

AN ANALYSIS OF TAIWAN'S "NINE-YEAR COMPULSORY EDUCATION" POLICY

UMA ANÁLISE DA POLÍTICA DE "ENSINO OBRIGATÓRIO DE NOVE ANOS" DE TAIWAN

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ABSTRACT

Education is extremely important to the development of society. The purpose of this article is to discuss the reasons for the formation of the "nine-year compulsory education" policy in Taiwan, and on the other hand, to explore the process of the formation of the "nine-year compulsory education" policy, which was expanded to the whole of Taiwan with Kinmen as a pilot program. Finally, it discusses the connotation and concept of the "nine-year compulsory education" policy and its impact.

Keywords: Nine-year compulsory education, Taiwan, Kinmen, Vicious cramming, Promotionism.

RESUMO

A educação é extremamente importante para o desenvolvimento da sociedade. O objetivo deste artigo é discutir as razões que levaram à criação da política de "ensino obrigatório de nove anos" em Taiwan e, por outro lado, explorar o processo de criação da política de "ensino obrigatório de nove anos", que foi alargada a todo o Taiwan, tendo Kinmen como programa-piloto. Por último, analisa a conotação e o conceito da política de "ensino obrigatório de nove anos" e o seu impacto.

Palavras-chave: Ensino obrigatório de nove anos, Taiwan, Kinmen, Cursinho vicioso, Promocionalismo.

Introduction

The "nine-year compulsory education" policy in Taiwan is the education policy that has the greatest influence on the Taiwanese people, and after the restoration of Taiwan in 1945, Taiwan implemented the "six-year compulsory education" system. As Taiwan's society developed and the demand for human resources increased, the six-year compulsory education system could no longer





meet the needs of society, and in 1968, Taiwan began to implement the nine-year compulsory education system.

Background of "nine-year compulsory education" in Taiwan

From 1966 to 1991, during the Cultural Recovery Movement, the "nine-year compulsory education" system was the education policy that had the greatest impact on the people of Taiwan. With the development of Taiwan's society and the increase in the demand for human resources, the "six-year compulsory education" could no longer meet the needs of society, so in 1968 Taiwan began to implement the "nine-year compulsory education", and the implementation of this policy was influenced by many aspects such as politics, economy, society, and the international education situation. The implementation of this policy was influenced by political, economic, social, and international educational situations.

First of all, from the perspective of the international education situation, after World War II, overseas countries have extended the compulsory education system. For example, France's compulsory education originated after the French Revolution, in 1881, the "non-reasonable bill" stipulates that the compulsory education for seven years, the scope of children aged 6 to 13 years old; in 1936, France's compulsory education was extended to eight years; in January 1959, France enacted a law to extend the compulsory education to 16 years of age, and the duration of education was extended to 10 years, and also enacted a law on compulsory education. 10 years, and also issued a decree to reform the education structure, this education reform broke the previous obstacles for commoners' children to enter secondary school. (Xing, 1993) Japan in the Meiji Restoration period, focusing on the development of the country's education, in 1886 Japan promulgated the "Primary School Order", formally proposed the universalization of the four-year compulsory education; in 1907 and the implementation of the six-year free compulsory education, in 1917 put forward the idea of universalization of the eight-year compulsory education, the plan was delayed until after the Second World War, Japan has realized the nine-year compulsory education. (Liu, 2016)

The Primary Education Act of 1870 did not compel school boards to introduce compulsory primary education, but it authorized them to make local regulations for the compulsory attendance of children between the ages of 5 and 13. Compulsory primary education became a legal reality in the United Kingdom from the 1880s onwards, and after the end of the First World War in 1918, the British government raised the age of compulsory schooling to 14, and after the end of the Second World War, it extended the age of compulsory schooling to 15, implementing a 10-year compulsory education policy. After the end of the Second World War, the British government extended the compulsory education age to 15 years old and implemented a ten-year compulsory education policy. (Xu & Zheng, 1993) In the 1960s, when Taiwan saw that countries all over the world were vigorously developing their education programs and extending the years of education, it decided to catch up with the trend of the times and implement a new compulsory education policy.

