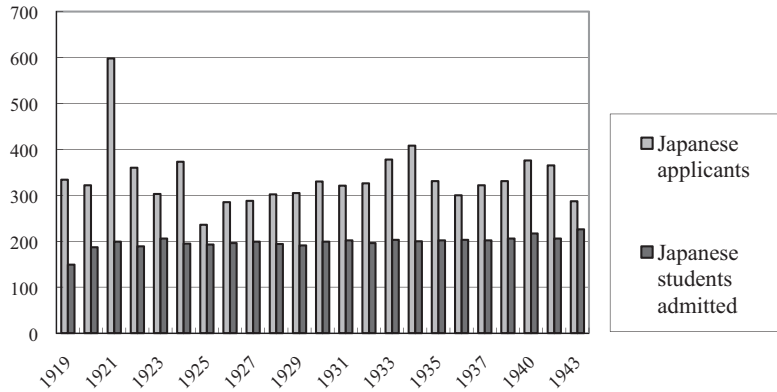


FIG. 6. NUMBER OF JAPANESE APPLICANTS AND ADMISSIONS IN TAIPEI NO. 2 FEMALE HIGH SCHOOL

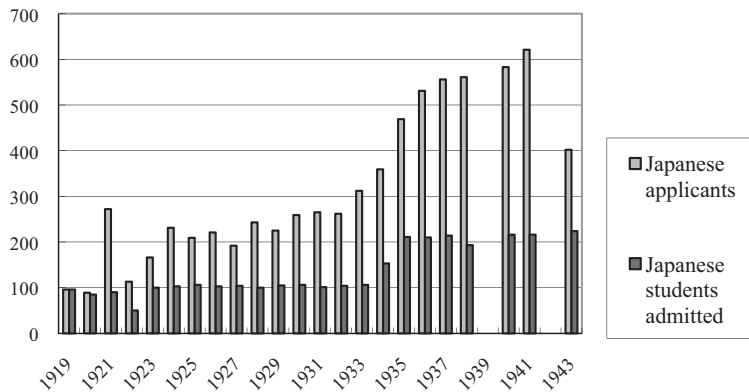
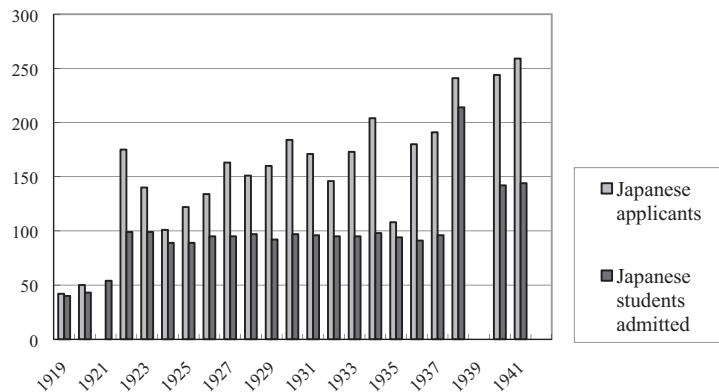


FIG. 7. NUMBER OF JAPANESE APPLICANTS AND ADMISSIONS IN TAIZHONG FEMALE HIGH SCHOOL



schools is obvious here. [Figure 5, 6, 7] shows the changes in the number of applicants and admitted students in the schools that targeted Japanese students — Taipei No. 1 Female High School, Taipei No. 2 Female High School and Taizhong Female High School. For No. 1 Female High, the admission rate for applicants was two-thirds. For Taipei No. 2 Female High, the competition was slightly higher, but with the expansion of seats and other policies, one-third of the students were admitted. If we look at Taizhong, a city with a smaller Japanese population than Taipei, we see a high admission rate of one-half to two-thirds. If we look at [Figure 2, 3, 4] together, we see fierce competition on the Taiwanese side. Central Taiwan was a thriving center of culture and education. We can see a striking contrast between the fierce competition in Zhanghua Female High School [Figure 3], which targeted Taiwanese, and the high admission rate in Taizhong Female High School, which targeted Japanese.⁷

