INSTITUTE OF ETHNOLOGY
ACADEMIA SINICA
MONOGRAPH SERIES B NO. 13

MY MOTHER-IN-LAW'S VILLAGE

The author and her mother-in-law

MY MOTHER-IN-LAW'S VILLAGE

RURAL INDUSTRIALIZATION AND CHANGE IN TAIWAN

TAI-LI HU

Printed in Taipei, Taiwan, The Republic of China

Acknowledgements

Writing a book is like conceiving and giving birth to a child. The joy is accompanied by pain; worries are mixed with hopes. It is easy to lose patience and confidence, so one needs abundant emotional (as well as financial) support. This manuscript grew with my son who was conceived in the field. Now that I have completed the book he is four years old. I am indebted to so many people who during the past few years helped me bring this manuscript to birth. But I would like to express my greatest gratitude to my family, especially my mother, who shared the child-rearing burden, so that I could devote more time to my work.

I must also thank my relatives and neighbors in Liu Ts'o village. They gave me tremendous help and revealed the reality of country life to me. Although there is a Chinese saying: "Domestic foibles should not be exposed," I do not think whatever written about my relatives in this manuscript is "domestic foibles". I feel the best way to show my love, respect and concerns for them is to record as honestly as possible how they, as human beings, struggle for a better life within the constraints of their culture.

I am grateful to Professor Burton Pasternak, whose "severeness" has constantly been a source of encouragement and improvement. After reading the first chapter which I

sent to him from Taiwan, Professor Pasternak replied: "There is no reason why you could not write a manuscript that is at once empirically sound and informative and also personal and intimate." That has served as a standard which I have tried to attain. I also thank Professors Daniel Gross and Jane Schneider of the City University of New York, and Professor Myron Cohen of Columbia University for offering valuable comments on this manuscript.

I own many debts to my good friends Timothy Lane and Irene Bain who read and corrected grammatical errors in an earlier draft of this manuscript, and Kuan Hua-shan who drew maps for me. To Dr. Jeff Kinkley, I am indebted for his generous help in editing the final draft.

I would like to thank the Institute of Ethnology of Academia Sinica in Taiwan, which has supported my research since 1976. Being an assistant research fellow in this institute, I was able to get access to many useful documents; and through discussions with my colleagues, ideas of this manuscript were developed.

Above all, I want to thank the beautiful island I was born and named after and her diligent people. They inspired me to write this book.

Contents

Acknowledgements v-vi

1. Introduction

Problems and Motivations 1
The Setting and Field Context 12

2. The Formation of A "Single-Surname Village" 23

The Immigrant History and Settlement Pattern of the Lius 25
The Immigrant History and Settlement Pattern of Those Other Than the Lius 32
The Myth of the Liu Lineage Temple 37

3. Agricultural Development 41

Land Transaction and Utilization 42
Technological Improvement and Labor Requirements 49
Agricultural Capital Investment and Returns 59
Types of Farm Families and Occupational Differentation 66

4. Rural Industrialization 73

Past and Present Processes of Industrialization 74
The Booming Small-Scale Village Industries 78
The Foundation and Characteristics of Liu Ts'o's Industries 92

5. The Changing Family Structure 99

Patterns of Family Division 100
Family Forms 107
The Impact of Rural Industrialization 116

6. Marriage and Women's Status 121

Daughter-in-law Entering the Door 122
From Premarital Avoidance to Premarital Pregnancy 143
Women's Status 152

7. Religious Activities and the Surname Opera 161

Nan-yao Temple's Matsu Association 163
Wan-ho Temple's Surname Opera 168

8. On a New Horizon: Implications and Discussion

Liu Ts'o's Experience 181
A Revisit to Studied Taiwanese Villages 190

Appendix My Heart is Flying
– A Rural Woman Worker's Concerns 217
References 235
Character List 245
Index 247

1

Introduction

Problems and Motivations

Between October of 1976 and March of 1978 I lived in Liu Ts'o, a central Taiwanese village in suburban Taichung. I did not expect that rural industrialization would become the main focus of this manuscript. Deceived by its surrounding large area of paddy fields, I assumed in the beginning that it was an agrarian community whose inhabitants subsisted mainly by cultivating the land. It did not take me long to realize, however, that this village, like many others in the island, had been transformed from an agriculture-dominated to an agriculture-subordinated community in recent years. A brief review of Taiwan's agricultural development indicates that the turning point came around 1965 (T. H. Shen, 1975; Y. K. Mao, 1975; S. M. Huang, 1977; T.

H. Lee, 1976; W. Galenson, 1979:132-205). Before that year, land and labor had been more intensively utilized through the multiple cropping system.

Another phenomenon in Liu Ts'o also attracted my attention. As I visited the farm houses, I often heard the sound of machines. The villagers told me that since 1970, about twenty small-scale factories had emerged in this small village. I did not recall any ethnographic studies on rural Taiwan which described this kind of development in detail. It seemed that villagers had built these plants all of a sudden and in growing numbers.

What are the main characteristics of and conditions for the emergence of Liu Ts'o's small-scale industries? Do the pre-existing socio-cultural institutions accomodate themselves to rural industrialization? How are these factories related to island-wide industrialization and in turn to the international organization of industry? Alice H. Amsden (1979) points out that as compared to economic development in other noncore countries of the world capitalist system, Taiwan's pattern of export-led industrialization shows more local dynamism and contributes to full employment, more equitable income distribution and capital accumulation on the basis of technological innovation and greater efficiency. With respect to the prevalent "dependency theory" which asserts that foreign trade and investment account for the persisting poverty and underdevelopment of the "periphery" countries, Taiwan seems to provide a counterexample or a "special case" and deserves more careful examination on the interplay of internal and external forces.

Although foreign investments arriving after the establishment of Export Processing Zones in the late 1960s have

stimulated the expansion of Taiwan's foreign trade, private foreign investments only consisted of 6.9 percent of gross domestic capital formation during 1969-74 (Ranis, 1979: 250). Moreover, since foreign investments are concentrated in electronics and electrical appliances, Taiwan's key manufacturing sectors still remain in the hands of the state and of local capitalists. In 1975, the percentage of state ownership in total industrial production was 15.4, and the share of industrial products in total exports was 83.6 percent (ibid.: 206-207). We can see that Taiwan's export-led industrialization proceeds along several lines and that production for export is arranged through various channels. Failure to perceive the complexity may lead to false conclusions. For example, Landsberg's assertion (1979) that transnational corporations have played a major role in shaping export-led industrialization and control most exports in Third World countries such as South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore and Hong Kong should be reconsidered. In spite of the fact that all these countries have experienced rapid industrial development since the 1960s, their industrial structure and social bases are different. Samuel P. S. Ho (1979) notices that industries are concentrated in or near the principal cities in Korea, whereas Taiwan's industrialization has followed a more decentralized pattern and brought to the countryside important income distribution benefits. Ho also mentions that rural industrial establishments in Taiwan are smaller in size and more labor intensive. However, many small-scale industries are not registered; therefore, their development is not reflected in official and macrolevel data. It is here, I believe, that anthropological studies can make contributions to the understanding of the dynamics of rural industrializa-

tion in Taiwan. This very understanding will help us to determine whether Taiwan is a "special" case in the Third World economy.

On the other hand, the emergence of small-scale industries in Liu Ts'o village reminded me of Fei Hsiao-t'ung and Chang Chih-i's works (Fei, 1939 and 1948; Fei and Chang, 1948). Fei proposed to revive small-scale rural industry as a strategy for indigeous development. In his opinion, rural China, with its dense population and limited land, could not produce enough agriculturally to support its people, and so he proposed a revival of traditional rural crafts as well as setting up new village industries. The small-scale rural industry could supplement farm income and solve the problem of cyclical unemployment during agricultural slack seasons. The decline of traditional rural industry was attributed to the intrusion of western mechanized factory production. After losing supplementary income, more and more petty owners sank to the status of tenants, and farm rents became unbearable.

Fei supported moderate land-to-the-tiller programs; landlords would be compensated for the land confiscated from them and persuaded to invest in industry. At the same time, former tenants would become owner-cultivators capable of accumulating capital for reviving rural industry. In Fei's blueprint, the practical type of rural industry should be decentralized and established in villages or in centers near villages, improved in technology, cooperatively owned by the peasants, and complementary to agriculture. Such rural industries would ideally use local labor, capital and raw materials. The profits would be widely distributed among the peasants. Fei proposed that in the manufacturing process,

specific parts which do not require big machines could be produced in rural small-scale factories, and be pooled together and assembled later in central plants. By doing so, "the advantage of large-scale production is preserved while the concentration of population in urban centers is done away with" (Fei & Chang, 1948:311), and the lower living expenses and wages in the rural area can enhance the competitive ability of products in the domestic and world markets.

Fei pointed out that the ideal form of rural industry would not emerge unless the land problem could be solved beforehand. Moreover, a convenient transportation system, rural electrification, and the initiative of an efficient government are necessary preconditions for the establishment of such industries.

After 1949, Fei's enthusiasm for the reformed rural industry did not cease; however, the communist government followed the Soviet model in emphasizing centralized heavy industry and neglecting local, small-scale industry. In "A Revisit to Kaihsienkung" (1957), Fei stated:

> The problem raised here is, I believe, very important, and that is, does it still seem possible or necessary to establish light industries in these rural villages, in raw-material producing areas? I have a personal motivation for raising such a question since I myself saw, twenty years ago, the benefits that can come from such a small factory in a developing village economy. Its influence can be very great, and this is why in the years before liberation I wrote a number of works advocating so-called "rural industry". Owing perhaps to a certain lack of clarity in my argument, and to an overly zealous emphasis on the position of such small-scale light in-

> dustry in the national economy, I was taken as a bourgeois thinker during the thought-reform period and severely criticized. Now thinking about it in a calmer period, my thought of that period was not without error. The error lay in neglecting heavy industry, something which ought to have been criticized. Nevertheless, as for these questions about rural industry, I still feel now, as I did then, that they are worth investigation, and I believe that in certain places they are well adapted to our concrete conditions in China... Our country has many light industries, and it is not necessary to concentrate them in a few big cities in order to improve technology... Of course, I have never advocated the complete dispersal of industry throughout the countryside. However, I still want to affirm today that some processing industries can be dispersed, and moreover, once they are dispersed, there will be advantages for both the economy and the technology... (McGough, 1979: 49-51).

In 1958, Fei's advocacy of rural industry was again bitterly criticized by the "leftists":

> The reason he especially advocated the development of these small-scale factories is quite clear--to give capitalist production free reign in rural villages. And who has the wherewithal to establish one of these factories? Landlords, of course. It is very interesting that right down to liberation Kaihsienkung's cooperative silk factory was unchanged; as Chou Shu-lien and others pointed out in "Exposing 'A Revisit to Kaihsienkung'," this silk factory's control was constantly in the hands of landlords and local hooligans. Fei Hsiao-t'ung of course knew that there was a contradiction between his chimera of "industrial recovery" and imperialism. How this contradiction was to be resolved he could not say

> ... (Ibid.:108). In our view, Kaihsienkung's 'cooperative silk factory' was nothing other than a pale shadow of a cooperative enterprise, promoted by bourgeois reformism... But if the peasants begin to construct silk factories, then what is to become of the urban silk factories and their workers? If the peasant silk factories are successful, then the state factories will have to close their doors... Moreover, a factory in Kaihseinkung absolutely cannot rely on reeling silk from Kaihsienkung's cocoons alone. Otherwise this silk factory would be able to operate only a few days per year... In a word, the only ones to get any benefit would be that very small minority of villages able to establish silk factories; this, therefore, could not but lead to contradictions among villages (ibid.:94, 96).

Despite the fact that most charges brought against Fei were both unfair and exaggerated, they did touch upon some sensitive issues with regard to the development of small-scale rural industries in a communist country.

Carl Riskin (1978) reviewed mainland China's rural industrial development from the early 1960s and pointed out that there has been a conflict between state industries and local industries. During the Great Leap Forward of 1958-60, many local enterprises emerged. Some were run by the *Hsien* (county); others by rural communes or brigades. But in 1961 and 1962, most of them were closed mainly because capital, industrial labor and raw materials were too scarce to supply state and local factories simultaneously. After 1962, local industries developed during periods of good harvests that provided both raw materials and local savings to mobilize. But the data are too scarce to show the distribution and effectiveness of rural industries.

We only know that the "five small industries" (iron and steel, cement, chemical fertilizer, machinery and power) were mostly developed at the level of *Hsien*, and by 1973 at least two of the "five small industries" –iron and steel, and chemical fertilizer-had ceased to further spread due to constraints of market and resource. In addition to the "five small industries," Sigurdson (1972) described how a "three-level agricultural machinery repair and manufacturing network" and "agricultural and side-line product processing plants" appeared at the country level as well as within communes and brigades. They were established according to three "local" principles: use local raw material; produce locally; and distribute locally. Through central planning, peasants were selected and trained to be factory workers. It is clear that this type of rural industry is different from Fei's blueprint in many aspects.

After the fall of the Gang of Four, Fei got another chance to visit Kaihsienkung village. He reports (1981) that the silk factory was rebuilt in 1968 and had gradually improved its technology and equipment since 1978. Regretfully, not enough information with regards to the organization and operation of this silk factory is provided to allow us to judge whether this industry is in accordance with Fei's "ideal type". But from Fei's description we do know that most rural industries in mainland China still concentrate on the processing of local raw material, and that a new type of subcontracting system has only appeared in the environs of big cities. In recent years, the Chinese communist government has shown great interest in adopting the strategy of export-led industrialization best exemplified by Taiwan and South Korea. A few export-processing zones have been

established in order to attract foreign investment. It is time for us to ponder: Should Taiwan's pattern of export-led industrialization be encouraged and taken as a model for Third World development? What has actually happened in rural Taiwan since the moderate land reform in 1950? How far is Taiwan's small-scale rural industries from Fei's ideal? How do traditional socio-cultural factors interact with new forces, and do they impede or stimulate Taiwan's rural industrialization? An intensive study of Liu Ts'o village's processes of agro-industrial development and structural change will increase our knowledge of these questions.

Apart from the theoretical interest, I had a personal, "emotional" motivation for picking Liu Ts'o as the site of my field work. Liu Ts'o is my *po-chia* (mother-in-law's) village. I "married into" Liu Ts'o village in February, 1976. Like other newly-wedded daughters-in-law, I was a stranger with little knowledge of the community. After one week's stay, I left and went back to the United States to continue my studies. As it appeared my original research proposal would have difficulty obtaining financial support, Liu Ts'o village became the best alternative. My husband was then studying in Japan, but he enthusiastically provided as much information as he could. Meanwhile, I wrote from the United States to my brother-in-law in the village (my father-in-law had died) to ask if I might go back and do research. The reply was very encouraging.

There were moments of hesitation. I understood that in the village I would not only be playing the role of an anthropologist (an outsider), but also a daughter-in-law (an insider). The later role could either enhance or conflict with the former one. In addition, although I was born in Taiwan,

I was classified as a "mainlander". My parents moved to Taiwan from Shanghai after the communist takeover. They have been living in Taipei City where Mandarin has become the most prevalent language. Hence I spoke originally Mandarin, but not Taiwanese. Strictly speaking, therefore, I would not be "a native" working among natives. However, it had long been my wish to understand rural Taiwan because I had "grown up eating Taiwan's rice." Four years' study in New York City provided me with an opportunity to become aware of different views regarding Taiwan's rural condition. But the picture, miserable or rosy, was never clear to me. I was puzzled, and determined to find out for myself. I realized that a "mainlander" who could not speak Taiwanese would experience difficulties in the rural setting; yet the situation might be different if the "mainlander" were a "daughter-in-law" as I am. To clarify the condition of "mainlanders" and "the Taiwanese," let us briefly review the history of Taiwan:

Taiwan is an island situated about 120 miles east of the China coast. It was originally inhabited by aborigines of Malayo-Polynesian stock. Taiwan remained unknown to the western world until Portugese navigators "discovered" it in 1590. From 1624 to 1662, the Dutch occupied southern Taiwan, and later drove out the Spaniards in the north, thus becoming rulers of whole island. Ever since Cheng Ch'eng-kung, a loyalist of Ming dynasty, took the island from the Dutch as a basis for resisting the Chinese Ch'ing dynasty, the flow of Chinese immigrants increased significantly. Cheng's government survived until 1683, when the island was incorporated into the Chinese Empire. Immigration continued. Most immigrants came from the provinces

of Fukien and Kwangtung, it is the majority Southern Fukienese dialect that therefore evolved into what is known today as "Taiwanese". In 1895, the Ch'ing dynasty of China ceded Taiwan to Japan. Japanese occupation of Taiwan lasted 50 years. In the aftermath of World War II, Taiwan was returned to China.

Chen Yi was appointed chairman of the "provisional Government of Taiwan Province". His military government carried out systematic looting at all levels, which led to a rebellion in 1947. Many Taiwanese leaders were slaughtered, athough some escaped abroad and started the Taiwanese Independence Movement. When Chiang Kai-shek's nationalist government arrived in 1949 to seat itself in Taiwan with about one million refugees, some antagonistic feelings were harbored against the newcomers. They have been called "the mainlanders" in contrast to "the Taiwanese" who migrated to Taiwan in earlier periods. In 1973, there were 1,735,497 people registered as "mainlanders" (see Taiwan & Fukien Area: The Statistical Report of Household Registration, 1973) constituting about 12 percent of the total population of Taiwan. Most of them reside in the cities.

I recall that in the preface to Fei Hsiao-tung's *Peasant Life in China*, B. Malinowski wrote (Fei, 1939:xiii):

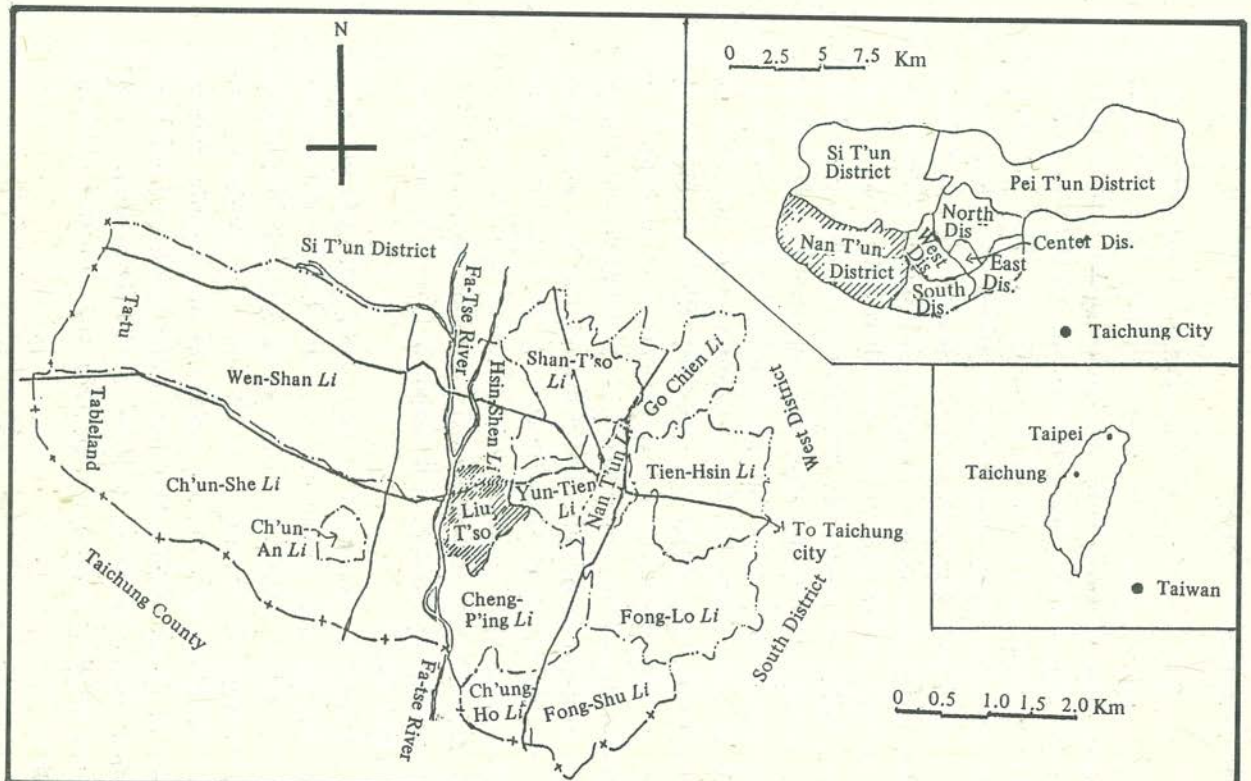
> The book is not written by an outsider looking out for exotic impressions in a strange land; it contains observations carried on by a citizen upon his own people. It is the result of work done by a native among natives.

In addition to Fei Hsiao-tung, Martin C. Yang (1945) and Lin Yueh-hwa (1948) have also depicted their home villages from anthropological and sociological perspectives. For me,

doing field work in Liu Ts'o provides an opportunity to know my countrymen who live in an environment exotic to me, and to seek my own cultural identity.

The Setting and Field Context

Liu Ts'o village is located in the Nan T'un district of Taichung city, the largest commercial and industrial city in central Taiwan (see Map 1). Nan T'un was the earliest and the most developed Chinese settlement in the Taichung basin. Two hundred and fifty years ago, Taichung city was only a small village on Nan T'un's outskirts. According to the Nan T'un Gazetteer (1932), the first Chinese settlers moved to the Nan T'un area, then called Li-t'ou-tien, around the late seventeenth century (during the Kang-hsi reign of the Ch'ing dynasty). Before then, this region was occupied by the Mao-wu-shu sub-tribe of P'ing-P'u aborigines. After 1723, when the Yung-Cheng emperor of the Ch'ing established a *Hsien* or county in central Taiwan, called Changhua, and relaxed a previous immigration ban on women and children, immigration accelerated. Li-t'ou-tien *Chieh* (plow-shop street) appeared in the center of this region, supplying agricultural tools and other household necessities to neighboring villages. In 1733, the Ch'ing government set up a Mao-wu-shu garrison on the "street" to pacify aborigine uprisings in Taichung area. Nan T'un continued to be an important political, military and commercial township on the main south-north route until the garrison in Li-t'ou-tien was moved to Fong Yuan in 1888, and the train which stopped there was rerouted to run through Taichung city instead of Nan T'un in 1908.



Map 1. Nan T'un District in Taichung City, Taiwan

In 1947 Nan T'un, Si T'un and Pei T'un were incorporated into Taichung city. Among these three suburban districts, Nan T'un's territory (31 square miles) is the largest, but its population density is the lowest. Its population was 10,548 in 1931, and increased to 18,495 by 1960. Between 1962 and 1965, three settlements of soldiers' families (*chün chüan ch'u*) were established on the eastern slope of the Ta-tu tableland, the western boundary of Nan T'un district. The average annual population growth rose to 7.6%. In addition, Li-Ming Community was built in north-western Nan T'un during 1974-75, to house the families of the Provincial Government staff. Nan T'un's population in 1976 was nearly 40,000 (see Table 1). Prior to 1962, more than 95% of the residents were native-born, but by 1976 only 60% were native to the district; 17% were from cities and counties outside of Nan T'un, and 23% were mainlanders. The change in the proportion of agricultural households was also amazing: 82% in 1932, 69% in 1960, and 28.6% in 1977. But compared to Si T'un district's 22% and Pei T'un district's 17%, Nan T'un is still the most "agrarian" district of Taichung city (The Statistical Abstract of Taichung Municipality, 1961-78).

Nan T'un consisted of 18 *Chuang* (villages) in 1931. Two of them were drawn into the west district of Taichung city in 1942. Under the rule of the Chinese Nationalist Government, the remaining 16 *Chuang* were combined into 12 *Li*, together with 3 new *Li* added in recent years, making a total of 15 administrative units. Liu T'so *Chuang* and Hsin *Chuang* to the north of it form one *Li* (Hsin-Shen *Li*), although geographically and culturally they are two separate villages.

Table 1
The Origin of Nan T'un's Residents

Year	Total Population	Native Taiwanese	Taiwanese From Areas Other Than Nan T'un	Main-landers
1931	10,548	-	-	-
1950	14,307	-	-	--
1951	14,590	14,021	331	237
1952	15,074	14,421	413	239
1953	15,387	14,882	312	193
1954	15,981	15,462	296	223
1955	16,470	15,909	326	235
1956	16,640	16,148	317	175
1957	17,010	16,353	452	205
1958	17,454	16,860	366	228
1959	18,071	17,386	403	282
1960	18,495	17,671	447	377
1961	19,064	18,167	418	479
1962	19,550	18,583	480	487
1963	21,639	19,148	463	2,028
1964	23,283	19,480	568	3,235
1965	24,377	19,915	571	3,891
1966	24,937	20,196	685	4,056
1967	25,178	20,225	645	4,038
1968	25,961	20,497	822	4,642
1969	27,079	21,077	1,035	4,967
1970	27,937	21,665	1,074	5,198
1971	29,031	21,674	1,532	5,825
1972	30,278	22,446	2,706	6,126
1973	32,205	22,960	2,453	6,733
1974	33,634	22,989	3,693	6,816
1975	37,168	23,327	5,542	7,825
1976	39,054	23,351	6,662	9,036

Data Source: Nan T'un's Household Registration Office.

The surface configuration of Nan T'un district is divided into: the Ta-tu tableland and the Taichung basin separated by the north-south running Fa-tse river. The Ta-tu tableland lies north-west of the Taichung basin. It is 20 miles long and 7 miles wide, with an average altitude of 200 feet. The northwest monsoon crosses its flat top, sweeping the Nan T'un district in the winter. The average annual rainfall is 1,500 millimetres, but it is not evenly distributed through the year. Owing to the shortage of irrigation water, sugarcane and other dry land crops are planted. Rice paddies are found on the slope at altitudes under 200 feet. Ch'un-She, Ch'un-An, and Wen-Shan are the tree *Li* situated near the foot of the Ta-tu tableland, the other twelve *Li* belong to the Taichung basin.

Taichung basin is elongated in form, with an area of about 400 sq. miles. The Ta-tu river and its tributaries pour into the basin and deposit sediments. The average temperature during the coldest month (January) is around 60.4°F., which is warmer than the northern Taipei basin; and the average temperature of the hottest month (July) is around 81.1°F., coller than Taipei. The annual average rainfall is 1.784 millimetres, 64% of which falls between May and August. The year is thus divided into a rainy (March - August) and a dry (September - February) season. In general, Taichung basin is a rather pleasant residential area. Its temperature, soil and water are suitable for rice cultivation.

Liu Ts'o village lies on the eastern bank of the Fa-tse river. It is about 5 minutes by bus to Nan T'un "street," and another 20 minutes to the Taichung city center. Liu Ts'o's population in 1931 was 330 (47 households). It in-

creased to 789 in 1977 (115 households). Compared with the other *Li* of Nan T'un district, Liu Ts'o's agro-industrial development is of moderate speed.[1] It seems to be an ideal community for observing the processes of transformation from agriculture to industry.

I moved into Liu Ts'o village in October, 1976. I found myself in a complex kin network. As my husband was still studying in Japan, I had to figure out everything by myself. My husband has two brothers. The older brother has six daughters and one son; the younger one has three daughters and one son. The family was divided in October, 1972, eight months after my father-in-law's death. The U-shaped farm compound has a total of 9 rectangular rooms, evenly distributed among the three brothers. One minute I was listening to an argument in the older brother's family, the next minute I could walk through the ancestral hall and my mother-in-law's room to watch my husband's younger sister-in-law spanking her child. Before I moved into the right wing room, the older brother's third daughter and son-in-law had lived there and had changed the next room into a small hat-making factory. My arrival might cause them to move into an apartment near Nan T'un street.

---

1. Based on the statistics calculated by Nan T'un District's Household Registry Office, 6 *Li* (Tien-Hsin, Fong-Lo, Go-Chien, Cheng-P'ing, Wen-Shan, Shan-T'so) have an agricultural population over 50%; 4 *Li* (Hsin-Shen, Fong-Shu, Yun-Tien, Chung-Ho) have 30%-50% agricultural population; Nan T'un Li, the old market center, and Chun-She Li of the Ta-tu tableland, a market center which developed recently have only 10-20% agricultural population, while Ch'un-An, Li-Ming and Li-Kuang, the three newly built residential communities, have almost no agricultural population.

My Mother-in-law's Village

My mother-in-law is a simple and warm-hearted person with little power over the divided families. We got along pretty well. But it did not take me long to discover the lack of harmony between the older and the younger brother's families. I understood that I should carefully maintain neutrality to avoid blame from either side. I decided not to disturb their routine life with my work. Our interactions should be as natural as possible.

This was a migrant tenant family. After my mother-in-law was born in Liu Ts'o village, her father gave her to his barren sister living in eastern Taichung as an adopted daughter. My father-in-law was a farm laborer who "married into" my mother-in-law's family in 1928. Moving from one village to another, around 1938, the whole family finally settled down in Liu Ts'o and worked on a landlord's farm. This is why I have relatives from my mother-in-law's side in the village. After the Land Reform of 1950s, the family still worked on the landlord's fields. But protected by the law, the tenant has a long-term right to cultivate the land and gets half payment if the land is sold. My older brother-in-law has worked on the land since he was a little boy. My younger brother-in-law who hated farming more than anything else, was trained to become a factory worker, and let his wife take care of the land. He built a new room outside the left wing to house a milling machine. This is a typical one-man rural machinery plant. Several nephews of mine also worked in small-scale rural factories. As I became more familiar with general conditions in the village, I realized that many changes I observed in my mother-in-law's family had wide implicatons, and my understanding towards the intricate relations among variables could be deepened by con-

crete incidents occurring in the family.

I tried my best to be a good daughter-in-law. Every morning, I went to a small canal to wash my clothes and enjoyed conversations with other women of the neighborhood. I then rode on a second-hand bicycle to the market or to do some interviews. I cooked for myself. My mother-in-law used to eat with her youngest son's family. When I asked her to join me, she kindly refused. She said that she had done a lot for her youngest son's family, and so she did not feel ashamed to eat there, and I had no child for her to look after. I learned rice sowing and harvesting in a mutual-aid-team to which my older brother-in-law and younger sister-in-law belonged. Although I could not work as much and as fast as they did, I was considered a diligent daughter-in-law in many villgers' eyes. Once these villagers laid aside their suspicions, they became both good friends and good informants. I took every opportunity to learn Taiwanese. Five months later, I could interview people in their language without causing misunderstandings. Most of my interviews were situational and open-ended.

Knowing their language did not guarantee me a grasp of the meanings and principles underlying their words and behavior. I share C. Geertz's conception that man is like an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, and the investigator's task is to search for the meaning of those webs (1973:5). I did want to gain access to the conceptual world of my villagers. But how? Geertz asserts that the meanings of an actor's symbolic actions are public and communicable. By seeing things from the actor's point of view in their taken-for-granted field of social action, we can expose the normalness of a people's culture and set the

actors in "their own banalities" (ibid.:14). Some people pessimistically claim that we can never predict thoughts in other people's mind. However, when we communicate with the others, we never give up guessing their real intentions. As time passes by, people whom we become familiar with demystify their thoughts and deeds to a great extent. On some occasions we can correctly predict their responses to stimuli. How do we achieve such a high degree of understanding? I believe that it is the result of long-term observations under various conditions. Likewise, if in the field I want to understand and interpret a phenomenon, I have to observe related persons and a series of events in their natural settings during a long period of time.

An ideal natural setting is one without the interruption of the field worker. I remember that when I began to analyze my data, I relied mostly on household registries, land records, genealogies, local gazetteers, and information systematically collected through interviews. Those data did reveal a lot of interesting phenomena, but I was depressed by not being able to show people's emotions, motivations and complex decision-making processes which induce social changes. Finally, another type of data caught my attention. During my field period I wrote a diary concerning villagers' conversations and behavior in their normal daily life. They did not talk or act in response to the researcher's questions. I discovered that such data is sometimes more valuable in interpreting cultural phenomena than that collected using mechanical methods. In the following chapters, I will quote or summarize this kind of data, and try to organize it into short stories (see Chapter 6 and the Appendix). My efforts may turn out to be a failure; nevertheless Malinowski's

caution is still worth our consideration:

> In certain results of scientific work... we are given an excellent skeleton, ... but it lacks flesh and blood. We learn much about the framework of their society, but within it, we cannot perceive or imagine the realities of human life, the even flow of everyday events, the occasional ripples of excitement over a feast, or ceremony, or some singular occurrence. In working out the rules and regularities of native custom, and in obtaining a precise formula for them from the collection of data and native statements, we find that this very precision is foreign to real life, which never adheres rigidly to any rules (1922:17).

2

The Formation of A "Single-Surname Village"

When I heard the village's name, Liu Ts'o, the immediate question that came to mind was: Is Liu Ts'o a single-surname village as its name suggests? Many scholars (cf. Freedman, 1958; Kulp, 1925; Lin, 1948; Baker, 1968; Potter, 1968) observed that single-surname villages with strongly organized lineages were more prevalent in the two southeastern Chinese provinces, Fukien and Kwangtung. The single-surname village contained only one localized lineage whose members were patrilineally descended from a common ancestor and maintained common property. Furthermore, such patri-lineages were highly differentiated internally in terms of wealth, power, and social status. The wealthy, powerful lineage members tended to dominate the poor ones. If Liu Ts'o villagers who are originally from Fukien province belong to one strong, differentiated lineage, we

would expect that wealthier lineage members would control rural industries and poor ones would be employed as workers. In other words, the structural adaptation to rural industrialization would be hierarchical in this type of single-surname village. But there are also some single-surname villages in Taiwan and on the mainland composed of loosely linked descent groups and the internal differentiation is not manifest. For the purpose of understanding Liu Ts'o's structural response to rural industrialization, I will not only examine whether Liu Ts'o is a single-surname village, but try to determine what kind of descent group(s) it contains.

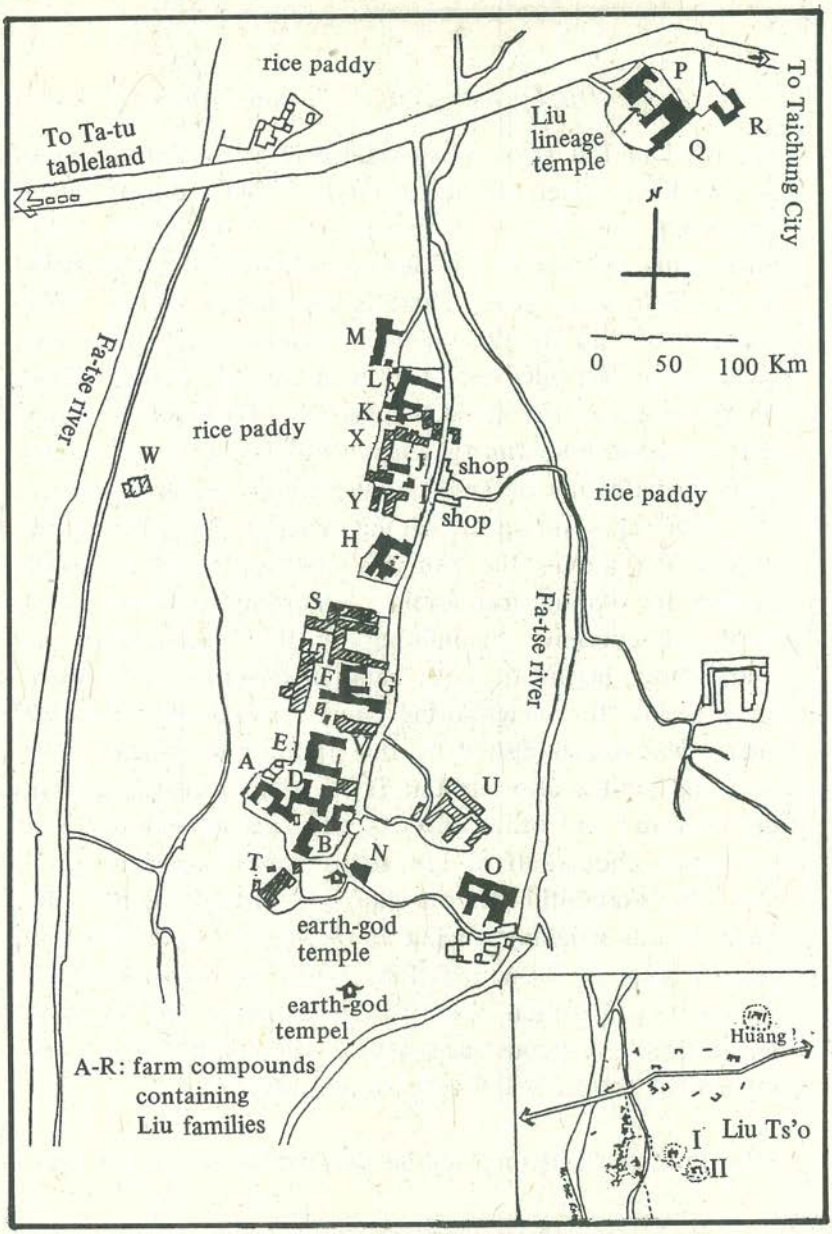
Little is known about Liu Ts'o's early immigrant history. As mentioned earlier, the aborigines were driven away and Chinese immigrants entered Nan T'un at the turn of the 18th century. It is quite possible that some followers of General Chang Kuo acquired the land left by the aborigines, becoming *ken-shou* (literally, settlerheads) who built irrigation works and gathered people to cultivate land. The *ken-shou* had to pay a tax to the government and received rent from the tenants. I speculate that in the Ch'ing dynasty some segments of the Liu lineage in Shui-tui-a village first arrived in Liu Ts'o; then other, genealogically unrelated lineages also named Liu entered. It was not uncommon in that unstable, competitive frontier society for people with common surnames and origins to gather together in one settlement for mutual protection and collaboration.

The family data I have collected indicate that in 1977 Lius constituted only 25 percent of the 110 families in Liu Ts'o. At the end of the Japanese period (1945), the proportion was even less (21%). But according to elderly informants, in the Ch'ing dynasty, only people surnamed

Liu lived in Liu Ts'o. They resided in an area surrounded by the Fa-tse river and its tributary. The pioneers called this tract the "raft," in recognition of its shape. My informants talk about a golden age when most Liu families in Liu Ts'o were rich. There is a common saying: "The number of Liu Ts'o's flag-poles (symbols of rank) was greater than the piles of rice-straw in Fan-she-chiao(a village on the slope of the Ta-tu tableland)". However, it is said that the good *feng-shui* (geomancy) of Liu Ts'o was ruined together with that of Ta-t'ien village in the northern part of the "raft" area during the Ch'ing dynasty. Ta-t'ieh literally means "hammering the iron" because the inhabitants were famous for making iron tools. According to legend, as a result of excessive hammering by the blacksmiths, the "raft" area began to sink; bandits appeared in Ta-t'ieh, endangering the neighboring area. Eventually, Ta-t'ieh village was disestablished by the Ch'ing government. The rich Liu families also left Liu Ts'o. In spite of this legend, my husband and other villagers still believe that the Lius constitute about half of Liu Ts'o's present population. I also find that although our family's surname is not Liu, most of our neighbors living at the south end of the raft-shaped area are surnamed Liu. How do we explain the discrepancy between the official statistics and villagers' impressions? A reconstruction of the immigrant history and settlement pattern will reveal the real situation.

The Immigrant History and Settlement Pattern of the Lius

In 1977, there were 28 Liu families in Liu Ts'o.



Map 2. Liu Ts'o Village, 1977.

We can see from the map that 22 families were distributed along the main road of the "raft" area and the remaining six families clustered around the Liu lineage temple east of the "raft" area. If the "raft" is the main body of the village, the Lius form the backbone of the "raft".

The Lius claim that they are all descended from a common ancestor. After tracing back the genealogy of each family through interviews and analyzing household registory records, I find that the 28 Liu families belong to 9 genealogically unrelated lineages which moved into Liu Ts'o at different periods.[1] These 28 Liu Families now reside in 18 farm compounds (signified by A - R on Map 2).

Four of the 9 lineages arrived in Liu Ts'o during the Ch'ing dynasty. The earliest and largest one contains eight families living in compounds A, B, E, G, I. Their relationship is depicted in Figure 1.

The first settler of this lineage died in 1869, and left 0.48 hectares of land to his two sons. The older brother Liu Shui gave one of his sons to his younger brother Liu Ch'ang. They did not have their own house until the end of the Ch'ing dynasty when they bought compound A from a relative.

Along with the expansion of the family, they built compound E to settle the family of Liu Shui's first son. Subsequently, Liu Ch'ang's son moved to compound G and Liu Shui's fourth son moved to compound B, while the family of Liu Shui's third son remained in compound A (Liu Shui's second son moved out of Liu Ts'o). House I is

1. Some Liu lineages once lived in Liu Ts'o but moved out or were discontinued for lack of successors. Data on them are sparse.

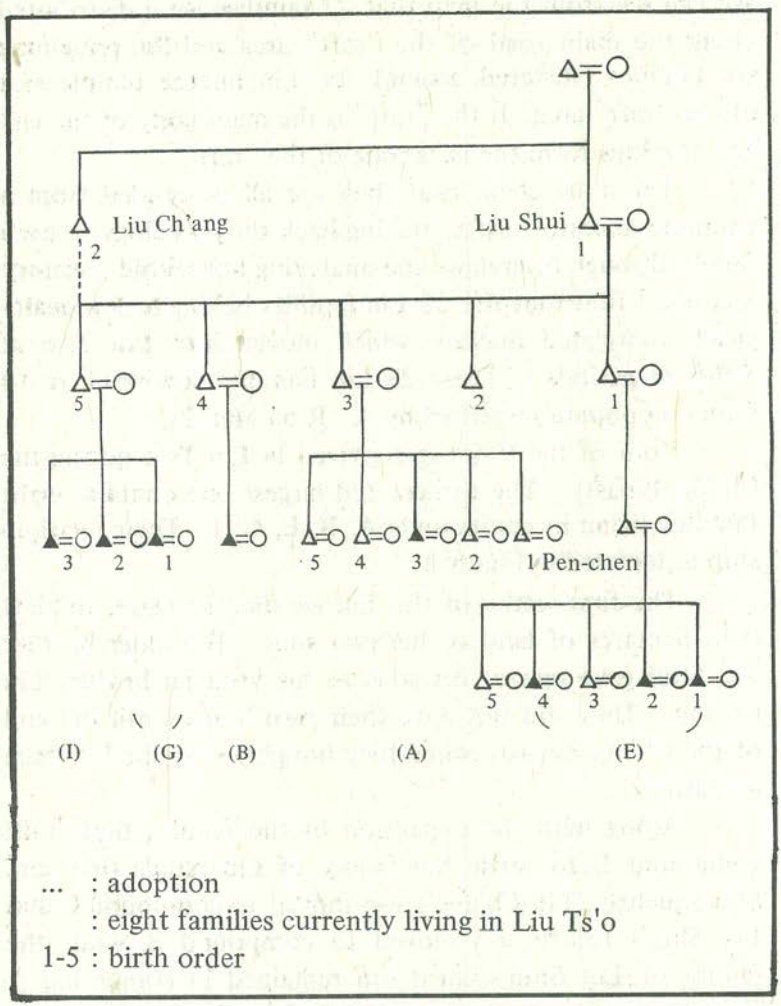


Figure 1. Genealogical Relationship and Settlements of the "Earliest" Liu Lineage

a shop recently opened by a branch in compound G.

