

	Cannot read and write Japanese	43	66	193	211	5	3
Ren-shou-sia-li	Can read and write Japanese	2	5	25	2	0	0
	Cannot read and write Japanese	1	3	4210	4098	5	0

Source: Colonial census volumes for Kio-a-thau

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 transit 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, *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 *Tatami* mat is the traditional straw matting that is used on the floor in Japanese homes. In old times, Japanese life centered around *tatami*. Sleeping, eating, playing, working, entertaining guests all took place in elegant *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.¹¹ 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 Buddha (*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 the base 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.

¹¹ 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 mysterial 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 Zensaburo 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

MIGRATION AND SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

INTRODUCTION

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.¹ 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.

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 Cing 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-mill in northern Taiwan in the late Cing 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 Cing 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.² 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

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* 娼女], professional actors or actresses [*you-ling* 優伶], medium spirits [*wu-jhe* 巫者], musicians in funeral services [*yue-ren* 樂人], go-betweeners 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

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.

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

Business	Year of opening	Address (street number)	Owned by Japanese (J) or Taiwanese (T)
Hotel [<i>lyu-she</i> 旅舍] [<i>lyu-ren-su</i> 旅人宿]	1865	156	T
Meat shop [<i>rou-shang</i> 肉商]	1868	?	T
Grocery store [<i>za-huo-dian</i> 雜貨店]	1887	136	T
Grocery store [<i>za-huo-dian</i> 雜貨店]	1890	143	T
Japanese cooking restaurant [<i>liao-li-dian</i> 料理店]	1898	123	J
Fertilizer supplier [<i>dou-cian-jhih-zao</i> 豆簽製造]	1898	189	T
Restaurant [<i>liao-li-dian</i> 料理店]	1902	178	T
Seafood shop [<i>yu-shang</i> 魚商]	1902	190	T
Tatami mat shop [<i>die-jhih</i> 疊職]	1903	123	J
Fresh fruit shop [<i>guo-wu-jhong-mai</i> 果物仲買]	1903	?	T
Bakery [<i>guo-zih-jhih-zao-ye</i> 果子製造業]	1904	189	T
Opium monopoly [<i>ya-pian-yan-cing-mai-ye</i> 阿片煙請賣業]	1904	?	T
Geisha restaurant [<i>liao-li-dian</i> 料理店]	1904	123	J
Geisha restaurant [<i>liao-li-dian</i> 料理店]	1904	191	T
Tailor [<i>cai-fong</i> 裁縫]	1904	192	J
Grocery store [<i>za-huo-dian</i> 雜貨店]	1904	123	T
Billiard centre [<i>you-ji-chang</i> 遊技場]	1904	178	T

Meat shop [<i>rou-shang</i> 肉商]	1905	156	J
Grocery store [<i>za-huo-dian</i> 雜貨店]	1905	178	T
Geisha restaurant [<i>liao-li-dian</i> 料理店]	1905	194	J
Barber-shop [<i>li-fa-ye</i> 理髮業]	1905	179	J
Soy sauce mill [<i>jiang-you-jih-zao</i> 醬油製造]	1905	185	T
Restaurant [<i>yin-shih-dia</i> 飲食店]	1905	189	T
Funeral director [<i>guan-da-gong</i> 棺大工]	1905	?	T
Casino [<i>du-ye</i> 賭業]	1905	?	T
Casino [<i>du-ye</i> 賭業]	1905	65	T
Grocery store [<i>za-huo-dian</i> 雜貨店]	1905	182	J
Loan and mortgage broker [<i>jin-dai-ye</i> 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 *Rih jih shih ci hu ji deng ji 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.⁷ 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.

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 build 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.⁸ 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

Total number of households		<1 <i>fen</i>	1-5 <i>fen</i>	>5 <i>fen</i>	>1 <i>chia</i>	>3 <i>chia</i>	>5 <i>chia</i>	>10 <i>chia</i>
8,049	No.	697	5,315	1,429	462	121	22	3
	%	9	66	18	6	2	0.3	0.04

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 Qing 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 subcontract 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).⁹ 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

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).

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

▪ Origins

Generally speaking, most short-term 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 4.3
Origins of short-term immigrants

Year of arrival	Total	<20 km		21-40 km		41-60 km		>60 km		Un-known	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Before 1920	7	5	72	1	14	0	0	1	14	0	0
1921-1930	20	11	55	3	15	0	0	6	30	0	0
1931-1940	102	72	71	13	13	7	7	8	8	2	2
1941-	146	90	62	17	12	17	12	21	14	1	0.7
Unknown	5	4	80	1	20	0	0	0	0	0	0

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

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

Year of arrival	Number of households	Average ages
Before 1920	7	24.3
1921-1930	20	28.5
1931-1940	102	31.6
1941-	144	31.3
Unknown	7	-
Total number and average	280	31.1

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

Year of arrival	Total	Married		Unmarried		Unknown	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Before 1920	7	7	100	0	0	0	0
1921-1925	4	3	75	1	25	0	0
1926-1930	17	16	94	0	0	1	6
1931-1935	31	29	94	0	0	2	6
1936-1940	72	56	78	6	8	10	14
1941-1945	142	96	68	10	7	36	25
1946	2	2	100	0	0	0	0
Unknown	5	2	40	1	20	2	40

