USE OF THESES

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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.

SIGNED

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

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 colonialisation of Taiwan (Wolf and Huang 1980; Harrell 1982: 28-32; Margery Wolf 1975; Diamond 1969: 83). For example, Wolf and Huang (1980: 43) state:
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 Köminka Movement as follows:

In order to imperialise the Taiwanese more thoroughly the Kobayashi regime launched a name-changing (kaiseimei) campaign early in 1940. This köminka 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, Köminka 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
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 honor 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
Introduction

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.
Introduction

**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 Japanese-ness, Taiwanese or Taiwaniness, aborigines or aboriginality, and Chinese or Chinese-ness — 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 multiculture 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. His 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 uxorilocal 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 Cing 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's (1994: 3) state when rethinking the concept of culture itself, "[w]ithin anthropologists, 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 Meiji 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-y'an-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
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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: Zensaburou 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: Zensaburou Kaneki
Plate 1.9 An aboriginal woman weaving cloth
Photo: Žensaburou Kaneki

Plate 1.10 Portrait of an aborigine
Photo: Žensaburou Kaneki
Figure 2.1
Kio-a-thau and villages neighbouring Kio-a-thau in the Japanese colonial period

Gang-shan (A-gong-dian)

Lin-zih-tou

Bi-su (Bi-siou)

Zihguan

Yanchao

Wu-li-lin

Bai-shu-zih

Yu-liao

Shih-long

Ding-yan-dian

Jiou-jia-wei

Nan-zih (Nan-zih Keng)

Dashe

Renwu

North
Taiwan Strait

0 2
kilometres

© Cartography ANU 05-004
Figure 2.2
Kio-a-thau Sugar Refinery and its Exclusive Farms in 1930

Colonial sugar economy
Figure 2.3
Locations of Modern Sugar Refineries in Taiwan in 1924

- Locations of modern sugar refineries
- Locations of local government: jhou
- Locations of local government: ting
- Railway

© Cartography ANU 05-004
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

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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.
My second story concerns those Japanese people who lived in Kio-a-thau in colonial times. On 17 May 2001, two Japanese women were taking an overseas tour to KSR. The older one was about 75 years old, dressed in a pink blouse with a small bag attached to her waist. The other was her daughter, wearing a white hat on her head and with a notebook in her hand. They seemed to be searching for something, and looked puzzled. River – one of my key informants who is familiar with Japanese – came closer and asked them in Japanese, “May I help you? What are you looking for?” “I used to live here a long time ago. I have come here just to remember the good old days,” the mother answered. After a short talk, River found with surprise that the old lady in front of him was indeed one of his classmates, who had commuted on the same train with him from Kio-a-thau to Kaohsiung every day about sixty years ago, when both were high school students in the late Japanese colonial period. “Time flies,” the old lady commented. Guided by River, the old lady then went back to the Japanese dormitory where she had lived in Kio-a-thau. “What a tree!” she cried at the sight of a mango tree in the backyard. A small mango tree had become an old tree after sixty years. She picked up a mango that had fallen on the ground and decided to take it back to Japan as a souvenir.

These two stories touch main theme of my thesis: the complex interaction between the colonisers and the colonised. The first story suggests that a practice starting in 1902 has now become a part of local life even though KSR has closed. As for the second story, the old woman’s “returning” may suggest that it is not only the Taiwanese people who were deeply influenced by the colonial process; the Japanese were also much involved in the colonial experience. The mutual sharing of colonial experiences suggests the complex situation shared by both sides.

AN OVERVIEW OF KIO-A-THAU

This study is concerned with a village in Taiwan that was called “Cia-zih-tou (Taiwanese: Kio-a-thau)” in the Japanese colonial period. Taiwan is located off the southeast coast of China. It comprises several islands including Pescadores, Orchid Island, and Green Island, and lies between the Ryukyu Islands, which are
part of Japan, to the north and the Philippines to the South. To the east of Taiwan is the Pacific Ocean, and to the west is the Taiwan Strait, which separates Taiwan from Mainland China. The total area of Taiwan, including the islands, is 35,981 square kilometers.

Taiwan’s population is usually divided into four ethnic groups. In the period before the Han-Chinese migration, Taiwan was home to Malayo-Polynesian inhabitants for thousands of years. However, these earliest inhabitants now comprise less than two percent of the population. There were two groups of early migrants from China. The first, the Hakka, came from Guang-dong, while the second, the Fujianese, came from Fujian province directly across the Taiwan Strait. Together the descendants of these two groups now comprise 85 percent of the population. The fourth group comprises Chinese from various parts of China who came to Taiwan after the Second World War, most in 1949 after their defeat by the communists. They are referred to as “mainlanders” and comprise fewer than 13 percent of the population.

Before the Japanese colonisers arrived, Taiwan went through different stages of colonial rule. The Dutch held Taiwan from 1624 to 1662, which was then seized by Jheng Cheng-gong and a group of Ming loyalists resisting the Cing Dynasty. Jheng’s son and grandson ruled Taiwan before surrendering control of the island to the Cing government in 1683 following a military defeat. Taiwan was ruled by the Cing Dynasty for 212 years. In 1895, as settlement for losing the Sino-Japanese War, China ceded the entire island of Taiwan to Japan under the Treaty of Shimonoseki, and it remained a Japanese colony until the end of the Second World War.

My study locality, Kio-a-thau, lies in the south-western part of Taiwan. Kio-a-thau is fifty kilometres from Tainan, a city where the Dutch, Jheng Cheng-Gong,
and Cing Dynasty located their respective capitals, and ten kilometres from Kaohsiung, an international harbour that emerged in the 1860s and is now the second biggest city in Taiwan (see Figure 1.1). During the early Cing era, with the establishment of some irrigation facilities, Han settlers started to settle here. The Fong-Ciao Gong, the first Mazu temple in Kio-a-thau, was set up in 1725. Mazu is a goddess worshipped both by the coastal residents of Fujian province and Taiwanese. The temple has been a religious centre in Kio-a-thau since 1725. Ethnically, most of the ancestors of Kio-a-thau residents were from Fujian province, the majority of early settlers being speakers of Cyuan-jhou dialect. The main family surnames in Kio-a-thau were Lin, Sie, Yao, and Huang, whose descendants are still living around the areas near the Mazu temple, an area where the early settlers gathered. There is some evidence that a small group of Hakka people lived in a neighbouring area at the time of Jheng Cheng-gong in the 1660s. In 1746, they built a temple to worship “Sanshan Guowang,” who is a god mainly worshipped by Hakka people in Jiou-jia-wei, a neighbouring village of Kio-a-thau. For unknown reasons, these Hakka people left for more southern areas where the Hakka people gathered after the nineteenth century (CTSJ 1984: 529). After that, most of the neighbouring areas of Kio-a-thau were dominated by the Fu-lao (Fujian) inhabitants, whose ancestors were mostly from Fujian province. To illustrate this, the Japanese colonial census data shows that there were only six Hakka residents in Kio-a-thau in 1915. In other words, it had become an almost totally Fu-lao Taiwanese village by Japanese colonial times.

Geographically, Kio-a-thau is located in the area where the Western Plain, the biggest plain in Taiwan, and the Southern Region are connected. Physically, the region is dominated by plains and rivers. The area’s flat land and ample water supply contribute to agricultural production. Rice and sugar have been the most important crops since the Han settlers moved in. With respect to climate, this region has a tropical climate with no month having an average temperature below 20 degrees centigrade. Eighty or ninety percent of the rainfall occurs in summer. The rainy season starts at the end of April and ends in August, when typhoons often bring heavy rainfall. However, in winter, the region has a distinct dry season since it is cut off from the northeast monsoons by the Central Mountains. This
climate is somewhat different from the northern region, where the northeast monsoons bring more rainfall in winter.

Table 2.1
Daily average temperature in Kio-a-thau

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<tr>
<td>Temperature</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>27.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Temperature</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>21.8</td>
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Source: Cia tou siang jhih (CTSJ 1984:4). Notes: Centigrade.

Table 2.2
Average rainfall in Kio-a-thau

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<tr>
<td>Rainfall</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>128.5</td>
<td>426.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rainfall</td>
<td>392.8</td>
<td>234.2</td>
<td>356.8</td>
<td>73.9</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>23.4</td>
</tr>
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Source: Cia tou siang jhih (CTSJ 1984: 5). Notes: Millimetre.

These climatic conditions are favourable for sugar cultivation. According to Ilaco (1981: 490), sugarcane can be grown in the tropics and sub-tropics at attitudes up to 1,200 metres. The growth period is determined by the prevailing climate: the higher the temperature, the shorter the growth period. The optimal daily temperature is about 28 degrees centigrade, and cool nights and sunny days promote sucrose production. For proper growth and ripening the crop needs a minimum annual rainfall of 1600 millimetres, and a dry period of four to five months. Wind during ripening can cause damage to the crop and may result in the development of new shoots and a reduction of sucrose. As for the soil, sugarcane can be grown on a variety of soils, ranging from sandy to clayey. Productivity levels are positively affected by soils with good internal drainage, good structure and abundant water supply.
Kio-a-thau is located in an area that is suitable for sugar refining. Besides the climatic advantages for growing sugarcane, it has a stable water supply, which is important for sugar refining. Two rivers, the Jhong-Ci River in the north and Hou-Jin River in the south, flow through this area (see Figure 2.1). Also, the land along the rivers is flat and fertile, making it an ideal location for both sugar cultivation as well as for human habitation. It has been reported that there were 11 exclusive capitalist sugar farms in the 1930s, which covered most of the areas neighbouring Kio-a-thau, now known as Gang-shan, Yan-chao, Zih-guan, and Nan-zih (see Figure 2.2).

Kio-a-thau has had a series of names since the eighteenth century because of administrative changes. The first name, “Siao-dian-zai-jie,” which means a street with a little shop, appeared in the gazetteer in 1741. From then on, the name has changed several times. In the Japanese colonial period, the official name was “Cia-zih-tou (Taiwanese: Kio-a-thau),” which was also recorded in the census by the Japanese. Administratively, Kio-a-thau was controlled by Fongshan ting (province) and Gangshan jyun (province) respectively in colonial times. With the advent of the Nationalist regime, in 1947, the place name of Cia-zih-tou was changed to Cia-tou (zih was deleted). This official name has continued since that time. In official paper work, the village is called “Cia-tou” in Mandarin, which is still the major “official language” in Taiwan. Most of the villagers, however, have called the village “Kio-a-thau” since the early nineteenth century. The Chinese characters denoting the term Cia-zih-tou are pronounced in the local Fulao dialect as Kio-a-thau. Throughout my thesis, I follow this tradition and use “Kio-a-thau” instead of “Cia-tou” or “Cia-zih-tou” because the former is more socially acceptable.

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3 The altitude of Kio-a-thau and its neighbouring area is between 4 to 42 metres, which makes it a gently rolling plain.
4 For more details of changing the names of Kio-a-thau, see Chapter 3.
5 In colonial Taiwan, the local administration was divided into three levels. At the top was the province which was called jhou (州) or ting (廳). The second level consisted of municipality and county known as shih (市) and jyun (郡). Each county was divided into several townships and villages which were called fie (街) and jhuang (庄). For more details about the administrative organization, see Chen (1970: 141-144).
Politically, Kio-a-thau is currently a jie (township), which administratively belonged to Kaohsiung jhou (province). Kio-a-thau became a “township” in 1947, shortly after the retreat of the Japanese people, by amalgamating 17 small nearby villages with a total area of 25.73 square kilometres. According to the census data, the population of Kio-a-thau jie was only 618 in 1905 (see Table 3.2). After 1945, the administrative area of Kio-a-thau changed and the surrounding 17 cun (villages) were amalgamated to form the “Ciao-tou siang (township).” The population of the whole township increased to 38,138 in 2000. The area of Kio-a-thau that I refer to in my thesis covers only two of the current 17 villages: Ciao-tou cun and Sing-tang cun. In 2000, Ciao-tou cun had 2,136 residents, while Sing-tang cun had 395 residents. In 2003, the sugar refinery was still there although it has been closed since 1999. The refinery as well as the Japanese dormitories near the refinery have been preserved by Kaohsiung County Government since 19 September 2002. On 19 September, 2002, Kaohsiung County Government declared the refinery and surrounding areas a county-grade historical site. It occupies a huge area of 23 hectares in total and comprises 19 historical locales.

The history of Kio-a-thau is thus not only closely connected to Japanese colonialism but also to the sugar history of Taiwan over the past few hundred years. In the rest of this chapter, I will discuss the sugar industry and explore the role sugar played in the following stages in Taiwan’s history: the Dutch era (1624-1662), the Jheng era (1662-1683), the Cing era (1683-1895), and the Japanese colonial era (1895-1945). I will then relate Kio-a-thau, my fieldwork site, to the Japanese sugar economy.

6 See the previous footnote.
7 The population of each village in 2000 was as follows. Jhong-ci (922), Shih-he (4,449), Shih-long (2,926), Shih-fong (2,994), Jia-bei (2,668), Jia-nan (2,756), Bai-shu (3,762), Si-lin (1,930), Yu-liao (2,475), Dong-lin (2,983), Ding-yan (1,432), Bi-siou (1,975), Sin-jhuang (1,725), De-song (1,446), Ciao-nan (1,164), Ciao-tou (2,136), and Sing-tang (395). These totaled 38,138 in 2000.
8 The area of Ciao-tou village and Sing-tang village at present approximates the area of colonial Kio-a-thau.
A HISTORY OF THE SUGAR ECONOMY IN TAIWAN

Seen as part of global history, sugar became an important resource in the initial stage of capital expansion in the sixteenth century. In *Sweetness and Power*, Sidney W. Mintz (1985: xxix) discusses the social and cultural significance of sugar in the growth of world capitalism. Mintz states that the history of sugar was closely associated with overseas colonial expansion from the fifteenth century. Sugar was still a costly rarity in the mid-seventeenth century and it "bec[a]me important to England's ruling strata" (Mintz 1985: 166) because they needed to import it. As a result, the seizure of colonies where sugarcane could grow and a cheap labour force could be used became a major concern for western countries. For example, the Netherlands and England exercised their control over several colonies including the West Indies, the Philipines, India, and Indonesia. In the British orbit, for example, the colonial government won its colonies such as the East Indies in the early nineteenth century in order to benefit from a new labour supply. Through these labourers from the East Indies and Melanesia, some areas were established exclusively for sugar plantations such as Fiji (1850), Natal, South Africa (1860), and Queensland, Australia (1863). Also, the Dutch undertook to expand sugar production in Java from 1830 onwards (Geertz 1963). This colonial control continued until the nineteenth century, the extended scale and extent of the global market further deepening the colonial control of many colonies. As Eric Wolf (1982: 310) indicates in his work, *Europe and the People without History*, "[d]uring the latter part of the nineteenth century, production under capitalism took a greater leap forward, escalating the demand for raw materials and foodstuffs and creating a vastly expanded market of worldwide scope."

Taiwan was involved in the initial stage of capital expansion from the sixteenth century. The arrival of the Dutch in the following century triggered a long-term process that enmeshed Taiwan in global capital expansion and colonialism. In the late nineteenth century, Taiwan was also affected by a wave of capital expansion under the Japanese empire. The Japanese colonial stance on Taiwan was centred on the sugar industry (Ho 1978; Ka 1995; Chang and Myers 1963; Yanaihara
Colonial sugar economy

Yanaihara (1929), following a Marxist perspective, argues that the sugar industry was developed as a core industry over the island to accumulate capital and assist Japanese imperialism. Chang and Myers (1963: 443-446) describe in detail how the sugar industry was managed by the colonial government. They suggest that the colonial sugar industry was a case of “bureaucratic entrepreneurship” – an industry which was well organised and managed by a group of active Japanese bureaucrats. These bureaucrats introduced a series of reforms including the establishment of the Provisional Taiwan Sugar Business Bureau, land management, introductions of irrigation projects, and subsidies to farmers (Chang and Myers 1963: 444). These measures helped to formulate policies of promotion and financial support to build the colonial sugar industry.

The story of sugarcane in Taiwan can be traced back to before the Han-Chinese settlers moved there in the early seventeenth century. At that time, the island was a frontier territory inhabited by Malaya-Polynesian aborigines, who were mainly engaged in fishing, hunting, and trading. Shepherd (1993: 32), based on archaeological evidence, suggests that the aboriginal people already knew how to plant sugarcane before Chinese settlement. These ethnic groups shared quite similar productive technologies in terms of “swidden cultivation of millet, rice, taro, yams, and sugarcane...” (Shepherd 1993: 29). Also, according to Shepherd, sugar was used for making alcohol and other drinks. However, in the early seventeenth century, the Dutch East India Company came to the East to trade with China and other Asian countries, and finally settled in southern Taiwan in 1624. During the Dutch period (1624-1662), as Ho (1978: 7-8) describes, Taiwan “quickly became a meeting ground for Dutch, Chinese, and Japanese merchants.” The Dutch regarded Taiwan as a trading centre with China and Japan. Deerskin and meats, rice, and sugar were the most profitable trading goods at that time. In order to gain exclusive rights to commercial ventures in Taiwan, the Dutch regime also established sugarcane plantations in an endeavor to increase production and promote sugar as the main export industry. The Dutch land records show (Ho 1978: 9) that a total of 1,573 hectares of land were used for sugarcane cultivation in 1656. This figure indicates that a large area was planted
with sugarcane, much more than required by domestic needs. The Dutch also imposed export duty on sugar as well as deerskin. Sugar at this stage was exported mainly to Japan. Davidson (1903: 445) notes that as much as 80,000 *piculs* (4,826,223 kilograms) of sugar were shipped to Japan per year during this period. This is a large amount of sugar exports compared to the population and areas of sugarcane production.

After 1662, the Dutch were driven out of Taiwan by the Ming loyalist Jheng Cheng-gong (Koxinga) and his army of 25,000 men, who followed the Dutch as the rulers of Taiwan (1662-1683). Jheng transformed the Dutch trading colony run as a profit-making enterprise into both a military and economic base in an effort to retake mainland China from the Manchus (the Cing Dynasty). During the 22 years of the Jheng era (1662-1683), growing sugar and rice was used to serve both the political and economic intentions of resisting Cing rule. Jheng asked his soldiers to plant rice, issued orders that work in the fields was obligatory, and encouraged experienced farmers to settle in Taiwan in order to achieve self-sufficiency in food (Ho 1978: 10). Regarding sugarcane plantation, Jheng found that the sugar exports could help spur the economic revitalisation of Taiwan. As a result, following what had been started under Dutch rule, Jheng encouraged soldiers and farmers to plant sugarcane by introducing large quantities of seeds from Fujian province. His son also “taught the colonists new methods of cultivation and manufacture [of cane]” (Davidson 1903: 445). With this encouragement, the cultivation of sugarcane as well as paddy fields was greatly expanded. Sugar exports had reached as much as 18,000 metric tons (18,000,000 kilograms) per year before the the Cing government took over Taiwan in 1683 (Williams 1980: 221).

The Cing takeover of Taiwan did not bring about substantial improvement in terms of sugar production. This is closely related to the Cing government’s

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10 The population in the 1650s was about 100,000 (Ho 1987: 9).
11 While the Dutch ruled over Taiwan, the Ming Dynastic government in China had collapsed. Jheng Cheng-gong, the son of a Japanese mother and a wealthy Chinese father, refused to accept the Cing’s, so he recruited a small army and developed a fleet in order to resist the Cing government. Jheng claimed to restore the old Ming regime in China after he defeated the Dutch in 1662.
attitude to Taiwan. In its eyes, Taiwan was a “somewhat ill-regarded appendage to the mainland” (Williams 1980: 222). Shepherd (1993: 179) states that the Cing government considered Taiwan a “strategic periphery” – a remote island along the South-eastern coast when compared to the mainland. Skinner (1977: 308) further indicates that the field administration of the Cing’s bureaucracy was designed both to raise revenue in economically developed regional cores and to ensure control in regional peripheries. As a result, for most of the Cing period, Taiwan itself did not become a well-integrated economy and was only a small part of the Chinese economy (Ho 1978). During this period, sugar as well as rice were bulked and shipped to Tainan, the capital city, where they entered the cross-strait trade with China (Shepherd 1993: 175-6). Farmers grew sugarcane both in the older area around Tainan and in the newly reclaimed areas of Fongshan [south] and Chu-lo [north] (Shepherd 1993: 168). Nevertheless, in the 1860s, a series of treaties opened several ports in Taiwan, increasing the extent of trade between Taiwan and other parts of the world. For example, the Treaty of Tientsin in 1858 designated Anping (present day Tainan) as a treaty port. The Treaty of Peking in 1860 opened Tamsui as a treaty port. Three years later, Keelung as well as Takao (present day Kaohsiung) was added as two supplementary ports. Foreign traders took the place of Chinese monopoly traders, and a global market was waiting for Taiwan. The most valuable exports during the 1860s and 1890s were sugar, tea, and rice, which accounted for 80-90 percent of Taiwan’s exports between 1868 and 1896 (Ho 1978: 14-5). Furthermore, the export destinations were not only limited to China but also extended to America, Europe, and Southeast Asia. Despite this, Myers (1891: 388) indicates that both the cultivating methods and the crushing processes for sugarcane were primitive. Myers states (1891: 16) that “[t]hrough negligence in cultivation, the cane here dwindles to a very small size, the joints only from 1 to ½ inches in circumferences, and little or no attention seems to be devoted to the plant beyond putting it in the ground.”

Taiwan was ceded to Japan in 1895 as a result of the conclusion of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895. As mentioned by Japanese officials (TSKGS: 7): “Initially, probably abandoned by the Cing government for a long time, Taiwan

12 For example, as Ho (1978: 14) points out, sugar went to north China and Japan, while tea went to America, Europe, and Southeast Asia.
Colonial sugar economy

emerged as a state of ‘undevelopment’ in terms of social and economic circumstances.” Subsequently, Japanese colonisation brought to Taiwan a number of profound changes that were to have far-reaching economic consequences. According to the Japanese, these changes were designed to transfer a traditional and backwards agricultural economy into a modern economy. In effect, Ho (1978: 39) indicates that such transformation was to satisfy Japan’s economic needs and to resolve Japan’s balance-of-payments difficulties at the turn of the century. Given that Taiwan was its first large area climatically suited to sugarcane cultivation, the Japanese thought that somehow they could make profits from sugar exports since sugar was greatly in demand in the global market. Sugar thus became a totally commercial crop, and most of it was exported (Ho 1984: 370). During the final years of the colonial period, the sugar price was even used as a mechanism to deal with the rising rice price in markets in both Taiwan and Japan. This is the so-called “contradictory relationship between sugar and rice” (Ka 1995: 133-178). The Japanese government intervened in the price-setting system of sugarcane in order to prevent sugarcane farmers from planting rice because of the rising price of rice.

At least two contrasting features account for the differences between the Japanese period and the previous stages in terms of the sugar economy in Taiwan. The first one was the introduction of advanced technology. The colonial government introduced a series of well-organised plans to increase the production of sugar since the overall productivity had increased only slowly in the Cing era. Some measures suggested by scholars or officials to improve the sugar economy were implemented, such as the intensive use of fertilisers, the introduction of superior sugarcane seeds (which could yield much more sugar), the construction of an irrigation system, the arrangement of new territory for cultivation, land-tenure reform, and the improvement of manufacturing. 13 The final item led to the proposal to construct modern sugar refineries to take the place of the old-

13 For example, Dr. Nitobe Inazo published a position paper regarding the improvement of Taiwan’s sugar industry in 1901. This suggested many ways to assist in building up the sugar industry such as the purchase of seed cane, experiments in cultivation and manufacture, subsidies and loans to farmers, the construction of irrigation works, and so forth. For details see Davidson (1903: 452) and Kerr (1974: 91-93).
fashioned sugarcane crushing-shed mills that were still popular then. I will discuss this later in this chapter. These measures were not triggered by the peasants themselves, but by the scholars, colonial officials, and the state itself. However, the land purchases made by the Japanese sugar monopoly were somewhat coercive and brought about many conflicts between locals and the Japanese refineries (L. Wang 2000: 846). In Kio-a-thau, for instance, a local rebellion took place as a result of such a conflict. The rebellion of Shao-Mao Lin in 1901 was caused by conflicts between the local and KSR because pieces of land in Kio-a-thau were bought compulsorily through the new contracts of the sugarcane refinery (see Chapter 3).

The other aspect of Japanese colonisation which contrasts with the Cing era is that the sugar economy was used as a major means to accumulate capital for Japanese capitalism. From the 1900s onwards, sugar dominated among exports. Table 2.3 indicates that in 1896-99, sugar exports accounted for about 20 percent of the total exports of Taiwan. This figure rose to almost half of the exports between the 1910s and 1930s (Table 2.3), which was a boom period in colonial history. Although the importance of sugar had declined somewhat, sugar exports still accounted for 42 percent of the total exports at the end of the colonial period. Like the previous Dutch regime, such sugar exports helped to make large profits for the Japanese. In 1899, in order to manage the capital it accumulated from the whole island, the colonial government established the Bank of Taiwan, which served as a financial mechanism in colonial Taiwan. Yanaihara (1929) has pointed out how the sugar industry became a core industry of the Japanese empire through this process.

\[14\] In order to transform the “backward agricultural economy” in Taiwan, the colonial government introduced a land-tenure reform in 1898. During the Cing era, most of the land was owned by two types of owners, an absentee landlord and a resident landlord. A high proportion of land was not registered, and landowners did not pay tax. In the land reform, all lands had to be registered, the absentee landlords were obliged to exchange their rights for interest-bearing bonds, and the resident landowners were guaranteed title to their property. The land reform clarified property ownership and enhanced government tax revenues. This reform also helped to develop the sugar economy since this policy made it easier for Japanese firms to later purchase large amounts of land in Taiwan.
Ka (1995), based on his discussion of the mechanism of articulation between sugar capital and the farm economy, affirms that the intention of the Japanese colonial state was to increase Japan's domestic capital by producing a surplus of "sugar capital". He also indicates how the surplus extraction mechanisms functioned. Given that the procurement of cane accounted for 60 to 70 percent of the cost of manufacturing sugar, cutting the cost of cane was the key to reaping large monopoly profits. Sugar refineries directly purchased from indigenous peasants under a system of exclusive territories for cane procurement. Through this system, sugar refineries could secure their cane supplies, and enjoy substantial control over the price of cane. In this regard, the Japanese era was quite similar to the Dutch era that I have mentioned earlier, in that both considered sugar exports an important mechanism for accumulating capital. What differentiates them is that the extent and scale of the colonial involvement of Japan went far beyond the Dutch regime. While the Dutch simply extracted the resources of Taiwan, Japanese colonisation developed a detailed plan to manage Taiwan. "Colonial Taiwan" thus emerged in a different shape to "Cing Taiwan."

Table 2.3
The role of sugar in Taiwan's exports, 1870-1943

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Annual Exports</th>
<th>% Sugar Exports</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1896-1899</td>
<td>14489.8 (yen)</td>
<td>19.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900-1904</td>
<td>19016.2</td>
<td>17.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905-1909</td>
<td>32284.8</td>
<td>33.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910-1914</td>
<td>59936.4</td>
<td>48.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915-1919</td>
<td>130192.4</td>
<td>50.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920-1924</td>
<td>195767.6</td>
<td>56.72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15 The expansion of the sugar industry in Taiwan differed from colonial Java, where sugar mills produced cane directly on rice fields rented from local peasants. In colonial Taiwan, sugar refineries could directly purchase from indigenous peasants under this exclusive system for cane procurement. In this sense, the development of the modern sugar industry in Taiwan was a process in which the indigenous peasant economy was preserved, reorganized, and allowed to choose their crops freely. See Clifford Geertz (1963) for more details on the Java case.
THE OLD-FASHIONED SUGARCANE CRUSHING-SHED MILL
VERSUS THE MODERN SUGAR REFINERY

The old-fashioned sugarcane crushing-shed mill was the final but crucial stage of producing sugar in the pre-colonial era (see Plates 2.5 and 2.6). Sugarcane required fifteen to eighteen months to mature, and then had to be cut and milled immediately. Kerr (1974: 92) indicates that, in the early Japanese colonial period (before the twentieth century), sugar was produced by an inferior cane and from extraction methods little changed since the days of the seventeenth-century Dutch administration. In the harvesting seasons, the cane was cut near the ground with a kind of sickle, and then transported to the near-by crushing-shed mills by coolies, unskilled labourers, or ox-carts. The photograph reproduced as Plates 2.9 shows how the old-fashioned sugarcane crushing-shed mill functioned at that time. Davidson (1903: 447) described the situation in Taiwan at the turn of the twentieth century as follows:

The crushing-shed, the machinery of which is described in a special paper which follows, is a cone-shaped structure having a diameter of some fifty feet at the base, and is thirty feet in height. The supporters are of bamboo, and the roof is thatched with straw. The [sugar] boiling house, which adjoins the above shed, is provided with a tiled roof, and is usually more strongly built. Sometimes a third building for storing the Sugar is added.

Lin and Yang (1997: 11) point out that previously the whole crushing process was done by ox-driven power rather than machine. As a consequence, sugar production was limited in quantity. In 1896 the total sugar yield was estimated to be about forty thousand tons per year.

Source: Ka 1995
A new and crucial way of making sugar, however, emerged as a result of the development of the colonial ambition for a sugar industry. After investigating various ways of managing sugar industries around the world, the Japanese government decided to build a modern sugarcane refinery in colonial Taiwan. The Japanese government’s basic idea of constructing sugar mills came from Dutch colonial Java, where a capital-intensive sugar mill emerged as a mechanism for capital accumulation and recruiting labourers (Wolf 1982: 334). Wolf (1982: 335) states that the emergence of modern sugar mills led to the “worldwide fall of the planter class,” since the sugar mill prevailed by drawing on financial and technical resources such as transportation, labour operation, and processing to achieve a higher level of sugar production.

On 10 December 1900, Taiwan Sugar Refinery Company (Japanese: Kabushikigaisha) was established under the political propaganda objective of “enhancing national wealth” (TSKGS: 1). Prior to this, Inazo Nitobe, a well-known agricultural expert in Japan, had published a position paper on Taiwanese agricultural innovations, which served as a basis for the colonial government’s policy and dealt with the improvement of Taiwan’s sugar industry. In his proposal, building a modern sugar refinery was necessary for the development of a modern sugar industry. In 1900, the sugar refinery company was composed of both a Japanese enterprise, MITSUI Consortium, and the Japanese colonial government, which also invested over one million yen to set up KSR (Davidson 1903). In other words, the sugar company was a profit-making unit directly controlled by the colonial state. However, this was a challenge for the colonial government since, as narrated in the official gazetteer, “the sugarcane industry is a totally new venture we have never experienced [in colonial Taiwan]” (TSKGS: 7). On 15 February 1901, KSR started construction and was completed on 14 October 1901. The first day it produced sugar was 15 January 1902. James W. Davidson, a British traveler, provided the following detailed description soon after the refinery was completed (1903: 453).

The site for the factory was selected at Kyoshito [Kio-a-thau], a point 10 miles distant from Takow [Kaohsiung] on the Tainan-Kakow railways. The plant was completed and commenced operations on December 11th, 1901. The factory building is doubled storied in part and covers 25,000 square feet.
The plant of the defunct Yayeyama factory was bought outright for 75,000 yen, and an English five-roller mill, a French triple-effect apparatus and vacuum pans, and some other apparatus which was found in good condition—much of it had never been used—was removed for use in the Formosan factory. A new five-roller mill, 2 vacuum pans, 4 centrifugal separators, an engine and other machinery were purchased from England, 6 eliminators, 6 filters and other equipment from Japan, and an engine and electrical machinery from America. The total expenditure on the completion of the factory amounted to 850,000 yen, divided as follows: Buildings, 230,000 yen; machinery, 360,000 yen; land 220,000 yen; miscellaneous expenditures for organisation, surveys, etc., 40,000 yen. The expenditure for land represents, in addition to the factory site, 2,500 acres of cultivated land, which the company intends to devote eventually to the cultivation of Hawaiian cane. It is hoped in time to control sufficient land under cultivation to supply their entire requirements. The land will be rented to cultivators, who will be supplied with seed cane, implements, and capital to work their land, and the company will take the cane over at a fixed rate.

Part of the construction of KSR was also recorded by Zensaburou Kaneki (as mentioned in Chapter 1). From his photographs we can clearly see the ambition of the colonial empire. The huge factory buildings, high chimneys (see Plate 2.7), and Administrative Offices (see Plates 2.8 and 2.9) made of concrete rather than wood, make a particular contrast with the old-fashioned mills of the countryside. In November 1901, Shimpei Gotō, the incumbent chief of the Civil Administration on the island, paid a formal visit to KSR and commented (TSKGS: 127),

The construction of modern sugar refineries is essential as it is a representation of social progress. The significance of Taiwan Sugar Refinery Company is that it aims to break down the current “backwardness” of the Taiwan’s sugar economy. Furthermore, it also aims to keep pace with the “progressive” sugar industry in the world ....

The sugar industry then began a rapid transformation. In the next decade, sugar production increased ten times over that of traditional sugar manufacturing. With the success of the first sugar refinery, more were developed. There were a total of 42 modern sugar refineries in Taiwan during the late Japanese era (see Figure 2.3).

The story of why and how Kio-a-thau was chosen as the first site is complex. In October 1900, Tosanro Susuki, the first President of Taiwan Sugar Refinery Company, and Teijiro Yamamoto, who later became the first general manager
Colonial sugar economy

(Japanese: shihainin) of the Company, travelled from Tokyo to Taiwan by sea.\textsuperscript{16} Their main purpose was to decide on a definite site for the first “modern sugar refinery” of the sugar company. Before that, the company preferred Ma-dou, Tainan, as a prospective site since it had plenty of land. However, after investigations in neighbouring areas in southern Taiwan (from Tainan to Pingtung), they finally decided to choose Kio-a-thau (TSKGS: 112). According to the record (TSKGS: 112-3), this site was chosen because of “its transport and watering advantages.” Despite this, the record still shows the “hardship” faced initially in Kio-a-thau. According to a description in 1900, Kio-a-thau was “a remote village without shops and communication...[and] an area near the camps of bandits” (TSKGS: 113). Shortly after the decision to build the refinery there, the neighbouring agricultural land, with a total area of 1031 chia of land, was purchased by the company (TSKGS: 116), and steps were taken to progressively develop infrastructure in the area. In January 1901, the first postal and communications office was established; and the “flying doctor” medical system between A-gong-dian (present day Gang-shan) and Kio-a-thau began operating once a week in order to take care of the sick (TSKGS: 114). The railroad between Tainan and Kaohsiung (Japanese: kakao), which passed through Kio-a-thau, was completed on 28 November 1900. On 12 May 1901, the first special railroad for carrying cane, which was somewhat smaller than a regular railway, was completed. In order to export sugar, work started on reconstructing Kaohsiung Harbour started to be reconstructed in 1901.

With the establishment of the sugar refinery in 1901, Kio-a-thau gradually became an industrial and business centre. The local population provided plenty of labourers for the Japanese sugar economy.\textsuperscript{17} The residents mainly made a living

\textsuperscript{16} Yamamoto had a crucial influence on the construction of Kio-a-thau Sugar Refinery. He also endeavored to integrate into local life, adopting two local people: Love and Water, who are both important informants in my research. In 1927, due to his contribution to the sugar refinery industry in Kio-a-thau, Teijirou Yamamoto was elected to Congress to be the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry in Japan. He was identified as the Japanese who had successfully managed the development of the modern sugar industry in Taiwan.

\textsuperscript{17} According to Fongshan Sian Cian Fang Lu, a gazetteer which was published in 1894, there were 567 households with 29999 people living in the region.
from the sugar economy by farming, doing business, and becoming wage labourers. According to Davidson (1903: 453), “18 Japanese and 50 Chinese, and 500 families will be given employment on the company’s land” in 1903. With the completion of the second refinery of KSR in 1907 and the factory for alcohol in Kio-a-thau, more migrants, including the Japanese, moved in. The population of Kio-a-thau grew steadily. According to the Japanese census, Kio-a-thau had 681 residents in 1905, rising to 1299 in 1930. About half the residents of Kio-a-thau were Japanese, most of whom came to work for KSR. A few others were street-side businessmen.

From 1901 onwards, KSR played a “pioneering” role in terms of the sugar economy in colonial Taiwan. As noted earlier, sugar exports accounted for almost half of the colony’s total exports by 1910 (see Table 2.3). The significance of sugar was highlighted by the Japanese and then followed by the post-colonial Nationalist regime. Such a situation continued until the 1970s, when the global sugar economy declined because the overall price of sugar fell sharply. After that, sugar did not enjoy the same profitability as it had in the Japanese and early post-colonial era. However, the significance of sugar is still worth remembering, recalling, and interpreting, especially at different stages in Taiwanese history. During the past few years, I have observed a grass-roots movement in which the locals are identifying Kio-a-thau as the “birth place of the modern sugar culture in Taiwan.” For example, they have held many activities such as celebrating the hundredth anniversary of the operating of the sugar refinery, giving public speeches, displaying art of the landscape of KSR, and organising a local cultural group. Recently, in 2002, a local group edited a book entitled “The Golden Age of Sugar,” which includes some old pictures and interviews focussing on memories of the refinery. The editor states, “The old men told their stories according to the old pictures, through which they ‘refresh’ their memories of that period of time” (Jiang 2002: 9). Centred on KSR, this grass-roots movement aims to awaken the memory of the “good old days” in Kio-a-thau.

The first local cultural group began in 1996. One of the aims of the group was to establish a museum of Taiwanese sugar history and a “sugar cultural park” based on KSR. For details see the website: www.kat.org.tw
CONCLUSION: RISE OF A COLONIAL SUGAR ECONOMY

In this chapter, I have provided a short introduction of the role sugar played in relation to colonial expansion and Taiwanese history. I have also pointed out the most crucial factor linking Kio-a-thau to the Japanese Empire was sugar production. As noted above, sugar production had a long history in Taiwan. It can even be traced back to the period before Han settlers moved in. Sugar became a commodity and was exported to other Asian countries in the Dutch period, yet it reached its zenith in terms of exports in the Japanese period. Until the 1960s, sugar was one of the most important exports in Taiwan. After that, the sugar industry declined significantly because of global overproduction. From the 1970s onwards, the percentage of sugar exports accounted for less than 0.1 percent of the overall exports in Taiwan (Lin and Yang 1997: 10). The sugar industry was not as good as before, especially when compared with that of the Japanese colonial period.

The Japanese developed sugar production as a key element in the consolidation of colonial rule in Taiwan. As the site of the first refinery, the development of Kio-a-thau as a centre for sugar production was closely tied with Japanese colonialism in Taiwan. Based on their improvements in sugar plantation, production, technology, and policy, the Japanese created new historical and economic circumstances which contrasted with previous eras. Besides the economic linkage, this colonial project also had cultural dimensions. In the following chapter I explore historical and cultural landscapes of Kio-a-thau. This aims to show the cultural dimensions of Kio-a-thau’s colonial-era incorporation.
Plate 2.1 Train carrying passengers rather than sugarcane at the celebration of the centenary of the refinery's construction, 2000
Photo: Cheng-Yuan Liu

Plate 2.2 Holy Mercy Buddha at the celebration of the centenary of the refinery's construction, 2000
Photo: Cheng-Yuan Liu
Plate 2.3  Statue of Holy Mercy Buddha
Photo: Zensaburou Kaneki

Plate 2.4  Japanese worshippers of the Holy Mercy Buddha
Photo: Zensaburou Kaneki
Plate 2.5  Old-fashioned sugarcane crushing-shed mill (Davidson 1903)
Source: Taiwan seitō kabushiki geisha shi (p60)

Plate 2.6  A buffalo is eating sugarcane leaves as four women and five children watch
Photo: Zensaburou Kaneki
Colonial sugar economy

Plate 2.7  The four chimneys of Kio-a-thau Sugar Refinery
Photo: Zensaburou Kaneki

Plate 2.8  The Administrative Office of Kio-a-thau Sugar Refinery
Photo: Zensaburou Kaneki
Plate 2.9 The Administrative Office and a well-trimmed tree in the front
Photo: Zensaburou Kaneki
INTRODUCTION

Following the largely economic discussion in the previous chapter, in this chapter I look at the cultural dimensions of colonialism. I explore how various external powers influenced the construction of Kio-a-thau’s cultural landscape. The argument of this chapter is that these cultural constructions were not continuous over the three hundred years from the early seventeenth century until the end of the colonial period. Instead, they took quite a number of different directions and reflect various intentions of Taiwan’s colonial rulers. I trace the cultural history of Kio-a-thau by first describing the history of Kio-a-thau’s colonial incorporation in the Dutch, Jheng, Cing and Japanese eras. Second, I examine how colonial reporters in these various eras perceived Kio-a-thau and the ways they saw its cultural landscape, before concluding with an examination of local responses to the cultural landscape of Japanese colonialisation.

The Japanese impact on Kio-a-thau’s cultural landscape is still clearly evident. The main street is about five hundred metres long and most of the buildings on the street today were built in the Japanese colonial period (see Plates 3.1). These buildings are two storeys high. They face towards the street and are decorated with pebbles on the front. An old man told me that most of these buildings were built by those who became rich in the Japanese colonial period. The first two-storey building on the main street was built by Prize in the 1930s (Plate 3.2) (for the story of Prize see Chapter 4). On one occasion I saw the inscription KO at the top of a building (see Plates 3.3 and 3.4). I did not know the reason, so I asked an 84-year-old businessman, the neighbour, what the significance was. He pointed to it, saying, “The first owner is gone. His [Chinese] surname is syu, which is read in Japanese kanji as ko. Actually he passed away many years ago.” Our talk was interrupted by the sound of a funeral march along the street. They were making a lot of noise by playing trumpets and crying through microphones. For locals, funerals are supposed to be noisy in order to declare death in public. The old man
looked at the procession for a while and then turned to ask his wife: “Is the [dead] man Mouse?”

In 2003, the main street had hundreds of shop, including a motorbike workshop, camera houses, jewellery shops, grocery stories, bakeries, a lottery shop, drugstores, a hotel, and two 24-hour convenience stores. At around three o’clock in the afternoon every day, an afternoon market was convened at the southern end, in which many peddlers sold fresh food and snacks such as tofu, fresh fish and prawns, meat, honey, dumplings, dipped pork legs and soymilk. Occasionally when I was tired from my fieldwork, I would stop for a while just to taste some tempura, a Japanese-style fried seafood and vegetables. Walking along the street was interesting although it was crowded, noisy, and the air was polluted due to the exhaust from motorbikes.

The development of this street is closely related with the cultural reconstruction of Kio-a-thau over a much longer period. As noted in Chapter 2, the official gazetteer records the name of Kio-a-thau as “Siao-dian-zai-jie,” which means a little shop. Jheng (1997b), a historian, further indicates that the original place of this little shop was located to the front and left of the Mazu Temple. In the following sections, I examine the cultural construction of Kio-a-thau under different colonial forces from the seventeenth century.

THE DUTCH, JHENG, AND EARLY CING PERIODS (1624-1720)

Duo-ba-sih-rong, Jhong-chong (Jhong-ci), and the river

As noted previously, the Dutch colonists arrived in Taiwan in 1624, and their main interests was Taiwan’s economic potential in line with the Dutch involvement in global commerce. Local natural resources such as deerskin and meats, rice, and sugar were exploited by the Dutch colonisers for trade. In contrast, when Jheng Cheng-gong and his followers defeated the Dutch colonial regime in 1661-1662, Taiwan was seen as an island colony to fight against the Cing regime. All priorities, including agricultural and economic activities, were
Cultural history of Kio-a-thau

therefore absorbed to meet military requirements. In order to increase the population to fight the Cing, Jheng recruited war refugees and settlers, largely from Fujian Province in China, and tried to carry out his military colonisation by stationing soldiers on the vast stretches of fertile but unopened land in Taiwan (Shepherd 1993: 94). Accordingly, the population in Taiwan increased rapidly during the Jheng era. Jheng’s army also set up many military barracks in Taiwan. These barracks were concentrated in southwestern Taiwan (Shepherd 1993: 99).

Between 1661 and 1683, Jheng’s army set up several barracks around Kio-a-thau and its neighbouring region. These barracks were in: 1) Jhong-chong (中衝) (Jhong-ci today), one kilometre to the northeast of present day Kio-a-thau; 2) Bi-su (畢宿) (Bi-siou today), two kilometres to the north of Kio-a-thau and; 3) Dian-bing-jhen (殿兵鎮) (Yu-liao today), four kilometres to the west of present day Kio-a-thau (KATCS 1998: 27). These three places had something in common as they were all located along the Jhong-ci River (see Figure 2.1). This was due to concerns about a reliable water supply of both the military and the Han settlers who first settled along this river.

In the late seventeenth century, Jhong-chong was the centre of this area. It was a river port, which had probably acted as a trade point between the Chinese and the Dutch in earlier times (Jheng 1997b). According to the Taiwan Fu Jhih (TFJ 1694), an official gazetteer published by the Cing Government, Jhong-chong was one of the seven pu – postal stations – in 1694 between Fongshan Sian (Fongshan County) and Tainan, the capital city in Taiwan at that time. During that period, the Cing Government also established some water facilities to irrigate farming land in Jhong-chong (TFJ 1694). Jhong-chong was one of the biggest villages in Fongshan Sian from the Jheng era to the early Cing Dynasty. However, Jhong-chong declined after that because its land was higher than the neighbouring areas, and the Jhong-ci River gradually became blocked from the eighteenth century.

In the south-western part of Jhong-chong, about one or two kilometres away, there was a place which was named Duo-ba-sih-rong (哆吧思戎) by the Plains Aborigines. This site is located around present day Kio-a-thau and the
neighbouring Shih-long village. Maps of Taiwan drawn by officials in the early eighteenth century suggest that Kio-a-thau and its neighbouring areas were called Duo-ba-sih-rong from the early seventeenth century to the middle of the eighteenth century. According to anthropologists and historians (Shepherd 1993; Nakamura 1936; Jheng 1997), the ethnic group that once used to live in Duo-ba-sih-rong was a sub-ethnic group of Siraya, an ethnic group of Plains Aborigines who lived in southwestern Taiwan before Han Chinese moved in. In effect, the place name of Duo-ba-sih-rong demonstrates that Kia-a-thau and its neighbouring areas had belonged to the Plains Aborigines before the Han settlers moved in. In addition, the name of the neighbouring village, Shih-long, was actually a homophone (Shih-long and Sih-rong) of Duo-ba-sih-rong (哆吧思戎) in Mandarin.

Where did these Plains Aborigines go after the Han settlers moved in? This is a complex question. Some observers maintain that the Plains Aborigines gradually dispersed to other areas and were later incorporated into Han settlements through intermarriages (Shepherd 1993). Some maintain that they became completely sinicized because they did not flee to the mountains (Lamley 1981: 282; Meskill 1979: 253-55). However, Brown (2004: 35-65) argues that different historical and political experiences have affected the self-identity of these people. In effect, she observes that some remaining descendants of the Plains Aborigines in southwestern Taiwan still claim Plains Aborigine identity although they are able to take on a “Koklo [Fujian] Han cultural identity” as well (Brown 2004: 65).

Unfortunately we are not aware of the complexity of the interactions between Han men and Plains Aborigines in Duo-ba-sih-rong before the eighteenth century. The facts we know now are that, besides the Plains Aborigines, the soldiers of the Jheng era and Han settlers and their descendants lived around the region along the Jhong-chong River from the end of the seventeenth century. The story of Kio-a-thau, the main locus of my study, actually started with Duo-ba-sih-rong.
Cultural history of Kio-a-thau

LATER CING PERIOD (1720-1894)

Siao-dian-zai-jie, Yun-guei-ciao, and Mazu Temple

The change in roles between Jhong-ci and Kio-a-thau can be traced to the years between 1720 and 1741. Kio-a-thau emerged as a local centre as a result of changes in the landscape of transportation. In 1720, the *Fongshan Sian Jhih* (FSSJ) records that there were five major major *ji-shih* (big villages) between Fongshan Sian and Tainan in 1720. From the north to the south, they were Da-hu (大湖), Ban-lu-jhu (半路竹), A-gong-dian (阿公店), Jhong-chong (中衝) and Nan-zih-keng (楠仔坑) (FSSJ 1720). However, by 1741, *Cong siou fujian taiwan fu jhih* (CSFTFJ) shows that Kio-a-thau had replaced Jhong-ci to become one of the eleven major *ji-shih* in Fongshan Sian. As noted in Chapter 2, this gazetteer records the name of Kio-a-thau as Siao-dian-zai-jie, which means a street with a little shop in Chinese. At the same time, the gazetteer indicates that the location of Siao-dian-zai-jie was in “Duo-ba-sih-ron.” In addition, when it comes to the bridges of Fong-shan sian, it states, “there is a Dian-zai-ciao [the bridge in Siao-dian-zai-jie] in Duo-ba-sih-ron. Locals named [the bridge] Kio-a-thau” (Table 3.1). Thus, the original meaning of Kio-a-thau referred to the bridge itself.