Second, there was the need for social development. Taiwan's population was 7.55 million in 1950 and grew to 10.8 million in 1960, a population growth rate of 34.9% in ten years, with 45.44% of the population under 15 years of age. (TWAS, 2007) The rapid population growth made the pressure on education become bigger. Meanwhile, the number of elementary school in Taiwan was 1,231 in 1950, and in 1967, it increased to 2,208, and its growth was 179.37%; and the number of students also increased from 906,950 to 2,348,218 in 1950, and its growth rate was 258.91%, and the school-age attendance rate was as high as 97%. (Wu, 2018) The increasing number of students has prompted new changes in compulsory education to meet the needs of society.

In June 1967, Chiang Kai-shek pointed out at the Dr. Sun Yat-sen Memorial Service:

We must follow the success of the implementation of the policy of "land for the cultivator" and accelerate the implementation of the nine-year compulsory education program. With the results of our overall socio-economic development at the present stage, we can surely be optimistic about solving the problem of nineyear compulsory education. Now that the people of the world have been enlightened, we can no longer be satisfied with the status quo of six years of compulsory education. Every family has children, and every parent wants his or her children to receive a good education. The government only needs to follow the principle of "what is taken from the people is used for the people" and gather the strength of the society, so that it can do a good job in this compulsory education to conserve the next generation of the nation's seedling, and eliminate the root cause of the chronic disease of vicious cramming at all. (Qin, 1984)

Prior to 1967, Taiwan implemented "six-year compulsory education", and the problem of "vicious tutoring" derived from "promotionism" was very prominent, which not only affected the educational curriculum of schoolchildren, but also affected the physical and mental health of students. In 1953, ShiXian published an article entitled "The Problem of Tutoring for Graduates of National Schools", which referred to the "Notes on the Guidance of National Schools in Handling Students' Further Education and Employment" issued by the Department of Education of the Taiwan Province of China, which stipulated that students who volunteered for further education were required to have tutoring in order to be promoted to higher education. (Shi, 1953) In 1954, Guo Zhaohua pointed out in "Reform of Secondary Education from "Promotionism"" that promotionism was aimed at achieving the goal of entering a school without paying attention to the students' morality and behavior, and that the root cause was that the number of schools was insufficient to accommodate the students who had gone on to higher education. (Guo, 1954) Both articles show that "vicious cramming" originated from the preference of "promotionism", and it was difficult for the only school to accommodate more students, so parents tried to cram students, resulting in various kinds of cramming classes both inside and outside the school. Remedial classes are prevalent, and the students' real quest for knowledge has changed qualitatively, and even seriously affects the students' physical behavior and psychology, the reform of education policy has been imminent.

Third, the revitalization of Chinese culture and the impact of the "Six-Day War" between Israel and the Arab countries. In the 1950s, Taiwan received various kinds of aid from the United States, and Western culture also intruded in a large

number of ways, resulting in a number of negative social trends. In the 1960s, in the face of the "Cultural Revolution" in mainland China, Chiang Kai-shek launched a Chinese culture revival movement, and the social atmosphere in Taiwan also made Chiang Kai-shek feel that he had to reform the compulsory education system, to improve the quality of students and revitalize Chinese culture through cultural education, and to cultivate the moral quality of the students from childhood and to improve their cultural knowledge. Therefore, it was necessary to extend the years of compulsory education. In addition, in June 1967, Israel and the Arab countries broke out the "Six-Day War", and the result was that Israel defeated the 600,000 allied forces of the Arab countries with fewer than many, and the basic reason for this was the implementation of nine years of compulsory national education in Israel, which greatly improved the education and knowledge level of all the people in Israel. Chiang Kai-shek summarized that the reason for Israel's victory was the success of education. (Zhang, 1984) Therefore, the case of Israel's victory also prompted Chiang Kai-shek to think about it and eventually extended the years of compulsory education to improve the education level of the people.

All these factors became the main driving force for Chiang Kai-shek to implement the policy of "nine years of compulsory education". Extending the years of compulsory education was not only the trend of the times, but also a way to alleviate and avoid the social problems caused by the drastic increase of population. Allowing students to live on campus for a long period of time not only allows them to receive more cultural knowledge, but also facilitates the long-term cultivation of moral qualities, so that they can become morally, intellectually, physically, and aesthetically sound people. From a deeper perspective, extending the length of compulsory education is more conducive to the cultivation of national consciousness and national spirit among students, and promotes the revival of Chinese culture.

