

CHINESE - AMERICAN
JOINT COMMISSION ON RURAL RECONSTRUCTION
Economic Digest Series No. 14

A STUDY OF EXISTING SOCIAL CONDITIONS
IN THE EIGHT TOWNSHIPS OF THE
SHIHMEN RESERVOIR AREA
including
A BRIEF ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACT
OF IRRIGATION
and
BENCHMARKS FOR MEASURING SOCIAL CHANGE

Jean T. Burke



SHIHIFEN CAMP
LUNGTAN, TAOYUAN, TAIWAN

May 1962

The following report is respectfully submitted to the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction and the Shihmen Development Commission.

May 7, 1962

Jean T. Burke

CHINESE - AMERICAN
JOINT COMMISSION ON RURAL RECONSTRUCTION
Economic Digest Series No. 14

A STUDY OF EXISTING SOCIAL CONDITIONS
IN THE EIGHT TOWNSHIPS OF THE
SHIHMEN RESERVOIR AREA
including
A BRIEF ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACT
OF IRRIGATION
and
BENCHMARKS FOR MEASURING SOCIAL CHANGE

Jean T. Burke



SHIHIFEN CAMP
LUNGTAN, TAoyUAN, TAIWAN

May 1962

1533

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Chapter

	Page
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Purpose of the Study	1
Method and Procedures.....	1
Limitations of the Study.....	5
II. BENCHMARKS OF SOCIAL CHANGE.....	8
Benchmarks Based on Statistical Data.....	8
Benchmarks Based on Attitudes and Opinions	17
III. THE IMPACT OF IRRIGATION.....	25
Occupational Preferences.....	25
Economic Conditions.....	26
Labor and Leisure	26
Methods of Cultivation.....	27
Religious Practices.....	27
Associations	28
Agricultural Education.....	29
Health Conditions.....	29
IV. ATTITUDES TOWARD THE SHIHMEN PROJECT.....	30
Hukou.....	30
Talueh	34
V. HUKOU.....	36
Introduction	36
Population.....	36
Subsistence Patterns	40
Marriage and the Family	53

Social Relationships.....	57
Community Life	60
Religious and Ceremonial Life	62
Education	67
Health.....	73
Acculturation and Culture Contact.....	77
Limitations on Development.....	80
 VI. TALUEH.....	 82
Introduction	82
Population.....	82
Culture Contacts.....	85
Subsistence Patterns	86
Marriage and the Family	94
Social Relationships.....	96
Community Life	99
Religious and Ceremonial Life.....	99
Education	101
Health	104
 APPENDIX	
Social Survey Questionnaire.....	107
Leadership Conference Questionnaire	110

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Grateful acknowledgement is extended to the following people and organizations for their generous assistance:

Dr. Chiang Monlin, Chairman, Dr. S. C. Hsieh, Secretary-General, Mr. Y. C. Tsui, Chief of the Rural Economics Division and their assistants, all of the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction, who set up the research project, made available the funds for its completion, and directed the administrative aspects of the work.

Executive Director C. N. Hsu, Director Chen of the Statistics Department, his assistants Mr. Wang and Mr. Chen and other staff members, all of the Shihmen Development Commission, who cooperated with the JCRR in the sponsorship and administration of the project and assisted in the research in many ways.

Professor Martin Yang of the National Taiwan University who advised on the preparation of the leadership conference questionnaire and participated in the Chung-li conference.

Mr. Kwan and Mr. Han of the Shihmen Development Commission who served faithfully as interpreter and translator.

Particular thanks is due to Chief Huang of Hukou Village, Chief Hsieh of Chung-li Township, to their staffs, to the local interpreters Mr. Huang and Mr. Shiao, and to community leaders and informants of both townships for their excellent spirit of cooperation and generous hospitality.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the survey of existing social conditions in the Shihmen Reservoir was twofold:

1. To study the social impact of irrigation on the eight townships of the reservoir area
2. To establish benchmarks for measuring social change which may come as a result of the availability of irrigation after the completion of the Shihmen project

It is hoped that the findings of this pilot study may encourage and facilitate more extensive studies in the future of the processes of culture change as they relate to irrigation and subsequent economic development, not only in the Shihmen Reservoir Area but in other areas of Taiwan and of the world as well.

Method and Procedures

The survey, which was sponsored jointly by the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction and by the Shihmen Development Commission consisted of a social survey, leadership conferences in two of the eight townships, follow-up studies of the survey and conferences, and detailed household interviews.

SELECTION OF TOWNSHIPS FOR DETAILED STUDY

It was felt that a study of the direct social impact of the Shihmen project could best be made by a comparison of two agricultural communities; one community with a serious shortage of water, and the other community already benefiting from irrigation.

Hukou Township, which borders Hsinchu was selected as being representative of a community which, because of a serious shortage of water has at present a low standard of economic development. After completion of the irrigation project it is expected that it will show a significant economic development. With improved economic conditions it is also expected that social changes will occur.

The rural area in Chung-li township which has for some time enjoyed the benefits of water from the Taoyuan Canal was chosen as representative of a community already reaping the benefits of irrigation. The neighborhood of Talueh was selected for more specific study. It is located about 3 km. from Chung-li town.

There seems to be no significant difference between the two communities which would influence the results of this study except the great difference in the availability of water. Therefore, it is assumed that differences in existing social conditions can be attributed largely to this one factor.

The rural community of Hukou seems at present to represent a rather typical, undisturbed rural area of the Shihmen district and perhaps of Taiwan in general. Studies made here should provide a base for the establishment of benchmarks which serve as a means of measuring social change after the completion of the Shihmen Project. Furthermore, results should provide a basis for studies of rural development in other parts of the Island.

SOCIAL SURVEY

A brief social survey was conducted concurrently with an economic survey under the same sponsorship. The social survey covered about 300 households in eight townships of the Shihmen Reservoir area and was a study of the following major items: composition of households, attitudes toward the family, education of family members, mobility, housing arrangements, health conditions, leisure time activities, and employment.

The schedule for the social survey was drawn up by the writer and was conducted by enumerators of the economic survey under the direction of Director Chen of the Shihmen Development Commission, Statistics Department.

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCES

Conferences were held in two of the eight townships included in the survey; namely, Chung-li and Hukou.

Local leaders of the two townships attended the conference by invitation. They included the township chief and important township officials, leaders of associations, including the Farmers' Association and Women's Associations. School principals, public health officials and leading citizens also participated. Approximately twenty people attended each conference.

Leaders were presented with a questionnaire which served as a basis for discussion of a variety of topics including general and economic conditions, education, health, family, religious beliefs, social life, attitudes and opinions regarding the Shihmen project, and the possible resistance of certain aspects of the culture to culture change.

In Hukou the questionnaire was presented by Mr. Chen, director of the Statistics Department of the Shihmen Development Commission who also directed the discussion. In Chung-li the township chief acted as chairman of the conference. Both conferences were conducted in Mandarin with translations as necessary into the local dialect and English.

The Hukou conference lasted about four hours but the conference in Chung-li was finished in approximately two hours.

Both conferences were attended by representatives of the Shihmen Development Commission and the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction, who also participated in the discussion. Professor Martin Yang of the National Taiwan University also participated in the Chung-li conference.

FOLLOW-UP STUDY

A follow-up study designed to verify and expand the findings of the social survey and leadership conferences constituted the third phase of the study and included interviews with village officials and community leaders as well as household interviews.

Interviews with village officials and community leaders.—The follow-up study included the collection of simple, basic statistics concerning such items as population, birth/death rates, education, divorce rates, health conditions, crime, occupations, etc. from the township records.

By means of interviews with government officials and leaders of the community it was possible to learn of the history of the community information about social conditions and attitudes regarding Shihmen, health conditions, information about educational facilities, the function of important associations, etc. During the interviews topics discussed followed an outline similar to that of the leadership conference questionnaire and thereby they served as a check on information already obtained from community leaders.

Visits were made to public schools and health stations in the two townships and in Hukou a trip was taken around the township with government officials for the purpose of obtaining general information about the community as a whole.

Seven interviews with village officials and community leaders were held in Hukou and six in Chung-li.

Household interviews.—In Hukou the households selected for detailed study were chosen by the Village office. One rural household selected was considered representative of families living in the driest section of the township and a second represented rural families living in the wettest part of the township. A third family, that of a merchant in New Hukou, represented the townspeople; and a fourth, the family of a neighborhood leader in Old Hukou, represented townspeople in a less prosperous community.

The four households studied in Talueh were all rural families selected by the Township office.

The methods followed in this part of the survey were informal, unstructured, non-directive interviews conducted with the aid of interpreters and personal observation.

The interviews followed a broad, general outline which included the following topics:

- a. Housing and household: a description of the household, equipment therein, persons living in the house, relationships, ownership of land, etc.

- b. The family as an economic unit: number of people who work, where, at what occupation, salary, division of labor (age, sex, seasonal work, cooperative work) attitudes re economic conditions, goals toward success
- c. Daily routine: routine tasks, seasonal differences, types of recreation
- d. Attitudes toward children and youth: attitudes toward education, status, social relations, small and large families, health conditions
- e. Attitudes toward marriage and divorce: method of finding a wife, marriage customs, restrictions on marriage partners, property exchange, attitudes re divorce, how can divorce be obtained
- f. Social relationships in the community: friends, relatives, political and community participation
- g. Attitudes re religion: religious affiliations, extent of participation, attitudes toward religious beliefs
- h. Attitudes re Shihmem Project: how will it affect the family directly, understandings regarding the project, how irrigation will change, or has changed, the lives of family members

In Hukou a total of eight household interviews were held and in Talueh a total of four. Each interview lasted approximately two hours.

Limitations of the Study

SOCIAL SURVEY

In order that the social survey might be run concurrently with the economic survey which was ready to be undertaken at the time the proposal for the social survey was submitted, it was necessary for the questionnaire to be constructed very quickly. The shortage of time and difficulties of communication resulted in the inadequate preparation of the enumerators for their task. Furthermore, the questionnaire schedule might have been improved if time had permitted.

The results of the survey, of course, were in Chinese and the time consumed in translation did not leave a sufficiency of time for proper

tabulation and analysis of the results. Four months after the completion of the field work the survey results were not yet available in meaningful form.

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCES

Because of two barriers—language difficulties and unfamiliarity with the subject matter of sociology—it was not possible to explain to the person who was to present the questionnaire the full meaning of the questions included. Therefore, the type of answers desired was not always forthcoming at the conferences. Furthermore, the conference was conducted in Chinese and only with great difficulty was it possible to introduce any direction to the discussion.

Many attending the conference in Hukou spoke the local dialect or a mixture of dialect and Mandarin. This necessitated lengthy and time consuming translations and made it impossible to obtain a full translation of the proceedings from the tape recording which was made.

The Hukou conference was too long. It ran from ten in the morning until noon with time out for lunch and then continued until about three o'clock. Some participants did not understand that it would continue all day and found it necessary to leave early.

The Chung-li conference, on the other hand, was too short. It lasted only from about nine o'clock until noon. The answers to the questions of course were also too short and often proved to be inadequate for the purposes of the study. The only English record of this conference which was made available was extremely meager.

Some speakers in both conferences monopolize the discussion and others were reluctant to speak at all. Also, the replies which they gave to the questions were probably not so much expressive of the true opinions of participants as they were opinions the participants thought the researchers would like to hear.

FOLLOW-UP STUDIES

The follow-up studies, fortunately, were much more satisfactory than either the social survey or the leadership conferences.

Interviews with local leaders and household interviews were conducted

with the aid of an interpreter and thus for the first time a more direct approach was possible between interviewer and interviewee. However, even this method had limitations.

Most of the local people speak only a dialect and do not understand Mandarin well, if at all. Therefore, it was necessary in many cases to have a second translation through an interpreter who understood the dialect. This, of course, was time consuming and it undoubtedly resulted in the loss of the true meaning of many of the informants' statements.

There is reason to believe that to a greater or less degree feelings of dissention between Mainlander and Taiwanese sometimes crept into the interview and this may have invalidated certain responses.

The difficulty of locating a well-qualified interpreter who could express himself clearly in both the dialects and in English made it necessary to continue the work without correcting the situation.

The response of the informants and local leaders to the survey was gratifying. Because of their willingness to cooperate fully in the project good results were obtained in spite of the many limitations of the study.

OTHER FACTORS

Perhaps the most serious problem encountered was a sudden change in the personal plans of the writer which necessitated the completion of the project in a total of four months instead of the six which had been allotted. The field work schedule in Talueh had to be shortened but otherwise the study was completed as planned under the most trying circumstances. The presentation of the materials, however, suffered accordingly.

From the beginning the problems which have beset the study have been many and difficult. Still, it is hoped that the results obtained will prove useful, not only in understanding the processes of social changes as they relate to irrigation in the townships of the Shihmen Reservoir area, but also in other places of Taiwan and in the world where social change is being hastened by the implementation of similar projects.

CHAPTER II

BENCHMARKS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Benchmarks for measuring social change are based on two types of data. Statistical data was obtained from township records, from results of a social survey questionnaire distributed to two hundred and ninety-eight farm households in the eight townships of the Shihmen Reservoir Area, and from a Statistical Abstract of the Shihmen Canal Irrigation Area (1960). Benchmarks based on attitudes and opinions are based on opinions expressed in the leadership conferences and household interviews and on personal observations.

Benchmarks Based on Statistical Data

POPULATION

The total population of the eight townships at the time of the study was 291,961. Of the total 52 percent are males and 48 percent females. The sex ratio (females=100) averages 106. The density per square kilometer is 545.12; per square hectare of cultivated land is 938.

The total farm population is 160,847.

In each of the eight townships there is at present an average of 1510.5 births per year but only 222.12 deaths. There are a total of 25,485 immigrants and 22,501 emigrants, but 7,415 of the emigrants and 7,301 of the immigrants are in Chung-li township.