Table 3.1
Place-name changes of Kio-a-thau since the late Cing period

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Place name</th>
<th>Gazetteer</th>
<th>Administration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1741</td>
<td>Siao-dian-zai-jie</td>
<td><em>Cong siou fujian taiwan fu jhih</em></td>
<td>Fongshan Sian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1746</td>
<td>Siao-dian-zai-jie</td>
<td><em>Cong siou taiwan fu jhih</em></td>
<td>Fongshan Sian Ren Shou Li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1760</td>
<td>Siao-dian-zih-jie</td>
<td><em>Syu siou taiwan fu jhih</em></td>
<td>Fongshan Sian Ren Shou Li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1764</td>
<td>Siao-dian-zai-jie</td>
<td><em>Cong siou fongshan sian jhih</em></td>
<td>Fongshan Sian Ren Shou Li</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the above discussions we can conclude, firstly, that Jhong-chong was a settlement before Kio-a-thau, and that it gradually declined between 1720 and 1741. Geographical reasons such as the land and the blocking of Jhong-ci River could account for the decline of Jhong-chong (Jheng 1997b: 337). Secondly, Kio-a-thau gradually replaced Jhong-chong because of its convenience for traffic between Fong-shan Sian and Tainan after the construction of the bridge in the early eighteenth century. Thirdly, the name of Duo-ba-sih-rong was still used in the mid-eighteenth century.

The Han settlers’ history in Kio-a-thau is supposed to go back to this period. The historical record of Fong-Ciao Gong, the first Mazu Temple in Kio-a-thau (see Plate 3.5), can be traced to 1725. Mazu was an appealing and respectful goddess for early Han settlers in Taiwan. As Sutton (2003: 19-20) observes:

Taiwan’s most popular gods, Wangye and Mazu, spell out powerful connections with the literal crossing of the straits made by the locals’

1 The reason I call it Kio-a-thau was explained in Chapter 2.
ancestors. Mazu,..., has long been the object of worship by trades and
merchants who piled the coastal ports or sailed oceangoing junks to mainland
ports and elsewhere in Southeast Asia.

Although the official gazetteer indicates that the name of Kio-a-thau first
appeared in 1741, the establishment of a local temple is convincing evidence to
demonstrate that the first settlers arrived earlier than 1741. Obviously, Duo-ba-
sih-rong, Siao-dian-zai-jie, or Kio-a-thau were all present in the 1730s or 1740s.
In 1742, Chen Huei (陳輝), a Chinese poet, passed by Kio-a-thau and wrote a
poem entitled: "Leave Duo-ba-sih-rong (哆吧思戎) in the morning." In the poem
he described how he travelled there by an "ox-cart" and he saw a "bridge," some
bamboo trees, and woods along the road. Finally he drank some alcohol in a little
shop.

In 1747, the name "Kio-a-thau" was again recorded in the Zong Siou Taiwan Fu
Jhih. As I have stated above, it referred to the bridge. The bridge is remembered
by locals by the name "Yun-guei-ciao (允龜橋)," which in Chinese means a
bridge whose shape is like a tortoise. The bridge traversed the water channel
connecting the Jhong-ci River to the farmland around Duo-ba-sih-rong in the mid
1700s (FSSJ 1720). Some locals thought that the bridge was named because it
was an arch bridge and looked like a tortoise. However, the original name of this
bridge was Siao-dian-zai-ciao, which in Chinese means "a bridge of a little shop.”
Its first detailed description appeared in Cong siou fong shan sian jhih (CSFSSJ)
in 1764.

Siao-dian-zai-ciao [the name of this bridge] is located in Siao-dian-zai-jie. It
is 20 里 (10 kilometres) from Fongshan Sian. This bridge is made of wood,
and it is about 6 metres long. It is often used for vehicles and horses. 2

When I was in Kio-a-thau for my fieldwork in 2002-2003, the bridge was no
longer there, however, a single relic of this bridge still remained. There was a
small stone, on which the Japanese government had inscribed the name Syue-si, a
new name in the colonial time, and date (January 1919) to commemorate this old
bridge (see Plate 3.6). This little monument was located next to No. 170, Ciaotou

2 All translations from texts originally in Chinese are my translations.
Road (Main Street) and was completely covered by a big metal board. Next to it was a fruit stand, and the owner was intrigued when I took pictures of the relic. Some locals told me that most of the early settlers of Kio-a-thau lived between the bridge and the Mazu Temple. In fact, the bridge and “the little shop” near the bridge were milestones of the settlers’ history in Kio-a-thau. An 84-year-old man stated that the post office, located in front of the Mazu Temple and about 500 metres away from the bridge, was the main site where the first little shop was situated hundreds of years ago. He also mentioned that the area between the bridge and the Mazu Temple was busy during pre-colonial and colonial times. However, in the post-colonial period, the other side of the bridge was busier.

**The Official Route**

This bridge was supposed to have brought good fortune to the village of Kio-a-thau. In the mid-eighteenth century, the bridge served as one of the crucial stops along the official route between Fongshan Sian and Tainan, which was the biggest city in Taiwan at that time.

The Official Route from Fongshan Sian went past Nan-zih-keng, Kio-a-thau, A-gong-dian, Ban-lu-jhu, Da-hu and arrived in Tainan (see Figure 3.1). From the 1740s to the beginning of the Japanese era, Kio-a-thau served as a traffic stop as well as a small centre for the trading of daily necessities to neighbouring areas. In 1894, Kio-a-thau was formally recorded in the official gazetteer (FSSCFL 1894) as the name of Ciao-zih-tou-jie (Kio-a-thau Street) (Table 3.1). This official gazetteer suggests that there was a Mazu Temple, a private tutoring school, and a “daily trading market” in Kio-a-thau. These commercial activities were a result of the trading needs of producers and consumers in rural areas of China and Taiwan (Fei 1939; Diamond 1969). Diamond (1969: 19-20) describes this kind of economic activity in a southern rural village in southern Taiwan in the 1960s:

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3 The Chinese character was “Ciao-zih-tou-jie” (橘子頭街) (see Table 3.1).
Figure 3.1 Official Route in southwestern Taiwan in the mid-eighteenth century
Source: Cian long taiwan yu tu (Taiwan Atlas of Emperor Cian Long). The map is owned by National Palace Museum.
Trade of various kinds is an important source of income to village families. There are at least three different kinds of merchants: those who own shops in the village, those work in the [fish] trade between village and city, and peddlers. The fresh-produce stands are simple affairs attached to houses located on the square. Similarly, the stands selling fruits, soda, snacks, and ices generally do not provide a complete income for a household. Often, these stands are tended by the women and children, while the men do other work. Sometimes a household sells sugarcane or tomatoes in season, or a small stock of betel nuts or candies which are sold from a table outside the doorway. Moreover, there are non-resident peddlers who make the circuit of neighbouring villages, selling brooms and brushes, pots, cloth, patent medicines, children's clothing, and picture books. Operators of games and novelty stands appear at festival times.

Several travellers, including Chinese, English, and French, left notes about the landscape along this official route and in areas neighbouring Kio-a-thau. Their travel writing revealed various perceptions of the locality: leisure, economic potential and an account of its mercantile economy. For example, in the mid-1700s, a Chinese poet wrote a poem in which he described the scenery on the riverbank of Wu-li-lin, the neighbouring village to Kio-a-thau (CSFSSJ 1764). Wu-li-lin, also known as Shuei-liou-jhuang, which in Chinese means “a village that has been washed over by a flood,” is located in the middle-lower reaches of the Jhong-ci River - namely Wu-li-lin River.

Almost at the same time, another Chinese traveller came across Fongshan Sian and described these areas in glowing terms (CSFSSJ 1764):

Soil is fertile. The size of rice is as big as beans. Dew is so condensed that it can wet crops. There is no flood near the beach areas. In the harvest season, the crops double those of Mainland China. In addition, it is abundant in sugarcane and other harvests, which are easy to take care of.

According to him:

You can see green sugarcane fields everywhere, which are so huge that you can be lost in them. In the harvesting season, sugarcane will be picked and then sent to the sugarcane mills in which they will be pressed into sucrose. And farmers will cut off leaves to breed cattle.

The neighbouring areas were recorded as sites for planting sugarcane and rice as early as the Dutch era (Shepherd 1993: 99-100; CTSJ 1984: 512). In the 1860s,
Swinhoe, an English official in Taiwan, took a tour in Fongshan Sian and wrote this description:

It comprises large tracts of level and waste lands, abounding in bamboos, fruit bearing, and other trees. There is plenty of well-watered grounds, which are suitable for the plantation of early rice. The colonists have begun to turn to good account. Merchants have water carriage for their goods, and the broad roads enable them to use ox-carts...

In 1893, Imbault-Huart, a French officer, travelled past the areas of south-western Taiwan near Kio-a-thau along the official route. He (Imbault-Huart 1893: 125) noted that:

[When I walk away from the city of Fongshan County], I began to cross the main road which is full of sesame, sugarcane, and peanut fields and some scattered woods full of banana and bamboo. The destination is Tainan, the capital city. In many places, these branches developed by these woods are twined round together. They thus form excellent and hidden footpaths...There are some houses which are fenced by flowers along the main road. The owners of these houses are hospitable. They are the Chinese settlers who can be traced back their ancestors of Cheng Ch’eng-kung’s [Jheng Cheng-Gong] era. They are so friendly that they will give travellers some pineapple slices, leaves of peppers, or precious tea-leaves and cigarettes.

He (Imbault-Huart 1893: 125) provided a vivid description of the landscape:

We should go across six or seven crooked but not deep rivers. These rivers act as the main water supply for the small villages along both the riversides. They rely on the rivers for both irrigating their paddy fields and for drinking... Chinese people usually walk across these rivers. Some rivers have ferries which are sponsored by the government officers. Riding horses to cross the rivers is a dangerous thing because the sand in these rivers can be sliding. The road is blocked by three rivers if you want to reach A-gong-dian.

In summary, with rivers, plains for planting crops, and its convenience to traffic, Kio-a-thau and its neighbouring areas were one of the major agricultural areas in southern Taiwan at the end of the nineteenth century. In 1894, Kio-a-thau was described as a “daily street and market,” which acted as a small-scale “trading centre” for the neighbouring agricultural centre.
In the cultural sense, the state’s cultural assimilation of the locality was largely according to Confucian norms of statecraft and morality. As discussed previously, the state regarded Taiwan as a periphery in both a political and a cultural sense in the Cing era. Politically, Cing officials looked at Taiwan from only an administrative point of view. Most of the officials were sent from mainland China and stayed Taiwan for a short period of time. In their eyes, Taiwan was not only geographically remote from mainland China but also culturally peripheral from Confucian norms. Many archival materials written by Cing officials indicate their own projects and raise many questions about the boundaries of civilisations, cultures, classes, races, and genders. In the following section I would like to uncover Cing’s strategic absorption of the locality.

In the *Fong shan sian jhih* (FSSJ 1720) and the *Cong siou fong shan sian jhih* (CSFSSJ 1764), two gazetteers written by Cing officials, officers represented the local customs in southern Taiwan in the early and mid eighteenth century in this way (FSSJ 1720: 79):

Speaking of dressing, the Taiwanese people are not dressed in proper styles. The basis of marriages relies on bride-price and dowry. Some customs like drinking alcohol, gambling, devaluing a child’s education, women becoming nuns when they get old, enjoy watching local live dramas, and having close relationships with people who have different surnames are all “bad customs” through the whole island. Most of the customs between the area of Tainan and Fongshan Sian are almost the same as Mainland China....However, in the areas to the south, where Han people and aboriginal people are living in a mixed society. Hakka residents especially like to live together. They [Fujian, Hakka, and Aborigines] often argue with each other, even over trivial matters. There are long, bitter, and serious conflicts among these groups.... Basically here the customs of some rituals such as births, marriages, funerals, and ancestor worship are like those in Mainland China, but there are more trivialities so they thus lack the essence of the rituals. Confucius says, “In terms of manners it is better to be more and easy than be excessive and wasteful. In terms of funerals, it is better to be sad in your mind than to be extravagant.” Yes, what he says is indeed true. If we can obey what he says, then the local customs [in Taiwan] will become humble and moral just like ancient China.

Although they shared a common Han Chinese culture, most of the settlers came from quite isolated areas of southern Fujian and eastern Guangdong. In Taiwan, they then formed discrete communities and perpetuated the respective customs of
their native subcultures. These subcultural groups differed primarily in dialect and provenance, and there was frequent subethnic feuding in Cing Taiwan (Lamley 1981). Lamley (1981: 316) argues that this subethnic rivalry arose in Cing Taiwan as a result of heterogeneous Chinese immigration and settlement. Furthermore, he also indicates that these rivalries had a long-term impact on settlement patterns and marriage patterns in Taiwanese society (Lamley 1981: 317).

When Taiwan became a prefecture of Fujian province in 1684, the year following the end of the Jheng era, the Cing Dynasty basically regarded Taiwan as a “strategic periphery” (Shepherd 1993: 178). Chinese officers “held ambivalent attitudes toward the expansion of Han settlement.” For them “the control of unruly settlers was a major burden. Equally worrisome was the escalation of Han-aborigine conflicts as settlers encroached on tribal lands and disrupted aborigine societies” (Shepherd 1993: 182). The usage of the phrase “unruly settlers” reveals the cultural attitude of the Cing Dynasty to new Han settlers. As an official record indicates, “New settlers increased daily at ever greater distances from the county yamen, the local government. They are from violent, resist arrest, and steal” (Shepherd 1993: 183). These early Han settlers were described more as “ethnic minorities” and aboriginal people, rather than regional Han men. According to Cing officials, this is because these Han settlers lacked Chinese Han culture.

In the eyes of Cing officials, Taiwan was an area of “un-Chinese” culture because there were many local ethnic conflicts such as the conflicts between the Fujian and the Hakka settlers, and between the Han and the aboriginal people. This narrative ignores the basic social fact that Taiwanese society was formed by several subgroups as Lamley mentioned above. In addition, it reveals the prejudices of these Cing officers towards the Hakka group and the aboriginal people. For example, the Cong siou fong shan sian jhih (CSFSSJ 1764) argues that “the aboriginal people do not have surnames and are not aware of this fact. Aside from their parents, they do not have close relatives such as uncles or aunts. Neither do they have any ancestor worship.”

Locals as well as aborigines who did not follow “pure” Chinese culture were considered “incredible” and “abnormal” by Cing officials (CSFSSJ 1764: 87):
Taiwanese people will worship their ancestors on 4 April, which is the Tomb Sweeping Festival. However, one informant told me he wanted to worship his ancestors on that day because it is also the day on which the Hell God would pardon the criminals on earth. My Gosh, this is incredible because they regard their ancestors as criminals.

Within the “Chinese – non-Chinese” framework, which assumed a “civilised – uncivilised” dichotomy in everyday practices, these Chinese officers set up a moral and standardized model in terms of domesticity, including dress, pattern of marriage, household lives and so forth. Ideas fitting the Chinese model were considered civilised. For example, those women who bound their feet would be considered “more civilised than the Plains Aborigines” (Shepherd 1993: 386). Those women who died after their husbands’ death would be regarded as “Lie-nyu,” a good virtue for wives (CSFSSJ 1764). *4* Certainly Confucian principles served as major criteria for judging whether one was civilised or uncivilised. Furthermore, these principles played a crucial role in serving as an ideological explanation for assimilation and as a justification for the expansion of political power. As Shepherd (1993: 208-209) points out:

Confucian theories of government that emphasised ruling through moral example and education rather than manipulation of rewards and punishments found expression in Ch’ing (Cing) cultural policies. Multiple assertions of the moral superiority of the Confucian order were necessary to creating its prestige and influence among the populace.

Another cultural prejudice in the narratives came from politics towards the Other. For example, the description of the irrigation of the farming system indicates that preliminary irrigation was actually completed in Jheng’s era (1661-1683).

*4* For example, *Fong shan sian cian fang lu* (FSSCFL 1894) recorded this story. “There was a local virtuous woman named Yin-niang Ruan. She was married to Syun Wang when she was just 16 years old. She was infertile and her brother-in-law had left a baby boy when he died. His wife remarried. Mrs. Ruan loved the baby boy so much. After a while her husband died. She told another brother-in-law that she hoped the baby boy could be raised in order to carry on the family name. Her brother-in-law promised to do this and she tried to commit suicide after that. Her sister-in-law rescued her and soothingly said to her: “Your husband is dead. Why do you distress yourself like this?” She replied: “I won’t live alone since my husband died. I’d feel content if I were buried next to my husband.” Her brother-in-law watched over her but finally she hanged herself from the rafters.”
However, in the words of the *Taiwan fu jhih* (TFJ), published in 1694, “the irrigation system in Jhong-chong was completed under the pseudo-regime [referring to the Jheng era].” The Cing Dynasty did not want to recognise Jheng’s legitimacy in Taiwan since Jheng, a political enemy of the Cing regime, had attempted to “recover” the previous Ming Dynasty, using Taiwan as his temporary shelter.

**THE JAPANESE COLONIAL PERIOD (1895-1945)**

In the Cing dynasty, Ciaotou Township was under the jurisdiction of Fong-shan County of Tainan Province (Taiwan was divided into one province, two prefectures and three counties at that time). In 1895, Taiwan was ceded to Japan according to the Ma-guan treaty after the Jia-wu War (First Sino-Japanese War). In 1896, a gendarmerie station was set up at A-gong-dian (present day Gangshan), ten kilometres away from Kio-a-thau. In 1920, municipalism was implemented, Kaohsiung State and Gang-shan County (governing five districts) were set up, and Kio-a-thau was incorporated into Nan-zih-keng District (present day Nan-zih), which was elevated to Gang-shan Jyun in 1936. During the Great East Asia War (the Pacific War in the Second World War), the Nan-zih-keng District was thus abolished in 1941 and Kio-a-thau was incorporated into Renshou-sia Borough of Gang-shan Jyun. Before 1945, Kio-a-thau was under the jurisdiction of Nan-zih District of Gang-shan County in Kaohsiung State. In 1947, Kio-a-thau gradually separated from Gang-shan Town, and after amalgamating with Jhong-ci (including Jhong-ci and Hai-fong Districts), which was originally subordinated to Guan-yin-shan Borough of Ren-wu District, the Kio-a-thau Township was set up (see Table 3.1). This administrative division remains in the present day.

**Early stage of the colonial period (1895-1901)**

During the initial stage of the Japanese occupation, a range of resistance forces actively opposed the colonial regime throughout the island (Rubinstein 1999: 206-208). Kio-a-thau and neighbouring areas were no exception. Several
massacres occurred in the early years of the Japanese presence. For instance, about eighty adult males were killed at Bi-siou village by the Japanese army on 14 November (Lunar calendar) 1896, because one Japanese soldier was hurt and humiliated by locals (CTSJ 1984: 592). Both Wu-li-lin (1901) and Yu-liao (1902) reported massacres (CTSJ 1984: 590-95). River, one of my informants who heard of such stories from his father, was still petrified when he talked to me. “The rebels would be taken to the local temple and be killed in public in front of the crowd,” he said. Massacres were considered a display of colonial power and aimed to influence the national identities of locals. Nevertheless, minor local resistance continued throughout the first decade. While the construction of the refinery was in progress, a local rebellion took place in Kio-a-thau. The sugar refinery was attacked by Lin Shao-mao and his comrades at 11 o’clock, on 11 May 1901 (L. Wang 2000: 864). The Administration Office then retained some military facilities on the premises.

**Kio-a-thau on the move: A place of opportunity**

Unlike the Cing era, the Japanese perceived Taiwan as a place to develop a potential mercantile economy. Initially, the local economy and culture were seen from the perspective of the colonisers’ economic agenda. In Kio-a-thau, after the completion of KSR, both outsiders from neighbouring areas and Japanese workers from Japan were employed. The Japanese colonial census volumes from 1905 showed that the population in Kio-a-thau grew steadily, from 681 in 1905 to 1299 in 1930 (see Table 3.2). In 1915, the Japanese colonial census volumes showed that the population had increased to 927, which included 473 Japanese workers or staff at KSR. In the initial stage, not many Japanese workers moved to the area, but in 1909, the Taiwan Sugarcane Company recruited 450 workers from inner Japan (Japanese: *naichi*) (Kakei 1989: 381). As a consequence, Japanese residents (Japanese: *naichi jin*) constituted half the population in Kio-a-thau by 1915 (see Table 3.2). According to the records, the percentage of Japanese people remained at half of the population from the 1910s to the end of Japanese colonialism.

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5 L. Wang (2000: 846) points out that this rebellion was caused by the conflicts between locals and KSR because pieces of land in Kio-a-thau were bought under duress through the new contracts of the Sugarcane Refinery *Kabushikigaisha*. 

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With respect to ethnic groups, however, there were no aboriginal people recorded in Kio-a-thau and the neighbouring areas. In addition, there were only six Hakka people in 1915 and eight foreigners, who were mostly from Fujian, China. These Chinese opened shops for selling Chinese-style fashions in the Kio-a-thau street. In a sense, therefore, the ethnic Chinese community in Kio-a-thau was almost exclusively Fu-lao (whose ancestors had come from Fujian province, China) in colonial times, as distinct from Hakka (whose ancestors came from Guangdong province, China).

### Table 3.2
Census records in Kio-a-thau collated by Japanese survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total population</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Taiwanese (honto jin)</th>
<th>Japanese (naichi jin)</th>
<th>Others (gaikoku jin)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>618</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>248</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>927</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>446</td>
<td>446</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>946</td>
<td>502</td>
<td>444</td>
<td>517</td>
<td>421</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>1,299</td>
<td>646</td>
<td>653</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>429</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Colonial census volumes for Kio-a-thau

In terms of population, Kio-a-thau ranked sixth out of eight *li* (villages) in Ren-shou-sia-li, the administrative unit which incorporated Kio-a-thau and the surrounding villages (see Table 3.3). The neighbouring villages were all located in the Jhong-ci River region. Although Kio-a-thau was not a big village, it gradually became an “industrial centre” employing many labourers from the neighbouring villages. The other striking contrast is the high percentage of Japanese people in Kio-a-thau (see Table 3.3). For example, in 1915, of the eight *li* in Ren-shou-sia-li, Japanese only lived in Shih-long and Lin-zih, besides Kio-a-thau, and the vast majority lived in the latter.
Table 3.3
Characteristics of the population comparing Kio-a-thau and other villages in Ren-shou-sia-li, 1915

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Total population</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Taiwanese (honto jin)</th>
<th>Japanese (naichi jin)</th>
<th>Others (galkoku jin)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kio-a-thau</td>
<td>927</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>446</td>
<td>446</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wu-li-lin</td>
<td>1780</td>
<td>891</td>
<td>889</td>
<td>1780</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ding-yan-dian</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bai-shu-zih</td>
<td>1510</td>
<td>746</td>
<td>764</td>
<td>1510</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joiu-jia-wei</td>
<td>1576</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>776</td>
<td>1576</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shih-long</td>
<td>1351</td>
<td>677</td>
<td>674</td>
<td>1341</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lin-zih-tou</td>
<td>526</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>521</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuan-jhong-gang</td>
<td>1294</td>
<td>707</td>
<td>587</td>
<td>1293</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Colonial census volumes for Kio-a-thau

In terms of the age of the population, Kio-a-thau had somewhat more people who were of working age (see Table 3.4). In Kio-a-thau, fifty-five percent of the residents were between 21-50 years old. This figure was the highest of the eight villages of Ren-shou-sia-li. Wu-li-lin had the lowest, with only 39% in the same age range.
Table 3.4
Composition of the population by age in Kio-a-thau and other villages of Ren-shou-sia-li, 1915

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>0-5</th>
<th>6-10</th>
<th>11-15</th>
<th>16-20</th>
<th>21-50</th>
<th>51-60</th>
<th>&gt;60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kio-a-thau</td>
<td>927 (446)</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>134 (53)</td>
<td>111 (60)</td>
<td>68 (45)</td>
<td>65 (38)</td>
<td>508 (230)</td>
<td>29 (14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>15 (12)</td>
<td>12 (14)</td>
<td>7 (10)</td>
<td>7 (9)</td>
<td>55 (52)</td>
<td>3 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wu-li-lin</td>
<td>1780</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ding-yan-dian</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bai-shu-zih</td>
<td>1510</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>626</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiou-jia-wei</td>
<td>1576</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>689</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shih-long</td>
<td>1351</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>587</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lin-zih-tou</td>
<td>526</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuan-jhong-gang</td>
<td>1294</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>531</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Colonial census volumes for Kio-a-thau. Notes: The figures of Taiwanese people exclusively are shown in parentheses.

Kio-a-thau had also a much higher percentage of residents (54%) who were involved in the industrial sector (see Table 3.5). They were obviously more involved in KSR than the other villages. The percentage involved in business and transport was also the highest (25%) of the eight villages, in which most of the villagers remained peasants. In Ding-yan-dian, for example, 99% were peasants, and none were involved in the industrial or commercial sectors.
Table 3.5  
Composition of the population by occupation in Kio-a-thau and other villages of Ren-shou-sia-li, 1915

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Agricultural sector</th>
<th>Industrial sector</th>
<th>Business and transport</th>
<th>Government sector</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kio-a-thau</td>
<td>927</td>
<td>44 (43)</td>
<td>504</td>
<td>54 (31)</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>62 (160)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(446)</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>(139)</td>
<td>(31)</td>
<td>(160)</td>
<td>(18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wu-li-lin</td>
<td>1780</td>
<td>1605 (90)</td>
<td>52 (3)</td>
<td>22 (0.01)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ding-yan-dian</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>310 (99)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bai-shu-zhih</td>
<td>1510</td>
<td>1101 (73)</td>
<td>84 (6)</td>
<td>83 (5)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiou-jia-wei</td>
<td>1576</td>
<td>1433 (91)</td>
<td>17 (1)</td>
<td>37 (2)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shih-long</td>
<td>1351</td>
<td>1016 (75)</td>
<td>59 (4)</td>
<td>54 (4)</td>
<td>24 (2)</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lin-zhi-tou</td>
<td>526</td>
<td>427 (81)</td>
<td>72 (14)</td>
<td>17 (3)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuan-jhong-gang</td>
<td>1294</td>
<td>1166 (90)</td>
<td>3 (0.2)</td>
<td>36 (3)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Colonial census volumes for Kio-a-thau. Notes: The figures of Taiwanese people exclusively are shown in parentheses.

In terms of marriage, Kio-a-thau did not differ greatly from the other villages. The census figure in 1915 shows that fifty-eight percent of people remained single. Also, there were eight cases of divorce (see Table 3.6). Only five percent of widows and widowers were recorded. I suggest that the higher percentage of unmarried people was mainly due to the arrival of many young short-term migrants (see Chapter 4).
Table 3.6
Composition of the population by marriage status in Kio-a-thau and other villages of Ren-shou-sia-li, 1915

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Unmarried</th>
<th>Divorced</th>
<th>Widow and widower</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kio-a-thau</td>
<td>927</td>
<td>335</td>
<td>540</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(446)</td>
<td>(169)</td>
<td>(241)</td>
<td>(54)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wu-li-lin</td>
<td>1780</td>
<td>660</td>
<td>928</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(169)</td>
<td>(38)</td>
<td>(54)</td>
<td>(0.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ding-yan-dian</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(38)</td>
<td>(54)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(0.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bai-shu-zih</td>
<td>1510</td>
<td>540</td>
<td>794</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(36)</td>
<td>(53)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(0.07)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiou-jia-wei</td>
<td>1576</td>
<td>568</td>
<td>849</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(36)</td>
<td>(54)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(0.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shih-long</td>
<td>1351</td>
<td>503</td>
<td>715</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(37)</td>
<td>(53)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(0.07)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lin-zih-tou</td>
<td>526</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(35)</td>
<td>(53)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(0.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuan-jhong-gang</td>
<td>1294</td>
<td>468</td>
<td>717</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(36)</td>
<td>(55)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(0.3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Colonial census volumes for Kio-a-thau. Notes: The figures of Taiwanese people exclusively are shown in parentheses.

Schooling

Attempts to educate the populace through intellectual colonisation aligned with Japan’s economic plan. This was an attempt to forge imperial subjectivities throughout the Japanese empire. In the following section, I will illustrate my point in terms of schooling and Japanese language learning in Kio-a-thau.

In the pre-colonial period, most Taiwanese people were poor and illiterate (Tsurumi 1977: 6). There was a distinct but small class of “literati,” who received education through private schools and private tutors (Tsurumi 1977: 8; Chung 1997: 24). In 1898, after the Japanese takeover, common schools (Japanese:
kogakko), which were a more permanent type of elementary school, began to be set up for Taiwanese pupils. The Japanese officials had two aims for this initiative. The first was to give Taiwanese children a good command of the Japanese language; the second was to teach them ethics and practical knowledge in order to cultivate in them qualities of Japanese citizenship (Tsurumi 1977: 18). In 1897, the first government shogakko, a primary school for Japanese children, was established in Taipei (Japanese: Taihoku) (Tsurumi 1979: 32). By 1906, a two-track system of public education – kogakko and shogakko, had formally emerged. On the lowest level, the Taiwanese track consisted of an island-wide network of common schools (kogakko), while primary schools (shogakko) only served Japanese nationals (Tsurumi 1977: 40).

Some scholars highlight the political impact of schooling in colonial Taiwan in terms of national identity and individual loyalty to Japan. By contrast, others focus on the significance of mechanism for social mobility and social egalitarianism among the Taiwanese (Tsurumi 1977: 212-28). In terms of women’s schooling, for example, Tsurumi states: “During the latter half of the [colonial] period the high Taiwanese demand for higher girls’ schools shows how acceptable female education had become.” She went on to conclude that, “increased schoolgoing for girls was closely related to other new directions for women. An end to foot binding and entrance into the colony’s industrial work force were two important changes” (Tsurumi 1977: 220). According to her, schooling became a mechanism for locals, both men and women, to improve their social status.

In Ren-shou-sia-li, the first public common school for Taiwanese students was established on 31 March, 1917. The school was not set up in Kio-a-thau but in Shih-long. However, another primary school exclusively for Japanese was set up earlier in Kio-a-thau before this date (see Plate 3.7). The geographic areas for Shih-long Common School to recruit students included Kio-a-thau, Shih-long, Wu-li-lin and Jiou-jia-wei. The first principal of the school, who was in charge of the school from 1917 to 1928, was Japanese. The next five principals were also Japanese. The first Taiwanese principal was only inaugurated on 5 November 1945, several months after the takeover of the Nationlist government.
Generally, the average education rate for Taiwanese in Kio-a-thau was quite low during the Japanese period, especially for females (see Table 3.7). For example, in 1917, the first year of the school, of the 103 students enrolled, ninety-three (90 percent) were boys and only ten (10 percent) were girls. Although the number of females gradually increased, the male/female ratio remained five to one or four to one. The ratio between males and females was significantly lower compared with the Japanese primary schools in Taiwan (see the above discussion), whose female enrolment rate was almost one hundred percent (Tsurumi 1977).

**Table 3.7**

Enrolment in the Shih-long Common School, 1917-1946

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number and percentage of students</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>394</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>451</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>530</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>587</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>649</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>671</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This striking enrolment differential between genders reflects the traditional Confucian scheme, in which a daughter would eventually be married and would pursue her career as a loyal daughter-in-law, a devoted mother, and a faithful wife within her husband’s family. These roles did not require literacy (Tsurumi 1977). By and large, in Kio-a-thau, it was still not popular for parents to send their daughters to be educated. Willow, my informant, told me how she really felt in the early 1940s as a Japanese policeman urged her mother to send her to the common school:

Actually I was eager to go to school, but my mother did want me to. She told the police: “She cannot go to school. She is dumb.”

As a result, her aspiration was never satisfied. She confessed that this disappointment become one of the regrets in her life. She continued, “from then on I liked to be dressed in a white blouse and dark blue skirt, which was the uniform of female students [in colonial times].”

In some ways, Willow was not typical of women in colonial times. Schooling was beginning to be seen as important for women if they wanted to be employed. Such practical concerns accounted for the increasing tendency towards female education although it remained low compared with male education. In 1945, 39 percent of pupils who enrolled at the local common school were girls, while the figure was only ten percent in 1917 (see Table 3.7). In the late colonial period,
schooling was not a “privilege” reserved exclusively for boys but was also for girls. Many women were trained for careers in medicine and midwifery throughout Taiwan (Tsurumi 1977: 222-23). In Kio-a-thau, for example, two out of seven people who started their medical careers in colonial times were women: one was a midwife and the other was a dentist. I interviewed one midwife in 2002 (see Belt’s case study in Chapter 5). Belt delivered over ten thousand babies until she retired in the 1980s. She kept detailed records of each birth, including the names of parents, addresses, payment, and any special conditions that were encountered. She mentioned that she was deeply influenced by her schooling in colonial times. “I am proud of my schooling,” she said.

**Japanese language ability**

The Japanese language acted as a “vehicle for transforming the Chinese of Taiwan into Japanese” (Tsurumi 1977: 59). At school, Japanese was the major medium of instruction and communication for all grades in the common schools in Taiwan after 1912. In Kio-a-thau, the household registration conducted in 1915 by the colonial state shows that 15 percent of men but only three percent of women in Kio-a-thau could read and write Japanese. By contrast, most Japanese who lived in Kio-a-thau could read and write Japanese (Table 3.8). Although the rate of Japanese among the locals was still low, it was far higher than the neighbouring villages, where almost all locals were illiterate in terms of Japanese. However, besides literacy and writing, being able to speak Japanese in everyday life was obviously a more practical skill than being able to read and write, and many locals could speak colloquial Japanese, rather than read and write, largely due to the need to meet various requirements like doing business. Water’s father, for example, was illiterate but he could speak fluent Japanese since he was a servant for Yamamoto, the head of KSR. School pupils were taught Japanese at school and therefore they could speak Japanese very fluently in daily communication. For many such people, the Japanese language has become an enduring element of cultural heritage. River, my informant, still acts as a part-time “Japanese tour guide” at the Kio-a-thau Cultural Society if Japanese tourists pay a visit to Kio-a-thau as I have shown in the story at the beginning of Chapter 2. I was quite impressed when I saw River communicating with these tourists in
fluent Japanese. River can speak fluent Japanese rather than fluent Mandarin, the current official language in Taiwan. He is not an isolated case. On one occasion I paid a visit to River’s brother and saw him watching the NHK channel – the Japanese government’s broadcasting company – through satellite broadcasting. For River and his generation, Japanese seems to have become both an access to knowledge and a source of nostalgia whereby they can recover their “golden age.”

On the other hand, the language was not necessarily a tool for politics but met the practical requirement of communicating between the Japanese staff and the locals. Moreover, this interactive process between the ruler and the locals in terms of languages was not unidirectional. For example, Japanese people, especially the staff at KSR, also learned local Fu-lao dialect because they needed to urge farmers to grow sugarcane or negotiate constant miscellaneous items such as the weighing of sugarcane, doing fieldwork in the sugarcane fields, carrying out surveys of sugarcane diseases, and some interactions with other sugarcane fieldworkers (Kakei 1989: 27). Kai, who later became the director of Taiwan Sugarcane Company, recalled that when he arrived in Kio-a-thau as a staff member, he started to learn the local Fu-lao dialect in order to communicate with local sugarcane farmers (Kakei 1989: 17; 27; 382). The Japanese company even held seminars for new recruits to learn how to speak local Taiwanese dialect (Kakei 1989: 17).6 Higher-ranking colonial officials as well as new recruits joined in the learning of the local dialect too. Water affirmed that Yamamoto had learned local dialect by the second year of his arrival in Kio-a-thau.

### Table 3.8
Japanese language ability in Kio-a-thau and Ren-shou-sia-li, 1915

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic group</th>
<th>Japanese people</th>
<th>Taiwanese people</th>
<th>Foreigners</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kio-a-thau</td>
<td>Can read and write Japanese</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

6 For example, he mentioned in his memoirs that he arrived in KSR in 1913 as a staff member. And in 1914 he started to learn Taiwanese local dialect.
ENCOUNTERS WITH COLONIAL CULTURAL LANDSCAPES

Geographic imaginations of the coloniser: jinja, Holy Mercy Buddha, and Japanese dormitories

Within the refinery, the Japanese attempted to impose Japanese symbolic references that distinguished it from the surrounding Taiwanese landscape. Spatially, the Japanese people and locals lived in different areas in Kio-a-thau. Generally they were divided by the railroads. The refinery was connected to the living area of the Japanese residents, thus making it an exclusive area. On the west of the railroad was the main street of Kio-a-thau, while on the east was the refinery and the houses for Japanese staff or casual workers. Locals called these houses “Japanese dormitories” in the local dialect (Plate 3.8). In 2002, there were still about eighty Japanese-style houses left by the Japanese employees (Plate 3.9). Recently there has been a debate about whether to keep these dormitories or not because the prospective urban mass transmit system will go through them.\(^7\) These houses are so shabby that almost no residents are living in them today. However, we can still witness the original setting of these houses: a garden with tree fencing, \textit{tatami} rooms and wooden floor.\(^8\) My elder friends would raise their voices sometimes as they mentioned these dormitories. Basically they were proud of

\(^7\) For the details of this debate see the website: www.kat.org.tw (accessed 30.05.2005)

\(^8\) \textit{Tatami} mat is the traditional straw matting that is used on the floor in Japanese homes.

In old times, Japanese life centered around \textit{tatami}. Sleeping, eating, playing, working, entertaining guests all took place in elegant \textit{tatami}-carpeted rooms.
them. These houses were built for the Japanese staff or casual workers, although some "lucky" – as locals described them – Taiwanese staff could live in. Within the area where most Japanese people lived, the Japanese residents even had their own piped water supply, which seemed unusual at that time.

Pasternak (1968: 304) has indicated in his case of Tatieh – a Hakka village in southern Taiwan – that "the Japanese managed to effectively segregate themselves from the Taiwanese. Residentially, occupationally, and socially, the Japanese and Taiwanese constituted discrete groups." There is thus a similarity between Kio-a-thau and Pasternak’s Tatieh in this respect. In Kio-a-thau, the Japanese social, residential, and working areas were segregated from the Taiwanese. This exclusion could simply have been created for the sake of some practical reasons such as the management of Japanese staff. The Japanese area was located near the sugar refinery and was more convenient to walk to the workplace. In the following section I will make a comparison between the Taiwanese area and the Japanese area in more detail.

The Japanese area served a combination of residential, recreational, and religious functions. In Kio-a-thau, the area reserved exclusively for the Japanese consisted up two major parts. One was the administration and the factory area. This area included the security police subsection office and its bomb shelter, the agricultural affairs office and its courtyard pond, the ammunition depot, the south gate air-raid shelter, two dormitories for public officers, the chief's office of the refinery, the vice-director's office, the Administrative Office (Plate 3.10), the statue of Holy Mercy Buddha,9 the backyard of the meeting room, the monument of Zensaburo Kaneki (see Plate 3.11), the pathway in front of the chief's office, the club room (currently the offices of the accounting department, planning and management department, and development engineering department), the palm tree avenue of the refinery's main gate (see Plate 3.12), the courtyard surrounded by pines and coconut palm trees (see Plate 3.13), the bomb shelters, two warehouses, and a restaurant, a three-storey wooden building.10

9 The statue of the Holy Mercy Buddha (guanyin) was founded in 1902, the second year of the operation of the refinery. 10 Kaneki's credits were inscribed on the monument. He entered Taiwan Sugar Refinery
The other part included an archery range, a horse track as well as a baseball stadium, horse sheds, two tennis courts, a Shinto Shrine (jinja) (see Plates 3.14 – 3.16), a piped water system, a public bathing pool, and a grocery store. Most facilities were destroyed in the post-colonial period except the dormitories discussed previously. We can still see the remains of many colonial structures such as air-raid shelters, wooden walls, flower-fences, and the tatami rooms inside the houses. With an atmosphere of nostalgic imagination, the rulers, the locals, and I – as a narrator – all got involved with the process of reconstructing history. Autumn, a son of a high-position staff member in KSR, stated his experience of moving into one of the dormitories in the 1930s. He described the everyday life there,

As far as I remember, during the Shōwa period, only five Taiwanese households were living in the “Japanese dormitory area,” where we ate and studied on tatami. Totally we had eleven members in my family. Women were allowed to eat with us without delay, which was in sharp contrast with the local Taiwanese custom then. The elder girls would help cook, deal with firewood, and arrange chopsticks and so forth. Boys seldom did such things. Boys would rake leaves in the garden. We used to raise pigs and chickens and my mother was responsible for that. We raised several pigs then and finally there would be one male and one female pig left for reproduction. The other pigs as well as chickens would be sold. We had a piped water supply at that time, which was an unusual thing. In our free time, we played with other Japanese boys. We spoke Japanese at home. We did not worship our ancestors at home and did not use firecracker on the New Year. We were not allowed to celebrate the Chinese New Year.

Among these images we observe how the landscape was created by the colonial rulers and how a local Taiwanese person who was associated with it perceived the situation. One example of the new landscape was the Holy Mercy Budda (guanyin), made in Japan and set up in 1902 after the armed rebellion. Every year when the refinery started processing, the staff would gather together at the front of Buddha to hope everything would go smoothly for KSR. Other

Company in 1907, and devoted himself to the sugar industry. He died while he was chief of KSR in 1929. In 1930, the Japanese government built a cenotaph with inscriptions.

The Kio-a-thau Shinto Shrine as well as the sports arena was established in November 1931. The purpose of building the jinja was indicated by Uyeda (1991: 89) who states, “in the war period] Japan began to build up a military force with every resource in order to face an inevitable confrontation with foreign powers. The traditional Shinto attitude and reverence for Kami was fully utilised by the politics of the days.” Kraemer (1960: 226) also points out: “Shinto was the mythological and mystical basis of this fervent 'patriotic religions' in the 1930s.”
examples were the three 100-metre-tall chimneys of KSR and the Alcohol Factory, which were symbols of modernity and prosperity. Also, the concrete building of the administrative office was an unusual one a hundred years ago. The colonial rulers thus created a space in Kio-a-thau as a result of the establishment of the refinery, in the area close to the refinery where they worked. Besides this, they had their own living style illustrated by their own houses, leisure activities, and religious system. However, it is not my major concern to explore how the Japanese created these landscapes and how they felt. My thesis focuses more on the Taiwanese perception rather than Japanese aspects.

For the local villagers, these distinctive forms of colonial material culture and custom were sometimes experienced as cultural shocks. Dragon mentioned that everyone who rode a bike was required to get off and nod when he or she was passing the Shinto Shrine. Another example was provided by Zero, who described her personal experience as a maid-servant in one Japanese family. Zero stated that the most striking experience for her was to find that her Japanese master had pets like golden fish and liked to grow orchids, which were "unusual" experiences for Taiwanese people at that time. River shared his experience of peeping at a Japanese woman bathing when he was just a little child. Autumn and Guess described their "fancy" wedding ceremony at the Shinto Shrine. Many similar stories will be presented in the following chapters. My main aim is to find out what the locals really thought about as they faced the dramatic social and cultural changes brought about by KSR as well as by the colonial rule. Initially, I did not quite understand what the locals really experienced until I heard a story from River, who quoted a popular legend among long time locals in Kio-a-thau:

Before the setup of the refinery, there was a man whose nickname was "crazy guy." He always murmured nonsense on the street, "Building the copper-bridge on the half sky, and measuring the land on the ground." Everybody thought he had a sort of mental illness. Later on the Japanese came and started to set up the electrical poles and remeasure the land for establishing the refinery. Thus, everybody started to reconsider that his words were full of prophetic wisdom.

My interpretation is that the story was created or recreated, no matter whether it was true or not, to illustrate the mood of the locals as they first confronted the
Changing world. During the first decade of the twentieth century in Kio-a-thau, the landscape as well as social values significantly changed. Under such circumstances, local Taiwanese may have “invented” such a story to chase the vast social and cultural changes which were activated by the colonial regime. In other words, the story was one of the responses of local people to a changing landscape.

**CONCLUSION: FROM COLONIALISM’S CULTURE TO LOCAL AGENCY**

In this chapter, I have mapped out different strategies in the colonial incorporation of Kio-a-thau over time. With its shifting importance over respective encounters, Kio-a-thau provides a good locality to explore, first, the connection between a small place and a series of colonial regimes; second, how these colonial projects were imposed upon a small place. I have discussed chronologically the long-term history of the area from the aboriginal period to the Japanese colonial period. The colonisers tried to impose their various intentions upon Kio-a-thau, altering its landscapes. These intentions varied according to their varying strategies for Taiwan.

Based on my discussion in this chapter, I have indicated that Kio-a-thau is a locality whose cultural landscape has been imprinted by a variety of colonial projects. In Japanese times, some material structures such as the Shinto Shrine, the Japanese dormitories, the Holy Mercy Buddha, and the Administrative Office suggest that the Japanese colonial rulers aimed to create an exclusively Japanese landscape in Kio-a-thau associated with the establishment of the refinery. The Japanese area was close to the refinery where they worked. Besides this, they had their own living style reflected in their own houses, leisure activities and religious system. These material forms highlighted spatial and social distinctions between the Japanese and the local people. Besides these, some non-material cultural landscapes were also created by the Japanese empire such as schooling and language training in order to project their own images of “civilisation.” However, the Japanese intention was not only to civilise but also to meet the economic
requirements to develop their Empire. Despite this, is this enough to explain the relationship between the Japanese and locals? What we still do not know is how locals experienced these cultural impositions. Did colonial rule transform locals? Did locals resist? Or did they respond to the Japanese colonial project in other ways?

In order to answer these questions, I changed my focus in the final section of this chapter to understand what the locals experienced and how they really felt as they came into contact with colonial cultural landscapes. This shift in concern will be followed by my discussion on local agency in the subsequent chapters, Chapter 4 to 7, which comprise the major part of my empirical study. Chapter 4 focuses on social differentiation; Chapter 5 on married lives; Chapter 6 on division of labour and Chapter 7 on name changing practices.
Plate 3.1  Kio-a-thau Main Street, 2003
Photo: Cheng-Yuan Liu

Plate 3.2  The first two-storey building in Kio-a-thau Main Street, 2003
Photo: Cheng-Yuan Liu
Plate 3.3  Syu’s (Japanese: Ko) house
Photo: Cheng-Yuan Liu

Plate 3.4  Hsieh’s (a Chinese surname) house.
Photo: Cheng-Yuan Liu
Plate 3.5  Mazu Temple (Fong Ciao Gong), 2003
Photo: Cheng-Yuan Liu

Plate 3.6  Monument of Yun Guei Ciao (Yun Guei Bridge), 2003
Photo: Cheng-Yuan Liu
Plate 3.7  Graduation from Kio-a-thau Primary School, March 1926
Photo: Zensaburou Kaneki

Plate 3.8  Japanese dormitories and an air-raid shelter, 2003
Photo: Cheng-Yuan Liu
Plate 3.9  A woman selling sugarcane juice in front of the Japanese dormitories, 2000

Photo: Cheng-Yuan Liu

Plate 3.10  The Administrative Office, 2003

Photo: Cheng-Yuan Liu
Plate 3.11 Zensaburou Kaneki’s memorial monument
Photo: Cheng-Yuan Liu

Plate 3.12 Taiwan Sugar Company: Kio-a-thau Sugar Refinery, 2003
Photo: Cheng-Yuan Liu
Plate 3.13  Number 42: A serial number of the old trees of the Kio-a-thau Sugar Refinery

Photo: Cheng-Yuan Liu

Plate 3.14  Location of Kio-a-thau Shinto Shrine: It became a supermarket of the Taiwan Sugar Company in 2003. A stone lion (right) still guards the building that he is not familiar with.

Photo: Cheng-Yuan Liu
Plate 3.15 Monument of Kai-a-thau Shinto Shrine, 2003
Photo: Cheng-Yuan Liu

Plate 3.16 Monument of Kai-a-thau Shinto Shrine, 2003
Photo: Cheng-Yuan Liu
In this chapter I would like to explore the process of social (occupational) differentiation in colonial Kio-a-thau. Contrary to the claims of writers such as Barclay (1954) and Pasternak (1968) (see Introduction), the industrialisation brought about by the colonial state caused rural-urban migration, which had a significant impact on social and cultural transformations. Kio-a-thau is a good example to illustrate this point. It was simply a small village and trading market before it was chosen as a site for the modern sugarcane refinery in 1901. In the pre-colonial era, most of the residents in Kio-a-thau, like the neighbouring villages, were involved in agricultural activities. The striking difference after 1901 was that Kio-a-thau gradually transformed into an industrial as well as a business centre as distinct from the neighbouring agricultural areas. According to the census survey in 1915, only five percent of residents were involved in agricultural activities, while 54 percent were involved in the industrial sugar industry (see Table 3.5). This figure indicates the dramatic impact of colonial investments in the sugar economy. However, this survey focused on the long-term residents (including Japanese residents), so it does not explicitly indicate the fluid changes associated with migration in Kio-a-thau. During my fieldwork, I traced the emergence of a different group, Taiwanese short-term immigrants, who, alongside Japanese people, played a significant part in the transformation of Kio-a-thau during this period. These migrants were not indigenous residents but mostly lived in the surrounding rural areas. They moved into Kio-a-thau as a result of the establishment of the refinery. Some of them could have stayed in Kio-a-thau simply for a couple of months, while some others could have stayed for several years and later became long-term residents. They comprised a distinct group from long-term residents, in terms of personal networks, occupations, and leisure activities. In the Japanese colonial period, these short-term immigrants played a crucial role in shaping the social transformations of Kio-a-thau and became influential over time in terms of social power. Besides becoming casual workers at KSR (Kio-a-thau Sugar Refinery), these immigrants were involved in
commercial activities such as shop owners, employees, clerks, cooks, barbers, technicians, interpreters, estate agents, doctors, midwives, household servants, *geisha* in the restaurants, and vendors. The emergence and transformative role played by short-term immigrants as a distinct group in Kio-a-thau challenges dichotomous constructions of social change under colonisation as a process driven exclusively by the alternatives of external colonial power or indigenous local agents.