This lineage began with 0.48 hectares of land in the Ch'ing dynasty, and increased to 5.3 hectares in 1945. During the Japanese period, it was commonly recognized as the wealthiest and most powerful lineage in Liu Ts'o. It is not clear how this lineage became richer than the others. I only discovered from an old land record that Liu Shui sold 0.28 hectares of land belonging to an ancestral corporation *(chi-ssū-kung-yeh)* called Liu Han-tui in 1904. Later on, he bought 1.5 hectares from Liu Tun-mu ancestral corporation, and took care of 0.27 hectares of land left by another Liu lineage in 1921. I suspect that at the beginning of the Japanese period, the manipulation of several Liu ancestral corporation lands brought wealth to this lineage. Liu Shui's first son's son Liu Pen-chen received several years' traditional Chinese training and was appointed *pao-chen* (village headman) by the Japanese colonial government. His oldest son told me, "we were poor in the beginning, but my father did mention that there were nine wealthy families in Liu Ts'o. Once when building houses, we unearthed some old tiles and bricks which may be evidence confirming the accuracy of my father's claim," and "our lineage was originally from Pan-liao district *(Hsiang)* of Nan-chin county *(Hsien)* in Fu-chien province. After leaving Pan-liao we immigrated to Nan T'un's Shui-tui-a village. One sub-lineage moved into Liu Ts'o around 170 years ago (1800-20)."

Liu Shui's descendants set aside 0.27 hectares of land as a Liu Shui ancestral corporation. The three sublineages living separately in compounds A, B, and E have taken turns each year to present a sacrifice in front of Liu Shui's tomb.

The Liu lineage at Shui-tui-a village was one of the

earliest Chinese lineages to settle in Nan T'un. It is said that around 1684 its ancestor Liu Yuan-che followed General Chang Kuo to pacify the aborigines on the Ta-tu tableland. Although Liu Yuan-che returned to mainland China, his descendants took up permanent residence at Shui-tui-a village. In today's Shui-tui-a, we can find two major Liu lineage settlements: the "old house" and the "new house," each with a big ancestral hall.

The six families in the compounds below belonged to the second largest Liu lineage. Its earliest common ancestor entered Liu Ts'o around 1830-50 to cultivate the land of Liu Tun-mu ancestral corporation. This lineage first rented compound M; later it segmented into compound C, and then, to compounds D and O.

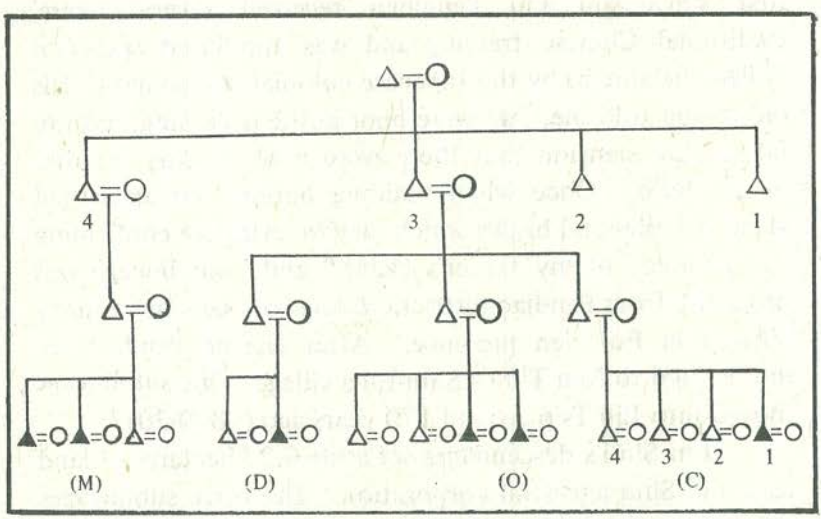


Figure 2. Genealogical Relationship and Settlements of the Second Largest Liu Lineage

The people living in compound D, O and C gather together to "clean up" their father's tomb every year on the Ch'ing Ming festival. They have little contact with the families in compound M, which worships ancestors separately.

I am told that the original surname of the lineage in compound P was not Liu: In the old days, only people with the surname Liu were permitted to settle in Liu Ts'o. For the purpose of entering Liu Ts'o, the latest common ancestor of this lineage changed his surname into Liu. At first he was a bandit capturing cattle, women, and money from other villages. Later, he cultivated the land of the Liu Tun-mu ancestral corporation. After the Liu lineage temple was established in 1867, this lineage moved into the house next door without paying rent, but took the responsibility of caring for the temple. Today, only one branch of this lineage remains in compound P; the others have moved out of Liu Ts'o.

The immigrant history of the Liu lineage dwelling in compound H can also be traced back to the Ch'ing dynasty. The first immigrant was a *tung-chi* (a spirit medium). He gradually bought 0.8 hectares of land and built compound H. This lineage has had no male descendants for three generations. In each of these three generations a man married into this lineage for the purpose of maintaining the continuity of the Liu lineage. This lineage will disappear soon, for the latest female descendant is a sick widow who married out all of her daughters. In the right wing of compound H dwells the family of her sister with a different surname. The left wing has sold to one of her son-in-laws also living in Liu Ts'o.

During the Japanese period there were four genealogically unrelated Liu lineages which settled in Liu Ts'o. They were all tenants coming from different villages and working for different landlords who had land in Liu Ts'o. They now dwell in compounds K & L, F & N, J, R.

Around 1945, the last Liu lineage moved into compound Q. It bought 1.5 hectares of land and rented 0.9 hectares of land from the Liu Tun-mu ancestral corporation.

The Immigrant History and Settlement Pattern of Those Other Than the Lius

Among the 82 non-Liu families, 31 families (38%) live in the "raft" area. The rest are dispersed in areas outside of it. In the "raft" area the non-Lius did not appear until the Japanese colonial period (1895-1945). The old land records indicate that at the end of the Ch'ing dynasty one third of Liu Ts'o's land was owned by a big landlord family, which lived in the neighboring Chen-P'ing village. The family-head Lin She-chih was appointed by the Ch'ing government as a *tsung-li* (district governor) supervising several villages including Liu Ts'o. After he died, more than 100 hectares of land were left to three sons. The second son inherited about 10 hectares of land in the "raft" area.

The land near the tributary of the Fa-tse river was uncultivated. In 1900, a person named Chen Wen-chu was hired to cultivate the land and pave roads for the second son. The Chen family moved from Shan-chiao village at the foot of the Ta-tu tableland to the "raft" area of Liu Ts'o. They first lived in a house built by the landlord; later

on, they bought land and built compound S.

Chen Wen-chu's son who is eighty years old tells me, "When I was a child, Liu Ts'o was a rather desolate place. In the raft area, there were only about 20 families. Most people were poor tenants. We were better off than most of them. My father took care of 8 hectares of land for the landlord, and hired two farm laborers."

More and more non-Liu families entered the "raft" area. They rented land and houses from absentee landlords. As time went on, lineages with different surnames established close kin ties by means of marriage and adoption. The relationship between compounds S, Y, X and compounds U, V, W, M, F are two examples (see Figure 3 & 4 below):

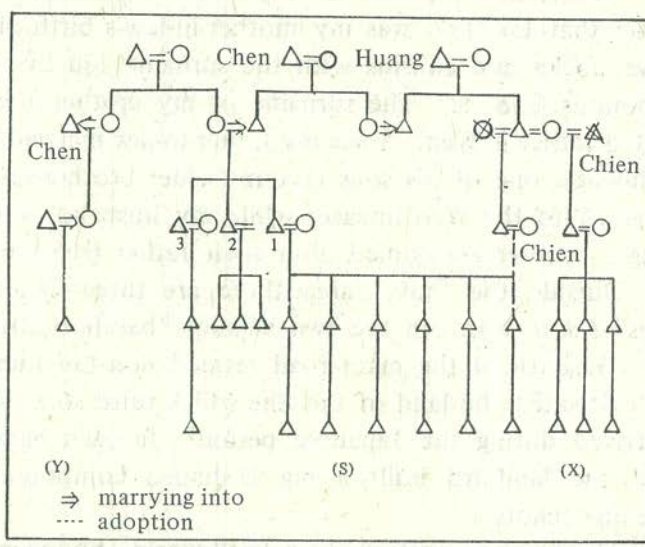


Figure 3. Kin Relationship Based on Marriage and Adoption Between Compounds S, Y, X

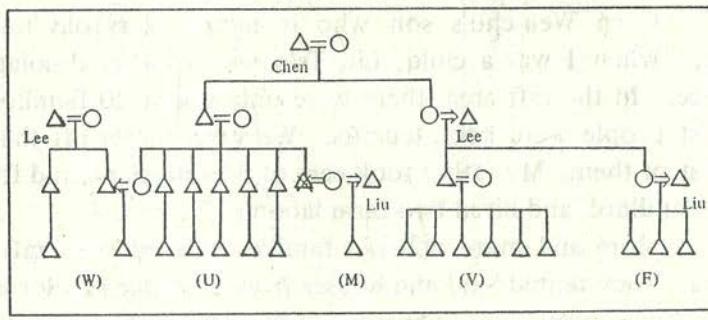


Figure 4. Kin Relationship Based on Marriage Between Compounds W, U, M, V, F

We live in compound T. I mentioned in the previous chapter that Liu Ts'o was my mother-in-law's birth place. I have uncles and cousins with the surname Liu living in compounds L & K. The surname of my mother-in-law's adopted father is Wen. Since my father-in-law married into this lineage, one of his sons (i.e. my elder brother-in-law) was given to the Wen lineage, while my husband and his younger brother are named after their father (see Fig. 5).

Outside the "raft" area there are three "bamboo circles" *(ch'u wei)*. In the two smaller "bamboo circles" (I & II) south of the main road resided non-Liu families who cultivated the land of Lin She-chih's third son. They all arrived during the Japanese period. In each bamboo circle, the landlord built a big U-shaped compound to settle his tenants.

The bamboo circle is like a small world. Endogemous marriages occurred among these tenant families with different surnames. I was surprised to discover that after

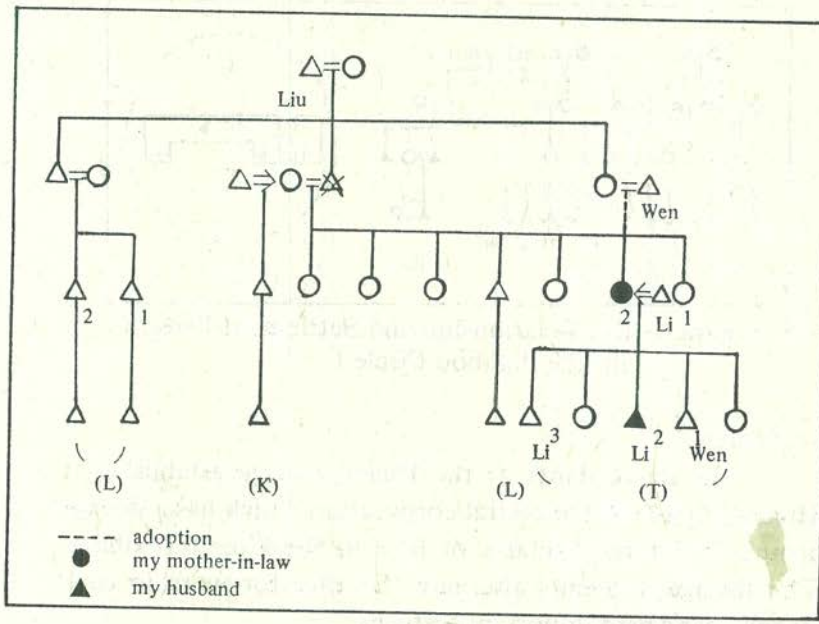


Figure 5. My Mother-in-Law's Kin Network in Liu Ts'o

several generations, the originally unrelated lineages in the bamboo circle I have developed intricate kin ties (see Figure 6).

The largest "bamboo circle" is located near the northeastern boundary of Liu Ts'o. Here reside around 10 genealogically related families. According to the written geneaology of this lineage, the first settler arrived at the San-k'uai-ts'o village of Nan T'un in 1748. After his sons divided their family in 1765, the first son's family moved to the "low settlement" (i.e., the Huang bamboo circle just mentioned) and the second son remained in the "top

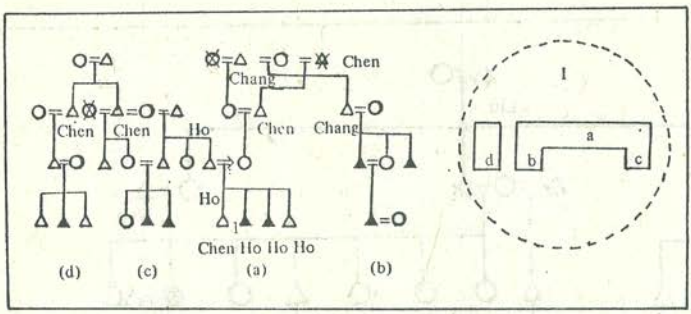


Figure 6. Kin Relationship and Settlement Pattern in The Bamboo Circle I

settlement".

The descendants of the Huang lineage established a Huang Pong-chueh ancestral corporation which has a lineage temple and three hectares of land in San-k'uai-ts'o village. The lineage segments alternate the ancestor worship each of the year's nine important festivals.

My oldest informant, Huang Te-fa, tells me that when he was a child the "low settlement" was under the administration of San-K'uai-ts'o village instead of Liu Ts'o. For people living in the "raft" area, the Huang bamboo circle is a rather isolated settlement of which they know little. Historically and geographically the Huang lineage in the "low settlement" is closer to the San-k'uai-ts'o village. Its village identity has been quite ambiguous.

As for the non-Liu lineages scattered on each side of the main road to Nan T'un street and Taichung city, three of them arrived during the Japanese period to work for a few smaller landlords; five lineages entered after 1945 to cultivate the land they bought; the rest have moved in more recently to engage in non-agricultural work.

The Myth of the Liu Lineage Temple

The single-surname village, well-known in southeastern China, is often symbolized by an outstanding ancestral temple and by the claim that all residents are descended from and worship common ancestors. I was thrilled to find that Liu Ts'o has only one Liu lineage temple which is recognized by all people with the surname Liu. Is the appearance of the Liu lineage temple a strong support for the hypothesis that Liu Ts'o was a single-surname village?

I am told that the Liu lineage temple northeast of the "raft" area houses a god's image called *Tsu-she-yeh.* During the Japanese period, all Liu lineages in Liu Ts'o worshipped *Tsu-she-yeh* and ate together *(ch'ih kung)* in front of the lineage temple three times a year. But nowadays only a few attend the worshipping activities.

In most cases the ancestral temple of a single-surname village is situated at the center of the lineage settlement, and a tablet(s) of the most distant ancestors is placed on the altar to be worshipped by all descendants of the lineage. The Liu lineage temple of Liu Ts'o is different in several aspects. First, it is not located in the "raft" area where the Liu assembled. Second, it houses the image of the legendary *Tsu-she-yeh*, rather than ancestral tablets. Third, the worshippers are not genealogically related and membership seems unstable.

I discover that the Liu lineage temple belongs to the Liu Tun-mu ancestral corporation which was set up around 1810-30. The ancestral corporation bought about 18 hectares of land in the Ch'ing dynasty, but only 17 hectares

were left during the Japanese period. Most land has been in Liu Ts'o and the rest dispersed to other villages of Nan T'un. The nature of this ancestral corporation was not clear to me until I compared it with other similar surname organizations participating in the "surname opera" activities of the Matsu Temple in Nan T'un (detailed in Chapter 7).

The Liu Tun-mu ancestral corporation seems to be a supra-village "higher-order lineage," (Freedman, 1966; Pasternak, 1972; Cohen, 1976) in which membership has been based on common surname and voluntary shares. It has contained genealogically non-related Liu lineages in Liu Ts'o and other settlements of the Nan T'un area.

The lineage temple of the Liu Tun-mu ancestral corporation was not constructed until 1867, when the image of *Tsu-she-yeh* was shipped to Nan T'un from Pan-liao district *(Hsiang)* of Fukien province. It is said that most early Liu immigrants to Nan T'un were originally from Pan-liao district where Liu was a prevalent surname. According to legend, *Tsu-she-yeh* was the remote ancestor Liu Tun-mu's niece. One day, his aunt asked him to make a fire. He used his own leg as firewood and was burned to death. Ever since he became a god, he had been worshipped by the Lius in Pan-liao district.

The land of the Liu Tun-mu ancestral corporation was rented to its members. Rental fees have been used to finance worshipping activities and feasts in the Liu lineage temple and Nan Tun's Matsu Temple on special occasions every year.

The manager tells me that the early record of this ancestral corporation was lost long ago, so that we do not know who the original members were. When the Japanese

colonial government investigated all ancestral corporations in Taiwan, there were 169 persons in Nan T'un and nearby areas registered as members of the Liu Tun-mu ancestral corporation. They elected managers and distinguished five "corners" *(chiao-tou)* including Liu Ts'o, Shui-tui-a and Ma-che-po in Nan Tun, Ma-kung-ts'o and Fan-po-chuang in southern Taichung City. The five "corners" took turns managing annual worshipping activities.

At the end of the Japanese period, it was rumored that the Japanese government was going to confiscate all ancestral corporation land. Most members of Liu Tun-mu ancestral corporation sold their shares to a rich member. My 1977 data shows that only 13 members remain in the ancestral corporation. This is why many Liu lineages in Liu Ts'o declare that they were in the past entitled to worship *Tsu-she-yeh* in the Liu lineage temple but they are not permitted to do so anymore.

The above data suggest that in the Ch'ing dynasty only people bearing the surname Liu lived in the core "raft" area of Liu Ts'o. All non-Lius except the Huang lineage in the peripheral bamboo circle entered Liu Ts'o in later periods. It is clear that Liu Ts'o was not a counterpart to the single-surname villages prevalent in southeastern mainland China, nor was the Liu lineage temple a visible symbol of a single-surname village. We do not find the large-scale, highly differentiated lineages in Liu Ts'o. In the past, the lineage temple had the function of integrating genealogically non-related lineages in Liu Ts'o and neighboring settlements. Today, this higher-order lineage is struggling for existence.

The Liu lineages of Liu Ts'o are independent of each

other. The rule of "clan" exogamy which prevents marriage exchange between people with the same surname further sets them apart. In contrast, many non-Liu tenants coming in the Japanese period have established close kin ties by means of marriage and adoption. We will see that Liu Ts'o's small-scale industries are not built by a few wealthy villagers in Liu lineages. The absence of strong, dominant, highly differentiated lineages in Liu Ts'o gives rise to a more diffused and independent type of small-scale industry.

3

Agricultural Development

During my residence in Liu Ts'o, I often heard people denigrate agriculture as a livelihood. The villagers said, for example, that no girl wanted to marry a farmer and that the recent trend was for women to take care of the farm and for men to do industrial or other non-agricultural work. In fact, I discovered that in 1977 only about 13 percent of Liu Ts'o's working population took agriculture as their main work and that most young people of Liu Ts'o had left farming. I was probably the only young villager who showed interest in agriculture. My enthusiasm was attributable to the intellectual's quilty feeling toward laborious farmers and a romantic preconception of country life. My older brother-in-law who had been working the land for over thirty years was flattered and overjoyed when I recorded his talks and asked him to teach me farming. He used to be very proud of his farming knowledge, but as he

found that agricultural income was comparatively low, he complained that his father did not treat him as well as his brothers who were prepared for non-agricultural occupations. He believed that his misfortune was caused by his bearing the surname of his mother's father rather than that of his father. My younger brother-in-law responded: "He should not blame anyone but the generation into which he was born and brought up. I really hate to hear his complaints. He always feelts that we owe him a lot."

What has happened to Liu Ts'o's agriculture? How did it cease to be the dominant mode of production? In this chapter I will describe agricultural development in Liu Ts'o, and will investigate the extent to which the villagers' claims reflect reality. We will find that they are justified and I will suggest that Liu Ts'o's small-scale industries emerged largely due to the post Land-Reform development which accumulated both agricultural and industrial income and gradually pushed farmers out of farming.

Land Transaction and Utilization

Liu Ts'o has about 65 hectares of cultivated land. At the beginning of the Japanese period (1895), however, only 2.7 hectares of the land (4 percent) belonged to the residents of Liu Ts'o; the majority of the land (77 percent) was in the hands of absentee landlords (see Table 2). During the 50 years of Japanese rule, a few tenant families bought small pieces of land from landlords and thereby achieved the status of "part-owner" farm families. The Chen family, responsible for cultivating fields belonging to the biggest absentee landlord, was one such family. Fami-

Table 2
Land Distribution in Liu Ts'o

year	Liu Ts'o's Inhabitants		Ancestral Corporations		Government		Temples		Absentee Landlords		Total	
	hectare	%	hectare	%	hectare	%	hectare	%	hectare	%	hectare	%
1895	2.7	4	8.0	12	2.6	4	2	3	49.7	77	65	100
1945	10	15	3.4	5	4.5	7	0	-	47.1	72	65	100
1953	43.8	67	2.4	4	4.5	7	0	-	14.3	22	65	100

Source: Land Record in Taichung City Land Registration Office.

lies in the Huang bamboo circle also managed to transform two hectares of ancestral land into private land. The earliest and largest Liu lineage gradually bought five hectares of land and one family in this lineage became the wealthiest and the only full-owner farm family which hired long-term farm laborers to help with farming. Yet they did not achieve the status of landlord.

Before the arrival of the Nationalist Chinese government the *pa-tien* (literally, pulling the land) system was prevalent throughout Taiwan. In Liu Ts'o village, usually the prospective tenant went to a landlord. If the landlord was willing to rent land to him, the tenant had to pay a deposit to secure the right of cultivation. As the oral contract ended, the tenant got his deposit back. The landlord paid tax to the government and built houses to settle his tenants, but he did not supply seeds, farm tools, or fertilizers. Big absentee landlords did not even go down to the village. After rice harvest, the landlord got 50 to 70 percent of the product as rent through an appointed rice dealer. If the tenant failed to pay his rent, the landlord could easily remove him and replace him with others since land was concentrated in a few people's hands and there were limited non-agricultural work opportunities.

Tenants competed for the chance to cultivate Liu Ts'o's land, for Liu Ts'o had a good system of irrigation which insured stable harvests. Except for lower paddies, fed by the Fa-tse river, Liu Ts'o's cultivated land has been irrigated by small canals which draw water from underground springs in Si T'un district.

Rice has been the main crop. But from 1910-1940, the Japanese sugar corporation which got legal support from

the government, compelled the landlords of this area to rent their land for sugarcane cultivation and to hire their tenants as wage laborers. After the sugar corporation obtained its own farm, Liu Ts'o returned to two crops of rice and one winter crop of wheat or sweet potatoes. Income from the winter crop belonged entirely to the tenants. Wheat was replaced by hemp and corn around 1950. But the fields have lain fallow in winter ever since 1971. Why did they give up the winter crop? It is said that it was due to the high cost of hired labor and the low price of the product. Farmers preferred to seek work outside their fields in the winter season.

According to land records preserved in the Land Registration Office, although some tenants bought land from landlords during the Japanese period, land was largely transferred in transactions among the landlords. The basic landlord-tenant relationship was maintained throughout the Japanese period. The elder informants remember that the high rental rate (50 to 70 percent of the product) became unbearable during the Sino-Japanese War (1937-45) and thereafter as well.

In 1951, the "Act to Reduce Farm Rent to 37.5 Percent" was promulgated by the Chinese Nationalist government. This act not only reduced rents, but secured the tenants' right to work on the rented land. Under the "Land to the Tiller Act" of 1953, the landlords, including the land-owning ancestral corporations and temples, were allowed to retain a maximum of three hectares of paddy fields or six hectares of dry fields. The rest of their land was expropriated by the government, which resold the land to the previous tenant-cultivators. The purchase price was

fixed at 250 percent of the total annual main crop yield. The government paid the landlords in the form of land bonds (70 percent) and shares of stock in government enterprises (30 percent). The former tenants' payment was in ten equal annual installments (cf. Chen Cheng, 1961; Gallin, 1966; Amsden, 1979; Galenson, 1979; Shen, 1972).

In 1895, the beginning of the Japanese colonial control, Liu Ts'o's inhabitants owned 4 percent of Liu Ts'o's land; absentee landlords owned 77 percent, and the remaining 19 percent belonged to ancestral corporations (12 percent), the government (4 percent) and the temple (3 percent). By the time Taiwan was returned to Chinese administration in 1945, the proportion of villager-owned land increased from 4 to 15 percent, but absentee landlords still held 72 percent of Liu Ts'o's land. After the Land Reform of 1953, Liu Ts'o's inhabitants got 67 percent, while the absentee landlords' holdings were reduced to 22 percent (see Table 2).

As a result of Land Reform, the former large landlords became small landlords, some small landlords moved to Liu Ts'o becoming self-cultivators, and most former tenants in Liu Ts'o became full owner-farmers. But there remain some tenants who continue working on landlords' reserved land. Compared to the previous period, however, the landlord can no longer evict his tenant nor sell land without his tenant's consent. If the land is sold, the tenant is entitled to half of the price. I remember that one day a lady came to our house and said to my brothers-in-law who were tenants on her brother's land, "Your land belongs to my brother who is now in the United States and willing to give his land to my mother. Since farming is not profitable

nowadays, why don't we sell the land and let my mother have some money for her old age?" She was unable to sell the land because my brothers-in-law refused to do so.

In 1976, 79 of 110 families, or more than 70 percent of the families of Liu Ts'o, possessed land. Seventy-nine families owned a total of 43 hectares of land in Liu Ts'o and another five hectares outside the village. On the average, each family has about 0.6 hectare, and no family has more than two hectares of land (see Table 3).

Table 3
The Land Size of Liu Ts'o's Land-owning Families, 1976-77

Land Size (hectare)	Number of Families
0.1-0.3	22
0.4-0.5	21
0.6-0.7	16
0.8-0.9	9
1.0-2.0	11
2.0+	0
Total	79

Source: Land Record in Taichung City Land Registration Office

The Land Record also indicates that in the past 20 years, nearly half of Liu Ts'o's land, consisting of 15 hectares of released land bought by the former tenants and 17 hectares of the landlords' reserved land has changed hands through sale. Of the 32 hectares sold, 23 hectares were sold by Liu Ts'o's residents, while nine hectares were sold by absentee landlords (see Table 4).

Table 4
Land Sales in Liu Ts'o, 1953-1977

Land Sellers	Types of Land Sold		Total
	Released Land (hectares)	Reserved Land (hectares)	
Residents of Liu Ts'o	13	10	23
Non-resident of Liu Ts'o	2	7	9
Total	15	17	32

Source: Land Record in Taichung City Land Registration Office.

With regard to the land purchasers, we find that before 1971, 9.7 hectares of Liu Ts'o's land were bought by the inhabitants of the village, 8.3 hectares were bought by people living outside of it, but still within the Nan T'un district, and 4.3 hectares were sold to the inhabitants of Taichung city and county. After 1971, this trend reversed: Liu Ts'o's inhabitants have bought only 0.2 hectares, while inhabitants of Nan T'un have bought 3.2 hectares, and those living outside this district have bought 6.2 hectares. In other words, Liu Ts'o villagers have stopped buying land, and more and more of Liu Ts'o's land has flowed into outsiders' hands since 1971 (see Table 5).

Generally speaking, during the Japanese period most Liu Ts'o residents were landless tenants who worked hard to maintain a basic living standard. The Land Reform of 1951-53 gave them great incentive to work on their own land. If they could save money, they liked to invest in land. Before 1971, people sold land mainly for the purpose of purchasing better pieces of land. But land was sold very reluctantly,

Table 5
Land Purchases in Liu Ts'o, 1953-1977

Land Purchasers	Year		Total
	before 1971 (hectares)	After 1971 (hectares)	
Inhabitants of Liu Ts'o	9.8	0.2	10
Inhabitants of Nan T'un (excluding Liu Ts'o)	8.3	3.2	11.5
Inhabitants of Taichung City and County (excluding Nan T'un)	4.3	6.2	10.5
Total	22.4	9.6	32

Source: Land Records in Taichung City Land Registration Office.

for example when farmers were forced to sell due to heavy gambling debts.

The reluctance to purchase land after 1971 was closely related to the changing nature of labor and capital, to the growing shortage of agricultural labor, to the increasing non-agricultural job opportunities, to the decreasing profitability of rice cultivation, to the rising price of land and to new types of investment (e.g. house construction and small-scale industries). These factors are analyzed below.

Technological Improvement and Labor Requirements

As time goes by, Liu Ts'o's residents invest less and

less time and labor in agricultural work. Let us look at each agricultural task in detail:

Plowing -- According to the 1932 Gazetteer of Nan T'un, in 1932 Liu Ts'o had 34 farm households and 34 water buffalos. In 1977, there were 79 land-owning farm families with ten buffalos and ten power-tillers. A villager told me:

> In the past, almost every farm family owned a buffalo. The power-tiller was introduced into Liu Ts'o around 1960. At first, we disliked the "iron buffalo" and felt that it did not turn over the soil sufficiently, being especially unsuitable for those fields with a lot of underground stones. But raising a water buffalo is not easy. You have to spend a lot of time to take care of it and cut straw to feed it during the plowing season. Besides, you can not let it overwork. I sold my buffalo as I found that both of us were worn out.

When I left Liu Ts'o in 1978, five more buffalos were sold. Using water buffalo, it takes about eight man-days to plough one hectare of land. Before filling the field with water and transplanting, the buffalo has to walk back and forth over the same ground six times to till, break, and level the soil. The power-tiller must only pass twice, and requires only two man-days to do the same job.

Seeding and transplanting – For one hectare of land, it usually takes one man-day to sow seeds on the nursery, and ten man-days to transplant by hand. In 1976, a young farmer with 1.8 hectares of land bought the village's first transplanting machine. This innovator told me that the transplanting machine was introduced into Taichung area in 1975. This machine can only transplant rice shoots grown in special seedbeds. Although many places have already

established nursery centers to supply rice shoots, Nan T'un has not. The new method of seeding is rather complex and delicate. Wooden shelves have to be placed in the seedbed. These are then covered with plastic cloth to keep the temperature between 35° and 40° centigrade during the entire seeding period which lasts twenty-five days. Using a transplanting machine, it takes only 1.5 man-days to transplant one hectare of land, which is about seven times faster than hand-transplanting. But most of Liu Ts'o villagers (even in 1980) still take an attitude of wait and see towards the new technology. They feel that the seeding procedures of machine-transplanting are too costly. In addition, they claim that rice shoots transplanted by machine do not look as nice as those transplanted by hand.

Weeding -- Before herbicides were adopted by the villagers in 1974, between transplanting and harvest the paddy fields required three weedings. One man could weed 0.1 to 0.2 hectares each day. For one rice crop, it took around twenty man-days to weed one hectare of land. Over the past three years, with herbicides, weeding is no longer an arduous and time-consuming task. After transplanting, it takes only one man-day to spread herbicides over one hectare of a paddy. Most villagers weed the foot-path grass by hand, which takes about four man-days per hectare for each crop. Few people use mowers or herbicides to clean out the foot-path grass.

Watching the field water and fertilizing – From plowing to harvesting, a farmer with one hectare of land has to spend about one hour each day watching the field water. For example, he has to let in water during the transplanting period, and let it out while fertilizing. No new technology

has been introduced with regard to fertilizing. The farmers often fertilize three times for each crop. Altogether it takes about three man-days per hectare.

Spraying insecticides – In the past, the villagers only used hand-dusters to spray insecticides. Recently, power insecticide-sprayers have been introduced. Under normal conditions, the first crop is sprayed three times, and the second crop requires four or five times. With hand-dusters, each spraying takes three or four man-days per hectare. The power insecticide-sprayer, operated by only two men, takes one day to spray a hectare of land.

Harvesting -- The foot-pedal threshing machine was introduced to Nan T'un in 1927. The new automatic threshing machine took its place around 1969. In the past, the harvesting team worked about twelve hours a day (4:30-11:30 a.m., 12:00-5:00 p.m.), but with the new threshing machine, it only works about eight or nine hours a day (7:00-11:30 a.m. and 12:00-5:00 p.m.). During my research period, the villagers of Liu Ts'o still harvested by hand, which involves twenty man-days per hectare. The combine-harvesters which appeared in Nan T'un in 1975 require only two man-days per hectare.[1]

Drying the rice grain – I find that most farm families in Liu Ts'o dry their rice grain in the sun. On good sunny days, the grain harvested from one hectare of land can be dried in one week. Few families have grain dryers which are able to dry the same amount of grain in one or two days.

---

1. When I revisited Liu Ts'o in 1978, two farmers had bought combine-harvesters. One mutual-aid harvesting team was dismissed. Half of Liu Ts'o's rice paddies were harvested using machines owned by the villagers or outsiders.

By 1977, time-saving technologies were still not widely accepted by the residents of Liu Ts'o. Power tillers, herbicides and power insecticide-sprayers have indeed become quite popular. But transplanting machines, grain dryers, and combine-harvesters were seldom used. Nevertheless, even with just this moderate degree of agricultural mechanization, a lot of time and labor were saved (see Table 6).

Table 6
Labor Required Per Hectare for One Rice Crop
(at the past and present technological levels)

section of agricultural work*	past technological level (man-day)	present technological level (man-day)
plowing	8 (buffalo)	2 (power tiller)
seeding	1	1
transplanting	11.5	11.5
weeding	24 (hands)	5 (herbicides)
fertilizing	3	3
spraying insecticides	12 (hand-duster)	3 (power insecticide-sprayer)
harvesting	20	20
drying the grain	7	7
Total	86.5	52.5

*The labor spent on watching the field water is omitted from the table.

In 1976-77, the cultivation of one hectare of paddy field with the commonly accepted technology in Liu Ts'o

required about 105 man-days (two crops) per year, the growing period for each rice crop lasts about 120 days. Most farmers of Liu Ts'o spend less than one-third of a year on agricultural work. It is not only possible but more economic to be employed outside their own farms. Moreover, Table 6 is only an hypothetical situation. In reality, 85 percent of Liu Ts'o's farm families own less than one hectare of land, and family heads often asked family members or hired laborers to help with farming. A detailed analysis of the agricultural operation of the seventy-nine land-owning families in Liu Ts'o reveals that the owner-cultivation[2] rate for several items of agricultural work such as plowing, transplanting, harvesting and spraying insecticides is rather low, and that males and females participate in agriculture in different degrees (see Table 7).

Plowing has the lowest rate of owner-cultivation (25 percent). Those who own water buffalos and power tillers not only plow their own land, but are hired to work on relatives' and neighbors' fields. In 1976-77, Liu Ts'o had ten water buffalos plowing fourteen hectares (one-fifth) of the land and ten power tillers cultivating forty-four hectares of Liu Ts'o's land (29 hectares belong to Liu Ts'o villagers, 15 hectares to the outsiders). The average age of the power tiller owners is forty-one, much younger than the buffalo owners' average age of fifty-nine. This indicates a trend of agricultural mechanization.

Plowing has been exclusively man's work. The intimacy of social relations, as well as the condition and

2. Owner-cultivation means that cultivation is done by members of the land-owning family.

Table 7

Agricultural operation of the Land-owning Families in Liu Ts'o, 1976-77

item of agricultural work / agricultural operation	plowing	transplanting	harvesting	spraying insecticides	spreading herbicides	fertilizing	seeding	weeding	drying the grain	watching the field water
A. with family labor (no. of families)										
a. with male labor	20	14	16	38	51	56	53	33	3	47
b. with female labor	-	4	4	-	8	7	10	27	67	16
c. with both male and female labor	-	15	13	-	-	1	3	10	2	10
total	20	33	33	38	59	64	66	70	72	73
rate of owner-cultivation	25%	42%	42%	48%	76%	80%	84%	89%	91%	92%
B. with hired labor										
a. entirely with hired labor	58	41	33	41	20	14	12	9	6	6
b. partially with hired labor	1	5	13	-	-	1	1	-	1	-
total	59	46	46	41	20	15	13	9	7	6
rate of other-cultivation	75%	58%	58%	52%	24%	20%	16%	11%	9%	8%

location of the fields determine to a large extent who hired whom to plow the land. For example, my younger brother-in-law's field is plowed by a neighbor named Lin A-fa who has a water buffalo. A-fa's wife has been a good friend of my husband's younger sister-in-law. One day, I asked him why he did not buy a power-tiller. He replied:

> I could not afford to buy a power tiller before. It is too late now. As all good fields have been plowed by people who bought power tillers at an earlier time, only a few fields with a lot of underground stones are left to buffalos. After plowing the stony fields, the hooves of my buffalo turn all red, and the next day the poor thing can hardly walk. I am thinking of selling it.

My older brother-in-law's land is plowed by Ho Chang-shen. "My field is next to Chang-shen's and he has both a power-tiller and a buffalo. The rugged places where the power tiller can not till will be plowed by the water buffalo."

The owner-cultivation rate for rice transplanting and harvesting is 42 percent. In most cases, owner-cultivation is achieved by means of labor exchange. If a man has one hectare of land which takes ten man-days to transplant, he can join a transplanting team and work ten days on each other's fields. Liu Ts'o has four transplanting and harvesting teams. One of them is composed of seven families which belong to three affinally-related descent groups residing in compounds W, U, and V. Each family has roughly the same amount of land. During the transplanting and harvesting seasons, there is a total of around twenty men, women, and children who work together without calculating wages. The other three mutual-aid teams are organized by villagers

who have intimate relations or live in the same neighborhood. Every team has a person responsible for recording each member's work-days. At the end of the transplanting or harvesting season, those who work more days than would be required for their own farm receive wage compensation from those who work less. A mutual-aid team has an average of ten to fifteen members. In principle, members of the team simply cultivate each other's land, but after completing their own farm's work, they would like to be hired out as a team or individually to earn more wages. In addition, a harvesting team formed by soldiers from the nearby barracks has organized to help families which have young members serving in the army. In recent years, increasing numbers of land-owning families have hired outside labor-teams through the arrangement of labor contractors *(pao-t'ou)*, since they do not have enough family labor for exchange. Non-salaried, kin-based labor exchange has come to be gradually replaced by hired wage labor.

In 1977, Liu Ts'o had forty-three males and twenty-two females participating in rice transplanting; forty-five males and twenty-three females in harvesting. The male-female ratio was two to one. Some of them participated in mutual-aid teams, the others only work on their own fields with the help of hired laborers (see Table 8).

The rate of owner-cultivation for spraying insecticides is also less than 50 percent. The villagers often hire laborers introduced by insecticide stores to do this dangerous work, using power insecticide-sprayers.

It is said that women hardly participated in harvesting until 1969, when the machine thresher replaced the laborious pedal thresher. In Table 8, we find that the female

Table 8
The Age and Sex Distribution of the Transplanting and Harvesting Participants in Liu Ts'o, 1977

agricultural item	transplanting						harvesting					
sex	male			female			male			female		
nature of cultivation / age distribution	mutual-aid	for family land only	total	mutual-aid	for family land only	total	mutual-aid	for family land only	total	mutual-aid	for family land only	total
15 - 19	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0
20 - 29	2	3	5	0	0	0	3	1	4	0	0	0
30 - 39	3	1	4	7	1	8	4	3	7	7	3	10
40 - 49	12	2	14	5	2	7	14	2	16	7	1	8
50 - 59	9	4	13	4	3	7	8	3	11	4	1	5
60 - 69	3	1	4	0	0	0	3	1	4	0	0	0
70 - 79	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
Total	29	14	43	16	6	22	32	13	45	18	5	23

participants are all married and most of them are in the age range of thirty to forty. Male participants are largely between the ages of forty and sixty. This figures shows that many males of the younger generation have given up agricultural cultivation and left farm work to their wives.

Spreading herbicides, fertilizing, seeding and watching the field water have more male participants than females; while hand-weeding and grain drying have been mainly women's work. Some villagers who have non-agricultural jobs do only light farming on vacations, or let their wives take more responsibility for the farm. Liu Ts'o has sixteen land-owning families whose fields are completely under the care of women.

Is Liu Ts'o's agricultural labor in shortage or in surplus? My observation is that during the slack season, one person's labor is enough for taking care of one hectare of family land at present technological levels. As the non-agricultural sector efficiently absorbs many extra members of the farm family, the labor surplus problem of the slack season becomes almost non-existent. But during the busy transplanting and harvesting seasons, Liu Ts'o experiences a definite labor shortage. Many people must hire laborers to cultivate their land. This problem can be solved if a higher degree of agricultural mechanization is achieved. I intend to discuss the possibilities of further mechanization later.

Agricultural Capital Investment and Returns

Is it true that farming is becoming profitless? During my field period, I collected data in order to determine the

net agricultural income of each family farm, whether wages and income from farming are lower than those from non-agricultural work, how much surplus rice is produced by the farm families, and whether or not they can live on farming alone.

Table 9 reveals the cost per hectare including seeds, herbicides, fetilizer, insecticides, transport, and hired labor for each item of agricultural work in Liu Ts'o, 1976.

The major factors accounting for the variation of agricultural returns of the family farms in Liu Ts'o are the size and productivity of the land, land tenure, and the rate of owner-cultivation. On the average, a hectare of paddy field can harvest 6,000 kg., ranging from 5,000 kg. to 7,500 kg. Japonica (Ponlai) grain for the first crop. The second crop usually produces 1,000 kg. less than the first one. As compared to other regions, the central Taichung area contributes the largest portion of rice production (20 percent) for Taiwan. The yield per hectare is also the highest.

If a farm family with one hectare of self-owned land harvests 5,000 kg. Japonica grain for the second crop in 1976, and sells all of it immediately at the market price of NT$10 (US$ 0.25) per kg., the gross return will be NT$ 50,000. The net income depends largely on the rate of owner-cultivation. If this family only uses family laborers to work on its farm, the net income will be nearly NT$ 30,000. Given an opposite situation that this family hired laborers to do all items of agricultural work, the net return from the farm will be around NT$9,000.

The above estimate is based upon normal good conditions. A tenant family has to give the landlord 2,000 kg. grain (around NT$12,000) per hectare. Furthermore, when

Table 9
Agricultural Cost per Hectare for the Second Rice Crop in Liu Ts'o, 1976.

Item	Cost (NT)
seeds (42 kg.)	500
herbicides (30 kg.)	950
fertilizer (30 bags)	4,440
insecticides	4,000
transport	1,000
rent for threshing machine	800
land tax	414
plowing	5,040
seeding	220
transplanting and team members' dessert	4,450
weeding	900
fertilizing	660
spraying insecticides	1,500
harvesting and team members' dessert	8,000
watching the field water every day	5,040
drying the grain	3,000
Total	40,914

bad weather causes serious casualities or the market grain price drops, the farm families often suffer heavy losses.

I often heard people saying, "I farm to earn my own wages", "I lose money by hiring farm laborers". A farm family can increase its farm net income by devoting more family labor to farm work. The higher the rate of owner–

cultivation, the greater the agricultural returns.

On the one hand, villagers complain that wages for hired agricultural laborers are too high; on the other hand, they themselves do not want to devote more labor to agricultural work. Why? I found that the daily wage for agricultural labor in this area is quite close to that of non-agricultural manual labor. The period of low agricultural wages had ended. The transplanting and harvesting laborer earns NT$300 and the seeding or fertilizing laborer NT$220 per day. In comparison, the monthly salary of a high school teacher is around NT$8,000. A male factory worker's income is between NT$4,000 and NT$7,000 per month. It is due to the fact that most farm families in Liu Ts'o own less than one hectare of land which only requires about 50 nonconsecutive man-days per crop, and the product and rice price are unstable, villagers prefer to take non-agricultural jobs with constant daily or monthly payment. Therefore they must hire agricultural laborers to work their farms. They are aware that by doing so their agricultural income is reduced; however, the total family income increases.

The government's rice price policies have an important impact on agricultural capital investment and returns. The government has collected rice by means of land taxes paid in kind, compulsory rice purchases and a rice-fertilizer barter system. Through the past few decades, the Chinese Nationalist government has considered a low and stable rice price an essential part of anti-inflationary policy. Whenever the market price rose, the Provincial Food Bureau attempted to stabilize it by selling stored or imported rice at a cheaper price.

In 1972, the rice-fertilizer barter system which favored the government over the farmer was abolished. Ever since the first crop of 1973, the government has guaranteed rice prices much higher than the market price in order to raise farmers' income. In 1974, the farmers happily sold all their surplus rice to the government at the guaranteed higher prices. Nonetheless, from the first crop of 1975, the government refused to purchase all rice delivered to the Farmers' Associations. In 1977, the chief of the Provincial Food Bureau declared, "The policy will be changed from unrestricted to planned rice purchase. The Farmers' Association will only purchase 970 kg. per hectare at the guaranteed rice price." It is said that the Food Bureau does not have enough barns to store rice exceeding the national needs, and rice export is difficult because the international rice price is lower than the nationally guaranteed price.