Formation of Taiwan's "nine-year compulsory education" policy

In the 1960s, the schooling rate of school-age children in Taiwan had reached more than 70 percent of the United Nations Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization (UNESCO) standard, and in principle there was a need to consider extending compulsory education; in May 1963, Chiang Kai-shek pointed out during his inspection tour of Kinmen that a trial extension of nine years of compulsory education in Kinmen could be studied. Subsequently, Kinmen began to implement "nine-year compulsory education" on a trial basis, and after investigation, Kinmen fulfilled many conditions:

- (a) The school attendance rate of school-age children has reached 97.9%;
- (b) More than 80% of school graduates have volunteered to go on to higher education;
- (c) There is a school (including branches) in every administrative village, and there is no longer any two-part system of teaching beyond the third grade;
- (d) The size of the area is so small that every child in a natural village can be enrolled in a school within a distance of three kilometers;
- (e) The birth rate of the population is stable, with an annual increase of about 2,000 school-age children, which can be maintained for ten years;
- (f) At present, there is a surplus of graduates from universities and colleges, and there is no major difficulty in recruiting teachers;
- (g) The local financial resources can be barely afforded by economizing on other consumer expenditures. (Kinmen Council, 1967)

It can be seen that the conditions in Kinmen had met the requirements for extending the years of compulsory education, and the conditions of finance, teachers, and school-age children tended to stabilize, so Chiang Kai-shek used it as a test point first.

The extension of compulsory education in Kinmen County was implemented in two stages: six years of elementary school and three years of junior high school, and the junior high school curriculum still favored preparation for higher education, so the curriculum was adjusted and divided into two categories: compulsory and



elective, and all the subjects related to the inheritance of the Chinese national culture such as the "national culture", history and geography, civics, as well as the cultivation of students' physical education, music, fine arts, and mathematics for the purpose of training students' reasoning ability, were all included in the curriculum. Civics, physical education, music, art, and mathematics, which trained students' reasoning skills, were all compulsory subjects; agriculture and commerce, which helped families increase production, develop their original occupations, and train their skills, were made elective subjects, and were chosen according to the wishes of the students, but not mandatory; students preparing for higher education continued to take the general junior high school curriculum, while those preparing for employment could freely choose from commerce, agriculture, and family business. (Kinmen Council, 1967)

In June 1967, Chiang Kai-shek summoned Huang Jie, Chairman of the Taiwan Provincial Government, Pan Zhenqiu, Director of the Taiwan Provincial Department of Education, and Liu Xianyun, Director of the Taipei Municipal Bureau of Education, and instructed them to actively plan for the extension of compulsory education. Later, on July 6, a meeting was held and it was decided to set up a "Nine-Year Compulsory Education Task Force" to prepare for the extension of compulsory education to nine years from 1968, and a special planning group was set up to prepare the plans. (TPDE, 1986) The preparatory work for the nine-year compulsory education in Taiwan was divided into six parts: administrative work, revision of laws and regulations, revision of the school system and curriculum, teacher training and supply, supervision, and research.

On July 29, 1967, the "Nine-Year Compulsory Education Task Force" held its second meeting, and amended and adopted the "Draft Points for the Implementation of the Nine-Year Compulsory Education Program" and changed it to the "Draft Outline for the Implementation of the Nine-Year "National Education" Program". On August 3 of the same year, the ad hoc group decided to formulate the Regulations for the Implementation of Nine-Year National Education and submit them to the relevant authorities for review and approval; on August 15, the Outline for the

Implementation of Nine-Year National Education was promulgated, providing institutional safeguards for the implementation of nine-year compulsory education.

