YING-TING: A CULTURAL-ECOLOGICAL STUDY OF A CHINESE MIXED CROPPING VILLAGE IN TAIWAN

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ABSTRACT

YING-TING: A CULTURAL-ECOLOGICAL STUDY OF A CHINESE MIXED CROPPING VILLAGE IN TAIWAN

By

Chung-min Chen

This dissertation is a study of a rural village in the southwestern region of Taiwan. It focuses on the mixed-cropping system practiced by Ying-ting villagers as well as other peasants in the Chia-nan Plain of Taiwan. This study shows that the mixed-cropping system is related not only to the local ecological conditions but also, if not more directly, to the socioeconomic policies of the Japanese Colonial Government, which controlled Taiwan from 1895 to 1945, and the Nationalist Chinese Government, which has been the ruling authority since the end of Japanese colonization.

Located in the southwestern corner of the Chia-nan Plain, Ying-ting is in that part of Taiwan where irrigation facilities are almost indispensable for agricultural enterprise. When the Japanese Colonial Government constructed the Chia-nan Irrigation System in the 1920's, it planned to make sugar cane the most important crop of this region. Thus, instead of building a system that could supply irrigation water to all of the farmsteads in the Chia-nan

Plain, the Colonial Authority opted for the present system which can only irrigate one-third of the entire plain. In 1930, when the Irrigation System was completed, a rotating irrigation system was devised and enforced to distribute the limited water sources among all the farming communities of this region. As a consequence, peasants in Ying-ting village and other communities in the Chia-nan Plain were, and still are, "forced" to adopt a mixed-cropping system and rotate their lands with sugar cane, sweet potatoes, and wet-rice in a three-year cycle.

With this unique agricultural practice, it was expected that the sociocultural configuration of Ying-ting village would be somewhat different from that of other Taiwanese peasant communities where the mixed-cropping system is not practiced. However, after comparing Ying-ting village with Hsin Hsing and K'un Shen--two Taiwanese villages with economic bases quite different from that of Ying-ting--we failed to observe any significant variation in their sociocultural systems except their respective productive patterns.

The lack of significant differences among these three peasant communities can only be attributed to the fact that all the villagers share the same cultural background and have been intensively influenced by the same set of socio-economic and political policies implemented by the state.

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PREFACE

The ethnographic research of this dissertation was conducted in Ying-ting, Tainan County, Taiwan Province, the Republic of China, over a period of fourteen months, between January 1970 and February 1971. The data used in this dissertation are from no later than the end of that field season.

The Chinese words used in the text are romanized in Mandarin in accordance with the Wade-Giles system. I have several reasons for deciding to romanize the Chinese words in Mandarin instead of the local (Min-nan) language. First, most westerners, who probabily will make up the majority of the potential readers of this dissertation, would more likely be familiar with Mandarin than the Min-nan language. Second, Mandarin is the official language of China and Taiwan. Most people in Taiwan, including the so-called native Taiwanese, understand and speak Mandarin. In order to avoid any ambiguity, however, a glossary of all the Chinese words used in the text will be provided as Appendix One at the end of this dissertation. In this glossary, the English translation, Mandarin pronounciation, as well as the Chinese characters will be presented.

My field research was made possible by a grant provided by the Harvard-Yenching Institute, at Harvard University. Special thanks are due to this Institute and its Director, Professor John C. Pelzel. I also wish to express my sincere appreciation to Professors Bernard Gallin, Joseph Spielberg, Iwao Ishino, and Harry Raulet for their guidance and stimulation throughout my graduate years at the Department of Anthropology, Michigan State University.

Deep appreciation and great gratitude are due to Professor Bernard Gallin who has so generously and patiently given his time and energy in supervising my graduate studies, field research, and the entire course of the preparation of this dissertation. Without Professor Gallin's most patient guidance, I would not have been able to finish this dissertation. I would also like to express my special thanks to Professor Yih-yuan Li, Director of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica. Without his guidance and training I would not have chosen anthropology as my career.

Last, but not least, many thanks go to the people in Ying-ting village. Their gracious attitude in accepting an outsider into their private lives and their most cooperative efforts made it possible for this dissertation to be written.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this introductory chapter is to provide some brief answers to the "what" and "how" questions about this dissertation. It will first outline the major thesis of this dissertation in Section I, "The Theoretical Framework," so that the reader will know this study's focus and theoretical approach. Section II, "The Village," will be a brief sketch of the village setting and its people so that the reader will have a general picture of what the village looks like before he proceeds to Chapter Two where a more detailed description of the setting will be presented. Section III, "The Problem," will be a discussion of my reasons for selecting this particular subject matter and its implications for anthropological study of peasant society and culture. Finally, in Section IV, "The Procedure of Presentation," I will outline the subject matter of each of the following chapters so that the reader will know how this dissertation is being organized.

I. The Theoretical Framework

The concept of cultural ecology, first formulated by Julian H. Steward, provides a framework within which anthropologists can study the functional interrelationships between man, his ways of life, and the environmental

conditions. As Steward himself has indicated, the research strategy of cultural ecology contains three fundamental procedures:

> First, the interrelationship of exploitative or productive technology and environment must be analyzed. Second, the behavior pattern involved in the exploitation of a particular technology must be analyzed. The third procedure is to ascertain the extent to which the behaviors entailed in exploiting the environment affect other aspects of culture (1955:40-41).

In other words, when a researcher adopts this particular approach as his orientation in field investigation, he should first direct his attention to the people's natural habitat, productive technology, and productive organizations and try to delineate their interrelationships. Then, the researcher should attempt to ascertain the degree to which the people's particular economic system affects other aspects of their sociocultural system.

Over the last two decades or so, the many applications of this particular research strategy have proven that cultural ecology is a fruitful approach to understanding the causal roles of environmental circumstances, their possible impacts on the people's ways of making a living, and how such ways affect, in turn, the other major aspects of their sociocultural system (cf. Harris 1968:654-687).

Further, Steward, his colleagues, and his students have been refining his original strategy since its inception. While directing the "Project of Studies of Cultural Regularities" at the University of Illinois and

"The Puerto Rican Project" at Columbia University, Steward and his adherents realized that the research strategy of cultural ecology, originally developed from Steward's experiences in studying various American band and tribal societies, had to be modified and broadened before it could be applied to the study of small communities and/or subcultures of complex societies (cf. Steward 1967; 1969). In Steward's words, ". . .a modern community cannot be adequately understood if, like a tribal society, it is studied solely in terms of itself; it was necessary to devise procedures for taking the total national culture into account" (1969:16).

The new procedures thus formulated emphasize an understanding of the larger sociocultural context of which subcultures and/or small communities are only a part. In addition to the study of local techno-environmental conditions, such as the traditional cultural ecologists have done, the new approach studies the nature of national and international frameworks within which the subcultures and small communities developed.

Unlike the traditional approach, therefore, the new cultural ecology, as it was developed in the late 60's, no longer "allows" its practitioners to treat the small communities of any national state as closed systems. It advocates instead that such communities be investigated as open systems which are constantly under the influences of two groups of "external conditions," i.e., local

environment and national institutions. As a result of this broadened perspective, the term "environment" has acquired a new connotation in studies of small communities within national states. It refers to not only local, natural habitat and climatic conditions but also the national state's socioeconomic-political policies as they affect that state's individual communities.

In this dissertation, I am applying such a broadened cultural-ecological framework to study a mixed-cropping village in the southwestern part of Taiwan. While doing so, my general goal is two-fold: first, to examine the interrelationship between the local, natural environmental conditions and the particular agricultural pattern practiced by the people; second, to discover how and to what extent the Great Tradition of China and the socioeconomic institutions of the Japanese Colonial Government, which ruled Taiwan from 1895 to 1945, and that of the Nationalist Chinese Government, which has ruled Taiwan since 1945, affect the socioeconomic life of the villagers.

II. The Village

Ying-ting village, where the field work of this study was conducted, is a Taiwanese rural community located in the southern portion of the Chia-nan Plain of southwestern Taiwan (see Figure 1). It is an administrative village as well as a natural community. As an administrative village, Ying-ting is under the jurisdiction of the Chia-li Cheng

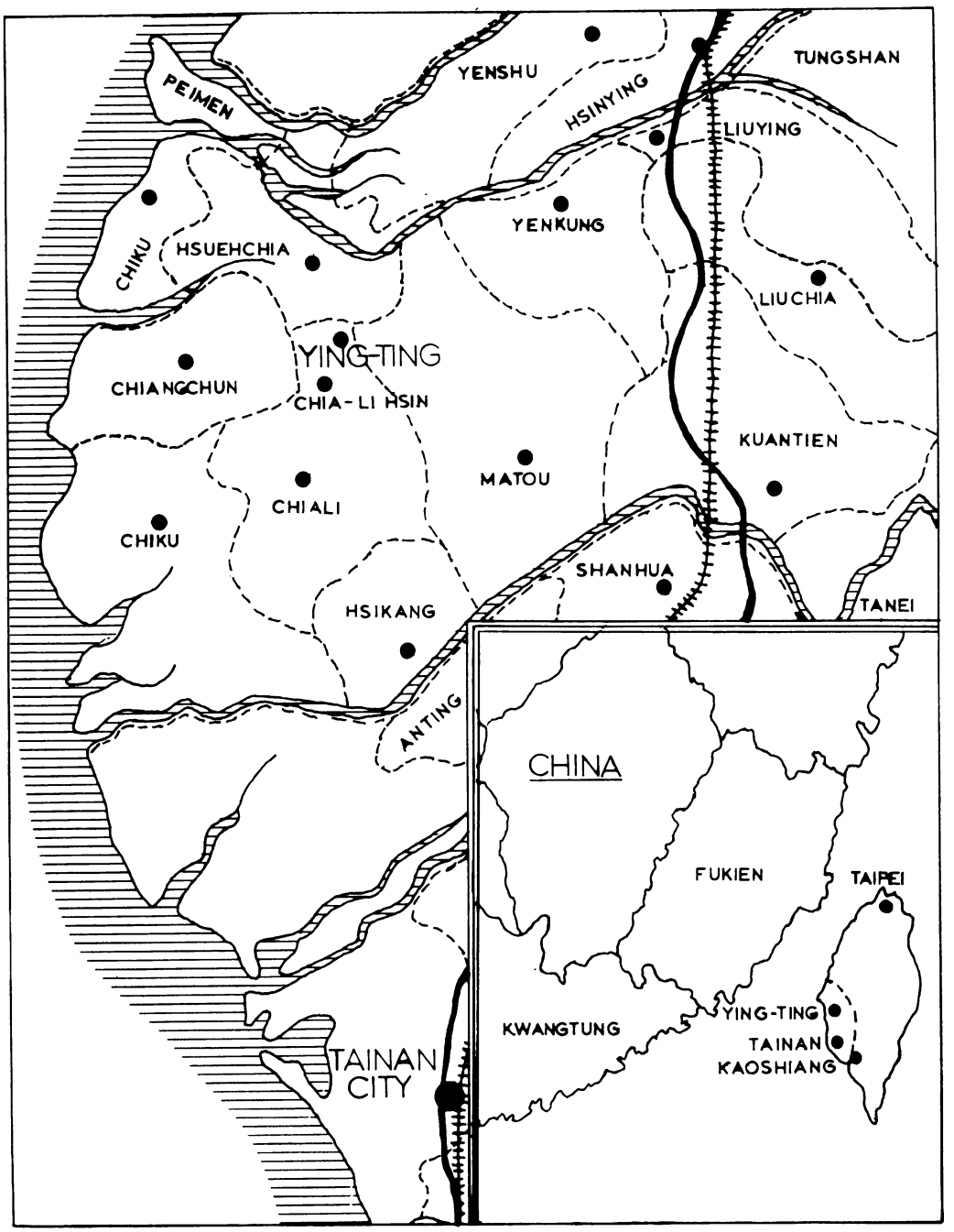

Figure 1: Ying-ting and Its Surroundings

(township), Tainan Hsien (county), Taiwan Province. The people elect a li-chang (village mayor) as the formal political leader of the village and a li-min-tai-piao (village representative) to the Township Council. As a natural community, it has clear geographical as well as social boundaries. Physically, it is a rather compact settlement separated from other villages by fields in all directions. Socially, the people of Ying-ting share a strong sense of commonality. For example, when asked by an outsider about their native place, the villagers always identify themselves as people from Ying-ting village. Only when further identification is requested do they indicate that they are from Chia-li Township, Tainan County. Furthermore, Ying-ting is a religious community: villagers not only share the same ritual calendar and participate in village-wide ceremonial activities, but also jointly own and share the responsibility of maintaining the village temple.

In 1970, when the field research was being conducted, there were 842 people living in 159 village households. The majority of these residents belonged to three lineages: the Chuang and two Ssu. The Chuang lineage was by far the largest of the three. It was subdivided into eight fang (branches) and had 542 members, which constituted 64.37% of the entire village population. The two Ssu lineages were relatively smaller. The Upper Ssu lineage had a membership of 127 persons, 15.08% of the population, and

the Southern Ssu had 53 members, 6.29% of the population. In addition to the Chuang and Ssu lineages, there were fourteen other surname groups represented in the village by 27 households. Thus, Ying-ting is a multi-lineage community, with the Chuangs as the dominating lineage.

Settlement of this village by the Chuangs and the Ssus took place in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries after Taiwan had been incorporated into the Ch'ing Empire and order in the country had been more or less restored. Like most of the inhabitants in this area, the ancestors of the Ying-ting residents were immigrants who came across the Taiwan Strait from Lung-ch'i County, Fukien Province.

Economically, Ying-ting is an agricultural community, though a few households engage in nonagricultural occupations. Its major crops are sugar cane, sweet potatoes, and rice. These three crops are cultivated in a three-year rotating system which, as we will see later in this dissertation, is directly influenced by the government-controlled irrigation facility.

III. The Problem

Before I fully present the subject matter and its significance as a research problem, let me begin by explaining how I discovered the problem. Not long after I started my field work in Ying-ting, I noticed that many villagers frequently complained about sugar cane farming. Their main

grievance was with the low price they received from the Taiwan Sugar Company.[1] Yet when the planting season for sugar cane arrived, those who had complained planted their plots with another crop of young canes. The inconsistency between their words and deeds led me to consider such complaints as little more than perfunctory grumblings made to outsiders. In this case, the outsider was a man who claimed to be an anthropologist but was suspected by the villagers of being a government official. That the people would complain about their poor economic situation to a government official was understandable, I reasoned; by so doing they might arouse his sympathy and prevent him from reporting to the government that the peasants were doing very well economically and could be taxed a little more.

The complaining continued during many of my interviews as well as in the villagers' conversations with one another. Even when this "outsider" had been well accepted into the community and was no longer suspected of being a governmenal agent, the complaints still surfaced from time to time. Thus, I began to realize that they could not be interpreted

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[1]After Taiwan was returned to the Nationalist Chinese Government in 1945, the Japanese owned industries, including all of the sugar refineries, were nationalized and put under the control of different governmental agencies. The Taiwan Sugar Company was established in 1947 to manage the sugar industry of Taiwan. It is jointly owned by the Central Government and the Provincial Government of Taiwan plus a nominal percentage of private share. It has been the de facto monopoly of sugar industry of Taiwan ever since its establishment and no other factory is allowed to purchase sugar cane and process them for sugar refinement.

simply as sympathy-seeking attempts. Moreover, I came across a saying that peasants in the area used to mock themselves about their planting habits: "There are three most foolish things that a man can do: to smoke a cigarette without inhaling, to take a girl out for an evening walk just to enjoy the breeze without doing anything to her, and, most of all, to plant sugar cane and let the Company buy them by truck loads without being able to say anything about the price!" (See Appendix for the original text.)

At this point, I was gathering information relating to agricultural processes. My data and all the references that I had read revealed that growing sugar cane was, indeed, less profitable than growing rice. A crop of sugar cane usually took sixteen to eighteen months from planting to harvest. During this same span of time, two crops of paddy rice and one of sweet potatoes could be raised and harvested.

Other things being equal then, a peasant should grow sugar cane only if the single crop of cane could give him at least the same cash value as the two crops of rice and one crop of potatoes.

An examination of the price records of these crops clearly indicated, however, that such was not the case. One crop of cane frequently amounted to only one-half to three-fifths of the total value of the three other crops. If growing sugar cane was frequently less profitable than growing rice and potatoes, why did the peasants plant their

fields with cane?

A close investigation of the situation reveals that peasants in Ying-ting village and in the general area have been forced, indirectly, by governmental control and regulation of irrigation water, to foresake rice and periodically plant their land with sugar cane. (A detailed description of the irrigation system is presented in Section II, Chapter Two.)

Under the so-called "three-year-crop-rotation-system," initiated by the Japanese colonial authority in 1930, the peasants have to cultivate at least one crop of sugar cane in a three-year cycle. The crop rotation system, if taken at face value, seems to be a rational, ecological adaptative device. As one Japanese scholar has pointed out, this system enables all the peasant households in the Chia-nan Plain to share the benefit of the Chia-nan Irrigation System (cf. Yanaihara 1957:133). Actually, however, the original policy subtlely and effectively forced all the peasants in the area to supply the Japanese colonialists with inexpensive sugar cane for their sugar refineries.

Although different from the so-called "culture system" implemented in Java by the Dutch in the nineteenth century,[2] what the Japanese did in Taiwan accomplished essentially

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[2]"Culture System," a mistranslation of the Dutch word "culturstelsel," is so embedded in the literature that many Southeast Asian specialists, e.g., C. Geertz, believe it is less confusing to continue to use it than to translate it properly--Cultivation System. It was an agricultural-taxation policy implemented in Java by the Dutch in 1830 to

the same goal (cf. Geertz 1963:53-82). Both systems succeeded in making the peasants of their respective colonies produce crops which were economically advantageous to the colonial empire. Given the nature of colonialism, what is advantageous to the colonial empire is frequently disadvantageous to the natives, the peasants. Yet a study of how the Japanese Colonial Government exploited the Taiwanese peasants is not my particular concern in this investigation of Ying-ting village. The brief discussion of the regulated irrigation system and its rotating cropping system shows, however, that Ying-ting village and its socioeconomic activities can not be fully understood if one merely focuses his attention on local ecological conditions and the village itself. In order to gain a thorough understanding of Ying-ting village and, for that matter, any peasant village, one must study not only its socioeconomic organization and natural environmental conditions but also the interrelationship between the village and the state, i.e., the political system that exercises a certain amount of control over the peasants' socioeconomic life.

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increase the cultivation of export crops. Under this system the Javanese peasants were forced to grow export crops, such as sugar cane, indigo, tobacco, in their rice fields and deliver them to the Dutch as a form of taxation. Villagers were said to have been compensated for the export crops they cultivated. According to historians who specialized in this phase of Javanese history, however, the cost of living rose faster than the compensation, mainly because of the loss of rice fields. Hence, the economic situation of the Javanese peasants under the Culture System was worse than before colonial intervention.

Contemporary peasant specialists might not all be willing to accept Kroeber's definition of peasantry, i.e., "peasants constitute part-societies with part-cultures," as a complete definition (1948:284). But, Koreber has certainly pointed out one of the most salient characteristics of peasantry. Accepting Kroeber's definition, if only as an incomplete but important one, many anthropologists have advocated that when we study peasantry we should attend primarily to the interrelationships between the state and the peasant community. For example, when discussing the problems of setting up a typology of peasantry, Wolf observed that "in complex societies certain components of the social superstructure rather than ecology seem increasingly to be determinants of further developments" (1955:453).

My brief description of the crop rotation system and its history seems to be a good ethnographic example supporting Wolf's statement. If I hadn't become aware of the socioeconomic policy of the Japanese Colonial Government, I would have remained substantially perplexed as to why the villagers complained so frequently about sugar cane farming yet continued planting their lands with the crop.

As I have indicated above, although many anthropologists have been emphasizing the importance of studying the interrelationship between the state and the peasant community, there are others who prefer to take a "microscopic" approach to the study of peasantry and concentrate their

attention on the local ecological and social conditions. In a review article of peasant studies in anthropology, Clifford Geertz observed:

> The view that a peasantry is only one element in a larger civilization presents the anthropologists who would study it with two rather divergent tasks: (1) the description and analysis of the peasantry in itself; (2) the characterization of the overall sociocultural whole within which the peasantry exists. . . .The first approach involves an intensive investigation of the specific pattern and immediate quality of peasant life; the second, an extensive investigation of its general form and broader setting (1962:13).

As I will argue later in this dissertation, however, these two approaches which, for the lack of better terms, might be labelled "microscopic" and "macroscopic," should be utilized simultaneously even when the focus of one's study is only a single peasant community. It is the intention of this dissertation, using the ethnographic material collected from Ying-ting village, to show that a rounded and more insightful picture of a peasant community can be obtained if the researcher adopts the broadened cultural ecological approach because, in essense, it includes the so-called "microscopic" and "macroscopic" approaches. It investigates not only the local ecological conditions but also the broader setting of the community, especially its interrelationship with the state.

IV. The Procedure of Presentation

Instead of being a descriptive ethnographic account of the village, this dissertation is problem-oriented. As

noted earlier in this chapter, I will try to focus on the functional relations between the peasants' economic activities and the natural environmental conditions on the one hand, and the socioeconomic policy of the state on the other. To facilitate such a discussion, the remaining chapters will be organized in the following manner.

Chapter Two, "The Setting," is a presentation of specific background information relating to Ying-ting village. I will first describe the interrelation between the village and other communities in the surrounding area, including a brief sketch of the settlement history of the village. I will then examine the natural environmental conditions and the demographic characteristics of the village.

In Chapter Three, "The Agricultural Process," I will first review the agricultural history of the village and the general area. With such background information, I will then proceed to examine the agricultural patterns as they are practiced today. Furthermore, other socioeconomic factors relating to the agricultural process, such as patterns of labor organization, credit facility, and agricultural extension services, will also be examined.

Chapter Four, "The Economic Activity," deals with the nonagricultural economic activities of the peasants. I will first detail the occupational structure of the community and the pattern of market participation. Secondly, I will examine the complementary relationship between agricultural

and nonagricultural occupations. In addition, I will also investigate the ecological factors that seem to have contributed to the relatively diversified economic activity of the village.

In Chapter Five, "The Village as a Social Unit," I will study the family and kinship organization of the people. I will look into the process through which different families and kin groups are held together by the temple organization and how these families and lineages are integrated into a social unit. I will also discuss the socioeconomic functions that the lineage and temple organizations play in the peasants' daily life.

The purpose of Chapter Six, "The Impacts of the Controlled Irrigation System and Other National Institutions," is to ascertain to what degree the lifeways of the peasants in Ying-ting have been influenced by the socioeconomic and political institutions implemented by the state and by the local environmental conditions.

To facilitate such a discussion, I will start by examining some hypothetical cases. In them I will take a microscopic approach, limiting my attention within the village itself, i.e., treating the village as if there were no significant impinging influence coming from the larger society. By so doing, I can make some tentative inferences as to what might have happened if there had been no outside interference. I can then surmise the ways in which

the particular mode of ecological adaptation of Ying-ting village would have influenced the other aspects of the sociocultural configuration of the village community.

After such hypothetical exercises, I will compare Ying-ting with two other Taiwanese peasant villages, each having a distinctive ecological adaptation of its own, to show what these three villages have and do not have in common. As we will see in this chapter, the three villages do share numerous sociocultural features in common, though their ecological adaptations are quite different. Since each of the three villages has a distinctive ecological adaptation of its own, the similarities that they share must be a direct result of their being deeply influenced by a well-established Great Tradition, by the same sets of socioeconomic and political policies, and by their participation in the same national socioeconomic institutions.

Finally, in Chapter Seven, I will review some important issues discussed earlier and then discuss the value of the cultural-ecological approach. As will be demonstrated in this study, the "broadened" cultural-ecological approach is a sound research tool that can be fruitfully applied to the study of peasantry, because it not only emphasizes the local conditions of a peasant community, but also directs the field researcher's attention to the national institutions that are constantly influencing the sociocultural system of the peasant community.

CHAPTER TWO

THE SETTING

I. The Village and Its Surroundings

Located in the southwestern corner of the Chia-nan Plain, Ying-ting is one of twenty-one administrative villages in the Chia-li Township, Tainan County, Taiwan Province. It lies about twenty-eight kilometers north of Tainan city, the oldest city of Taiwan and the cultural and economic center of the county. The easiest way to reach Ying-ting from Taipei, the capital city of the Republic of China, is to go to Tainan city first, for there one will find bus lines connecting with all the rural communities in the surrounding areas.

The trip to Ying-ting from Tainan city is easy and quite comfortable. The village is connected with the city by a paved highway and a private bus company provides service. From six o'clock in the morning and until ten in the evening, there are buses departing from the Tainan Station for Nan-kun-shan, a market town in the northwest of the county, and from Nan-kun-shan to Tainan city every thirty minutes. Those passengers wanting to go to Ying-ting from Tainan must take the bus bound for Nan-kun-shan. From Tainan, there are both railroad and bus services connecting with all the other major cities of Taiwan.

Departing from the Tainan Station, the bus bound for Nan-kun-shan winds northwest out of the city and passes a few villages and small towns, arriving at its midway station Chia-li, in about forty minutes. Chia-li is the administrative center of the township that bears the same name. It is not only the administrative center of the twenty-one villages that make up the township, it is also the market town where villagers from the surrounding areas come to sell and buy. In terms of its size and the kinds of services and commodities that can be obtained there, Chia-li can be labelled as an "intermediate market town,"[1] as defined by Wm. G. Skinner (1968:68).

Two main streets make up the business section of the town where various kinds of stores and shops and two markets are located. One of the markets in Chia-li is the food market for the local residents. Villagers from surrounding

[1] In his discussion of the traditional Chinese market system, Wm. G. Skinner differentiates three types of markets, namely, the standard market, intermediate market, and the central market. He calls the places where the market locates as "standard market town," "intermediate market town," and "central market town," respectively. According to Skinner, a standard market is "that type of rural market which met all the normal trade needs of the peasant household: what the household produced but did not consume was normally sold there, and what it consumed but did not produce was normally bought there" (1967:66). The so-called central market is "normally situated at a strategic site in the transportation network and has important wholesaling functions. Its facilities are designed, on the one hand, to receive imported items and distribute them within its dependent area and, on the other, to collect local products and export them to other central markets or higher-level urban centers" (ibid:68). The so-called intermediate market is simply defined as the place that "has an intermediate position in the vertical flow of goods and service both ways" (ibid:68).

areas also come here occasionally to shop, especially when they need to buy a large quantity of food for special occasions. The other market is a wholesale market where middlemen buy vegetables and other local agricultural products from the peasants and then ship them to Tainan or other big cities of the Island.

Villagers of the surrounding area, which includes Ying-ting village, come to Chia-li when they have business with governmental agencies as well as for marketing. The Public Office of the Cheng (township) is located here. Right next door to the Public Office one finds the Land Registration Office, Irrigation Station, Police Headquarters, Post and Telephone Bureau, and the Public Health Clinic. A few blocks away from this "office district" is the Chia-li Farmers' Association and the branch offices of three leading banks of Taiwan. There are also a hospital and nine private clinics, each of them having at least one western style doctor in residence. In addition to these practitioners of western medicine, a few Chinese doctors practice at herb stores they either own or with which they are associated.

In and around the market, one also finds many food stands, restaurants, wine houses, tea houses, and two movie theaters, one of them specializing in foreign films and the other showing mainly Chinese movies.

Chia-li has two senior high schools and three junior high schools in addition to three elementary ones. Most

of the Ying-ting school children attend junior and senior high schools here, commuting either by bus or bicycle.

A five-minute bus ride, four kilometers north of Chia-li, is another market town called Chia-li-hsin. To use Skinner's terminology again, Chia-li-hsin is a typical example of the "standard market town." (For the definition of this term, see Note (1) of this chapter, or Skinner 1967:66.) Because Chia-li-hsin is only one mile from Ying-ting, it is the place where Ying-ting villagers do most of their marketing. The food market begins trading at noon every day. Its business hours are scheduled to accommodate the working pattern of the peasants, the majority of the patrons. Because this area is within the tropical zone, peasants usually start their working day early in the morning, i.e., around five o'clock in the morning during the summer season and seven in the winter, and work until noon, when the sun becomes too hot for work. Thus, most of them usually take a break during the noon hours when work is not too pressing and go to the market for shopping, returning to their work later in the afternoon when the sun is tolerable.

Besides the market, various kinds of stores are also in the adjacent area. All of the service and commodities that one can get in Chia-li are also available at Chia-li-hsin, although the prices in the latter may be somewhat higher and the choices comparatively limited. Since Chia-li-hsin is closer to Ying-ting than Chia-li, however,

so close that most of the villagers arrive by bicycle or even on foot, it becomes the place outside the village where Ying-ting people spend most of their time. Adults come for shopping and for entertainment. School children come to attend the elementary school.

In brief, Chia-li-hsin is a minor version of Chia-li, both in terms of its size and the availability of market and entertainment facilities. Since the relationship between Ying-ting and Chia-li-hsin is so intimate, we will touch upon its many facets later on in other contexts of this dissertation.

When the bus leaves Chia-li-hsin and continues north, within a few minutes it stops again, this time at Ying-ting village. The bus halts in front of a village store, and, if one gets off here, he is standing right on the corner of the intersection of a village road and the highway he has just traveled. (See Figure 2: Map of Ying-ting village.) If he has been in Ying-ting before, he will know that this intersection is situated roughly in the center of the village. In fact, the east-west village road and the north-south highway divide the entire settlement into four sections. In the villagers' terminology, the western half of the settlement is the "road-west" and its counterpart the "road-east." When the villagers need to specify a particular location, they will refer to the northeastern section as the "upper road-east" and the southeastern section as the "lower road-east." In addition to these four sections,

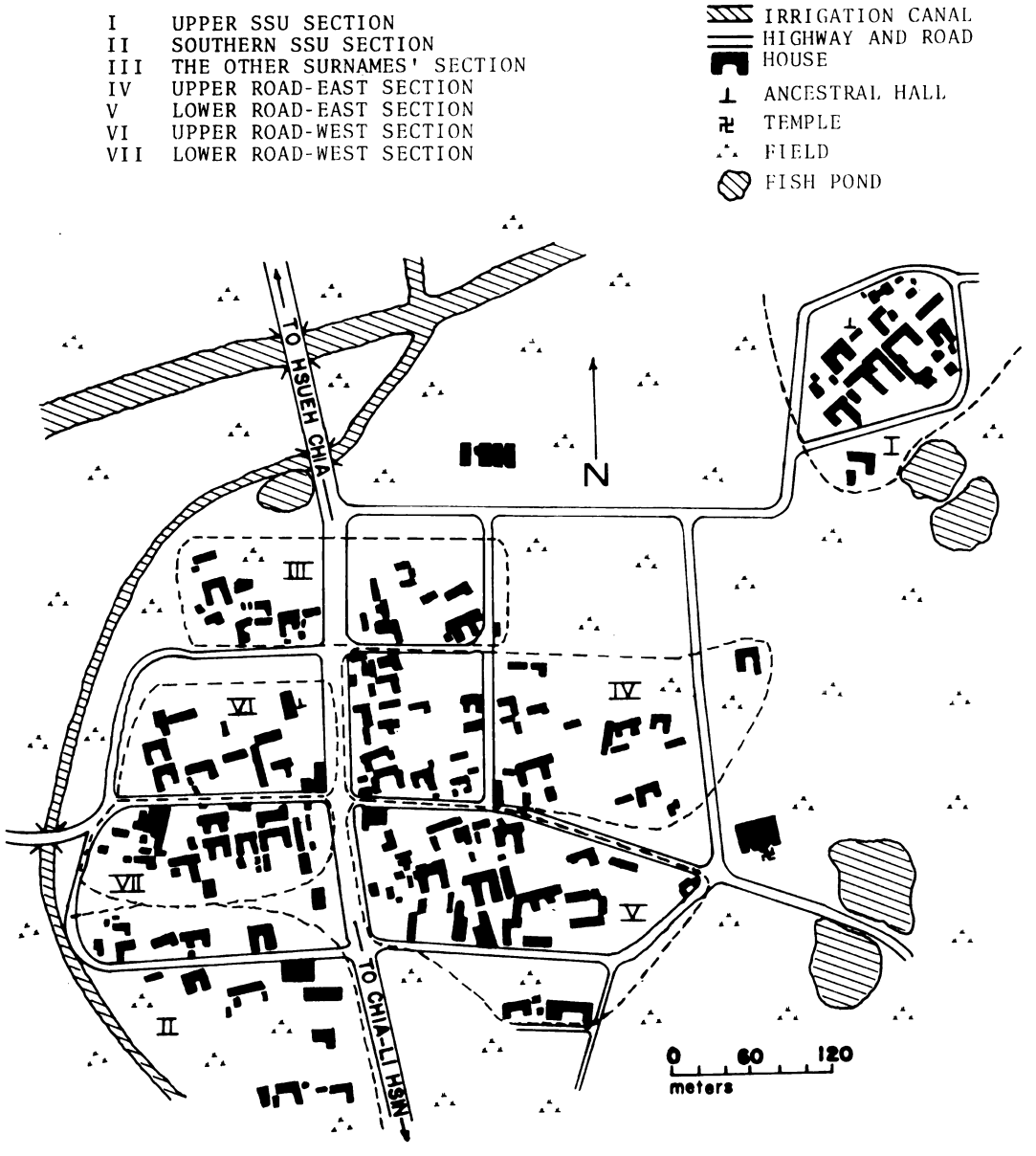

Figure 2: Map of Ying-ting Village

i.e., "upper road-east," "lower road-east," "upper road-west," and "lower road-west," which are separated by the highway and the village road and populated mainly by the people of the Chuang lineage, three other compounds are on the periphery of the village.

One of these compounds is called the "southern Ssu" which is located in the southern edge of the "lower road-west" section and is mainly populated by one of the two Ssu lineages of Ying-ting. The other Ssu lineage congregates in the northeastern corner of the village and forms a discrete compound of its own, what the villagers call the "upper Ssu." Between the "upper Ssu" and the "upper road-east" compounds is another settlement called the "other surnames' corner" populated by those villagers that have surnames other than Ssu and Chuang. (For the relative position of these seven compounds see Figure 2.) Thus, the entire village is subdivided into seven sections which are significant to the community organization and will be discussed later.

