

Constructing the History of Sociology in Taiwan

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Draft Paper. Comments are welcome but please do not quote without author’s permission. Also, part of this article was based on previous studies done by Mau-kuei Chang (2005) and by Mau-kuei CHANG, Ying-Hwa CHANG and Chi-chieh TANG (2010). The author takes the liberty using some of the previous findings; but he is solely responsible for contents presented at here.

This paper presents a general sketch of the development of sociology as a discipline of social sciences in Taiwan. In the beginning I provide an updated outlook of the discipline, including personnel and institutional statistics throughout different period of time. In the second section I discuss the early origin sources for sociology in Taiwan up till 1950’s. And it includes laying down the foundation for post war sociology in Taiwan leading to increasing dependence on the U.S. The third section discusses an important indigenization movement which had lasted for about 30 years in Taiwan for self-legitimation and meaningful relevance. And in the last section I will present two aspects “internalization” of sociology, the emergence of comparative studies and transnational studies in Taiwan as a new scholarship.

Section 1: Institutional Outlook of Sociology in Taiwan

The fastest way to know the sociology community in Taiwan is to check the changing of the Taiwanese Sociological Association (the TSA). The TSA was renamed after the Chinese Sociological Society (the CSS) in 1995. The CSS was first established in Shanghai in 1920, and was “revived” in Taipei in 1951 after the interruption of wars, or two years after the Rep. of China lost the mainland China to Communists

revolution and became an emigrate regime ruling Taiwan from Taipei.

In the period from 1951 to 1970's, the CSS was relatively inactive, lacking the ability to sustain itself with little professional autonomy. For instance, it had not initiated academic conferences, and could hold association meetings in very other years only. And normally there were no more than a handful professors attending the CSS meeting. The CSS became more active since 1980's, when a small number of new PhDs. returned to Taiwan after obtaining trainings in the U.S. They began to initiate academic conferences and annual conferences with negotiated support from government agencies for social welfare or education.

However, the organization still faced difficulties despite of growing interests and participations. For period of the 1980s, only around ten scholars presented their studies with one or two pages of abstracts during the afternoon sessions of CSS's meetings. A turning point was the annual meeting held in January of 1998. A conference, in which sociologists presented the outcome from the research project supported by the National Science Council grants, was organized. Forty four papers were presented in the occasion in conjunction with the preparatory office of Sociology at Academia Sinica. Since then the annual meeting become more and more eventful. Table-1 illustrates how many papers were read in the past few annual conference. By last five years, an average of more than 100 papers, competitively selected, not including poster papers or round tables, were read during these meetings.

Table-1: Total Numbers of Papers Read at TSA Annual Conferences

Another indicator is professional journal. The official publication of the Association had been first the *Journal of Chinese Sociology*, and then became the *Taiwanese Sociological Review* (since 1996). In the beginning the *Journal of Chinese Sociology* was a non-refereed journal published once every year, and sometimes got delayed because of insufficient submissions. Today the TSA published twice every year, and is ranked as one of the top refereed journals among social sciences community.

In addition, the TSA published newsletters regularly since 1997. The newsletters after 1997 covered a range of "community affairs". It include interesting and innovative ideas on teaching, reflections in readings and in research, discussions of preliminary findings in research, advocating public sociologies, general announcements and etc. The newsletter helped to strengthen is a platform for community building.

In a most recent released statistics, the TSA has 436 individual members and 24

organization members. Out of individual members, 64% (or 279) are employed sociologists, while the others (36%, or 134) are students.

Since not all sociologists are effective members of the TSA , a recent count indicated that about 539 active sociologists (broadly defined) are employed in various higher education institutions. (The count was first completed by Dr. Hei-Yuan Chiu in 2007, and was revised and updated by a research team with Ying-Hwa Chang, Mau-kuei Chang, Shuo-bin Su and Kan-lin Hsu in year 2010). We estimate that 95.6% (515) of them hold doctoral degrees. Table-2 illustrates the increase of sociologists with doctoral degrees in years, and Table-3 is about the total numbers of sociologists and their distribution in various departments in 2010.

Table-2 Sociologists with Doctoral Degrees in Years

Table-3 Sociologists and their Departments in 2010

From the above two tables, one can say that sociologists in Taiwan have increased significantly in past 40 years. And today the majority of them are not employed at various departments of sociology. The departments of sociology employ less than one-third of the total. Sociologists, broadly defined, are scattered in social welfare and social work, humanities and general education, education and communication, and in diversified social science institutions.

Table-4 and Table-5 explains where have the sociologists been trained for their doctoral degrees. According to Dr. Hei-yuan Chiu's estimate (Table-4), in year 2007, the majority of Taiwan's sociologists (narrowly defined, about 314 in total) were trained in the U.S. for their doctoral degrees. The percentage was 50.47%. The concentration of U.S. trained sociologists was followed by local (Taiwan) trained sociologists, which occupied 27.41% of the total. The next would be sociologists trained in U.K. (8.72%) and in Germany (8.1%). And those trained in France and Japan, and other places were rather limited.

Table-5 is to regroup the earned degrees in countries and in very five years. (This graph based on Albert Tseng's recent blog post titled: Where have the sociologists come from? <http://wp.me/p17Hsv-55>. Tseng based his analysis on Prof. Hei Yuan Chiu's early study, and updated it with his own firsthand information. I am grateful for both of their work.)

The trend is very illuminating about the rising influences of American degrees in the early years, and continues even until year 1995~1999. Its domination is clearly shown. But the trend shifted dramatically since year 2000. Recent younger sociologists are more likely to be trained in Taiwan or elsewhere than in the early days, though many of their teachers may have been trained in the U.S.. This shifting

is very interesting. How do we make out of the shifting, from the U.S. to Taiwan and other places, or what will be the cohort impact on sociology because of this shifting, requires more thorough studies before we can make definite conclusion.