August 28, 1967, Chiang Kai-shek pointed out: "hereby to improve the 'national' intelligence, 'national education' should be extended to nine years The first to be implemented in Taiwan and the Kinmen area from the 1968 school year onwards, and on matters relating to the implementation of nine years of 'national education' which need to be formulated by law, a proposal should be made to formulate a special law for its application, and it is hoped that this will be done expeditiously in accordance with the above decision." (TPDE, 1973)

Earlier, Chiang Kai-shek also gave instructions on "nine-year compulsory education" in a meeting:

- (a) In addition to the approved funding of 3.14 billion yuan, an additional 500 million yuan should be set aside as reserve funds, subject to 3.64 billion yuan.
- (b) Revision of the school system and curriculum: Junior secondary education should be included in the scope of "national education" and the curriculum should be changed to a nine-year system. The content of the curriculum should be centered on life education, vocational education, and national spirit education.
- (c) Teacher training, which used to be book-oriented and impractical, should be effectively corrected. To train good teachers, theory and practical life behavior must be matched, and most importantly, students' past bad habits should be corrected.
- (d) Revision of textbooks should meet practical needs. Elementary school should pay attention to the spirit of the nation, and junior high schools should pay attention to the close cooperation between students' life behavior and science education.
- (e) The choice of principals for junior secondary schools should be made carefully by selecting young and nationalistic thinkers.
- (f) The design of classrooms should be properly arranged, beautified and practical, with uniform specifications.

- (g) Japan and Korea are training students to write characters with brushes. Taiwan should pay attention to how to strengthen students' writing of characters with brushes.
- (h) For schoolchildren to clean, response, neat, clean and other practical life education should be paid attention to, this is the basic education of children.
- (i) The cultivation of good "nationals" is the purpose of the nine-year "national education", which is the basic element of national rejuvenation. (Si, 1975)

From the above, it can be seen that Taiwan has made some preparations for the extension of compulsory education, especially in terms of funding, which is guaranteed by sufficient educational funds, and has made some plans for the training of teachers, the design of teaching, and the code of conduct for students.

On January 19, 1968, Taiwan amended and passed the Regulations for the Implementation of Nine-Year National Education, which was officially promulgated on January 27th. There are a total of 16 articles, which regulate the stages of education, the source of students and the division of school districts, student fees, the establishment of organizations, curriculum implementation, the source of teachers, the source of funding, the land on which schools are to be built, and the conditions for substitute secondary schools. In Matsu, for example, a series of specific implementation plans for the extension of compulsory education have been formulated:

- (a) When the extension of "national education" began, all graduates from the first and third school districts, as well as Dongyin and other schools, were distributed to Matsu middle schools, with the exception of fresh graduates from schools in the second school district, who were distributed to middle schools in that district.
- (b) Since the 1968 school year, Matsu Junior High School has been converted to a high school and will continue to handle junior high school classes enrolled before the 1968 school year until graduation; however, in order to meet the actual needs of the present time, it is still necessary to operate middle school classes on behalf of the school graduates to accommodate the enrollment of the school graduates.

- (c) Secondary school buildings in each school district shall be built gradually according to the sequence of establishment. If it is necessary to utilize the existing schools to improve the school buildings, another school building shall be built for exchange; however, in order to meet the needs of the natural increase of classes in the classrooms, one additional classroom shall be built for each additional class.
- (d) In secondary schools in all school districts, the number of students in each class shall be limited to fifty-five, but there must be at least thirty-five students in order for the class to be opened, and if there are insufficient students, the class shall be merged.
- (e) Each secondary school in each school district shall have two classrooms for each class. For newly established schools, each school shall have one principal and three to five staff members, whose staffing shall be determined by the local financial resources.
- (f) Secondary schools in all school districts were exempted from tuition fees, and were allowed to charge miscellaneous fees, to provide their own books, and to subsidize those from poor families in accordance with the provisions of the Scholarship Scheme for poor students in the district.
- (g) All secondary schools in the school districts shall be open to all students except those whose families live too far away from the school and whose transportation is inconvenient.
- (h) Schools in the district that have graduated in the 1967 school year and are under the age of fifteen and have volunteered to go on to higher education may be given a screening test for enrollment. (Si, 1975)

Between 1968 and 1970, during the first three-year program to extend compulsory education, Matsu built three new middle schools, 63 school buildings, and 52 classes with a total of 2,585 students. Through continuous expansion and improvement, the Matsu region saw the formation of "high schools in counties, junior high schools in townships, and elementary schools in villages," significantly increasing the popularization of compulsory education.