Quite a few stores and shops line both sides of the highway near the bus stop. In fact, most of the village's "business establishments" can be found in this area, the center of the village. Right next to the bus stop, on the east side of the highway, is a vegetable stand which opens early in the morning and closes at noon. Behind the stand lies a grindery which specializes in grinding dried sweet potatoes and corn and in making animal fodder. A general

store is located slightly south of the stand, on the same side of the highway. On the other side are another grindery and general store. This store, somewhat larger than the first one, carries a variety of groceries and dried foods and also doubles as the village post office.

Further south of the main intersection, along the east side of the highway, are two barber shops a few hundred feet apart from each other. Across from the barber shops, on the west side of the highway, is a large, brick-paved square, owned by the Chuang lineage, where villagers dry their crops during the harvest season and gather for conversation in the early evenings during the summer season. A house that the villagers call the "hui-so," i.e., the meeting place, is next to the village square. This building, about the size of a normal classroom, is owned and maintained by the villagers as a group. Used for civic meetings, the building doubles as a first-grade classroom for students from Ying-ting and a northern neighboring village called Ta-wan.

North of the main intersection along the west side of the highway stands the ancestral hall of the Chuang lineage. "In need of repair" best describes its exterior appearance. The interior of the main hall, however, has been recently refaced and is rather clean and well-maintained.

The village temple is located on the eastern edge of the "upper road-east" section. For a village temple it

is quite elaborate. The gods worshipped in its main hall are Kuan-yin and her two sisters. And, as in most Chinese temples, there is also a place for the Earth god. Two wings stretch out from each side of the main hall. The west wing is now used as the classroom for the village nursery school sponsored by the Chia-li Farmers' Association. Living quarters for the temple keeper and a public meeting room occupy the east wing. Whenever a religious matter warrants a meeting, it is held in this room. On the northeast side of the temple is a small garden which, coupled with the two big banyan trees that stand in front of the temple, make this place one of the villagers' favorite spots for gathering to chat and rest during those long, hot summer afternoons.

II. The Physical Environment

A brief description of the geography of Taiwan will provide an essential and enlightening context for the discussion of Ying-ting's particular environment. Taiwan, sometimes referred to as Formosa, is an island province of China, located in the South China Sea, southeast of the mainland. Ninety-mile wide Taiwan Strait separates it from the mainland province of Fukien, Kwangtung, from which most of the Taiwanese migrated. Its shape somewhat resembles that of a sweet potato, a term some Taiwanese call themselves in a joking manner, with its ends pointing toward north-northeast and south-southwest. Although it

is only 35,961.2 square kilometers in size, it has a very complicated climate and landscape.

Generally speaking, the northern, central parts of Taiwan are in the sub-tropical zone while the southern portion, where Ying-ting village is found, is in the tropical zone. Except in mountains higher than 4,000 feet above the sea level, where frost and snow occur occasionally, the growing season on the island lasts the entire year. The principal characteristics of its climate are high temperature, heavy rainfall, and frequent, sometimes destructive, winds. Summer is long and hot, usually beginning in early May and ending in late September. During this season, temperatures differ little from one end of the island to the other; it is hot everywhere except the mountains. Winters are short and mild, lasting from December through February. During these months, a remarkable variation in climate appears. The north is cold and rainy, the south rather mild with much less rainfall.

The average annual rainfall for the entire island is approximately 2,610 mm, but the rainfall in Taiwan is by no means evenly distributed either in terms of time period or region. Generally, the western coastal area receives less rain than the eastern, the south less than the north, and the lowlands less than the mountains. Two rainy seasons occur, each differing in time period and region. From October to March, northern Taiwan is in the course of a strong, northwest monsoon which causes heavy rains in the

northwest coastal area and on the mountain slopes facing north and northwest. During this same period, the southwestern part of Taiwan enjoys crisp, sunny winter. When spring comes, the northwest monsoon gradually loses its strength and the northern part of the island becomes dryer while the southwestern region starts to receive its rainfall. When summer approaches, the southeast monsoon prevails and frequent thunderstorms occur, bringing abundant rainfall to the southern part of Taiwan. This contrast of rainfall between north and south is due not only to the seasonal change of monsoons but also to the geographical arrangement of mountains in Taiwan. When the northwest monsoon blows during the winter, it hits the mountain range traversing the island from north to south. As the air rises over the mountains, condensation causes clouds and rain. Thus, by the time the wind reaches the south, it has lost most of its moisture. In the summer months, from April to September, the southeast monsoon and local terrestrial rains cause downpours in the south. Most of southern Taiwan receives more than 80 percent of its annual rainfall during these six months.

In terms of its temperature and rainfall, Taiwan seems to have a good agricultural environment. Taiwan lies in the course of the great cyclonic tropical storms, however. Typhoons, one of the most destructive natural calamities, occur quite often between May and October, predominantly in August. When they hit, not only can

their strong winds destroy crops, but the heavy rains preceding and following the winds frequently wash away the crops standing in the fields. Furthermore, although every region of the island receives more than 1,016 mm. of rainfall a year, the south is quite dry from October to March and depends heavily upon irrigation, i.e., the storage and control of water, to survive agriculturally during this period.

Since Ying-ting is in the southwestern coastal (Chia-nan) Plain, a description of the general region will further clarify our perspective on the village's local environment. The western coastal area of Taiwan is a narrow strip of flat land consisting of low alluvial plains. Among these plains, the Chia-nan Plain is the largest one--approximately 3,105 square kilometers in size. It is located south of the Cho-Shui River and north of the Tseng-wen River. Starting from the seashore, the plain extends roughly 40 kilometers east and then merges with the foothills of the Central Mountains. Although its topography is quite suitable for cropping, agriculture did not develop significantly in this area until 1930, when the Chia-nan Irrigation System was completed. With the building of this large system, the irrigation problem was partially solved and the Chia-nan Plain became one of the most important agricultural zones of Taiwan. As such, it was designated by the Japanese Colonial Government for an intensive development of sugar cane cultivation.

The following paragraphs contain a general description of the environmental conditions of the Chia-nan Plain. What can be said for the area will also apply to the village under study, except when noted.

A. Climate

Located in southwest Taiwan, Chia-nan Plain, on which Ying-ting village is located, lies in the tropical zone. Because of monsoon winds and its closeness to the ocean, i.e., the Taiwan Strait, however, the temperature of the Plain is not as hot as its tropical location might suggest; it has an average annual temperature of 23°C. December through February, the "coldest months," average 17.3°C, while the hottest period, June through September, averages 27.4°C.

Because of the monsoon winds and the arrangement of mountains, southern Taiwan as a whole receives less rainfall than other parts of the island. Taiwan has an average annual rainfall of 2,610 mm, while the Chia-nan Plain receives an average of only 1,500 mm annually. Furthermore, this 1,500 mm of rainfall is unevenly distributed over the twelve months of the year. Most of the precipitation, in fact, 80 percent of the annual total, is concentrated between the months of May and September, while the other months are rather dry with a high-frequency of prolonged drought.

Figure 3 is an annual precipitation record charted by the Hsieh-chia Extension Station of the Taiwan Sugar Company in 1970. Since the station is only four kilometers north of Ying-ting village, the record could very well be taken as the precipitation pattern of Ying-ting for that same year. As we can see, the pattern of this particular year corresponds closely to the general precipitation pattern of the entire region as described above.

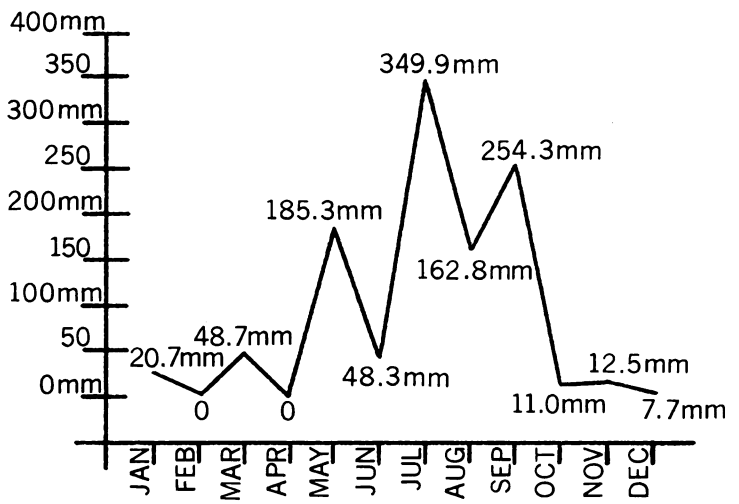

Figure 3: Annual Precipitation Pattern, Hsieh-Chia, Tainan, 1970. Source: The Hsieh-Chia Extension Station, Taiwan Sugar Company.

Because of such a precipitation pattern, a well-constructed irrigation system is almost indispensible for any successful farming in the area. As one geographer has observed that "the dry season makes the region dusty and dry. And, in the past it was difficult to cultivate any

crop" (Hsieh 1964:168).

B. Soil Types of the Chia-nan Plain

Three major types of soil are found in the Chia-nan Plain: solonchak, planosol, and alluvial. They are distributed in three narrow strips arrayed next to each other from the seashore to the foothills of the Central Mountains. The solonchak strip runs north and south along the western edge of the Plain. The next strip further inland is planosol. Finally, along the foothills of the mountains, the alluvial strip occurs.

Since the fields the Ying-ting villagers own and cultivate are close to the coast, they are predominantly in the solonchak soil zone. Therefore, it is necessary to know the nature of this soil and how it is related to the agricultural activities of the area.

The solonchak of the Chia-nan Plain was formed through the action of salts in the sea water and those released from the base-bearing parent rocks (Hsieh 1964:94). Because of its high salt content, this soil is not very suitable for most crops. To be successfully cultivated, the land must be irrigated to minimize the injurious effect of the soluble salts. High in salt content, solonchak soil is also notorious for its low content of organic matter, another detriment to agricultural productivity. To counteract this problem, the peasants must use green manure extensively in their fields to develop a level of organic matter conducive

to a successful crop.

C. Irrigation Facility

Because of its unevenly distributed rainfall and salty soil, the Chia-nan Plain must be irrigated for any significant agricultural development. Before the construction of the Chia-nan Irrigation System, most of the land in this area was labelled kan-tien-t'en, literally, the field that depends on the heaven. After planting, natural rainfall was the primary source of water. If there was no rain, or if it rained heavily in a short period of time, usually within one or two days, drainage problems and damaged crops were also likely. Although hundreds of small dams and ponds privately constructed and owned were used to regulate the water supply, they could control only a limited area and their efficiency was low.

Such a situation was changed to a certain extent after the construction of the Chia-nan Irrigation System. Soon after taking control over Taiwan and restoring political order, the Japanese Colonial Government launched a project to study the developmental possibilities of Taiwan. Teams of specialists were sent throughout the island to study different aspects of its agricultural potential. Those specialists determined that Chia-nan Plain, because it was the largest plain on the island, would be the most suitable region for agricultural development. They further decided that the production of sugar cane in the area could

be largely increased if an irrigation system were provided (cf. Grajdanzev 1942:57058). Based on these studies, the colonial government started the construction of the Chia-nan system in 1920 and completed it ten years later. Since its completion in 1930 this irrigation network has had two water sources: the Tseng-wen River and the Cho-shui River. The water from these two rivers is first conducted into two separate reservoirs. Then, it is released to the farms through rivers, their tributaries, canals, and ditches. The capacity of the two reservoirs, however, was not sufficient to irrigate the entire Chia-nan Plain on a year-round basis. Thus, a three-year-crop-rotation system was designed and implemented.

The so-called three-year-crop-rotation system operates in the following way. The land to be irrigated by these two reservoirs is divided into many small areas. Each area is approximately 150 hectares in size, and is further subdivided into three cropping zones. In any given year, only one of the three cropping zones in each small area is supplied with enough water for one crop of wet-rice. Another cropping zone is irrigated briefly on two separate occasions so that it can be used for sugar cane farming. The third cropping zone of each small area is not irrigated with the water from these reservoirs but is left to depend entirely on the natural precipitation for its water supply. Therefore, it can only be used for growing sweet potatoes and other drought resistent crops. In

the following year, the water is directed to those cropping zones that were used as sugar cane fields in the previous year, so that the land can be turned into paddies for wet-rice cultivation. In the meantime, the dry-land cropping area of previous year is irrigated briefly on two occasions so that it is now turned into sugar cane fields. Last year's wet-rice paddies receive no water from the irrigation canal and become the dry-land crop areas. Such a system, which rotates the use of the limited irrigation water, takes three years to run its course. This system, therefore, necessitates the annual change of crops in each of the cropping zones.

It is exactly because of this particular way of distributing the irrigation water that the Chia-nan Plain earns its name as the "three-year-crop-rotation area." It is also because of the control of water supply that sugar cane, a crop that takes a longer time to mature and gives a lower cash return as compared to wet-rice, is still cultivated by the peasants in this area.

The majority of the fields that the Ying-ting villagers own and cultivate are scattered around the village settlement. All are within the Ying-ting Small Area and, like the other farms in this region, are divided into three cropping zones. Although there are three fish ponds within the village, they are too small to have any significance for irrigation. In other words, all the fields that Ying-ting villagers cultivate depend upon the water supplied and

controlled by the Chia-nan Irrigation Station.

Like all the villagers in the southern portion of the Chia-nan Plain, Ying-ting is served by the Wu-shan-tou Reservoir. Starting in early June and lasting each year to late September or early October, the water of this reservoir is released to its main canals which are connected with almost all of the farmsteads in the region by irrigation ditches or small rivers. During this period, the irrigation water released is intended to be used only in the wet-rice cropping zones in each of the small areas. The supervision of the distribution of such irrigation water is in the hands of various local irrigation stations. In Ying-ting's case, the Chia-li Irrigation Station decides when and how much water each farmstead will receive. A few days before the coming of the irrigation water, people who own lands in the wet-rice cropping zone are notified by the village representative to the Irrigation Association of the time their land is scheduled to be irrigated. When the time comes, the landowner has to be present for he is expected to break the embankment of the irrigation ditch and divert the water into his plot. When his time is up, he is also expected to close the embankment so that his neighbors farther down the irrigation stream can draw their water in turn. After the first irrigation, the water is supplied periodically throughout the entire growing season of the crop. Except for those years when water is exceptionally abundant, the release of irrigation water is tightly

controlled by the officials at the Irrigation Station, and peasants are expected to draw their water only within the time scheduled for them.

Besides supplying water to the wet-rice cropping zones between June and October of each year, the reservoir also releases some water on two different occasions, once in late November or early December and again in March or April. This water is intended for the sugar cane cropping zones in all the small areas. Each occasion lasts only for fifteen days for the entire small area, however, and each plot can be irrigated only once for a rather brief period of time. For example, in April 1970, each 0.1 chia of land in the Ying-ting small area was allowed to be irrigated only for 30 minutes.[2]

As we have seen from the above, people in Ying-ting do not have the right to determine the amount of water they can use to irrigate their fields. Furthermore, they are not responsible for the maintenance of the irrigation facility. All the jobs regarding the planning and construction as well as the maintenance of the irrigation networks are in the hands of the officials employed at the Irrigation Station. The only time peasants in Ying-ting are involved with the maintenance of irrigation networks is when they are hired by the Irrigation Station to work for the construction or

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[2]Each "chia" equals 2.396 acres. Thus, 0.1 chia is equivalent to 0.239 acre.

maintenance crew.

III. Settlement History

Like most rural communities in the western coastal area of Taiwan, Ying-ting was first populated by Han Chinese during Koxinga's occupation of Taiwan (1662-1683). Although there is no authoritative historical document that could be used to reconstruct the village's history, legends, genealogies, and local gazetteers all indicate that Ying-ting was first developed during Koxinga's period. For example, the name of the village, Ying-ting, literally means "the upper camp," suggesting that the settlement was first started as a garrison post of Koxinga's army. During his reign in Taiwan, Koxinga had his army stationed all over the west coast in small garrison groups. These groups of soldiers were ordered to engage in agricultural production while training themselves and carrying out garrison duty. These soldiers and their families were the ones who developed many new villages in various regions of Taiwan, Ying-ting being one of them.

The people who live in Ying-ting today, however, are not the descendants of those military men, the first Han Chinese to populate the village. The Chuang surname people, who make up the majority of the present day population, came to Ying-ting about 30 years after Koxinga's regime was defeated by the Ch'ing government and Taiwan was incorporated into the Ch'ing empire. In 1683, shortly after

the Ch'ing government gained control over Taiwan, civilians from mainland China were prohibited from immigrating to Taiwan. When this prohibition was lifted in the early eighteenth century, though, Taiwan began to receive a second wave of migrants who came across the Taiwan Strait from Fukien and Kwangtung provinces, where, the pressures of population were high and people frequently went abroad to find themselves a more promising home in Southeast Asia or Taiwan. Among this second wave of migrants were the ancestors of the Ying-ting villagers.

According to Mr. T. H. Chuang, an eighty-two year old elder and the formal village mayor, who spends most of his retired days compiling the genealogy of the Chuang people in Ying-ting, their ancestors were from Lung-Ch'i County, Fukien Province. They came to Taiwan around 1710, and first resided at Yung-kang, a place near Tainan city. Later, when more brothers and lineage mates came from home to join these first migrants, they moved north and settled in Hsi-kang, a place halfway between Tainan city and Ying-ting village. After a generation or so, when these families had grown larger and needed more land to farm, they moved further north to Ying-ting, where more land was available, though it was less fertile than the land to the south.

A few decades after the Chuangs settled in Ying-ting, a few Ssu families arrived but they separated themselves from the Chuangs and resided in the northeast corner of

the village. The settlement these Ssu people developed is still very discrete. Although it is only less than 300 feet away from the Chuang's settlement, it is surrounded by fields and fenced by a circle of bamboo. This bamboo-fenced compound was named Tin-tou-Ssu, meaning the "upper Ssu," in order to differentiate it from the settlement of another group of Ssu people who moved in some years later and settled on the southern edge of the village.

The second group of Ssu people that now live in the southern edge do not relate to the upper Ssu of the north nor have they ever tried to establish any fictive kinship with them. They are a small branch of the Ssu lineage of Chia-li-hsin. Their settlement in the southern edge of Ying-ting started with a few small, flimsy field huts, which they built as a resting place while guarding their crops or tending the fields. These huts were later enlarged and constructed into houses when the owners decided to move out of Chia-li-hsin and settle in Ying-ting so that they could save the trouble of coming back and forth between their houses in Chia-li-hsin and their lands. To differentiate it from the Ssu settlement in the north, this small compound was called Nan-pien-Ssu, or "the southern Ssu." The initial arrival of the southern Ssu happened comparatively recently, about one hundred years ago. Not until the Second World War, however, when life was hard and people had to skip many ceremonial activities, did the southern Ssu stop going back to Chia-li-hsin to participate in the

ceremony of ancestor worship, thus terminating ritual ties with their lineage mates of Chia-li-hsin.

IV. The Village Population and Its Characteristics

According to the household registration records kept at the Public Office of Chia-li township, 1060 individuals lived in 177 separate households in Ying-ting village in 1970. As Gallin pointed out (1966:305), some information found in the household registration records kept by various public offices of Taiwan is questionable and sometimes even misleading; the records of Ying-ting village are no exception. After a house-to-house survey, I found that there were only 842 persons living in 159 households in the village, which was 218 persons and eighteen households less that the official figure. Some of the people whose names appeared in the official records were no longer living in the village; some families that were registered as two units were actually still living together as one household.

Reasons for such discrepancies vary. The most common one is that the villagers do not care to take the trouble to report changes to the Public Office. If the villagers fail to report promptly, such changes can only be registered when the government conducts its periodic checks of the household registration; these usually take place once every two or three years.

The population of Ying-ting was quite stable during

my fourteen-month study. Of course, deaths occurred and brides married out of the village, but births and brides marrying into the village counteracted the losses, keeping the total number of residents close to 842.

Excluding those 218 individuals who no longer live in the village but still are officially registered as residents, Ying-ting has a population of 842 persons living in 159 households. Thus, the average size of a household is 5.29 persons. Those whose names are on the records but who live elsewhere in Taiwan are mostly concentrated in the big cities of the island where they or their relatives have jobs.

More than 218 people have left Ying-ting during the last twenty years. Many villagers who moved also had their household registration transferred to their new residences. This latter group can be further divided into two subgroups according to whether the people continue to retain any significant ties with the village community or not. The first subgroup consists of those migrants who moved, no longer registered their names in the village, but still have some contacts there. They retain their ties mainly by owning property, usually land and houses, by having family members in the village. The second subgroup consists of those persons who moved out of the village, no longer registered in it, and ceased to maintain any significant link with their original home place.

The following table shows the numbers of households that have moved out of the village in the last twenty years. It divides these migrants into two groups based on whether they still maintain any significant connection with the village or not. As we can see from Table 1, a direct correlation exists between migrants' maintenance of household registration in the village and their continued contact with the community. There are 37 households (218 persons) that have moved but still register in the village and also have some property or family members (usually aged parents) there. On the other hand, 21 households (consisting of 143 persons) have left who are no longer registered in Ying-ting. Among them, only four households maintain connections with the community. Two of the four have very small amounts of land in the village and the other two have family members still living in Ying-Ting.

As we will see in Chapter Four and again in the final chapter, the out-migration of these villagers was mainly due to the ecological condition of this area. The agricultural activity was no longer able to absorb all the village production forces. Furthermore, the recent industrial development of Taiwan has also prompted such out-migration to a certain extent by providing new employment opportunity in the city.

Several basic facts about Ying-ting's population can be derived from the figures shown in Table 2 and Figure 4.

Table 1

Migrants and Their Contacts with the Village

	Group I Households still registered in Ying-ting	Group II Households no longer registered in Ying-ting
No. of households	37 (218 persons)	21 (143 persons)
No. of households that have property left in the village	9	2
No. of households that have property and family members left in the village	18	0
No. of households that have family members (parents and/or children) left in the village	10	2

The following chart presents some other characteristics of the community's population. Table 2 and Figure 4 show the age groups of the village population in 1970. First, the village population is relatively young. People under the age of 19 account for slightly more than half (50.9 percent) of the entire population. Second, the age group from 0-4 years is remarkably smaller than the groups from 5-9 and 10-14, and even smaller than the 15-19 year group. One explanation for this phenomenon is the increasing number of married women practicing birth control.

Table 2

Age Groups by Sex and Percentage of the Population in Ying-Ting, 1970

	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
0-4	44	5.2	42	5.0	86	10.2
5-9	57	6.8	55	6.5	112	13.3
10-14	68	8.1	62	7.4	130	15.5
15-19	59	7.0	41	4.9	100	11.9
20-24	9	1.1	32	3.8	41	4.9
25-29	20	2.4	23	2.7	43	5.1
30-34	19	2.3	19	2.3	38	4.6
35-39	25	3.0	27	3.2	52	6.2
40-44	18	2.1	24	2.8	42	4.9
45-49	15	1.8	17	2.0	32	3.8
50-54	12	1.4	23	2.7	35	4.1
55-59	17	2.0	17	2.0	34	4.0
60-64	22	2.6	25	2.9	47	5.5
65-69	11	1.2	6	0.7	17	1.9
70-74	5	0.6	8	1.0	13	1.6
75-79	5	0.6	7	0.8	12	1.4
80-over	4	0.5	4	0.5	8	1.0
Total	410	48.7	432	51.2	842	99.9

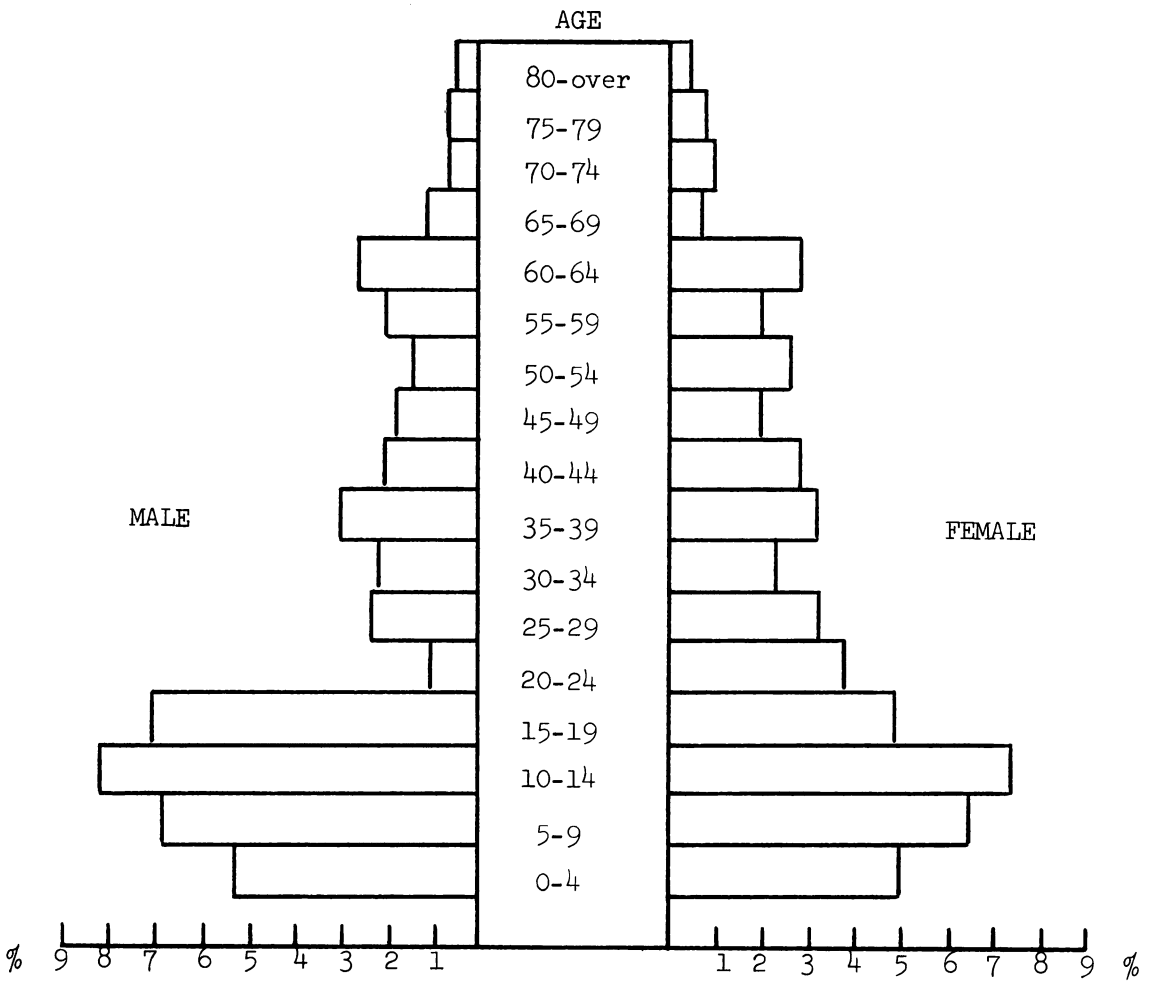

Figure 4

Population Pyramid by Age Groups, Sex, and Percentage
Source: Data from Table 2

Although birth control was introduced to the Taiwanese rural population many years ago, it has only been widely accepted by the peasants in the past few years. Another possible pertinent factor is the increasing rural-to-urban migration, especially the out-migration of those married couples who

are still of child-bearing age. Third, in terms of the total population the sex ratio between female and male is 100:94.9 (female = 100). While most of the age groups comply with this general ratio, the 20-24 year group differs sharply, having thirty-two females but only nine males. The reason for such a striking difference lies in the fact that males are subject to military draft when they reach the age of twenty. If we had included those 27 draftees who were serving in different services when this study was conducted, there would have been 38 males and 32 females in this particular group, making the sex ratio 100:118.7, a reverse of the general pattern. This reversal does not reflect a drastic change in the female birth rate twenty to twenty-four years ago, though.

The girls of this age group, if unmarried, usually migrate to the cities for jobs. If they become factory workers, they usually live in the factory dormitory, registering in the cities where they work. Thus, they would be counted as out-migrants.

From a short-term point of view, draftees should not be excluded from the village population because they usually return to the village after two or three years of military service. From a long-term view, however, they should be excluded, because military conscription has been in practice for almost twenty years and is not expected to end in the foreseeable future. Thus, the village

population should continue to show a relatively small number of males in the 20-24 year age group. This phenomenon has some impact on the labor recruitment for farming tasks which will be discussed in the chapter on agricultural practices.

CHAPTER THREE

AGRICULTURAL PROCESS

Although not all of the households in Ying-ting live off the land, agricultural production still provides a livelihood for the majority of the villagers. Among the 159 households living in Ying-ting in 1969-1971, 27 can be classified as nonagricultural in occupation. In other words, they predominantly derive their income from sources other than agricultural activity. These include: (a) ten households of old and retired villagers living on remittances sent by their migrant sons in the cities, or on the rents they collect from leasing their land; (b) ten households that earn their living from business activities such as the village store, barber shops, bakeries, and peddling fish and vegetables; (c) six households whose heads are factory workers; and (d) one household whose head is the principal of a public school.

The remaining 132 households derive their income either entirely or partially from agricultural activities (see Table 3). Therefore, a study of the agricultural practices of the Ying-ting villagers seems to be a good starting point in our attempt to understand their economic activities.

Table 3

Major Sources of Household Income

	Number of Households
Farming	26
Farming & Wages Earned as Agricultural Labor	63
Farming & Wages Earned as Store Clerk	5
Farming & Wages Earned as Skilled Labor	7
Farming and Business	4
Farming & Salaries Earned as Government Worker	13
Wages Earned as Agricultural Day Labor	14
Wages Earned as Factory Worker	6
Government Worker	1
Rent, Remittance, and other sources	10
Business	10
Total	159

I. A Brief History of Agricultural Development of the Chia-nan Plain Region

Because of the climatic conditions, i.e., high temperatures, unevenly distributed rainfall, and a lack of sufficient irrigation facilities, the entire Chia-nan Plain including the Ying-ting village, is not suitable for wet-rice

cultivation. It can be used only for dry land crops such as sugar cane, sweet potatoes, and dry-rice. No historical record reveals when sugar cane farming and the sugar industry began in this area. Since the Taiwanese originally living in this region, however, were migrants from Fukien Province, one of the most important sugar cane producing areas of China, they probably brought cane farming and sugar manufacturing technologies with them when they migrated to Taiwan in the seventeenth century or earlier.

When Southern Taiwan (Ying-ting village and the entire Chia-nan Plain included) was occupied by the Dutch from 1624-1661, the Dutch colonial government found sugar cane widely cultivated in the area and sugar manufacturing already well-developed. Knowing that sugar was a highly demanded and exportable commodity, the Dutch government encouraged the natives to plant sugar cane by constructing irrigation canals and providing financial aids for cane farmers. As a consequence, cane farming, well-adapted to the natural environmental conditions anyhow, began to develop systematically as the basic means of utilizing the land (cf. Chen 1950:160-62).

Although the Dutch were driven away from Taiwan in 1661, the cane farming and sugar exportation system they encouraged and helped develop were maintained and expanded by Koxinga, who succeeded them in ruling Taiwan. By the time the Ch'ing Empire defeated Koxinga's regime and incorporated Taiwan into itself, sugar cane farming and

sugar manufacturing had become the most important enterprise of the area. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the annual production of sugar from this region has been estimated to have reached 18,000 metric tons, an amount worth 200,000 to 300,000 taels of silver (Chen 1950:169-70). Thus, we have good reason to believe that in the period between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, Ying-ting and other rural communities in the general area were populated by peasants who cultivated sweet potatoes and dry-rice as their major food staples and sugar cane as the major cash crop.

During the early phase of the Japanese occupation of Taiwan, sugar cane farming in the Chia-nan region and sugar manufacturing in Taiwan underwent a drastic change. One of the Japanese colonial government's major policies was to develop Taiwan's agriculture so as to make it the provider of sugar, rice, and other agricultural raw materials for the industrializing mother country (cf. Ginsburg 1953:24). With such a policy as the general guideline, Japanese scientists conducted a number of research projects to ascertain Taiwan's agricultural potential. Among other things, they found that the Chia-nan Plain, especially the region in Tainan County, was the most suitable place for sugar cane cultivation provided that (a) better varieties of sugar cane could be introduced to the farmers, (b) modern sugar refinery could be established, and (c) a large-scale irrigation facility could be

constructed (cf. The Bank of Taiwan 1956:103).

The Japanese colonial government followed these recommendations literally. Starting in early 1900, it introduced varieties of sugar cane from Hawaii and Java to the Taiwanese peasants. It also encouraged Japanese capitalists to build modern sugar refineries in Taiwan to replace those native-owned and operated, old-fashioned sugar mills. Furthermore, it initiated and completed a large-scale irrigation network, the Chia-nan Irrigation System, as a result of the recommendations of the earlier agricultural surveys. After the completion of the irrigation system, the colonial authority introduced a mixed-crop rotation system, reinforcing it by regulating the irrigation water.

After the completion of the irrigation system and the establishment of the mixed-crop rotation system, the agricultural pattern of Ying-ting and the entire Chia-nan Plain became quite formalized. It became a regulated mixed-cropping region that provided sugar cane for the Japanese-monopolized sugar industry plus sweet potatoes and dry-rice for the peasants' subsistence. Although the Japanese colonization of Taiwan ended in 1945, the agricultural pattern they implemented has remained largely unchanged because this pattern was not directly reinforced by political forces as such but, rather, by state control and manipulation of the limited irrigation facility. In fact, there has not been any large-scale improvement of the irrigation facility in this area since the completion of

the Chia-nan Irrigation System in 1930. Thus, the mixed crop rotation system has remained up to the time when this study was conducted. To be sure, this does not mean that there has not been any technological change in the agricultural processes during the past 30 years. Quite to the contrary, over the years peasants in this area have been constantly introduced to new seeds, fertilizers, and farming techniques. What I wish to indicate is merely that the general pattern of land utilization, especially as it concerns the irrigation facilities currently available to the peasants, has remained largely unchanged since 1930.

II. The Mixed Crop Rotation System

As I already indicated, the most distinctive feature of the agricultural practices of Ying-ting village is the crop rotation system which the peasants adopted in order to adjust to the government-controlled, limited irrigation facility. In order to have a good understanding of the agricultural activities of this area, we have to become familiar with the rotation system, how it works, and how it affects the peasants' economic activity.