To begin with, I would like to describe the census data that I have used in this chapter. The Japanese government organised the household registers by dividing it into three parts: the *ben ji bu* (files for collecting statistics on permanent residents), long-term residents who were resident in Kio-a-thau when the first census survey was conducted in 1905; the *ji liou bu* (files for collecting statistics on temporary residents), short-term residents who came from other places; and the *chu hu bu* (files for those who cancelled their household registration), residents who had died or moved out permanently such as marrying out. These three kinds of data helped me to analyse the occupational changes over time for both long-term and short-term residents. In this chapter, my ethnographic focus is on the Taiwanese short-term immigrants. According to colonial household regulation, those who stayed in a location for more than 90 days would be regarded as “temporary residents,” which is the category that I define as “short-term immigrants” in this context. These Taiwanese immigrants had to register in the new district as temporary residents. Meanwhile, their old registration in their hometown was not cancelled until they presented a receipt proving they had registered at another place of residence. In Kio-a-thau, these migrants would stay for a couple of months or years. If they moved out, their census records would be crossed out in red ink, then kept in the files. These data can therefore help us to distinguish between the short-term immigrants and long-term residents. Also, I used these household registers data to trace the evidence of some specific shops such as Japanese *geisha* restaurants – a locality with multifaceted meaning – in colonial Kio-a-thau.

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1 For details of the Japanese household registers in colonial Taiwan, see Wolf and Huang (1980: 16-33).
These short-term immigrants’ involvement in various businesses was not a rupture with the pre-colonial social order but was rather continuous with pre-colonial social trends. In the late Qing era, a “merchant-gentry class” had emerged as a result of mercantilism (Chuang and Chen 1983; Huang 1984). After the 1860s, Taiwan became involved in global economic activities due to the opening of several ports. As a result, many people became rich by trading goods such as sugar, rice, and camphor. Chuang and Chen’s case study of a sugarcane crushing-shed mill in northern Taiwan in the late Qing period recorded social and cultural change in the local Chen Family. The first generation of the Chen Family were tenant farmers when they migrated from China in the early eighteenth century. The second generation owned their own land. The third generation then made money through the management of a sugar mill, which was one of the major opportunities to get rich in the late Qing period. Despite such changes, a rich merchant at that time did not accumulate social power since the social status of merchants ranked lowest in the occupational hierarchy according to a still operative Confucian tradition, which stigmatised private trade and individual accumulation. Consequently, these merchants were only promoted into a local gentry class through donations to the government and achievement in the official examination. This indicates that businessmen were not regarded as top of the social hierarchy.

OCCUPATIONAL DIFFERENTIATION (1865-1905)

As noted previously, in 1894, Kio-a-thau was one of the major villages in southern Taiwan (see the previous chapter). However, the official description is

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2 According to Taiwanese ideas, there were nine “upper occupations” as well as nine “lower occupations” in society. The former are consulting advisors to officials [sih-ye 師爺], doctors [yi-sheng 醫生], painters [hua-gong 畫工], geomancers [di-li-shih 地理師], predictors of the Eight Diagrams [bu-gu 卜卦], fortune tellers [siang-ming 相命], Buddhist monks [he-shang 和尚], Taoist religious sorcerers [sih-gong 司公], and musical advisors to scholars [cin-shih 琴師]. In contrast, the latter includes prostitutes [chang-nyu 嫬女], professional actors or actresses [you-ling 優伶], medium spirits [wu-jhe 巫者], musicians in funeral services [yue-ren 樂人], go-betweens for swine’s breeding [cian-jhu-ge 牽豬哥], barbers [ti-tou 剃頭], household servants [pu-bi 僕婢], massage therapists [na-long 拿龍], and body carriers [tu-gong 土公] (Kataoka 1996: 146-49).
too simple to capture the social history of Kio-a-thau at that time. Fortunately, during my fieldwork in 2002-2003 I found that the data recorded in the census provided more evidence of the actual situation before the 1900s in Kio-a-thau. According to my findings, several shops and other businesses opened before the 1900s (see Table 4.1). For instance, the first hotel, which was located at No. 156 on the main street, just on the right hand of the Mazu Temple, opened in 1865. Three years later, a migrant from Ma-dou, Tainan, opened a meat shop. A grocery store opened in 1887 at No. 143 on the main street, followed by another at No. 136 in 1890. In short, although the census data can not provide a detailed list of the shops which opened before 1905, when the first thorough detailed Japanese census survey was conducted, we may still trace the social history of Kio-a-thau back to around the 1860s.3

The changing nature of new shops and other businesses in Kio-a-thau was closely related to the village’s pre-colonial and colonial history. With the arrival of Japanese officials and policemen after 1895, a restaurant serving Japanese food first opened in 1898 (see Table 4.1) at No. 123 on the main street. According to the census record, it was a “pure” Japanese food restaurant rather than the sort of geisha restaurant that will be discussed later. After that, from 1901 onwards, more and more Japanese businessmen, as well as technicians and their families, moved into the village. Initially, the Japanese businesses opened to meet the daily requirements of the Japanese residents through the establishment of a tatami mat shop (1903), a geisha restaurant (1904), a tailor (1904), a meat shop (1905), a barber-shop (1905), a grocery store (1905), and a mortgage broker (1905).4

The number of new shops also reveals the socio-economic trajectory of Kio-a-thau. During the first decade of Japanese colonial rule (1895-1905), the number of shops opened by locals outstripped that of Japanese. However, from 1906 to 1912, the latter prevailed, probably because the second sugar refinery in Kio-a-thau was completed in 1908, which led to hundreds of Japanese workers being recruited (see the previous chapter). For instance, in 1906, of the total of 13 new shops which opened, Taiwanese owned only four. In 1907, three out of 17 new

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3 The reason is that there was no thorough household survey in the pre-colonial period.
4 For the definition of tatami, see Chapter 3.
businesses were Taiwanese. In the following years, the figures were as follows: five out of 17 (1908), seven out of 23 (1909), seven out of 20 (1910), three out of 12 (1911), and three out of eight respectively (1912). However, the number of locals who opened new shops and businesses again outstripped the Japanese from the mid 1910s, the Japanese Taisho Period.

The year the first shop opened can be said to mark a socio-cultural milestone in Kio-a-thau.\(^5\) The nature of the businesses and the changes seen over time also indicate the increasing occupational diversity in terms of social differentiation. For instance, the opening of the first hotel in 1865 marks a significant change in Kio-a-thau’s traffic interaction. Further changes are indicated by the establishment of the various businesses after this date. In addition to those listed in Table 4.1, which covered the period to 1905,\(^6\) the census data indicate the following: a Chinese medicine store (1906), a bricklaying business (1906, by Japanese), transportation services (1906, by Japanese), a sake winery (1907, by Japanese), antique shop (1907, by Japanese), massage studio (1907, by Japanese), quilting mill (1909), jewelry store (1910), loan and mortgage broker (1912), dental prosthesis (1910, by Japanese), betel-nut seller (1915), seal-engraving store (1915, by Japanese), fortune teller (1934), insurance broker (1933), and so forth.

One of the common features I have found is that the occupational diversity in colonial Kio-a-thau was affected by the Japanese. A common pattern is that the Japanese would be the first to open a certain kind of business and then locals would follow in their footsteps. For example, the first Taiwanese massage therapy centre opened in 1908, which followed the opening of the first Japanese one in the previous year. Also, a Japanese seal-engraving store opened in 1915, and then a Taiwanese one opened in 1933. Other similar cases include geisha restaurants and estate agents. Although there was competition between both sides in terms of commerce, following in Japanese footsteps illustrates the Japanese cultural influence over local popular culture in terms of occupations and life style.

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\(^5\) I cite these data from the colonial census registration, which record the year the first shop was opened. However, we cannot say that these were the precise dates that each business was established.

\(^6\) I do not list all the businesses opened after 1905 because I just want to make a comparison between the early stage and the late stage of the Japanese colonial period in business. As for the businesses opened after the 1920s until the end of the colonial period, see Tables 4.8 and 4.9.
### Table 4.1
Businesses opened between 1865 and 1905 in Kio-a-thau

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Business</th>
<th>Year of opening</th>
<th>Address (street number)</th>
<th>Owned by Japanese (J) or Taiwanese (T)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hotel [lyu-she 旅舍] [lyu-ren-su 旅人宿]</td>
<td>1865</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meat shop [rou-shang 肉商]</td>
<td>1868</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grocery store [za-huo-dian 雜貨店]</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grocery store [za-huo-dian 雜貨店]</td>
<td>1890</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese cooking restaurant [liao-li-dian 料理店]</td>
<td>1898</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fertilizer supplier [dou-cian-jhiih-zao 豆製造]</td>
<td>1898</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restaurant [liao-li-dian 料理店]</td>
<td>1902</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seafood shop [yu-shang 魚商]</td>
<td>1902</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tatami mat shop [die-jhii 畳職]</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fresh fruit shop [guo-wu-jhong-mai 果物仲買]</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bakery [guo-zih-jhiih-zao-ye 果子製造業]</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opium monopoly [ya-pian-yan-cing-mai-ye 阿片煙草業]</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geisha restaurant [liao-li-dian 料理店]</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geisha restaurant [liao-li-dian 料理店]</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailor [cai-fong 裁縫]</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grocery store [za-huo-dian 雜貨店]</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Billiard centre [you-ji-chang 遊技場]</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Meat shop [rou-shang 肉商] 1905 156 J
### Grocery store [za-huo-dian 雜貨店] 1905 178 T
### Geisha restaurant [liao-li-dian 料理店] 1905 194 J
### Barber-shop [li-fa-ye 理髮業] 1905 179 J
### Soy sauce mill [jiang-you-jhih-zao 醬油製造] 1905 185 T
### Restaurant [yin-shih-dia 飲食店] 1905 189 T
### Funeral director [guan-da-gong 棺大工] 1905 ? T
### Casino [du-ye 賭業] 1905 ? T
### Casino [du-ye 賭業] 1905 65 T
### Grocery store [za-huo-dian 雜貨店] 1905 182 J
### Loan and mortgage broker [jin-dai-ye 金貸業] 1905 ? J

**Source:** Colonial household registers for Kio-a-thau. **Notes:** The terms in square brackets include the original Japanese characters recorded in the census. I translate them into English. With regard to the translation between Japanese and the local Taiwanese dialect on the census, please see Rihjhih shih ci huji dengji fa lyu ji bian yi (The Collections of Legal Terms and Regulations on Household Registration under the Japanese Colonial Period) (2001: 369-384).

### A DECLINE OF THE PEASANT CLASS

In order to build the refinery, an enclosure movement was conducted by the Japanese colonial government, which obtained a vast area of land in Kio-a-thau. According to the sugar company, it set up many exclusive territories for cane procurement, under which cane supplied in a given territory was earmarked for one particular refinery (Ka 1995). This policy was designed to ensure the stable supply of sugarcane. During my fieldwork in 2002 to 2003, a few people still complained about the land enclosure introduced by the colonial state. Many
pieces of land were purchased at a low price by the government's new contracts when the Japanese made the decision to build KSR. According to the record, approximately 3,000 chia of land in Kio-a-thau was acquired or purchased by the colonial state. These acquisitions caused tension between villagers and the sugar refinery (L. Wang 2000: 846). An elderly man, born in 1906, recalled how the Japanese government forced his grandfather to sell his land in Kio-a-thau. As he (Jheng 1996: 82) commented:

My father told me that the Japanese had asked the Taiwanese peasants to sell their land. If you owned more than six chia (14.376 acres), the Japanese government bought them through arrangements with the village head. They would beat you if you were unwilling to sell the land. My grandfather was too scared to go home since he had eight chia of land. Then he died of the cold.

Kio-a-thau was not unique in colonial Taiwan. According to Ka (1995: 98-99), from 1925 to 1940, the land controlled by the Japanese sugar companies (through both ownership and rental) grew by 44 percent, from 81,912 hectares to 117,945 hectares, and its proportion of total arable land in Taiwan increased from 10.6 percent to 13.7 percent. Ka (1995: 100) points out that sugar factories “were free to obtain their own land and labour” on the land owned by the sugar company. In some certain circumstances, for example, when the sugar factories did not own their fields, they “also hired the workers and took responsibility for all the production decisions” by leasing (Ka 1995: 100).

The above circumstances were quite similar to the land enclosure movement that peaked in rural England and other European countries in the seventeenth and eighteenth century (Wordie 1983; Chambers 1953). In England, the enclosure movement was a movement in which landowners closed off public land in order to organise and keep track of land and animals. It also served the purpose of privatising the land they owned, which they had previously shared with peasant farmers. This impacted on peasant farmers in many respects. For example, it caused massive urbanisation as many farmers were forced to give up their shares of land to wealthy landowners and moved into cities to make a living.

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7 One chia = 0.96992 hectares or 2.396 acres (approximately)
In colonial Kio-a-thau, the enclosure movement was introduced by the colonial state rather than the landowners, or the Parliament in the English case. Furthermore, the purpose of the enclosure was quite different. In England, enclosure meant joining the strips of open fields to make larger areas for large-scale agricultural use and development. However, in colonial Kio-a-thau, enclosure implied that the colonial state replaced the landowners under the name of “industrialisation.” In practice, the colonial state enclosed most of the large estates and wasteland in Kio-a-thau in order to built KSR. As a consequence, the ownership of large plots fell to the colonial state. The colonial state and the sugar company controlled a vast amount of land and left the remainder for peasants to live on. This not only impacted on the peasant farmers but also on the landowners. Their relationships were based on tenancy in the pre-colonial period. Many landowners were forced to sell their land to the government, while many peasants lived on their small pieces of land or were forced to sell their labour in the market. This practice continued until the end of the colonial period. According to the official statistics (see Table 4.2), in 1934 to 1935, about 75 percent of farmers owned less than five fen of land. Over 90 percent of peasants who planted sugarcane in Kio-a-thau owned less than one chia of land. In contrast, less than two percent of the peasants owned more than three chia of land. As a result, most local peasants lost their land. On the other hand, this loss also consolidated the land owned by KSR. This deeply impacted on local social life in many ways.

Table 4.2
Households and areas of land for planting sugarcane in Kio-a-thau, 1934-1935

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total number of households</th>
<th>&lt;1 fen</th>
<th>1-5 fen</th>
<th>&gt;5 fen</th>
<th>&gt;1 chia</th>
<th>&gt;3 chia</th>
<th>&gt;5 chia</th>
<th>&gt;10 chia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8,049</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>697</td>
<td>5,315</td>
<td>1,429</td>
<td>462</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

8 One chia = 10 fen
Source: Statistics of Taiwan Sugar Industry, 1934-5. Notes: The total area of land for planting sugarcane was 3,098 chia. The average area for each household was 0.3847 chia.

The consequences of this loss of land were multi-dimensional. Firstly, it resulted in the decline in social prestige of the peasant class, in particular the landowners with larger real estate holdings. In the nineteenth century, the idea of wealth largely hinged on the areas of land that one owned. Owners of land did not need to cultivate their land themselves; they could lease out their land and collect rent. During Japanese rule, the number of these owners decreased as the colonial government remeasured the land and repossessed large areas that were not registered officially. After the completion of the sugar refinery, the sugar company had two accesses to obtain sugarcane. First, the sugar company had their own sugar fields to grow sugarcane. Second, the company also chose to acquire the majority of the sugarcane harvest by directly purchasing cane from “family farms,” units of indigenous household production for the Japanese sugar companies (Ka 1995: 1-2). The quotas of family farms per year were controlled by the sugar company quotas in order to control the sugarcane price. In this way, the sugar company could both obtain a stable supply of sugarcane and control the sugarcane price in the market. The colonial state eventually became the biggest landowner, while the number of big local landowners decreased. Land was no longer a guarantee of wealth for the local people, nor the only source of social prestige. The consolidation of land owned by KSR forced many local peasants to leave their land since the land was too small to live on. They had to find other avenues to make a living. They either became owner-farmers of their own small pieces of land or sold their labour to the sugar company. As Ka (1995: 124) points out, “the [sugar] companies could profit more by exploiting the peasants, whose living standards were suppressed to the level of subsistence farmers.” In other words, although some peasants pointed out that they got some economic advantages from growing cane, most of the economic surplus was exploited by the colonial state. A pretty popular idiom expressed the ambivalent feelings of a cane worker in the Japanese period in Kio-a-thau:

The most foolish thing in the world is to hand in your sugarcane to the sugarcane company [run by Japanese] because it will be weighed less.
Secondly, the loss of land also transformed traditional social structures, which mainly hinged on land and kinship. Many anthropological studies have emphasized inter-family relations within the clan group in Taiwanese communities (Pasternak 1968; Chen 1975; Gallin 1960; Wolf and Huang 1980; Hsieh 1979). As Gallin indicates (1960), the clan group consisting of surname groups highlights the shared affiliations of each member, who demonstrate their unity by worshipping ancestors, living together, and establishing a corporate ancestral estate. During the early period of the Cing Dynasty, the majority of immigrants to Taiwan settled in rural communities among people of the same ancestral or geographic background. As time progressed, many landowning farmers organized themselves into clan groups to protect their property rights and to pool their capital as a “clan cooperative,” a familial organisation which united each member of a clan in shared agricultural activities. Chuang and Chen (1983), for example, found that after 1790, residents established clan organisations based on consanguineous ties in the Miao-li area of northern Taiwan. As a result, many influential landlord families on Taiwan started to accumulate substantial wealth through the clan organisation. Many scholars have described these clans and their transformations in the eighteenth century and the nineteenth century in Taiwan. The Lin family in central Taiwan is an example (Meskill 1979). Their ancestor, Lin Wen-chin, arrived in Taiwan in 1745 and worked for thirty years as a tenant farmer. By 1775, he had saved enough money to buy 19 chia of land, which he divided up and leased to other tenants in return for rent.

Furthermore, the enclosure of land as well as the introduction of sugar production advantaged the social arrangements of nuclear families. Cohen (1976) described that tobacco cultivation needed many family labourers among Hakka villages and how it connected to the family organisation. By contrast, unlike tobacco cultivation, sugar cultivation does not need a lot of labourers mainly provided by a large family or the cooperation. For example, Gallin (1996) mentioned in Hsin Hsing, Taiwan: a Chinese Village in Change that local people chose to sub-contract their land to Taiwan Sugar Company to grow sugarcane because they did not depend on a large family to provide labourers to grow rice or other crops. Similarly, Hsieh (1979: 86-7) stated how sugarcane cultivation affected kinship arrangements in Puli, a location in central Taiwan, in the Japanese colonial period:
Sugar cane does not need to be harvested in such a hurry as rice. Sugar cane can, therefore, be raised by a small nuclear family group without the necessity of the help of other kinsmen. Sugar cane farming, then, tended to weaken ties between nuclear families, or at least did not provide the economic incentives for maintaining large family cooperation.

As a result, in the colonial context, a new form of coloniser / subject relationship emerged that differed from the previous kinship or landowner / landholder relationships. The locals could not accumulate their wealth through kinship organisation. Furthermore, the social status of landowners declined due to the colonial policy of enclosure. In the following section, I will move on to explore another issue: short-term immigrants.

GENERAL IMAGES OF SHORT-TERM IMMIGRANTS

It is quite difficult to calculate the exact percentage of Taiwanese short-term immigrants in Kio-a-thau in each decade. I have tried to estimate this figure according to the census data. For example, in 1944, the ji liou bu indicates that a total of 113 migrants (55 households) moved into Kio-a-thau. At that time, according to the Japanese household survey, there were about 1299 residents – including 800 Taiwanese people, 429 Japanese people and 70 others – registered in the local households in 1930 (see Table 3.2). Based on these data, I estimate that these immigrants accounted for approximately 14 percent of total local Taiwanese residents (113/ 800). Demographic statistics show the changing trends for these immigrants when compared to the pre-colonial period. These trends include an increase of distant migrants, changes in family patterns and contexts, changes in occupations, and ways of occupational inheritance. To start with, I present my findings of these immigrants mainly based on the census data. These findings include these immigrants' origins, ages, marital status, family types, and jobs. Then I argue the major social difference between long-term residents and short-term immigrants was their choice of jobs. I also point out that there was a

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9 According to the census survey in 1930, there were totally 1299 residents in Kio-a-thau, including 800 Taiwanese residents, 429 Japanese residents, one Korean, and 39 foreigners (mostly Chinese).
Migration and social differentiation

high percentage of occupational inheritance among businessmen and their next generation.

**Origins**

Generally speaking, most short-terms migrants were from neighbouring areas (see Table 4.3). Before the 1920s, about seventy percent of short-term immigrants came from less than twenty kilometres away from Kio-a-thau. However, this percentage fell in the 1940s because of the outbreak of the Second World War. On the other hand, the number of immigrants from over sixty kilometres away varied a lot, illustrating that the number varied according to fluctuations in the sugar industry. For instance, thirty percent of the migration was distant migration in the 1920s as this was the period when the sugar industry was booming.\(^{10}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of arrival</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>&lt;20 km</th>
<th>21-40 km</th>
<th>41-60 km</th>
<th>&gt;60 km</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 1920</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5 72</td>
<td>1 14</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>1 14</td>
<td>0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-1930</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11 55</td>
<td>3 15</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>6 30</td>
<td>0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-1940</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>72 71</td>
<td>13 13</td>
<td>7 7</td>
<td>8 8</td>
<td>2 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941-</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>90 62</td>
<td>17 12</td>
<td>17 12</td>
<td>21 14</td>
<td>1 0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4 80</td>
<td>1 20</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>0 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Colonial household registers of short-term immigrants for Kio-a-thau

**Average ages**

Generally speaking, the average age of short-term household heads became older over time (see Table 4.4). For example, the average age was 24.3 before the

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\(^{10}\) Sugar exports boomed in the 1910s and 1920s, when sugar exports constituted half of the total annual exports of Taiwan. For details, see Chapter 6.
1920s, while in the 20s, 30s, and 40s, the averages were 28.5, 31.6, and 31.3 respectively. In short, the earlier they arrived, the younger they were.

Table 4.4
Average ages of short-term household heads

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of arrival</th>
<th>Number of households</th>
<th>Average ages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before 1920</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>24.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-1930</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>28.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-1940</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>31.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941-</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>31.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number and average</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>31.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Colonial household registers of short-term immigrants for Kio-a-thau

• Marital status

Table 4.5 shows that most of the short-term immigrants were married before they arrived in Kio-a-thau (211 out of a total of 280 heads of households). Single people were in the minority. However, there were also some unusual cases where men brought their concubines with them because they wanted to start a new life as well as seek job opportunities.¹¹

¹¹ I will discuss this point in Chapter 5.
Table 4.5
Marital status of short-term household heads

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of arrival</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Unmarried</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 1920</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-1925</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926-1930</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-1935</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936-1940</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941-1945</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Colonial household registers of short-term immigrants for Kio-a-thau

- Family types and family sizes

From the 1920s onwards, the number and percentage of nuclear families increased steadily (see Table 4.6). In contrast, the percentage of extended and large families fell gradually. As for the number in each family, from the 1920s onwards, the average number of family members in each household fell steadily (see Table 4.7). Short-term immigrants who had arrived in Kio-a-thau before 1920 had an average of 11.3 family members in each household. However, in the 1940s, the average number became 4.5 in each household. Also, the number of one person households increased steadily from the 1920s onwards. It increased dramatically after 1936, reaching a peak in the early 1940s as a result of the Second World War. In the war period, many families were forced by the government to move to rural areas to avoid air raids by the United States Military. This caused temporary migration.
Table 4.6

Family types of short-term immigrants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of arrival</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Single</th>
<th>Nuclear family</th>
<th>Stem family</th>
<th>Large family</th>
<th>Un-Known</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 1920</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-1925</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926-1930</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-1935</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936-1940</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941-1945</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Colonial household registers of short-term immigrants for Kio-a-thau.
Notes: A stem family means a child (most commonly, an eldest son) continued to live his or her parents after the marriage. A large family is also known as a joint family in which parents and their children's families often live under a single roof.

In summary, most of the migrants who moved into Kio-a-thau were married, young, and often arrived with their partners and children (as nuclear families). Also, the number of distant migrants increased steadily after the 1920s.

Table 4.7

Family sizes of short-term immigrants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of arrival</th>
<th>Number of households</th>
<th>Average number of family members in each household</th>
<th>Household only with one person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before 1920</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-1930</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-1940</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941-1945</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Source: Colonial household registers of short-term immigrants for Kio-a-thau

* Jobs

The most striking contrast between short-term immigrants and long-term residents is their choice of jobs. Over half of the short-term immigrants (54 out of 99 cases for which details are known) made a living by doing business on the main street (see Table 4.8). They opened businesses such as restaurants, grocery stores, Chinese medicine stores, fashion shops, bike repair and sales outlets, transportation services, and bakeries. Some of the poorer short-term immigrants became vendors on the street. Other immigrants were professionals such as doctors. These immigrants did not get involved so much to do wage work in the refinery. Nevertheless, they still benefited from the larger population in Kio-a-thau. Regarding this, I will discuss it later in this chapter.
Table 4.8
Employment status of household heads in Kio-a-thau: short-term immigrants during the late Taisho and Shōwa Period (1920-1945)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupations of the household heads</th>
<th>Total number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor [yi-sheng 醫生]</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher [jiao-yuan 教員]</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government servant [huang-yi-chang 庄役場]</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessmen and self-employed</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grocery store [za-huo-dian 雜貨店]</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily products retail [siao-jian-wu-shang 小間物商]</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bakery [guo-zih-jihh-zao-ye 果子製造業]</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restaurant and food court [yin-shih-fan-mai 飲食販賣] [liaoli-dian 料理店] [yin-shih-wu-hang-shang 飲食物行商]</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vendor [yin-shih-wu-siao-mai 飲食物小賣]</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice store [jing-mi-ye 精米業] [mi-gu-shang 米穀商]</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estate agent [dai-di-ye 貨地業] [dai-shu-ye 代書業]</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fashion store and tailor [wu-fu-shang 吳服商] [cai-fong-ye 裁縫業]</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese medicine store and drugstore [yao-jhong-shang 藥種商] [si-yao-ju 專藥局]</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bike repairs and sale outlet [zhj-huan-che-fan-mai 自轉車販賣] [zhj-huan-che-siou-shan 自轉車修繕]</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Staff and employees at KSR</strong></td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural employees for KSR [rih-yong 日傭]</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff at KSR[jihh-tang-huei-she-gu 製糖會社雇] [shou-chuan 手傳] jihh-tang-huei-zuo-geng-zuo-si 製糖會作耕作係]</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenants [tian-dian-zuo 田佃作]</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subtotal</strong></td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unknown</strong></td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total number</strong></td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Source: Colonial household registers of short-term immigrants in Kio-a-thau.
Notes: The term of “Others” includes a shop for transportation services [yun-song-dian 运送店], wood chips [cai-mu-shang 材木商], a billiard center [you-ji-chang-ying-ye 遊技場營業], a charcoal store [shih-tan-fan-mai 石炭販賣], a quilting mill [bei-yong 被佣], a sesame mill [ma-you-jhizao-ye 麻油製造業], Dairyman [niou-nai-pei-da 牛奶配達], building construction [zuo-guan-jhizh 左官職], a barber-shop[li-fa-dian 理髮店], Rickshaw services [ren-li-che-ying-ye 人力車營業], a clock repair store [shih-ji-siou-shan-ye 時計修繕業], a bamboo-chair store[yao-gua-zao-da-gong 腰掛造大工], a barrel-producing mill [tong-jhizh-zao 桶製造], a tofu mill [dou-fu-jhizh-zao-ye 豆腐製造業], an iron works [wu-li-ye 武力業], and an ox-cart producing and selling store [he-che-jhizh-zao-fan-mai-ye 荷車製造販賣業].

In contrast, long-term residents were more involved in agricultural activities and jobs surrounding the refinery, although a small portion still ran businesses. According to the household registers, most of the long-term residents’ jobs were closely related to the sugar refinery (see Table 4.9). Forty-four out of 77 cases for which details are available worked as staff, casual sugarcane farmers or workers, or tenants of the sugar refinery. Tenants were mostly poor people who could not own their own land. They either rented land from KSR or rich landowners. Only 34 percent of long-term residents were business owners or self-employed: 26 out of 77 recorded cases participated in commercial activities on the main street, while a small number of people were professionals such as teachers or government servants. In short, the number and proportion of short-term immigrants who were involved in business and professional occupations was far more than long-term residents.
Table 4.9
Employment status of household heads in Kio-a-thau: long-term residents during the late Taisho and Shōwa Period (Total= 106 households) (1920-1945)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupations of the household heads</th>
<th>Total number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Professionals</strong></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee at the railroad station [<em>tie-dao-yi-fu</em> 鐵道驛夫]</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher [<em>jiao-yuan</em> 教員]</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government servant [<em>bao-jheng</em> 保正] [<em>jhuan-yi-chang</em> 庄役場]</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Businessmen and self-employed</strong></td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grocery store [<em>za-huo-dian</em> 雜貨店]</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bakery [<em>guo-zih-jhih-zao</em> 果子製造]</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese medicine store [<em>mai-yao-fan-mai-ye</em> 賣藥販賣業]</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice store [<em>jing-mi-ye</em> 精米業]</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loan and mortgage broker [<em>jin-dai-ye</em> 金貸業]</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estate agent [<em>dai-di-ye</em> 貸地業]</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laundry [<em>si-jhuo-ye</em> 洗濯業]</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building construction [<em>zuo-guan-jhih</em> 左官職]</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Staff and employees at KSR</strong></td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural employee for KSR [<em>rih-yong</em> 日僱]</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff at KSR [<em>jhih-tang-huei-she-gu</em> 製糖會社雇] [<em>shou-chuan</em> 手傳]</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenant [<em>tian-dian-zuo</em> 田佃作]</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subtotal</strong></td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total number</strong></td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source:* Colonial household registers of long-term residents in Kio-a-thau. *Notes:* The term of “Others” includes a fertiliser supplier [*dou-cian-jhih-zao* 豆種製造], a seafood retailer [*yu-shang* 魚商], and a seed seller [*jhong-zih-dian* 種子店].
Nevertheless, no matter whether it was long-term residents or short-term immigrants, the data shows that there was a high percentage of occupational inheritance among businessmen. For example, I have investigated 14 out of the 26 cases who were involved in commercial activities in 1920-1945 in order to explore the nature of their businesses further (see Tables of 4.10 and 4.11). Most of the businesses were inherited from the previous generation who had set up shops when the Japanese arrived and the refinery was established. Ten out of the 14 revealed that they had inherited their fathers' businesses, while only four had not. These data suggest that doing business was considered better than becoming peasants or doing any other job at that time, especially before the 1940s. However, in the last few years of the colonial period, many stores on the main street were closed due to warfare. At this time, locals found that doing business was risky so they encouraged their children either to become long-term employees in the sugar refinery or public servants.

### Table 4.10
**Businessmen in 1920-1945 and their fathers' occupations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total number of business</th>
<th>Fathers' occupations</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>Non-businessmen</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Fieldwork data, Kio-a-thau

### Table 4.11
**Inherited business or non-inherited business**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total number of business</th>
<th>Inherited business</th>
<th>Non-inherited business</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Fieldwork data, Kio-a-thau
MIGRATION AND INDIVIDUAL AGENCY

“Any way to embrace the chimney of the Sugar Refinery is as good as another.”

“The water in Kio-a-thau is both sweet and rich.”

These two proverbs were popular in colonial Kio-a-thau. The first proverb was a metaphor which described how KSR created many job opportunities for sugarcane workers and doing business on the street. The second one was also a metaphor which means that Kio-a-thau was a good place to make a living. The informants told me that during the sugar-refining period, the irrigation channels around the factory would be full of “warm water with sugar” as a result of refining and cooling from KSR. Local peasants enjoyed the water, which could be utilised as free “fertiliser” for crops. Both metaphors symbolically highlight the wealth brought about by KSR, although they exaggerate the situation somewhat. Furthermore, these proverbs reflect the aspirations these migrants brought to Kio-a-thau. Migrants could, nonetheless, be quite worried about their future before they decided to go to Kio-a-thau. An informant reported that his father went to the temple and asked for some advice from the gods. The informant reported, “the god answered, ‘yes, you can go [to Kio-a-thau]’.” With an endorsement from the god, his father dared to decide to go to Kio-a-thau. In the next section, I will give some case studies of these migrants and explore how they exercised their agency through migration.

Beggar’s case

Beggar is a “legendary” figure in Kio-a-thau and a good example of how a Taiwanese immigrant worker transformed into a member of the local elite over time. Beggar was born in 1888 in You-chang, just five kilometres away from Kio-a-thau. He was born in a poor family and was illiterate. In 1900, Beggar, aged 12, and his father (his mother had already died) moved to Kio-a-thau to find work. They made a living by selling snacks on the street, and rented a house near the Mazu Temple. Once, they met a British technician who helped set up the machinery of KSR. This technician asked Beggar to be a coolie (unskilled labourer) for him, carrying his luggage from KSR to the Kio-a-thau railroad
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station. Beggar got 0.20 yen each time as his payment. Yamamoto, the first general manager of Taiwan Sugar Refinery Company, heard of Beggar’s hard work and employed him as a low-position government servant in KSR in 1903. Water, Beggar’s only son and one of the key informants in my fieldwork, remembered:

My father worked very hard and was good at cooking. Yamamoto liked his cooking very much. Afterwards, he asked my father to be a household servant for him since his wife was staying in Japan at that time. Yamamoto arranged a house near his dormitory for us to live. On 14 August 1918, I was born in that house. Furthermore, Yamamoto adopted me as his son since he did not have any children. He treated us like his family. My father had worked for him from 1903 to 1926, when Yamamoto was inaugurated as the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry in Japan. He asked our family, including my father, mother, older sister and I (my younger sister was not born at that time) to go to Tokyo with him.

Mikio Kakei, a subsequent general manager of the Taiwan Sugar Refinery Company from 1941, pointed out in his memoir how the Japanese staff in KSR respected Beggar because of his loyalty (Kakei 1989: 75). Water’s wife said that Beggar once stated he needed to build a new house since his current one was too small. On hearing this, Yamamoto immediately promised to give him a piece of land at the end of the main street to build on. Water’s wife also told me that Beggar had priority rental of several pieces of KSR’s “public land” since there would be a year or so interval before the next sugarcane planting. Locals called this siou-sian-di, the “leisure land,” which could be used to plant some vegetables during the year. However, in the eyes of locals, to obtain such land was indeed a privilege. Due to this, many relatives or friends would ask for Beggar’s assistance to help them make a living. Beggar leased out the land and collected the rent once every six months or once a year. In the 1930s, there were five relatives living together with Beggar and his family since they thought he had more resources. Water’s wife stated, “We did not buy rice at all at that time since the landholders would give plenty as rent.”

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12 A detailed description is given in Chapter 7. Mikio Kakei entered KSR as a trainee in 1913 after he graduated from the Imperial University in Tokyo. He stayed in Kio-a-thau from 1913 to 1916. As he stated in his memoir, he started to learn the local Fa-lao dialect in 1914. In 1941, he became a general manager in the Taiwan Sugar Refinery Company.
Prize’s case

Prize was born in 1885 in Zih-guan, a village neighbouring Kio-a-thau. He was also one of the “first generation immigrant workers” of KSR. Acting as an interpreter in the early 1900s since he knew both Japanese and local dialect, Prize maintained frequent contact with the leadership of KSR. Shortly after the completion of the sugar refinery, he was appointed as a commissioner, who functioned as a middleman between the peasants and the sugar refinery. The formal title was yuan-liao-wei-yuan. The commissioner was a local agent authorised by the refinery to organise and supervise work teams (Chen 1981). Although a commissioner was not formally considered as an official of KSR, he was influential in terms of social prestige. Prize, like Beggar, was trusted by Yamamoto. Prize had four sons and seven daughters. His second daughter, Love, was born in 1913. She, like Water, was also adopted by Yamamoto since Yamamoto’s wife was infertile. In 2002, I interviewed Love about the reason she was adopted. She answered: “It was probably because my father had a good relationship with Yamamoto. Moreover, perhaps I got good grades at school. It was not easy for a girl at that time.” River, one of my informants, reported:

Yamamoto adopted Love as his daughter. Consequently, Prize got about three chia of land near the main street as a reward. The land, which could not be planted with sugarcane, was close to the Mazu Temple and became the busiest area in Kio-a-thau. Prize thus built the first two-storey house in Kio-a-thau in the 1930s (see Plate 3.3). The house was designed by a Japanese architecture according to Yamamoto’s orders.

Green’s case

13 Regarding the role of a commissioner, see Chen (1981: 39-49). For example, Chen mentions that the mission for a commissioner of the sugar company was to “arrange for the delivery of harvested sugarcane to the local refinery; to persuade all the peasants who own land in the appropriate zone to plant sugarcane and sign a production contract with the TSC [Taiwan Sugar Company]; to act as a loan officer for the TSC’s fertiliser and production loans by receiving applications and verifying the eligibility of applicants; and to convey the company’s instructions to the cultivators and the cultivator’s requests and complaints to the company.”

14 The interviews with Love and Water about their lives in Tokyo can be seen in Chapter 6.
Green once lived in Shan-hua, Tainan. In 1937 she and some of her family members moved into Kio-a-thau because, as she stated,

> My father was born in a wealthy family in Shan-hua. He inherited seven or eight chia of land from my grandfather. Unfortunately he lost most of his property because of the "corruption" of his household servants. I have three older brothers, one older sister, one younger brother, and one younger sister. My father decided to move to Kio-a-thau because he had a cousin who worked at KSR as staff. The cousin introduced my oldest brother to a job in KSR. At that time, if you wanted to enter KSR, you should find someone who could help you. My brother had been working there for two years, but he resigned since he thought the salary of a worker at KSR was not as good as he imagined. Later he joined the crew of a ship. I received medical education in Kaohsiung and later became a nurse at KSR in 1940.

In 1937, Green came to Kio-a-thau with her mother, two brothers, and two sisters. However, her father and an elder brother stayed in Shan-hua temporarily. As she commented, "my father asked us to move first because he said, 'I want to stay in Ma-dou in order to keep the small piece of land left by my ancestors there.'"

Initially, Green and her family rented a house from Beggar, who was by then one of the elite in Kio-a-thau. After settling, the second older brother also joined them and found a job as a worker at KSR through her father's cousin. That brother later resigned and decided to open a tailor shop on the main street. He was unmarried at that time. Through the marriage matchmaker, he married a woman in Shan-hua, their hometown.

**Guest's case**

Guest was born in 1912. His wife told me the story of his move to Kio-a-thau. Guest's father opened a Chinese medicine store in Ci-shan, about 30 kilometres away from Kio-a-thau. After Guess was married, Guess, the second son, and his father went to Kio-a-thau to open another Chinese medicine shop since, "there were more business opportunities in Kio-a-thau," his wife said. Guess's brother stayed in Ci-shan to run the original shop. Guest made a lot of money by managing the shop well. "Unfortunately," Guess's wife stated, "my father-in-law had an affair with a geisha attendant in Kio-a-thau. He spent most of the money on that woman. Eventually, he married this geisha as a concubine but lost his property."
Team's case

Team was born to a poor family. He had five brothers, but unfortunately two of them died when they were young. The other one was adopted out. Team arrived in Kio-a-thau alone from a neighbouring village in the 1910s. He worked as a casual sugarcane worker in KSR. He rented a house near the refinery. After work, he would cultivate the “waste land” and grow some vegetables. In KSR, Team met his prospective wife. “They fell in love without the matchmaker. It was a ‘fashionable’ thing at that time,” his grandson said. “My grandmother was also a migrant from the neighbouring village. Her ex-husband died, so she had to find a job in KSR. She washed the filters in the refinery. My grandfather also worked for KSR. That was why they knew each other.” The couple worked very hard. They also raised about 40 pigs for making money. Through their hard work over the years, they became wealthier. Team and his wife decided to buy a piece of land to settle in Kio-a-thau. They let one portion of this land for the worship of a local nameless goddess. The resulting temple, Shuei-liou-ma (Goddess of fluid water) temple, was simply a worship tablet before the 1930s. Shuei-liou-ma was a nameless woman whose body was found floating in the irrigating channel of Kio-a-thau about two hundred years ago. Some nice people buried her and set up a tablet to worship her. Shuei-liou-ma as well as Shuei-liou-gong (God of fluid water) was a popular folk religion in Taiwan (Masuda 1935:62; Harrell 1974: 202). A lot of migrants asked her for favours, but a small shrine was not built until Team bought the land in the 1930s. “My grandparents thought the goddess helped them ‘silently,’ so they built the shrine.”

Discussion

Firstly, Beggar’s example shows how an immigrant transformed into a member of the local elite although he was identified as both a “migrant” and with a class of “non-literari.” The literari class was a small portion of people who received their education in traditional Taiwanese society (Tsurumi 1977). Beggar’s example

\[12\] Masuda (1935: 62) described this worship in 1935, “Bodies that have been found floating on the ocean or rivers and then are buried...but when some kind of rumor starts that they have spiritual power, the people in the vicinity call them Cui Lau Kong [Shuei-liou-gong] and gather in great numbers to ask favours.”
reversed the tradition since he did not receive any formal education. In a similar manner, Prize arrived in Kio-a-thau when he was a teenager and later he also entered the local elite. Prize's example also reveals how "the first-generation migrants" gradually obtained their social power during colonial times. What was the source of their social power?

Many scholars have focused on the role of the local gentry in terms of local political and social leadership in traditional rural Taiwan (Chen 1981; Yang 1945; Chen 1970). In the Cing era, the local elite became leaders because of their "special qualifications - age, wealth, learning, kin-group status, or personal capacity - and were as a result greatly respected and admired by their constituents" (Hsiao 1960: 273). In colonial times, the local leaders were "appointed" according to their "reputation and property" (Chen 1975: 415) by the Japanese police to maintain the peace under the practice of the "pao-chia system," a control institution and a supplementary administrative organ.16 The Japanese pao-chia system basically followed the step of pre-colonial political system (Chen 1970: 144; Chang and Myers 1963: 439), so the local gentry were also appointed as the heads of pao and chia. What was different was that the Japanese could define what the criterion of "reputation" was. In other words, the Japanese could choose whose locals who they trusted. This criterion changed the meaning of "reputation." The stories of these immigrants to Kio-a-thau reveal that social influence did not rely on age, wealth, learning or kin-group status as traditionally defined. Rather, according to these stories, a non-kin relationship such as friendship with the colonisers became a major source of social power. Local people could obtain some privileges, such as priority in renting land, by showing loyalty to the colonisers. In other words, according to my interviews in Kio-a-thau, the definition of "local elite" was not only defined by locals but also by the colonial authorities. As a consequence, loyalty to the colonial regime was another "special qualification" - perhaps the most important factor - to become members

16 Pao-chia system started in Cing dynasty and the Japanese followed this system for managing the local political affairs such as prevention of crime, report on population movement, and repairing of streets and bridges. Under this system, ten households were lumped together to form one chia and ten chia were bunched in one group, called pao. For details of the system, see Wolf and Huang (1980: 25), Chen (1970: 144-145), and Chang and Myers (1963: 439).
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of the local elite. On the other hand, both Beggar and Prize’s cases show that the Japanese colonisers could also exercise and reinforce coloniser-subject relationships through kin relationship such as adoption and personal ties. The adoption of non-kinship members is prevalent in Japan (Hsu 1975: 61).¹⁷ To Taiwanese people in Kio-a-thau, such relationships through adoption were neither continuous with tradition nor complete ruptures with the old, but a transformation of the previous landowner-landholder pattern since servants and tenants farmers often used kinship terms as a matter of courtesy in addressing their employers and landlords. In colonial Kio-a-thau, in one sense, the coloniser assumed a landowner type position in the pre-colonial period. As a result, loyalty became one of the sources of social power. Jacobs, based on his research in central Taiwan (1979: 253), indicates that “public kuan-hsi [guan-si]” (public relationship) is important within bureaucratic arenas in Chinese politics. However, my research indicates that public kuan-hsi did not exist only within bureaucratic arenas in colonial times. Rather, it existed in everyday lives and was a combination of political, economic, and (non-) kin relationships. In colonial times, residents and immigrants in Kio-a-thau would manipulate these relationships through kinship and non-kinship ties with the coloniser in order to make the most of themselves.

Secondly, according to the above stories, the process of migration further reinforced the social prestige of these local elite, including those migrants who had transformed into local elite, since newly-arrived immigrants would ask for help from them. Initially, most immigrants rented houses from the local people because they had no local kin. Under such a circumstance, those immigrants who did not have personal networks needed to seek support from the local people. This highlighted the social significance of the local elite. For instance, Saint was the head of Nan Zih Jhuang, a large administrative unit including Kio-a-thau, in the 1930s. From the census registration, we can see that a total of 17 persons, most of whom were not his relatives, were registered on his household registration. “Saint rented the land and houses to immigrants for both their farming and temporary residency,” River commented. This reveals that the dynamics of the social

¹⁷ For a detailed discussion of Japanese adoption, see Chapter 6.
network put more emphasis on social power than on traditional kinship ties. In the process of migration, friendship replaced kinship organisation as one of the key factors in building new relationships in Kio-a-thau.

Thirdly, Green’s example suggests that women became a priority to be moved out in the process of migration. As noted above, Green came to Kio-a-thau first with her mother, brothers, and sisters, while her father and the second elder brother “stayed in the hometown temporarily in order to keep the small piece of land left by my ancestors there.” The father's concern perhaps focused on the notion of ancestor worship, which is an important cultural mechanism in Taiwanese society (Wolf and Huang 1980). Despite this, Green’s case reveals in a sense that a woman’s role was used to deal with a “new circumstance” confronted in the colonial encounter, while a man’s role was to “protect” his own resources he already had, such as real estate.18

Fourthly, both Guest and Team’s cases reveal that Kio-a-thau was a locality that could help one to escape the “gossip” in one’s original residence or from the impact of familial relationships. Team’s wife is a good example. Her “second marriage” would not have been socially acceptable for a widow in her original village at that time. However, spatial changes allowed her to remarry. Spatial changes also brought about some impacts on domesticity. Guest’s case suggests how a new and extended social network impacted on the familial relationship through migration.

Fifthly, Team’s story indicates some of the ways in which the locals interpreted their own migration. In contrast to the pre-colonial period, much of Kio-a-thau’s economic achievement was attributed to the capacity and aspiration of individuals rather than to kinship arrangements. Migrants went through hardship and an ongoing process of challenge. Locals who became rich attributed their success to religious spirits such as Ma-zu and Shuei-liou-ma [Goddess of fluid water]. Most migrants believed deeply that these spirits guided them to success. As a popular idiom in colonial Kio-a-thau put it, “The [local] goddess Mazu prefers migrants.”

18 Similarly, I argue this point in the name-changing chapter (Chapter 7).
Many locals told me that Shuei-liou-na helped poor people a lot. In particular, the female attendants who were working in geisha restaurants would frequently worship her. “These women often came to Shuei-liou-na asking for more business opportunities,” a retired teacher reported. As the grandson stated: “My grandparents thought the goddess helped them ‘silently,’ so they built the shrine.” Team’s words reveal a kind of gratitude to an “unknown spiritual world,” through which he could find success.

**Geisha restaurants as a locality of social and economic power**

Financial motivation was obviously the main drive to migrate since immigrants came to Kio-a-thau mainly to make a living. However, some people, particularly the women who were involved in geisha restaurants were forced to come. My informant told me that the attendants who worked in geisha restaurants were pitiful since they were moved around by procurers. Many geisha restaurants were set up in colonial Kio-a-thau for the pleasure of both Japanese and local men. The local attendants mostly came from poor families which would sell their adopted daughters or simpua – little-daughters-in-law – to brothels or geisha restaurants when times were hard. For example, the records of one geisha restaurant on the household registration in 1909 show that 10 of the total of 21 female attendants recorded in the census were believed to be adopted daughters or little-daughters-in-law according to their personal backgrounds.