Under the intense competition in the entrance examinations aggravated by the shortage of seats and schools, although many wanted to enter schools, the number of Taiwanese female students who failed the entrance exam had increased over the years. The period of intense competition in the female high school entrance exam in the island corresponded to the increased number of female students who went to study in Japan as indicated in [Figure 1]. Many daughters of rich families who failed the entrance exams would then seek an educational opportunity in Japan and chose the path of studying there. The majority of students who went to Japan came from the central area where the admission rate was low.⁸

(3) Lack of Options for Tertiary Education

The greatest factor that led high school graduates to study abroad was the difficulty in continuing their studies in Taiwan. The Governor-General of Taiwan was reluctant to establish schools for female students above high school level. After graduating from a female high school, the ones who wanted to continue education had three options. They could enter (i) a one-year teachers' course, short course or supplementary course offered by a female high school, (ii) the Women's Section of Taipei No.1 Normal School, or (iii) the Private Taipei Women's Higher College (*Shiritsu Taipei Joshi Koto Gakuin*).

(i) The teachers' courses, short courses or supplementary courses were offered by female high schools for the purpose of training female teachers of *kogakko*. The first course of this kind was established in Taipei No. 3 Female High School in 1919, Zhanghua Female High School in 1922, in Tainan No. 2 Female High School in 1927, and in other schools in the latter half of the 1930s, respectively. The educational contents did not differ from the regular courses of the schools, and still emphasized Japanese language, education and crafts. For the supplementary courses, the subjects on crafts occupied half of the total course time. Other than the people who did not wish to enter colleges, most graduates from high school who wished to continue schooling did not have much interest in such courses, which did not have the rigor of high education. Overall, there were not many candidates who applied to study these subjects.⁹

⁷ Even though in Taiwan before the war, from the interviews I have conducted, a number of repatriated Japanese commented that, compared to the Japanese who were admitted to schools easily, the Taiwanese female students who succeeded in competitive examinations were more talented.

⁸ For reference, see You Jianming, "Riju Shiqi Taiwan de Nuzi Jiaoyu (The Education of Female Students in Colonial Taiwan)" (A Maters' thesis submitted to the Graduate School of History at Taiwan Normal University, 1987, appended charts 5-16). Moreover, the same evidence was obtained also from the people who had studied in Japan.

(ii) The schools at college level that targeted female high school graduates in Taiwan established between the late 1920s and early 1930s were Taipei's No.1 Normal School and Private Taipei Women's Higher College. However, both schools targeted Japanese females, and they were not equipped to provide tertiary education, but were schools that gave short-term training for only one or two years. The Women's Section of the No.1 Normal School was established for the purpose of training *kogakko* teachers, and its level was higher compared to the teachers' training courses and short courses in a female high school. However, it was a narrow option because of the small capacity, and thus there was a low admission rate. Between 1928 and 1942, only 29 Taiwanese graduated compared to 393 Japanese.¹⁰ Besides the problem of low admission, since it was possible to be hired as *kogakko* teachers once students graduated from high schools, there was a lack of motivation for women to enroll in the Women's Section of the No.1 Normal School.

(iii) The Private Taipei Women's Higher College, which was set up in 1931, was sometimes perceived as a place where female high school graduates waited and prepared for marriage. It was sometimes even called "the bridal school." Besides the usual subjects, dressmaking, piano, *koto*, tea ceremony, cooking, and others became the main subjects, and the courses mostly focused on domestic studies. In addition, because tuition was expensive and only daughters from rich families were admitted to the school, it was also called "*gakushuin*" (schools for women of Japanese royalty before the Second World War.) From 1937, because of the instability brought by the war, parents were concerned about the safety of their daughters and objected to their plans to study in Japan, the number of admissions to this school increased suddenly. However, many students also dropped out because of marriage.¹¹

From the above, education in Taiwan could not meet the expectations of female students, so the ones who wanted to have opportunities to study further had no choice but to study abroad. Furthermore, because of the language and available information, most of them tended to choose Japan as their choice of destination. The story of Wu, which I cited at the beginning, is one such example.

II. *Social Transformations and Studying in Japan*

1. **Moving towards Modernization**

Behind the decisions to send their daughters to study in Japan, we have to pay attention to the promptness and sensitive reactions of Taiwanese elite families towards the changing times. In terms of male education, an investment strategy combining Chinese education and Japanese

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 153-149.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 157-159.