When the Chia-nan Irrigation System was completed, the two reservoirs could only provide water continuously for an area of 50,000 hectares. Yet the entire cultivated area on the Chia-nan Plain was close to 150,000 hectares. In other words, the capacity of these two reservoirs could only irrigate one-third of the Chia-nan Plain on a

year-round basis, and only this one-third of the plain could be used to cultivate two crops of wet-rice each year.

As a result, the Japanese colonial government was confronted with the problem of how to allocate the limited water resources. They had two alternatives. First, the government could have restricted the irrigation area to the capacity of the two reservoirs, i.e., 50,000 hectares of land, and let the farmsteads within this area receive water on a continuous basis, allowing the peasants to utilize the land for wet-rice cultivation. The second choice would be to expand the irrigation networks to every farmstead on the Chia-nan Plain, covering the entire 150,000 hectares, and to adopt a rotation system so that each farmstead would get enough water for wet-rice cultivation only once every three years.

The government abandoned the first alternative because it contradicted the original rationale for building the irrigation system, i.e., to increase the productivity of sugar cane in the Chia-nan Plain. Should the water be supplied only to an area of 50,000 hectares on a year-round basis, the peasants who owned these fully-irrigated lands would undoubtedly become full-time wet-rice farmers and forget about the less profitable sugar cane, which they had been growing only because there was not enough irrigation water to turn their lands into rice paddies. In addition to the problem of losing these 50,000 hectares of

land to wet-rice, the remaining 100,000 hectares would receive no irrigational improvement at all. Although there would be no need to worry about the competition between wet-rice and sugar cane, increased productivity of sugar cane planted in the 100,000 unirrigated hectares would be unlikely, despite the introduction of new seeds and fertilizers. Thus, all things considered, to restrict the irrigation water to one-third of the Chia-nan Plain would have been detrimental to the goal of increasing the production of sugar cane in the region. It was under such a situation that the Japanese government decided, in 1930, to extend the irrigation canals into every farmstead in the Chia-nan Plain and to implement a rotating irrigation system.

In order to distribute the water as evenly as possible, the Japanese divided the entire Chia-nan Plain into nearly one thousand small areas of 150 hectares. Furthermore, each small area was subdivided into three cropping zones, approximately 50 hectares each. Under the rotating system, the water was supplied to one of the three cropping zones in a given year and a farmer was allowed to use the irrigated land to cultivate wet-rice. As noted earlier, the second cropping zone of each small area was irrigated on two brief occasions and was designated for sugar cane. The third cropping zone would not be irrigated in the same year; thus, only sweet potatoes and other dryland crops that could

sustain themselves on the natural rainfall could be planted. In the next year, the second cropping zone of each small area (the one used for sugar cane the previous year) would receive irrigation water for wet-rice cultivation, the third cropping zine would become the sugar cane zone, and the first cropping zone would become the dryland crop zone. The entire rotation system would take three years to complete its cycle. (For clarity see Table 4.)

Table 4

The Idealized Three-Year-Crop Rotation System

	Zone I	Zone II	Zone III
1st Year	Will be irrigated frequently. The land will be used for paddy rice.	Will be irrigated periodically. The land will be used for sugar cane.	Will not be irrigated The land will be used for sweet potato or other dryland crops.
2nd Year	Will not be irrigated. The land will be used for sweet potato or other dryland crops.	Will be irrigated frequently. The land will be used for paddy rice.	Will be irrigated periodically. The land will be used for sugar cane.
3rd Year	Will be irrigated periodically. The land will be used for sugar cane.	Will not be irrigated. The land will be used for sweet potato or other dryland crops.	Will be irrigated frequently. The land will be used for paddy rice.

The rotation system described above has frequently been referred to as the "sugar cane, rice, and sweet potato three-year-crop-rotation-system." When it is referred to in this way, people often

think that each of the three crops is being planted for the same length of time in each of the three cropping zones during the three-year cycle. The system operates quite differently from what its name might imply, however, because different crops require different lengths of time to mature, the time they occupy the land also differs. For example, let us examine the following chart (Figure 5) and see how the time of the three-year cycle is being allocated for the various crops.

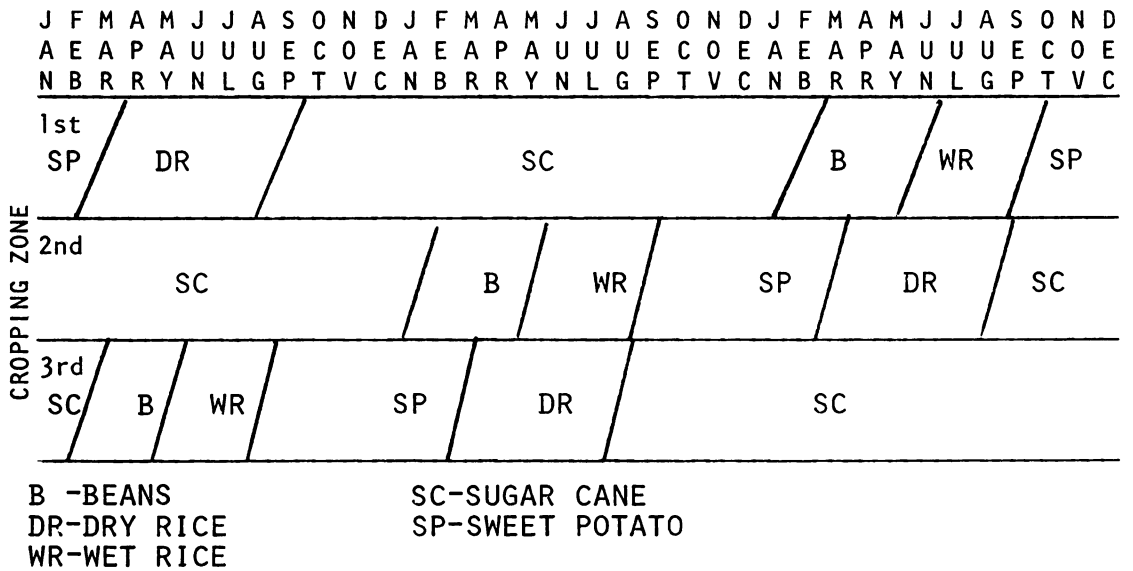

Figure 5

The Three-Year-Crop Rotation System as Seen in Ying-ting, 1968-71

As Figure 5 indicates, during the three-year cycle in each of the cropping zones, eighteen months are needed to grow one crop of sugar cane. These eighteen months are generally referred to as the "sugar cane year," although

they actually cover one and one-half calendar years. During this period, the cropping zone undergoes two brief irrigations, one in mid-November to early December when the cane is two to three months old, and the second sometime between March and April when the cane is six to seven months old and the first weeding has been completed. Shortly after the sugar cane is harvested in February or March of the third year, the land is planted with some short term crops. The most popular crops being cultivated in recent years are mung beans and a special variety of watermelon cultivated not for the melon itself but for the seeds it contains.[1] Beans or the "seed melon" are harvested in June, and then the field is ready for wet-rice. Between June and October of the third year, the cropping zone is irrigated frequently so that the crop of wet-rice can be cultivated. The eight months between March and October, when field is used for mung beans or the "seed melon" and one crop of wet-rice, are generally called the "wet-rice year."

After the wet-rice is harvested, the land is prepared for sweet potatoes, which are planted in late October and harvested in April of the following year. When the sweet potatoes are harvested, the field is used for another dryland crop, such as dry-rice or jute. These crops take approximately four months to mature and are harvested in

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[1]After the harvest of this melon, the seeds are collected and dried. They will later be sold to candy shops for the making of kua-tze, a special seed that Chinese are very fond of.

late August or early September. When the land is being used for one crop of sweet potatoes and one crop of dry-rice or jute, the period is generally referred to as the "sweet potato year," although it lasts only ten months. When the so-called "sweet potato year" is over, the whole rotation cycle starts anew with a new planting of sugar cane.

Because of the crop rotation system and the division of the farmsteads into three different cropping zones, the work schedules found among peasants in Ying-ting village are highly diversified. Each household's work schedule might differ from its neighbors' simply because its lands are located in different cropping zones. The peasants' work schedules in a mixed cropping village like Ying-ting are quite different from those of the wet-rice farmers in central and northern Taiwan. Wet-rice farmers usually have a rather unified work schedule, all being very busy at the same time in preparing the land, transplanting the rice seedlings, and weeding or harvesting. Also, they enjoy together the brief slack season when no work need be done in their rice paddies. Such a unified work schedule found in the full-time, wet-rice farming communities implies that although there will be seasonal underemployment, the rice farmers must stay very close to their farms to be able to carry out the farm work in time. If a man can farm 0.5 chia of rice paddies and the community

has 300 chia, then there must be 600 working men in the community for it to have a self-sufficient labor supply.

The situation is quite different in a mixed cropping village like Ying-ting village. Here the land is divided into three cropping zones and each zone is planted with different crops all the time. This means that the working schedule of each cropping zone will be different. Thus, a peasant in Ying-ting would be able to tend more than 0.5 chia of land provided he has his land divided into two or three of the cropping zones and varies his working schedules. By keeping his land in different cropping zones, a peasant can tend different crops in different months of the year, thereby minimizing the seasonal underemployment that is so commonly found in a wet-rice farming community.

Because of this ecological factor, i.e., the mixed cropping system, the Chia-nan Plain region has been constantly "pushing" out its rural populations to the big cities of Taiwan. This has been true not only in recent years but also long before the industrialization of Taiwan gained its momentum in the 1960's and began to absorb manpower from its rural areas.

Another phenomenon directly related to the mixed cropping system is the greater ease in finding temporary help in Ying-ting or other mixed-cropping villages than in a full-time wet-rice farming community. The practice of

the mixed cropping system, especially the cultivation of sugar cane--a crop which takes eighteen months to mature and does not require much care after it is planted--together with the fact that not all villagers in Ying-ting own land in all of the three cropping zones[2] makes it easier for villagers to find temporary help if they need it. Since the land in Ying-ting is divided into three cropping zones and each zone will be planted with different crops in any given time, peasants who own land in different zones will have different work schedules. For example, Mr. Chuang, who owns land in all three of the cropping zones in the Ying-ting small area, was very busy harvesting sweet potatoes from his plots located in Zone III in May, 1970. Two days after harvesting the sweet potatoes, he had to begin plowing his land to prepare it for planting jute. On top of all of this work, Mr. Chuang and his family were harvesting mung beans from their land in Zone II. While the Chuangs were busy from dawn to dark during those days in May, his next door neighbor, Mr. Ssu, who only owns land in Zone I (planted with sugar cane in that particular year), had nothing to do on his land. In a situation like this, should Mr. Chuang need some extra hands to help in his busy schedule he can always approach

[2]Among the 159 households in Ying-ting, 140 of them own some land in the Ying-ting small area. Of these 140 households, only 42 own land in all three of the cropping zones, 34 own land in two of the three cropping zones, while 64 have all their lands located in one cropping zone.

Mr. Ssu or some other villager who has a similarly lax schedule.

III. Agricultural Calendar

In order to describe fully the mixed-crop-rotation system and how it affects the work schedules of the peasants in Ying-ting, let us examine the work schedule of Mr. Ssu for the period between January and December, 1970. We have chosen Mr. Ssu's schedule because: (1) Mr. Ssu is a full-time peasant whose income is derived from farming and raising pigs; and (s) Mr. Ssu has 1.7 chia of land, which is almost equally distributed in the three cropping zones. Thus, by following his work schedule, we can learn what needs to be done in each of the cropping zones in each of the twelve months.

Additional farm work besides that we have recorded in the calendar has to be done in other places. For example, when the jute is harvested in September, the skins peeled from the stalks have to be soaked in water for two or three days. After soaking, the useless parts of the skin will have rotted and can easily be washed away. Then the fibers have to be dried before the jute can be sold to the purchasing agent of the local Farmer's Association. Also, after the harvesting of wet-rice, the stalks have to be dried and transported back to the house where they will be stored and used as cooking fuel.

work done in the field / month	ZONE I	ZONE II	ZONE III
Jan.	Zone I was planted with sugar cane in late Sept. last year. The cane is now more than 3 months old and was briefly irrigated last Dec. No work needs to be done in the fields except periodical inspection.	Zone II is now occupied by sugar cane. It was planted 16 months ago and is ready for harvest. It is scheduled to be harvested next month. No work needs to be done except collecting the dry leaves to prevent accidental fires.	Zone III is planted with sweet potatoes. It was planted last Nov. The field was also intercropped with green onions when the sweet potatoes were first planted. The crop is growing nicely. The only work to be done is to harvest the onions. Mr. Ssu was hoping to keep the onions a few weeks longer, but the sweet potatoes are growing so fast that their vines are tangling with the onions. Onions are harvested on the 17th.
Feb.	The cane is about 3 ft. tall and it is time to cover the roots with another layer of soil so that they will multiply. This job is not time-pressing; Mr. Ssu does it whenever it rains, for	Cane is harvested by the harvest team on the 3rd. After the harvest, Mr. Ssu has to (a) collect the leaves, (b) plow up the cane roots, and (c) prepare the land for another crop. Mr. Ssu's	After harvesting the onions, the sweet potatoes are fertilized. Chemical fertilizer is used. It is Mr. Ssu's father who applies the fertilizer. It only takes him one day to finish 0.5

Feb.	after the rain the land is softer and easier to turn. While covering the roots, he also weeds.	wife and parents all work 3 days to have the land cleared. He himself plows the land for another 4 days.	chia of the land.
Mar.	No work is needed except periodical inspection.	0.3 chia of the land is planted with mung beans and the other 0.4 chia with melon. The planting is done by Mr. Ssu and his wife. It takes only 3 days to do the seeding.	No work is needed.
Apr.	The cane field is irrigated again early this month. Each 0.1 chia of land is allowed to be irrigated for 30 minutes. Mr. Ssu's land is scheduled between 2 and 4:30 a.m. so he had to stay up all night on April 6 just to make sure that all of his 0.5 chia of land was irrigated.	The melon is growing, and rats are already in the field eating the fruit. Mr. Ssu brings some rat poison and places it in the field. Only a few of the rats are killed; they seem to be too smart to go for the poison.	No work is needed.
May	As the cane grows taller and taller, the leaves close to the ground get dryer and die. To prevent fire, the dry leaves have to	The melon and beans are ready for harvest. Melons are broken in the field and the seeds are collected in a bucket. The fruit is discarded in the	The sweet potatoes are ready for harvest. Several middlemen approach Mr. Ssu and want to buy the crop. It is finally sold to a middleman from

May	be removed from the field. Mr. Ssu's parents and wife work 3 days to clear the dried leaves, which are shipped back to their house and used for fuel. Some of the leaves are mixed with pig dung to make green manure.	field and left to rot. The seeds are carried home, washed, and dried. The mung beans are harvested by hand-picking Only the bean pods are picked. It is a slow process, taking two weeks to harvest the 0.3 chia.	Chia-li-hsin, the one who offers the highest price. The harvest is done by plowing. It takes three days work. The vines are collected and taken back to the house where Mrs. Ssu uses a powered machine to chop the vines and leaves into small pieces. Later, they are stored in underground tanks to be used as pig fodder.
June	No work is needed.	The land is plowed in early June. Before the plowing, 4 carts of green manure are shipped to the field and spread around. Together with the bean plants and the rotten melons, the manure is plowed under the top soil to enrich the land. Meanwhile, a seed bed is prepared for the wet-rice. The grains are cast onto the seed bed. From then on, the seed bed has to be kept well-watered. Beginning June 25th, this zone becomes the wet-rice zone. Irrigation water will be supplied and will keep	After the harvest, Mr. Ssu has to decide what to plant in these plots. This zone will become a sugar cane zone next Sept. There will be no irrigation water for these plots for another 6 months. Thus he can only plant dry-rice or jute. Since he already has 0.7 chia of land being planted with wet-rice (in Zone II), he decides to use these plots for jute. Seeds are brought from the Farmers' Association. The land is planted in early June after it rains. Usually Mr. Ssu could have inter-cropped the plots with some short-term

		coming until July 15. On June 26, Mr. Ssu starts to let the land be inundated. After being soaked in the water for 2 days, the land is turned and leveled. Thus, it is ready for transplanting. The transplantation is done by a team of 10 workers organized by a fellow villager. It costs NT$120 for each 0.1 chia of land. The transplantation is completed on June 30.	vegetable, but he is too busy this month.
June			
July	Inspect the drainage ditch. It is time for the typhoon season. When it comes, it sometimes brings a lot of rain, and the water has to be drained within 2 or 3 days; otherwise, the cane roots would loosen and cause the cane to fall.	Inspecting the water level of the rice paddy. The important thing is to prevent the young plants from being completely drowned. Three weeks after the transplantation, the wet-rice plot receives its first fertilizer.	For weeks after the seeding, the jute has to be fertilized. It is done on July 19 because it rained on the 18th. It is believed that the chemcal fertilizer "penetrates" better if applied when the soil is moist.
August	No work is needed except periodical inspection.	After the first application of fertilizer, the paddy is drained for two days. Then it is weeded. It takes 15 man-days to weed these 0.7 chia of land. The entire family	No work is needed.

Aug.		i.e., Mr. and Mrs. Ssu, their parents, and the eldest daughter work for 3 days. When the weeding is done, the water is let into the field again. In mid-Aug. insecticides are spread in the field. He uses a gas-powered applicator and it takes him a whole day's work. By the end of this month, shortly before the grain begins to develop, a second application of fertilizer is made.	
Sept.	Normally no work is needed in the cane field in this stage, but, there was a typhoon early this month. It was a "small" one; no serious damage was done, but the field has to be inspected and some minor work is needed, such as setting up some poles to help the fallen canes stand up again.	The rice is ready for harvest in mid-Sept. He hires a harvest team to do the job. It is finished in one day. Although the harvesting is done by the hired hands, the entire family is busy in transporting the grains from the field to the house. Then they have to be dried under the sun. The land is plowed & farrows are built, getting ready for the transplantation of sweet potatoes. The planting is a light job and is done by his parents and his wife.	Early this month the jute is harvested. Two of Mr. Ssu's neighbors help. He doesn't pay them because they ask him to plow their land for them. After cutting the jute, the land is plowed and let to rest for a while. By the end of this month, the land is planted with sugar cane. Thus, this cropping zone is now turned into the sugar cane zone.

Oct.	No work is needed	Application of fertilizer.	Inspecting the young cane that were transplanted last month. Re-plant those places where the cane failed to grow. Mr. Ssu intercrops 0.2 chia of the cane field with garlic green between the farrows of young canes.
Nov.	No work is needed	No work is needed	Applies night soil to the garlic green.
Dec.	No work is needed	No work is needed	Harvests the garlic green because the cane is growing too tall for the garlic green to stay in the field. In mid-Dec. the cane field receives its first irrigation water. Each 0.1 chia is allowed 30 minutes. Two days after the irrigation, chemical fertilizer is applied to the cane field.

Not all the peasants in Ying-ting have as busy a year as does Mr. Ssu. Some of them have all of their land located in Zone I and thus have a rather "slow" year. These are the people who work on the cane harvest team organized by the Local Representative of the Taiwan Sugar Company. Also, some of them organize themselves into a team to transplant and harvest wet-rice for other villagers.

IV. Labor

Although most peasant households in Ying-ting can provide the labor forces needed to tend their fields in a routine manner, all of them need outside laborers from time to time. First, all of the cane farmers have to hire a sugar harvest team to cut the cane for them regardless of whether they can do the job themselves or not. Second, many peasant households need extra hands to do the transplanting and harvesting simply because such jobs have to be finished in a short period of time.

Three major ways the villagers in Ying-ting can acquire outside labor forces to help them farm are: (a) to engage themselves in a labor-exchange arrangement with their fellow villagers; thus, one can work for others when one has time to spare and have others work for oneself when such help is needed; (b) to hire individual workers and pay them by the day; or (c) to hire a work team and let them take care of the farm work, such as hiring a rice-harvesting team and paying it by the size of the field.

Labor exchange was popular in the past. Although it is still practiced among households closely related, either by kinship ties or friendship, this mode of acquiring outside help has been decreasing in popularity. Because of the mixed cropping system, different households tend to have different work schedules, thus, if a peasant enters such an exchange arrangement with his fellow villagers and works for them for a number of days, chances are he may have to wait for months for those people to work for him, simply because he may not need any help in his fields during the season he works for other villagers. Such "delayed payment" was not problematical in the past because villagers had little other short-term employment, In the past fifteen years, however, because of Taiwan's economic development, many opportunities for such employment are available either in the cities or in the market towns close to the village. Facing the choice of working for labor exchange or cash, most people tend to prefer the latter. Thus, nowadays, even when working for their fellow villagers, the peasants are usually paid in cash. Since participation in a labor exchange arrangement is no longer favored, villagers have to hire individuals workers or an entire work team, and when they have spare time they can, in turn, hire themselves out or participate in a work team for cash.

Ying-ting has many such work teams. Some have existed for a long time while others are newly organized. The following is a brief description of these work teams as they

were found in 1970.

A. The Sugar Cane Harvest Team

When a peasant in this area signs a contract with the Taiwan Sugar Company (TSC) to plant sugar cane, among other things he has to agree that when the cane is ready for harvest, it will be harvested by a team organized by the Local Representative of the TSC. In other words, the cane farmer has no right to cut his own cane even if he has the ability to do so. (Cane harvesting is an extensive operation, requiring a large group of people working together. As a result, the average peasant household cannot furnish the manpower needed to do the job.

Beginning in late November or early December each year, the Local Representative of the TSC starts recruiting workers for the cane harvest team. The team consists of the following personnel: (a) a field foreman, whose job is to supervise the entire field operation; (b) nine male cane cutters, who use a special hoe particularly designed for uprooting the cane, to cut the cane; (c) twenty-seven female workers separated into nine units, each unit assigned to work with one male cane cutter picking up the canes he uproots, slashing off the leaves and cutting each cane into two halves, and packing them into bundles; (d) four cart drivers who join the team with their own cows and carts. They drive the carts to the harvest ground and pick up the bundles of cane that the female workers have prepared and assembled,

then they drive to the village railroad station; (e) four dock workers who unload the cane from the cow carts and reload them on the railroad trucks which are driven to the TSC's local refinery; (f) one service boy brings water for the workers during their breaks and carries all the necessary tools and equipment to the workers.

The entire team works from December to April of the following year and is paid by the TSC according to the amount of cane cut and transported. In the harvesting season between 1969-70, the average wage for each working day was NT$85[3] for each male cutter, NT$35 for each female worker, NT$180 for the cart drivers and their equipment, NT$60 for the dock worker, and NT$25 for the service boy. Although the wages were slightly lower than the going rate for day labor in the area, the long-term employment made such jobs quite attractive to the villagers.

People who participate in this work team, especially the male cane cutters, usually work for the team on a permanent basis, i.e., year after year. All of them are relatively poor in the community. They do not own much land and depend largely on wages they earn as unskilled laborers when not cutting cane for the TSC. The majority of the female team workers in the 1969-70 season were housewives from large households. That is, they either had their mothers-in-law take care of their housework or

[3]In 1969-70, the exchange rate between New Taiwan Dollar (NT$) and U.S. Dollar was NT$40 to US$1.

they had daughters old enough to fill in for them while they were working for the team during the daytime. The Local Representative has had difficulty recruiting young female cane cutters in recent years. In the past, when few factories were in the area, most girls stayed in the village and were rather eager to work for the team. Nowadays, most of the unmarried girls of the village work in the local factories and are no longer available as cane cutters; therefore, the Local Representative has to hire housewives instead of young girls.

B. Rice Transplanting Team

The pressure of time is very great in wet-rice cultivation. Once the seeds are sown, the seedlings have to be transplanted from the seed bed to the paddies within twenty-five days. Seedlings cannot be transplanted before they are fifteen days old, however; otherwise, they will not have a good chance of surviving the transplantation. Since the young seedlings cannot be left in the seed bed for more than twenty-five days and cannot be transplanted before they are fifteen days old, the peasants have only a ten-day period for transplanting. The pressure of time is further heightened for the wet-rice cultivators in Ying-ting, as well as those in other areas irrigated by the Chia-nan Irrigation System, because each small area in this region is allocated only twenty days to receive the irrigation water for rice transplanting. Thus, all the

peasants who are going to plant their fields with wet-rice have to finish their land preparation, seedling-cultivation, and transplanting within a short period of time. This usually causes problems for families that do not have enough manpower. There are always some peasants in Ying-ting, however, whose land is not in the wet-rice cropping zone during a particular season; thus, those who need extra hands can approach those who have time. Previously, such help could be arranged on a labor-exchange basis, i.e., one day's work for one day's work, or on a cash-for-the-labor basis. As we have pointed out earlier, though, labor-exchange as a pattern of procuring help is no longer popular in this area. Villagers nowadays prefer to hire on a cash basis and be hired in the same way.

To finish his work in time, a peasant who needs help for transplanting the rice has to make arrangements early in the season so that he can have a sufficiently large labor force to work for him when the water comes. If a peasant needs five men to work for him, for example, he has to approach each of them and find a date suitable not only to the irrigation schedule but also to all of his five prospective helpers' schedules. The peasant who needs help, then, has to allow time for arranging such schedules. Though the task is not necessarily difficult, it nevertheless requires planning and negotiating. Not infrequently, peasants must spend a great deal of time seeking out and approaching prospective helpers.

A new type of work team has recently been organized in response to the increasing difficulty of finding labor for rice transplanting. A few years ago, two Chuang brothers began to recruit into two rice transplanting teams villagers who owned less land and had more time than most to hire themselves out as day laborers. They then asked prospective clients well in advance of the season whether they would like to hire from them an entire team to do the transplanting. Having solicited enough work orders, they arranged a schedule for each of the two teams in accordance with the irrigation schedule and the location of the paddy fields. They would then notify the prospective clients of the date of the transplanting so that the clients would have enough time to get the seedlings and paddy fields ready. The brothers set their fee according to the size of the paddy field. For example, in 1970 they charged NT$90.00 per each 0.1 chia of land plus lunch provided by the landowner, or NT$120.00 without lunch.

In 1970 two such teams worked in Ying-ting. Each team had eleven members, one foreman and ten workers. During the season, they worked for their fellow villagers, and also for peasants from the neighboring villages who had lands near Ying-ting. The money each team earned was divided among the workers according to the rate they had agreed upon. Again, let us use the example observed in 1970. For organizing the team, soliciting work orders, and

arranging work schedules, the organizer of each team, i.e., each of the two Chuang brothers, was awarded 5% of his team's total earnings. The remaining 95% was divided among the team's eleven members according to two different pay rates. Each female worker was paid only three-quarters of what a male co-worker was paid.

Although these work teams are seasonal, only working together for some twenty days during the rice planting season, the team tends to regroup itself each year, maintaining a stable membership. Since their first appearance seven years ago, only three workers have dropped out of the two teams. One of them was drafted into the army, the second found a job in Kaohsiung and moved, and the last one, a female worker, married and moved to another village.

That the membership of these two work teams has been rather stable over the past years warrants a closer look into the interpersonal relationships of the co-workers. First of all, we found that, with only two exceptions, all the workers were members of the Chuang lineage. Second, these workers were all from rather poor families. They owned little land, or none at all, and needed to supplement their family's income. Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, each worker in these teams considered himself to be on good terms with all his co-workers. All said they were good friends or good neighbors and enjoyed the companionship of their fellow co-workers. They spent time together even when they were not working as a team.

Ever since these two teams were formed, villagers have had difficulty hiring laborers to work with them when they transplant their rice. Nowadays, people either have to hire the whole team to transplant the rice for them or they have to do it themselves.

C. The Rice Harvesting Team

The two Chuang brothers who organized the two rice transplanting teams also work as organizers for the two harvesting teams in Ying-ting. The organization of the harvesting team is quite similar to that of the transplantation team, except that it has fewer female workers. Rice harvesting is considered "heavy" work, at least heavier than transplanting; thus, female workers are considered less efficient for such work. As a result, they are paid less. A female worker in transplanting can earn three-fourths of what a male worker earns, but if she participates in a harvesting team, she is allowed only one-half of a male worker's salary. Both transplanting and harvesting teams are temporary groups, formed to take advantage of the seasonal shortage of labor, and disbanded when the need ends. Their memberships tend to be very stable, however. Old teammates regroup and work together year after year.

D. The Jute Harvesting Team

In 1970 a new work team was formed in Ying-ting. A village couple recruited nine women from the village and began to harvest jute for those families that needed help.

Their job was to cut the jute and peel off the skin. Since jute had been but recently introduced to this area, not many villagers were planting it in 1970. So the team leader went to two neighboring villages to solicit work orders, managing to sign up fourteen days of work for the season. When the season ended, each worker had earned NT$650.00, averaging NT$46.00 per working day, an amount slightly higher than the daily rate for individual female workers. The team leader and some of the workers told me that they intended to do it again the following year, because, according to them, the money was "not bad" and it had been "fun" working together as a group.

It is my observation that the rice harvesting teams, transplanting teams, and jute harvesting team have been inspired by the existence of the cane harvesting team. The rationale for forming such groups and their organizational pattern differ, however. By having a team work under the supervision of its Local Representative, the TSC assures that the total amount of sugar cane harvested in any given day will match the grinding capacity of its local refinery. Furthermore, under the supervision of its Local Representative, the cane harvested will be properly prepared for grinding, i.e., it will have been separated from the debris and cut to a standardized length. Such considerations prompt the TSC to demand that its contracted cane farmers hire the harvest team. The other work groups discussed above are organized merely to cash in on

the workers' labor.

Besides this difference in rationale, the recruitment patterns of the various teams differ. The cane harvest team contains people from different kin groups and localities; the other work teams have members from the same kin group or same neighborhood. At first glance, this arrangement seems to be a rather natural phenomenon. While a cane harvesting team consists of forty-six workers, a rice harvesting team has only ten, making it easier to recruit them from a single kin group or neighborhood. Yet when I began to look into the situation more closely, I found that the Local Representative of the TSC purposefully tried to recruit his workers from different kin groups and locales. The reason becomes apparent when we understand the job of the TSC's Local Representative. He is responsible not only for organizing and supervising the cane harvesting team, but also for promoting the cultivation of the cane. He must make sure that all the land in each year's sugar cane zone is planted with cane. Better yet, if he can, he tries to talk the peasants into planting sugar cane in other cropping zones as well. Because of such responsibilities, the Local Representative has to maintain a good relationship with all the peasants in the small area of which he is in charge. Therefore, when he recruits workers, i.e., provides some employment opportunity, he tries to dispense the limited opportunities as evenly as possible within the entire village.

On the other hand, the rice harvesting and transplanting teams as well as the jute harvesting team are temporary groups. Their main purpose is to make as much in wages as possible. For a team to work efficiently, the organizer must make sure that all the workers are on good terms with each other. We found, therefore, that the smaller work teams are usually made up of close neighbors and/or close relatives.

Because of the existence of such work teams, it is becoming possible for a peasant to depend largely on hired labor to cultivate his land. If he plants sugar cane, for example, he really does not have too much work to do except in the planting season. Even if he chooses to plant wet-rice, he can engage the transplanting team to do the planting and have the harvesting team take care of the harvest. Thus, all he has to do is attend to those minor operations that need to be done between these two busy seasons.[4]

With this situation, it has become quite possible in recent years for many peasants to take nonagricultural employment outside their village. They can work in a factory, office, or shop, and have their wives tend the fields. Furthermore, they can also do some field work on the weekends, or at the end of the day when they return from their jobs. For this reason, Ying-ting has many "part-time peasants." (Eighty-eight out of 159 households are classified

[4]For details of work required for different crops, please refer to the agricultural calendar.

as part-time peasants. See Table 3.)

V. Credit Facility

The credit available to peasants has an important impact on their agricultural production. Other things being equal, peasants in a community where credit is easily available have more chances than others to improve their agricultural production, e.g., to try new farming techniques, to acquire new tools and equipment, and experiment with new varieties of seeds.

Knowing that the "moneylending club"[5] is one of the most popular ways that Chinese peasants have had to raise capital when they have large expenses to meet, I was very surprised at not finding a single moneylending club nor any "grain association" in Ying-ting and its surrounding villages.[6] Only after I understood the role that the TSC plays in providing credit services did I stop worrying about being given incorrect information about this matter.

To begin, let me first explain what a "grain association" is and why it is not found in Ying-ting, although it frequently is found in peasant communities in central and northern Taiwan. A grain association is usually formed by several peasants to render mutual financial assistance. Members are supposed to contribute a certain amount of grain (e.g., 300 catties) every six months or the length

[5]For details about the "moneylending club" and the way it operates, see Gallin 1966:73-75.

[6]For details about the "grain association" and its operation, see Pasternak 1972:35-36.

of time agreed upon. Each member takes a turn collecting the grain the other members contribute. Ways of deciding who will collect and when he will collect vary. Some use a "bidding system" whereby the one who offers the highest interest will collect the total. Some use a drawing method in which the winner of the draw collects. Each member can only collect once and has to keep contributing his shares until every member gets his turn to collect. In a mixed-cropping village such as Ying-ting, peasants do grow some rice, but they only grow it periodically and in less quantity than the full-time, wet-rice farmers of central and northern Taiwan. Therefore, Ying-ting villagers simply do not grow enough grain to form such an association.

As to the absence of a moneylending club, we have to look into the types of credit services provided by the TSC and other agencies. Once having signed a contract with the Local Representative of the TSC, a cane farmer is entitled to the following types of loans:

a. Production loan: for each 0.1 chia of land contracted to be planted with sugar cane, the peasant is entitled to borrow up to $550 at the interest rate of 1.25 percent per month. Considering that the interest rate of private loans is somewhere around 2.5 percent per month, this is one of the lowest interest rates that the peasants can get from any source. The loan is given as soon as the sugar cane is planted and the application forms are filed. It must be repaid when the sugar cane is

harvested sixteen to eighteen months later.

b. Fertilizer loan: for each 0.1 chia of land planted with sugar cane, the peasant is entitled to borrow up to NT$700 worth of fertilizer. The fertilizer is given in time for the peasant to use it in his cane fields, usually within two months after the cane is first planted. The loan is granted without any interest and must be repaid when the cane is harvested.

Not only is the interest charged by the TSC very low, the application procedure is a rather simple matter compared to applying for a loan from the local Farmers' Association or from any commercial bank. When a cane farmer needs a loan, all he has to do is go to the TSC Local Representative's house and inquire about the amount he is entitled to borrow. The Representative will do the necessary paperwork for him. Next, he must find two fellow villagers as guarantors to co-sign the application forms. Once this is done, the Representative will take the forms to the TSC local office, and the loan will be released within a few days. Applying for the fertilizer loan is even simpler. All the cane farmer has to do is notify the TSC Representative that he intends to borrow the fertilizer. Again, the Representative will do all the paper work necessary to get the loan. Before the time for fertilizing arrives, the fertilizer is shipped to the village railroad station for the peasant to pick up.