The influx of Japanese as well as short-term immigrants brought about a different atmosphere in Kio-a-thau, the most striking feature of which was the popularity of geisha restaurants [liao-li-dian 料理店]. My informant told me that Kio-a-thau was itself referred to as a place for eroticism as well as for opportunity in colonial times. According to the census data (see Table 4.12), the first geisha restaurant was established at No. 123 on the main street in 1904, three years after the opening of KSR. The number of such restaurants reached their peak in the 1910s and 1920s, during the Japanese taisho and shōwa Periods. This was also the time when the sugarcane industry was booming. Initially, Japanese ran these restaurants. After 1909, Taiwanese people started to establish their own geisha-style restaurants by imitating the Japanese (see Table 4.12).
could choose their own *geisha* restaurants. However, after 1931, Taiwanese took the place of the Japanese and ran all these restaurants.

The Japanese staff at the sugar refinery was the first group to trigger this kind of leisure culture in Kio-a-thau. The photograph I present here (Plate 4.1) shows that Japanese staff liked to go to *geisha* restaurants to drink and eat with *shakufu* [Japanese 酬婦]—female attendants who were trained to entertain men. *Geisha* [藝妓] and other women would entertain their patrons with conversation, dancing or singing. These men indulged themselves in this sensual pleasure. This scene was not unusual in the Japanese community. Water mentioned that Yamamoto married a *geisha* as his wife. This kind of sensual atmosphere brought about by Japanese obviously influenced the local people. King, once a staff member at KSR, remembered the colourful nightlife after work.

We were paid money by the sugar refinery three times per month. After receiving the money, we often came to *geisha* restaurants for pleasure with colleagues and friends in the evening. Initially we men did not dare to go alone, so we would look for some friends for company. At that time [in the late 1930s], besides Kio-a-thau, there was also a famous “red-light zone” in Kaohsiung City....

The colonial household registers reveal detailed information about these restaurants. For instance, Okuta, a Japanese migrant, opened a *geisha* restaurant at No. 123 on the main street in January 1909. The restaurant operated there for 20 months according to the household registration. During this period, the census data records 77 Japanese female attendants, whose main duty was to accompany patrons for drinking. In addition the census shows the registration of 14 Japanese *geisha*, 2 accountants [帳場] (all males), 5 cooks [料理人] (all males), 2 receptionists [仲居] (both females), and 1 maidservant [下婢]. For some reason the restaurant closed at the end of the subsequent year. Generally speaking, the average duration for these *geisha* restaurants in Kio-a-thau was three to four years. However, according to the records, the longest one lasted for over ten years (see Table 4.12). The final *geisha* restaurant in colonial times opened in

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19 I calculated that the average duration of each geisha restaurant in Kio-a-thau was as follows. During the Japanese *Taisho* Period (1912-1926), the average duration was 36 months, while the figure was 42 months during the *Shōwa* Period.
1934. After that, no new restaurant opened probably due, firstly, to the Sino-Japan war and the subsequent Second World War; and secondly, to the decline of the sugar industry in the late 1930s.

However, *geisha* restaurants not only provided a place for sensual pleasure but also a locality for interactions between Japanese and local men. In the restaurants they developed their personal relationships. Guess mentioned that her father, who worked as a staff member at the sugar refinery, often went out with his Japanese colleagues in the 1920s. “Many deals related to KSR would be reached through alcohol (Japanese: *sake*), drinking games, and *geisha,*” she reported. Alcohol, women, wealth, and power — as a Chinese proverb puts it — are four temptations for a man. In colonial Kio-a-thau, these four temptations were delicately connected in the environment of *geisha* restaurants.
Table 4.12

*Geisha* restaurants in colonial Kio-a-thau

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Japanese Calendar</th>
<th>Year the restaurants opened</th>
<th>Number of <em>geisha</em> restaurants</th>
<th>Number owned by Japanese/ by Taiwanese</th>
<th>Duration (in months)</th>
<th>Address (No. on the main street)</th>
<th>Number of <em>geisha</em> restaurants operating (approximately)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meizi</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2/0</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>123/191</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1905</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1906</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1907</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1908</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3/0</td>
<td>8/17/105</td>
<td>67/137/192</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1909</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2/1</td>
<td>60/127/?</td>
<td>144/194</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2/1</td>
<td>14/20/24</td>
<td>123/177/179</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0/1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taisho</td>
<td>1912</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1913</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1/1</td>
<td>67/74</td>
<td>143/194</td>
<td>5</td>
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### Migration and social differentiation

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<th>Total Social Power</th>
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**Source:** Colonial household registers for Kio-a-thau. **Notes:** The colonial period went past three Japanese periods. They were *Meiji* period (1895-1911), *Taisho* period (1912-1924), and from the year of 1925 onwards was *Shōwa* period.

### The Increasing Importance of the Merchant Class

My survey and above interviews indicate that the merchant class emerged as an important part of Kio-a-thau’s history in the early twentieth century. The short-term immigrants mainly involved in commerce and other businessmen gradually obtained social power, indicating the transformation of their inferior role in traditional society. At least two scholars (Lo 2002; Tsurumi 1977) have indicated the value changes in job classification in colonial times but have tended to focus
on the professions. For example, Tsurumi (1977: 218) notes that women were trained for careers in medicine and midwifery in order to fit in their "new stereotype" in society (see Chapter 6). For local men, Lo (2002) argues that becoming doctors for local people became an effective pathway to become members of elite. Furthermore, the Japanese encouraged locals to do so because they thought that the duties of doctors could erase the ethnic boundaries between the colonisers and the colonised. However, few scholars noticed another social group - the businessmen - and their transformation in colonial times. I find that the role of a businessman significantly changed in colonial times. In the following section I further explore how and why these businessmen in Kio-a-thau gradually obtained social power.

**Political authority of businessmen**

Although they were not all liked by the colonial rulers, businessmen in Kio-a-thau came to play an increasingly important role in regards to political authority. The political leaders were chosen by the colonial government, initially most of them belonging to the gentry class like Prize. Prize was chosen as a head of Kio-a-thau and became influential in the village. He acted as a medium to deal with negotiations between the locals and the colonial government. The government gave him some privileges in return, such as land and personnel. Heads of larger areas such as Nan Zih Keng Jhuang – the administrative unit of Kio-a-thau in the colonial period (see Table 3.1) – were also appointed by the Japanese. These political leaders were closely related to the colonial government. In other words, they were appointed by the colonial state rather than by the will of the ordinary people.

The increasing number of businessmen challenged this political boundary. In 1937, the Kio-a-thau local representative council was established, and most of the members were businessmen and staff members at KSR. Yu, a migrant who arrived in Kio-a-thau in 1932 and worked as a real estate agent, is a good example. After three years, he stood as a candidate for the first local representative election in colonial Taiwan and was elected as a representative member of Nan Zih Jhuang Council. He was the only one to be elected in Kio-a-thau. During the Sino-
Migration and social differentiation

Japanese War period, Yu made a considerable fortune by buying real estate. He stated in his memoir (Peng 2002: 183-4), “During the war, a lot of young Taiwanese farmers were recruited as Japanese soldiers. As a result, the number of peasants fell sharply. At the same time, the price of agricultural crops was so low that many peasants gave up farming. Consequently, a lot of wasteland was left. Dry land cost 1000 dollars per chia, while wet land cost 2000 dollars per chia....” With his political and financial background, Yu was elected as the first head of Kio-a-thau in 1947 under the Nationalist regime.

Yu’s case shows that immigrants gradually got involved in local political affairs, at least at the end of the colonial period. Also, my interviews as well as the above cases suggest that businessmen became more influential in terms of social power in colonial Kio-a-thau. This continued during the initial stage of the Nationalist regime. In the early post-colonial period, businessmen and professionals in Kio-a-thau gradually took the place of gentry in terms of public decision-making (CTSJ 1984: 18-19). In 1947, for example, six residents in Kio-a-thau were elected as the members of the first committee of Ciao Tou Siang. Four among them were businessmen, while one was government server and the other one was a doctor.

Interruption between businessmen and farmers

Besides decision-making involvement, the increasing status of the merchant class can also be seen in terms of choosing marriage partners. Businessmen, as well as the staff at KSR, were welcomed in the marriage market. Sun, a ninety-eight-year-old man when I interviewed him in 2002, told me his marriage story. His parents died when he was still young without leaving any property. He could not find any other alternative to make a living so he decided to start his own career making bamboo sun-hats because, firstly, making sun-hats was a special skill inherited from his grandfather; and secondly, there was a vast need at that time due to the opening of KSR. One day in the 1930s, a lady who was in her 40s came to his shop to buy some sunhats with her daughter. The lady’s husband was a landowner who had about seven or eight chia of land in the village. “I had a nice talk with the mother and she asked a lot of personal questions besides business. I could feel that she appreciated my ability both to make sunhats and to do
business,” Sun remembered. “Shortly after the meeting, the old lady asked for a marriage proposal with her daughter through a match maker.” On hearing that, Sun was a little shocked since he thought, “I could not marry her daughter because her family was rich. I was too poor to afford the brideprice.” The daughter was also kind of reluctant to marry him because she said, “If I married him, I would have to learn how to make sunhats. But I had no idea how to make them.” Nonetheless, the mother answered, “He is a technician. You will not worry about money if you marry him.” Finally, Sun borrowed 160 yen, which was the brideprice, from his friends to marry his wife in 1936. “I was too poor to afford to buy a bed at that time. We were sleeping on a bed made from many boxes on our wedding night,” he recalled.

Sun’s case reveals that families wanted to let their daughter marry a businessman rather than a peasant in the 1930s. For a peasant, as this case shows, having plenty of land did not necessarily ensure a marriage deal. In fact, quite the reverse; owning land could be a negative thing for women and their families, whose major concern was that if a daughter married a farmer, she would undergo hardship since she was supposed to farm in the fields. Pam, a daughter of a big landlord in the 1930s, remembered that match makers had come several times before she was married, but her father refused these marriage proposals. He said, “I will not have my daughter marry a peasant even though he and his family have plenty of land.” Businessmen became one of the top choices of marriage partners for women.

For businessmen, one of the major concerns for marrying was the political and economic exchanges with local elite. Table 4.13 reveals the general trend in partner choice by businessmen. Interstingly, families of businessmen themselves seldom chose partners from business, labouring, or other categories, especially between the 1920s and 1940s. Instead, most of the businessmen tended to choose partners from peasants’ families, especially those that owned plenty of land. The father of River, my informant, maintained a very good relationship with Japanese leaders at KSR and was an influential peasant who owned several chia of land. River’s father asked him to marry a daughter of a businessman who

20 The data was collected through my interviews with 32 people who opened their businesses in colonial Kio-a-thau.
owned a grocery store in the neighbouring village in 1948, although River had a
girl friend at that time (For details, see Chapter 5). River remembered, “I gave my
partner’s family $10,000 as brideprice, but they did not accept it. Rather, they
gave $100,000 in return as a replacement for the dowry. The interest from this
cash outstripped the monthly salary I was earning at KSR at that time.”

Mutual interest, rather than social mobility, could account for the intermarriages
between businessmen and peasants. With the socio-economic development in the
first decades of the twentieth century, the merchant class, largely composed of
migrants, emerged as a major class in Kio-a-thau. Given that they did not own
real estate, these migrants preferred to marry daughters from peasant families
since they could thereby obtain land. As for the peasants, they were also willing
to intermarry with businessmen since businessmen had cash. At the same time, as
Sun’s case has shown, business acumen indicated the opportunity and potential to
make money. That was the major reason the lady allowed her daughter to marry
Sun even though he was very poor.

Table 4.13
Marriage partners for businessmen’s families by decade

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<thead>
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<th>Year of marriage</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Small peasants</td>
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<tr>
<td>Before 1920</td>
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<tr>
<td>1921-30</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951-60</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21 Accepting brideprice and paying dowry by the brides’ families are acceptable in
Chinese weddings (Wolf and Huang 1980: 75; Jordan 1999). The canonical “six rites,”
including 1) submitting a betrothal, 2) asking the [girl’s] name, 3) accepting felicity, 4)
accepting the brideprice, 5) selecting the day, and 6) welcoming the bride, make up a
marriage (Jordan 1999: 324-25). In the 1940s, this custom was still followed in Taiwan.
CONCLUSION: BEYOND “COLONISER” AND “COLONISED”

In this chapter I have explored the occupational differentiation in colonial Kio-a-thau from 1860 to 1945. During my fieldwork in 2002-2003, I found that a particular group, the Taiwanese short-term immigrants, emerged as a result of the interactions of the Japanese people and the locals. I have described the social transformations in the colonial period introduced by the Japanese industrialisation and how these transformations impacted socio-economic dimensions. Firstly, I have indicated that the enclosure movement resulted in the decline in social prestige of the peasant class, in particular the landowners with more real estate. The colonial state as well as the sugar company controlled a vast amount of land and left the remainder for peasants to live on. This not only affected peasant farmers but also landowners. Many landowners were forced to sell their land to the sugar company, while many peasants either lived on their small pieces of land or were forced to sell their labour force in the market.

Secondly, the loss of land transformed the traditional form of social structure, which mainly hinged on land and kinship. As many scholars have described, in the pre-colonial period, the lineage organisation served as both kinship and economic units. The enclosure of land disadvantaged the development of large lineage organisations. Moreover, the introduction of mass-production of sugarcane, which lacked the labour-intensive nature of rice cultivation, advantaged the social arrangements of nuclear families.

In Kio-a-thau, the upsurge of the merchants was not a rupture from tradition but a transformation of the previous stage. In the late Cing era, a “merchant-gentry class” had emerged as a result of merchantism. This trend was further reinforced through the articulation of both the coloniser and the colonised. I have provided
several case studies to illustrate how individuals gradually obtained social power in Kio-a-thau. Their stories reveal that their social influence did not rely on age, wealth, learning or kin-group status as traditionally defined. Rather, friendship with the colonisers became a major source of social power. They could obtain some privileges, such as priority in renting land, by showing loyalty to the colonisers.

As a result, businessmen gradually obtained political authority and a better position in the marriage market through the display of social power. Businessmen, as well as the staff at KSR, were welcomed in the marriage market. I have provided Sun’s case study to account for the intermarriage between businessmen and peasants. With the socio-economic development in the first decades of the twentieth century, the merchant class, largely composed of immigrants, emerged as a major class in Kio-a-thau. As time progressed, as Sun’s case has shown, business acumen indicated the opportunity and potential to make money when compared to peasants and landowners. Thus, the “negative” view of businessmen according to Confucian tradition, which stigmatised private trade and individual accumulation, was transformed by external historical complexity. To conclude, in Kio-a-thau, immigrants emerged as a third group beyond local people and Japanese colonisers. They, to some extent, mediated the dichotomy of coloniser and colonised. These migrants exercised their agency between these two categories. The increasing importance of immigrants and businessmen in Kio-a-thau not only elucidates the complex nature of colonial era social transformations but also provides a case study of the social role of “the merchant” in colonial encounters.
Plate 4.1  A geisha restaurant
Photo: Zensaburou Kaneki
Several anthropologists who have studied Taiwan claim that some women’s behaviour in married life such as the manipulation of emotions and involvement in domestic decision making. For example, Margery Wolf (1972: 40) discussing the position of women in the 1960s states: “Taiwanese women can and do make use of their collective power to lose face for their menfolk in order to influence decisions that are ostensibly not theirs to make ... This is precisely where women wield their power.” As for the manipulation of emotion, Wolf (1972: 41) further maintains:

The contrast between a terrified young bride and the loud, confident, often lewd old women who has outlived her mother-in-law and her husband reflects the tests met and passed by not strictly following the rules and by making purposeful use of those who must. The Chinese male's conception of women as “narrow-hearted” and socially inept may well be his vague recognition of this facet of women’s power and technique.

Margery Wolf provided a universal pattern that Taiwanese women could use certain strategies as mentioned above to deal with men in the 1960s. However, we cannot examine how and to what extent these strategies were adopted throughout different phases in Taiwanese history. In this chapter, by using Kio-a-thau as an example, while recognising the power held by women in domestic life, I argue that the cultural features as mentioned above should not be taken for granted; they should be examined in long-term social contexts.

In the first part of this chapter, I will discuss the concept of uterine family. I will then focus on how the social status of Taiwanese women changed as a result of colonial rule. During the Japanese period, women were given the rights of divorce, remarriage, education, ownership of property, and general civil rights (T. Wang 2000; Takekoshi 1907). Monogamous marriages became legitimatised by law, although polygynous marriages were still allowed. Barrett (1989) argued that the

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1 See Margery Wolf (1972: 24).
Married life

colonial rule to the village level affected the power of the family relations within families and the Japanese police sometimes intervened in family disputes among locals. Also, many scholars have pointed out the various changing aspects regarding family characteristics, including divorce and pre-marital sexual relations in colonial Taiwan (Freedman 1966; Thornton and Lin 1994; Pasternak 1983; Barclay 1954). Barclay, for example, estimated that between 8 and 14% of all marriages contracted between 1906 and 1925 in colonial Taiwan ended in divorce within five years after their marriages. Pasternak (1983: 75) indicates that Taiwan’s high divorce rate in the early 1900s contrasted sharply with the low levels of divorce reported for other Chinese population. Furthermore, according to Thornton and Lin (1994: 164-165), it was not rare to have sexes with future husbands and premarital pregnancies in the late colonial period. Barrett (1980) further reports that the number of illegitimate children rose from the early twentieth century to 1935, when over four per cent of all births involved unclaimed paternity. In colonial Kio-a-thau, some noticeable changes in marriage took place as a result of such social transformations. For example, the number of minor and uxorilocal marriages distinctly decreased. Wives no longer took it for granted that their husbands could marry concubines. On the other hand, the number of distant marriages and illegitimate children increased over time. It was not rare to witness cases of premarital pregnancy.

The overall argument of this chapter is that, firstly, according to my survey, both partners in colonial Kio-a-thau, used personal agency through the manipulation of emotions, controlling domestic finance, and developing extra-marital affairs to contest their traditional roles in society. For men, marrying concubines and having affairs became one way to resist arranged marriages. For women, controlling domestic finance, manipulating their emotions, and reconstructing the meaning of sexuality were responses to social transformations over time. Secondly, I argue that the interactions between partners such as the usage of

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2 Here I define the three major marriage types in this chapter as follows. The virilocal marriage is that the wife leaves her natal family and joins her husband’s family to live with her parents-in-law. The uxorilocal marriage is that the husband leaves his natal family and joins his wife’s family to live with his parents-in-law. The minor marriage is that a husband married his adopted sister (simpua, a little-daughter-in-law) when they were young. For details see Wolf and Huang (1980).

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female emotions were not fixed social facts but an outcome of partners’ interactions over time. In other words, these features were constructed in history.

As regards methodology, the main materials I use are the census data from colonial times, and questionnaires submitted to 41 elderly residents now living in Kio-a-thau which were followed by interviews in 2002-2003. Archival data helped me reconstruct the general tendency of marriages in colonial Kio-a-thau, while the ethnographic sources help to explore the everyday interaction between marriage partners in order to examine the resources and strategies both genders used.

**THE UTERINE FAMILY**

Margery Wolf was the one of the first scholars to highlight the role of women in the social structure of Taiwan. Before and after Margery Wolf, some ethnographic literature in the 1960s and 1970s has focused on the inferior status of women in Taiwanese society, mainly by indicating a patrilineal framework (Ahern 1981; Wolf and Huang 1980; Diamond 1973). Ahern, based upon her study in northern Taiwan, argues that women were considered inferior in Taiwanese families because they were “both ritually unclean and dangerously powerful” (Ahern 1981: 193-214). According to her, these polluting features were reflected in women’s bodies, social roles, and rituals. For example, Ahern (1981: 200) states that “[t]he power women have is their capacity to alter a family’s form by adding members to it, dividing it, and disturbing male authority; the danger they pose is their capacity to break up what men consider the ideal family.” Diamond (1973: 214) points out that Taiwanese women were regarded as an inferior group in intellectual, moral, and economical terms. In marriage, Gates (1996: 195) claims that wives were portrayed as dependent, precariously situated, and unclean. A wife could not be completely accepted as a family number until she had given birth to a son. Diamond (1973: 214) suggests that divorce was a male prerogative and could be invoked for such faults as talkativeness, failure to bear sons, or incurable illness. After marriage, wives would also face a lot of emotional
difficulties particularly with regard to their relationships with sisters-in-law or mothers-in-laws.

Margery Wolf’s concept of the uterine family – a concept that highlights women’s personal ties and loyalty rather than the exclusiveness of patrilineal kinship – is my starting point. According to Margery Wolf (1972), a uterine family is a social unit composed of a mother, her children, and her daughters-in-law. Margery Wolf argues that the uterine family is a major source of women’s power. In contrast to the patrilineal kinship system, a uterine family does not highlight property inheritance or ancestor worship but emphasises “sentiments and loyalties that die with its members [her children and daughters-in-law]....”

Although Wolf herself claims that a uterine family only came into existence out of women’s individual needs, which specifically include both “financial and emotional security,” (Wolf 1972: 207) she further maintains that each woman tried to experience power in her own uterine family. In this respect, Wolf offered the case of a prostitute who wanted to “bear illegitimate children or adopt another daughter to form a uterine family” (Wolf 1972: 206) in order to “build her own uterine circle of financial and emotional security” (Wolf 1972: 207). She suggests that even prostitutes hoped to have their own uterine families. Through adoption, these prostitutes could also complete a particular relationship for herself, her [adopted] sons, [adopted] daughters, and her daughter[s]-in-law. Margery Wolf (1972: 159-60) also offered a case of conflict between a daughter-in-law and her mother-in-law when the new couple wanted to move out.

The mother-in-law threatened to kill herself and shouted bitterly, “Then the two of you will be alone and won’t have a mother in your way.” This is not an empty threat by women in this age group, and it clearly seemed a dangerous possibility to the woman’s son. He was very upset and led his mother to a chair saying, “You are my mother. How can I let such a thing happen? If she is not nice to you, we will send her home. How can I let you kill yourself?” He turned to his wife and shouted at her, “Go home. Go home. Don’t you hear me? Go tell your mother what a bad daughter-in-law you are.”

The case indicates how a mother may exert her power over her son and daughter-in-law. The mother-in-law tried to stop the couple from moving out by
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manipulating their emotions through “threat[s]”, and “shout[ing].” Eventually it worked, and her son decided to stay.

Some scholars further highlight the political and resistance aspects in a uterine family. For example, Wolf and Huang indicate that a uterine family can exert a “powerful impact on decisions concerning marriage and adoption” (Wolf and Huang 1980: 65). Gates points out the resistant aspect of the notion of uterine family. As she (Gates 1996: 197) 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.” 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.” She further argues that partners’ interactions at home through quarrels, disputes, and financial management demonstrate female powers. In other words, Gates points out the politics of a uterine family. Regarding this point, some ethnographic literature in Taiwan has discussed how women exert their power in daily life. For example, Huang (2003: 73-86) notes that some emotional expressions – such as crying – are manipulated by Taiwanese women as “a coquettish strategy.” She points out that “crying among men is not valued whereas female crying may be perceived as a strategy.” As she (Huang 2003: 76) states:

Female crying may be perceived as a coquettish strategy, and a proverb holds that a woman has her way by [these stances] first crying, then making a scene, and finally threatening to hang herself (yikuernao sanshangdiao)…In sum, crying in Taiwan is not so much a display of a single emotion as it is an expressive activity rendered meaningful in different contexts. Ideology comes into play with adult women’s and men’s weeping, but differs by gender: women’s tears at funerals help to perpetuate the ideology of patrilineal decent, whereas the acceptance of men’s tears is subject to the Confucian ideology that ranks nationalism above personal concerns, while crying is often perceived as a strategy of coquetry in both genders, its effectiveness stems from transformative capacity of crying that allows adults to temporarily manifest childlike characteristics, and hence assume a tacit position of inferiority that fits well in hierarchical culture.

These scholars, including Margery Wolf, fail to examine how women used their emotions throughout history, although they have pointed out the vital role of women in the social structure by highlighting the concept of uterine family. Margery Wolf points out the interaction between the members of a uterine family
by giving detailed ethnographic descriptions of northern Taiwan in the late 1960s. She saw how the mother-in-law prevented her son and daughter-in-law from moving out by manipulating her emotions for example. In general, these scholars provide a universal pattern that women can use certain strategies as mentioned above to deal with men. However, we cannot examine how and to what extent these strategies were adopted throughout different phases in history. In this chapter, I argue that such usage of female emotions is not a fixed social fact but an outcome of interactions between the partners in long-term Taiwanese history. The idea that female feelings may be simply perceived as a strategy and should therefore be examined under different circumstances.

In the following section, I use the discussion of anthropology of emotions to explain how the emotions were affected by various cultural contexts and how they were constructed in history. For example, Lutz and Abu-Lughod (1990: 92) state: “Emotions are one of those taken-for-granted of both specialised knowledge and everyday discourse now becoming part of the domain of anthropological inquiry.” A great deal of comparative work in anthropology exists, such as Rosaldo’s insight (1980) that some concepts of emotions such as the liget (anger) in Ilongot and the ngaltu (compassions) in Pintupi reflect forms of indigenous social relationships. Lutz (1988) indicates that emotion is often constructed as moral judgement, and has a similar pragmatic force in Ifaluk, Micronesia. Foucault (1980: 5-6) examines how some discourses of emotions were constructed in history. In The History of Sexuality he intends to “analyze the practices by which individuals were led to focus their attention on themselves, to decipher, recognize, and acknowledge themselves a certain relationship that allows them to discover, in desire, the truth of their being.”

MARITAL ETHNOGRAPHY IN THE PRE-COLONIAL PERIOD

Marrying concubines (the second or third wife), arranged marriages, and marriage without mutual love between partners were characteristic of pre-colonial marital relationships. The Fong shan sian cian fang lu (1894), a gazetteer which was written by Cing officials in southern Taiwan, recorded the following story. Jheng-
jing, a woman who lived in Nan-zih-keng, a site next to Kio-a-thau, found she was infertile after she married. In such a circumstance, the gazetteer records: “She urges her husband to marry a concubine, but he refuses her proposal because he thinks he is poor.” This case suggests that marrying a concubine served a practical need: reproduction. The idea of having children was very widespread in pre-colonial Taiwanese society (Wolf 1972; Johnson 1981). Johnson (1981: 215) states that male children were highly valued in traditional Chinese society because male descendants could continue to worship the ancestors, inherit property, and look after the parents in their old age. Accordingly, the wife who “urged” her husband to marry a concubine did so not because she considered that her husband deserved it. Instead, she did it because she thought she could not fulfil her reproductive duties as a wife. By contrast, her husband’s refusal of the request did not mean that he did not want a concubine. Rather, he could not act on the offer because he thought he was poor. The custom of marrying concubines was popular in mid-nineteenth-century southern and eastern China, including Taiwan (Gray 1879). In pre-colonial Taiwan, for instance, a married man sometimes married someone in addition to his wife, either to secure sons or to satisfy his desire for more than one wife (T. Wang 2000: 166). A husband could marry a concubine if his wife would not bear children and if he could afford it. Takekoshi (1907: 313) mentions that the keeping of concubines was “very common” in the early twentieth century in colonial Taiwan, especially among “the higher officials” and “the learned men.” Kataoka (1921: 24) states that some rich people would marry the maidservants in their families as their concubines.

Men’s reasons for marrying concubines were not only for reproduction but also to demonstrate masculinity and display social status. River told me that those who married concubines were rich people because “only they could afford to support more than one wife.” Conversely, those who could support more than one wife were labelled the upper classes. For example he said that “every husband married a concubine” in one top rich family in Shih-long in the early twentieth century. The family had three brothers who were married. Two brothers did not have any baby boys after they married. The other one had only one baby boy. The common

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3 Usually a husband should also pay brideprice to marry a concubine.
reasons for them to marry concubines were that they wanted (more) baby boys to maintain their property and accumulate wealth. The legal wives, for their part, could not say anything about their husbands marrying a concubine because a wife’s role in the household was subordinate. A wife should generously accept a concubine in order to keep her position in the household.

Marriage arranged by parents was common in the pre-colonial period. Many anthropologists have discussed arranged marriages in Taiwan and China (Wolf 2003; Gates 1996; Diamond 1969; Jordan 1999; Wolf and Huang 1980). Gates (1996: 189) calls this arrangement “forced marriages.” Jordan (1999: 331) names them “blind marriages.” According to Jordan, arranged marriages were popular in each form of marriage, including major, minor, and uxorilocal marriages. Major marriages were the most popular form in the Cing Dynasty. In this type of marriage a woman married into her husband’s family and was not regarded as a member of her father’s line (see Plate 5.1). Minor marriage was a method used by the parents to purchase a young girl and bring her up in their home in order to become a wife for their son. This has also been called “simpua (little-daughters-in-law) marriages” (Wolf and Huang 1980: 113). In the case of uxorilocal marriage, a daughter could “call in” a husband (Wolf and Huang 1980: 94-5) and the husband assumed one of the duties of a son with respect to his wife’s family although he was not necessarily expected to live in the wife’s home. The husband who married into the wife’s family could retain his surname and assign some of his children to his own line, but he agreed that other children would take their descent from his wife’s father. He could not claim a share of his father-in-law’s estate if he retained his own name (Wolf and Huang 1980: 106). This kind of marriage always took place among poor family. Flower’s grand grandfather father, grandfather, and father all adopted uxorilocal marriage. She said: “Locals believed that if the uxorilocal marriage happened three times (like my family’s case), then the destiny of the family would turn better.”

According to my informants, choosing a marriage partner themselves would have been regarded as improper. The authority for arranging marriages was “vested exclusively in the hands of the senior generation” (Wolf and Huang 1980: 71) with the help of matchmakers or go-betweens (Jordan 1999: 319-62). Marriages
were based upon “a parent’s command and a matchmaker’s words” as a Chinese proverb puts it. Jordan (1999: 326) notes: “In purest and most stereotypic form, a traditional Chinese matchmaker arranged a marriage between a girl and a boy in two families of roughly equal social status.” In such a circumstance, the equality of social status became a major concern.

As a result of arranged marriage, true love between partners did not play a crucial role in forming marital relationships in pre-colonial Taiwan. Jordan (1996: 327) states: “In particular, initial ‘love’ was ideally at best a minor consideration in most matches, and was sometimes even regarded as a source of undesirable distortion in the process of mate selection or marital adjustment.” Social interaction between partners before marriage was regarded as “inappropriate” because it referred to sex. One informant told me that one of his relatives got engaged to a lady in a neighbouring village in the 1930s. His relative was too embarrassed to go past the village where his fiancée lived before they married. “He always walked a farther route in order to avoid the gossip from that village,” the informant commented. In pre-colonial Taiwanese society, showing love in public between partners was not allowed. This is not only because it refers to sex. The essence of love was also seen as threatening the basic social order, which focused more on the father-son relationship than the husband-wife relationship. Potter (1988: 199) indicates that love is “the rival and potential enemy of [Chinese social] structure.” He states:

Since the patterns of pre-existent structure have primary importance in Chinese social relations, love is the rival and the potential enemy of structure. Rather than affirming structure, love is understood to endanger it. Thus, in Chinese terms, it is the emotion that most threatens the social order. Even when love is apparently most congruent with the social structure, as in the case of love between a father and a son, the expression of love is understood as being inherently in opposition to valued structural continuity. Villagers believe that when a father is openly affectionate with a son, he is, in effect, inviting his son to flout the formal patterns of respect and obedience that ought to characterize their relationship; a display of affection is dangerous to appropriate behaviour which is optimally maintained when there is due distance between the two. If love is openly expressed, the form and the relationship between the father and the son are thought to be damaged.
The above discussion reveals, first, the custom of marrying concubines, and, second, the nature of marriage in the pre-colonial period. Marrying concubines was socially acceptable and very common among the upper social classes. The custom of marrying concubines was justified as a means of reproduction and as a display of masculinity. With regard to the nature of marriages, parents rather than partners arranged most unions. Marriages were not based upon love between partners but on arrangements between families that emphasised economic and social compatibility. The relationship between partners was mostly male-centred, in which the image of a good wife was always stereotyped as reserved, secondary, submissive, and subordinated. In terms of emotions, she was thought to be silent and submissive, otherwise she would be considered socially inept and narrow-minded. Subsequently, with the impact of colonial rule and associated social transformations, these ideas about marriage were contested by locals.

MARITAL PRACTICES IN COLONIAL TIMES

Colonial Policy and Other Influences

The colonial state held a negative opinion of traditional Taiwanese marriages. One aspect the Japanese criticised was the compulsory paying of bride price (ping-jin) and dowries (jia-jhuang). Takekoshi (1907: 312) criticised this custom as follows. “It is not surprising, therefore, that the husband, having purchased the girl’s body with money just like any other piece of merchandise, should regard it as such, and consider himself free to resell it whenever it suits his purpose.” He (Takekoshi 1907: 313) concludes that marriages in Taiwan were based on an idea of “two-fold trouble”: “the parents’ all-absorbing love of money, and the fact that they have too much authority over their children.” Initially the Japanese government did not destroy the marriage practices they criticised, but allowed some to continue by maintaining that they were traditional customs, which were not against public order or good morals. For instance, marrying concubines was permitted, although it was not encouraged, since the Japanese government conceded that marrying concubines was a time-bound custom in Taiwan. Even
though concubines were given the right to divorce in 1922, the Japanese government did not ban marrying concubines for the rest of its colonial rule.\footnote{In 1922, the colonial court changed the old custom and regulated that the concubine should have the same right to release herself from the relationship. Therefore, without any cause for the divorce, a concubine was entitled to end the concubine relationship from 1922.}

Women were given the rights of divorce, remarriage, education, ownership of property, and general civil rights during the Japanese period (Diamond 1973: 215; T. Wang 2000). In the Cing era, widows were supposed to remain single for the rest of their life after their husbands died. But the fact that under colonial rule they were given the right of remarriage undoubtedly broke the previous customary law. Regarding arranged marriages, the colonial courts ruled that a marriage decided by parents was invalid because both partners did not agree (T. Wang 2000: 164). More importantly, under Japanese rule, the custom of selling, giving, pledging, or mortgaging wives was banned (T. Wang 2000: 165). The ban gave women the right to claim for divorce. The concept of divorce by law was introduced and reinforced by the colonial state. In former times, a wife could not actively demand divorce. However, in colonial times, a wife could apply to the courts for a divorce, for example, when her husband committed a “dishonest crime,” refused to reside with her, or married another woman as a wife (not as a concubine) and lived with this woman (T. Wang 2000: 166). Wang reports, “[d]uring the Japanese period suits for divorce in courts were ordinarily brought by the wife because she, as the weaker partner in the marriage, could not gain a divorce agreement from her husband but had to search for help from the state authority.”

In Kio-a-thau and its neighbouring areas, however, the cases of divorces were rarely followed quickly by changes in behaviour (see Table 3.6). For instance, in 1915, only three cases of divorce occurred in 1915, and only one case occurred in Shih-long. In execution, divorce was not mainly adopted by local women to deal with their marital conflicts. Also, intermarriage between Taiwanese and Japanese people was rare. In fact, the colonial government prohibited intermarriage with Japanese until 1932 (Wolf 1972: 5). However, under the political propaganda of
the assimilation policy (Lamley 1999: 221), and based on the reasoning of biological eugenics (Fujii, Kô, and Tarumi 2002: 268), the government started to recognise intermarriages (and adoptions) between Taiwanese and Japanese people (T. Wang 2000: 247; Wolf 1972: 5). Despite this, in practice, intermarriages faced many difficulties. According to my informant, River, there was one case of intermarriage between Japanese and Taiwanese people in the local area and that took place in Shih-long, the village neighbouring Kio-a-thau. A Taiwanese schoolteacher fell in love with his colleague, a daughter of a local Japanese policeman in Kio-a-thau. It was reported that the policeman vigorously opposed the marriage because he worried that his daughter could not get used to local customs. “In fact he did not want his daughter to marry a Taiwanese person,” River commented. Nevertheless, his daughter insisted on marrying the teacher. As a result, as River reported, “The Japanese policeman was so angry that he cut off the relationship with his daughter by cancelling the household census registration.” River reported that this Japanese wife faced a lot of cultural shocks in the relationship with her mother-in-law.

Besides intermarriage between Taiwanese and Japanese people, other noticeable changes took place in the Japanese period. In Kio-a-thau, migratory experiences impacted on the nature of marriage. For example, the number of long-distance marriages and illegitimate children increased over time, while the number of minor and uxorilocal marriages decreased substantially. The following discussion is based on the local household registration records that I examined.

- Marriage types

The basic form of marriage in Kio-a-thau was virilocal marriage, the number of which increased steadily from the 1890s to the 1940s (Table 5.1). By contrast, the number of uxorilocal marriages decreased. For instance, the percentage of uxorilocal marriages fell from 13% in the 1890s to 0% in the 1940s, a striking decrease (see Table 5.1). As for the minor marriage, it is that a husband married his adopted sister (simpua, a little-daughter-in-law) when they were young (Wolf and Huang 1980: 82-93). Since minor marriage always occurred at the first marriage, here I exclude all second and later marriages in the household registers.
data I use. Although the number of minor marriages reached its peak in the 1920s, the percentage of minor marriages (little-daughter-in-law marriage) fell after that. As a result, the general tendency was therefore that the percentage of minor and uxorilocal marriages decreased, and virilocal marriages gradually became the virtually universal common type in the marriage market.

Table 5.1
Marriage type by decade

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of marriage</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Virilocal marriage</th>
<th>Minor marriage</th>
<th>Uxorilocal marriage</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 1895</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12 80</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895-1904</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>23 82</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905-1914</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>27 71</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915-1924</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>52 72</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925-1934</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>75 94</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935-1944</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>86 94</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6 100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Colonial household registers for Kio-a-thau. Notes: The minor marriage is that a husband married his adopted sister (*simpua*, a little-daughter-in-law) when they were young. For details see Wolf and Huang (1980: 82-93). The real number of minor marriages could be more than this figure since many minor marriages were not registered in the census data.

- Long Distance marriages

In Kio-a-thau, the number of long-distance marriages increased over time. This illustrates the changing circumstances of the village. Before 1895, forty per cent of the residents in Kio-a-thau chose their marriage partners from within a 10 kilometre radius of Kio-a-thau. This tendency increased slightly by 1904. However, from 1905 onwards, the major area for choosing marriage partners was the same county (*jyun*), which was about eleven to thirty kilometres from Kio-a-thau (see Table 5.2). From then on, the percentage of distant marriages grew steadily. In the 1910s and 20s, marriage partners from over 50 kilometres away
made up about 19% of all marriages and increased to 21% and 29% in the 1930s and 40s, indicating that Kio-a-thau and the other distant areas had been forming a closer social network (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2
Locational origins of marriage partners by decade

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of marriage</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Village (cun) &lt;5 km</th>
<th>Township (huang) &lt;10 km</th>
<th>County (jyun) &lt;30 km</th>
<th>State (jhou) &lt;50 km</th>
<th>Others &gt; 50 km</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 1895</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895-1904</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905-1914</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915-1924</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925-1934</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935-1944</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Colonial household registers for Kio-a-thau. Notes: 1) I based this on data recording marriages between partners from the same village (cun) – Kio-a-thau (less than five km); marriages between partners from the same township (huang) – Nanzihkeng Jhuang (less than 10 km); marriages between partners from the same county (jyun) – Gangshan Jyun (11-30 km); marriages between partners from the same state (jhou) – Kaohsiung Jhou (31-50 km). 2) The year of 1945 defies the trends probably because the mobility slowed down with an end to the war in 1945 and it is a very small sample.

* Marriage Ages

Average marriage ages changed over time. The average age for men was only seventeen in the pre-colonial period, while the average was about twenty-two in the 1940s. For women, the average ranged from seventeen to twenty over the same period (see Table 5.3). Before 1904, the average age for women was slightly
older than men. Generally speaking, the figures provide three observations. Firstly, in pre-colonial and early colonial times, locals accepted the idea that a wife could be older than her husband. Minor marriages are a good example which illustrate this. Secondly, the idea of appropriate age changed from the turn of the twentieth century. Both partners accepted the idea that a husband was supposed to be older than his wife. In other words, a wife being older than her husband became unusual. Thirdly, the average age of marriage fell for men from the 1910s onwards.

Table 5.3
Average marriage age by gender by decade

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of marriage</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before 1895</td>
<td>17.36</td>
<td>17.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895-1904</td>
<td>20.49</td>
<td>19.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905-1914</td>
<td>20.01</td>
<td>25.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915-1924</td>
<td>20.59</td>
<td>23.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925-1934</td>
<td>19.74</td>
<td>22.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935-1944</td>
<td>20.22</td>
<td>21.96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Colonial household registers for Kio-a-thau

- Divorce

The number of divorces was small in Kio-a-thau, although it was still more than in the neighbouring village (see Chapter 3). In 1915, the second general census survey showed that eight cases of divorce were recorded in Kio-a-thau (four brought by women and four by men). In the middle and late colonial period, according to my census data, 26 cases of divorce were reported. Eight out of 26 were instigated by males. The others were by females.

Although the number of recorded divorces was quite small, the real number was more than that. In Taiwanese culture, a husband could “divorce” his wife by separation (li) and marrying a concubine. However, the concept of “divorce” by
law rather than private agreements emerged as a result of colonial rule, which brought a set of western legal ideas (T. Wang 2000: 36). Also, the Japanese colonial state recorded the occurrence of divorce through the census registration to clarify the legal relationships between the people involved.

- Marrying concubines

The number of cases of marrying concubines registered on the household registration was small. Only five cases were cited for long-term residents of Kio-a-thau. As for short-term residents, 10 were reported to have married concubines. Of these 10, two were doctors, three were businessmen, two worked as staff at KSR, one was a real estate agent, one was a government officer as well as a big farmer, and one was unknown. The real estate agent later became the first village head of Kio-a-thau in 1946. Generally speaking, these marriages to concubines occurred in the upper class and among that section of this class who migrated for work during the colonial period. However, the real number of concubines was more than that. My informants reported that some concubines were registered as “family members who are living together” on the census registration in order to avoid investigation by the Japanese policeman in charge of the census registration.

- Illegitimate children

The census data defines illegitimate children as those born without knowing one of their parents. Many such cases were recorded on the household registrations in this category. The staff at the census agency wrote “unknown” in the column of either parent. In practice such children were born under various circumstances, such as unexpected birth by prostitutes or by affairs outside marriage. The number of illegitimate children increased steadily from the 1900s to the 1940s (see Table 5.4). Illegitimate girls were more common than boys, probably because baby boys were easier to adopt out as sons to close relatives and friends who did not have a son. Meanwhile, Dragon, my informant, reported that some illegitimate daughters were sent to brothels when they became older. Illegitimate children were, to some extent, stigmatised by the locals and were subject to a lot of gossip. I discovered in the census data that one teacher I interviewed in 2003 was an illegitimate child.
We did not talk about it when I interviewed him. However, River later informed me that the teacher was indeed an illegitimate son of his sister, but on the census data he was not registered as her son but as her younger brother.

Table 5.4
Illegitimate children by decade

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year when babies were born</th>
<th>Total number of baby girls</th>
<th>Total number of illegitimate daughters</th>
<th>Total number of baby boys</th>
<th>Total number of illegitimate sons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 1895</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895-1904</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905-1914</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915-1924</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925-1934</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935-1944</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945-10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Colonial household registers for Kio-a-thau. Notes: The number of baby girls and baby boys is different in each decade. This is probably because quite a few baby boys were adopted out before they were registered in the census data.

- Premarital pregnancy

Table 5.5 suggests that premarital pregnancy was not rare, especially at the end of colonial rule. According to the census data, before 1895, only three out of 117 new-born babies were premarital pregnancies. However, between 1905-1914, five out of 84 new-born baby girls and four out of 47 new-born baby boys were premarital pregnancies (six percent and nine percent respectively). A significantly higher rate occurred between 1935 and 1944 (both eight percent respectively). The number of premarital pregnancies is a crucial index of premarital sexual behaviour. However, it would be bold to infer that premarital sex was popular at

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5 My data on premarital pregnancy is based on census figures showing babies born less than seven months after the date of the partners’ marriage.
that time. Instead, the data may simply reveal that partners were allowed to have sex if they wanted after they got engaged, which occurred a couple of months earlier than the marriages. Nevertheless, the figure was significant enough to cause a tension between practice and the cultural norm. These arguments challenged the fixed ideas of marriage in the moral and cultural domains, which were designed around the premarital virginity of women.

Table 5.5
Premarital pregnancies by decade

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of marriage</th>
<th>Total number of marriages</th>
<th>The number of premarital pregnancies</th>
<th>The percentage of premarital pregnancies (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before 1895</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895-1904</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905-1914</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915-1924</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925-1934</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935-1944</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Colonial household registers for Kio-a-thau

Discussion

In pre-colonial times and the early colonial period, locals would accept the idea that a wife was older than her husband. Locals thought that she could look after her husband in these circumstances. A popular Taiwanese proverb said, “If a man marries a wife who is older than him, he is the man sitting in a golden chair,” indicating that he would be quite comfortable since his wife would complete all the household chores for him. The little-daughter-in-law marriages reinforced this idea since the wife was usually older than her husband. However, we found that the average age of a husband exceeded his wife from 1905 onwards, and the age differences between them became clear from then on (see Table 5.3). This can be linked to the focus on masculinity in the Japanese era, when most men thought
that husbands should be older than their wives. Water, who had studied abroad in Japan in the 1930s, for instance, had a talk with me on this matter.  

I: What do you think of the idea that wives are older than their husbands?  
W: In my opinion, a man is supposed to be strong enough to take care of the whole family. As for a woman, I think that she just needs to stay home and manage household chores. 

I: So you object to the notion? 
W: That’s right. The traditional idea [of an older wife] thought that if a wife were older than a husband, then she could look after her husband. A husband as such is like an emperor and he can thus have many maidservants to take care of him. 

The increasing number of illegitimate children and premarital pregnancies is also strong evidence that the pre-colonial moral and cultural norms regarding marriage were being challenged. Both figures started to increase from the turn of the twentieth century and reached their peak in the 1920s and 30s (see Tables 5.4 and 5.5). This was certainly related to social transformations taking place in the local area. In Kio-a-thau, for instance, with the opening of KSR and *geisha* restaurants on the street (see the previous chapter), social interaction between genders became more frequent. River told me that he had heard about several cases of adultery on the sugarcane fields in the 1940s. These cases often ended with private agreements. In one case, a married man and a married woman committed adultery because they felt mutual attraction. Eventually the woman’s husband found out and forced the man to compensate him for being a cuckold. River said: “Many things such as betel nuts, cigarettes, as well as some cash were given as compensation. The man also paid money to have folk opera played in front of the Mazu Temple for three days to announce his mistake in public.” The story reveals that an increasing number of illegitimate children and premarital pregnancies would be anticipated as a result of more frequent contact between men and women. 

Women’s rights were more pronounced in Japanese colonial times than they were in the Cing era. Although many women still remained ignorant of their new liberties, this emergence of women’s rights provided room for both partners to negotiate. For example, monogamous marriages were confirmed by colonial laws, 

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6 Basically we can infer that Water was deeply influenced by the Japanese from his personal background. The Japanese director adopted him as a son and he had studied abroad in Tokyo.
which protected the legal rights of wives in terms of marital status. A wife would no longer take it for granted that her husband could have affairs with other women outside the marriage, and vice versa. As a result, it was not easy for a man to marry a concubine since it would not only cause tension between partners but also between the man and the state. However, the former was more serious than the latter, since the colonial state did not completely ban marrying concubines. The state simply enforced the concubines’ personal legal rights rather than condemning husbands for marrying concubines.

In my interviews, the respondents reported that the percentage of marriages to concubines by male short-term residents after they settled in Kio-a-thau was higher than that before they settled in. This reveals the wider network of interactions defined by migration. It was reported that one man had moved to Kio-a-thau with his concubine in order to avoid possible conflicts between his wife, concubine and family members. Mobility created a sense of freedom, through which a man could start his new life, exclude the tensions between his wife and concubine, and become the subject of idle gossip in his original place.

CONFLICTS, NEGOTIATIONS, AND COMPROMISE WITHIN A HOUSEHOLD: POWER RELATIONS BETWEEN PARTNERS ON THE MOVE

The above data, mainly drawn from household registrations in Kio-a-thau, reveals general marital characteristics in colonial Kio-a-thau. However, it does not allow us to examine the specific interactions between couples. Thus, I would like to explore daily interactions and changing ideas of marriage through a questionnaire and interviews with my informants. In the following section, these two approaches, which both highlight general processes and local personal agency, will be used to examine some issues such as emotional strategies. I submitted questionnaires to 41 people (11 of whom were females) in Kio-a-thau, who were married between 1903 and 1951, in order to explore the detailed interaction between partners within households (see Table 5.6). Most of the interviewees were married in the Shōwa period after 1926, and lived in Kio-a-thau at that time.
My questions focused on domestic power relationships between partners. I included several questions about respondents’ and their partners’ social backgrounds, marital details (dowries, brideprice, marriage types, and ways to seek partners), and the daily interactions between partners. During the interviews I also explored contested aspects of marriage. Here I will present the major results in terms of who was the main income earner and who was in charge of domestic finance, who chose the names of children and who arranged the marriage.