The villagers are very angry at the revised rice purchase policy. They tell me that only a small portion of their surplus rice is purchased by the government at the guaranteed price and the rest has to be sold cheaply in the market. The guaranteed grain purchase price is NT$11.5 per kg. The rice shops in Nan T'un street buy grain from the farmers at a price of NT$8 to NT$10 per kg., then sell rice to the cutomers at NT$10 to NT$12 per kg. It is quite obvious that the planned rice purchase policy benefits the rice dealers. Some farmers manage to sell rice directly to their kinsmen and friends at a price higher than that offered by the rice shops but lower than the market rice price.

How much surplus rice does each farm family produce? "Surplus rice" is here defined as the portion left after deducting rice for family members' consumption, land

tax, and interest-free agricultural loans paid in kind from the total rice product.

The average family size of Liu Ts'o is seven persons (roughly three adults and four children who eat around 1,200 kg. grain per year (a grown person eats about 18 kg. and a child eats about 10 kg. per month). The land tax for each crop is around 360 kg. per ha. In 1977, Liu Ts'o's interest-free loan provided by Nan T'un Farmers' Association totaled NT$100,000. If it is distributed evenly, each hectare has only to return 200 kg. of grain. For each crop, the surplus rice of a seven person family cultivated one hectare of land in Liu Ts'o is around 4,000 kg.. Since the government only plans to purchase 970 kg. per ha., it is true that most of the surplus has to be sold in the market at a cheaper price. "One thing good about farming is that we always have rice to eat; however, we cannot live on rice alone."

With high agricultural costs and a low rice price, it is understandable that the villagers of Liu Ts'o are reluctant to invest more labor and capital in agriculture. The next question is : Why don't they give up farming if the profit from agriculture is low?

One reason is that land is valuable. The rapid development of Taichung city has transformed many rice firelds in the suburban districts into residential or industrial areas. Compared to the Si T'un and Pei T'un districts, Nan T'un's residents are prohibited from putting paddy fields to non-agricultural usage by the ordinances of city planning. Nonetheless, the land price of Nan T'un is constantly rising. In 1975, the price was around NT$3 million per hectare. By 1977 it had risen to 4 to 5 million per hectare.

I mentioned earlier that Liu Ts'o villagers have not purchased new land since 1971. Some land has flowed into outsiders' hands. The outsiders are mostly former farmers living in Si T'un or other suburban regions of Taichung city. Their paddy fields became residential or industrial land whose value is several hundred times that of agricultural land. These newly emerged wealthy landlords are still considered farmers entitled to buy less than three hectares of land according to the Land Reform Law. They purchase fields in the neighboring districts as an investment. Some older people commute to do very little agricultural work and thus become absentee "farmers". The villagers preserve their land with the hope that someday the city government will lift the restriction and change Liu Ts'o from an agricultural land use zone into a residential area as has happened in many rural regions.

Another reason for continuing to farm is that the government imposes a heavy tax on agricultural land which does not grow crops. In addition, the older farmers who cannot find or get used to non-agricultural jobs have a strong attachment to agricultural work. They want to do as much work as they can to avoid paying wages to hired laborers. For example, a farmer can have his rice harvested by exchanging labor with others in a mutual-aid harvesting team. If a combine-harvester replaced the team's work, the farmer would be unemployed during the harvesting season and has to pay wages to the operators of the combine-harvester. This partially explains why further mechanization would be difficult in Liu Ts'o.

Generally speaking, in the first decade following the Land Reform of 1951-53, the farmers were enthusiastic

about land cultivation. Their agricultural returns increased when heavy rent was removed. But they were unable to accumulate much capital since the land price had to be paid back in ten annual installments. Not until the mid-1960s when they were clear of land debt and non-agricultural working opportunities increased, did the residents of Liu Ts'o have sufficient capital to purchase power tillers, power insecticide-sprayers and automatic threshing machines, though these were available as early as 1956. Since 1970, more and more people have left agriculture. They do not want to invest more time, labor and capital in low-profit farming.

Types of Farm Families and Occupational Differentiation

Since the mid-1960s, with the development of industry, agriculture has lost its role as the dominant economic activity in Liu Ts'o. A large proportion of the working population have entered the non-agricultural sector. Many villagers consider agriculture to be subsidiary work. Agricultural returns are no longer the main source of family income.

In 1977, Liu Ts'o had seventy-nine (72 percent) land-owning families. I classify these into six types according to the amount of actual agricultural work engaged in by the head of the family.

I. Those mainly cultivating self-owned land, occasionally hired out to work on others' farms – Only two families (3 percent) belong to this type. The family heads are professional farmers. The size of their family farms (1.8 hectares and 1.4 hectares) is larger than those in the

other categories; therefore, most of their time and labor is devoted to self-owned fields. They are interested in agricultural mechanization. The family with 1.8 hectares of land was the first to buy a power tiller and a transplanting machine.

II. Those often hired to do agricultural work for others, in addition to doing their own – There are six families (7 percent) belonging to this category. Their land size is above 0.6 hectare. The family heads, aged between thirty-five and fifty-five, have agricultural machines such as power tillers and chemical sprayers which allow them to be hired to cultivate others' fields. During agricultural slack seasons, some of these families sell vegetables or change power tillers into transporters delivering grain, materials for construction, etc.

III. Those partly retired from agricultural work and only tending self-owned farms -- There are twenty-two families (30 percent) belonging to this category. The family heads, above sixty years of age, are either old farmers or widows. They do some agricultural work within their capacity and leave heavy work to hired laborers or other members in the family.

IV. Those engaging in unstable, non-skilled, non-agricultural work as well as cultivating family farms - There are fourteen families (17 percent). Since most family farms are below 0.5 hectare, they do not require much time or labor. The family heads, aged between thirty-five and sixty, are hired to do various kinds of miscellaneous jobs, such as *feng-shui* work (building tombs, digging and washing bones of the dead), paving roads, laying bricks, and helping with ceremonies.

V. Those engaging in stable, skilled, non-agricultural work for whom agriculture is subsidiary work – There are twenty-six families (33 percent) of this type. The family heads, all below forty-five years of age, only do some light agricultural work during their leisure time, and leave the heavy work to hired laborers. They are employed as government officers, *feng-shui* masters,[3] hog sellers, factory managers, factory workers, salesman, brick layers, carpenters, etc.

VI. Those who have completely abandoned agricultural work and transferred to non-agricultural jobs – This category consists of nine families (10 percent). Their farm area is very small (less than 0.4 hectare). Some family heads ask close relatives (father/brother/wife) to take charge of their fields, while others rent land to neighbors under informal contracts.

The family heads of Type I, II and III are professional farmers, since most of their time and labor are spent on agricultural work. In contrast, the persons in Type IV and V are part-time farmers who take agriculture as subsidiary work. The family heads of Type VI are recognized as farmers in the official records, but in reality do not farm.

Before 1960, most farmers of Liu Ts'o took agriculture as their main occupation. During the agricultural slack

3. In 1976, Liu Ts'o had five *feng-shui* masters who built tombs, and cleaned and reburied the bones of the dead according to the folk belief, and seven *feng-shui* workers. At the end of the Japanese period, a family surnamed Ts'en moved from Taichung county to Liu Ts'o to cultivate a relative's land. The family head was a *feng-shui* master. Liu Ts'o's five *feng-shui* masters were all trained by him, and four of them are his progeny.

season, they sought miscellaneous jobs to subsidize their incomes. The current trend though is clearly in the direction of non-agricultural work. I believe that in the future Type I and II farmers with labor-saving agricultural machines will be the backbone of Liu Ts'o's agriculture.

Among the thirty-one landless families in Liu Ts'o, eighteen had previously owned land. Their land was either sold to others or divided among sons who established independent families. The remaining landless families, including the four families of retired mainland soldiers who married girls of Liu Ts'o, immigrated to the village at later periods.

The above analysis, concentration on the work of land-owning family heads, does not reveal the conditions of occupational differentiation among the total working population in Liu Ts'o.

In addition to family heads, the stem or joint families also contain married males of a younger generation. Liu Ts'o has fifty-five persons belonging to this category. Only four of them participate in some kind of agricultural work. The rest have transfefred completely to non-agricultural work. There are fifty-six unmarried working males above age thirteen. With the exception of one or two persons who occasionally help with agricultural work, all of them engage in non-agricultural work, mainly factory work. Furthermore, another thirty-six males are still in school, while fourteen males serve in the army.

As men gradually leave the farms, the married women of Liu Ts'o take on more agricultural responsibilites. The extent of their participation in agricultural work has been discussed above (cf. Tables 7 and 8). In many cases, women

must do both agricultural work and house work. Washing clothes, cooking, taking care of children, raising chickens and ducks, planting and harvesting vegetables in small family gardens – the tasks which have traditionally been assigned to women.

During my field investigations, I found that seven women sold vegetables, fruits, desserts, pork, fish, etc. in the neighboring market in addition to their housework and farm chores; two took care of grocery shops in the village; eleven engaged in miscellaneous work related to house construction; four worked in the nearby factories. Additionally, there was one midwife, one hair-dresser, one shrimper, one chief cook and one anthropological field worker in Liu Ts'o.

In general, married women do not like to be employed in the factories outside because such work is too rigidly scheduled to allow additional time for housework and agricultural chores. Thirty-eight women of Liu Ts'o have side occupations at home. They use free time to weave flower-pot hangers, sew winter stockings, etc. The materials are delivered to them by middlemen who have contacts with export factories. The wages are extremely low, but, "We can, more or less, earn some money and at the same time tend our families."

There are fifty-four unmarried working females above age thirteen. Ninety-five percent work in factories, none participate in agriculture. Some study at night-school after work. In addition, thirty-two persons are still in school, while three other girls stay at home doing house work.

Liu Ts'o's total working population[4] in 1977 was a-

4. The total working population does not include those who only engage in housework, study at school, or serve in the army.

Table 10

Working Places of Liu Ts'o's Non-agricultural Workers, 1977

working places / status	Liu Ts'o Village	out-village (abiding outside)							out-village (residing at Liu Ts'o)						Total
		Taichung City	Central Taiwan	Northern Taiwan	Southern Taiwan	Others	Total	Nan T'un District	Taichung City	Central Taiwan	Northern Taiwan	Southern Taiwan	Others	Total	
family heads	11	1	1	1	0	0	3	8	37	0	0	0	0	45	59
married males in stem or joint families (excluding family heads)	6	10	4	2	0	0	16	4	29	0	0	0	0	33	55
unmarried males (above age 13)	11	2	4	3	1	1	11	11	20	3	0	0	0	34	54
unmarried females (above age 13)	5	3	19	4	0	0	26	18	5	0	0	0	0	23	54
married females	45	1	0	0	0	0	1	25	1	2	0	0	0	28	72
Total	78	16	28	10	1	1	57	67	92	4	0	0	0	163	296
(%)	(26)						(19)							(55)	

round 341 persons (221 males and 120 females). Only 13 percent of them (29 males and 16 females) consider agriculture as their main work. The remaining 296 persons devote most of their time and labor to non-agricultural jobs. Table 10 tells the working places of the non-agricultural workers.

We can see that Liu Ts'o does not have serious labor-outflow problems. Most workers are employed in central Taiwan. Fifty-five percent reside in Liu Ts'o and commute to working places in Taichung city or nearby areas. Only 19 percent of the non-agricultural workers live outside Liu Ts'o. Twenty-six percent stay at Liu Ts'o's small-scale factories or engage in side-occupations at home. The next chapter focuses on Liu Ts'o's industrial development.

4

Rural Industrialization

In this Chapter I intend to trace Liu Ts'o's industrial development in the prewar and postwar periods and relate its internal development to changes in the external environment. Special attention will be given to the history, foundation and main characteristics of the small-scale village enterprises which became prevalent after 1970. I will point out that the small-scale factory in this rural community represents a type of industry geared to the national and international subcontracting system. As will be seen, family owned "auxiliary" factories operating as suppliers of larger export-oriented domestic factories or trading companies are a response to both the limitations of local agricultural production, and to the demands of the larger international economy.

In addition to broad economic constraints, changing perceptions regarding status and prosperity, as well as

skills learned by villagers in an urban setting, can contribute to generate environments in which factory work is preferred over farming. However, far from being a permanent economic solution, small family-owned factories are constantly at the mercy of supply and demand fluctuations which frequently force owners to seek other means of support, or to increase the number of hours they work while at the same time earning smaller wages.

Past and Present Processes of Industrialization

The Japanese Colonial Period. During this stage (1895-1945), Taiwan exported agricultural goods (rice, sugar) to Japan in exchange for industrial goods (textiles, fertilizer). The dominant industries were related to food processing, expecially sugar refining and preliminary processing of rice and pineapple. After 1973, the Japanese colonial government began to develop some basic industries including cement, chemicals, petroleum-refining, pulp and paper metallurgy, and fertilizer. Transportation and electrification improved. But most factories were built through Japanese investment because political barriers set up by the colonial government prevented the participation of Taiwanese entrepreneurs.

In 1935 the island had 7,032 factories (Chou, 1958). Fifty-nine percent of them had fewer than 5 employees, and only 4.7% employed more than 30 persons. In the Taichung area the more advanced industries were food-processing, timber, textiles and the assembly of sewing machines. Liu Ts'o is located in the Nan T'un district. The local gazetteer records that in 1932 this district had a total

of 12 factories, all assembled in the market street. Most of them were food-processing factories including rice-processing, bamboo-processing, soy sauce, peanut oil, incense and paper, etc.

A cassava-processing factory emerged in Liu Ts'o around 1936 as a result of Japanese investment. This factory was situated by the main road that led to the market street of Nan T'un. Every year when cassava on the nearby Ta-tu tableland was harvested, the factory hired between thirty and forty laborers in the surrounding villages to do temporary work.

During the agricultural slack season many Liu Ts'o villagers engaged in traditional handicrafts such as the weaving of straw hats, straw mats and baskets. It was not easy for the small farmer to maintain a basic standard of living, let alone invest in industry. Throughout the Japanese colonial period, the Liu Ts'o residents owned only 4 to 15% of the total 65 hectares of land in the area; the remaining fields were in absentee landlords' hands.

Generally speaking, industries prior to 1945 were largely developed in cities and market towns, and were dependent on locally available raw materials.

The Import-Substitution Period. In the 1950's Taiwan experienced an import-substitution phase which was characterized by the heavy emphasis on the replacement of non-durable consumer goods imports (such as textile, apparel, wood products, and leather products) by domestic production. The growth of the textile industry was a good example. In the prewar period, Taiwan relied on imports for 90% of its textile goods. Since 1951, the government has provided necessary raw cotton to domestic textile

firms and restricted the import of finished textile products.

In the agricultural sector, land reform began in the early 1950's. The stable growth of the population, agricultural productivity and technology in the rural areas enhanced the development of the industrial sector which was highly reliant on surplus rural labor to produce, and local markets to consume industrial products. Many young villagers flowed into urban factories accepting industrial training in the 1950's and 1960's.

The official record (The Statistical Abstract of Taichung Municipality) reveals that in 1956 Nan T'un had 26 registered plants. Twenty-one of them were food-processing factories. The rest were kiln, textile, and machinery manufacturers. However, in Liu Ts'o, industrialization advanced slowly. The cassava-producing factory closed down when Japan returned Taiwan to China in 1945, and between 1945 and 1970, only two small-scale factories appeared in the village. One of them was Chen Tien-wang's sewing machine assembly plant. It was no surprise that the first industry extending to Liu Ts'o was related to sewing-machine manufacture for Taichung has been the base of Taiwan's sewing-machine industry since 1936.

One day, forty-two year old Chen Tien-wang sat in his grocery store tracing his career history:

> After graduating from primary school in 1951, I found a job in Taichung city. I was probably the first one in Liu Ts'o to go to the city and learn industrial skills. In the 1950's there were already many kinds of industries in Taichung, but the factories were few in number.
>
> I was hired by a sewing machine factory and learned

> how to assemble parts. At that time it was a very profitable industry. The sewing machines we produced were sold in domestic markets. I returned to Liu Ts'o and taught my younger brother and several villagers the skill. But the best years passed. This industry has been declining and the wages seldom rise. At present, I assemble about three sewing machines a day for a bigger machine factory in Taichung city. During my free time I take care of my rice paddy and grocery store.

Another small-scale factory in Liu Ts'o was Liu Fu-chih's sewing machine painting factory which was established in 1957. Liu Fu-chih was an absentee landlord who had a paper factory at Ta-tu district in Taichung county during the Japanese colonial period. After the Chinese restoration he moved to Liu Ts'o. The failure of his paper factory forced him to sell 1.5 hectares of land and start a new business. The sewing machine painting factory, which employed about seven workers, was handed down to one of his sons after Liu Fu-chih died in 1973. Unfortunately, it closed down in 1977.

During the import-substitution period, a young baker opened a cake factory in Taichung in 1959. Some girls in Liu Ts'o were employed in a big textile factory in the nearby market town of Wu Jih. The Chung-ho Joint Stock Textile Company with a registered capital of NT$ 110,000,000 was established in 1955. Its rapid growth was obviously encouraged by the import-substitution policy.

The Export-Substitution Period. By the end of the 1950's Taiwan's domestic markets for nondurable consumer goods had been exhausted. This brought about a shift from

import-substitution to export-substitution meant to solve the problems of small markets and provide employment to agricultural surplus labor.

In 1960 the government enacted a nineteen-point reform program to improve the investment climate, encourage export and liberalize the administrative controls on industry and trade. The first export-processing zone was established in Kaohsiung in 1965. By 1969, two more export-processing zones were established on the outskirts of Kaohsiung and Taichung. Moreover, the government established seventeen industrial districts in the rural areas to promote private investment. Along with the growth of government-induced industry, a great number of export-oriented private factories appeared in cities and suburban areas.

In the Nan T'un district, the importance once held by food-processing industries was taken over by machinery, chemical and metal plants in the 1970's. Some young villagers who were sent to the city to learn industrial skills returned home and established "auxiliary" processing factories right in or next to their farm houses. At the same time larger-scale factories moved from Taichung city to Nan T'un district. They provided work opportunities for the rural youth. The industrial development of Liu Ts'o during this period is described below.

The Booming Small-Scale Village Industries

New factories were not established in Liu Ts'o during the 1960's. Only one family invested in a machinery-processing factory which produced auto-parts in Taichung

city. But then circumstances changed dramatically. Since 1970 approximately twenty small-scale factories have emerged in the village. Thirteen of them are machinery-processing plants. The remaining ones are dedicated to wood-product manufacturing, electro-plating, vacuum-modeling and sealing, electronics assembly, and hat and bag manufacturing. In addition, four families have established similar kinds of small-scale factories outside the village, and some outsiders have rented Liu Ts'o's houses as factories.

A detailed description of one machinery-processing factory owned by my younger brother-in-law, A-i, from its establishment through 1980 will serve to acquaint the reader with the general conditions of Liu Ts'o's small-scale industries:

The narrow space between the left-wing room and the yard's wall in A-i's home was roofed with tiles and made into a machinery-processing factory in 1974. A-i operated a boring machine, the only machine in the factory.

Around 1958 A-i was persuaded by a neighbor's son to drop out of junior high school and go to Taichung city to learn how to operate machines. Going from one factory to another, he was finally hired by a big plant where he learned the fine skill of operating the boring machine. He was aware that boring machines were rather expensive, but the rewards were also very high. As an employee of this large factory, his monthly payment was steady. He thought that if he owned a boring machine, his income would undoubtedly increase.

An opportunity to achieve this goal came when A-i heard that an old boring machine of poor quality would be sold at a low price (NT$ 35,000). He bought it and left

his job in order to concentrate on reconstructing the second-hand machine. However, he was not sure whether he would succeed:

> The reconstruction took ten months. That was the most miserable period in my life. My mother took care of the children. My wife planted rice and melons in our 0.8 hectare of rented land, and was hired to carry heavy loads of straw during agricultural slack seasons. I had no income at all. We lived on loans borrowed from the Farmers' Association and my wife's sister. Two years before we had a big family split. My older brother, who had accused my wife of causing the family breakup, took an indifferent attitude toward us. He would rather lend money to his son-in-law to establish a hat-manufacturing factory than offer us any help.

It seemed like a miracle when, with his own boring machine, A-i's income increased tenfold. He not only paid back all loans but saved a lot of money. He bought a camera and several electronically-controlled model air-planes for himself, an electronic watch and motorcycle for his wife, a piano and many toys for his children. In 1979 he purchased a two-storied house near Nan T'un street.

For the first three years A-i's factory had only one boring machine doing the work delivered to him by four "center" factories in Taichung city and county. These center factories accept orders from foreign countries directly or through Taiwan's export merchants, and then distribute the work to "auxiliary" plants. The center factories and auxiliary factories usually don't sign contracts. The former give the latter instructions on quality and pattern, and some

provide equipment and raw material. After founding, boring, milling, etc., the finished parts were collected and assembled in the center factories.

A-i was very proud of his skill. He claimed that he was always able to meet the center factories' precision requirements. He worked hard, about ten hours a day. But at his leisure, he often chewed areca nuts while chatting in the village's grocery store, or watched television (he loved western films and stage shows), and read the newspaper.

In 1977, A-i was thinking of buying a second boring machine. His wife's cousin, a trained machinist was pleased to accept his suggestion that they each invest NT$ 60,000 dollars to buy a second-hand item. The cousin did the reconstruction work under A-i's direction. During the reconstruction period. A-i gave him NT$3,000(1USdollar = 38 NT dollars) per month. Once the machine was in use, it was agreed that 40% of the income would belong to A-i.

A-i then discovered that the available electric power was not sufficient for the operation of two boring machines. By law, unlicensed factories could not apply for electricity destined for industrial use. A-i's factory did not get authorization from the Bureau of Industry because Nan T'un district had been officially designated as an area for agricultural production only. Ironically, the same business, registered as a "machinery factory" in the Tax Bureau's record, had to pay an extra industrial tax to the government.

It was all for the better; A-i preferred not to apply for industry-use electricity because that required a basic monthly fee no matter how much power was used. In the end he managed to get an additional supply of electricity by

furnishing the left-wing bedroom with a larger air-conditioner. It was clear that an unlicensed small-scale factory could avoid paying additional industrial tax and electricity fees. Nonetheless, it did not have the right to bid for contracts or issue invoices. A-i always let the center factories deduct the government's tax from his wages beforehand.

During this same period, A-i's older brother bought a milling machine for the factory. This was the result of subtle familial pressures. A-i's success was known to all villagers. Therefore, it was a big emotional blow for his older brother when he heard that his younger sibling was planning to recruit an "outsider" for his plant. Forced by public opinion, A-i suggested that his older brother buy a milling machine for his only son, A-shiang, who was employed in the village's wood-products factory. The older brother happily bought the machine with the money he had saved through a grain association (*ku-hui*).[1]

The milling machine was much cheaper and easier for a beginner to operate. A-shiang learned the skill in one

1. A grain association is a mutual-aid credit club. A person who needs money can initiate a grain association and ask relatives and friends to join it. In the first meeting, each participant pays money in the value of 1,000 k.g. grain to the organizer who has the obligation to offer a banguet semiannually, then collects money for the one who wins the bid from the other members. (If the bid is 200 k.g. grain, each person only has to pay 800 k.g. grain to the winner. In other words, they get 200 k.g. grain as interest. The organizer and the winner would pay 1,000 grain in all subsequent meetings.) But there is a recent trend that the monthly-held money association is replacing the grain association, because its organizer does not have to offer banquets and the participants have more chances to meet immediate needs.

week. Although the wages were low when compared to his uncle's, A-shiang claimed that if he milled five iron pieces a day, in ten days he could earn NT$ 5,000, that is, a sum equivalent to his monthly salary in the wood-products factory.

A-shiang worked very hard day and night. Unfortunately his unclde did not find enough work for him to do. Each month he worked about ten days at home and in the remaining days he still had to be employed elsewhere. Before entering the military service in 1979, A-shiang taught his father how to operate the machine. His father tried, but gave up pretty soon. At 44 years of age, he believed that a farmer's hands could not control a machine.

I was surprised to see that my older brother-in-law built his own factory adjacent to the right wing of the farm house and bought a new milling machine after his son left home. Who was going to operate it? His oldest son-in-law, who had tired of ship-repair work in southern Taiwan, showed great interest and moved in with his wife and two children.

During my most recent visits to the village (December, 1979; February and June, 1980), I was told that both A-i and his older brother's factories were in trouble. A-i explained that this was due to the economic depression. He had lost contracts with three center factories and the remaining could not supply enough work. Besides, the center factories preferred to send work to "auxiliary" plants with high-quality, computer-controlled boring machines which cost more than NT$ 2 million each. "If I had that much money," reflected A-i, "I would rather buy a house whose value remains while machines get old." The condition of his older

brother's factory was even worse. His son-in-law worked only a few days a month with very low pay (Half income belongs to his father-in-law). He was deeply depressed and trying to find another job.

After visiting two other machinery processing factories in Liu Ts'o and one center machine factory in Nan T'un, the problems faced by small-scale rural factories became clearer. Competition for subcontracting work is fierce and those who invest in machinery soon see the payment for their work lowered by others entering the field. Testimony from other villagers confirmed this impression. While I was in the field in 1977, a widow with 0.2 hectares of land had told me that two of her sons were working in a machine factory in Taichung city. Two years later, the two brothers rented a house and established their own factory in Liu Ts'o. The younger brother had a lathe, and the older one, Mu-fa, bought a boring machine. When I interviewed him, he spoke frankly:

> I heard that A-i earned a lot of money with a boring machine. He is a strange guy. Once I entered his factory and he stopped working immediately for fear that I might steal his skill. I never went back again.
>
> Two years ago, I learned how to operate the boring machine through an introductory book published by the National Technical College and three days' training in the Takang Industry Co., Ltd. in Nan T'un. The skill is no longer a secret. Any one can learn it in one year.
>
> My boring machine cost NT$300,000. It is jointly owned by four persons: my brother-in-law, two uncles on my mother's side, and myself. On the average, I earn NT$ 40,000 a month. After paying rent and elec-

tricity (about NT$ 5,000) and my own salary (NT$ 10,000), the remaining NT$ 25,000 are divided among the four investors.

It is true that the economy is in depression, but the situation is not that bad. The reason that A-i cannot get enough work is that he became used to doing work for high wages. As more people have learned the skill, the center factories naturally deliver the work to those auxiliaries which are willing to accept lower wages. In the past A-i earned NT$ 600 for each bored piece. I only get NT$ 500. Some people are willing to do it for NT$ 300. Moreover, no one delivers iron pieces to you unless you have a 'popular face' (good public relations) in the field of machinery work. The first son-in-law of A-i's older brother is a newcomer, and therefore his machine is always idle.

My younger brother is operating a lathe. He earns about NT$ 20,000 a month. We are financially separated. I work more than ten hours a day. it's too bad that I have to share the income with the other investors.

The second factory I visited in Liu Ts'o is jointly owned by a family. This family first opened a machine-processing factory in Taichung city in 1962. The head Li Ta's six sons all worked there. In 1950 the second and third sons were sent out to learn skills while the oldest one stayed at home farming. They talked the father into establishing a machinery-processing factory in Taichung city and taught the other four brothers the skill. In 1978, the family started another factory in the left wing of the farm house. The Taichung factory was managed by the third son, who declared himself economically independent from the others who stayed in the undivided family. The remaining five sons transferred to the new factory, which has one machine

to spray iron filings, two grinding machines and three lathes (one of which belongs to Li Ta's nephew). The oldest son is the financial manager of the factory. Said he:

> The money we earn must be handed over to my father. All the brothers (except the third one) and our wives and children live and eat together. We do not get wages. If anyone needs money, he has to make a request to my father.
>
> We produce small motorcycle parts which are mainly for domestic markets. Exports did not begin until 1970. We have maintained stable relations with six middle-scale center factories. No contracts exist between us. As long as our factory does not ask for high wages, it can get an adequate supply of work. We had difficulties only during the oil crisis of 1973-74. Oh yes, A-i made a lot of money in the past two or three years, because there was great demand in foreign markets. Now the demand is drastically decreasing. Three years ago, the center factories were not capable of buying many expensive boring machines. Since then they have earned money, they have bought machines and hired workers for their own factories. Less work was left for the auxiliary plants.

I also visited the Takang Industry Co., Ltd. in Nan T'un, which produces high-speed precision lathes. The amount of capital invested was 2.4 million. This factory was established in Si T'un district in 1974 and moved to Nan T'un in 1976. The sales manager offered an apt description:

> This is a middle-sized factory with about 1000 employees and 80 to 90 machines. The workers work 8 hours a day, six days a week. On the average they earn

> less than NT$ 10,000 each month. When export was expanding, more than 70% of our work was done by auxiliary factories. The products were largely exported to the U.S. and Europe. We received orders from foreign merchants by advertising in magazines and by participating in machinery exhibitions in big cities. During the past prosperous years, our factory added a lot of machines and workers. Recently, the economy has been depressed and we no longer have much surplus work for auxiliary factories. The most important thing is to keep our own machines running and workers employed. We are reserving energy for economic recovery. At present, most lathes we produce are sold in domestic markets.

A quality control inspector at the factory explained that there are still some auxiliary factories doing work for Takang. They not only do quality work, and have a good reputation and social relations in the field of "black hands," [2] but are also willing to accept lower wages.

While I lived in Liu Ts'o, I saw three machinery-processing factories appear and then disappear within a short period. They were very small with one or two lathes operated by the families' young men who had a few years' working experience in the city's machinery plants. The capital invested was less than NT$100,000 (around US$ 3,000). They all closed down because they were unable to get a continuous supply of work.

Among the surviving machinery-processing factories, the one owned by A-lao, with about fifteen lathes, is the

---

2. Workers who operate machines such as lathes always get their hands dirty, therefore, they are called "black hands".

largest one. A-lao's oldest son is an experienced machine worker. In 1968 A-lao sold 0.7 hecatre of land. His son persuaded him to establish an auto-part factory in 1971. In addition to A-lao's four sons, the factory hired some workers in the nearby area. But if it had not been for the financial support provided by a rich person living on Nan T'un street, A-lao's factory would have been closed in 1977. Now the rich person is the real boss in A-lao's factory.

Liu Nan-chuan also established a machinery factory in his farm house in 1978. He has seven sons. Three are married; the oldest son sells vegetables in Nan T'un's market and lives at home. The second one, who serves in the Telephone and Telegraph Bureau, and the third, who is employed in a sewing machine company, have moved away from the family. The fourth, fifth and seventh sons have had working experience at machinery factories in and outside of Liu Ts'o. It was the sixth son, an electrician, who suggested opening a factory at home.

When asked how they got the necessary supply of electricity for their industrial operations, Liu Nan-chuan proudly but vaguely replied that the sixth son's friend, an Electricity Company employee, provided help. Their equipment cost approximately NT$ 200,000. This amount was raised mostly through mutual-aid grain associations.

The factory has a total of ten machines. Liu Nan-chuan bought four lathes which are operated by the fourth, fifth and seventh sons along with a hired villager. A portion of the factory was rented out to two nephews who bought two of the lathes, and to a neighbor who contributed four of them. The sixth son is the factory's financial

manager. All money earned was saved in Liu Nan-chuan's savings account. The sons understood that their father's savings would be used for their wedding expenses. They received pocket money by selling scrap iron. In the beginning they did subcontracted work for A-lao's factory. Later on they signed one and a half year contracts with a center factory in southern Tainan city. They had to process 3,000 machine parts each month. The finished products were then exported to the Philippines.

As may be seen, under circumstances of great economic instability, fostered in large part by the demands and abrupt fluctuations of the contemporary international economy, all family members have to pool their labor in order to make ends meet. In two small factories I discovered that two women worked side by side with their husbands who had taught them how to operate lathes.

Besides machinery production, other sectors of industrial activity have been affected by the internationalization of investments. A few examples will suffice to illustrate this point. Tung-Hsin-Wood-Product Co. Ltd., located in the right yard of the richest Liu Family of the Japanese period was the largest factory in Liu Ts'o. In 1972 this factory was jointly owned by descendents of this family. Liu Chen-lei, who had sold 0.36 hectare of land the same year, was elected as the factory's general manager for he held more stock than the others. The total capital investment of two million was partly used to finance the purchase of fifteen machines that employed fifteen to twenty workers under the direct supervision of a hired personnel manager. Employees worked eight hours a day and had only one day off every two weeks. They were often forced to work over-

time to meet production deadlines.

Many believed that the factory was not making profits on account of poor management. But a reduction in demand on the part of foreign markets played a part in its demise. After all the smaller stock-holders dropped out, the plant finally closed in 1979. The premises were rented to an outsider who changed it into a leather suitcase-manufacturing company.

In 1974, A-nan established a hat-making factory in his father-in-law's farm house in Liu Ts'o. Due to the difficulty of recruiting enough female workers in the village, the factory moved to Nan T'un street in 1976. When I first visited it, the factory hired eight female sewers and one male cutter. The employees usually worked ten hours a day. They got two nights off each week and one day off every two weeks. The monthly salary varied according to the number of hats each worker made. An experienced worker's monthly income was between NT$ 4,000-6,000. A newcomer could only earn a few hundred dollars excluding fees for boarding (cf. Appendix).

A-nan's factory was an "auxiliary" producing mainly for export. Recently, I had the opportunity to visit its center factory: San-Sheng Hat-Manufacturing Co., Ltd. The firm's owner explained that in the Japanese colonial period his job was to cut straws for a straw-hat-manufacturing factory. He saved some money and bought 0.25 hectare of land. In 1970 he built two work premises on the plot and purchased six machines. Luckily, he met a merchant in Taipei city who gave him an order from a foreign customer. That was the beginning of a prosperous exporting period. In 1973 he was able to open a branch office in Taipei city. He entrusted his

three sons with all business matters. The oldest son was named general manager and stayed in the Taipei office three days of the week. His daughter-in-law was the factory's accountant. His second son was responsible for the cowboy-hat section; and the third son managed the visor section.

This center factory's products were largely for export to the United States. About 85% of the hats' manufacture took place in the plant, which hired 200 persons. Each employee worked eight to nine hours a day and got one day off every two weeks. The remaining 15% of production was carried out by twenty to thirty auxiliary factories. A-nan's factory was one of them. When the center factory paid NT$ 4 (excluding the cost of the material) per hat to A-nan, he would only give NT$2 to the worker. Moreover, A-nan's factory was not profitable unless the main firm was in shortage of workers, or its products were being rejected for poor quality. At times of economic depression the center factory did not have enough work for its auxiliary factories to carry out.

In addition to hiring unmarried females to work at the factory, A-nan also practiced a kind of "putting-out system"; he provided sewing machines and materials to married women in farm houses. By doing so, he solved the problem of female labor shortage.

The non-machinery sector in Liu Ts'o is further exemplified by an electro-plating factory and a vacuum-modeling and sealing factory managed by two brothers. The older brother learned the skill of electro-plating in his brother-in-law's factory in Taichung county. In 1973, his father spent NT$ 300,000-400,000 collected from several grain associations to buy a whole set of equipment for him.

He then hired four or five male workers who were always threatening to leave. In 1978, the older brother received bad checks (the account was overdrawn) in the amount of NT$ 20,000 from the center factory. His father was forced to sell land to prevent the factory from closing down.

The second son's vacuum-modeling and sealing factory was also established in 1973. His father bought him one vacuum-modeling machine and two vacuum-sealing machines which cost NT$ 100,000-150,000. He hired eight female workers: four were relatives residing in Liu Ts'o, three were from a neighboring village, and another one from Liu Ts'o. Its center factory in Taichung city accepted orders from Taipei's export merchants, then delivered work to different kinds of auxiliary factories. The younger brother's factory sealed finished products such as knives into plastic models.

Finally, other non-machinery factories in Liu Ts'o included an electronic factory supported through the joint investment of Li Ta's third son and his friends (six of seven female workers employed in that plant were Li Ta's relatives); one T.V. woodbox-making factory operated by a married couple; and a one-man bakery.

The Foundation and Characteristics of Liu Ts'o's Industries

As stated above, during the Japanese colonial period Liu Ts'o's economic base consisted of handicrafts and an agriculture-related (cassava-processing) industry made possible by Japanese capital investments. In the 1950's and 1960's, due to the influence of emerging domestic market-oriented, urban-based industries, two auxiliary(sewing machine assembly) factories were established. In the 1970's,

the village has dramatically spawned approximately twenty small-scale factories which have not only changed Liu Ts'o's outlook but structure as well.

In the preceding sections I have described in some detail the conditions under which such factories have emerged. A glimpse of the circumstances surrounding the world system of production, that maintain them alive or threaten their existence has also been offered. In the following concluding pages, I will focus on some of the structural characteristics of "auxiliary" plants as a way to sum-up the lessons learned from Liu Ts'o's industrial development.

First, unlike industrial zones, Liu Ts'o's small-scale industries emerged spontaneously and without government planning. Auxiliaries have been related to the expansion of export-oriented, labor intensive manufacturing. As land for industrial use and labor became increasingly difficult to obtain in the cities, industrial enterprises began appearing in market towns and eventually in villages which could provide cheaper land and labor, as well as convenient transportation and electricity. As a result, during the 1970's many small-scale, in-village factories have been established right in the farm houses of Liu Ts'o and other villages of the suburban Nan T'un district.

Second, Liu Ts'o's small-scale industries have emerged from the small-scale farm economy of the post-land reform period. Their establishment mainly depends on farm families' supply of land, capital, labor and skill. After 1950 agricultural conditions improved. With reduced rents and improved technology, the self-subsistent farmers were able to save some money. Nevertheless, the amount of capital accumulated was restricted by the government's low rice-

pricing policy, the norms guiding family land division, and population increase.

As a result of this, during the 1950's and 1960's, agricultural work and income diminished while industries located in the cities began to absorb and then train young workers from rural areas. Non-agricultural wages supplemented, in important ways, the income of farm families. As the export-oriented industries further expanded, trained young villagers returned to the countryside and established small-scale industries in the farm houses. Thus, return migration played a significant part in enabling the emergence of "auxiliary" plants as economic alternatives. The capital investment in these factories was small, ranging from NT$ 30,000 to NT$ 2,000,000. The number of machines bought fluctuated between one and twenty. An idea of how small these factories actually were is given by Table 11 below:

Table 11
Number of Workers in Liu Ts'o's Factories, 1977.

Number of Workers	Number of Factories
1	2
2	9
3	1
4	1
5	1
6	1
7	1
8	1
9	–
10-20	3

Third, at the bottom of the subcontracting system, Liu Ts'o's small-scale industries are all "auxiliary" factories producing nonagricultural-allied goods for center plants. These center plants are owned by Taiwanese capitalists. They get orders by direct contact with foreign import merchants and companies as well as through domestic trading companies which find foreign customers and help them supervise the production and export of the ordered goods assembled in the center factories. The normal procedure is like this: The foreign import merchant or company sends a Letter of Credit obtained from his country's bank to the export trading company or to the center factory in Taiwan. With the Letter of Credit, the producer can apply for loans from the local bank to buy raw material. After the ordered product was shipped for export, the producer is entitled to get the buyer's payment through the bank. Sometimes the producer is willing to accept delayed payment so that the foreign import merchant can sell the product first, then pay money with interest. An auxiliary factory can establish relations with several center factories and vice versa. Usually no contracts exist between them. Thus, their relationship can cease whenever one side decides to terminate it. When center factories do not have enough capital, land or labor to expand, they can encourage the development of auxiliary factories in order to increase their capacity for production and share investment risks in an unstable economic environment. If the quality of the auxiliary factories' goods do not meet standards, the center factories can refuse to pay for the goods.

During periods of economic depression, small-scale auxiliary factories are more vulnerable than center factories.

As foreign orders are sharply reduced, center factories may not have enough work for their auxiliaries. Then competition among the latter becomes fierce. Only those which are willing to accept low wages, those who are capable of producing high-quality products within strict time limits, and those which have good public relations can survive.

Fourth, the male workers' expectation of becoming capitalists and free workers with higher income and social status was an important stimulus to the emergence of Liu Ts'o's industries. I often heard farmers say that "doing work at home provides greater freedom." When they worked in urban factories they rarely became used to the rigid time schedules and did not like to work overtime. Working in their own factories, they experienced a psychological release. Paradoxically, most of them toil voluntarily for longer hours at home (more than 9 hours a day, seven days a week), when they are able to obtain an adequate supply of work. The distinction between capitalists and workers in most small-scale in-village factories in Liu Ts'o is not clear cut; the owners are also workers. But once they are in the position to hire workers, they often demand that workers devote as much time and labor as they possibly can. There are big differences between employer and employee in terms of status, profits, treatment, and degree of freedom. Not surprisingly, everyone wants to establish his own business.

Fifth, Liu Ts'o's small-scale industries are not built on a juridical base. Most of them do not have licenses from the Bureau of Industry. They can neither apply for industry-use electricity, nor have the right to bid for contracts and issue invoices. Their workers do not participate in

government-sponsored health and accident insurance. They also work overtime, which is against national Labor Law. When they are in a financial crisis, they find that it is very difficult to get bank loans. On the one hand the slack enforcement of laws gives them certain advantages (such as the chance to exist, lower taxes and electricity fees, etc.); but on the other hand, they are threatened by their marginal financial status, poor management and lack of institutional regulation.

Sixth, workers in small-scale factories of Liu Ts'o do not engage in agricultural work. Long ago farmers used to plant rice twice a year in addition to a winter crop. But the fields have lain fallow in the winter ever since 1971. It is said that this was due to the high wages of agricultural laborers and the low price of the products. Villagers preferred to be hired outside their own fields in the winter season to boost their wages. Is Liu Ts'o's agricultural labor in shortage or in surplus? During the slack season, one person's labor is enough for taking care of one hectare of family land at present technological levels. As the non-agricultural sector efficiently absorbs many extra members of a single family, the labor surplus problem of the slack season becomes almost nonexistent. But during the busy transplanting and harvesting seasons, Liu Ts'o experiences a definite shortage. Many people must hire laborers to cultivate their land. Agricultural mechanization has partially, but not completely solved this problem. The absence of a self-sufficient agricultural base accentuates the dependence of families on small-scale "auxiliary" factory production.

According to Fei Hsiao-tung the ideal type of rural industry should be complementary to agricultural work.

But in Liu Ts'o the emergence of small-scale in-village industries has not strengthened workers' vulnerable economic position or resolved the problem of cyclical unemployment. When the youth work full time in the factories, they are not willing to help in transplanting and harvesting. Older farmers do not want to participate in factory work during their leisure time. Thus, the imagined complementarity between rural industry and farming is negated by Liu Ts'o's experience.

Seventh, all small-scale factories established in Liu Ts'o are family-based enterprises. In two thirds of the total, the older generation in the family provides capital and facilities, while the younger generation contributes labor and skill. The workers in nine of these factories were exclusively family members; three factories were operated by both family members and close kinsmen. Only those factories with more than five workers hired people outside the kin network. It is common to see several brothers or the husband and the wife working together in the family-owned factory. The financial management of factories installed by joint and stem families was often based on the rule of the inclusive family economy. A few Liu Ts'o's factories were jointly owned by divided families or kinsmen. The profits were carefully calculated and distributed among them. In the next chapter I will discuss the mutual influences of Liu Ts'o's family structure and small-scale industries.

5

The Changing Family Structure

The purpose of this chapter is to explore how Liu Ts'o's family structure and rural industrialization influenced each other. Does the traditional family system facilitate or hinder rural industrialization? Has the pre-existing family structure adjusted to the modern industrial environment or been destroyed by it? I will first delineate changes in the patterns of family division and family forms by comparing my family's experience with that of other village families; and then explain the changes in the context of earlier and later stages of rural industrializaton. In the concluding section I will summarize and conclude that urban-centered industrialization prior to 1970 had a negative effect on family integration. Liu Ts'o's data suggest that the older generation's ideal of maintaining stem or joint families with common residence, eating arrangements and budget was another stimulus for the establishment of in-village

factories.