To indicate how popular the TSC loans are, let me point out the figures of cash loan and fertilizer loan granted by the TSC to the Ying-ting villagers in 1970. Seventy-nine households signed contracts to grow sugar cane in the 1969-70 season. All of them applied for loans and were granted them. NT$165,200 in cash and NT$260,702 worth of fertilizers were released to these 79 households. On the average, each household received NT$2,091 in cash and NT$3,300 worth of fertilizer.

Besides the loans provided by the TSC, other credit facilities are available to the peasants in Ying-ting. They can apply for small loans from the local Farmers' Association or, if a large sum is needed, they can mortgage their land to the Taiwan Land Bank. Borrowing money from the Farmers' Association or the Taiwan Land Bank, however, is not as easy as borrowing from the TSC. One has to have some friends who can influence the people at the Farmers' Association or the Taiwan Land Bank in order to receive favorable consideration. Also, the interest rates charged for such loans are relatively higher than those for the TSC loan, 1.5 percent per month for the small loan from the Farmers' Association and 1.25 percent per month for the loan from the Land Bank.

In addition to the various credit sources from agencies, some private sources also exist within the village community. In 1970, four individuals in the village could be labelled moneylenders. Each of them had capital

averaging around NT$20,000 with which to make small loans to villagers whom they trusted. The interest rate they charged was 2.5 percent per month, considerably higher than that for any agency loan. In addition to these money-lenders, a lineage fund is available to the Chuang people. Private loans can be taken only for a short term, however, i.e., for two or three months, so villagers tend to use them only as a last resort.

VI. Extension Service

As in all rural communities in Taiwan, peasants in Ying-ting have been receiving various kinds of extension services from their local Farmers' Association ever since it was established in the early 1900's. When Taiwan was returned to the Chinese government in 1945, the Farmers' Associations in various rural communities were somewhat disrupted. With the assistance provided by the Joint Commission of Rural Reconstruction (JCRR), however, the local Farmers' Associations were re-established and their services greatly expanded. Presently, the Chia-li Farmers' Association, to which the peasants in Ying-ting belong, is doing a fine job in helping its members improve their agricultural enterprises. The services it provides can be briefly described as follows:

A. Banking and Credit Service

Members of the Association can open a savings account in their local Farmers' Association and are entitled for

various types of loans, such as the "loan to improve the farmstead," "the loan for the purchase of new equipment," and the "loan for experimenting with new crops." As we noted in the previous section, however, the loans administered by the Farmers' Association not only have a high interest rate but also are not very easy to come by. People who receive loans from the Farmers' Association are usually friends or relatives of officials of the association or of elected representatives who have some supervisory power over the adminisration of the association. A poor peasant who does not know anyone at the office or who has no connection with his representatives has a slim chance of getting a loan from the Association.

B. Agricultural Extension Service

The Farmers' Association of Chia-li Township has a well-organized and active Extension Service Branch. Its major duty is to introduce new farming techniques and new and better seeds to the peasants. An understanding between the extension workers of the Farmers' Association and TSC's Extension Station decided that the latter would concentrate on providing services directly related to sugar cane farming while the former would take care of other farming techniques and knowledge. As far as I can tell, no rivalry has ever existed between the extension workers from these two agencies; they seem to work in complimentary fashion, and each concentrating on its own tasks.

C. Consumer Service

The association has been acting as a retail agent selling articles widely needed by its membership. Items such as farm equipment, fertilizer, insecticide, and new seeds, and some consumer goods are sold at the local office at a discount price.

D. Veterinarian Service

Two resident veterinarians at the Chia-li Farmers' Association provide services at prices lower than those of private practitioners.

In addition to the services received from the local Farmers' Association, the people in Ying-ting also acquire assistance from the Extension Stations of the TSC. Under the local station, an extension worker collaborates with the TSC's Local Representative to achieve the following goals: (1) To convince as many peasants as possible to plant sugar cane instead of rice or any other crop. (2) To introduce new varieties of cane to the farmers. Study groups are frequently organized to show the farmers about the nature of new seeds and new farming tehcniques. Sometimes study tours are formed to provide chances for the farmers to meet with the specialists at the Experimental Station to learn about and discuss farming problems. (3) To serve as a communication channel between cane farmers and the TSC. New policies are explained during the study session and questions answered.

CHAPTER FOUR

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

As I have already indicated in Chapter Three, Ying-ting is not a purely agricultural village in terms of its residents' economic activities. Out of the total 159 households, only 26 depend entirely on farming for their livelihood. The rest earn either their partial or entire income from nonagricultural activities (see Table 3, p. 49). Table 5 shows that of the 227 male villagers between the ages of fifteen and sixty-nine, only 54 can be classifed as full-time farmers. Another 42 can best be classified as part-time farmers and part-time laborers who own some land but cannot entirely support themselves by farming. To augment income, they work as day laborers whenever they have time and opportunity. In addition to these 42 part-time day laborers, there are seven full-time day laborers who own no land and earn their living entirely by working for their fellow villagers. Besides these 103 individual (54 full-time farmers, 42 part-time farmer/laborers and 7 full-time laborers) whose occupations are related to farming in varying degrees, 114 male villagers in the same age bracket have occupations unrelated to farming.

Table 6 shows that of the 254 female villagers between the ages of fifteen and sixty-nine, 139 of them participated in agricultural work on a part-time basis. These

Table 5

Occupation Distributed by Age Group (Male)
Ying-ting, 1970

Occupation \ Age Group	15–19	20–24	25–29	30–34	35–39	40–44	45–49	50–54	55–59	60–64	65–69	Total
Student	44	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50
Farmer	1	-	7	7	9	4	5	3	6	9	3	54
Part-time Farmer & Day Laborer	1	-	1	6	3	2	5	6	8	4	6	42
Agricultural Day Laborer	1	-	-	1	-	2	-	1	-	2	-	7
Factory Worker	11	2	4	1	4	4	2	1	-	-	-	29
School Teacher	-	-	1	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	4
Government Officer	-	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	-	2	-	10
Clerk	-	1	1	1	2	1	1	-	1	-	-	8
Peddler	1	-	1	1	2	-	1	-	-	1	-	7
Store Proprietor	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	1	2	1	7
Driver	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	5
Jobless	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	4
Total	59	9	20	19	25	18	15	12	17	22	11	227

Source: Based on my own census conducted in 1970

Table 6

Occupation Distributed by Age Group (Female)
Ying-ting, 1970

Age Group / Occupation	15–19	20–24	25–29	30–34	35–39	40–44	45–49	50–54	55–59	60–64	65–69	Total
Student	12	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15
Factory Worker	29	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	38
Housewife Farmer	-	11	17	17	23	21	15	17	10	8	-	139
Teacher	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Clerk	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Tailor	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Peddler	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Housewife	-	-	6	2	3	3	2	5	7	17	6	51
Jobless	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Total	41	32	23	19	27	24	17	23	17	25	6	254

Source: Based on my own census conducted in 1970

139 women can be labelled "housewife-farmers," for they spend part of their time doing housework and, when their labor is needed, participate in farming either as their husbands' helpers or as hired hands working for wages. The remaining 115 females in the same age bracket can be divided into two subgroups according to whether they engage in any income-producing activity or not. Fifty-one full-time housewives, fifteen students, and three jobless females constitute the first subgroup not engaged in any gainful employment. The remaining forty-six females are engaged in non-agricultural

economic activities; some are factory workers (38 persons), some clerks (5 persons), and one is a school teacher, one a tailor and one a peddler.

My purpose in this chapter is to describe these non-agricultural economic activities and to show why we find such a diversified occupational structure in a rural community like Ying-ting. In the second half of the chapter, I will discuss the degree to which the people in Ying-ting participate in the local and island-wide market systems of Taiwan and how such integration into the larger market network affects the people's attitude toward farming. As we will see in this chapter, the villagers' economic activities are quite complex and cannot be fully comprehended if we confine our attention strictly to the village.

I. Occupational Structure

The occupations of Ying-ting villagers between the ages of fifteen and sixty-nine are presented in Tables 5 and 6. I have limited my discussion to this particular age bracket for several practical reasons. Before fifteen, most children are still in public school and, even if they are out, their participation in economic activities is rather limited and substantially inconsequential. As for those older than sixty-nine, although some of them are still involved in farming, they usually work as occasional helpers for their sons; thus, they can no longer be considered the major income-producing members of their families.

Tables 5 and 6 show what might be considered a surprisingly large number of students in the two age groups of fifteen to nineteen year olds and twenty to twenty-four year olds. Of all those 141 persons, 64 are students, or 45.4 percent of the total. The percentage of students among the males is even higher, i.e., 49 out of 68 males, or 72.1 percent of all males between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four. Of the 64 students, male and female, 56 are high school students and eight are college students. Although most of the high school students live in the village, rarely do any of them participate in their family's economic activities. They spend most of their time in school, and when they come home after school or during the holidays, they are expected to use their time and effort for school work. As a result, we rarely find any student doing farm work with his parents, not even during summer vacation.

Not only do they not participate in farm work, these students also have a rather negative attitude toward farming as an occupation. None of the students that I interviewed intends to settle in the village and succeed his parents as farmers. They consider farming to be a low-paying, hard-working occupation and the farmer a powerless, poor, backward, and conservative person. As a consequence of such negative attitudes toward farming, all the educated male adolescents want jobs in the cities as government workers, businessmen, or clerks for private business establishments. Most of the educated girls hope to marry somebody who is not

a farmer.[1]

The parents of these students seem to take their sons' and daughters' negative attitude as a matter of course. Far from being disappointed with their childrens' disinclination toward farming and village life, most of the parents encouraged them to concentrate on school work so that they can get better grades and thus have a better chance to locate a nonagricultural job in the future.

While those who can manage to support their children for higher education do so in the hope that their youngsters will have a chance for an easier life and a better financial situation, parents who cannot afford the financial burden, or whose children fail to pass the high school entrance examination, also try their best to help their sons find a nonagricultural occupation. In Ying-ting, these parents usually send their sons to factories or manufacturing shops to work as apprentices. As indicated in Table 5, only 15 males in the group of 15-19 year olds are not in school. Of these 15 nonstudents, 11 work as factory or shop apprentices or trainees. Although such work does not pay much and is difficult, the parents hope that these youngsters will eventually become skilled laborers or even technicians equipped with some special qualifications enabling them to move into a nonagricultural occupation.

[1]When asked about the kind of persons they wished their daughters to marry, most village parents preferred government officials, businessmen, school teachers, factory workers. Only a few mentioned farmers. A village matchmaker told me that it is easier to find a wife for a

A. Factory Workers

Besides these 11 apprentices/trainees, there are 18 male factory workers between the ages of 15 and 69. Among these 18 workers, 5 work at the brick factories in Hsueh-chia, a market town about 4.5 kilometers north of Ying-ting, 2 work at a lumber mill in Chia-li, and the rest work in various factories in the city of Tainan. These factory workers all live in the village and commute daily to their jobs either by bus or motorcycle.

Except for one, all the factory workers own and cultivate some land. Although they themselves have to be away from the village most of the time, their wives take care of most of the farm work, except planting and harvesting. Furthermore, these men also work on the land either on weekends or in the early part of the evening after they come home from their factory jobs. Thus, these factory workers usually become farmers on weekends, working side by side with their wives. Because of the existence of these various work teams I described in Chapter Three, these "weekend farmers" have no difficulty planting or harvesting their fields in time.

As indicated in Table 6, there are 38 female factory workers. Twenty-nine of them belong to the group of fifteen to nineteen year-olds. All are unmarried and are employed at various fabric factories in Hsueh-chia, Chia-li, and

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man earning NT$1,000 monthly salary than for a farmer owning 1.0 chia land. Although a woman might be better off economically as a farmer's wife, she would have to work very hard. The girls simply are not attracted to the rugged, rural life of being a farmer's wife.

Tainan. Those who work at the Hsueh-chia and Chia-li factories usually live at home and commute daily to their jobs, while those employed in Tainan or elsewhere usually live at the dormitory provided by their employers, coming home for weekends or holidays. As in 1970, these factory girls could earn a rather good wage compared to that of a man in the village. A beginning trainee receives approximately NT$700 per month. As her experience increases so do her wages. A girl with one year's experience can earn NT$1,000 per month.

Two of the 38 factory girls are considered by the mothers of Ying-ting "model daughters" and are frequently cited as examples for these mothers' own daughters. These two "model daughters," one age twenty-three, the other twenty-four, have been working for their respective factories for more than six years and have both been promoted as section leaders, earning monthly salaries of NT$1,600 and 1,700, respectively. These two were also among the first girls to seek employment in the local fabric factories shortly after they were established in the mid-60's. Most of the younger girls who are currently employed found their jobs through the introductions of one of these two girls.

Although some village mothers pointed out to me that their working daughters tend to give them less money the longer they are employed, most of the girls do turn over

the large bulk of their earnings to their parents. It is understood that part of the money the girls earn will be given to them or used to buy a dowry when they marry in the future. Even those girls about whom the mothers grumbled, gave their parents more than half their monthly wage. It is true, however, that as their wages increase, the girls tend to retain a little more money for their personal use. They become more concerned about their appearance and spend more money on clothing, cosmetics, and the like. Nevertheless, the monthly salary they bring home constitutes a rather important source of their families' income.

Thus far, all factory girls who married quit their jobs and the 38 girls presently employed are likely to do the same. Their reason for quitting is directly related to the working schedule maintained by the local factories. Workers are assigned and reassigned to different work shifts periodically, each shift lasting for ten hours. The day shift, from six o'clock in the morning to four in the afternoon, might cause some inconvenience for a housewife but is tolerable for those who need the income. The odd hours of the night shift, however, from five in the afternoon to the next morning, are what discourage the girls from continuing their jobs after marriage.

B. White-Collar Workers

Fifteen villagers, fourteen men and one woman, are school teachers or government employees. All have more

formal education than the majority of their fellow villagers. Five hold university degrees; the rest are either high school or normal school graduates. These people are from relatively wealthy households of the village, for to support a child through the prolonged period of education required for such professional occupations, the family must be fairly well-to-do. A poor peasant cannot afford the expense, nor can he afford the "loss" of his child's productivity for such a prolonged period of time.

Among the five school teachers noted in Tables 5 and 6, one is a public school principal, one is a public school teacher, and three are junior high school teachers. None work in the school district to which Ying-ting village belongs, so all commute to their schools either by bus or motorcycle. Those classified as government employees include four men working for the Chia-li Public Office, two men employed as office clerks at the Chia-li Farmers' Association, two with positions at the local irrigation association, and two working for the local branches of the Taiwan Sugar Company. These ten men can be classified as low-status government employees, i.e., they do not hold important, decision-making positions in their respective organizations.

Although these men are little more than office clerks, their connections with governmental agencies and employees cause the villagers frequently to seek their advice or their

help as go-betweens in dealings with governmental agencies. The villagers most frequently turn for advice and assistance to an old gentleman serving as the Taiwan Sugar Company's Local Representative. Because of his position as local agent of the TSC, an establishment with which most of the villagers--as sugar cane farmers--have to deal, he has become one of the most influential men in the community. His predecessors enjoyed the same esteem, as do his fellow representatives in the surrounding communities.

The TSC's economic significance in the villagers' lives can only partially explain the respect the peasants show for its agents. A closer investigation reveals that the TSC's agents were already somewhat prominent in their communities before they were hired by the company. In fact, when the TSC looks for a person to be its Local Representative, it always tries to find one of the village leaders to fill the job. By having an influential man working for the company, the TSC can assure itself that it will be fairly successful in its attempts to implement new policies, introduce new farming techniques, or even introduce new varieties of sugar cane. Furthermore, by employing a local leader, the TSC strengthens its campaign to have all the peasants plant sugar cane in their lands instead of other competing crops. Thus, the prominence of the TSC's representatives is actually a result of the so-called snowball effect. A man has to be a prominent figure within his

community to be selected for the position of local agent, and, once chosen, he becomes still more prominent because of the strategic position he occupies between the peasants and the TSC. To appreciate the influence of his position, we should recall that the TSC is the only buyer of the peasants' most important crop, sugar cane, and the most important moneylender in the general area; or, in one word, the biggest "capitalist" controling the economic well-being of the cane farmers.

Like the factory workers, most of the fifteen school teachers and government employees still own and cultivate some land. Farming is mostly handled by their wives and by hired laborers. Occasionally, when they are off their regular jobs, they themselves farm.

C. Clerks and Store Owners

Thirteen villagers, eight men and five girls, are classified as clerks in Tables 5 and 6. They include sales-girls, salesmen, store attendants, and bookkeepers employed by private businesses and industrial firms. Two of them work in the village; the others commute to work each day.

Seven men in the village are classified as store proprietors. This category includes the owners of all the stores and mills in Ying-ting: two grocery stores facing each other across the central intersection of the village; two grinding mills each adjoined to one of the grocery stores; two barber shops also close to the central

intersection; and a Chinese drugstore near the village temple, whose owner is also the doctor in residence. In addition to the seven store proprietors, the village has eight peddlers, one woman and seven men. The woman peddler runs a candy-and-fruit stand on the roadside; her business is mainly from the children who pass her stand on their way to and from school. The seven men peddlers are also involved in the food business. Two are fishmongers who sell in the village in the early mornings and then peddle in two neighboring villages in the afternoon. Two are vegetable peddlers who buy their vegetables wholesale from the Chia-li food market, peddle them in the village each morning, and then go to the Chia-li-hsin food market, where the business starts at noon, to sell whatever they have left in their stands. One peddler sells cooked sausages to the students in Chia-li-hsin and also carries a small pinball machine, playing against his customers on a double or nothing basis. The remaining two peddlers run home bakeries, making candy and cookies to sell to the village stores or peddle in six neighboring villages.

D. Skilled Laborers and Others

In addition to the occupations already described, Ying-ting has five drivers and one female tailor. Three of the five drivers work for a private bus company serving Tainan County and two are truck drivers for a construction firm in Chia-li. Among these five drivers, the oldest is

a fifty-seven year-old gentleman who learned to drive when he was in the Japanese Army during the Second World War. When the war was over, he began to work for the local bus company. Through this man the other four drivers learned their skill and secured their employment.

The village tailor is a thirty-nine year-old divorcée. Her "adopted husband" left her after three years of marriage.[2] Being "abandoned" by her husband, she had to assume the responsibility of taking care of her aging parents and her small boy. Through her aunt's introduction, she was hired as an apprentice in one of the Chia-li tailor shops where she worked for seven years. Five years ago, she started to work at her own house. Because of her skill and her good manners, her business has been rather successful; not only do villagers of Ying-ting go to her for service, some girls and women of the neighboring villages come quite often.

Tables 5 and 6 also showed four men and three girls, between the ages of fifteen and sixty-nine, as jobless. Three of the men cannot work because of health problems. The other one, in good health, simply does not want to work and is being supported by his wife. The three jobless girls are all high school graduates who failed the college entrance examination and are waiting at home either to take

[2]An "adopted-husband" is one who marries matrilocally, i.e., he moves in with his wife's parents and agrees to have at least one of his sons carry his wife's family name. He is usually from a poor family.

the examination again or to find work.

E. Poultry and Hog Raising

In addition to the income earned from the nonagricultural occupations described in the previous pages, the raising of hogs and poultry has been another important source of income for the peasants in Ying-ting. Such income has been on the increase during the past decade, mainly due to the rapid increase of urban population in Taiwan as a whole and the improvement of transportation facilities in the area. That raising hogs and poultry has become an increasingly important economic activity in Ying-ting can be demonstrated by the following observations. According to the villagers, few households raised pigs ten years ago compared to those doing so in 1970. Furthermore, my informants also indicated that those households that did raise pigs would keep only one or two animals at a time; nowadays, households frequently keep four or five pigs and in some cases even nine or ten, because the animals can be sold easily.

According to my own census, 129 of the 159 households in Ying-ting raised pigs. Most had one or two animals, except for twenty families keeping at least five animals at a time. These twenty tended to take hog-raising more seriously as a supplementary source of income than the others who regarded it as part of the rural tradition and were not seriously concerned about the market price of hogs

or the selection of new breeds and raising techniques. Furthermore, these twenty families had larger than average land holdings, the smallest being 1.25 chia, about 0.27 chia above the average landholding in Ying-ting, i.e., 0.98 chia. With more land they could grow more sweet potatoes, the most important pig feed used in the area. Also, most of these families tended to have more man-power in their households. They lived either in a stem family, in which their parents lived with them, or in a large nuclear family which had grown children to help tend the animals from time to time.

My informants also pointed out that although villagers used to raise poultry in the past, none of them had ever tried to raise them in large numbers. Only seven years ago did Ying-ting begin to have farmers keeping chickens in enclosed coops and raising approximately 200 chickens at a time. As of 1970, there were five households that could be labelled part-time chicken farmers, each raising approximately 300-350 chickens at a time. Toward the end of my stay, a large chicken coop was under construction which would be able to accommodate 3,000 chickens at the same time.

Two grinding mills opened in recent years which cater mainly to the villagers' need for preparing animal feed. One of the mills opened in 1968, the other in 1969. Their main business includes grinding animal feed, such as dried

corn and sweet potatoes, into powder for the customer, and selling animal feed and animal medicines. The owners of the two mills also double as veterinarians, treating animals and dispensing drugs. In fact, these two grinding mills were founded and developed primarily because the villagers in Ying-ting have been raising more and more animals in recent years.

Farming, labor (both skilled and unskilled), and commerce thus represent the three major occupational categories in Ying-ting village, with agriculture in the lead, employing 242 persons (54 full-time farmers, 49 laborers/farmers, and 139 "housewife/farmers") between the ages of fifteen and sixty-nine. Only 54 people of those in agriculture, or 11.22 percent of those actively participating in income-producing occupations, are full-time farmers. Furthermore, as Tables 5 and 6 have shown, more females than males are agricultural workers, i.e., 139 women compared to 103 men. In addition, more older people than younger participate in the agricultural process, with 127 agricultural workers older than age forty and 115 younger. If we move the dividing line down to age 35, the disproportion increases, with 172 persons above age 35 and 70 individuals below.

These figures, combined with the younger generation's negative attitude toward farming and the increasingly diverse economic activities in the village, indicate that Ying-ting is in the process of drifting away from being a peasant

village and is becoming more and more like a suburban community where people of different occupations reside and where the degree of occupational diversity is rather high.

To expose the tendency and direction of the changes Ying-ting is undergoing fulfills only part of the duties of an anthropological field investigator. An anthropologist facing this social phenomenon also asks, Why such change?

Is such change occurring in all peasant communities of Taiwan, or is Ying-ting an exceptional case? The following section attempts to answer these questions and to show why the degree of occupational diversity is so high in a rural community such as Ying-ting.

II. The Increase of Occupational Diversity and Its Implications

One of the reasons for Ying-ting's increasing occupational diversity lies in the rapid industrialization Taiwan has been undergoing since the early 1950's. Once a country starts to industrialize, its agricultural population decreases as its industrialization increases. The decrease usually is prompted by the following factors. (a) The demand for manpower in newly-developed or expanded industries creates employment opportunities more financially rewarding than those in agriculture. Thus, the new opportunity serves as a pulling force extracting the man-power from the agricultural sectors of the population. (b) Industrialization inevitably causes a gradual mechanization of the agricultural

process, which reduces employment opportunities in agriculture. (c) Another phenomenon that frequently goes hand in hand with the early phase of industrialization throughout developing countries is an increase in population made possible by improved public health and uplifted living standards. The larger the rural population, the larger the number of people available to be diverted into the urban centers where industry is located.

The general pattern that we outlined above is well-documented by the population records of Ying-ting village. According to villagers and my own reconstruction of the rural-to-urban migration process, 361 villagers have moved from Ying-ting in the last two decades. Where did these people go? Most moved to the big cities of Taiwan. True, not all of them left to take jobs in the cities; some went with their parents or spouses, migrating as dependents. Yet we have to conclude that if Taiwan were not undergoing industrialization fewer would have moved from the rural area to the cities.

Taiwan's recent industrial development and the industrial sector's drain of man-power from the rural communities such as Ying-ting still do not fully explain why we find such occupational diversity in the village. Villagers who moved from Ying-ting and found employment in industries or other nonagricultural occupations in the cities might have some impact on the economic structure of the village but

certainly would not increase the occupational diversity within the village. The answer lies elsewhere. First, beginning in the 1960's, small industries, such as fabric mills, began to appear in the rural areas of Tainan County. Twelve mills were established in Chia-li between 1961 and 1964, and five more were set up in the Hseuh-chia area in the same period of time. These factories provided employment opportunities for the peasants without forcing them to move from their home villages, thus increasing the occupational diversity of Ying-ting village and other rural communities like it. Second, the recent industrial development greatly improved mass transportation in the rural areas of Taiwan. For example, villagers in Ying-ting can easily go to Chia-li, Tainan, Hsueh-chia by taking a bus which runs at 30-minute intervals between six o'clock in the morning and ten in the evening. Furthermore, the improved highway system makes it easier for people in the rural area to travel by bicycle or motorcycle to and from their village. Thus, villagers can continue living in the village while working in nearby market towns or cities.

So far I have been concentrating on the impacts of recent industrial development, a phenomenon more or less commonly found in the majority of rural communities of Taiwan. I have not yet discussed, however, the particular ecological factors that might have helped prompt the increased occupational diversity of Ying-ting and other

villages in the same ecological area.

Because of the area's particular environmental conditions, i.e., its high temperature, unevenly distributed rainfall, and super-imposed crop rotation system, the villagers in Ying-ting and the general area are forced to grow sugar cane most of the time. Sugar cane is a long-term crop which only can be harvested once every eighteen months. Thus, the cane farmers risk facing a long period of time without any sizeable income. To illustrate this point, let us examine the way Mr. Chuang, a villager in Ying-ting, utilizes his land. A part-time farmer and laborer, Mr. Chuang owns 0.5 chia of land in Zone I of the Ying-ting small area, and 0.2 chia evenly divided between Zones II and III. When Zone I became a sugar cane zone in September, 1969, Mr. Chuang planted the land with cane. Meanwhile, the 0.1 chia in Zone II was still occupied by sugar cane planted one year ago. Mr. Chuang then planted wet-rice in the other 0.1 chia in Zone III. When he harvested the wet-rice at the end of September he had 850 catties of grain, a rather good harvest according to the local standard. If converted into its cash value, that crop of wet-rice was worth NT$2,590, the current price for grain at that time being NT$2.80 per catty. This NT$2,590 would be the only income Mr. Chuang would have from his farms for another five months before the sugar cane, then standing in the field of Zone II, could be harvested in February or March.

Should Mr. Chuang have no other income, he would have to support his wife and three children with the NT$2,590 for more than five months. Furthermore, out of this sum, he would have to pay his son's school tuition and buy fertilizer for the sweet potatoes to be planted where the rice had just been harvested. In brief, according to Mr. Chuang's own estimation, he would need, at the very least, another NT$3,500 for these five months. In this situation, Mr. Chuang could either find another job to earn the money he needs or borrow the money and go into debt.

As a matter of fact, Mr. Chuang has long been aware of the financial problems involved in owning only 0.5 chia of land under a crop rotation system. To augment his income, he works at the local brick factory as a kiln attendant. He has capitalized on the free time allowed by cane farming or, from another perspective, solved the problem of being under-employed in agriculture. He has been able to support his family by earning approximately NT$1,300 per month, while still owning and managing his land.

Mr. Chuang's case is by no means exceptional. The majority of the peasants in Ying-ting and in the general area are actually part-time farmers who subsidize their farm incomes with wages earned from nonagricultural activities. The reason they have to do so is, of course, related to their small holdings of land; the average farm size in Ying-ting is only 0.98 chia of land. In a full-time rice

farming village, however, a family of five can support itself rather adequately with only 0.8 chia of land--a size slightly smaller than that of the average farm in Ying-ting.[3]

Although the Ying-ting villagers' small land holdings are clearly relevant to their financial problems, the example of the full-time rice-farming village suggests that a second factor is contributing to their need for additional nonagricultural employment. That factor is Ying-ting's particular cultivation pattern--the mixed-cropping system, a direct result of natural environmental conditions as well as governmental policy.

Based on the above analysis, I conclude that the occupational diversity found in Ying-ting village is, at the very least, related to the local ecological conditions and the unique cultivating pattern institutionalized by the government through the regulation of the irrigation facility.

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[3]I worked with Prof. Li Yih-yuan in a rice cultivating community in Chuang-hua Hsien in 1965. Although the data collected in that field season has not been published, it is my impression that in that rice cultivating village, a five-person household can support itself adequately with 0.8 chia of land. This impression is collaborated by Pasternak's comparative study of a rice farming village and a mixed crop rotating village in Taiwan. Although the rice farming village that Pasternak studies is in Ping-tung in southern Taiwan, the mixed crop village that he studied is only some twenty miles away from Ying-ting. According to Pasternak's findings, the average farm size in Tatieh, the rice village, is .77 hectare in 1968 as compared to 1.07 hectare in Chungshe, the village where the mixed crop rotation system is practiced (cf. Pasternak 1972:16-17). In other words, a household in mixed cropping areas like Ying-ting and Chungshe would need more land to support itself than a household in a rice cultivating village like Tatieh or the village in Chuang-hua I studied in 1965.

III Market Participation

Basically, peasants in Ying-ting are cash crop producers. Most of the crops, such as sugar cane, sweet potatoes, mung beans, and vegetables are cultivated to be sold in the market. As cash crop cultivators, the peasants have to participate intensively and extensively in the market system not only to sell what they produce but also to buy what they need for consumption. Except for some poultry, vegetables, and rice, almost all of their produce is sold to the middlemen, agents, or buyers in the village, in Chia-li-hsin, Chia-li or other places. Thus, as far as their economic activity is concerned, peasants in Ying-ting are entirely immersed in the local and regional market networks.

In this section, I will examine the ways in which villagers participate in the market system, beginning with the marketing of their most important products, namely sugar cane, sweet potatoes, and rice.

A. The Marketing of Sugar Cane

In addition to initiating the crop rotation system in 1930, the Japanese colonial authority helped many Japanese corporations set up fully-mechanized sugar refineries in the Chia-nan area. Since then, virtually all of the sugar refineries in Taiwan have been owned by Japanese companies and equipped with the most updated machinery. The old sugar mills dominating the industry before the Japanese colonization

and owned by various local interest groups disappeared with the advent of the modern Japanese capitalistic enterprise. All production of sugar was then carried on in modern Japanese refineries. Furthermore, to protect the economic interests of these sugar companies, the Colonial government established a licensing policy in the early 1930's. From then on, no sugar refinery could be established without official permission. At the same time, the cane-producing areas of Taiwan were allocated to various companies as their "territories." Companies were prohibited from buying sugar cane outside their allocated territory; thus, the cane farmers in each area were forced to sell their products to the local refinery and only that particular refinery. This licensing policy and the allocation of "raw material territory" were two of the most shrewd procedures superimposed on Taiwan's sugar industry by the colonial authority; the difficulty of acquiring a license made it virtually impossible for any new company to be established, while the division of raw material territory prevented the possibility of any price-war in the purchasing of raw materials among those refineries already in existence. Thus, cane farmers would have to sell their crops to their local refinery at a price determined by the company (cf. Grajdanzev 1942:62-63).[4]

[4]During the period of Japanese occupation, the pricing policy of sugar cane was changed several times because of the complaints of cane farmers. At first, each refinery set its own price at whatever level the company deemed to be

When Taiwan was restored to the Chinese Nationalist Government in 1945, all the Japanese-owned industries, including the sugar refineries, were nationalized and put under the control of the Nationalist Government. The TSC, formally established in 1947 to manage the sugar industry of Taiwan, was jointly owned by the Ministry of Economic Affairs of the Central Government of the Republic of China and the Provincial Government of Taiwan, plus a nominal percentage of shares (approximately three percent) held by private interests.

Although the sugar companies were nationalized, their basic managerial policies remained largely unchanged. The TSC was still the only sugar company in Taiwan, and its local refineries still constituted the only cane buyers. Thus, ever since 1947, the TSC has held a de facto monopoly of Taiwan's sugar industry. The only difference a cane

acceptable. Needless to say, the profit-oriented companies tried to keep the price at the lowest possible level. In the late 1930's the peasants were losing interest in planting sugar cane and the company began to suffer from insufficient raw material. Finally, the colonial government stepped in and ordered a pricing committee to be organized in every local refinery throughout the sugar cane producing areas of Taiwan. Such committees were formed by the representatives from three interest groups: the sugar company, the colonial authority, and the cane farmers. However, the so-called "representatives of cane farmers" were not farmers at all. They were the big landlords of each area and were given very little voice in the decision making process. Thus, the pricing power was still in the hands of the sugar company. The only difference was that the price, having been decided by these committees, was now considered sanctioned by the colonial government and was agreed to by the farmers' represenative; therefore, it would be a rebellious act should any peasant protest against such prices.

farmer would have experienced in the change of ownership the new "pricing" policy instituted by the TSC in 1950. like the Japanese sugar company, the TSC implemented a "sugar sharing" policy, whereby the cane farmers who supp the refineries with raw materials would receive an "agre percentage of the refined sugar.

The whole procedure of the so-called "sugar sharing policy is quite complicated. The best way for us to und stand the Ying-ting peasants' dealings with the TSC is t follow the procedures taken in the 1969-71 season.

In June of 1969, the TSC announced its policy regar ing the "price" it would pay for cane contracted to be p ed in the autumn of 1969 and harvested in the spring of 1971. Briefly, the announcement contained the following major points:

1. It indicated the amount and interest rate of th so-called "production loan" and the "fertilizer loan" (cf. pp.82-83) each contracted cane farmer would be entitled to borrow from the company.

2. It announced the percentage of sugar that cane farmers and the TSC would share and the guaranteed minim price of sugar. Specifically in 1969, it was announced that cultivators would be entitled to 55 percent of the sugar manufactured from the canes they supplied to the company. The company guaranteed that each one hundred k grams of sugar would be worth at least NT$400. Should t

market price be lower than the guaranteed price, the c
would be obliged to buy all the sugar from the peasant
the rate of NT$400 per hundred kilograms.