Table 5.6
Domestic power relations by household

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondent</th>
<th>Year of marriage</th>
<th>Age at marriage</th>
<th>Major income earner</th>
<th>Manager of domestic finance</th>
<th>Naming of new-born babies</th>
<th>Marriage arrangements</th>
<th>Marriage arrangements for children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Husband/wife</td>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>Husband/brother</td>
<td>Self</td>
<td>Wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Husband/wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1915</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Husband/wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Father/mother</td>
<td>Husband/wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1922</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Husband/wife</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Husband/wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1922</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Father/mother</td>
<td>Husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1922</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Husband/wife</td>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Husband/wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
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<td>19</td>
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<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td>23</td>
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<td>Mother</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>Husband/wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>Husband</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Father/mother</td>
<td>Husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>22</td>
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<td>Husband</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Husband/wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>21</td>
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<td>Husband</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>1932</td>
<td>20</td>
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<td>Wife</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
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<td>20</td>
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<td>Wife</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>23</td>
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<td>Wife</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Father/mother</td>
<td>Husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Status</td>
<td>Relationship 1</td>
<td>Relationship 2</td>
<td>Relationship 3</td>
<td>Relationship 4</td>
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<td>-----</td>
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<td>--------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
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<td>----------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td>17</td>
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<td>Husband</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Self</td>
<td>Husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1937</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>Husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Father-in-law</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Parents-in-law</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Wife</td>
<td>Husband</td>
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</tr>
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<td>24</td>
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<td>Husband</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Children</td>
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<td>20</td>
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<td>Husband</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1942</td>
<td>23</td>
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<td>Husband</td>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>Husband</td>
</tr>
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<td>Brother</td>
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<td>Brother</td>
<td>Wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>1945</td>
<td>24</td>
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<td>Mother</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
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<td>23</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Brother</td>
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<td>Brother</td>
<td>Husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
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<td>Husband</td>
<td>Father</td>
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</tr>
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<td>31</td>
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<td>Husband</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Adopted mother/Grandmother</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Wife</td>
<td>Father</td>
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<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td>23</td>
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<td>Husband</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Self</td>
<td>Husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>Mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>21</td>
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<td>Husband</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Self</td>
<td>Father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>22</td>
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<td>Wife</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>Fortune teller</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
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<td>21</td>
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<td>Wife</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>20</td>
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<td>Wife</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Grandmother</td>
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<td>Husband</td>
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<tr>
<td>41</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Self</td>
<td>Husband</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Fieldwork data, 2002-2003. **Notes:** 1) The respondents marked with a star (*) are females. The respondents marked with a square (■) indicate that the data were given by his or her family since they were dead. Two respondents
married after 1950 (Respondent 40 and 41). However, these two cases are significant in my discussion. See the following section for further discussion. 2) Respondent 29 married twice after his first wife died.

General results of the questionnaires

A. Major income earners
Husbands were the major income earners. 31 out of 41 responded that husbands were responsible for the household income, while 10 responded that both the wives and husbands were responsible. Most of these 10 respondents married after 1940.

B. Managers of domestic finance
The number of women who were mangers of domestic finance exceeded that of men. 21 out of 41 responded that the managers were the females, including wives and mothers [-in-law], while 15 responded that managers were males, including husbands and brothers.
Four responded that both wives and husbands were managers. One was unknown.

C. Naming of new-born babies
Most cases (28 cases) responded that it was husbands who named their new-born babies. Only two were named by wives. Two were named by both partners, one was by a fortune teller and five were named by the previous generation. One was unknown.

D. Marriage arrangements
Seventeen responded that it was their fathers who had arranged their marriages, nine were arranged by both parents, three were by mothers, and seven out of 41 revealed that they arranged marriages for themselves. Others were arranged by kin including an adopted mother, grandmothers, and brothers. One was unknown.

E. Marriage arrangements for their children
Most of them responded that it was the husband who arranged marriages for their children (16 out of 40). The next most common was arranged by both husbands
Married life

and wives (15 out of 40). Four were by wives. Three were by the child himself or herself. Others include the father and parent-in-law.

F. Girl or boyfriends before marriage
According to the questionnaire, 11 out of 41 revealed that they had girlfriends/a boyfriend before they got married. Only one of the 11 was a female, who was a working woman. Of the 10 men, nine worked as employees at KSR and one was a businessman.

G. Others
According to the questionnaire, 14 out of 41 indicated that they had never seen their partners before their marriage. Ten reported that they had seen each other less than five times. Only three marriages were based on mutual love.

Discussion of the results

Some ethnographic literature indicates that Chinese women were good at managing their households (Gates 1996: 198-9; Pruitt 1967; Menpes 1909: 77). In Shandong, China, women were known as strict household managers in marital disputes. Also, businessmen often consulted their wives before finalising a deal. Nevertheless, in this section, I argue that a woman's managing ability in the household was not an outcome of social structure but was (re)constructed in different social contexts and history.

In terms of financial management, for instance, the questionnaires revealed that the wives or mothers managed domestic finance in about 50% of cases (21 out of 41). In another four cases, wives managed the finances together with their husbands. Ten out of 41 stated that the wives were also major wage earners, and in seven of these, women were the main managers of domestic finances. Respondent 1 is a typical case to illustrate this point. Respondent 1’s eldest son told me that both his parents were casual sugarcane workers and they fell in love. They got married in 1903, when a marriage without arrangement was rare. After marriage his father acted as an itinerant casual worker to making a living. His son remembered: “My father was always absent, so my mother was responsible for
Married life

the domestic finances and household chores. I seldom saw my father. As a consequence, I even named my younger brother, although my name was given by my father, because my father was always away from home.”

A general tendency was found from these questionnaires: the later the date of marriage, the more likely the women were to be managers. From 1949 onwards, all the managers were the wives. This indicates that women gradually became the distributors of domestic finance within households. Respondent 40, a staff member at KSR, stated that he gave most of his money to his wife each month. “She would give back some money for my daily necessities,” he said. The major way for his wife to manage money was by huei (hue-a), an informal mutual loan association among friends (Wolf 1972: 223). In the late 1950s, respondent 40 decided to build a new house by using their savings mainly from the huei. Respondent 36 also worked at KSR and commented, “I observed that most of my [male] colleagues [at KSR] did not manage their money. Rather, the domestic finance was managed by their wives.”

Of the 11 female respondents, five responded that the wives were the major managers, three cases involved both husband and wife, one was a mother-in-law, one was husband, and one was unknown. This proportion was not much higher than the male respondents (13 out of 30 males responded that their wives were the major managers). Furthermore, I have the impression that male respondents did not feel it was “shameful” to admit their wives’ financial management. On the contrary, it seemed to be a positive thing for the husbands to admit. One of my informants told me that this kind of attitude was probably influenced by the Japanese, who thought that women should stay at home, taking care of the household chores and managing finances.

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7 According to Wolf’s (1972: 223) description, huei are “short-term loan associations that meet well the borrowing needs of a community in which everyone knows everyone else and always has.”

8 I make this point in response to a statement by Dr. Philip Taylor (The Australian National University), who said: ‘The results – more power attributed to women – may indicate that the gender of your respondents substantially influenced the answers given’ (personal communication).
However, the survey suggests that different social groups had different strategies to deal with domestic finance. Both respondents 3 and Respondent 24’s father-in-law opened Chinese-medicine stores in Kio-a-thau in the late 1930s. Respondent 24 stated that her father-in-law was in charge of the money, “My mother-in-law and I just watched the store sometimes,” she said. However, respondent 3 revealed that his wife was in charge of the finance of the store. There is a story behind this. Respondent 3 had previously opened a store in Ci-shan and earned a lot of money. Unfortunately he was involved in an affair with a prostitute, and spent all the money. He thus moved to Kio-a-thau for a new start. In Kio-a-thau, his wife started to manage his money because she thought this could stop her husband from marrying another concubine.

Also, according to my survey and interviews, different social classes and marriage types also played crucial roles in shaping power interaction between spouses in terms of financial management. The wife of respondent 20 took control of domestic finances because she came from a rich family. She was good at accounting although she was illiterate. Respondent 20 studied abroad in Japan in the 1920s and got a bachelor degree there. In contrast, his wife was illiterate, yet she came from quite a rich family in You-chang. Her family, as she described, “were the richest family in the area. The land of my family was so extensive that you could not reach the end even though you rode a horse for a day,” she stated with a bit of exaggeration. Occasionally, the local men would tease respondent 20 in public like this, “You are henpecked.” For example, respondent 36 commented in this way: “Because your wife came from a rich family. That was why she could ‘speak more loudly’.”

Regarding marriage types, I found from the interviews that wives of uxorilocal marriages seemed to have more power compared with those of major and minor marriages. Respondent 34, for example, who was the eldest daughter in her family, had an uxorilocal marriage since she had seven sisters and no brothers. Her daughter, Flower, remembered her mother in this way:

I found my mother was so busy, and my father was pretty silent all the time. My father would give her most of the salary he made per month. And my
mother was responsible for most of the things in the household, which included the expenditure, household chores, naming of the children, and marriage arrangements for the three children. She even arranged her own funeral. For instance, she asked me to prepare earrings, a bracelet, a beautiful dress with pearls, and a flower on her head....

There is evidence from the survey that there was a tendency to transfer the power of domestic finance to the wives after family division. According to respondent 36, disputes over minor things in daily life were typically the major reason for dividing a family. Respondent 36 has four brothers, who originally lived together as a big family with their respective wives, who were allocated household chores by the parents-in-law. Each daughter-in-law was supposed to take turns cooking for the whole family. The dispute started with the allocation of household chores among daughters-in-law. “Every time the youngest daughter-in-law cooked,” respondent 36 continued, “she always complained about why she had to cook. Therefore, nobody liked her and would gossip about her.” As a result, the father decided to divide the family in the early 1960s. Margery Wolf (1972: 163-4) indicates that “mother-in-law” and “daughter-in-law” conflicts were the main reason for family division and could result in suicides in the most serious circumstances. According to respondent 36, quarrels between daughters-in-law as well as mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law became another source of conflict. He added, “Sons could get along well with each other, but the women, no way.”

Respondent 36 reported that the father and, later on, the eldest brother were responsible for the management of domestic finance prior to the division. However, his wife took over this job after the division. This is not a unique case. Of the 26 respondents who said that their families had been divided (see Table 5.7), five out of 10 originally controlled by the fathers-in-law transferred control to the wives after division, while 10 out of 12 controlled by mothers-in-laws transferred to the wives. All four of the other categories transferred financial control to daughters-in-laws (wives). Accordingly, the data shows that daughters-in-law (wives) played a crucial role in terms of domestic finance in changing times. Also, this could indicate that most women would like to divide their family as soon as possible since they could then control domestic finance.
Table 5.7
The changing context of the management of domestic finance after family division

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shift to whom?</th>
<th>Original manager</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Father-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughters-in-law</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(wives)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband/wife</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number</td>
<td>10</td>
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</table>


Men’s responses

According to my survey, parents arranged most of the marriages. Respondent 36 commented on the rarity of “freedom of choice for his or her partner” in the colonial period: “Those who could choose their own partners were considered more ‘superior’,” he said. Generally, most people could not choose their partners. Respondent 33 commented: “such a marriage [the type of marriage that parents arranged] was called ‘marriage of filial piety’ by us. We were forced to accept it because of filial piety.” However, the questionnaire responses show an inconsistency. On the one hand, arranged marriages were popular. On the other hand, 11 respondents revealed that they had girlfriends/boyfriends before they got married. In practice, the real number could be greater than this. This inconsistency suggests that an idealised view of the past in terms of marriage could no longer describe the period under study. However, the number of marriages based on mutual attraction and love was only three: 1, 28, and 41, which usually took place among casual workers. Respondents 1 and 28 revealed that both partners were working as casual sugarcane workers. Respondent 28 stated that he even had three “competitors” when he was courting his prospective wife.

One of the cases from the survey suggests that this challenge to the traditional notion of arranged marriage was only available to a person who could exercise his
or her freedom of choice. Respondent 36, an employee at KSR, had a girlfriend before he got married. His girlfriend was a casual worker at the refinery too. They loved each other, but he remembered that he did not even ask for his father’s consent since he could predict the final answer:

It was impossible for him to say yes. We were a peasant family. My parents thought we needed someone who could help with farming. They did not think that a daughter-in-law who worked as an employee [at KSR] would do for farming.

A typical case whose parents arranged a marriage was respondent 20, who showed his resistance until the last minute of his wedding. He was forced to marry by his parents, but he confessed that he had a Japanese girlfriend before marriage when he was studying abroad in Tokyo. Accordingly, he did not want to accept his parents’ arrangement and took several measures to resist. He maintained:

I was a man who had a kind of “Japanese spirit.” I did not want my marriage to be arranged by my parents but I couldn’t say a word about it. My parents’ ideas were very traditional [in terms of marriage]. I was arguing with them but it did not work. As a result, I ran to the railroad [in Kio-a-thau] and was prepared to be hit by a train.

Fortunately, his father stopped him on the rails. However, he continued to resist the marriage by missing the wedding ceremony. “I hid myself on the wedding day in 1937,” he said. “As a result, everybody was looking everywhere for me.” When I interviewed him in winter, 2002, his wife, an eighty-two-year lady, sat right across from him. “I did not want to marry him at that time, either,” she added.

Certainly they did not get along with each other after the marriage. But in the end they did not divorce. His wife told me: “It was shameful to be ‘kicked out’ from this marriage.” Nevertheless, the husband had several affairs with other lovers outside the marriage after he got married. In early 2003, several months after I interviewed her, the wife had a stroke and could not speak or recognise anyone. Once I saw her husband washing her face carefully and murmuring something. A contradictory image came to me as I recalled the wife had told me three months ago, “We have been arguing for centuries.”
Given his personal background and influenced by the colonial ideas about marrying concubines, respondent 20 did not marry a concubine. In contrast, respondent 36 told me a story about marriage to a concubine in colonial Kio-a-thau. Wave, one of the local elite, who had received a high education at that time, was arranged to marry his wife when he was about twenty. However, Wave did not love her at all. It was reported that his wife, whose personality was said to be quite similar to respondent 20’s wife, was illiterate and shrewish. This man was so romantic that he had several affairs, which often irritated his wife.

During the Second World War, the Japanese government sent Wave to Hong Kong as an interpreter. He had an affair with a Cantonese woman there, and finally married her as a concubine. They had two children in Hong Kong. In 1945, he brought his concubine and two children back to Kio-a-thau, where his wife would not allow any of them into her house. Wave explained that he had married the concubine because she had saved his life in the war, but his wife shouted to him with great anger: “You do not care about your six children [in Taiwan] and me. You care about that woman.” The husband could find no alternative but to send the concubine and the two children somewhere else. Based on the idea of monogamy, his wife did not want him to live with his concubine. Instead, she simply let him send some money to her and the two children.

According to these two stories, the notion of marrying concubines was not both accepted by both partners under study. Marrying a concubine in the pre-colonial period was largely in response to a practical need, reproduction. However, my survey indicates that marrying a concubine was not just for reproduction in the colonial period. The case of respondent 20 suggests that a “marriage based on mutual love” really mattered for a man who thought he was well-educated, while the second case suggests that marrying a concubine was used as a strategy to deal with an arranged marriage to a woman considered to be shrewish. These two cases have something in common in that having affairs outside marriage or marrying a concubine was used as a means to resist their arranged marriages.

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9 Respondent 20 (Water as discussed previously) studied abroad in Japan and was adopted by the general manager of the Sugar Refinery. Japanese views about marrying concubines have been discussed earlier in this chapter.
Married life

which were based on interest exchanges and class benefits rather than mutual love between partners.

Women's voices

My survey and interviews reveal that resistance to tradition occurred not only among men but also among women, although the number of the latter was less significant. Nevertheless, one of the cases shows that the form of resistance to an arranged marriage proposal was quite different between genders. The common excuse for sons to refuse an arranged marriage was, as respondent 36 stated, “I told my father I was too young to marry.” As for daughters, a common excuse to refuse such marriage proposals was filial piety. Respondent 36 reported that an 80-year-old lady in the neighbouring village had remained single all her life. When asked why she was single, she replied, “If I had married out, I could not have taken care of my parents.” However, respondent 36 reported that the true reason for her staying single was that her boyfriend had been married by arrangement with another woman. In these circumstances, she was too sad to marry.

Several people I spoke to claimed agency in terms of marriage, especially between the end of the colonial period and the initial stage of the post-colonial Nationalist regime. In September, 2002, Flower invited me to visit her aunt, respondent 41, born in 1929. Her aunt looked younger than her real age and told us her story. Respondent 41 was somewhat unusual. Her story began in the late 1940s, when Taiwan was freed from Japanese rule and taken over by the Nationalist regime. At that time, when she was just a teenager, she went to Kaohsiung city to make a living. Her parents arranged a marriage for her and eventually she got engaged to her intended husband. Respondent 41 claimed she earned $500 per month by doing two jobs – as a receptionist and a part-time household maidservant – at the same time. “I earned even more than most men at that time,” she commented. “Initially, my fiancé looked humble and honest, but after the engagement he began to borrow money from me,” she said, “so I decided to leave him since I found that all he wanted was money. I broke off the engagement, which irritated my parents.” She wept tears as she continued to say:
“so since then I haven’t gone back home for a long time.” Later on, she got acquainted with a Chinese “mainlander” who was a soldier. His occupation and ethnic background were regarded a somewhat inferior by most Taiwanese at that time. Eventually they got married. “I arranged the marriage for myself. I did not ask for any money and dowry. However, I did not receive any blessings from my parents or close relatives.” She concluded, “I felt I was very brave at that time.”

Another case suggests that her notion of sexuality was contradictory to the commonly-accepted value at that time. Love was born in 1913 and was adopted by Yamamoto in the same way as Water. She was a nearly ninety-year-old lady when I interviewed her in 2002. She lived alone in a three-storey house in Kaohsiung city. She rented the ground floor to a photocopy shop. Her husband studied in Tokyo and got his doctoral degree in the 1930s. She also got her diploma of education in Japan. In the living room of her house, she showed me the certificate she received in 1931 with pride. “It was a remarkable achievement among girls, especially among Taiwanese girls,” she said. In 1932, Love and her husband returned to Kio-a-thau and then her husband opened a private clinic on Kio-a-thau Street. Unfortunately both her husband and mother-in-law died only one year after they returned. She was very sad. They had two children, including one son and one daughter, at the time of the husband’s death. She was still in her twenties and famous for her beauty. Then she had several love affairs with other men, including her two brothers-in-law – the husband of her sister-in-law and then the husband of her sister – and a local politician. She and her first brother-in-law had an illegitimate daughter. She was afraid that the event would bring about gossip, so she adopted out this daughter to a friend. I told my mother this news after I completed this interview. My mother was surprised to find that this illegitimate daughter was her classmate in primary school. My mother told me, “She did not tell me the whole story. She just mentioned that she was adopted when she was young.”

These two stories suggest that these two women also sought to find agency in marriage. The experience of respondent 41 suggests that, first, women as well as men tried to choose their own partners without arrangement. Secondly, the ability to be economically independent was a prerequisite to achieving a marriage based
Married life

on a woman’s own choice. Love’s story could be interpreted as an episode where a widow survived after she lost her husband. Also, Love’s case suggests that a well-educated woman challenged the boundaries of sexuality allowed in the pre-colonial period. Adopting out her illegitimate daughter did not imply a biased attitude towards daughters. Rather, it reveals a strategy to escape from the gossip of villagers and Confucian moral standards.

Furthermore, my survey indicates that these two wives’ attitudes towards their husbands’ concubines also changed quite dramatically in the colonial period. For example, I was told that respondent 20’s wife could not forgive her husband’s “disloyalty,” namely his affairs outside the marital relationship. Generally women could not previously recognise the concept of “loyalty” since the notion was based on the idea of a monogamous marriage. By contrast, in colonial times, through schooling, political propaganda, and religious ideas, the concept of monogamous marriage was accepted by most women. Accordingly, although some husbands from rich families still wanted to marry concubines, wives did not take it for granted at all, and attempted to prevent their husbands from marrying concubines. The daughter of Respondent 6, for instance, told me a story about how her mother had asked her to “inspect” her father. Respondent 6 worked in KSR, and colleagues would invite him out after work to have a drink in the brothels on the street.

My mother asked me to accompany my father. I acted somewhat as a spy in order to watch over my father. I remember that he often brought me to the places where many men and women drank together. After returning, my mother asked me questions like: “Where have you been with your father?” “Who did you go with?”

Respondent 6’s daughter’s classmate had another story about preventing her father from having affairs. Her mother came up with an idea to leave several footprints on the window sill. Once when her father returned extremely drunk at midnight, she heard her mother shouting and pointing to the footprints on the window sill, “Why are you coming so late? I am so afraid. You see,” she continued, “a burglar just broke into our house.” Having said this, the wife burst out crying.
One of the cases shows that religious ideas probably also influenced men's attitudes towards marrying concubines. Prize was a member of the elite in Kio-a-thau and got along well with Japanese officials. He built the first modern two-storey house on the street (Plate 3.2). A matchmaker once proposed that he marry a concubine, but his family members rejected the proposal. Respondent 36 described the process of the negotiation:

His daughters objected to the idea very much. At that time a matchmaker came to John, saying, "You have a high social status now. You should be matched with a concubine." On hearing this, both his five daughters and the wife protested by holding that it would be a mistake for the father to marry a concubine. The eldest daughter, who was a religious high school student at that time, objected to concubines.

The eldest daughter was educated at Chung Jung Girls' Senior High School, which was established by the missionaries in Tainan in 1887. Richardson (1972: 139) describes the history of this school:

Two young women [Joan Stuart and Annie E. Butler] opened the Girls' School with eighteen pupils on February 14, 1887. The fee for tuition was four dollars a year and the only condition for entrance was that the girls did not bind their feet. Thus, Christianity was in the forefront of social change long before the Japanese arrived.

Christianity was first introduced to Taiwan during the Dutch occupation (Takekoshi 1907: 302). There were two major Churches: the Scottish Presbyterian Mission and the Canadian Presbyterian Church in the early twentieth century. According to Takekoshi (1907: 303), the total number of converts, including Roman Catholics, in colonial Taiwan was 15,068 in 1907. Although the number was not significant, the above case indicates that these Christian ideas influenced everyday meaning through schooling. Jean and John Comaroff (1986) mention how Christian ideas affected the everyday worldview of the people in Tswana, South Africa. For example, the Protestant missionaries taught the locals to "fashion their lives by exercising free choice; personal achievement would be rewarded by the accumulation of goods and moral worth...Most notably among these was the monogamous (nuclear) family, the unit of production and consumption basic to the division of labour in industrial capitalist society" (Comaroff and Comaroff 1986: 16). Similarly, Christian marital ideas, which
highlighted monogamy, probably influenced Prize’s eldest daughter and the other people who were Christians. For instance, in Kio-a-thau, five male doctors opened their clinics in colonial times. Two of them married concubines, while the other three did not. Of these three, two were Christians.

In my interviews with locals, I got the impression that men thought that women’s manipulation of emotions were powerful, although men did not respect it. The men I spoke to thought women over-reacted to the issue of concubines, even though the men themselves did not necessarily take marrying concubines for granted. Generally speaking, local men commented that an emotional reaction such as that of Wave’s wife was extremely negative: jealous, irrational and sensitive. In their view, wives were supposed to be shrewd but should maintain the face of their husbands. Based on this, they thought that both Wave’s wife and respondent 20’s wife were “tough women in Kio-a-thau” since they had something in common: they were bad-tempered, and liked to take control of everything, which included their husbands’ options with concubines. Such stigmatisation indicates that patriarchal ideas were still firmly held by men. Women’s manipulations of their emotions do, however, seem to have had an effect.

According to my survey in Kio-a-thau, I conclude that women’s emotional reactions towards marrying concubines were an outcome of their interactions with their husbands. I heard the following story. A rich man in Shih-long, the neighbouring village, had three sons with his first wife, but unfortunately his wife suddenly died. He married again and they had six daughters without any sons. Then he married a concubine, who was a prostitute in Tainan. His second wife became quite angry. “She was crying and threatened to kill herself,” respondent 40 commented. As a result, she decided to send their daughters to the brothel in Tainan as revenge for the decision of her husband. Respondent 36 reported, “She did so because she wanted to ruin her husband’s reputation.” The case shows how a woman could use her emotions to deal with a husband’s decision to marry a concubine. Similarly, most of the stories I heard suggest that wives would get angry, cry, and, worst of all, commit suicide on hearing of their husbands’ affairs. Seldom did I find that a wife had divorced her husband, even if he married a
concubine. A wife would either choose to tolerate the second wife, or adopt measures to stop their husbands from marrying concubines.

Several cases from my survey and interviews show that emotions were used by a wife to prevent their husbands from marrying concubines or having affairs. In Wave's case, the wife's fury had an effect. The wife stopped her husband from living with the concubine, so they lived separately. In the story from Shih-long, hatred was used to take revenge on the husband. As a result, the wife sent the daughters to brothels. I can see that women's emotions were a tool to resist their husbands' affairs. I heard many examples like these in Kio-a-thau. These women exercised their power by openly revealing their feelings towards concubines and love affairs, which were not taken for granted as they had been in their mothers' generation. These case studies show that, first, local women started to take monogamous marriage for granted, and, second, they began to consider their marriages not only for reproduction but also for love and responsibility.

CONCLUSION: BEYOND HISTORY?

In this chapter, I have explored both the general transformations over time and local personal agency in marriages. My interviews and the survey indicate that an idealised view of the past could not describe the colonial period, although a lot of new ideas and values were being introduced. Features such as the changing ideas, impact of colonial laws, migratory experience, and socioeconomic power influenced these trends, although in contradictory ways. For example, the first two factors led to a reduction in concubinage, while the latter two factors acted to sustain and transform the meaning of concubinage over the fifty-year period of colonialism. No one factor was supreme. Each influenced the context through which personal agency was expressed. I have found that the framework of historical sociologists is unilinear and evolutionary in some senses, failing to adequately account for such personal agency. In Kio-a-thau, I found that both men and women utilised personal agency through the manipulation of emotions, controlling domestic finance, and developing affairs outside the marriage to contest their traditional roles in society.
From my survey and interviews, I find out that the daily negotiating process for both genders was diverse. For several men in my interviews, marrying concubines and having affairs were re-interpreted in the colonial period. Traditionally, arranged marriages were based on interest exchanges or class benefits rather than love. Men could not say a word about them. However, in colonial times, several cases show that marrying concubines and affairs outside marriage became a means of resistance towards arranged marriages rather than simply a way to show one's masculinity and produce children. Respondent 20 indicated that a free choice of marriage really mattered for a man who thought he was well-educated, while several cases in this chapter showed how marrying a concubine was used as a strategy to deal with an arranged marriage to a wife considered undesirable.

For several women in my survey, the liberties given by the colonial state might not have had an immediate effect on behaviour. The figures show that many local women did not actively exploit their new rights to divorce as a response to marital problems. However, the idea of monogamy brought about by the colonial state became a backup for interacting with their husbands. By examining the detailed interactions of daily practices between partners, I pointed out that wives used either their management of domestic finance or emotions as strategies to deal with their marital relationships. More specifically, the high possibility of a husband marrying a concubine and having an affair triggered a series of responses by a wife. As a result, she tried to use her power in the household by controlling the money and manipulating her emotions. Women expressed their agency by deploying cultural idioms such as weeping.

On the other hand, I suggest that historical impacts should be highlighted as well as personal agency. In this chapter, I have pointed out that female emotions were constructed over time. According my interviews and survey in Kio-a-thau, I conclude that, with an acceptance of monogamous marriage in colonial times, women used their resources to manipulate their emotions and the control of domestic finance to deal with their husbands’ affairs outside marriage. The social expressions that Margery Wolf explored in the 1960s were an outcome of long-term social and cultural transformations. These social facts were not eternal.
features in Taiwanese society and could not be separated in history. To conclude, cultural features are constructed in history and they are only meaningful when put into historical context.
Plate 5.1 Wedding ceremony of a Taiwanese family
Photo: Zensaburou Kaneki
INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I examine the gendered division of labour. Many anthropologists have discussed women’s roles in relation to the process of industrialisation in Taiwan (for example, Wolf 1972; Diamond 1979; Olson 1975). Greenhalgh (1994), Diamond (1979), and Gallin (1989) are in agreement about the inferiority of women’s role both in households and society (see Introduction). However, they differ on whether or how the role of women changed transform through the process of economic transformation. For example, Diamond (1979) argues that Taiwanese women’s involvement in the factories in the 1970s remained under the control of the household head, typically a male. Furthermore, women’s work, no matter whether in the household or in the workplace, is defined as an “extension of their family duties” (Diamond 1979: 318). Olson (1975) points out that women in different social classes changed their mores about themselves as a result of industrialisation. Olson (1975: 674) argues that high status urban women place more emphasis on self-reliance, and less emphasis on conformity to authority than do low status urbanities. Kung (1981) explores the perceptions of work by women who were engaged in an electronics factory. He argues that the involvement into factory work impacted on their understanding of women’s own social status and personal relationships. Kung (1981: 209) states:

Women in factories certainly share enough of the same disabilities to permit the development of class consciousness; but rather than developing class consciousness, women direct their resentments at group leaders, supervisors, co-workers, or office staff. Women are more concerned about opportunism in social relations and fine graduations in rank than with the union and how it actually might be made to serve them.

The process of industrialisation in Taiwan did not start from the 1970s onwards. In fact, a large scale of this process could be traced back to the Japanese colonial period. The sugar economy was a good example. Sugarcane companies should recruit many labourers, including males and females, to be involved into sugar production. At the moment we are not aware how this process of industrialisation
Sexual division of labour

in colonial Taiwan impacted on the locals. Furthermore, the role of women in Taiwan was significantly transformed in the last century. During my review of the literature, I wondered, first, how did women as well as men, respond to the same circumstances of industrialisation through time? Did the historical discontinuity affect women's roles? Secondly, how did women of different social classes respond to that discontinuity?

The colonial situation provides us with an opportunity to explore my questions. With the intervention of the Japanese colonial state in Taiwan, a new kind of division of labour aimed at capitalist accumulation was created. This intervention involved the reshaping of local gender roles by, for example, trying to abolish footbinding and encouraging girls to receive education. Women who received education were encouraged to enter into social networks by doing jobs such as factory workers, clerks, midwives, and school teachers. During my fieldwork in Kio-a-thau, I found that this new division of labour changed the original gendered configuration of labour usage in the pre-colonial period. Also, I discovered that intervention had a differential impact on women of different classes. Thus, I focused on the dimension of how these rearrangements in the Japanese colonial period occurred and how the women dealt with these new circumstances according to their different classes. The overall argument of this chapter is that this kind of colonial reshaping created a new cultural configuration, through which women of different classes developed various strategies to deal with these contradictory outcomes. These strategies involved adjustments in household tasks, changes in identity, and the struggle between genders.

The first section of this chapter describes economic patterns and labour demands in the pre-colonial period. What were the differing roles of the genders and what were the household dynamics at that time? In the second section I explore the new division of labour brought about by Japanese colonialism. What were the views held by the colonial state about the gendered division of labour? How did the changes that they instigated evolve? In the third section I provide several case studies to examine how women of different social classes dealt with the changes and how their agency manifested itself.
HOUSEHOLD DYNAMICS OF THE CING ERA AND EARLY COLONIAL PERIOD

In the late Cing period, most of the agricultural production remained at the stage of subsistence economy. Ho (1968: 313) describes the agricultural pattern in Taiwan as follows. “When Japan acquired Taiwan in 1895, its agriculture was stagnant and its peasants were engaged almost exclusively in subsistence farming.” The subsistence agriculture was composed of wet-rice and other dry-field crops such as wheat and millet. The cultivation of these crops could be complementary because of their “capital, labour, and land requirements” (Isett 1995: 238). For example, in southern Taiwan in the nineteenth century, as Isett (1995: 238-9) indicates, “The tripartite combination of wet-rice, sugarcane, and sugar refining was possible because their respective production schedules did not compete for capital, labour, or land.” Farmers planted wet-rice in February or March, while they grew sugarcane in July and harvested it after about 16 months. After that, the old-style sugar mill (see Chapter 2) started to operate through the winter and into early spring. During the intervals of cultivation, peasants could mobilise their labour into “non-agricultural lines of production” (Isett 1995: 237), which varied according to the agricultural calendar, and “often manifest[ed] itself in sideline or handicraft commodity production” (Isett 1995: 237).

In the pre-colonial period, women played a limited role in agriculture. Major fieldwork tasks were done by men (Takekoshi 1907: 202; Shepherd 1993: 386). Instead, women were more involved in the domestic household economy and “non-agricultural lines of production” as mentioned above. Guess, one of my informants, told me how her mother and paternal grandmother were involved in household economy. Her paternal grandmother was born in 1877. Her mother was born in 1902. Both of them had their feet bound when they were small children. Her paternal grandfather owned two or three chia of wet-rice fields. He had no children, so he adopted Guess’s father as a son [on 30 August 1902]. Guess remembered:

1 The Cing Dynasty took over Taiwan in 1684 after defeating the Jheng Cheng-gong’s army.
2 For example, Shepherd (1993: 386) states, in the Cing era “a Chinese husband would expect less field work from his wife” [compared with an aboriginal husband].
I was told that my grandmother would help my grandfather with some field chores such as drying rice husks, and do some agricultural jobs such as shelling peanuts at home even though she bound her feet. She was a very hard-working woman. My mother was born in the early Japanese period and was asked to bind her feet when she was young. At that time, my grandmother lived with us because she had no other son except my father. She helped my parents to take care of us. My father worked at KSR. My mother was a housewife and she was responsible for most of the household chores such as cooking, laundry, and cleaning. My grandmother also helped to raise two or three pigs as a side job for the family. I always saw my mother and grandmother, both of whom had bound feet, collecting leftovers together to feed the pigs when I was young. I had to help my mother with household chores because I was the oldest daughter in my family.

The other story came from Flower’s paternal grandmother, who was born in 1890 and also had their feet bound. She continued this for the rest of her life, although the Japanese encouraged her to abandon foot-binding. Although the grandmother bound her feet, she could stay at home doing some household chores and some field chores such as digging sweet potatoes and shelling peanuts. “She could do most of the field chores except some laborious tasks such as ploughing fields and driving ox-carts,” Flower commented. Her grandmother had two children with her first husband. One was a girl and the other was a boy. She remarried when both children were teenagers because her first husband died. Her second husband, Flower’s paternal grandfather, came to live in his wife’s house. Flower stated, “Her first husband left several chia of land. My grandmother could not manage them herself. Her son was too small to labour in their fields, so she needed someone who could take care of the fields.”

The usage of labour between genders was closely connected with the differing role of both genders. Several anthropologists have indicated that these differing roles in the system of intrafamilial exchange were reflected in a gendered division of labour and activity sphere in Taiwanese society (Greenhalgh 1994; Diamond 1979; Gallin 1989; Gates 1987). Greenhalgh (1994: 759) indicates, “[Taiwanese] women were expected to contribute to productive undertakings when their labour and skills were needed, their activities were appropriately confined to the ‘inside’ or domestic sphere, where they would not come into contact with unrelated men.” Gallin (1989: 377) states that female children in Taiwan were not valued because
they were household members “who drained family resources as children and who withdrew their assets (domestic labour and earning power) when they married.” Most of the women were often used as domestic labour. An unmarried daughter had to do the household tasks and was rarely educated. Gates (1987: 106) indicates, “a girl-child was raised very different from a boy. Girls began to work at chores, tend babies, or do elaborate needlework while boys were still playing freely or in school.” In contrast a son obviously had some “privileges” in terms of household chores. River, one informant, recalled a memorable event when he wanted to meet his classmate, Jon, one morning in the early 1930s. Jon’s eldest brother had died before he was born, so his parents were quite happy about Jon because he was the only boy in his family. River noted that Jon was treated like an emperor in the family:

I saw everybody doing everything for him. His sister-in-law was preparing a lunch box for him. His two eldest [unmarried] sisters were busy. One was helping him to get dressed. The other was fastening his shoelaces. Meanwhile, his mother was yelling aloud: hurry up! He’s going to be late for school....

Footbinding was a crucial factor that affected the gendered division of labour at that time as it confined women’s major activities within households. Furthermore, this confinement substantially reduced the opportunities for women to develop their economic potentiality in other sectors. Although I was told that some women with bound feet also did some side jobs at home such as sewing “three-inch-long shoes” [for women with bound feet] to make extra money to support family expenditure, these cases were rare. The above accounts from Guess and Flower both show that the popularity of footbinding regulated the movement of women, thus further reinforcing the subordinate status of women. Women’s footbinding was one of the “Chinese customs” carried out deliberately by early Han-settlers in Taiwan (Shepherd 1993; Lamley 1999: 218). Fan (1997: 45-50) indicates that footbinding was a site of “erotic imagination” for husbands since the wiggling gait of the women who bound their feet would raise men’s imagination about sexuality. Also, footbinding was a “restraining device which highlighted the concept of female chastity” (Fan 1997: 45) since it physically prevented women from moving about freely. This prevented them from coming into contact with other men except their husbands and families. However, Blake (1994: 708) argues
that footbinding was a way that women in China “supported, participated in, and reflected on the Neo-Confucian way of being civilised.” The discourse of footbinding was described as “natural” and women thus believed that they could overcome these intense physical pains in order to fulfill their social roles. In the labouring sense, Hill Gates (2001: 147) thought that footbinding “permitted an extraordinary degree of control over young female labourers” and was embedded in a Chinese kinship/gender system which differed from western capitalism. Under such a system, “The bodies and labour-power of unmarried daughters were allocated absolutely to their parents to use for the good of the patricorporation” (Gates 2001: 146). She further argues that although footbinding prevented women from heavy labour, footbound women provided a major source of “light labour” in the household such as spinning and weaving for sale before the advent the industrial period.

How popular was it for women to bind their feet in Taiwan? In 1905, when the first general census survey was conducted, the rate of footbinding for women on the whole island was 66.6 percent (Takenaka 1995: 261; Wu 1996: 220), although the figure varied sharply among different ethnic groups such as Fujian, Hakka, and Plains aborigines’ women (Shepherd 1993: 526). Shepherd (1993: 526) reveals that only 0.5 percent of plains aborigine women had bound feet according to the 1905 census reports, as compared to 1.5 percent of Hakka women and 68 percent of Fujian women. Plains aborigine women in contact primarily with Hakka rather than Fujian were exposed to a different set of expectations with respect to female footbinding and related roles. Hakka women’s low footbinding rate also accounted for the cultural difference from Fujian women in terms of division of labour (Wolf and Chuang 1994). In a local sense, According to my

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3 Initially Han-settlers used footbinding as a “strategic tool” to claim “moral superiority” when they contacted non-Han people in the seventeenth and eighteenth century in Taiwan. Han women who bound their feet were considered to be more “civilised” than the Other – the aborigines, although the latter did not necessarily accept this. As Shepherd (1993: 386) states: “two of the three practices that most appalled the aborigines and seriously undermined Chinese claims to moral superiority in aborigine eyes were female infanticide and footbinding (the third was the Chinese use of nightsoil). Plains aborigines [in Taiwan] almost never adopted footbinding, despite its prevalence among their Hokien (Fujian) neighbors.”
Sexual division of labour

data in Kio-a-thau, sixty percent of women who were born between 1845 to 1894 had their feet bound (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1
Footbinding practices based upon census data in Kio-a-thau

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period in which the girls were born</th>
<th>Total number of girls born</th>
<th>Total number of those born who had bound feet</th>
<th>Total number after the abolition of footbinding</th>
<th>Percentage of footbinding (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1845-1854</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>60</td>
</tr>
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<td>1895-1904</td>
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<td>16</td>
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<tr>
<td>1905-1914</td>
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<td>1925-1934</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>1935-1944</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtotal</td>
<td>446</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>524</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Colonial household registers for Kio-a-thau. Notes: All the women who kept their feet bound necessarily defied the abolition policy. Some may have died or married out so there would be no record of unbinding of their feet on local household registers.

A NEW DIVISION OF LABOUR AND CHANGING ROLE OF WOMEN

During the Japanese period, a new division of labour began to develop as compared to the pre-colonial period. Women were no longer bound by Chinese kinship in terms of labouring and social role as Gates mentioned. Rather, they
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were expected to join capitalist agricultural and industrial activities. The commercialised agriculture, along with the new technology and improvement in agricultural methods, impacted on the labour usage between genders. Women as well as men found some possibilities to change their traditional roles in the household. In order to achieve its economic goals, the colonial government aimed to recruit female labour in order to assure the plentiful supply of cheap labour. To meet its manpower needs, the colonial government implemented many measures such as the abolition of foot-binding, the ban on slavery involving adopted girls and little daughters-in-law (simpua), and the encouragement of women to receive education, which all aimed to change gender roles. In the following section, I explore the on-going process of how women were incorporated into this frame of a new division of labour

Commercialised labour requirements

With the economic goals of Japanese colonisation towards Taiwan, the division of labour characteristic of the pre-colonial period began to be reshaped. The dynamic of this transformation was largely due to colonial intention. As Ho (1978: 3) states, “under the guidance of the colonial government, the island was developed as an agricultural appendage to Japan.” Ka (1995) affirms that the plan for commercialised crops such as sugar and rice needed a large labour force and thus created considerable labour demand. Isett (1995: 240-44), in his Sugar Manufacture and Agrarian Economy of Nineteen Century Taiwan, described in detail the labouring process involved in growing sugarcane. For example, for the cane harvesting,

Individual peasant households carried out the labour-intensive task of harvesting, although in some cases they hired hands to ensure that the mature cane was cut, bundled, and delivered to the mill within as short a time as possible. The cutting of cane was done by men, while women and children gathered leaves for compost and fodder for the oxen, bundled the cane for transport, and let the ox cart carrying the cane to the mill.

There were two important sources of agricultural workers for the sugarcane plantations. The first were the tenants on land controlled (either owned or leased) by sugar companies. The tenants made contracts with sugar companies to plant
sugarcane under the companies’ supervision. They had to fulfill their rental obligations and work as wage labourers at the companies’ request (Ka 1995: 105; Yanaihara 1929: 240-41). Ka (1995: 105) indicates that land under such arrangements constituted five to seven percent of Taiwan’s arable land.

The other source was to recruit labourers in the market. These labourers were paid by either casual contracts or long-term contracts. In Kio-a-thau, locals called these hired labourers – hui-sia-gang – labourers working for the sugar company. According to one informant, the number of company-owned farms neighbouring Kio-a-thau was nine. Each company farm was responsible for about 20 to 30 chia of land on average. Each company farmer had a director-general and a manager. Most of the directors-general were Japanese officials, while the managers were local people because they had the local networks to recruit workers. Locals called the manager ku-li-tao, which means the head of sugarcane workers. One of the most important missions for the manager was to recruit many hui-sia-gang. Besides this, the Ku-li-tao also did other miscellaneous things such as giving fertilisers to peasants, regulating annual quotas of sugarcane, and distributing the daily pay to workers in cash.

The other source of labour was the local family farms. These family farms were not owned by sugar companies but by locals. Ka (1995) argues that the persistence of these indigenous family farms depended on successful competition with capitalist production as mentioned above, since they could thrive through self-exploitation in terms of labour force. These family farms were mainly composed of farms cultivating 1-5 chia of land. Most of the labour force was family labour. The smaller the farm was, the more it relied on family labour. In busy times, such as harvests, however, family farms also needed to hire labour from outside on a daily or long-term basis. This labour was supplied by “fellow villagers, especially from who cultivated less than 0.5 chia, areas with a different harvest season, or poorer areas where many had to hire themselves out” (Ka 1995: 103).
Large-scale sugar plantations needed plenty of workers. According to the official estimation in 1900, wages were the greatest cost for the sugar production (Isett 1995: 245). Furthermore, the labouring demand for growing sugarcane varied. According to Isett (1995: 243), the cultivation and refining of sugarcane were "seasonal activities." The period of growing sugarcane lasted for about 16 months. The season for seeding sugarcane started in July, with a second one in December. The busiest seasons for recruiting labourers focused on the stages of clearance, weeding, and harvesting. The intensity of work was variable. For example, the most labour-intensive work was in the harvesting seasons and refining periods (Isett 1995: 242; 243). At these times, the managers of sugarcane fields had to recruit many unskilled waged labourers as well as skilled labourers to help with the farming. Locals who needed casual work thus noticed that they should keep good relationships with managers. Later on in this chapter, I will give the case study of Su, who was this type of a wage labourer for the sugar company in the 1940s.

In fact, the Japanese colonial state faced a dilemma in developing some economic schemes, such as the sugar economy: first, it was impossible for the state to recruit many labourers from Japan; second, it seemed to face a shortage of labour if it chose large-scale crop plantations. In 1909, the Taiwan Sugarcane Company recruited 450 workers from inner Japan (Kakei 1989: 381). However, these staff were mostly technicians and staff whose aim was to train locals how to operate the refinery. According to Kakei (1989: 381-82), these workers took turns working in different sugar refineries over the island and trained many local workers. The colonial government also adopted some measures to resolve the problem of unskilled labour shortage. For example, the government signed a contract with the Chinese government in 1934. According to the contract, about sixty thousand migrant workers – the majority of them from Fujian – were recruited under an arrangement of temporary entry permits (Kerr 1974: 172). Kerr states: "The majority were unskilled labours recruited for seasonal employment on sugar plantations and tea gardens, or for work in the mines."

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4 For details of the distinctive stages of cultivating sugarcane, see Isett (1995: 241-242).
With the Japanese concerns about the labour shortage, it was therefore reasonable that the female labour force became a target in the eyes of the colonisers because this potential force remained untapped. In regards to local Taiwanese workers, Takekoshi (1907: 202) reported on two discouraging features in the early twentieth century. The first was that the birth rate was low and the death rate was high among Taiwanese. Another was “that women in Formosa, with the exception of the tea-pickers and the Hakka women, shut themselves up all day in their houses and do not go out and help their husbands in the fields.”

Political propaganda about the advantage of recruiting female labourers followed. For example, the official organ newspaper, *Taiwan nichi nichi shimpo* (Taiwan daily news), highlighted the economic advantages of recruiting women (5 March 1915). An observer stated the economic advantage (in 1915) of abandoning footbinding in such a way, “The average labour fee for a woman is 40 cian. There are one million and 500 thousand women on the whole island now. If they unbound their feet and joined in the economic activities, they could create five million yen per day.” In the following two sections, I argue that Japanese government policies regarding the abolition of footbinding and the emancipation of little-daughters-in-law and adopted daughters were gradually greatly influenced by economic concerns.

**The Japanese attitude towards footbinding**

In order to recruit female workers, the Japanese government first faced the local contradictory ideas of women’s role. Several scholars observe the Japanese attitude towards footbinding. Wolf and Huang (1980: 44) state that “[w]hen it came to foot-binding and the sale of female children as ca-bo-kan (servant-slaves), the Japanese authorities felt compelled to interfere…” Levy (1966: 95) comments that women’s footbinding as well as the Chinese habits of opium smoking and men’s wearing pigtails were “obstacles in the way of efficient rule.” Lamley (1999: 218) indicates that the policy of abolishing footbinding was closely

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5 One yen = 100 cian
6 The Cing government forced men to wear pigtails.
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connected to the Japanese biased attitude towards “bad custom.” Recently, Takenaka (1995: 260-62) describes Taiwanese women’s foot-binding as “inhuman,” “a mechanism for preventing them from running away,” “unhealthy,” “against nature,” and “a reflection of patriarchal ideas”. Takenaka continues to assert that the abolition of footbinding meant the destruction of “feudal society” and, from then on, Taiwanese women would lead a “sensible and easy” life.

However, when the Japanese colonial state first ruled Taiwan, its attitude towards footbinding was not so “disgusted” as compared to later times. For example, the third Governor-general, Nogi Yoshinori, promulgated a law on 9 November 1896 which encouraged women to “abolish footbinding without compulsion” since he admitted it was a local “customary law.” However, such a moderate policy was only temporary and transitional. After overcoming many local rebellions all over the island, the government started to actively encourage local people to abolish footbinding. In 1900, with the assistance of the colonial authorities and the colonial government, a medical practitioner named Huang Yu-jie organised the Natural Foot Society. Those men who joined in the society swore not to allow their sons to marry women with bound feet. In the society’s inaugural address Huang stated, “Now Taiwan has become a part of the Japanese empire, and the government is carrying out reforms. The Taiwanese are also a people of reform, but it will be really shameful if they are not aware of the past” (Levy 1966: 100). Levy (1966: 101-102) mentions that the members of the Natural-foot Society were given “congratulatory medals” inscribed with the words “Glorious Medal of Taiwan.” Each medal holder was presented with a silken sash by the Japanese Governor-General.

Besides human rights, the Japanese objection to footbinding was based on an economic dimension. Unbinding feet impacted very much on women’s social life and, as Arthur Wolf points out, their involvement in the economy. Wu (1996: 240-241) indicates that one of the motivation for the abolition was to enable women to get involved in the economy, especially in commercialised agricultural farming. Tsurumi (1977: 220) further points out how unbinding and education affected Taiwanese women’s social status: “Increased schoolgoing for girls was
closely related to other new directions for women. An end to footbinding and entrance into the colony’s industrial work force were two important changes.” According to Tsurumi (1977: 219-28), the social status of Taiwanese women became higher than in the pre-colonial period. Yu (1988: 286) indicates the proportion of school-aged girls who enrolled in elementary schools increased from 1.02 percent in 1908 to 61.0 percent in 1943, while the increase for boys was 8.2 percent to 80.7 percent respectively. Those educated women became more involved in professional and public life which was previously dominated by men. For example, in 1914, with a total of 21,859 factory workers, 28 percent were females. In 1941, this percentage exceeded 40 percent (Tsurumi 1977: 221).