¹¹ Ko Ikujo, "Joshi Koto Kyoiku no Shokuminchiteki Tenkai: Shiritsu Taipei Joshi Koto Gakuin wo Chushin ni, (Women's Education in Colonized Taiwan: The Debate on the Foundation of The Private Taipei Women's Higher College before the World War II)" in Kagawa Setsuko and Kawamura Sadae eds., *Josei to Koto Kyoiku: Kikai Kakuchō to Shakaiteki Sokatsu* (A Comparative History of Women's Higher Education: Expansion and Conflict), Showado, 2008, pp.84-113. For recollections of same school graduates, refer to Yo Chizuru (Yang Qianhe). *Jinsei no Purizumu* (The Prism of Life) (Nanten Shokyoku, 1998, pp. 101-102).

education was used during the early occupation period. As for female education, one prime example is the rapid move from traditional practices of foot-binding to female education programs.

In 1900, in Taiwan, which had been a Japanese colony for 5 years since the Treaty of Shimonoseki, the anti-foot-binding movement had started. The formation of the Natural Feet Association by the Taiwanese elite class developed on a grand scale into a widespread anti-foot-binding movement in all of Taiwan. The results of the household registration survey show that the number of Taiwanese females who bound their feet decreased sharply in about ten years. When the results of the 1915 Second Taiwanese Household Registration Survey are compared with those of the 1905 First Survey, the percentage of women who had their feet bound decreased from 56.93 percent to 17.36 percent, and the percentage of young people who bound their feet decreased sharply. The foot-binding percentage of girls below ten dropped from 54.63 to 3.48 percent, and girls between 11 and 15 dropped from 14.48 to 0.30 percent.

In the same period, among the upper class in Taiwan, the “symbol of class” of females had been changing slowly from foot-binding to education/ educational level. The number of Taiwanese female students of *kogakko* school increased from 986 in 1900 to 3,946 in 1910, and in 1915, there were 8,015, an eight-fold increase. In other words, the number of girls with bound feet was in inverse proportion with the number of enrollees in schools. Among the elite class, educational level had replaced the “3-inch lotus feet” as the symbol for glorifying womanhood. This tendency was clearer after the 1920s.¹²

The possibility of entering school from elementary level was restricted if we look at the overall condition of girls in Taiwan. The number of girls entering elementary school increased from 3,773 in 1910 to 7,891 in 1915. After the generation who stopped practicing foot-binding entered school in 1920, the number increased to 26,816, and in 1930, it reached 59,476. The percentage in the same generation of the overall population reached just 1 to 2 percent before 1915, and increased to the level of 10 percent in 1912, then to 30-40 percent after 1938. When compulsory education was enforced in 1943, the level reached 60.95 percent. From that, we gather that the increase did not exceed the level of 20 percent over the period of 30 years.¹³ However, even if the girls entered school, the number of drop-outs was not low. If we look at a 6-year elementary school, the graduation rate before the 1930s was between 20 to 50 percent, and a more stable level of 50 percent was maintained only after 1931. The gap between enrollment rate and graduation rate corresponded with economic power and the openness of families. Most of the girls who successfully graduated after 6 years of study were usually from well-off families.

The Taiwanese male elites, through their contacts and exchanges with Japanese society, learned about how Japanese women lived and received education early on; moreover, they were also familiar with the progressive ideas and activities of the new intellectuals in mainland China around the period of the 1911 revolution. As a result, the image of the New Woman — one who had modern knowledge and the ability to manage both family and work — slowly took shape in the minds of male intellectuals. Because of that, women were freed from the constraints of bound feet and were sent to school to learn “home economics and education”

¹² For reference on the meanings of the shift from foot-unbinding to female education in modern Taiwanese society, see Ko Ikujo. *Kindai Taiwan Josei Shi* (Modern Taiwan Women's History) (Keiso Shobo, 2001).

¹³ See You, 1987, pp. 87-88, p. 286.

such as Japanese language, crafts, composition and mathematics. In other words, they had to learn the new intellectual skills.¹⁴ Since the time prior to Japanese occupation, in families who had been accumulating cultural capital for a few generations, especially the ones that had provided the young women's fathers and brothers opportunities of new education, the resistance towards female education was not so strong. As for the families that felt the need for female education, some would consider sending their daughters to schools in Japan as well.

