



AN ANALYSIS OF CHEN QINAN'S THEORY OF "INDIGENIZATION"

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Abstract:

In 1975, in his master's thesis, Chen Qinan put forward a theory to explain Taiwan Province's social transformation-the theory of "indigenization", which emphasized that although Taiwan Province's social system in the Qing Dynasty was approaching the mainland, the regional object of identity had shifted from ancestral home to Taiwan Province, and Taiwan Province was gradually cut off from the mainland. This article tries to start with ethnology, Taking the diversity of identity as the breakthrough point, this paper refutes Chen Qinan's theory of "indigenization", and proves that although the identity of Taiwan Province people has changed geographically, they still agree with Chinese culture at the cultural level.

Keywords: Qing Dynasty, "indigenization", Chinese culture, cross-strait relations

1. Introduction

Identity is an important condition for people who are "social" to survive. Anthony D. Smith thinks that identity is multiple, and divides the basis of people's identity into the following categories: first, gender, which is the most obvious and basic category of human identity; Second, categories related to space and territory, This often leads to the identification of local or regional objects; Third, social-economic identity, that is, social class as the object; Fourth, the identification with cultural elements such as religion as the object; Fifth, ethnic-based identity. In different groups, multiple types of identities exist at the same time, and the relationships among various identities are complex.

The identity within the Chinese nation is also diverse, but the identity of the Chinese culture plays a unified role, which firmly unites people of all ethnic groups in different regions. Regarding the present situation of multi-ethnic groups in China, Fei Xiaotong put forward the theory of "multiple integrations". Based on Fei Xiaotong's theory of "multiple integrations", it further explains the basis for Chinese ethnic groups

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to identify with Chinese national identity. In Ma Rong's view, the traditional Chinese society is based on the fact that the Central Plains has long been the cultural, political, economic, and population center of East Asia. John King Fairbank further pointed out that the Chinese culture represented by Confucianism is the foundation to unite the Chinese nation. He believes that in Chinese society, Culture is a more basic element of identity than nationalism. As long as a person is familiar with the four books and five classics and acts according to them, he will be regarded as "China" regardless of his skin color and language. Otherwise, even the Han people will be classified as "Yi".

Taiwan Province has been an inseparable part of China since ancient times. However, due to its location on the border of China and its special historical and political environment, there are two completely different views on Taiwan Province identity in Taiwan Province Island. First, Li Guoqi's cultural-based "inland" theory holds that Taiwan Province society in Qing Dynasty was developing towards the inland. Eventually, become a part of Chinese literate society. Second, the "indigenization" theory of Chen Qi's southern regional standard emphasizes that although Taiwan Province's social system in Qing Dynasty approached the mainland, the target region of identity has shifted from ancestral home to Taiwan Province's native land, and gradually cut off contact with the mainland. In 2000, since the Democratic Progressive Party came to power, it has vigorously "de-sinicized", the theory of "indigenization" has become an important theoretical basis for its implementation of this policy. "Taiwan independence personages" also constantly improve the theory of "indigenization" to better meet their "Taiwan independence" needs. The most famous one is Du Zhengsheng's "concentric circle" historical view, which completely separated Taiwan Province from China in the historical context. This view of history became the guiding ideology of the reform of history curriculum during Chen Shui-bian's administration, and reached its peak during Tsai Ing-Wen's administration, thus creating a batch of "natural independence".

The above-mentioned theory has caused many controversies in academic circles. This paper attempts to refute Chen Qinan's view that the cross-strait relations are broken only by the change of regional identity with concrete examples, demonstrates the multiplicity of Taiwan Province people's identity, and points out that the recognition of Chinese culture is the foundation of maintaining cross-strait relations.

2. Taiwan immigration history in Ming and Qing Dynasties

Chen Qinan discussed the Hans immigrant society in Taiwan in Qing Dynasty, so it is necessary to describe the immigration history of Taiwan Province in the Ming and Qing Dynasties first.