In general, the abolition of footbinding in Kio-a-thau really worked (see Table 6.1). According to the local census data, the average percentage of footbinding was sixty percent in 1895. The percentage reached its highest between 1855-1874, when all women born had their feet bound. After 1875, the figure remained fairly stable. Approximately half of the newborn baby girls had their feet bound. The first recorded case of footbinding in the available census data for Kio-a-thau took place in March 1845, while the last instance occurred in September 1901. From then on, there was not one case reported. After 1895, there was a high percentage of the abandonment of footbinding. Most women in Kio-a-thau who were born after 1895 and their parents, especially after 1905, had accepted the idea about the emancipation of footbinding. Some of those who had bound feet unbound them (see Table 6.1). Positive encouragement from the colonial authorities therefore played an important role in abolishing footbinding.

The liberation of little daughters in law (simpua), servant-slaves (ca-bo-can), and adopted daughters in Kio-a-thau

Ino Kanori, a Japanese anthropologist who studied Taiwan, mentioned the popularity of the sale of daughters and maid-servants (ca-bo-can) in the Cing period (for details, see the discussion in the following section) although they were banned by the government. Wolf and Huang (1980: 2-15) report the custom of adopting daughters and simpua in the nineteenth and early twentieth century in
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Fujian, Kwangtung, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. The major difference between simpua and adopted daughters was that the simpua were prospective daughters-in-law, which relates more to “reproduction,” whereas adopted daughters related mainly to “labour.” Kajihara (1989: 96) claims too that every daughter-in-law wished to adopt in daughters for assistance as soon as possible in order to “avoid” the heavy household chores of a large family. Wolf and Huang (1980) state that locals believed that adopting in a daughter could induce the conception of sons.

By contrast, a ca-bo-kan was like a slave, who would accompany a rich bride and also serve as a maid-servant. Unlike adopted daughters, ca-bo-kan was more popular among rich families, who would recruit several maid-servant slaves rather than adopted daughters in order to do the household chores. Ino (1928: 171) mentions that earlier Han-settlers recruited maid-servant slaves from mainland China in the eighteenth century. These slaves often stayed for the rest of their life and remained single. Wolf and Huang (1980) mention, in certain circumstances, in particular in hard times, daughters would be adopted out as adopted daughters. They (Wolf and Huang 1980: 95) state, “in hard times, peasants’ families were forced to sell their daughters as slave girls or give them out in adoption as little daughters-in-law (simpua).”

By comparison, a similar custom of adoption between different surnames also took place in Japan. Hsu (1975: 37-39) indicates that the adoption of a son-in-law or mukoyōshi, a custom whereby a man goes to live in his wife’s household and assumes the family name of her father, was much more common in Japan than in China. Ariga (1939) indicates servants and tenant farmers often used kinship terms as a matter of courtesy in addressing their employers and landlords in Japan, inasmuch as that there is a “closeness of relationship among those who live and work in the same household” (Hsu 1975:39). In colonial Kio-a-thau, such custom of adoption between the Japanese and the locals continued. As I mentioned in Chapter 4, one of the senior Japanese employers adopted two Taiwanese children: Water and Love. Yamamoto and his wife did not have any children, so they adopted these two. Another reason was that both Water and Love worked for Yamamoto. Yamamoto and his wife treated these two adopted children very well.
Love recalled: “When I got engaged, my [adopted] mother gave me lots of gifts like earrings, bracelets, rings, jewelry, and some make-up as if she were marrying her own daughter out.” In a very old picture taken by Zensaburou Kaneki (see Methodology), we can see Water with his natal family on their return from Tokyo for a short visit in 1928, when he was about ten years old. He is sitting next to his mother in a bamboo-chair, dressed in rather “modern” style and wearing a pair of new shoes. His father is standing to his left. In fact, the occasion that I showed him the photo was the first time Water had seen this picture, 75 years after the picture was taken. I stood by him while Water was looking at this photo in 2003. He stated, “I look sort of tired in the picture because I was ill at that time.”

However, Japanese attitudes towards the local custom of adoption were quite different. Based on issues of human rights, the colonial state thought that the sale of daughters was a kind of “slave trade.” In 1917, the high court in Tokyo promulgated a law which banned the custom of adopting out daughters, saying it violated “good and kind social customs” (Kajihara 1989: 88). Kio-a-thau’s census surveys reveal some important data. Table 6.2 shows that the percentage of simpua and adopting out daughters became smaller from 1895 onwards as a result of the ban. This shows that the ban impacted significantly on the local cultural behaviour.

However, with the contrasting roles of the genders and various household demands such as reproduction and labouring, private negotiations between families about adoption of daughters continued. Table 6.2 shows that a contradictory trend emerged that the percentage of adopting in daughters still increased. The main reason is that although the slave trade (adopting out daughters) was banned by the government, the adoption by relatives and friends (adopting in daughters), which was similar to that of Japanese adoption, through registration was still allowed. In other words, locals could not sell their daughters as usual but they were allowed to adopt in daughters through normal adoptive procedure. Besides this, locals could still utilise many strategies to meet their own

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7 I do not present the picture here because I want to protect his personal privacy.
requirements of adoption. For example, I was told that many simpua were transferred their identities in the household registration from a simpua to an adopted (in) daughter in order to avoid the investigation of the government. The former was not allowed but the latter was legally permitted. This contributed to the increasing number of adopting in daughters. That was the reason why Table 6.2 shows that the percentage of adopted simpua fell from 1895 onwards, whereas the percentage of adopted in daughters continues to increase in Kio-a-thau.

The increasing number of adopted in daughters also impacted on the strategy of using adopted daughters by the locals. Table 6.2 shows that the highest rate of adopting in daughters between 1925-1934 basically corresponded with the peak period of sugar exports in Taiwan (see Chapter 2). The growing sugar economy would have required an increased demand for seasonal labour, which would in turn have resulted in a shortage of domestic labour. As a result, locals may have recruited more adopted daughters to deal with this shortage within the home and sugarcane fields. Zero, an adopted daughter whose case will be examined below, told me her foster sister’s story. Her foster sister was a simpua in the 1930s. She was bought as a little-daughter-in-law when she was only two years old. She was raised by her adopted parents as a prospective daughter-in-law. Her adopted parents wanted her to marry their only son, but the son did not like her at all. Zero said:

The brother disliked my sister. He chose a nickname for my sister: Toad, a very bad nickname. One day he came to my foster mother, accusing my sister of not shaking his cradle. The sister once told me that she had a harder life. “At least you can go to school but I can’t,” she said to me. My adopted sister had to do lots of household chores such as cooking and taking care of her younger brother. Besides these, she had been working as a hui-sia-gang — workers for the sugar company — for about two hours per day since my foster father was a supervisor in the sugarcane field then.

Due to the loathing between the couple, her foster family decided to marry Zero’s sister out to Te-a-heng, about ten kilometres away from Kio-a-thau, when she was 18. Zero stated that the foster sister and she had to do many household chores every day. Zero as an adopted daughter was also sent by her foster mother to be a maidservant for a Japanese official (see the case study below). Their stories reveal
that a changing role of *simpua* and adopted daughters, who were also used to
connect with economic activities and thus to make money.

Table 6.2
The number and percentage of adopted *simpua* (little-daughters-in-law) and
adopted daughters in Kio-a-thau

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Total number of baby girls</th>
<th>Number of adopted in daughters</th>
<th>Number of adopted out daughters</th>
<th>Number of adopted in <em>simpua</em></th>
<th>Number of adopted out <em>simpua</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845-1894</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895-1904</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905-1914</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>1915-1924</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>1925-1934</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>1935-1944</td>
<td>107</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>524</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Colonial household registers for Kio-a-thau. **Notes:** I must make it clear here that the data before 1895 cannot be verified because the Japanese government conducted the first census survey in 1905. I speculate that the reason why fewer cases of adoption were written down were because women did not reveal every detail about their past when they were asked to register households.

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**THE CHANGING NATURE OF WOMEN’S WORK**

The above discussion points out the contradictory attitudes and beliefs of locals and the colonial state. For the locals, cultural and household economic factors were paramount, while the logic was mainly related to human rights and economic development for the latter. For the colonial government, the move to abolish footbinding was greatly motivated by the economic need to make use of female labour. These changes naturally brought about dramatic impacts on women’s daily life. However, according to my observation, the women’s
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incorporation in the labour market varied according to their respective social classes. In the following section I will offer several case studies to explore the differential impacts on different social classes through this time of social-economic transformation.

Seasonal or migrant labour in sugarcane fields

Su was born in 1928 in a poor family, and when she was only twelve she became a wage labourer in the sugarcane fields (1940). She lived in Zihguan, a village next to Kio-a-thau. Every day she needed to walk about ten kilometres with other “child labourers” to the sugarcane fields owned by KSR in Gun-zi-pei. She reported:

There were a total of 13 children in our team: four or five of them were males; eight or nine were females. Our relationship was as friends or neighbours. The average age was about twelve or thirteen. [How did you find the job?] Job opportunities [during the war period of the early 1940s] were very limited. A sugarcane worker for the sugarcane company was one of the few chances for making a living, especially in the [Pacific] war period. It was not hard to find a job [as a worker] if you had strength. Actually, the sugarcane company had created lots of job opportunities for [poor] people. At harvest time, the company even hired some very old people to watch over the bundled sugarcane [to prevent them from being stolen].

Su described the daily schedule for a sugarcane worker was as follows:

At seven my “co-workers” and I went to the fields together. We all walked in our bare feet, carrying a lunch box, some water, spending one and a half hours to get to the “workplace” – the sugarcane fields. Then we took a break and at nine we started working until twelve. After taking a break, eating our lunch boxes, we began work again until five. It would take another one and an half hours to go home. Such kind of workers, who were called huei-sia-gang, were quite popular then. I remember very clearly that I earned 25 cian per day [in the early 1940s] when I first received the money. An adult female worker earned 35 cian per day. But a male worker earned even more than that...8 I gave all the money to my mother, without keeping any pocket money.

She stated that most of them kept working for a long time, but the prerequisite was that “the ku-li-tao, the manager of sugarcane workers, needed you.” Later on she introduced her brother to work via the manager of the workers, ku-li-tao. Su said:

8 For example, the daily wage for Dai, a male sugarcane worker, was 45 cian in 1933; 48 cian in 1934; 52 cian in 1935; 67 cian and 72 cian in 1936.
My little brother was a person who always kept silent. He could not manage public relations with others. This was his weakness. I thought I had to help him, so I came to the manager to ask for a job as a sugarcane worker. My brother thus obtained his first job in life.

Her introduction also contributed to her brother’s marriage. She commented: “My brother and sister-in-law got acquainted with each other in the sugarcane field. I found a female worker who was hardworking and looked nice. I acted as a go-between. Eventually they got married through my introduction.”

She was the only daughter in her family then. Therefore, if she went to work, someone like her father would share “her” household chores. For example, she pointed out, “My father would cook dinner, since when I got back from work, it was almost seven and impossible for me to cook.”

Su’s case shows that a few adjustments of household chores can imply the transformation of gender roles in the household. Her father came to live with his wife’s family. In the early 1940s, he was temporarily not living with his wife because he had a volunteer job in the local church. Although such a father was less powerful than in a virilocal family, it was still unusual for a father, not mother, to cook dinner at that time. In usual circumstances, Su, as the eldest and only daughter, would normally have been responsible for the household chores such as cooking as I have described in the early part in this chapter. However, with the involvement of female workers in the cash economy, the labouring pattern changed between genders. Su became a major income earner in the household and therefore waived her “daughter’s duty” such as cooking. Furthermore, the increasing importance of her status in the family is displayed by her introduction of her brother to work and her role in arranging his marriage. To some extent, a daughter was not disliked by parents because she could also contribute their financial as well as other abilities to the family.

With regard to work, Su reported that most of the work of a child labourer involved cutting off sugarcane leaves. But when she grew up, she was switched to
the tasks of an adult female labourer (see Table 6.3). She provided a vivid description of life as a sugarcane worker:

Everything you saw was sugarcane. It was pretty spacious and you just hid in it quite often. The land was extremely hard to dig [in order to seed or fertiliser]. But if it was raining, the clay became softer. We had about 20 workers and most of them were females or children and should be responsible for about 30 chia of land under the supervision of the supervisor. Sometimes Japanese officials would come along – they always came riding horses and looked very grumpy and grim-faced. In the field, we wore a hat made of bamboo leaves with our feet bare. Dressed in a loose shirt and Dai-wan-kou, a pair of loose trousers, and a raincoat made of dried straw if it was raining. The worst thing was ‘hiding from air-raid bombing’ in the [Pacific] war period. We had to hide under bundles of sugarcane.

Undoubtedly, seasonal or migrant workers were the major agricultural actors in Kio-a-thau, or even the neighbouring rural areas, in colonial times. Sugarcane fields provided locals with many casual job opportunities. Plates 6.1 to 6.4 show that the sugar company recruited many workers for labouring in sugarcane fields. These locals were mostly people with lower social status such as the poor, women, and children. Both men and women, the young and old, got involved in such economic activities. Jheng (1996: 102) claims that eighty to ninety percent of villagers in Kio-a-thau claimed that they or their family were involved in some ways in the labouring process. Su told me, “The sugar company offered many job opportunities to some inferior people such as le-han-ka – single but jobless people – and the poor to make a living.” In other words, it became one of the available strategic options for their survival. Furthermore, Su’s case shows that the sugarcane fields also provided some people with an opportunity to develop their social networks.

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9 Although it was after the colonial period, we can still see clearly from the workbook published in 1956 by the Taiwan Sugar Company: Kio-a-tou Sugar Refinery (1956: 1-8) how manpower was used during the respective stages of sugarcane production: ploughing needed three water buffaloes, and twenty labourers per hectare; land clearance needed three water buffaloes and twenty-five labourers; fertilizing needed 14 labourers; seeding needed 50 labourers; weeding needed three water buffaloes, and eight labourers.

10 River, one of my informants, remembered that “most of them [in the late 1930s] were female workers. The average work day was eight hours. But I also found a lot of casual jobs, which meant you could work just for half a day....[in the late 1930s] I found some of the workers were migrants, who came from Beimen, Tainan, a poor rural area. Most of them were males. As for local workers, most of them were female and child workers. By and large, they came from poor agricultural families, which meant they could tolerate laborious jobs.
Su developed her strategies to deal with the work and her family. She worked as a sugarcane worker for quite a long time. She got married at the age of 22. After the marriage, she said she had to help her husband’s family, who had several chia of wet paddy and dry fields. They also raised pigs for selling in the market. She said:

I had to help my husband’s family, so I quit the job as a wage labourer temporarily. Shortly afterwards, the supervisor asked me if I could go back to work because I was a senior sugarcane worker. I told him I could not because I had a family. He begged me repeatedly so I promised him to work as a part-time worker because the labouring demand of growing sugarcane varied in a year. I went back to work if it were busy seasons such as land clearance, weeding, and harvesting. And I could stay home taking care of my family and help with the fieldworks.

Fountain, a supervisor in the 1930s, mentioned that women served as a major source of such kind of casual workers when the sugar company needed labour. He said:

Most of these causal workers were women. The major reason was not because they were cheaper. Rather, it was because it was easier to recruit female workers than male. Most of the women did not have regular jobs. We needed a large amount of labourers, say, especially at the harvest season. Women’s schedule was more flexible, so they could fit our labouring pattern [in the sugar fields].

As for the work content, the role of female workers such as Su seems to have been similar to children’s (see Table 6.3). Fountain said, “Basically female workers and child workers belonged to the same category. Both groups were unskilled.” He described the tasks of the men, women, and child workers in detail as shown in Table 6.3. Then he continued, “Those female workers were lower class people. They were born in peasant families. Most of them were uneducated.”

As for the difference between genders in relation to the content of work, he commented:

Male workers did work that was more strenuous such as cane digging and transporting at harvesting. We had to recruit more male workers to do these types of work. Besides that, we would rather recruit female workers. Of course they were cheaper to recruit. As far as I remember, in the 1930s, a
male worker could earn sixty to eighty cian per day, while a female worker could just earn thirty cian if they did the same work.

Fountain also pointed out that this classification of the division of labour was male-made. He commented that the division of labour, together with income, often became one of the main sources of gender disputes in the fields. In other words, the particular division of labour seems to be a result of local initiative as much as colonial state action. He reported:

Some women were even working better than men. They were using hoes rather than the hand-hoes commonly used by women workers. I think they were more efficient because they liked to earn more money.

As Fountain indicated, making more money was the major reason for women to work hard. If they did men’s jobs, they would get more money. For some women, income rather than division of labour mattered. It was often reported that women drove ox-carts and did things that stronger men would do. Under such circumstances, men were facing competition from women. Fountain pointed out, “In the sugarcane fields we often mocked some men who did little work like this: ‘You are lousier than women.’”

However, for men, it was shameful if women earned more than them. Therefore, men would complain to the supervisor: “You cannot let women do such as such (for example, driving ox-carts) because they are too strenuous.” In other words, men would use cultural excuses to deal with women breaking into the “domain of men,” although the true reason was that these men were worried about female competition in the workplace. Consequently, the simplest way to work out this problem was to separate “men’s work” from “women’s work.” Men were required to do work such as sugarcane cutting, digging, and driving ox-carts, while women were required to do the other “side jobs” such as seeding, weeding, and fertilising.
Table 6.3
Division of labour in sugarcane fields

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work content</th>
<th>Male worker</th>
<th>Female worker</th>
<th>Child worker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Land clearance</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seed bedding</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seeding</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weeding</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fertilising</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soil cultivating</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irrigating</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harvesting (sugarcane digging)</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harvesting (sugarcane cutting)</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cane transporting</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Household Maid-servant: Zero’s case

Zero was born in October 1928 and was adopted out when she was only two years old. She remarked that her father and foster father were “best friends.” Prior to her birth, her parents already had four daughters and two sons. She affirmed that this was the major reason for her to be adopted out. She claimed that her parents did not “sell” her, but only asked her foster parents to take good care of her. She reported that she did not know she was an adopted daughter until she was ten years old. One day her classmate at school told her that she was kind of similar to Far, Zero’s natal brother. Zero’s explanation for this reluctance to tell her that she
was adopted was that, “My foster parents would like a clear break in the relationship between my natal family and me.”

As noted previously, Zero’s foster sister was adopted out. After that, most of the household chores fell on Zero. That was one of the reasons why she did not graduate from primary school until she was 16. After that, her foster mother [her foster father had died] asked her to be the maidservant of a Japanese official in 1943. Zero described her foster mother as a “shrewd woman.” After her husband died, the mother had to support the whole family by herself. As a result, she sent Zero to work as a maidservant for a Japanese high-position official who worked at KSR and lived in a Japanese dormitory nearby.

Zero went on to describe the nature of her daily labour each day. According to her description, she needed to do some other jobs besides the regular schedule of being a maid-servant. She recounted these with a kind of sadness:

I always went to work [being a maid] from eight to five. The work content comprised gardening, weeding, mopping the wooden floor, and feeding the pets: a dog and some goldfish. The Japanese wife insisted she cook and iron the shirts for her husband. Then I took over the other duties. I was very impressed that the wife should bow her husband in. During the middle of the day, I had about two hours’ break. I didn’t take a rest but picked up bags of dried grain as material to burn. I had to dig sweet potatoes or pick up their leaves if I had time. When I returned home at five, I had to prepare the dinner. First, I usually divided the stem of the sweet potato from the leaves, which served as one of the major dishes. After that, I had to look after the kids of my sister-in-law. Oh, dear, she had ten kids! At five the next day, I woke up, and then cooked sweet potatoes as our breakfast almost every day. I could not eat rice because we could not afford to buy rice. After breakfast, I had to go to the Japanese restaurant in the neighbourhood to collect the leftover food from last night to feed pigs. Can you imagine that? Each of the barrels for carrying leftover food weighed about 10 kin.

Besides making money, Zero pointed out another reason for her to be a maid-servant was that it provided a good opportunity for her foster mother to build Guansi [Guanxi] (personal relationship, see the discussion in Chapter 4) with the Japanese. The mother liked to do keep good relations with the Japanese in order to obtain some benefits from them. Zero pointed out:

11 A foster family buys the adopted daughter and from then on she totally cuts off all the relationship with her natal family. For details see Kajihara (1989: 88).
12 1 kin = 0.6 kilogram
Through my job, we could keep a close connection with the Japanese authorities of the sugar refinery. The officer I was serving was responsible for the management of sugarcane fields owned by the refinery. As a result, we could obtain *pak*, a priority to get land tenure right to plant crops.\(^{13}\)

Zero’s case is similar in many respects to that of Beggar, who I discussed in Chapter 4. One thing they had in common is that both served as household servant for Japanese high-position officials at KSR. The difference is the motivation for getting the positions. The main reason for Beggar to work for the Japanese employer was simply accidental, while Zero’s mother sent her to work for both financial and political reasons. At that time, KSR owned many pieces of land that were used for growing sugarcane. For agricultural reasons, there was about a one-year interval between two periods of planting sugarcane because the interval could help restore the fertility of sugarcane fields. The sugar company often rented these pieces of land to locals who either wanted to grow crops such as sweet potatoes and beans, or to raise pigs. It was reported that the Japanese welcomed this because the roots of these crops and the pigs’ excrement served as natural sources of fertiliser for the sugarcane fields. To the Taiwanese, especially to the landless and tenant classes, acquiring such land was a good thing because they could grow some crops for daily requirements or to sell.

The main reason Zero’s foster mother sent Zero to the Japanese employer was to obtain priority for renting such land. At that time, this was an unusual privilege for locals. Zero’s Japanese employer was the head person who was in charge of the management of the sugarcane fields. Zero said she herself acted as an intermediary between her mother and the Japanese. As a result, they obtained many pieces of land owned by KSR. Her mother then rented these pieces of land to other peasants who needed arable land and thus made money. Her mother gradually became influential in Kio-a-thau because peasants would come to her asking for the second tenure rights.

\(^{13}\) Local dialect: *pak*. (Mandarin: *pu*) Pak means leased land. For a detailed system of Pak in the settlers’ history in Taiwan, see Shepherd (1993: 250, 268, 272, 343).
Midwife: Belt

Belt was born in Gangshan, a township near Kio-a-thau, on 30 March, 1913. When I first met her in May, 2003, she was already a ninety-year-old woman. Belt was a retired midwife and was respected by locals. Belt grew up in a large family. She was the eldest of three daughters in the family. Her father loved her very much. He named her “Belt” because he heard from a Chinese teacher that there was a witty and tough woman whose name was Belt in Chinese ancient history. Her father had high expectations of his eldest daughter. Her father was a policeman, which was considered an “upper-class” job in Japanese colonial times, according to the reports of my informants. When I asked Wang and Dragon, and Wang’s wife, Queen, for instance, what sorts of occupation were regarded as “noble” for both genders in the colonial period, they replied:

Dragon: And village heads. Doctors.
Queen: Doctors are always good for any period.
I: How about women?
Queen: Schoolteachers and midwives. I can’t think of any others besides these.

Belt was thus born in a high-class family. Unfortunately, when she was seven years old, her mother died of cholera. After her mother’s death, Belt recalled that she led a hard life. Bad luck came twice as her father became blind because of hardwork.

From then on I had to “take responsibility” for all the family household chores and economy. I did a lot of casual jobs such as “watching house” and babysitting. I was thinking of becoming a sugarcane worker, a popular part-time job among women then, but then my father was extremely against the idea of his daughter becoming a female sugarcane worker... I had to do lots of part-time jobs since my mum was dead and my father became blind when he was just 31. I had to be responsible for making a living... But actually my father was against that idea [of becoming a sugarcane worker] since it would affect his dignity in the society.

She described her father as a “sensible” and “civilised” person. He insisted that his daughters should receive a “good education” as well as men. Belt was quite intelligent and excellent at school. After graduating from primary school, she entered secondary school, which was quite unusual among Taiwanese girls in the
1920s. Furthermore, she was permitted to enter the Department of Midwifery at the Taihoku (Taipei) Imperial University, the best university then, in which only a few Taiwanese people were allowed to register in colonial times. She returned to Kio-a-thau as a midwife in 1934 after graduation, at the age of 22. The next year she married a teacher at Shu-long Primary School. They had two sons and one daughter. The sixth year after they got married, her husband died of pneumonia.

When I interviewed her in early 2003, she reported

> The first day I got married, both heels of my high-heeled shoes broke, which apparently foresaw the bad luck of my marriage. After my husband’s death in 1940, I had to support my family by myself...I remember watching the coffin of my husband, feeling puzzled about the future. I was thinking then why an able man was wearing beautiful clothes but lying there.

She continued that, after her husband died, she had to support her family, including three small children and a mother-in-law, mainly by midwifery. She worked hard and she was good at midwifery. Soon she became famous because she saved many pregnant women from danger during the process of giving birth. She said, “I was so welcome that I earned a large sum of money.” In the late 1940s, she bought a house in Kio-a-thau and used it as a hospital for giving births. This hospital for midwifery in Kio-a-thau Street was closed about fifteen years ago because the young people no longer wanted to give birth with midwives. Through this specialty in midwifery, she supported her family, including her two sons and a daughter. One of her sons went overseas to study, got a doctoral degree, and is now teaching in a university in Taichung.

**Waged household servant: Willow**

As noted above, the colonial government bans on adopted daughters impacted on the labouring use. To local people, in order to “maintain” the institution of a large family, one of the strategies developed in the late colonial period was the waged household maid. Households that needed manpower would recruit these maids to replace the domestic labour of the adopted daughters or ca-bo-can in pre-colonial times. Waged household maids were recruited as casual workers and paid in cash. They did most of the household chores that adopted daughters had done, but
without changing their personal identities. Willow is a good example to illustrate this point.

Willow was born in 1934 in an uxorilocal family in Zihguan, a neighbouring village to Kio-a-thau. She was eager to go to school but her parents did not think it right for a girl to attend. She was the eldest daughter in the family and was not adopted out as an adopted daughter because she said, “The Japanese police would investigate the situation if a family adopted out daughters.” She was sent by her parents to a family as a “waged household servant” in Youchang, a near-by village, when she was just a teenager. She lived together with that family and did most of their household chores. She described her life as a household servant there as follows:

When I was 13, I was sent to Youchang, about 10 kilometres away, to be a household servant for a large rich family. I lived there and did most of the household chores, such as washing clothes and taking care of the children. My father or mother would come and collect the wages I earned on a regular basis, about once a month, and then leave. I was so homesick. When I asked them to take me home just for a while, they were unwilling to do so because they said this would waste their money on things such as bus fares or whatever. I was very disappointed [weeping]. After a year as a servant, I came home and continued with my old duties: picking up fire wood and sweet potatoes.

Willow reported that she was not the only one to be recruited as a waged household servant. This family recruited two or three maid-servants to do various things in the household. For example, Willow said, “They paid a maid-servant whose main mission was just to be a “wet nurse” because his mother, the daughter-in-law, was too weak to breast-feed her own baby.” Willow was reluctant to stay there because she was young and she missed her family very much. Willow asked her parents to let her go home but her parents did not agree because they needed money. Willow worked there for a year. One day she heard many family members crying because the daughter-in-law suddenly died. Shortly after that event, Willow was sent back. “I did not know why I was sent back to my family,” Willow said, “but I was very happy because I could live with my family again.” Willow stated that the happiness did not last very long. “I found that I had to do more household chores at home than as a waged servant.
Willow's case suggests that a new kind of labour demand in the household emerged as a result of the ban on the slave trade of daughters. The case studies of Zero, and Willow show the casual or long-term demand for labour in the household among both locals and the Japanese, especially in the late colonial period. In some sense, such servants had somewhat taken the place of adopted daughters after the ban on adopted daughters. Wage servants therefore filled the gap resulting from the ban on adopted daughters, which impacted on the availability of domestic labour. Willow's case reveals that locals used waged household servants to take the place of adopted daughters as one strategy to overcome this problem. This strategy did not go against colonial policy but could meet some practical labour requirements without changing the women's identities. On the other hand, some informants told me that some families overcame the ban by hiding the fact that they had adopted little-daughter-in-laws since they were illegal.

Based on these case studies above, we can make further observations. First of all, the traditional notion of "division of labour" was influenced by the colonial state, which created several measures to "protect" women from things through the abolition of footbinding, the liberation of adopted daughters, and the encouragement of female education. However, the ways Taiwanese women were incorporated into the new order varied according to different social classes. Women born in "high class" families such as Belt and Guess would be encouraged to become a nurse, teacher, or midwife. Take the number of "medical specialists" in the colonial period for example. Of the seven people in Kio-a-thau practising in the medical field (CTSJ 1984: 352), two were females: Belt was a midwife and the other woman was a dentist. Women who were born or raised in "middle class" families such as Zero on the other hand would be taught to be a "good and healthy wife" taking care of the family, while women born in "low class" families such as Su would be pushed into manual labour as a sugarcane worker. Under such circumstances one can see why Belt's father did not wish his daughter to become a sugarcane worker. Belt's case illustrates the different ideas between the father and the daughter. The daughter thought of the practical benefits of supporting the family, whereas the father highlighted abstract social
prestige, thinking that the occupation of a sugarcane worker would “affect his dignity in the society.”

Concepts of “care giver,” “helper,” or “being tender” were seen as common attributes of a nurse, teacher, or midwife, which were thus suitable occupations regarded by the Japanese for women. Tsurumi described the status of Taiwanese women who took up careers. She (Tsurumi 1977: 222) said, “Only a few Taiwanese women began careers after completing specialised professional studies, but their importance far exceeded their numbers. As pioneers in prestigious new fields they provided for female[s] role models that had never before existed.” In contrast, elite men were encouraged to become doctors (Lo 2002). Lo (2002) traces the changing roles and identities of some “ethnic professions” of Taiwanese such as doctors and other medical careers. Such local medical students and practitioners “continued to embrace a modernist professional culture” (Lo 2002: 299). He further indicates that the Japanese trained these people as a bridge between the colonial system, local communities, and to spread the Japanese “civilisation” through their medical services in Mainland China and Southeast Asia.

**CONCLUSION: WOMEN’S AGENCY**

In summary, the role of a woman in terms of the division of labour was affected by the differing roles of both genders in the society and household. In pre-colonial times, women’s activities were largely confined to the domestic sphere. In extreme circumstances, some daughters could be sold to become adopted daughters. The popularity of footbinding stopped women from participating in fieldwork and labourious tasks. This disadvantaged their entrance to other sectors as well as limited their role in agriculture. However, with the advent of colonial rule, the abolition not only changed the labouring extent and pattern of gendered involvement in labour but also converted the fixed ideas about women. The colonial government asked parents not to bind the feet of their baby girls. Besides
this, the government also encouraged those who had their feet bound to unbind them.

The colonial government implemented measures such as the abolition of footbinding and the liberation of simpua and adopted daughters in order to achieve its economic goal. On the surface, it seems like the advent of an increasing number of “civilised” and “modern” women, who unbound their feet and “escaped” from “patriarchal control.” In essence, however, they were manipulated by another “patriarchal control” – the colonial state – to assure the plentiful supply of labour. The female force was thus not an integral part of Chinese kinship and gender arrangements but a linkage to the outer capitalist world. Through my case study in Kio-a-thau, I have mapped out the on-going process of how women were involved in this capitalist sphere step by step. The local gendered practices in Kio-a-thau show that, firstly, with respect to the colonial policy, the abolition of footbinding worked well, while the liberation of adopted daughters and simpua did not work very well. The major reason I offer is that the colonial government underestimated the complexity of simpua and adopted daughters in Taiwanese society in every aspect – cultural, social, and economic. The simpua played an important role in reproduction, while the adopted daughters functioned as domestic labour. Local figures indicate that the percentage of adopted daughters still increased, suggesting the ban under the colonial policy resulted in a shortage of domestic labour. Willow’s case as a waged household servant revealed one of the consequences of this shortage.

Secondly, a new configuration emerged as a result of the emancipation of female bodies and female’s schooling. Local women fitted themselves into various social roles such as maidservants, midwives, and sugarcane workers. These roles partially broke down the fixed ideas about women. In this chapter, I have examined how women of different social classes exercised their personal agency in a socio-economic situation they had never experienced before. Zero and Su’s cases reveal that parents began to reconsider the role of daughters or adopted daughters. Daughters were traditionally considered inferior in the household. Under the changing circumstances, women contested their social roles according
to their respective social classes. Those daughters who were born in upper classes could choose to be midwives and schoolteachers, while those who were born in lower classes could act as maidservants and sugarcane workers. For the daughters, this could fulfill their filial piety highlighted by the Confucian moral. For the parents, daughters were not considered worthless. Rather, Zero’s case shows that, first, an adopted daughter could be either used as “tools” for “making money.” Second, women could act as an intermediary between the locals and the colonial authority. The main reason Zero’s foster mother sent Zero to the Japanese employer was to obtain priority for renting the land from the Japanese. As a result, women’s marginality in the social hierarchy offered advantages in negotiating with the colonial authority.

Thirdly, Su’s case shows that women better fitted the “irregular” rhythm of the sugar plantations than men since women had more free time. They could simultaneously take care of a family and work if necessary. By contrast, men were culturally expected to obtain more “fixed” and “regular” jobs. Under these circumstances, becoming full-time or part-time sugarcane labourers in sugarcane fields became one of the available strategies for the majority of women in rural areas. Su’s becoming a “part-time” sugarcane worker after marriage illustrates the greater flexibility in women’s work time schedules than men. She was involved in the irregular pattern of sugarcane cultivation. When the time was busy, such as the harvest season, she could join the team and make extra money to support her family. She could then stay home to fulfill her traditional wife and mother’s roles in the household when demand for labour was low.

Fourthly, such a new situation transformed the traditional gendered division of labour in the household. With the involvement of female workers in the cash economy, the labouring pattern changed between genders. Su’s case shows how a few adjustments of household chores could occur between genders as a result of her working in the sugar field, although a father who helped with cooking and household chores was rare at that time. Su became a major income earner in the household and therefore waived her “daughter’s duty” such as cooking. In other words, her ability to make money enhanced her status in the household. This
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enhancement was also shown by her ability to find job opportunities and later a wife for her brother.

To sum up, women used their agency to deal with these changing circumstances, although they were situated in an inferior situation. Their achievements came from hard work. Various places such as factories, sugarcane fields, schools, and medical institutions became localities for women to prove that they had ability outside the home. Though they typically did not earn much money, women obtained some “self-pride” and “self-esteem” from their jobs. This did not necessarily come from any benefit or welfare they got but from a kind of satisfaction for supporting others. In other words, for a Taiwanese woman, as Su has pointed out, the meaning of being a woman lay more in “others” or the “household” than in herself. Only if she was successful in these areas could she think she herself was successful. Taiwanese women therefore contested their marginality in an ambivalent manner, coupling “self-sacrifice” and “self-pride.”
SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOUR

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I examine the gendered division of labour. Many anthropologists have discussed women’s roles in relation to the process of industrialisation in Taiwan (for example, Wolf 1972; Diamond 1979; Olson 1975). Greenhalgh (1994), Diamond (1979), and Gallin (1989) are in agreement about the inferiority of women’s role both in households and society (see Introduction). However, they differ on whether or how the role of women changed transform through the process of economic transformation. For example, Diamond (1979) argues that Taiwanese women’s involvement in the factories in the 1970s remained under the control of the household head, typically a male. Furthermore, women’s work, no matter whether in the household or in the workplace, is defined as an “extension of their family duties” (Diamond 1979: 318). Olson (1975) points out that women in different social classes changed their mores about themselves as a result of industrialisation. Olson (1975: 674) argues that high status urban women place more emphasis on self-reliance, and less emphasis on conformity to authority than do low status urbanities. Kung (1981) explores the perceptions of work by women who were engaged in an electronics factory. He argues that the involvement into factory work impacted on their understanding of women’s own social status and personal relationships. Kung (1981: 209) states:

Women in factories certainly share enough of the same disabilities to permit the development of class consciousness; but rather than developing class consciousness, women direct their resentments at group leaders, supervisors, co-workers, or office staff. Women are more concerned about opportunism in social relations and fine graduations in rank than with the union and how it actually might be made to serve them.

The process of industrialisation in Taiwan did not start from the 1970s onwards. In fact, a large scale of this process could be traced back to the Japanese colonial period. The sugar economy was a good example. Sugarcane companies should recruit many labourers, including males and females, to be involved into sugar production. At the moment we are not aware how this process of industrialisation
Sexual division of labour

in colonial Taiwan impacted on the locals. Furthermore, the role of women in Taiwan was significantly transformed in the last century. During my review of the literature, I wondered, first, how did women as well as men, respond to the same circumstances of industrialisation through time? Did the historical discontinuity affect women’s roles? Secondly, how did women of different social classes respond to that discontinuity?

The colonial situation provides us with an opportunity to explore my questions. With the intervention of the Japanese colonial state in Taiwan, a new kind of division of labour aimed at capitalist accumulation was created. This intervention involved the reshaping of local gender roles by, for example, trying to abolish footbinding and encouraging girls to receive education. Women who received education were encouraged to enter into social networks by doing jobs such as factory workers, clerks, midwives, and school teachers. During my fieldwork in Kio-a-thau, I found that this new division of labour changed the original gendered configuration of labour usage in the pre-colonial period. Also, I discovered that intervention had a differential impact on women of different classes. Thus, I focused on the dimension of how these rearrangements in the Japanese colonial period occurred and how the women dealt with these new circumstances according to their different classes. The overall argument of this chapter is that this kind of colonial reshaping created a new cultural configuration, through which women of different classes developed various strategies to deal with these contradictory outcomes. These strategies involved adjustments in household tasks, changes in identity, and the struggle between genders.

The first section of this chapter describes economic patterns and labour demands in the pre-colonial period. What were the differing roles of the genders and what were the household dynamics at that time? In the second section I explore the new division of labour brought about by Japanese colonialism. What were the views held by the colonial state about the gendered division of labour? How did the changes that they instigated evolve? In the third section I provide several case studies to examine how women of different social classes dealt with the changes and how their agency manifested itself.
In the late Cing period, most of the agricultural production remained at the stage of subsistence economy. Ho (1968: 313) describes the agricultural pattern in Taiwan as follows. “When Japan acquired Taiwan in 1895, its agriculture was stagnant and its peasants were engaged almost exclusively in subsistence farming.” The subsistence agriculture was composed of wet-rice and other dry-field crops such as wheat and millet. The cultivation of these crops could be complementary because of their “capital, labour, and land requirements” (Isett 1995: 238). For example, in southern Taiwan in the nineteenth century, as Isett (1995: 238-9) indicates, “The tripartite combination of wet-rice, sugarcane, and sugar refining was possible because their respective production schedules did not compete for capital, labour, or land.” Farmers planted wet-rice in February or March, while they grew sugarcane in July and harvested it after about 16 months. After that, the old-style sugar mill (see Chapter 2) started to operate through the winter and into early spring. During the intervals of cultivation, peasants could mobilise their labour into “non-agricultural lines of production” (Isett 1995: 237), which varied according to the agricultural calendar, and “often manifested itself in sideline or handicraft commodity production” (Isett 1995: 237).

In the pre-colonial period, women played a limited role in agriculture. Major fieldwork tasks were done by men (Takekoshi 1907: 202; Shepherd 1993: 386). Instead, women were more involved in the domestic household economy and “non-agricultural lines of production” as mentioned above. Guess, one of my informants, told me how her mother and paternal grandmother were involved in household economy. Her paternal grandmother was born in 1877. Her mother was born in 1902. Both of them had their feet bound when they were small children. Her paternal grandfather owned two or three chia of wet-rice fields. He had no children, so he adopted Guess’s father as a son [on 30 August 1902]. Guess remembered:

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1 The Cing Dynasty took over Taiwan in 1684 after defeating the Jheng Cheng-gong’s army.
2 For example, Shepherd (1993: 386) states, in the Cing era “a Chinese husband would expect less field work from his wife” [compared with an aboriginal husband].
I was told that my grandmother would help my grandfather with some field chores such as drying rice husks, and do some agricultural jobs such as shelling peanuts at home even though she bound her feet. She was a very hard-working woman. My mother was born in the early Japanese period and was asked to bind her feet when she was young. At that time, my grandmother lived with us because she had no other son except my father. She helped my parents to take care of us. My father worked at KSR. My mother was a housewife and she was responsible for most of the household chores such as cooking, laundry, and cleaning. My grandmother also helped to raise two or three pigs as a side job for the family. I always saw my mother and grandmother, both of whom had bound feet, collecting leftovers together to feed the pigs when I was young. I had to help my mother with household chores because I was the oldest daughter in my family.

The other story came from Flower’s paternal grandmother, who was born in 1890 and also had their feet bound. She continued this for the rest of her life, although the Japanese encouraged her to abandon foot-binding. Although the grandmother bound her feet, she could stay at home doing some household chores and some field chores such as digging sweet potatoes and shelling peanuts. “She could do most of the field chores except some laborious tasks such as ploughing fields and driving ox-carts,” Flower commented. Her grandmother had two children with her first husband. One was a girl and the other was a boy. She remarried when both children were teenagers because her first husband died. Her second husband, Flower’s paternal grandfather, came to live in his wife’s house. Flower stated, “Her first husband left several chia of land. My grandmother could not manage them herself. Her son was too small to labour in their fields, so she needed someone who could take care of the fields.”

The usage of labour between genders was closely connected with the differing role of both genders. Several anthropologists have indicated that these differing roles in the system of intrafamilial exchange were reflected in a gendered division of labour and activity sphere in Taiwanese society (Greenhalgh 1994; Diamond 1979; Gallin 1989; Gates 1987). Greenhalgh (1994: 759) indicates, “[Taiwanese] women were expected to contribute to productive undertakings when their labour and skills were needed, their activities were appropriately confined to the ‘inside’ or domestic sphere, where they would not come into contact with unrelated men.” Gallin (1989: 377) states that female children in Taiwan were not valued because
they were household members “who drained family resources as children and who withdrew their assets (domestic labour and earning power) when they married.” Most of the women were often used as domestic labour. An unmarried daughter had to do the household tasks and was rarely educated. Gates (1987: 106) indicates, “a girl-child was raised very different from a boy. Girls began to work at chores, tend babies, or do elaborate needlework while boys were still playing freely or in school.” In contrast a son obviously had some “privileges” in terms of household chores. River, one informant, recalled a memorable event when he wanted to meet his classmate, Jon, one morning in the early 1930s. Jon’s eldest brother had died before he was born, so his parents were quite happy about Jon because he was the only boy in his family. River noted that Jon was treated like an emperor in the family:

I saw everybody doing everything for him. His sister-in-law was preparing a lunch box for him. His two eldest [unmarried] sisters were busy. One was helping him to get dressed. The other was fastening his shoelaces. Meanwhile, his mother was yelling aloud: hurry up! He’s going to be late for school....

Footbinding was a crucial factor that affected the gendered division of labour at that time as it confined women’s major activities within households. Furthermore, this confinement substantially reduced the opportunities for women to develop their economic potentiality in other sectors. Although I was told that some women with bound feet also did some side jobs at home such as sewing “three-inch-long shoes” [for women with bound feet] to make extra money to support family expenditure, these cases were rare. The above accounts from Guess and Flower both show that the popularity of footbinding regulated the movement of women, thus further reinforcing the subordinate status of women. Women’s footbinding was one of the “Chinese customs” carried out deliberately by early Han-settlers in Taiwan (Shepherd 1993; Lamley 1999: 218). Fan (1997: 45-50) indicates that footbinding was a site of “erotic imagination” for husbands since the wiggling gait of the women who bound their feet would raise men’s imagination about sexuality. Also, footbinding was a “restraining device which highlighted the concept of female chastity” (Fan 1997: 45) since it physically prevented women from moving about freely. This prevented them from coming into contact with other men except their husbands and families. However, Blake (1994: 708) argues
that footbinding was a way that women in China “supported, participated in, and reflected on the Neo-Confucian way of being civilised.” The discourse of footbinding was described as “natural” and women thus believed that they could overcome these intense physical pains in order to fulfill their social roles. In the labouring sense, Hill Gates (2001: 147) thought that footbinding “permitted an extraordinary degree of control over young female labourers” and was embedded in a Chinese kinship/gender system which differed from western capitalism. Under such a system, “The bodies and labour-power of unmarried daughters were allocated absolutely to their parents to use for the good of the patricorporation” (Gates 2001: 146). She further argues that although footbinding prevented women from heavy labour, footbound women provided a major source of “light labour” in the household such as spinning and weaving for sale before the advent of the industrial period.

How popular was it for women to bind their feet in Taiwan? In 1905, when the first general census survey was conducted, the rate of footbinding for women on the whole island was 66.6 percent (Takenaka 1995: 261; Wu 1996: 220), although the figure varied sharply among different ethnic groups such as Fujian, Hakka, and Plains aborigines’ women (Shepherd 1993: 526). Shepherd (1993: 526) reveals that only 0.5 percent of plains aborigine women had bound feet according to the 1905 census reports, as compared to 1.5 percent of Hakka women and 68 percent of Fujian women. Plains aborigine women in contact primarily with Hakka rather than Fujian were exposed to a different set of expectations with respect to female footbinding and related roles. Hakka women’s low footbinding rate also accounted for the cultural difference from Fujian women in terms of division of labour (Wolf and Chuang 1994). In a local sense, According to my

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3 Initially Han-settlers used footbinding as a “strategic tool” to claim “moral superiority” when they contacted non-Han people in the seventeenth and eighteenth century in Taiwan. Han women who bound their feet were considered to be more “civilised” than the Other – the aborigines, although the latter did not necessarily accept this. As Shepherd (1993: 386) states: “two of the three practices that most appalled the aborigines and seriously undermined Chinese claims to moral superiority in aborigine eyes were female infanticide and footbinding (the third was the Chinese use of nightsoil). Plains aborigines [in Taiwan] almost never adopted footbinding, despite its prevalence among their Hokien (Fujian) neighbors.”
data in Kio-a-thau, sixty percent of women who were born between 1845 to 1894 had their feet bound (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1
Footbinding practices based upon census data in Kio-a-thau

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period in which the girls were born</th>
<th>Total number of girls born</th>
<th>Total number of those born who had bound feet</th>
<th>Total number after the abolition of footbinding</th>
<th>Percentage of footbinding (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1845-1854</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855-1864</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865-1874</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875-1884</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885-1894</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subtotal</strong></td>
<td><strong>78</strong></td>
<td><strong>47</strong></td>
<td><strong>21</strong></td>
<td><strong>60</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895-1904</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905-1914</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915-1924</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925-1934</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935-1944</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subtotal</strong></td>
<td><strong>446</strong></td>
<td><strong>7</strong></td>
<td><strong>6</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>524</strong></td>
<td><strong>54</strong></td>
<td><strong>27</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Colonial household registers for Kio-a-thau. Notes: All the women who kept their feet bound necessarily defied the abolition policy. Some may have died or married out so there would be no record of unbinding of their feet on local household registers.

A NEW DIVISION OF LABOUR AND CHANGING ROLE OF WOMEN

During the Japanese period, a new division of labour began to develop as compared to the pre-colonial period. Women were no longer bound by Chinese kinship in terms of labouring and social role as Gates mentioned. Rather, they
were expected to join capitalist agricultural and industrial activities. The commercialised agriculture, along with the new technology and improvement in agricultural methods, impacted on the labour usage between genders. Women as well as men found some possibilities to change their traditional roles in the household. In order to achieve its economic goals, the colonial government aimed to recruit female labour in order to assure the plentiful supply of cheap labour. To meet its manpower needs, the colonial government implemented many measures such as the abolition of foot-binding, the ban on slavery involving adopted girls and little daughters-in-law (simpua), and the encouragement of women to receive education, which all aimed to change gender roles. In the following section, I explore the on-going process of how women were incorporated into this frame of a new division of labour.

**Commercialised labour requirements**

With the economic goals of Japanese colonisation towards Taiwan, the division of labour characteristic of the pre-colonial period began to be reshaped. The dynamic of this transformation was largely due to colonial intention. As Ho (1978: 3) states, “under the guidance of the colonial government, the island was developed as an agricultural appendage to Japan.” Ka (1995) affirms that the plan for commercialised crops such as sugar and rice needed a large labour force and thus created considerable labour demand. Isett (1995: 240-44), in his *Sugar Manufacture and Agrarian Economy of Nineteen Century Taiwan*, described in detail the labouring process involved in growing sugarcane. For example, for the cane harvesting,

Individual peasant households carried out the labour-intensive task of harvesting, although in some cases they hired hands to ensure that the mature cane was cut, bundled, and delivered to the mill within as short a time as possible. The cutting of cane was done by men, while women and children gathered leaves for compost and fodder for the oxen, bundled the cane for transport, and let the ox cart carrying the cane to the mill.