Size of households.—Of a total of 298 households studied the breakdown by generations in each was follows:

1-generation households	0.5%
2-generation households	47.0%
3-generation households	48.0%
4-generation households	4.0%
5-generation households	0.5%

Composition of the family.—Relationships within the households were recorded as follows:

Grandparents of head		Married children of head	
Male	0.00%	Male	0.42%
Female	0.02%	Female	0.01%
Parent of head		Spouses of married children	
Male	0.07%	Male	0.01%
Female	0.22%	Female	0.40%
Siblings of head		Grandchildren of head	
Male	0.18%	Male	0.06%
Female	0.10%	Female	0.56%
Spouses of siblings		Great grandchildren of head	
Male	0.00%	Male	0.05%
Female	0.05%	Female	0.02%
Children of siblings		Adopted children of head	
Male	0.12%	Male	0.02%
Female	0.09%	Female	0.20%
Unmarried children of head		Others	
Male	1.76%	Male	0.03%
Female	1.44%	Female	0.60%

Other persons living in the households included the following:

Servants		Tenants		Others	
Male	3	Male	0	Male	4
Female	0	Female	0	Female	2

Age-sex distribution.—Of the total population 52 percent are males and 48 percent are females. The sex ratio (females=100) is 106.

Age	Males	Females	Age	Males	Females
0—4	13.0%	14.1%	30—34	7.3%	6.5%
5—9	14.5%	16.0%	35—39	4.2%	4.0%
10—14	12.7%	13.6%	40—44	3.9%	4.1%
15—19	10.6%	9.6%	45—49	4.2%	3.8%
20—24	8.6%	10.0%	50—54	3.3%	2.7%
25—29	8.3%	6.3%	55—59	2.9%	3.5%
			60+	4.7%	5.1%

Adoption:—Results indicate that of the households studied adopted daughters make up a total of 0.20% of the total membership and adopted boys only 0.02%.

Size of families.—Of households interviewed a total of 86 percent of the heads stated a preference for large families and only 14 percent preferred small families. Of the sons of the household heads 82 percent preferred large families and 18 percent small.

Heads of households stated that they would prefer to have an average of 5.0 children but their sons preferred only 4.4 children. The actual total size of the families studied was 8.

Mobility.—Families interviewed had lived at their present address an average of 35.3 years but the range was from 1-200 years. Before, the majority reported, they had lived nearby their present location. The average number of years' residence at the former address was 34.6 and the range was 2-200 years.

The great majority of the heads and spouses of the households studied were born in Taoyuan Hsien. The second largest group was born in Hsinchu Hsien. Only one householder reported that he had been born on Mainland China.

Of the 271 heads of households who responded to the question 150 reported that they would prefer to live where they are; or in the country however, 118 said they would prefer to live in the city. Three stated a preference for moving abroad.

Only 75 of the total of 228 of the sons of the heads stated a preference for remaining where they now live or in the country. Those who said they would prefer to move to the city were 147. Six sons preferred to move abroad.

Fifteen males and seven females were permanently away from home for employment purposes. Thirty males were away in military service. Seven boys and three girls were attending school away from home.

LANGUAGE

Of the 298 families studied 99 percent use dialects in the home. Only 2.3% use Mandarin and 1.0% another language.

One hundred percent of the families have dialect speakers among their members. Thirty-five percent have Mandarin speakers and 10 percent have Japanese speakers. In 10 percent of the families there is an English speaking person. Three percent have members who have studied English but only 2.1 percent have members who can write and understand the language.

MATERIAL CULTURE

Housing arrangements.—The following figures may or may not be accurate depending upon whether or not a careful distinction was made by the enumerators between rooms for living and others.

The average number of rooms per house was 5.3. The mean number of rooms was 4.0 per house. The average number of rooms per person was 0.6 rooms.

Domestic equipment.—The following figures reflect economic conditions and also the acceptance and rejection of certain foreign goods:

Ninety-two percent of the heads of households interviewed owned watches and 83 percent owned bicycles; 72 percent had flash lights.

In 57.0 percent of the households there were sewing machines. Thirty-two percent had charcoal irons but only 10 percent had electric irons. Radios were found in 30 percent of the houses and ice boxes in only 0.7 percent.

One percent of the houses were equipped with screens on doors and windows but only 0.3 percent had spring and mattress beds.

GENERAL ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

A total of 69 people of the 270 who responded to the question thought that economic conditions in the area are better than before but 78 thought that they are worse. One hundred and twenty-three said that conditions are the same as they were ten years ago.

Of a total of 283 people questioned 265 said that they thought economic conditions would improve after the completion of the Shihmen project. Fourteen thought conditions would remain the same. Four people said they thought they would worsen.

Uses for more money.—Thirty-two percent of the people questioned said that if they had more money they would use it to improved agricultural production. Eleven percent would use it for public benefit, 9 percent to buy land, 8 percent to buy merchandise, 6 percent to invest in a factory. Another 6 percent would invest in a store. Five percent would use it for trade and another 5 percent for education; another for business. Three percent would build or improve their houses. Less than one percent would use it for investment, use it for medical expenses, breed fish, or use it for a happy after life. About 0.1 percent said they didn't know what they would do with more money. The same percentage said it was impossible that they would ever have more money. About 0.5 percent would use more money for pai pais and other religions purposes.

Borrowing money.—Thirty-three percent of the respondents said they would borrow money for living expenses, 11 percent to build or repair their houses, and five percent each for agricultural development, medical expenses or religious expenses. Four percent would borrow money for funeral expenses and another four percent for building factories. Two percent would invest in business, another two percent would use it to get married. One percent would borrow for land and another one percent for family affairs. Another one percent admitted that they would borrow money for self-enjoyment, or investment. Eight percent said they would not borrow money.

The majority of people questioned said if they borrowed money they would get it from friends or from private sources, or from the Farmers' Association. A few would borrow from the food store and others from relatives.

Occupations.—Most of the people in the eight townships studied are engaged in farming. Of the heads of households interviewed the majority would be farmers, even if they had a chance to be something else. However, many less would want their sons to be farmers. Of those who responded to the question many said that they would like their sons to be merchants or to work in industry.

Labor and leisure.—Farmers questioned enjoy an average of only about one day a week for rest and relaxation. Many farmers still rest only on rainy days.

Resting at home or with friends is the most common form of entertainment reported by the people studied. The local drama is still more popular than the movies among the rural people. Household chores also consume the time and interest of the farmers when they are not working in the fields.

The people of the the eight townships have almost all traveled to Taipei, Taoyuan, Chung-li and Hsinchu.

Only a small percentage of the people subscribe to newspapers and magazines but 30 percent have radios.

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Heads of households.—There are 287 male heads of households and 10 female. The male heads have 251 wives and the female heads have a total of 4 husbands. The average age of the heads of households is 47 years. The age of their spouses averages 42 years. The mean age is 40-49.

Age at marriage.—According to the results of the survey the heads of households, their fathers and their sons had a mean age at marriage of 20-24 years. The average age at marriage for heads was 23.5 years; for the father, 21.5 years; and for their sons, 22.6 years.

The mean age at marriage for the wives of household heads was 20 years and for both mothers and the daughters of the wife of the household head the mean age was 21 years. The average ages for wives at marriage was 20 years; for the mother of the wife, 20.5 years; and for the daughter, 22 years.

Residence after marriage.—The survey question on where the son and his wife would live after marriage was properly answered by such a small sample of respondents that it is not possible to give figures for this item.

Divorce.—Seventy-percent of the 273 people who responded to the question said that they thought there are more divorces now than there used to be. Twenty-seven percent thought there are less. Those who thought the rate was the same and those who said they didn't know were 3.0 percent of the total. One individual had never heard of divorce.

Twenty percent of the 203 persons who responded to the question said that equality of women is the principal cause of divorce. Fifteen percent said that it is caused primarily by economic problems and the same percentage said it is caused by changing customs and the temperament of individuals. Eleven percent of the total attribute divorce to what they call social conditions, 10.5 percent to differences of opinion and interests, sentimental causes, and quarrels. Only one percent of the respondents thought that the incidence of divorce was increased because individuals are given too much freedom in the selection of their partners.

The majority of those who thought the divorce rate is decreasing attributed the trend to what they call modesty, and marriage to a partner of one's own choice. Other important reasons were thought to be better understanding and modernization. A few said that the rate decreased because of free love.

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Membership in associations.—Most of the farmers interviewed are members of the Farmers' Association. A small percentage of boys belong to the 4-H Club but almost no rural women are members of the Womens' Association. Perhaps 20 percent belong to other organizations such as the county grain or rice union, labor unions and the water reserving committee and commercial unions.

RELIGIOUS AND CEREMONIAL LIFE

The majority of the respondents feel that they now spend more money on pai pais than they used to. A large percentage, however, say that they spend less. A few say they spend the same as before.

Only a very small percentage of the people questioned reported that they pray to the gods in time of illness. Of those who do, the majority pray to Budha, Kuan Yin, Matsu and the Soil God.

EDUCATION

Facilities and enrollment.—In the eight townships there are a total of 51 primary schools with a total of 50,034 pupils. Fifty-one percent are boys and 49 percent are girls. The average ratio of enrollment is 95.75 percent.

There is a total of 15 middle schools with a total of 10,237 students. The boys make up 70 percent and the girls only 30 percent of the total enrollment.

A total of 57,628 are recorded in the Statistical Abstract as being illiterate. Results of the survey indicate that 60 percent of the population over 9 years of age cannot write.

Level of attainment.—Sixty-seven percent of the heads of households of the sample have attended primary school but only 23.5 percent of their wives have attained this level. Seventy to ninety percent of the children of the households have finished or are attending the primary schools.

Of the heads of households 5.5 percent attended junior middle school and 1.8 percent of their spouses. However, 15.6 percent of the sons and 6.0 percent of the daughters have attained this level.

Only 2.0 percent of the heads attended senior middle school and 0.4 percent of their wives. A total of 8.0 percent of the sons and 4.0 percent of the daughters have attended.

No heads and no wives of heads studied received a college or university education but about 3.0 percent of their sons have. No daughters have reached this level of education.

Attitudes toward education.—In answer to the question of how far a boy and a girl should go in school the responses were as follows:

Seven percent thought six years was enough for boys and 25 percent thought it was enough for girls.

Nineteen percent thought nine years was enough for boys and 30 percent, enough for girls.

Thirty-nine percent of the respondents said that boys should receive twelve years of education but only 25 percent thought girls' education should proceed so far.

Thirty-five percent of the respondents indicated that they would like their sons to receive 16 years of education. Fifteen percent had the same goal for their daughters.

These figures indicate that most farmers in the sample think that an average of 12.4 years of education is enough for boys and 10.0 years is enough for girls. Seventy-four percent of the household heads would like their sons to receive 12 to 16 years of education but only 40 percent think that it is desirable or necessary for the daughters to go so far.

At present a total of seven boys and three girls are attending school away from home.

When asked whether they would prefer to give money to schools or temples 64 percent of the people questioned said that they would give money for schools only, 24 percent would give it to schools and temples, and only 9 percent would give it only to temples.

To the question of what they found difficult to understand about their children a total of 20 percent of the respondents said that the children are naughty or mischievous. Ten percent are concerned about the sickness of children. Eight percent worry about educational problems, seven percent about economic problems as they affect the children, and four percent say that children are disobedient.

A total of 45 percent however, feel that there is nothing difficult to understand about their children.

HEALTH CONDITIONS

Health facilities.—In the eight townships there is a total of twelve hospitals but three of the townships have none. There is a total of seventy-nine clinics but one township has only one. According to the statistics available there are one hundred and six doctors and fifty-one midwives in the whole area.

Health conditions.—Opinions are divided regarding the present state of health conditions in the Reservoir Area. Slightly more than half think they are better and slightly less than half think they are the same. Only a few indicated that they think health conditions are worse than five years ago.

Treatment.—Of eighty-three respondents to the question 62 indicated that when people in the family are ill they are treated by other members of the family. Only seven said that they call a doctor in case of illness.

Of 111 people who replied to the question 94 said that the family also helps the wife when she is having a baby. Four said that an "employee" helps and this may or may not mean a midwife.

It is reported that neighbors are also frequently called upon to assist in time of illness.

Benchmarks Based on Attitudes and Opinions

POPULATION

The population of the irrigation area is a young population. Half are under 20 years of age.

The population is increasing rapidly due to a high birth rate, low death rate, declining infant mortality rate, and prolonged life expectancy.

The people are becoming increasingly aware of the fact that economic advances cannot keep pace with population pressure. The amount of arable land is limited and there is also a limit to the benefits to be derived from more intensive farming. Already the townspeople and the rural people living near the towns are becoming interested in birth control methods. As the family planning program is demonstrated to be successful in urban areas it seems likely that it will of necessity be tried in rural areas as well.

MOBILITY

A definite trend can be observed for people from the rural areas, especially among the younger generations, to want to move to the cities. This trend may only reflect the need to seek employment opportunities where they are to be found. There is reason to believe, however, that people are beginning to want the comforts and convenience of the city as well. As more and more young couples set up independent households there may be a tendency for them to locate where employment opportunities are to be found and to move with them.

SIZE OF HOUSEHOLDS

The shortage of land and the increasing population seem to be forcing a breakdown of the traditional pattern of extended families. As young

people gain more independence there is a tendency for them to set up their own independent households after marriage.

SIZE OF FAMILIES

Although both fathers and sons still seem to prefer large families there is evidence of a tendency for younger generations to desire fewer children. The size of the families, however, is not likely to fall below three or four children so long as people keep the old ideas of the necessity for having a sufficiency of sons to insure the continuity of the family line and to meet economic needs; that is, to provide one or more sons to manage the family farm and others as required to seek a cash income from outside employment.

MATERIAL CULTURE

As economic conditions improve families tend to satisfy their desire to purchase consumer goods which will provide them with an easier, more comfortable way of life and perhaps at the same time increase their social prestige. As a result, even though their income increases they find that they are still poor.

OCCUPATIONAL PREFERENCES

The majority of people in the eight townships are farmers but there is strong evidence to indicate that because the life of a farmer is difficult and because the profits from his labors are small, more and more people, especially among younger generations, would prefer to engage in another occupation. It is difficult to encourage young people to attend agricultural colleges. Graduates from middle schools remain idle rather than work on the farm when no other employment is available. Occupations which are thought to be more profitable; for example merchant, and occupations which bring prestige-engineer-are more popular. At no time during the course of the survey did a farmer or community leader pay homage to the noble calling of a tiller of the soil.

