Contributions to Anthropology, Number 1: An Example of Social Change in Taiwan Related to Land Reform

Frank B. Bessac

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AN EXAMPLE OF SOCIAL CHANGE IN TAIWAN RELATED TO LAND REFORM

Frank B. Bessac
1967

Taiwan shrine to a community tutelary deity—Lo farmhouse in background.

EDITORIAL

With the publication of the first of this new series, The University of Montana, Contributions to Anthropology, Number 1, an older series, the Anthropology and Sociology Papers, will be discontinued. Between 1950 and 1966 there were 31 Anthropology and Sociology Papers printed and released through the library exchange system, and to individuals.

Now we intend to commence two new publications. These are:

1. Anthropology Papers. The Anthropology Papers reflect a change in the department issuing the old series - Anthropology is established as a separate department. Anthropology Papers will be numbered serially and will begin with Number 1. Editorial policies and purposes will continue as before - the Papers will provide an outlet for descriptive material not suitable for more general publications, and it will provide a publication outlet for better articles written by advanced students in anthropology, or amateur anthropologists such as archaeologists in the Great Plains and in the Columbia Plateau of Montana. At first the Anthropology Papers are to be multigraphed.

2. Contributions To Anthropology. Contributions To Anthropology at present is intended to be an outlet for more definitive and scholarly or sophisticated manuscripts submitted by members of the University staff.

Releases of this series will be less frequent than that of the Papers. The frequency of release, of course, will depend on many circumstances. Not the least of these circumstances will be financial considerations, the time available to the editor in the performance of this spare-time duty, and the possession of suitable manuscript material for publication.

The continued demand for issues of the old Anthropology and Sociology Papers encouraged us to reevaluate our needs for an expanded publication policy. The two new publications: The "Papers," and the "Contributions" will be used to express our ideas and findings to our friends and many colleagues in anthropology.

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AN EXAMPLE OF SOCIAL CHANGE IN TAIWAN RELATED TO LAND REFORM

Frank B. Bessac
Shortly after the Japanese surrender in 1945 Chinese Nationalist troops entered Taiwan as victorious forces. They and the government that they represented were generally welcomed by the Taiwanese populace who were themselves mostly descended from fairly recent immigrants from the Chinese Mainland.

The original inhabitants of Taiwan are Malayan speakers but within the past three hundred years they have been steadily pushed back to the mountainous regions of the eastern section of the island by the Chinese. The reason for the displacement of the Malayans does not appear to be due to a superior organization or technology of the Chinese or to a higher standard of living among the latter which in turn allowed an increase in their population. To the contrary, in spite of a high birth rate, the population of Chinese within Taiwan would have remained constant due to the high death rate (Barclay 1954: 3-17). The displacement of the Malayans was due to a constant influx of new Chinese immigrants from the continent. The increase in the number of Chinese relative to Malayan probably led to the control of the island by a refugee from the Ming Dynasty who wrested it from the Dutch and thereafter its inclusion within the Ch'ing Dynasty. However, until the twentieth century no outside power controlled the Malayans who had retreated to the mountains and to the east coast.

The Japanese gained control in 1895, first as a result of defeating China in Korea and then by quelling the resistance of the local populace which refused to recognize the transfer of sovereignty of the island from China to Japan.

With the establishment of Japanese authority over Taiwan health measures were instituted so that the population began to increase and simultaneously the Japanese forbade further Chinese immigration. Legal distinctions were made between those who had entered Taiwan before the time of the establishment of Japanese hegemony and those who entered afterwards, discriminating against the latter class. The latter appeared to have been few in number and, if they managed to escape the surveillance of the Japanese police, it was necessary for survival to merge with the established populace. Thus as a result of Japanese imposed restrictions on Chinese immigration to Taiwan, there emerged a distinction between, historically speaking at least, two basically similar Chinese populations. One consisted of all Chinese who had entered Taiwan after the time of the Japanese occupation and these are designated as "Mainlanders". The other population consists of those Chinese who had resided on Taiwan before the Japanese conquest and their descendents. (Ibid: 3-17, 133-172).

The latter group calls itself Taiwanese or more commonly Provincials, the term usually used by a local Chinese to distinguish himself from outsiders even though the outsider's family might have entered the native's province before the birth of this particular native. But to the Taiwanese the distinction is more exclusive than
a provincial one because the Taiwanese separate themselves from all other Chinese and their feelings of ethnic separatism are indicated by subtle linguistic usages. The Taiwanese agree that both they and the "Mainlanders" are Han-jen, that is descendents of the people who founded the Han Dynasty (206 B.C. - 220 A.D.) and agree that as Han-jen that their and the Chinese culture is derived from the same culture. But the Taiwanese declare that they are not Chung-kuo-jen, that is members of the Central Kingdom, a term which is derived from ancient classical Chinese literature and has probably meant Chinese in cultural terms longer than Han-jen. However, the term Chung-kuo-jen has political connotations; the Taiwanese were not members of the Middle Kingdom under the Japanese although they worked hard to maintain their sense of ethnic identity in contradistinction to the Japanese by attending schools officially banned by the Japanese where Chinese literature was taught.

In spite of the minuteness of the distinction presented above it is noted by many Taiwanese and is of some political importance. Apparently, not only the Taiwanese, and some of the "Mainlanders", but some social scientists believe that Taiwanese culture was very different from Chinese culture in general, not only as the culture of one area of China differs from the next. That is to say, for example, that the way of life of the Taiwanese is believed to have differed more at the time of the occupation of Taiwan by the Chinese Nationalists from the way of life of the Chinese inhabiting the province of Fukien on the mainland of China, across the Formosan Strait, than the way of life of the Fukieneese differed from the people of Kansu in the northwest of China Proper not withstanding the fact that most Taiwanese had come from Fukien. I believe that such an opinion is an interesting statement originating in the Taiwanese sense of ethnic awareness but it is not true. It may be true for the present of 1966 but this is because of events which have occurred after the occupation of Taiwan by the Chinese Nationalists, the representatives of the Republic of China, on the one hand and the establishment in power of the Chinese Communists, the Chinese People's Republic, on the continent on the other hand. But now these differences from the Chinese under Communist rule are as valid for "Mainlanders" as for Taiwanese.

The troops and officials who occupied Taiwan for the Republic of China suffered from the same social disorder that those did which occupied many other areas formerly held by the Japanese. They often were refugees, many of whom had been in Western China for ten years. They considered that the local inhabitants were suspect for having lived and prospered under Japanese rule while they had forsaken all for the grime and bombs of the war time capital of Chungking. The Nationalist general sent as governor appears to have been a carpetbagger of the worst sort and the reaction of the Taiwanese, who had had no love for the Japanese but who had been used to law and order, was to rebel. Their rebellion was put down with considerable bloodshed, the governor of the province was removed, and eventually executed. Shortly thereafter, the Republic of China retreated to Taiwan after having been driven from the continent. The prospects for its survival were hardly encouraging. Faced with a hostile population which considered itself only partly ethnically related and with morale problems of its own, its collapse from internal
weakness seemed imminent. It was given economic assistance from the United States but aid by itself could not solve the basic problems which confronted the Chinese (Cf. Callis 1959: 285-293). It would not have been unreasonable to have predicted at the time that the Republic of China would be a continuing financial embarrassment to the government of the United States. Fortunately, the results have been very much to the contrary.

Statistics representing economic growth prepared by members of the academic community and the Chinese-American Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction are to the point.

According to one source, in the period between 1948 and 1963 the yield per unit of ground for rice increased 21.5 per cent, sweet potatoes 13 per cent, sugar cane 54 per cent, and banana 33 per cent (Chang 1965:11). My own material would indicate that the gain reported for staples, that is rice and sweet potatoes, is probably underestimated. This is because the rural investigator has a fairly exact knowledge of the production of market goods such as sugar regardless of what is told him by the farmers, but has less control concerning crops such as rice which are only partially cash crops. The Taiwanese farmer tends to understate his present yield because he is afraid that the investigator might report his statements to the tax collector. Only after the investigator has become accepted into the rural community will the farmer provide honest appraisals of yield. Because of this, the investigator who lives for some time in the community will obtain a more accurate idea of the economy than one who simply makes a door to door check. In my opinion a large and unreported percentage of the increased yield in rice has gone into home consumption for humans and that in sweet potatoes into pig feed.

Another set of statistics indicating the same trend are the following: Land productivity per unit land area increased from a value of 91 in 1950 to 151 in 1962; labor productivity per man-day of labor increased from a value of 97 in 1950 to 134 in 1962 (Tsui 1965:28).