From 1968 to 1970, the number of elementary schools throughout Taiwan increased from 2,244 to 2,428, and the number of classes increased from 45,780 to

50,345, with an average of 67.15 elementary schools per 1,000 square kilometers; in terms of the school attendance rate, the number of elementary schools increased from 97.67% to 99.72%, with almost all school-age children attending school. The number of secondary schools increased from 487 in 1968 to 648 in 1970, with the number of classes increasing from 11,459 to 22,811; in terms of secondary school enrollment, before the implementation of the "nine-year compulsory education", the rate of elementary school graduates who went on to higher education was 62.29% in 1967, and in 1968, when the "nine-year compulsory education" was implemented, the rate of elementary school graduates who went on to higher education was 62.29%, and in 1968, when the "nine-year compulsory education" was implemented. Before the implementation of "nine-year compulsory education", the transition rate of primary school graduates was 62.29% in 1967, and in 1968, when "nine-year compulsory education" was implemented, the transition rate increased to 74.66%, and in 1970, it even increased to 96.78%. (He, 2000) It can be seen that after the implementation of the first three-year plan to extend compulsory education, the number of primary and secondary schools has increased, and the enrollment and advancement rates of students have improved significantly, both quantitatively and qualitatively, and there has been a certain improvement in the problem of "vicious tutoring" associated with "advancementism". There has been some improvement in both the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the problem of "vicious tutoring" that accompanies "promotionism".

Connotation of Taiwan's "nine-year compulsory education" policy

On September 9, 1968, Chiang Kai-shek said at the opening ceremony of the first secondary school class:

The purpose of our education is to improve people's lives, strengthen their physical strength, improve their ethics and morals, enhance their scientific intelligence, and promote national culture and the spirit of democracy, in accordance with the spirit and content of the Three Principles of the People: Ethics, Democracy, and Science. The nine-year "national education" of is not merely an

extension of the duration of education and the popularization and equalization of employment opportunities, but more importantly, it is the enrichment of the content and improvement of the essence of "national education". In other words, we are not only asking for the improvement of knowledge in order to develop the inherent potential of the people, but also the improvement of public morality in order to create the character of modern "nationals"; therefore, the first step is to ask for the practice of public morality, the realization of intelligence, and the identification of the group. (He, 2000)

It can be seen that Chiang Kai-shek took the spirit of the Three Principles of the People as the purpose of the nine-year compulsory education, combining ethics, democracy, and science to cultivate a modern population that emphasized on morality, intellectuality, physicality, and social harmony. Education is not only the transmission of knowledge, but also the overall development of human moral quality and other physical aspects, and it is also a boost to the revival of Chinese culture.

First, the connotation of education for all. Mr. Sun Yat-sen once said, "It is unfair that people with round skulls and square toes, all of whom are members of the same society, can be educated when they are born into a rich family but not when they are born into a poor family." (Lin, 1968) Mr. Sun Yat-sen believed that it was extremely unfair to determine whether or not one could receive an education solely on the basis of wealth and poverty, and that everyone should have the opportunity to receive an education, i.e., he advocated education for all. "All young men and women in the autonomous regions have the right to education, and tuition, books, and food and clothing for schoolchildren should be provided by the public. The grade of school, from kindergarten to elementary school and secondary school, shall be ascended successively by grade to the university and then to the end. In addition to educating the young, there should be public lecture halls, book libraries, and night schools for the elderly to cultivate knowledge." (HCKMT, 1965).

In Taiwan, the "nine-year compulsory education" was introduced in 1968, and all people, regardless of gender, religion, race, status, class, wealth or poverty, have the right to education, including towns and villages, which is, in a way, a kind

of education for all people, and compulsory education is not only a right but also an obligation. "During the nine-year compulsory education period, school fees are waived for all students, and the implementation of this policy has given more children the opportunity to receive an education.

The second is education in the spirit of the nation. The extension of compulsory education to nine years in Taiwan was also a means for Chiang Kai-shek to strengthen education in the national spirit. Chiang Kai-shek once summarized the lessons of the KMT's defeat in the Communist civil war by pointing out, "The effects of political, military, and economic failures are nothing but one-sided and momentary, but only the failure of education will have an effect on the whole nation." (Zhang, 1984) Education is of course important to a nation, but Chiang Kai-shek's education on national spirit also had a specific background, which was another means to divert people's attention after his fantasy of "one year of preparation, two years of counter-attacks, three years of sweeps, and five years of success" was shattered.