NON-FARM EMPLOYMENT

There is a strong tendency for farm families to send at least one member to find non-farm employment to augment the family income. They feel that it is good for a boy to seek a job away from home; it is better for him to leave the family circle than to remain at home where

there are no opportunities. Economic conditions force this choice but changes in traditional attitudes seem to be taking place which will reinforce it.

The population of the eight townships is a young population. Half the total is below 20 years of age. Employment problems in a few years will be even more serious than now.

CHOICE OF OCCUPATION

More and more sons are given freedom in the selection of an occupation. The opinion of the parents may be very influential but it is no longer decisive.

LABOR AND LEISURE

Farmers look forward to the time when their work will be easier and it can be completed in less time. There is evidence that they are no longer willing to accept the fact that a farmer must always work from dawn to dark.

As economic conditions improve the people seek entertainment outside the home and even outside the local community. Movies are becoming popular and the farmers themselves know that they are a strong social influence.

MARRIAGE

More and more the opinion of young people is being considered in regard to the selection of a mate. The decision, however, remains primarily in the hands of the parents.

The traditional practice of bringing the bride to the family home of the groom to live continues but more young people, especially those who receive a higher level of education, now prefer to establish homes of their own.

It is still customary for the family of the groom to pay the bride's family a sum of approximately NT\$ 20,000 to NT\$ 30,000 (U. S. \$ 500-750). If the sum is not available then marriage may be delayed.

Compulsory military training, the desire on the part of both men and

women to attain a higher level of education, and unfavorable economic conditions are other factors which may explain the relatively late age at which marriages are taking place. The average age of marriage for men is now about 22.6 years and for women about 22 years.

DIVORCE

The incidence of divorces seems to be increasing. There is evidence of a correlation with economic conditions, equality of women, freedom of the individual, and changing social influences.

While traditional patterns of selection of marriage partners by parents and traditional opposition to divorce remains strong, the rate is low. As individuals gain freedom in selection of partners and perhaps separate from the extended family, the rate is also low.

Social influences which weaken an individual's traditional respect for the customs and mores of his people tend to result in a rise in divorce rates.

When economic conditions of a family are unfavorable and the individuals in it have already gained a sense of independence and equality, dissatisfaction with conditions may result in an increasing rate. On the other hand, even in times of difficult financial circumstances it seems unlikely that individuals who still follow the traditional customs and mores would often seek divorce.

FOSTER DAUGHTERS

The practice of adopting foster daughters seems to be on the decline as are cases of maltreatment.

KINSHIP

Kinship ties remain strong. Individuals of the same family form associations which serve religious, economic, social, and political functions. Of these, religious and political functions are particularly significant.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Social status is not clearly differentiated among the rural people of this community. Such weak stratification as exists is probably based upon

educational level attained, occupational differentiation and wealth. The prestige formerly enjoyed by people of advanced age may be taking a second place to the above distinctions. The prestige of members of leading families of a community probably remains strong. A distinction between Mainlander and Taiwanese is still evident. No important distinction is apparent between Fukienese and Hakka people who make up the great majority of the population of the Reservoir Area. The only exception is that the majority group may take priority over the minority group in a given community.

STATUS OF WOMEN

Women enjoy the rights of legal equality but in reality there is still discrimination between the sexes. Women's educational opportunities continue to be limited by traditional attitudes toward the inferiority of the sex, particularly in cases where economic conditions of a family limit the number of children who can be sent to school. Women have had the suffrage for some years but do not yet participate significantly in political affairs.

A separation of the sexes in leisure activities as well as in day to day work activities remains common. Women themselves are bound by tradition and appear to be reluctant to move far or fast toward full equality. They are also bound by their traditional way of life which leaves little time for them to participate freely in community affairs.

QUALIFICATIONS OF LEADERS

Leaders are no longer chosen on the basis of age alone. A young man with good experience and training for a position may take precedence over an older man who lacks these qualifications. Being a Taiwanese in the rural areas at least is no longer a handicap to attaining high political positions. Family connections are important but large sums of money reportedly are not required to win an election in a small community.

CRIMES

Statistics on crimes are not easy to obtain but in the rural areas there is no apparent increase in the incidence. When young people cannot find employment opportunities, however, they tend to remain idle after gradua-

tion. There is a possibility that this situation may be the nucleus of problems of juvenile delinquency which may develop in the future.

RELIGIOUS AND CEREMONIAL LIFE

Traditional beliefs.—Belief in the traditional gods remains strong. Probably of all the gods the Soil God is most commonly worshipped by rural people. Among the Hakka and Fukienese people Matsu is very popular. All aspects of life seem still to bear a close relationship to religion. Belief in the afterworld and the necessity to prepare for it are strong. Prayers and sacrifices at planting and harvest time are commonplace.

Participation.—Young people show little enthusiasm for religious activities, either traditional or foreign. There is some evidence that women participate to a greater extent than men in these affairs.

Christianity.—Traditional religions remain popular but there is a noticeable increase in the popularity of Christianity, even in the rural communities. This may be accounted for by the fact that the Christian churches, particularly the Catholic, provide needed services not otherwise available in the community; for example, clinics, medicines, schools, and sometimes food and clothing. There is little evidence, however, that the people are deeply moved by the teachings of the Christian churches. Nor do they consider Christianity a threat to their traditional beliefs.

Festivals.—Traditional festivals are widely observed not only as religious observances but as occasions for socializing and taking a rest from day to day activities. The farmers themselves say that because of their social significance alone they are not likely to be quickly abandoned.

It is unlikely that expenditures for pai pai can be significantly decreased in spite of government attempts to do so. Most people say they spend more than they used to. It seems that only difficult economic conditions will effectively curtail the expenditures.

Lunar new year celebrations.—Everywhere the people report that new year is as important a day as always and that it is still celebrated in the old way. Government attempts to reduce expenditures for the observances plus economic necessity have somewhat reduced the grandeur of the

celebrations and have restricted the practice of gift-giving in some instances to the immediate family. However, it is reported that people still go into debt to maintain the traditional practices.

EDUCATION

Problems.—A severe shortage of classrooms, a corollary of the rapidly increasing population, presents a very heavy financial burden for parents. In communities where economic conditions are poor the burden is particularly difficult and to some extent educational facilities suffer. Not only is it hard to obtain the necessary counterpart funds from parents for the construction of new classrooms but there is no surplus for the purchase of needed equipment and supplies. For these things the schools are dependent on Parents Associations.

Educational opportunities.—A remarkable improvement in level of educational attainment for both men and women has resulted from the efforts of the Nationalist government. The desire for education is great and parents sacrifice to enable their children to continue their education beyond the primary school.

Coeducation.—There is a steady increase in the percentage of girls attending school at the higher levels. Lingering traditional ideas about the lack of necessity for women's education and financial problems however, still limit the opportunities of individual girls.

Curriculum.—Many parents seem to feel that the present school curriculum does not fit the changing needs of the community. However, they are powerless to do much about the situation except to voice their opinion. The need for vocational education is widely recognized but traditional attitudes about the superiority of an academic type education persist and it is difficult to implement such a program.

Illiteracy.—Illiteracy rates, as a result of equal educational opportunities and special adult education programs, are decreasing. Still, among adults, it remains high.

HEALTH CONDITIONS

Health conditions are probably improving more rapidly in the towns than in the rural areas. Many farm people feel that there has been no

remarkable improvement in recent years. This is probably especially true among people in the low income brackets.

Common diseases.—Intestinal troubles are common, especially in warm weather, and a very high percentage of children and adults are infested with parasites. In some communities there is a high incidence of influenza. High blood pressure, heart disease, pneumonia and enteritis are the principal causes of death.

Health facilities.—The number and quality of health facilities varies from community to community because of differing financial resources of local governments. At best they are very poor. People in low income brackets seem to be in a particularly unfortunate situation because of the general lack of free treatment and medicine. There is no public health insurance program and when illness strikes a poor family there is no choice but to go into debt to pay for medical expenses.

Public health facilities in some communities are augmented by well-equipped clinics sponsored by private organizations, particularly the Catholic church. Here free treatment and medicine is sometimes given to needy patients.

Treatment of illness.—More and more people, when they can afford it, rely on modern medical facilities in the treatment of disease. However, herb medicines and patent medicines are also popular. The practice of praying to the gods in time of illness seems to be gone except among the most conservative people or in time of serious illness when people follow human nature and resort to every known method.

Health education.—Programs of health education are limited and in some communities seem inadequate for the needs.

CHAPTER III

THE IMPACT OF IRRIGATION

The following opinions on the impact of irrigation are largely subjective. They are based on opinions expressed in leadership conferences and household interviews and on personal observation.

The impact of irrigation is difficult to distinguish from the impact of general economic improvements which alone may bring about social change in a given community. However, the following changes seem, on the basis of information obtained from this study, to be more closely related to the introduction of irrigation than to any other factor.

Occupational Preferences

Farming as an occupation seems to be more highly regarded in communities where irrigation is available than where it is [not. This was seen most clearly in the farmers' stated preferences regarding their sons' occupations.

In Hukou, a community without water, farmers were very reluctant to have their sons follow their own occupations. Their responses indicated that easier jobs and jobs which brought higher financial returns were considered better choices. Furthermore, farmers questioned stated that they too would prefer another occupation for themselves.

In Talueh, a community that has been irrigated for about thirty years by water from the old Taoyuan Canal, a higher percentage of farmers were desirous of having their sons continue in the same occupation. A strong majority of the farmers stated that if they had a choice they would still be farmers.

It is interesting to note, however, that in both communities the sons seem to prefer to go into non-farming occupations. This choice is probably influenced by the fact that they are receiving a higher level of education

and therefore feel qualified for other kinds of employment. Also, the shortage of land in relation to the rapidly rising population compels many young people to seek non-farm employment.

Economic Conditions

When irrigation water becomes available crop production increases and of course economic conditions improve. However, it is apparent that in a relatively short time the benefits of irrigation are erased by the pressure of rapidly increasing population and the people report that economic conditions are once again poor. This situation now exists in Talueh. This is also related to the fact that as economic conditions improve the standard of living improves and a larger percentage of money is spent for consumer goods. Farmers working irrigated land also invest in agricultural equipment and supplies more than those on dry land.

The people in Talueh recognize that the benefits of irrigation are being cancelled by too rapid a rise in population and indicate that they are interested in learning more about birth control methods. The proximity of Talueh to Chung-li, a relatively sophisticated community, may also have a bearing on these attitudes.

On the other hand, the people of Hukou, for the most part, do not recognize much relationship between their present poor economic conditions and the steadily increasing population. They maintain their conservative beliefs and tend to be more reluctant to accept the idea of family planning.

Labor and Leisure

The people of Talueh who enjoy the benefits of irrigation also enjoy more leisure time. Whereas the Hukou farmers still work from dawn to dark, except on rainy days, the Talueh farmers report that they work only seven to ten hours per day. This, they explain, is due to the fact that they can now plan their farming in advance and know that there will be water available for their needs.

Increased leisure time plus better economic conditions result in a different pattern of leisure time activities. In Talueh more people seem

to go outside their homes in search of entertainment. The local drama is still popular but the movies seem now to be more so. Some go as far as Chung-li to see the films.

More farmers in Talueh also report that they spend their idle hours mixing fertilizers, repairing farm equipment, reading *Harvest Magazine* and attending agricultural training classes.

The common leisure time activities in Hukou are tending the children, visiting relatives and friends, looking after the farm animals and helping with domestic work.

Methods of Cultivation

Modern farm practices seem to be in common use to a greater extent in Talueh than in Hukou. The people there talk about using chemical fertilizers and insecticides and they understand what they are talking about. They hang pictures of tractors on their walls and look forward to the day when they can afford to own one of their own. They hope that the JCRR will find a way to help them do so.

The farmers in Talueh welcome instruction in farm techniques. They know that if they can find interested persons the JCRR will provide an instructor for classes. They study about insecticides, fertilizers, home economics and land reform.

There is evidence to indicate that by the time a farmer becomes interested in mechanization and begins to understand and practice modern farm techniques he has somehow reached a stage of development where he is also ready and willing to learn from other people and to cooperate with people outside his own immediate family or neighborhood. These things it would seem would be prerequisite to such further developments as cooperative ownership of farming equipment, cooperation toward increasing the size of individual plots of land so that modern equipment can be utilized in cultivation, etc.

Religious Practices

It is difficult to draw conclusions about the extent to which irrigation

changes the farmers' reliance on traditional religious practices pertaining to agriculture.

Without a doubt the farmers in Talueh have faith in the Agricultural Association and the JCRR and they rely on these agencies for help with their farming problems. This is not true of Hukou.

One other fact is known. In both communities there is still a strong faith in the Soil God. One informant in Talueh stated that scientific information is very helpful but even if it were a hundred percent effective, belief in the Soil God would not be abolished now. It is necessary to *pai pai* this god even for raising poultry. It is possible, however, that in Hukou the Earth God is called upon to help with a greater variety of problems, for example, he is called upon in time of sickness. One informant in Talueh said that it is customary to make sacrifices to the Soil God when one sells a house but otherwise the people interviewed only indicated that they pray to him for matters directly pertaining to agriculture.

Traditional community prayers for rain are of course no longer necessary in Talueh but as recently as last summer this ceremony was practiced in Hukou.

The poorest household in Hukou in one of the driest regions of that township displayed more religious symbols and ritual pieces than any other household visited. On the other hand, the most progressive farmer visited in Talueh admitted that he had no family altar and no longer worshipped the ancestors, except at his father's house at the lunar new year season. Family altars were much less in evidence in Talueh than in Hukou.

Associations

In Talueh the Farmers' Association is a going organization. The farmers are enthusiastic about its activities because it seems to serve their needs and interests. In Hukou the people feel that the organization does not serve them well. This they attribute to poor organization and serious financial problems.

The farmers of Hukou report that the benefits derived from the JCRR are trifling. In Talueh the farmers are very much aware of the help provided through the JCRR. Not only do they know what services are

offered but they are grateful for them and welcome the opportunity to take advantage of them. The publications of the JCRR seem to be known and used in Talueh but only a few seem to have heard of them in Hukou.

Agricultural Education

The reluctance of young people in Talueh to enter agricultural school is probably almost as strong as that of young people of Hukou because of traditional beliefs in the superiority of a cademic education. Better economic conditions probably enable them to aspire to attending engineering schools and other specialized courses in Taipei, assuming, of course, that they have the necessary ability.