Table -4: Doctor Degrees by Countries (2007)

Table-5: Doctor Degrees by Countries and Years

Another look at the institutional development of sociology is to check group memberships of the TSA. In year 2010, there are 24 departments and institutes are listed as TSA sponsoring organizations. Table-6 indicates the composition of the 24 group members. The list indicates that only 10 out of the 24 are sociology (only) teaching or research organizations. And the other 14 are joined programs of sociology with other divisions, or sociology of a special domain. Out of the joined programs, culture, gender, education, technology and information make up the largest categories. Next to it is sociology and social welfare/work (4), and sociology and economy and developmental policy (2). This distribution of group membership indicates a recent extension and diversification of sociology teaching and research into more applied and topical areas, while traditional sociology departments have grown slower.

Table-6: Organization Members of the TSA (2010)

A Narrative Account: In the following, we provide a brief narrative account of the history of institutional development in Taiwan. The growth in institution of sociology took a long journey. First, during early 1950's, the bitter experiences of failure in competing for popular support during the Civil War in China may have made the exiled KMT government suspicious of sociology and sociologists. Sociology had not been on the priority list of higher education for some time until 1980's. And, when taking into account of the need for the training of civilian bureaucrats, a department of social administration was founded in the *Taiwan Provincial Administrative Junior College* (臺灣省立行政專科學校). This was the first department relevant to sociology that was ever founded in Taiwan. And As this College was upgraded to *Taiwan Provincial College of Law and Business* (臺灣省立法商學院) (and later *Chung-hsing University*), in 1955, this department was renamed as department of sociology. (Today, the University is called National Taipei University, 國立台北大學). However, the real institutional foundation for today's sociology had not occurred before 1956, when Taiwan eventually became an ally, or a protectoral state, of the U.S. after the signing of Sino-American Mutual Defense Treaty.

At then only *Tunghai University*, a private university supported by American Christian missionary, the United Board for Christian Colleges in China, was permitted to establish a department of sociology (1956). It was first led by an American sociologist, Dr. Mark Thelin (練馬可), who happened to be a passionate and devoted scholar with strong faith in Christianity. On the other hand, emigrate Chinese sociologists in Taiwan were not as lucky. Despite the appeal from sociologists in general, only several sociology departments were successfully founded in mid 1960s. The significant development took place when Professor Martin M. C. Yang (楊懋春) returned to Taiwan from the U.S.. Yang had taught rural sociology in various campuses in the U.S.. He joined with others of mainland origin successfully persuading the Ministry of Education to build a department of sociology and an institute of rural social economy in the National Taiwan University, on the precondition that these two units would be subsidized by the Asian Foundation of the U.S. (Yang, 1980).

In retrospect, from year 1956 to 1965, it was an important decade for sociology's early institutional development. But the main character of this period was the beginning of the dependence on the U.S.. By dependence, I mean at least two aspects: 1) receiving U.S. support and encouragement for social sciences through U.S. aid to Taiwan, and 2) sending younger teachers to the U.S. for training when seeing the U.S. as the only or the best place in the world for sociology training.

The dependence on the U.S. was also triggered by the strategic alliance between Taiwan and the U.S. The U.S. wished to push the defeated KMT regime to reform, and to shape its developmental policies with social sciences, not with political ideology of Dr. Sun Yat-sun. And, above all, the U.S. had wished to entice the KMT government to move toward the developmental direction which the U.S. had preferred.

Eventually there were three major agencies to lead sociology development in the early period: *Tunghai University* (since 1956), *National Taiwan University* (since 1960), and later, the *Institute of Ethnology in Academia Sinica* (since 1975, and later the *Institute of Sociology*, 1995). However, they were having only very small room for autonomy since the KMT party-state were stringent in supervising academic enterprises, not just about sociology, but about social sciences and humanities in general.

Since late 1980's, social sciences have enjoyed a relatively faster growth which was largely encouraged by political liberalization, wave of social movements and growth in economy at the same time. Sociology was able to capitalize on the trend. In 1996, sociologist ranked the status of sociology as the 3rd, next to Economics and Law (Chang, 1996). The rising of status implies that sociologists have gained

self-confidence and positive responses from the general public. Sociology and sociologists can compete against the most established disciplines now.

Also in mid-1980s, the previous government ban on new private colleges or universities was removed as a part of education liberalization. With the recognized status of sociology, another wave to found new departments or master program of sociology began to appear in private universities. The growth of sociology departments has been less dramatically than the more applied-oriented departments, such as social welfare or social work and mass communication. Nevertheless, the demand for sociologists in higher education is in general increasing substantially. The reasons are that sociology as a basic social science is usually included in the teaching program of departments with applied character and that sociologists can play an appropriate role in the teaching of general knowledge program. The increase of research institutes is another obvious development in addition to the growth of sociologists. In general, the number of sociology departments remains almost constant. Nevertheless, research institutes offering master program have increased steadily. The first two PhD. programs were established in 1981 (at Tunghai University) and 1985 (at Taiwan University), and another two in 2004 and 2005. When the discipline has programs from undergraduate to Ph. D., it is demanding well trained talent in teaching and in research.

In the meantime, social welfare and social work program which had been included in the department of sociology since 1950s began to separate from sociology to found their respective independent departments one after another. The trend began in 1983, when a new department of social work was transformed from the social work program in the Department of Sociology, Tunghai University. The trend is yet another sign of professional growth of sociology on university campus.

In the following section we will outline three strands of influences in the early days that have helped to lay the foundation of contemporary sociology. They are important in various ways, such as helping to justify the contribution of sociological studies and knowledge, helping to bring resources to institution building and educating younger generation who later became leaders, and helping to enrich the understanding of the traditional or indigenous (Taiwanese) society at a later time.