S. C. Hsieh and T. H. Lee presented a paper that challenges the idea that investments in industry should precede the formation of a secure agricultural base in economically under-developed nations. They maintain that only by first securing the agricultural base, such as had existed in the United States before our own industrial revolution, can a substantial and lasting industrial growth be expected (1965:1-4). They compare the periods during the Japanese occupation as well as those under the Republic of China.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Productivity of Aggregate Resources</th>
<th>Land Productivity per Unit Cultivated Area</th>
<th>Land Productivity per Farm Laborer</th>
<th>Land Productivity per Man-day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>67.90</td>
<td>54.89</td>
<td>53.51</td>
<td>63.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>99.85</td>
<td>100.96</td>
<td>101.15</td>
<td>99.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>72.89</td>
<td>56.43</td>
<td>47.30</td>
<td>74.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>101.93</td>
<td>101.18</td>
<td>80.44</td>
<td>87.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>118.19</td>
<td>132.04</td>
<td>105.29</td>
<td>104.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>127.88</td>
<td>150.33</td>
<td>109.09</td>
<td>108.50 (Ibid:45)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The table is abridged; only its more salient elements are presented. 1911 is approximately the first year that the Japanese maintained reliable records; 1936 is significant because it was the high point of Japanese economic development on Taiwan, before Japan began to concentrate upon preparing for World War II and thereafter her participation in it. 1946 indicates a retrogression in Taiwanese agriculture because of Japanese concentration upon the war and because of the transference of power from Japan to the Republic of China. The remaining years indicate the growth which has occurred subsequently.)

The values presented above are interpreted in terms of growth rate below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase of Development</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Growth Rate of Net Output</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Initial development</td>
<td>1910-1920</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continued development</td>
<td>1920-1939</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decline</td>
<td>1939-1945</td>
<td>-13.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recovery and rehabilitation</td>
<td>1945-1952</td>
<td>13.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Further development</td>
<td>1952-1960</td>
<td>4.3% (Ibid:5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The relation between agricultural growth and industrial is indicated by the following abridged table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Primary Industry</th>
<th>Secondary Industry</th>
<th>Tertiary Industry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911-1915</td>
<td>293,660</td>
<td>140,599</td>
<td>78,220</td>
<td>74,841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-1935</td>
<td>706,218</td>
<td>248,623</td>
<td>209,302</td>
<td>248,293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936-1940</td>
<td>796,749</td>
<td>280,371</td>
<td>269,784</td>
<td>246,594</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946-1950</td>
<td>402,859</td>
<td>162,118</td>
<td>77,617</td>
<td>163,124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951-1955</td>
<td>795,157</td>
<td>264,165</td>
<td>220,926</td>
<td>310,066</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956-1960</td>
<td>1,119,337</td>
<td>327,340</td>
<td>371,250</td>
<td>420,747</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1935-37 constant price T$1,000)</td>
<td>(lbid:17)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Secondary and tertiary industries both dominate primary industry only in the period from 1956 to 1960. The real aggregate industrial growth rate from 1956-1960 was 7.08, for primary industry—4.78, for secondary industry—10.93, and for tertiary industry—7.13 (Ibid:74). Economists on Taiwan have told me that the aggregate rate of growth from 1960 through 1966 has been somewhat better than 6 per cent and along approximately the same pattern as indicated above for 1956-1960, that is, indicating an increasing percentage of the national productive capacity becoming related to non-agricultural industries.

The higher standard of living made possible by the increase in productive capacity is indicated by a comparison of the relation between the rate of population increase, rate of employment increase, and aggregate increase in industrial output. The rate of population increase on Taiwan from 1920 to 1940 was in excess of 2 per cent; from 1951-1955 it jumped to 4.61 per cent, dropping to 3.82 per cent in the years from 1956-1960, and slowly declining during the last five years until in 1965 it was just above 3 per cent. Employment growth rate reflects many different things such as the release and induction of men into the armed forces, the tendency for men to wait until after they have finished their military training until they marry thus freeing young women for the labor market, the desire on the part of some women not to have children immediately after marriage, and perhaps, most important of all, the birth rate twenty years ago. The growth rate in employment amounted to 2.35 for the 1951-1955 period and 1.75 for the 1956-1960 period while during these same periods the real net national industrial growth rate increased by 13.76 and 7.08, respectively (Ibid: 74-75).

In terms of the interpretation that is sometimes made of Engel's law, that is, that the less economically developed the country is the greater will be the percentage of the national income spent on food, Taiwan has made no progress since 1911 and is substantially behind the most prosperous period of Japanese rule (1931-1935). For example, in the period 1911—1915 the Taiwanese spent 50.40 per cent of their income on food, from 1931-1935 they spent 37.95 per cent, and from 1956-1960 they spent 50.29 per cent. However, the change in pattern of consumption is in accordance with statements that the Taiwanese made to me, "When we acquire extra money, the first thing we do is buy some good food." It would appear that more Taiwanese eat more quality food now than during Japanese times.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Rice &amp; Wheat</th>
<th>Beans</th>
<th>Miscellaneous</th>
<th>Vegetable Oil</th>
<th>Fruits</th>
<th>Vegetables</th>
<th>Meat</th>
<th>Milk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1911-1915</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-1935</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>1,218</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956-1957</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>1,164</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>800(Ibid:79)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Because of the continuing rise in the standard of living within the last nine years, we can assume that a near saturation point in the consumption of quality foods has been reached. However, according to my observations, even in 1965 the Taiwanese demands for some quality foods had not been fulfilled. For example, it had been assumed that during the summer months when rice is under cultivation that vegetables
would be scarce or even impossible to buy. Now, due to consumer demand and ability to pay, and on the other hand, to the newly introduced practice of summer interplanting, that is planting vegetables in such a manner so that a harvest of vegetables can be obtained from the land during the time of the harvest of the first rice crop and the transplanting and weeding of the second rice crop, vegetables now appear on the market where they are eagerly bought. Some farmers even concentrate on growing vegetables, but because there is more risk involved in the vegetable than the rice market, demand for vegetables has tended in summer to stay ahead of supply.

Another factor affecting the high cost of some types of food in Taiwan is that the government's concern about stabilizing the price of rice does not extend to vegetables and fruits. Some of these are export goods and their prices, especially items of top quality, reflect market conditions in Japan, Hong Kong, Malaya, Singapore, and even Europe and the United States. Nevertheless, in spite of the factors mentioned above, the Taiwanese now probably spend considerably less of the percentage of their total income on food, even quality items, than nine years ago. This certainly is the impression that one gains in viewing Taiwan at present.

The gains in agricultural production made by the Japanese were initially due to an increase in the amount of land brought into cultivation, secondly to an increase in irrigated land, and finally to the introduction of better strains of rice, hogs, and farming techniques (Ibid: 6-12). My sources state that it was in this last activity that the Japanese made the slowest headway although the use of chemical fertilizers and green manure had both been accepted by the Taiwanese farmers before the arrival of the Chinese Nationalists or the beginning of land reform program. If production was to be further increased, the basic concept of paddy field operation had to be changed and, if this was to happen, a change in farm ownership patterns and village social organization had to occur.

To individuals accustomed to thinking of huge tractors harvesting thousands of acres per day it is perhaps heretical to state that the change needed in Taiwanese agricultural economics was from land and labor extensive paddy field farming to intensive paddy field farming but terms are relative to the situations compared and the distinction between extensive and intensive is the most appropriate. A farmer who practices extensive paddy field agriculture, for example on Taiwan, generally plants two crops of rice per year. At four brief periods amounting in total time to about a month or a month and one-half he suffers from a lack of labor. These are the periods of transplanting and harvesting. Because he plants two crops of rice he has four rush periods rather than two. During these periods, he must rely upon hired labor or his neighbors. It is possible to obtain labor during this period because hardly any two farmers receive their water from the irrigation ditches at the same time and thus their rice doesn't ripen at the same time. Also, it is possible to delay harvest for a few days. Generally speaking, only in the threat of a typhoon when farmers try to harvest not quite ripe grain is there a labor shortage. During the remainder of the year the farmer is sometimes very hard at work as when he prepares the field for planting or during the first weeding, more or less about his fields when irrigating his rice, just watching it grow during some of the time, and in winter completely at
leisure except for the repair of tools and equipment. (Also cf. Barclay 1954:54).

Close to the house, so as to be convenient for the deposit of "night soil", that is human fertilizer, is a vegetable garden usually tended by the women of the household. If there happens to be a surplus of vegetables in the garden, the women might take some to market and sell them.

Briefly stated, intensive paddy field farming is the introduction of additional crops into the yearly cycle so that the farmer remains busy nearly all year. Near Taichung this meant the introduction of a third crop, planted not for manure or pig food but for cash, curing the winter season. Because the growing season is not long enough to normally accommodate three crops during the year, this crop is interplanted among the rice two or more weeks before the second rice crop is harvested. More recently, as had been stated above, a vegetable crop has been introduced between the first and second rice crops during the summer. Needless to say, intensive paddy field agriculture demands much more labor than extensive paddy field agriculture. Tenant farmers will not make such an additional investment in labor for an increased gain which goes to the landlord. Therefore, given the demographic situation, the land reform on Taiwan was based upon sound agricultural economic principles as well as necessary from a sociological and political point of view.