Health conditions

It is likely that the availability of water in Talueh eliminates some of the public health problems that beset Hukou, particularly drainage problems and environmental sanitation.

CHAPTER IV

ATTITUDES TOWARD THE SHIHMEN PROJECT

Hukou

If ever a community looked forward to enjoying the benefits of irrigation it is Hukou!

Leaders and villagers alike agree that the successful completion of the Shihmen project will bring a new life to their community and on this belief rests their hope for the future.

One leader explained that the word "Hukou" means "food just sufficient to keep alive". But he is sure that after irrigation everything will be changed and the people will be richer. No longer will they be hungry.

A system of irrigation has been the hope of the people of Hukou since the village was established. When water comes it will benefit not only the present generation but generations of people to come.

Water distress in Hukou, according to another leader, is endless. The benefits which will be derived from irrigation cannot be described in a word. It will mean release from the fear of draught. Hukou will become a larger Hukou and people will not only be able to maintain themselves but there will be a surplus as well. When water comes everything will be all right. Every problem will be solved!

It is the hope of every citizen that the water will come as soon as possible.

But one thing is quite clear. Even the Shihmen Dam and irrigation water which it will make available to Hukou will not cause the people suddenly to abandon their traditional faith in the gods. Leaders and citizens alike are convinced that even when irrigation comes they will still pray to the Earth God for a good harvest. But it will no longer be

necessary to pray for rain. "Now we know that only the Shihmen Development Commission can help us."

BENEFITS

Irrigation water is considered by all to be the most important benefit to be derived from the Shihmen project. Everyone agrees that crop production, not only rice but tea and sugar as well, will increase. Land which is now dry and land presently used for ponds can be converted to arable land.

Prosperity in the farm villages is expected to bring prosperity to the whole community.

The leaders questioned felt that electricity would be the benefit of second most importance to be derived from the project. At present it is reported that only about fifty percent of the people have electricity. Not only will this change brighten the lives of individual farmers but when water and electricity are both available it will be possible for industries to be developed in the community.

Hukou is desperately in need of a safe supply of drinking water as well as water to improve sanitary facilities and to promote the development of industry. There is no public water supply—even the Middle School has at present no piped water—and the wells on which the people depend for their drinking water are dangerously contaminated. Sanitary facilities in the community are poor. As a result, the health of the people is seriously impaired. Intestinal disorders are rampant, especially in the hot summer months. The people earnestly hope that water from Shihmen can be made available to them to help them in solving these problems.

One of the great needs of the community, in the eyes of the people interviewed is the development of industry. The town at present has good transportation facilities and a sufficient labor force to encourage such development. Only water is lacking.

The need for non-farm employment in the Village of Hukou is great. There is at present a serious lack of job opportunities, especially for the young people who are obtaining a better education than their parents did before them. These children are reluctant to return to farm work and

for lack of anything else to do remain idle at home. Those who receive higher education seldom return to Hukou to be of service to the community for lack of employment opportunities. Those who seek jobs are forced to leave the town and go elsewhere. In this case a large percentage of their wages must be used for transportation costs or higher living expenses in the larger towns and cities. For this reason the people of Hukou hope that industries can be developed within their own community as well as in the proposed industrial area of Chung-li.

It was pointed out by some informants that even if irrigation comes to Hukou the people who have no land will still be poor. However, even these people will benefit if water can be provided for industrial development because then they can take advantage of more employment opportunities.

The people of Hukou are convinced that when water power is available factories and mills can be established, there will be more employment opportunities, and the town will enjoy an industrial boom. As a result the standard of living will improve and prosperity will be enjoyed by all.

EXPECTED CHANGES

One of the most important changes predicted by the local people is that when irrigation is available farming conditions will be improved and people will once again be encouraged to work as farmers. At present, parents are reluctant to have their children follow this occupational pursuit because of the hard work involved and the meager profits to be derived.

Some foresee that the habits of farmers will change. They will enjoy an improved standard of living. Farmers hope that they may then be able to do their work more quickly in less time so that they will have more time to enjoy for themselves. When people can have electricity in their homes their domestic lives may become more enjoyable. For example, they will have radios and eventually electric irons. One farmer mentioned that if he had electricity he could enjoy reading in the evenings. Even the preparation of food for the hogs would be facilitated by means of electricity according to one informant. An increased supply of water would greatly improve rural health and sanitation conditions.

When economic conditions in the community improve it is expected that more children will be able to attend school. At present many parents find it difficult to pay the school tuition fees in the middle school. More girls will be able to continue their education beyond the primary school when funds are available to send more than one child of a family to school.

PROBLEMS

Even the farmers know that all these benefits will not come to them without some problems.

Above all, they dread the high taxes and more than once the hope was expressed that these may be paid in instalment or that the rates will be lowered.

Some foresee that problems may arise regarding the equal distribution of water and they recognize the possible need for a conciliation committee.

Many people are concerned about where the canals will go, especially the sublateral canals, and how far they will extend.

Neither citizens nor leaders were able to foresee any social problems which might develop in the community after the completion of the project. A foreign priest, however, expressed fears that the children who remain idle at home because of the lack of non-agricultural job may turn toward juvenile delinquency. If more employment opportunities are provided in the community as a result of the availability of water then this potential problem will be avoided.

INDUSTRIAL AND RECREATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Those attending the leadership conference said that they would welcome the development of chemical, textile, and cement manufacturing or light industries. It was pointed out, however, that larger enterprises would attract more laborers.

FUTURE USE OF SHIHMEN BUILDINGS

A number of ideas were suggested by the leaders for using the newly constructed buildings of the Shihmen Commission after the completion of the Shihmen project. Among them were the establishment of a university,

which would specialize in civil engineering, hydraulics, and electrical engineering; a hydraulic research organization for the furtherance of the spirit of the project; or an organization for public welfare which would serve as a memorial to the good work of the Shihmen Development Commission.

Talueh

BENEFITS

According to opinions expressed at the leadership conference in Chung-li the most important benefits to Chung-li Township from the Shihmen project will be water supply and irrigation.

The need for increased water supply in Chung-li for drinking purposes is great in both urban and rural areas. Most people at present rely on wells for their water but the wells in the summer frequently go dry. Well water is often contaminated. For the improvement of health conditions in the community piped drinking water is considered to be the most important need. If it can be supplied by the Shihmen project then this will be the most important benefit to be derived.

Water is also required in Chung-li for the development of industries. Industries are badly needed to improve employment opportunities, not only in Chung-li itself but in the surrounding area as well.

Irrigation in this township will benefit only a relatively small area which is beyond the reach of the existing Taoyuan Canal. The people living in this area hope that water may be made available to them for irrigation as soon as possible. They hope that after they have water they may be able to double their crop production. In addition, the community as a whole is expected to benefit from a general improvement of economic conditions which should occur in this area. The city of Chung-li looks forward to business prosperity and greater employment opportunities after water is made available.

The leaders of this township feel that Chung-li may be able to develop a prosperous tourist business after the completion of the Shihmen project. They are looking forward to beautifying their city for this purpose. They expect to build modern hostels and even a seaside resort.

In addition, it is expected that fish production may be increased and that transportation facilities may be improved. Both these will benefit the community as a whole.

Rapidly increasing population is considered by the people of Talueh as a very serious handicap to economic improvements. They feel that economic conditions must be improved and that the hope of the community lies in the completion of the Shihmen project so that wasted land can be cultivated and new crops developed.

CHAPTER V

HUKOU

Introduction

The Village of Hukou is a complex of sixteen smaller villages located approximately twenty-seven kilometers south of Chung-li and twenty kilometers east of Hsinchu, the political and cultural center to which the community is most intimately related.

Old Hukou Villag is situated on the main north-south route of Taiwan. New Hukou Village, which is the seat of the local government and the center of business activities is located a short distance off the main highway but is linked by good asphalt road. New Hukou Village is situated on the northsouth railroad artery of the country. The larger village of Hukou is served by a system of highway buses.

Population

The following population statistics were obtained from the Villagef Office and except where indicated are the figures for 1961:

Total population	29,996 (February 1962)
Males	15,983
Females	14,013
Population density	513.36 per square kilometer
Births per year	1,207 (40/1000)
Males	629
Females	578
Deaths per year	210 (7.0/1000)
Males	129
Females	81

In 1961 a total of fifty-eight children of ages one to five died. Most of these deaths were caused by intestinal troubles. No figures are kept in

the Village Office for deaths under age one and figures are not kept for those that die at birth or shortly after.

Life expectancy is about 40-45 years but four women in the Village of Hukou are over age 90. Women as a rule outlive the men.

Distribution of population by age and sex

Age	Total	Male	Female
1- 4	5,071	2,675	2,396
5- 9	4,605	2,359	2,206
10-14	3,443	1,758	1,685
15-19	2,687	1,415	1,272
20-24	2,143	841	1,302
25-29	2,052	1,092	960
30-34	2,073	1,236	837
35-39	1,763	1,003	760
40-44	1,353	831	522
45-49	1,271	815	456
50-54	1,028	607	421
55-59	836	507	356
60-64	576	292	284
65-69	367	182	185
70-74	251	122	129
75-79	145	64	81
80-84	65	26	39
85-89	37	9	28
90-94 +	4	—	4
	<hr/> 29,797	<hr/> 15,874	<hr/> 13,923

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION

Sixty-five percent of the population is engaged in agriculture according to Village statistics. Distribution by occupational classification is as follows:

	Male	Female
Agriculture	3,597	269
Industry	492	78
Business	476	38

Communications (transportation) highway bureau drivers, Railroad administration, drivers of ox carts	333	10
Day laborers	1,055	118
Teachers and public employees	210	16
Military	376	1
Professionals (doctors, scribes, fortune tellers)	115	14

SIZE OF HOUSEHOLDS

Although the large, extended family remains in the majority in Hukou it was reported at the leadership conference that there is a growing trend toward smaller family units. This is especially true among young men who seem now to prefer to set up an independent unit separate from the father. The trend toward smaller households is also related to the fact that after the land reform program families separated in order to keep more land. To avoid paying higher taxes families officially separated but in fact remained one large household.

Of the seventeen families interviewed for the social survey 20 percent were two-generation households, 60 percent were three-generation, and 20 percent were four-generation.

SIZE OF FAMILIES

The majority of people in Hukou still seem to feel that a large family is better than a small one. Of the families studied in the social survey 10 percent of the heads expressed a preference for a small family and 90 percent for a large. Twelve percent of the sons said they preferred a small family but 75 percent still think the large family is better. The average number of children preferred was 6.3 by heads; by sons it was only 5.6. The actual total size of families studied is 9.2

MOBILITY

Most families interviewed and those who responded to the social survey reported that they had lived at the same residence or nearby for several generations. One reported having lived at the same address for over one hundred years. Families had lived at their present address for an average of 52.7 years. They lived at their former address an average of 15.44

years. Of the seventeen families included in the social survey both the husband and wife were born in Hsinchu Hsien, except one wife who came from Taoyuan Hsien.

It is interesting to note that of the seventeen heads of households surveyed 55 percent reported that they would prefer to live in Taipei or another city whereas only 38 percent preferred to stay where they are or live in the country. Among the same families the son's choice of residence in 22 percent of the cases was Taipei or another city. Of the total number of respondents among the sons 33 percent preferred to remain in the country or in Hukou. But another 16 percent stated a preference to move to Japan.

POPULATION INCREASE

The population of Hukou, like the population of Taiwan, is steadily increasing. The average increase per year for a ten year period was 591.2. In ten years, from 1951 to 1961, the total population increase was 7,802.

ATTITUDES TOWARD FAMILY PLANNING

Public opinion in Hukou differs on the pros and cons of a family planning program.

In response to a question presented at the leadership conference concerning the extent to which the population pressure in Hukou has been felt and how can it best be relieved, the following opinions were expressed:

Those who welcome the plan say that it is good to obey the government. We will gladly accept the plan. We should accept it as soon as possible, even with enforcement, because it is a good cure for the problem of our increasing population. Because of good health and good income, population is increasing very fast. Population increase means that living expenses will also increase. Everyone will gladly know more about the program. The program should give emphasis to selection.

Those who do not welcome the plan expressed these attitudes:

The problem is not so serious now as to require action of this type. This is a very important step and must not be tried without deep consideration. The program needs time. It wouldn't necessarily solve the problem.

The family planning idea is no good. The better way is eugenic. This plan is against the historic Chinese tradition. The recovery of the Mainland requires many people. We lack the medicine and experienced instructors. We should accept this plan only when the problem is very serious.

Those who are in doubt as to what should be done commented that the program is suitable but different conditions need different methods of treatment. We must follow the natural development and have no enforcement of such a plan. The plan for birth control is worth consideration but we can't solve the problem with compulsion. Birth control medicine is interesting but the government hasn't sent any.

Others expressed the idea that emigration to a country like Brazil is a better way to solve the problem.

In household interviews it was reported that many people want fewer children and have gone to the hospital for operations.

Subsistence Patterns

GENERAL CONDITIONS

At the leadership conference it was reported that in general, the living standard of the people of Hukou has greatly improved, still economic conditions in the community remain poor. The greatest fears of the people are the fear of draught and the fear of poverty.

According to a survey conducted by the village office almost 25 percent of the total population is a member of a "poor family". This designation implies that the family has no land. Families are referred to as first, second, or third degree cases depending on how many children they have.

The majority of people in the group who are employed work irregularly as day laborers for about NT\$ 30 (U. S. \$.75) per day. The poor families which include a total of 6,805 people in 1,560 households receive help from the Village Office. For eight months of the year they may buy rice at a cheaper rate and on festival days gifts of rice and food are donated.

The Hukou Town budget provided a sum of NT\$ 6,000 (U. S. \$ 150) for social relief expenditures.

The people feel that their living standard has improved in recent years but they actually are becoming poorer for several reasons. As living standards rise, needs increase. The amount of land per farmer is decreasing. Commodity prices have been stabilized but farm prices are low. The rapidly increasing population limits chances for advancement.