Section 2: The Early Origins of Social Sciences (Ethnology and Taiwan Studies)

1. Colonial Beginning of “Taiwan Studies” (1895-1945)

In Taiwan, the birth of sociological knowledge began during the time when Taiwan was a colony of Japan (1895~1945). Before 1895, Taiwan had been a frontier

of Great Qing Dynasty for about two hundred years, and eventually became a Province during Qing's last ten-year sovereign power. Though Chinese immigrants and civilization had had been advancing on the island for some time, at least one-third to one-half of the island were still under the control of many resilient aborigine groups. Borders that separated the advancing groups and the aborigines were forcefully guarded from time to time, mostly by "Sinicized" aborigine armed forces. The level of modernization, in refereeing to infrastructure building, administration, science and modern education, citizenship of nation-state, were relatively underdeveloped for the remote province until the last few years of Manchu's rule.

As a new colonialist regime, the rising power in the world, and the most westernized country in Asia, Japan ruled Taiwan with a strong ambition, attempting to build it as a "model" colony in a world used to be dominated by other Western powers. With the establishment of Taiwan *Sotogofu* (Governor's Palace), and the exceptional conditions of Taiwan, political powers became centralized in to the hands of the governor's office whereas Taiwanese people were having little political sayings.

An important imperial officer for laying the foundation of Japanese rule, which helped to lead Taiwan's modern day modernization, was *Goto Shinpei* (後藤新平). *Goto* became the Head of Civilian Affairs in 1898, and he orchestrated massive surveys for "scientific rule" of the new acquired land and people, about their culture, traditions, and old customs. These studies, generally known as *Taiwan Old Customs Surveys* (台灣舊慣調查) today became valuable resources for studying Taiwan's history. Another famous example for its later influences was the volumes edited and compiled by a middle-rank bureaucrat, *Ino Kanori* (伊能嘉矩), titled *Books on Taiwanese Culture* (台灣文化志).

And after nearly ten-year in military expeditions against many disobedient groups, many were aborigines living in the treacherous mountain regions, roughly since 1905, the Taiwan *Sotogofu* launched more "scientific racial groups studies", old customs of aborigines. These studies were related to military and bureaucratic functions, but also pioneered the early development of ethnographic knowledge in Taiwan. Many of the today's knowledge about Taiwan's Austronesian populations, such as linguistic systems, traditional rituals, kinships, rites of passages, mythologies, and above all, the system of ethno-racial distinctions were based on the foundation that were laid down by Japanese officials and scholars. Many of the materials could be found in two journals published during then: *The Journal of the Association of Aboriginal Affairs Studies*, and the *Bulletin of the Tokyo Anthropological Society*.

The Japanese was also instrumental to bring the study of anthropology to higher

education institution. *Taihoku* Imperial University (台北帝國大學), the first modern university in Taiwan's history, was found in 1928 in Taipei (now the Taiwan University). Various "Study Offices" for sociology, "southern culture", and "folklore and ethnology", and "folklore studies" were introduced as branches to further pursuing knowledge about indigenous societies. One of the renowned scholar who left many important sources to later generations was *Utsurikawa Nenozo* (移川子之藏), he could be credited as the founding figure of anthropology of Taiwan's Austronesian populations. Behind series and scientific studies of many Taiwan indigenous peoples, Japan was herself going through a "nation-and-empire building" era. It was in the process of "differential incorporation" of the newly annexed territories: Hokkaido, Okinawa and Taiwan in to the larger Japanese Empire. (Chen 1998, Wu 2003)

Looking back, because social scientific studies of Taiwan were almost exclusively supported by the colonial government; and to conduct scientific study and to rule Taiwan was not clearly distinguished. Social science interests were primary limited to folklore and ethnographic recordings. Modern day sociology about social issues and problems, like inequality and stratification, domination and exclusion, community and social change, were largely absent. This was especially so after the escalation of Pacific War since 1936, and the intensification of *Kominka* campaign (or Japanization movement, 皇民化運動).

However, there are some notable exceptions which helped to inspire future sociologists. The first one was *Taiwan Cultural Association* (台灣文化協會). The association was found as an enlightenment venue and a political voice from young Taiwanese intellectuals and gentries, who became versed with citizen rights, social inequality, discrimination, and self-determination in the colonial system. They were native Taiwanese but managed to achieve modern outlooks with through Japanese education. From the surviving fragments we now know only that the Taiwanese Culture Association had arranged lectures on "sociology" (Zou 1981). We also observe sociological insights in the discourses and the advocating practices of social reform.

The other would be the publication of the *Journal for Folklore Studies* (民俗研究) in 1941. This journal was founded by the Japanese biological anthropologist *Kanaseki Takeo* (金關丈夫). It published and advocated the preservations and significances of Taiwanese traditions and communities, and demographic findings when Japanese government was eager to mobilize Taiwanese people, and to erase Taiwanese heredities for intensifying *Kominka* campaign.

In 1945, Japan surrendered and was obliged to give Taiwan back to the Allies and to Nationalistic Chinese Government. The legacies of previous said folklore and ethnographic studies, and empirical findings were nearly completely severed, erased,

or forgotten for the change of regime in Taiwan. Political de-colonization process and the incoming of mainlander scholars who had little sympathy or prior knowledge with Japanese “scientific” accomplishments in Taiwan worsen the break-up of continuity. But the Japanese indeed had left behind them the *Taihoku* Imperial University, voluminous ethnographic and folklore findings, and above all, a well-trained first Taiwanese sociologist, *Shao-hsing Chen* (陳紹馨), who later became influential in advocating Taiwan as a sociological laboratory of experiment because of its diversities and richness in the past.

2. Diaspora Chinese Government and Sojourn Chinese Scholars (1945-1950s)

Chinese sociologists who arrived in Taiwan in 1949 were also influential for later sociology development. First, regime changed hands in 1946 had created profound confrontations between local people and the new government. And then soon was it trapped in the Civil War between the Nationalist and the Communist Chinese. Taiwan was turned into a “military base to counter-attack Mainland China”, and soon a frontline country, or the “Free China”, during the Cold War era since 1951.