Taiwan Province was isolated overseas, sparsely populated, and it was not until the Ming Dynasty that the Hans Chinese moved in on a large scale, and it experienced four immigration climaxes. The first time happened at the end of the apocalypse (1621-1627). At that time, there was a drought in Fujian, which made it difficult for people to survive. Zheng Zhilong, a native of Quanzhou, recruited people to develop in Taiwan Province. The immigrants mainly came from Nan'an, Jinjiang, Anxi, and other places in

Quanzhou. The first Hans Chinese settlements were established. The second time occurred during the Dutch rule (1624-1662). After the Dutch gained a firm foothold in Taiwan Province, to solve the problem of the insufficient labor force in Taiwan Province, they recruited many farmers from Fujian coastal areas to Taiwan Province to produce rice and sugar. The third immigration climax happened after Zheng Chenggong, the son of Zheng Zhilong, recovered Taiwan Province. A large number of Minnan troops and their families followed Zheng Chenggong into Taiwan Province. The fourth time occurred during the reign of the Qing Dynasty when the Qing Dynasty implemented the sea ban policy, and people often entered Taiwan Province illegally, which resulted in a large increase in the Taiwanese population over time.

Immigrants from Taiwan Province, mainly from Fujian and Guangdong provinces, are the main component of Taiwan Province's population. During the reign of the Qing Dynasty, the imperial court did not conduct a census of the population of Taiwan Province Island, and there was no literature to record the population quantity and ancestral home classification at that time. However, during the period of Japanese occupation, the people-to-people exchanges between the two sides of the Taiwan Straits were almost interrupted, and the number of people who moved from Japan to Taiwan Province was not large. Therefore, the population statistics of the Japanese occupation period can reflect the population situation of the Qing Dynasty to a great extent. According to the Japanese population survey in Taiwan Province in 1926, more than 98% of the Hans immigrants came from Fujian and Guangdong provinces, of which 45% came from Quanzhou, Fujian, 35% from Zhangzhou, Fujian and 15.6% from northeast Guangdong. The rest comes from Longyan and other areas in western Fujian. According to the statistics of the Taiwan Province Governor's Office Police Bureau, by the end of 1936, there were 5,451,863 people in Taiwan Province Island, among whom 5,020,941 were immigrants from Fujian and Guangdong and their descendants, accounting for 92.1% of the total population of Taiwan Province. In academic research, these immigrants are divided into two major systems: the Minnan language system and the Hakka language system. Quanzhou and Zhangzhou immigrants are classified into the Minnan language families because they use the Minnan dialect, while northeast Guangdong and Longyan immigrants belong to the Hakka language families.

In the early and middle periods of the Qing Dynasty, the government took a laissez-faire attitude towards the governance of Taiwan Province, and immigrants to Taiwan often fought in different categories to safeguard their interests. During the Kangxi period, the strategic cognition of the imperial court to Taiwan Province was to eliminate Zheng's harassment on the southeast coast, not to govern Taiwan Province. So when Shi Lang put down the Zheng Group in 1683, there are two attitudes about Taiwan Province in the imperial court. After Yao Qisheng, Shi Lang, and others elaborated on Taiwan Province's important strategic position, Kangxi retained it. Therefore, since Kangxi, the Qing government's system and policies in Taiwan Province have a strong coastal defense feature, to prevent its intrusion into the mainland, but neglect social governance and the bureaucracy is extremely poor. The bureaucracy in all provinces is bad, to the extreme of Fujian, the bad bureaucracy in central Fujian, to the extreme of

Taiwan Province. The corruption of officials makes people often turn to their groups when dealing with disputes. As the immigrants from Taiwan Province mainly come from Fujian and Guangdong provinces, they often use their ancestral home as a symbol to divide groups, unite "self", fight "the other" and fight constantly. This kind of mass fighting is uniformly called "classified fighting" in official records. The connotation of "classified fighting" is generally defined in a narrow sense and broad sense in academic circles: the narrow sense refers to the non-political private fighting caused by immigrants using different ancestral places or dialects as a tool of unity to safeguard their interests; generalized classified fighting includes fighting based on occupation, hobbies, etc.