People feel very strongly the need for industries to be established in Hukou. There is a serious shortage of employment opportunities. At present opportunities are to be found only in Taipei, Hsinchu and Chung-li where the cost of living is considerably higher. Those who find employment in the cities sacrifice a large percentage of their wages because of higher expenses and transportation costs. In addition, the community loses the benefit of the services of educated people who must go elsewhere to make a living.

Businessmen report that business is declining every year as purchasing power is reduced. The streets of New Hukou are quiet and business is slow. In Old Huokou shops and houses stand empty as a silent reminder of better days before the railroad moved to New Hukou. It was reported that 60 or 70 percent of the people buy herb medicine on credit but only about 30 percent are able to repay. Reportedly conditions grow worse and worse. According to one informant business depends in part upon the weather. On a rainy day it is doubled because then the people think prospects are better for a good harvest. Other factors no doubt influence this but the idea bears consideration.

For years the area has suffered from a severe shortage of water. This continues to be a number one problem confronting the people. So serious do they consider the shortage that they think when the Shihmen Project is completed and water becomes available all other problems will be solved.

The poor economic conditions of the community reflect themselves in problems confronted by the local schools. The people feel that they cannot themselves support increased financial burdens of providing education. Already many parents of junior middle school children must pay the term tuition (NT\$ 200 or US\$ 5.00) on installment. Families feel they cannot support more financial aid for education. In the schools adequate sanitary facilities cannot be provided. There is a serious shortage of classrooms. Because they are unable to pay tuition fees many children of poor parents

are unable to continue their education. Very little financial aid is available. Equipment and facilities for teaching home economics and manual arts which are sorely needed in the community cannot be provided for the middle school.

Unfavorable economic conditions also limit the health facilities that can be provided by the local government. Health conditions reportedly have improved little in recent years. The people are said to be poorly nourished and to suffer severely from intestinal disorders caused by the lack of pure water for drinking. When sickness strikes in time of crop failures poor people have no place to turn for help.

At the leadership conference the opinion was expressed that to be in debt, except for living expenses, is disrespectful. People reported, however, that it is necessary for them to borrow because food is insufficient. If there is a shortage of money they borrow rice from friends and neighbors and repay the debt with rice. If there is still an insufficiency then they must borrow money as required for living. When food is available then money can be borrowed for things that will facilitate increased production.

In Hukou many people get financial help from sons who work elsewhere. It is also possible for them to borrow from friends, neighbors, the food merchant, the Taiwan Saving Corporation Branch Office, and the Farmers' Association, which makes short term loans at about 1.8 (?) percent interest, in time of crop failure and for land improvement. The Taiwan Food Bureau loans rice through the Farmers' Association. In Hukou there is also one pawn shop.

Four respondents in the social survey said that they would buy a store if they had more money. Four would buy land and two would build a house. Two others would purchase goods for the family. In the Hukou survey there were no responses to the question of why one would borrow money but two persons said they would borrow from relatives or friends; one, from the Farmers' Association, if necessary.

One man responded that to be rich is a very interesting thought. Another said he thought it was very unlikely that he ever would get more money.

WATER PROBLEMS

In Hukou the severe shortage of water which has existed for many years is considered the most serious problem confronting the community.

In nine of the sixteen villages the land is dry all year or suffers from a marked shortage depending on rainfall. All districts are dependent upon rain but the area near the mountains can be irrigated for much of the year by natural water from the mountains. Here water is scarce from December to February but since no planting is done at this season it presents no problem. The driest area is the Village of Fungsan. The land beside the rivers usually has some water but when there is no rain even the rivers are dry. In seasons of heavy rains there may be floods.

In seasons when rainfall is very limited the rice crop of one or both seasons may be totally lost. In this case the farmer of course suffers severely because he has invested in seeds and fertilizers and labor but loses everything.

Depending on the amount of rainfall wells may be drilled to water level at a depth of about 10 meters. It is easy to locate the underground water supplies, according to informants. The man with the bent twig had never been heard of in this community. Water from wells is not brackish. Nearly every household has a well but this water cannot be used for irrigation because drilling is considered too expensive....about NT\$ 60 (U.S.\$ 1.50) per meter, depending on topography. In very dry seasons it may be necessary for wells to be dug deeper.

A small amount of land in Hukou Village is at present receiving water from an extension of the old Taoyuan Irrigation Canal. However, most of the water is used before it reaches this district.

In Hukou there are also the problems of supplying water for drinking. There is no public water supply and household wells are contaminated. Proper sanitary facilities are lacking even in the schools, especially in the middle school where conditions are reported to be particularly bad. Many people in the community feel that it is the responsibility of the government and particularly the JCRR to help the local people improve these conditions because they do not feel able to do so themselves.

The shortage of water has been a factor in the very limited industrial development of the area. It was reported that interested parties investigated conditions in the community for the establishment of small factories but were always discouraged by the severe shortage of water.

THE FAMILY AS AN ECONOMIC UNIT

In the extended family which is still common in the vicinity of Hukou it is customary for brothers in the family to own land equally and to own their own houses which make up the family compound. It is reported that brothers pool their income which is controlled by the father who acts as head of the family. All goods for the family and necessary equipment and supplies for the farm are bought from a common fund. It is rare in this community for the brothers to separate while the father is alive. The people report that they are happier when they live together. They can work together harmoniously and easily. They say it is a good thing to keep the family together because the members can offer encouragement to one another in their work.

It is thought to be advisable for one son to remain at home with the parents to assist them and look after things. In some families the eldest son may remain with the parents and other adult sons may separate and leave home to seek employment or to obtain an education. In this case it is customary, according to old Chinese tradition, for him to send back money regularly to the father. In case a family is rich perhaps this practice is no longer so necessary.

INHERITANCE

Inheritance is usually divided equally among the males of the family. Daughters, though legally qualified to receive inheritance, seldom do. In case the eldest son is the father of the eldest grandson he may inherit a larger share of the property.

AGRICULTURE

Hukou is an agricultural community which suffers from a severe shortage of water. About sixty-five percent of the people work as farmers.

Land ownership.—The land reform program sponsored by the Nationalist government has benefited the people of Hukou as it has farmers all over Taiwan.

Today, nearly 80 percent of the land in this community is owned by former tenants. A total of 1,624 farmers own their own land which includes an area of 2,496 chia. Only 178 farmers in the Village are tenants. They operate 465 chia of land. The people take great pride in ownership of their land and dwellings and are more interested now in making improvements.

It was reported at the leadership conference that a struggle between landowner and tenant still exists in Hukou. Tenants have benefited by the Land-to-Tiller program and now are feared by the landlords because they make exorbitant demands. There seems to be a very real fear in the minds of the people of this Village that the land owners will take back the land. This idea was expressed both at the leadership conference and also in individual interviews.

Crops.—The principal crops of the area are rice, tea, sugar cane, sweet potatoes and vegetables. A few farmers grow wheat but production is limited by weather conditions. Last year soy beans were planted experimentally but the selling price for these crops was too low and planting was discontinued. Peanuts have proved to be a fruitful crop for farming in dry areas of the community. Sugar cane, sweet potatoes, and tea can be grown on land which is not irrigated. When there is a severe shortage of water people are forced to try different crops.

There is no crop insurance available to these farmers.

Rice crops are planted in February and July and harvested in June and October. Vegetables which are planted in the winter months are the third crop.

Cultivation.—Methods of cultivation have changed little in Hukou in recent years. Chemical fertilizers have been introduced but human waste is more commonly used. Three hundred mechanical sprayers are owned by individual farmers for insect control. In the whole village there are six ten-horsepower tractors. Of these one was seen in use as a means of transporting passengers. These modern devices are still too expensive for most farmers.

Some people admit that mechanical plowing might produce better results but they add that the tractor might break. The buffalo goes on

and on. Foot-pedal threshers introduced by the Japanese are still in use. For the most part, the small, scattered plots of farm land are tilled by the same laborious hand methods used by ancestors of these Chinese people. The farmer works from sunrise until sunset to accomplish his work. A few farmers interviewed expressed the hope that in the future their work can be done well in fewer hours, but admitted that there is not much hope for this unless they minimize the amount of land cultivated, hire helpers, or mechanize; and the latter, they said, is too expensive.

Animals.—Most farmers in the area keep buffalo. The Village records indicate that there are 1,158. Oxen number only 313. Pigs and poultry, including chicken, ducks and geese, are found on almost every farm. It was reported that the money for paying taxes and building roads frequently comes from the sale of poultry. Farm animals can be insured through a government agency.

Labor.—On small farms most of the work is done by members of the family alone. On larger ones it is customary to employ laborers. There is also a system of exchange labor whereby friends are called upon to lend assistance. In some cases at least it is reported that there is not time to repay these people in labor so they are paid money or perhaps rice. At planting and harvest time a rotation system may be employed whereby the farmers work in a group; one day on one farm, and next day on another and so on. People come from different families and work successfully as a cooperative unit.

Religious practices pertaining to agriculture.—Certain common religious practices play such an important part in the lives of the farm population that they may be considered inseparable from a discussion of agricultural patterns.

In Hukou it is customary in seasons when there is a severe shortage of rain for the townspeople to hold collective ceremonies in which they beseech the gods to give them rain. Such a public ceremony was held as recently as August of last year at which time the people prayed for three days. They waited for one month and then came a very destructive typhoon. They got wind but they had only asked for rain.

The farmers known in their hearts when it is time to pray for rain,

and they gather together to begin the ceremonies. All the gods are invited from neighboring communities to assemble in a large temple in New Hukou. If rain comes as a result of the prayers then it is necessary to offer gifts of chickens and ducks to the gods. Even if the prayers are not answered offerings are made before the gods are returned to their temples.

It is also a very common practice for the farmers to pray to the Soil God, especially at planting and harvesting time. It was reported that there are few people who don't make sacrifices to this god. Altars to this deity are found everywhere. Prayers and sacrifices are made to him at planting time to insure a bumper crop. At harvest time the people pray that there will be no insects, that there will be cool winds, and good rains. Sacrifices of pork, chicken, fish, and duck are made to the god about six or seven times a year on the occasion of planting and harvest as well as on August 15 which is the traditional Autumn Festival.

At the leadership conference it was reported that there has been a great change; almost no one asks for the blessings of the gods because the people no longer need their help. But farmers reported that even if irrigation comes the people will still pray for a good harvest.

Farmers' Association.—The purpose of this association is to serve the welfare of the farmers. But many people in the community seem to feel that the organization, because of poor direction, does not serve them well. Serious financial problems hinder its operation, according to the opinion of those who attended the leadership conference. About 65 percent of the households are represented in this organization.

4-H Club.—This group is under the sponsorship of the Agricultural Association and receives financial aid from the JCRR, Village Office, and the Agricultural Association. About 160 boys and girls between the ages thirteen and twenty-three participate in the organization. Some who direct the work of the club expressed the view that although the members are very much interested, they are too young to contribute very much to the improvement of agriculture. Community leaders felt that the organization is not so good as the people had hoped. One objected that the leader because she is young and unmarried is not properly qualified to instruct the youth, particularly in matters pertaining to family planning.

Women's Association.—Although this group, according to Village statistics, includes a membership of about one hundred it seems to be very inactive. It is possible that the rural women are still too busy with their own domestic affairs to have time or interest in such an organization.

Cooperative Society.—At the present time there is no cooperative society in Hukou but the leaders of the village feel that such an organization would be useful. They feel that the lack of such a society is a handicap to the development of industry and they hope to have one started in the future. A blight prevention cooperative has recently been organized but it is too early to judge its value to the community.

JCRR.—It is interesting to note opinion expressed concerning the services of the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction to the community.

One informant stated that the benefits to Hukou are "trifling". They provide cement for drying areas in one or two households through the Agricultural Association. They provide a small part of the vegetable seeds required by farmers but farmers must provide their own rice seeds and also sprays. In the opinion of the informant, they offer few services.... not even much advice.

On the other hand, those attending the leadership conference felt free to point out many ways in which they thought it was the responsibility of the JCRR or the government to help the people of Hukou:

1. To help relieve the shortage of school classrooms
2. To develop industries in the community
3. To improve sanitary facilities in the local middle school
4. To extend the program of nutrition education to the primary school as well as the middle school
5. To subsidize agricultural extension work
6. To send birth control medicine and/or information
7. To assist in improving rural health conditions.

OCCUPATIONAL PREFERENCES

Occupational preferences are influenced by the fact that in this community social status seems to be determined largely on the basis of occupational classification.

There seems to be general agreement that farmers are most respected among occupational groups. Businessmen and laborers vie for second or third place. Public officials place about third or fourth; the intelligentsia about fourth or fifth. The military, when mentioned at the leadership conference, were lowest in the scale.

In Hukou wealth seems to be another determinant of social status. It was reported that no matter what kind of work he does a rich man is most respected.

Others perhaps unconsciously distinguish status according to educational attainment. The higher virtues are attributed to the well educated; less desirable traits to the "lower classes".

When questioned regarding whether agricultural or non-agricultural workers are most respected in this community there was disagreement. The majority opinion seems to favor agricultural workers. It was agreed, however, that a man is respected for his virtues rather than for his employment as an agricultural or non-agricultural worker. Some said that those who earn their own living by their own effort are most respected. The view was also expressed that merchants can be a model for the Village people.

It is interesting to observe that of the seventeen household heads who responded to the social survey questionnaire fifteen were farmers, one was a farmer and a part-time laborer, and one was a town official. However, of these seventeen, eight would prefer to work in industry and five would prefer to be merchants. Eight would prefer that their sons work in industry, six as merchants, and only one as a farmer. One said he hoped his son would find soft work.

In spite of the fact that the farmer is ranked highest in the social scale leaders reported that the Village people are aware of the hardships of farmers and envy those in other occupations. They explained that the

land is now insufficient for the number of people and the price of farm products is low. Therefore, men must seek employment off the farm.

More children are receiving an education and as a result their occupational preferences change. They no longer want to do hard farming work. Parents seem to feel strongly about the fact that they don't want their sons to become farmers; at least not all of them. One or two must remain on the farm but the more intelligent are sent to seek jobs outside. One farmer said that if industries are developed in the town he hopes his son will seek a job in the factories. But he himself will remain on the farm.

At present, children who graduate from the middle school are no longer interested in returning to work on the farm. Some remain idle rather than do this kind of work when other employment is not available. A Western religious leader warned that if no new jobs for them are provided they may turn to juvenile delinquency.