Wars, nationalistic missions and geopolitical confrontations have had profound influences on the history of sociology development. In 1945, the *Taihoku* Imperial University was renamed as the National Taiwan University. In the currents of the “re-Sinicization” (再中國化), the Study Office for Folklore and Ethnology” was renamed the “Study Office for Ethnology” (民族學研究室). Shao-hsing Chen was one of three people who were in charge of taking over the faculty of literature and politics, and was later appointed to the department of history, leading this study office. And Taiwanese indigenous population, the *Takasago Zoku* (高砂族) now became the *Gao Shan Zu* (Mountain Peoples) a constitutive member of the Chinese nation.

In 1949 the national government and its army retreated into Taiwan. Along with them a large number of mainlander Chinese scholars, most of them were pro Kuomintang nationalists. China, the lost motherland they wish to return to and to be united with, lives on in their studies. Taiwan was seen as a surrogate of home country, or, in eyes of these sojourners, a temporary shelter and the “others.”

The Department of Archaeology and Anthropology was founded in the National Taiwan University at this time to house Chinese nationalistic scholars to continue their previous studies of Chinese nations and civilizations. Its first director was Li Chi (李濟), who was famous for his leadership in the digging of the archaeological site of the Shang-Period in Anyang (安陽), province Hebei. Most of the teachers in this department had been researching Chinese ancient history, archaeology in mainland

China, or minorities in China. Only some paid attention to the aborigines. Their primary aim was to explain the formation of the Chinese nations and civilizations, even when come to understand the Austronesian aborigines (Huang 1983).

However, it deserves special mentioning of two local sociologists whose works influenced somewhat the later development of sociology in Taiwan at this period. First, it was Ambrose Yeo-chi King (金耀基), who was the first to introduce functionalistic ideas, Weberian thoughts and modernization theory into Taiwan; and second, Shao-hsing Chen mentioned in above, native Taiwanese sociologist trained by Japanese.

King's book *From Traditional to Modernization* (從傳統到現代) was published in 1966. Originally it was a text for popular talks and could not count as serious academic work. In spite of this, his key concern and key argument, to apply the sociological knowledge about the rise of modern civilization to the Chinese case, and to put this knowledge in a key position in the transformation of Chinese society toward modernization, echoed the long term concern of Chinese intellectuals and earned a wide resonance. In addition, this book matched the current of progressive thought, the desire of state for economic growth as well as the young intellectual's dissatisfaction with tradition and authoritarian rule in that time, so it produced a widespread effect and influenced the collective problematic of social sciences later.

Different from King, who was influenced by structural-functionalism à la Parsons, Shao-Hsin Chen's resource of thought was from Japanese and classical sociology. He was keen to the study of the transformation of Taiwanese society. In the article "Social Change in Taiwan" Chen (1979[1956]) analyzed the transformation of society Taiwan's according to the change of the principle of social integration. There the history of Taiwan was divided into three phases: tribal society, folk society, and national or civil society. Facing the situation that foreign scholars chose Taiwan as surrogate field for mainland China, Chen (1966) wrote at the same time a Chinese and an English article "Taiwan as Laboratory for the Study of Chinese Society and Culture". There he reminded mildly that Taiwan was a self-sufficient object with good research conditions. Taiwan was not only a good laboratory to understand China, but itself also a treasure for social science studies. Its implication, to seek and to build the subjectivity of local sociology, was heuristic for the latecomers who promoted a more radical indigenous reflection movement.

3. Intellectual Ferment and calling for new Social Sciences: Seminal Study of "Chinese Characters" (ca. 1970-1980),

During the year between 1970s and 1980, Taiwanese people witnessed rising living standards in urban areas, and also rising expectations for political reforms. This was

especially so among younger generation who became exposed to western influences and modernization ideas. However, the triggering events for the outpouring of sentiments for democratic reforms in name of intellectual patriotism were major international setbacks. The first major one took place in 1971, the Republic of China (led by the KMT government in Taiwan) lost its seat in the United Nations. Now the majority of nation-states in the world came to recognize that the PRC as the sole legitimate representative government of China. In the following year, 1972, Japan recognized the PRC and broke its official diplomatic relations with Taiwan while angering former Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. In 1978 ROC lost the recognition of its most important supporter and protector in the international political system, the U.S. This external crisis influenced the internal dynamics and stimulated waves of civil and intellectual demands for more reforms.

Against this background, we observed rising intellectual patriotism and autonomous attempts for root-searching in many social, cultural, and political aspects. For instance, in the field of literature, there was the movement called “back to the xiangtu” (鄉土, homeland and country) with strong emphasis on social realism. In the field of arts Hwai-min LIN (林懷民) claimed that the Chinese should dance their own dance” and founded now the internationally well-known dance troupe: “Cloud Gate”(雲門舞集). And in the field of popular songs a current of “campus folksongs” (校園民歌) with the slogan “sing our own songs” was widespread.

Similarly, a young generation promoted reform in the field of politics. The young reformers within the KMT, including Kuo-shu YANG (楊國樞), Jun-hung CHANG (張俊宏), and Hsin-liang HSU (許信良), gathered themselves around the *Intellectual Magazine* (大學雜誌). Outside the KMT there were opponents such as Shin-cheih HUANG (黃信介) and Ning-hsiang KANG (康寧祥) who rose up to the national political stage. Chang and Hsu became opponents later and founded together with Huang and Kang in 1975 *Taiwan Political Review* (台灣政論) that became the pioneer of forthcoming dissentient political journals. Since then the opponent movement built gradually its contour.

Since the larger environment was filled with yearnings for reform originated from self-assertive young intellectuals, opportunities appeared to favor the growth of sociology. The new generation of social scientists who were born in mainland China but grew up in Taiwan, and trained in the U.S., earned influence in the academy as well as in the other areas. This generation was on the one hand very interested in the interdisciplinary team work that became popular in the U.S. in that time. But on other hand these young scholars were unsatisfactory with the universal propositions of the American or Western style social sciences. They pursued

therefore a new thought and a new practice for the study of social sciences, namely behavioral sciences and interdisciplinary studies. Through the team work of scholars with different disciplinary background they hoped to push the study of the local (Chinese) society towards the direction of progress.