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

Year of arrival	Total	Single		Nuclear family		Stem family		Large family		Un- Known	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Before 1920	7	0	0	2	29	2	29	3	43	0	0
1921-1925	4	0	0	2	50	2	50	0	0	0	0
1926-1930	17	1	6	5	29	9	53	2	12	0	0
1931-1935	31	1	3	21	68	7	23	2	6	0	0
1936-1940	72	9	13	44	61	13	18	5	7	1	1
1941-1945	149	31	21	85	57	28	19	0	0	5	3

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

Year of arrival	Number of households	Average number of family members in each household	Household only with one person
Before 1920	7	11.3	0
1921-1930	21	6.9	2
1931-1940	103	6.0	8
1941-1945	144	4.5	25
Unknown	5	2.0	2
Total number	280	5.5	37

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)

Occupations of the household heads	Total number
Professionals	8
Doctor [<i>yi-sheng</i> 醫生]	5
Teacher [<i>jjiao-yuan</i> 教員]	2
Government servant [<i>jhuang-yi-chang</i> 庄役場]	1
Businessmen and self-employed	54
Grocery store [<i>za-huo-dian</i> 雜貨店]	3
Daily products retail [<i>siao-jian-wu-shang</i> 小間物商]	2
Bakery [<i>guo-zih-jhjh-zao-ye</i> 果子製造業]	2
Restaurant and food court [<i>yin-shih-fan-mai</i> 飲食販賣] [<i>liao-li-dian</i> 料理店] [<i>yin-shih-wu-hang-shang</i> 飲食物行商]	8
Vendor [<i>yin-shih-wu-siao-mai</i> 飲食物小賣]	5
Rice store [<i>jing-mi-ye</i> 精米業] [<i>mi-gu-shang</i> 米穀商]	2
Estate agent [<i>dai-di-ye</i> 貸地業] [<i>dai-shu-ye</i> 代書業]	4
Fashion store and tailor [<i>wu-fu-shang</i> 吳服商] [<i>cai-fong-ye</i> 裁縫業]	5
Chinese medicine store and drugstore [<i>yao-jhong-shang</i> 藥種商] [<i>si-yao-jyu</i> 西藥局]	4
Bike repairs and sale outlet [<i>zih-jhuan-che-fan-mai</i> 自轉車販賣] [<i>zih-jhuan-che-siou-shan</i> 自轉車修繕]	3
Others	16
Staff and employees at KSR	37
Agricultural employees for KSR [<i>rih-yong</i> 日傭]	26
Staff at KSR [<i>jhjh-tang-huei-she-gu</i> 製糖會社雇] [<i>shou-chuan</i> 手傳] [<i>jhjh-tang-huei-zuo-geng-zuo-si</i> 製糖會作耕作係]	10
Tenants [<i>tian-dian-zuo</i> 田佃作]	1
Subtotal	99
Unknown	181
Total number	280

Source: Colonial household registers of short-terms immigrants in Kio-a-thau.
Notes: The term of “Others” includes a shop for transportation services [*yun-song-dian* 運送店], 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-jhieh-zao-ye* 麻油製造業], Dairyman [*niou-nai-pei-da* 牛奶配達], building construction [*zuo-guan-jhieh* 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-jhieh-zao* 桶製造], a tofu mill [*dou-fu-jhieh-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-jhieh-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)

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

Source: Colonial household registers of long-term residents in Kio-a-thau. **Notes:** The term of “Others” includes a fertiliser supplier [*dou-cian-jhieh-zao* 豆簽製造], 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

Total number of business	Fathers' occupations		
	Businessmen	Non-businessmen	Unknown
14	11	1	2

Source: Fieldwork data, Kio-a-thau

Table 4.11
Inherited business or non-inherited business

Total number of business	Inherited business	Non-inherited business
14	10	4

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

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).¹² 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."

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-athau 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).¹³ 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.¹⁴ 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).¹⁵ 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

¹⁵ 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).

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 on-going 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-ma 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-ma 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). After that, Taiwanese

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 酌婦] – 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.¹⁹ 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

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

Japanese Calendar	Year the restaurants opened	Number of <i>geisha</i> restaurants	Number owned by Japanese/ by Taiwanese	Duration (in months)	Address (No. on the main street)	Number of <i>geisha</i> restaurants operating (approximately)
<i>Meizi</i>	1904	2	2/0	49	123/191	2
	1905	1	1/0	?	194	3
	1906	0				3
	1907	1	1/0	22	191	4
	1908	3	3/0	8/17/105	67/137/192	4
	1909	3	2/1	60/127/?	144/194	6
	1910	3	2/1	14/20/24	123/177/179	7
	1911	1	0/1	8	136	8
<i>Taisho</i>	1912	0				8
	1913	2	1/1	67/74	143/194	5
	1914	1	1/0	39	164	5
	1915	0				5
	1916	0				4
	1917	1	0/1	14	143	4
	1918	2	1/1	8/28	143/180	5
	1919	2	0/2	30/42	143/209	3
	1920	0				2
	1921	3	1/2	23/30/56	123/144/169	5
	1922	0				4
	1923	1	1/0	78	197	4
	1924	2	1/1	27/57	144/197	4
<i>Shōwa</i>	1925	0				3
	1926	0				2

1927	1	1/0	8	186	3
1929	1	0/1	11	186	3
1930	0				1
1931	2	1/1	20/26	152/191	2
1932	0				2
1933	0				1
1934	3	0/3	34/53/127	140/144/191	3
1935	0				3
1936	0				3
1937	0				2
1938	0				2
1939	0				1
1940	0				1
1941	0				1
1942	0				1
1943	0				1
1944	0				1
1945	0				0
1946	0				0

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-

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.

Intermarriage 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