3. Furthermore, it explained that the cultivator
obliged to sell 50 percent of their share to the TSC a
guaranteed price. For example, if a farmer were entit
to 1,000 kilograms of sugar, he would receive NT$2,000
cash and 500 kilograms of sugar which he could dispose
he wished.

4. It specified the types of seeds that would be
lowed to be planted in the coming season.

5. It required that the cane farmers hire only t
and its agents to harvest and transport the canes.

Besides publishing the announcement in the local
papers, the TSC explained its policy to the peasants t
its local representatives and extension workers. Afte
policy was made public, the local representative in Yi
launched a campaign to contract all the land the compa
decided it would need in the coming fall, thus making
that the company would have enough raw materials with
to work in the spring of 1971.

Once having signed the contract and planted their
with cane, the peasants are no longer the sole owners
crop. They are responsible for any willful damage don
the crop before it is harvested. They are also bound
the contract to follow the advice of the company's age

on how to care for their crop. They have no right to decide when the cane should be harvested, the TSC's local agent decides.

When the cane is ready for cutting, the cultivators are notified. The harvesting is done by a cane harvest team organized and supervised by the TSC's local agent. As soon as the harvesting is done, the peasants are notified of the quantity of cane taken from their land. Then the cane is transported to the local refinery and processed together with cane shipped in from the surrounding areas. Every twenty-five days or so, the refinery stops its manufacturing for two or three days, and determines the ratio between the raw materials and the final product, based on the amount of cane taken in and the amount of refined sugar manufactured. Farmers who have contributed raw materials for that particular period are notified of the conversion rate and the amount of sugar to which they are entitled. For example, in 1970, the average conversion rate between sugar cane and sugar was twelve percent. Thus, if a farmer had supplied the refinery with 10,000 kilograms of cane, 1,200 kilograms of sugar would have been made. According to the contract he signed with the TSC, he would then be entitled to 55 percent of the 1,200 kilograms of sugar, i.e., 660 kilograms. In accordance with the TSC's announcement noted earlier, however, he would not be allowed to have the entire 660 kilograms, for he would still be bound by another item of the contract, namely, the

requirement of selling 50 percent of his share to the TSC according to the price specified in the contract. In 1970, the price was NT$400 per 100 kilograms. Thus, after supplying the TSC's refinery with 10,000 kilograms of cane, the farmer would receive NT$1,320 in cash for the 330 kilograms sold to the TSC and 330 kilograms of sugar either in kind or in coupon.[5] The 330 kilograms he receives can later be sold at the open market at any time he deems profitable.

The preceding analysis reveals how little the farmers in Ying-ting control the marketing of their products. After giving the TSC 45 percent of the sugar manufactured from the raw materials they supplied, the farmers are still obliged to sell half their share, i.e., 27.5 percent of the total sugar made from their cane. Only a few wealthy peasants in Ying-ting can afford to wait until free market prices rise before they sell their share of sugar; and for the past ten years, prices do not rise until six or seven months after the last harvest. Occasionally, the demand for export might increase because of unexpected international events; for example, the embargo on Cuba's sugar instituted by the U.S.

[5]To save the cost of transportation, the TSC is willing to give cane cultivators sugar coupons which can later be redeemed for sugar in kind. However, if the cultivator likes to receive sugar in kind, he is allowed to take it from the company's warehouse. The sugar coupon can be sold in the open market, its price floating with the market price of sugar. Since the coupon has never "bounced," most cultivators prefer to receive coupons instead of sugar in kind simply because they can save the effort and cost of moving the sugar from the warehouse to their homes.

in 1959 almost doubled the price of Taiwanese sugar in the international market. That year, peasants who had any sugar were fortunate because the TSC bought more sugar from them than usual in order to meet the demand of the international market. Because of that one experience, most of the peasants try to withhold their sugar as long as possible hoping that another international event might boost the price again.

Whether they withhold the sugar for a period of time or sell it immediately after receiving it from the TSC, the villagers in Ying-ting usually do their business with two sugar dealers in Chia-li. Since the Food Bureau of the Taiwan Provincial Government publishes a market summary daily on the island-wide newspaper and on the radio networks, the price these two dealers offer is usually the same; they buy at the government-suggested wholesale price. What draws these dealers into such operations is the chance for them to buy sugar at a low price when the market is flooded shortly after each harvest season, and then withhold it, waiting for a higher price before selling out. In a sense, these dealers are actually capitalizing on the peasants' lack of withholding power, i.e., their need to sell for quick cash shortly after the harvest. From the peasants' point of view, however, such dealers have made it easier for them to sell their sugar. Otherwise, they might have to sell to individual grocery stores.

Since the prices these two dealers offer are frequently

the same, the Ying-ting villagers do not particularly prefer one to the other. In fact, they consciously attempt to rotate their patronage between the two just to keep their relationship with each of them on equally friendly terms, because they never know when one dealer will refuse to buy.[6]

B. The Marketing of Sweet Potatoes

Because Ying-ting is in an area where natural rainfall is unevenly distributed throughout the year and where irrigation facilities are not adequate for continuous cultivation of wet-rice, sweet potatoes are a popular crop because they can be successfully raised under such ecological conditions. The adoption of improved seeds and the extensive use of chemical fertilizers have greatly increased the quantity and quality of sweet potato production in recent years. Yet the potatoes are no longer used for food as they once were ten to fifteen years ago. Nowadays, much of what the peasants produce is used as animal feed or sold to the market where middlemen or people in the fodder business purchase in large quantity.

When a crop of sweet potatoes is harvested, not only is the potato itself unearthed and collected but also its vines and leaves. The vines and leaves are chopped into

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[6]Dealers tend to be rather reluctant to purchase sugar when the price is stable. Although rare, a dealer has, from time to time, refused to buy.

small pieces and stored in a cement tank buried underground to lower its temperature and to prolong preservation. Later, the preserved vines and leaves can be cooked and used as pig fodder. The sweet potato itself is sliced and then dried in the sun because dried slices can be more easily preserved and then sold or ground into powder for fodder when needed.

When the harvest is greater than the peasants' animals can consume, the surplus is usually sold to the fodder stores in Chia-li or Chia-li-hsin. The two mills recently opened in the village also buy raw sweet potatoes or dried potato slices from the villagers and sell them as fodder.

The price of sweet potatoes varies from season to season depending on the supply available in the market. As a rule, the price is usually higher before the harvest season starts. Thus, the peasants have a strong incentive to work hard and take care of their crops so they can harvest a few weeks early and take advantage of the good selling price. Later, when the market is flooded with new supplies the prices drop and then three or four months after the last harvest, they rise again. Thus, if a peasant cannot harvest his crop early, he tries to withhold it as long as possible. This is not easy to do, however. First, the peasant has to have the time and labor to slice and dry all the sweet potatoes to prevent spoilage. Second, he has to be financially capable of withholding the commodity. As a consequence, only a few wealthy households equipped with

electric slicing machines and have the financial ability can afford to withhold the crop for later sales.

Once they have decided to sell their crops, villagers begin to seek out the buyer paying the highest prices. This is not a difficult task, for during the harvest season or shortly afterwards, the most talked-about topic is always the prices that potential buyers are willing to offer. I have observed that when villagers are deciding to sell their crops, the most important, if not the only, issue they usually consider is where they can get the highest price. The opening of the two mills in the village, however, has enticed many of them to deal with the local stores rather than go to Chia-li or Chia-li-hsin. If the prices offered by the fodder stores of Chia-li or Chia-li-hsin are not substantially higher than those of the local mills, which is usually the case, the peasants save the time and labor required to transport their crops by selling close to home.

Since the two local mills have been offering virtually the same prices ever since they opened, a peasant sells to one or the other according to his personal relationship with the two owners. The mill on the road-west is owned by the village mayor, a member of the fifth fang of the Chuang lineage. Most of his steady customers are personal friends, neighbors, or members of his political faction,[7] in other

[7]Ever since local elections were introduced in 1951, two factions in Ying-ting have been competing for control. The membership of these two factions has changed over time,

words, the entire membership of the fifth fang of the Chuang lineage. The other mill, directly across the street from the mayor's is owned by a bus driver and his brother, also members of the Chuang lineage. They belong to the third fang, an ancient rival of the fifth fang. Thus, their steady customers are mainly members of the third fang and "political enemies" of the current village mayor, including the Upper Ssu lineage and a few households of the second fang of the Chuang lineage.

The loyalty of fang membership or political faction alone is not strong enough for one mill to be sure it can keep its clientele from going to the other. To continue attracting patronage, each of the two stores allows its regular customers to buy goods and services on credit. Thus, kinship affiliation and faction membership, together with the privilege of buying on credit, have worked to fasten the patronage of most of the village households to a particular mill in the village. During my study, about three-fifths of the villagers were dealing with the mayor's store while the remaining two-fifths tended to go to the bus driver's. A few households in the village deliberately rotated their patronage between the two stores in order to maintain a good relationship with both of the owners. These people were generally ones who could afford to buy what they needed in cash or who were purposefully trying to avoid

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but one of them is made up essentially by members of the third fang of Chuang lineage and the other by members of the fifth fang of the same lineage.

being identified with any political faction.

C. The Marketing of Rice

As dictated by the rotating cropping system, peasants in Ying-ting can grow each year only one crop of rice in two of the three cropping zones. As shown in Figure 5 (p. 57), within each year one of the three cropping zones is planted with dry-rice (usually in June) and another zone is supplied with irrigation water so that one crop of wet-rice can be cultivated (usually in July). In other words, only two-thirds of Ying-ting's farmlands can be used each year for rice cultivations. Furthermore, even these two-thirds are not used for rice during the entire year; rice occupies the land for only three months. Thus, if all other conditions hold constant, a given unit of farmland utilized in accordance with the area's crop rotating system produces only one-sixth of the rice produced by a similar unit of land used solely for rice, i.e., used for two crops of rice a year.

The rice produced in Ying-ting has been inadequate even for the villagers' own consumption. Consequently, the community as a whole has been importing rice annually from other areas of Taiwan. This does not necessarily imply, however, that all the peasant households in Ying-ting are buying rice every year. Because of the rotating system and the uneven distribution of peasants' lands throughout the three cropping zones, some peasants have more

land in the wet-rice zone than in the others and so produce more rice than their families can consume. For example, Zone II became the wet-rice zone in July, 1970. Mr. Chuang, who has 1.5 chia of land in this zone, harvested approximately 3,000 kilograms of rice which was, according to his own estimation, more than double the amount his seven-person household could consume in a year. Thus, Mr. Chuang had surplus to sell in the market.

Two types of rice sellers predominate at the market. The first, like Mr. Chuang, has grown more rice than its families need, so it sells the surplus. The second type does not have an adequate supply for the entire year but sells its rice either because it needs money for other purposes or because it does not have adequate storage facilities.

Paralleling the two types of sellers are two selling patterns. To begin with, it is a common practice for poor peasants to sell their rice for cash and to search in Chia-li, Chia-li-hsin, and Huseh-chia for the rice dealer offering the highest price. Consequently, they usually do not have a steady buyer. Rich peasants, who have a large quantity of rice to sell and the financial strength to withhold the rice for a period of time, usually try to speculate in the market.

Speculators usually proceed in the following manner. Shortly after their harvest, they ship rice to their favorite dealers and deposit their rice in the dealer's store.

It is understood that the depositor can go to the dealer at any time after the deposit is made and demand part or all of their deposit, either in kind or in cash. Should they desire cash, the dealer has the responsibility to pay according to the market price on the date the demand is made, not according to the price when the deposit was received. In this arrangement, the depositor has the following advantages: (a) He does not have to be bothered with the problem of storing his rice. (b) He can withdraw any amount of the rice he deposited either in kind or in cash at any time he needs it. (c) He can let his deposit stand and wait for the market price to reach its peak before asking to be paid off in cash. On the other hand, the rice dealers also have something to gain in this process. By allowing people to deposit rice at their stores, they are actually collecting a large amount of rice without having to pay for it. Because they are informed of the market situation throughout Taiwan and have extensive connections, they can sell their "free" rice to other areas of Taiwan where the price is higher than their own districts. In this way the dealers can acquire a large sum of cash to use for other business purposes.

D. General Charactertistics of Market Participation

Although so far we have dealt mainly with the processes by which the peasants sell their major crops, the general pattern of market participation should be clear. It can be

summed up in the following statements:

1. Villagers are very economically-minded. When they market, they are constantly maneuvering to solicit the highest possible price for their products. They operate within the limit of certain constraints, however, such as their withholding power, the availability of transportation, and storage facilities.

2. The majority of villagers can participate only in local markets, their products sold mainly to agents, middlemen, or store owners in Chia-li, Chia-li-hsin, Hsueh-chia, or Ying-ting. Although they know that they might receive better prices if they could ship their crops to cities such as Tainan or Kaoshiung, their major products, sweet potatoes, rice, and vegetables, are bulky and heavy, posing serious transportation problems and, thus, restricting the markets available to them.

3. In choosing an agent, middleman, or store owner with whom to deal, the peasants are concerned primarily with profit. Personal relationships and ties of kinship do not play a significant role in their decision. This is not to say that villagers in Ying-ting do not deal with friends or kinsmen. What I am stressing here is simply that personal relationships rarely outweigh monetary considerations. They matter only when economic considerations are inconsequential. For example, in dealing with village grocery stores and mills that offer virtually the same prices, peasants allow personal

relationships and kinship affiliations to help determine the place at which they will buy and sell.

Monetary considerations outweigh kinship considerations is also found in other aspects of villagers' transactional behavior. For example, labor-exchange, an ancient mutual assistance arrangement found among kinsmen and neighbors, has recently changed. Nowadays, no villager will ask a kinsman to enter an exchange arrangement with him if he knows that his kinsman has a chance to earn wages by working for someone else. Furthermore, labor-exchange is no longer calculated simply as one-day's work-for one-day's work. Instead, work is not considered balanced until the cash value of each man's work is the same. For example, plowing land for one day is not the equivalent of weeding for a day. In 1970, the price for plowing was NT$90 per day while weeding was NT$45. Thus, if a peasant asked his cousin to plow land for a day, and his cousin asked him to weed in return, he would understand that he would have to weed for his cousin for two days in order to balance the exchange. If his cousin did not have that much weeding to be done, say, only one day's work, then, he would be expected to pay his cousin NT$45 or do some other jobs valued at NT$45 to balance the "exchange." Because of these recent changes, labor-exchange, even among close kinsmen, is becoming less and less fequent. More and more villagers are willing to pay cash for the help they need and want to be hired for

wages when they have the time to work for others.

4. Credit selling and buying rarely exist beyond the village boundary. Except for the rice deposit arrangements I delineated earlier, when peasants deal with people from outside their village, they usually ask for cash payment. Only in dealings with the village grocery stores and mills is credit accepted. And, as I previously indicated, store owners in the village are purposefully using such credit to assure the patronage of their steady customers.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE VILLAGE AS A SOCIAL UNIT

In this chapter I will examine the following topics: (1) family organization, (2) marriage practices, and (3) lineage organization. I will also investigate social institutions that unite the villagers and incorporate them into a cohesive community.

My purpose in discussing these topics is not merely to make this dissertation a more complete ethnographic account of Ying-ting village, but, rather, to present the features of the most characteristic social institutions of a Chinese peasant community so that I can isolate the uniqueness, if any, of Ying-ting village--a mixed cropping community--when compared to villages with different ecological adaptations.

I. Family Organizations

The term "family" is used interchangeably with the term "household" in this dissertation. It denotes "a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption, and having a common budget and common property" (Lang 1946:13). As such, the family unit is the most basic socioeconomic unit of the villagers' daily life. In Ying-ting, such basic socioeconomic units appear in different forms with different types of organizations.

As in all Chinese rural communities, in Ying-ting the conjugal family predominates, while the stem family and its modified form, the rotating stem family, rank second. The extended family, though still regarded by many villagers as the ideal form, occurs rarely.

Among the 156 Ying-ting families, 87 are conjugal (54.7% of the total number of families). These 87 conjugal families consist of 353 individuals or 41.9% of the entire village population. The 37 stem families (23.3% of the total) consist of 247 persons, 29.3% of the villagers. The 32 rotating stem families (20.1% of the total) contain 190 persons, 22.6% of the population. There are only three extended families (1.9% of the total) which include 52 persons, representing only 6.2% of the village's inhabitants (cf. Table 7).

A. The Conjugal, Stem, and Rotating Stem Families

A conjugal family is frequently defined as a unit consisting of husband, wife, and unmarried children, if any (cf. Goode 1964:45). In reality, we frequently find "broken" conjugal families in which one or both of the parents are absent either because of death or divorce, or in which there are no children. Thus, we find in Table 7 seven units of a single member, all of whom are elderly and have lost their spouses.

A stem family is a unit that "consists of parents,

TABLE 7

Household Types and The Number of Persons Each Type Contains

Household Types / No. of Persons in Each Unit	Conjugal Family		Stem Family		Rotating Stem Family		Extended Family		Total
	Number of Units	Sub-total of persons in each Unit	Number of Units	Sub-total of persons in each Unit	Number of Units	Sub-total of persons in each Unit	Number of Units	Sub-total of persons in each Unit	
1	7	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
2	17	34	-	-	-	-	-	-	34
3	10	30	3	9	3	9	-	-	48
4	13	52	5	20	2	8	-	-	80
5	18	90	1	5	8	40	-	-	135
6	16	96	6	36	9	54	-	-	186
7	4	28	7	49	4	28	-	-	105
8	2	16	8	64	3	24	-	-	104
9	-	-	6	54	3	27	-	-	81
10	-	-	1	10	-	-	-	-	10
13	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	13	13
17	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	17	17
22	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	22	22
Total	87	353	37	247	32	190	3	52	842
% each type	54.7%	-	23.3%	-	20.1%	-	1.9%	-	-
% of persons	-	41.9%	-	29.3%	-	22.6%	-	6.2%	

their unmarried children and one married son with wife and children" (Lang 1946:14). In Taiwan and other parts of China, especially in rural areas, we find a modified form of the stem family that seems to be rather popular. To differentiate the modified form from the typical one defined above, Li Yih-yuan has coined the term "rotating stem family" (personal communication). The so-called rotating stem family exists when more than two sons are married and a family division has already taken place. To accommodate the parents, the sons adopt a system in which the parents, live with them on a rotating basis. An example would be an old couple with three married sons among whom an agreement is reached to take turns caring for their parents. The parents live with the family of the eldest son for a period of ten days, or whatever length of time has been agreed upon, and then, in a rotating fashion, stay with the second and third sons for the same period of time. When the cycle is finished, it recommences with the parents living with the eldest son.

Each son is responsible not only for providing food and lodging for his parents when they live with him, but also for furnishing them with some pocket money so the father can buy cigarettes and the like. If the old couple become ill while living with one of their sons, their care will be the responsibility of that son alone so long as the illness is not serious and its treatment not too costly.

If the illness is serious or chronic, the expense will be shared by all the sons.

If the sons are still living in their home village while their parents are rotated among them, the parents usually do not actually change their living quarters. Instead, they remain in their own home and simply eat in the homes of their sons. If one of the sons and his family has moved from the village, he can ask one of the remaining brothers to take care of the parents in his behalf and he is expected to send money back to that brother to compensate for his expenses. If the parents wish, they can take the money and cook for themselves for the period of time that is supposed to be the turn of the migrant son. Although it is very rare, I did find some cases in which parents went to the city to join a migrant son when it was his turn and then returned to the village again when it was another son's turn.

This rotating system is also found in other Chinese communities, both in Taiwan as well as in mainland China (cf. Gallin 1966:144; Diamond 1969:64; Wang 1967:64-66; and Yang 1945:83). Some writers do not think it necessary to classify this arrangement as a particular type of household organization. The acknowledgement of such a rotating system can cause problems in the classification of family types. For example, should we classify the three conjugal families taking turns in accommodating their parents

as three or four conjugal families, i.e., counting the parents as another conjugal family? Or should we classify them as one stem family and two conjugal families, i.e., counting the parents with one of the three conjugal families?

The first solution is not acceptable because it not only misrepresents the facts but also is in direct contrast to the definition of a family unit, because the parents are no longer functioning as an independent economic unit; that is, they do not have an independent budget nor any sizeable property or income. The second solution is also problematical; which of the three families should be classified as the stem family? Since the parents spend their time equally among all their sons, to classify one as the stem and the other two as conjugals is also misrepresenting the facts. Furthermore a rotating stem family is different from a true conjugal family on the one hand and from the typical stem family on the other.

Such differences exist not only in terms of the memberships involved but also in various other ways. For example, when the parents are with the eldest son's family, they are expected to help with various family tasks. If the father is still strong enough, he might work in the field. The mother might help in the kitchen or look after the grandchildren, freeing the eldest daughter-in-law from her household duties and enabling her to work in

the field, if her labor is needed, or to shop or do other activities she normally could not do because of the housework. Many housewives in Ying-ting hire themselves out as day laborers or work for other villagers on a labor-exchange basis only when their parents-in-law are "eating" with them, or, to be more specific, only when they have someone to do the housework for them. In some cases, the rotating system even influences the diet of the son's household. Usually the family will eat a little bit better when the parents are eating with them, either because the son is showing a loving concern for his parents or because he fears being criticized for mistreating his parents by providing a skimpy diet. As pointed out by Goode, "The various forms of the household have a number of implications for family interaction" (1964:44). As I have observed here, the form not only shapes the personal interactions among the members of the household, but also influences the pattern of labor division within the household.

From a short-term point of view, the rotating system seems to be a temporary, transitional phenomenon. When the parents die, the sons' families will become either true conjugal families or true stem families if the son's son has married and has his own children. Yet from a long-term viewpoint, the rotating stem family as a social institution is an ever-present phenomenon. Some stem

families of today might become two or three rotating stem families in the future. Furthermore, this social institution is found not only in Taiwan but also in northern China, and in Fukien and Kwangtung Provinces. Involving such a wide geographical distribution and representing such a special structural form, the rotating stem family as a social institution demands to be recognized as an independent family type in Chinese society. Moreover, a more complete picture of the family life of the Chinese peasants can be achieved by reckoning with this particular household organization.

When the rotating stem family was first noticed, many people familiar with Chinese family life, including this writer, thought that it was a poor man's way to accommodate his aged parents after the division of the family. Since the traditional Chinese inheritance rule stipulates that all the sons have an equal share of the family property, it also implies that all the sons have equal responsibility in caring for their parents and paying the family's debt, if any. When a rich family divides, the parents usually withhold a small portion of their land or other form of property as a means of self-support. They can either hold the land and cultivate it themselves or lease it and live off the rent. Or, as is more frequently found, they can give this portion of land to one of their sons with the understanding that after

receiving this extra share, he will care for his parents in their old age. In contrast, when a poor family divides, since the family estate is already rather small, should the parents withhold some of the land for themselves or give it to one of their sons, all of the other sons would receive even less of a share of the inheritance, making it more difficult for all of them to live off the land. Therefore, in a poor peasant family, the parents usually let their sons divide all the land and property equally, withholding nothing for themselves. Once the property has been divided, the fairest way to support the parents is for the sons to take turns so that none of them are unduly overburdened.

Though the above statement seems to be a reasonable explanation, it is proven to be inadequate when we look into the data of the family property of Ying-ting villagers. My data show that fifteen of the thirty-two rotating stem families cannot be classified as poor families compared to other families in the village. In fact, eleven are considered rather well-to-do by the villagers themselves. Each of them has more than 1.5 chia of land, which suggests that the rotating arrangement is not adopted solely to avoid diminishing the share of each son's inheritance. In other words, other considerations must lie behind the decision to rotate.

According to the villagers, it is "advantageous" for

the aged, retired parents to rotate among their sons if they cannot hold them together to maintain an extended family. The parents do not have to work as hard as they would if they withheld a piece of land and cultivated it by themselves. The parents also avoid the disadvantage of being stuck with one particular son and taking the risk of wearing out his favor by living with him and depending on him all the time. As one of the "rotating parents" pointed out to me, "By rotating among my three sons, eating with each of them for a short period of time, we maintain our freshness and don't have to worry too much about their getting bored with us."

In other words, when a rich family is going to be divided and the parents decide to rotate, it seems that the parents are trying to maximize their relationship with all of their sons by not giving one of them a larger share of inheritance, thus avoiding showing any special favor or preference to any one of their sons, and by not staying with any of their sons for a prolonged period of time, thus avoiding the chances of conflicts, especially the conflict between mother and daughter-in-law.

B. The Extended Family

The term "extended family" is used here to denote a household unit that consists of a man, his wife (or wives) and two or more of his married sons and the sons' wives and children. It differs from the stem family in that it

has more than one married son in the second generation while, by definition, a stem family has only one married son in the second generation.

Using this definition, I found three extended families in Ying-ting while I was conducting my study. These families constituted 1.9 percent of all the family types in the village and, with 52 individuals, 6.2 percent of the total village population. Based on these figures, it is clear that the extended family, though still considered the ideal family type by many old villagers, is not a common mode of familial arrangement in Ying-ting.

The three extended families are not only the biggest families in the village but also the richest families in the community. They are considered rich because they all have larger land holdings than the rest of the families and because they also have nonagricultural incomes. The heads of these households are all illiterate peasants, but at least one of the sons in each of the families has a rather good education which has enabled him to secure nonagricultural employment, thereby diversifying the sources and augmenting the household's income. Furthermore, the number of people in these families has helped them become relatively self-sufficient in supplying labor for agricultural tasks; they rarely need to hire other villagers to help them farm. In addition, they have been able to capitalize on the rather large labor forces they command.

For example, the rice transplanting and harvest teams described in Chapter Three were organized and managed by two brothers of one of the extended families. Extended families also frequently hire out some of their household members to work for other villagers. Many part-time farmers in the village hire people from these families to plow their lands or to transport their crops simply because these families, being rich and owning much land, have a rather complete set of farm tools and equipment which the part-time farmers cannot afford.

From the above, a direct correlation between the extended family and wealth emerges. Extended families tend to have a better chance than most to acquire and accumulate wealth. This tendency is recognized not only by some anthropologists who specialize in the study of Chinese culture and society (cf. Fei 1946; Cohen 1967), but also by the peasants in Ying-ting village. When asked why the extended families were relatively wealthier than the majority of the village families, most of my informants simply attributed it to the fact that such families have "more hands," i.e., they have more productive manpower in their households.

II. Marriage

One of the major characteristics of the traditional Chinese marriage has been its arrangement by parents of both sides through a go-between or matchmaker. Youngsters

were to have no voice in selecting their marriage partners; they could only passively accept the arrangement their parents made for them. Arranged marriages are no longer practiced in Ying-ting nor in the general area. If they still occur in some parts of Taiwan, they are the exception rather than the norm.

The so-called "love marriage," a major theme in Chinese literature for the past fifty years, is also rarely found in Taiwan's rural communities. Although the village's youngsters know about this marriage pattern, and may even be enthusiastic about it, most of them, especially the girls, are still too shy to approach their beloved. Even if some of them might be "brave" enough, the social milieu of rural Taiwan does not provide many favorable circumstances for romantic love to develop. Though the older generation tolerates its youngsters' ventures, such affairs never fail to become the topic of neighborhood gossip. And should such an affair fail to result in marriage, the girl involved would have a black mark on her reputation which might be an obstacle to her future marriage. Furthermore, village boys and girls have few opportunities to develop serious love relationships within the sphere of their daily activities. With their lives predominantly confined to the village and its surrounding area, they find few boys or girls from which to choose; most of them belong to the same lineage or bear the same surname. Besides, most of their activities

cannot escape the eyes of their fellow villagers. In short, though youngsters in contemporary rural Taiwan are longing for the so-called love marriage, the social milieu in which they find themselves simply does not provide many opportunities for romantic love to develop.[1]

A. The Modified Arranged Marriage

As a compromise, a modified form of the arranged marriage has evolved and has become the most popular way of contracting a marriage among the present-day peasant communities of Taiwan. The modified arranged marriage works as follows. When a boy reaches his mid-twenties and has completed military service, his parents begin to seek a wife for him. Usually, the parents first ask the boy if he has a girl friend. If the answer is yes, and the girl fits the considerations of the parents, they will then offer to send a go-between to the girl's family to propose. Although most of the village boys do not have girl friends, they may have a certain girl in mind about whom they will tell their parents when asked. Again, if the girl fits the parents' requirements, i.e., is from a decent family, is in good health, has no record of bad "deeds," is diligent and capable of doing housework, and comes from a family whose economic standing is comparable to their own, then the

[1] Of all the marriages in the village, five are love marriages, i.e., the couple married out of its own initiation, without being "introduced" by parents or other kinsmen. These love marriages, however, were initiated in the cities or in places outside of the village.

parents will usually go along with their son's wish by sending a matchmaker to the girl's family.

From the girl and her family's point of view, a good candidate is a young man who is: (a) lou shih, i.e., mature and sincere; (b) without any bad habits, such as heavy drinking, gambling, or having a poor reputation with girls, and (c) working at a job other than farming. Nowadays, most of the village girls prefer to marry a man who has a NT$1,000 monthly income than a man who has 1.0 chia of land.

If the boy does not have any particular girl in mind, his parents try to locate a suitable girl for him. Some of them go to a professional matchmaker, while others simply let their intention be known among their kinsmen and relatives, hoping that they may know some girls or someone who has a girl with the suitable qualifications.

When a matchmaker locates the prospective wife, he serves as the go-between in future arrangements. When a friend or relative suggests a girl, he or his wife is usually asked to perform the role of go-between. In either case, the go-between makes sure that the girl has not been engaged and does not presently have a boy friend, and that she and her family are ready to consider a marriage. If these preconditions are satisfied, the go-between will begin to persuade both sides, trying to show the merits of each to the other. Although listening to the go-between,

both sides will try to gather information about the other on their own, if they are serious about the matter. They will inquire among relatives, neighbors, and friends who know the boy or girl and his or her family.

Once both families are satisfied with each other's background, the boy's and girl's photographs are exchanged so that the youngsters can have a look at the prospective spouse. At this point, they can voice their own opinions. Usually, the young people are quite concerned with the looks of their potential mate. If they are not pleased with the other's looks, the whole arrangement may be called off, and the search for a spouse recommenced. If both youngsters are pleased, then a "date" is arranged for them to see each other in person. The date, called tui k'an (i.e., to see each other) by the villagers, usually occurs at a public place such as a movie house, restaurant, or place that serves soft drinks and fruits. The sole purpose of the date is for the youngsters to have a better look at each other so that they will not be fooled by the photographs. Rarely is any conversation held between them under such circumstances. Usually, they dress in their best and try secretly to get a good look at the other.

If neither has any objections after tui k'an, then the "eight characters," i.e., the horoscope of the boy and girl are exchanged. Each family either takes the horoscope of the prospective spouse to a professional diviner for

analysis to determine whether the proposal is in accordance with the heaven's intentions, or simply puts the eight characters on the family altar for three days. If no illness, misfortune, or physical disturbance occurs in the family during this time, it is taken as an omen of supernatural approval. If the eight characters of both sides match, a proposal is formally made by the boy's family through the go-between. Negotiations regarding the transfer of gifts and the approximate date of the wedding are also carried out through the go-between.

At the engagement, substantial gifts are sent to the girl's family in the form of clothing, an engagement ring, jewelry, cash, food, and engagement cakes, which the girl's family distributes among its kinsmen, neighbors, and friends to announce the engagement. In return, the girl's family sends cakes of different kinds together with bananas, a few items of clothing, and a ring for the boy. The cakes and fruits are then distributed among relatives and friends to announce the boy's engagement.

After the engagement, the boy is free to see his fiancée at her home and, perhaps, take her out to the city or to the market town for a motion picture or the like. It is during this period that the engaged couple first have their chance to know each other and try out the romantic love about which they so often read, hear, or view in the motion pictures or television shows. In some cases, the

girl gets pregnant during this period. Such an "accident" is tolerated so long as the two are already engaged and will be married before the pregnancy becomes conspicuous.[2]

The wedding usually occurs several months after the engagement. Since Chinese marriage rites have been well-documented in both Gallin's and Diamond's works (Gallin 1966:207-215; Diamond 1969:55-59), and since the general pattern they describe holds for Ying-ting, I will omit a discussion of wedding rituals. Between the betrothal and the wedding, however, the dowry and the so-called "bride price" are determined. I would like to single out the custom of dowry-giving and discuss its social implications in the following section for it has some relation to the changing socioeconomic conditions of rural Taiwan in recent years.

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[2]During the last twenty years, 115 brides have married into Ying-ting. Thirty-five of them gave birth to their first child within 8 months of the wedding. Considering that the people's attitude toward sex during the engagement period was rather positive, i.e., there were no social sanctions against those girls who became pregnant during their engagement, and that engagements are rarely broken, we must recognize that Chinese and western social assumptions about engagements differ. Furthermore, in Ying-ting as well as in many rural communities of Taiwan and mainland China, should a man's fiancée die before the two are formally married, before he can marry another girl, he has the obligation to "marry" his deceased fiancée first. This spiritual marriage usually takes place on the day of the actual marriage of the living couple, or shortly before. But, only after the man has married his deceased fiancée can he marry his living bride. During the spiritual ceremony, the deceased fiancée is usually represented by a spirit tablet. After the spiritual marriage, the deceased fiancée is considered the man's deceased wife, and her spirit tablet is kept in and worshipped by her husband's household. These facts warrant a

B. The Dowry and Its Implications

Although the contents of various dowries differ in quality and quantity, some basic items commonly included in dowries in the Tainan area are: (a) the bride's clothing and her personal items, ranging from a private bath pan to cosmetics and some clothing and jewelry for the bridegroom; (b) linens and bedroom furniture; (c) kitchenware and cooking utensils; (d) bicycles or motorcycles; (e) a radio and/or television set; (f) family heirlooms and some cash. It is clear from this list that the dowry is mainly prepared for the new couple's personal use, e.g., clothing and jewelry, and for their future conjugal family, e.g., bedding and kitchen utensils. Of importance to note is that no bride would be married nowadays without bringing some dowry with her to her new family. In other words, the dowry is considered an indispensable part of the marriage. No matter how poor a girl's family may be, they must give her a minimum set of household equipment, clothing and jewelry to take to her new home.