One most notable illustration was the collaborative project called “The Character of Chinese” (中國人的性格) The outcome of these interdisciplinary “social behavior” studies of “Chines-ness” marked a milestone of Taiwan’s own advancement in social sciences. “The Character of the Chinese” published as an in-house publication by the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica in 1971. They advocated a new research method of social sciences instead of the traditional historical, literary or philosophical into the Taiwanese academy. They attempt to study the Chinese “Characters”, or to be precise, the particular social, historical and psychological properties or situations of the Chinese nation. In answering these questions, Li & Yang (1988[1972]) hinted at the lack of the traditions of democracy and individualism in China and attributed the insufficient modernization to the widespread familism and collectivism. At the same time they criticized some other scholars as conservative nationalist, because these lacked the capacity of self-reflections and knew only to hold stubbornly the Chinese tradition.

This problematic assumed, however, that the social sciences in Taiwan were without doubt Chinese social sciences and Taiwan was the self-evident representative of China. Taking this as an evident departure, the earlier ethnological studies about Taiwanese folklores as well as Shao-hsing CHEN’s sociological studies which took Taiwan’s society as subject, which led to the search for Taiwanese identity were neglected, because these studies were treated as “local” and secondary in the framework of scholarship defined in the boundary of the entire Chinese nation.

At that time sociologists were not leading the pursuing of intellectual patriotism, but in the whole the sociological circle became far more active. In the middle of the 1970s Chung-i Wen of the institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, by training a historian, started to do community study with the assistance of some younger sociologists. This younger generation constituted the first critical mass for the sociological study in Taiwan and played an important role in the take-off of sociological studies in the 1980s.

Section 3: Roots Searching and Finding Relevance: changing faces of “Indigenization Movement” (ca. 1970’s~2000’s)

1. Early Indigenization (Sinicization) Movement (from about mid-1970s to 1990)

Indigenization nowadays is mostly referred to as synonym of “Taiwanization” or localization with an obvious political denotation of Taiwanese-ness. But this was not so in early indigenization movement of social sciences in Taiwan. It was about “Sinicization”, or “Chinese-nization”. It started with the Conference on the Character of the Chinese and published the after-conference symposium.

In the movement, they criticized social scientists in Taiwan for lacking ability of self-reflection in their knowledge activities. Their research at most was only a vassal to western social or behavioral sciences. The major claim of the movement was that western theories are not applicable to Chinese societies, and social sciences had to have some Chinese characteristics. And the concepts or theories resulting from the study of Chinese societies could contribute to social science knowledge in general, or world social sciences substantially. Although not a political movement, it implied a modernization agenda and also patriotism in pursuit of anti-authoritarian rule. Paradoxically, the movement was on the one hand opposed to political conservatism, and on the other hand encouraged modernization and westernization. Its supporters strongly asserted that only the westernized Chinese societies, such Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore, were qualified to the discourse of “Sinicization” since they had been “westernized enough” (Yang and Wen, 1982: vi). In other words, for those who have not “entered” western knowledge or social sciences, e.g., those unreflecting supporters of traditional learning, or communist China, are not entitled to discuss “Sinicization”.

The movement reached a high point in the early 1980s with three consecutive and cross-border conferences on the “Sinicization” of social sciences. The first, titled “Sinicization of Social and Behavioral Sciences”, was held at the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, Taipei, and the second, “Conference of Modernization and Chinese Culture, was held at the Chinese University of Hong Kong in 1983 (Chiao, 1985). The third was a small conference on Sinicization of sociology, organized by Yung-Mei TSAI in 1984 in Tempe, U.S.A. (Tsai and Hsiao, 1985).

In addition to these conferences, the issues of locally grounded knowledge and localization of social sciences have been prevailed in Taiwan’s community of social sciences, although “the local” has different reference.

2. The Recent “Indigenization”: Studies about Taiwan Society (After 1990)

The indigenization in the name of Sinicization is not compatible with the “Taiwanization” in political movement. However, unlike in other humanistic disciplines or in political science, sociologists in Taiwan found little difficulty to modify their perceptions on their works in terms of studying about Taiwan society, which is not correctly thought of as a representation of China. The change of views

was rather spontaneous for sociologists for they had been in fact practicing Taiwan studies already all along. When people began to stop using the term “Sinicization”, the term “indigenization” (*bentuhua*), and not “Taiwanization”, became the chosen term used in Taiwan’s sociological community. The transformation was quiet and was almost without any debate, except for in very few occasions.

Since 1980, China has opened gradually and sociology has also been recovered (Yen, 2004). In the second Conference of Social Sciences and Sinicization, previously mentioned, the scholars from cross Taiwan Strait, had their first encounter in Hong Kong. Those from Taiwan emphasized the Sinicization of theories and research and the critical reflection of western hegemony. Those from China, on the contrary, after a long way in the socialist development with Chinese characteristics, on the contrary, were eager earnestly to have an open society and learn practical strategies or approaches for social development, due to their long term isolated experience in the socialist development with Chinese characteristics.

In 1993, the Chinese Sociological Society of Taiwan organized an academic tour with the help and coordination of the Institute of Sociology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. Seventeen scholars visited sociology departments or institutes in the universities or research institutions, located at *Beijin, Tianjin, Shanghai, Nanjin, and Guangjou*. On the way of return, they stopped by the Chinese University of Hong Kong meeting with sociologists there. In preparing the tour, the participants discussed the name for the group. The final solution was to mention only academic visiting group of the Sociological Community in Taiwan (Newsletter, the Chinese Sociological Association, 1993). When China began to increase its contacts with international societies, Chinese academic community in Taiwan must adapt in naming itself. It was in the 1995 congress in Taipei, the name of Chinese Sociological Society was changed in to Taiwanese Sociological Association. The motion and the passing of the motion to change organization title took less than five minutes. A high consensus was shown among its members.