Patterns of Family Division

In October 1972, eight months after my father-in-law's death, all property (e.g. land, rooms, barns, livestock, furniture, and daily necessities), with the exception of agricultural implements, was distributed among three brothers. What were the reasons for family division? My older brother-in-law explained angrily:

> After father died, a quarrel first arose between your sisters-in-law (though they seldom quarreled before father's death). Your younger sister-in-law accused your older sister-in-law of putting too many eggs in her daughter's lunch box. Later on, my youngest brother stopped bringing back his monthly salary. I sold our water buffalo and bought a new one. The youngest sister-in-law asked me how much was left after father's funeral, how much was spent on buying the buffalo, and how much we earned from the first rice crop... etc. I was furious. Who is plowing for the family? I sold the old water buffalo because it was afraid to walk on stony fields. When we were harvesting the first crop, the youngest sister-in-law returned to her mother's house to avoid working. Who has contributed most to the family? I toiled in the fields day and night while my younger brothers went to school. Since the third *fang*[1] wanted to divide the family, let them divide it!

My younger sister-in-law told me that my older

1. Each married son, his wife and children constitute one *fang*.

brother-in-law spent money left by father without consulting the others. He also bought a buffalo and a power insecticide-sprayer for his own benefit. One day, when my younger sister-in-law hurt her hands, my older brother-in-law refused to give her money to see a doctor.

My older sister-in-law gave me another viewpoint.

> Most quarrels after father's death were between your older brother-in-law and younger sister-in-law. When money was in father's hands, your older brother-in-law treated her even better than me. They all praised her because she learned to sow and harvest rice. Not until father died and the youngest sister-in-law voiced her suspicions, did your older brother-in-law find out who was really on his side.

On the day of family division, my second uncle (mother-in-law's younger brother) and an elder in the village acted as councilors (*kung-ch'in*) who signed the family partition document. The separation of kitchens is usually an identifiable act of family division. My older sister-in-law gave me a detailed description:

> The old kitchen belonged to us, the first *fang*. We compensated the third *fang* NT$1,000 to establish a new one. As we drew lots, your husband, who was then not married and living outside, got bowls and plates. He gave them to mother; we then bought these from her for NT$400. I got the electric cooking-pot. My youngest sister-in-law took the remaining kitchen utensils. I have kept the wooden bowl-chest, which was my dowery. After division, my natural family bought me a refrigerator and a gas stove.

This is an example of formal family division following the death of the old family head. But I was surprised to find in the household records that my older brother-in-law had established a separate household in 1953. The separation of a new household from the old in the same residence often signifies family division. My older brother-in-law explained:

> After Grandfather Wen Tou died, Father Li Shu (the marrying-in son-in-law) became the head of the family. In 1953, before I went to military service, my wife and I registered as a new household in order to get subsidies from the army. We even built a temporary cooking stove to make the investigator believe that we were a separate family unit. In fact, we still ate and lived together.

In the land record, I also discovered that a portion of my father-in-law's land was registered under my older brother-in-law's name before family division. The reason was that my grandmother and older brother-in-law, who bears his grandfather's surname Wen, was afraid that land would be handed down only to the descendants surnamed Li. Therefore, they requested my father-in-law to set a portion of land aside for his first son. Nonetheless, all land was collectively cultivated before the family was divided. I heard that the land of several other families in Liu Ts'o was also registered under sons' names prior to family division. The main purposes of this move was to avoid the payment of inheritance taxes and to block any legal property claims which a daughter might seek after the family head's death. [2]

Though most of the family estate was equally divided among the brothers, my older brother-in-law got two large and three small pigs as a special reward for his long-term contribution to the family, and a water buffalo which was purchased with his deceased grandmother's private money *(ssū-fang-ch'ien)*. In addition, he made an effort to obtain a piece of *chang-sun-t'ien* (literally, the first grandson's land). My husband was entitled to the money in his father's grain association account, which had been saved for his wedding expenses as his father did for his brother's weedings.

How many independent family units were precipitated by this family divison? This is quite a puzzle. On the day of division, my mother-in-law determined that she would cook for herself instead of eating with her son's families. My father-in-law left her NT$ 20,000. Furthermore, it was agreed that each son should give her NT$ 400 monthly and 300 kg. rice per crop. Although she depended on her sons' financial support, she did not actually belong to any son's family.

My husband's position was also ambiguous, for he was single at that time. In the household records, he and his mother were listed as members of my younger brother-in-law's household, though they lived independently of it. In 1973, when my younger sister-in-law gave birth to a child, my mother-in-law was asked to take care of the baby and ate in the third son's family. In 1976, my husband and

---

2. Customarily, daughters do not inherit family property. But the Nationalist law grants them the right of inheritance.

I established a new household in Liu Ts'o. We then became three family units (two nuclear families and one stem family) living in the same U-shaped farm compound.

The most crucial element of this particular family division is the formal and thoroughgoing distribution of family property and funds. The villagers call this kind of family division *fen-chia-huo* (literally, division of family property). As part of *fen-chia-huo,* the household units also separate eating, budget, and household records.

Fen-chia-huo does not always take place after the death of the family head. For example, an elderly informant, Chen Huo (81 years old), told me that his family was divided in 1945. He has three sons. Two of them married when the family was divided. On the day of division, they invited three councilors *(kung-ch'in).* Chen Huo reserved 0.35 ha. of land and a room for himself. The remaining land and family properties were divided into three portions. The two married sons determined their property rights by drawing lots. After family division, Chen Huo, his wife, and the third son ate and lived together. The third sons, who married in 1974, obtained his portion of family property and established an independent family in 1959. Chen Huo and his wife received financial support from their sons but lived and ate separately from them. Only after Chen Huo's wife went blind a few years ago did their sons and grandsons' families begin delivering food to them in turn.

Anthropologists are sometime eager to pigeonhole all collected family cases into convenient analytical categories. I was confused upon discovering that many villagers of Liu Ts'o were uncertain if their families were divided or not. The situation can be exemplified by the following cases.

One day I asked an old informant Liu Shui-shen, 71 years of age, when his father's family was divided. He answered:

> We had nothing to divide. We were simply *sui-jen-ch'ih* (literally, eating separately) as the war started in 1939. That was a bad year. Our rented land was taken back by the landlord. My two brothers and I were married, with children. My father immediately felt the economic pressure of feeding such a big family and decided to let us make our own living. On the day of *sui-jen-ch'ih,* we did not invite councilors *(k'ung-ch'in)* since no valuable property was to be divided. Each brother built a cooking stove for his own household unit in the same compound, and got a few kg. of rice from my father. It was decided that the parents would eat with their sons' families on a rotating basis *(ch'ih-huo-kou).* The sons were required to give their parents a certain amount of money for miscellaneous expenses each month. After *sui-jen-ch'ih* I worked in the sugarcane fields and as a house-constructing laborer. At the end of the war, when many people gave up rice cultivation due to the low profits, I got a chance to rent a piece of paddy field. Eventually, I moved out of the old compound and built my own house in Liu Ts'o.

On another day when I inquired of my older sister-in-law as to whether Liu Fang-chang's family was divided. When she replied, "Yes," I asked, "How come? Why did he tell me that his family was undivided?" I felt that I had been deceived. "He probably meant that the family's land and some implements remain undivided. I regard it as divided because the married sons' households maintain separate

cooking stoves and budgets *(sui-jen-ch'ih)."* Let us examine this case more carefully.

Liu Fang-chang had two married sons. In 1973, the first son, who was employed in a plastic factory in Si T'un, took his wife and children to his work place, because he could not get along with his stepmother. Last year, Liu Fang-chang bought the second son a lathe. Unfortunately, their small-scale machine workshop could not find enough work. The second son not only did not bring money back but relied on his father to feed his wife and children. Liu Fang-chang was so angry that he made the second son's household *sui-jen-ch'ih.* "They have to learn how to make their own living."

Liu Ts'o's cases suggest that *sui-jen-ch'ih* is either proposed by the parents or by the sons. After *sui-jen-ch'ih,* the son's household may stay in the house or move out of it. While *fen-chia-huo* puts emphasis on the division of family property, *sui-jen-ch'ih* is an informal or incomplete family divison.

In the past, landless tenant families with little property to divide would use the modest term *sui-jen-ch'ih* instead of *fen-chia-huo* to denote a division of family once and for all. Since the land reform of 1951-53, many farm families have obtained valuable land and other property. I expect that *fen-chia-huo* will become a more popular form of family division. However, I discovered that in recent years an increasing number of families consider themselves *sui-jen-ch'ih* rather than *fen-chia-huo. Sui-jen-ch'ih* among these families is a step toward complete family division *(fen-chia-huo).* Family land and enterprises remain in the hands of the family heads. What is divided is eating and budgets.

The emergence of this kind of incompletely divided *sui-jen-ch'ih* family is highly influenced by Liu Ts'o's internal and external agro-industrial development during the past 30 years. I will return to this topic in the last section of this chapter.

Family Forms

When talking about family forms, most anthropologists accept the general classification of "joint," "stem," and "nuclear". Olga Lang (1945:15) clearly defined the nuclear family as consisting of man, wife or wives, and children. It may be complete or broken (e.g., families consisting of uncles or aunts with nephews or nieces, of unmarried brothers and sisters, of childless couples, and single persons). The stem family consists of the parents, their unmarried children, and one married son with his wife and children. This form of family can also be broken; e.g., when only one of the parents is alive or the son has no children. The joint family consists of the parents, their unmarried children, their married sons and sons' wives and children; and, sometimes, a fourth or fifth generation. This family too may be either complete or incomplete.

In the previous section I mentioned that at times we are not sure whether certain persons belong to this or that type of family. Olga Lang in the 1930s already noticed that many families split without any formal ceremoney and that many "joint families" were in reality fictitious units (ibid.: 135)

How do we decide whether a person is a member of a family or not? Myron Cohen (1976) suggested that the

family group can either be "concentrated," all members living in one household, or "dispersed," living separately in more than one household. The family economy is either "inclusive" (all members" income being pooled) or "non-inclusive" (not all members participate in it). The family estate can either be concentrated, in which case exploitation is by members of one household, or dispersed, in which case exploitation is by members residing in two or more separate households. But a family is a major property-owning unit. All members of a family have common ties to an estate. The family group is divided after a formal partition of property. In other words, as long as a person has legal claim on the family's estate, he is a member of this family.

Tang Mei-chun (1978), who undertook field work in a community in modern Taipei city, points out that family division is a prolonged process. The dispersion of a family group (even within the same house) is not uncommon, and very few families have a typical inclusive economy. Chuang Yin-chang (1972), doing fieldwork in a Taiwanese village in 1971, discovered the undivided "federal family" whose married sons' households have separate residences and budgets. Like Liu Ts'o's *sui-jen-ch'ih* families in the post-Land -Reform period, the families discussed by T'ang and Chuang are in a sense partially and informally divided. Since the family's main property, such as land, has not yet been divided, I am here tentatively classifying them as undivided stem or joint families.

During the Japanese period, family division in Liu Ts'o seldom took place while the family head was alive. In the old household records of Liu Ts'o, I found 13 clearly recorded family divison cases. Eleven of them were divided

among the brothers after their father's passing away. One family split one year prior to the family head's death. The remaining one was the landless *sui-jen-ch'ih* family mentioned in the previous section, which had divided everything due to economic pressures.

After the restoration of Taiwan to China (1945-74), 13 out of 34 family division cases in Liu Ts'o occurred during the family head's lifetime (in 5 cases, all married sons divided at the same time; in 6 cases, at different times; and in 2 cases, not all married sons divided with their parents). Twelve divided among the brothers after the father's death. The remaining 9 were succeeded by the only son of the family. In comparison to the Japanese period, we find that increasing numbers of joint or stem families divided while the family head was still alive. That is to say, the life of stem or joint families was shortened. The percentage of nuclear families was higher than before, but the family developmental cycle had not changed: the nuclear family with son(s) would develop into a stem or joint family after the son(s) married, then divided into several family units. The reasons for early family division will be explored later.

In 1977, Liu Ts'o had about 14 joint families (13%), 37 stem families (34%), and 59 nuclear families (54%).

It should be noted that the 14 joint families all deviate from the ideal type of joint family having common residence, meals and budget. The various arrangements of these joint families are delineated below:

Case 1.

Family head Li Ta had seven sons. Six of them were married (cf. p.85). Except for the third son's household,

which lived in the family's machinery-processing factory in Taichung city and had separate eating and budget arrangements (the third son neither took money back home nor rice from home), sons, their wives, and children all stayed with the parents managing another small-scale machinery factory in Liu Ts'o. The first son also helped his father in cultivating the undivided family land. Both agricultural and industrial income were assembled in the father's hands, then redistributed according to each *fang's* need. The four daughters-in-law who lived at home took turns cooking meals, feeding pigs and watering the vegetables. They could keep the money they earned from making pot holders for export in their spare time.

Case 2.

Family head Li chin-hua had two married sons, two houses, and 0.5 ha. of land. Each son's household took turns living in the family's two houses (one near Nan T'un street, the other one in Liu Ts'o). The parents went back and forth living and eating with either son's household. The family's undivided land was taken care of by the father. The sons could keep about 50 percent of their income for their own household's expenses, and handed the rest of it over to their father. The daughter-in-law living in Liu Ts'o had to tend the vegetable garden and feed chickens and ducks for the whole family's consumption at festivals.

Case 3.

Family head Liu Nan-chuan (my oldest uncle), had 3 married and 4 unmarried sons (cf. p.88). The second and third son's households, located outside Liu Ts'o, had

separate eating and budget arrangements *(sui-jen-ch'ih)*. The father demanded that they send NT$ 500-1,500 back home each month. The first son lived at home with his wife and children. He and his unmarried brothers, who worked in the family's smal-scale machinery factory, let their father control and redistribute all income. The undivided family land was managed by the father.

Case 4.

Family head Chang Wan-lai had two married and five unmarried sons. Chang Wan-lai had been sick for ten years. The undivided 0.3 ha. of land was cultivated by his wife. The first son and his family resided in a machine-processing factory near Nan T'un street. He would bring back some money to his father each month. The five unmarried sons also worked in the same factory, but usually they ate and slept at home. Their wages were handed over to the father. The second son was conscripted for army service. His wife and children, who were living and eating with the parents, benefited from the inclusive economic arrangements.

Case 5.

Family head Liu A-lao (cf. p.87) had two married and two unmarried sons. They all worked in the family's in-village machinery-processing factory, which was the main family property after the sale of agricultural land in 1968. The parents and the two married sons' households maintained common residence, budget and meals. However, I heard recently that one married son's household has moved out of the family *(sui-jen-ch'ih)* because the factory was on the verge of bankruptcy.

Case 6.

In this case the family-head had passed away. The first married son's family and the mother lived and ate together in Liu Ts'o. The other two married sons, their wives and children had already moved out. Occasionally, they would take money back to their mother. The undivided land was managed by the oldest brother's household.

Case 7.

Family head Huang Tien-huo died in 1966. The two married sons with their wives, children and mother lived and ate together. The undivided land was also corporately managed. Part of their income was handed over to the mother. According to the household records, they constituted two separate households.

Case 8.

Family head Wu Shen had two married sons. The second son had moved to Taichung city with his wife and children four years ago. He worked in a shoe-making factory but never sent money back. The first son stayed in Liu Ts'o, cultivating the family's undivided 1.2 hectares of rice paddy and 0.1 hectare vegetable garden. The income from rice cultivation was handed over to and distributed by the father. The first son could keep profits earned from the sale of vegetables.

Case 9.

Family head Lin Jih-ch'ai had 5 married sons. Four of them moved out of Liu Ts'o. They ate separately, had separate budgets (*sui-jen-ch'ih*), and did not send money

back home. The parents lived and ate with the second son's household in Liu Ts'o. The second son gave his father part of his monthly income. The second daughter-in-law helped the family head cultivate the undivided family land.

Case 10.

Family head Chang Ho had two married sons living and eating together. The two sisters-in-law took turns cooking, taking care of the vegetable garden, and feeding pigs. Chang Ho was retired. His first son was in charge of the family's land and income. The second son ate at home with his wife and children, but he never contributed money. Being a filial son, the first son did not complain or propose division.

Case 11.

Family head Ho Jui-pen had two married sons. Each household ate separately and kept separate budgets *(sui-jen-ch'ih)*. The farm house was also divided. Each household gave the parents NT$ 1,000 per month. The parents ate by themselves. Since the land was not divided, the sons and daughters-in-law still helped cultivate the paddy field. The parents provided them with rice for daily consumption.

Case 12.

Family head Jen Hsien-wen usually lived in Liu Ts'o and took care of the family's land. His wife and two married sons' households resided in Taichung city and managed a cake factory. The two daughters-in-law alternately returned to Liu Ts'o to cook for their father-in-law, feed the pigs and dry both grain and the factory's watermelon

seeds. The whole family would gather in Liu Ts'o on festivals. The father's income was derived mainly from agriculture. Each son's household had a separate budget.

Case 13.

Family head Liu Chen-chang had three married sons. The second son lived and ate with his wife and children apart from the rest of the family on Nan T'un street. The first and third sons' households lived with the parents in Liu Ts'o; however, each household had its own stove and independent budget. The parents cooked for themselves. They received little money from the sons. The undivided land was cultivated by the father, who did not supply rice to his sons' households. All these *sui-jen-ch'ih* units together fed some ducks and chickens which would be killed to worship gods and ancestors on special holidays.

Case 14.

This case was mentioned in the previous section. The family head, Liu Fang-chang, had two married sons. The first son's household, with separate eating and budget arrangements, resided in Si T'un. The second son's household stayed at home, but also lived in *sui-jen-ch'ih* and thus also had separate eating and budget arrangements. The parents lived out of the agricultural income from the undivided paddy field.

Although all of these 14 joint families consisted of at least two married sons, 11 of them (with the exception of cases 8, 10, and 11) had son(s)'s household(s) living outside Liu Ts'o. Once these sons, their wives and children had moved out, they not only ate apart from the others

but also kept budgets separate from those of their parents. Few of them (cases 3, 4, 6) sent money back to the parents. Strictly speaking, no joint family in Liu Ts'o maintained an inclusive economy (though cases 2 and 7 were closer to the ideal type than the others). Of the family members remaining in Liu Ts'o, the main family income in each of cases 1-8 was pooled and then redistributed by the family head. The family economy in cases 9 and 10 were less inclusive, while the budgets of cases 11-14 were largely separate and the family members living in Liu Ts'o did not eat together.

Among the 37 stem families, 17 consisted of a mother and a married son's household. The father of the family had died, and the son had become the family head. The mother was an economic dependent within the family. Nine of the 17 families were "rotating stem families" (for a clearer definition see Chen Chung-min, 1977:116-122) (Four widows were living with divided sons' families on a rotating basis). The remaining 20 stem families contained parents and a married son's household. In 13 cases, they lived and ate together, and the son turned over all or part of his income to his father--the redistributor. In 7 cases, the sons' households (5 of the 7 moved out of Liu Ts'o) held separate eating and budget arrangements from their parents *(sui-jen-ch'ih)*. They turned little money over to their parents.

Ten of the 59 conjugal families contained elderly couples who had kept a portion of property and funds for themselves at the time of family division. They did not eat with their sons' households though in some cases the sons gave the parents subsidies either per month or per crop. It seems to me that if the family head and his wife

could not prevent family division in their life time, they preferred to cook for themselves. Only when one of them died (Liu Ts'o's cases indicated that females lived longer than males), the remaining partner would then live and eat with one son's family or with several sons' families on a rotating basis. Elderly informants told me that living by themselves was much freer. Again, what were the conditions favorable to the emergence of this type of conjugal family which was rarely seen in the Japanese period?

The Impact of Rural Industrialization

Several changes in Liu Ts'o's family structure described above require explanation: 1. All joint and nearly half of the stem families deviated from the ideal types of stem or joint families with common residence, eating arrangements, and budget; and married sons seldom sent money back to the parents after moving out of the villages; 2. The incompletely divided *sui-jen-ch'ih* families with separate eating arrangements and budgets became popular in the post-Land-Reform period; 3. Since restoration, an increasing number of joint or stem families have divided during the family head's life time, and conjugal families consisting of none but an elderly couple have increased.

Generally speaking, physical separation would weaken family members' relationships. I observed that relations between married brothers' households which stayed in the same residence after family division were often closer than those pertaining between undivided brothers' households living in different places. The existence of working opportunities in the outside world was a necessary condi-

tion for the movement of young people out of their natal homes. During the 1950s and 1960s a large number of young villagers were absorbed by the urban-based industrial sector. Some got married and settled down in the cities. The joint or stem families to which they belonged were no longer able to maintain common residence, eating arrangement and budget. In other words, the traditional joint or stem families were modified to adjust to the industrial development. In 1976-77, there were 16 married sons (5 in stem families and 11 in joint families) with their wives and children residing outside of Liu Ts'o. Most of these sons were born before 1945. We could say that urban-centered industrialization prior to 1970 contributed to the deterioration of family integration.

After Land Reforem, we find that many family heads in Liu Ts'o had greater control of land which gave them a sense of security. They were unwilling to divide the land in their life time. But at the same time, control over their children who had become industrial wage workers was weakening. These young people were reluctant to hand all income-usually quite limited--to their father, especially after they married. While the undivided property held the family members together, the non-inclusive economy set them apart. This was the main factor that accounts for the increase in *sui-jen-ch'ih* families.

For those family heads who were pressured into dividing the family, they would always keep a portion of land or savings for themselves and receive periodic subsidies from sons. Several elderly informants explained to me that in the past the family heads refused such division because they were afraid that they would have no one to depend upon in

advanced life; nowadays with moderate wealth somewhat easier to attain, they could save a considerable portion of property and money for later life enough to support themselves even after family division. It is not difficult to understand that a father who has lost power after family division would not want to become a dependent in his son's family. Separate living and eating arrangements (from the son's household) could make the older couple feel more comfortable.

Some scholars (e.g. Sofer, 1956) hold the view that the small nuclear family is more adapted to industrialization, and tends to supersede stem and joint families; others (e.g. Greenfield, 1961) argue that stem and joint families are compatible with industrialization. I have shown that urban-centered industrialization has encouraged more family nucleartion, in Liu Ts'o, due to earlier family division, but that it does not threaten to eliminate all stem and joint families. The traditional family has adapted to industrialization and has not been destroyed by it. The most obvious impact of industrialization in the 1950s and 1960s on the rural stem and joint families was that it contributed to a loosening of family relations.

I also pointed out that very few married males in Liu Ts'o under age 35 have moved out of Nan T'un. The parents and sons may separate residence, eating arrangements, and budget, but the fact that they live in the same marketing area allows for maintenance of a high degree of mutual dependence and interaction. I speculate that this has resulted from both the rapid development of rural industrialization since the late 1960s, and improved transportation which has enabled people to commute to work.

When family input into agricultural work diminshed and young family members' industrial income became more important for the family economy, land ceased to be an effective means of production for unifying the young and old generations in the family. The father's agricultural experience was no longer appreciated by his sons, whose industrial training gave them a kind of money-making superiority. We have seen that depressed fathers were thrilled by the idea of establishing factories at home. They managed to get capital to buy machines for their sons who were then obliged to share profits with the investors. Machines, instead of land, became the new means of production and thus contributed to the cementing of father-son relations. In 1976-77, Liu Ts'o had 29 (17 married and 12 unmarried) males working in family-owned in-village factories. Twentyfive of them were born after 1945. Roughly speaking, the samll-scale in-village factories reduced the rate of outflow and strengthened social and economic ties among family members.

6

Marriage and Women's Status

It is generally held that changes occur faster and more dramatically in cities than in the countryside, where we are more likely to find the retention of old habits and customs. I grew up in Taipei city, and later spent four years in New York City. After having seen many "strange" phenomena, I did not expect to experience strong "culture shock" in a Taiwanese village. However, I was indeed greatly shocked one day to find that a boy of nineteen slept with his girl-friend at his home, and his parents did not say a word.

We know that chastity is highly valued and illicit sexual intercourse is always concealed from the public in Chinese society. Even among modern liberated young people in the city, pre-marital sexual behavior is not widely accepted. Hence, it was even more difficult for me to imagine that a boy could bring a girl home and sleep with her without offending his parents.

As I investigated this case, and compared it with other cases in Liu Ts'o, I began to understand the changing forms of rural marriage and women's status. I will describe the background to this case and then analyze the forces promoting as well as restraining such changes. The influence of rural industrialization will be carefully examined.

Daughter-in-law Entering the Door

One morning in June, 1977, the air smelt of insecticide. The ears of rice grown in the field were turning from green to yellow. It took about twenty days to harvest. As usual, A-yen came back from watching the field water, picked up a bottle of rice wine from the corner of the kitchen and had a drink. While brushing my teeth in the backyard, I heard A-yen's youngest daughter, a junior high school student, ask:

"Father, I saw older brother early this morning leaving home on his motorcycle. A girl sat behind him who looked like A-lan. A-lan–Did she sleep here last night?"

"K'eng!" The wine bottle fell to the floor with a loud sound.

"Is it true? I have no idea what your brother has been doing recently. Everyday he comes back from work and disappears right after dinner. Last month, he only gave me 2,000 NT dollars (US$53). Damn it!"

A-yen had six daughters: three who had already married out, two who were working in a nearby hat-factory, and one who was studying. His only son A-shiang, nineteen years old, was by age in the middle of the family. After graduating from junior high school, A-shiang studied one year in a private senior high school, but quit for lack of

interest. Since then, he had been working in the village's wood-product factory, earning about NT$4,000 per month. As was customary, an employed youth in the village would turn most or all of his salary over to his father. A-yen did depend heavily on his children's income to supplement his own earnings from 0.8 hectare of rented land and miscellaneous work he performed for others during agricultural slack seasons.

A-shiang's handsome face, sturdy body, and humorous talk were attractive to girls. He did not conceal his romance from me. I remembered that the first time I saw A-lan was at A-shiang's birthday party (celebrating his nineteenth year).

That night, A-shiang, his sworn brothers, four girls, and I gathered on the river bank to the west of Liu Ts'o village. It was breezy and the light from the nearby duck hut was twinkling. They celebrated with a cake, wine, dried watermelon seeds, peanuts, and chewing gum, but without candles and songs. The boys did most of the talking. A-lan sat facing A-shiang. She had a round face and long hair. She was not very pretty, but her tender and sweet smile did attract my eyes.

A-shiang once told me that A-lan was one year younger than he. Her family lived in the southern county of Yun-lin. She has been working in her uncle's hat-factory in Nan T'un street since graduating from junior high school.

"One day, we invited girls of that hat-factory out for a trip. A-lan was really something. She sat on the back seat

---

1. Such a birthday party is not traditional. But as village youth adopt the urban, western style of birthday celebration, they leave out certain elements.

of my motorcycle at such a distance. Unlike other girls who held the boys' waists tightly, A-lan dared not touch me. She had a good voice and liked to sing old Taiwanese songs. After dating her several times, I quickly took hold of her hand. She stopped talking to me for days. But afterwards, she was very nice and became infatuated with me!" A-shiang recounted in an elated tone.

A-yen and his daughter's conversation alerted me to a recurrence of A-lan's staying over. Indeed, the same event continued for several days. The divided second fang also became aware of the situation and the gossip that surrounded it. Yet when A-shiang and his parents were together, neither of them mentioned a word about it. They looked as though they were keeping a common secret.

I knew that A-yen had been thinking of marrying in a daughter-in-law for a long time. One afternoon, as I helped him clear grass in the vegetable garden, he sighed over the lack of males in his fang. He had hoped that A-shiang would get married earlier. But he was worried that a bad daughter-in-law might lead his only son away from home. Liu Ts'o had experienced several cases of this kind.

"A daughter-in-law does not have to be pretty. Good temper, obedience and diligence are the most important character traits."

At that time I thought that A-shiang was still too young to get married. He had not yet served in the army.

A-yen's wife was a straightforward person whose feelings were never hidden:

---

2. Young men compulsorily go into two to three years' army service at the age of 20. If they pass the university entrance examination, service can be postponed until they complete their education.

"Both A-yen and I find A-lan congenial. She is plain and quiet. I hear that she is a skilled hat-maker. Each month she sends 5,000 dollars back to her parents. I do not like A-shiang's past girl-firend Hsiu-chuan. She is skinny, unhealthy, and impolite to us...A-yen has suggested that we wait until A-lan is pregnant. It costs a lot to marry a daughter-in-law. A pregnant girl's brideprice usually costs less."

The harvest season was approaching. The stems of grain could hardly bear the heavy burden. A-shiang finally spoke out--A-lan was already two months pregnant. If the family did not want them to marry, they would have to arrange an abortion. Such things were no longer news in the countryside. In recent years, things had changed so fast that even the least sensitive persons could feel it. Factories were expanding like cells from the city to the suburban areas. Liu Ts'o village was also affected. Since about 1970, the small village had exploded with about twenty small-scale factories. Almost all young people were absorbed by factories and nonagricultural businesses after graduation from elementary or high school. The small family land was like a mother lacking milk to satisfy her children. The youth employed outside the village had more opportunity to choose their own spouses. Faced with this new situation, the older generation could not but revise their old ways of thought and action. Nonetheless, A-yen and his wife did not know how to react properly after they heard A-shiang's sudden revelation.

It had been raining for several days. Although the grain in the field was ripe, no one risked harvesting. A-yen, confined to the house, smoked one cigarette after another. Returning home each day from work to face this depressing

atmosphere, A-shiang looked helpless, A-yen's wife could no longer stand it:

"Since A-lan is pregnant, we have to marry her and keep the child alive. Don't you remember that before our daughter A-mei got married, she had a secret abortion, that ruined her health? If we want A-lan to be our daughter-in-law, it is very important that she be in good health, otherwise it will cost a fortune to send her to the doctor."

Stimulated by his wife, A-yen made his decision:

"A-shiang, tell A-lan not to worry, we want the child. Wait until I complete work in the field, I will send someone to propose to A-lan's parents."

A-shiang happily rode off on his motorcycle to deliver the good message to A-lan.

The Dragon-boat Festival (the fifth of the fifth lunar month) passed in the rain. The villagers hung the branches of banian and artemisia on their front doors. Those families which had harvested grain pitched tents in the yards to protect the crop from further damage from the rain. Some grain were sprouting. If the rain did not stop, the grain in the fields would also sprout.

It rained another week. One could no longer leave the grain unharvested; however, once it was harvested, the sprouting grain became seeds of trouble. A-yen was concentrating exclusively on rescuing the crop. He had no time to think of his son's marriage.

"Half-sprouted grain (Japonica) sells at 400 dollars per hundred catties, and the price for unsprouted grain is only about 500 dollars. I do not want to farm any more!"

A-yen's younger brother had a small machinery factory and had left all agricultural work to his wife. A-yen's feet

were deeply rooted in the soil, rather difficult to pull out. A-shiang was his only hope for a future.

All the grain was harvested and dried. A portion of it was delivered to the Farmers' Association to pay taxes and to be sold at the government's guaranteed price. The landlord's grain at 37.5 perent rent was asked to be sent directly to the rice shop. The remaining grain was piled in and outside the house waiting for a better market price. There was almost no leisure time between the first and the second crops. A-yen was busy burning the rice stems left in the field, and asked a neighbor to plow for him. Meanwhile he had to prepare the nursery bed, clear grass on field sideways, and transplant rice shoots. By the time everything had been finished, it was already August.

A-yen was ready to propose marriage. He bought two golden rings with about 3,000 NT dollars. If A-lan's parents agreed, one ring would be put on A-lan's finger as a guarantee of engagement. They could then choose the dates for *wanping*, that is, sending betrothal presents, and marriage.

A-lan once told me that her father cultivated around 0.6 hectares of land and had a subsidiary job. She had two married older sisters, two unmarried older brothers in military service, and one younger brother in junior high school. She was the only child earning money to help the family. She didn't have the nerve to tell her parents about her pregnancy. A-yen left the house with an optimistic look, but I was really worried.

My worries turned out to have been well-founded. They came back as though they had met with serious defeat.

"A-lan's mother kept on weeping and screaming. She rebuked A-shiang for enticing away her daughter and threa-

tened to bring a suit against us. Accuse A-shiang of having seduced her daughter? Her daughter has feet of her own. She came of her own will, we did not force her. Not approving of marriage? Let us wait and see what they will do as their daughter's belly gets bigger and bigger."

A-lan became a "member" of this family. A-shiang went to her factory to pick her up every night. I was surprised to see that stingy A-yen took the trouble to buy meat balls, fried bean curds, and fruits for evening desserts. A-yen's wife was told by her daughter that A-yen gave A-lan money to buy clothes. She also thought that it was unnecessary.

"Don't be like this! A-lan is not in a good mood. I only gave her a few hundred dollars to comfort her," A-yen said.

A peddler came to sell chicks. A-yen's wife bought ten and said that a few months later they could be cooked to help A-lan recover from the delivery. Her daughter responded in a jealous tone:

"Mother, don't let others make fun of you! You don't even know whether this daughter-in-law will be permitted to enter our door or not."

One afternoon, when A-yen was taking a nap, A-shiang rushed into the room:

"A-lan's mother is now in the hat-factory. She wants to talk to you."

Coming back from the factory, A-yen was furious with anger:

"Goodness gracious! I can't believe that this woman has the face to talk about price. She wants to get NT$ 120,000 as the brideprice, and will not prepare a dowry. She

thinks that other people's children are made of soil, while her own daughter is made of gold!"

"Isn't her greed obvious to all? Right now, A-lan sends back NT$5,000 per month. If she marries out, her parents will lose NT$60,000 a year. I heard that some people in the poor southern counties have sold daughters to pay the brideprice for daughters-in-law. In our village, Fong-chang is probably the luckiest guy whose son ever made a mainlander's daughter pregnant - that girls's parents married her out without requesting a brideprice." A-yen's wife echoed.

"On my way home, I stopped at the village grocery store. A-chen advised me not to pay attention to that woman. We can let the kids marry in court when they reach the legal age. Then A-lan's mother will not get a cent," A-yen continued.

One hundred twenty thousand dollars was a large amount of money. In this region, the average brideprice was about 70,000 dollars. A bride's family would normally spend all or most of the brideprice on purchasing a dowry. If a bride's family was in good economic condition, the value of the dowry might be higher than the brideprice. Although items in the dowry such as a television, refrigerator, and sofa were delivered to the groom's house for public use, they continued to belong to the bride, who could take them with her on family division. Marriage without a dowry would make both families lose face. A-lan's mother opened her lion's mouth and wanted to swallow the brideprice. It was really too much.

The young rice plants kept on shoooting up. Their leaves were turning an ever brighter shade of green. During

the daytime, children stood in the fields fishing for frogs with bamboo poles and plastic bags. At night, the number of mosquitos increased dramatically. Their numbers would decrease after the fields were sprayed with insecticides.

The Ghost Festival (the fifteenth day of the seventh lunar month) came. A-yen's wife was busy making taro cakes, wrapping dumplings with bamboo leaves, and killing chickens and ducks. At noon, the villagers worshipped the ancestors, and the earth-foundation master *(Ti-chi-chu)*, etc. In the afternoon, they carried sacrificial goods to the bank of the Fa-tse river to feed the tormented souls of those who had drowned. In the evening, each family set up a table in the front yard. The rice, cakes, chickens, dumplings, etc. on the table were for feeding good brothers (homeless ghosts), and a basin with water and a towel in it was also prepared for the ghosts. A-yen burned sticks of incense devoutly, then inserted them one by one into the sacrificial goods and into the earth extending from the front yard to the land outside. A-yen's wife instructed A-lan in the burning of paper money and adding wine.

The mailman came and handed a letter to A-yen: A-lan's parents invited him to their house to discuss matters.

"We had better ask Aunt A-lin to go there for us. She has a sweet matchmaker's mouth."

Aunt A-lin did not disappoint them. She came back with the good news:

"A-lan's parents agreed and did not argue about the brideprice (I hinted that it would be around NT$60,000). But they emphasized that we must make sufficient wedding cakes as they have many relatives and friends to whom they would wish to send cakes. The engagement celebration will

be held first. The *wan-ping* (sending of betrothal presents) and marriage can be done on the same day... They also said that their old house had been pulled down to build a new one. They are now temporarily living in A-lan's uncle's house; and will move to the new house on the sixth of the twelfth month, then marry the daughter."

"On the sixth of the twelfth month? Isn't A-lan's belly becomming very large?"

"They said that they don't care if A-lan gives birth to a child three days after the marriage."

"Oh, sure! they don't care. They just want A-lan to work a few more months for them." A-yen's wife said.

"Let me take A-shiang's and A-lan's eight characters (indicating the year, month, day and hour of their birth) to geomancer A-ken. I hope that he can select a date in the ninth or tenth lunar month."

Recently, A-yen had not had much agricultural work to do. Two or three years earlier, when herbicides had not yet been introduced into the village, the villagers were weeding in the fields during this time of the season. Now A-yen could concentrate entirely on the marriage of his son. He had only one son, so the wedding should be very big and impressive.

Although the brideprice was reduced to NT$60,000, A-yen had to prepare at least NT$100,000 for other expenses such as wedding cakes, decoration of the new room, the bride's ornaments, and wedding festivities. A-yen had some savings in the Credit Cooperative Society (a local bank). In addition, he borrowed money from the Farmers' Association, from his younger brother, and his wife's sister. He planned to return part of the loans in October with money

collected from the Grain Association. The Grain Association was somewhat like the money association. The difference was that the former's members only met two or three times per year instead of monthly; each time, the initiator has to give a feast, then opened the bids; and the money collected was based on the standard price of Indica grain announced by the Farmers' Association. In 1977, the initiator of a grain association including 11 members could collect in all around NT$63,000 (Each member "saved" 1,000 kg. Indica grain every time, and the price for 1,000 kg. of Indica grain in 1977 was NT$6,300) from the other ten members. A-yen figured that if his bid was the highest, he could get around 60,000 dollars.

Geomancer A-ken came to the door of the main hall on his 100 c.c. motorcycle, and handed a red sheet to A-yen:

"The fourteenth of the ninth lunar month will be a good day. No good days are found in the tenth and eleventh months. The next good day will be the sixth of the twelfth lunar month."

A-ken, around forty years old, was short and fat, in great spirits, and wearing western dress and a tie. Although there were several geomancers in this area, A-ken was quite popular because he did not set a price and let his customers put whatever amount of money they liked in the red envelope.

The sixth of the twelfth lunar month would be the date selected by A-lan's family to move into the new house. No one ever married on the house-entering day. Moreover, A-yen did not want to hold the wedding in the twelfth lunar month. How embarassing it would be if A-lan appeared with a big belly in front of all the guests! A-yen wished that A-

lan's parents would agree to marry their daughter on the fourteenth of the ninth lunar month.

The matchmaker delivered the red sheet with the "good days" written on it and half the brideprice to the girl's house. Aunt A-lin told A-lan's parents that the ninth lunar month was preferred. They said that they would reply by letter.

A-yen cleaned up the grain-storage room next to the kitchen preparing it to serve as the "new room". As he moved bags of grain to the buffalo pen, he worried that the market price of rice would not go up and that the rice shops would not be willing to buy the old grain since the new grain was coming in season. Some of the grain had already sprouted, and even chickens and ducks would refuse to eat it. More and more buffalo pens in the village became empty as tractors were widely accepted. A-yen had sold his water buffalo last year.

The dirty inner bamboo roof was concealed by the new colored ceiling, mud walls were painted in light blue, and the main room and the kitchen were also redecorated. A-yen was so busy that he was unable to spray insecticides for others during this season.

I discovered that A-shiang was growing a mustache. He explained that he wanted to look more mature on his wedding day. I asked him what he expected the child to be-a boy or a girl.

"A boy! But a girl is not bad either. She won't bother you too much once she marries out. As a matter of fact, boys are less complicated than girls, who are so quiet that you don't know what they are thinking about. I only want three children. If they all turn out to be girls, I will consider

it to be my fate."

The new bed was erected properly in the new room at the chosen "good hour". It was only eight days before the fourteenth of the ninth month.

A-lan's parents' letter of reply arrived:

> We feel that the fourteenth of the ninth month is too early. A geomancer here found that the tenth day of the twelfth month would be a good wedding day, and would not have a malign influence on anyone. If you can find another good day, please let us know.

"Damned! Give us a date as they please. Who knows if it is a good day or not. In the twelth month, A-lan will be on the verge of giving birth. I will be too ashamed to invite guests to the feast." A-yen was mad.

"They're doing it on purpose to embarrass us."

"I will ask the village head A-chih to negotiate for us. A-chih once was a vagrant and had some strength in the South. I can also go to the provincial assemblyman. Although he usually does not pay much attention to us, he is now waiting for an opportunity like this to expand his reputation, since election day is coming."

"So far, we have already spent several thousand dollars on taxi fees. If you add another match-maker, how big the red envelope (with money in it) will be!" A-yen's wife murmured.

The village head A-chih said that he did not have time to go that week. Nor had A-yen the courage to find the provincial assemblyman. The fourteenth of the ninth montn passed with a kind of silent awareness.

Shortly afterward, there were two funerals in the vil-

lage: A-chen's son was hit by a bus while he was crossing a bridge on his motorcycle; Kin-mu's wife, who had run away, was found dead, lying by the field after a family quarrel. The villagers felt that they were under the shadow of bad luck. A-yen and his son were almost suffocated by the gloomy atmosphere.

Someone suggested:

"Why don't you arrange a travelling marriage?[3] It does not have to be held on a good day. Any "clean" day will be O.K... Besides, you are allowed to throw a big feast on that day."

Travelling marriages are not popular. On the wedding day, the groom's family simply sends a car to the girl's house. After picking up the bride, the car "travels" around for a while, then returns to the groom's house. But the bride is prohibited from wearing the formal white wedding gown, no bridesmaids accompany her, and the bride and the groom cannot worship gods and ancestors on that day.

A-yen had considered worshipping the gods and ancestors to be an indispensable part of the wedding ceremony. A-shiang was only concerned about A-lan's growing belly which could not wait until the twelfth month. He was willing to take the suggestion of a travelling marriage. Worshipping gods and ancestors was not that important to him.

---

3. In the traditional system, the "travelling marriage" is practiced only on special occasions when marriage is an urgent necessity and no "good day" can be found. Pre-marital pregnancy does not necessarily lead to the "travelling marriage", if a "good day" exists before the delivery of the child. As the percentage of pre-marital pregnancies increases, the "travelling marriage" may become a more popular form of marriage in the village.

Constantly pushed by his son, A-yen asked me to write a letter for him to see if A-lan's parents would agree on a travelling marriage. The letter read like this:

> You replied in your letter that neither the fourteenth of the ninth month nor the sixth of the twelfth month was suitable for your daughter's wedding. With regards to the date you proposed, our geomancer does not take it to be a good day. We also feel that if A-lan got married in the twelfth month with a large belly, both families would lose face. We propose a travelling marriage on the eighteenth of the tenth lunar month. Your kind consideration will be appreciated. We are looking forward to hearing from you as soon as possible.

After the letter was mailed, A-lan decided to go back to urge this solution as a favor from her parents. She had been a good daughter. She knew that things like this not only hurt her parents' feelings, but also caused them to lose face. Nonetheless, she did not believe that her parents would wholly fail to consider her.

A-lan returned happily. She said that her parents had agreed to the date and would prepare a dowry for her.

A-shiang asked immediately:

"Will the dowry include CD-4 Hi-Fi components?" He was dissatisified with his old two-track tape recorder and record player.

A-yen's wife hoped to get a larger refrigerator. A-yen said that it would be good enough if the old cane chairs in the main hall could be replaced with a new sofa. A-shiang's younger sister expected that her "sister-in-law" would bring in the female-sized motorcycle that she had been dreaming of.

Word that A-yen was going to marry in a daughter-in-law on the eighteenth of the tenth lunar month (November 28) rapidly spread through the village. The high tide of the election for mayors, provincial and municipal assemblymen was ebbing, and the villagers' attention was directed to the coming wedding. While I was buying things in the village grocery store, I heard some people gossiping:

"A-shiang is still a child in my eyes. I can't believe that he is getting married."

