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**NEGOTIATING COLONIALISM IN A
TAIWANESE SUGAR TOWN**

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**A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of
The Australian National University**

June 2005

This thesis is entirely my original work, except where otherwise cited in the text.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines how local people in Taiwan negotiated colonialism in the Japanese colonial period (1895-1945). This exploration is based on a case study of a small town – Kio-a-thau, a place where the Japanese established their first modern sugar refinery in Taiwan in 1901. The historical dimension of the thesis is the long-term colonial transformation of the town and its neighbouring areas, a process beginning in the eighteenth century, while the ethnographic dimension is the sugarcane workers, staff of Kio-a-thau Sugar Refinery, immigrants, women, and businessmen who contributed to the social transformation of Kio-a-thau. The aim of this thesis is to come to a more detailed knowledge and awareness of the social and cultural processes of the Japanese colonial period, a time that was an integral part of Taiwan's legacy. In turn, this increased awareness serves as a basis for a greater understanding of contemporary Taiwanese society. While acknowledging the agency of the colonial power in social transformations, the thesis seeks also to investigate the agency of local people in such developments.

The theoretical focus on negotiations provides three important insights. First, the dichotomy of coloniser and colonised is challenged, and a detailed interaction between these two categories is clearly examined. Secondly, Taiwanese women's agency in their colonial encounters is reexamined. Thirdly, the discontinuity as well as continuity in history is highlighted. The specificity of Taiwanese society is illuminated in this social history, which shows through an examination of the Japanese colonial period that the Taiwanese people have different experiences of negotiating such external political, social, and cultural influences. To conclude, I suggest the coloniser and colonised model is simplistic and misleading. In theoretical terms, this conclusion implies a breakdown of the dichotomy.

ABBREVIATIONS

- CSFSSJ** *Cong siou fong shan sian jhih* (Fongshan county gazetteer, revised)
- CSFTFJ** *Cong siou fujian Taiwan fu jhih* (Materials on Taiwan from the Fujian gazetteer, revised)
- CTSJ** *Ciao tou siang jhih* (Gazetteer of Ciao Tou)
- FSSCFL** *Fong shan sian cian fang lu* (A guidebook for Fongshan county).
- FSSJ** *Fong shan sian jhih* (Fongshan county gazetteer).
- KSR** Kio-a-thau Sugar Refinery
- TFJ** *Taiwan fu jhih* (Taiwan fu gazetteer).
- TSC** Taiwan Sugar Company
- TSKGS** *Taiwan seito kabushiki gaisha shi* (A history of Taiwan Sugar Company)
- TW** *Taiwan wun sian cong kan* (Literary collections on Taiwan)

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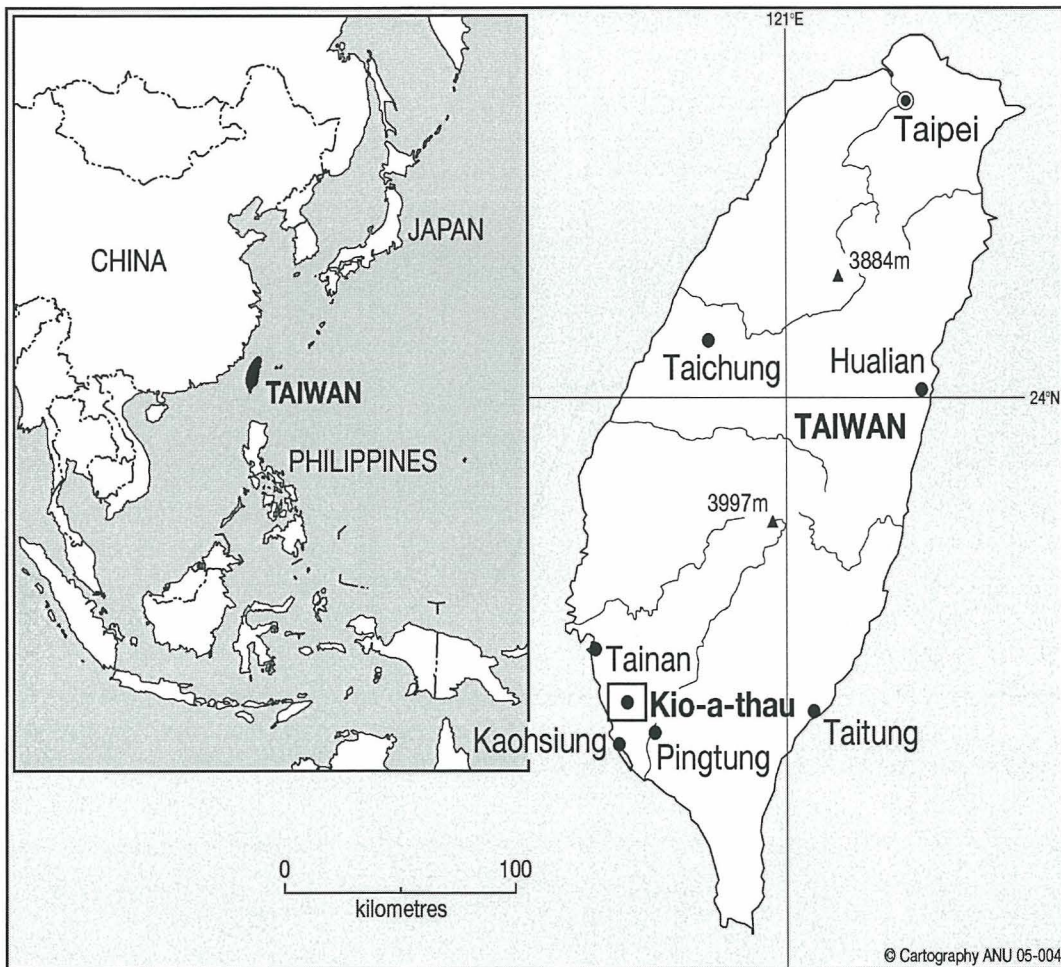
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Figure 1.1
Kio-a-thau and Taiwan



1 INTRODUCTION

KIO-A-THAU AND THE JAPANESE COLONIAL PERIOD

On the afternoon of 7 February 1999, Bright was not really in the mood for his work. He was a staff member at the Taiwan Sugar Company, Kio-a-thau Sugar Refinery. It was a beautiful day. The air was fresh and smelt sweet, even though the 100-metre chimney of the refinery near his office gave off its familiar plume of smoke. The trains for transporting raw sugarcane carried the sugarcane to the refinery as usual. Several egrets were searching for worms in sugarcane fields nearby. The clock of Bright's office pointed to 3 o'clock in the afternoon. He persuaded the other four staff in the office, "It's time to take a break." Then the five of them walked out. They took a photograph of themselves in front of the refinery.

Through a seemingly ordinary day, it was in fact unusual, because the refinery would be closed at midnight (see Plate 1.1). The refinery was founded by the Japanese as the first sugar refinery in colonial Taiwan in 1901 (see Plates 1.2–1.5). In 1900, Beggar, Bright's grandfather, had migrated to Kio-a-thau to look for work when he was only 12 years old. The young job-seeker was uneducated and did not have any friends there. By chance, he found work as a household servant for a Japanese employer. This event changed his and his family's lives. Water, his only son, was adopted by the Japanese employer and thus had a chance to study in Tokyo. Bright, his eldest grandson, entered the Taiwan Sugar Refinery after graduating from university. "It's a miracle that we three generations worked for the same company," Bright said. He continued, "We witnessed the life and death of this refinery."

This thesis is about the lives of the people of Kio-a-thau who lived in this colonial era sugar town. There are two reasons for me to analyse the town of Kio-a-thau (see Figure 1.1). The first is that the sugarcane industry served as a core for Japanese colonialism in Taiwan (Ka 1995; Ho 1978). Kio-a-thau was the first significant centre for the colonial sugar economy. Second, unlike other rural areas,

many Japanese residents lived in Kio-a-thau. Their interactions with the locals provide a valuable opportunity to explore in detail the relationships between the coloniser and the colonised. According to the Japanese census data, a total of 618 residents lived in Kio-a-thau in 1905. The population increased to 1299 in 1930. During the period between 1905 and 1930, the Japanese residents – most of whom were staff and technicians – constituted one third to a half of the population in Kio-a-thau.

The Japanese aimed to build Kio-a-thau as a model place in the development of its sugar industry. Shortly after the completion of the refinery, the infrastructure, including the railroads, post office, and communications were completed. Claims about the political significance of this soon followed, with the establishment of Kio-a-thau Sugar Refinery represented as an index of “social progress.” In November 1901, Shimpei Gōto, the incumbent chief of the Civil Administration on the island, paid a visit to the refinery and said, “The construction of modern sugar refineries is essential as it is a representation of social progress. The significance of Taiwan Sugar Company,” he continued, “is that it aims to break down the current ‘backwardness’ of Taiwan’s sugar economy. Furthermore, it also aims to keep pace with the ‘progressive’ sugar industry in the world” (TSKGS: 127). In various accounts written by the Japanese about Kio-a-thau in the early twentieth century, Kio-a-thau is represented as being transformed from a “remote southern village” to the “origin of Japanese sugar culture” with the establishment of the refinery (TSKGS: 112-113).