The alternative to the inefficient landlord-tenant system which had existed on Taiwan would have been to proceed in the opposite direction. That is, instead of intensifying the use of land and labor, to even out the work load by the introduction of machines for both harvesting and planting. With the tools now available this would have resulted in a lower yield per unit of land, a higher yield per individual, and a great amount of capital investment, each investment being very large in terms of the economy; for example, large enough to buy a big tractor or harvester, not the garden size tractors which are becoming within the means of the Taiwanese farmer. Food prices would have risen as a result of the steady demand and decrease in yield but wages would have fallen because of the labor market filled with displaced tenants no longer needed to till the land. As a matter of fact there would probably have been mass unemployment and in addition grain would have had to be imported to ward off famine. Although it is difficult for an outsider to determine the nature of circumstances within the Chinese People's Republic, some such situation appears to have resulted there at times as a result of the commune type of agriculture. An analogous situation resulted in England because of the enclosures during the eighteenth century. The social, political, and economic unrest of England during the eighteenth and lasting until the nineteenth centuries because of the enclosures would have been microscopic in comparison to those which would have occurred in Taiwan if the same procedure for economic reform had been carried out there as the density of the rural population on Taiwan is so much greater.

The only means by which a build up of extensive paddy field agriculture could have been a success would have been for the price of and demand for labor to have risen as the decrease in yield of agricultural products and the
subsequent rise in prices of agricultural produce gathered momentum. Such a rise in the price of and demand for labor would only be possible if the economy of Taiwan were in all ways integrated with that of a nation with a well established higher standard of living. An example would be for Taiwanese labor as it became displaced because of extensive agricultural methods to be permitted to migrate freely to the United States. Because of the difficulty that the American labor market has been having in absorbing its native counterpart to the Taiwanese tenant farmer, this solution obviously would not have worked.

To understand the land reform laws enacted on Taiwan it should be realized that the relation between the farmer and government has been of paramount concern to Chinese administrators for over two thousand years even though from the Sung Dynasty (960-1279 A.D.) on, because of the rise in the importance of tax revenue derived from commerce and manufacturing, Chinese governments did not have to rely upon the land tax as their main source of income (Reischauer & Fairbank 1958:218). Although the tax reforms which started in the Toba Wei Dynasty (368-534 A.D.) provided the economic basis for the unification of China after the fall of the Han Dynasty, most students of the history of the Chinese land reform refer to those of Wang An-shih, the Sung Dynasty statesman and scholar who failed to establish his reforms on a firm political basis. Perhaps the most important of Wang's legislation was that which allowed easy credit and accessibility of goods for the farmer and small merchant, the reassessment of land, and the making of goods more available to the consumer (cf. Meskill, 1963).

The Toba reforms, which continued in type into the T'ang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.), were meant to allot to each head of household a limited amount of land most of which could not be inherited. Land taxes were paid for the privilege of working the soil; some individuals, who rendered additional services were tax exempt; officials were allowed the revenue from some lands as compensation for their services. This system of land control was symptomatic of a return to control of a central government and the breakdown of the manorial system which had lead to the fall of the Han Dynasty. During the T'ang Dynasty this system, perhaps because it proved difficult to enforce, was changed to a direct tax on land rather than on individuals. From then on the state did not especially concern itself with the amount of land that any one individual owned. Nevertheless, the manorial economic system and its political correlate, feudalism, did not reoccur, perhaps because of the rise of commercialism in China and the inefficiency of maintaining large estates under the landlord-tenant system of agricultural economics. Large estates appear to have been broken into small independently owned farms and relatively small landlord held estates. (Reischauer & Fairbank 1958:158-163, 186-187).

My discussions with those who had been under the landlord-tenant system only a few years ago indicate that, if a landlord was to ensure maximum profit from his investment, he had to act as the overseer of his tenants. Large land holdings were therefore not profitable although they gave the holder prestige, economic security, and work opportunities for poor relatives. It appears that, given a market rather than a manorial economy, there are economic limitations placed upon the accumulation of land under the landlord-tenant system of management.
Within more recent times the general inspiration for the land reform in Taiwan came specifically from the doctrines of the Chinese revolutionary and founder of the Kuomintang party, Sun Yat-sen. Sun was able to draw upon Chinese history for a philosophy concerning land control. Because of his Western education, he was also influenced by such Western thinkers as Henry George, John Stuart Mill, and Adolf Damascke (Chen 1961:10-17) although it appears that Western theory most influenced Chinese ideas about land value in the sector of commercial non-agricultural land.

Practical experience had been gained by the Chinese Nationalists in starting land reforms on the continent. The Republic of China in 1930 passed a law that provided that the rent paid by the tenant not exceed 37.5 per cent of the total annual yield and attempts were made to implement this reform in Kwantung, Hunan, Hupeh, and Chekiang Provinces. There are a number of reasons why the rent reduction law was not consistently implemented (Ibid: 18-19). One of the most basic problems was the instability of the Nationalist government in these areas, areas that were soon lost to the Japanese, and subsequently the inability of the Kuomintang party to use land reform as one of the means of gaining control in areas nominally controlled by the Japanese but actually unoccupied while the Communist party did so in these areas successfully. The two successful land reform programs carried out by the Nationalists after the Japanese surrender occurred in two widely separate places and were very different in type. In one instance a simple rent reduction law lowering rent 25 per cent from the original level was carried out in Szechwan Province in West Central China. In one district of Fukien Province land was acquired by the tenants from the landlords by paying a fixed price over a period of ten years with the government acting as go-between (Chang 1965:4-5).

The experience gained from the attempts to implement land reform programs was made available to those who wished to implement such a program on Taiwan because many of those who had been interested in the problem migrated to Taiwan where they became part of the academic community or entered Chinese or joint Chinese-American agencies concerned with rural rehabilitation. Some of these men had had previous experience in aid and development programs such as the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, the China Relief Mission, and the Economic Cooperation Administration. Those who were to administer land reform in Taiwan also were able to study the effects of a redistribution of land implemented in Japan only a few years previously.

Chen writes that in 1948 the average rent paid was 56.8 per cent and in one area was as high as 70 per cent (1961:20). There appears to be no reliable statistics indicating the exact amount of tenancy immediately before the first rent reduction law was put into effect but in 1939 56.3 per cent of the land was cultivated by tenants. (Chang 1965:1). In the two villages that I studied, the one near Taichung had a rental rate of about 80 per cent and nearly 85 per cent of the land was cultivated by tenants while at the one near the mountains the rate was about 55 per cent and 53 per cent of the land was tenant cultivated.
Chen Cheng states that there were other informal means by which the landlord gained at the expense of the tenant. These included security deposits, advance rent payments, free labor service, and gifts on New Year's Day and other festivals. (1961:20). This opinion is challenged by inference in an article by Chen Shao-hsing who states that originally the relationship between landlord and tenant had been that of protector and protected; that of father and son and the son was supposed to be obedient to the father. The tenant was expected to give way in disputes with the landlord and to provide him labor service when needed as well as gifts. Especially injurious to the tenants interests was the custom of oral contracts whereby the tenant had no legal claim to even rent the land but was always at the mercy of the good will of the landlord. Chen Shao-hsing maintains, however, that because of the activities of the Chinese government sponsored Landlord-Tenant Associations, such "feudalistic" relationships between landlord and tenant were changed for democratic ones (1956:17).

The information I gathered in the villages supports Chen Cheng's position. The extra-legal offerings made by the tenants and sometimes demanded by landlords were often enforced right up to the land reform acts. One of the most difficult problems of those who administrated the land reform act was to ensue that written contracts were made between landlord and tenant after the land reform act was put into law because many of the landlords sought to avoid this restriction upon what they considered their natural right, a right to evict the tenant unless the latter at least acted towards the landlord with the respect due towards one's benefactor.

The land reform in Taiwan consists of four stages although normally it is spoken of as the "Three-Step Program" because two of the stages are dovetailed into one. The first step was a simple reduction in rent to 37.5 per cent of the total annual yield of the main crop, historically speaking the implementation of the 1930 law. That is to say, if the land is rice land and two crops are planted each year, the rent will be 37.5 per cent of the combined yield of the two crops of rice. Any other production gained from the farm will remain with the tenant. In 1951 the Farm Rent Reduction Bill was passed. This bill attempted to adjust for the circumstances which derived from the 37.5 rent reduction law. It put particular emphasis upon the rights of tenure of the tenant. The law restates that rent shall not exceed 37.5 per cent of the annual yield of the main crop, established or rather restates the organization for governing the administration of the rent reduction program, states that land shall not be leased for less than six years at a time, that all contracts be made in writing, and that all conditions relating to the leasing of land be contained within the contract. It protects the landlord in stating his right to collect rent and intervenes between the landlord and tenant in the area of crop failures.

Some comment is needed at this point. Rental rates in Taiwan were what were locally referred to as the "iron-bound" type. That is, the landlord did not calculate rents on a basis of the percentage of the actual yield but instead on a basis of the expected yield. If the tenant failed to acquire the expected yield and therefore was unable to pay the rent or perhaps even have enough to feed his family, he was dependent upon the largess of the landlord to lower the rental payments or postpone them. Needless to say, this power increased the status of the landlord and helped
produce the "father" image mentioned above.

At the time of the rent reduction program, the constant yield method of determining rent was maintained, the amount in each case ascertained by appraising by the Land Commissions. A constant appraised yield was used to determine the amount of rent to be paid after the land reform rather than a rental based upon actual yield because the legislators believed that the tenant, given the social and economic conditions of the land reform, would invest capital and labor in the land and that the results of this investment, should go to the tenant rather than the landlord. However, the landlord, because of his lower rental intake and also because of his loss of image as the protector of the tenant, no longer has been willing to grant a decrease in rent in the event of crop loss. Thus, the government has stated the right to declare that the landlord under such circumstances must decrease the rent, the government in turn decreasing the landlord's taxes. Landlords are unhappy to acknowledge that crop loss has occurred because tax reduction on income does not make up for loss of income.