In the history of immigration in Taiwan Province, large-scale classified fighting began at the end of Kangxi and finally at the beginning of Guangxu. Among them, fighting was the most frequent from the 47th year of Qianlong (1782) to the 6th year of Tongzhi (1867). In the area where fighting took place, Gamelan (Yilan) in the northeast of Taiwan Province was the most; The Northwest Freshwater Hall (including Keelung, Taipei, Taoyuan, Hsinchu, Miaoli, etc.) is next; Once again, it is central Taiwan Province (including Changhua, Yunlin, Taichung, etc.); Tainan area, which was first developed by immigrants, had the least fighting times. In terms of the principle of organizing fights, there were 57 fights in 120 years from the 33rd year of Qianlong (1768) to the 13th year of Guangxu (1887), among which 35 were classified fights based on ancestral home or dialect, 16 in Fujian and Guangdong, 18 in Quanzhou and Zhangzhou cities, and 1 in the top and bottom suburbs. There were 22 other types of fights, including 12 with different surnames, 6 with the same surnames, 2 with peers, 1 with soldiers, and 1 with unknown objects. The fighting classified by ancestral home or dialect took place before the tenth year of Xianfeng (1860). Although other types of fighting had already occurred, it was not until Tongzhi (1862-1874) that the fighting of ancestral home or dialect was replaced and became the main way of fighting.

At the end of the Qing Dynasty, the invasion of foreign powers changed the Qing government's understanding of Taiwan Province and determined to vigorously develop and operate Taiwan Province. Since the Opium War in 1840, the foreign powers tried to get involved in Taiwan Province, but they didn't attract the attention of the Qing government to Taiwan Province. It wasn't until Japan launched the Peony Society Incident that the Qing government realized the ambition of the foreign powers to embezzle Taiwan Province. In the middle and early Qing Dynasty, the Qing government-managed Taiwan Province to maintain the stability of the island and prevent it from becoming a rebel stronghold. Therefore, the Qing government took a negative attitude on the issue of Han-Fan on the island, instead of entering the vast land of Fan, it implemented the policy of dividing Han-Fan, avoiding the conflict between Han-Fan, and making peace. In the Peony Society incident, Japan argued that the Fan people did not accept the Qing Dynasty's enlightenment, it doesn't belong to the people of the Qing Dynasty, and its land is ownerless. The Japanese attack did not invade the territory of the Qing Dynasty. In the process of negotiating with Japan, the Qing government was extremely worried that if it followed Japan's statement, Taiwan Province would eventually fall into the hands of others completely. *"If it is said that the country only seeks*

revenge with Shengfan and does not disturb the hinterland, it will be despised by foreign countries, and it will be covered by itself. The end can't be opened, and the system can't be lost." In the process of negotiation, the Qing government realized the importance of territory and sovereignty, and emphatically emphasized that *"China has been a native land for more than 200 years. China's territory size can't be given to others"*. The Qing Dynasty's understanding of Taiwan Province began to shift from preventing domestic invasion to foreign invasion.

The urgent task to prevent foreign invasion is to properly handle the problem of fanning the people emphasized by Japan. In the negotiation with Japan, the high-level officials of the Qing government had the idea of governing the peasants, saying, *"If the peasants can be banned, we should try to control them for our use and defend the place to avoid foreign aggression"*. In the first year of Guangxu (1875), Shen Baozhen, Minister of Fuzhou Shipping Administration, who is fully responsible for handling Taiwan Province affairs, put forward the policy of *"opening a mountain to help others"*. There is a tall central mountain range in the middle of Taiwan Province Island, which divides the whole island into the western plain area and the eastern mountainous area. The western part is developed by the Han people, which is called "Qianshan", while the eastern part is inhabited by ethnic minorities, which is called "Houshan". In the middle and early Qing Dynasty, Han and Fan were divided, Shen Baozhen's "mountain opening" means opening up roads and connecting China Unicom and Han-fan. The mountain is divided into three roads: North, Middle, and South. The north road runs from Suao, Yilan to Qilai, Hualien. Route Changhua Linqipu to Hualien Pushige; South road runs from Pingtung Sheliao to Taitung Peinan. After the opening of the mountain, we adopted the policy of assimilating "pacifying the fan" in the face of ethnic minorities. Shen Baozhen set up private schools in Fandi, Letting the children of all social groups go to school to study and receive Chinese culture education. In the face of the vast land of Houshan, the sea ban was lifted, and the Hans Chinese from mainland China were recruited to open up land.