Such an assertion implies a kind of colonial thinking around the concepts of “development” and “civilisation.” In a sense, development entailed a total Japanification in terms of economy and life style. During my interview with an old lady in Kio-a-thau, when I asked her when she was born, she answered, “I was born in the second year of *Shōwa* (Japanese year). I do not know what year of *Minko* (Chinese year) that was. But I know it’s the year of the Dog.” Several anthropologists have described such consequential effects of the Japanese colonisation of Taiwan (Wolf and Huang 1980; Harrell 1982: 28-32; Margery Wolf 1975; Diamond 1969: 83). For example, Wolf and Huang (1980: 43) state:

[Local] People still remember with pride their ancestors' brave stand against the Japanese, but the fifty-year occupation did not leave a bitter resentment of Japan. To the contrary, "the Japanese time" is widely idealised as a golden age of peace, progress, and prosperity.

Unlike these scholars who highlight the changes brought by colonial industrialisation, other scholars overlook the colonial impacts. They focus more on the continuity of local society and culture (Barclay 1954; Pasternak 1968). For example, Barclay (1954: 42) suggests that industrialisation had little impact on Taiwanese social and cultural patterns:

What the Japanese themselves referred to as the "industrialisation of Taiwan" was nothing but a corporate superstructure placed on an agrarian base. This was not capable of diffusing an industrial culture thoroughly among the general population...

Barclay (1954: 303) further indicates that the migration of Taiwanese to cities "did not expose migrants very readily to whatever influences were there." Pasternak (1968: 303) agrees with Barclay and further suggests this observation "applies as well to Takieh (a Hakka village in which Pasternak did his fieldwork in southern Taiwan)." Pasternak (1968: 303-04) describes the impact of Japanese rule in Takieh as follows:

Even contacts with local Japanese were very limited. There were no Japanese who resided permanently in the village at any time during the occupation period....No matter where they lived, the Japanese managed to effectively segregate themselves from the Taiwanese. Residentially, occupationally, and socially, the Japanese and Taiwanese constituted discrete groups.

Did Japanese colonialism transform Taiwanese society? If so, did these changes extend to the transformation of the domains of kinship, the division of labour, and marriage practices? If not, why? Were local people isolated from or did they resist influences of this kind by the colonial power? Or were such changes as did occur the result of negotiation between Taiwanese men and women and the policies of the colonial power? Based on these questions, this thesis seeks to explore the ambivalent, contradictory and negotiated nature of social change during the Japanese colonial period. This exploration is based on a case study of a small town – Kio-a-thau. The historical dimension of the thesis is the long-term colonial transformation of the town and its neighbouring areas, a process beginning in the

eighteenth century, while the ethnographic dimension is the sugarcane workers, staff of Kio-a-thau Sugar Refinery, migrants, and businessmen who contributed to the social transformation of Kio-a-thau. The aim of this thesis is to come to a more detailed knowledge and awareness of the social and cultural processes of the Japanese colonial period, a time that was an integral part of Taiwan's legacy. In turn, this increased awareness serves as a basis for a greater understanding of contemporary Taiwanese society. While acknowledging the agency of the colonial power in social transformations, the thesis seeks also to investigate the agency of local people in such developments. In doing so, the thesis provides a new approach to explore colonial Taiwan.

BEYOND THE “COLONISER-COLONISED” MODEL

How are we to approach the contradictory processes that drove social change in colonial Taiwan? The first question we must examine is the dichotomy of the “coloniser versus the colonised.” Is this model sufficient to explain the factors in play? In the following section, I start with a discussion of James Ferguson's debate with the “modernists.” The value of their debates is to develop a critical approach towards the concept of development and some assumptions about modernity. Next, I examine the attempts by some theorists to find a way out of dichotomised representations of the nature of colonial domination. I also provide an indication as to how I will use these insights in my own work. In theory, my thesis crosses a number of subdisciplinary boundaries within anthropology: anthropology of development, anthropology of colonialism, anthropology of gender, and historical anthropology. I choose initially to focus on the anthropology of development and to draw on other subdisciplines where they are particularly relevant.

Ferguson versus the modernists

James Ferguson espouses a critical view of the “development” apparatus based on his ethnographic study in Southern Africa. He relies on the strengths of both political economy and Foucauldian insights into discursive practice and knowledge/power (Ferguson 1990; 1992; 1999). In *The Anti-Politics Machine*

(1990), Ferguson approaches his study by adopting insights from anthropology, social history, and development practices. Recently, he turned his attention to contested meanings and uses of the notion of modernity. In his *Expectations of Modernity* (1999), based on ethnographic fieldwork on the Zambian Copperbelt, Ferguson deployed the culture concept as a critical tool in the study of certain aspects of domesticity. Let us consider this theoretical critique (Ferguson 1999; Wilson and Wilson 1968; Mitchell 1961; Powdermaker 1962; Hansen 1996).

The Zambian Copperbelt and its neighbouring areas developed rapidly from the 1920s to the 1960s as a result of commercial copper mining. Copper was the dominant feature of the export-dependent Zambian economy and accounted for 90 percent of its exports during this period. European colonists had settled many new towns along the Copperbelt before the time of Independence in 1964. The initiation of large-scale copper mining in the late 1920s set off a burst of development that utterly transformed the country. In 1969, for example, nearly 30 percent of the population lived in urban areas and nearly 20 percent of the population were engaged in waged employment. Also, the per capita gross domestic product (GDP) was one of the highest in Africa in 1969 (Ferguson 1999: 6). The expanding mining economy that drove the urbanisation was labelled by anthropologists – from the so called “Manchester School,” “the modernists” – as “the African Industrial Revolution,” parallel to the earlier stage of British industrialisation (Gluckman 1961; Moore, Beagarie and Scanilands 1948; Bates 1976). However, from the 1970s onwards, the economy declined as a result of the decline of the copper economy. The unemployment rate and child mortality increased. Hunger and malnutrition became commonplace. The processes of rural-urban migration were replaced by mass layoffs and “back to the land” exercises (Ferguson 1999: 11). The old narratives of the Copperbelt, which highlighted linear development, seem reversed.

Ferguson argues that the Manchester School theorists assume a linear model in their theories. In their writings, the image of modern urban family life – migrant labourers, nuclear families, and monogamous marriages – are deployed to serve as a model or standard to interpret the social and cultural changes of the Copperbelt in the colonial and post-colonial period. For instance, Mitchell (1951)

claims that the “migrant labour system” signalled the emergence of Africans into modern civilisation. As he (Mitchell 1951: 20) affirms, the migrant system is “an index of the extent to which the traditional subsistence economy is being superseded by a Western economy characterised by differentiated rural-urban production.” In terms of family types, Godfrey Wilson claims that the transformation of the Copperbelt brought about an “inevitable decline in the importance of cooperation with close kinsfolk and neighbours and a transition from an extended family to a nuclear one” (Wilson and Wilson 1968) since he thought that the nuclear family was an “ideal type” of western societies. With respect to domesticity and the relationship between partners, the role of the husband as head of the household, and wife as a housekeeper were not only highlighted by missionaries but also by anthropologists. Powdermaker (1962: 201), for instance, claims that “[o]n the Copperbelt, as in many other parts of Central Africa, the conjugal family, with the husband as the head of the household, is developing. This follows inevitably on the township from the man’s becoming a wage labour.” In the narratives mapped by the modernists, the spread of modern industrial “civilisation” was inevitable. The changing features of the domestic lives in the Copperbelt such as urbanisation, nuclear families, and monogamous marriages were important social mechanisms leading to “Western civilisation” or a “general trend towards Europeanisation” (Powdermaker 1962: 202; 160).

By contrast, Ferguson criticises the above scholars for creating a universal image of the “modern family,” and a linear model of progress in their ethnographies. This suggests biased and flawed assumptions about the dichotomies of coloniser/colonised, urban/ rural, men/women, modern/backward, and civilised/uncivilised. He (Ferguson 1999: 166-206) argues, “The modernity school invests in the *myth* that a single stable form of family life has been created, so that contestations over gender, generation and kinship rights in that society are reconstructed by modernists as social pathology, backwardness or a deviation from an imaginary norm.” To Ferguson (1999), the narratives represented by the modernists are somewhat “evolutionary narratives of modernisation.” He aims to “contest, disrupt, and historicise” (1999: 35) these narratives by interrogating the way that African societies were changing through the impact of colonial “civilisation.”

Ferguson criticises these narratives in several ways. For example, regarding the rural-urban relationship, he indicates that the distinctions between the rural and urban area are not as evident as the modernists have claimed. He indicates that the rural area did not always stand for underdevelopment in Zambia. Rather, he indicates that the relationships between these two sectors changed over time. For example, during the economic crisis of the 1970s, he observed that the urban migrant workers might either go back to rural areas or rely on financial support from their rural relatives. Moreover, regarding conjugal life, according to the ethnographies of the modernists, the mineworkers' wives in the Copperbelt were gradually taught how to be "good wives" in the name of fostering "modern" family life in the mine townships. However, another social aspect is covered up in these narratives. With the economic crisis, these women would be "trading in used goods, making difficult trips to Zaire or Malawi, or juggling lovers who might be persuaded to help out with the bills" (Ferguson 1999: 167). Married women as well as men had many sexual partners. In other words, the relations between marriage partners changed over time in diverse ways not anticipated in unilineal accounts of the "modernisation" of Zambian society.