Other provisions of the bill provide against sub-renting land, provide that the tenant be given preferential rights to purchase the land if the landlord desires to sell it at the termination of their contract, allow for the landlord to take leased out land back to cultivate himself only upon proof that his actions will not deprive the tenant of his means of livelihood or finally that he, the landlord, is now poorer than the tenant, and rationalize consiliation provisions. The tenure rights of the tenant are considered to be inherited.

In the same year the government passed a law allowing the sale of Provincial and National lands to those cultivating them. To a certain extent the provisions of this act formed a model for the forced sale by landlords to tenants of land which took place in 1953 under the provisions of the "Land-to-the-Tiller Act".

The entire series of laws are commonly spoken of as the land reform or land revolution, the Chinese words having the connotation of both reform and revolution but come closer to revolution or rapid reform than simply reform.

The more salient points to the "Land-to-the-Tiller-Act", in addition to provisions for its enforcement, are as follows: One, it nullified land transfers made approximately from nine months previous to the publication of the law if made to avoid the provisions of the law; Two, all rental land held by an individual or family in excess of three chia (7.1901 acres) of seventh to twelfth grade paddy land had to be sold to the government. No individuals or families were allowed to maintain rental land if they owned more than the above amount even if most of their land was operated by themselves but there were no restrictions placed on the amount of land an individual could operate independently or as a family; Three, all cooperation land, except land jointly held for religious purposes such as ancestor worship or by temples, had to be sold to the government and the amount of land allowed to be retained by individuals; Four, the amount of land allowed to be retained by the landlord varied in accordance with the grade of land which he owned. Thus, the owner of first to sixth grade paddy land was allowed to maintain only one and one-half chia while
those owning the 19th to 26th grade of dry land were allowed to maintain 12 chia; Five, property accessory to the farm such as farmhouses, ponds, etc. were included within the provisions of the act, their price determined by appraisal; Six, the purchase price of land was placed at 2.5 the total annual yield of the main crops. This price was to be paid within ten years by twenty semi-annual installments. Interest on the debt owed by the tenants was calculated at 4 per cent per year; Seven, the landlords were repaid 70 per cent of the price of the land value in land bonds which were paid in kind and which bore 4 per cent interest. Thirty per cent of the price of the land value was paid to the landlords in stock in government held industries; Eight, the government took the responsibility of encouraging the former tenants to work their newly acquired land on a cooperative basis, of encouraging the use of improved techniques, and of making loans available to farmers to increase production. (The income from the 30 per cent of the payments in kind made by the former tenants to the government, but not repaid to the former landlords as land bonds, plus special funds set aside for agricultural development formed the source for the funds made available to the farmers and governmental agencies interested in promoting an increase in farm yield.); Nine, land purchased under the land reform act was not to be resold by the tenant except back to the government until fully purchased. After full purchase the sale of land is still restricted in that it can be resold only to an individual who is capable of cultivating the land or to those who will use it for commercial or industrial purposes. (Cf. Chen 1961:133-328).

It was assumed that the change in the socio-economic circumstances of the tenant would in itself generate greater productivity. The old system was blamed for lack of productivity and a change should bring improvement. "Such a type of tenancy certainly has contributed to intensifying the poverty of the rural society and economic backwardness of the country as a whole. It gave rise not only to economic inequality between landlord and tenant, but also to social and political inequality as well. The poverty of the majority of farmers brought about a situation under which farmers were by no means able to improve the use of land and increase production. Because of the uncertainty of tenure, the tenant was not willing to make any long term improvement on the land. No tenant would apply much fertilizer on a plot of land that he could not be sure of cultivating the next year, nor would he work hard on that land where he could not fully enjoy the fruits of his labor." (Chang 1965:2)

However, as stated above, the government also took other measures to ensure that productivity increased. It established special funds and organizations for this purpose. Funds were paid to the agricultural experimental stations for the development of varieties of grains, vegetables, and fruits especially suited for growing in Taiwan and funds were made available to the farmers for farm improvements.

One of the most important links between the farmers and the government are the Farmer's Associations. It is important to realize that the rural population considers that the Associations both originate and are responsible to the farmers; that the Farmer's Associations are not seen as extensions of governmental bureaucracy. In this respect the Farmer's Associations connected with the land reform are better seen as successors to the revolutionary "farmer's associations" of the 1920's which were suppressed by the Japanese
rather than as successors to the "Associations of Agriculture" which were official organs of the colonial Japanese government, although the present Farmer's Associations and the Japanese government sponsored "Associations of Agriculture" were both interested in increasing agricultural production.

The core and basis of the Farmer's Associations are the cells with their elected leaders. The leaders organize agricultural study groups, act as liaison men between extension agents and other officials of the local Farmer's Association and the village. Often some of their functions are delegated to leaders of research, 4-H, and home economics study groups. Members of the Farmer's Associations elect representatives who then elect officers who serve without pay although they receive expense money. The officers appoint a general manager who staffs the organization. The general manager is selected by a two-thirds vote of the elected officers or by a simple majority if the same man is given a majority vote consecutively. He can be dismissed only by a two-thirds vote of the officers and thus is protected from the politics which sometimes accompany the selection of officers of the association and tends thereby to have longer tenure than the officers.

According to an official of an Association, the functions of the Farmer's Associations can best be divided into three types; administrative, those conducted for the farmer by which the associations make money, and those conducted for the farmer by which the Associations lose money. The Associations make money by collecting rice for the government, selling bean cake, insecticides, running vegetable markets, innoculating hogs, and lending money. If an area is declared as rural rather than urban, a Farmer's Association is organized for the area, including often towns and small cities. Any resident within the region may deposit money within the Association and any resident, subject to certain rules concerning credibility, can borrow from the Association. Merchants thus can both deposit and borrow from the Association although there is a slight preference in law in favor of the farmers. (Also cf. Hsieh 1963:23-39).

Capital accumulation in the Farmer's Associations is large; that in Puli, where I did research, was U.S. $6,000,000 while a larger adjacent Association had in deposit U.S. $40,000,000. Interest rates both paid and charged varied with demand; at Puli interest rates were about 14 per cent a year and interest paid out varied from 4 per cent to 12 per cent according to type of deposit. Seventy per cent of the funds deposited were allowed to be lent out and as my informant stated, "It may be dangerous to let out more than 70 per cent of the funds available but it is poor business to let out any less than 70 per cent!" Profits made by the Farmer's Association were used to supplement the activities of the research groups and to pay the expenses of the farm extension division. While it can be said that the purpose of lending money at rates which are comparatively low for Asian countries is an indirect stimulus to production, the extension worker functions as a direct stimulus to production. He arranges demonstrations of new techniques in farming and for the sale or rental at less than cost of new machinery to farmers who are in a position to demonstrate to other how such machines are to be used; introduces discussion of new marketing techniques especially as Taiwan has found it profitable to sell its agricultural produce abroad; introduces new varieties of grains and other produce; and in as many ways as possible attempts to improve production as well as supervising the lending activities of the Farmer's Associations.
Farmers give as much credit to the Farmer's Associations for rural improvement as to the land reform although there is increasing criticism of the Associations because many farmers now consider that they are as knowledgeable as the extension workers. There is also a controversy over whether the Farmer's Associations should make money, as most now do, or whether they should usually run in the red thus placing more emphasis on extension work.

Although some of the material cited above was not available to me two years ago when I thought of investigating the social results of the land reform, there was sufficient at hand to assume that it had been an economic success. The problem which I posed for myself was complex and concerned with large areas of Chinese social interaction. Put in as succinct terms as possible, I wanted to determine whether, after the land reform, the former tenants and the now more affluent owner farmers tended to model their behavior upon the ideals established by the landlords, ideals traditional in Chinese society and, if not, upon what new models they structure their behavior. Put in more concrete terms, would the newly created relatively landlordless Chinese rural society still value the joint family as much as it had previously? Would it be as patrilineally oriented as before? What about the position of women? Would the old men still be as respected as before? Would education be as highly valued? Would ancestors still dominate the living?

Naturally it is not possible to answer in one paper all these questions, especially immediately after returning from the field, but after a brief statement of the economic situation as I actually found it in the two villages that I studied, I will describe one of the more vital sectors of socio-psychological change.

The most significant gage for the success or failure of the land reform at the village level would be the extent to which the tenants were able to buy the land within the prescribed amount of time. In the village near Taichung I did not discover a single case of default and there were only a few households within the entire rural township which had not been able to completely purchase their land by 1963 and all of these were said to be special hardship cases. Near Puli the cases of delinquency were more frequent but not prevalent and, according to the villagers, were in each case the result of special circumstances. As far as I could discover, delinquency was likely to occur upon the death of the head of the household or his induction into the army, sickness within the family, or disputes about the grade of land sold to the tenant. (It is possible for the grade of land to change during the period that the tenant was paying for it because of natural disasters of one kind or another.)