Roots searching and practicing sociology with local relevance, beware of blind-borrowing from the West could be said as the key ideas of indigenization movement throughout. Large-scale surveys and other fieldworks have been common sociological practices. Their major concerns have thus engaged in digging out social problems and studying social change (and no-change) in Taiwan. Today these ideas continue to receive strong support. For instance, in 1995, when the Institute of Sociology began to prepare for its establishment in Academia Sinica, it listed the ideas of indigenization as its paramount organization objective among others. It says that the major goal of this institute is “continuously encouraging Taiwan local research and defining the identity of Taiwan sociology.”

A second example is the establishment of Ph. Program in the Research Institute of Sociology in the National Tsing Hua University. Though the term “indigenization” was not raised up, in its organization agenda the ideas of indigenization in substance are written in many sentences. For instance, its first objective anticipates to “initiate new thinking and to build up new visions for Taiwan Society.” The second one anticipates the institute to “establish local relevant (indigenous) social theories” and to be an important base of sociological theories in Taiwan. The third is “to train the first rate sociologists for Taiwan.”

We have briefly described the persistency of a major concern of sociological development in Taiwan: knowingly understand that the development of sociology has been under the shadow of western social science, especially that of the U.S., many of Taiwan sociologists have tried to be reflexive on the teaching and research, and attempt to accumulate relevant “local” knowledge and be self-affirmative. They have consciously to situate their studies in the context of local society, and to engage meaningful dialogues with the West, and with other sociologies developed in other regions in the world.

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Section 4: Aspects of “Internationalization”: Comparative Studies and Transnational Studies

“Internationalization” is really a vague term which can mean many things for different circumstances. This paper proposes to focus on the comparative studies and transnational Studies of Taiwanese Sociology.

Cross-National Comparative Studies: East Asia region/countries are often used for comparative studies in Taiwan, such as South Korea, Japan, Mainland China, Hong Kong, Singapore and other places. Comparative studies were done in three different styles in Taiwan: The first style is direct comparison in empirical findings. This is possible because collaborative research with shared data archive. Scholars joined into a research team and employed standardized measurements. Two, it is indirect comparison in symposiums or in conferences whereas sociologists from each side present his/her own findings without making direct references to the others. The

third style refers to comparative study with comparative research design and methods, and with specific set of research problems. These are carried out by single authors in his/her own research questions.

South Korea has been frequently used as for comparison in two dimensions: one, paths and strategies for post war development (e.g., the East Asian Tigers, state-industry relations, or middle classes); and two, civil protests and political transformation (e.g., social movements and democratization). Notably examples are Hsin-Huang Michael HSIAO and his former students, Hwa-jen LIU (劉華真), Yoon-chul Park (朴允哲). (Recently, a young sociologist Michelle Fei-yu HSIEH has also delved into the study of different industrial strategies of the two countries.)

Mainland China is another country that often included for comparison in recent years, especially since 1980's when sociologists from the two sides held their first meeting in name of "Modernization" in Hong Kong Chinese University in 1983. Increasing contacts from both sides make comparative studies possible.

Given the proximity of China and Taiwan in terms of languages and cultural ideas, family studies come forward as a special focus point for comparison. Since China is too large for anyone to conduct direct comparison, cities like Taipei, Hong Kong, Tianjin, Shanghai and etc. become primary research interests (e.g., Ying-Hwa CHANG, Chin-Chun YI). Other topics are about stratification, middle classes, civil societies (e.g., Hsin-Huang HSIAO, Alvin SO, Tai-lok LUI, Po-shan WAN, Ka-ying WONG, Chun-ling LI, among others)

Unlike South Korea, interests in Taiwan studies in Japan have been strong, especially history, anthropology and contemporary identity politics, but not to do cross national comparative studies until recently (e.g., Asian Barometer Survey). However, given strong interests conducting exchange programs from the Tohoku University and other Institutions in Japan, and Taiwan University, the IOS of Academia Sinica in Taiwan, comparative studies in broader region may also increase.

On the other hand, for Taiwanese young sociologists, the interests in Japanese popular culture in Taiwan, Japan and its legacies regarding nationalistic politics, have also brought researchers' attention. This was especially so by the Inter-Asia studies, "thinking of the East Asia as a methodology" of the Cultural Studies circle (e.g., Kuang-Hsing CHEN, Horng-lun WANG and others).

The major institutions behind East Asian comparative studies in Taiwan are two: one is the PROSEA (Program of South East Asian Studies, 1994), which was renamed as the CAPAS (Center for Asian-Pacific Area Studies, 2001) of Academia Sinica. Both are headed by Michael Hsiao till 2009. The second one is the Institute of Sociology of Academia Sinica and its "Social Image Surveys" (beginning from 1990's), led by Chin-chun YI, Ying-hwa CHANG and Wen-shan YANG. Their counterpart in Hong Kong

has been the Center for Asian Pacific Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong. They together have initiated regular comparative studies for Taiwan and Hong Kong, and occasionally some cities in China are also included.

The PROSEA/CAPAS has been especially instrumental in the past in fostering collaborative studies across the region, with the Philippines, Singapore, Indonesian, Vietnam among other places involved, regarding various topics, such as the development of middle classes, civil societies and etc.

Transnational studies: unlike comparative studies, which are area- based, with cities, nation states defined in boundaries, transnational studies are about the study of “mobility” across boundaries, in particular national boundaries. Transnational studies can be understood also as an academic response to social consequences of globalization. Substantive research paradigms include Taiwan businessmen (台商) in China, Chinese diasporas (in south east Asian regions, formerly under the topic known as「華僑」), marriage immigrants (spouses of foreign origins,外籍配偶), guest workers (外勞), transnational civil groups (NGOs), global culture and etc. These studies are mostly done in multiple sites or fields, and require multiple linguistic skills when movement of people is concerned. Research questions are relatively new. Some receive more interests than other, such as gender relations, identity changes, ethnic contacts, intersections of gender, ethnic and class, citizen rights, and management and enterprise strategies.