Kio-a-thau, my fieldwork site in southern Taiwan, is quite similar to the Copperbelt in many respects. Both emerged as a result of colonial economic development and both declined as a result of industrial recession. In Japanese colonial times, Kio-a-thau emerged as a result of the sugar economy, central to Japanese colonial rule. During the 1920s and 1930s, sugar exports accounted for almost half of the total exports from colonial Taiwan. The sugar economy continued until the post-colonial period. In 1966, the global sugar economy started to decline because the overall sugar price fell sharply. After that, sugar production did not play a crucial role. In 1999, the Kio-a-thau Sugar Refinery (KSR), the first modern sugar refinery in Taiwan, was closed. In this sense, Kio-a-thau is like the Copperbelt case and thus provides a way for us to explore the question of social transformation under colonial impacts.

Ferguson's insights contribute two points of significance to my thesis. Firstly, he indicates some characterisations of colonial agency uncritically reflect the

ideological presuppositions of the colonial power. At the end of the nineteenth century, the Japanese Empire emerged as a “non-white imperialist entity” (Ching 2001; Bremen and Shimizu 1999). Takekoshi (1907: vii), a Diet (the law-making assembly in Japan) member and journalist, claims in *Japanese Rule in Formosa* in such a tone:

Western nations have long believed that on their shoulders alone rested the responsibility of colonising the yet unopened portions of the globe, and extending to the inhabitants the benefits of civilisation; but now we Japanese, rising from the ocean in the extreme Orient, wish as a nation to take part in this great and glorious work.

Matsuda Kyōko (2003: 179-96) elucidates the application of Social Darwinism and Civilising Mission paradigms by Taiwanese people in the Japanese period. As a non-Western coloniser, the Japanese built their colonies in Taiwan, Korea, Manchuria and other areas in East Asia. Inō Kanori (1867-1925), a colonial anthropologist, argues that an impetus for Japan’s Aboriginal policy in Taiwan was to confirm its place among the “civilised and modern” colonising powers by invoking a Euro-American “civilising mission” discourse (Kyōko 2003: 179).

As Ferguson indicates, these assumptions tend to homogenise social relations and thus fail to render the social facts clearly. Ferguson’s insights further reveal a process of negotiation between the dichotomies contained in colonial ideology. This approach is similar to that of several scholars’ uses of the term “hybridity” – a cultural mixing where there are no sharp boundaries between dichotomised others. These scholars use the concept of hybridity to challenge the dichotomy of the descriptive relationship between the coloniser and colonised (Bhabha 1994; Escobar 1995; Appadurai 2000). Bhabha, for example, states how an intermediary class of colonial Indian men who could speak fluent English emerged as a result of colonial political policy of assimilation. However, the real intention of the British colonial government was “the desire for a reformed, recognisable Other, as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite” (Bhabha 1994: 86). As a result, we can see how sameness and difference were both created as a result of an ambivalent encounter. In short, these scholars highlight a process of negotiation as a result of hybridity between these dichotomies. Through this

exploration, we can see the mutuality of the coloniser and colonised, in the sense that the one cannot exist without the other.

However, one of our major reasons to question the “coloniser/colonised” model is its lack of representation of local social transformation. Recent scholarship on colonialism highlights various interactions, contradictions, resistance, and articulations between a colonised society and the coloniser. This scholarship challenges the monolithic view of colonialism (Dirks 1992; Jolly and Macintyre 1989; Stoler 1992; Cooper and Stoler 1997; Bremen and Shimizu 2000). Stoler (1992: 320), for example, claims the approach of anthropologists who impose this “internally homogenous model” upon the colonised is problematic. As she further reveals her theoretical orientation: “anthropologists have taken the politically constructed dichotomy of coloniser and colonised as a given, rather than as a historically shifting pair of social categories that needs to be explained.” In order to point out the complex interactions within the given dichotomy, Stoler (1992) explores the internal structures of colonial authority in colonial Sumatra by analysing two social groups closely linked to European communities: the poor or impoverished whites and white women. She argues that the presence of European women intended to enforce the separation between locals and whites. Furthermore, European women in Sumatra were bound into patriarchal structures which underlined the sexual divide between white women and colonised men. In other words, white women in colonial Sumatra were also colonised. As a result, she (Stoler 1992: 340) concludes that “not all who were classed as European were colonial practitioners or colonial agents....The populations that fell within these contradictory colonial locations were subjected to a frequently shifting set of criteria that allowed them privilege at certain historical moments and pointedly excluded them at others.”

In another book, Cooper and Stoler continue to evoke the “tension” in all colonial encounters. They (Cooper and Stoler 1997: vii-viii) indicate that the study of colonialism should focus on “the way colonial states sought knowledge and influence over the ways in which individuals, families, and institutions were reproduced. It was this stretch between the public institutions of the colonial state and the intimate reaches of people’s lives that seemed to us to demand more

attention.” Cooper and Stoler (1997: viii) reveal the tensions – “the ways particular groups resisted, appropriated, refashioned, or adapted the social categories of colonisers” – in various colonial circumstances, highlighting social complexity and local agency in the colonised society.

Using Cooper and Stoler’s approach, in this thesis, I will examine the process through which Taiwanese people “resisted, appropriated, refashioned, or adapted the social categories of colonisers.” In colonial Taiwan, many scholars explore the Japanese impacts on Taiwanese people in various ways. Ho (1978) and Ka (1995) focus on economic and social aspects, Tsurumi (1979) on education, Ching (2001) on national identity, Lamley (1999) on history, and Wolf and Huang (1980) on family and marriage. However, some of these scholars end up confirming the evolutionary assumption which initially justified Japanese colonial rule over Taiwanese people and thus fail to explore the ways Taiwanese people interacted with Japanese colonisers. Some of these assertions seem too deterministic and do not leave any room for the evolving responses of the Taiwanese. For example, historians such as Lamley (1999) and Ihara (1988) have assumed the unchallenged dominance of the Japanese in the colonial history in Taiwan. For example, Lamley (1999: 240) characterises a campaign in the Kōminka Movement as follows:

In order to imperialise the Taiwanese more thoroughly the Kobayashi regime launched a name-changing (*kaiseimei*) campaign early in 1940. This kōminka program involved replacing Chinese names with Japanese ones as a means to detach Han Taiwanese from their descent groups and ancestral areas in China. Publicly, however, the government heralded name changing as an opportunity for colonial inhabitants to demonstrate that they were devoted subjects and “true Japanese.”

Lamley continues, “[t]he result of the wartime imperialisation process can be better gauged, however, when ‘Japanisation’ is construed more realistically as a way by which Taiwanese were to be rapidly acculturated rather than completely assimilated. In this respect, Kōminka indoctrination efforts seem to have been relatively effective under controlled conditions” (Lamley 1999: 242).

Tsumuri (1979) also used this model for colonial education. She thought that the goal of a colonial assimilation between the Japanese people and locals was

achieved through schooling. She (Tsumuri 1979: 626) suggests, “If assimilation is defined as simple acceptance of the modern changes the Japanese were bringing to the island, acceptance of it was substantial among Taiwanese in all walks of life.” Furthermore, an “unquestioning acceptance” of colonial institutions was evident among locals. Later she (1979: 641) argues, “[T]he main stream of the Taiwanese anti-colonial movement repeatedly revealed not only a willingness to remain entirely within Japanese legal and constitutional frameworks while fighting for reforms in Taiwan, but also an unquestioning acceptance of much of the economic, social, and political pillars which supported Japanese colonialism in Taiwan.”

While recognising as significant the attempts at domination by the external colonial power, I also examine the transformative actions by local Taiwanese. This exploration focuses on the strategies the locals utilised to deal with colonial impacts. How were the strategies used to “resist, appropriate, refashion, or adapt” the social categories over time in Taiwan? How did these power strategies work? This discussion of local strategies de-colonises the coloniser and colonised dichotomy.

WHY GENDER?

In line with this call to examine in greater depth the complex nature of colonial agency, comes the need to explore the gendered aspects of agency under colonialisation. Long and Long (1992: 20) conceive agency as an “actor-oriented paradigm” and a “kind of counterpoint to structural analysis.” A central concern of agency theory focuses on a “voluntaristic view of decision making” that emphasises the individual’s freedom to make choices (Long and Long 1992: 21). Unlike the previous discussion which explores the relationships between colonial determination and local transformation, my exploration of gender issues deals with the question of “oppression versus resistance.” In the ethnographic literature, many anthropologists question the studies which highlight the oppressed nature of women’s situation in colonial and capitalist encounters. Critiques by these scholars focus on the individual or institutional agency of women in the cases treated in empirical examples (Jolly and Macintyre 1989; Stoler 1992; Mills 1999;

Creed 2000; Ong 1987; Ong and Peletz 1995; Walker 1999). Instead of affirming the given structure, these scholars seek to identify the active agency of women and to highlight internal discrepancies as they engage and resist colonial or post-colonial impositions. For example, Aihwa Ong (1987), in her work on factory women in Kampung, Malaysia, highlights women's negotiations and resistance strategies in dealing with the conflicts, which she describes as a "cultural struggle," between capitalism and local Malay-Islamic culture. These women exercise their subjectivity in many ways, including through a choice of spouses, sexuality, and challenging patriarchal authority. Similarly, in Thailand, Mills (1999) maintains that young Thai women becoming migrant labourers enact a cultural struggle to construct new identities and contest their marginalisation within the wider society. Migrant women move from rural areas to cities like Bangkok becoming working women. Some of them are involved in Thailand's commercialized sex industry. Urban employment in the city not only offers young women access to cash income but an experience of independence and self-sufficiency that previous generations of rural women have never shared.