The two villages varied in their responses to the land reform program. Near Taichung the former tenants have intensified farming. Other farmers have emulated them partly so as not to be outdone by what had been the lowest strata of society. The rice yield has gone up about one-third since 1953 but the increase in size of the rice harvest is but part of the increase in production. Except for those farmers, often former landlords, who lack labor or the desire to put in the extra work, farms in winter are planted to cash crops such as tomatoes, potatoes, vegetables, rape, or tobacco. More pigs are raised for the market although one farmer stated that the only net profit that he
received from raising pigs was the manure that they provided for his fields. (As with many Taiwanese farmers he had learned to keep account books.) Mushrooms are raised for canning and are sent to American and European markets. Mushrooms require a special house to provide somewhat constant temperature and protection from sunlight and dryness and special soil preparation. The considerable labor required to raise mushrooms is put in just before inter-planting for the winter crops begins in an otherwise slack season. The allocation of more land to vegetables during the rice season has become general and summer interplanting is gaining a foothold.

According to an informant who had planted all of his land to vegetables, he gained four times the profit that he would have if he planted rice. Because the yield in rice has risen one-third during the last ten to fifteen years, he is making 533 per cent more than he would have before the land reform allowing 100 to equal the value for the level of production before the land reform. He also raises piglets and mushrooms and the sale of these at least compensates for the increased amount of commercial fertilizer and insecticide that he uses to grow vegetables for the market. His taxes are no more than 17 per cent of his total income and therefore he has acquired a net after tax increase of income of 422 per cent. But this piece of land had been held by a landlord before the land reform and thus the value of its yield to the tenant after the rent had been paid at 80 per cent would have been 20 per cent. Therefore, the net income received by the tiller from this plot of land has increased 21 times. We discovered from the census that this farmer held in common with his brother an additional plot of land about equal to that of his own. Partly because he failed to mention this plot in interviews and partly because it is the accepted practice, we assume that he rented this plot from his another who lived in Taipei at the rental rate made common by the land reform. This plot we assume was all in rice as it must have been some distance from his home. Assuming that the increase in rice yield to have been one-third, that he put the land into winter vegetables or wheat, and that he secured a reduction in taxes and rents on this land of about 40 per cent, this plot provided an increase of income to the farmer of about 73 per cent, much less than the other plot. The case is exceptional but most farmers increased their yields in like manner but not to the same extent. A notable failure to increase production in the village was an elderly gentleman whose answer to his growing indebtedness was to live and farm more frugally rather than to seek means by which, with added capital investment, he could increase production.

Additional income is added to family budgets or sometimes only individual savings or spending accounts because the village is but from fifteen minutes to one half hour's bicycle ride from a number of industries which border the highway and railway going northward from Taichung to Taipei. Not counting housewives, approximately thirty per cent of the adult working force of the village has their primary occupation away from the land. Because they are able to live at home and thus do not have to pay a large amount for rent or subsistence, or, if they do so, it is calculated within a general family budget, the money that they earn comes almost as a bonus, either for them or for their families. There is little inconvenience or capital investment involved in earning salaries off the land except when a higher degree of education is needed. Such persons often help on the farm during rush periods and thus are on
asset not only for the money that they bring into the family but as a labor reservoir.

The situation at Puli was different for several reasons; One, the area is famous for its fresh sugar cane production and monetary yield in good years from land planted to this cane, the type which is eaten rather than sold to refineries, is more than that received from planting land to rice; Two, there is a cultural prejudice against men planting vegetables, a prejudice which might have been widespread on Taiwan several years ago; Three, there is little industry in the urban section of Puli to counterbalance any hidden under-employment in the rural area; and Four, the most important factor is that while the villagers in Puli and near Taichung hold about equal amounts of paddy land, the villagers near Puli on an average hold an acreage in mountain slope land equal to that which they own in paddy. The energies and capital of the Puli farmer are largely invested in the development of mountain slope land and until investment here becomes marginal he will not invest time in intensive paddy field agriculture. At present, especially during the summer, vegetables are imported from the Taichung area although a few farmers have calculated that they can realize more by raising vegetables for the market than by working for their neighbors as the latter develop their mountain slope land. In spite of the fact that vegetable growing is women’s work, the Taiwanese tend to be pragmatic and, if enough money is to be made, an increase in the production of vegetables might be expected. However Puli is a special area and might change entirely from paddy field agriculture in a number of different ways depending upon various factors such as the international market situation concerning for example tea, or bananas, the predictibility of high prices for fresh sugar cane, or the feasibility of raising asparagus or other special crops in the area.

The increase in productivity in Puli is more difficult to judge than for the village near Taichung. In part because of the introduction of new strains of rice especially adapted to the foothill area, rice production has increased by 50 per cent since the beginning of the land reform. Estimates concerning the increase in production on mountain slope land have been more difficult to obtain because the farmers do not have clear title to all of the land worked on the slope and because much of the land has only recently been developed and thus fruit trees or tea plantations have had little time to produce. Also, the fluctuation in tea prices has made it difficult to estimate a normal income. As for those farmers whose fruit trees, such as Li-ch’i, which were already producing fruit for the market, I gained the impression that they said little because they were embarrassed about the great amount of profit they were realizing.

Mushroom cultivation in Puli is even more important to the economy that it was near Taichung because at Puli they are able to raise a special type of fungus particularly esteemed in the Far East. In summary, the Puli area, because of its somewhat cooler summer temperatures, foothill land, and a geographical position which makes it virtually immune to typhoons, allows it possibilities which are not given to other regions but as yet these possibilities have not been fully realized for all of the farmers nor for all of the land.
The average ratio for Taiwan between owner-cultivated and tenant-cultivated land now is about 88.6 to 11.4 (Chang 1965:10) and it must be remembered that the remaining tenants have a considerable degree of right of tenure over the land that they cultivate. At the village near Puli 6 per cent of the land in 1964 was still tenant-cultivated but this statement does not take into account the mountain slope land which is entirely owner cultivated or, if rented to tenants this is done surreptitiously and usually to relatives. At the village near Taichung 24 per cent of the land was still tenant-cultivated as of 1964; the high percentage of tenant-cultivated land reflecting the large number of petty landlords in the village who had rented out land before the reform.

A table presented by another student representing the percentage of participation in politics of farmers of various land tenure classes before and after the land reform will give force to my statements about social change to follow.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village Mayor</th>
<th>Township Mayor</th>
<th>Hsien Magistrate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before/After</td>
<td>Before/After</td>
<td>Before/After</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner</td>
<td>42.2/77.7</td>
<td>32.5/81.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part Owner</td>
<td>38.5/76.9</td>
<td>42.3/84.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenant</td>
<td>42.9/78.6</td>
<td>17.9/82.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>41.8/77.7</td>
<td>31.8/82.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Township Representative</th>
<th>Hsien Representative</th>
<th>Provincial Representative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before/After</td>
<td>Before/After</td>
<td>Before/After</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner</td>
<td>21.7/49.4</td>
<td>41.6/81.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part Owner</td>
<td>26.9/53.9</td>
<td>46.2/84.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenant</td>
<td>21.4/50.0</td>
<td>28.6/67.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>22.3/50.0</td>
<td>40.5/80.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Because the base year is 1948 and the year of comparison is 1965 the table can be used to indicate changes in the attitudes of tenant farmers after the initial rent reduction program. Insofar as those individuals who are classed as tenants in 1965 were probably tenants in 1948 or are the descendents of those who were tenants in 1948, the effects of the "37.5 rent reduction law" are portrayed. However, because about four-fifths of the tenants in 1948 had become owners or part owners by 1965, the effects of the "Land-to-the-Tiller" program are not indicated in any precise manner. To have done so the investigator would have had to have interviewed former tenants who became owners. Nevertheless, the statistics are impressive especially, because although the exact relation between the "Land-to-the-Tiller" program is somewhat obscure, statistical clarification would probably only indicate in a more forceful manner a correlation between change in status and political participation. (Ibid.:23-24).
The above figures become more meaningful if translated into amounts of increase of participation. Thus, the average increase in voter participation for the village mayor was 85.89 per cent; that of the tenants for village mayor was 83.22 per cent. The average increase in voter participation for township mayor was 158.8 per cent; that of tenants 358.66 per cent. The average increase for hsien magistrate was 107.25 per cent; that of tenants was 111.53 per cent. The average increase in voter participation for all the above elected administrative personnel was 117.31 per cent while the average increase among tenants in voting for elected administrative personnel was 184.47 per cent. The average increase in voter participation for the township, hsien, and provincial representatives was 124.23 per cent, 97.53 per cent, 115.82 per cent, respectively; the average increase for all elected legislative personnel being 115.82 per cent. The tenants increase in voting for legislators was 133.64 per cent, 137.41 per cent, and 157.20 per cent for the township, hsien and provincial representatives, respectively. A somewhat more accurate idea of the impact of the "Land-to-the-Tiller" program can be gained by comparing the voter participation of the tenants in the 1948 election for the provincial representatives with the 1965 average voter participation of the owners and part owners, and noting the percentage of voting increase presumably derived from a change in status from tenant to owner. By this method an increase of voting of 241 per cent for those who received land from the "Land-to-the-Tiller" program is indicated, at least with regards to the election of this particular official. A glance at the table will indicate that this technique is not needed to reflect changes in voting patterns at the village level where the present day tenants voting habits are much the same as those of the rest of the villagers.