Transnational studies are new scholarship, and most scholars are relatively younger (as compared to previous “indigenization movement” scholars), such as Hong-zen WANG, Hsiao-Chuan HSIA, Antonio CHAO, Yen-fen TSENG, Pei-cha LAN. They tend to be pro-active for transnational citizenship as well. The CAPAS of Academia Sinica has been also supportive for the development of new transnational studies.

Conclusion

In this paper, we propose that sociology in Taiwan began as “Taiwan area studies”, a colonial subject matter. Later, it went through the rehabilitation period in the rough time under Chinese nationalism. It was one-time almost totally U.S. dependent, but it has gone through a self-reflective indigenization movement period. In the 1990’s sociology became socially prominent and legitimate subject of learning in higher education. It has since become diversified in research interests, practical concerns, movement interventions, and became institutionalized from an advocating movement. Today, in many respects, it has matured in institutional building, and is

both self-reflexive and “internationalized”.

To put everything in perspective, Taiwan is situated in a part of the “larger structure” on a world scale. By “large structure” I mean historical and fundamental forces that move and influence many parts of the world as a trend. Examples are Japanese imperialism in early 20th century in the region, the clashes between capitalism and communism in the Cold War era. Or, we can understand this “large structure” in terms of historical trends of “industrialization”, “modernization”, “economic development”, or “globalization”.

The most important institutional actor between Taiwan sociology and the large structure is the nation-state. The state intermediates between the two. It internalizes pressures, influences from the outside world, takes cues from the more advanced countries and neighboring countries, and coordinates resources (such as those from US aids in the early time) to pursue its own development project. The nature and the capacity of the state also evolve because of the interplays of many internal and external factors. When state begins to transform, it will have impacts on sociology. For instance, when in the Cold War and authoritarian era, the state had helped and monitored closely the activities of sociologists in a paternalistic way. In its post-liberalization era, in 1990’s, when academic freedom became reality, sociology was able to develop institutionally and became diversified, and more engaged in the public. And “internationalization” become probable also for Taiwan’s position in the global hierarchy.

And now time has changed, the state perceives itself in a game called “global competition” and game of survival. It has modified itself by attempting to incorporate neo-liberalistic ideas in the management of academics.

And as it was shown, under these structural constrains and the environment shaped by state, sociologists have been pro-active. They are to a large extent “Americanized” because of historical legacy, but many have adopted reflexive positions in their practices, and have also engaged in domestic issues with interventions. Collectively they have helped to construct an effective professional community with relative autonomy while taking advantages of social sciences expansions and diversifications promoted by state policies. However, sociology is also a part of the field of social sciences, governed by a group of academic elites and by respective institutional managers. People in different institutions with different positions on the hierarchy of different amount of power and resources, have different ideas about what sociology should be like and what sociologists should be practicing. The conflicting views over whether sociology need to be “scientific”, “objective”, or “evaluative”, or whether it should be “pro-development”, “empirical-based” or “pro-public”, “pro-action”, or “critical”, continue clashing in

present day Taiwan. In this regard power struggles carry on in the daily life of sociologists, they hardly end.

Table-1 Total Numbers of Papers Read at TSA Annual Meeting

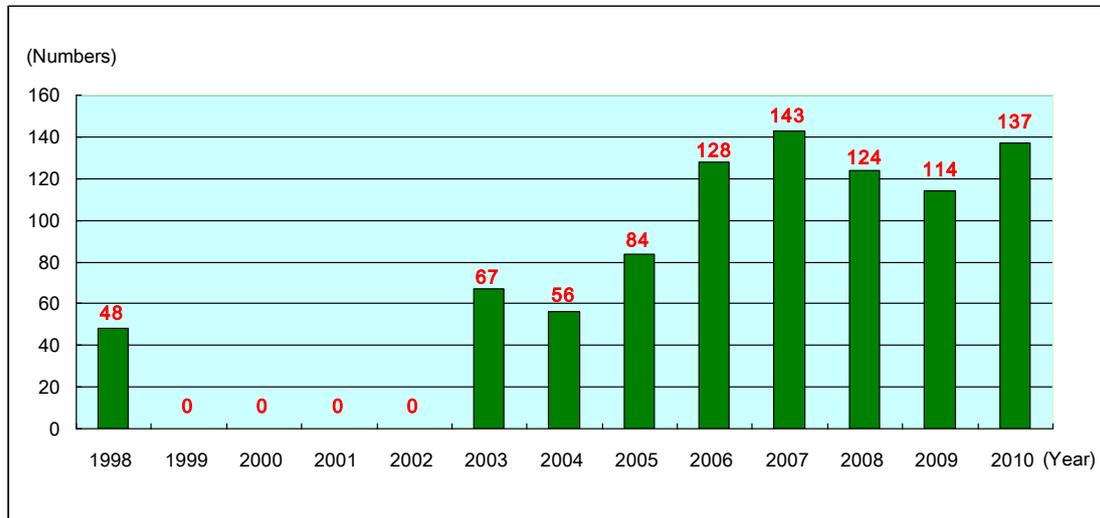
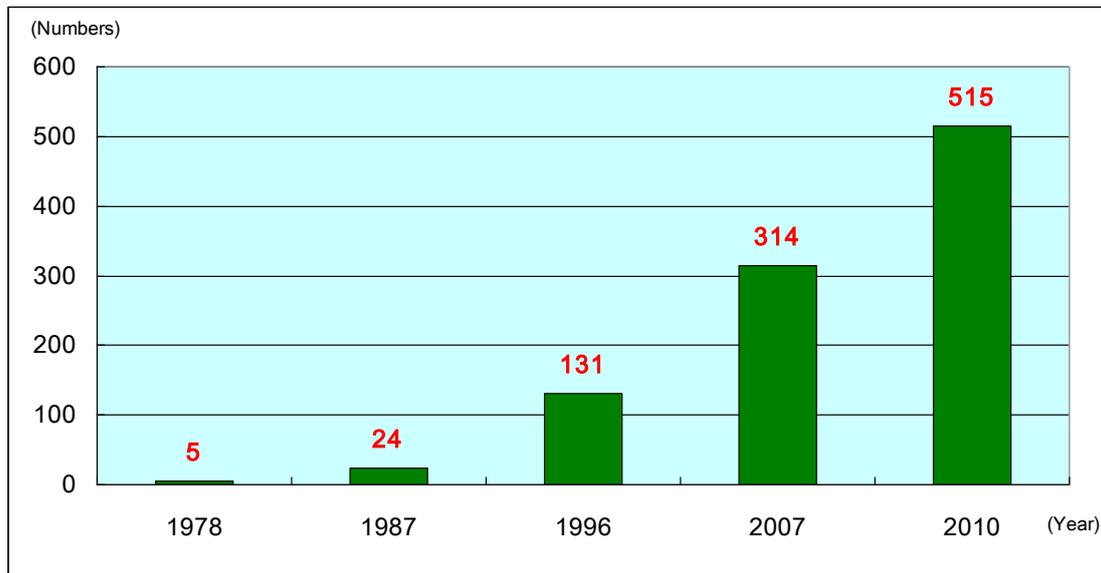