Andrew Walker's study (1999) on the long-distance trading women of north-western Laos has suggested that these migrant women build a "travelling identity" grounded in business opportunities and feminine sexualities. The highly mobile lives of these women traders provides "opportunities for women to manipulate and profit from cultural forms of regulation just as there are opportunities to benefit from the more formal regulatory practices of the state" (Walker 1999: 160).

Similarly, Ann Stoler (1977: 78) earlier stressed that the increasing incorporation of the peasant agricultural sector into the colonial state in Indonesia did not necessarily result in the extraction of male labour and the confinement of female agricultural labour to the subsistence sector as several authors have argued. Rather, Javanese women created new subjectivities. They enjoyed "unusually high status" by playing a crucial role in the decision-making processes within households, by controlling family finances, and encouraging planting of cash crops or becoming street vendors (Stoler 1977: 85).

For Taiwan, many ethnographers claim the inferior social status of Taiwanese and Chinese women (Freedman 1970; Ahern 1981; Gallin 1989; Wolf 1972; Gates 1987; Takekoshi 1907). Freedman, for instance, suggests that women are excluded from ancestral worship in the ancestral hall (Freedman 1970: 174). Freedman declares that the “gods-ancestors-ghosts” trinity accounts is basic to Chinese social structure, and that “women can have no public place” in terms of ancestor worship (Freedman 1970: 174). As Freedman (1970: 176) indicates:

This is a world of men. Their wives enter the hall only as tablets—a dumb and wooden fate. And even then, they are rarely admitted in the same numbers as men, for as we have seen in the case of the Sheung Shui halls, the wives of the most senior ancestors are likely to be represented, but not those of the men who have been installed on account of their special hono[u]r or generosity. The ancestral hall is not merely the site of agnation; it is the locus of the political life of the agnatic community, and in that life women can have no public place.

Gallin (1989: 378) claims that a male “authoritarian hierarchy based on gender, generation, and age dominated life within the family.” The hierarchy implies that the eldest male has the highest status, while women are at the bottom of this hierarchy. Ahern (1981: 193) argues that women were considered “ritually polluting and unclean.” In the marital relation, a wife’s status is much lower than that of her husband. Gates (1987: 105) observed that a married woman was transferred from her father’s authority to her husband. If she was widowed, she would come under the legal guardianship of her son. This situation remained unchanged until early Japanese rule. Takekoshi (1907: 310-313) mentioned that Taiwanese women’s rights were quite limited although they enjoyed more freedom when compared to China. Under certain circumstances the husband had the right to sell his own wife, marry a concubine, and push his wife to becoming a prostitute. Takekoshi (1907: 311) concluded that a Taiwanese wife was simply a “chattel” – husband’s property – in the household.

These assertions homogenously privilege the oppressed state of Taiwanese women. These scholars seem to take women’s inferiority for granted. In 1972, Margery Wolf offered a more promising feminist view of Taiwanese women based on her work in northern Taiwan. She (Wolf 1972: 32) mentioned: “A [Taiwanese] man defines his family as a large group that includes the dead, the

not-yet-born, and the living members of his household. But how does a woman define her family?" Her answer to this question is the concept of uterine family. The family is a social unit composed of a mother, her children, and her daughters-in-law. The concept of uterine family shifts from a male to a female angle, offering a new perspective on the study of Taiwanese society. Margery Wolf argues that the uterine family is a major source of women's power. In Margery Wolf's words (1972: 37):

The uterine family has no ideology, no formal structure, and no public existence. It is built out of sentiments and loyalties that die with its members, but it is no less for all that. The descent lines of men are born and nourished in the uterine families of women, and it is here that a male ideology that excludes women makes its accommodations with reality.

In other words, in contrast to the patrilineal kinship system, a uterine family does not highlight property inheritance and ancestor worship but "sentiments and loyalties that die with its members." Thus, Wolf infers that the hostility between a woman and her daughter-in-law is understandable in terms of their respective loyalties to different uterine families. Later, Gates pointed out the resistance inherent in the notion of the uterine family. As she indicates, "[a]lthough women colluded in strengthening the kinship system that so insidiously re-created their gender oppression, they often resisted more direct forms of control" (Gates 1996: 197). She concludes that examples of women's resistance to male power "are peppered through descriptions of daily life as well as implicit in popular ideology." Partners' interactions at home such as quarrels, disputes, and financial managers demonstrate female powers.

In my study, I apply these approaches to Japanese colonial times. By relying solely on the patriarchal model created by the above anthropologists who have studied Taiwan, we fail to examine the resistant dimension of Taiwanese women. I would like to examine questions such as "Did Japanese colonial rule transform gender relations in Taiwan?" If so, what were women's perceptions of, and responses to, that? In a word, I aim at identifying the active agency of women or internal discrepancies as they engage in colonial contexts.

WHY HISTORY?

History is crucial to explore the colonial anthropology. Ben-Ari (1999: 399) argues that the study of colonial encounters allows us to “deal with such matters as ‘ethics, social responsibility, relations with informants, and means by which we secure our data.’” He (Ben-Ari 1999: 399) points out the significance of examining colonial encounters as follows:

History – something distanced in time – I would argue, often allows us to explore issues that we cannot deal with in the here and now: things that hurt, that traumatic, that we feel guilty about, and that may threaten us. Thus, it could be argued, the current absorption in colonial anthropology is the outcome of both global changes in political economy and distance achieved from a problematic past.

An exploration of the “problematic past,” as Geertz (1988: 131) insists, is a process of “de-colonisation,” which radically alters the relationship “between those who ask and look and those who are asked and looked at.” These arguments about western colonialism also pertain to Eastern colonial projects.

Following these clues, I continue my review of some ethnographic literature mentioned above. The Japanese colonial period in Taiwanese history is one of the periods of the “problematic past.” Although Taiwan was a culturally and geographically periphery to mainland China, Chinese culture still played an impacting role in Taiwanese history throughout the Cing period. After the Japanese takeover, a new cultural as well as political identity of becoming Japanese was highlighted by the new coloniser (Ching 2001). However, as cultural and political imaginary formed, China loomed large in the consciousness of Taiwanese intellectuals and local gentry class. Under such circumstances, cultural identities throughout the colonial period became more complex than we imagined. With the political and cultural propaganda of the assimilation policy and the Kōminka Movement (see Chapter 7), the issue of becoming Japanese positioned Taiwanese in a complex situation between cultural identity and political formation. Recently, Ching’s literary study (2001) on colonial Taiwan: *Becoming Japanese: colonial Taiwan and the politics of identity formation* formulates a delicate argument about this question. His central argument is that

the Japanese colonial empire provided a socio-cultural field, in which multi-dimensional identities were “projected, negotiated, and vanquished” (Ching 2001: 8). Ching (2001: 11) describes in such a tone:

Rather, colonialism constructs and constricts, structures and deconstructs, contestatory colonial identities are imagined and represented. In other words, it is not the essentialized differences and similarity between the Taiwanese and the Japanese (or between the Koreans and the Japanese) that substantiated colonialism. Instead, the historical conditions of Japanese colonialism have enabled and produced various discourses of cultural differences in the socially transformative projects of the colonizer and the colonized. Simply put, I argue that Japanese or Japaneseness, Taiwanese or Taiwanese, aborigines or aboriginality, and Chinese or Chineseness — as embodied in compartmentalized national, racial, or cultural categories — do not exist outside the temporality and spatiality of the colonial modernity, but are instead enabled by it.

Ching’s view provides a nice perspective to explore the processes and procedures by which various identities were produced by Japanese colonial modernity. Ching used many literary works written by Taiwanese authors to illustrate his academic intentions to explore “various discourses of culturally differences in the socially transformative projects of the colonizer and colonized.” This exploration is good but might have been more fully supported by seeking more locals’ — including men and women — points of view. Did they compromise as well as resist? Situated in multicultural identities initiated by the coloniser, did locals exercise their agency? If so, how did they practice their agency? Thus, my approach is quite different from Ching in that I adopt an anthropological method, which highlights locals’ own interpretations of the past through detailed life-history interviews from the survivors of the colonial period. My question is not only to examine how “colonialism constructs and constricts, structures and deconstructs, contestatory colonial identities are imagined and represented.” Also, I try to explore how locals negotiated, articulated, or compromised with the coloniser. In other words, as an anthropological study, my focus is not simply to examine how colonial modernity shaped local people and their various identities but also to investigate how Taiwanese people dealt with the colonial modernity.

In terms of ethnographic literature in Taiwan, many scholars have mentioned the colonial cultural and sociological influences over Taiwan. However, there are

very few anthropological works that have made changes in Taiwanese society during the colonial period the main focus of their inquiry. Arthur P. Wolf is one of the leading anthropologists who dealt with Taiwanese society in this regard. Based on his long-term study in northern Taiwan, Wolf made great contributions by using the colonial household registration data in Hai-shan, a village in northern Taiwan, and its neighbouring areas. One of the key issues Wolf explored was a long-term historical transformation in terms of marriage forms in Hai-shan. Wolf found that in the late 1920s and early 1930s, the incidence of minor marriage (little-daughters-in-law) started to decline sharply. Also, he found that young generation in the 1930s had widespread resistance in terms of choosing partners. He (Wolf and Huang 1980: 198) ascribed these social facts to the following:

The answer appears to be that changes initiated by the Japanese undermined parental authority by providing young people with opportunities to make an independent living and also the skills needed to take advantage of these opportunities.

