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 maidservant 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.\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{13} Local dialect: \textit{pak}. (Mandarin: \textit{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
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

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)
Sexual division of labour

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
Gender and nomenclature

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 Kakei\textsuperscript{1} (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).

\textsuperscript{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

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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 7.1**
The number of baby girls named with the suffix ko in respective years

<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 ko</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. Take 1939 for example, one hundred percent of new-born baby girls were named with ko, while only about fifty-five

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4 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>
<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>

**Table 7.2**
The number of baby boys named with Japanese style

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

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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.

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 limura</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>
<td>M</td>
<td>Businessman</td>
<td>11 February 1942</td>
<td>Tomiyuki Hirota</td>
</tr>
<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>Japanese Name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Gang Chen</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Household servant</td>
<td>15 September 1942</td>
<td>Teru Miniyama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Nyu Huang</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Prostitute</td>
<td>24 February 1945</td>
<td>Hako Hirota</td>
</tr>
<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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Gai-sing Jhuang</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Katsumi Honjō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Jhe-li Lin</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Umi Kanda</td>
</tr>
<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>
<td>M</td>
<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>
</tr>
<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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Li-song Lin</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Businessman</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Yasuo Takabayashi</td>
</tr>
<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). 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 Kôminka 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 (刘) converted to Kaneko (金子)

Case two: Huang (黄) converted to Hirota (广田)

Case three: Su (苏) 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 – Pauto.

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>30</td>
<td></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
Gender and nomenclature

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)
**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 Kôminka 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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251
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254