For example, Wu Xiao, the first Taiwanese female student sent to Japan, first followed the advice of her father and went to Xinlou School's Primary Section. Later, she was advised by her father to study in Japan. She did not like the idea of leaving home for a foreign place. She refused time and again, and finally her father said to her: "Why do you always defy what your father tells you? Children who don't listen to their parents are not filial children!" She finally succumbed to his pressure and went to Meiji Female School in 1899.¹⁵ Also, Lin Zhongheng of the famous Lin family in central Taiwan, who was studying at Chuo University in 1907, also called his 7 year old eldest daughter Lin Shuangtui to Tokyo and put her in Fujimi Elementary School, despite opposition from his wife. Until 1919 when she graduated from Aoyama Women's College Shuangtui received education in Japan.¹⁶

2. Rising Importance of Female Educational Level

We can analyze the formation of the significance of female educational level among the elite class from two perspectives. Firstly, after the 1920s, there was a tendency to focus on female educational level in the context of marriages of the upper class.¹⁷ The change in values was reflected in articles about marriages that were published in newspapers, magazines such as *Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpo* and *Taiwan Seinen*. The articles were usually formatted, but the names of the parents of both sides and the go-betweens, as well as the educational level of the brides and the grooms were always noted. From the articles, the couples were praised highly if they had a compatible educational level. Educational level became a measuring stick for evaluating whether the couple was a good match, and whether the two families were compatible with each other. Certainly, the old standard of family ranking among famous and entrepreneurial families continued to be used, but the fact that the educational level of the couples were considered for the first time indicates a dramatic change among upper classes in Taiwan. The result of the Taiwanese elites' unbinding their girls' feet and sending them to school in the 1900s became prominent in the 1920s. When families started to discuss and arrange marriages, the importance of a women's value was no longer focused on the size of the feet. Instead, the education of potential brides became the new symbol that represented the cultural level of the families, upbringing as well as social status. Sending girls to Japan to study

¹⁴ Ko Ikujo "Motomerareru Joseizo — Nihon Toji Shoki ni okeru Taiwan no Shakai Henyo wo Megutte (The Calling for a New Female Image — the Social Change of Taiwan in Early Japanese Colonial Rule)." *Chugoku Joseishi Kenkyu* (The Studies of the History of Chinese Women), No. 7, 1997.

¹⁵ "Taiwan no Joshi Ryugakusei (Female Foreign Students in Taiwan)," *The Taiwan Association's Report* (Taiwan Kyokai Kaiho), No. 64, January, 1904. Also, Wu Xiao, "Naichi Ryugaku Toji no Omoide (The Memories of the Days I Traveled and Studied in Japan)." In *The 30th Anniversary Publication*, edited by Taipei No. 3 Female High School Alumni Association, 1933, p.407.

¹⁶ *Du Congming. Hui I Lu* (Memoirs) Du Congming Scholarship Fund for Doctorates, 1973, pp. 227-229

¹⁷ Ko, Chapter 4.

was closely tied to the new importance of female education attached to external family relationships and the marriage market.

Secondly, the female students' motivation to study should not be dismissed. From the 1920s, the new model for Taiwanese young females was to go from *shogakko/ kogakko* to female high school. In the later half of the 1930s, when high school education was not enough to satisfy most of female students, many began to explore the route of pursuing tertiary education either in Taiwan or in Japan. When the consciousness of competitiveness and the social hierarchical order penetrated female education, the motivation to pursue studies further and compete with others forced this generation of women to think about their future and take action for the development of their own life course. A survey conducted by Yamamoto Reiko on Taiwanese graduates from female high schools before the war provides insight into whether young women had the desire to continue their studies. Responding to a multiple choice question about the intention of entering the school, the ones who replied that they decided to pursue studies "on their own will" ranked highest with 83 percent. Out of other answers, 40 percent answered that they did so because of "recommendations by parents," and 20 percent said it was because of "recommendations by teachers."¹⁸ When these young women were allowed to maximize their length of study, like young men of the generation, they would not stop at secondary education, but went beyond that. It became possible for them to make their way in the world through developing their own life course tailored for high positions such as teachers and doctors. For these ambitions, graduating from high school was the minimum requirement, and if one wanted to obtain a tertiary education background, studying outside of Taiwan became indispensable.