"A-shiang and my son A-min were in the same class in primary school. Look! One will soon be a father, the other still holds a book without knowing a thing!"

"This morning, I saw that girl on A-shiang's motorcycle. Her belly is not small. It won't be long before she gives birth."

"A-yen has only one son, it is easier for him to obtain a daughter-in-law. But myself, with four sons; I can't afford all the brideprices. They must find girls who do not require a brideprice."

"A-yen said that he would like to have a big feast. Do you know how many tables he is going to set?"

"Is the girl's family very poor? I heard that they asked for 120,000 NT dollars net for a brideprice. How was it solved?"

"....."

The second crop began to be harvested and the last stage of preparation for the wedding began. A-shiang spent NT$4,000 to order a dress in western fashion and a pair of shoes; A-lan asked a seamstress in Nan T'un street to make her a pink ceremonial gown and several new dresses for changing during the wedding period. She then returned

home waiting for the groom to pick her up on the eighteenth. A-yen told A-shiang to send wedding cards to invite friends and relatives living outside the village. As to the villagers, they would automatically bring gift money to A-yen's house on the day before the wedding since they had already got the message that A-yen wanted to have a big wedding feast. Only those villagers who voluntarily brought gift money to the groom's house would receive invitation cards.

A-yen figured out that the guests would require thirty tables (Each sits about ten persons). He invited A-chuan and his wife who lived in the bamboo circle to be chefs at the wedding feast. In addition, he ordered betrothal presents, including 700 wedding cakes, half a pig, twelve fish, chickens, and sausages, and asked the village's grocery to buy miscellaneous items for him such as ceremonial firecrackers, incense, paper money for longevity, mushrooms, shark fins, rice noodles, and canned food. The total cost was about NT$20,000.

Three days before the wedding (the fifth of the tenth lunar month), the annual "petitioning of the gods for peace" ceremony was held in the village. The elected secretary of this activity collected *ting-k'ou* money from each household (males were counted by *ting*, females by *k'ou*). They hired a puppet show *(pu-tai-hsi)* troupe to entertain gods. A temporary stage was set up in the already harvested field. Many images and incense burners of gods and goddesses were installed in a tent facing the stage. The most highly located image put in the place of greatest prestige was the village's common god *San-chieh-kung*. The villagers could not remember when and where they got the burner of *San-chieh-kung*, whose image was only carved two years ago. Every

year, one *lu-chu* (master of the burner) and eight *t'ou chia* (lu-chu's assistants) are chosen among all household heads of the village on the "petitioning of the gods for peace" day. Selection is carried out in the following manner: The name of each household head is read in front of the burner of *San-chieh-kung* while two wooden divining blocks are thrown on the floor. The person who gets the greatest number of *sheng-pei* (one block showing the protrusive side, and the other one showing the flat side) is selected *lu-chu* of the new year. After the festival, the new *lu-chu* will bring back home the burner and image of *San-chieh-kung* and offers incense before it twice daily throughout the year. All villagers will go to the *lu-chu's* house to burn paper money on the first day of the first lunar month, and to worship with offerings of sweet dumpling at the Winter Solstice. It is a great honor to be selected *lu-chu* among more than one hundred household heads.

Around five o'clock in the afternoon, the villagers gathered to see who would be selected *lu-chu*. A-yen and his younger brother tied for the greatest number of *sheng-pei*.

"Brothers have a real competition!" The surrounding crowd got excited.

According to the rules, the wooden blocks would have to be thrown again to decide who won. A-yen with one *sheng-pei* more than his brother became the new *lu-chu*. Everyone congratulated him:

"A-yen, double congratulations! You will soon have a daughter-in-law, and now are selected as the *lu-chu*. I am sure that you will earn a lot of money next year.

A-yen felt that humiliation from wedding negotiation

was compensated. He looked like a hero accepting congratulations. Being brothers, the two had always been competitive.

A-yen had often complained that his father kept him at home farming while sending his younger brother out to learn non-agricultural skills. Last year, A-yen's brother rebuilt a tall wall in the yard because the old one had been blown down by a typhoon. A-yen at once increased the height of his wall on the right side. He could not let the "tiger side" exceed the "dragon side" (geomancy).

On the wedding day, A-yen rented three cars: one taxi for the bride and groom, one truck for delivering presents and the dowry, and tourist bus. I got on the tourist bus with A-shiang's uncle, aunt, sister, brother-in-law and sworn brothers. A-shiang and the matchmaker A-lin sat in the taxi, which was not decorated because this was a travelling marriage. Neither were firecrackers lit on departure. The truck with betrothal presents led the way, the bride's taxi was in the middle, and our bus followed behind. About two hours later, we arrived at the small village of Yun-lin. It was already one o'clock in the afternoon.

The new house was under construction. Soil, stones, and bricks lay scattered in the yard. It was really a mess. A-lan's parents looked surprised to see us, more than ten people, getting off the bus. The betrothal presents were taken down and counted carefully by the bride's relatives. A-lan's uncle invited us to the main hall of his house, offered us tea, and served a few wedding cakes. We were quite hungry and expected to have a well-prepared lunch, but did not see dishes on the table. Was it because they did not know we were coming, or because they had a different custom?

We were puzzled.

A-shiang frowned and stood there awkwardly with a pair of white gloves in one hand. The new costume and shining shoes made him look like a mannequin in a department store window.

A-lan appeared! Her hair was combed up, and her face was covered with thick powder. No smile at all! The gold ornaments on her neck, wrist, and fingers were gleaming in the sunshine. No matter how wide and loose her pink gown had been fashioned, we still saw her protruding belly.

The travelling marriage did not require rituals of worshipping ancestors of the bride's family, and the bride's kneeling down to her parents was also omitted. Unlike other brides, the pregnant bride walked without the cover of a bamboo rice sieve over her head. A-lan and A-shiang entered the taxi quietly.

A-lan's dowry, including a sofa, a closet, a desk, an electric fan and small items such as a basin, was put on the truck. According to custom, A-lan's parents kept most and returned a portion of the betrothal presents to the groom's family. We, still suffering the pangs of hunger, let ten guests from the bride's side get on the bus. A-lan's parents invited us to attend their feast on the next evening.

A-yen did not expect the cars to return so soon. He rushed in and out of the house like a headless chicken. The bride and the groom were like two dummies sitting in the taxi. A-shiang's aunt hurried a little boy holding a dish of oranges to invite the bride down from the "sedan-chair". A-shiang supported A-lan and crowded into the small "new room". He was still scowling. A-yen's wife hurriedly put sweet dumplings into boiling water while A-yen kindly

brought the guests into the main hall. Our eyes were immediately dazzled by many cloth hangings with big gold characters of "congratulations" pinned on them, and brand new sheets of money, each worth one hundred dollars, covering the walls. They were from A-shiang's uncles, aunts, brothers-in-law and sworn brothers. The chefs cooked at their fastest and served two tables of dishes. Our hunger was finally appeased. Within my eyesight, people had already filled the rooms and yard. Kids were running around, yelling and screaming. It was an extraordinary scene.

There is no need to describe the boisterous atmosphere of that evening feast. The guests drank, ate and chattered as much as they could. After they left, I assisted A-yen counting the gift money as well as the expenses of the evening feast. The surplus was around NT$20,000. A-yen told me that it was like attending the Grain Association. This time you collected money, but you would have to give money to others at some time in the future.

Three days after the wedding, A-shiang and A-lan were invited to the house of the bride's parents to be "guests". A-yen's wife was washing clothes by the canal. The woman next to her said: "You are released! Your house work can be left to your daughter-in-law."

"My fate is not that good! My old man (housband) has arranged everything. The dauthter-in-law will continue earning money outside, and I will take care of things inside the house. Later, after the child is born, I'll also be responsible for taking care of him."

"It is not bad for A-lan, being your daughter-in-law. At least she does not have sisters-in-law to quarrel with."

"haven't you heard that the single son has the heavi-

est burden? A-shiang has three sisters who have not yet married. As to those married sisters, every time they give birth to a child, we have to spend several thousand.

A-shiang and A-lan returned from Yun-lin. Life gradually returned to normal. A-lan got up early every morning to prepare breakfast. After washing A-shiang's and her own clothes, she went to work in the hat-factory. The differences were that she no longer worked extra time at night, and her salary was handed to A-yen, instead of to her father. A-shiang worked harder than before. He knew that the family had borrowed quite a lot of money for his marriage. A-yen was the one who really felt liberated, for he had been worrying about A-shiang's marriage for years. His next great hope was to have a grandson--the person who would hold the tablet for his departed spirit.

From Premarital Avoidance to Premarital Pregnancy

To what extent does the above case represent the changing conditions of marriage in Liu Ts'o village? In the past, Chinese weddings consisted of six rites (*wen-ming, ting-meng, na-ts'ai, na-pi, ch'ing-chi,* and *chin-ying)* which were combined into four rites that have been widely practiced in Taiwan (cf. Wu Ying-t'ao, 1975):

Wen-ming is to exchange the boy's and the girl's eight characters (horoscopes) through the arrangements of the matchmaker. *Ting-meng* means that the matchmaker accompanies the boy's parents to present gifts to the girl and to put the gold engagment ring on the girl's finger in the main hall of the girl's family. The girl's side also prepares gifts for exchange. *Wan-ping* is when the groom's relatives and fri-

ends, accompanied by the matchmaker, deliver the bride-price as well as a pig and goat, noodles, cakes, ceremonial incense, etc. to the bride's house. As the betrothal presents arrive, the bride's family treat the guests with rich food, burn incense and set off firecrackers to notify the gods and ancestors, and return a portion of the betrothal presents to the groom's family. *Ch'in-ying* consists of the groom's side selecting a "good day" for the wedding, and then sending a matchmaker to the bride's parents to ask for their approval. Making clothes and setting the bed are also done on selected "good days". On the wedding day, the groom, the matchmaker, and six to eight wedding companions *(pan-ch'u)* go to the bride's house to pick her up. Before getting on the "sedan chair," [4] the bride burns incense to her ancestors and kneels before her parents to thank them. On arriving at the groom's house, the bride and groom burn incense to the gods and ancestors in the main hall, then enter the new room.

Liu Ts'o's data reveal that in the 1950's most marriages were arranged by the matchmakers. The girl and the boy saw each other once at most before marriage. In the case of "Daughter-in-law Entering the Door", A-yen and his wife were both born in 1933 and married in 1952. After their parents had arranged the marriage, A-yen got a chance to see his fiancee at a distance while she was working in the field. "If I had talked to her, people would have criticized me."

Two inferior types of marriages–uxorilocal marriage and *sim-pua* (daughter-in-law reared from childhood by hus-

4. The bride's "sedan chair" is replaced by the car in modern weddings.

band's parents) marriage[5] ceased to be practiced during the last fifteen years. Prior to 1962, the household registry records that Liu Ts'o had around fifteen uxorilocal marriages (see Table 12) and two *sim-pua* marriages (one in 1923, the other one in 1952) out of more than 150 marriages. Improved economic conditions were probably the main reason accounting for their disappearance.

Table 12
Uxorilocal Marriages in Liu Ts'o

Year of marriage	number
1899	1
1923	1
1926	1
1928	1
1929	1
1938	1
1939	1
1951	2
1952	2
1958	1
1959	2
1961	1
1962-77	0
Total	15

During the 1960s, formal meetings were still arranged for boys and girls, but they had greater rights in making decisions. Some boys even tried to date the girl after the formal

5. *Sim-pua (T'ung-yang-hsi* in Mandarin) marriage in Taiwan is carefully discussed by Arthur P. Wolf. See Wolf, 1966; Wolf & Huang, 1980. Compared to the Haishan region studied by Wolf, *sim-pua* marriage has been far less frequent in Liu Ts'o village.

meeting. For example, A-yen's younger brother who got married in 1968 invited the girl out to have a private talk in order to make sure she was not mute, for he did not hear her speak at the formal meeting.

Since 1970, romantic love has become more and more popular in the rural areas. Today young people prefer to find mates for themselves. Those who go to formally arranged meetings would like to get acquainted with one another before any decision on marriage is made. Premarital avoidance has all but disappeared. A-yen's three daughters, who married between 1974 and 1975, all had more than one boyfriend before marriage. Only one daughter's husband was selected through parental arrangements. Another daughter had even undergone a premarital abortion.

During my field work in 1976-77, out of ten marriages, four boys of Liu Ts'o married pregnant girls and two more pregnant girls married outsiders. In addition to A-shiang's case, Fong-chang's third son met a girl working in a plastic factory on the Ta-tu tableland. He brought her back home so they could live together. The girl was from a mainlander's family in southern Taiwan. After she got pregnant, Fong-chang proposed to her parents, who agreed to allow their daughter to marry out and did not request a brideprice (no dowry was prepared either). The girl-friend of A-hua's oldest son was employed in a small-scale factory in Nan T'un. Her parents residing in Taichung county disapproved of their marriage. A-hua and his wife allowed their son to sleep with the girl at home. As a result, the girl's parents could not help but allow their daughter to marry out after she became pregnant. The brideprice was NT$60,000. Our neighbor A-han's son also brought home a pregnant girl and

asked his parents to arrange a marriage for them. Moreover, both A-tien's and Pen-chen's daughters got pregnant and were quietly married out of Liu Ts'o village.

One old informant told me that premarital pregnancy was becoming a new custom, and that the "matchmaker was doing easy work, since marriage was almost inevitable." Can this statement be supported by statistical data?

Based on the household registry, I calculated the percentage of premarital pregnancies among Liu Ts'o's married women. I presume that if a woman's oldest child's birth date minus her marriage date is less than seven months,[6] she got pregnant before marriage. Among forty-nine married-in women under 40 years old, 45 percent (22/49) were pregnant prior to marriage: before 1971, the rate was 35 percent (6/17); from 1971-77, it increased to 50 percent (16/32). But among sixty-one married-in women above 40 years old, I only find three women (five percent) who got pregnant before marriage: two married into Liu Ts'o as second wives after the man's first wife died, and the remaining one married an uxorilocal husband (see Table 13). It is clear that premarital pregnancy has become a new trend in recent years.[7] "Daughter-in-law Entering the Door" is not a unique case. I believe that the analysis of this case can shed light on our

6. Medically, a child conceived less than seven months can't be born alive.
7. In another Taiwanese district Lung-tu Burton Pasternak shows that the percentage of premarital conception (calculated by births occurring less than eight months after marriage) during the Japanese colonial period (1895-1945) was 12 percent. See B. Pasternak, 1983.

Table 13
Percentage of Premarital Pregnancy Among
Liu Ts'o's Married-in Women

age of women	pregnancy before marriage	pregnancy after marriage	Total
above 40	3 (5%)	59 (95%)	62
under 40	22 (45%)	27 (55%)	49
before 1971	6 (35%)	11 (65%)	17
1971-77	16 (50%)	16 (50%)	32

understanding of marriage transformation in rural Taiwan.

In "Daughter-in-law Entering the Door," the major factors influencing the actors' attitudes and decisions were of two kinds–economic and cultural. People strove to fulfill their cultural ideals within a context of material constraints:

A-shiang brought his pregnant girl-friend back home for the purpose of transforming a personal problem into a family problem. Marriage was such a big thing that he could hardly solve it by himself. A-yen and his wife kept silent for they had been longing for a daughter-in-law and hoped that premarital pregnancy would lower the brideprice. I pointed out in Chapter 3 that agricultural profit was rather low and that the rural families had become more dependent on non-agricultural income. A-yen had been trained as a farmer. His age group (forty to fifty years old) has suffered more than others in the transition from agricultural to industrial society. As indicated in this short story, unfavorable economic conditions, combined with strong intentions to succeed to the family line, made them more tolerant of

premarital pregnancy.

The driving forces in marriage change have come from the outside world. Industrialization, extending outward from cities to rural areas, has stimulated population mobility. Many young people have been absorbed by factories and removed from their parents' control. In Chapter 4, I discussed rural industrialization in the Nan T'un area. Taichung has industrialized more quickly than many other southern counties. Since the mid-1960s, an increasing number of factories has appeared along Nan T'un street and in the surrounding villages. These provide employment for local as well as non-local laborers. A young person's social network has become enlarged. Boys frequently invite girls out. Meanwhile, the rate of premarital pregnancy has risen, especially among those girls who come in from other areas. But the average age at marriage for girls does not seem to have significantly changed (see Table 14).

Table 14
The Average Age at Marriage for Girls in Liu Ts'o

year of marriage	married-in girls (years old)	married-out girls (years old)
1946-50	21.47	22.00
1951-55	24.10	23.20
1956-60	22.38	22.75
1961-65	24.20	24.10
1966-70	23.10	22.38
1971-75	22.60	22.58
average age:	22.98	22.84
standard deviation:	00.93	00.70

The statistics indicate that before 1960, the married-in women of Liu Ts'o were all from the Taichung area; however, after 1960, an increasing number of brides came from other cities and counties (see Table 15).

The places to which Liu Ts'o women married showed a similar trend of distribution (see Table 16). Many boys whose native places were in other cities and counties found factory work in the Nan T'un area and married Liu Ts'o girls. After marriage, many of them settled down in the Taichung area, living closer to their wives' families.

The case of "Daughter-in-law Entering the Door" provides us with an example of how rural industrialization has caused some changes in marriage patterns. The importance of premarital chastity seems to have diminished.[8] The phenomenon of premarital avoidance has disappeared. The matchmaker no longer plays a significant role. The value and content of the brideprice and dowry have increased. The sacred ritual of marriage (offering incenses to gods and ancestors) can be omitted.

Notwithstanding these changes, I have discovered that the rural culture has a less changeable "core", which is neither purely related to productive activities, nor dominated by ideological, cultural reasons. The essence of marriage is: to bring in a woman who can bear a son to carry on the family succession (cultural meaning), and to share the family's burden and increase the family's wealth (economic meaning). Though many secondary concepts and practices have changed, the "core" has remained.

---

8. Chen Tung-yuan (1937) argued that premarital chastity was not emphasized until the Sung Dynasty (960-1278 A.D.).

Table 15
The Distribution of Married-in Women's Native Places, Liu Ts'o, 1946-77

Year of Marriage	Liu Ts'o	Nan T'un	Si T'un	Taichung City/County		Out of Taichung
1946-50	4	5	1	5	3	0
1951-55	0	10	2	4	2	0
1956-60	0	5	1	5	5	0
1961-65	0	1	1	5	3	3
1966-70	1	4	1	3	0	2
1971-75	0	3	0	6	6	8
1976-77	0	2	1	2	3	6

Table 16
The Distribution of Married-out Women's Husbands' Native Places, Liu Ts'o, 1946-77

Year of Marriage	Liu Ts'o	Nan T'un	Si T'un	Taichung City/County		Out of Taichung
1946-50	4	4	0	4	1	0
1951-55	0	7	0	9	3	1
1956-60	0	10	3	7	5	1
1961-65	0	8	1	5	4	5
1966-70	0	11	0	6	6	5
1971-75	0	8	2	6	19	9
1976-77	0	4	0	1	2	2

Women's Status

In "Daughter-in-law Entering the Door," A-lan's economic value as a wage-earner was well recognized by both families. her marriage was a great loss to her natal family, and a big gain for her husband's family. Nonetheless, transferring from one family to another, she was like a valuable commodity whose price was bargained for, and her subordinate status was not significantly improved.

Women in Liu Ts'o village are conscious of their lower status in society. When I asked:

"Which would you like to be--a boy or a girl?"

"A boy, of course." Their answers were unanimous and given without hesitation.

"You have been so busy working both inside and outside. Do you have any complaint?"

"There is no use complaining. It is my fate to be a girl. I hope that I will be lucky enough to be a boy next life."

Some older women are reluctant to talk about their past, or burst into tears in the middle of the conversation. Most of them were adopted daughters, some even *sim-pua* (adopted daughters-in-law).[9] They had to do various kinds of work, such as washing clothes, cooking, feeding pigs and Chickens, taking care of water buffalos, collecting pigs' dung, fetching water, pounding grain and chopping wood,

9. Villagers would adopt daughters if they didn't have male offspring (It is believed that adotping a daughter can bring a son), or they wanted to raise daughters-in-law by themselves, that is, to arrange *sim-pua* marriages for their sons and adopted daughters.

etc., and were often tortured by their adopted parents. Liu Ts'o has twelve adopted daughters (including three *sim-pua).* Ten adoptions occurred before 1960. In the most recent two decades, no girls have been adopted as *sim-pua*, and the two adopted daughters have been well treated. It is said that in the old days some villagers would sell daughters to brothel-keepers. Liu Ts'o has two married-in women who practiced prostitution before marriage.

"Nowadays, women's work is not as heavy as it used to be," a few women told me. Seven years ago, when there were no electric rice cookers or gas stoves in Liu Ts'o, women often walked to the Ta-ta tableland to chop trees. To go and carry wood back took about three to four hours. In addition, they had to dry and bind slim stems and straw into cords. Most families also raised pigs before. Women and children spent their "leisure time" scraping sweet potatoes. Every morning, sweet potatoes and their leaves were boiled to feed the pigs. Women also spent a lot of time taking care of the water buffalos.

"Before automatic threshing machines were introduced into Liu Ts'o, harvesting was mainly men's work. But women also worked very hard during the transplanting and harvesting seasons. We had to get up at three o'clock in the morning to prepare breakfast, and then supplied the transplanting or harvesting team with lunch, dinner and two desserts. Recently we have only prepared the desserts. In weeding, the adoption of herbicides has saved us a lot of time. In the past, the villagers hired laborers to plant wheat or corn after the harvest of the second rice crop. Since the wage for hired labor has risen to a relatively high level over the past six years, most fields lie fallow in the winter. We

really do not have much agricultural work to do nowadays."

Nonetheless, I discovered that some married women's agricultural responsibilities have increased since their husbands have transferred to non-agricultural jobs. Liu Ts'o has sixteen landowning families whose fields are now completely under the care of women. Do these women enjoy higher status in the families? Not really. It is the husbands who nave authorized them to take charge of agricultural work at a time when agriculture is no longer playing a dominant role. Agricultural income is still under the husband's control and comprises only a small portion of the family's total income. In "Daughter-in-law Entering the Door," A-yen's brother's wife was responsible for farming. She became extremely depressed when she discovered that grain prices were going down.

Liu Ts'o's women's occupations were analyzed in Chapter 3 (see Tables 8 and 10). Industrialization has had a great impact on women's work. In addition to housework and farming, many married women have side occupations at home such as weaving pot-holders and sewing stockings for export factories. Ninety-five percent of the unmarried females become factory wage laborers and work in the Taichung area.

A woman's ability to earn cash is a necessary, but not a sufficient condition for the improvement of her status. While washing clothes side by side with other women, I have heard some complaints:

"My husband always says that I do not know how to earn money. Every time I ask for money to go to the doctor or to make new clothes, he is so stingy. I had a chance to cook and wash clothes for a family in the city but he did

not let me go for fear of losing face. Next time if he gets on my nerves, I will leave the house and show him that I have the ability to earn money."

"My daughter-in-law gives my husband A-lin NT$4,000 per month. He treats her much nicer than me and allows her to keep a few hundred dollars' pocket money. I work so hard at home, and yet he doesn't even give me one cent."

"Your daughters have good fates! Every morning they go to factories and let you wash all the clothes. On vacations, they dress in pretty clothes to have fun. I remember that I always stayed at home to help with all kinds of work before marriage."

"Mei-kuan's life is miserable! Her husband is not doing anything but gambling. She has to earn money to raise four children. She was very pretty when she married into Liu Ts'o. Now, look! you can hardly believe that she is only in her thirties. Yesterday she was severely beaten by her husband. I really pity her. I also heard that her husband has another woman on the outside."

"A-lao's daughters-in-law are lucky. They do not have to hand in the money earned from side-occupations. It is difficult for me to accumulate *sai-khia* (or *ssū-fang-ch'ien,* in Mandarin, women's private savings)."

In general, women's wages are less than men's. For laborious work, a male's daily wage is around NT$250-300, whereas a female's wage is around NT$150-170. Only for transplanting and harvesting, are women's wages similar to men's. For factory work, a male worker usually earns more than a female worker. The daily wage for women's side-occupations at home does not exceed NT$50.

Women's lower salaries and lack of economic auton-

omy contribute to their lower status. The male family head holds the family's economic power, and makes all important decisions. A capable woman, at best, shares partial economic power with her husband in a nuclear family. Under normal conditions, her income is given over to the family head for redistribution.

Anthropologists in the field are often told by disingenuous male informants that family division is caused by quarrels among sisters-in-law. I found in Liu Ts'o that the farmal division of a family's property is always decided by men.[10] They are unlikely to divide the family unless they feel that division is to their benefit. But they are unwilling to admit that they themselves destroy the family unity. Therefore, women are often used as scapegoats. I observe that sisters-in-law quarrel with each other often, but only under specific circumstances (e.g. the family head dies and the brothers have unequal access to the family's income) do their quarrels lead to family division.

In the rural areas, boys and girls experience different developmental stages. A boy might be born into a joint family living and eating together with grandparents, parents, uncles and aunts. As his grandfather retires or passes away, the family divides into several units. His father becomes the head of his own family unit. After marriage and the birth of children, he eventually obtains control of the family's economy.

A girl's life experience is quite different. No matter what type of family she belongs to, she is obliged to earn

10. M. Cohen's study in Meinung also revealed this phenomenon, cf. Cohen, 1976.

money to help the family before marriage. Her parents do not want to invest too much in her education (she receives six to nine years' compulsory education), for some day she will marry out and thus be unable to continue contributing to the family. Being a factory worker, her wages become an important source of family income. Although according to law, a daughter has an equal right to inherit family property, in most cases, she is pressured by her family and public opinion to sign a document which states that she formally gives up the right to succession or inheritance.

When an obedient daughter who has handed all wages over to the family head for years gets married, the value of her dowry usually exceeds the brideprice. A girl with a large dowry is respected by her husband's family. Marriage without a dowry is a way of punishing an unfilial daughter. The situation is reflected in the case of "Daughter-in-law Entering the Door": A-lan's premarital pregnancy resulted in the devaluation of her brideprice and dowry.

After marrying into a new family, the girl's economic status does not change much. She is obliged to hand her income over to the father-in-law. After her husband becomes the family head, her income will come under his authority. It is not easy for her to obtain economic autonomy.

Rural industrialization in Nan T'un on the one hand has brought in brides from other cities and counties. They are less protected by their native families and are subject to the restrictions of their husbands' families; on the other hand, some boys from areas beyond Taichung have married Nan T'un's girls and settled down in Nan T'un. Their wives who are out of the control of parents-in-law, enjoy a greater degree of freedom and economic autonomy.

No matter what kind of family she marries into, every married woman is more or less psychologically pressured to give birth to a boy to stabilize her status in the family. One day I visited a young mother who, had delivered a boy two weeks previously. She spoke with me proudly:

"It is wonderful to give birth to a boy. I receive everyone's praise. The great-grandfather, eighty-two years old, was sick, but after hearing the good news, he immediately recovered. Twelve days after the delivery, my mother came to visit me with a lot of gifts such as chickens, wine, milk powder, and dried longans, etc. Our refrigerator has been full of food. Our neighbor A-ying, who recently gave birth to a girl, did not receive so many presents. She already has two daughters. Her husband said that he could not stand another daughter."

Why is it so important to have a son? The villagers (both males and females) explain to me that a son not only can take care of you in your old age, but also offers you sacrifices after your death; while a daughter is expected to marry out and live with her husband's family. Her relationship with the natal family is ceremonial only. The girl's natal family and husband's family exchange presents and visits on occasions such as a child's birth, funerals, birthdays, weddings, and special festivals. For example, the parents have to deliver presents like chickens, wine, baby's clothes, and gold ornaments to the married-out daughter's house at eleven or twelve days, one month, and one year after her delivery, and prepare six items such as a chicken, wine, noodles, paper money for longevity, clothes, and a pig's leg to celebrate their daughter's and son-in-law's thirty-first birthday. The married-out daughter must return home with

presents for her parents as well as uncles and aunts on their fiftieth, sixtieth, and eightieth birthdays, and for her brothers' weddings, the Moon Festival, and lunar New Year.

The married-out daughter has no obligation to support her parents. She belongs to her husband's family and only worships his ancestors. After she dies, her name will be written on the tablet of her husband's lineage and worshipped by her sons. Both men and women wish to have sons for fear of becoming homeless "hungry ghosts".

Unlike retired soldiers, officials, and teachers, old people in the rural areas do not have health insurance or other social welfare benefits. They can only depend on sons in their old age. Sometimes one son is not enough, so they hope to have at least two.

The stress on the male's importance has been a hindrance to the government's birth control plan. In Liu Ts'o village, almost all women have been taught methods of contraception by social workers. But only those women who already have sons practice contraception. Most villagers told me the ideal number of children is three to four: two boys and two girls, or two boys and one girl. The villagers do not accept the concept of delayed birth and spacing. Women are expected to give birth to a child within one or two years after marriage.

Since patrilocal residence is related to a woman's lower status, in uxorilocal arrangements is a husband's status lower than that of his wife's? Liu Ts'o has twelve men who have lived uxorilocally after marrying into their wives' families before 1960. It is true that their status is lower than that of other men in the village; however, their wives' status is lower still. One woman says:

"All my sisters happily married out except me. My parents disliked me and assigned me a lot of work. My husband also works very hard. Whenever my parents blame him, he in turn scolds me."

Before marrying into the girl's family, the man who came from a poor family agreed that one of his sons would beling to his father-in-law's descent group and carry out the responsibilities of ancestor worship. In several cases, the uxorilocal husbands install new ancestor tablets of their own lineages after the death of their fathers-in-law and give the son bearing a different surname unfair treatment. We can see that the purpose of uxorilocal marriage is to maintain, rather than to change patrilineal ideology, by giving a male offspring to the discontinued patrilineal line. With the improvement of rural economic conditions, uxorilocal marriage has all but disappeared in Liu Ts'o.

7

Religious Activities and the Surname Opera

To what extent has rural industrialization affected traditional religious practice? Are they compatible with each other? In the field I observed that although religious activities had continued at domestic, village, and regional levels, they had changed in response to external agro-industrial development. For instance, Liu Ts'o villagers only visited one *T'u-ti-kung* (the earth god) temple to offer sacrificial food on Chinese New Year and on *wei-ya* (the 16th of the 12th lunar month). But in 1971, they raised money to build another *T'u-ti-kung* temple,[1] with the hope that the new *T'u-ti-kung* would revive the declining agriculture and protect Liu Ts'o's land from falling into the hands of out-

1. The villagers built the new *T'u-ti-kung* temple on the site of the earliest Liu Ts'o *T'u-ti-kung* temple which was flooded away in the Ch'ing dynasty.

siders. In 1977, a villager even suggested installing a statue of *T'u-ti-po (T'u-ti-kung's* wife) at the side of *T'u-ti-kung,* so that the latter would not spend too much time and money outside the village. I also discovered that *T'u-ti-kung's* figure and incense burner had been installed in many small-scale village factories. Apparently, *T'u-ti-kung*, the guardian of the agricultural community, had been extending his influence to industry.

Moreover, the villagers had modified their concept of geomancy as an adjustment to industrial development. For example, my older brother-in-law built a factory on the right side of the house, though he knew very well that the "dragon" residing there was afraid of noise. My younger brother-in-law did not consult with the geomancer when he built his factory. As his work slowed down, his wife listened to a geomancer's advice and talked her husband into changing the direction of the factory's door. Liu Ts'o's head *feng-shui* (geomancy) master Tseng Fu told me that the business of building tombs, and clearing and reburying bones of the dead had become prosperous in the last ten to twenty years, because people had been economically better off than they were twenty years ago. All these indicate that traditional belief has changed but not died in the course of rural industrialization; the villagers still feel they need gods' and ancestors' protection to achieve economic and cultural goals.

The most fascinating religious activities are at the regional level. Many Nan T'un residents have been directly or indirectly involved in two religious traditions: the Matsu association of Chang-hua's Nan-yao Temple, and the "surname opera" *(tzu-hsing-hsi)* of Nan T'un's Wan-ho Temple. I will describe villagers' participation in the two religious

activities and how rural industrialization has affected the spirit, form and function of these long-lasting, local religious traditions.

Nan-yao Temple's Matsu Association

After my father-in-law died, his eldest son succeeded to his membership in the *Lao-ta-ma-hui* (the old association of the oldest Matsu) of Chang-hua's Nan-yao Temple, and his youngest son took over his membership in the Li surname organization of Nan T'un's Wan-ho Temple. My younger brother-in-law could also become a member in the *Lao-ta-ma-hui*, but he expressed that he had neither the time nor interest to participate in the annually circulating feast held in different "corners" *(chiao-t'ou)* of the *Lao-ta-ma-hui* during Matsu's birthday season. As a matter of fact, I discovered that 38 of the 40 *Lao-ta-ma-hui* members in Liu Ts'o were above age 40, and the two exceptions happened to be the only son in that family. In the previous generation, almost all sons succeeded to their father's membership. The new trend showed that family heads under 40 years old did not voluntarily register as a member of the *Lao-ta-ma-hui* unless they were the oldest or the only son in the family. One informant told me, "I have no interest in the *Lao-ta-ma-hui*. I am a member because it was handed down to me by my father, and because all my younger brothers refused to take it. The matsu association only suits agricultural society. Nowadays everyone is so busy; who can afford to spend a day or two to attend the circulating feast or to entertain the guests?"

Nan-yao Temple has five old Matsu associations *(Lao-*

ta-ma-hui, Lao-erh-ma-hui, Lao-ssū-ma-hui, Lao-wu-ma-hui, and *Lao-liu-ma-hui),* and five new Matsu associations *(Hsin-ta-ma-hui, Hsin-erh-ma-hui, Hsin-san-ma-hui, Sheng-san-ma-hui,* and *Sheng-ssu-ma-hui).* The old Matsu associations appeared in the early nineteenth century when Nan-yao Temple's worshippers scattering in Chang-hua and Taichung areas went on a pilgrimage to Pen-kang's T'ien-hou Temple and organized several Matsu associations to carry Matsu's holy sedan chairs. Each Matsu association recruited new members through the introduction of the old members and through father-son succession. As old Matsu associations closed their membership, new Matsu associations emerged and penetrated into villages to absorb members left out by old Matsu associations in the Taichung and Chang-hua areas.

In 1977, more than half (66 out of 110) of Liu Ts'o's family heads had membership in Nan-yao Temple's Matsu organizations. Forty villagers were members of the *Lao-ta-ma-hui.* Most of them lived in the raft-shaped area of Liu Ts'o. Fifteen members living in "bamboo circles" I and II belonged to the *Hsin-erh-ma-hui.* Eleven family heads in the Huang "bamboo circle" joined the *Lao-wu-ma-hui.* I will concentrate on the activities of the *Lao-ta-ma-hui.*

As one of the old Matsu associations, the *Lao-ta-ma-hui* has developed from 42 members in 1815 to 2,200 members in 1977. Its members are divided into nine "corners" *(chiao-t'ou).* Each "corner" consists of several small settlements. Liu Ts'o village and three other Nan T'un villages (Fan-she-chiao, Shan-chiao, and Hsin-chuang-tze) form the sixth "corner" of the *Lao-ta-ma-hui.* The nine "corners" take turns taking charge of the annual ceremony and feast on a "good day" following Matsu's birthday (the 23rd day

of the third lunar month). On that day, members in the host "corner" go to Nan-yao Temple to invite *Lao-ta-ma's* incense burner and statue to their "corner". The incense burner is considered the most significant symbol of Matsu, therefore, it has to be covered to avoid being contaminated with "unclean things" such as menstruating women. After the incense burner is carefully installed in the house of the *Lu-chu* (master of the burner), *Lao-ta-ma's* statue is moved out to a seat in the holy sedan chair patrolling the "corner". Meanwhile, members from other "corners" gather in the host "corner" eating, gambling, and watching opera performances.

On the third day of the fourth lunar month, 1977, my older brother-in-law brought me to the circulating feast offered by the fifth "corner" of the *Lao-ta-ma-hui.* Ten Liu Ts'o members were assigned to the same host family in Chung-ho village, Taichung county. We arrived there in the morning. The head of our host family did not show up until noon. He explained that he was a watermelon wholesaler and could not take that day off to participate in the activity. The lunch was not well prepared and dishes for the evening dinner came very slowly. My older brother-in-law and other guests got angry and didn't want to stay to the last dish. The family head apologized and gave everyone a big watermelon as a gift. On the way back home, my older brother-in-law kept on talking about the "good old days" when the feast lasted three days and host families showed great hospitality.

In Chung-ho village, I got a chance to interview the general manager *(tsung-li)* of the *Lao-ta-ma-hui.* He commented on the recent activities initiated by the sixth "corner":

> I told the Nan T.un corner that it was wrong to go on a pilgrimage to Pei-kang Matsu Temple, Sui-hsien Temple, and Hsin-kang Matsu Temple. None of them were the original Pen-kang Matsu Temple where Nan-yao Temple obtained incense. The real one was flooded away a long time ago. The two Matsu Temples in Pei-kang and Hsin-kang all claim that they got the incense burner and Matsu's statue from the earliest Pen-kang Temple. In fact, Nan-yao Temple's history is as long as theirs. Pen-kang's Sui-hsien Temple is a fake. It is newly built and has nothing to do with the early Pen-kang Matsu Temple. If the sixth corner wants to go on a pilgrimage, it should only visit Nan-yao Temple. You asked about the Matsu statue, yes, the *Lao-ta-ma-hui* has only one communal incense burner and one *Lao-ta-ma* statue. Each corner can set up its own, but it is not necessary.

Since 1970, the sixth "corner" has become enthusiastic about setting up statues of Matsu and organizing pilgrimage trips. In 1970, members in the four Nan T'un villages raised money to order a Matsu statue and a holy sedan chair. The newly carved Matsu statue, along with the old incense burner of the sixth "corner," were placed in the *lu-chu's* house, and moved from one village to another as the new *lu-chu* for next year was chosen. In 1974, the sixth "corner" organized a *ching-hsiang t'uan* (pilgrimage group) to visit Nan-yao Temple and three southern Matsu Temples. This activity has continued for several years. In 1977, Liu Ts'o members bought a Matsu statue from Hsin-kang Temple. Fan-she-chiao village members also bought one. Religious activities and expenses therefore increased, because each year they have to select a *lu-chu* among village members and finance the performance of a *pu-tai-hsi* (puppet show)

in front of the *lu-chu's* house.

I would like to suggest that the proliferation of Matsu statues reflects not only improved economic conditions but also increased material obsession of the industrializing rural society. The villagers demonstrate their faith by spending money on carved Matsu statues. On the other hand, their faith is enhanced when they see well-decorated statues of Matsu.

People's concepts of time changed as they moved from a traditional agricultural society into an industrial one. The circulating feast lasted three days in the past and now has been cut down to one day. The villagers went on pilgrimage on foot before. In recent years they have sat in large tourist buses and act as tourists when they arrive at a temple–offering incense and buying souvenirs in a rush. Compared to the circulating feast, the pilgrimage trips are less restrictive. Not only men, but women and children can also join the *ching-hsiang-t'uan* and no obligations are involved. Almost every other month I heard of some Liu Ts'o villagers who went with a pilgrimage group organized by a certain small Taoist temple in the vicinity, to visit big Taiwanese temples. Big temples are benefited by visits of pilgrimage groups. This explains why all big matsu Temples compete with each other by claiming to be the earliest and most authoritative one.

The phenomenon of proliferation of Matsu statues is also found in the religious activities of Wan-ho Temple's surname organizations. I will go into some detail about this distinctive local tradition, to show that due to specific structural characteristics, although Nan T'un's "surname opera" and surname organizations could sustain turmoil in the past,

the same characteristics may jeopardize their development in the industrializing rural environment.

Wan-ho Temple's Surname Opera

The "surname opera" *(tsu-hsing-hsi)* of Nan T'un, offered by surname organizations annually to honor Wan-ho Temple's goddess Matsu, has a history going back over 150 years. The series of performances spans a period of about two months each year. The older residents of Nan T'un assure me that the scale of Nan T'un's "surname opera" has been the largest in Taiwan.

In the literature, there are only a few accounts referring to the "surname opera". It is reported that the "surname opera" of Chang-hua's Yung-an Temple lasted for about eight days after the main god's birthday (the 20th day of the second lunar month). Eight surname organizations among the local Hakka people sponsored the performance. But it has been discontinued since the early 1970s (Hsu, 1973:177-78). Three big temples located in the oldest parts of Taipei city are also known for the performance of a "surname opera" (Seiichiro, 1978). The Ching sui-tsu-shih Temple of Wan-hua district held its "surname opera" from the fifth day of the first lunar month to the 25th day of that month. Following the Tsu-shih Temple's "surname opera," the nearby Lung-shan Temple in Wan-hua district performed its "surname opera" from the end of the first to the second lunar month. The "surname operas" of Wan-hua's two temples ceased being performed around 1950. The "surname opera" of the Pao-an Temple in Ta-lung-tung district has survived for about one hundred years (Chi-shu

1953:78). Each year the "surname opera," which is financially supported by 15 surname organizations, begins on the fifth of the third lunar month and ends on the 28th of the same month. It is regrettable that none of the above mentioned "surname operas" and surname organizations has been carefully studied. We simply get an impression that the "surname opera" is related to a temple and sponsored by surname organizations in that area.

Regarding Nan T'un's "surname opera," a legend concerning its origin is well-known to Nan T'un's residents: In 1823 (the Tao-kung reign of the Ch'ing dynasty), the image of the younger Matsu *(Lao-erh-ma)* at the Wan-ho Temple attended the eighteen-village procession of Lo-chan Temple's Matsu in eastern Taichung. At the end of the procession (the 20th day of the third lunar month), when Wan-ho Temple's Matsu was returning to the home temple, the sedan chair bearing Matsu's image suddenly became too heavy to enter the Wan-ho Temple. The believers fell into a panic. After they prayed to the goddess and promised to present the "surname opera" sponsored, by eleven local "surnames" annually, the sedan chair was then able to enter the temple. From 1824 on, the Matsu in Wan-ho Temple no longer participated in the procession of the Lo-chen Temple's Matsu; instead, she stayed in Nan T'un watching the performance of the "surname opera" which commenced on the 26th day of the third lunar month.

Wan-ho Temple's history (Liu, 1976) records that the temple has two images of Matsu: an older one and a younger one. It is said that in the late seventeenth century, General Chang Kuo invited the image of the older Matsu *(Lao-ta-ma)* from the Matsu Temple in Mei-chou of Fu-chien province

before he set out on a voyage to Taiwan to pacify an aboriginal rebellion in Ta-tu. After he completed this mission, he settled his troops in Nan T'un and built a small temple for the image of Matsu. He later designated a piece of land for the building of a Wan-ho Temple. The construction fees were collected from people of different surnames living in the Nan T'un area.

Nonetheless, it was the younger Matsu *(Lao-erh-ma)* rather than the older one *(La-ta-ma)* who refused to enter the temple. According to the legend, the believers of Wan-ho Temple wanted to add an additional image of Matsu in 1803. On the day of *K'ai-kuang-tien-yen* (painting the pupils in the eyes of the image to endow it with life) ceremony, an eighteen-year-old girl of the Si T'un Liao family suddenly died. On her way to Nan T'un, this young woman had met a peddler from Si T'un. The girl said that she was going to attend Wan-ho Temple's ceremony and asked him to tell her parents to unearth two silver dollars buried under the tree that stood near the front door. By the time the peddler arrived at the girl's home, he was surprised to find that she had already died. They did indeed discover two silver dollars under the tree. The girl's mother went to Wan-ho Temple and saw a tear-drop falling from the younger Matsu's eyes. She was convinced that her daughter had become the goddess. Since then, Nan T'un's younger Matsu *(Lao-erh-ma)* has returned to her monther's home in Si T'un once every three years.