Certainly the causes for the increased participation by rural voters in elections in Taiwan cannot all be found with the land reform movements. Had it not been for the development of political cliques or parties representing local interests and local personalities and the development of the "no party-no clique" movement which resembles in some cases a party in itself and reflects the ideology of a significant block of the voters; that is to say, if choices among candidates had not been made available and the possibility for competing political organizations to have formed, there is no reason to expect that there would have been a noticeable increase in voting interest. However successful competition and the formation of blocks of conflicting political power with sufficient organization to deliver the votes and elect candidates, in the first place, rests upon the interest of the voters although such activity in turn stimulates voting activity.

The increase in interest in politics and other public and semi-public sectors of life not only by tenants turned owners but by a larger element of the rural population in general, is one of the most significant changes that has occurred within the last fifteen years, but it is only symptomatic of a more basic change in attitude. The Taiwanese categorize this area of attitudinal change by saying that they now "dare to spend money". The economic denotation of the Taiwanese should not obscure the fact that the connotations are mainly social. The economic meaning is best seen in the changed relations of different socio-economic status groups. To understand the meaning of the phrase, we must compare the former rural social organization with that of the present.
The model upon which the Japanese ruled Taiwan was a system of group responsibility called in Chinese the paochia. When the system was introduced, the "elders" of a paochia suggested a candidate from among their midst to serve as the head of the paochia who was then subject to the approval of the police and county (hsien) officials. Each paochia consisted of about 100 households. The police exercised control over the communities by use of brutality, censorship, supervision of public assembly, and indirectly through the head of the paochia. (Ballantine 1952:28-30)

My sources qualify and supplement Ballantine's information in part because the paochia seems to have become somewhat relaxed toward the end of Japanese rule. Thus, although the leader of the paochia was made responsible to a certain extent for the actions of those under him, for example, if a certain quota of money had to be raised for a fund and the other members of the paochia did not make sufficient contributions to fulfill the quota, the leader of the paochia had to contribute the difference, joint responsibility was not carried so far as to punish the household of the family, the neighbors, or the paochia leader of an escaped criminal. Also, within the last few years of Japanese rule, the leader of the paochia was elected from the public at large but no campaigning was supposed to be allowed by those who might seek the position although some did campaign on the sly. No one was allowed to declare himself publicly as a candidate for paochia leader but instead the villagers simply voted for write-in candidates. The man with the number of votes cast for him won the election and was obligated to serve. Actually, the important men of the village caucused before the election and decided whom they would tell the voters to elect.

The paochia was, in fact, accommodated to the villages as these were considered to have historical reality. Most of my informants either noticed no change in the geographical composition of the Japanese as opposed to the Chinese administrative units, that is, paochia as compared to villages, or, when they did notice a change, attributed it to a growth in population. Thus, geographically speaking, the paochia was equated with the village, an equation which would have been impossible if the paochia had in each case represented exactly 100 families.

The police, both Japanese and Taiwanese, were allowed to stay in one area for only six months, according to a former mayor under the Japanese government, so that they did not become too sympathetic with the local population. When a new increment arrived at the village, its members would be briefed about the situation within the village by the members of the "Valiant Men's Association", a group of the more responsible middle aged or nearly middle aged men in the village, that is, men who were not "elders" nor any longer in any of the young men's associations such as the militia. This situation gave the village leader a great deal of power because he had greater knowledge of the local scene than did the Japanese police.

However, the Japanese had other means of control. Throughout the countryside were stationed Japanese agricultural advisors, representatives of the sugar monopoly, and other functionaries. In one case the Japanese agricultural advisor, who some of
the villagers stated had "other duties than those related to agriculture," lived in the same courtyard as the village mayor. Within the same village a Japanese official lived within the courtyard of the family which had in the past consistently provided the village mayor. It would appear that the Japanese, in spite of their policy of rotating their police, maintained a wide ranging system of espionage and indirect control by placing their officials in close contact with the local rural elite.

In general, the Japanese attempted to maintain a hierarchical and conservative social organization in control within the villages. As stated above, the "Associations of Agriculture", although they did much to promote agriculture, were organized from above. In the period from 1924 to 1929 "farmer's associations", which in this case were protest groups of tenants against the government's land policy and the local landlords were tolerated but with the approach of hostilities in Manchuria these voluntary "farmer's associations" were suppressed ruthlessly. (Chen 1956:12-15). Only the heads of households were permitted to vote and in some cases this would mean that one elderly man would cast a vote for ten or more individuals over twenty-one years of age. In brief, the Japanese worked through the conservative and traditional patterns of social control and in addition maintained a close watch over those who held these controls.

One of the means for Japanese control in addition to those mentioned above was to allow for the landlord class the possibility of greater affiliation with Japan by attending Japanese institutions of higher learning and thus gaining positions of responsibility in the island's political and commercial community where Japanese was the official language. Ballantine states, "All government and banking business had to be done in Japanese, with the consequence that Formosans not familiar with that language had to talk through interpreters even when conversing with Chinese-speaking clerks." (1952:33) Another means of keeping the landlord class in hand was by the controlled sale of opium. There was a reluctance on the part of the Japanese government to stop the use of opium among the more wealthy and thus more influential members of Taiwanese society. (Ibid: 40; Barclay 1954:139).

At the election of the mayor, the Japanese would ask the "elders" if the elected man had the ability and character for the position. If the "elders" considered that the prospect did not have these qualifications, elections would be held until a winner acceptable to the "elders" was put forth by the voters. Therefore, there was little possibility for the villagers to vote against the man whom the "elders" had surreptitiously advanced as their candidate.

It is important not to oversimplify Taiwanese social organizations, to believe it composed of only two classes; the landlord, an East Prussian type riding rough shod over his Lithuanian peasants, and the tenant, resembling a caricature in one of Tolstoy's religious stories. Although all analogies are dangerous, the situation in Taiwan, and incidentally in China, resembled more closely the open class systems of conservative small Eastern American cities (cf. Warner & Lunt 1941), except that the status roles analogous to those of Yankee City were played on a face to face basis in
in the villages. A fact which sometimes accentuated status differences and at other times attenuated these differences. It is perhaps relevant to restate that China has passed through a commercial revolution, did not have a manorial socio-economic system but instead a system of petty capitalism. Thus, the landlord and his tenant were not separated by the social distances which separated manor lord from serf. In addition, the landlord's position was rationalized by a belief that he had gained it by hard work, if not his own, than that of his father or another ancestor. Every tenant believed that he had ancestors who had been landlords and every landlord believed that his family had, if not come from humble origin, at times been very poor.

An example of the inter-relatedness which can occur between landlord and tenant can be found in the relation which had existed between one of the tenants of a former mayor's father, the tenant's son and the former mayor. The father of the former mayor had had no children of his own. Thus, he adopted the son of a neighbor, a tenant who previously had not been related to him. This adopted son later became the mayor under the Japanese. In the case of an honorable adoption, that is when the child is not adopted out for money and no attempt is made to hide from the child or anyone else the fact of adoption, the father who gives up the child and the father who adopts the child assume a relationship of social brothers. The now deceased father of the former mayor was one of the most esteemed men in the village in part because he used a large portion of his wealth to build a bridge connecting the village and the town of Puli. Yet, according to the tenant's son who had not been adopted out, relations between the family of this largest landowner in the village and his own family were easy and informal. The former mayor's relations with his brother became, socially speaking, those of paternal cousins and again were free from strain because of status distinctions.

In general, if a landlord allowed his tenants to deduct rent if the harvest was poor and did not abuse his tenants because of his advantageous position, he was considered a good man. Most landlords seem to have been responsive to the ideal that the community held for a person in their status but there were gradations in the degree that any individual lived up to the ideal. The former mayor and at least one other landlord refused to accept gifts from tenants at festivals (the so-called manifestations of Kan-ch'i'ing) because they recognized that these gifts were, on the one hand, a form of extortion by the landlords and, on the other hand, attempts by tenants to bribe landlords to rent better plots at the expense of other tenants. Most landlords seemed to have accepted these gifts. However, I know of only one landlord family which actually went out and demanded extra gifts, including in one case a water buffalo which to the tenant represented a very large amount of working capital. The fact that the two heads of the household in this family were together supporting ten wives, may in part explain their conduct. But to the villagers it did not excuse their behavior especially because there was no recourse for the tenant who, although he might have recovered his buffalo after a great deal of trouble, would have lost his means of livelihood. It is of considerable satisfaction to the villagers that this family has now failed completely after the land reform, moved from the village, and that all but two of the ten wives have left the men.
Popularity notwithstanding, it is my understanding that the heads of all families which rented out considerable amounts of land were considered men of position, that is "elders". To simply be a landlord did not necessarily mean that one was a person of high economic or social standing within the community. For example, a widow without a child old enough to work the land or to marry to an adopted son-in-law might well rent her modest holdings to a fellow villager until her children became old enough to handle the situation themselves. The heads of households of prosperous independent farmers (owner farmers) were considered "elders" if people came to pay attention to what they had to say. Before the land reform one such man had actually rented a small plot of land because he had four sons, and although his holdings were relatively extensive, not sufficient to keep his family busy. Another man with holdings of about the same size had, before the land reform, rented out a piece of land because his older children were girls. According to the villagers both were looked upon as independent farmers and sociologically the villagers' view was correct. The ceremonial head of the localized religiously, but not economically, functional patrilineal lineage in the village near Puli was an "elder" not only because of his position within his patrilineal lineage but because he was considered a just man with whom it was pleasant to be. In the village near Taichung there was a somewhat similar organization although many of its members had dispersed. The oldest member appeared to have been given respect in part because of his position as ceremonial head of the lineage and in part because he was a government official. Government officials and school teachers had a good chance of being considered respected persons but usually only after at least reaching middle age. Finally, in both villages there was one example of a head of household of a relatively poor family who before the land reform was considered an elder. Both men had been adopted son-in-laws and then bought from their wives' parents the right to call their children after their own patrilineally inherited surname and to live by themselves rather than within the wives' fathers' households. One later managed to buy land from his wife's family but the other remained a small scale tenant until the land reform. Both were men noted for their integrity, men who supposedly could mediate problems, and who felt at ease in all manner of village situations and it is worth noting that both were not only very interested in village affairs but appeared to be naturally talkative. The old gentleman who had remained a tenant was also a native doctor of sorts.