Similarly, Margery Wolf, another important anthropologist, also pointed out the transformations in Taiwanese history. In a study entitled “Women and suicide in China,” Margery Wolf (1975: 125-27) demonstrates of a changing suicide profile among women during the Japanese period. She concludes that the change of suicide rate, in particular with regard to the declining rates among young women and rising rates among older women, reflected a shift in the balance of power between daughters-in-law and mothers-in-law at that time. According to Margery Wolf, this fact reflects important changes in marriages and domestic life in the colonial period. Margery Wolf (1975: 111-41) comments on the high suicide rate among Taiwanese women during the 1920s and 1930s as follows:

More specifically, in regard to suicide, the Chinese [Taiwanese] data refute Western research that says men are always more likely than women to commit suicide, and old people more likely than young; and the Chinese data suggest that urban life has very different meanings in different cultures.

In some respect, Margery Wolf attributes this high rate to the “Chinese” attitudes towards suicide that remained unchanged since the nineteenth century. For women, attitudes such as “women’s honour,” “low social status in the household

and society,” and “lack of independence” account for the high suicide rate amongst women. As Margery Wolf (1975: 112) states, “Like so much Chinese behaviour, suicide is not only an individual act, a gesture of personal despair, but also an act that implicates others.”

Despite this, it is likely that Margery Wolf highlighted more on influences from Chinese culture and underestimated the colonial influences over Taiwan, although she was correct to point out some crucial social facts in colonial Taiwan. Across the fifty-year colonial rule over Taiwan, scholars are unsure as to what extent the Japanese cultural legacy influenced Taiwan, and how those detailed interactions between the local culture of Taiwan and the external culture of Japan reshaped society? Suicide amply illustrates this point. Benedict (1946: 167) regards suicide in Japanese culture as “an honourable and purposeful act.” She (Benedict 1946: 167) further indicates, “[The Japanese] play up suicide as Americans play up crime and they have the same vicarious enjoyment of it. They choose to dwell on events of self-destruction instead of on the destruction of others.” Robertson (1999: 30) suggests that lesbian suicide in imperial Japan raised a debate about “the articulation of sexuality, gender ideology, cultural identity, and (inter)national image.” In Kio-a-thau too, we can still see how Japanese culture influenced local people. Water, one of the key informants, was obviously influenced by the Japanese culture. He attempted to commit suicide in the 1930s because he did not want to have his marriage arranged by his parents (see Chapter 5). Take the subject of married life, for another example. The nature and the idea of marriage changed significantly during the Japanese era. My own research in colonial Kio-a-thau indicates a significant decrease in minor and uxori-local marriages, an increase in illegitimate children and pre-marital sex, and the women’s greater autonomy to claim divorce. These changes were mainly brought about by the Japanese colonial state, which introduced many measures to change the nature of marriage in Taiwan.

The specificity of Taiwanese history makes Taiwan distinctive from so called “Chinese society” in the Qing period. In order to explore this “problematic past,” I would like to ask the following questions. Did colonial rule transform local people? Was the local culture influenced by the colonial culture? If so, what were

the features and how did they change? Dirks, Eley, and Ortner (1994: 3) state when rethinking the concept of culture itself, “[w]ithin anthropology, where culture was in effect the key symbol of the field, the concept has come under challenge precisely because of new understandings regarding power and history.” Following up with this line of thought, in my thesis I try to present incidents that illustrate such colonial social dynamics. I suggest that changes in marriage, the sexual division of labour and the naming system have meant that Taiwan became more distinctive in comparison to mainland China of that era. Some anthropologists have concentrated on the “outcome” of this process rather than examining the process per se. In my thesis, I would like to present the social and cultural dynamics of the Japanese colonial period in order to better understand Taiwanese society.

To conclude the above discussions, I aim to explore three themes in my thesis. **Firstly**, I attempt to explore local social transformations and the hybridity generated by colonial encounters between Japanese and Taiwanese. While indicating some problematic assumptions among scholars, I try to explore the transformations between the social categories of coloniser and colonised.

Secondly, I will highlight the agency of both women and men. My central aim is to explore the gendered strategies they used in specific historical contexts. What different “strategies” were utilised by men and women in dealing with colonial interventions? How did they negotiate the Japanese colonial policy? What differences did gender to such transformations of this period?

Thirdly, I will highlight the specificity of this colonial period in Taiwanese history which other anthropologists might have overlooked. Discontinuity as well as continuity will be examined to explore contradictions and ambivalences in Taiwanese society in the colonial era.

METHODOLOGY

The research for this thesis is grounded in fieldwork and an analysis of historical material – Japanese published census volumes and household registers, academic works, old photos, personal memoirs, and a range of informants' oral history (Plates 1.6 and 1.7). Kio-a-thau Township was the base for my fieldwork, which was undertaken between July 2002 and August 2003, with a brief follow-up visit in April 2004.

In June 2002, I went to Kio-a-thau, my fieldwork site, where the Japanese colonial state built its first modern sugarcane refinery in 1901. My motive for examining the social and cultural changes in this town was somewhat accidental. First, a local cultural group had organised significant celebrations which attracted me in 2000, at the time of the hundredth anniversary of the building of the refinery (see Plates 3.17 and 3.18). I worked as a volunteer in those celebrations, and it was the first time I rode on the “special train” which was previously used to carry sugarcane. Another reason was that Kio-a-thau was not far away from my home in Kaohsiung. For a man who was approaching forty years old, I thought it would be less strenuous for me to do fieldwork in such an environment. If I were lucky, I thought, I could perhaps find a sense of “self-realisation” from the fieldwork. This idea was thoroughly dispelled during the first two months of the fieldwork. On several occasions when I asked locals about the Japanese colonial period, most people answered, “That happened a long time ago. I cannot remember.” On a beautiful afternoon in September 2002, Flower, one of my informants, and I hoped to interview an old woman who still ran a bakery on the main street. After a short talk, we were totally rejected by her when she discovered our intention was not to buy cakes. On another occasion I was regarded as a spy from the previous Nationalist government since I inquired about some trivialities from the past. One of the saddest experiences was when I asked a young person about his opinion of the colonial period and he answered, “Were we ever ruled by Japan?”

After my son was born on 3 August 2002, two months after the fieldwork commenced, I recovered gradually from emotions of puzzlement and frustration

engendered in the early stages of my fieldwork. I became busier since, from then on, I had to deal with the archival data, never-ending life-history interviews, questionnaires, and nappies. On 18 July 2002, Flower told me that a Japanese lady had just sent some old photos which had been taken by Zensaburou Kaneki during the initial stage of Kio-a-thau Sugar Refinery. This Japanese lady is the great granddaughter of Zensaburou Kaneki (1878-1929), the head of KSR from 1920 until he died in 1929. Kaneki was an amateur photographer who liked to travel everywhere (see Plates 1.8 – 1.10). He documented the life and customs at that time with his camera, preserving great numbers of historical visual records about the establishment of KSR. Most of the old pictures I use in the thesis were taken by him. These unpublished pictures taken from the Japanese late *Meizi* period to the early *Shōwa* period (from the 1900s to 1920s) record part of the process of building KSR and Taiwanese local life. I was quite happy when I saw these first-hand records. “You are very lucky,” Flower commented, “because these will help your PhD project.”

To explain social and cultural changes over time is always challenging. In August 2002, almost at the same time as my new-born addition, I paid a visit to the Kio-a-thau Census Bureau in an attempt to find clues to help my research. The director-general of the bureau was a nice lady in her mid-forties who called me “Professor Liu” when we first met. She asked me politely if there was anything she could help with. She then led me to a metal filing cabinet on the ground floor that had the collection of the Japanese colonial household registers. The range of these data covers Kio-a-thau and its neighbouring areas, including Shih-long, Wu-li-lin, Bai-shu-zih, Ding-yan-dian, Jia-wei, and Lin-zih-tou. The staff keep these data in good condition because anyone is entitled to photocopy their ancestors’ census data. As an anthropologist who was doing historical research, I felt happy when she promised that I could copy the census data by hand because it was not easy to get the permission. “Handwriting but without photocopy,” the director-general stated. However, she added: “Actually you will find nothing in them.” When I first looked at the piles of household registers, I felt exhausted indeed. Thousands of figures appeared on the worn-out pages, and the paper had a bad smell. I even wore a mask while I was handwriting because I was allergic to the dust from the worn-out pages, and at the same time, a little afraid of the outbreak

of SARS disease at that time. I spent about six months copying the records by hand. From then on, I interviewed the old people in the morning as an anthropologist, handwrote the household registers in the afternoon as a public servant, and looked after my new-born baby until midnight as a baby-sitter.