Both the mainland goddess Matsu and mainland opera were localized in Taiwan. The "surname opera" of Nan T'un has taken the opera form of *luan-t'an* (or *pei-kuan*). The characters, make-up and costumes of *luan-t'an* are similar

to those of "Peking opera," but the accent of voice and musical instrument are somewhat different. After *luan-t'an* was introduced into Taiwan in the eighteenth century, it became the most popular opera form. Many amateur and professional *Luan T'an* troupes were established (Ch'iu, 1977).

Nan T'un once had an amateur *luan-t'an* troupe participating in the activity of "surname opera." But we now only find a *pei-kuan* musical house, *Ching-lo-hsuan,* annexed to the Wan-ho Temple. Each year, while the surname organizations hold the "rite of three offerings" *(san-hsien-li)*, in the main hall of Wan-ho Temple, the musicians of *Ching-lo-hsuan* play *pei-kuan* music to lead the complicated ritual inside the temple. In the mean time, the professional *luan-t'an* troupe performs *pan-hsien,* i.e., they act as gods and goddesses who send congratulations to Wan-ho Temple's Matsu. Toward the end of the "rite of three offerings," firecrackers are set off and the "surname opera" begins.

The professional *luan-t'an* troupe is selected by means of bidding. During the period of "surname opera," the troupe has to perform one afternoon show (1:00-5:00 p.m.) and one night show (8:00-11:00) everyday. In addition to surname organizations, individuals, factories, and occupational groups sponsor extra performances; thus the entire "surname opera" period would last about 80 days.

In 1977, I visited the Wan-ho Temple almost every day during that period, and discovered that the "surname opera" only attracted a few old people. Many residents told me that they did not understand the words sung, which are a strange combination of Taiwanese and Mandarin. Why didn't they substitute other types of Taiwanese opea for

luan-t'an, since Nan T'un's inhabitants have invited more popular forms of Taiwanese opera such as *ko-tsai-hsi* and *pu-tai-hsi* on other ceremonial occasions? "*Luan-t'an* is the formal opera *(ta-hsi)* especially suitable for Matsu to watch. It does not matter whether people like it or not," they replied. This they insist is a long-lasting local tradition. But I do not think that a tradition can maintain its vitality without adapting to the changing environment. Some "surname operas" and surname organizations did cease to exist in other regions. How do we explain the maintenance of Nan T'un's "surname opera" and surname organizations? I would like to argue that the multiple characteristics of surnmae organizations, which held members together in the agricultural society, may have lost their effectiveness in keeping old members and absorbing new members, as Nan T'un region becomes more industrialized. Let us first examine thet development of surname organizations:

In the beginning, there were eleven surname organizations participating in the "surname opera" and the "rite of three" offerings: Chang, Liao, Chien, Chiang, Liu, Huang, Ho, Lai, Yang-Tai, Chen, and Lin. In 1977 I interviewed the managers of 25 surname organizations. Among these organizations, 25 were old surname organizations (except Yang-Tai)[2] and 15 were new surname organizations which appeared after 1945.

Among the ten old surname organizations, three (Chien, Liu, Ho) joined the "surname opera" in the form of *tsu-kung-hui* (ancestor association). The main function of *tsu-kung-hui* is to worship a remote common ancestor. No

2. The Yang-Tai surname organization was revived in 1978.

matter how blurred the geneological linkage, anyone with the same surname and a willingness to take share(s) could be a member of the *tsu-kung-hui*.

The Liu surname organization is also called the Liu Tun-mu ancestral corporation *(chi-ssū-kung-yeh)*. It has a lineage temple in Liu Ts'o village (cf. Chapter 2). In the Ch'ing dynasty, this *tsu-kung-hui* owned about 18 hectares of land. For its partitipation in Wan-ho Temple's "surname opera," a few hectares of Liu land were changed into *Matsu-hui-tien* (land of the Matsu association). Rental fees collected from this land have been used to finance the ceremonial activities of the "surname opera." I mentioned in Chapter 2 that many members of the Liu Tun-mu ancestral corporation sold their shares of land to a rich member for fear of confiscation by the Japanese government. On the first of the fourth lunar month, 1977, I observed that the "rite of three offerings" performed by the old Liu surname organization was rather disorderly. After the ceremony, public sacrifices (a pig, a flour goat, and cakes) were distributed to the 18 members who still held shares. All attendants ate together *(ch'ih-kung)* in a nearby restaurant.

The Chien *tsu-kung-hui* was founded during the second half of the eighteenth century by Chinese immigrants of the Chien surname in central Taiwan (Taichung, Chang-hua, Wu-feng, Nan-t'ou, T'an-tzu). Its ancestral temple is located in Nan T'un's Fong-lo Li, where these Chiens worship a distant, common ancestor *Chien Te-jun-kung*. The ancestral corporation originally had 104 shares (one person could take several shares by donating more money) and 18 hectares of land. Although 15 hectares of land were confiscated in the Land Reform of 1951 and compensated for with government

stocks, the corporation's financial condition has remained healthy. In addition to the annual ancestor-worshipping activities, it has also sponsored the ceremony of Wan-ho Temple's "surname opera" and some welfare work as well. In 1977, representatives from among its 697 members practiced the "rite of three offerings" in Wan-ho Temple, and then walked back to the ancestral temple to hold the spring ancestor-worshipping ceremony.

The Ho surname organization has an ancestral hall in the Ho Ts'o village of Si T'un district. It worships the "ancestors of all generations and the pioneering founders of Fu-chien and Kuang-tung provinces" on the fourth of the eighth lunar month every year. During the late Ch'ing dynasty, this *tsu-kung-hui*, for unclear reasons, shifted its emphasis from ancestor-worship to Matsu-worship activities. It bought six hectares of "Matsu-hui land" and a Matsu incense burner. The 260 share-holders were divided into 13 sections, with each section taking turns in hosting ceremonies of the "surname opera."

Unlike the Liu, Chien, and Ho ancestral corporations, the remaining seven old surname organizations (Chang, Liao, Chiang, Huang, Lai, Chen, Lin) were founded purely for the purpose of worshipping Wan-ho Temple's Matsu, and were called "Matsu associations." People of the same surname gathered funds, with which they bought land (Chang, Liu, and Chen also bought houses), and all set up incense burners for Matsu[3] (Chang, Chiang, Lai also carved statues of Matsu). Members of each surname organization are divided into

3. The incense burner is the most important symbol of Matsu, and her statue is only of secondary importance.

several "corners" *(chiao-t'ou)*, taking turns in arranging the activities of the "surname opera" and the "rite of three offerings." A *lu-chu* (master of the incense burner) is selected from among "corner" members by throwing wooden, divining blocks in front of the Matsu incense burner. At the end of the ceremony, the members distribute the sacrificial pig and cakes, and then eat lunch together.

During the Japanese period, three old surname organizations (Chang, Chiang, and Lin) lost land to greedy managers. After 1945, they recruited new members and collected membership fees for a public fund. The other seven maintained old shares and accepted no new members. Part of their corporate land was bought by the government during the Land Reform of the 1950s.

Under Japanese rule, a few policies threatened the existence of the surname organizations: 1) By law indivisible property of ancestral corporations and deity associations *(shen-min-hui)* was made divisible. Share-holders had the right to sell it. 2) Every ancestral corporation or deity association was forced to select a manager. In many cases, corporate property was lost due to bad management of the manager. 3) The Japanese government hoped to dissolve ancestral corporations and deity associations, so that the Taiwanese could accept Japanese religious practices.

Nan T'un's "surname opera" was interrupted for several years during the second World War. After the Restoration of 1945, the "surname opera" resumed. People who were unable to join the old surname organizations founded 15 new surname organizations. Six bearing the old surnames were founded during the period 1946-55 (Ho-Lan in 1946; new Liao in 1952; Liu-Chien-T'u, Chen-Yao-Hu and Lai-Lo-

Fu in 1953; Chou-Hwang in 1955). The Tsen, Chai, Wang-Yo-Yo-Shen, Wu, Lee, Yu-Chu-Tu and Hsiao surname organizations were established between 1945 and 1951; the Lu-Kao was founded in 1960; and the Hsieh surname organization appeared in 1973.

Although all these new surname organizations carry the title of *tsung-ch'in-hui* (clan associations), no ancestor-worshipping activities are or have been performed. Members simply gathered once a year on the day of the "surname opera." Most new surname organizations, except Tsen and Li, set up incense burners for Matsu. In addition to incense burners, six surname organizations (Liu-Chien-T'u in 1965, Chou-Huang in 1959, Lai-Lo-Fu in 1975, Lu-Kao in 1973, Wang-Yo-Yo-Shen in 1975, and Hsieh in 1974) carved statues of Matsu in recent years. Two of them (Lu-Kao and Hsieh) even decorated their Matsu statues with golden tablets. Each year, these surname organizations with Matsu's incense burners and statues select a new *lu-chu* to take charge of next year's "surname opera."

Unlike the old surname organizations, very few new surname organizations practice the "rite of three offerings" and prepare public sacrificial food. The new form of ceremonial practice is much simpler. They either hire Taoist priests to chant the liturgy or let the participants offer private sacrificial food and burn incense inside the temple. Since not all these new surname organizations have corporate land or houses, they collect money from members to serve as a public fund. Seven surname organizations (Ho-Lan, Lai-Lo-Fu, Chou-Huang, Wang-Yo-Yo-Shen, Yu-Chu, Tu, Wu, Li) lend out the public funds to members for "raising pigs," and then collect "profit" or "interest" to cover

the ceremonial expenses of the coming year. Another seven new surname organizations (new Liao, Liu-Chien-T'u, Chen-Yao-Hu, Hsiao, Tsen, Lu-Kao, Hsieh) ask their members to pay annual fees. The remaining surname organization (Ch'ai) requires the *lu-chu* to finance the "surname opera" alone. Because of this, by 1977 its members had been reduced to 16.

From the above description we can see that surname organizations simultaneously contain characteristics of the three most popular forms of religious organization in rural Taiwan, namely, ancestor-worshipping clan associations, deity worshipping organizations *(shen-min-hui)*, and territorially defined religious groups.

The ancestor-worshipping clan association, or *tsung-ch'in-hui*, is a loose organization consisting of people with the same surname and a remote common ancestor (cf. Fried, 1966). In the past, anthropologists studying rural Chinese society have focused attention on genealogically related corporate groups of agnates which are often centered in a village. Although some researchers were aware of the existence of supra-village "higer-order descent groups," no one found a situation like that of Nan T'un's surname organizations. Instead of developing entirely independently of one another, the surname organizations of Nan T'un (each a higher-order descent group) allied into a single constellation centering on religious activity at the Wan-ho Temple. The areal distribution of the members in this constellation is tentatively called a "surname sphere," corresponding closely to the "standard marketing area" (Skinner, 1964 and 1965).

Unlike the "standard marketing area," however, which is founded upon the convenient purchase and supply of

goods, the maintenance and expansion of the "surname sphere" depends on the kin network, father-son succession, shared surnames and rural religious beliefs. As a new standard market town arises, nearby residents will leave their original standard marketing area to shop in the new market. In the case of usrname organizations, however, there is an obligation to succeed the previous organization.

The functions of Nan T'un's surname organizations have changed over time.

From 1825 until the late Ch'ing dynasty, Chinese immigrants in the Nan T'un area mainly engaged in agriculture. Their beliefs and religious activities varied little. Doubtless during the early period, the "surname opera" and "surname organizations" had significant functions in uniting and organizing local Chinese immigrants of different surnames, origin, blood and settlement into a more integrated community.

Under Japanese colonial rule, the surname organizations failed to expand due to internal and external restrictions stated above. At that time, the Nan T'un area was still predominantly agricultural. Land cultivation was based on the relationship between landlords and tenants. The data in Nan T'un's gazette reveals that in 1932, 82 per cent of all households engaged in farming, and most farmers were tenants. Between 1925 and 1940, the average annual population growth rate was 2.5%, and the average annual migration rate was 8.1% (cf. *The Statistical Book of Taichung Prefecture*, 1926-41). The new immigrants were not absorbed by the surname organizations. Although their integrating functions were reduced, the surname organizations, endowed as they were with the multiple characteristics of religious

groups, managed to survive the great pressure exerted upon them by the Japanese colonial government.

After Restoration to Chinese rule in 1945, the old surname organizations regained strength, and new ones emerged one after another. Fourteen of the total 15 new surname organizations were founded before 1960. Between 1945 and 1960, Nan T'un's economy continued to be dominated by agriculture, and the average annual population growth rate was around 2.6% *(the Statistical Abstract of Taichung Municipality, 1945-60).* The surname organizations recruited many members, successfully integrating old and new immigrants into the Nan T'un area.

Since 1960, Nan T'un has been transformed from an agriculture-dominated community into one in which agriculture is subordinate to other concerns. The population has increased tremendously through immigration, bringing in people of variant origin and cultural background. During 1962-65, many mainlanders moved into three newly-established communities of soldiers' families on the foothills of the Ta-tu tableland. Nan T'un's annual population growth rate reached 7.6%. The percentage of mainlanders rose from 2.4% in 1960 to 23% in 1977. After 1970, as industries penetrated deeper into the rural area, more people from other parts of Taiwan moved into Nan T'un. The percentage of these Taiwanese migrants increased from 2.1% in 1960 to 17% in 1977. At the same time the percentage of farming households in Nan T'un decreased from 69% (1960) to 28.6% (1977).

While Nan T'un residents who have moved to nearby cities and counties often come back to attend the activity of the "surname opera," new immigrants, especially main-

landers and industrial workers, do not join the surname organizations because they find the "surname opera" distasteful, and surname organizations with multiple characteristics, too restrictive. Although both old and new surname organizations are titled *tsung-ch'in-hui*, in contrast to other *tsung-ch'in-hui* which incorporate the mainlanders of common surname into the membership, Nan T'un's surname organizations now distinguish between the native inhabitants, the mainlanders and some newly immigrated Taiwanese as well. In other words, in the mobilizing, diversified, increasingly industrializing rural society, the surname organizations' function of cementing the old Nan T'un residents and new immigrants is degenerating and the incomprehensible "surname opera" no longer attracts the industrial generation. Some surname organizations seek new ways to adapt to the industrial environment. The proliferation of Matsu's statues, the simplification of ritual practices, and extension of membership to Taichung city reflect such efforts. But it is not easy to remove the main structural restrictions embedded in surname organizations.

8

On A New Horizon: Implications and Discussion

Liu Ts'o's Experience

One day I visited the Huang "bamboo circle" near the northeastern boundary of Liu Ts'o village. Huang Te-fa, eight-four years old, took out a hand-written genealogy from an old wooden chest. The Huang lineage has been settled in Nan T'un for more than two hundred years. After telling me the brief history of his lineage from the 11th to the 22nd generations, Huang Te-fa asked me to open the first page of the genealogy. There I found a poem. It is said that if a descendent of this lineage ever got a chance to visit the hometown in the Ao-miao district of Fu-chien's Yung-ting county, he would be provided free room and board on reciting this poem. I knew this old man was an illiterate farmer. Nevertheless, he stood up with a reverent expression

on his face and clearly recited the following poem:

Riding magnificent horses	駿馬堂堂出異鄉
we sallied forth	
to a strange land	
caring little	任他隨他立綱常
where we laid down	
values and principles.	
In time,	年深外境猶吾境
this "other soil"	
resembles ours	
and here,	身在他鄉卽故鄉
becomes	
our Homeland.	
But always,	早晚莫忘親命語
we bear with us	
our parents' exhortations	
with the rising and setting sun	晨昏須薦祖宗香
we must light incense	
for the ancestors.	
We seek	願託蒼天垂庇佑
the protection	
of blue Heaven, above	
that our future generations	三七男兒總熾昌
may enjoy	
greater prosperity!	

I almost melted into tears. The verses of the poem flowing out from Huang Te-fa's mouth properly presented my feelings and findings in the field. I already confessed in the first chapter that I entered Liu Ts'o village not only for academic reasons, but also because of the personal desire

to search for my own cultural identity and to find out about the real living conditions of rural Taiwanese people.

This poem clearly states that early immigrants from mainland China eventually turned "the strange land" on the frontier into their home. As a daughter-in-law from an urban mainlander's family, I do feel this "strange land" in the countryside is becoming my home. I have learned a lot from my kinfolk and other villagers, and like them I am not unaffected by emotions. Yet, the rationale underlying the villagers' thought and behavior is sometimes difficult for me to accept. For example, many villagers still think that women are dirty and inferior to men, that one's value in the family is determined by his economic contribution, and that a bad harvest or an accident must have been caused by supernatural factors. In the field, I try to share in their joy, sorrow, and anxiety, but never pretend that I know better ways of solving problems.

On the other hand, if we endow this poem a contemporary meaning, we see that Liu Ts'o villagers, who have depended on agriculture for decades, are now sallying forth into "strange industrial land." In Chapters 3 and 4 I described the processes of agro-industrial transformation. Liu Ts'o's situation supports the prevalent view that the rural people's living standards have risen since the successful Land Reform of the 1950s, but agriculture itself has been in jeopardy since the mid 1960s–the agricultural growth rate has slowed down, fields lie fallow in the winter, and agricultural profit is low.

In 1969, several scholars (T. J. Wang, et al., 1970) pointed out that land "over-fragmentation" caused by the Land Reform of the 1950s hindered the development of

agriculture in an increasingly industrialized Taiwanese society. They proposed a Second Land Reform that would enlarge farm size for more efficient and profitable use of land. Ten years later, the Agricultural Development Committee began to draw up the "Second Land Reform Act." As of 1982, the policy is still in the making. According to the reports of local newspapers, the Act contains three main points: The government 1) encourages small farmers to sell land or entrust all agricultural work to professional farmers or adopt the collective farming system; 2) provides low-interest loans to farmers to purchase land sold by the small land-owners; and, 3) enhances Land Consolidation to facilitate agricultural mechanization. Can these measures solve Liu Ts'o's agricultural problems?

Most of Liu Ts'o farmers are small farmers–86% (68/79) of land-owning families own less than one hectare of land, and no family has more than two hectares of land (cf. Table 3). But few of them are willing to sell land or entrust all agricultural work to others. Their reasons are: first, land is still a source of security and the price of land is constantly rising; second, there is a possibility that their rice fields will change into high-value residential or industrial areas; third, some lighter agricultural work is compatible with non-agricultural occupations, and the wages for hired labor are high; fourth, since the Land Law protects the tenants, the land-owners are afraid that they may lose land to their trusters who are hired to do all agricultural work for them. The "Second Land Reform Act" will only remove the fourth obstacle, that is, make trust-farming legal.

Liu Ts'o villagers' reluctance to sell land does not imply that they hope to buy more agricultural land. In fact,

they stopped purchasing land as early as 1971. Now, when they have money, they prefer to invest in agricultural or industrial machines which can bring them more income than enlarged family farms. The situation in Liu Ts'o also suggests that the scale of cultivation can be expanded without concentrating land-ownership. The machine owners are hired to farm many acres that spread across several farms; and it often turns out that the land-purchasers become absentee "farmers" (cf. Chapter 3). Thus, I doubt that the policies which encourage buying and selling land will have the effect of raising agricultural productivity and farmers' profits in Liu Ts'o village. Nor do I see that there is an urgency to eliminate "part-time" farmers who are still capable of doing some agricultural work.

The Liu Ts'o villagers would welcome policies such as government guaranteed higher rice prices and lowered land taxes; introduction of high-value cash crops; government provision of more loans as well as training and working opportunities; organization of efficient farming teams to solve their labor shortage problem during the agricultural peak seasons; and farmers' health and crop insurance, to secure their livelihood.

Some people believe that Taiwan's rapid industrialization has been achieved at the expense and to the detriment of the agricultural sector, which has been squeezed to provide the industrial sector with cheap food and labor. In Liu Ts'o, it is true that many villagers have transferred to non-agricultural occupations due to low agricultural profit. Nevertheless, we can argue from Fei Hsiao-t'ung's point of view that no matter how profitable agriculture is, the rural society with its dense population and limited land cannot rely on

agriculture alone to improve the people's standard of living. The development of industry may help in solving the rural problems of underemployment and insufficient agricultural income.

While in the 1950s and 1960s urban-centered industrialization absorbed quite a few of Liu Ts'o villagers into city factories, since 1970, more and more industries have appeared in the rural area, providing job opportunities for the village youth. The industrial wages earned by the villagers have indeed increased the total income of farm families and made capital accumulation possible. In many cases, the savings of the Liu Ts'o farm families have been invested in small-scale village factories. In Chapter 4 I suggest that the conditions for the emergence of Liu Ts'o's industries include the post-Land-Reform farm economy, which accumulated both agricultural and non-agricultural capital; the rapid development of export-oriented industries which trained young villagers to become industrial workers; the establishment of international and domestic subcontracting systems; and the villagers' expectation of becoming capitalists and free workers, as well as the older generation's ideal of maintaining stem and joint families. In the unstable economic environment, the small-scale rural industries share investment risks of larger center factories and enter into severe competition with each other when foreign markets shrink. Although the lack of a legal status gives these small industries certain benefits, as a whole, they suffer from marginal financial status, poor management and slow reaction to market fluctuations and technological innovation. Now let us consider another question raised in the Introduction Chapter: How far are Liu Ts'o's small-scale industries from Fei's ideal?

In accord with Fei's ideal of rural industry, Liu Ts'o's factories are decentralized in the village, established with local labor and capital, operated with machines, and producing parts which are later assembled in center factories. The differences are: the government has not given these rural factories encouragement and instruction; the Land Reform is one but not the main contributor to the farm families' capital accumulation for the development of rural industry; as auxiliary factories of the export-oriented center factories, they do not depend on local raw material and the domestic market; even though the villagers own the small-scale factories, the degree of cooperation is low and the profits are not equitably distributed between the center and the auxiliary factories, just as they are not equitably distributed between the capitalists and the hired workers; nor are such industries complementary to agriculture, since the factory workers do not want to be farmers and vice versa.

Apparently, Liu Ts'o's factories have created some work opportunities for the village youth and satisfied their psychological need for being entrepreneurs and free workers. They have also provided one solution to the problem of the congestion of industry and population in the urban center. But such rural factories are more vulnerable than the center factories, due to a lack of capital, management, social welfare, advanced technology, constant supply of labor, protection of laws and market information.

Though Liu Ts'o villagers are now "riding magnificent horses" of machinery into "a strange land," do they still carry with them their "parents' exhortations" and "light incense for the ancestors"? What I am asking is: How have old socio-cultural elements affected and been affected by

rural industrialization? Do the villagers abandon the traditional practices or preserve them in the industrializing rural environment?

I discovered that rural industrialization has brought about many changes in the socio-cultural structure of Liu Ts'o village, but rural culture has maintained a less changeable socio-cultural "core" that sometimes propelled industrialization in directions which have favored old ideas and practices. With regard to family structure, the urban-centered industrialization prior to 1970 contributed to a loosening of family relations. Due to the married son's reluctance to hand industrial income over to their fathers, the incompletely divided *sui-jen-chih* families with separate eating arrangements and budgets have become more popular. In addition, joint or stem families divided during the family heads' life time and conjugal families consisting of only elderly couples have increased. Although the early waves of industrialization contributed to a deterioration of family integration and threatened the existence of joint or stem families which shared common housing, meals, and budget, the older generation's strong desire to keep sons in the family also stimulated the growth of small-scale rural industries, especially after 1970--machines, instead of land, have become the new means of production and have contributed to a recementing of father-son relations (see Chapter 5). That is to say, the traditional family has not only adapted to but enhanced rural industrialization.

In Chapter 6, I point out that rural industrialization has been the driving force in marriage change as the rural youth, especially the girls, have been absorbed by factories and removed from their parents' control: pre-marital avoid-

ance has given way to a high rate of premarital pregnancy. Through the analysis of the case "Daughter-in-law Entering the Door" we see that the essence of marriage in rural China –to bring in a woman who can bear a son to continue the patrilineal line and share the family's economic burden– remains in the villagers' minds and has affected their adaptation of marriage practices to the changing environment.

By the same token, women's status is still subordinate to that of men in Liu Ts'o. Some married women have undertaken greater agricultural responsibilities since agriculture has become unprofitable and their husbands have transferred to industrial jobs. Yet they usually have no control over agricultural income. Export-oriented factories have offered side-occupations to many married women, but the wages are extremely low. As for young village girls employed in factories, they have worked very hard to contribute to the family income, yet they get less attention in the family than their brothers because they will "marry out" some day. I have tried to reflect their wishes, worries, tensions, and puzzles in the short story entitled "My Heart is Flying" (see Appendix). Women's status has improved in the course of rural industrialization, yet it might be higher.

In terms of religion, rural industrialization has not prevented people from lighting incense for the gods and ancestors. In Chapter 7, I depict how villagers still resort to the help of deities, ancestors, and geomancy when they encounter agricultural and industrial problems. Traditional practices such as the pilgrimage trip have been modified to meet the needs of people in the faster-speed industrializing society. Two local religious traditions, Nan-yao Temple's Matsu association and Nan T'un's "surname opera," have

been maintained but failed to attract much attention from the younger industrial generation and new immigrants. The proliferation and decoration of Matsu statues reflect the fact that rural industrialization has brought wealth to the rural area and added more secular elements to the sacred. I also point out that the multiple characteristics of the surname organizations, which contributed to the maintenance of the activity in the previous periods, may hinder the development of surname organizations in the diversified, increasingly industrializing environment.

While sallying into a strange industrial land, Liu Ts'o villagers do heed their "parents' exhortations." The pre-existing socio-cultural institutions have been preserved and modified to a certain degree to adapt to rural industrialization.

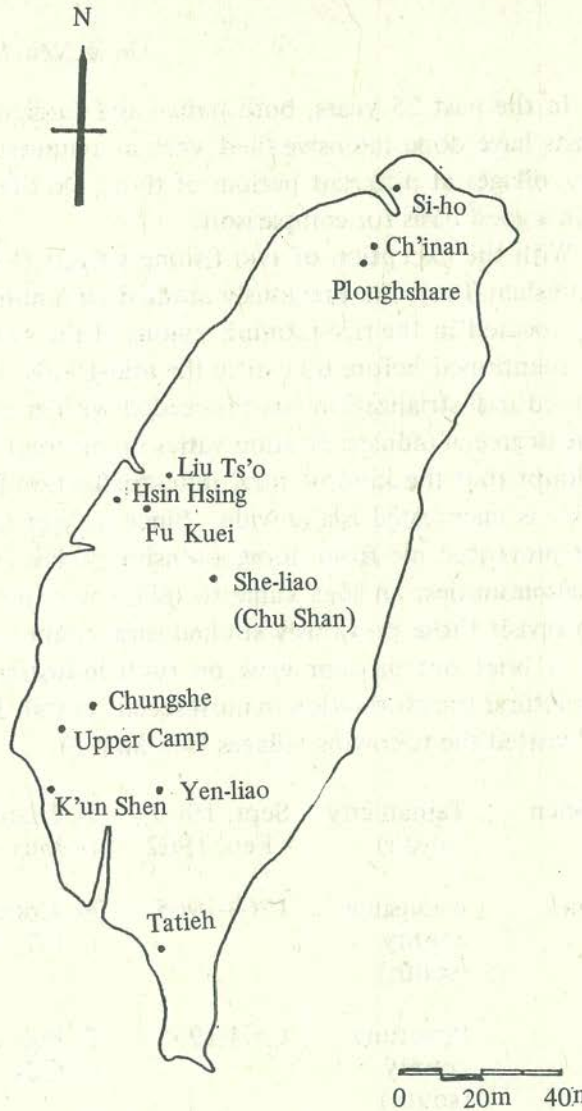
A Revisit to Studied Taiwanese Villages

Are my findings in Liu Ts'o village applicable to other rural Taiwanese communities? Anthropological intensive study within a small community has the advantage of revealing problems beneath the surface and suggesting reasonable explanations to the interrelations of variables. Nonetheless, one major shortcoming of such research is that the observer's eyesight is often narrowed by concentration on one community. One may ignore the main characteristics of the larger society or tend to generalize his discoveries to represent the whole. Is there any way to overcome this weakness? Ideally, if similar studies could be carried out in different types of communities, the researcher(s) would be able to distinguish the common phenomena from the unique ones.

In the past 25 years, both native and foreign anthropologists have done intensive field work in a number of Taiwanese villages at different periods of time. Do their works provide a good basis for comparison?

With the exception of two fishing villages (Kun Shen and Kui-shan Tao), the previously studied communities are mainly located in the rice-farming regions of the west coast. I have mentioned before that since the mid-1960s, Taiwan's export-led industrialization has proceeded with great speed. But the degree of industrialization varies in different regions. I do doubt that the kind of rural industrialization found in Liu Ts'o is manifested island-wide. Since lack of time and budget prevented me from doing intensive studies in several rural communities, an idea came to mind: why not take a trip to revisit those previously studied rural communities to obtain a brief but broader view on rural industrialization and structural transformation in most recent years? In June, 1981 I visited the following villages (see Map 3):

K'un Shen	Tainan city (south)	Sept. 1960 - Feb. 1962	N. Diamond (1966)
Yen-Liao	Kaohsiung county (south)	1964-1965	M. Cohen (1967, 1976)
Tatieh	Ping-tung county (south)	1964-1965	B. Pasternak (1972)
Chungshe	Tainan county (south)	1968-1969	B. Pasternak (1972)



Map 3. Location of Studied Taiwanese Villages

Upper Camp	Tainan county (south)	1970-1971	Chen Chung-min (1977)
She-liao	Nan-tou county (center)	1971	Chuang Yin-chang (1976, 1977)
Hsin Hsing	Chang-hua county (center)	1957-1958	B. Gallin (1966)
Fu Kuei	Chang-hua county (center)	Nov. 1971	Wang Sung-hsing & R. Apthorpe (1974)
Ch'inan	Taipei county (north)	1969-1970	E. M. Ahern (1972)
Si-ho	Taipei county (north)	Sept. 1971	Wen, Shu, Chu, & Huang (1975)
Ploughshare	Taipei county (north)	1972-1973 & summer 1978	S. Harrell (1981, 1982)

K'un Shen

> ... three of us set out by pedicab over a pot-holed dirt road. Several hours later, dust covered, cramped and shaken, and increasingly sure that we had fallen victims to a cruel hoax, we reached a village. Along one side of the road, fish ponds glimmered in the sun, and we

> could glimpse the blue-green waters of the Taiwan Straits. On the opposite side there was a cluster of houses. The cab turned in at a cobbled street that led shortly to an open square flanked by shops. Here we disembarked, and as I stretched my cramped legs I gazed with interest at the brightly decorated and ornate temple that filled one end of the square... (Diamond, 1970:120).

The city bus No. 23 drove me to "K'un Shen Community" in half an hour. On the right side, several new four-storied apartment buildings were standing there. They were built two years ago, on the site of the fish ponds, now filled in, under the joint investment project of the pond owners and an outside construction company. But most of them were still unsold. The cobbled street has been paved with cement. Finally, I saw the magnificent Lung-shan Temple facing the open square. Compared with the picture of the temple plaza taken by N. Diamond during 1960-62, the main difference was that the flat shops on the front sides of the temple had become two or three story buildings. The villagers told me that in the past ten years, with the development of industry, their economic condition had improved. Therefore, more and more people had saved money to build new houses.

Diamond recorded that in the early 1960s, the majority of households in K'un Shen were involved in sea fishing. For most households, fishing was the major source of income: men engaged in raft fishing, and women in net hauling from the beach. The self-made bamboo rafts were not mechanized and fishing was done close to the seashore. Families which owned fish ponds or oyster ponds had higher

income. Some villagers had small paddy fields growing rice, sweet potatoes and brushwood. A few women held low-pay factory or shop jobs in Tainan city.

I was told that ten years ago villagers began to adopt motorized craft and caught a lot more fish. As the motorized craft increased, the competition reduced the catch. Many people left fishing and found factory jobs in the city. When I visited K'un Shen, all bamboo craft had disappeared. There were around seven 40-50 horse-power motorized boats fishing on the farther sea grounds. Each boat had cost about one million NT dollars. The owners paid in installments. I also saw quite a few plastic rafts which were used for near-sea fishing and harvesting oysters. The fishing population was only 40-50 persons.

I met a young man in his thirties. He had a good memory of N. Diamond who taught him pronunciation of the English alphabet and took him in a pedicab to eat western-style food in a U.S. soldiers' club. He was doing pretty well by buying middle-sized oysters from Tai-si, then selling them when they had grown big. Since 1976, oyster production had increased with the new method of string-hanging.

The establishment of the An-ping Industrial Zone in the neighboring area had created many non-fishing job opportunities. It employed around 150 young people from K'un Shen. They earned NT$ 7,000-8,000 per month. Most of their salaries were handed to parents. A villager estimated that 70% of the factory workers were commuters. Several families brought back home light assembling work form the factories in the Industrial Zone. No one engaged in farming any more since paddy fields were devoured by the sea water.

According to N. Diamond's observation, K'un Shen

villagers, deviated from the ideal model of Chinese culture and were marked by a highly individualistic orientation. For example, brothers tended to split while their parents were still alive; the lineage *(tsu)* had no corporate property; the villagers often sought financial aid and work mates outside kin circles. Diamond suggested that the lack of sufficient and permanent family property in the fishing economy was partially responsible for the prevalence of simple family organization. But when fishing ceased to play an important role, would the family structure change? After talking to several K'un Shen villagers, I got the impression that the situation had remained the same. Was it indeed like what Diamond predicted: "In many ways, the values held by most people in the community are already in line with the demands of an industrializing society," and "as new industries develop in urban centers, we would expect a relatively painless change in occupation" (1969:108 & 109). My short visit was unable to answer these questions.

The house where Diamond lived twenty years ago was unoccupied. Its owner had moved to Tainan city and had passed away a year ago. His picture was hanging on the wall. All of a sudden, Diamond's description flashed in my mind:

> .....the villagers are oriented to time present and future rather than toward the past ..... So too does the recognition of what the past represents in terms of poverty and low status. In the economic sphere, strict adherence to traditionalism in and of itself is rejected..... (Ibid.).

Yen-liao and Tatieh

Arriving in Mei-nung Township, 50 miles away from

the big industrial city of Kaohsiung, I did not see the famous economic crop, tobacco, but rice shoots nodding in the fields. Then I realized that I came at the slack season after tobacco harvesting and transplanting of the second rice crop. The local people told me that the new type of factories had not yet penetrated into Mei-nung. There was only one paper factory, several sawmills, brick kilns, rattan-chair plants, and two paper-umbrella handicraft factories.

In the Lung-tu subsection of Mei-nung, I found the small settlement "Yen-Liao" studied by M. Cohen during 1964-65. The two brick kilns were closed down five years ago because the local soil for baking bricks was used up and the workers requested higher wages. No new factories had emerged. Many young villagers found factory jobs outside Mei-nung. I was told that very few people under the age of 40 stayed at home to farm. Some married women were picked up by factory buses every morning to work in Kaohsiung's Nan-tse Industrial Zone; and some others made embroidery at home for Chi-shan's shoe factories in addition to housework and farming.

Sixteen years ago M. Cohen discovered that nearly one third (22/68) of Yen-liao's families were joint families. This percentage was rather high as compared to that of other Taiwanese villages. He regarded that the slower speed of joint family division in Yen-liao was related to labor-intensive tobacco cultivation and family economic diversification:

> In terms of agriculture, the creation of new kitchens means, among other things, that additional women are withdrawn from field labor into domestic work. The economic loss suffered by tobacco farmers is greater in this regard, commensurate with much heavier labor

> demands and the distribution of these demands over a larger portion of the agricultural year. In the economically diversified families, whether or not they grow tobacco, the loss is most severe. It is primarily the men in such families who tend to specialize. Dividing both enterprises and land among several brothers means losing the advantages of a collective family economy (Cohen, 1967:642).

But the situation has changed--

"When Mr. Kung (Cohen) stayed here, we did have many big families containing two or more married sons. Now only about eight or nine such families remain undivided, and half of them keep only one son at home. It is true that a big family can provide more laborers for tobacco cultivation, but the young people prefer the small family which gives them more freedom. In many cases the parents live by rotation with their sons' families, after family division," M. Cohen's old landlord explained.

The Taiwan Tobacco and Wine Monopoly Bureau guaranteed the price of tobacco, which was much higher than the price of rice. Therefore the villagers had expanded their tobacco fields. With the help of machines, tobacco-growing did not require as much labor as before. Mr. Cohen's landlord just got low-interest loans from the Farmers' Association to buy electronically-controlled leaf curing machines. But work like harvesting and sorting still required human labor. It seemed that the villagers relied more on hired wage laborers than on "labor exchange." On tobacco harvesting, married women were the major work force. The wage was about NT$ 250 per person per day.

There were only a few buffaloes left. Almost every

farming family had its own tractor. More than 70 per cent of the fields were cultivated by rice transplanting and rice harvesting machines introduced into Yen-liao around 1976.

Although I did not find industries in this small settlement, nor did the Yen-liao villagers lose interest in tobacco-cultivation, it was obvious that not many people remained in agriculture. External industrial development had changed Yen-liao's economic and social structures.

During this same period 1964-65, Burton Pasternak did his field work in another Hakka village, Tatieh, on the Kaohsiung-Pingtung Plain. Tatieh is 25 miles south of Pingtung city. In the town office I heard that most medium and small-scale factories in this township were shut down recently, due to rising wages and oil prices. There were only three which survived. One of them was located in Tatieh village.

In local legend, the first settler of Tatieh (literally, "blacksmithing") was a blacksmith. As I entered a red iron door in Tatieh, I found a modern "blacksmithing" factory standing in front of a brick farm house. It machine-produced woodcutting tip-saws. More surprisingly, the owner of this factory turned out to be the second son of Pasternak's old landlord, who died four years ago.

I was told that in the late 1960s, the second son of this family bought machines and technology from Japan, and established a saw-making factory in suburban Taipei. At that time his factory was very profitable because it had hardly any competition in the domestic market. As factories of this kind increased to more than 10 (some of them were founded by people once employed in this factory), the competition became severe.

Since wages were lower and transportation was rather

convenient in the countryside, the second son, supported by his father and two brothers, opened a branch factory in Tatieh in 1975. Gradually, the "branch" factory produced more than the "main" factory. It had 30 machines, including 10 grinding machines, and hired 20 workers from Tatieh and a neighboring village. In the factory I saw 10 female workers. All except one were married. Among the 10 male workers, four were bachelors.

"The average daily wage is NT$ 200. Those who operate grinding machines get higher payment. They do sometimes work overtime, but usually work eight hours a day and have Sundays off. The instability of workers is our factory's biggest problem. Especially during the agricultural busy seasons, the high rate of absenteeism affects production," the manager complained.

This situatior was not found in Liu Ts'o's factories. Given the fact that agricultural mechanization was more advanced in Tatieh[1] and rice cultivation was likewise unprofitable, why did agricultural work conflict with factory work as described here?

The answer lies in the cash crop, red beans, introduced by the government's agricultural agency six years ago. The lower temperature of the Pingtung Plain after the harvest of the first rice crop is ideal for the growth of red beans. It does not require much labor during the 50-day growing period. Following the busy harvesting season, the second rice crop is transplanted. A one hectare field can harvest about 2,400 k.g. of red beans. The price was more than NT$ 20 per k.g. The net income per hectare of red beans was 40,000-

1. More than 80% of its paddy fields were transplanted by machines.

50,000. That was why the villagers would give up factory work and rush to the fields. On the other hand, they ceased planting lower-value winter crops such as soybeans and vegetables.

Many young people lived and worked outside the village. Women got a chance to be employed in a wood factory and several fishing-net factories appearing in two nearby townships three years ago. Males of 40-50 years could find temporary jobs in Kaohsiung's ship-manufacturing factory during agricultural slack seasons. The competition for workers among factories also contributed to the instability of the labor supply in the village factory.

The villagers told me that a man could earn around one million NT dollars in two years if he joined a construction team in Saudi Arabia. Thirty residents of Tatieh had already gone there and come back with a lot of savings. They tore down the old farm houses and built new multi-storied buildings in the village.

During my short stay, I felt upset when hearing in recent years banana and coconut leaves in this region had begun to wither for unknown reasons. I suspected that the "silent spring" of industrialization was approaching this beautiful land.

Chungshe and Upper Camp

"Is this the 'tail' of Chungshe village?"

"Yes," a villager assured me.

The existence of more than 10 cement storied buildings raised suspicions in my mind. It was so different from Pasternak's observation of 1968-69.

> By comparison with Tatieh, Chungshe appears impoverished. The main roads are unpaved and littered. Shabby dwellings of sun-dried brick and bamboo abound, especially in the village 'tail,' many of them with floors of plain packed earth (Pasternak, 1972:14).

"Is it still the case that the village 'head' dominated by the surname 'Lai,' is wealthier than the village 'tail'?" I asked.

"Not necessarily. As long as we work hard, and kids empolyed in outside factories keep on sending salaries back, we are capable of saving money and building new houses."

"Are there factories in Chungshe?"

"There is an old-fashioned brick factory near the west entrance. But it was sold to a person from Chia-yi ten years ago and the production went down for lack of market. Across the street you can find a knitting factory managed by Mr. Huang and his wife." The owner of the grocery store kindly provided me information.

I only saw eight knitting machines and several workers in Mr. Huang's factory.

"Most of our machines (more than 30) are distributed to farm houses. Didn't you see a touching picture in that housewife sitting behind the knitting machine while her baby sleeps in the infant cart? If she works eight hours a day she can earn around NT$ 7,000 a month," Mr. Huang explained to me.

In the early 1970s, both Mr. and Mrs. Huang were employed in a big knitting factory. At that time the Provincial Governor Hsieh Tung-min instructed the mayor of Tainan county to promote family sidelines by offering knitting classes to housewives. Mr. Huang was one of those res-

ponsible for this training program. From there he got the idea of establishing a small knitting factory in the village.

Mr. Huang estimated that Tainan county had 30-40 big knitting factories and numerous small ones; therefore, the competition for orders and workers was very severe. Since young people preferred to work in big factories in the city, small rural factories had to depend on married women.

Knitting products were largely exported to the United States and Canada. But these countries had set up import quotas. Mr. Huang complained that the government always gave quotas to big factories and trading companies. The small knitting factories had to take orders indirectly from the big ones or buy quotas in the black market with high prices. Many small knitting factories were closed down for this reason.

Liu Ts'o's data indicated that rural industrialization gave rise to the high rate of pre-marital pregnancy. When I got a chance to glance over Chungshe's household registry, I did find that there were increasing numbers of pregnant brides after 1971. But I could not explain one interesting phenomenon: in the village "head," only two of the 28 in-married women had been pregnant upon marriage, while in the village "tail," 9 of 22 women gave birth to a child within seven months of the marriage. Was it because more young people in the village "tail" entered into factory work? I didn't have time to find out.

Both Chungshe and Upper Camp are located on the Chianan plain. Farmers in this region have adopted a mixed crop rotation system to adjust to the regulation of water supply since the completion of the Chianan Irrigation System in 1930. Although most farmers would like to plant more

profitable wet-rice, when there was not sufficient irrigation, they had to grow sugar cane and other dry crops. In other words, such a controlled irrigation system has not only restricted farmers' freedom of land use but also increased their dependance on the government-run sugar company in price and technology (cf. Chen, 1977).

While Chungshe villagers bought around 20 rice-transplanting and 10 rice-harvesting machines in the last five years, farmers in Upper Camp relied more on machines belonging to the sugar company and outsiders.

"The price of rice is bad, but the price of sugar cane is worse. Agricultural income is not enough to support the whole family. In addition to farming, males above 40 years old engage in miscellaneous construction work. Almost all young people except bad ones are expected to find jobs outside the village. Every day the nearby knitting factories send buses to pick up some female workers. Only those families with several members earning non-agricultural salaries are capable of building multi-storied buildings," a villager in Upper Camp village reported.

Chen Chung-min's old landlord Mr. Chuang retired from the sugar company and concentrated on nursing orchids for export. He hired seven women in Upper Camp to work in green houses. Each got NT$ 5,000 per month.

In Upper Camp I only saw one small-scale factory, which was first established in Tainan city by a villager and then moved back half a year ago after a fire. It employed 10-20 women to process electronic parts for center factories. Since most young people left the village and a male's wage was twice that of a female, married women rather than men were hired in the rural factory.