In Houkou good transportation facilities make it easier for those who are interested to go elsewhere to work.

NON-AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

The consensus of opinion among the village leaders was that it is very difficult to find a job in Hukou. Therefore, young people when they leave school have no choice but to leave the town and seek their fortune in the city. If the children can obtain employment outside then they will be able to supplement the family livelihood and promote the prosperity of the whole community. In Hukou those who leave observe their traditional responsibility to send money back to their parents. Some point out that it is preferable, according to Chinese tradition, for the young men to remain at home with their family, but in actual life it is necessary for them to seek their chance outside. No one interviewed was able to foresee any difficulties which might arise from this practice either to family or community. It was considered to be a good thing.

The lack of non-farm employment opportunities in Hukou is felt by all to be a serious problem. The people expressed a great hope that after the Shihmen project is completed it will be possible for industries to be developed in the community. They felt that such development in the

proposed industrial area of Chung-li would not be enough because then the people who went there to work would find it necessary to spend a large proportion of their wages on transportation.

At present in Hukou there are few industries: a firecracker factory, match factory, a spinning mill, and a small iron works. Of the first three industries, about 90 percent of the employees are women. A number of local people are employed on the railroad. During dry weather some farmers are able to find temporary day labor at about NT\$ 20 (U. S. \$ 0.50) per day. When they are in need of money because of crop failures they seek any kind of work that is available.

It is reported that working conditions in the local industries are sometimes very bad. Young people may work twelve hours a day and it is reported that they receive only NT\$ 100 (U. S. \$ 2.50) per month. Some work day and night.

CHOICE OF OCCUPATION

In this community it is still the general practice for parents to take most of the responsibility for the selection of an occupation for their children. The extent of the influence over their children's occupation, according to the leaders, depends on the education and economic conditions of the parents. The more education they have the more liberal they will be. Also, it was reported that there is a growing tendency away from this practice.

DIVISION OF LABOR BY AGE AND SEX

The principal work of the majority of men in the community is farming. The men do all the heavy work but are sometimes assisted especially at planting and harvesting time by the women of the family.

A few women work as clerks in local stores but generally speaking the business of the community is conducted by men. In the case of a family where there are sons old enough to work then the father acts as general overseer and may no longer engage in the more menial work of the business or the farm.

The home is the primary domain of the women. It is their responsibility to tend to the domestic work, do the cooking, and look after the

children. However, the men of the family share the responsibility for taking care of the children when they are at home. A man seldom undertakes other household tasks. Women in addition to their domestic work tend the vegetable gardens and care for poultry and hogs.

The children too are expected to share in the work of the household. Even those who are very young have their responsibilities. They assist in the simple work of taking care of the house, help with the weeding, feed the buffalo and the poultry. Their most important responsibility seems to be looking after the younger children.

In Hukou many women are employed in firecracker and match-making factories as well as in spinning mills. Other women find employment as ticket takers in theaters and hostesses on buses. Attractive young women sometimes receive preference over men in work of a public relations nature. A very few are employed as nurses midwives and teachers. Others work as clerks in public offices. It is reported that women in Hukou do not lose prestige by working.

LABOR AND LEISURE

It is generally agreed in Hukou that the heavy demands of gaining a livelihood, be it by farming or non-farming, leaves little time, energy, or money for recreational pursuits. It is general practice to work seven days a week, except on rainy days. The work continues from sunrise till sunset. Non-farm workers usually work for twelve hours. Most people take no holidays except during New Year celebrations when everyone looks forward to enjoying three or four days of leisure. The few recreational activities which people can pursue during the rest of the year must always wait for days of inclement weather or seasonal periods when the work of farming is not so demanding. A few farmers interviewed look forward to the day when their work can be accomplished in fewer hours.

Of the sixteen persons who responded to the question on the social survey schedule twelve reported that they only have leisure time on rainy days. They use this time to take care of domestic affairs, look after the children, visit friends and relatives, and tend the buffalo. Only one of the sixteen said that he attended movies.

Marriage and the Family

The family has been called the basic and most characteristic Chinese institution. In Hukou this continues to be true. As we have seen, it plays a leading part in the economic life of the people.

COMPOSITION OF THE HOUSEHOLD

The data presently available indicates that a majority of households are composed of a number of relatives of more than two generations who live together in one compound of houses and share a common social and economic life.

The distribution of two, three and four generation households, according to the survey, is as follows:

2-generation households	50%
3-generation households	40%
4-generation households	10%

HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS

Of the seventeen families studied sixteen had male heads and one female. The average age of the male heads was 49.

SELECTION OF MARRIAGE PARTNERS

At the leadership conference it was reported that the choice of marriage partners by the parents is still common. In recent years there has been no significant change but the leaders thought that the practice will gradually be altered. Already some say the influence of parents over this matter grows weaker. Others say the extent to which parents exercise control over the choice of marriage partners depends on their education and on the economic conditions of the family. The more education they have, the more liberal they will be. Some leaders pointed out that teachers of the primary and middle school are sometimes subjected to the wishes of their parents in this respect but this is said to represent only a transition period.

Those attending the conference felt that traditional ways may be losing to modern ways. At least in Hukou more and more consideration seems to be given to the opinions of those directly concerned. Interviews now are commonly arranged between the go-between and the proposed partners.

Opinion indicates that young people will welcome more freedom. Already it is reported that free love, so-called, is on the increase. But the majority of marriages are still arranged by match makers. Children feel it their duty to obey their parents and it is their wish to do so, but village leaders report that young people, although they welcome advice and guidance hope that their parents will be more liberal and more democratic.

There seem in Hukou to be no specific requirements which are customarily followed in the selection of wives. The most important consideration seems to be the girl herself rather than the financial or social position of her family. It is apparently not customary in this community for partners to be chosen consistently from one family or from one village. It was reported, however, by one informant, that it is desirable for the girl to come from a family commensurate with the status of the family of the groom.

AGE AT MARRIAGE

The meager results of the social survey indicate that men marry about age 21 or 22 and women about 19 or 20.

RESIDENCE

In Hukou the most common practice is for the bride to come to live at the residence of the groom's family. It is estimated that in only 20 percent of the cases do grooms go to the residence of the bride according to the custom called tsui-hsu.

It was reported that although the brothers of a family can live peacefully together there is sometimes conflict between the daughters-in-law. In such cases it is sometimes necessary for families to separate.

The leaders of the community discern a trend toward the practice of newly married couples setting up their own independent households. This practice is said to be growing in popularity because it permits more individual freedom.

PROPERTY EXCHANGE

In Hukou it is still customary for the groom's family to pay the girl's family a sum of approximately NT\$ 20,000-30,000 (U. S. \$ 500-750). The

minimum sum which would be acceptable, according to one informant, was NT\$ 3000 (U. S. \$ 75). Depending on economic conditions of the bride's family she will bring only her personal effects, some gifts for the groom's family, and perhaps household goods.

It is reported that in Hukou when the bride's family is rich they will accept the money offered by the groom's family but will return the money. In addition, they will spend some money of their own for the wedding. Ordinary families accept the money and return it all. Poor families, on the other hand, accept the money but return only part.

CONTINUATION OF THE FAMILY LINE

In Hukou, as elsewhere among the Chinese people, several methods are followed to insure the continuation of the family line.

It was estimated by one informant that about 20 percent of the marriages are tsui-hsu marriages whereby a son marries into a family which lacks a son. In this community some people at least feel that this practice is only followed by those too poor to pay the money required to bring a bride to the groom's home.

If no son is forthcoming then it is the practice for male children to be adopted from one's brother. The method is said to be popular in Hukou. No money is exchanged for this type of adoption.

Girls are more commonly adopted here than boys. However, this practice is considered to have some dangers; for example, once the girl learns she is adopted she may wish to return to her own family. Such problems also arise with sons but not so commonly.

The adoption of girls in this community is not necessarily practiced only by the poor for the purposes of obtaining a wife for their son to marry. In some cases it is reported that girls are adopted by families who want a girl but have none of their own.

Reportedly women in Hukou who do not produce children to continue the family line aren't likely to suffer a loss of status. Perhaps this is because other arrangements have been worked out and are in common practice for solving this problem.

DIVORCE

Statistics of the Village Office record forty-two cases of divorce in the community in the year 1961. In 1951 there were only three. Opinions differ as to causes for the increase.

Some say divorce is caused by the fact that there are more cases in which the son is free to choose his own wife. Others say that women are growing more independent and want to advance their own social status. The people of the community also feel that there is some relationship between economic conditions and the divorce rate. One view is that if employment conditions are bad then poor people become interested in the pursuit of immoral recreation. In such cases the wife may become dissatisfied with her husband's behavior and seek a divorce. There are also families in which economic conditions are so poor that wives seek release from marriage bonds. Some divorces are reportedly caused by the fact that the woman is no longer chaste.

In this community a woman's failure to produce a son is not considered an acceptable cause for divorce. However, the people feel that if man and wife cannot live harmoniously together then divorce is advisable.

Although a wife is now free under the law to bring a divorce suit against her husband this practice is considered wrong because it is against Chinese tradition.

Responses of sixteen heads of households to the survey questionnaire indicate that 95 percent think there is more divorce now than a few years ago. The chief cause of increased divorce, according to 55 percent of the respondents is economic problems. Differences of opinion, according to another 25 percent were another important cause. Ten percent said the increase was due to equality of the sexes and a final 10 percent to differences in temperament.

KINSHIP

The frequency of references in informal discussion to kinship terms and kinship relationships indicates that the clan is still strong in Hukou.

In this community there are three leading families, the largest of

which numbers more than 3,000 members, the second largest over 2,000, and the smallest between 1,200 and 1,300 members.

The smallest of these families has been in Hukou for approximately 200 years and is now in the sixth generation on this Island. The present head is almost 80 years old and is the leader of the 200 or 300 individual families which make up the unit. All the members live in neighboring villages close to one another. There is no connection maintained between this family and others of the same name who live outside Hukou.

There is a family temple on the edge of New Hukou at which the family members gather for festivals and ceremonies in honor of the ancestors, for Chinese New Year, and on occasions when matters arise that effect the whole family; for example, when it is necessary to make a division of property or when concentrated efforts of the family are required as in case of elections.

Many members of this family continue the practice of assigning generation names to their children and they are known to each other within the family by these terms. The names are chosen by the family elders and have already been selected for four generations to come.

Social Relationships

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

As has already been pointed out, social status in this community seems to be based on occupational differentiation with farmers occupying the most respected position. Material wealth also seems to play an important part in determining the social status of an individual. The idea was expressed at the leadership conference and in subsequent interviews that if a man is rich he has prestige regardless of his occupation. Although the intelligentsia as a group are rated low on the scale of occupational differentiation in this community still it was observed that frequent references were made to educated people who made wise choices as opposed to the so-called lower classes who did not; for example, in the matter of deciding whether or not to spend much money for pai pais.

It was difficult for those attending the leadership conference to dis-

tinguish social classes in the community. One expressed the opinion that the population of Hukou was too small to have social "factions".

STATUS OF WOMEN

At the leadership conference it was generally agreed that the status of women in the community has improved considerably but that the traditional standards of Chinese society still prevent women from enjoying their full legal rights. Although they enjoy equality by law it is reported that they do not take these rights seriously.

Another factor which prevents women from rising in status is education. Although there is a steady rise in the number of girls attending school at all levels, still on the whole their educational level is low and without knowledge and skills they are unable to compete equally with men. Some say that even if women had complete equality with men (as they actually do under the law) still they would not be able to make their own living. It will take time for women in this community to obtain equality in practice.

Participants in the leadership conference voiced the opinion that the status of Cantonese women is higher than that of Fukienese because they run a better household and understand more about home economics.

Remarks were frequently made in household interviews which indicate that boys are held in much higher regard in many families than are girls. For example, since girls according to Chinese tradition are not required to send money home to their parents they are thought to be "no good at all". Frequently when informants were asked how many children they had they gave the number of sons and ignored the number of daughters until the question of daughters was specially raised. It is also interesting to observe that when individuals are asked what they consider an ideal number of children for a family to have their reply invariably is the number of boys desired. People voice the opinion that daughters are as good as boys but sometimes they express attitudes that do not verify the opinion.

It was observed that women were very reluctant to participate in the household interviews. Even when men of the family were busy in the fields and had to be called back to the house, still the women did not wish to answer our questions. They were content to sit and watch the proce-

edings but unless questions were put to them directly they made no comments. The women, especially of the older generations, sat very much in the sidelines during the interviews and could not be persuaded to join the group.

Women's activities still seem to be separated from those of men; for example, the sexes separate for recreational activities.

LEISURE ACTIVITIES

As has been stated earlier, for most of the people of Hukou there is virtually no time for them to enjoy leisure time activities except during the New Year holidays and days of inclement weather.

If for no other reasons than the shortage of time and money activities are still commonly centered within the home and are shared by members of the family.

Smoking and conversation are mentioned as things people enjoy when the work is finished. Strolling in scenic spots seems to be another popular pastime. Those who have radios enjoy music at home. Visits to friends and relatives are made occasionally as time permits and are an important part of the New Year festivities.

The local drama seems still to be more popular than movies among the common people. These performances are free or very inexpensive whereas movies are relatively high-priced for the average citizen, even though they may cost only NT\$4 or 5 (U.S.\$ 0.10 or 0.12) Movies were mentioned at the leadership conference as a thing which people enjoy doing outside the home but few people interviewed in households mentioned these as a form of entertainment. A few who can afford it go to Chung-li, Hsinchu, or New Hukou for movies. Sports may be a growing interest, particularly of children and young people, but this type of entertainment is not yet considered very popular among the masses.

Few people subscribe to magazines or newspapers nor is reading material otherwise readily available for their enjoyment. Of course this is related to the fact that very small percentages of the adult population can read.

It is interesting that the head of one household felt that women have

more free time to enjoy than men. When asked what they did in their leisure time he replied that they sew, tend the vegetables, and do domestic work. Other men listed such activities as growing vegetables, and tending the animals as leisure time activities.

It is still customary in this community for men, often of the same family, and women to pursue their pastimes separately rather than together.