Later, Liu Mingchuan, the governor of Taiwan Province, not only inherited Shen Baozhen's policy of opening a mountain to the people but also focused more on Taiwan Province's modernization. In 1884, Liu Mingchuan was appointed as the governor of Fujian, supervised Taiwan Province affairs, and took charge of Taiwan Province for six years, carrying out the new policy of self-improvement centered on modernization, and concretizing the blueprint of Taiwan Province's development. The strategies for carrying out modernization reform include: Setting up new-style education, opening mountains for farmers and cultivating, setting up modern enterprises, developing railways and postal services, consolidating coastal defense, shipping by boat, expanding agriculture and commerce, building modern cities, clearing taxes and increasing taxes, etc. Liu Mingchuan's modernization has enabled Taiwan Province's economy to develop rapidly, with its annual income increasing from over 900,000 to 3 million two thousand. It has improved the status of Taiwan Province in various provinces.

Finally, readjust the administrative divisions of Taiwan Province to expand the management of the whole island by the official organs of the Qing Dynasty. After Kangxi recovered Taiwan Province in 1684, the Taiwanese government was set up in the south of Taiwan Province (the government is now in Tainan City), which belongs to Fujian

Province. Taiwan's jurisdiction is limited to the Hans settlements around Fucheng, and the vast indigenous areas are still out of control. With the development of the north and commerce, the population of northern Taiwan is growing rapidly. In 1875, to strengthen the management of northern Taiwan Province, the Qing government set up the Taipei House in the north. In 1885, under the pressure of foreign powers' aggression, the Qing government separated Taiwan Province from Fujian Province and set up a separate province under the jurisdiction of Taipei, Taiwan, Tainan, and Taitung Zhili State.

3. The theory of "indigenization"

Chen Qinan, a former president of the National Palace Museum in Taipei and a proponent of the theory of "indigenization", put forward the slogan of "Taiwan Province of the Forbidden City" according to the theory of "indigenization" when he took office, that is, "Taiwan Province people can inherit the culture of the Forbidden City, but they feel that they are Chinese without having to do so. This civilization is not necessarily monopolized by the Chinese, or only they can inherit it. The theory of "indigenization" was first put forward by Chen Qinan in his master's thesis *The Establishment and Structure of Han Chinese Society in Taiwan in Qing Dynasty*, which was completed in 1975, and became an important theoretical basis for "Taiwan independence" through the development of Du Zhengsheng and others.

Chen Qinan's use of "indigenization" easily reminds people of the word "aboriginality" in anthropology, but there is a big difference between them. The word "aborigines" in anthropology comes into being with western anthropologists' fieldwork in non-western backward areas, which is used to refer to local people and implies barbarism and backwardness. Chen Qinan's theory of "indigenization" discusses the Hans immigrants who are generally considered to have a higher degree of Gao Wenming, rather than local ethnic minorities. "Localization" does not refer to the ethnic minority of Han immigrants, but refers to the fact that Han immigrants settled in Taiwan Province and gradually became another part of the local people besides ethnic minorities. Chen Qinan focuses on the phenomenon of identity change in the process of transforming Han immigrants into local people. He believes that *"the mentality of the early Han immigrants is the extension and continuity of China's native land, and it is only in the later period that they gradually alienate from the native Chinese society and become the object of recognition with Taiwan Province native land"*, the connection between the mainland and Taiwan Province was gradually cut off.