She-liao and the Chu Shan Rural Industrial Zone

After visiting four southern villages, I left for Chu Shan Township--the bamboo-producing center in central Taiwan. Chuang Yin-chang's study (1977) pointed out that bamboos have been planted on mountains and in valleys of Chu Shan region since the late Ch'ing dynasty. The Japanese colonial government illegally confiscated bamboo fields and transferred ownership to a big company. After the Chinese Restoration, the Nationalist government rented the fields to the original planters in this region and encouraged them to organize bamboo cooperatives. Between 1947 and 1960 three cooperatives were established. They consisted of 3,000 members, and had charge of 10,000 hectares of land.

At the end of 1972, the government decided to set out 22 hectares of land in Chu San Township as a Rural Industrial Zone with the idea of using local capital, labor, and raw material (bamboos) to produce industrial goods. By 1976, about 60 factories had bought land and constructed workshops inside the zone. Twenty of them were bamboo-processing factories jointly invested in by local capitalists. The remaining ones belonged to people from other regions producing various kinds of goods with domestic raw materials.

In She-liao village I met Chuang Yin-chang's landlord and expressed my desire to visit the Rural Industrial Zone. He enthusiastically introduced me to a bamboo-sword (for swordplay) factory whose manager and 10 or so workers were She-liao residents.

"Six of the eight bamboo-sword factories in Taiwan are located in Chu Shan Township. Four are established inside this Rural Industrial Zone. All products are exported

to Japan. Our factory opened three years ago. We have no problem in obtaining orders, but are troubled with hiring skilled workers. Factories of the same kind often compete for experienced male masters, who earn around NT$ 14,000 per person per month. Both male and female workers join the health insurance plan; however, they cannot get pensions on retirement. Our production is seriously affected by agricultural busy seasons," the manager explained to me.

In order to understand the relation between agriculture and industry, I interviewed a "master" from She-liao, who learned the skill of sharpening bamboos into swords twelve years ago. He told me that She-liao's fields planted rice and sugar cane. The number of agricultural machines (10 rice-transplanting and three harvesting machines) was not enough to solve the labor shortage problem during agricultural busy seasons. The farmers hoped that the Farmers' Association could send machine-cultivating teams to help them. Chuang Yin-chang's study revealed that in 1971 half of She-liao's youth left home to seek jobs elsewhere. The establishment of the Rural Industrial Zone did not attract many young villagers; they were looking for better working opportunities in bigger factories in the cities. It was estimated that She-liao had 50-60 married males and females employed in this Rural Industrial Zone.

Asking about the general condition of exports, I got the impression that many factories processing bamboo and wood were increasingly pressured by Taiwan's soaring wages and competition from similar products produced in cheap labor regions such as mainland China.

Hsin Hsing and Fu Kuei

In 1978-79 Bernard Gallin and his wife returned to Hsin Hsing village to study socioeconomic changes of the past two decades. They described in their recent paper (1981 and 1982 for a revised version) the emergence of industries in the rural Lu-kang area:

> Twenty years ago, the bus ride from Lu-kang to Hsin Hsing was made on a dirt road flanked by clusters of village houses, farmland, and one brickwork. In 1978-79, the ride was made on a cement road flanked by clusters of village houses, farmland, and over 30 factories. These are labor-intensive and range from large establishments that manufacture textiles and furniture, to medium-sized enterprises that build bamboo and wood products, to small, satellite factories (or family workshops) that perform piece work for large firms.... Furthermore, the neighboring township houses a government-sponsored industrial park that is located six miles from Hsin Hsing and is the site of the largest export shoe manufacturing concern on the island ... In Hsin Hsing alone, seven small satellite factories offer employment to members of the owners' families as well as to unrelated villagers....

I stopped over at Hsin Hsing in order to find out whether its small satellite factories were similar to Liu Ts'o's small-scale "auxiliary" factories. Among the four factories (iron springs, gloves and shoes, iron grill work, and leather suitcases) I visited in a short period, three, excepting the leather suitcase workshop, were export-oriented "auxiliary" factories founded after 1970. Like Liu Ts'o's small-scale factories, they were sensitive to the fluctuation of demand in foreign markets, supported by rural capital and labor, and

linked to bigger center factories.

Gallin and Gallin also discovered that in the 1950s and 1960s, Hsin Hsing people tended to move to the larger cities to seek employment; whereas in the 1970s, with the expansion of rural industrialization, rural-urban migration had slowed and more villagers found off-farm employment in the rural area. Farming was carried on primarily by those over 55 years of age and by women. Most paddy fields were cultivated by power tillers, transplanting machines and harvesting machines (Ibid.).

Both Hsin Hsing and "Fu Kuei" are located in Changhua county. When Wang Sung-hsing stayed in "Fu Kuei" in 1971-72, agriculture had already ceased to be the main source of income. Many villagers were bricklayers working at the construction sites. They hired labor-teams to farm the fields during the agricultural busy periods (Wang and Apthorpe, 1974:177-78). I arrived at "Fu Kuei" village on one Sunday morning. The small spinning factory, which hired around 15 village girls, was resting and the owner was out. A villager told me that I could visit another two small-scale factories which appeared in the village last year.

I recognized immediately that Mr. Wang's iron processing plant was an "auxiliary" factory dependent on orders from the center factories. Mr. Wang, 27 years old, was a senior high school graduate and had several years' working experience in an agricultural machine factory and an athletic equipment factory before he started his own factory at home.

"Everyone wants to have his own business. It is difficult to earn more than NT$ 10,000 per month in other people's factories. Even though you are promoted to mana-

ger, you still can not afford to buy a car. Working in your own factory, you can easily earn NT$ 30,000 a month if orders continue to arrive. In the beginning my factory only worked for that athletic equipment factory. Later on, I managed to get orders from other center factories because one factory could not supply enough work." Mr. Wang talked to me while he was examining the quality of finished iron buttons for export.

"Is it hard to get orders?" I asked.

"You can't get orders unless you have good social connections. The establishment of relations also depends on the small auxiliary factory's ability and the center factory's needs. We must accommodate ourselves to center factories, not vice versa. In general, the owners of auxiliary factories are opportunists who invest NT$ 100,000-200,000. Therefore they do not suffer great losses either. But in recent years more and more auxiliary factories have installed expensive automatic machines in order to attract orders. The risk is greater." His clear analysis impressed me. I then asked him whether he felt that auxiliary factories were exploited by center factories.

"Again, this lies in the auxiliary factory's ability and the center factory's condition. If the center factories need your cooperation badly and your auxiliary factory can do better work than others, you won't be exploited," he replied.

"Do small-scale factories have a bright future?" I continued.

"Small auxiliary factories have contributed a lot to Taiwan's industrial development. But the situation may change due to the fact that Taiwan's wage standard is get-

ting higher and higher–the small-scale auxiliaries will find more and more difficulties in recruiting workers, who prefer to work in big factories with both sexes and air conditioners. Now I hire four workers. Two of them are married women."

Mr. Wang introduced me to his uncle, whose plastic slipper factory moved back Fu Kuei village last year because there were too many plastic factories competing for workers in the town. However, he discovered that conditions were not much better in the village. When Mr. Wang walked out of the room, his uncle told me that his nephew's factory was not stable in getting orders and that his brother was worried that all savings might be ruined in his son's hands.

Ploughshare, Chi'nan and Si-ho

Ploughshare, 25 kilometers southwest of Taipei city, was studied by Steven Harrell during 1972-73 and the summer of 1978. Twenty years ago its residents worked as coal miners, tea growers, tenant farmers and laborers. But significant economic changes had taken place since the mid-1960s, when light industries began to appear in the Taipei basin and specifically in the Sanshia township. In the meanwhile, the cottage knitting industry was expanding in Ploughshare:

> This began in Ploughshare when a retired cartpusher sent two of his sons, both recently returned from military duty, to the Taipei suburb of Sanchong to learn to knit for wages. They saved up their wages until they could buy a knitting machine of their own... They did work on consignment from an urban producer, and thus began the knitting operation which was to become one of the major sources of income for Ploughshare villagers ... By 1972-73, cottage knitting was flourishing.

> Some people simply worked for piece rates on others' machines; ... many people had already acquired more machines than they could work themselves, and thus hired labor ... Several families owning from six to ten machines each operated in this way, taking orders and doing work on consignment from urban factories, whose representatives came at negotiated intervals to pick up finished work, deliver wages, and leave off yarn and instructions ... (Harrell, 1981:37).

When Harrell returned to Ploughshare in the summer of 1978, he was surprised to find that only two of the former knitting mills were still operating with hired labor; the others were either closed or had invested in very expensive automated knitting machinery, no longer requiring hired labor.

The picture became vivid after I interviewed a sweet lady who grew up in Ploughshare and had engaged in knitting for more than 10 years. She remembered that in 1966 only her uncle's family had knitting machines. Gradually two thirds of the families in the village bought hand operating knitters. Some got work from her cousins' factory. But the work was not continuous because the products were sold in domestic markets, which had no demand for sweaters in the hot seasons. Then there were villagers who organized 20-30 knitting machines to knit pieces for export-oriented center factories. Although they earned less per piece, they got a year-round supply of work. In the past few years, the knitting business had been in depression. Besides, it was very difficult to find workers. Only married women stayed home knitting from early morning to late at night. Young people could earn as much or more money by working eight

hours a day in factories in the nearby industrial area, and they could go to night school after work.

In 1981 there were eight families owning automated knitting machines, which were mostly second-hand, ranging in cost from NT$ 100,000 to 200,000 each. With a sufficient supply of work, one automated machine could earn NT$ 10,000 per month. All products were for export. As to the entirely automatic design knitting machines, no one in Ploughshare was able to buy them for each one cost NT$ 500,100-1,000,000.

Like Liu Ts'o village, Ploughshare is close to the big city; therefore its residents can commute to work while continuing to live at home and establish small-scale factories in the village with no difficulties of connecting with center factories. Harrell is correct in pointing out that the prosperity and the diversity of industrial activity among Ploughshare villagers is less a result of migration to urban centers than it is of the dispersal of industry (Ibid., p.43). But I would like to point out that although in Ploughshare, as in Liu Ts'o small-scale industries emerged, it was not an agricultural village to begin with. This case can support my discovery in Liu Ts'o, that capital accumulated for the development of rural small-scale industry was not mainly from agriculture as Fei expected in his blueprint.

Walking across Ploughshare's suspension bridge, I took a bus to another village in the Shahsia township--Ch'i-nan, explored by E. M. Ahern during 1969-70. In one settlement I saw several automated spinning machines operated by a woman. The general phenomenon was that old men and married women stayed at home doing light and cheap handiwork for big garment or electronic factories in the neigh-

boring industrial areas. Most of the working population was employed outside. The villagers repeated that tea gardens became desolate for lack of agricultural labor; paddy fields were cultivated by mechanized labor teams from other regions.

The last community on my schedule was "Si-ho," located in the Pei-tou district of northern Taipei basis. The Tan-shui river runs by it to enter the sea. It was an important fishing-farming village when the Taipei area relied on river transportation. But the rapid industrial development along the banks of the Tan-shui river in the past twenty years and the annexation of Pei-tou by Taipei city in 1968 had drastically changed its fate.

Four scholars from the Institute of Ethnology reported that during 1971-72 only 22 per cent of Si-ho's working population was engaged in agriculture and fishing. Water buffalo disappeared. Plowing was done by tractors; transplanting and harvesting were trusted to labor-teams from other regions. Si-ho villagers used to have 76 hectares of paddy fields, but in 1967-68, 29 hectares were sold to opportunists who heard rumors about building a modern harbor in this area. The number of Si-ho's land-owning families was reduced to 42, and few of them depended on an agricultural income (Wen, et al., 1975).

"Are there still people farming and fishing?" I asked.

"The Tan-shui river is severely polluted by factories' chemical residues. Fishermen had to give up fishing and in the last five years they found jobs in the nearby industrial areas. Almost all land-owning families used hired labor and machines to cultivate their fields. Those machines largely belong to the Farmers' Association and farmers in southern

Taiwan. Si-ho has only one full-time farmer who owns three tractors and cultivates more than 10 hectares of fields for others," the leader of the agricultural team replied.

In the Center for Promoting Agricultural Mechanization I found out that last year the Pei-tou's Farmers' Association began to organize joint-farming teams in every village. Few people in this region were willing to invest money in agricultural machines. Therefore the Farmers' Association bought machines (including 3 tractors, 5 transplanting machines, and 3 harvesting machines) and rented them to agricultural teams by drawing lots. Si-ho's joint-farming team was loosely organized and unable to cultivate all fields in the village.

My trip ended at Si-ho's Matsu Temple, which is the biggest one in northern Taiwan. The rural economic transformation brought by industrialization was reflected in the temple's luxurious redecoration and expansion. At a distance, the polluted Tan-shui river retained its charm.

No matter how sketchy my description is, we can see that the twelve villages, including Liu Ts'o, have all ceased to be agrarian communities depending heavily on agricultural work and income. Anthropologists who studied these villages ten or twenty years ago did not find rural industrialization a significant factor influencing the rural social structure. If they go back and restudy the villages, it will be very difficult to leave this new factor out. In the past few years these villages have achieved a high level of mechanization of rice farming. But agriculture has become unprofitable, unless higher-value cash crops such as Yen-Liao's tobacco and Tatieh's red beans can be grown.

Industries have penetrated into these rural Taiwanese

communities in various forms since the late 1960s. Near K'un Shen, She-liao, Ch'inan and Si-ho we find government-planned industrial zones; and in Liu Ts'o, Tatieh, Chungshe, Upper Camp, Hsin Hsing, Fu Kuei and Ploughshare, small-scale factories emerged after 1970. The out-migration rate in villages close to big cities or industrial zones has slowed down because their residents can commute to work or establish small-scale factories right in the farm houses. As to villages (e.g. Yen-liao) remote from big cities, labor outflow is still a prevailing phenomenon.

Although the small-scale rural industries in these villages all face similar problems like the instability of work and labor force, the contradiction of agricultural and industrial work, and the pressure of high wages and automation, they do provide supporting evidence for the view that Taiwan's pattern of industrialization shows local dynamism, and contributes to full employment, capital accumulation, more balanced rural-urban development and more equitable income distribution. Other noncore countries of the world system may adopt the strategy of export-led industrialization yet realize negative consequences if their socio-economic conditions are very different from those existing in Taiwan.

For me, it is astonishing to see that in 10-20 years rural industrialization has changed the outlook and structures of Taiwanese rural communities which were dominated by agriculture for hundreds of years. On the one hand, I am delighted to discover that villagers' living standards have significantly risen; on the other, I am worried that industrial pollution will threaten the very existence of Taiwanese people, that labor-intensive export-oriented industry will lose its base, the integrity of rural communities will be destroyed,

country people will be devoured by their endless quest for material goods, workers along with farmers will remain in the lowest ladder of the society, and the old in the countryside will have to depend on their children's "filial piety" to supplement their meager agricultural income. I hope that compensating measures may be adopted, if necessary, before it is too late, so that, with "the protection of blue Heaven," "our future generations may enjoy greater prosperity!"

Appendix

My Heart is Flying

—A Rural Woman Worker's Concerns

Chun-hsia left, I would also like to leave, and a big quarrel with my older sister resulted.

Older sister shed tears and said angrily, "Alright, so you do not care about sisterhood, I won't beg you. You want to go, go! Don't inform me when you get married. I will neither attend the wedding nor send gift money. Had I known that you were such a heartless person, I would not have taught you skills ..."

The sun has not yet climbed over the top of bamboos. The riverside grass is like my eyelashes, wet with waterdrops. On the far-away high way, one car runs desperately after another and almost hits it. Even if there were a car accident, I would hear nothing unless I could grow wings and fly over there. Oh, how sad! What is the use of feet which are always set steady on the pedal of a sewing machine? In the factory, my legs become numb and my lower body feels as

though it no longer belongs to me after I've sat for a long while.

It really hurts me. Am I a heartless person? If so, I would not have worked there from age 13 to 18. Wasn't it I who trained all the new workers in the hat factory? Isn't my monthly salary counted by piece just like the other girls? Oh, yes, they treat me better. Of the ten sewing machines, I have been using the best one, the one which does not require frequent repairs. But whenever my sister-in-law took time off or gave birth to a child, I was the one who bore the responsibility of cooking three meals for all people in tne factory and for soothing her crying children.

Where is Chun-hsia now? At the thought of her leaving, my heart is broken. In the entire world, she is the only one who understands and comforts me: "All complaints are in vain. Our fates may not be as good as the others, but I do not believe that we are totally hopeless."

I was an outstanding student in the primary school. My teacher said that I was talented in painting and writing. Nonetheless,

"A daughter will eventually marry out no matter how many books she has read. We can't expect her to take care of us in our old age. Pretty soon, our son A-hsiang is going into the army. Our family's economy will become worse without his salary. And the price of grain is so low, where am I going to find money to send her to the junior high school? The more she studies, the more money is wasted," father declared to mother.

Mother is illiterate. She has concentrated on growing vegetables, raising ducks and chickens, clearing field grass, and drying grain. She agrees that education is not important

for girls.

I was only 13 years old then; how could I distinguish good from bad and make my own choice? Like my other sisters, I was sent to a hat-making factory near the market center of Nan T'un district. The difference was that the boss was my brother-in-law.

In 1974, when the energy crisis struck the island, orders from foreign countries were sharply reduced and the center hat-manufacturing factory refused to take our finished hats because they were not able to meet the standard for exports. My older brother-in-law could hardly eat or sleep during those days. Workers left one by one. Later on, he discovered that the domestic hat market was not bad, so he borrowed money from friends and reopened the factory. I heard that the raw materials and wages cost NT$ 15 per hat, but the final selling price was around NT$ 30–the factory owner's profit was NT$ 5, the wholesaler left NT$ 5, and the small seller got the remaining NT$ 5 (the workers only shared NT$ 2.50 per hat!).

My older brother-in-law could not find enough female workers in the nearby villages. He went to his home village in southern Taiwan and brought back six girls. Except A-chai, who is seventeen years old, the other girls are three and four years younger than I. They didn't know anything about hat-making. I had to teach them from the very beginning.

At first each of them made, at most, seven hundred hats per month. My older brother-in-law deducted NT$ 300 for board, gave them NT$ 200 as pocket money, and sent the remaining salary (NT$ 1000-1500) to their parents. After one year, being skilled workers, they became very picky

and proud, and sometimes reluctant to work overtime.

Although I worked with them shoulder to shoulder, they still felt I sided with my sister and brother-in-law. They took precautions against me and vented their dissatisfactions against me.

It was about nine months ago, my older sister-in-law mentioned at the lunchtable,

"Our neighbor, grandma A-ching's granddaughter on her mother's side, arrived yesterday. She used to work in Taipei city. Her husband is now serving at a nearby army barracks. She is looking for a job here."

"Maybe she can work here," my brother-in-law said.

"I heard that she graduated from senior high school. I am afraid that she will not come."

"Why don't you try?"

That day, as Chun-hsia stepped into our narrow and disorderly factory, the tape recorder was playing my favorite song sung by Fong Fei-fei:

> The wind is flying, clouds are flying, birds are flying,
> And my heart is flying,
> The winds and clouds are running after each other,
> I would like to be birds flying,
> Oh, my heart is flying,
> .....

Chun-hsia's slightly creased eyebrows and innocent smile looked lovely–just like Fong Fei-fei.[1] Seeing her ar-

1. Fong Fei-fei is now a famous singer of popular songs, who, like the girls described here came from a rural community and had minimal education. When she performs she wears different kinds of hats.

rive amid the gay melody, I had an unspoken, intimate feeling toward her.

My older brother-in-law politely asked her to be seated and offered her a cup of tea. The sewing machine continued running fast, but my mind concentrated on their conversation.

"How long have you been in Taichung?"

"About one week."

"Where were you employed?"

"I have been working in an electronics factory for five years since graduating from junior high school."

"I heard that you are a graduate of senior high school."

"Yes, I studied in night school."

"You are married?"

"Oh, ... yes," She lowered her head. There was a sort of shyness on her face.

"Are you willing to make hats here?"

"I have no experience, but I would like to try."

Chun-hsia's quick acceptance made my older brother-in-law very happy, because there was a shortage of female workers. Afraid that she might change her mind, my brother-in-law promised that she would soon be trained as a skilled worker and could earn at least NT$ 5,000 per month. Moreover, the factory would provide her with room and board, and rely on her to help in establishing a good system of management. I knew that words from my older brother-in-law's mouth had the power to bring the dead back to life. But I was surprised to find that he spoke with such sincerity

---

This has become her trade mark. Her stagename translated literally into English means "Phoenix fly-fly". She is idolized by female workers in Taiwan.

that day. Perhaps it was because he was talking to a Taipei girl with higher education.

We eight girls slept together in a small room. Although there was only one piece of furniture–a double-level bed, the place looked so crowded. Everyone's stuff was piled on the bed and floor. We often fought for space. Whenever a girl could not find something, she was suspicious that the others had taken it, and quarrels arose.

Last year, I asked my sister to exempt me from working overtime at night, so I could go home to sleep. She refused, "If my own sister left, no one would stay." I then suggested renting a room near the factory, and asked my older brother-in-law to pay half the rent for me. At first he agreed, but later he said that he could not make me an exception, or the other girls would want to follow.

One day Fong-erh quarreled violently with A-chai over a song book. They both decided to go home. My sister and brother-in-law tried in vain to change their minds. Chun-hsia was asked to solve the problem. Her words seemed to have magical power, the quarrel was soon settled. Relying on this good opportunity, she suggested to my brother-in-law that he buy a few plastic closets. My brother-in-law accepted her suggestions. From then on, quarrels were reduced since each of us had a permanent place to put our belongings.

Chun-hsia and I became close friends. We liked to take walks along the river bank exchanging ideas and picking fragrant wild flowers. I told her that I hated to work overtime. My health was getting worse, and the payment for extra work all went into my father's pocket anyway. Two years ago, father hurt his leg in an accident. Afterwards he was unable to do heavy work. Mother said that our income

from grain was used to pay the hired labor. farming only guaranteed rice to eat. To meet other expenses they had to depend on their children's wages.

"If your family has economic difficulties, you should help," Chun-hsia said.

"Yes, I should. But my father has never paid much attention to his daughters. He bought a motorcycle for my brother and sent him to night school. Yet when I got sick and asked him for money to see a doctor, he did not say a word of concern, but pulled the money out really slowly, grumbling all the while." I felt that I was unfairly treated in the family.

"Too bad we can't change the older generation's idea of favoring boys. Haven't you kept any money for yourself?"

"My older sister told me to join the insurance saving plan at the post office. Every month, she withholds NT$ 500 from my salary for me and doesn't tell my father. She said that she did the same thing before she got married. Otherwise, we would be working for nothing. Besides that, I keep a few hundred dollars pocket money."

"Compared to me, your living circumstances have not been very complicated," Chun-hsia said.

She told me that her father was a retired soldier from the mainland. At the age of 50, he married a young maid-servant from a poor farm family. In Chun-hsia's memory, her family was like a battlefield where her parents exchanged fire. After each fight, her mother ran away from home. She saw her father begin drinking silently, then throw the empty wine bottle against the wall.

"My father died during my last year at junior high

school. Mother soon remarried. My step father is a wholesaler. He was nice to me until one day, when he took me to a movie theater. In the dark, he felt about my leg. I was furious. I immediately stood up and ran out of the theater. Thereafter, whenever I saw him, I had feelings of disgust and terror. Before long I graduated from junior high school and claimed independence."

"You entered the electronics company?"

"No, I first worked in a department store for several months. Every day I stood behind the counter from nine o'clock in the morning to ten o'clock at night. That was a boring job with low pay. I had a strong desire to go back to school. I transferred to the electronics company, working during the day and studying at night. After a few years passed, I became a team-conductor in the factory, and graduated from senior high school."

The hat-manufacturing factory let us take one day off every two weeks. We used to see a movie or go window-shopping in Taichung city.

Then there was a hot and humid day in August. We were all tired and in no mood for working.

"Why don't we go to the beach next Sunday?" Chun-hsia's proposition excited everyone.

The golden sunlight and blue sea water brought colour to our pale skins. We rolled up our trousers and watched the waves blossoming and playing around our legs. Chun-hsia held A-chai's hand as they rushed forward into the surf. Her beautiful, long hair flew up. A big wave broke right before their breasts. A-chai screamed and ran back. Finding herself soaked, she laughed loudly instead, and forgot to

conceal her protruding front teeth.

Mother said that I had plenty of "heart and liver fire." Surprisingly, when I faced the sea, my heart became so cool and calm; all confusing thoughts vanished.

We picnicked in the spindly grove of trees near the beach. Everyone looked like a zebra with the shadow of leaves and branches projecting over our bodies. Chun-hsia and I were leading group games, when three boys walked toward us.

"Li-a, you are good-looking, you go and tell them." A boy with pimples pushed at the tall and skinny one beside him.

"It's A-yang's idea, he should go."

"All right, you chickens!" a sturdy boy said.

We turned our attention to them and found their hesitating manner to be amusing.

"What's the matter?" Chun-hsia asked.

"We all work in a machine factory in Ta-ya. We'd like to join you."

Their participation changed the atmosphere completely. I straightened my wet clothing unconsciously, but saw A-chai combing her hair and smiling. The other girls giggled and chattered like birds. Only Chun-hsia remained unaffected. She stood naturally in the middle of the circle.

When we played a song-contest, Li-a was on my team. I led the team members in singing one song after another, such as "The Comfort of Friendship," "Jumping Over the Rainbow," "A Little Poem," "Asking the Swallow," "Obscure Moon, Obscure Birds," and "Endless Love". Li-a could not sing them all, but his eyes remained riveted on me. My heart beat heavily. I almost forgot the words.

On departure, we exchanged names and addresses. Li-a came over and said, "My name is Li Chung-lung." For some reason, I told him my name was Wang Min-feng, instead of my real name–Wang Mei-feng.

The next week, a letter for Miss Wang Min-feng arrived. Girls in the factory enjoyed my joke and forced me to read it openly. Li-a mentioned that his family had a fruit orchard. He invited us to pick guavas and *lien-wu*. In the last paragraph he wrote: "The sweet sound of your voice still lingers in my ears."

That Sunday Chun-hsia did not go with us to the orchard, as her husband was coming to visit. When we returned happily with a basketful of fruits, I saw Chun-hsia dressed up and talking with a young man in the room. I was amazed to find that her husband, sitting beside her, had short hair and a boby face– more like her younger brother than her husband. His childishness contrasted strikingly with Chun-hsia's maturity.

Ever since Li-a and I began exchanging letters, I have become often absent minded and been hounded by all kinds of thoughts. I could no longer stand the strain of overtime, which made me nervous and sleepless. The annoying pimples came out again.

Mother really cared for me. Last time she went to a Taoist priest asking the reasons for my headaches and irregular menstruation. The priest told her that when playing by the riverside, my soul had been so frightened by a ghost that it had fled from my body. Following his instructions, mother burned gold paper money in a small temple and cried for the help of *Tai-tse-ye* in retrieving my lost soul. This

time, mother visited the blind fortuneteller residing near Nan T'un's Matsu Temple. He practised divination using rice and told mother to get medicine for me at a shop east of Nan T'un. Mother took me to a Chinese drug store in the south district of Taichung city and bought three doses of medicine. She also spent a few hundred dollars of her private money, saved from selling duck's feathers and washing clothes for pregnant women, to buy pieces of ginseng for me. Although the medicine and tonics did not benefit me much, I was very grateful to mother. But how could she understand the relation between Li-a and me? People of her generation got married through the arrangement of matchmakers--Romantic love was inconceivable.

Chun-hsia asked me if I fell "in love" with Li-a.

"I don't know. He is a nice and serious person. But I do not like his family, which has not divided yet. More than 20 persons eat together. How terrible it is! Imagine how much housework a daughter-in-law would have to do! I would like to marry into a small family where a housewife could enjoy a freer life. Chun-hsia, you haven't told me how you got to know your husband and how you married."

She remained in silence for a while, then said,

"I'll let you know the truth, but please don't tell the others. Ya-min and I have not formally married. He is an orphan, one and half years younger than I. We have to wait another few months, 'till he reaches the age of twenty, to get married in the court." She kept on saying,

"It is my fate. Before I met Ya-min, I had a boyfriend from a rich family. He was crazy about me and asked me to marry him when I graduated from senior high school. I refused him without giving it much thought. He got so mad

that he married another girl within one month."

"My god!" I felt sorry for her.

"Ya-min has not received a high school education. He was employed in an automobile factory. One rainy day, I went by bicycle to work. A car drove out from a small alley. In trying to avoid it, I toppled onto the muddy road and hurt my leg. Ya-min happened to pass by. He took me to a drug store, then sent me back home. That was how we established our *yuan-fen* (bond).

In the beginning, I treated him as a younger brother. Perhaps because both of us had no relatives to depend on in this world, we pretty soon became very intimate with one another. He was not only a brother and a friend, but a lover as well. My opinions meant a lot to him. For example, I asked him to quit smoking, and he did so."

"Are you really going to marry him?" I could not believe that Chun-hsia had made such a choice.

"I have conflicting feelings but am pessimistic about my future. This society is so pragmatic. A person without a good education or family background has little chance for success. I do not want to see my husband work as a laborer all his life. I often dream of entering the university, walking on the street with thick books in my hands or talking with a well-educated young man in the coffee shop. But how can girls like me who have graduated from third-rate night schools pass the competitive entrance examination? Even if I were lucky enough to enter college, I would have to work very hard to pay tuition and fees. I had better not think of it. The more I think, the more depressed I feel.

Love is like a trap, once you fall into it, you can hardly get yourself out. One month before Ya-min went into

the army, I found that I was pregnant. Frightened to death, I went to a private clinic where I had an abortion. After Ya-min heard about it, he cried like a child. He thought that I was leaving him. He wished to die.

Mei-feng, you don't know how much I suffered. To tell the truth, I love him very much. In order to make him feel secure, I resigned my job in Taipei and came here. At one time I almost lost courage to live. Yet I told myself that while my fate might not be as good as that of others, I was not totally without hope. Mei-feng, you are so young, there is no need to make a hurried decision to settle down with Li-a."

I was deeply moved. Suddenly, I grew up a lot. Although my troubles remained, Chun-hsia's words were like eyedrops cleansing my eyes. I began to see things I had not seen before.

My older brother-in-law heard the good news that the oil-producing country, Saudi Arabia, had ordered many hats. Their demand for quality was not high, and the price was not bad either.

"I have to grasp this good chance to make as much money as possible. No one knows how the wind and water (geomantic fortune) may change. We may experience another depression next year," my older brother-in-law declared.

Making hats for export does not require much capital; raw material and designs are prepared by the foreign merchants; the local factories mainly contribute labor. My older brother-in-law added two sewing machines and asked us to work more hours.

Each day we worked from eight to twelve in the morning, from one to five in the afternoon, and six to nine at night. When the deadline approached, we slept only a few hours a day. After one month, we were all exhausted, and the newcomers left. A-chai and the other girls planned to find a job in the city's big factory.

"Chun-hsia, is the big factory in the city better than this one?" Our eyes sparkled with expectation.

"It's hard to say." Chun-hsia answered with a frown. "The electronics factory I worked in runs on two shifts. I worked during the day from 7:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m., and studied at night. Some girls wanted to earn more money, so they worked overtime voluntarily. The salary for one shift was rather low. A beginner earned around NT$ 4,000 per month, but my salary did not increase much after working there several years. The standard of living is high in the city. You won't have any money left."

"I don't care, as long as I am not burdened by heavy work. At least life in the city won't be so boring," A-chai said.

"Working in the big factory is by no means light and free. Here we are allowed to listen to music and chatter a bit while working. In the big factory you have to strain your attention and nerves every minute. The noisy sound of machines stings your ears all day long. One day's work will make you dead tired. In addition, the big factory has a few troublesome regulations, for instance if you are late for work, they will deduct it from your salary. And you will work with many strangers who are not concerned about you. I am afraid that you won't adjust to that environment."

"I heard that the big factory has health insurance, is

it true?" I asked.

"Yes, the big factory's welfare is better. Every employee has to join the health insurance plan for workers. No matter whether you get sick or not, the factory deducts NT$ 60 from your monthly salary to pay the insurance fees. The big factory also provides some fringe benefits such as classes in English, folk-dancing, and dress design; it holds picnics and dancing parties, as well as providing work-study scholarships.

You have to think carefully. You are skilled workers here. By transferring to the big factory, you must begin again. But the working hours are too long here. Let me talk to the boss."

Both my sister and brother-in-law had once been workers before. Sometimes I wondered: If I were the boss, would I treat workers better? Perhaps not. In this society, who doesn't want to earn as much as possible? A few years ago, we workers earned NT$ 2.50 per hat. Now everything is more expensive, but our NT$ 2.50 remains the same. My brother-in-law is getting richer. He has not only paid off his loans, but has bought new machines and a car.

Chun-hsia told my brother-in-law that many of the girls were leaving. He was panicked and agreed that we would only work three days overtime each week. We were all pleased. Only my sister was unhappy about it. She privately complained that my brother-in-law's ears were softened by the girl from Taipei.

These days I have been thinking of going back to school again. With more education, I could become a new person. In primary school, I learned Mandarin better than the other country kids. It makes a difference if you can speak Mand-

arin. One day I spoke to the bus girl in Taiwanese, "Getting off, Miss." She paid no attention to me. After saying it in Mandarin, the bus stopped immediately. I got the feeling that speaking Taiwanese identified me as an uneducated villager; speaking Mandarin transformed you into an elegant, high-class person. Chun-hsia spoke Mandarin beautifully, and she was a high school graduate, no wonder boys like her "husband" and my older brother-in-law showed great respect to her.

Li-a also encouraged me to go to night school. He said that his father would help him open a machine factory at home after he came back from army service. "I hope that my wife will be a junior high school graduate who knows accounting." His older brothers' wives had all graduated from junior high school. If I married into his family with a lower education, his sisters-in-law would look down upon me.

The day before yesterday, I told my older sister and sister-in-law that I would like to go to night school after this summer. My sister was fed up. She screamed,

"There is someone among us causing all these troubles. The girl from Taipei has to go! Girls studying in night school can not work overtime. They are also affected by school examinations. The factory can not employ them."

Before my sister opened her mouth, Chun-hsia had packed silently. Neither our tears nor my brother-in-law's imploration could retain her.

The sun had leaped high in the sky. Millions of sunbeams like swords are stinging my eyes and heart. My tears have dried, yet my heart is bleeding. I have tired of working

in the hat factory. I did not leave though, for I thought about my older sister. Now, what is my reward of hard-working? Mother said, "Don't quarrel with your sister! The others are laughing at you." Father said that I was thinking of having fun and making boyfriends in the city. They do not know that I also have ideals and wish to live a better life. It is said that the age of eighteen is a girl's golden year. How come I am in so much pain?

Where should I go?

Mother won't let me work alone in the city. Chun-hsia said that the big factory is not any better. If the salary is low and the living expenses are high, how am I going to support the family? Working in the countryside, I can often go back home to get comfort from mother. Although father does not pay much attention to me, he does not despise me either. If I go to the city, I will be all by myself. Will I be happy?

If I stay in Nan T'un but do not work in my sister and brother-in-law's factory, the family will lose face. And the other hat factories will not take me since their owners all know my older brother-in-law. In fact, all hat-manufacturing factories are more or less the same, I can't avoid working overtime. Nor will they give special care to one who is not kin. I am only good at hat-making. If I shift to another kind of factory, I will have to start again.

Good Heavens! I had better get married and change my environment. But Li-a is going into the army soon, and a daughter-in-law is not free at all. I do not think that father would let me get married so early. He is expecting me to work a few more years for the family. Unless I get pregnant ... Damn it! How can I think this way?

The river runs slowly beside my feet. Some day it will flow into the blue sea and form splendid waves. Those lucky fish will be able to search for a new life at the broad bottom of the sea.

A mile away, a water buffalo is chewing grass and staring at me with dry eyes. I remember that one morning when I was on my way to primary school, I saw a water buffalo dragging a heavy cart; big teardrops rolled from its eyes. I was shocked. Even a water buffalo could cry!

A white egret stands on the water buffalo's back. Suddenly, it flies to my side as the buffalo shakes its tail. My dear little egret, are you coming to comfort me? Oh, I wish you would carry me on your wings and fly into the endless sky. Please tell me: where is Chun-hsia now? In her future, my future and those of the other girls, tell me, will there still be dreams and hopes?

References

Ahern, Emily. *The Cult of Dead in a Chinese Village.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1973.

Ahern, Emily Martin and Hill Gates. *The Anthropology of Taiwanese Society.* Stanford : Stanford University Press, 1981.

Amsden, Alice H. "Taiwan's Economic History: A Case of Etatisme, and a Challenge to Dependency Theory." *Modern China* 5, No. 3 (1979):341-380.

Baker, Hugh D. R. *A Chinese Lineage Village: Sheung Shui.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968.

Bodman, Nicholas C. *Spoken Amoy Hokkien.* Kuala Lumpur, 1955.

Campbell, W. *A Dictionary of the Amoy Vernacular.* Taiwan: Taiwan Church Press, 1913.

Chen, Cheng. *Land Reform in Taiwan.* Taiwan: China Publishing Co., 1961.

Chen, Cheng-hsiang, *T'ai-wan ti-chi* /Geography of Taiwan/. 2 vols. Research Report No. 94. Taipei: Fu-ming Geographical Institute of Economic Development, 1959.

Chen, Chung-min. *Upper Camp: A Study of a Chinese Mixed-Cropping Village in Taiwan.* Taipei: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, 1977.

Chen, Tung-Yuan. *Chung-kuo fu-nu sheng-huo shih* /Chinese Women's Life History/. Shanghai, 1933.

Ch'i-shu. "Pao-an-kung tsa-chi" /Miscellaneous Records of Pao-an Temple/. *Taipei Wen-wu B*, 2 (1953):74-78.

Ch'iu K'un-liang. "Pei-kuan chu-t'uan yu T'ai-wan she-hui" /Pei-kuan Troupes and Taiwanese Society/. *Chung-hua-wen-hua-fu-hsing yu-k'an* 10, No. 1 (1977):101-107.

Chou, Hsien-wen. *Ch'ing-tai T'ai-wan ching-chi shih* /Taiwan's Economic History During Ch'ing Dynasty/. Taiwan Research Monograph No. 5. Taipei: Economic Research Office, Bank of Taiwan, 1957.

Chuang, Ying-chang. "T'ai-wan nung-ch'un chia-tsu hsien-tai-hua te shih-ying" /Taiwan Farm Family's Adaptation to Modernization/. *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology* 34 (1972):85-98. Taipei: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica.

_____, "She-liao nung-t'sun te ching-chi fa-chan yu chia-tsu chieh-kou te pien-ch'ien" /She-liao Village's Economic Development and Family Structural Change/. *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology* 41 (1976):61-76.

_____, *Lin-Ch'i-P'u: i-ke T'ai-wan ssu-chen te she-hui ching-chi fa-chan-shih* /Lin-ch'i-p'u: The Socio-economic History of a Taiwanese Town/. Taipei: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, 1977.

Cohen, Myron L. "Variations in Complexity Among Chinese Family Groups: The Impact of Modernization." *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, Series II, 29, No. 5 (1967):638-644.

_____, *House United, House Divided: The Chinese*

Family in Taiwan. New York: Columbia University Press, 1976.

DeGlopper, Donald R. "Religion and Ritual in Lukang." In *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society.* Edited by Arthur P. Wolf. Stanford : Stanford University Press, 1974.

Diamond, Norma. *K'un Shen: A Taiwan Village.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969.

_____. "Field Work in a Complex Society: Taiwan." In *Being An Anthropologist,* pp.113-114. Edited by George D. Spindler. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970.

Fei, Hsiao-tung. *Peasant Life in China: A Field Study of Country Life in The Yangtze Valley.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1939.

_____, *Hsiang-t'u ch'ung chien* /Rural Reconstruction/. Shanghai: Kuan-ch'a, 1948.

_____, "Ch'ung-fang chiang-ts'un" /Kaihsienkung Revisited/. *Hsin kuan-ch'a,* Nos. 11-12 (1957).

_____. "San-fang chiang-ts'un" /The Third Visit to Kaihsienkung/. *Wen-hui pao* (November 18, 1981).

Fei, Hsiao-T'ung, and Chih-I Chang. *Earthbound China.* London: Routeledge and Kegan Paul, 1949.

Freedman, Maurice. *Lineage Organization in Southeastern China.* London, 1958.

_____. *Chinese Lineage and Society: Fukien and Kwangtung.* London, 1966.

Fried, Morton H. "Some Political Aspects of Clanship in a Modern Chinese City." In *Political Anthropology.* Edited by M. J. Swartz, V. M. Turner and A. Tuden. Chicago: Aldine, 1966.

Galenson, Walter, ed. *Economic Growth and Structural Change in Taiwan: the Postwar Experience of the Republic of China.* Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1979.

Gallin, Bernard. *Hsin Hsing, Taiwan: A Chinese Village in Change.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966.

Gallin, Bernard and Rita S. Gallin. "Socioeconomic Life in Rural Taiwan: Twenty Years of Development and Change." *Modern China* 8, No. 2 (1982):205-246. (This article is a revised version of "Recent Socioeconomic Changes and Development in Rural Taiwan" presented at the International Conference on Sinology sponsored by Academia Sinica in Taipei, Taiwan, August 15-17, 1980.)

Geertz, Clifford. *The Interpretation of Cultures.* New York: Basic Books, 1973.

Greenfield, S. M. "Industrialization and The Family in Sociological Theory." *American Journal of Sociology* No. 67 (1961):312-22.

Harrell, Steven. "Effects of Economic Change on Two Taiwanese Villages." *Modern China* 7, No. 1 (1981): 31-54.

_____. *Ploughshare Village: Culture and Context in Taiwan.* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1982.

Ho, Samuel P. S. "Decentralized Industrialization and Rural Development: Evidence from Taiwan." *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 28, No. 1 (1979): 77-96.

Hsu, Chia-ming. "Chang-hua p'ing-yuan Fu-lao-K'o te ti-yu

tsu-chih" /Territorial Organization of Hokloized Hakka in the Chang-hua Plain/. *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology,* Academia Sinica, No. 36 (1973):165-190.

Hu, Tai-Li. *Hsi-fu ju men* /Daugher-in-law Entering the Door: Ethnological Essays and Short Stories/. Taipei: China Times Press, 1982.

_____. "The Emergence of Small-Scale Industry in a Taiwanese Rural Community." In *Women, Men, and International Division of Labor.* Edited by June Nash and M. P. F. Kelly. Albany: Suny Press, 1983.

Huang, Shu-min. *Agricultural Degradation: Changing Community Systems in Rural Taiwan.* Ph.D. disseration in Anthropology, Michigan State University, 1977.

Kulp, Daniel H. *Country Life in South China.* New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1925.

Landsberg, Martin. "Export-Led Industrialization in the Third World: Manufacturing Imperialism." *The Review of Radical Political Economics* 11, No. 4 (1979) :50-63.

Lang, Olga. *Chinese Family and Society.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946.

Lee, Teng-hui. "T'ai-wan nung-ye ching-chi chih hui-ku yu chan-wang" /Past and Future of Taiwan's Agricultural Economy/. *Taiwan Land and Finance Quarterly 13, No. 4 (1976):1-6.*

Lin, Ching-yuan. Industrialization in Taiwan, 1946-72: Trade and Import-Substitution Policies for Developing Countries. New York: Praeger, 1973.

Lin, Yueh-haw. *The Golden Wing: A Sociological Study of Chinese Familism.* New York, 1948.

Liu, Chin-i, ed. *Tai-chung-shih Wan-ho-kung shih-lueh* /A Short History of Taichung's Wan-ho Temple/. Taichung: Wan-ho Temple, 1976.

Malinowski, B. *Argonauts of the Western Pacific.* New York: Dutton, 1922.