These examples show that the villages were not run only by landlords, although holders of large estates were certainly the most important elements within the micro-society. To be an "elder" and thus have an important position in the village, to be listened to by the villagers and the Japanese, one should meet several but not all of the following criteria; wealth expressed through large land holdings, age, education official position, head of household, male sex, head of a large patrilineage, character, interest in village affairs, and ability to speak well. There were two constants: head of household and male sex. There appears to be an underlying theme; the recognition of character either in relation to one's dealings with other villagers or by the accumulation of wealth. The landlord with large holdings is often given this recognition because of the supposed merit of his forefathers. The man who is able to acquire a small holding and a position in society after having started as an adopted son-in-law, the very lowest position in Chinese society, is also given this recognition.
The values of the society were not necessarily anti-tenant and pro-landlord except in a general way and insofar as they tended to reinforce an overcapitalization in land as a mark of esteem for people of means, to force dependence therefore of one economic class upon another, and, in strictly economic terms, drive up the rent. High rent values were not caused by a coalition of landlords but by the bidding of tenants and, during Japanese times, the state monopolies, such as the sugar company, for the landlord's commodity. However, the "elders" were a conservative body and their type of conservatism appears to be a general characteristic of societies where over-pricing in land is a function of a high social esteem for those with a landlord status. Unless the society were conservative and favored the landlord, there would be no psychological value in the status and men with wealth would invest outside of the system because the landlord-tenant system of agriculture is not the most rational means to invest wealth unless non-economic factors or quasi-economic factors such as prestige and security are taken into consideration. It is questionable whether, under the Japanese government, there was more security in investing in land to be cultivated by other rather than in other sectors of the economy. I believe that more security could have been found in industrial or commercial investment but am not sufficiently familiar with this subject other than to call the problem to the attention of the reader. In Taiwan the prestige of the landlord did not derive from abusing his tenants or even necessarily in ostentatious consumption, (Some landlords made a point of dressing as did the poorest tenants.) but in being in a position to distribute favors to the tenants, favors such as the reduction of rent during a year of crop failures which were vital to the tenant's continued existence. This distribution of favors placed the landlord not only in an economically superior position in relation to his tenants but in a psychologically superordinate position as well. He could expect, in return for his largess, manifestations of good will and respect.

The manifest values of the society was Confucian. (Those men who had attended Japanese schools translated Confucian as Bushido.) Thus the "elders" were concerned about the responsibilities of different categories of people and how people of different status should act toward each other. While those of a higher status should be responsible to those of a lower status, those with a lower status, should give not only ceremonial but real deference to those above them. The society was a hierarchy, not merely in a social sense but in terms of actual power relations. The mayor could beat a man or woman for disturbing the peace although he usually called in the police for this duty. The heads of a neighborhood could and sometimes beat those who quarreled with their neighbors, and an "elder" might well strike or simply berate anyone of an inferior position for what he considered an infraction of a social norm such as a woman riding side saddle on the back of a bicycle even though the woman beaten for this infraction of morality might be a mother being taken by her son to market. Deference should traditionally be given by tenants to landlord, by women to men, by children to parents, by younger brother to elder brother, by youth to age, by the less educated to the more educated, by the non-official to the official, and in general by those of lower social rank to those of higher social rank. The individual who disregarded these values was punished. A further illustration of the use of power to enforce the
hierarchical society was the hazing and turning over of the punishment of the lower grades in school to the upper grades.

Other values were extreme frugality except for a rich landlord from whom some conspicuous consumption might be expected. The tenant who stepped out of line here would expect no mercy from his landlord when it came time to collect the rent. The isolation of women was also considered proper conduct although some of the women who had received an education in Japan would not comply to this rule at least when they went to the city and the women of some poor families worked in the fields.

When the Japanese left the political system was changed so as to allow equal representation of all classes including for example, women, or younger brothers and sons still within the confines of a joint household, but it was not until the land reform that the social as well as the legal system changed so that those formerly in a subordinant position dared to act more independently.

The economic aspects of "to dare to spend money" are in part tied with the fact that, if a tenant showed any signs of living above a subsistence level, his landlord would raise the rent or at least refuse to allow a reduction to him in poor years. It is also related to a greater tendency at present to invest capital in farm improvement. But in addition it is related to the fact that heads of households have given into the demands of other members of their families and, as incomes have risen, have bought more luxury goods such as better clothing, electric fans, radios, or bicycles. Many elder men complain that the socio-economic system has been destroyed by this change, which is not only dangerous from an economic point of view, but indicates a decline in morality. Others point out that most people now save a greater percentage of their income than before even though they spend more and thus the old men should not complain.

As some informants have stated, "to dare to spend money" really means that one may now defy the "elders" concerning customary action. Thus, women who began to work in the fields during the labor shortage caused by World War II, continued to do so after the land reform because of the more intensive use of the land, and it would seem, as an expression of an increase in their self-esteem. Linguistically speaking at least, the fact that women often now work alongside their men in the fields is not allowed to be taken for granted. They say that they are only "helping" their husbands, now "working" on the farm. Many men, however, state that without the additional labor input of women, the recent increase in agricultural production would have been much less. Not only do the wives and daughters of former tenants work in the fields but so do some of the wives and daughters of some of the wealthier families in the villages including those of former landlords. It is now an accepted practice.

Women not only work in fields but girls and young women work in factories and they ride there on bicycles. No one thinks of stopping a man for giving his wife a ride on his bicycle, let alone his mother, and often in the evening a young unmarried
couple will be seen going into town either each on separate bicycles or the girl riding behind side saddle style. In the same spirit women now dress well not only for festivals but simply to go to town. Because they are not afraid of being criticized, or rather pay little heed to criticism when given, they dress not only for their husbands and, if unmarried for young men, but for style, which I suppose means for the sake of other women. Although an expert might be able to distinguish a village girl from her urban sister because of dress style when the former visits the city, I certainly could not. A woman who had but an hour or so before been spreading "night soil" in the vegetable patch could be seen on the streets of Taichung in as fetching an outfit as anyone in the city and wearing a hair style that was as modern as those of London. Only the tendency of her dentist to use gold fillings rather than porcelain might give away the fact that she was not native to the city whether it be Taichung, Taipei, San Francisco, or New York.

The fact that the farms are incorporated into a market economy often means that fathers have come to rely upon sons to a considerable extent in farm management. The son will often be literate while the father will be illiterate and the son will be more likely to attend the Farmer's Association meetings and demonstrations. Often father and son will approach the matter pragmatically. They will experiment with a small plot, watch how others fare who are trying out a new technique, and determine later the extent of their commitment to the new method. The important factor is that the father is put into a position where he is learning from his son. Farm management generally becomes a matter of mutual agreement after discussion between all those who participate. If a father is an elderly man who is set in his ways, then he generally is too old to go to the fields so sons give him lip service and do as they consider correct for the best of the household.

Often, because one or more members of the household of either sex will be gaining an income off the farm, yet at times helping their parents, brothers and sisters, or sister-in-laws on the farm and in the kitchen, there is a greater freedom regarding how money should be spent. A Taiwanese household does not necessarily consider that the income from all members should not be held in common but that more limitations exist on which income is to be placed within the common fund or, to put it another way, each member is given more for his own use. It is not an innovation within Chinese culture to allow an unmarried girl to keep money that she earns for herself or to save for her dowery but now the sums are larger and the young women naturally want more say as to the nature of goods they are taking with them to their new homes on their wedding day.

Another corollary of "to dare to spend money" is that "one works when there is work but when there is no work, then one can amuse oneself". In other words one does not have to make busy work to try to live up to the adage that "from sunrise to sunset, the farmer's work is never done."

An official is now not given respect merely because of his status; he must also be considered a worthwhile official. One informant stated that before the land reform one had to treat officials with great politeness and offer them the best of the house. At present, he said, we farmers not only refuse to offer tea or cigarettes to officials who
drop by but who are not properly introduced to us by the village mayor, but we let
the dogs loose upon them. This chap was rather tipsy at the time and his statement
can be seen as an exaggeration. The Taiwanese are generally too polite to behave
in the manner he depicted except in fantasy but his words do indicate the higher
prestige that the farmer now feels vis-a-vis the official class. Another informant,
a woman, stated that farmers were not especially interested in marrying their
daughters to officials as compared to farmers. If the farmer had a better income,
they would rather have their daughter marry the farmer and that many young women
feel the same way.