Chen Qinan focuses on the change of regional identity to discuss his views. He divided the Taiwan Province society before and after the transition into two social types: immigrant society and indigenous society, and "indigenous society" refers to the society after Han immigrants have been completely "indigenous". The criterion for dividing the two social types is the change of *"identity consciousness of social groups"* in the region, that is, in the period of immigrant society, the area that Taiwanese Han people identify with is their ancestral home; the indigenous society agrees with Taiwan Province itself. There are three indicators for the transition from "immigrant society" to "indigenous society":

"The fighting among the ancestral group tends to decrease from the peak, while the belief of local temple gods forms a sacrificial circle that crosses the ancestral group; The activities of clans gradually changed from returning to Tangshan to offering sacrifices to ancestors in the early stage to offering sacrifices independently in Taiwan Temple."

First of all, the fighting among the ancestral people turned from prosperity to decline. On the discussion of fighting between Han Chinese in Taiwan in the Qing Dynasty, Chen Qinan focused on the identity consciousness implied by the classification of both sides of the fighting. In his view, it's hard for people in immigrant society not to keep a strong sense of geographical origin. When fighting, they must organize fighting groups according to the classification of the ancestral home. The region, blood relationship, or occupation of the ancestral home will be used as long as it is beneficial to organize the crowd. However, with the extension of the time and generations for immigrants to settle in Taiwan Province, people have established new contacts in the mainland and gradually forgotten the relationships of their ancestral home. Therefore, after entering the indigenous society, although there are fights, its organizational principles have changed. People are no longer organized by ancestral home, and fighting by the ancestral home is gradually decreasing. To sum up, Chen Qinan tried to prove that in the immigrant society, Taiwan Province immigrants retained their ancestral consciousness, and the decrease of ancestral fighting showed that the ancestral consciousness of Taiwanese Han people gradually weakened, and was replaced by the newly generated classification consciousness in Taiwan Province. *"The nature of 'classification' focuses on the distinction of the ancestral home in Taiwan Province or mainland China"*.

Secondly, there is a local sacrificial circle that crosses the ancestral group. As we all know, there are many kinds of local religious beliefs in Fujian and Guangdong. According to statistics, there are more than 500 kinds of gods in Zhangzhou alone. In the era of backward transportation, the ancestors of Fujian and Guangdong wanted to make a living in Taiwan Province and needed to cross the Taiwan Province Strait, which was very dangerous for them. Out of a variety of factors, such as the psychology of seeking happiness and avoiding disaster, and the nostalgia for the homeland, the ancestors would cross the sea with the memorial tablets of gods or ancestors to pray for the blessing of the gods. After arriving in Taiwan Province, they will worship the gods and ancestors.

In Chen Qinan's view, after several generations of development, some gods will be believed by people who cross their ancestral home, which indicates that Taiwan's Han society has changed from "immigrant society" to "indigenous society". Chen Zhu takes Ji'an Palace in Shulin District, New Taipei City as an example to illustrate this problem. In 1722, a family in Lai Xing, Tongan County, Quanzhou, took Baosheng Emperor to settle in Fenglin District. At that time, within a few miles of Fiona Fang, only Baosheng the Great was particularly effective, attracting people from all villages to make a wish. At that time, Zhang Birong, a large family, was ill, so he made a wish before Baosheng the Great, and sure enough, he recovered from a serious illness. To fulfill his promise, Zhang Birong advocated building a temple for Baosheng Emperor in 1788, named Ji'an Palace, and set the birthday of the Baosheng Emperor on March 15th every year as an annual

memorial ceremony. Promote villagers in villages in Fenglin District to participate in public ceremonies and hold activities to welcome the gods around the country. As a result, Baosheng the Great was a god of faith in lai xing and evolved into a belief that spanned immigrants from different ancestral homes.