Mao, Yu-kang. "Effects of Changes in Agricultural Structure on Farm Management in Taiwan." *Industry of Free* China 44, No. 6 (1975):28-38.

Mathews, R. H. *Mathews' Chinese-English Dictionary.* Revised American Edition. Shanghai: China Inland Mission and Presbyterian Mission Press, 1931.

McGough, James P., translator and editor. *Fei Hsiao-t'ung: Dilemma of a Chinese Intellectual.* White Plains, New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1979.

Nan T'un chi-shih-kung-yeh tiao-ch'a /The Investigation of Nan T'un's Ancestral Corporations/. Nan T'un District Office, 1937.

Nan T'un hsiang-t'u tiao-ch'a /Nan T'un Gazetteer/. Nan T'un District Office, 1932.

T'ai-chung-chou t'ung-chi-shu /The Statistical Book of Taichung Prefecture/. The Government of Taichung Prefecture, 1926-41.

Nan T'un Land Records. Taichung City Land Registration Office.

Pasternak, Burton. *Kinship and Community in Two Chinese Villages.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972.

_____. *Guest in The Dragon: Social Demography of a Chinese District, 1895-1945.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1983.

Potter, Jack. *Capitalism and The Chinese Peasant.* Berke-

ley: University of California Press, 1968.

Ranis, Gustav. "Industrial Development." In *Economic Growth and Structural Change in Taiwan: The Post-war Experience of the Republic of China*. pp. 206-263. Edited by Walter Galenson. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1979.

Riskin, Carl. "Small Industry and The Chinese Model of Development." *The China Quarterly;* No. 46 (1971): 245-73.

_____. "China's Rural Industries: Self-reliant Systems or Independent Kingdoms?" *The China Quarterly*, No. 73 (1971): 77-98.

Seiichiro, Suzuki. *T'ai-wan chiu-kuan hsi-shu hsin-yang* /Taiwan's Old Customs and Beliefs/. Translated and edited by Hsien-chih Kao and Tso-ming Feng. Taipei: Chung-Weng, 1978.

Shen, Tsung-han. *T'ai-wan nung-ye chih fa-chan chi ch'i cheng-ch'e yu ch'uo-shih* /Taiwan's Agricultural Development and Its policy and Practice/. Report of the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction, No. 2. Taipei: Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction, 1972.

_____. "T'ai-wan nung-ye fa-tsan cheng-ch'e chih jui-pien" /Changes in Taiwan's Agricultural Policy/. In *T'ai-wan nung-yeh fa-chen lun-wen-chi* /Agricultural Development in Taiwan/. Edited by Yu-hsien Yu and Tsung-hsien Yu. Taipei: Lien-ching, 1975.

Sigurdson, Jon. "Rural Industry--A Traveller's View." *The China Quarterly*, No. 13 (1972):315-332.

_____. *Rural Industrialization in China*. Boston: Harvard University Press, 1972.

Skinner, George William. "Marketing and Social Structure in Rural China, Part I." *Journal of Asian Studies* 24, No. 1 (1964):3-43.

_____. "Marketing and Social Structure in Rural China, Part II." Journal of Asian Studies, 24, No. 2, (1965a):195-228.

_____. "Marketing and Social Structure in Rural China, Part III. Journal of Asian Studies, 24, No. 3, (1965b):363-99.

Sofer, R. "Adaptation Problems of Africans in an Early Phase of Industrialization at Jinja, Uganda." In *Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization in Africa South of The Sahara.* Edited by International African Institute. Tensions Technol. Ser. 5, 613-23, Paris: UNESCO, 1956.

T'ai-chung-shih Chien Hui-i tsung-ch'in-hui tsu-p'u /The Genealogy of the Chien Hui-i Clan Association in Taichung City/. Chien Hui-i tsung-ch'in-hui, 1972.

T'ai-chung-shih Tong-chi Yao-lan /The Statistical Abstract of Taichung Municipality/. Taichung Municipal Government, 1945-78.

Tai-chung-shih chih /The Gazetteer of Taichung City/. The Municipal Government of Taichung City, 1977.

Taiwan and Fukien Area: The Statistical Report of Household Registration, 1973.

Tang, Mei-chun. *Urban Chinese Families: Anthropological Field Study in Taipei City.* Taipei: National Taiwan University Press, 1978.

Wang, I-t'ao. *Tai-wan chih t'u-ti chih-tu yu t'u-ti cheng-tse* /Land Systems and Land Policies in Taiwan/. Taipei, 1964.

Wang, Sung-hsing, and Raymond Apthorpe. *Rice Farming in Taiwan: Three Village Studies.* Taipei: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, 1974.

Wang, Tsuo-jung, et al. *T'ai-wan ti-erh-tse tu-ti kai-ke tso-i: T'ai-wan nung-ch'un chin-chi wen-ti* /Proposal for Taiwan's Second Land Reform: Problems of Taiwan's Rural Economy/. Taipei: Huan-yu, 1970.

Wen, Ch'ung-I, et al. *Hsi-ho te she-hui pien-ch'ien* /Hsi-ho's Social Change/. Taipei: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, 1975.

Wolf, Arthur P. "Childhood Association, Sexual Attraction and The Incest Taboo: A Chinese Case." *American Anthropologist* 68, No. 4 (1966):883-98.

Wolf, Arthur P. and Huang Chieh-shan. *Marriage and Adoption in China, 1845-1945.* Stanford : Stanford University Press, 1980.

Wolf, Margery. *Women and the Family in Rural Taiwan.* Stanford : Stanford University Press, 1972.

Wu Ying-t'ao. *Taiwan min-su* /Taiwan Folkways/. Taipei, 1970.

Yang, Martin. *A Chinese Village: Taitou, Shantung Province.* New York, 1945.

Character List

Chang-hua	彰化	Hsin-kang	新港
chang-sun-t'ien	長孫田	Hsin-san-ma-hui	新三媽會
chi-ssū-kung-yeh	祭祀公業	Hsin-shen Li	新生里
chiao-t'ou	角頭	Hsin-ta-ma-hui	新大媽會
ch'ih-huo-kou	吃伙口	k'ai-kuang-tien-yen	開光點眼
ch'ih-kung	吃公	ken-shou	墾首
ch'in-ying	親迎	ko-tsai-hsi	歌仔戲
ch'ing-chi	請期	k'ou	口
ching-hsiang-t'uan	進香團	ku-hui	穀會
Ching-lo-hsüan	景樂軒	kung-ch'in	公親
ching-ming	清明	Lao-erh-ma-hui	老二媽會
Ch'ing-sui-tsu-shih	清水祖師	Lao-liu-ma-hui	老六媽會
ch'u wei	竹圍	Lao-ssū-ma-hui	老四媽會
Chuang	庄	Lao-ta-ma-hui	老大媽會
chün-chüan-ch'ü	軍眷區	Lao-wu-ma-hui	老五媽會
Fa-tse	筏子	Li	里
Fan-she-chiao	番社脚	Li-t'ou-tien chieh	犁頭店街
fang	房	lien-wu	蓮霧
fen-chia-huo	分傢伙	Liu Ts'o	劉厝
feng-shui	風水	Liu Tun-mu	劉敦睦
Hsiang	鄉	lu-chu	爐主
Hsien	縣	Mao-wu-shu	貓霧揀
Hsin-erh-ma-hui	新二媽會	Matsu-hui-tien	媽祖會田

Mei-chou	湄	洲	Tai-tse-ye	太	子	爺	乩
na-pi	納	幣	tung-chi	童			
na-ts'ai	納	采	Tao-kuang	道		光	主
Nan T'un	南	屯	Ti-chi-chu	地	基	主	宮
Nan-yao Kung	南	瑤 宮	T'ien-hou Kung	天	后	宮	
pa-t'ien	拔	田	ting		丁		
pan-ch'u	伴	娶	ting-meng	訂		盟	
pan-hsien	扮	仙	t'ou-chia	頭		家	
pao-chen	保	正	tsu-kung-hui	祖	公	會	
pao-t'ou	包	頭	Tsu-she-yeh	祖	師	爺	會
Pei-kang	北	港	tsung-ch'in-hui	宗	親	會	
pei-kuan	北	管	tsung-li	總		理	
Pei T'un	北	屯	T'un-ti-kung	土	地	公	
Pen-kang	笨	港	T'u-ti-po	土	地	婆	
p'ing-pu	平	埔	t'ung-yang-hsi (sim-pua)	童	養	媳	
po-chia	婆	家					
Ponlai	蓬	萊	tzu-hsing-hsi	字	姓		戲
pu-tai-hsi	布	袋 戲	Wan-ho Kung	萬	和	宮	華
San-chieh-kung	三	界 公	Wan-hua	萬			聘
san-hsien-li	三	獻 禮	wan-p'ing	完			牙
shen-min-hui	神	明 會	wei-ya	尾			名
sheng-pei	聖	筊	wen-ming	問			份
Sheng-san-ma-hui	聖	三 媽 會	yuan-fen	緣			
Sheng-ssū-ma-hui	聖	四 媽 會					
Si T'un	西	屯					
ssū-fang-chien (sai-khia)	私	房 錢					
Sui-hsien Kung	水	仙 宮					
sui-jen-ch'ih	隨	人 吃					
ta-si	大	戲					
Tatieh	打	鐵					

Index

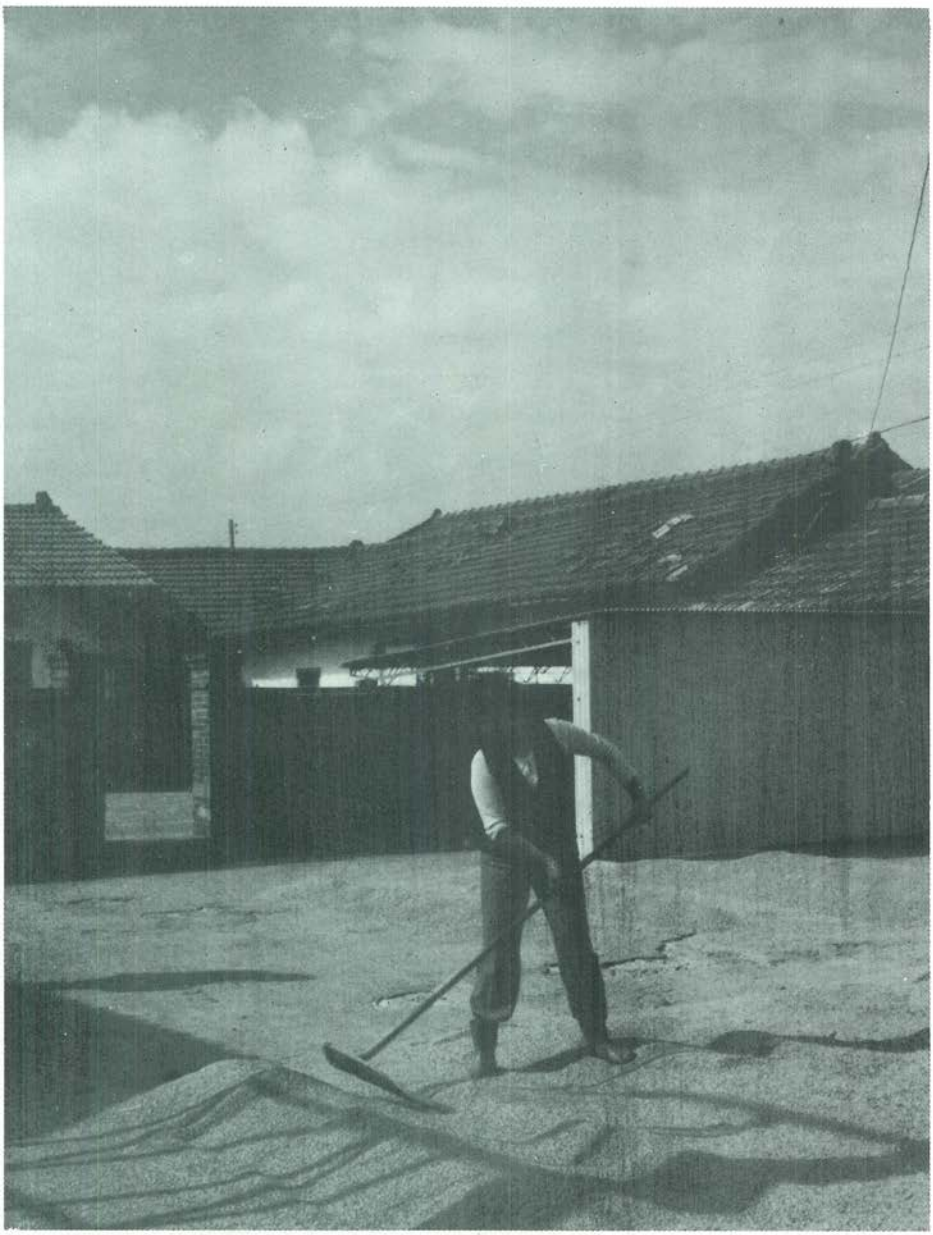
abortion, 146
absentee farmers, 185
absentee landlord, 44
agricultural development, 1-2, 41-72
agriculture:
  cost and returns, 59-62
  labor requirement, 53-59
  rice policy, 62-63, 65
  surplus 63-64
  technological improvement 49-53
Ahern, E. M., 212
Alice H. Amsden, 2
ancestral corporation, 173
ancestor
  associations, 172-73
  worship, 31, 36-39
auxiliary factories, 73, 78-98
center factories, 80, 84
Chen, Chung-min, 204
Chuang (village), 14
Chuang, Yin-chang, 205
clan associations, 172-73
Cohen, Myron, 107-108, 156, 197-98
deity associations, 175
dependency theory, 2-3, 215
Diamond, Norma, 194
Export Processing Zone, 2, 8, 78
export-led industrialization, 3, 77-78
family:
  and industrialization 116-19
  ch'ih-huo-kou, 105
  division, 100-107
  fen-chia-huo, 104-06
  form (conjugal, stem, joint), 107-16
  sui-jen-ch'ih, 105-09, 111-17
fang, 100n., 101, 110
farm family, types of, 66-69
Farmers' Association, 63
Fei, Hsiao-t'ung, 4-8, 11, 186-87
Fei, Hsiao-t'ung and Chang Chih-i, 4-5
feng-shui (geomancy), 25, 68n., 140, 161-62
field context, 17-21
five small industries, 8
Freedman, Maurice, 23

Geertz, Clifford, 19
god (goddess):
Matsu, 163, 169-70
San-chieh-kung, 138-39
Ti-chi-chu, 130
T'u-ti-kung (earth god), *161*
T'u-ti-po (earth goddess), 162
grain association *(ku-hui)*, 82
Harrell, Steven, 210
higher-order descent groups, 177
Ho, Samuel P. S., 33
Hsien (county), 7
immigrant history:
Liu Ts'o, 23-36
Taiwan, 10-11
inheritance, 101-03
ken-shou (settlerheads), 24
labor, 49-59, 67-72, 93-98
land:
chang-sun-t'ien (the first grandson's land), 103
distribution 41-44
pa-tien, 44
purchase, 49
reform, 45-46
sales, 48
size, 47
Lang, Olga, 107
Lin Yueh-hwa, 11
lineage:
localized, 23
Liu, 25-32
non-Liu, 32-36
temple, 37-40
lu-chu (master of the burner), 139
mainlanders, 10, 11, 69
Malinowski, B., 11, 20-21
marriage:
age, 149
arrangement, 122-50
brideprice, 125, 118, 130
dowry, 128, 136, 141
sim-pua, 144-45
travelling, 135
uxorilocal, 144-45, 159-60
Matsu associations, 163-68
Nan T'un:
history, 12
population, 15
setting, 12-17
non-agricultural workers, 71-72
owner-cultivation, 54-55
Pasternak, Burton, 147n., 199, 201
pilgrimage group *(ching-*

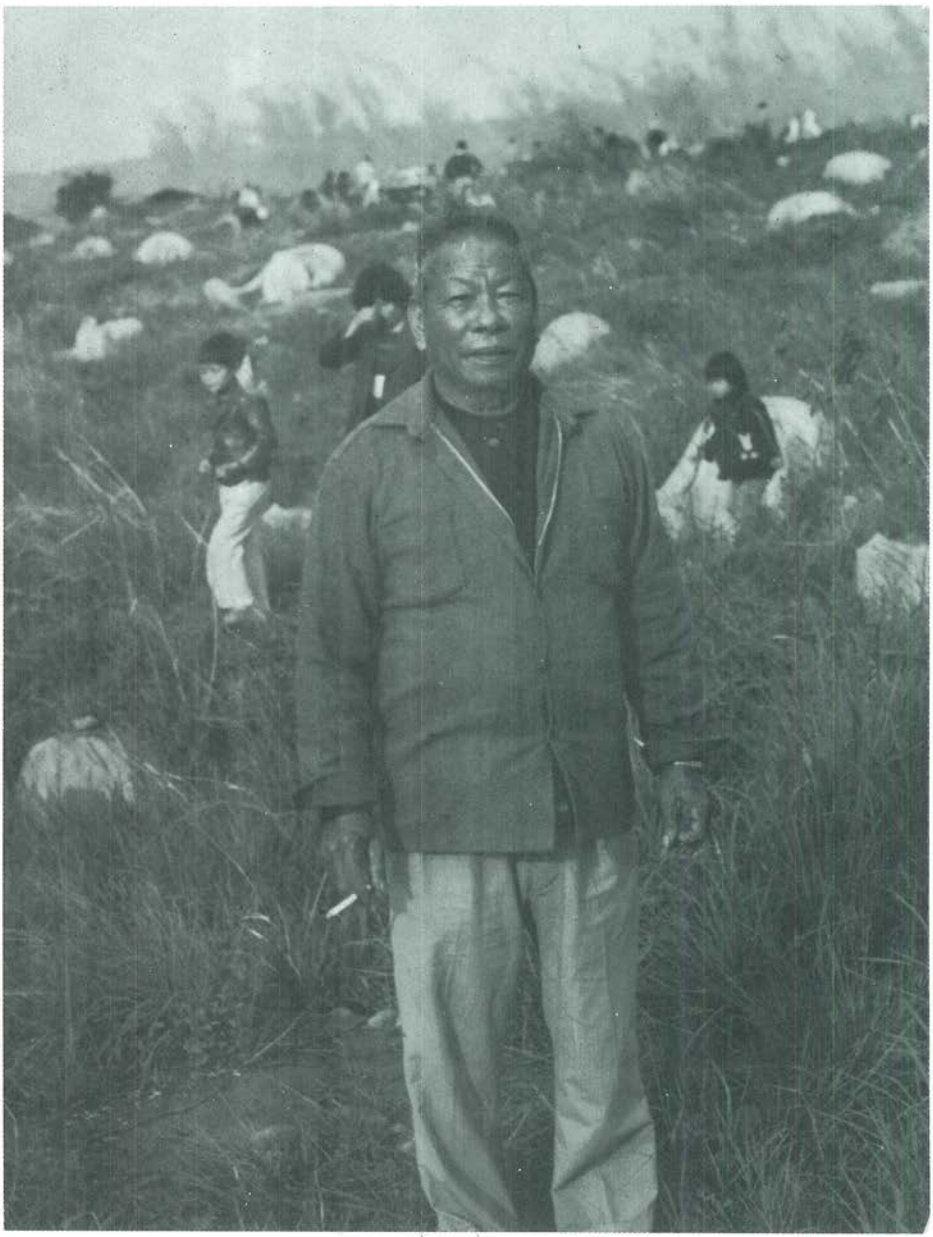
hsiang-t'uan), 166
pre-marital avoidance, 146, 150
pre-marital pregnancy, 135, 146-49, 157
pu-tai-hsi (puppet show), 138
putting-out system, 91
religious activities, 161-80
return migration, 94
Riskin, Carl, 7
romantic love, 146
rural industrialization:
in Chungshe and Upper Camp 201-04
in export-substitution period, 77-78
in Hsin Hsing and Fu Kuei, 207-10
in import-substitution period, 75-77
in Japanese colonial period, 74-75
in kun Shen, 193-96
in Liu Ts'o, 74-98, 187-90
in mainland China, 4-9
in Ploughshare, Chi'nan and Si-ho, 210-15
in She-liao and Chu shan, 205-06
Second Land Reform Act, 184
Settlement pattern, 25-36
sim-pua (adopted daughter-in-law) 144-45, 152
single-surname village 23-40
Skinner, G. William, 177
small-scale industries:
in Liu Ts'o, 2, 78-98, 187
in mainland China, 4-9
standard marketing area, 177
surname opera, 162-63, 168-80
surname sphere, 178
women:
agricultural participation, 57-59, 69-70
and family division, 156
inheritance, 102
private money *(ssu-fang-ch'ien)* 102, 155
status, 152-60
workers, 153-55, 217-34
Yang, Martin C., 11

Liu Ts'o's entrance

▲ An automatic threshing machine
▼ Harvesting with a combine-harvester



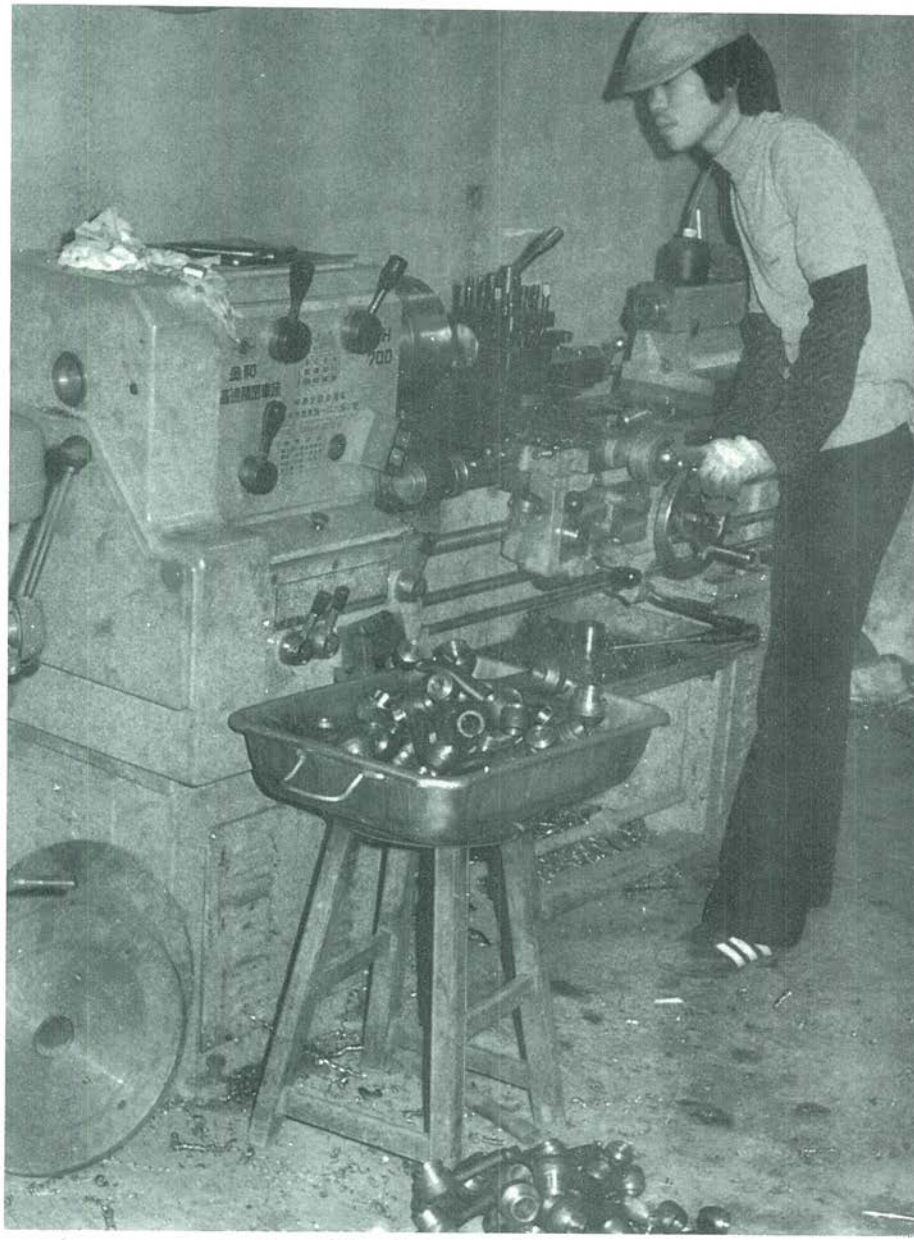
Drying the grain



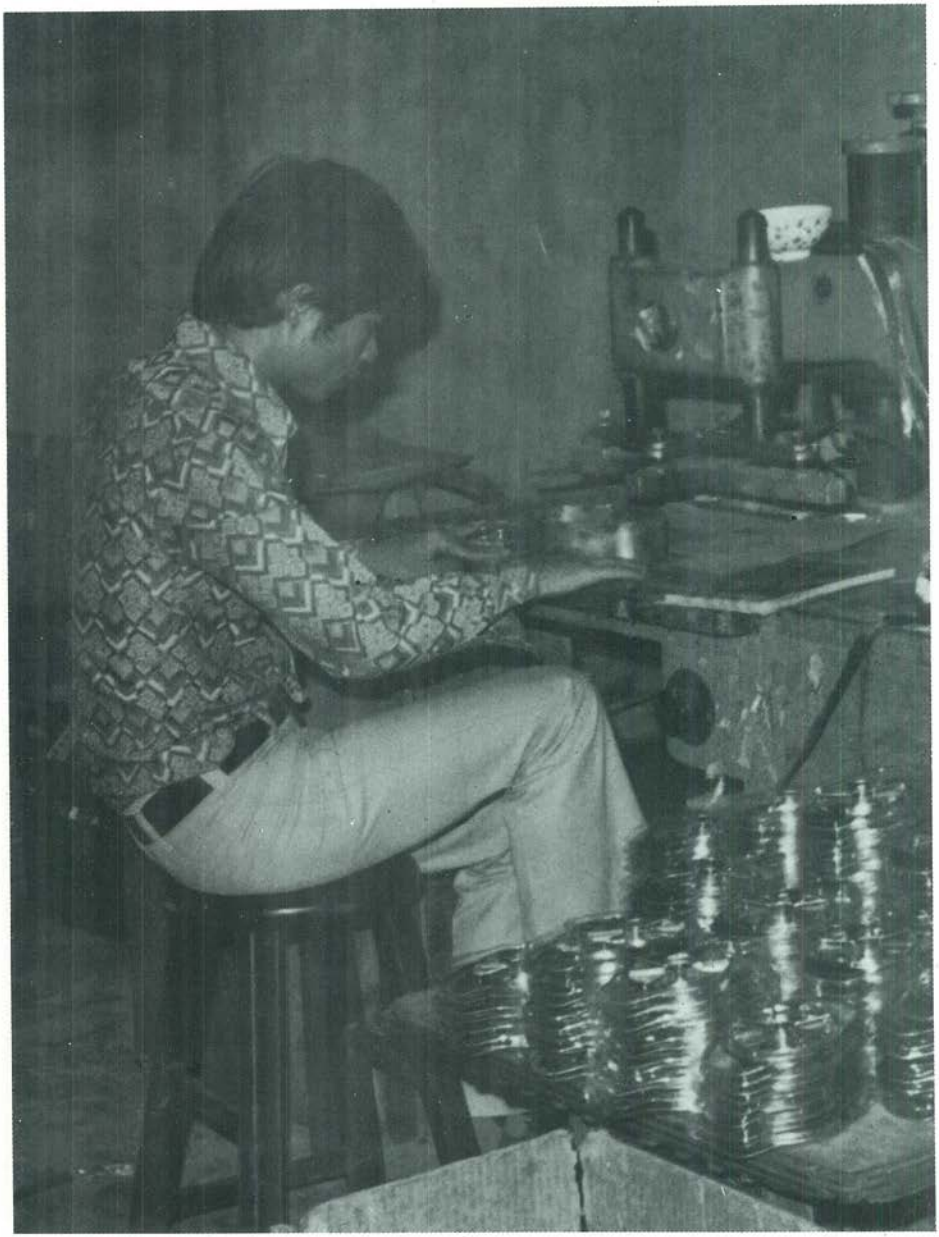
The *feng-shui* master

Machine-parts processed by a rural "auxiliary" plant

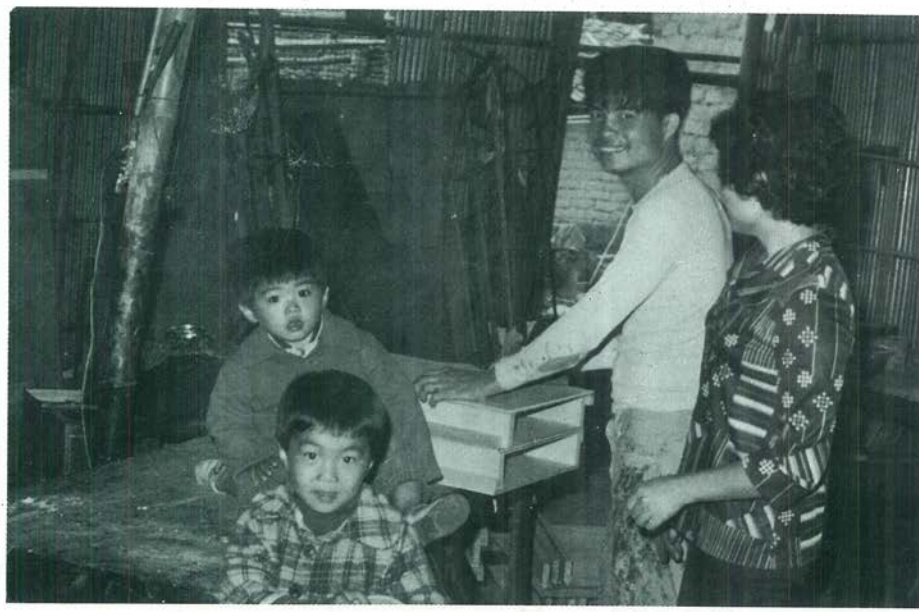
Operating a boring machine in a small-scale factory



A machinery-processing factory



A vacuum-modeling and sealing factory



▲ A woodbox-making factory
▼ An electronic factory

▲ A hat-making "auxiliary" factory

▼ A married woman making hats at home

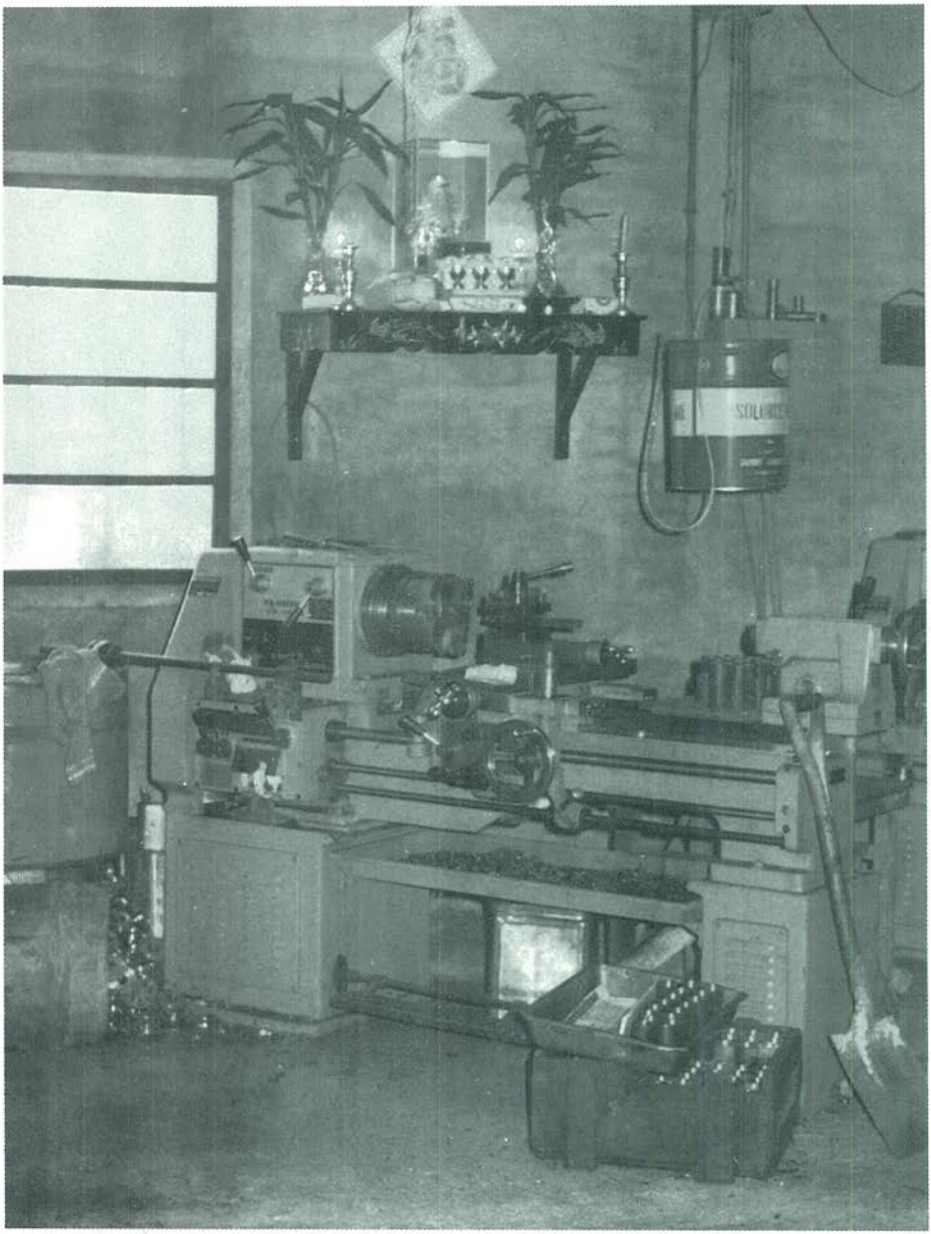
A new couple

Waiting for the birth of a son

A daughter-in-law in a funeral

A deceased woman worshipped by her male descendants

The earth-god temple

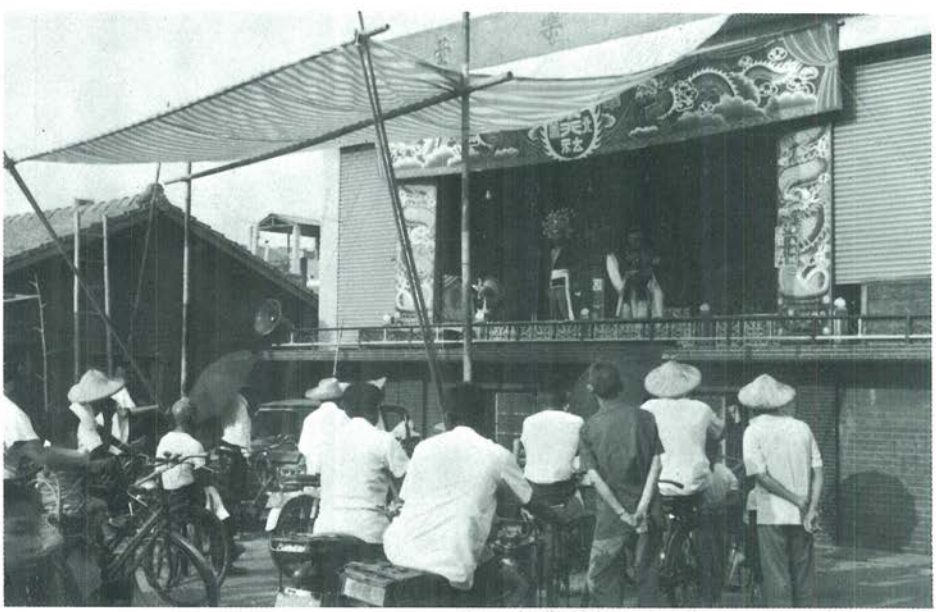


The earth-god's figure installed in a small-scale factory

▲ Nan-yao Temple in Chang-hua

▼ Nan-yao Temple's Matsu statues and the incense burner

▲Wan-ho Temple in Nan T'un
▼Wan-ho Temple's "surname opera"

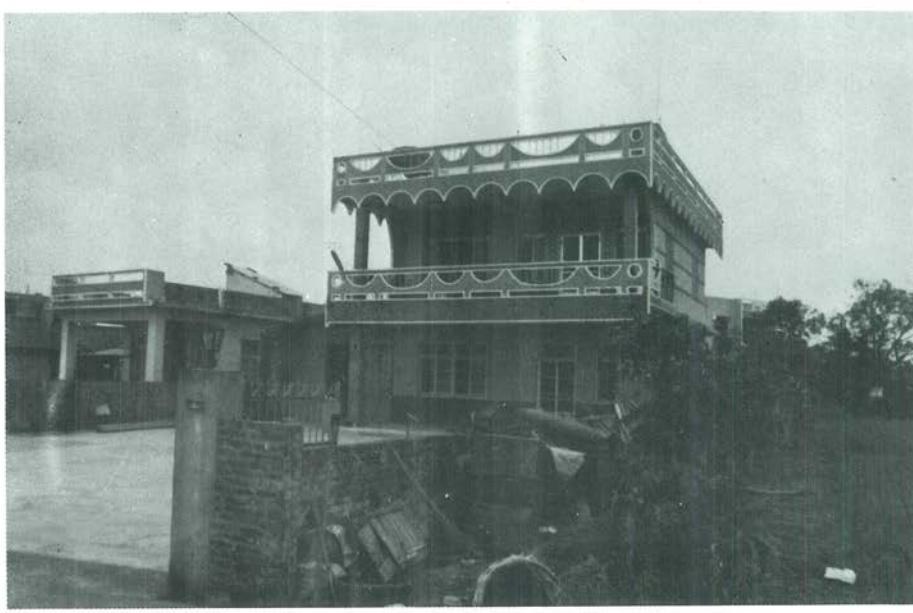


▲ K'un Shen's Lung-shan Temple, 1981

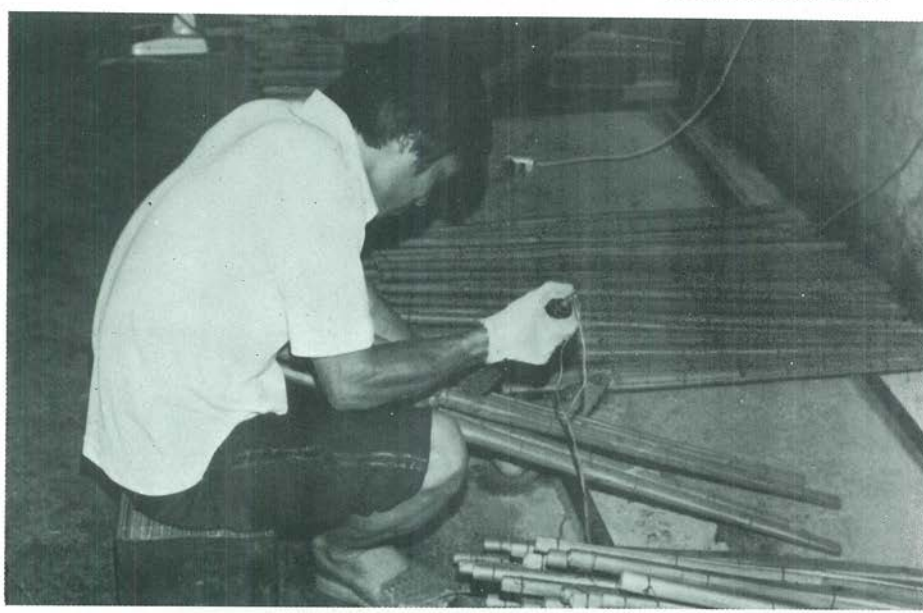
▼ M. Cohen lived here 16 years ago.

▲ Tatieh's modern "blacksmithing" factory

▼ Cement storied buildings in Chungshe's "tail", 1981

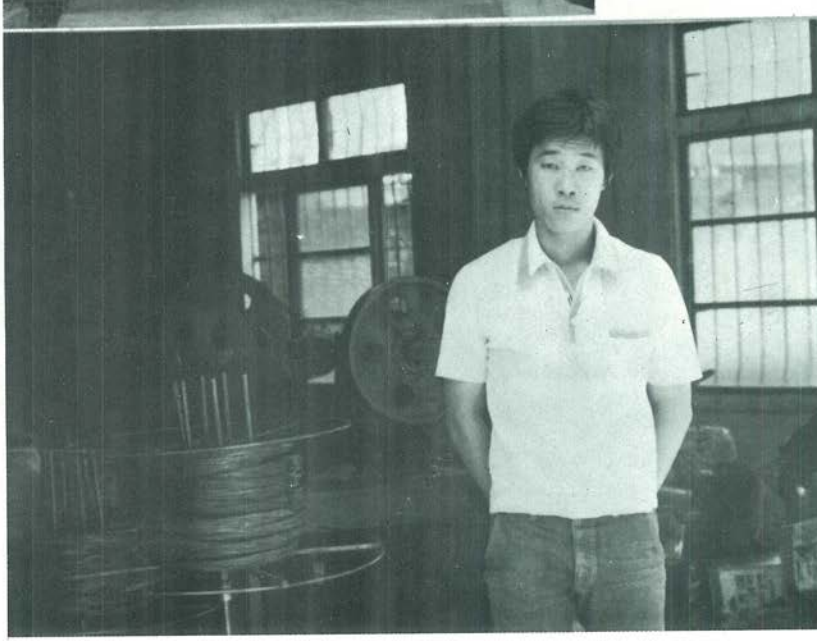


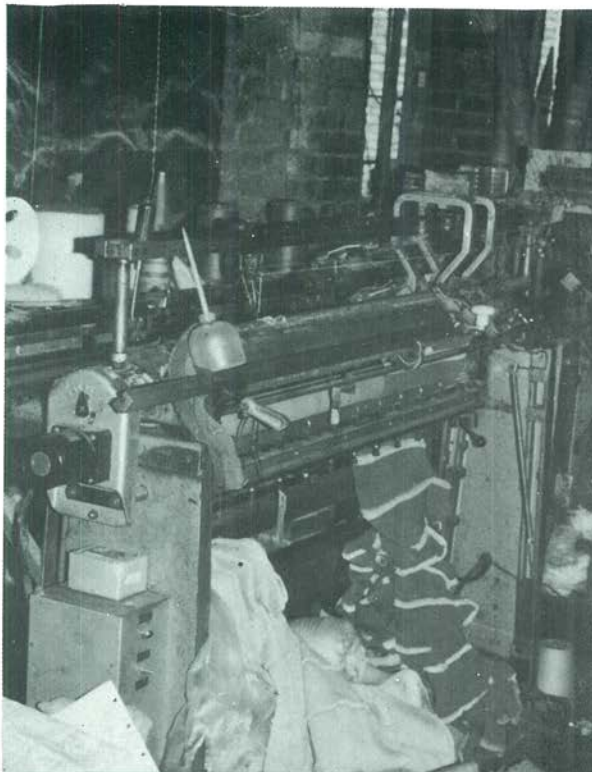
▲Women working in an "auxiliary" factory in Upper Camp
▼A bamboo-sword factory in the Chu Shan Rural Industrial Zone



◀ A spring factory in Hsin Hsing

▼ Mr. Wang's iron-processing plant in "Fu Kuei"





◀ An automated knitting machine in Ploughshare's small-scale factory

▼ A married woman doing handiwork at home for a big garment factory near Ch'inan

▲Si-ho's Matsu Temple and the polluted Tan-shui river
▼"Our future generations may enjoy greater prosperity!"

中央研究院民族學研究所
專刊乙種第十三號

婆家村落

臺灣農村工業化與變遷

定　價　精裝新台幣叁佰圓
　　平裝新台幣貳佰伍拾圓

著作者　胡　台　麗
出版者　中央研究院民族學研究所
發行者　中央研究院民族學研究所
印刷者　萬達打字印刷有限公司

中華民國七十三年四月

中央研究院民族學研究所
專刊乙種第十三號

婆家村落

臺灣農村工業化與變遷

胡台麗