ASSOCIATIONS

In the Village of Hukou there are at present no privately sponsored clubs or organizations. These associations which are publically sponsored, including the Farmers' Association, Women's Association, and the 4-H Club, are reportedly not highly successful.

Problems of leadership and organization, financial difficulties, and perhaps a lack of understanding and experience on the part of the members of the democratic principles under which these organizations are supposed to function may explain some of the problems. Furthermore, in this community both men and women seem to have very little if any leisure time to devote to organized social activities and this may be another factor in their limited degree of success.

These publically sponsored associations and the few business associations in which informants participate are primarily trade associations and are not designed to provide recreation or to serve as social clubs. Associations of this later type seem not only to be nonexistent in the community but not yet to have been thought of. The family itself functions as such an association.

Community Life

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND PARTICIPATION

The Village of Hukou is an aggregation of sixteen smaller units which are also called villages. The headmen of the local government organization are the Village Chief and the Village Secretary. Under their direction are eight government divisions: Civil Affairs, which directs the administration of the sixteen villages through village chiefs, Finance, Reconstruction, Census, Military Service, Secretariat, Accounting and Personnel. In ad-

dition, a division called Public Market is administered directly by the Village Office.

The Village Chief is elected for a four year term. In the last election 76 percent of the qualified citizens voted. It is estimated by the village leaders that of this percentage approximately two-fifths were women. Voters in the community must be twenty years old and have been residents in the community for six months.

The people of Hukou are said to be very much interested in political affairs and that for each office there are said to be many candidates. As has already been mentioned, in elections families band together to put their votes behind one candidate. It was reported that there may be conflicts between families and factions may develop but when the elections are finished, conflicts and hard feelings are forgotten and the people cooperate with the government.

QUALIFICATIONS OF LEADERS

It was difficult for those attending the leadership conference to be specific about qualifications required of local leaders. It was generally agreed that they should be beyond party politics and "even-handed" with respect to the majority opinion. They should be public-spirited and impartial. One participant complained that there should be more contact between government leaders and the farmers. Age seems no longer to be a requirement for leadership. On the contrary, it was reported that there would be advantages to having a young man rather than an old one, in spite of the old man's experience, because in modern times a young man understands better how to run things. The incumbent Village Chief is only thirty-two years old and is reportedly the youngest in Hsinchu Hsien.

The average age of the principal staff members of the Village Office is 45.7. The average age of the leaders of the most important organizations in the community, including chairmen of important committees and associations, school principals, and public officials is 44. Of this group 33 percent received a junior middle school education, fourteen percent a senior middle school education, 9 percent university or college, 14 percent commercial or technical school, 19 percent normal school education.

It is interesting to note that the average age of the members of the

Conciliation Committee is 56.8. Of these leaders 14 percent received primary education, 57 percent high school, 14 percent normal school, and 14 percent university education.

The opinion was expressed by local leaders that opportunities in the government are much better for Taiwanese people since the restoration of the Island by the Nationalists. At present the Village Chief and all officers in charge of the principal divisions of the local government, except the individual in charge of military recruiting, are Taiwanese.

It was also reported that it is not necessary for a man to be rich to become a village leader. The present Village Chief allegedly spent NT\$ 6,000 (U. S. \$ 150) in the election campaign.

The strength of families in local elections can easily be observed in the number of members of leading families which presently serve as government officials and town leaders.

According to Village statistics, in Hukou nearly half of the principal staff members of the office, the chairmen of important committees and associations, and school principals come from the three leading families of the community. One from each of the three families is a principal staff member. Three members from two families are ex-town chiefs and the present chief, a member of one of the same two families, is serving his second term. Two of the three district councilors come from two leading families. Twenty-one percent of the active representatives of townspeople are members of the three leading families.

CRIME

It was not possible to obtain statistical data on crimes committed in the local community because this information "must be kept secret and cannot be disclosed". However, it was reported that trouble usually occurs after pai pais when fights may develop. One informant said that the people of Hukou are proud of their community because there are no thieves. Reportedly there are no murders and no juvenile delinquency problems.

Religious and Ceremonial Life

Opinions expressed at the leadership conference in Hukou left the

impression that traditional religious practices in this community are very much on the way out. However, field observations did not verify this opinion.

In the homes of rich and poor alike were found shrines for family worship. Portraits of the ancestors occupied a place of honor beside representations of the principal deities. Religious beliefs and practices continue to pervade every important aspect of daily life. Among farmers the local Earth God is almost universally worshipped.

There was general agreement among the local leaders that young people no longer care much about religion—they no longer take it seriously. Women are said to be a little more interested than men in religious affairs; they go more often to the Shrines.

In Hukou there are five major temples, six Catholic churches, and two other Christian churches.

The patron god of the Hakka people of Hukou is Matsu, the guardian of seafaring peoples. To this deity is given credit for having brought the ancestors of the local people safely from Mainland China to Taiwan. This goddess is also worshipped because she can grant peace and good health. For the same blessings the deity Wang-yeh is also worshipped.

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES PERTAINING TO FARMING

Traditional beliefs and practices play an integral part in the lives of the farmers, as has already been explained in an earlier section.

It was reported at the leadership conference that farmers enthusiastically study farming techniques and welcome advice from the JCRR and the Agricultural Association concerning modern farm practices. But even the leaders admitted that the farmers sometimes still pray to the gods for rain. They did point out, however, that the rain is not always sent by the gods in answer to prayers. Now the people know that only the Shihmen Development Commission can help them.

Participants in the conference felt that very few people continued to pray to the gods at planting and harvest time because they no longer needed their help. However, the field work for this study was carried

out during the spring planting season and not infrequently farmers and their families were observed making sacrifices and prayers to the Earth God. Shrines to this deity are found everywhere and it is obvious that the god has not fallen into disrepute.

Prayers to the gods at planting and harvest time are individual activities but when it is necessary for the farmers to pray for rain they join together and offer collective prayers and sacrifices beseeching help from the gods.

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES PERTAINING TO OTHER ASPECTS OF LIFE

Health.—It was reported at the leadership conference and again in household interviews that few if any people still ask the help of the gods in time of illness. However, four people of the sixteen who completed the social survey forms indicated that they pray to Matsu when there is sickness in the family. One person reportedly prays to the God of Happiness and virtue and another to the local god (Soil God)

Marriage and the desire for children.—Although no statistical data is available to verify the fact, it is evident that very few people, if any, remain single in this community. Also, one way or another, means are found to insure that there will be sons to carry on the family line and maintain the honors to the ancestors. It was pointed out that it is at least desirable, if not necessary, for a family to have more than one son to make sure that one will survive to continue the practices of ancestral worship. It is the opinion of the writer that if birth control methods are ever accepted by the people of Taiwan they will be utilized only after a desirable number of sons are provided for this purpose, regardless of the total number of children a family may have. A method of guaranteeing the sex of a child before birth might be the only way of hastening the day when the birth rate could be effectively decreased.

Leisure time activities.—In view of the very meager amount of time left for relaxation in a day or even in a year for the average farmer or working man in Hukou, the importance of festival days to the individual as a release from the cares of the workaday world and welcome break in an otherwise dull existence of the daily routine can be readily understood. Until the time when the lives of average citizens are enriched by a greater variety

of pleasant activities which they can have time to enjoy, it is unlikely that there will be a significant decrease in the amount of time and money consumed by pai pais and festivals.

Education.—Most people questioned about what children should be taught at home concerning the family and religion replied that there was nothing. Nevertheless, further questioning revealed that the traditional virtues, which are the core of the Chinese religious beliefs; for example, reverence to parents, must be taught from a very early age. A specific reason mentioned why children need to receive an education was to enable them to fulfill their responsibilities to their parents; namely, to lend them financial support. In the primary schools “moral teaching” is an important part of the curriculum. It is considered one of the principal goals of education and includes instruction in “filial piety” and education for daily life.

FESTIVALS

Among the leaders participating in the conference there seemed little disagreement about the fact that there has been no significant change in the importance locally attached to the traditional pai pais. Citizens are advised to be frugal, but the leaders admit that these celebrations are traditional and cannot be changed, in spite of government efforts. It was pointed out, however, that poor economic conditions in the town do to some extent necessitate some cut-back of expenditures. People continue to expend much money on the purchase of pork but according to one informant, more people now own their own chickens so perhaps in all they do not spend quite so much money as before.

The most important festival days in the ceremonial lunar calendar of the people of Hukou are as follows:

January 1	Lunar New Year
January 15	Lantern Festival
May 5	Dragon Boat Festival
July 15	Festival of the Hungry Ghosts
August 15	Mid-autumn Festival

Of these the greatest is the Lunar New Year. Secondary festivals observed in the community include Matsu's birthday in May, Mounting the Heights

in September, Winter Solstice in November. It was reported that the Hakka people of this community do not commonly observe the Ch'ing Ming Festival in April but rather they visit the family graves once a year on a day not set by custom. However, during a visit to Hukou on the day of this festival it was observed that there was much unusual activity in the town and in particular, many people seemed to be traveling and carrying with them gifts of food. Inquiries resulted only in the opinion that this was not uncommon. Reportedly this was not recognized as a festival day. On festival days sacrifices are made to the most important gods.

LUNAR NEW YEAR

The traditional new year celebrations remain the highlight of the ceremonial calendar. According to opinions expressed at the leadership conference the celebrations, if anything, are more glorious than ever before. During the Japanese occupation celebrations were forbidden. But when the Nationalists returned the Mainlanders revived traditional customs. Furthermore, because they now enjoy improved standards of living local people celebrate more jubilantly than ever.

Individual informants pointed out that gift-giving, a traditional part of the celebrations, is no longer such a common practice because the people need to economize. Gifts, however, are still given to children and relatives. Others said that even if they had more money they might continue to economize on gifts in order to save money for children, for clothes, and for emergency needs. Another said that well-educated people are not fond of celebrations whereas the lower classes are and may sacrifice in order to keep the traditional customs.

Important aspects of the observance include ancestral worship, and visits to friends and relatives. It is reported that in Hukou most of the children living away from home still return to spend the holidays with their family and to join in prayers for the ancestors. It is still customary for debts to be collected before the new year begins and for children in particular to be given new clothes.

One of the joys of this particular festival which rich and poor alike can share is a holiday of at least two or three days when they can take a brief vacation from work.

CHRISTIANITY

It was reported at the conference that the traditional religion of the community remains strong however, a very significant increase in activities of the Christian Church, particularly the Catholic, has been observed. There are six Catholic Churches in the Village. Two Protestant churches have also been established in New Hukou but of the two religions, the Catholic appears to be more popular.

The leaders explain this by the fact that young people want to learn English and there are priests and nuns who can teach them. In addition, the Catholic church provides a clinic which seems to serve the people well. Goods including powdered milk, flour, and sometimes clothes are also distributed by this church. It was learned that a kindergarten as well as review classes in English and mathematics for middle school students are also sponsored.

The people of Hukou welcome the services provided by the Catholic Church. The needs of the community are great and the services provided are good. It is interesting to note, however, that the people do not look upon the inroads of Christianity as a threat to their ancestral religion. The traditional religious tolerance of the Chinese people apparently still prevails. Parents feel that if their children wish to embrace the teachings of Christianity they are free to do so. If a son wishes to hold to the old and at the same time embrace the new that is also his choice.

Informants say that they enjoy visiting the Catholic Church and the kindergarten classroom, but that they do not go to worship.

Nevertheless, in the nine years during which one of the two Catholic missions has been active in Hukou fifteen hundred converts are counted. On the other hand, during all the field work in Hukou no mention was made of the Protestant churches except that they exist.

Education

The public educational system in Hukou includes a total of six primary schools and one non-specialized middle school. At present problems similar to those encountered all over the island of Taiwan prevail; namely, there are too many children and too little money.

SCHOOL ENROLLMENT

Since 1952 the number of children of school age has almost doubled. In 1951 there were 4,180 children enrolled in the primary schools and in 1961 the number had jumped to 5,796. Figures for middle school children are not available for 1951 but in 1961 a total of 477 were enrolled. In addition, fifteen students in 1961 were attending school outside Hukou.

The tremendous rises in population over the whole Island, of course, accounts for the equally rapid rise in school enrollment; however, in Hukou other factors are also to be noted. The leaders report that education in this community has always been taken seriously. The people are very proud of the fact that although they are farmers it is still possible for their children to obtain an education and they are willing to sacrifice to provide them as much as possible. The difficult economic conditions of the community explain a very practical reason why more children are attending school at all levels. The more education they can obtain the better will be their chances of getting a job which, of course, means an increased income for the family. Furthermore, if a child can obtain an education he will not have to become a farmer. In Hukou this seems to be a very important consideration. Parents also realize that they are living in a modern, scientific world in which the need for education is greater than ever. They appreciate the fact that old people of the community must be replaced by young people well versed in the many fields of knowledge and skills.

According to the Statistical Abstract of the Shihmen Canal Irrigation Area (1960) the ratio of primary school enrollment is 93 percent, the lowest percentage shown for the eight townships of the Reservoir Area.

COEDUCATION

There is a steady increase in the percentage of girls attending school in recent years. In the primary schools at present there are 2,971 boys and 2,825 girls; whereas, in 1951 the boys number 2,421 and girls only 1,759. In the middle school the ratio of boys to girls is 2:1. This figure is another reflection of poor economic conditions in the community. If lack of money is a problem then the boys in a family are given preference. In this community conservative ideas persist regarding the value of education beyond the primary school for girls.

Responses to the social survey from Hukou regarding attitudes toward how many years a boy or a girl should go to school are as follows:

22 percent said a boy should go to school 6 years
12 percent said a boy should go to school 9 years
60 percent said a boy should go to school 12 years
6 percent said a boy should go to school 16 years
35 percent said a girl should go to school 6 years
53 percent said a girl should go to school 9 years
12 percent gave no reply

The average number of years thought that a boy should go to school was 12 years; for a girl the average was 9 years.

FINANCIAL PROBLEMS

The shortage of classrooms, a problem shared by many communities of Taiwan, is keenly felt in Hukou. Some existing buildings were damaged by last year's typhoon and have not yet been fully repaired or replaced. Two classes at least are presently meeting in one of the temples of the village for lack of any other place. In many schools the children reportedly are able to take only part-time classes. Because of limited funds sanitary facilities are seriously inadequate; particularly in the middle school. In Hukou this problem is further exaggerated by the shortage of water.