Arthur Wolf was the first “western anthropologist” who used the Japanese colonial household registers to explore long-term pattern in Taiwanese marriage and family in Northern Taiwan (Wolf and Huang 1980). Cohen (1976) and Pasternak (1968) also copied colonial census data during their initial fieldwork research. The data are valuable since the Japanese kept detailed records of Taiwanese households, serving as a solid basis for its rule. In *Imagined Community*, Benedict Anderson (1991: 163-170) states that the census, the map, and the museum were three “institutions of power,” through which “the colonial state imagined its dominion – the nature of the human beings it ruled, the geography of its domain, and the legitimacy of its ancestry” (Anderson 1991: 164). In Japanese colonial times, the first general household survey in Taiwan was conducted at the end of 1905 as a result of an order issued on 26 December, 1905 (Wolf and Huang 1980:17). One of the initial reasons the Japanese government conducted the survey was to control the widespread rebellions (Wolf and Huang 1980:16). The survey continued until the end of 1945, when the Nationalist regime took control of Taiwan.

In my thesis, I use two kinds of these census data. One is the published statistical volumes collected by the Japanese regime. The other is the colonial household registers made by the Japanese registrars. The household registers record general demographic features: the name of the head of each household and his/her relation to other household members, birth dates of all members, current address, personal history of entering or departing the household (e.g. adoption, marriage, family division, divorce, or death). Minor things were also recorded such as the ethnic group, opium addiction (addicted or not), footbinding (bound, never bound, or unbound), social class (1, 2, 3), infirmities (i.e. whether the subject was blind, dumb, deaf, mentally incompetent, etc.), and vaccinations (which in the early registers refers to smallpox). The information contained in the census data helped me in many respects. For example, it helped give quite a valid picture of the

demographic situation, the contrast between long-term residents and immigrants, marriage practices, adoption and footbinding, and name-changing practices.

During my fieldwork, I collected information about 927 long-term residents from the census information in Kio-a-thau, and thousands of cases of Taiwanese short-term immigrants. Based on these exhaustive data I have a clear overview of people, place, and period in colonial Kio-a-thau. The data also encompassed those Japanese who stayed in Kio-a-thau temporarily. I encoded the data in EXCEL in order to analyse them in more detail. I would have liked to make a comparison with data from neighbouring areas, but this is beyond the scope of the current thesis.

In addition, I conducted 40 to 50 structured questionnaires, in-depth life-history interviews with residents who had lived in Kio-a-thau in Japanese colonial times, and those who were involved with Kio-a-thau Sugar Refinery. These interviews broadened the range of information I collected from written records and also provided some valuable case studies. Part of the interviews involved collecting answers to a small scale questionnaire (41 interviewees), which is discussed in Chapter 5, the chapter on marriage.

My fieldwork was mainly undertaken using the Fu-lao language, the local dialect. Sometimes I used Mandarin, now the official language in Taiwan, though it is not as popular as Fu-lao dialect in rural Taiwan, in particular among the older generation. Sometimes Japanese is also used by the older generation, who will greet each other by name in Japanese. Some friends also helped me identify whether the names in the census data I collected were “Japanese-style” or “Taiwanese-style” (see Chapter 7). I did not use any interpreters, though a number of friends became informal interpreters and explainers.

Given the importance of the past for this thesis, I conducted considerable archival research. In June 2002 I was a visiting scholar at the Institute of Taiwan History, Academia Sinica, Taipei, where I found archival data about the colonial sugar economy and a general demographic survey of colonial Kio-a-thua and its surrounding areas. I also used some personal memoirs of both Japanese and

Taiwan, including those of Yu (Peng 2002) and Kakei (1989), which I will present in later chapters. After returning from fieldwork, I read many books regarding theories of colonialism and post-colonialism, reports of western travel writings on Taiwan, and ethnographies on gender and domesticity. Information from all these sources is presented in the following chapters.

As for the language, I use the *tongyong pinyin* system (rather than the romanisation system), a system officially recognised by the Taiwanese government now. Some terms are quite different from the other systems. For example, the “Cing” era rather than “Qing” or “Ch’ing” era; “Jheng” rather than “Cheng.” However, some popular terms still retain their form such as “Taipei” and “Kaohsiung.” As for personal names, all personal names in my thesis have been changed in order to protect confidentially. Sometimes I give their nicknames in English, which makes it easier for English readers to follow, while retaining the original Chinese meaning.

THESIS STRUCTURE

First, in Chapter 2, I will introduce Kio-a-thau, my fieldwork site, with an overview of its geographical features. I will focus on its relationship with the Japanese colonial sugar economy. I explore the role sugar played from the early seventeenth century to the twentieth century, and its connection with the global market. My argument is that the key element linking this small place and the Japanese Empire was sugar production. The Japanese Empire built its first modern sugar refinery in Kio-a-thau in 1901. This event marked the beginning of Kio-a-thau's incorporation into a capitalist sugar economy.

In Chapter 3, I outline the history of Kio-a-thau's colonial incorporation in various stages from the aboriginal period. My argument is that different strategies to absorb Kio-a-thau, the locality, were embedded in different historical projects. With its close contact with various colonial encounters, Kio-a-thau provides a good locality to explore, first, the connection between a small place and a colonial regime. While indicating the different intentions of a number of colonial projects, I argue that these accounts are not enough to examine the relationship between the colonial state and locals. What we still do not know is how the locals experienced these major transformations. Did colonial rule transform locals? Did locals resist? If so, how did they resist? In order to answer these questions, I change my focus slightly at the end of this chapter to explore what the locals experienced and how they really felt as they were articulated with such colonial imaginations. This shift in concern will be followed by a subsequent discussion on local agency.

Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7 comprise the major part of my empirical work on local agency. They focus on four dimensions: social differentiation, married lives, the gendered division of labour, and naming. In Chapter 4, I describe the process of occupational differentiation in Kio-a-thau brought about as a result of migration. The emergence of immigrants influenced on local socio-cultural transformations, especially opposed ideas about kinship, land, social hierarchy, occupational inheritance, and leisure arrangements. The argument of this chapter is that these

immigrants, who emerged as a third group beyond local people and Japanese colonisers, mediated the dichotomy of the colonisers and the colonised.

In Chapter 5, I explore both the general transformations over time and local personal agency in marriages. I point out that some features such as changing ideas, the impact of colonial laws, the migratory experience, and socioeconomic power influenced these trends, although in contradictory ways. In Kio-a-thau, I discover that both partners utilised personal strategies, through manipulating of emotions, controlling domestic finance, and developing affairs outside marriage to contest their traditional roles as wives and husbands. These aspects in many respects resonate with Margery Wolf's feminist approach. While acknowledging her approach, I argue also that these cultural features are not fixed but are constructed through and in turn shaped history.

Chapter 6 deals with how different classes of women experienced their subjectivity as a result of a new kind of division of labour brought about by colonial intervention. The colonial government aimed to use female labour by instituting several measures such as the abolition of footbinding and the liberation of adopted daughters. I focus on women's strategies to deal with these changes. My major argument is that the strategies women utilised varied according to their respective social classes. These strategies included the rearrangements of domestic chores, choice of occupation, and acting as intermediaries between the Japanese and the locals.

In Chapter 7, I explore name-changing practices in Kio-a-thau, in particular the practices in the Kōminka Movement (1936-1945). I argue that the naming system was not simply used to express collective and personal identities but was also a sophisticated strategy to deal with the ambivalent situation between the decision of becoming Japanese and not becoming Japanese. Furthermore, women as well as men developed their respective strategies to respond to the dilemmas they faced when they confronted the ideological, social, and institutional demands of the late colonial era. These discussions suggest a kind of heightened subjectivity among Taiwanese concerning the process of nomenclature. Those who changed their names were experiencing their agency situationally or strategically in a

complex arena, whereby they were shaping what it really meant to be “Taiwanese” in a social history of cultural contact.

Chapter 8, the Conclusion, explores the complex interaction of the Japanese coloniser and the local people. The locals exercised their agency situationally or strategically with regard to occupational differentiation, married lives, division of labour, and naming. I also point out the specificity of this period of time and how it affected the perception of different groups of people in Taiwan. I conclude that such negotiated processes break down the strict dichotomy between the coloniser and the colonised.



Plate 1.1 Last Glimpse of Kio-a-thau Sugar Refinery: An amateur photographer caught a last glimpse of the refinery in operation at midnight of 7 February, 1999.