Table-2 Sociologists with Doctoral Degrees

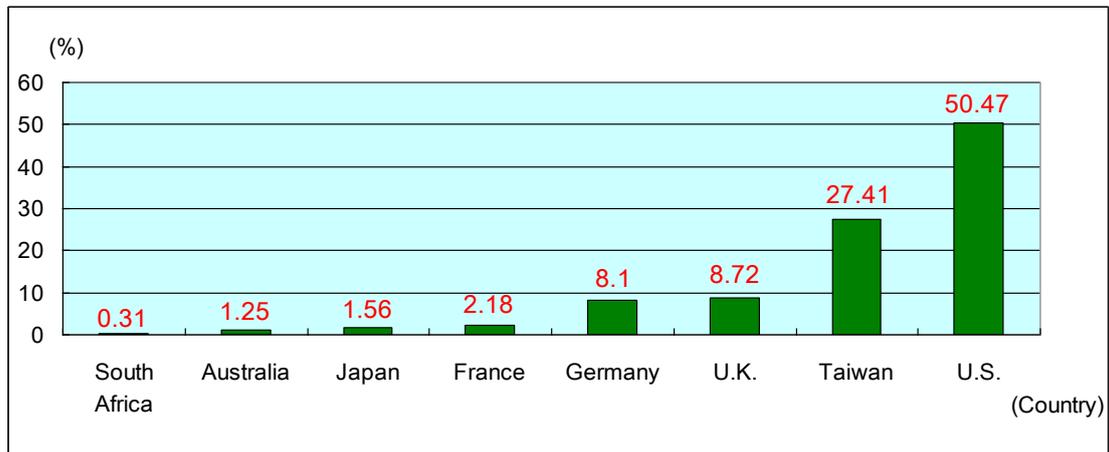


(Based on Hei-Yuan Chiu, 2008. Updated by Ying-Hwa CHANG et.al 2010. The number of sociologists of each year is also affected by different criteria for inclusion. Year 2010 adopted broader inclusion criteria.)

Table-3: Sociologists and their Departments in 2010

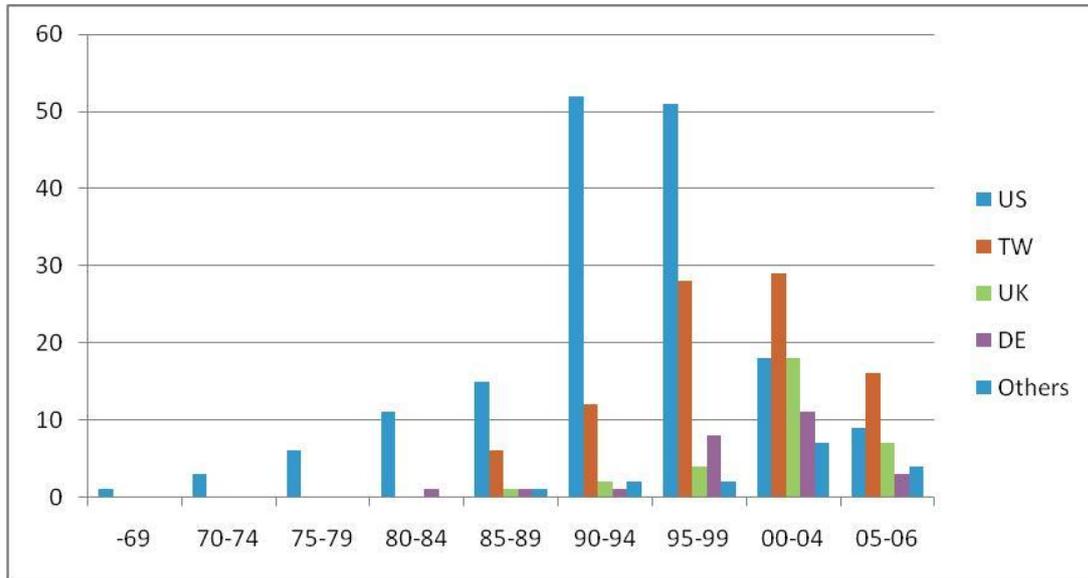
Departs	Numbers	Percentage
Sociology	175	32.47%
Social Work/ Social Welfare and related	89	16.51%
Humanities/ General Education	34	6.31%
Education/ Communication	34	6.31%
Others(Social development, public relations, ethnology, etc.)	207	38.40%
Total	539	100%

Table-4: Doctoral Degrees by Countries (2007)



(Based on Hei-Yuan Chiu, 2008)

Table-5: Doctoral Degrees by Countries and Years



(By Albert Tseng, 2010, source: <http://wp.me/p17Hsv-55>)

Table-6: Organization Members of the TSA (2010)

Departments	Numbers
Sociology(only)	10
Sociology and Culture, Education, Gender, Technology, Information, Psychology (Joined)	8
Sociology and Social Welfare/Social Work (Joined)	4
Sociology and Development/ Economy (Joined)	2
Total	24

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