Chen Qinan concluded with such examples that *"after the mid-Qing Dynasty, the temples in Taiwan Province villages took on the task of integrating the villages and villages, freeing Taiwanese Han society from the traditional and feudal sense of ancestral home classification and establishing a new social order in the new immigrant environment."* There is a problem in Chen Qinan's inference: the immigrants from Fujian and Guangdong brought so many gods, not every deity can get the belief that crosses the ancestral home crowd. If taking the deity that crosses the ancestral home crowd as an example to prove that Taiwanese Han people have abandoned the ancestral home classification consciousness, how can we explain the different deity beliefs that remain among different ancestral home crowds?

Thirdly, the development of clans changed from returning to the mainland to offering sacrifices to ancestors in the early stage to establishing ancestral halls in Taiwan Province for independent worship, and independent worship experienced the process of changing from offering sacrifices to "ancestors of Tangshan" to "ancestors of Kaitai". In his works, Chen Qinan focused on discussing the differences between the two stages before and after the independent worship in Tai Li Temple. The "Tangshan Ancestor" clan refers to the ancestors who have never been to Taiwan Province as the object of uniting people with the same surname. These members may or may not be related by blood. The existence of the "Tangshan Ancestor" clan is because the Han people who came to Taiwan Province from Fujian and Guangdong are often people who can't live in the local area, so they have to leave their homes because of the pressure of life. Instead of moving for the family. After arriving in Taiwan Province, to face local natural and man-made disasters together, they need a relatively stable organization to resist risks-clans. However, because the people who come to Taiwan do not move for their families, people with the same surname can only find an ancestor recognized by everyone as the ancestor of the clan formed from the bottom up. But with the development of the times, after the immigrants in Taiwan continued to multiply and naturally formed clans from top to bottom, the clans of "Tangshan Group", which had no clear blood relationship, were gradually abandoned and replaced by the clan of "Kaitaizu", which was the first ancestor to cultivate the village where they lived.

Through the above three aspects, Chen Qinan tried to explain that after several generations of reproduction, the regional identity of Taiwanese Han people has changed from the ancestral home where their ancestors moved to Taiwan Province. The change of regional identity means that their relationship with their ancestral home is gradually drifting away. Later, Du Zhengsheng further explained the theory of "indigenization" and put forward the historical view of "concentric circles". Constantly expand the role of regional identity in ethnic identity, and finally, completely cut off the relationship between the mainland and Taiwan Province in theory.

4. Conclusion

People's identity is multiple. If we infer the severance of cross-strait relations only by the turn of regional identity, it will inevitably be too one-sided. The identity of the Han people in Taiwan is multiple. Although the regional identity will change, they are always in contact with the mainland. Chen Qinan tried to deduce that cross-strait relations were gradually weakening by the turn of regional identity, it should be said that political intention is greater than academic research. At the same time, we find that the Han people in Taiwan still identify with various objects such as administrative region, politics-economy, etc., which enables them to have contact with the wider areas of the mainland. The administrative district system of Taiwan Province was only a part of the political system of the Qing Dynasty. When they met people from other provinces, it will prompt them to think about their ownership at a higher administrative level. Taiwan Province was the frontier of the Qing Dynasty, and its economic development was naturally inferior to that of Beijing, which ensured their centripetal force towards the center.

Among the multiple identities of Taiwanese Han people, Chinese culture is the identity factor that can best maintain cross-strait ties, and it still plays an important role even today. For "Taiwan independence people", Chinese culture is an insurmountable obstacle. Since Lee Teng-hui took office, the "De-Chinaization" policy (De-Chinaization Movement) declared that what they wanted to remove was the influence of the People's Republic of China, not Chinese culture. Although Chen Qinan tried his best to prove the decoupling of cross-strait regions, when facing the issue of the Forbidden City, he could only put forward the view that Taiwan Province people can inherit Chinese culture without being Chinese. Thereby reducing the influence of Chinese culture on the road to "Taiwan independence".

Conflict of Interest Statement

I declare that I have no financial and personal relationships with other people or organizations that can inappropriately influence our work. There is no professional or other personal interest of any nature or kind in any product, service and/or company that could be construed as influencing the position presented in, or the review of, the manuscript entitled "An Analysis of Chen Qinan's Theory Of 'Indigenization'".

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