Photo: Cheng-Yuan Liu

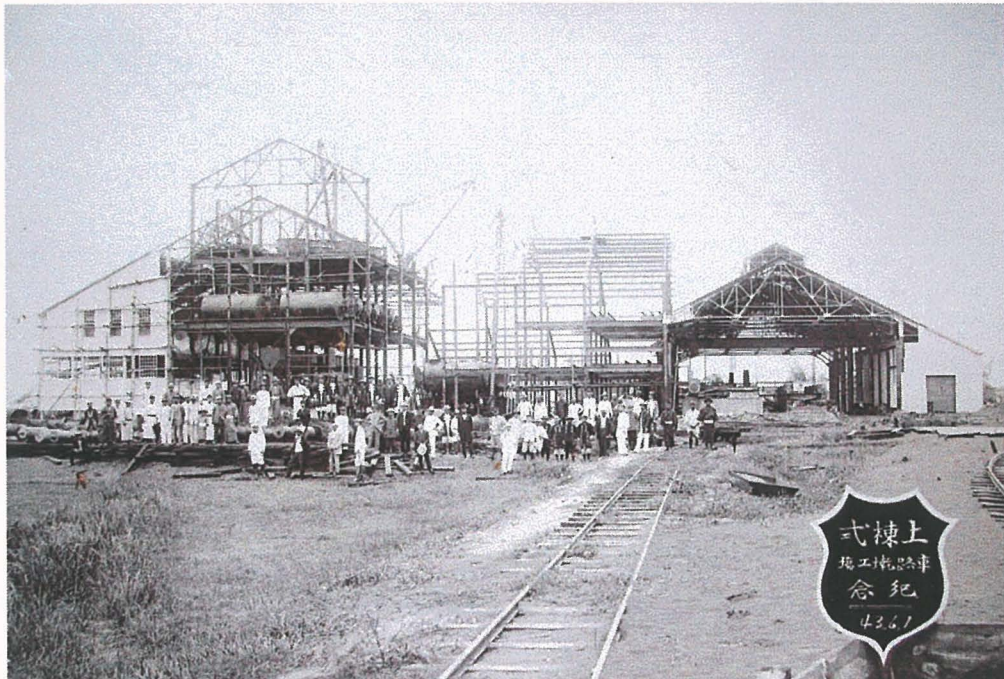


Plate 1.2 Kio-a-thau Sugar Refinery under construction, 1 June, 1901

Photo: Zensaburou Kaneki

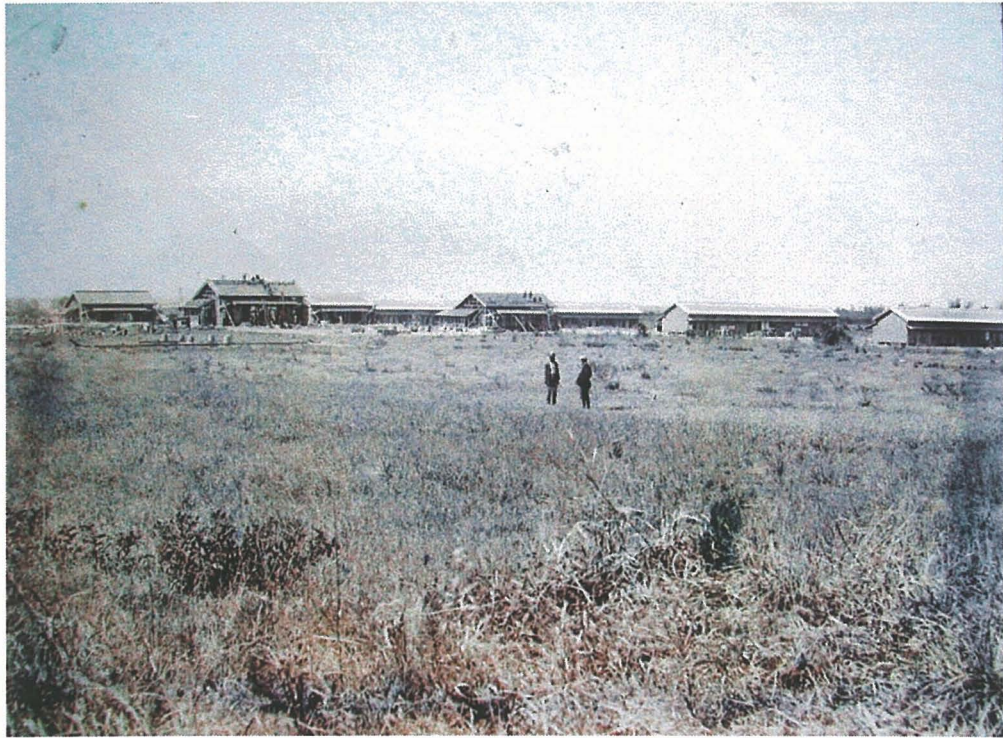


Plate 1.3 Kio-a-thau Sugar Refinery under construction, 1901
Photo: Zensaburou Kaneki



Plate 1.4 Kio-a-thau Sugar Refinery under construction, 1901
Photo: Zensaburou Kaneki

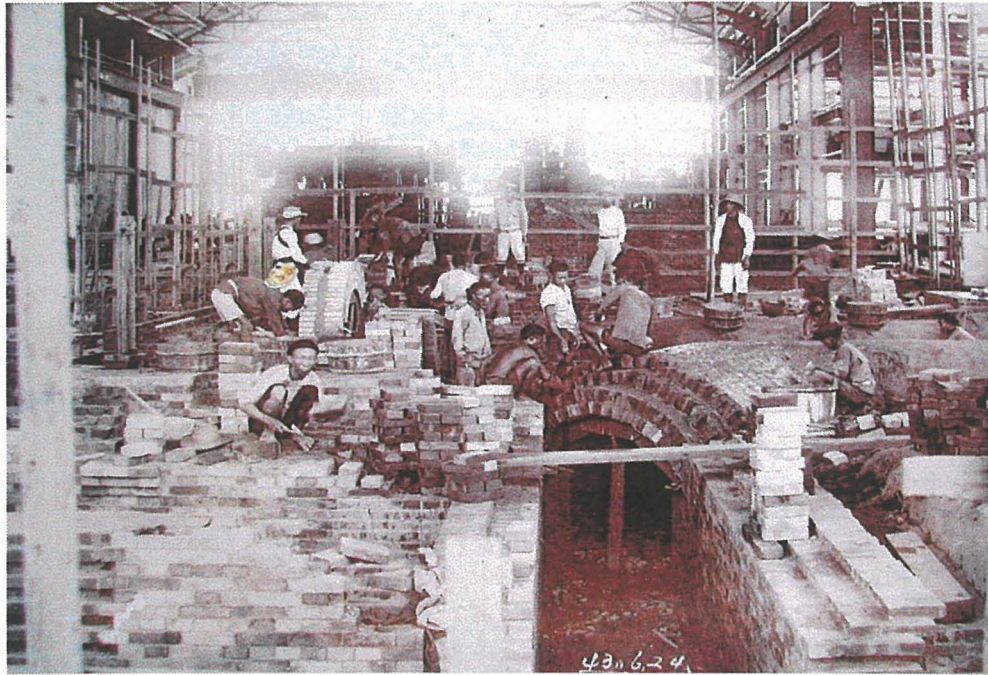


Plate 1.5 Kio-a-thau Sugar Refinery under construction, 24 June, 1901
Photo: Zensaburo Kaneki



Plate 1.6 Key informants in Kio-a-thau
Photo: Cheng-Yuan Liu



Plate 1.7 One of my key informants in Kio-a-thau
Photo: Cheng-Yuan Liu

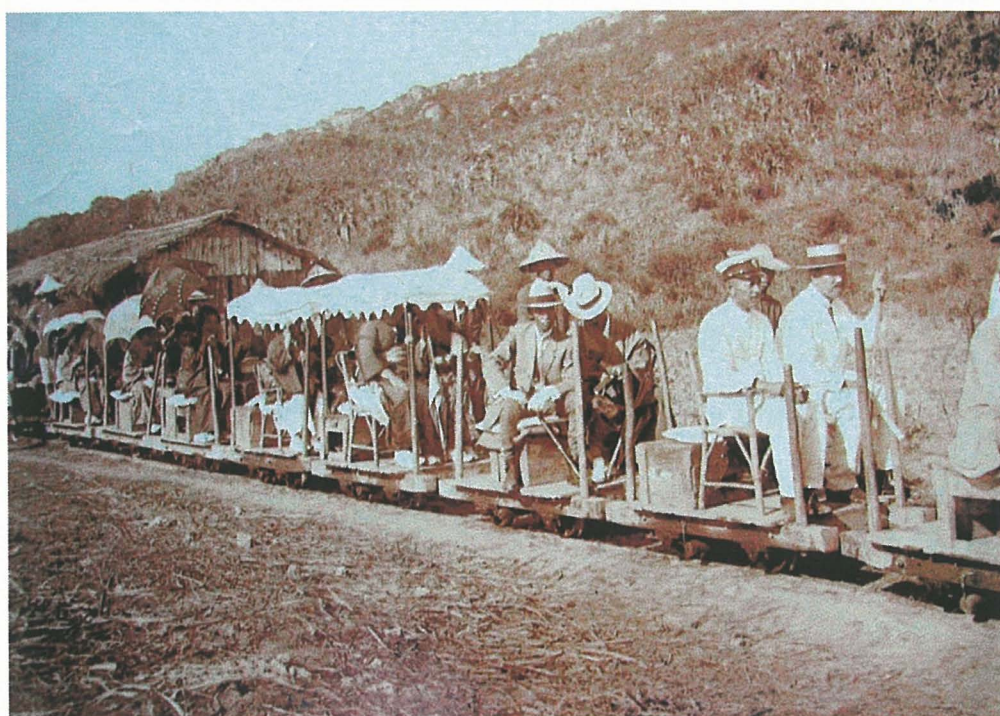


Plate 1.8 A “*daisha*,” push car railway, tour by Japanese staff of Kio-a-thau
Sugar Refinery and their families
Photo: Zensaburo Kaneki



Plate 1.9 An aboriginal woman weaving cloth
Photo: Zensaburo Kaneki



Plate 1.10 Portrait of an aborigine
Photo: Zensaburo Kaneki

Figure 2.1
Kio-a-thau and villages neighbouring Kio-a-thau in
the Japanese colonial period