Taiwanese female students went to Japan to major in medicine, pharmacy, home economics, music and art.¹⁹ Compared to the Taiwanese male students who entered universities in Japan and consciously chose subjects that would help them build their future career, such as doctors, lawyers, and low level civil servants, the reason for studying in Japan was slightly different for female students. More emphasis was placed on creating an environment that was conducive for these young women to freely develop their interests and abilities, and to let them acquire a higher level of education beyond high school, as a way to extend their upbringing as daughters from upper class families. The fact that music, art and home economics became the favorite subjects among female students from Taiwan showed that they tended to base their choices on personal interests as compared to male students. In addition, medicine and pharmacy were also popular among Taiwanese female students. As medicine was tied to high status occupations in society, it was also popular among male students. However, what was unique about female students choosing this major was that daughters also became objects of interest in the strategies of the elite class to maintain or obtain the honor and status of their family.²⁰ Of those who aimed at studying medicine, many chose the subject to fulfill the expectations of their families with members who were doctors, but there was also strong support from families who had no such expectations.²¹ For pharmacy, many of them chose the subject so that they

¹⁸ Yamamoto, p. 116.

¹⁹ Yu, 1987, p. 199.

²⁰ You Jianming (Translated by Kanamaru Yuichi) "Shokuminchiki no Taiwanseki Joi ni tsuite (Taiwanese Female Doctors During the Colonial Period)" (*Rekishi Hyoron*, No. 8, 1994). Also, You Jianming. "Riju Shiqi Taiwan de Zhiye Funu (The Female Occupations in Colonial Taiwan)." (Doctorate Thesis for the Graduate School in History at Taiwan Normal University, 1995).

could marry doctors in the future. For this reason, there was also a tendency to choose specialized schools rather than universities. From 1925 to 1941, the total number of entry students who chose medicine and various kinds of pharmacy schools amounted to 2,411. A total of 742 chose dressmaking schools, music schools, English schools and other specialized schools, and 95 chose other vocational schools; whereas only 38 chose to enter universities.²²

3. Sphere of Activity and Networks

From Table 1, we can interpret that the increase of female foreign students after the 1930s was related to the activities of the elites from Taiwan spreading to Japan. In terms of movement of goods, after Taiwan was colonized by Japan, Japan replaced China as the destination of export. Whereas Taiwan sent out food and materials, particularly agricultural processed goods, to Japan, Japan exported industrial products to Taiwan. Taiwan was incorporated into the economic systems of its suzerain in the 1930s and complemented the Japanese economy.²³ In terms of human movement, businessmen became central in the frequent trade between Japan and Taiwan. [Figure 8] Although the number of passengers to Japan was less than 5,000 per year until the 1920s, it doubled during the late 1930s, and grew to more than 10,000 people each year, and further exceeded 10,000 in 1939.²⁴ Japan also replaced the coastal area of Mainland China to become the main sphere of activity for the elites in Taiwan for business, travel and study.

Two factors that determined the possibility of female students studying in Japan were the economic strength of the families, and their networks with Taiwanese in Japan. If we look at the families of the people who studied in Japan, we find one or more of the following circumstances: 1. their brothers and parents had experience studying in Japan; 2. their families had business relationships with Japan; 3. either their relatives, friends were in Japan or had real estate there. Owing to such networks, many of these female students went to Japan with their parents, brothers or relatives, and most of their problems from school entrance procedures to lodging were well taken care of.²⁵

Furthermore, colonial education that focused on national language and assimilative education permeated the students' studies and offered the foundation for them to study in Japan. In particular, students from Taiwan not only learned the Japanese language, but also haiku, Japanese poems, the tea ceremony, and various other kinds of Japanese etiquette.²⁶ Like Wu and her companions, when they saw the scenery of Setonaikai at the time of the voyage, it was almost a vindication of the imperial landscape with which they had become familiar through textbooks. For these female students who could speak Japanese like their native language, going to Japan to study was not so much "going abroad," rather, it was more similar to the mental

²¹ An Interview with Jian Shuxun, a graduate at Showa Women's Pharmacy School in 1944. (May 15, 2001)

²² You, 1987, pp.198-199.