There were two important sources of agricultural workers for the sugarcane plantations. The first were the tenants on land controlled (either owned or leased) by sugar companies. The tenants made contracts with sugar companies to plant
sugarcane under the companies’ supervision. They had to fulfill their rental obligations and work as wage labourers at the companies’ request (Ka 1995: 105; Yanaihara 1929: 240-41). Ka (1995: 105) indicates that land under such arrangements constituted five to seven percent of Taiwan’s arable land.

The other source was to recruit labourers in the market. These labourers were paid by either casual contracts or long-term contracts. In Kio-a-thau, locals called these hired labourers – *hu-i-sia-gang* – labourers working for the sugar company. According to one informant, the number of company-owned farms neighbouring Kio-a-thau was nine. Each company farm was responsible for about 20 to 30 *chia* of land on average. Each company farmer had a director-general and a manager. Most of the directors-general were Japanese officials, while the managers were local people because they had the local networks to recruit workers. Locals called the manager *ku-li-tao*, which means the head of sugarcane workers. One of the most important missions for the manager was to recruit many *hu-i-sia-gang*. Besides this, the Ku-li-tao also did other miscellaneous things such as giving fertilisers to peasants, regulating annual quotas of sugarcane, and distributing the daily pay to workers in cash.

The other source of labour was the local family farms. These family farms were not owned by sugar companies but by locals. Ka (1995) argues that the persistence of these indigenous family farms depended on successful competition with capitalist production as mentioned above, since they could thrive through self-exploitation in terms of labour force. These family farms were mainly composed of farms cultivating 1-5 *chia* of land. Most of the labour force was family labour. The smaller the farm was, the more it relied on family labour. In busy times, such as harvests, however, family farms also needed to hire labour from outside on a daily or long-term basis. This labour was supplied by “fellow villagers, especially from who cultivated less than 0.5 *chia*, areas with a different harvest season, or poorer areas where many had to hire themselves out” (Ka 1995: 103).
Large-scale sugar plantations needed plenty of workers. According to the official estimation in 1900, wages were the greatest cost for the sugar production (Isett 1995: 245). Furthermore, the labouring demand for growing sugarcane varied. According to Isett (1995: 243), the cultivation and refining of sugarcane were “seasonal activities.” The period of growing sugarcane lasted for about 16 months. The season for seeding sugarcane started in July, with a second one in December. The busiest seasons for recruiting labourers focused on the stages of clearance, weeding, and harvesting. The intensity of work was variable. For example, the most labour-intensive work was in the harvesting seasons and refining periods (Isett 1995: 242; 243). At these times, the managers of sugarcane fields had to recruit many unskilled waged labourers as well as skilled labourers to help with the farming. Locals who needed casual work thus noticed that they should keep good relationships with managers. Later on in this chapter, I will give the case study of Su, who was this type of a wage labourer for the sugar company in the 1940s.

In fact, the Japanese colonial state faced a dilemma in developing some economic schemes, such as the sugar economy: first, it was impossible for the state to recruit many labourers from Japan; second, it seemed to face a shortage of labour if it chose large-scale crop plantations. In 1909, the Taiwan Sugarcane Company recruited 450 workers from inner Japan (Kakei 1989: 381). However, these staff were mostly technicians and staff whose aim was to train locals how to operate the refinery. According to Kakei (1989: 381-82), these workers took turns working in different sugar refineries over the island and trained many local workers. The colonial government also adopted some measures to resolve the problem of unskilled labour shortage. For example, the government signed a contract with the Chinese government in 1934. According to the contract, about sixty thousand migrant workers – the majority of them from Fujian – were recruited under an arrangement of temporary entry permits (Kerr 1974: 172). Kerr states: “The majority were unskilled labours recruited for seasonal employment on sugar plantations and tea gardens, or for work in the mines.”

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4 For details of the distinctive stages of cultivating sugarcane, see Isett (1995: 241-242).
Sexual division of labour

With the Japanese concerns about the labour shortage, it was therefore reasonable that the female labour force became a target in the eyes of the colonisers because this potential force remained untapped. In regards to local Taiwanese workers, Takekoshi (1907: 202) reported on two discouraging features in the early twentieth century. The first was that the birth rate was low and the death rate was high among Taiwanese. Another was “that women in Formosa, with the exception of the tea-pickers and the Hakka women, shut themselves up all day in their houses and do not go out and help their husbands in the fields.”

Political propaganda about the advantage of recruiting female labourers followed. For example, the official organ newspaper, Taiwan nichi nichi shimpo (Taiwan daily news), highlighted the economic advantages of recruiting women (5 March 1915). An observer stated the economic advantage (in 1915) of abandoning footbinding in such a way, “The average labour fee for a woman is 40 cian.\(^5\) There are one million and 500 thousand women on the whole island now. If they unbound their feet and joined in the economic activities, they could create five million yen per day.” In the following two sections, I argue that Japanese government policies regarding the abolition of footbinding and the emancipation of little-daughters-in-law and adopted daughters were gradually greatly influenced by economic concerns.

The Japanese attitude towards footbinding

In order to recruit female workers, the Japanese government first faced the local contradictory ideas of women’s role. Several scholars observe the Japanese attitude towards footbinding. Wolf and Huang (1980: 44) state that “[w]hen it came to foot-binding and the sale of female children as ca-bo-kan (servant-slaves), the Japanese authorities felt compelled to interfere...” Levy (1966: 95) comments that women’s footbinding as well as the Chinese habits of opium smoking and men’s wearing pigtails were “obstacles in the way of efficient rule.”\(^6\) Lamley (1999: 218) indicates that the policy of abolishing footbinding was closely

\(^5\) One yen = 100 cian

\(^6\) The Cing government forced men to wear pigtails.
connected to the Japanese biased attitude towards “bad custom.” Recently, Takenaka (1995: 260-62) describes Taiwanese women’s foot-binding as “inhuman,” “a mechanism for preventing them from running away,” “unhealthy,” “against nature,” and “a reflection of patriarchal ideas”. Takenaka continues to assert that the abolition of footbinding meant the destruction of “feudal society” and, from then on, Taiwanese women would lead a “sensible and easy” life.

However, when the Japanese colonial state first ruled Taiwan, its attitude towards footbinding was not so “disgusted” as compared to later times. For example, the third Governor-general, Nogi Yoshinori, promulgated a law on 9 November 1896 which encouraged women to “abolish footbinding without compulsion” since he admitted it was a local “customary law.” However, such a moderate policy was only temporary and transitional. After overcoming many local rebellions all over the island, the government started to actively encourage local people to abolish footbinding. In 1900, with the assistance of the colonial authorities and the colonial government, a medical practitioner named Huang Yu-jie organised the Natural Foot Society. Those men who joined in the society swore not to allow their sons to marry women with bound feet. In the society’s inaugural address Huang stated, “Now Taiwan has become a part of the Japanese empire, and the government is carrying out reforms. The Taiwanese are also a people of reform, but it will be really shameful if they are not aware of the past” (Levy 1966: 100). Levy (1966: 101-102) mentions that the members of the Natural-foot Society were given “congratulatory medals” inscribed with the words “Glorious Medal of Taiwan.” Each medal holder was presented with a silken sash by the Japanese Governor-General.

Besides human rights, the Japanese objection to footbinding was based on an economic dimension. Unbinding feet impacted very much on women’s social life and, as Arthur Wolf points out, their involvement in the economy. Wu (1996: 240-241) indicates that one of the motivation for the abolition was to enable women to get involved in the economy, especially in commercialised agricultural farming. Tsurumi (1977: 220) further points out how unbinding and education affected Taiwanese women’s social status: “Increased schoolgoing for girls was
closely related to other new directions for women. An end to footbinding and entrance into the colony’s industrial work force were two important changes.” According to Tsurumi (1977: 219-28), the social status of Taiwanese women became higher than in the pre-colonial period. Yu (1988: 286) indicates the proportion of school-aged girls who enrolled in elementary schools increased from 1.02 percent in 1908 to 61.0 percent in 1943, while the increase for boys was 8.2 percent to 80.7 percent respectively. Those educated women became more involved in professional and public life which was previously dominated by men. For example, in 1914, with a total of 21,859 factory workers, 28 percent were females. In 1941, this percentage exceeded 40 percent (Tsurumi 1977: 221).

In general, the abolition of footbinding in Kio-a-thau really worked (see Table 6.1). According to the local census data, the average percentage of footbinding was sixty percent in 1895. The percentage reached its highest between 1855-1874, when all women born had their feet bound. After 1875, the figure remained fairly stable. Approximately half of the newborn baby girls had their feet bound. The first recorded case of footbinding in the available census data for Kio-a-thau took place in March 1845, while the last instance occurred in September 1901. From then on, there was not one case reported. After 1895, there was a high percentage of the abandonment of footbinding. Most women in Kio-a-thau who were born after 1895 and their parents, especially after 1905, had accepted the idea about the emancipation of footbinding. Some of those who had bound feet unbound them (see Table 6.1). Positive encouragement from the colonial authorities therefore played an important role in abolishing footbinding.

The liberation of little daughters in law (simpua), servant-slaves (ca-bo-can), and adopted daughters in Kio-a-thau

Ino Kanori, a Japanese anthropologist who studied Taiwan, mentioned the popularity of the sale of daughters and maid-servants (ca-bo-can) in the Cing period (for details, see the discussion in the following section) although they were banned by the government. Wolf and Huang (1980: 2-15) report the custom of adopting daughters and simpua in the nineteenth and early twentieth century in
Fujian, Kwangtung, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. The major difference between *simpua* and adopted daughters was that the *simpua* were prospective daughters-in-law, which relates more to “reproduction,” whereas adopted daughters related mainly to “labour.” Kajihara (1989: 96) claims too that every daughter-in-law wished to adopt in daughters for assistance as soon as possible in order to “avoid” the heavy household chores of a large family. Wolf and Huang (1980) state that locals believed that adopting in a daughter could induce the conception of sons.

By contrast, a *ca-bo-kan* was like a slave, who would accompany a rich bride and also serve as a maid-servant. Unlike adopted daughters, *ca-bo-kan* was more popular among rich families, who would recruit several maid-servant slaves rather than adopted daughters in order to do the household chores. Ino (1928: 171) mentions that earlier Han-settlers recruited maid-servant slaves from mainland China in the eighteenth century. These slaves often stayed for the rest of their life and remained single. Wolf and Huang (1980) mention, in certain circumstances, in particular in hard times, daughters would be adopted out as adopted daughters. They (Wolf and Huang 1980: 95) state, “in hard times, peasants’ families were forced to sell their daughters as slave girls or give them out in adoption as little daughters-in-law (*simpua*).”

By comparison, a similar custom of adoption between different surnames also took place in Japan. Hsu (1975: 37-39) indicates that the adoption of a son-in-law or *mukoyōshi*, a custom whereby a man goes to live in his wife’s household and assumes the family name of her father, was much more common in Japan than in China. Ariga (1939) indicates servants and tenant farmers often used kinship terms as a matter of courtesy in addressing their employers and landlords in Japan, inasmuch as that there is a “closeness of relationship among those who live and work in the same household” (Hsu 1975:39). In colonial Kio-a-thau, such custom of adoption between the Japanese and the locals continued. As I mentioned in Chapter 4, one of the senior Japanese employers adopted two Taiwanese children: Water and Love. Yamamoto and his wife did not have any children, so they adopted these two. Another reason was that both Water and Love worked for Yamamoto. Yamamoto and his wife treated these two adopted children very well.
Love recalled: “When I got engaged, my [adopted] mother gave me lots of gifts like earrings, bracelets, rings, jewelry, and some make-up as if she were marrying her own daughter out.” In a very old picture taken by Zensaburou Kaneki (see Methodology), we can see Water with his natal family on their return from Tokyo for a short visit in 1928, when he was about ten years old. He is sitting next to his mother in a bamboo-chair, dressed in rather “modern” style and wearing a pair of new shoes. His father is standing to his left. In fact, the occasion that I showed him the photo was the first time Water had seen this picture, 75 years after the picture was taken. I stood by him while Water was looking at this photo in 2003. He stated, “I look sort of tired in the picture because I was ill at that time.”

However, Japanese attitudes towards the local custom of adoption were quite different. Based on issues of human rights, the colonial state thought that the sale of daughters was a kind of “slave trade.” In 1917, the high court in Tokyo promulgated a law which banned the custom of adopting out daughters, saying it violated “good and kind social customs” (Kajihara 1989: 88). Kio-a-thau’s census surveys reveal some important data. Table 6.2 shows that the percentage of simpua and adopting out daughters became smaller from 1895 onwards as a result of the ban. This shows that the ban impacted significantly on the local cultural behaviour.

However, with the contrasting roles of the genders and various household demands such as reproduction and labouring, private negotiations between families about adoption of daughters continued. Table 6.2 shows that a contradictory trend emerged that the percentage of adopting in daughters still increased. The main reason is that although the slave trade (adopting out daughters) was banned by the government, the adoption by relatives and friends (adopting in daughters), which was similar to that of Japanese adoption, through registration was still allowed. In other words, locals could not sell their daughters as usual but they were allowed to adopt in daughters through normal adoptive procedure. Besides this, locals could still utilise many strategies to meet their own

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7 I do not present the picture here because I want to protect his personal privacy.
requirements of adoption. For example, I was told that many simpuas were transferred their identities in the household registration from a simpu to an adopted (in) daughter in order to avoid the investigation of the government. The former was not allowed but the latter was legally permitted. This contributed to the increasing number of adopting in daughters. That was the reason why Table 6.2 shows that the percentage of adopted simpuas fell from 1895 onwards, whereas the percentage of adopted in daughters continues to increase in Kio-a-thau.

The increasing number of adopted in daughters also impacted on the strategy of using adopted daughters by the locals. Table 6.2 shows that the highest rate of adopting in daughters between 1925-1934 basically corresponded with the peak period of sugar exports in Taiwan (see Chapter 2). The growing sugar economy would have required an increased demand for seasonal labour, which would in turn have resulted in a shortage of domestic labour. As a result, locals may have recruited more adopted daughters to deal with this shortage within the home and sugarcane fields. Zero, an adopted daughter whose case will be examined below, told me her foster sister’s story. Her foster sister was a simpu in the 1930s. She was bought as a little-daughter-in-law when she was only two years old. She was raised by her adopted parents as a prospective daughter-in-law. Her adopted parents wanted her to marry their only son, but the son did not like her at all. Zero said:

The brother disliked my sister. He chose a nickname for my sister: Toad, a very bad nickname. One day he came to my foster mother, accusing my sister of not shaking his cradle. The sister once told me that she had a harder life. “At least you can go to school but I can’t,” she said to me. My adopted sister had to do lots of household chores such as cooking and taking care of her younger brother. Besides these, she had been working as a hui-sia-gang – workers for the sugar company – for about two hours per day since my foster father was a supervisor in the sugarcane field then.

Due to the loathing between the couple, her foster family decided to marrying Zero’s sister out to Te-a-heng, about ten kilometres away from Kio-a-thau, when she was 18. Zero stated that the foster sister and she had to do many household chores every day. Zero as an adopted daughter was also sent by her foster mother to be a maidservant for a Japanese official (see the case study below). Their stories reveal
that a changing role of *simpua* and adopted daughters, who were also used to connect with economic activities and thus to make money.

**Table 6.2**
The number and percentage of adopted *simpua* (little-daughters-in-law) and adopted daughters in Kio-a-thau

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years baby girls were born</th>
<th>Total number of baby girls</th>
<th>Number of adopted in daughters</th>
<th>Number of adopted out daughters</th>
<th>Number of adopted in <em>simpua</em></th>
<th>Number of adopted out <em>simpua</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845-1894</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895-1904</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3 7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905-1914</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915-1924</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925-1934</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935-1944</td>
<td>107</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>524</strong></td>
<td><strong>65</strong></td>
<td><strong>9</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Colonial household registers for Kio-a-thau. Notes: I must make it clear here that the data before 1895 cannot be verified because the Japanese government conducted the first census survey in 1905. I speculate that the reason why fewer cases of adoption were written down were because women did not reveal every detail about their past when they were asked to register households.

**THE CHANGING NATURE OF WOMEN’S WORK**

The above discussion points out the contradictory attitudes and beliefs of locals and the colonial state. For the locals, cultural and household economic factors were paramount, while the logic was mainly related to human rights and economic development for the latter. For the colonial government, the move to abolish footbinding was greatly motivated by the economic need to make use of female labour. These changes naturally brought about dramatic impacts on women’s daily life. However, according to my observation, the women’s
incorporation in the labour market varied according to their respective social classes. In the following section I will offer several case studies to explore the differential impacts on different social classes through this time of social-economic transformation.

**Seasonal or migrant labour in sugarcane fields**

Su was born in 1928 in a poor family, and when she was only twelve she became a wage labourer in the sugarcane fields (1940). She lived in Zihguan, a village next to Kio-a-thau. Every day she needed to walk about ten kilometres with other “child labourers” to the sugarcane fields owned by KSR in Gun-zi-pei. She reported:

There were a total of 13 children in our team: four or five of them were males; eight or nine were females. Our relationship was as friends or neighbours. The average age was about twelve or thirteen. [How did you find the job?] Job opportunities [during the war period of the early 1940s] were very limited. A sugarcane worker for the sugarcane company was one of the few chances for making a living, especially in the [Pacific] war period. It was not hard to find a job [as a worker] if you had strength. Actually, the sugarcane company had created lots of job opportunities for [poor] people. At harvest time, the company even hired some very old people to watch over the bundled sugarcane [to prevent them from being stolen].

Su described the daily schedule for a sugarcane worker was as follows:

At seven my “co-workers” and I went to the fields together. We all walked in our bare feet, carrying a lunch box, some water, spending one and a half hours to get to the “workplace” – the sugarcane fields. Then we took a break and at nine we started working until twelve. After taking a break, eating our lunch boxes, we began work again until five. It would take another one and an half hours to go home. Such kind of workers, who were called *huei-sia-gang*, were quite popular then. I remember very clearly that I earned 25 cian per day [in the early 1940s] when I first received the money. An adult female worker earned 35 cian per day. But a male worker earned even more than that...\(^8\) I gave all the money to my mother, without keeping any pocket money.

She stated that most of them kept working for a long time, but the prerequisite was that “the *ku-li-tao*, the manager of sugarcane workers, needed you.” Later on she introduced her brother to work via the manager of the workers, *ku-li-tao*. Su said:

\(^8\) For example, the daily wage for Dai, a male sugarcane worker, was 45 cian in 1933; 48 cian in 1934; 52 cian in 1935; 67 cian and 72 cian in 1936.
Sexual division of labour

My little brother was a person who always kept silent. He could not manage public relations with others. This was his weakness. I thought I had to help him, so I came to the manager to ask for a job as a sugarcane worker. My brother thus obtained his first job in life.

Her introduction also contributed to her brother’s marriage. She commented: “My brother and sister-in-law got acquainted with each other in the sugarcane field. I found a female worker who was hardworking and looked nice. I acted as a go-between. Eventually they got married through my introduction.”

She was the only daughter in her family then. Therefore, if she went to work, someone like her father would share “her” household chores. For example, she pointed out, “My father would cook dinner, since when I got back from work, it was almost seven and impossible for me to cook.”

Su’s case shows that a few adjustments of household chores can imply the transformation of gender roles in the household. Her father came to live with his wife’s family. In the early 1940s, he was temporarily not living with his wife because he had a volunteer job in the local church. Although such a father was less powerful than in a virilocal family, it was still unusual for a father, not mother, to cook dinner at that time. In usual circumstances, Su, as the eldest and only daughter, would normally have been responsible for the household chores such as cooking as I have described in the early part in this chapter. However, with the involvement of female workers in the cash economy, the labouring pattern changed between genders. Su became a major income earner in the household and therefore waived her “daughter’s duty” such as cooking. Furthermore, the increasing importance of her status in the family is displayed by her introduction of her brother to work and her role in arranging his marriage. To some extent, a daughter was not disliked by parents because she could also contribute their financial as well as other abilities to the family.

With regard to work, Su reported that most of the work of a child labourer involved cutting off sugarcane leaves. But when she grew up, she was switched to
the tasks of an adult female labourer (see Table 6.3). She provided a vivid description of life as a sugarcane worker:

Everything you saw was sugarcane. It was pretty spacious and you just hid in it quite often. The land was extremely hard to dig [in order to seed or fertiliser]. But if it was raining, the clay became softer. We had about 20 workers and most of them were females or children and should be responsible for about 30 chia of land under the supervision of the supervisor. Sometimes Japanese officials would come along – they always came riding horses and looked very grumpy and grim-faced. In the field, we wore a hat made of bamboo leaves with our feet bare. Dressed in a loose shirt and Dai-wan-kou, a pair of loose trousers, and a raincoat made of dried straw if it was raining. The worst thing was ‘hiding from air-raid bombing’ in the [Pacific] war period. We had to hide under bundles of sugarcane....

Undoubtedly, seasonal or migrant workers were the major agricultural actors in Kio-a-thau, or even the neighbouring rural areas, in colonial times. Sugarcane fields provided locals with many casual job opportunities. Plates 6.1 to 6.4 show that the sugar company recruited many workers for labouring in sugarcane fields. These locals were mostly people with lower social status such as the poor, women, and children. Both men and women, the young and old, got involved in such economic activities. Jheng (1996: 102) claims that eighty to ninety percent of villagers in Kio-a-thau claimed that they or their family were involved in some ways in the labouring process. Su told me, “The sugar company offered many job opportunities to some inferior people such as le-han-ka – single but jobless people – and the poor to make a living.” In other words, it became one of the available strategic options for their survival. Furthermore, Su’s case shows that the sugarcane fields also provided some people with an opportunity to develop their social networks.

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9 Although it was after the colonial period, we can still see clearly from the workbook published in 1956 by the Taiwan Sugar Company: Kio-a-tou Sugar Refinery (1956: 1-8) how manpower was used during the respective stages of sugarcane production: ploughing needed three water buffaloes, and twenty labourers per hectare; land clearance needed three water buffaloes and twenty-five labourers; fertilizing needed 14 labourers; seeding needed 50 labourers; weeding needed three water buffaloes, and eight labourers.

10 River, one of my informants, remembered that “most of them [in the late 1930s] were female workers. The average work day was eight hours. But I also found a lot of casual jobs, which meant you could work just for half a day.....[in the late 1930s] I found some of the workers were migrants, who came from Beimen, Tainan, a poor rural area. Most of them were males. As for local workers, most of them were female and child workers. By and large, they came from poor agricultural families, which meant they could tolerate laborious jobs.
Su developed her strategies to deal with the work and her family. She worked as a sugarcane worker for quite a long time. She got married at the age of 22. After the marriage, she said she had to help her husband’s family, who had several chia of wet paddy and dry fields. They also raised pigs for selling in the market. She said:

I had to help my husband’s family, so I quit the job as a wage labourer temporarily. Shortly afterwards, the supervisor asked me if I could go back to work because I was a senior sugarcane worker. I told him I could not because I had a family. He begged me repeatedly so I promised him to work as a part-time worker because the labouring demand of growing sugarcane varied in a year. I went back to work if it were busy seasons such as land clearance, weeding, and harvesting. And I could stay home taking care of my family and help with the fieldworks.

Fountain, a supervisor in the 1930s, mentioned that women served as a major source of such kind of casual workers when the sugar company needed labour. He said:

Most of these casual workers were women. The major reason was not because they were cheaper. Rather, it was because it was easier to recruit female workers than male. Most of the women did not have regular jobs. We needed a large amount of labourers, say, especially at the harvest season. Women’s schedule was more flexible, so they could fit our labouring pattern [in the sugar fields].

As for the work content, the role of female workers such as Su seems to have been similar to children’s (see Table 6.3). Fountain said, “Basically female workers and child workers belonged to the same category. Both groups were unskilled.” He described the tasks of the men, women, and child workers in detail as shown in Table 6.3. Then he continued, “Those female workers were lower class people. They were born in peasant families. Most of them were uneducated.”

As for the difference between genders in relation to the content of work, he commented:

Male workers did work that was more strenuous such as cane digging and transporting at harvesting. We had to recruit more male workers to do these types of work. Besides that, we would rather recruit female workers. Of course they were cheaper to recruit. As far as I remember, in the 1930s, a
male worker could earn sixty to eighty cian per day, while a female worker could just earn thirty cian if they did the same work.

Fountain also pointed out that this classification of the division of labour was male-made. He commented that the division of labour, together with income, often became one of the main sources of gender disputes in the fields. In other words, the particular division of labour seems to be a result of local initiative as much as colonial state action. He reported:

Some women were even working better than men. They were using hoes rather than the hand-hoes commonly used by women workers. I think they were more efficient because they liked to earn more money.

As Fountain indicated, making more money was the major reason for women to work hard. If they did men’s jobs, they would get more money. For some women, income rather than division of labour mattered. It was often reported that women drove ox-carts and did things that stronger men would do. Under such circumstances, men were facing competition from women. Fountain pointed out, “In the sugarcane fields we often mocked some men who did little work like this: ‘You are lousier than women.’”

However, for men, it was shameful if women earned more than them. Therefore, men would complain to the supervisor: “You cannot let women do such as such (for example, driving ox-carts) because they are too strenuous.” In other words, men would use cultural excuses to deal with women breaking into the “domain of men,” although the true reason was that these men were worried about female competition in the workplace. Consequently, the simplest way to work out this problem was to separate “men’s work” from “women’s work.” Men were required to do work such as sugarcane cutting, digging, and driving ox-carts, while women were required to do the other “side jobs” such as seeding, weeding, and fertilising.
Table 6.3
Division of labour in sugarcane fields

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work content</th>
<th>Male worker</th>
<th>Female worker</th>
<th>Child worker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Land clearance</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seed bedding</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seeding</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weeding</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fertilising</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soil cultivating</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irrigating</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harvesting (sugarcane digging)</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harvesting (sugarcane cutting)</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cane transporting</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Household Maid-servant: Zero’s case

Zero was born in October 1928 and was adopted out when she was only two years old. She remarked that her father and foster father were “best friends.” Prior to her birth, her parents already had four daughters and two sons. She affirmed that this was the major reason for her to be adopted out. She claimed that her parents did not “sell” her, but only asked her foster parents to take good care of her. She reported that she did not know she was an adopted daughter until she was ten years old. One day her classmate at school told her that she was kind of similar to Far, Zero’s natal brother. Zero’s explanation for this reluctance to tell her that she
Sexual division of labour

was adopted was that, “My foster parents would like a clear break in the relationship between my natal family and me.”

As noted previously, Zero’s foster sister was adopted out. After that, most of the household chores fell on Zero. That was one of the reasons why she did not graduate from primary school until she was 16. After that, her foster mother [her foster father had died] asked her to be the maidservant of a Japanese official in 1943. Zero described her foster mother as a “shrewd woman.” After her husband died, the mother had to support the whole family by herself. As a result, she sent Zero to work as a maidservant for a Japanese high-position official who worked at KSR and lived in a Japanese dormitory nearby.

Zero went on to describe the nature of her daily labour each day. According to her description, she needed to do some other jobs besides the regular schedule of being a maid-servant. She recounted these with a kind of sadness:

I always went to work [being a maid] from eight to five. The work content comprised gardening, weeding, mopping the wooden floor, and feeding the pets: a dog and some goldfish. The Japanese wife insisted she cook and iron the shirts for her husband. Then I took over the other duties. I was very impressed that the wife should bow her husband in. During the middle of the day, I had about two hours’ break. I didn’t take a rest but picked up bags of dried grain as material to burn. I had to dig sweet potatoes or pick up their leaves if I had time. When I returned home at five, I had to prepare the dinner. First, I usually divided the stem of the sweet potato from the leaves, which served as one of the major dishes. After that, I had to look after the kids of my sister-in-law. Oh, dear, she had ten kids! At five the next day, I woke up, and then cooked sweet potatoes as our breakfast almost every day. I could not eat rice because we could not afford to buy rice. After breakfast, I had to go to the Japanese restaurant in the neighbourhood to collect the leftover food from last night to feed pigs. Can you imagine that? Each of the barrels for carrying leftover food weighed about 10 kin.

Besides making money, Zero pointed out another reason for her to be a maid-servant was that it provided a good opportunity for her foster mother to build Guansi [Guanxi] (personal relationship, see the discussion in Chapter 4) with the Japanese. The mother liked to do keep good relations with the Japanese in order to obtain some benefits from them. Zero pointed out:

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11 A foster family buys the adopted daughter and from then on she totally cuts off all the relationship with her natal family. For details see Kajihara (1989: 88).
12 1 kin = 0.6 kilogram
Through my job, we could keep a close connection with the Japanese authorities of the sugar refinery. The officer I was serving was responsible for the management of sugarcane fields owned by the refinery. As a result, we could obtain *pak*, a priority to get land tenure right to plant crops.\(^{13}\)

Zero’s case is similar in many respects to that of Beggar, who I discussed in Chapter 4. One thing they had in common is that both served as household servant for Japanese high-position officials at KSR. The difference is the motivation for getting the positions. The main reason for Beggar to work for the Japanese employer was simply accidental, while Zero’s mother sent her to work for both financial and political reasons. At that time, KSR owned many pieces of land that were used for growing sugarcane. For agricultural reasons, there was about a one-year interval between two periods of planting sugarcane because the interval could help restore the fertility of sugarcane fields. The sugar company often rented these pieces of land to locals who either wanted to grow crops such as sweet potatoes and beans, or to raise pigs. It was reported that the Japanese welcomed this because the roots of these crops and the pigs’ excrement served as natural sources of fertiliser for the sugarcane fields. To the Taiwanese, especially to the landless and tenant classes, acquiring such land was a good thing because they could grow some crops for daily requirements or to sell.

The main reason Zero’s foster mother sent Zero to the Japanese employer was to obtain priority for renting such land. At that time, this was an unusual privilege for locals. Zero’s Japanese employer was the head person who was in charge of the management of the sugarcane fields. Zero said she herself acted as an intermediary between her mother and the Japanese. As a result, they obtained many pieces of land owned by KSR. Her mother then rented these pieces of land to other peasants who needed arable land and thus made money. Her mother gradually became influential in Kio-a-thau because peasants would come to her asking for the second tenure rights.

\(^{13}\) Local dialect: *pak*. (Mandarin: *pu*) Pak means leased land. For a detailed system of Pak in the settlers’ history in Taiwan, see Shepherd (1993: 250, 268, 272, 343).
Midwife: Belt

Belt was born in Gangshan, a township near Kio-a-thau, on 30 March, 1913. When I first met her in May, 2003, she was already a ninety-year-old woman. Belt was a retired midwife and was respected by locals. Belt grew up in a large family. She was the eldest of three daughters in the family. Her father loved her very much. He named her “Belt” because he heard from a Chinese teacher that there was a witty and tough woman whose name was Belt in Chinese ancient history. Her father had high expectations of his eldest daughter. Her father was a policeman, which was considered an “upper-class” job in Japanese colonial times, according to the reports of my informants. When I asked Wang and Dragon, and Wang’s wife, Queen, for instance, what sorts of occupation were regarded as “noble” for both genders in the colonial period, they replied:

Dragon: And village heads. Doctors.
Queen: Doctors are always good for any period.
I: How about women?
Queen: Schoolteachers and midwives. I can’t think of any others besides these.

Belt was thus born in a high-class family. Unfortunately, when she was seven years old, her mother died of cholera. After her mother’s death, Belt recalled that she led a hard life. Bad luck came twice as her father became blind because of hardwork.

From then on I had to “take responsibility” for all the family household chores and economy. I did a lot of casual jobs such as “watching house” and babysitting. I was thinking of becoming a sugarcane worker, a popular part-time job among women then, but then my father was extremely against the idea of his daughter becoming a female sugarcane worker... I had to do lots of part-time jobs since my mum was dead and my father became blind when he was just 31. I had to be responsible for making a living... But actually my father was against that idea [of becoming a sugarcane worker] since it would affect his dignity in the society.

She described her father as a “sensible” and “civilised” person. He insisted that his daughters should receive a “good education” as well as men. Belt was quite intelligent and excellent at school. After graduating from primary school, she entered secondary school, which was quite unusual among Taiwanese girls in the
1920s. Furthermore, she was permitted to enter the Department of Midwifery at the Taihoku (Taipei) Imperial University, the best university then, in which only a few Taiwanese people were allowed to register in colonial times. She returned to Kio-a-thau as a midwife in 1934 after graduation, at the age of 22. The next year she married a teacher at Shu-long Primary School. They had two sons and one daughter. The sixth year after they got married, her husband died of pneumonia.

When I interviewed her in early 2003, she reported

The first day I got married, both heels of my high-heeled shoes broke, which apparently foresaw the bad luck of my marriage. After my husband's death in 1940, I had to support my family by myself...I remember watching the coffin of my husband, feeling puzzled about the future. I was thinking then why an able man was wearing beautiful clothes but lying there.

She continued that, after her husband died, she had to support her family, including three small children and a mother-in-law, mainly by midwifery. She worked hard and she was good at midwifery. Soon she became famous because she saved many pregnant women from danger during the process of giving birth. She said, "I was so welcome that I earned a large sum of money." In the late 1940s, she bought a house in Kio-a-thau and used it as a hospital for giving births. This hospital for midwifery in Kio-a-thau Street was closed about fifteen years ago because the young people no longer wanted to give birth with midwives. Through this specialty in midwifery, she supported her family, including her two sons and a daughter. One of her sons went overseas to study, got a doctoral degree, and is now teaching in a university in Taichung.

Waged household servant: Willow

As noted above, the colonial government bans on adopted daughters impacted on the labouring use. To local people, in order to "maintain" the institution of a large family, one of the strategies developed in the late colonial period was the waged household maid. Households that needed manpower would recruit these maids to replace the domestic labour of the adopted daughters or ca-bo-can in pre-colonial times. Waged household maids were recruited as casual workers and paid in cash. They did most of the household chores that adopted daughters had done, but
without changing their personal identities. Willow is a good example to illustrate this point.

Willow was born in 1934 in an uxorilocal family in Zihguan, a neighbouring village to Kio-a-thau. She was eager to go to school but her parents did not think it right for a girl to attend. She was the eldest daughter in the family and was not adopted out as an adopted daughter because she said, “The Japanese police would investigate the situation if a family adopted out daughters.” She was sent by her parents to a family as a “waged household servant” in Youchang, a near-by village, when she was just a teenager. She lived together with that family and did most of their household chores. She described her life as a household servant there as follows:

When I was 13, I was sent to Youchang, about 10 kilometres away, to be a household servant for a large rich family. I lived there and did most of the household chores, such as washing clothes and taking care of the children. My father or mother would come and collect the wages I earned on a regular basis, about once a month, and then leave. I was so homesick. When I asked them to take me home just for a while, they were unwilling to do so because they said this would waste their money on things such as bus fares or whatever. I was very disappointed [weeping]. After a year as a servant, I came home and continued with my old duties: picking up fire wood and sweet potatoes.

Willow reported that she was not the only one to be recruited as a waged household servant. This family recruited two or three maid-servants to do various things in the household. For example, Willow said, “They paid a maid-servant whose main mission was just to be a “wet nurse” because his mother, the daughter-in-law, was too weak to breast-feed her own baby.” Willow was reluctant to stay there because she was young and she missed her family very much. Willow asked her parents to let her go home but her parents did not agree because they needed money. Willow worked there for a year. One day she heard many family members crying because the daughter-in-law suddenly died. Shortly after that event, Willow was sent back. “I did not know why I was sent back to my family,” Willow said, “but I was very happy because I could live with my family again.” Willow stated that the happiness did not last very long. “I found that I had to do more household chores at home than as a waged servant.
Willow’s case suggests that a new kind of labour demand in the household emerged as a result of the ban on the slave trade of daughters. The case studies of Zero, and Willow show the casual or long-term demand for labour in the household among both locals and the Japanese, especially in the late colonial period. In some sense, such servants had somewhat taken the place of adopted daughters after the ban on adopted daughters. Wage servants therefore filled the gap resulting from the ban on adopted daughters, which impacted on the availability of domestic labour. Willow’s case reveals that locals used waged household servants to take the place of adopted daughters as one strategy to overcome this problem. This strategy did not go against colonial policy but could meet some practical labour requirements without changing the women’s identities. On the other hand, some informants told me that some families overcame the ban by hiding the fact that they had adopted little-daughter-in-laws since they were illegal.

Based on these case studies above, we can make further observations. First of all, the traditional notion of “division of labour” was influenced by the colonial state, which created several measures to “protect” women from things through the abolition of footbinding, the liberation of adopted daughters, and the encouragement of female education. However, the ways Taiwanese women were incorporated into the new order varied according to different social classes. Women born in “high class” families such as Belt and Guess would be encouraged to become a nurse, teacher, or midwife. Take the number of “medical specialists” in the colonial period for example. Of the seven people in Kio-a-thau practising in the medical field (CTSJ 1984: 352), two were females: Belt was a midwife and the other woman was a dentist. Women who were born or raised in “middle class” families such as Zero on the other hand would be taught to be a “good and healthy wife” taking care of the family, while women born in “low class” families such as Su would be pushed into manual labour as a sugarcane worker. Under such circumstances one can see why Belt’s father did not wish his daughter to become a sugarcane worker. Belt’s case illustrates the different ideas between the father and the daughter. The daughter thought of the practical benefits of supporting the family, whereas the father highlighted abstract social
prestige, thinking that the occupation of a sugarcane worker would “affect his dignity in the society.”

Concepts of “care giver,” “helper,” or “being tender” were seen as common attributes of a nurse, teacher, or midwife, which were thus suitable occupations regarded by the Japanese for women. Tsurumi described the status of Taiwanese women who took up careers. She (Tsurumi 1977: 222) said, “Only a few Taiwanese women began careers after completing specialised professional studies, but their importance far exceeded their numbers. As pioneers in prestigious new fields they provided for female[s] role models that had never before existed.” In contrast, elite men were encouraged to become doctors (Lo 2002). Lo (2002) traces the changing roles and identities of some “ethnic professions” of Taiwanese such as doctors and other medical careers. Such local medical students and practitioners “continued to embrace a modernist professional culture” (Lo 2002: 299). He further indicates that the Japanese trained these people as a bridge between the colonial system, local communities, and to spread the Japanese “civilisation” through their medical services in Mainland China and Southeast Asia.

CONCLUSION: WOMEN’S AGENCY

In summary, the role of a woman in terms of the division of labour was affected by the differing roles of both genders in the society and household. In pre-colonial times, women’s activities were largely confined to the domestic sphere. In extreme circumstances, some daughters could be sold to become adopted daughters. The popularity of footbinding stopped women from participating in fieldwork and labourious tasks. This disadvantaged their entrance to other sectors as well as limited their role in agriculture. However, with the advent of colonial rule, the abolition not only changed the labouring extent and pattern of gendered involvement in labour but also converted the fixed ideas about women. The colonial government asked parents not to bind the feet of their baby girls. Besides
this, the government also encouraged those who had their feet bound to unbind them.

The colonial government implemented measures such as the abolition of footbinding and the liberation of simpua and adopted daughters in order to achieve its economic goal. On the surface, it seems like the advent of an increasing number of “civilised” and “modern” women, who unbound their feet and “escaped” from “patriarchal control.” In essence, however, they were manipulated by another “patriarchal control” – the colonial state – to assure the plentiful supply of labour. The female force was thus not an integral part of Chinese kinship and gender arrangements but a linkage to the outer capitalist world. Through my case study in Kio-a-thau, I have mapped out the on-going process of how women were involved in this capitalist sphere step by step. The local gendered practices in Kio-a-thau show that, firstly, with respect to the colonial policy, the abolition of footbinding worked well, while the liberation of adopted daughters and simpua did not work very well. The major reason I offer is that the colonial government underestimated the complexity of simpua and adopted daughters in Taiwanese society in every aspect – cultural, social, and economic. The simpua played an important role in reproduction, while the adopted daughters functioned as domestic labour. Local figures indicate that the percentage of adopted daughters still increased, suggesting the ban under the colonial policy resulted in a shortage of domestic labour. Willow’s case as a waged household servant revealed one of the consequences of this shortage.

Secondly, a new configuration emerged as a result of the emancipation of female bodies and female’s schooling. Local women fitted themselves into various social roles such as maidservants, midwives, and sugarcane workers. These roles partially broke down the fixed ideas about women. In this chapter, I have examined how women of different social classes exercised their personal agency in a socio-economic situation they had never experienced before. Zero and Su’s cases reveal that parents began to reconsider the role of daughters or adopted daughters. Daughters were traditionally considered inferior in the household. Under the changing circumstances, women contested their social roles according
Sexual division of labour

to their respective social classes. Those daughters who were born in upper classes could choose to be midwives and schoolteachers, while those who were born in lower classes could act as maidservants and sugarcane workers. For the daughters, this could fulfill their filial piety highlighted by the Confucian moral. For the parents, daughters were not considered worthless. Rather, Zero’s case shows that, first, an adopted daughter could be either used as “tools” for “making money.” Second, women could act as an intermediary between the locals and the colonial authority. The main reason Zero’s foster mother sent Zero to the Japanese employer was to obtain priority for renting the land from the Japanese. As a result, women’s marginality in the social hierarchy offered advantages in negotiating with the colonial authority.

Thirdly, Su’s case shows that women better fitted the “irregular” rhythm of the sugar plantations than men since women had more free time. They could simultaneously take care of a family and work if necessary. By contrast, men were culturally expected to obtain more “fixed” and “regular” jobs. Under these circumstances, becoming full-time or part-time sugarcane labourers in sugarcane fields became one of the available strategies for the majority of women in rural areas. Su’s becoming a “part-time” sugarcane worker after marriage illustrates the greater flexibility in women’s work time schedules than men. She was involved in the irregular pattern of sugarcane cultivation. When the time was busy, such as the harvest season, she could join the team and make extra money to support her family. She could then stay home to fulfill her traditional wife and mother’s roles in the household when demand for labour was low.

Fourthly, such a new situation transformed the traditional gendered division of labour in the household. With the involvement of female workers in the cash economy, the labouring pattern changed between genders. Su’s case shows how a few adjustments of household chores could occur between genders as a result of her working in the sugar field, although a father who helped with cooking and household chores was rare at that time. Su became a major income earner in the household and therefore waived her “daughter’s duty” such as cooking. In other words, her ability to make money enhanced her status in the household. This
Sexual division of labour

enhancement was also shown by her ability to find job opportunities and later a wife for her brother.

To sum up, women used their agency to deal with these changing circumstances, although they were situated in an inferior situation. Their achievements came from hard work. Various places such as factories, sugarcane fields, schools, and medical institutions became localities for women to prove that they had ability outside the home. Though they typically did not earn much money, women obtained some “self-pride” and “self-esteem” from their jobs. This did not necessarily come from any benefit or welfare they got but from a kind of satisfaction for supporting others. In other words, for a Taiwanese woman, as Su has pointed out, the meaning of being a woman lay more in “others” or the “household” than in herself. Only if she was successful in these areas could she think she herself was successful. Taiwanese women therefore contested their marginality in an ambivalent manner, coupling “self-sacrifice” and “self-pride.”
Plate 6.1 Sugarcane plantation in southern Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period: seeding
Source: Taiwan seito kabushiki gaisha shi (A History of Taiwan Sugar Company)

Plate 6.2 Sugarcane plantation: soil cultivation
Source: Taiwan seito kabushiki gaisha shi (A History of Taiwan Sugar Company)
Plate 6.3  Sugarcane plantation: sugarcane cutting
Source: Taiwan seito kabushiki gaisha shi (A History of Taiwan Sugar Company)

Plate 6.4  Sugarcane weighing
Source: Taiwan seito kabushiki gaisha shi (A History of Taiwan Sugar Company)
INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I aim to study the name changing process under Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan. The study of a system of naming reflects many aspects of people’s social and cultural life and identity. Wilson (1998: xii) notes that names define an individual’s position in his family and in society. He states: “Names identify individuals and are often the focus of a person’s sense of identity.” In Ilongot culture, naming reflects the progress of a person’s identity and awareness (M. Rosaldo 1980: 85-88; R. Rosaldo 1980: 43). As the Rosaldos indicate, Ilongot appellations reveal the extensiveness of a person’s experience and social ties. As a person gets older or marries, new appellations will be given in order to avoid illness or taboos. Bateson (1958: 228) shows us that among the Imatmul of New Guinea the naming system is a reflection of the whole culture. He states:

The naming system is indeed a theoretic image of the whole culture and in it every formulated aspect of the culture is reflected. Conversely, we may say that the system has its branches in every aspect of the culture and gives its support to every cultural activity. Every song contains lists of names...marriages are often arranged in order to gain names. Reincarnation and succession are based upon the naming system. Land tenure is based on clan membership and clan membership is vouched for by names.

In traditional Chinese or Taiwanese society, names were also an important form of self-expression and also marked important social transitions (Watson 1986; Hsu 1975: 32; Suzuki 1934; DeGlopper 1995). The meaning of surnames and given names is different. Given names, chosen by parents or grandparents, are reflections of their own ideas and expectations about the babies, while surnames are a collective symbol of the same group of people. DeGlopper (1995: 136) indicates a surname is the representation of a group of people who claim to be a real lineage descended from a distant common ancestor in Chinese society. Furthermore, it also classifies people into families and kin groups. Hsu (1975: 32) states that the Chinese manner of naming “exemplifies the quality of continuity
and inclusiveness within the patrilineal extended kin group” because “all males who were members of the kin group and their spouses are bound together by the surname and all males of the kin group belonging to the same generation are identified by the common element in their personal names.” Watson (1986: 619) further indicates that the naming system between genders reflects their different social roles. A baby girl was named when she reached one month of age, but in practice, she lost her (given) names when she got married. Watson argues that the (given) namelessness of Chinese women meant that they did not attain full personhood.

During my exploration of colonial Kio-a-thau, I discovered that the naming was not simply involved with traditional notions of self or social identity as these scholars have claimed. In fact, the naming system was used by locals as a nuanced strategy to articulate with the Japanese coloniser. I put my main focus on the name changing practices of the kaiseimei campaign (name-changing campaign) in the Kōminka Movement (1936-1945). On the surface, the Kōminka Movement aimed to assimilate the Taiwanese as true “Japanese subjects” (Lamley 1999; Ching 2001). Lamley (1999: 240) indicates that the colonial government aimed to “detach the Han Taiwanese from their decent groups and ancestral areas in China.” In other words, the colonial state officially promoted a new national identity by encouraging the Taiwanese people to abolish their old Chinese names. As a result, it seems to imply that those who changed their names responded positively to the policy. However, I discovered that the reverse conclusion can be reached. First, the changing practices did not mean that the Taiwanese became Japanese subjects. Rather, it reveals that locals expressed a subjectivity which mixed old and new cultural and national identities. Second, I also discovered that, during the changing practices, the role of women was manipulated by men as a “tool” to deal with the policy, or in response to the dilemma men faced when confronted by the ideological, social, and institutional regulations of the late colonial era. Third, women themselves also developed some strategies to articulate with this complex situation whereby they might find some access to escape their circumstances at the time.
Methodologically, I would like to present my findings in terms of name change practices in Kio-a-thau. Mainly by inspecting the colonial household registers, together with several life-history interviews with older informants, I attempt to examine the complex issue of subjectivity and naming in colonial Taiwan.

1895-1930 ENCOUNTERS OF TWO CULTURES

After the Japanese occupation of Taiwan in 1895, the colonial state introduced several measures which somewhat changed the form of Taiwanese names. One of the crucial events was the practice of the thorough household census survey in Taiwan in 1905. This was the first time that Taiwanese were required to officially register their full names. During the process of household registration, the government demanded “for one man [or woman], one name only.” It was during this census that the government officials decreed that shih should follow every woman’s surname in order to distinguish women’s names from men’s. Only one name was allowed to be registered on official documents after 1905. Before that, informal names such as nicknames, school names and official names were popular in daily communication with other people. Despite the colonial requirements, nicknames remained popular in social life. At the end of 2002, I asked an 84-year-old man, Mirror, about the story of somebody in the village whose registered family name was “Lin.” His reaction was to ponder for a while, and then to murmur, “Is he pig-shit [a nickname for Lin]?” All he could remember was Lin’s nickname, not the “formal name” registered officially. Also, adult women were known by kinship category terms. For example, once I asked Guess, my informant, about Ying, a woman who lived in colonial Kio-a-thau, by indicating her full name registered in the census. At first she could not recall this person. Then I reminded her, “She is Zero’s foster mother.” Guess answered, “Oh, the woman that you mentioned is ‘Din’s wife’.” This case illustrates that a woman’s social position, especially her kinship relationship with her husband, rather than individuality, are well remembered by the locals even though her name was written in official records.
In the Japanese colonial context, the colonial state has left detailed census data. From this data, we cannot see any particular example of changing names into Japanese ones before 1931. As a whole, most Taiwanese people during this period still kept their habits of naming. Suzuki (1934) indicates that Taiwanese people named a baby according to various criteria such as natural features, the shape of objects, and gods’ prophecies. Dragon, an informant, commented, “Traditionally our parents or grandparents would choose names that they could think of immediately.” “You see,” Dragon identified two cases in the census, “the father was named fan-shu, which means a potato. And his son was named wai-tou, which means his head was askew.”