Just as the parents of the girl have the obligation to prepare a dowry so that they can marry off their daughter properly, the boy's parents have the responsibility to pay a bride price to the girl's parents. In

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rethinking of the Chinese engagement: is it considered the first phase of a marriage contract as the term is commonly understood in Western society, or does marriage in Chinese society actually start at engagement? Such questions can only be answered with more data and will not be treated in this dissertation.

some cases, the bride's parents will use the bride price to prepare the dowry, but they are expected not only to spend for the dowry all the money received as the bride price but also to add something extra. The general practice in Ying-ting in recent years is for the father to add to the dowry the same amount of money he receives as the bride price. When Mr. Huang, a rather poor peasant in Ying-ting, received NT$12,000 as a bride price from his eldest daughter's fiancée's parents, he was very worried, for he believed that he was obliged to provide a dowry worth, in goods and cash, NT$24,000. Being poor, he was forced to borrow money from his friends in the village. When asked why he couldn't merely use the bride price for the dowry, thus saving himself from going into debt, Mr. Huang said, "I don't want to give my daughter a bad start in her married life. If she goes over there, to her husband's household, without bringing anything, she will be looked down upon; I would be looked down upon. And, even my neighbors in this village will criticize me for being stingy. Also, as you know, my daughter has been working for five years now, and she gave most of her wages to us. Now that she is getting married, if I don't give her some dowry she is going to be very displeased."

Mr. Huang's is not an exceptional case, and his determination to match the bride price and spend all on the dowry is rather typical. Although he was poor and had to borrow money to do it, none of his relatives and neighbors

seemed to disapprove of his decision. As Mr. Huang's brother-in-law explained, "He has to do it. Too bad that he has to borrow money, but there is no way for a man to marry his daughter off without giving her some money!"

The preceding incident can, perhaps, be more clearly understood if placed in the context of significance of a dowry. Chinese ethnographies have pointed out again and again that tranditionally in China, men were the only family members to jointly own family property. When the family estate was divided, all the property was distributed among the males. Daughters and wives were their father's and husband's heiresses only in rare cases, for instance, when the parents had no son or had failed to adopt a son. Furthermore, the ethnographies have also pointed out that although the law changed after the revolution of 1911 and daughters became as legally eligible as their brothers to inherit their parents' property, the traditional practice of male inheritance has not changed, at least not in the rural areas of China (cf. Lang 1946:44,115).

Based on my observation of the practice of dowry-giving in contemporary tural Taiwan, I think the above statement, that only the male members of the family are considered co-owners of the family estate, is no longer applicable. Lang's observation is true only if we equate the right to claim the family estate with the right to inheritance at the time of family division. It can no longer be

sustained if we take a broader interpretation of the phrase "the claim over the joint family estate." For if we examine carefully the custom of dowry-giving and recall the strong social sanctions pressuring the bride's parents to provide a sizeable dowry, then we can conclude that a daughter does have some claim on her natal family's estate. The differences between a daughter's claim and her brothers' exist only in the timing and the size of their claims. Unlike her brothers, a daughter receives her share of the family's estate when she marries and leaves her natal family, while her brothers usually acquire theirs when the family is divided. The second major difference is that a daughter's share, received in the form of dowry, is usually smaller than that of her brothers.

The argument that since the dowry is given to the daughter when she marries, it should only be considered a gift from her parents is irrelevant to my basic point. I am asserting that a daughter, at least nowadays, does expect to be given some of her family's property, although her share is frequently smaller than those of her brothers. From what we have seen in Mr. Huang's case, a dowry cannot be considered a gift in the usual sense of the word. A gift-giver has the privilege of deciding the quality and quantity of his gift. Mr. Huang and others involved in dowry-giving practices in present-day rural Taiwan are more restricted than such gift-givers. They must prepare a certain number of items for their daughters, and the value of

the entire dowry is virtually decided by the groom's parents when they "pay" the bride price, as we have noted in Mr. Huang's representative response.

Some villagers pointed out to me when we were discussing dowries and related customs:

> Nowadays, girls are very bold. In the old days no girl would dare to ask or even show her attitude regarding her dowry. They took whatever their parents gave them. But things are certainly different now. Girls of today not only will show what they want, sometimes they even dare to argue with their parents for not giving them enough dowry.

Although I do not have historical documents to verify the above statement, it seems to me a fair account of the present situation. It is rather safe to say that the attitude toward dowries has changed from seeing them as a gift to the marrying daughter to seeing them as the marrying daughter's share in her natal family's estate.

The explanation for the change in attitude can only be found in the changing economic roles that girls play in contemporary rural Taiwan. In the old days, say thirty years ago, although unmarried girls did have some participation in their family's economic activities, their contributions were mainly in the form of attending to housework and helping their fathers and brothers with the farm work. Today, however, the girls not only do what their mothers and grandmothers used to do, they also hold various types of wage-earning jobs. For example, as noted in Chapter Four, 85 percent of the unmarried girls in Ying-ting have some kind of

job from which they earn a regular wage, most working for the weaving and knitting factories in the nearby market towns. Since these girls give the bulk of their wages to their parents, it should not be too surprising that they have a more demanding attitude regarding the dowry they receive. It is also understandable that the parents, after receiving their daughters' wages for a prolonged period of time, would feel more obliged to provide their departing daughters with a good dowry than they once might have.

III. Lineage Organization

Before presenting the details of lineage organization and the roles that lineage plays in community life, I will group the Ying-ting villagers according to their surnames and lineage memberships. The heads of the 159 households living in Ying-ting bear sixteen different surnames. The following table shows the numbers and percentages of the major surname groups.

The "Other Surname" category in Table 8 comprises groups having less than three households. These minorities include two households each of the following surnames: Lin, Chang, Tseng, Kou, and Hsu; plus one household each of Huang, Hung, Lai, Yei, Wang, and Wei. The Ssu people are divided into two subgroups because they belong to two different lineages. It is believed that there is nothing in common between them except their surname.

Table 8

Numbers and Percentages of Major Surname Groups in Ying-ting, 1970

Surnames	Number of Households	% of Total Households	Number of Persons	% of Total Population
Chuang	103	64.7	542	64.4
Ssu Upper	20	12.6	127	15.1
Ssu Southern	9	5.7	53	6.3
Chiu	5	3.1	21	2.5
Chen	3	1.9	19	2.2
Wu	3	1.9	14	1.7
Other Surnames	16	10.1	66	7.8
Total	159	100.0	842	100.0

As it is seen today, Ying-ting is a multi-lineage or "multi-tsu" village. A study of the genealogies of the Chuang and two Ssu lineages, however, reveals that most of the households bearing other surnames are affinal kins of either the Chuang or the Ssu people. They or their ancestors moved into the village either as adopted husbands who married Chuang or Ssu women matrilocally or as stepsons following a mother who remarried into the village. For example, the five households of Chiu people are descendants of an

adopted husband who married a Chuang woman matrilocally and, taking her surname, moved into Ying-ting four generations ago. That marriage resulted in three sons and the youngest was allowed to bear the surname Chiu to continue his father's descent line. After three more generations, that Chiu household had multiplied into five households. The households of Lin, Hsu, and Tseng as well as those of Chen and Hung all found their way into Ying-ting by the same social mechanism, except that the Chen and Hung families are descendants of the adopted husbands of Upper Ssu people.

The Chang, Wu, and Wang forebears came into the village under different circumstances. Their ancestors arrived as stepsons who followed their remarried mothers but retained their original surnames. Wei, Kou and Huang are in yet another category. They moved into the village not too long ago, during the generation of the present household head, mainly because they acquired farms in the Ying-ting area.

Although Ling-ting village is populated by three lineages and a number of households that bear different surnames, from the above analysis of the genealogical data, it is clear that this village was first populated mainly by the Chuang and the Upper Ssu lineages. Later on, the Southern Ssu moved in from Chia-li-hsin and started their compound with a few farm huts on the southern edge of the village. As time went by, Ying-ting acquired more families of varying surnames in the ways described above.

A. The Chuang Lineage, Its History and Organization

As noted in Section III, Chapter Two, the ancestors of the Chuang people came to Taiwan around 1710, shortly after Taiwan was incorporated into the Ch'ing Empire. First, three Chuang brothers migrated from Lung-chi County, Fukien Province, to seek their fortunes. They landed in Tainan and worked for people in various places before they finally settled in Ying-ting. After these three brothers and their families had settled, they sent for the rest of their family. Their parents arrived along with five more sons. This family group, the parents and eight brothers, were considered the founding fathers of the Chuang lineage of Ying-ting. The father, Chuang Tsong-te, was eventually commemorated as the founding ancestor of this lineage.

As they multiplied, the Chuang people decided to build an ancestral hall in Ying-ting instead of sending representatives back to Lung-chi to participate in the annual ceremony of ancestor worship. The construction started in 1818 and was completed in 1819. The hall was named Chin-shiu-t'ang, after the name of the ancestral hall in Lung-chi, Fukien. A tablet designed to represent all the ancestors of the Chuangs was set up. Another tablet for Chuang Tsong-te and his wife, and one tablet for each of the eight sons of this founding ancestor, were also placed in the newly completed hall.

When the Chin-shiu-t'ang was built, a piece of land adjacent to the hall was set aside as the tsu-kung-t'ien, i.e., the ancestor's land or ritual land. Whether this land was purchased with lineage funds or donated by some lineage members is unknown. We do know, however, that the land, about 3.5 chia in size, was designated as the corporate property of the lineage and any profit from it was to be used for the maintenace of the ancestral hall and for conducting worship ceremonies.

A board of elders was formed with one representative from each of the eight fangs (branches or sublineages). The board's functions include the management of the lineage property and the supervision of the annual ceremony of ancestor worship. Rules regarding the management of lineage property and the rotation of leadership in the worship ceremony were also worked out. It was decided that each fang should take turns managing the ritual land and conducting the ceremony on an annual basis. For example, when it is the first fang's turn, the elder of this fang, who represents his fang in the board of elders, has to arrange the leasing of the ritual land to his own fang's members and collect the rents from the tenants according to the rate fixed by the elders of the lineage. He uses the allowances to prepare the ceremonial sacrifices and conduct the worshipping on three different occasions: ching-ming-chieh (a festival for worshipping at the graves), chung-chiu-chieh (the moon festival

or mid-autumn festival), and tung-chih (the winter solstice festival). Furthermore, he has to keep records of all the rents he collects and the expenses for the ceremonies and give a formal report to the board of elders and all of the lineage members who participate in the tung-chih ceremony. When his duties end on the eve of the New Year he transfers the managerial responsibility to the elder of the second fang.

Originally, it was agreed that members of each fang should have priority in renting the ancestors' land while their elder was in charge of the lineage's affairs. In case any difficulty arose in finding enough tenants from the fang, the elder-in-charge would have the privilege of leasing the surplus land to members of other fangs, but never to any person outside the lineage. This management system was abolished by the turn of the century because of the increasing difficulty of finding tenants willing to rent on a short-term basis. Under this system, tenants could rent the ritual land only for one year, when their fang's elder was in charge. Another seven years would pass before their elder was again in charge and they could again rent the land. Under such circumstance, tenants were reluctant to take as good care of the land as an owner or a long-term tenant would because before they could enjoy their investment of fertilizer or irrigation and drainage construction, their one-year lease would expire. Thus, the condition of the

ritual land deteriorated, its productivity getting lower every year due to lack of care. Finally, the land reached the point where it was no longer profitable to rent for agricultural purposes. Consequently, some fangs of the lineage had difficulty finding enough tenants when they were in charge.

Another factor that might also have prompted the change of the old management system was the planned construction of a highway by the Japanese colonial government at the turn of the century. The highway was to run through the center of the village, necessitating the demolition of four houses. The owners of these houses asked their lineage elders for permission to rebuild on part of the ritual land so that they would not have to move away from the lineage settlement. Since the land was already quite difficult to lease, the elders rented the owners the southwest corner on a permanent basis, thus saving themselves the trouble of finding new tenants every year. They made the rent slightly higher than that for leasing the land for farming.

With this precedent--ritual land rented on a permanent basis--and with the increasing difficulty of leasing the land for cultivation, the land soon was leased to a number of lineage members on a permanent basis. These long-term tenants now had the right either to cultivate the land or to use it as a housing site. Because of this change in the management rule, Chin-shiu-t'ang was able to retain its land

holding intact when the Nationalist government launched the Land Reform Project in the 1950's. Because the ritual land adjacent to the Chin-shiu-t'ang was no longer classified as farm land but as construction land, it was not subject to the Land Reform Act.

The rent that the Chin-shiu-t'ang collects from its tenants has always been sufficient to cover ceremonial expenses. For example, between 1960-70, the annual income averaged NT$6,000 while the annual ceremonial expense was approximately NT$2,000. As a result, the board of elders, especially the elder-in-charge, always has a sizeable fund under its control. The usage of these lands and its implications will be discussed later in this chapter.

As indicated earlier, the Chuang lineage is subdivided into eight branches or, as the people themselves call them, fangs. These eight branches, descended from the eight sons of the founding father, are far from equal in size. Because of migration, among other reasons, the fang members still residing in Ying-ting vary from zero to 261. Below is a table showing the number of persons and households of each fang in Ying-ting in 1970.

As is seen in Table 9, the third and fifth fangs constitute the majority of the Chuang lineage. The first fang is represented by only one individual, the second by two, and the fourth by no one. The reasons behind such uneven representation vary. The first fang left the village some 150

Table 9

Numbers of Persons & Household of Each Branch of the Chuang Lineage in Ying-ting, 1970

Branch (*fang*)	No. of Persons	No. of Households
The 1st *fang*	1	1
The 2nd *fang*	2	2
The 3rd *fang*	261	46
The 4th *fang*	0	0
The 5th *fang*	188	38
The 6th *fang*	31	5
The 7th *fang*	8	2
The 8th *fang*	51	10
The Chuang Lineage as a group	542	103
The Entire Village	842	159

years ago. At that time, the entire area was still sparsely populated. Though most of the land was controlled by a few big landlords, some of these landlords had difficulty finding tenants to cultivate all of their lands. Chuang li, a member of the first *fang*, and his family were invited to rent a piece of land owned by a landlord of Ma-tou, a market town approximately seven kilometers west of the village. Since the land was four kilometers northwest of Ying-ting, too far to walk on a daily basis, Chuang li and his sons built field huts near their rented farms and moved their families to the new

place. Later Chuang li's fang members and their families joined him to work for the landlord. Their new settlement, pioneered by Chuang li, was named Chuang-li-liau, literally "Chuang li's huts." As time passed, Chuang-li-liau became a village in itself and is now mainly populated by members of the first fang of the Chuang lineage and a few households of other surnames. The only first fang member living in Ying-ting when this study was conducted in 1970 moved back from Chuang-li-liau to Ying-ting in 1962 to open a drugstore in the village and has since been practicing as a Chinese doctor in the village.

Though the first fang moved from Ying-ting quite some time ago, it still participates in all the lineage activities in Ying-ting. The elder of this fang still belongs to the board of elders and assumes his duty as elder-in-charge when it is the first fang's turn to take charge of the lineage affairs.

The second fang is involved in a similar situation. Most of its members moved to Ta-wan, a village north of Ying-ting, some fifty years ago because they acquired lands in that area and found it inconvenient to walk back and forth. Like the first fang, the second fang is also still actively participating in lineage affairs.

In 1942, a family of the fourth fang migrated to Taitung, a city on the southeaster coast of Taiwan about 320 kilometers from Ying-ting. A few years later, all of the

families of the fourth fang joined them. This group no longer maintains its ties with its lineage mates in Ying-ting and is no longer represented on the board of elders. However, since its migration was a rather recent event, the villagers still refer to eight fangs or branches when they talk about the lineage's organization.

The seventh fang, represented by only two households, has been "weak" since the lineage was founded in Ying-ting. Its members failed to reproduce enough male descendants to make it as populous as the other fangs.

The third and fifth fangs are not only the largest branches of the lineage, they are also the wealthiest. Most of the rich families in Ying-ting belong to either of these two fangs. As in most Chinese rural communities, the wealthiest families in Ying-ting are usually also the most influential families of the community. They are equippped with both the economic resources and the social connections that are so vital for leadership positions in rural communities like Ying-ting. Because their fangs are the strongest and contain most of the wealhy and, hence, influential families, the leaders of the Chuang lineage as well as of the entire village have always been members of these two branches.

B. The Two Ssu Lineages

Ying-ting has two Ssu lineages. The one concentrated in a discrete locale of the northwest corner of the village

known as the Upper Ssu; the one residing on the southern edge of the village is called the Southern Ssu. Though they bear the same surname, the two lineages have no genealogical connection. In addition, they have never made an attempt to work out any kind of fictive relationship to tie them together.

1. The Upper Ssu lineage. The Upper Ssu lineage consistes of twenty households with 127 persons, making up 15.08 percent of the total population of the village. These twenty households live together as a tighly-knit group, keeping themselves separate from the other people of the village. They live in their own compound at a discrete distance from the main settlement of the village where the Chuang people concentrate (see Figure 2).

Although no complete genealogical record exists that can provide us with a clear history of this group's migration, the Upper Ssu people believe they are descendants from a common ancestor who migrated from Lung-chi, Fukien, the same county from which the Chuang's ancestors came. By reconstructing their genalogy, I was able to connect all of these twenty households to the man they believe to be their founding father. According to their oral history, their founding father settled in Ying-ting shortly after the Chuang pioneers did, sometime in the second or third decade of the 1700's.

The twenty households of the Upper Ssu do not

represent all of the living descendants of the founding father. A few households whose whereabouts are unknown appear in the genealogy. They moved from Ying-ting at least four generations ago and apprently moved separately, not as a group like the first fang of the Chuang lineage. In contrast to these early migrants, a few families and individuals who moved to the city in more recent times still maintain their relations with the people living in Ying-ting.

The Upper Ssu lineage has no ancestral hall like that of the Chuang people, nor does it own any corporate property. A small, old, one-room house stands in the center of the settlement and is believed to have been built by the founding father. It has been kept by the Upper Ssu people as a lineage shrine in which they have placed tablets representing the founding couple. Though a lineage shrine, it looks no different from those houses left behind by people who migrated to the city without any plan of returning to the village. It is in sore need of repair. As a result, its significance would probably escape any visitor chancing to see it. No matter how shaky it looks, however, the house is cleaned twice a year shortly before the death anniversaries of the founding couple so that it can be used for worshipping. No codified procedures exist for such worshipping ceremonies. Every household simply sends a representative, usually a woman, to place dishes of food on

a table in the shrine. Each representative worships individually. The ceremony I witnessed was not much different from an ancestor worship ritual carried out at an individual household in rural Taiwan, except more people participated in the Upper Ssu ceremony.

Although at first glance the Upper Ssu people seem to be rather loosely organized, they have a stronger sense of "we-group" than the Chuangs and the Southern Ssu. Their group solidarity might result from their geographical isolation from the other villagers and the compactness of their settlement. Furthermore, being a "minority group" in a multi-lineage village like Ying-ting, the Upper Ssu people seem to have realized that, if they are going to exist in the village without being encroached upon by the Chuangs, they have to act as a highly united group. Their unity has been amply demonstrated time after time in the village elections. They have been voting as a block ever since local elections were introduced in the early 1950's, always casting their votes uniformly to support whomever their lineage leader has wished to support. As a result, their small number of votes carry weight. They managed to maintain a coalition with the third fang of the Chuang lineage and trade their votes so that one of the Upper Ssu people was elected village representative to the Farmers' Association. The total number of votes of the Upper Ssu alone could not have won the seat. Only through trading with the

third fang people in elections have the Upper Ssu gained the extra votes needed to elect their own candidates.

2. The Southern Ssu. The Southern Ssu consists of nine households and 53 persons. They are a branch of the Ssu lineage of Chia-li-hsin. As I noted earlier, the Southern Ssu came to Ying-ting because their ancestors acquired land in the area and decided to move from Chia-li-hsin for the sake of convenience. According to the elders of the group, their ancestors moved approximately one hundred years ago. Because the Ssu lineage of Chia-li-hsin does not have an ancestral hall nor any lineage-wide activity, the Southern Ssu people as a group have no connection with their lineage mates in Chia-li-hsin. They do acknowledge their relations with the lineage, however, and some of them maintain ties with kin in the other village.

Like the Upper Ssu people, the Southern Ssu have no ancestral hall nor do they own any corporate property. Also like the Upper Ssu, they maintain a k'ung t'ing where the tablets of the first couple who moved to Ying-ting are housed and where the worshipping ceremonies occur twice a year on the anniversaries of the founding husband's and wife's deaths.[3]

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[3]A k'ung t'ing is defined by Gallin as the "central room in a house; used for ancestral worship and other festive functions; often a kind of family room." (Gallin 1966:314).

C. The Social Roles and Functions of Lineage Groups

The Chuang lineage is the most prominent of the three lineages in Ying-ting. It is the largest not only in terms of its member households but also in terms of completeness of its organization. It has an ancestral hall and a sizeable corporate property which, unlike most of the land holdings of the other lineages elsewhere in Taiwan, has been maintained intact through the Land Reform Act promulgated by the government in the early 1950's. It also has a board of elders formed by representatives from each of the existing fangs which manages the corporate property and oversees the worship ceremonies. In a word, the Chuang lineage seems to have all the material background and organizational feature that a strong lineage ought to have, still, when I began to examine the role this lineage plays in community life, I found it mostly restricted to one ritualistic activity, the lineage-wide worship ceremonies at the ancestral hall. Furthermore, few people attend the ceremony, which is quite simple and has no codified procedures. The only group action the Chuangs perform outside the ceremonial sphere is a moneylending service.

Because of its landholdings, the Chuang lineage has a sizeable annual income which has been more than enough to defray ceremonial costs. Over the years, they have been able to accumulate NT$40,000 which they deposited at the Farmers' Association to earn interest. Lineage members are

entitled to borrow money from these corporate funds. They must approach the elder-in-charge and ask for the loan. When permission is granted, the money is withdrawn from the Farmers' Association and interest charged according to the rate the savings would have earned. Because the interest rate of the Farmers' Association is always lower than that of private loans, members are at an advantage when borrowing from the lineage funds, and so they are constantly competing for loans.

As it turns out, however, the lineage fund has become a "cash reserve" benefiting primarily the elders who represent their respective fang in the elders board and thus have control over the fund. The record shows that during the past fifteen years those who borrowed the money were mainly the elders themselves and their immediate families. The elders who borrow frequently do so not out of a desperate need but as a way to make money grow; they borrow at a low interest rate and then either invest the money in their economic pursuits or lend it to other villagers and charge a higher interest than they are paying. As a result of this monopoly by the elders, the lineage fund fails to serve needy members and has become a "sore spot" for the lineage. Most of the members are unhappy with the elders' actions and, consequently, are reluctant to participate in events the elders promote. Gradually, the lineage's organization, its property, and its activities have become the privilege

and responsibility of the handfull of persons who make up the elders board.

Gallin (1966:129-37) and Diamond (1969:72) have documented that lineages in rural Taiwan have lost many of their social roles and functions compared to the lineages in Fukien and Kwangtung described by Freedman (1958: Chapters 1 and 9). Some scholars think that one of the most important reasons for this loss is that most of the lineages in Taiwan do not own any corporate property, or the property they may once have owned has been minimized or uprooted by the Government through Land Reform Act (cf. Diamond 1969: 72). The Chuang lineage in Ying-ting presents a contrasting case. As shown above, the Chuang lineage has all the material well-being a strong lineage ought to have, yet it still has lost most of the social roles and functions a strong lineage used to fulfill in traditional Chinese rural society.

Gallin claims that the decline of lineage functions in Taiwan is due not solely to the lack of corporate property ownership but also to changes of the larger society in which each lineage finds itself (1966:129-37). The situation in Ying-ting supports Gallin's interpretation.

To illustrate this point more fully, I will briefly review the social functions a strong lineage was believed to have been performing in the rural areas of southeastern China before the turn of this century. Chinese specialists probably would all agree with Hsiao's delineation of

the social functions of lineage (in Hsiao's terminology, "clan") organization:

> While different clans stressed different types of activities, . . . the following were the most frequently undertaken: (1) compilation and revision of genealogical records; (2) ancestor worship and the institution of the ancestral hall, ritual land, and ancestral graveyards; (3) material assistance to clan members; (4) education of young clansmen; (5) punishment of misconduct and settlement of disputes; and (6) self-defense" (1960:333).

Of the six major functions listed by Hsiao, all except the first two would generally be considered functions usually performed by the local government of a modern national state. In other words, in traditional China, lineages were not only ceremonial groups or purely kinship organizations but also local administrative units which performed the functions of social control as well as public works that related to the welfare of the local inhabitants.

What, then, were the roles of local governments in southeastern China before the turn of the century? Any student of Chinese studies probably would agree that the imperial Chinese central government used to abstain itself from interfering with the local affairs of its rural communities. The maintenance of peace and order, education, public works, and constructions were all left to the villagers themselves. Thus, peasants living under the traditional imperial government had to organize themselves in certain ways and through such organizational efforts to accomplish those social functions that were so vital to

the well-being of their community life. The conclusion follows that the diversified sociopolitical functions of lineage organizations in rural China were directly related to the nature of the imperial Chinese government. Lineage organizations were social institutions based on kinship affiliations and territorial bonds, developed and elaborated upon by the Chinese rural populations to meet the needs of maintaining an orderly community life. If this perception is correct, we have reason to expect that lineage organizations and their roles will change when changes occur in the national political structure, especially in its administrative system at the local level.

As far as Ying-ting is concerned, the history and organizational features of the Chuang lineage indicate that this lineage had a rather "good start" in the early phase of its development during the period when Taiwan was still under the control of the Ch'ing Empire. Its organizational strength and activity apparently began to decline, however, during the Japanese colonial period; and they finally plunged to their lowest level during the last two decades.

What had happened to the sociopolitical structure of the rural area around Ying-ting during that period roughly from 1900 to the early part of the 1950's? In a nutshell, what happened was a change in the local administrative system and an increasing penetration of governmental apparatus into Taiwan's rural communities. For example, in the

first decade of the century, Ying-ting, like the other rural communities in Taiwan, became an administrative village under the jurisdiction of a township government. The government appointed a village chief as head administrator of village affairs and made him responsible for reporting to the township administrator and following his directives. The government also established a police station that same decade to maintain peace and order in the rural area. In 1920 Ying-ting had its first public school, supported and supervised by the Japanese colonial government. More and more public works, such as irrigation facilities and road construction and maintenance, were also taken over by governmental agencies, first under the Japanese colonial government and later, when Taiwan was restored to the Chinese in 1945 under the Nationalist Chinese Government. As governmental agencies began to move deeper and wider into almost every major aspect of the peasants' community life in rural Taiwan, the roles occupied by lineage organizations became increasingly restricted to the ceremonial sphere, i.e., the cult of ancestor worship.

The Land Reform Program promulgated by the Nationalist Chinese Government in the early 1950's, also had a profound impact on lineage organizations. Unlike the Chuang lineage of Ying-ting, most lineages in rural Taiwan were forced to sell their landholdings during the Program, and, consequently, lost their corporate property--such

property being one of the most important factors contributing to lineage activity and solidarity.

This program also affected the general sociopolitical structure of Taiwan's rural communities. It forced landlords to sell their lands to former tenants. As a result, most landlords lost interest in community affairs, some leaving the area entirely and resettling in the big cities. These former landlords, as a class, were the ones who usually assumed the leadership roles in the rural areas. So their withdrawal from community affairs caused lineage organizations as well as some other rural associations to suffer a loss of leadership (cf. Gallin 1966:117). Again, we have witnessed another social factor originating from a change in a national policy which had also prompted the decline of lineage organizations in rural Taiwan during the last two decades.

In addition to the social factors discussed above, lineage organizations in Ying-ting and many other rural communities in Taiwan have also been eroded to a certain extent by the introduction of local-level elections and the subsequent development of political factions in village communities. Ever since the Nationalist Government introduced the election of village mayor and other local offices in 1951, two political factions have existed in Ying-ting. These two factions, one headed by a member of the third <u>fang</u> of the Chuang lineage and the other by

a man of the fifty fang, have been fighting each other in every election for the control of village politics. They compete for the offices of both village mayor and village representative to the Township Council and Farmers' Association. While they are primarily supported by their close kinsmen, the two faction's leaders have been trying to recruit followers from other kin groups. For example, during the 1968 election, the fifth fang faction had the support of the sixth and eighth fangs and the third fang faction had the support of the seventh fang, the two Ssu lineages, and some people belonging to the "other surnames" group. The leaders of the two factions waged so many mutual attacks that they would not even speak to each other after the election. Being the leaders of their own fangs these two candidates were also the most influential men in the Chuang lineage. Yet, because of their political struggle, they seemed to forget that they were lineage mates. Squabble and mutual criticism replaced the discussion and pleasantry once heard in meetings of lineage elders. As a consequence of such antagonism, lineage elders' meetings were eliminated after 1969. Thus, lineage organizations as local sociopolitical institutions have been further underminded by the recent development of political factions.

The above description of the weakening of the Chuang lineage in Ying-ting can be applied to lineages in other parts of rural Taiwan because the sociopolitical changes,

affecting the Chuangs, i.e., the Land Reform Program, the extension of administrative apparatus, and the development of political factions, are also found in all other rural villages of Taiwan (cf. Gallin 1966:272-74; 1968:397-98). What I am intending to do here, however, is not merely to indicate that a lineage organization--the most important sociopolitical institution found in traditional Chinese rural communities--is now in the process of declining, but, rather, to use this as an example to emphasize that a clear understanding of the role of any peasant community's social institutions can only be achieved if we examine the local and the national sociopolitical systems. Without the knowledge of the national sociopolitical system of traditional China, we would have some difficulty in explaining why lineage organizations were so well-developed and played such a vital role in rural communities in the past. Likewise, without knowing the recent socipolitical changes of Taiwan we would not be able to comprehend why lineage organizations are declining and becoming merely ceremonial units.

IV. The Village as a Social Unit

We have already learned from the previous section that Ying-ting is a multi-lineage village. Under such circumstances, lineage membership as such cannot be used as the organizational framework for the entire community. Lineage sentiment alone cannot be used to generate the

community-wide feelings that might be important for certain community-wide activitis. Therefore, if Ying-ting is a coherent village, and it is, there must be some social institutions that promote the sense of "we-group" and generate group solidarity. This section will explore such social institutions and show why the lineage organizations can no longer be used as effective sociopolitical units in a rural community such as Ying-ting.

A. The Village Temple as the Focus of Village Organization

The people of Ying-ting are very proud of their temple, the Chia-fu temple, because it has a rather long history and is beautifully constructed. Furthermore, the goddess enshrined in it is believed to be quite powerful and responsive to the villagers' requests. Villagers from Ying-ting as well as from villages in the surrounding area frequently go to the Chia-fu temple to worship the goddess and ask for guidance.

According to some village elders, the temple was built in 1721. In that particular year, a villager known by the name of Wu Chih-chwan donated a large sum of money and asked his fellow villagers to help him build a temple. Within a few months, enough contributions were collected for the temple to be constructed. With the concensus of the people, a statue of the Goddess Kuan-yin was enshrined and the temple was formally named the Chia-fu temple.

Seventy years after the temple was built, a devoted villager named T. F. Cheng donated another large sum of money and asked his fellow villagers to make contributions to buy some property for the temple. As a result of that fund-raising, the temple was endowed with ten chia of land and four fish ponds. A seven-member committee and a rotating "pot master" system were set up to assume responsibility for temple affairs. Since then, the temple has been renovated and refurnished several times, most recently in 1954, after a large sum of cash was received from the sale of seven chia of its land.[4]

After the land sale in 1953, the temple still had three chia of land and four fish ponds. The land and ponds are leased out to Ying-ting villagers for cultivation, and the rent collected is put into the temple's fund for ceremonial expenditures and maintenance. In addition to the rents, the temple also receives cash donations from its worshippers from time to time. Such private donations add up to a handsome amount over the years. For example, between 1965-70, Chia-fu temple received an average of NT$9,100 annually.

Since it was built by public funds, the temple and its estate are considered to be the common property of the Ying-ting villagers as a group. Each household is a member

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[4]Under the Land Reform Act promulgated by the Nationalist Government, no individual or institute can own more than three chia of land. Therefore, the temple was forced to sell seven chia of its holdings to its former tenants.

of this corporate unit. As I mentioned earlier, however, the temple is directly administered by a pot master, selected annually, and a permanent executive committee of seven members. These committee members are elected on the basis of one man from each of the seven sections that comprise the village (cf. pp. 21-23 and Figure 2). Each of the seven committee members is referred to as the tou chia, i.e., the headman, of the section he represents. They hold their positions as long as they live or as long as they care to serve.

According to Mr. Tseng, the current temple keeper and one of the spirit mediums of the village, and some other knowledgeable villagers, when the temple acquired its estate in the late eighteenth century, some kind of organization was needed to manage the temple's newly-endowed property, and to take charge of the ceremonial activities. Since the temple was considered common property it was decided that representatives from each neighborhood of the village would constitute the most appropriate organization. Thus, the village was artificially divided into seven sections, each having more or less the same number of households, and each electing a representative to serve on the temple's committee.

Before the division was finalized, different opinions were voiced on how to divide the village. Some suggested using lineage groups as the section units, while others preferred to use fangs (i.e., sub-lineages). It was finally agreed, however, that the sections should be based on

neighborhood groups instead of kinship affiliations. By so doing, each section could consist of more or less the same number of households; thus, no section would be conspicuously larger or smaller than the others. As a result, the village community was divided into seven sections, each containing roughly ten households when the system was first established.

Today, these sections are: (a) the Upper Ssu section, which coincides with the Upper Ssy lineage; (b) the Southern Ssu section, mainly those households that belong to the Southern Ssu lineage plus a few households of the third fang of the Chuang lineage; (c) the Other Surnames section, which contains those households with surnames other than Chuang and Ssu; (d) the Upper Road-East section, which includes the entire sixth fang and a few households of the Chuang lineage; (e) the Lower Road-East section, which has some members of the fifth and the entire seventh fang of the Chuang lineage; (f) the Upper Road-West section, which includes the Chiu households and some that belong to the third and eighth fangs of Chuang lineage; and (g) The Lower Road-West section, completely made up of third fang people of the Chuang lineage.

By having the entire community divided into these seven neighborhood sections, and by using the temple as the focus, the Ying-ting villagers have made a social network that can incorporate all the different lineages and surname

groups into a single unit. Furthermore, as it turned out, the dividing lines of such neighborhood sections cut across lineage and sub-lineage boundaries so that people can downplay lineage differences when it is necessary to mobilize the entire village as a group for certain common tasks.