In 1968, mainland China was in the midst of the "Cultural Revolution", and school education was affected to a certain extent, with traditional Confucian culture and thought being banned from school education. Chiang Kai-shek seized this opportunity to launch a Chinese culture revival movement in Taiwan, implementing "nine-year compulsory education" and vigorously reviving traditional Chinese culture, deliberately creating a situation of "harmony and well-being" in Taiwan in contrast to the mainland, and continuously reinforcing The education of the national spirit has been continuously strengthened.

Third, the cultivation of ethical morality and physical and mental health of students: In the 1950s and 1960s, Taiwan was influenced by the culture of the United States and other Western countries, and the social atmosphere was deteriorating, with the emergence of numerous social phenomena, such as drug abuse, fights, and pornography, and there was an urgent need for a new way to counteract such a trend, and education was one of the means to do so. Chiang Kaishek pointed out, "Nine years of national education, in order to cultivate national ethics and inherent culture - that is, the four dimensions and eight virtues of the

habit, as well as elementary history and geography of the general knowledge, so as to make sure that they can understand the duties and responsibilities that modern nationals should have to the society" (He, 2000) In the "Citizenship and Ethics" and "Life and Ethics" curricula of primary and secondary schools, it is also emphasized that practical life education is carried out by focusing on daily manners in the areas of clothing, food, housing, transportation, education and happiness. The goal is to develop students into well-rounded moral, intellectual, physical, and social individuals who are educated, ethical, and have a sense of honor and shame, in order to pass on and carry forward the traditional virtues of the Chinese nation.

Before the extension of compulsory education in Taiwan in 1968, schools and parents in the community, in pursuit of higher education rates and opportunities for advancement, provided students with a large number of remedial courses, resulting in the problem of "vicious tutoring," which led to psychological pressure on them, not realizing that this had already seriously affected the physical and mental health of the students. The root cause of this lies in the lack of educational resources, the insufficient number of schools, the insufficient number of teachers, and the limited number of students that can be accommodated in each school, which has led to everyone "doing their best" in education in order for their children to be able to successfully "advance to higher education". The "vicious cramming" under this "promotionism" is to force students to instill all the knowledge, mostly the knowledge needed to cope with the exams, rather than the knowledge that students are interested in and that can promote their all-round development. Therefore, the students trained under the competition of "teaching to the test" have certain "defects".

Chiang Kai-shek began to realize this problem in the 1960s and pointed out: "Nowadays, primary school students are forced to undergo vicious extracurricular tutorials in order to strive for promotion to higher education, and most of the general examination questions for promotion to higher education are outside the textbooks, whose abnormal development is becoming more serious day by day. Some people think that the competition for higher education can also encourage teaching and improve the national knowledge level; however, they do not know that



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the vicious tutoring, the physical and mental physical destruction of the primary school students, and the harm to the seedlings of the nation are beyond description." (Qin, 1984) Thus, extending the years of compulsory education became one of the solutions to the problem.

Conclusion

Although Taiwan's "nine-year compulsory education" has only been prepared for one year, the relevant departments in Taiwan have already implemented the relevant policies before that, laying the foundation for the subsequent implementation. Although the formation of Taiwan's "nine-year compulsory education" policy was influenced by various political, economic and social factors, the most influential factor was Chiang Kai-shek's determination to reform education, which took only one year to complete. The implementation of Taiwan's "nine-year compulsory education" has increased the number of schools and strengthened teachers, which to a certain extent has improved the problem of "vicious cramming" brought about by "promotionism" in elementary school; however, it has also led to the problem of vicious cramming. However, it has also led to the phenomenon of "upgrading" from elementary school to junior high school, so the problem of vicious tutoring still needs to start with changing the culture of "promotionism" in society. On the whole, Taiwan's "nine-year compulsory education" policy has raised the literacy level of the public, expanded the number of educated people, alleviated the pressure on students, and improved their physical and mental health accordingly.

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