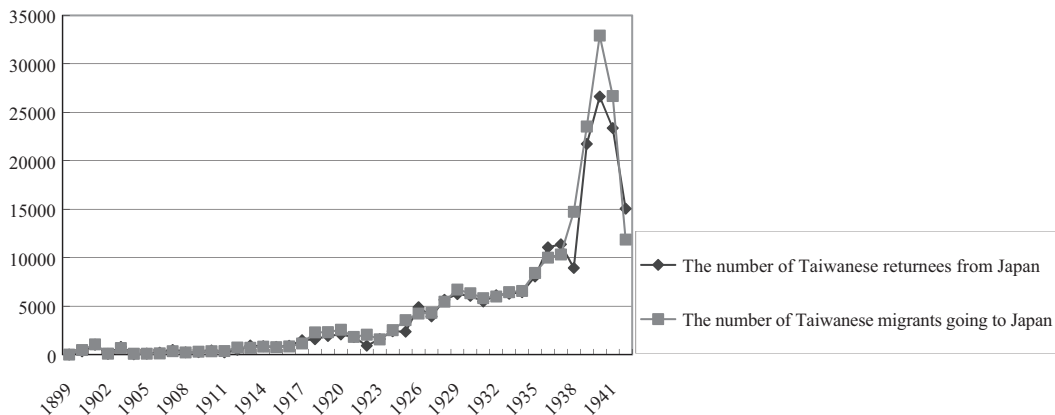
²³ Zhang Zonghan. *Kwangfu Qian Taiwan Zhi Gongyehua* (Industrialization of Taiwan before Restoration.) Lianjing Publishers, 1995. Also Dong Jiasheng "Taiwan Jingjishi Gaishuo (Taiwanese Economic History)," 1955, pp. 1-42. (Taiwan Banking and Economic Research Center ed. History of Taiwanese Economy, Part 2. 1955, pp. 1-42.)

²⁴ *The Statistics of Taiwan in the Past 51 Years*, Edited by the Chief Administrative Office of Taiwan, 1946, Chart 94.

²⁵ You, 1987, p. 197.

²⁶ Ko, Chapter 3.

FIG. 8. THE NUMBER OF TAIWANESE MIGRANTS AND RETURNEES TO AND FROM JAPAN



state of students who moved to Tokyo from other districts of Japan. Graduating from Jilong Female High School in 1941, Jian Shuxun who entered Showa Women's Pharmacy School in Tokyo recalled, "We were not suffering from language problems like the present foreign students, since the school education in Taiwan was the same as in Japan, thus we didn't have to worry much." "Studying in Japan was comparatively easy to get used to for the students from Taiwan. This is because we had experience traveling in Japan while we studied in Taiwan. When we moved from the third year to the fourth year of high school, there was a trip to Japan, and most of us participated."²⁷ The absence of a language barrier and the familiarity with Japanese culture were points on which these students fundamentally differed from the female foreign students from China at that time or the foreign students from other countries after the war.

4. The Function of Church

Many of the Taiwanese female students had a Christian background. Christian families were found to be more concerned about women's education than non-Christian families. Their mothers and other female family members had contact with female missionaries, and they had been exposed to Western "modern" culture in terms of music and food. Also, in most traditional Taiwanese families before the colonization of Japan, young women were seldom educated. However, young women of Christian families, through the influence of missionaries, learned Taiwanese language notations through the alphabet, and started reading the Bible. From the experience of church activities, their parents who had a comparative understanding of the outside world generally held an open attitude towards their daughters' education. These characteristics are revealed in an interview. Jian Shuxun, whose four out of five sisters studied

²⁷ Interview conducted by Ko Ikujo, Sudo Mizuyo with Jian Shuxun, "Interview with Jian Shuxun — Nihon, Taiwan de no Joshi Kyoiku no Omoide (Recollections of Studying in Japan.)" *Chugoku Joseishi Kenkyu* (The Studies of the History of Chinese Women) No.12, 2003, pp. 31-38. In a supplementary interview taken on April 3, 2004, Jian repeated the same thing.