The Chia-fu temple is tended daily by a hired keeper. His duties include burning incense in the mornings and evenings, cleaning the temple, and doing other sanitary work. The actual administrative power is in the hands of the committee members. As a group they supervise the temple property and decide the major expenditures of the public funds. The pot master, chosen annually on a rotating basis from one of the seven sections serves as the ceremonial host. His major responsibilities include such matters as setting up benches for meetings, setting up stages for shows in front of the temple, providing the offerings on various festival occasions, and collecting "head money" from the villagers should the administrative committee decide that more public funds are needed for certain temple affairs.

The pot master is chosen each year on a rotating principle. For example, if the present pot master is from the Southern Ssu Section, the next pot master is selected from one of the other six sections. In the third year, the pot master is chosen from one of the remaining give sections. When the seven-year rotating cycle is

completed, each section has the chance to be selected to furnish a pot master once again in the next seven-year cycle.

Once it is decided, through the divination blocks, that the pot master should be chosen from a particular section, a list of the names of all the heads of households in the chosen section is presented to the goddess. Divination blocks are cast for each name on the list and when the list is completed, the one receiving the highest number of points is the pot master for the coming year. The position of pot master does not entail any power nor much prestige. The person chosen, however, is considered to be favored by the goddess, and he and his household will be still more favorably protected or blessed by the goddess if he serves his position well.

Besides having a village-wide membership and equal participation by all village households, the temple also serves as the focus of village solidarity in the following ways:

1. The temple as a source for financial aid. Because of its public fund, the temple has been able to provide loans to some Ying-ting villagers. Currently, the temple has two types of loans. The first is administered under a quota system. An equal amount is allocated to each of the seven sections. In 1970, villagers in each section were entitled to borrow up to NT$10,000. The money is

assigned to the tou-chia of each section who is responsible for lending it to the membership households within his section and collecting interest from the borrower. Should the allotment not be sufficient to meet the demand for loans, a system of drawing lots is generally used to decide who will be lucky enough to get the loan. Should the allotment be larger than the demand, the remaining capital can be returned to the public fund or, if the tou-chia is willing, can be lent to someone from a section needing extra money for loans. The interest charged for such loans is the same as that charged by the credit bureau of the local Farmers' Association, both are lower than that of private loans. Therefore, it is rather rare for the allotment not to be lent out completely.

The second type of loan administrated by the temple can best be characterized as a ceremonial loan. The amount of the loan is small, and people who take it do not think the money itself will solve their financial problems. Rather, they consider it lucky money indicating that the goddess is protecting them and their family and that their farming or business adventures for the coming year will be successful.

The ceremonial loans are given out in the following fashion. On New Year's Day and on the birthday of the goddess, several bamboo poles are set up in front of the temple. On the end of each pole is a box of firecrackers

with fuses hanging out. According to the height of the boxes, different amount of money are assigned to each pole. The higher the box, the larger the amount of money it represents. On New Year's Day in 1970, for example, five poles were set up. The highest one represented NT$1,000. The four others represented NT$800, NT$600, NT$400, and NT$200, respectively. Villagers interested in getting the lucky money buy strings of firecrackers, light them, and throw them at the box. They aim the firecrackers at the fuses hanging from a box so that when they explode they can light the fuses and cause the firecrackers inside the box to explode. When a villager manages to do this, which usually takes a good many tries, he is entitled to borrow the money represented by that box for a year without any interest. Because such money is considered lucky money, and because it takes a certain skill to explode the box with an exploding string of firecrackers, many villagers compete for these "loans." The noise of exploding firecrackers often lasts the entire morning on these two occasions, making it sound more like a festival.

2. Kuan-yin as the guardian of the community. The village temple serves as a focus of village solidarity not only by serving as an activity center and providing financial aids but also by generating community solidarity psychologically. Like other peasants in rural Taiwan, the

people in Ying-ting believe that the deity enshrined at the temple is an emissary sent from Heaven to supervise and protect them. They believe that the deity commands five supernatural armies to guard the people and the village from all evil spirits. These five armies are stationed at five different "camps." The "central camp" is located right in front of the temple; the four other camps are located at the four corners of the village settlement and are named the North, South, East, and West Camp, respectively. In return for such protection, the villagers are expected to support the supernatural soldiers with food and money. The supplies are provided on the first and the fifteenth days of each lunar month. On these two occasions, each household is expected to bring food to the temple at the time set up by the pot master, usually in the early evening before supper. Each household sends someone, usually women or children, to carry the food in a ritual basket to the temple. When they arrive, they put the basket in the courtyard in front of the temple. Then a ceremony, which one writer has labelled "appreciating the soldiers" (Jordan 1972:51), is performed. A village priest presides over the ritual in the temple. He represents the entire village in offering food and money to the soldiers for the services that they have been providing to the villagers.

One of the conclusions that we can draw from the materials presented in this section is that the village

temple as a social institution provides a framework for the entire community to be integrated into a cooperative unit. It pulls the people from different kinship units into the temple community and serves as a social mechanism to promote interlineage relationships by providing common interests, e.g., the belief that the village is protected and supervised by a group of supernatural soldiers. Such a belief not only requires the villagers to participate in some village-wide ritual activities, but it also makes them aware that they are mutually responsible for each other's welfare. Should anyone fail to observe the ritual, he might annoy the deity and make it less willing to protect the community or even cause supernatural punishment. Thus, in a way, suchbelief does generate the villagers' interests in each other's behavior and conduct and eventually increases the intensity of their sense of "we-group."

CHAPTER SIX

THE IMPACT OF CONTROLLED IRRIGATION SYSTEM AND OTHER NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

As indicated in Chapter One, this dissertation is designed to be a trial application of the cultural-ecological approach to the study of a Taiwanese mixed-cropping village. In the previous chapters I have presented ethnographic information about the village so that I now can ascertain the degree to which the mixed-cropping system, first implemented by the Japanese Colonial Government in 1930 and then continued by the Nationalist Chinese Government, has affected other aspects of the village's sociocultural system.

Ideally, the best way to carry out an analysis of the impact of the mixed-cropping system would be to present a detailed description of life in Ying-ting before 1930, i.e., before the Chia-nan Irrigation System was completed and the mixed-cropping system was implemented, and then to contrast the past with the community's present situation. It would also be valuable to compare the Ying-ting peoples' ways of life with those of other Taiwanese peasant communities sharing the same cultural background but having different types of productive activities. Such a comparison would help us detect and isolate those social institutions directly related to and/or affected by

the mixed-cropping system.

Such an ideal procedure is not completely attainable, however. The difficulty lies in the limited information available about the history of this village and others in the same ecological area. All that is available are some very general sketches about the local agricultural practices. We know, for instance, that before the completion of the irrigation system, wet-rice could not be successfully cultivated and that most of the land was used for dryland crops, such as sweet potatoes, sugar cane, and dry-rice. Agriculturally, the area was less developed and its productivity lower than that in northern and central Taiwan where natural rainfall was, and is, rather evenly distributed throughout the year and irrigation facilities were already somewhat developed. We are also told that sugar manufacturing was one of the area's most important cottage industries as early as the seventeenth century when this part of Taiwan was colonized by the Dutch (cf. Chen 1955:3-8).

Aside from the generalities mentioned above, we really do not have much general information about this area let alone specific data directly relating to the community in question. Thus, it is rather difficult to do a before-and-after comparison of the effects of the irrigation system and the mixed-crop rotation system. On the other hand, we do have well-documented ethnographic information about Taiwanese peasant communities in which the mixed-crop rotation system is not practiced. Thus, it is possible to

compare Ying-ting village with those non-sugar cane farming communities and try to discover the sociocultural features specifically related to Ying-ting's particular mode of agricultural production.

Before I make such a comparison, however, I will present a hypothetical reconstruction of what might have happened to Ying-ting if the Japanese Government had simply provided the irrigation facility without directing its utilization. Although this is pure speculation, it provides a baseline against which I have matched actual ethnographic findings; and in matching the facts with hypothetical reconstructions, I have discovered discrepancies. After presenting these discrepancies in this chapter, I will discuss the factors which limited or modified the expected impact of the irrigation system.

I. The Possible Impact of the Chia-nan Irrigation System--A Conjectural Reconstruction[1]

Repeatedly, it has been demonstrated that social relationships of peasants and peasant communities are affected by the types of irrigation facilities available to them at different times and places (cf. Orenstein 1964; Pasternak 1968, 1972). Thus, it is reasonable to speculate on what

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[1]Although basically this section is a conjectural reconstruction of the possible sociocultural impacts of the irrigation system, it is based on many studies of Chinese peasantry. Therefore, it should not be considered as pure speculation but rather as a picture of what was likely to have developed under other conditions.

could have happened to the community organization of Ying-ting and other villages in the area had the Japanese Colonial Government constructed the Chia-nan Irrigation System in 1930 and refrained from regulating its usage. What impact would the provision of such a large irrigation system have brought to Ying-ting and the general area?

A. The Possible Impact on the Social Organization

As indicated in Chapter Three, the capacity of the Chia-nan Irrigation System is only sufficient to irrigate one-third of the farmlands in the plain. Thus, if the government had not regulated the distribution of the limited irrigation water, the most probable consequence would have been a heated competition for the water among communities and peasant households within each community. Ying-ting, only 40 kilometers from the Wu-shan-tou Reservoir, would be favorably located for tapping the water compared to communities further away. Proximity to the reservoir, however, would not automatically guarantee that the people in Ying-ting would get as much water as they wanted when they wanted it. The villagers would have to organize themselves to accomplish certain tasks in order to get the water they would need.

What would the villagers have to do in order to get the water? First, there would be the technical requirement; they would have to construct or expand and modify irrigation canals and ditches so that the water in the

main canal could be channeled to the fields where it was needed. Second, they would have to work out some way to reach an agreement with the neighboring communities regarding how each village would use the water. Third, within their own village they would also have to work out some schedule or rules to regulate each individual farmer's use of the water after it had been channeled into the village's territory.

In order to accomplish any or all of the above, the villagers in Ying-ting would have to organize themselves so that: (a) enough manpower could be mobilized to construct the irrigation works in a coordinated way; (b) the village as a group could negotiate with other communities regarding the inter-village distribution of irrigation water and, finally, (c) the internal distribution of water could be made in an orderly fashion.

Assuming that what I have stated above is a logical inference of what would have to be accomplished, the next question to ask is: what kind of social institution would the villagers in Ying-ting have been most likely to use when faced with the need to organize themselves? Given the fact that peasants in the area are migrants from southern Fukien where the lineage organization was highly developed and the sentiment for agnatic kinship was strong, it is likely that the people would have activated or intensified their agnatic ties and their lineage

organization to create the organizational framework needed for those cooperative tasks.[2]

A strong lineage organization could provide the leadership necessary for organizing and coordinating public works such as the construction and maintenance of small irrigation canals and ditches. Furthermore, by having a strong lineage constituted by a large majority of the village population, the Ying-ting villagers would also have a potentially strong, organized military unit. It is a well-documented fact that when Chinese settled in a frontier area where governmental control was neither strong nor effective, they tended to organize themselves into a cohesive lineage group to protect themselves (cf. Potter 1970:136-37). In Ying-ting's case, the lineage group could be utilized as a military unit to defend the villager's right to use the irrigation water and to cope with any possible encroachment by the people of other communities.

Up to this point I have discussed only what might have happened to the village as a unit. What about the intervillage relationships? Given that the people in the area would have to compete for the limited irrigation water, and assuming that each would try to maximize his

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[2]This inference is not a purely logical exercise of my own. In fact, M. Freedman, who specializes in the study of Chinese lineage organizations, made the same kind of inference when he was trying to explain why strong lineages are more frequently found in southern China than elsewhere. He suggested that lineages could establish a landed economic base by jointly carrying out land reclamation projects such as irrigation (cf. 1966:61).

share, it is quite reasonable to infer that there would have been a great deal of inter-village competition and conflict over the water, at least in the early stage of the irrigation system's completion. The inter-village conflicts could easily have resulted in feuds and wars between villages, especially between neighboring villages that had to draw their water from the same irrigation canal. In southern China, when lineage organization was strong and governmental control rather weak, feuds and wars between lineage groups were common. Of course, the causes of such feuds were diverse. According to Hsiao, however, "by far the most important and perhaps the most frequent cause was the disputes over the enjoyment of water right or control of flood water" (1960:419).

Intervillage warfare cannot be carried on constantly, however. From a long-term point of view, the people might eventually have realized that fighting not only failed to solve the conflict it also disrupted their daily activities, threatened their safety whenever they left the village, and interrupted their agricultural activities. If they had realized these major disadvantages, they might then have begun to search for some social institution that could resolve their conflicts, or some system for distributing the limited water resource so that armed conflicts could be minimized or completely avoided.

To carry such logical inferences one step further,

the next question would be: what kinds of social organizations would the people form to resolve inter-village conflicts? Based on our knowledge of traditional Chinese social organizations, we can postulate two possible institutions. First, the people could work out some fictive genealogical ties which would organize the various localized lineages into a clan. Second, they could develop some form of religious organization to unite the people from the different communities through common beliefs. For example, in K'un Shen, a fishing community a few miles from Ying-ting, Diamond found that "the strongest organizing force in the village was its main temple," which incorporated three of its neighboring localities into a single community unit (1969:78).

So far, I have briefly discussed what might have happened to the village's social organization and its inter-village relationships in its attempts to deal with the potential problems created by the introduction of the irrigation system. I will now turn to household organization and pursue the same kind of reasoning, i.e., would the provision of the irrigation system have affected the peasant's household organization? In what way?

Based on data collected from fifty-nine Indian villages, H. Orenstein found a statistical confirmation of his hypothesis that "villages which have more irrigation are the ones which have a lower percentage of joint families."

He further argued that "irrigation often accentuates the importance of cash crops and a money economy. Where income is primarily for direct consumption, the joint family stores its produce in one unit and uses it when needed. But when a large part of income is in cash, its joint use becomes complicated, and it is a fact that a number of joint families are divided because of quarrels over the disposition of money income" (1956:318-19). Although he considers Orenstein's stress on the divisive effect of irrigation and cash income on the joint family to be rather restrictive, Pasternak points out that there is some correlation between irrigation and the size of Chinese peasant families. Citing John L. Buck, Pasternak shows that the joint family was more frequently found in northern China where most of the cropping areas were not irrigated than in southern China where about half of the cropping areas were irrigated (cf. Pasternak 1972:53). Thus, although they do not agree on details, Orenstein and Pasternak concur that a negative correlation exists between the availability of irrigation and the frequency of joint families. To be more specific, both indicated that the provision of irrigation facilities to peasants has a divisive effect on the peasants' joint families.

Without disputing the validity of Orenstein's and Pasternak's positions, I would suggest that not only the irrigation facility itself but also the manner in which it

is acquired might have an impact on the peasants' household organization. I contend that if an irrigation facility were constructed, maintained, and regulated by a governmental agency, and the peasants themselves had no voice in deciding the ways in which the water was to be distributed, then the provision of irrigation might have divisive effects on the joint family in the ways suggested by Orenstein. On the other hand, if the irrigation facility was built and maintained by the peasants themselves without governmental interference, or if the water made available to the peasants was inadequate for each farm household's needs, then it would be advantageous for the peasants to maintain a joint family from which a large labor force could be mobilized to take care of the irrigation works and to compete for and safeguard the limited water source. Thus, if the Chia-nan Irrigation System had been "given" to the peasants for their maintenance and distribution, the joint family might well have become the predominant form of household organization because it would have been the most effective social institution under those ecological conditions.

Given the completion of the Chia-nan Irrigation System in 1930, assuming the absence of governmental regulation of its water, and acknowledging the available Chinese ethnographical information, I postulate that the following social phenomena might have occured: (a) in terms of household organization, the number of joint families

among the peasants might have increased. (b) In terms of the village's social organization, the lineage organization or some other type of large kinship unit, even a fictive one, might have developed and intensified to become the most important social group of the village community. (c) In terms of inter-village organization, a clan organization or a religious association, such as a temple organization, might have evolved to maintain peace and order among neighboring villages.

B. The Possible Impact on the Agriculgural Process and Other Economic Activities

As stated earlier, before the completion of the irrigation facility in 1930, the entire Chia-nan Plain of which Ying-ting is a part, could only be used for dryland crops. Changes in agricultural practices became a certainty when the irrigation system was completed. Before I inspect the changes that actually occurred, however, I will again post a hypotehtical situation as I did in the previous section: what might have happened to the agricultural practices and other economic activities of the Ying-ting people if the government had not implemented the crop rotation system and had simply allowed the peasants themselves to decide how to use the newly-completed irrigation facility?

Since rice has been the favorite food staple of people in southern China, it is rather safe to say that once irrigation was made available, the peasants in Taiwan would

have cultivated wet-rice which would have given them a much higher yield than dry rice or other dryland crops. Because the irrigation networks completed in 1930 could not supply water to the entire plain on a year-round basis, however, the cultivation of wet-rice would not have been a sweeping phenomenon. In fact, two-thirds of the farmlands in the plain could not have been irrigated in any given year, nor would each farming community necessarily have had even one-third of its land irrigated each year, since the peasants would have probably been competing for the water. Those communities that were living closer to the reservoir, those constructing better irrigation ditches, or those having a more effectively organized plan for distributing the water would have had more of their farmlands irrigated than the others.

Since I am not interested in the impact of irrigation on the entire Chia-nan Plain, I will narrow the focus to Ying-ting. Because it is approximately 40 kilometers south of the reservior and has the main canal running through the northern half of its field, Ying-ting would have been in a relatively advantageous position for attaining irrigation water. More than ten farming communities would have been using water from the canal before it reached Ying-ting, however, so the village's supply have been somewhat restricted. Although it is difficult to estimate the amount of water that would have been available, Ying-ting

would have had enough to irrigate approximately one-third of its fields, i.e., about 50 hectares. Working with the above estimate, we can now explore its effects on Ying-ting's agricultural practices. To begin with, we can assume that the limited amount of water would probably have been channeled into the fields located north of the village, those closest to the main canal. We can also be quite certain that these newly-irrigated fields would have been used primarily for wet-rice. The rest of the land would have been cultivated in more or less the same fashion as it had been before the construction of the irrigation system; sweet potatoes and sugar cane would have remained the dominant crops.

Although the limited irrigation made available would not have caused a complete change, its impact certainly would have been manifested in time. The irrigated lands might have undergone a change of ownership. Since their value would undoubtedly have increased, each peasant household would have wanted to acquire some of the land so it could cultivate all the rice it would need. Yet the average peasant would probably not have been able to afford the lands; they would have been bought by landlords and wealthy peasants. Some landlords, however, would probably have leased the lands rather than cultivate them on their own. Therefore, we could also expect an increased tenancy rate to accompany the gradual concentration of ownership into the hands of a few landlords.

Another eventual consequence of irrigation would have been a decrease in the total output of sugar cane from the area. Before irrigation, virtually all the lands in the area were used for dryland crops, such as sugar cane and sweet potatoes. After irrigation, part of the land formerly used for cane fields could be made into rice paddies. This transformation would have occurred not only in Ying-ting but also throughout the entire region.

The decrease of sugar cane production in turn would have affected the sugar industry, the most important cottage industry of the area. Less raw material would have been available for making sugar. As a result, one or both of the following conditions might have developed: (a) The industry would have suffered a cutback in production. (b) The owners of the sugar mills would have taken measures to counter the diminishing supply of raw material in order to maintain their industry. The first situation would most likely have occurred in the years immediately following the completion of the irrigation system. Since two-thirds of the farmlands in the Chia-nan Plain could not have been irrigated, peasants would have continued planting some cane, so the sugar industry could have been maintained. The owners of the mills, however, would never have been certain of the amount of raw materials they would receive each year. A look at the actual operation of the irrigation system would explain the reasons for this inevitable

problem.

The irrigation water made available to the peasants in the area is released from the Wu Shan T'ou reservoir. The volume of water stored in the reservoir varies according to the amount of rainfall the area annually receives. In the years when the rainfall is above average, the reservoir usually has more water to release than usual, and it releases it more frequently; therefore, more land in the entire area than usual is irrigated. In the years when the natural precipitation is less than average, the reservoir has less water to release and less land than usual is irrigated. Since the cultivation of wet-rice is virtually impossible in this area without a steady supply of irrigation water, a fluctuation in the availability of water means a variation in the amount of land suitable for wet-rice. Assuming that the peasants would have planted as much wet-rice as conditions allowed, the more water, the more rice, and the less cane. When less water was available, more cane would have been planted.

Under these conditions, the sugar manufacturers would have had to take some action to stabilize the supply of raw materials if they had wanted to maintain their industry as a viable enterprise. One of the most effective measures to accomplish such a goal would have been for them to acquire a large amount of land. By making themselves or their companies big landholders, the manufacturers could have been

certain that at least their own lands would be used for the production of sugar cane. If they had used this measure, a gradual and steady tendency toward the concentration of land in the hands of a few large sugar manufacturers could have easily resulted. If this had occurred, depending on the financial strength of the manufacturers, either of the following two consequences could have followed: (a) Some kind of plantation system would have developed in the area. After losing their lands to the capitalists, peasants would either have had to migrate or become plantation workers. (b) If the manufacturers did not have the financial strength to run and maintain a plantation, they might have leased land to the peasants under the condition that the tenants would plant a certain amount of sugar cane each year. Either way, the introduction of the irrigation system would have served as a triggering mechanism inducing a drastic change in the economic and social aspects of community life in the area.

These expected changes, i.e., the cultivation of wet-rice as a new crop, the reduction of sugar cane production, and the possible reactions of the sugar manufacturers, would in turn have induced changes in other aspects of the peasants' lives. I feel it unwise to continue to extend such hypothetical reconstructions, however, because the more we do so the further we move from the "cultural core" (Steward 1955:37) of this area. We would soon be dealing with a

great number of variables, which would certainly make our reconstruction a more difficult task and lessen the chances for the hypothesis to be correct. I will now examine, therefore, what actually happened after 1930 and determine the discrepancies between the reality of the situation and my hypothetical reconstructions, so that I can try to discover some answers to account for the differences.

II. The Actual Impact of the Chia-nan Irrigation System--an Historical Reconstruction.

When Japan acquired Taiwan in 1895, her major plan for the development of the new colony could be summed up in two words: agricultural Taiwan. Under such a guideline, the Colonial Government wasted no time in carrying out this economic policy. Soon after its occupation, it sent teams of agricultural experts to different sections of the island to study the agricultural conditions and potentials. A special investigation of the future outlook for the development of the Taiwanese sugar industry was entrusted to Dr. Ianzo Nitobe, who eventually presented a report in 1901. In his report, Dr. Nitobe recommended, among other measures, that the irrigation facilities of the Chia-nan Plain be expanded so that more and better sugar cane could be produced (cf. Gradjdanv 1942:58). Based on this recommendation, the construction of the Chia-nan Irrigation System was launched in 1920 and completed ten years later.

After the irrigation system was completed, the

so-called "sugar-cane, wet-rice, sweet potato mixed-crop rotation system" was implemented which, in turn, changed the area's agricultural practices. Although the irrigation construction did not turn the plain completely into a sugar cane cropping region, as far as the Japanese authority was concerned, it had achieved its primary goal. It had increased the production of sugar cane but had not irrigated the plain to such an extent that wet-rice could become the major crop.[3]

The Chia-nan Irrigation System was a government project. All of the construction, including the building of the reservoirs, canal networks, and even the ditches that connected the farmlands with the canal, were done by work teams organized and supervised by government agencies.

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[3]At first glance, the construction of the irrigation system seems to be detrimental to the Government's intention of increasing the sugar cane production in the area. By providing the irrigation water, the government was letting one-third of the Chia-nan Plain be used for wet-rice. Thus, in a sense, the completion of the irrigation system reduced the area cultivated with sugar cane. However, the irrigation system not only supplies water to the rice zones each year, it also provides periodical irrigation to the cane fields at the same time. Such occasional irrigation, not available before the irrigation system was completed, greatly increased the unit production of sugar cane. According to C. S. Chen's calculation, in 1920-21 each hectare of cane field could only produce 25,482 kilograms of sugar cane on the average, while after the irrigation water was supplied in 1930, the output was increased to 68,325 kilograms per hectare. Therefore, although the size of the cane fields was decreased, the provision of periodical irrigation and better seeds drastically increased the unit productivity and the total output of sugar cane from this region (cf. Chen 1950:7).

Peasants were not involved in the planning or the construction, except those who worked as wage laborers in the construction crews. Once the construction was completed, the control of the water's distribution and the maintenance of the irrigation networks were in the hands of the officials of the Chia-nan Irrigation Association, which was made up mainly by government officials, a few big landlords, and some representatives of the sugar manufacturers. Therefore, the construction process and the maintenance of the system did not stimulate the peasants to develop any kind of social institution as I projected would have happened if there had been no government organization. All the peasants had to do was to pay a fee levied according to the amount of their landholding. Therefore, the impact of the irrigation system, as far as the Ying-ting villagers were concerned, was limited to the establishment of the mixed-crop rotation system and the economic changes the system inevitably caused.

A. The Institutionalization of the Crop Rotation System

When the irrigation system was completed, the rigid control of the irrigation water left the peasants no choice but to follow the agricultural schedule prescribed by the allocation of water. As indicated in Section II, Chapter Three, during the three-year crop rotating cycle, peasants can plant only wet-rice when their lands are supplied with the irrigation water. They have to plant sugar cane the next

year when the land is irrigated periodically. After the cane is harvested, they have to plant sweet potatoes and dry-rice because no irrigation water from the networks is suplied to their fields.

Although the government has claimed that peasants are free to use their land for any crop they would like to grow, the control of the irrigation water has been a very effective measure in regulating, actually dictating, the so-called crop rotation system. Although most peasants would like to plant wet-rice all the time, the crop cannot be grown when there is not sufficient irrigation. When the land is being periodically irrigated, the peasants do not have to use their land for sugar cane farming; they are, theoretically, free to use if for sweet potatoes or other dryland crops (wet-rice is out of the question because periodical irrigation is insufficient for its cultivation.) But, the return from sweet potatoes is usually smaller than that for sugar cane and the work is more complicated; therefore, sugar cane is frequently chosen during this period. When the sugar cane is harvested it marks the last phase of the rotation cycle, and no irrigation is given during this year; thus, only sweet potatoes and dry-rice can be planted because they are two of the crops that can more or less be successfully grown without any irrigation except natural precipitation.

By now it should be rather clear that the completion

of the irrigation system and the implementation of the rotating irrigation schedule had brought about a high conformity to the crop rotation system, which, in a sense, took away the peasants' freedom to decide the usage of their own land. In the meantime, it gave the Japanese-owned sugar companies a fairly stabilized supply of sugar cane because, based on the rotation system, the companies could forecast how many hectares of land would be planted with sugar cane each year and make their production plans accordingly.

B. The Change of Land Ownership

Another actual impact of the irrigation system and the rotation schedule was the shuffling of land ownerships. When the "small area" system was established, the fields owned and cultivated by Ying-ting villagers were made into one "small area" named the "Ying-ting Small Area" by the Irrigation Association. Like other "small areas," it was subdivided into three cropping zones. When the dividing lines of the cropping zones were drawn, the only concern the officials in charge had was to equalize the size of the three zones at 50 hectares each. As a result, many villagers' lands were located in only one cropping zone. This posed a rather serious problem for full-time farmers. Having all of their lands in a single cropping zone under the rotating irrigation system meant that they would have to plant the crops, and only the crops amenable to the irrigation schedules of that particular year. For example, if a farmer had

all his lands in Zone I and it was designated the sugar cane zone for a particular year, he would have no other feasible choice but to plant all his lands with sugar cane. Since sugar cane takes eighteen months to mature, he would have no income from any of his land during this period. He would also have to depend on the market for all the food his family would need during this period. Furthermore, when the sugar cane was growing, it would have required little attention. Thus, if all of his lands were planted with sugar cane, he would face a long slack season and suffer the consequence of seasonal underemployment.

Under the rotating system then, it was advantageous for a full-time peasant to have his lands divided into the three zones as evenly as possible, because he could then diversify his cropping practices and use his labor forces efficiently. As a matter of fact, the Japanese authority foresaw this potential problem and launched a campaign to encourage peasants to exchange lands with their fellow villagers (Yanaihara 1957:133). Consequently, there was a shuffling of land ownership among the peasants in the area. This was accomplished not only by a process of direct, voluntary exhange, but also through the process of selling and buying lands. Unfortunately, I do not have a record showing how such an exchange process actually took place in Ying-ting. The land records I was able to obtain in 1970, however, can illustrate the advantage of having lands in

each of the three cropping zones. As shown in Table 10, of the 26 households classified as full-time peasant households, i.e., those depending solely on farming for their income, 22 have lands distributed in each of the three cropping zones. Of the 41 households that derive their major income from non-agricultural sources, most of them either have no land at all or have land in only one of the cropping zones (19 of these 41 households have no land, and 21 of them have lands located in one cropping zone). Clearly, all farming households that wish to sustain themselves solely from agricultural activities have to have land distributed in all of the cropping zones. Therefore, we are not too far off the target in saying that when the Chia-nan Irrigation System and the rotating irrigation schedule were being implemented there was a shuffling of land ownership mainly because of the peasants' need to maintain some diversity of their agricultural practices and to make best use of their labor forces.

C. The Increase of Occupational Diversity

The information presented in Table 10 suggests another consequence of the irrigation system and the rotating cropping practice--the increase of occupational diversity. As I indicated earlier, when these systems were being implemented, the government encouraged peasants to exchange their lands among themselves so that more of them could have lands in each of the cropping zones (cf. Yanaihara 1957:133).

Table 10

Major Sources of Household Income and the Distribution of Landholdings in the Three Cropping Zones in Ying-ting, 1970

Distribution of Landholding / Major Sources of Household Income	All Land Located in One Cropping Zone	Land Distributed in Two Cropping Zones	Land Distributed in Three Cropping Zones	Owns No Land	Total
Farming	0	4	22	0	26
Farming & Wages Earned as Agricultural Laborer	34	23	6	0	63
Farming & Wages Earned as Skilled Laborer	5	1	1	0	7
Farming & Wages Earned as Store Clerk	2	2	1	0	5
Farming and Business	0	0	4	0	4
Farming & Salary Earned as Government Worker	2	3	8	0	13
Agricultural Laborer	7	0	0	7	14
Factory Worker	5	0	0	1	6
Business	4	1	0	5	10
Government Worker	0	0	0	1	1
Rent, Remittance & Other Sources	5	0	0	5	10
Totals	64	34	42	19	159

My land records show, however, that some Ying-ting farmers failed to acquire lands in all of the zones and faced seasonal underemployment when their lands were planted with sugar cane. Assuming that most villagers would try to maximize their economic gains, it is likely that these underemployed peasants tried to find income from nonagricultural sources. Consequently, their search would have increased the occupational diversity of the village population.

Again, I do not have the actual historical record showing the extent to which the village's occupational structure was diversified as a result of implementation of the irrigation system. An examination of the present occupational structure as discussed in Chapter Four and presented in Table 10, however, shows a high correlation between having nonagricultural sources of income and not having lands in all of the cropping zones. Of the 70 households that have incomes from nonagricultural sources (this includes all the sources listed in Table 10 except "farming" and "farming and agricultural labor"), only 14 of them have land in the three cropping zones.

This correlation is strengthened by examining those 14 households that seem to be an exception. All of them own more than 1.15 chia of land. In other words, they are relatively well-off in terms of the size of their landholding and can still support themselves by the income they

earn from farming alone. Their nonagricultural activities can be considered as attempts to diversify the economic basis of their households. This has been a common pattern for upwardly mobile families in Chinese rural communities. Well-to-do peasants frequently are quite willing to invest in the education of their sons so that the sons can have a chance to acquire a nonagricultural occupation, thus expanding and diversifying the economic basis of their families. Therefore, the nonagricultural occupations of the fourteen families are not so much directly related to the particular agricultural pattern of the area as they are examples of the upward mobility of wealthy peasants. Furthermore, the types of nonagricultural occupations that characterize these well-to-do families differentiate them from peasants forced to seek nonagricultural employment in order to support themselves. The former usually hold professional or semi-professional jobs; the latter usually find work in non-skilled labor or service occupations. For example, in eight of these well-to-do families, one of their family members is a government employee; in another four, one of the members is a businessman. Regardless of the implementation of the rotating cropping system then, these fourteen families would have had some of their family members enter a nonagricultural occupation. As relatively well-to-do peasants, they have the financial resources and social connections to send some of their children to school

for higher education or find them semi-professional jobs.

If there had not been the rotation irrigation and cropping system and the consequential seasonal underemployment in agriculture, however, the remaining 56 households that now hold nonagricultural occupations would not all have sought and held their nonagricultural employment. I was told by many peasants in this group that their family members who now hold nonagricultural positions were more or less forced to seek such employment. Although most of them were glad and proud that they had acquired their nonagricultural jobs, they indicated that if things had not been as "bad," they would not have tried to find nonagricultural occupations. It is in this particular sense that I say that the particular agricultural pattern of Ying-ting has significantly diversified the village's occupational structure.

III. Ying-ting, Hsin Hsing, and K'un Shen--A Comparison of Three Taiwanese Peasant Communities

In this section I will briefly compare Ying-ting and two other Taiwanese peasant communities, Hsin Hsing and K'un Shen, to show that their different ecological adaptations have little impact on their sociocultural systems. These three peasant communities have a great deal in common despite the fact that Hsin Hsing is basically a wet-rice cultivating village and K'un Shen is a fishing community. We will see that the only significant differences we can detect

in these three communities are the ones directly related to their different economic activities.

The information on Hsin Hsing is based on Gallin's study (1966) of the village conducted in 1957-58, while that on K'un Shen is drawn form Diamond's (1969) study carried out in 1961-62.

A. A Brief Introduction to Hsin Hsing and K'un Shen

Hsin Hsing is an agricultural village on the west coast of central Taiwan. It is about 150 kilometers north of the Chia-nan Plain on which Ying-ting is located. In 1958, there were 657 persons registered in 115 households as Hsin Hsing residents (Gallin 1966:29). Of these 115 households, 90 were actually engaged in farming and were totally or partially dependent on income from agricultural sources (Ibid:107). Like the people living in Ying-ting, K'un Shen, and many other Taiwanese villages, Hsin Hsing villagers are the descendants of migrants who came across the Taiwan Strait from southern Fukien in the late eighteenth century. The most important crop cultivated by the Hsin Hsing villagers is wet-rice. Two crops of wet-rice and one crop of wheat, sweet potatoes, or some other crop are cultivated each year (Ibid:48-49).