Therefore the land reform has brought about a change in social relations. It has
not changed the basic value of the society, that is, that respect should be given to
those who make good, but in the tendency for social relations to be less
hierarchical. In both the open class and family systems it has tended to focus more
upon individual characteristics and to allow more cultural innovations. The joint
family system has not disintegrated but the relations within the system have
changed. For the most part the old forms of ceremonial deference are still in force;
young men are still courteous to old men and women still tend to stay in the
background when male guests appear although there has been some change in this
latter custom. However, younger men do not necessarily take the advice of the
older men as was the case before and women more and more take for granted a
mutual position of responsibility in decision making with their husbands. There
is of course great variation from family to family but often the head of
the household and his sons together plan how the farm should be managed while he
and his wife plan major decisions concerning the household itself, minor decisions
being left to the wife, her daughters, and daughters-in-law. Younger sons and
daughters often are better educated than their elder siblings or siblings-in-law and,
ideally speaking, their advise should be sought concerning a variety of matters.

To a certain extent the change in the composition of the "elders" of the village
indicates the change in the general social character although, because the basic
social values are the same, we should expect somewhat the same type of individuals
to be represented. Hardly any two persons gave the same estimate as to who were
the "elders" in the villages at present. Nevertheless there was considerable overlap
although there were diametrically divergent opinions expressed concerning a few
individuals because of past controversies which had arisen within the villages.
Generally speaking and discussing both villages at the same time, former landlords
were still considered "elders if they had treated their tenants fairly before the land
reform and if, as independent farmers or very petty landlords at present, they not only
managed to appear to treat their neighbors as equals but also made allowances for them
as members of the village gentry should for those in subordinate positions. One man
who had been well liked as a landlord before the land reform because of his kindness
came to be bitterly disliked by some after the land reform because he insisted that all
villagers were equal and he, as the aggressive independent farmer that he became, had
the right, as he stated it, to treat them as they deserved. As far as he was concerned,
the obligations of the nobility ended with the land reform.
One woman in the village near Taichung was a sort of "quasi-elder". She was not considered as an important political figure by the men but as someone to whom others should give deference. She was a middle aged widow, a former landlady, who managed the farm herself. She had put her son through college and he is now in the United States doing graduate work. The two old men mentioned above as being "elders" before the land reform who changed their status from adopted son-in-laws to free men are still considered as such and are given special deference although I have a suspicion that more deference is given than advice heeded.

At the village near Puli, in addition to the man mentioned above, was another respected elderly gentleman who practiced curing through magic but who took little or no compensation, although he was very poor. Others were the medium through whom the gods spoke at the Kuang Kung (Confucian-Taoist) Temple and in his own right a respected man, the mayor and a member of the only localized ceremonial kin group in either village, the former mayor under Japanese times, several elected officials such as the head of the Farmer's Association's cell in the village, a representative to the township government who happened to live in the village, and a number of middle aged prosperous farmers, one of whom had been a poor tenant before the land reform. The political climate of this village was not actually more conservative than that in other places in Taiwan but more timid. It had had a serious fractional dispute about ten years ago and did not want a repeat of this performance and, to the villagers way of thinking, the best way to avoid fractionalism was to avoid political activity. The present mayor was a good one and, even though he was weary of the job and one younger man in particular wanted to take his place, the villagers were content to either avoid political issues or follow the lead of the "elders". Thus, in a recent mayoralty election at which the incumbent won easily only half of the villagers cared to vote. In the village just across the road the incumbent won re-election only because the relatives of the challenger, a younger man in his forties, voted for the incumbent because they did not want the challenger to dissipate his energy in village affairs.

Somewhat the same pattern was found at the village near Taichung. One of the most popular men was an elderly retired tenant who is now the leader of the Farmer's Association's cell. There were several prosperous independent farmers, some of whom had been tenants and some of whom had not, and one of whom had been a former landlord and village mayor under the Japanese; and the mayor who had been a landlord before the land reform. The representative to the township government, who in this case again happened to live in the village, was a controversial young man who definitely was not classed as an "elder". Perhaps the biggest difference in the two areas was the absence of prestige given to a religious functionary as it was at the village near Puli and the tendency for a number of younger men in their late thirties and early forties to rise to the position of men of responsibility. One such man, a former tenant, in the village near Taichung is now in a good position to become the next village mayor.

A brief analysis of the election for mayor held at the village near Taichung will illustrate in a graphic manner the way in which the old system of hierarchical status
has been broken. For a number of complex reasons a few of the "elders" in the village decided that the village mayor was not to be re-elected. In order to achieve this aim they worked to muster support from all those whom they considered at all important within the village. They tried to persuade to their point of view as many "elders", the heads of households, those who had the most relatives, the representative to the township government, the former landlords, and retired and active officials, as possible. They were not successful in persuading all those in these categories to join them in backing their candidate, but on the whole they were successful and most villagers considered that the mayor did not have a chance to win. The mayor stated that he based his campaign upon the fact that the land reform had brought about subtle changes within the social and family structure within the village and he made it clear that he was affiliated with these changes. In the same vein, he played the role of the underdog, a role which the other side gave him ample opportunity to develop. The mayor won with a good majority after about a ninety per cent turnout of the voters and from my own analysis, wives and sons tended to vote for him against the advice of the heads of the households. Also, as one informant put it, "people of little importance voted for the mayor."

It is difficult to find better proof for the reality of the social meaning to the phrase "to dare to spend money" than the results of this election especially because one of the reasons that some of the "elders" rationalized their opposition to the mayor because his niece had been elected Miss China and had taken fourth place in the Miss World finals. A few years ago well brought up Taiwanese girls were not supposed to have been seen by men other than relatives before their marriage.

In summary, the situation that faced the Republic of China when it retreated to Taiwan was hardly encouraging. The local Taiwanese in part distinguished themselves from the newcomers, a distinction expressed through a difference in meaning to the Taiwanese of the terms "Han-jen" and "Chung-kuo-jen". The Taiwanese stated that the "Mainlanders" and they were both "Han-jen" but that the Taiwanese were not "Chung-kuo-jen" and that "Mainlanders" of course were not Taiwanese. In addition the initial governmental bodies which represented the Chinese Nationalists left much to be desired being generally vainglorious and sometimes corrupt.

The land reform, initiated in 1949 and completed for the most part by 1963, along with other activities such as the revitalization of the Farmer's Associations, was an attempt to give economic and social stability and progress to the island. These reforms were carried out with the support of American aid through the International Cooperation Administration, now called the Agency for International Development, which worked in the Taiwanese rural sector primarily via the Chinese-American Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction. However, ideas concerning land reform have a long history in Chinese tradition going back to the Han Dynasty at least and are basic ingredients within the philosophy of the Kuomintang party.

The land reform in Taiwan should not be considered only in its political aspects. Whereas during the Japanese times significant increases in agricultural yield were
made by opening new lands to the farmer or by changing dry land to paddy land, the gains made after the time of the land reform were made by an increase in the amount of labor and capital invested into the land. It would not have been economical for a tenant farmer to have risked the yields of such an investment to confiscation by his landlord under the old system of tenancy. Therefore, a change in land tenure was necessary if further increases in production per unit land were to be achieved. The increase in agricultural productivity made possible by the new methods of agriculture and the identification of the tiller with his land stimulated increases in other sectors of the economy to such an extent that even in 1960 production in primary industry had been surpassed by that in both secondary and tertiary industries.

My problem as an anthropologist was to discover changes in rural Taiwan of a socio-psycho logical nature. In this paper one of these areas change has been discussed, one which has broad ramifications for the rural society. The point of reference has been taken from the Taiwanese world view, their manner of characterizing their own culture and society, and concerns the fact that now a Taiwanese "dares to spend money."

As we have seen this phrase has many connotations; economic, political and social. In general it can be seen as a statement of independence by those categories of individuals who had been allowed little freedom of expression under the former hierarchical system. Their freedom has evolved from the relative inability for those in non-official places of authority to discipline them as they had done before the land reform, this discipline taking many forms such as an increase in rent or censure by the "elders" for unbecoming behavior. Thus, although deference is still given in accordance with Confucian standard and there is little social disorganization within the village, more attention is paid to the opinions of the individual regardless of status. Perhaps the closest English equivalent to the Chinese "to dare to spend money" would be "to forget one's class" if this phrase had as positive a connotation as it has a negative one.

The issues we have discussed relate readily to others such as, for example, "equality of women" which is another phrase heard frequently within the Taiwanese rural society. "Equality of women" in Taiwan is not related to destroying saloons, nor has it as yet really concentrated upon the question of the relation of husband with "Wine-shop Girls" although it appears that this perennial trouble spot is gathering attention. Its chief aim has been to allow a free choice of spouse for both the young man and young woman rather than to allow spouses to be determined by the parents. However, interesting as this subject might be, the Taiwanese would agree that it is merely related to the problem of "to dare to spend money."
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