in Japan, suggested that Christian families do not discriminate between boys and girls in terms of their enthusiasm towards education. They also put much energy in placing art into education. She emphasized, "All of my brothers and sisters are all educated, and I think this is because our family is Christian."²⁸ In the case of Wu Yue'e as well, her grandmother was attracted to the way a so-called "Teacher Ana," who taught Sunday School hymnals, played the organ, and then persuaded her family that her granddaughter should be sent to a female school. Wu could go to Japan to study also because her mother convinced her father by saying, "If our daughter could become a doctor, it would be a family honor."²⁹

In the study of Taiwanese elites by Wu Wenxing who focused on the transformation of male intellectuals, Japanese new-style education, which was popular among Christian Taiwanese, especially followers of the Presbyterian Church, did not reach general Taiwanese. Wu pointed out that the percentage of Christians was small in the overall population, at the same time, the admission rate of Christian students into the medical school of the Taiwan Governor General was very high. Moreover, most of the students who studied in Japan were also Christians. The main reason was that Christian families were more likely to become exposed to Western education at an early stage as compared with general Taiwanese.³⁰

Considering from an economic point of view, as compared to families who had doubts about sending daughters to study abroad, Christian female students were encouraged by pastors and parents to study in Japan. In addition, outside of school, the church activities on weekends always played an important role for students who studied in Japan.³¹ They went to church, and thus were able to form much more intimate networks than general Taiwanese students.

Conclusion

This essay examines the reasons why Taiwanese female students went to Japan to study during the period of Japanese colonization both from the perspective of the colonial policies and the perspective of the society of the colonized. First of all, there was a great gap between the educational environment of Taiwan as strictly controlled by Japanese colonial policies and the needs of the Taiwanese elites. This gap, which was not bridged until the end of the war, became the main structural reason for the increase of Taiwanese female students in Japan. Even though in contents the regime placed emphasis on assimilation of education by emphasizing Japanese, in terms of structure, however, the fundamental posture of reducing costs to the minimum created a great gap in the contents and facilities between education received by Taiwanese students and education received by Japanese students in Taiwan. When Taiwanese female students tried to enter a higher level of education, not only were they disadvantaged in terms fundamental abilities, but they also faced the problems of the schools' small capacities and the intense competition to pass entrance examinations. Some of the young females were

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Wu Yue'e, p. 38.

³⁰ Wu Wenxing, *Riju Shiqi Taiwan Lingdao Jieceng Zhi Yanjiu* (The Study of Taiwanese Elites during Japanese Occupation.) Zhengzhong Shudian, 1992, pp. 141-144. According to the author, the children from Christian families received a good education, and became part of the social backbone. Through the new type of education, the children from Christian families who were motivated and positive succeed in their pursuit of class mobility.

³¹ Wu Yue'e, p. 55.

deterred by such structural factors. The ones who were born in well-off families aimed at studying in Japan.

Next, from the trend of the social activities of Taiwanese, another important background that supported female students to study in Japan was the aspiration towards modernization by Taiwanese elites who were continuously influenced by international political changes since the end of the 19th century, or the new meaning attached to daughters' educational level as a class symbol of the families. Yet another important factor was the colonization of Taiwan, which induced Taiwan to slowly move away from China and link up with Japan, and encouraged elite families to expand their activities in Japan. Because of the colonial policy implemented through education programs on Japanese language and assimilation, when these female students went to Japan to study, they often did not hesitate because of the language and culture so familiar to them.

If we put aside the well off families, the ordinary families which had limited economic resources, investment in their daughters' education also made upward mobility possible. We can say that studying in Japan was a "family strategy" at the time for the elites of Taiwan to mobilize economic and human resources to face various restrictions and discrimination under colonial rule. On the other hand, since education in Taiwan was not free, let alone studying in Japan, many of them did not have the opportunity to receive education beyond elementary school. Under the control of colonialism, from the choices of education available corresponding to financial power and cultural openness, we witness two conflicting cultural scenes, as revealed by the division between elite families and ordinary families of Taiwan society. These two types of class cultures did not merge but continued after the war.