Female naming also reflected their social role as Watson has mentioned. My informant Flower told me that her maternal grandfather had seven daughters and no sons. He named each daughter with a single name only. The meaning of these names had something in common: they all reflected the father’s desire for a son rather than a daughter. For example, Flower’s mother was the eldest daughter, whose given name was jin, which means “hope” in local dialect. Hope for what? Her grandfather wished that he could have a son next. But she had a nickname too – luna, which in local dialect means “fear.” Unfortunately the grandfather’s wish was not fulfilled and he had six more daughters. The following six daughters’ names reflect his sentiments. The second daughter was named ruan – which means weakness; the third one – hen (hatred); the fourth one – yan (annoyance); the fifth one – gou (that is enough.); the sixth – wang shih (raising reluctantly); the seventh – man (the end). This kind of naming practice indeed reflects women’s inferior status at that time. However, most of the daughters felt ashamed when they went to school and were often sneered at by others. Therefore some of them changed their names themselves. For example, the second, sixth, and seventh daughters changed their names before they got married. In 2002, when I interviewed the second daughter, she told me, “I did not think it was a good name and felt ashamed, so I adopted a new [first] name: liou (willow). It sounds better, doesn’t it?” However, a new given name is not only for self-identification but sometimes reflects a change of social status. For instance, the third daughter was adopted out when she was small, and the foster parents renamed her laihao – which means “bring about a good fortune.”
At this stage, the Japanese impacted little on Taiwanese naming system except some special cases below. In daily communication, the Japanese often used the Japanese “on yomi” reading system to pronounce Taiwanese first names (see the final section’s discussion). For example, Mikio Kakei1 (1989: 75) wrote in his memoir that he and the other staff at KSR called Beggar by the on yomi reading of his first name. At this stage, officially changing one’s name into Japanese was rare. Beggar’s case reflects a private relationship between a Taiwanese and his Japanese employer. Beggar’s original Chinese first name was ci, the Chinese character for which means “a beggar” in Chinese. At the suggestion of his Japanese employer, Beggar changed his Chinese first name into zai-jyun, which means “becoming a gentleman” in Chinese characters, and corrected it on the census registration. Asked why his father changed his Chinese first name, Water simply relied, “My father’s Japanese employer said it is not a good and civilised name.” However, the family did not change to a full Japanese name until the Kōminka Movement.

A similar example was given by Autumn, who revealed how his given name was influenced by the Japanese before the Kōminka Movement. Autumn’s father was a veterinarian at KSR, which was a quite high position among Taiwanese staff. His father had a close relationship with his Japanese employer. He and his family also lived in the Japanese dormitory. Autumn was born in 1921 and was named umejiro, a totally Japanese-style given name which means “the second son.” His elder brother, who was born in 1919, was given the name umeitaro, a typical Japanese first name which means “the first son.” All of his brothers and sisters were given such Japanese style names, although they did not change their Chinese surname into a Japanese one until the Kōminka period (see the discussion later).

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1 Mikio Kakei entered KSR as a trainee in 1914 and later became a general manager in the Taiwan Sugar Refinery Company in 1941. He published a memoir which recorded his career and life in colonial Taiwan in 1989.
1931-1940 GENDER AND SELF-JAPANIFICATION

In 1931, Japan conquered Manchuria in China. This event precipitated a long-term conflict between them. After that, as Lamley (1999: 220) mentions, “Japan prepared its colonies to render military support for eventually wartime endeavors.” During the period between 1931 and 1937, and particularly after the Marco Polo Bridge incident in North China which gave rise to an undeclared war with China, Japan promoted a “much more broader version of assimilation” through formal schooling and political propaganda (Lamley 1999: 221). Under such circumstances, names given by the Taiwanese people were influenced by the conflicts between Japan and China. Being loyal to whom – China or Japan – became a major issue for Taiwanese people. In colonial Kio-a-thau, nomenclature did reflect the ideology surrounding the wars. Nevertheless, I highlight that, at this stage, “name changes” simply involved first names rather than surnames.

The census and life-history interviews reveal how many locals were influenced by the social and political circumstances at that time as reflected through the naming system. When I showed the census data to River, he checked the names one by one and told me how he felt about these given names. He said, “Names such as guo-huei (glory of country), yi-syong (loyalty and masculinity), wu-he (make peace by force) were “[given] names of war.” His statement was confirmed by Dragon and Water, two other informants. Dragon commented, “Traditionally our parents or grandparents would not choose such names.” He told me many other instances of such names, including wu-jhih (rule by force), wu-yi (force and loyalty), wu-syong (force and masculinity), sheng-syong (victory and masculinity), guo-shih (national history), ying-hao (bravery) and yi-yong (loyalty and bravery). He also noted the name, cih-lang (the second son), which is a totally Japanese style first name.

2 In fact, the Taiwanese assimilation movement started in the mid-1910s and was led by Itagaki Taisuke, a venerable politician in Japan (Lamley 1999: 219). The aim of this movement was to properly train Taiwanese to become Japanese. For details see Lamley (1999: 219-222).
Dragon further told me about the changing ideas of female naming. He explained to me: “Traditionally female given names were not complimentary because parents did not like baby girls. The girls would be given [first] names such as yan, hen, and wang shih, which means she will not bother the parents at all. However, more and more Taiwanese people adopted Japanese style names under the instruction of the staff who worked in the census agency. These staff would advise them to choose some Japanese style name. For example, a female given name such as mei-jhih [which means beauty and wit in Chinese] would be suggested because it shared the kanji system with a popular Japanese first name michiko.”

The changing external circumstances therefore affected the traditional ways of naming between genders, and this was reflected by the new names registered in the census. According to my survey of the census data during this period, there was a distinction between new-born babies in naming. I summarise this as follows. For a baby boy, parents would choose name that emphasised features such as masculinity, loyalty, piety, glories of the country, birth order ranking. On the other hand, for a baby girl they would prefer names that emphasised femininity, seasons, plants, flowers, and mildness. In a sense, these variations in first names further solidified elements of the pre-existing patriarchal ideology as well as the values of colonial rule, which took it for granted that a man should be brave enough to go to a “sacred war,” while a woman should stay at home being a good wife and mother.

When the Sino-Japan war formally broke out in 1937, a wider range of movements to “become Japanese” were already under way. The census indicates that Japanese-style names, especially among women, significantly increased in comparison with the previous stage, although they were still infrequent. We can see that naming means a further immersion into Japanification. For example, the census data indicates that among new-born baby girls born from 1895 to 1931, only two babies were named with the suffix ko, the typical Japanese way to name a baby girl, the first in 1919, and the other in 1922 (Table 7.1); while the number doubled to 4 from 1932 to 1936. In 1937, the year of the Sino-Japan war, only two among eleven new-born baby girls’ names ended with ko. The most significant

3 Detailed examples include Mei-jhih (beauty and wit), Li-hua (beautiful flowers).
shift came in 1938, when three out of five girls were named with *ko* and the other two also had Japanese-style first names. The number of girls with *ko* in their names was growing. In following years, the number of new-born girls with this style of name was: twenty out of twenty in 1939; ten out of ten in 1940; ten out of eleven in 1941; six out of nine in 1942; eight out of ten in 1943; eleven out of eleven in 1944; and one out of five in 1945 (Table 7.1). Thus *ko* was found in nearly one hundred percent of girls' names by 1945, and even some exceptions without *ko* were named more or less in a Japanese style. The Japanese surrendered in August 1945 and then the Nationalist government from China asked the people to "recover" the "original Chinese full names." A formal law for this change was proclaimed in 1946.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>1895-1931</th>
<th>1932-1936</th>
<th>1937</th>
<th>1938</th>
<th>1939</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1941</th>
<th>1942</th>
<th>1943</th>
<th>1944</th>
<th>1945</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Numbers of baby girls</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Named with <em>ko</em></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Colonial household registers for Kio-a-thau

This high incidence of the particle *ko* demonstrates that Japanese-style names became popular among girls. And how about boys? Another finding from the census data is that after 1938, daughters had a rather higher percentage of Japanese style nomenclature than sons. The criteria for evaluating whether a baby boy had a Japanese-style name or not were doubly checked by River and Dragon. I must admit it is not always clear whether the name is Japanese or not; we can only get an impression of what was going on in that period. However, as compared with almost hundred percent Japanese-style names among females, the findings are strong enough to formulate my argument.
percent of baby boys were given “Japanese style” names. Furthermore, as noted above, the meaning of the Japanese-style names between genders contrasted a lot. For men, Japanese-style names would simply mean that they were more “masculine” without adopting specifically Japanese style names, but for women, the Japanese-style names sounded like “real” Japanese names, rather than Taiwanese.

Table 7.2
The number of baby boys named with Japanese style

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>1895-1931</th>
<th>1932-1936</th>
<th>1937</th>
<th>1938</th>
<th>1939</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1941</th>
<th>1942</th>
<th>1943</th>
<th>1944</th>
<th>1945</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Numbers of baby boys</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese style names</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Colonial household registers for Kio-a-thau

Nevertheless, this method of female naming received a lot of disapproval, especially from the older generation. Pam, for instance, recalled her mother-in-law’s shock on first hearing that her granddaughter had been named with the suffix ko. She commented with complaint, “Should that ko be a boy’s name?” In fact, the Chinese character for ko means a son, and therefore the “modern” way to name a baby girl with ko directly contradicted the conservative view firmly held by the older generation, whose fixed dichotomy about men and women was so solid that they could not accept such a “new” idea.

However, resistance was only temporary. Pam reported that more and more Taiwanese people in the village adopted Japanese-style names at that time. A name with Japanese style became a “fad,” and also an indication that one was “educated” and “civilised,” although she also stated that some new-born were not voluntarily named by parents or grandparents; the staff at the census bureau
sometimes advised them on names or even filled in the names for them. Nevertheless, even during my fieldwork during 2002-2003, a lot of old men were still happy to be called by Japanese appellations such as “oshan,” “chenshan,” or “shinkesan”. For them, these appellations referred to an “old custom” as well as a kind of “respect.”

What does the higher percentage among girls adopting Japanese-style names indicate? In reply to this question, we should go back to the culture.

Parents’ attitudes to choosing names between genders differed in local cultural practices. The parents constantly showed little concern for daughters’ names, inasmuch as daughters would eventually be married out to their husbands’ family. Therefore, a daughter was obviously excluded from any possibilities of inheritance of property in her natal family. In other words, she was actually considered an “outsider” (for details of daughters’ role in the family, see the previous chapter). As a popular proverb says, “a married woman is just like poured water.” In contrast, a baby boy had an absolute right to inherit the property of a family. Under such circumstances, the higher percentage of Japanese style names illustrates men’s ideas, which imply that women were “outsiders” in the long term. The other reason for adopting Japanese names for women is that men were at a crossroads of becoming Japanese or not in the late 1930s. In order to deal with the pressure of the policy of nomenclature, naming a baby girl in Japanese style was a strategy to comply in some measure with the name change policy. As a result, this temporarily delayed the need for men to demonstrate whether they themselves were “becoming Japanese” or not. In addition, this conduct also, in a sense, solidified rather than weakened the patriarchal structure in the local culture.

Despite these circumstances, having a Japanese-style name had some positive aspects. For example, some women could use it as a strategy to deal with the “patriarchal” culture of the time. During this period, the census shows that both prostitutes and illegitimate daughters, who were considered “shameful” under the

5 These can be translated as “Mr. Wang,” “Mr. Chen,” and “Hello! Shinke.”
cultural morality of the time, changed their first names into Japanese character names more frequently than other women, although they still kept their Chinese surnames. Prostitutes, “always used Japanese names, rather than original Chinese names, in the workplace,” one of the female informants stated. River commented: “This is because they had more social experiences and contact with other people.” “At that time,” he continued, “prostitutes, as well as highly-educated women, would use Japanese names.” This implies that in his view those women who used Japanese names were “superior” in some respects, no matter what their social status was. A retired schoolteacher told me in more detail about prostitutes’ naming practices in the workplace. She said, “Most of the prostitutes had a ‘second [given or nick-] name.’ For example, they used [Japanese nick-] names such as sakura, momo, and yuli, which refer to fruit; some people used names like yamoli, which refers to an animal. Those names could make them more famous, that is, they could thus get more ‘business opportunities’.” Furthermore, David Schak (pers.comm.2004) indicates that some of these Japanese names had sexual connotations. I had a personal email from David Schak in July 2004, in which he commented:

You mentioned that women were often given Japanese names which were those of fruits. I mentioned that two of those you mentioned had sexual connotations: momo (peach) symbolises the pigu (buttocks), especially that of a baby, but it can also symbolise the thighs and by extension, the vagina; sakura (cherry blossom), when used with yellow (kiiroi), as in kiiroi sakurambo, symbolises the breasts.”

Regarding illegitimate daughters, I found that three of the six new-born baby girls in Kio-a-thau who were named with Japanese characters before 1938 were illegitimate, being born in 1905, 1919 and 1938 respectively. They still kept their Chinese surnames, however, which was strong evidence that the parents wanted to show that they were Taiwanese even though their names contained Japanese characters. My informant River claimed the reason why illegitimate daughters adopted Japanese characters for their first names was that they would have a greater possibility to be sold to become prostitutes. In addition to the reasons discussed above, names with Japanese characters gave these women some protection from social criticism in their hometowns. For both prostitutes and illegitimate daughters, Japanese names were simply “masks” or “shelters” because they were used to encourage these women to be regarded as “the other” rather
than “us” by locals. Therefore, they excluded, to a certain extent, any possibility of “moral punishment” in the indigenous cultural domain.

My discussion above indicates that the pattern of nomenclature was sharply dissimilar to the previous stage, the period before 1931. After this date, various methods, strategies and attitudes developed as shown above. Nevertheless, the effect of the Japanese policy on names was not very marked before 1940. There is no evidence to show any case of surname changing, which was obviously the ultimate goal of the policy, in the village before 1940. In effect, most Taiwanese did not want to become “real Japanese.” Variations in first names did not imply total ideological change for most local people because they did not change their surnames. Being within a surname group gave members a high degree of solidarity and corporate character. In other words, since most people still kept their [Chinese] surnames, the basic Taiwanese lineage structure remained intact, despite the variations of first names discussed above.

To sum up, we conclude that this period was simply a “warm-up” or “rehearsal” period before 1940 for both the colonial state and Taiwanese to “test” the intensity of the name change policy. My preliminary conclusions are as follows. First, the complex situation indicates that the naming system varied a lot at this stage from the traditional method used by most Taiwanese people. However, it only affected first names rather than surnames. Second, when men and women were at the crossroads – deciding whether to be Japanese or not – they deliberately developed their respective strategies to deal with the colonial state.

1940-1945 Kaiseimei Campaign

In early 1940, Governor-General Kobayashi launched a name-changing (kaiseimei) campaign which aimed to be an entire name conversion policy for the whole island. Quite different from the previous stage, the policy aimed to convert the “entire name,” – not only first names but also surnames – of Taiwanese people.

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6 DeGlopper (1995: 136-40) indicates that battles between the different surname groups were quite common in Lukang in Cing Taiwan.
This kaiseimei was one of a series of official political movements that were called the Kōminka Movement. The Kōminka Movement included three major parts: name-changing (kaiseimei), temple reorganisation, and the worship of paper amulets (taima) sent from the sacred Ise shrine in Japan. In essence, these measures were carried out in order to change the cultural identification of Taiwanese people. Ihara (1988: 275) evaluates this Kōminka Movement as “a persistent ideal for the Japanese 50-year rule over Taiwan.” As he (Ihara 1988: 366) maintains:

On the surface, the policy of encouraging Taiwanese people to convert their names aims at “becoming Japanese,” but the real reason is that Taiwanese people should cut their relations with their [Chinese] ancestors because the names symbolise ancestral ideas.

Lamley (1999: 240) agrees with this assertion, indicating this campaign was “a means to detach the Han Taiwanese from their descent groups and ancestral areas in China...and to demonstrate that they were devoted subjects and ‘true Japanese’.” However, such an assertion seems too deterministic and does not leave any room for evolving responses of the Taiwanese themselves. We inquire how far Taiwanese people reacted to the program. Did this campaign totally “detach the Han Taiwanese from the ancestral [idea] in China?” What views did locals hold and how did they handle the situation?

Lamley (1999) states that the bestowal of full Japanese names was executed on a selective basis among approved Taiwanese households in the initial stage of the Kōminka Movement because the colonial government asked these Taiwanese households to be models. In other words, name changing procedures were pretty rigorous initially. Taiwanese who wished to change to “entire” Japanese names had to be verified as “national language families” – families using Japanese language as a main language at home. Those Taiwanese who wanted to change their names required formal application by household heads (usually males) on behalf of their respective members, though less stringent regulations were announced in 1944 (Lamley 1999; Ihara 1988). It seems reasonable to assume that those who changed their names in this stage were “upper class” in terms of social status, and those who had better relationships with Japanese in terms of social
networks. The assumptions are based on the fact that the upper class was an arena where Japanese names were in circulation. This arena was different from the others because its members had more power relative to Japanese institutions, and perhaps had more benefits to gain from self-Japanification.

In Kio-a-thau, a total of 30 households were allowed to change their names during the period 1940 to 1945. Most of these 30 changed their names before 1944, only two changed their names in 1945. The first instance of a complete name change occurred on 24 August 1940, involving a man who was working as a staff member at KSR. The final example occurred on 20 March 1945, when the war had almost ended. Among those who changed their names, most household heads were staff members or employees at KSR, government servants, doctors and businessmen (see Table 7.3).

### Table 7.3
**Detailed examples of name-changing in the Kōminka Movement**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Head of household</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Date of changing name</th>
<th>Converted Japanese names</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Tai-jhong Huang</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Worker at KSR</td>
<td>24 August 1940</td>
<td>Kageki Hashimoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Bai-san Chen</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Businessman</td>
<td>10 November 1940</td>
<td>Gingo Matsutani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Jie-chai Jiang</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Staff at KSR</td>
<td>26 December 1940</td>
<td>Tadashi Matsui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Syong-mai Ji</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td>15 April 1941</td>
<td>Naruto Himura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Tou-duan Sie</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Staff at KSR</td>
<td>18 April 1941</td>
<td>Heiya Ichimura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Shang-min Shen</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td>19 April 1941</td>
<td>Chikuma Seikai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Wun-yi Ling</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Government servant</td>
<td>15 July 1941</td>
<td>Waku Suzuhara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Sen-tian Liou</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Staff at KSR</td>
<td>14 January 1942</td>
<td>Umito Kaneko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Gao-dong Huang</td>
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<td>Businessman</td>
<td>11 February 1942</td>
<td>Tomiyuki Hirota</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Zong-he Syu</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Businessman</td>
<td>11 February 1942</td>
<td>Seito Ōyama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Li-sen Cai</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Worker at KSR</td>
<td>10 March 1942</td>
<td>Akio Yoshimoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Bing-chuan Chen</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Staff at KSR</td>
<td>13 March 1942</td>
<td>Eiji Yamamoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Date of Change</td>
<td>Contact Person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Gang Chen</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Household servant</td>
<td>15 September 1942</td>
<td>Teru Miniyama</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>Nyu Huang</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Prostitute</td>
<td>24 February 1945</td>
<td>Hako Hirota</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Shuei-neng Sie</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Worker at KSR</td>
<td>20 March 1945</td>
<td>Junji Amakawa</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Gai-sing Jhuang</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Katsumi Honjō</td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Jhe-li Lin</td>
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<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Umi Kanda</td>
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<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>You-lin Su</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Businessman</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Otoya Yasuda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Ke-huo Sie</td>
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<td>Staff at KSR</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Sumiya Ōkura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Shang Wu</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Worker at KSR</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Bungo Umemura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Hun-lai Jhu</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Ritsuki Fukuda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Bao-zai Liou</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Worker at KSR</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Haruki Kaneko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Ming-fa Chen</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Policeman</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Kimio Yamamoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Ru-yong Su</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Businessman</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Takato Yasuda</td>
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<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Pin-yuan Lu</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Worker at KSR</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Yoshio Nango</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>An Chen</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Government servant</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Iku Takashima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Ming-tong Su</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Shinpo Wadō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Ciou-zong He</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Fumito Kawamoto</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>Li-song Lin</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Businessman</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Yasuo Takabayashi</td>
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<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Wu-yang Lin</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Sahara Takabayashi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Colonial household registers for Kio-a-thau. **Notes:** All the full Chinese and Japanese names are pseudonymous except the surnames. Several cases are unknown for the dates of changing names and occupations because most of them were simply short-term residents. They have already changed their names before moving into the village.

In Kio-a-thau, the total percentage of people who changed their names completely into Japanese was about five to six percent during 1940-1945 according to the census data of long-term residents. Chou (2003: 58) indicates that the figure over the whole island was approximately between two to seven percent at the same time. By and large, my informants told me that when compared with the neighbouring agricultural villages, Kio-a-thau had apparently a higher percentage because they had more social interactions with the Japanese. Other neighbouring
villages were mainly agricultural villages, in which the average income and living standard were obviously lower than Kio-a-thau. The old people told me in 2003 that they only remembered a few cases of changing names under the kaiseimei campaign. However, most of them say that those who changed did so because he or she had more “social interactions” with the colonial regime. Another informant, Horse, claimed further that the real intention for those people to change names was to obtain more food and supplies during the war period. “They had some privileges to get more food during the warfare,” he stated.

However, according to my interviews, those who changed their names under the campaign did not always do so only for real benefits such as food and supplies. Water, for example, changed his name on 15 September 1942. His father was a chef and servant at the turn of the twentieth century for Yamamoto (see Chapter 4). Though uneducated, Water’s father was regarded quite highly by Yamamoto because he was “loyal,” “humble,” and “excellent at cooking” according to Kakei (1989: 75) as mentioned earlier. With his close relationship with Yamamoto, Water was later adopted as his son because Yamamoto had no son. In 1927, Yamamoto was appointed as the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry in Japan, so Water and his family had a chance to go to Tokyo with him and study abroad (see Chapter 4). What I would like to point out here is that Water chose “the nickname” of Yamamoto as a “new surname” because of his personal gratitude.

Generally, a subordinate relationship would be encouraged by the Japanese, which called for a full immersion in Japanese social contexts. Locals such as maid/servants, sex workers and classificatory school children immersed them in an arena where they could distinguish themselves from other local Taiwanese (although some special cases of local children such as Autumn were still allowed to go to Japanese school). 7 As noted above, Water’s father changed his Chinese first name into a “better and more civilised” one after he began working for his Japanese employer. Eventually, in the Kōminka Movement, he and his family totally changed their names, including surnames, into Japanese and registered these in the census registration on the fifteenth of September 1942. The converted

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7 There were two tracks of education for Taiwanese pupils and Japanese ones. For details see Chapter 3.
Japanese family name was Miniyama, the nickname of Yamamoto. The personal history of Water and his family reveals the kind of colonial ordering and social relations that would affect the naming system.

**Who changed their names?**

Not all the people had the same kind of subordinate, intense, and overlapping engagements with the Japanese as Water. In fact, Water’s case seems “unusual” in terms of name changing practices in Kio-a-thau. Despite this, Water’s case reveals that those who changed their surnames were connected in the social “network” of Japanese. For example, according to the census data, initially those men and woman who changed their surnames before 1942 were people who were contributing their technical and professional services (including cooks and servants) to the occupiers, for example, staff at KSR, a government servant, and doctors, except case 2, a businessman (see Table 7.3). At that time, staff at KSR and government servants were both regarded as being “noble” in occupations. River recalled that one day in 1940 when he was returning from school, he saw a man who was working for KSR then, dressed in a silk shirt and a pair of shoes, sitting on a bamboo chair in front of Mazu Temple in the afternoon. River stated, “I was so ‘envious’ of him because most of the people were still working in the field in the afternoon. And the most important thing is that I didn’t have even a pair of shoes then.” In summary, for these people, Japanese-ness also provided an avenue for mobility according to local status conventions, along with the enjoyment of new practices which marked one’s status such as leisure and public exhibition of one’s “free time.” In the eyes of River, these people were the “social elite.” They were “models,” thus acting as “examples” for most Taiwanese people in terms of name changing.

According to the census data, more and more businessmen joined the name change campaign after 1942. It is interesting to consider the role of “businessmen.” As I mentioned in Chapter 4, business activities were popular in Kio-a-thau throughout the period. Nevertheless, businessmen were not traditionally considered to be “distinguished” for either Japanese or Taiwanese people (for more details see Chapter 4). In colonial times, the colonial state
largely controlled the financial benefits, with the result that local businessmen found no other way but to seek "co-operation" with the colonial state. For them, nomenclature was not only an access to some real pragmatic benefits or convenience of doing business, but also a "short-cut" to display their "loyalty" to the colonial regime. A retired teacher, whose father was a businessman and changed his name to a Japanese one in the 1940s, reported that his father had told her why he changed the family name. She said, "My father told me that because we had opened a [Chinese medicine] store, we should change our name, otherwise the Japanese policemen would ask for trouble." Later they changed their surnames by adopting the "title" of the store – Chung Ho – which became their new Japanese surname (Chuwa) in 1941. She also changed her full name to Japanese.

How were they changed?

Let us examine some important rules of name changing in an attempt to understand the "principles" for changing. To start with, I should mention the Japanese kanji system, since it is common to both Chinese and Japanese languages. The word kanji literally means "Chinese characters," showing that the kanji used in Japanese writing are of Chinese origin. Japanese people, who originally had no writing system, borrowed the Chinese script via Korea to write their own language around the fifth century. Originally, writing not only used the Chinese characters but also the Chinese language. As kanji are of Chinese origin, each character has two forms of pronunciation in Japanese: the on yomi or Chinese derived reading, and the kun yomi or native Japanese reading. For example, the word "mountain" in its on yomi is san, but the native kun yomi reading is yama (both of which are in common usage in Japan).

Most Japanese surnames can be written down in kanji although they are differently pronounced in the Chinese and Japanese languages. The locals who changed their names basically followed this kanji system. I will sum up the strategies they used as follows.

1) Transformation of the characters of the original Chinese family name;
2) Recreation from birth places;
3) Homographs of original Chinese surnames or first names;
4) Private relationship with Japanese benefactors, a kinship term (case 13 in Table 7.3, which is Water’s family, discussed earlier);
5) Name of Kio-a-thau, the person’s place of residence (case 1);
6) Christian idea, a religious term (Case 17); and
7) Name of one's own shop (see the above discussion).

1. Transformation of the characters of the original Chinese family name by the kanji system

This was clearly the most popular pattern for changing surnames. The method of this conversion is to associate part of the original Chinese character with the kanji of the Japanese new surname. For example, if the surname was Liou, then the converted surname becomes Kaneko in Japanese because the kanji of Kaneko is partly derived from the Chinese character of Liou. Similarly, if the surname was Huang, then the converted one is Hirota by using a similar character in Japanese.

   Case one: Liou (劉 [金]) converted to Kaneko (金子)

   Case two: Huang (黃) converted to Hirota (廣田)

   Case three: Su (蘇 [田]) converted to Yasuda (安田)

2. Recreation from birth places

Autumn, was a member of a “national language family” – a family using Japanese language as the main language to communicate – inasmuch as every member in the family was fluent in speaking Japanese. His father came from Hsinhsu, Tainan, and arrived in Kio-a-thau in the early twentieth century. His converted surname ichimura, however, was indeed in memory of his original birth place, Hsinhsu, Tainan because one word of the kanji of ichimura contains the Chinese character of Hsinhsu. On 18 April 1941, Autumn’s father, a veterinarian at the sugar
refinery, decided on the change. Autumn reported that the process of changing was pretty “natural” and “without reluctance.” He said:

My father was working for the sugar refinery and we were living in the area where most Japanese staff and workers clustered, and used Japanese all the time. In terms of schooling, we did not attend the Taiwanese primary school but went to the primary school that excluded most Taiwanese children. We followed most Japanese customs, for example, we never ‘worshipped [Chinese] ancestors’ in our household. Therefore, we ‘naturally’ changed our surname on 18 April 1941 under the kaiseimei campaign.

He continued to say, “Even my grandmother, who could not speak a word of Japanese, also changed [her surname].” For Autumn and his family, the nomenclature was not for any “benefit” but a rather smooth matter because in some sense they identified themselves as Japanese. However, the memory of the original birth-place was still preserved, despite all these other changes in identity.

3. Homographs with original Chinese surnames or first names

According to this rule, both surnames and first names could serve as a source of new surnames. For example, in case 7, Mr. Lin is converted to a Japanese surname Suzuhara because Lin is a homograph of the kanji of Suzuhara when read in Chinese. The Kanji system used by Japanese people was an extension from Chinese characters. Therefore Taiwanese people can also read the Japanese Kanji although Japanese Kanji contain different meanings and pronunciations. Several examples follow this rule such as He to Kawamoto (case 28); Lin to Takabayashi (case 29). First names as well as surnames were used. In case 27, the new Japanese surname – Wadō – is converted from the kun yomi pronunciation of the original Chinese first name by the kanji system – Paulo.

Case 27: Ming-tong (明同) converted to Wadō (和同)

Case 28: He (何) converted to Kawamoto (河本)

Case 29: Lin (林) converted to Takabayashi (高林)
4. **Christian ideas**

Christianity was first introduced to Taiwan during the Dutch occupation as I have noted in Chapter Five. According to the local gazetteer (CTSJ 1984: 554), Presbyterian missionaries arrived in Kio-a-thau in 1862. In 1872, a priest bought a house near the public well for the converts to worship. In 1889 the converts moved to Nan-zih since there were only a few converts in Kio-a-thau. Generally, locals who converted to Christianity were amongst the higher social class at that time. For example, of the total of three local converts in Kio-a-thau, two were doctors and one was a teacher. Others later began to convert to Christianity because of various personal factors. Bell told me that one woman who had converted to Christianity in the early twentieth century because her son suddenly died. The missionaries came to help her and thus she converted to Christianity. Bell’s mother was one of the rare cases converted to Christianity in the colonial period in Kio-a-thau and the neighbouring areas. He stated, “My mother’s family converted to Christianity from the late Cing era. She did not worship ancestors and often went to Church. As far as I know, only a few people in Kio-a-thau and the neighbouring area converted to Christianity [in colonial times]. For example, there were three cases in Kio-a-thau [in the 1930s], one case in Jiou-jia-wei, two cases in Shih-long, and three cases in Bai-shu-zih, including my mother.” When I asked him why Mr. Lin Jhe-li (case 17), changed his surname to Kanda, he answered, “it was probably because of his religion.” Mr. Lin Jhe-li was a teacher in Shih-long primary school. His converted to the Japanese surname, Kanda, means “God’s field” in the kanji system.

To conclude, most of these new surnames obviously reflect the influence of the original surnames and the local identity of these people (see Table 7.4). In other words, despite political bans and propaganda, those Taiwanese people who changed their names still somewhat showed their inner identity. In some senses, they still thought of, or recreated themselves as, a new identity which mixed both the traditional “Han-Chinese” with a part of Japanese identity in response to the circumstances of colonisation. Perhaps we can describe them more precisely as “Han-Chinese in the Japanese empire” – the former stands for cultural identity.
while the latter stands for their political situation. This changing identity was used somewhat situationally or strategically. Autumn and his wife, Guess, for example, changed their family names in colonial times because both of them were members of a “national language family.” Although Autumn lived in the Japanese area near the sugar refinery, spoke Japanese and followed every Japanese custom, he told me they still worshipped ancestors in Hsinhsu, Tainan, their hometown, although they did not worship them in Kio-a-thau.

Like Autumn, Guess and her family also changed their full names into Japanese ones in the kaiseimei campaign. For some women such as Guess, a Japanese-style name in the official nomenclature record provided some advantages or even “benefits” when dealing with the wider society. Guess was a well-educated woman in the colonial period and a midwife in the 1940s. She stated how her name had influenced her:

My [first] name was cai [which means Guess in Chinese], a [bad] name chosen by my grandpa. According to the ancestors’ agreement, if I were a baby boy, I would have been bestowed with ming-tong [which means smart boy]; if a baby girl, I would be named su-yun [plain cloud]. When my grandpa first looked at me, he felt unhappy. When he was filling in the household census at the bureau, the staff asked my grandpa, “It’s a baby boy or girl?” My grandpa replied with a long face, “You guess?” and then Guess became my name.

Guess was born in Bai-shu-zih, an agricultural village neighbouring Kio-a-thau, and she was quite smart when she was young. She was the eldest daughter and granddaughter in her family. At that time, women were not usually encouraged to go to school by Taiwanese people. Later she got a diploma of midwifery in the mid-1930s. But with a “bad” name, she always felt inferior to others. As she stated:

My family still called me su-yun though I was still using “Guess” at school. I felt ashamed to use Guess in public. [Weeping] I don’t like this name, which brought about a deep sense of inferiority my whole life. That’s the main reason why I heard we could have our names changed in the Kōminka Movement, I strongly urged my father to change it as soon as possible....

Guess and her family finally changed their names on 13 February 1945 under the policy of the Kōminka Movement. For her, the name change provided a new
chance to start her life. For a well-educated woman like her in the colonial period, name-change was not about politics or ethnicity but an opportunity to discard the "bad names" bestowed on women. Hence, the census was historically one of the contexts in which people thought through and expressed the ambivalence they felt when facing the social mores in those times. In addition, the census records an active and open history of Taiwanese responding to their times and thinking aloud about what tactics to adopt.

Autumn and Guess told me the distinction between the Japanese colonial regime and the post-colonial nationalist government in terms of name changing policy. When I visited the couple in early September 2002, I was immediately struck by their Japanese-style house, decorated with a wooden floor in the living room, an old clock from the shōwa period and some Japanese paintings left by Autumn’s father’s Japanese friends in 1945. They told me they hid these in the 1950s because these items left from the colonial period suggested that you were not loyal to the Nationalist regime. “It’s nonsense, makes no sense,” Autumn continued, “the Nationalist government ‘forced’ us to change our Japanese names to Chinese names in 1946, while Japanese ‘encouraged’ us to change our names by exhortation.” This refers to the fact that in 1946, the new regime forced those who had changed their names to “re-change” or “recover” their original Chinese names, as a token of their loyalty and patriotism. Thus, along with Japanese surnames, many female given names ending with ko disappeared, although they were still used within the family. Cases such as Water and Autumn recovered their full original Chinese names again after the Nationalist regime took over Taiwan.

Both Autumn and Water’s stories about name changing are miniatures of the social history of cultural contact. Water’s father was named ci [first name], which means “a beggar”, and then renamed zai-jyun [first name], which means “a gentleman” in early colonial times. After that he even changed his surname to Miniyama, which expressed his gratitude to his Japanese master. However, he was renamed ci or zai-jyun again under the post-colonial regime. Autumn’s story reveals a changing identity which mingled local, Chinese and Japanese identities, while his wife reveals a female’s subjectivity in dealing with a new situation she had never experienced. To sum up, Taiwanese experienced a changing process in
terms of nomenclature which reflected their changing identity in different times. Up until the present Japanese colloquial appellations have remained among the older generation – no matter whether men or women – although they are not allowed to register them on the census nowadays. The changing history of the naming system has already become a unique social memory in Taiwanese society.

Table 7.4  
Rules with nomenclature in Kio-a-thau (1940-1945): 30 households’ survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rules</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Land identity (including birth places and place names)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Cases of 1, 5, 16, 20, 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transformation from original Chinese surnames</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Cases of 8, 9, 18, 14, 22, 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homograph with original Chinese surnames and given names</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Cases of 7, 16, 27, 28, 29, 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian idea</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Case 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private relationship with Japanese benefactors</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Cases of 12, 13, 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total cases</td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Colonial household registers, 1940-45, Kio-a-thau. Notes: I do not include the shop case discussed above because the change of nomenclature was not registered in Kio-a-thau.

Why names were changed
Watson asserts that the naming system provides an avenue for emotional affiliation and a self-expression in Chinese society. However, I argue that the naming system was used as a function of colonial social relations. In the process of name changing, locals often experienced tension with other group members. For instance, in the kaiseimei campaign, most of the children were encouraged to convert their full names to Japanese by teachers at school. Although the impact was quite slight, this encouragement caused some tension between family members. Ihara (1988: 271-386) mentions a common conflict arose between different generations because some of the members wanted to change, but the elder generation prevented them from doing so. My informant Autumn stated that his grandmother's attitude was: "I'm almost dying, so why should I change?" His wife, Guess, reported that her schoolmates still called her by her Chinese name (using Japanese) though she had changed her name. However, it is likely that those who did change their full names still kept their Taiwanese identity. Guess claimed that she still thought she was "Taiwanese" rather than "Japanese" even though she had changed names. But after changing her names, she felt more like she was a "good citizen under the empire." At KSR, one man reported he did not even notice that one of his colleagues had already changed his full name. He still called him Summer, the latter's original Chinese name. Despite this, Din, a student in the 1940s, reported that he seemed to become more popular when he had contact with Japanese people because they thought that he set a "good example" for most people.

I have mentioned also that those Taiwanese people who changed their names gained some better "practical advantages" such as having priority to receive higher education and more food, business subsidies and so forth (Ihara 1988). Autumn, for example, maintained that he had received a larger "portion" after changing his name to Japanese in the Second World War period. But, as noted above, this was not his father's intention. Another man, Wood, was a "student soldier" in early 1945 in Ping-dong, a southern town in Taiwan. He recalled the reason why he decided to change his full name to Japanese while in the army. He reported, "I did not negotiate with anybody or register officially. The reason is that I feared discrimination in the army if I did not change." Despite this, it seems too bold to argue that those people changed names in order to gain some "practical
benefits.” Cases of self-naming such as Wood’s also reflect the institutional pressure to fit into some of the more regimented arenas of colonial society, such as schools and army.

CONCLUSION: SITUATIONAL IDENTITY

In this chapter I have explored nomenclature in colonial Taiwan as a case study of changing cultural identity. In traditional Taiwanese and Chinese society, names, an important form of self-expression as Watson has stated, can classify different groups and show their personal identities. The namelessness of women and their inability to participate in the naming process highlights the vast gender distinctions which characterise traditional Taiwanese and Chinese culture. After the occupation by Japan in 1895, the colonial state introduced several measures which encouraged Taiwanese people to change their Chinese names into Japanese ones. The policy reached its peak in the Kōminka Movement, which occurred from 1937 until the end of the Second World War. In this chapter, I have presented my findings in terms of name change practices in my fieldwork site of Kio-a-thau. Mainly by inspecting the colonial census data, together with several life-history interviews with elderly people, I have attempted to capture the complex arena of subjectivity in colonial Taiwan. I argue that the changing practices did not mean that the Taiwanese became Japanese subjects. Rather, it reveals that locals expressed their subjectivity which mixed old Han Chinese with new Japanese cultural and national identities.

Through my interviews with locals in 2002-2003, the colonial period of history and the meaning of the name change practices were in some ways “reconstructed” or “recaptured.” My interviews reflect a history of the political, administrative, and social contexts in which census takers and subjects made choices about how to deal with the events and options that confronted them. My conclusions are as follows. First, the complex situation indicates that the naming system varied a lot at this stage from the traditional method used by most Taiwanese people. A uniform mode of recording names was executed through the census and registration system, although the traditional ways of naming were still used. For women, the condition of namelessness disappeared gradually through schooling.
and more social contact, although they were still often stigmatised in terms of appellation, and their names were used as tools for local males to struggle with the colonial rule. However, we can see that they still experienced their agency in some arenas such as brothels and households. Second, at this stage, when both men and women were at the crossroads: to be Japanese or not, they deliberately developed their respective strategies to deal with the colonial state.

From my discussion, I argue that a name is not only a form of self-expression but also a function of colonial social relations and a strategic tool manipulated by locals. Against the given “coloniser–colonised,” “suppression–subject,” or “men–women” dichotomies, I argue that name change practices for Taiwanese people did not mean “becoming Japanese” but were a series of complex and nuanced strategies used by Taiwanese people. To sum up, the naming system is an arena for “power struggles,” in which men, women, the coloniser, the colonised, and even the post-colonial regime were all involved. The Taiwanese experienced a changing process in terms of nomenclature which reflected their changing identity of different times, including the post-colonial period. Names were thus used as tools for revealing and experiencing their respective changing identity: Taiwanese? Chinese? Or Japanese? In conclusion, name changing cannot simply be regarded as a political measure conducted by the ruler but also a “strategic tool” manipulated delicately by the local people. Due to the specificity of their history, locals in colonial Taiwan were experiencing their agency situationally and strategically in a complex situation, whereby they were shaping what it really meant to be “Taiwanese” in a social history of cultural contact.
Plate 7.1 A celebration of the two thousand and six hundredth year by the Japanese calendar in the Kōminka Movement: a picture taken in 1940 in Shih-long.

Source: Kaohsiung sian jhen cang lao jhao pian jhuan ji (A collection of precious old pictures in Kaohsiung County) (1997: 23)
8

CONCLUSION

On a summer day in 2003, several days before I returned to Canberra to continue my doctoral program, Flower told me: “Now you are going overseas soon. You should go to the Holy Mercy Buddha (guanyin) [in the refinery] to say good goodbye and ask for a blessing so you can do your thesis well.” I promised I would and did according to her suggestion. The Holy Mercy Buddha was made in Japan and set up in the Kio-a-thau Sugar Refinery in 1902. It was set up in order to bless the refinery and ensure it would operate smoothly and peacefully (see Chapters 2 and 3). The Buddha remained after the Japanese left and is still there. The religious symbol has become totally “localised” among villagers of Kio-a-thau (although the same religion is shared by both the Japanese and Taiwanese). No one would ask where it was made. Every year many worshippers gather together and hold a ritual to worship her at the time of Buddha’s birthday. On rare occasions Japanese tourists – some of whom are descendants of the staff and workers who worked in the refinery before – will pay a visit to the Buddha (see the instance in Chapter 2). Colonial encounters, in this case, are projected onto the shared landmark by both the Japanese and Taiwanese.

The scene not only reflects the landscape but also the people who were once ruled by the Japanese. Water is a good example to illustrate this. In his case, colonial encounters caused him to become a multi-dimensional figure: Is he Japanese? Is he Taiwanese? Or is he Chinese? These triple identities in colonial Taiwan were also revealed by Ching (2001: 13). In many respects he is Taiwanese because he was born in Taiwan. His parents are Taiwanese and his native language is Taiwanese local dialect. He was arranged to marry someone he did not love in line with local culture. After 1945, he seemed to become Chinese because the Nationalist government politically endeavored to educate local Taiwanese that they were Chinese. Water, like the majority of people, was forced to accept that and to speak Mandarin in public. However, in many respects he behaves like a totally Japanese person. He can speak fluent Japanese because that was the main language he used throughout schooling. He was adopted by a Japanese employer
(Chapter 4) and changed his full name (and that of his family) into a Japanese one under the *kaiseimei* campaign (Chapter 7). He fought against his arranged marriage by trying to commit suicide (as a Japanese warrior would do under similar circumstances) although he failed (Chapter 5).

Encounters in the Japanese colonial period can largely account for the complex situations many Taiwanese such as Water are facing today. This period, which lasted for fifty years and four months, has become part of the cultural and social legacy of Taiwanese history. Ching (2001), by using literary analyses, argues that the Japanese colonial empire provided a socio-cultural field, in which multi-dimensional identities were embodied. By contrast, I explore the complex interactions between the locals and the Japanese and highlight locals’ own interpretations of the past through detailed life-history interviews from the survivors of the colonial period. In Chapter 7, I have even pointed out how these multi-dimensional identities were manipulated by locals on different occasions. I have also pointed out that colonial external power was not a dominant framework imposed upon Taiwanese people. Nor did the Taiwanese people remain unchanged by the social and cultural associations brought about by colonial rule. I have argued that both the colonial state’s intervention and local agency are inseparable. No single factor is more superior or more dominant. Three key elements can be concluded from this intertwining of the colonial regulation and local people.

Firstly, the coloniser and colonised model must be challenged. There is no denying that the colonial state played a crucial role in local social transformations such as the abolition of footbinding, the liberation of adopted daughters, changing ideas of marriage and gender roles, including the division of labour, changing ideas of land and social hierarchy, and name-changing. However, we cannot conclude that the colonial state was the only agent to contribute to such social transformations. Instead, we should emphasise the mutual process for both the locals and the Japanese to negotiate with each other. In Chapter 4, I have described the process of social differentiation in Kio-a-thau as a result of migration. Due to the industrialisation brought about by the sugar economy, the short-term migrants emerged as a third category between the coloniser and the
Conclusion

These migrants played a vital role in local transformations during the colonial period such as changes in ideas about kinship, land, social hierarchy, and leisure arrangements. In Chapter 5, I have examined both the general transformations over time and local personal agency in married lives. I discovered that both partners used personal strategies such as the manipulation of emotions, control of domestic finance, and extra-marital affairs to deal with the external colonial impacts. Chapter 6 has dealt with how different classes of women asserted agency and experienced their subjectivity in a new kind of division of labour influenced also by colonial industrialisation. Taiwanese women of different classes utilised various strategies such as the rearrangement of household chores, choice of occupation, and acting as an intermediary between the Japanese and local males to negotiate the colonial impacts on the gendered division of labour. In Chapter 7, I have explored name-changing practices in colonial Kio-a-thau, in particular the practices in the Kōminka Movement. I have pointed out that the naming system followed during the colonial period was not simply a matter of choice between indigenous or “Japanese” personal identities, but was also a nuanced strategy to deal with the ambivalent situation the Taiwanese were facing between becoming a Japanese subject and not becoming a Japanese subject. Those who changed their names experienced their agency situationally or strategically in a complex situation, whereby they were shaping what it meant to be “Taiwanese” in a social history of colonial cultural contact.

Secondly, Taiwanese women’s agency in the colonial encounters must be reexamined. There are few ethnographic descriptions of Taiwanese women during the colonial period. We are thus not aware of their detailed situation and transformation under colonial impacts. Several of my chapters have focused on women’s agency. I have pointed out that some features of Taiwanese women represented by anthropologists in the 1960s, such as the manipulation of emotions and the control of domestic finance, were implicated in the social and cultural transformations of the colonial era. These features are not neither given nor externally-imposed features in Taiwanese society, but rather strategies used by women in a context of shifting power relations (Chapter 5). I have also indicated that a woman was good at playing an intermediate role between the coloniser and colonised to gain economic advantages (Chapter 6). Those women who lived at
the bottom of society used their economic agency to deal with their marginality (Chapter 6). In the Kōminka Movement, men sometimes used women – for example in the naming of girls – to deal with the colonial kaiseimei policy. As a result, women of different classes developed various strategies to respond to the dilemmas they faced when confronted with the ideological, social, and institutional demands of the late colonial period (Chapter 7). These facts reveal that, in their colonial encounters, women utilised different strategies as distinct from men. Moreover, women exercised their agency situationally.

Thirdly, the discontinuity as well as continuity in history must be highlighted. I have pointed out that any academic attempt to explore the long-term social and cultural transformations in Taiwanese society would be insufficient and incomplete if it did not examine in detail the negotiations that characterised encounters between the Japanese throughout this period. We are not aware, for instance, of how the merchant class became more powerful in the post-colonial period compared to their inferior social status in the nineteenth century. There seems to be a gap in history, and my exploration of the intersections between locals, colonial authorities, short-term immigrants seems to provide some solutions (Chapter 4). The increasing importance of businessmen in colonial times paved the way to the post-colonial “Taiwan economic miracle,” although there is no denying that there are other factors affecting the post-colonial economic transformations. Similarly, women’s emotions were also constructed through and in turn shaped history and this locally-distinct from cultural agency is only meaningful when put into historical context (Chapter 5). Furthermore, I suggest that if the specificity of Taiwan’s social history were emphasised (rather than its politics and geography), then we would understand better how it differs from mainland China because the Taiwanese people have different historical experiences and cultural influences such as their encounter with and negotiation of the political, social, and cultural dimensions of a half century of Japanese colonial rule. I suggest that this social history has made Taiwanese society unique from other societies – including Chinese society.

To conclude, I suggest the coloniser and colonised model is simplistic and misleading. In theoretical terms, this conclusion implies a breakdown of the
dichotomy mentioned in the initial part of the thesis (Chapter 1). A detailed analysis of how colonised people adapt, resist, transform, and negotiate with the coloniser is essential. However, there are still many topics which remain to be further explored in future study. For example, we do not know if and how religious ideas and practices were transformed, and how locals exercised their agency in religious behaviour. Another important issue is the different colonial experiences among different ethnic groups. Kio-a-thau was a completely Fulao village in Japanese period, the residents being descendants of immigrants from Fujian province (Chapter 2). For example, how did the Hakka people, the other subgroup of Han Chinese, and the aboriginal people negotiate their respective colonial experiences with the Japanese? Also, some Taiwanese residents were not ruled by Japan, such as the Chinese mainlanders who arrived in Taiwan after 1945. What are their perceptions of Japanese colonialism? These questions remain unanswered in my thesis and need to be explored further in the future. The case study of Kio-a-thau is just a start in academia to explore these questions. Further intellectual exploration remains.
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