Figure 2.2
Kio-a-thau Sugar Refinery and its Exclusive Farms in 1930

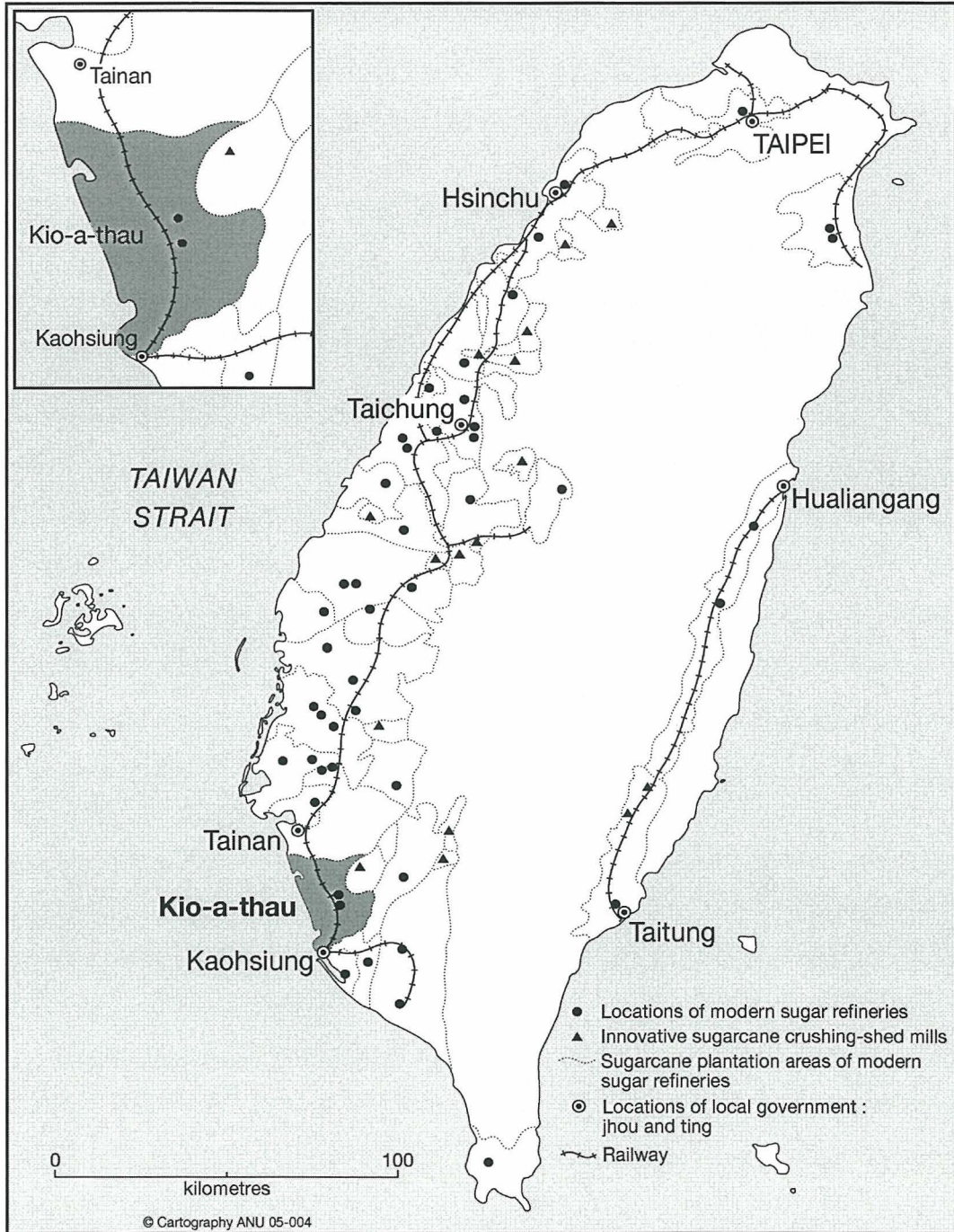
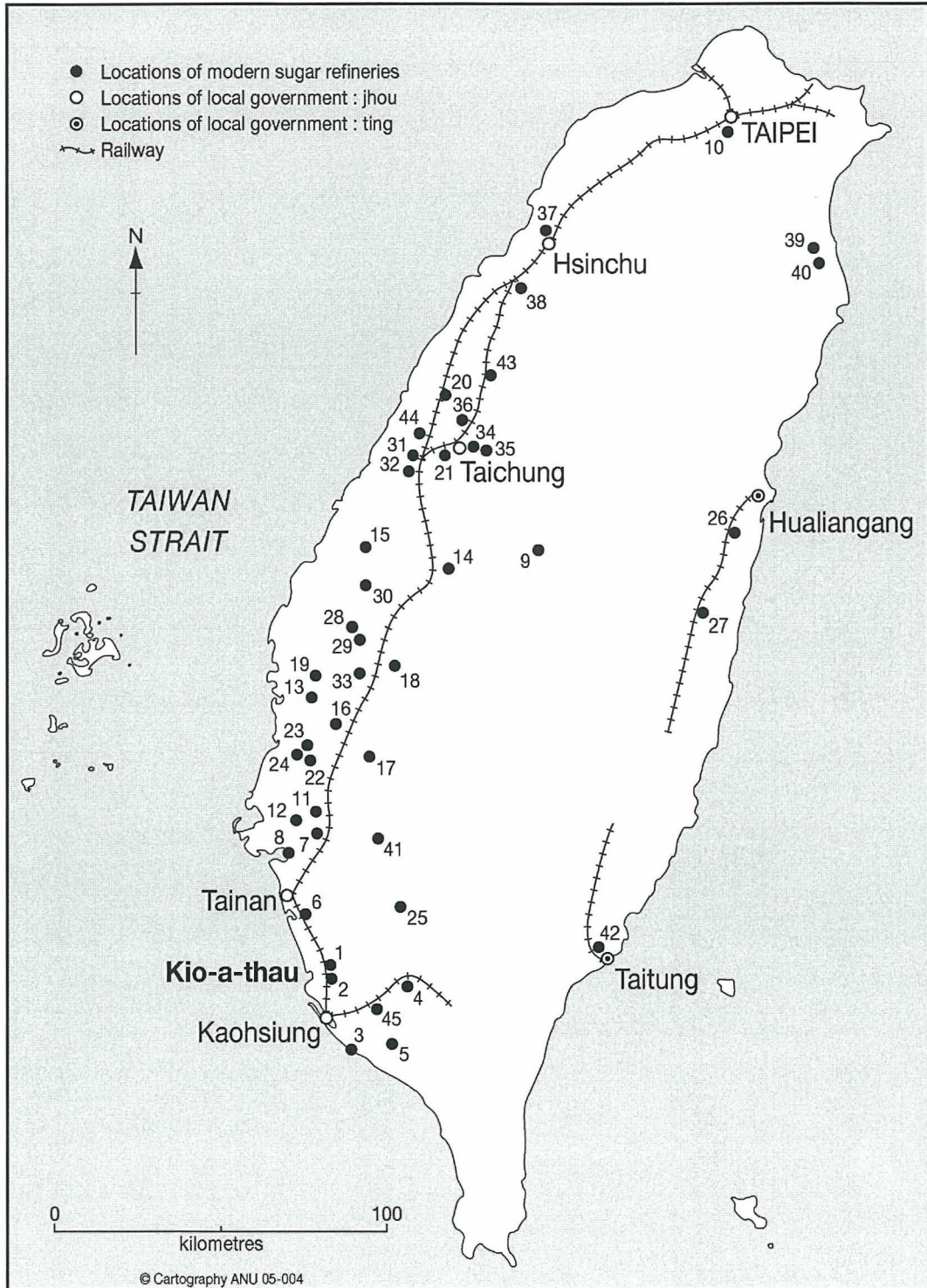


Figure 2.3
Locations of Modern Sugar Refineries in Taiwan in 1924



2

KIO-A-THAU AND THE COLONIAL SUGAR ECONOMY

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I introduce Kio-a-thau and describe its emergence as a centre of sugar production under Japanese colonial rule. I argue that the key element linking this small place and the Japanese Empire was sugar, a commodity which has had a long history in Taiwan. Developing sugar production in Taiwan was a core reason for the Japanese to occupy Taiwan as its first colony. The Japanese Empire built its first modern sugar refinery in Kio-a-thau in 1901. This event marked the beginning of Kio-a-thau's incorporation into the capitalist sugar economy.

In the early morning of 23 December 2000, I went to Kio-a-thau to attend the celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the building of KSR (see Plate 2.1). At 8:00 a.m., in the old sugar refinery, I saw several Buddhist monks chanting in front of the statue of the Holy Mercy Buddha (*guanyin* Buddha), which was made in Japan and erected in Kio-a-thau in 1902 (Plate 2.2). The Japanese thought that this Buddha could help operate the refinery smoothly (see Plates 2.3 and 2.4). At 8:30 a.m. the incumbent chief of the sugar refinery, accompanied by about fifteen staff members of KSR, worshipped the Buddha with incense in his hands. As usual, he was praying for the smoothness and safety of the operation of KSR for the next year. Such a ritual had been conducted on the first operational day of the sugar refinery since 1902. However, the ritual in 2000 could not effect smooth and safe operations because the sugar refinery had been closed since 8 February 1999.¹

¹ Although KSR was closed on 8 February 1999, some staff members who are working for Taiwan Sugar Company still carry out their duties in the old building constructed in the Japanese era. Since the sugar cane company is still a monopoly run by the government, much sugarcane farmland is utilised by the Taiwan Sugar Company, for example to build houses for sale. The company also manages shopping centres and "leisure agriculture centres" – gardening and an area for picnicking, amongst other things.