K'un Shen is located fourteen kilometers southwest of Tainan, approximately 38 kilometers southwest of Ying-ting. It is a community of more than 3,000 inhabitants.

Its most important economic activity is sea fishing (Diamond 1969:11). Based on Diamond's sampling of one section of the community, 146 households and 970 persons, the majority of the adults (185 males and 146 females) listed fishing as their major source of income. Many households in K'un Shen have other sources of income, however. Some have factory jobs, some are day laborers, and a few hold various white-collar or professional jobs (Ibid:11). A few households in K'un Shen also do some farming but farming, according to Diamond, is "limited to sweet potato and brushwood used as fuel, and both of which are for household consumption" (Ibid:18).

Of course, we cannot present too much information about these two villages in this context. However, the information presented above is adequate to serve as a point of departure. From the above we know: (a) The people living in Ying-ting, Hsin Hsing, and K'un Shen are all descendants of migrants from south Fukien. In other words, their forbears came over to Taiwan with the same cultural background. (b) The basic economic activities found in these two communities are quite different from that of the Ying-ting village. Hsin Hsing is basically a rice farming village while K'un Shen is a fishing community and Ying-ting is a mixed-cropping village.

B. Kinship and Family Organization in Ying-ting, Hsin Hsing and K'un Shen

1. Lineage organization. I will begin the comparison by focusing on what are generally believed to be the most distinctive features of Chinese society; the patrilineal kinship organization and the family system. As indicated earlier, Ying-ting has three lineages, one comprising the majority of the village population (i.e., 64.4 percent). This lineage, the Chuang, also has all the material attributes, such as corporate land holdings, an ancestral hall, and the genealogical records, that a strong lineage organization usually has. Despite these attributes, the Chuang lineage in Ying-ting is a far cry from the strong lineages in traditional China (cf. Liu-Wang:1959). It no longer serves as an agency of social control and it no longer is the basic social framework used to coordinate its members' activities. This is not to say that the lineage organization has ceased to exist or has completely lost its social functions in Ying-ting. For one thing, the lineage organization, as found in Ying-ting today, is still functioning as a ceremonial group, through which the ancestral worship ceremonies are organized and conducted.

In brief, lineage as a social institution still exists in Ying-ting, but most of its traditional, sociopolitical functions have been lost. Occasionally, attempts have been made by people contending in local elections to activated lineage sentiments. However, lineage membership

by itself can no longer be counted on to automatically deliver people's support. It can only be used as a base upon which other relationships can be developed and people's allegiance secured.

The same situation has been observed both in Hsin Hsing and K'un Shen. Gallin points out that "in Hsin Hsing the tsu, in terms of its actual activities, is very clearly a ceremonial group" (1966:134). He has also observed that some member families of the Hsin Hsing village tsu did occasionally band together in village sociopolitical activities (Ibid:135).

In K'un Shen, the deterioration of lineage organization is even more evident. The lineage organizations (which Diamond also calls tsu) "function mainly as religious cults, which have become potentially open to those outside of the descent system--membership is not strictly limited to those tracing descent from a common ancestor" (Diamond 1969:68).

Although the people of Ying-ting, Hsin Hsing, and K'un Shen are from an area of China where lineage organization and its sociopolitical functions were highly elaborated, the lineages in these three communities are quite different from those in their homeland. What is responsible for the decay or lack of development of lineage organizations in these rural communities of Taiwan? It cannot be directly related to the types of economic activities of Taiwanese peasants, because until 1950, the general pattern of economic

activity on both sides of the Taiwan Strait was largely the same, i.e., a subsistence economy. Yet, the lineage organizations in Taiwan had already eroded to a certain extent by 1950. Therefore, the answer must lie outside the rural community. It seems to be the change of the political system in Taiwan that brought about the decay of the lineage organizations or prevented their development.

We know that in traditional China, lineage organizations were most elaborate and active in places where the central government's control was weakest (cf. Potter 1970: 135-36). In such areas, peasants had to depend on themselves for protection from outside encroachments and for regulation of their community's internal affairs. Thus, lineage organizations acquired important military, political, economic, and social functions in addition to their ceremonial ones. Logically, then, if other conditions are equal, in areas where the governmental control is strong, the people will have little incentive to maintain a strong lineage organization because its sociopolitical functions would have been taken over by the government. This seems to be exactly what happened to the lineages in Ying-ting, Hsin Hsing, K'un Shen, and other Taiwanese communities. Ever since the Japanese consolidated their control over Taiwan in the late nineteenth century, their administrative apparatus had descended to the village level and assumed most of the sociopolitical functions lineages had been performing. Needless

to say, this created a severely adverse effect on lineage organization. Moreover, when the Nationalist Chinese Government took control of Taiwan in 1945, and changed the administrative system, the influence of governmental control on the rural population intensified. Lineage organization has been further eroded by the recent changes in the socio-economic conditions of Taiwan. For example, the Land Reform Program promulgated in 1952-53 prohibited lineages from holding corporate estates which virtually annihilated their financial base.

To return to the point of my discussion, what I have shown above is that despite the different productive activities found in Ying-ting, Hsin Hsing, and K'un Shen, the lineage organizations in these three communities have either deteriorated or never had the chance to become highly developed primarily because of the sociopolitical systems in which they have existed. In Fukien, before 1949, the national administrative apparatus never really penetrated to the local level. Communities in Taiwan, however, were first penetrated by the Japanese Colonial Government in the late nineteenth century and then by the Nationalist Chinese Government in 1945. Both of these governments made it a policy to incorporate rural communities, such as the three villages I am discussing, into the national political system to make the rural population more responsive to national policy.

In the beginning of this chapter, I postulated that

if the government had let the peasants in the Chia-nan area regulate the distribution of irrigation water by themselves, the lineage organizations in Ying-ting might have been activated and intensified to meet the needs of administrative tasks. Such is not the case, however. The government's agencies regulated irrigation, and the lineages in Ying-ting missed a chance to become strong and effective social institutions.

The same situation can also be postulated for the lineages in Hsin Hsing. As in Ying-ting, irrigation, the most important factor for successful agricultural production is controlled by a semi-official irrigation association. If the Hsin Hsing villagers had been left to manage and maintain their own irrigation facility, it is likely that they would have activated and intensified their lineage (tsu) organizations to meet the needs of maintaining the irrigation facility.

Thus, although ecological conditions (in this case, the irrigation facility and its maintenance and regulation) could have provided a chance for a social institution (the lineage) to emerge and develop, sociopolitical conditions (the state's administrative policy) eliminated the chance. Specifically, the particular ecological conditions of Ying-ting and Hsin Hsing could have encouraged strong lineage organizations, thereby making these organizations somewhat different from those in Taiwanese communities with different

ecological systems, such as K'un Shen. The national political system, however, diverted the potential ecological consequences, so the lineage organizations in these three communities have shared the same fate.

2. Family organization. Having examined the lineages, I will now turn to the family (household) organization. Despite the fact that most villagers in these three communities consider the extended family to be their ideal, the conjugal family (which Diamond refers to as the "nuclear family") is the most prevalent type in all three villages. In Ying-ting 87 of its 159 households (or 54.7 percent) are conjugal. In Hsin Hsing, 66 percent of the households are conjugal. In K'un Shen, of the 146 households surveyed by Diamond (about one-third of the total) 89 were nuclear families (61 percent), 45 were stem families, and 12 were what Diamond labels "more complex families" (Diamond 1966: 104). Diamond also observes that in the entire K'un Shen community, "the majority of villagers live in households of nuclear families, or variants on the nuclear family, or in a stem family" (1969:63).

The high percentage of conjugal families in these three villages is also found in other Chinese peasant communities. Writers on Chinese rural society have often noted that peasant households are small and primarily conjugal. Although many Chinese peasants still subscribe to the Confucian ideal of the extended family, few have

managed to realize the ideal.

Many theories have been formulated by Chinese anthropologists to explain why peasants have failed to form extended families. Of all of them, the one proposed by Fei drives close to the heart of the issue. According to Fei, given both the type of technology that Chinese peasants have and the small size of their farms, the extended family as a social institution, does not increase the efficiency of their productive tasks nor does it offer more economic advantages than a conjugal family. Thus, the peasants are not willing to try to maintain the extended family and face the problems it can involve, such as conflicts between siblings and strife among in-laws (Fei 1939:170-71). Fei's argument supports the contention that when a certain sociocultural institution stemming from the elite sector of the population fails to be ecologically adaptive in a peasant community, it will not penetrate into the peasants' ways of life, or it will not, at the very least, be accepted by the majority of the peasants.

To show that the extended family is not an ecologically adaptive institution, or to show that its advantages are frequently overpowered by the conflicts it brings with it, let us look at the issue from another angle. What are the advantages an extended family can generate? First of all, it gives the family a good name, a position of prestige, because it represents the fullfillment of a

culturally defined ideal. Second, it provides chances for cooperation among adult siblings in their economic pursuits.

Will these two advantages be completely lost when the extended family is divided or a potential extended family is not allowed to become one by early division? No, not completely. As I observed in Ying-ting, Gallin in Hisin Hsing (1966:145) and Diamond in K'un Shen (1969:63), after a family divides, the brothers usually live in close proximity to one another, and "since they are both relatives and neighbors, such families may also continue mutual aid and cooperate with one another in everyday tasks" (Gallin 1966: 145). In other words, given the settlement pattern, the division of an extended family or the prevention of a potential extended family does not necessarily entail the loss of the chance for the borthers to cooperate with each other. In fact, it is my observation that borthers tend to cooperate somewhat better after they have been divided and each has his own household, for the division usually removes potential conflicts.

I can summarize my discussion of family organization with the following: (a) Despite their different economic activities, peasants in Ying-ting, Hsin Hsing, and K'un Shen cherish and subscribe to the Confucian ideal of the extended family. They have the same ideal because they share in the same Great Tradition and have the same desire to imitate the elite style of life; in this case, to have the type

of family that the Chinese gentry have. (b) Although they all subscribe to this cultural ideal, few live in extended families. I have tried to explain this phenomenon by pointing out that the advantages an extended family offers, i.e., family fame and the chance for sibling cooperation, are either overshadowed by its built-in potentiality for conflicts or found in another context, i.e, by having the siblings live close to each other after the family division.

C. Production Organization and Occupational Structure in Ying-ting, Hsin Hsing, and K'un Shen

Since each of these villages has a different economic basis, it is to be expected that their production organizations and occupational structures will differ. The purpose of this section is to examine these differences and to indicate the extent to which the unique economic basis of each village has affected its production organization.

1. Production organization. Although K'un Shen is a fishing village while Hsin Hsing and Ying-ting are agricultural communities, households are the most important economic units in all three villages. In K'un Shen, one household usually owns and operates a fishing raft or cultivates a fish pond. In Hsing Hsing and Ying-ting, the members of a household usually provide most of the labor required for their farms' daily tasks. However, some productive tasks demand additional help or special equipment.

It is through these requirements for extra-household help that differences among the three villages emerge.

In K'un Shen, when villagers engage in beach seining to catch sardines and mullets during the winter season, they must organize themselves into work teams larger than ordinary household units. With beach seining, "a large working force is required for this net--at least fifty persons to haul from the beach, and another five persons on a raft to spread the net on the water" (Diamond 1966:51). For fishing the mullets in the winter season, rafts are usually organized into teams to accomplish different but complementary tasks (Ibid:52). Although it is not clearly indicated, judging from the context, these work teams are organized on a voluntary basis by households closely associated with one another.

In Hsin Hsing, farmers frequently need extra laborers, usually to help cultivate rice. These laborers are commonly hired on a cash basis or through a labor-exchange arrangement for plowing the fields, transplanting the rice, and especially for harvesting the rice. The additional laborers are hired primarily from the peasants' own village or the immediately surrounding areas. As a rule, those villagers who have little or no land of their own are the ones to work for other villagers for the wages. Moreover, there are rice harvest teams, each made up by ten persons that hire themselves out solely for the purpose of rice harvesting (Gallin

1966:64-65).

Hsin Hsing's farmers and K'un Shen's fishermen have sole authority, at least theoretically, in deciding how many helping hands they need, whom they want to hire or work with, and the wages they are willing to pay. They not only have the right to make such decisions, they also have the right to expect to be satisfied with the work done by their hired helpers or fellow workers. They enjoy, at least nominally, the right to supervise the work done by the hired workers.

What has been said about the voluntarily organized work teams found in Hsin Hsing and K'un Shen can also describe the rice cultivation workers of Ying-ting. As has already been shown, however, Ying-ting is not primarily a rice-cultivating village like Hsin Hsing; it grows other crops such as sugar cane, and it is in the cultivation of sugar cane that differences emerge in the ways that production units are organized. As described in Chapter Three, to assure that the amount of sugar cane harvested each day will match the grinding capacity of its local refinery, the Taiwan Sugar Company has made the cane farmers agree to let a sugar cane harvest team, organized and supervised by the local representative of the Company, harvest the cane planted by each individual farmer. In other words, the cane farmers in Ying-ting have no right to decide when their crops shall be harvested or which persons they would like to

hire to help them harvest. Although they are responsible for footing the bill of the labor costs, cane farmers have lost all their rights in deciding the rate of wages and in organizing and supervising the harvest team working for them.

Clearly, when a villager in Hsin Hsing and Ying-ting engages non-household members to work for him in the rice fields, he does so primarily because his household cannot supply all the laborers he needs or because he does not have the necessary equipment. On the other hand, when a cane farmer in Ying-ting hires the cane harvest team to work for him, he does so not primarily because he lacks manpower and equipment, but because he is forced to by the Taiwan Sugar Company's determination to maintain efficiency in its local refinery's operations.

Since all the cane is harvested solely for the purpose of making sugar, it is of vital importance that the cane be harvested when it has the highest sugar content. In other words, the timing of the cutting will decide, to a very large extent, how much sugar can be made from the cane. Thus, from the Company's point of view, it would be wasteful to let the farmers cut their own cane at their convenience. Furthermore, the refineries would have trouble operating if each farmer could decide his time for harvesting. Some days they could be stacked with more cane than they could grind, while other days they could receive less cane than they needed to keep the machinery working. Therefore, to protect

its own interests, the company took from the peasants the right of cane harvesting.

The discussion above shows that not only do different productive tasks require different types of labor organizations but also that the ways in which crops are utilized require particular labor arrangements.

2. Occupational structure. Although I have labelled Ying-ting as a sugar cane farming village, Hsin Hsing as a rice cultivating village, and K'un Shen as a fishing village, their economic activities are not as limited as these name tags might suggest. In Chapter Four, I detailed the rather diversified occupational structure of Ying-ting. Even with a set of rather broad categories, I found that the major sources of the 159 households' incomes could be divided into eleven categories and that five of the eleven were completely unrelated to farming (see Table 3).

The same occupational structure is found in K'un Shen, though its diversity is less than Ying-ting's. Based on the sample that Diamond took from one section of her village, the occupational list contains the following categories in addition to fishing: "fish sellers," "merchants and peddlers," "farmers," "factory or shop jobs," "day laborers," and various kinds of "white-collar or professional jobs" (1969:11). Furthermore, Diamond points out that most families in the village depended on incomes from several jobs.

At first glance, Hsin Hsing appears to have an even

less diversified occupational structure. Of its 99 residential households, 90 are classified as farming families. However, the reality is more complicated than the high percentage of farming families suggests. Gallin has pointed out that agriculture provides only 65 percent of the village's income; the rest comes from nonagricultural sources (1966:35). What are these sources? We are told that due to the rapid population growth, the people do not have enough land to support themselves, and that "there has been little development of any kind of important local industry" in this area (1966:37). As a consequence, peasants in Hsin Hsing have to migrate to the cities to find employment which will supplement the inadequate income of their agricultural activities. It is because most of the nonagricultural incomes in Hsin Hsing is earned in the cities by migrants that the village's occupational list is so limited.

From the information reviewed above, I conclude that as far as occupational diversity is concerned, no critical difference exists among these three villages. Of course, it is true that the details of these villages' occupational lists differ to some degree, but the fact that none of these peasant communities has a simple economic gasis remains indisputable. Having established this fact, I will now discuss the factors leading to the relatively high occupational diversity in the three villages. As I will show in the following paragraphs, this shared diversity has been prompted

by different, or at least partially different, factors in each village.

a. Ecological factors. As I have indicated in Chapter Four, Ying-ting's rather high occupational diversity is partially related to its local ecological conditions, i.e., the natural environment and the resultant farming pattern. Because two of the three major crops culitvated in Ying-ting are either of low cash value, i.e., sweet potatoes, or take a long time to mature, i.e., sugar cane, the peasants have been forced to seek other sources of income to support their families during the long slack season when their lands are occupied by sweet potatoes and sugar cane.

Fishermen in K'un Shen also have a rather long slack season during which they cannot actively engage in their major income-producing activity--fishing. According to Diamond, "the fishing season begins in the tenth lunar month (late November) and continues into the third or fourth lunar month. There is little fishing done during the summer, because of typhoons and unsuitable prevailing winds" (1969:12). Thus, for six months fishing cannot be actively pursued in K'un Shen because of the local ecological conditions. Most of the fishermen have to find other sources of income during this slack season (cf. Ibid:20).

Although other factors exist, Ying-ting's and K'un Shen's long slack seasons should be considered one of the prime factors forcing the villagers to find additional

income-producing activities. It is in this particular sense that I can say that the ecological factors of the two communities have an impact on their occupational structures.

b. Demographic factors. Along with the ecological factors, Taiwan's increasing population also seems to have had an impact on the diversification of the occupational structures in the rural communities. During the past few decades, the population of Taiwan has increased to more than twice of its original number. In 1945, Taiwan had a population of six million. By 1965, the figure had jumped to 12,628,000. The drastic increase was an island-wide phenomenon, happening not only in the urban centers but also in the rural communities. For example, Gallin has observed that "the population of Hsin Hsing was sparse in the early part of the twentieth century. There seems to have been a substantial population increase in the relatively prosperous late 1920's and 1930's, and especially in the postwar period after the social order had been re-established" (1966:29).

Although I do not have figures from Ying-ting that correspond exactly to the years 1945 and 1965, the general trend undoubtedly would also be found there. In 1950, the village had a population of 947 persons; in 1970 it had 842. At first glance, these figures seem directly to counter the point I am trying to make. However, over these twenty years, 361 villagers moved from Ying-ting migrating to various cities in Taiwan. Thus, if we add these 361 persons

to the actual residents of Ying-ting in 1970, the total population of the village would have been 1,203 instead of 842. In other words, over these twenty years the village would have had an increase of 256 persons.

According to the data published by the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (1966), Taiwan's agricultural land did not increase in proportion to its population's increase. In 1950, Taiwan had an agricultural population of 3,998,000 which rose to 5,738,000 by 1965--an increase of 43.52 percent (3,998,000=100 percent). On the other hand, Taiwan had a cultivated area of 870,000 hectares in 1950, which was expanded to 890,000 hectares in 1965--an increase of only 2.3 percent (870,000=100 percent). Since the increase in population was not accompanied by a proportional increase in arable land, more and more peasants in rural Taiwan, such as those in Hsin Hsing and Ying-ting, must have experienced a problem of the diminishing availability of land (cf. Gallin 1966:35). As a consequence, more and more peasants would have had to either migrate to urban centers to seek nonagricultural jobs or stay in their villages and have some of their family members find nonagricultural sources of income in the immediate area. Demographic pressures, then, must have had a certain influence on the occupational structures of all Taiwanese rural communities.

c. Industrial development as a factor. Although the population's expansion prompted peasants in rural communities

to seek nonagricultural employment, their success in such attempts depended upon the available opportunities. The rapid industrial development of Taiwan in the past two decades provided those opportunities.

Generally speaking, industrialization draws peasants from their communities to the big cities where industry and other businesses are expanding. For example, in 1958, approximately one hundred Hsin Hsing villagers were either working or doing business in Taipei (Gallin 1966:121-22), and, by the end of the 1960's, the number of Hsin Hsing migrants in Taipei had jumped to 446 persons (Gallin & Gallin 1974:343). Likewise, over the last twenty years, 361 Ying-ting villagers have migrated either to Kaoshiung, Taipei, or Tainan to assume various jobs. In some cases, industrialization can also bring opportunities to rural communities, enabling the peasants and their family members to find jobs without having to move from their villages. Since I am mainly concerned with the increasing occupational diversity within the rural communities, I will concentrate on the opportunities "brought" to the peasants.

Ever since the late 1960's when the weaving industry began to expand, an increasing number of factories were established in Chia-li, Hsueh-chia, as well as Tainan, all of which were within commuting range of the Ying-ting villagers. Thus, once the villagers could find non-agricultural employment and retain their village residence, their

village's occupational list changed to a certain extent. For example, most of the 29 male and 38 female residents in Ying-ting who were classified as factory workers (see Table 5 and Table 6) would not have gotten their jobs in there had not been industrial development in areas close to the village. The same situation seems to have happened in K'un Shen. According to Diamond's sample, though only eight women were listed in the official household record as holding factory jobs in the city, "this figure is [not] . . . accurate; a sizable number of unmarried girls now take low-paying factory jobs" (1969:11).

Of the factors examined above, the demographic and the industrial seem to be more pertinent than the ecological in explaining the increase in occupational diversity and the out-migration in Hsin Hsing village. With Ying-ting and K'un Shen, all three factors seem to be relevant. To be more specific, given the ecological condition that we found in Ying-ting and K'un Shen, i.e., a rather long slack season during which villagers would not have any sizable income, Ying-ting and K'un Shen could be expected to have a higher occupational diversity than Hsin Hsing. This would have been the case if the population of Taiwan had not increased so drastically and there had not been such rapid industrial development in the last two decades. It stands to reason that, other things being constant, the ecological factor alone would have been strong enough to force some

farmers from Ying-ting and fishermen from K'un Shen to seek seasonal employment outside their main productive activities, because when a Ying-ting villager has his field planted with sugar cane and cannot have any sizable income until the crop is harvested eighteen months later, he has to do something to support himself and his family. Similarly, when a fisherman in K'un Shen is unable to go out to fish during the typhoon season, it is likely that he would be forced by the need of subsistance to seek some other lines of work.

If the above discussion is left to stand, then I can conclude my comparison of the occupational structures of these three communities as follows: (a) As it is seen today, there is no remarkable difference in the degree of occupational diversity found in the three villages. (b) Their high occupational diversity is caused by slightly different factors, however. In Hsin Hsing, the demographic and industrial factors are most responsible for such development, while in Ying-ting and K'un Shen, in addition to these two factors, the ecological factor, i.e., the long slack season and its consequential underemployment, seems to have significant influence in forcing villagers to seek supplementary income from time to time. (c) The differences in ecological conditions among Ying-ting, K'un Shen, and Hsin Hsing could very well have been manifested in different occupational structures, however, these potential differences were overcome by the changes that happened to Taiwan as a whole,

particularly its drastic population increase and rapid industrialization. Both of these changes have had an impact on all of the peasant communities in Taiwan and have increased the occupational diversity in virtually all of them. This island-wide phenomenon has eliminated one of the potentially unique consequences of the particular ecological conditions found in Ying-ting and K'un Shen and has made the occupational structures of the three villages virtually alike, at least in terms of their diversity.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

With the ethnographic information I have collected from Ying-ting village, I have attempted (a) to show how this particular peasant community's ways of life has been affected by the socioeconomic policies of the state; (b) to ascertain the extent to which the particular productive pattern, i.e., mixed-crop rotation system, has affected the community's life; and (c) to explain why the mixed-cropping system has had such a superficial impact on other aspects of the sociocultural configuration of Ying-ting village.

I have dealt with the first task by showing how the Japanese Colonial Authority, through the control and regulation of the irrigation facility, made Ying-ting and other villages in the area become sugar cane producing communities. I have noted that when Japan took over Taiwan in 1895, she had a well-constructed economic policy for developing her newly-acquired colony. The policy was to make Taiwan an agricultural country so that it could supply the agriculgural products needed by the growing industries of Japan. Under this general guideline, the Chia-nan Plain, of which Ying-ting is a part, was designated the sugar cane producing area. To promote cane production, new seeds and modern farming techniques were introduced to the peasants by various governmental agencies and extension services. Moreover, acting

upon the suggestions of some Japanese agricultural experts, the colonial authority started to improve the irrigation facility for the entire Chia-nan region, hoping it would greatly increase sugar cane production.

Since the Chia-nan Irrigation System was built not to improve the general agricultural condition as such, but rather specifically to increase sugar cane production, certain measures were taken to prevent the peasants from utilizing their newly-irrigated lands for wet-rice, or crops other than sugar cane. Thus, the "small area" and the rotation irrigation schedule were designated and implemented. Accompanying the "small area" and rotation systems was the so-called "three-year-crop-rotation-system." Once this system was implemented, more than half of the cultivated land in the Chia-nan Plain had to be used for sugar cane every year simply because of the controlled irrigation facility.

Ever since the mixed-crop rotation system was institutionalized, the agricultural pattern of Ying-ting has been fixed. Peasants have lost the freedom of choosing their own crops. In spite of their needs, peasants have been forced to foresake rice and plant their lands with sugar cane in the years when the irrigation water is withheld from their lands.

The institutionalization of the mixed-crop rotation system not only has eliminated the peasants' freedom to decide how to cultivate their lands, but also has triggered

a chain of other sociocultural consequences. For example, it has affected some aspects of the peasants' economic behavior. For one thing, the peasants have been forced to participate more intensively in the market system. As cash crop producers, they have to sell all their cane to the sugar company and buy most of what they need from the market. The rotation system has also had, as I will show, an indirect impact on the local politics of the villages in the area.

Being cane farmers, the peasants in the area have to maintain a good relationship with the sugar company because the company is the only source to which they can sell their cane. Furthermore, as I have already discussed in Section V, Chapter Three, the company represents one of the major sources from which peasants can acquire various loans and assistance. For example, in the season between 1969-70, the company provided NT$165,200 in cash and NT$260,702 worth of chemical fertilizers to 79 Ying-ting families who had planted sugar cane. In addition to being the only agent buying sugar cane and one of the most important sources for low interest loans, the company provides extension services, such as the introduction of new seeds and new farming techniques. In brief, a good relationship with the sugar company is a necessary condition for the financial well-being of the cane farmers in Ying-ting.

Peasants do not deal with the sugar company directly,

however. They deal with the company's local representative. Any request they have, either for loans or technical assistance, must be made to the local representative first and, through him, to the company. Besides having such a strategic position between cane farmers and the sugar company, the local representative is also given the authority to organize and supervise the operation of the cane harvest team (see Section IV, Chapter Three, for a detailed description of the cane harvest team). Thus, the local representative has the right to hire some 40 laborers to work for the company for three to four months each year. Although such jobs are not permanent, they are highly desirable for peasants needing supplementary income because they offer relatively high wages and last for a prolonged period of time.

Since they occupy such vital positions, the local representatives of the Taiwan Sugar Company have become the most important figures in their villages. Of the fourteen villages that I visited in the area, including Ying-ting, the local representatives were usually also the mayors, village representatives to the township council, or the most powerful people running local affairs behind the scene. In one word, they were the leaders in local-level politics in the sugar cane producing region.

The reason these local representatives have succeeded in achieving such leadership positions is directly related

to the sugar company's desire to control the farmer's socio-political lives. By supporting and encouraging its local representatives to participate in their villages' political activities and become leaders in their villages, the company gains quite a few advantages. First, as political leaders, the representatives can serve as communication media through whom messages and directives can be related to the peasants in a rather effective way. Second, the representatives' prestige helps the company in its annual campaign to promote sugar cane cultivation. Third, since such local political leaders share the company's interests, the company can be sure that cane farmers will not be able to organize themselves effectively for bargaining over its pricing policies or for making any other demands the company does not wish to entertain. What we see here can be considered as a rather shrewd operation planned and implemented by the sugar company to expand its control over the social life of the peasants. And, the existence of this particular type of leadership can be understood only in the entire ecological context of the area.

I have also attempted, in this study, to determine the extent of impact this area's agricultural pattern has on other aspects of the peasants' community life. In doing so, I have made a brief comparison of Ying-ting with two other Taiwanese peasant communities, each with distinctive economic basis. From the comparative analysis, I have concluded that

the mixed-crop rotation system practiced by the Ying-ting villagers has only a rather limited effect on the socio-cultural configuration of their community. The only significant differences are those directly related to productive activities and the special types of persons who have become leaders in local level politics.

Are there any significant differences in the occupational structures, family and kinship organizations, and other aspects of the social systems of these three villages? Before the comparison I was expecting to find some for, operating in the framwork of a cultural-econological approach, I thought the villages' distinctive "cultural cores" would create such differences. As I related in the previous chapter, however, few significant differences exist in the occupational, familial, and social realms of the three villages. Although sugar cane farming in Ying-ting, which has required the peasants to seek additional income to supplement their livelihoods, could very well have made the village's occupational structure somewhat more diversified than that in the other two villages, the recent demographic and industrial developments in Taiwan have made it necessary and possible for most Taiwanese peasants to seek nonagricultural income. Therefore, one of Ying-ting's potentially unique features has been overshadowed by changes in the larger society.

No differences exist among the three villages in

their family and kinship organizations. I have noted that the conjugal family is the predominant family type in all of the villages. Also, I have indicated that lineage organizations, though still existing in all three villages, are in the process of decaying, having lost virtually all of their sociopolitical functions and are now operating only as ceremonial groups.

These similarities in family and kinship organizations can only be attributed to the following causes. The ecological differences of the three villages are not strong enough to necessitate any change in family and kinship organizations. In some villages where local ecological conditions might have favored a strong lineage organization, other social factors, such as the intervention of official administrative apparatus into the local level and the recent Land Reform Program, have worked to wipe out such chances for the lineages to develop into strong and cohesive social organizations. As I have hypothetically noted in Section I, Chapter Six, the extended family and the lineage organization in Ying-ting could have developed if, upon the completion of the irrigation system, the government had not interfered with the distribution of the irrigation water. But such a chance did not materialize since the Japanese government set up a rigid schedule to rotate the irrigation water and reinforced it with the strong arm of its administrative and police agencies.

Other causes that might also account for the lack of differences in the family and kinship organizations of these three villages are their cultural backgrounds (all are descendants of migrants from southern Fukien), and their having existed under a strong central government for more than a century. They share in the same Chinese Great Tradition, and they have been experiencing the impact of the recent socioeconomic changes in Taiwan as a whole. The virtually identical sociocultural milieus in which these peasant villages have been existing, then, have reduced their respective uniquenesses to such an extent that only the most basic cultural institution, i.e., the productive pattern which is so directly influenced by the conditions of natural habitat, still manifests itself to a certain degree.

Finally, I will briefly suggest this study's implications for peasant study in general. Using Ying-ting as an example, I have shown that the peasant community and its ways of life are constantly being influenced by their adaptation to two sets of "environmental conditions." First of all, as an agricultural community, it has to develop a productive system that will most efficiently produce those crops it can either consume or sell in the market in exchange for needed goods and services. Needless to say, such adaptive process will shape the peasants' life styles to a certain extent. Second, a peasant community is

constantly under the influence and control of the larger sociopolitical system commonly referred to as the state. The socioeconomic policy the state develops and implements in its rural areas certainly requires changes in the peasants' ways of living as they try to meet the demands of the state.

As I have shown with Ying-ting's case, the state's policy not only can affect the sociopolitical aspects of the village community but also can crystallize the productive patterns of the people. Through the regulation of the irrigation facility, both the Japanese Colonial Government and the Nationalist Chinese Government, have "dictated" the mixed cropping system to the people in Ying-ting and the general area.

With the information presented in this dissertation, I have also documented and reaffirmed a well-known but frequently forgotten anthropological principle: that the peasant community and its culture cannot be studied and fully understood as an isolated, self-sufficient system. Moreover, I have also shown that even the productive system--that part of the sociocultural system most directly related to the local environmental conditions of the community--cannot be fully comprehended solely within the local environmental framework.

Furthermore, this study clearly indicates that the "new" cultural-ecological approach (cf. pp. 3-4) is a

sound and fruitful research strategy for the study of peasantry. It directs the researcher's attention to the local environmental conditions of the peasant community in question as well as to the national sociocultural institutions that are constantly influencing the peasants' lives. Also, it seems to me that this approach is especially pertinent for studies of contemporary peasantry because most of them are undergoing rapid sociocultural changes. Such changes, more often than not, are planned and implemented by the governments of various countries. Thus, to understand and predict the probable impacts such planned changes will bring to peasant communities, the researcher has to have a theoretical framework that can account not only for local environmental conditions but also for the general character of the national institutions.

APPENDIX

Appendix One

A Glossary of Chinese Words Used in the Text

Romanized Chinese Words	Chinese Characters	English Translation
cheng	鎮	Township
chia	甲	Unit of land. Each chia equals 2.396 acre.
chiu-shiu-t'ang	錦繡堂	Name of the ancestral hall of the Chuang lineage of Ying-ting.
ch'ing-ming-chieh	清明節	A festival for worshipping at graves.
chung-chiu-chieh	中秋節	Moon festival.
fang	房	Branch
hsien	縣	County
huia-shuo	會所	Meeting place.
kan-tien-tian	看天田	Land that depends on natural rainfall for its irrigation.
kuan-yin	觀音	Goddess of Mercy.
kua-tze	瓜子	Preserved watermelon seeds.
k'ung-ting	公廳	Central room of a house, used as a family living room as well as the family shrine.
lao-shih	老實	Sincere, mature.
li-min-tai-piao	里民代表	Village representative to the township council.

Romanized Chinese Words	Chinese Characters	English Translation
ti-i-chuang, ch'ou yen ch'ui feng. ti-erh-chuang, tai-nü-jen ch'ui-tung-feng. ti-san-chuang - chung, kan-che jang-huo-che-tai-chü-pang.	第一戇，抽煙吹風。第二戇帶女人吹東風。第三戇，種甘蔗讓火車載去磅。	Literally translated it means: "There are three most foolish things a man can do: to smoke a cigarette without inhaling. To take a girl out for an evening walk without doing anything to her. And, most of all to plant sugar cane and let the Company buy them by truck loads without being able to say anything about the price."
tou-chia	頭家	The host, the person in charge.
tsu	族	Lineage.
tsu-k'ung-tien	祖公田	Ancestral land.
tui-k'an	對看	To see each other face to face.
tung-chih	冬至	Winter solstice festival

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