Budgetary restrictions also prevent the community from providing basic equipment necessary for modern education; for example, equipment for teaching home economics and manual arts in the middle school.

The concensus of opinion expressed at the leadership conference and elsewhere is that the parents in Hukou are unable to bear the burden of any increased financial aid. Already a number request permission to pay middle school tuition fees of NT\$ 200 (U. S. \$ 5.00) per term by installment and many students must drop out for lack of funds. The school budget for at least one primary school was set up in 1949 and has not been changed since to meet the changing needs of the school. Officials hope that when economic conditions are improved as a result of irrigation they will be able to obtain some subsidy from the Parents' Association to help solve these problems. Meanwhile, they turn to the government for assistance,

at least for help in the construction of new classrooms and the improvement of sanitary facilities.

One the social survey eleven of the sixteen families who responded indicated that they would prefer to give money for more schools than for more temples.

CURRICULUM

In Hukou as elsewhere on the Island the school curriculum is set up by the Provincial Government and the local people can exercise little or no control over it. At the leadership conference, however, opinions expressed indicate that parents would like to see some changes made, because they feel that the present goals of education do not fit the needs of the students nor of the community.

Parents emphasize the need for nutrition education in both primary and middle schools. They also recognize a need for providing a curriculum in home economics for girls and vocational training for boys, but financial limitations prevent their implementing such a program.

EDUCATION FOR EMPLOYMENT

School officials in Hukou feel that there is a great need in the community for an agricultural school. However, even if such a school were opened they seriously doubt whether there would be enough students to make it worthwhile. Several factors enter into this reasoning.

First of all, specialized agricultural schools are already available in Hsinchu and Chung-li and students who are interested could go there but few do. Transportation is expensive but a much larger consideration is the fact which seems to be well established, that most children in the community do not wish to become farmers. It is reported that graduates of the junior middle school who can not continue to senior middle school seek factory work or non-farm employment but are very reluctant to return to work on the family farm. Those who cannot obtain such employment would rather do nothing. It must be remembered that in Hukou the possibilities of obtaining any job are very few.

Traditional teachings give status to the intelligentsia at the expense of the farmer and educated people do not want to become farmers because

of the social stigma attached to the occupation. But from the point of view of the community which is primarily agricultural, there is a tremendous need for technically trained people.

The lack of employment opportunities in Hukou prevents educated children from returning to their homes after graduation. Thus the community fails to benefit in any way from their training and experience.

ADULT EDUCATION

Education for illiterate adults is provided by the Village Office. According to the Statistical Abstract of the Shimen Canal Irrigation Area (1960) there were in that year a total of 6,224 illiterates in Hukou. This represents about 21 percent of the total population. The results of the social survey indicated that 40 to 50 percent of the members of the families studied over the age of nine cannot write.

The Agricultural Association sponsors an agricultural promotion class which disseminates agricultural information.

A limited amount of health education is provided by the Public Health Center particularly concerning maternal health and hygien classes are taught in the public schools.

PRIVATE AGENCIES FOR EDUCATION

As has been mentioned earlier, the Catholic church sponsors a kindergarten taught by nuns which is attended by one hundred and fifty children of pre-school age.

In addition, the church offers review lessons in English and Mathematics for middle school students. It is held five days a week and more than forty students are presently enrolled. The tuition is NT\$ 10 (U. S. \$ 0.55) a month.

A sewing class for girls was initiated by the church but was for several reasons not successful.

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Of the respondents to the survey questionnaire about 70 percent of the heads of households had attended primary school, about 6 percent of

their spouses, and 60 percent of their children. Eighteen percent of the heads had attended junior middle school, 6 percent of their spouses, 22 percent of their sons, and 9 percent of their daughters. No families questioned had members who attended either senior middle school or college.

EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

Hukou Township	Male	Female	Total
Primary Schools	2,971	2,825	5,796
Junior middle schools	265	212	477
Teachers			
Primary	80	82	162
Middle	21	6	27
Students attending outside	8	7	15
Sinchu Primary School			
Classes		34	
Pupils		1,939 (both boys and girls)	
Promoting rate		97.81%	
Teachers			
Qualifications			
Normal school graduates		55%	
Middle school graduates		30%	
Substitutes		15%	
Native place			
Mainland		1%	
Taiwan		99%	
Hukou Junior Middle School			
Classes		12	
Students		541	
Ratio of boys to girls		2:1	
Occupation of parents			
Farmers		About 60%	
Officials and others		About 40%	
Promoting rate			
1955		43%	
1960		80%	

Teachers

Qualifications		Native Place
University or College	80%	Mainland 80%
High school	20%	Taiwan 20%

Health

It is reported that health conditions in Hukou have not improved remarkably in recent years but remain about the same as before.

COMMON DISEASES

A large majority of the population suffers from summer intestinal trouble which is considered to be the most prevalent disease of Hukou. About 90 percent of the primary school children are afflicted with intestinal parasites. Influenza, high blood pressure and asthma are also common. It is reported that many farmers suffer from an arthritis condition caused by spending long hours in the paddies.

HEALTH FACILITIES

According to figures of the Statistical Abstract Hukou was one of three townships with no hospital. It was reported that there are a total of 15 clinics, 15 doctors, and three midwives.

Public Health Clinic.—The purposes of the Public Health Clinic are three: disease prevention, health education and general sanitation improvement. However, because of inadequate funds, facilities and services are at best inadequate.

The clinic staff consists of one doctor, two midwives, an office boy and a health inspector. The clinic, reportedly, is not a treatment center and only three or four patients a day are cared for. Free treatment for tuberculosis patients through a World Health Organization (WHO) program is provided but for other patients there is neither free treatment nor free medicine. There is said to be a growing tendency for people to seek help at the clinic. This is said to reflect the population increase in the community.

The clinic, through the services of the midwives, provides a program of maternal health and education. About three births a day are attended by the clinic staff.

A milk program for children under age five is also in operation but it is reported that it is not a popular one. Milk is provided through the UNICEF for about two hundred children a day but it is said to be hard to find enough people to take it. Because the clinic has no facilities the children are required to take the milk to their homes to drink it.

Funds for the operation of this clinic come from the Village Office but the very poor economic conditions in Hukou severely limits the funds available for the purpose. The total budget set for health expenditures in 1960 was NT\$ 35,633 (U. S. \$ 890) but it was not learned what proportion is set aside for the operation of the clinic. Some income is derived from fees for services to patients. As a result of the limited funds, services and facilities are meager.

Private Clinics.—In the Village of Hukou there are six private clinics, including one in Old Hukou, which are directed by private doctors. These clinics are said to be popular among the local people. However, those who can afford it seem to prefer to visit private clinics in Chung-li, Hsinchu, or Taipei.

Catholic Clinic.—Among the people interviewed in the households of Hukou the clinic sponsored by the Catholic church seems to be the place which is most popular, especially among the poor people of the town.

This clinic maintains a staff of one full-time Chinese doctor, one specialist who comes twice a week, two brothers who had experience on the Mainland, and four trained nurses. It is only a clinic and does not undertake any but the most simple surgery. Patients who need further care are referred to other doctors. A small fee is charged for treatment and medicine, however, both are sometimes given free to needy patients.

It was reported by one informant that many people go to the Catholic clinic where they can obtain good and cheap medicine and good doctors. The public health center, he said, needs to be improved in these respects. The people do not go there because it offers no services.

ENVIRONMENTAL SANITATION

The Public Health clinic with the cooperation of the village office and local police are responsible for a program of environmental sanitation in

the community. This program has had some effect but its success has been limited by poor economic conditions, both among individuals and in community as a whole.

SCHOOL HEALTH

It was not possible to learn from the public health clinic what is being taught in the schools about health and nutrition. Reportedly there is a public school inspection program sponsored by the clinic.

POPULAR METHODS OF TREATING ILLNESS

At the leadership conference the question was asked to whom most of the people of the community turn in time of sickness. It was agreed that nowadays only a few still pray to the gods and then only if the illness is serious. Results of the survey, however, indicated that about 25 percent of the small sample do pray to the gods, particularly when the illness is serious. Household interviews indicated that the custom of praying to the gods in time of illness is not yet abandoned, though now it may be customary for people to rely on both modern practices and prayers to the gods, particularly Matsu and the Earth God.

Reliance on traditional forms of Chinese medicine continues. One informant, who himself sells herb medicine, said that many people still rely on herbs which may be prescribed by an herb medicine doctor. He thought that about 80 percent of the population now goes to Western doctors at the Catholic church, Chung-li, or Hsinchu; but about 20 percent resort to Chinese medicine. According to him the most popular kind of herb medicine is for colds. Reportedly few people use patent medicines in Hukou. According to this informant, about 60 percent of the people buy herb medicine and patent medicines on credit, but only about 30 percent are able to repay.

It was reported by the public health center that about half the women of the community rely on the help of midwives at childbirth and half upon the help of friends and family. Of the seventeen families who gave responses on this question in the survey all reported that they relied on the help of family and friends, both in time of childbirth and for general sickness in the family.

PROBLEMS OF IMPROVING COMMUNITY HEALTH

Serious problems limit improvement in health conditions and health facilities in the community. The shortage of money, the shortage of trained medical personnel, and the serious shortage of water are the most important.

Limited funds hamper attempts of both individuals and the local government to improve existing conditions. The facilities offered by the public health center are extremely limited. There is no public health insurance available to the local people and if sickness comes in a bad year, and many years are bad in Hukou, then they have no choice but to go into debt to obtain medical. The public health center offers neither free treatment nor free medicine (except for tuberculosis medicine supplied by WHO). Some charity patients are treated at the clinic sponsored by the Catholic church. Although many people are aware of the availability of these free services and consider this clinic a place where poor people can go for help, others when questioned said they know of no place where they can obtain free help. They can only hope that sickness will not strike when their financial condition is too poor to pay for aid.

At the leadership conference the idea was expressed that if individuals had more money a greater number would seek the services of modern doctors, especially in Taipei. It was said that if the community had more money they would build a public clinic and in that case the people would have available to them modern medical facilities on which they could and would rely in preference to traditional methods of treatment.

It is reported that low economic conditions prevalent in the community are an important factor in the present low standard of nutrition, especially among primary school children.

When asked whether or not he thought the Shihmen project would improve the general health conditions in the community one informant stated that money can solve all problems, but water, only a part.

The severe shortage of water causes serious health problems in the community at present. There is no public water supply; most households rely on well water and in many cases, the water is contaminated. Drainage problems in Hukou require both money and an increased water supply for

their solution. For example, in the middle school sanitary facilities are poor because of a shortage of both water and funds. The local government has no money and no help has come from the provincial government. Now the people hope that they will be able to improve conditions after the completion of the Shihmen Project. There is hope that then there may be piped water. Improved economic conditions in the community would mean that more funds would be made available for improvement of sanitary conditions and modernization of facilities for the removal of sewerage.

According to a survey conducted by doctors from the headquarters of the First Armored Division of the Chinese Army in 1961, 81.79 percent of of the 1,300 students in the Hukou primary school suffered from intestinal parasites. Large percentages of the population suffer from intestinal troubles, especially during the hot summer months. The improvement of these conditions depends on the availability of a safe supply of water and of course on the expenditure of increased funds for modernization of sanitary facilities. Local authorities appeal to the Provincial government as well as to world health organization for help in solving these problems.

The shortage of trained medical personnel is recognized by people of all levels of the community as a severe handicap in the improvement health conditions. They recognize the need for a well-staff, well-equipped public clinic and/or hospital as well as a need for trained people who can give instruction in basic principles of hygiene and sanitation. Such training would be particularly valuable for the women of the community according to opinions expressed, because many of them are still "superstitious". At present it seems that except for maternal health and school health programs, little is being done in health education in the community.

Acculturation and Culture Contact

The inhabitants of Hukou Village in the recent past have been subjected to contacts with the cultures of Japan and the West. Their original culture patterns, as a result of these contacts, has been modified.

LANGUAGE

The common language of the community remains Hakka. However, the older members of the population still speak Japanese. Those who have

attended Nationalist schools have been instructed in Mandarin. Those who studied in the senior middle schools and in colleges and universities have learned English. In Hukou others are taking advantage of opportunities to learn English offered by the Catholic church.

Results of the social survey indicate that of the seventeen families studied with a total population of 157 people, almost everyone speaks the local dialect. Forty percent of the people over nine years old know Mandarin. In 76 percent of the families there is a Japanese speaker. Fifteen percent of the people over age nine know Japanese. In only 12 percent of the families does anyone know any English. Of these only 0.5 percent can speak, 2 percent can read and write and 2.5 percent are studying the language.

MATERIAL CULTURE

In even the simplest homes of Hukou traces are to be found of material goods which reflect contacts with the Japanese and the West. Japanese influences remain strong particularly in some aspects of house construction, particularly sleeping arrangements. Japanese objects d'art and some clothing fashions remain. Modern devices and fads of the the Western world have also made their appearance. For example, radios, record players, sewing machines, electric irons, Western music, motorcycles and scooters, electric fans, plastic wares, cigarettes, florescent lights, permanent waves, western fashions in clothing and make-up, flashlights and watches. . . . all have come to Hukou. But Western innovations are expensive and are not yet commonplace in the community.

Of the seventeen families of Hukou studied by the social survey 76 percent had sewing machines, but 100 percent had watches and 94 percent had flashlights. Eighty-two percent had bicycles, 35 percent, radios, Twenty-three percent had charcoal irons but 12 percent now use electric irons.

In the eight townships according to the Statistical Abstract of the Shihmen Canal Irrigation Area (1960), about 65 percent of the families had bicycles. Forty-nine percent had sewing machines and 37 percent had electricity. These figures offer a comparison of the households of Hukou with those of the eight townships of the Reservoir Area.

The people of Hukou have also accepted new ideas from foreign cultures.

Ordinary citizens of Hukou are proud of their democratic form of government and thank the Nationalists for restoring freedom which was denied them under the Japanese. They take pride in the ownership of land and houses. Women enjoy equality under the law and have the privilege of voting.

The gradual acceptance of Western ideas is bringing to individuals a greater measure of independence; for example, in selecting an occupation and choosing a wife. Young people begin to look with favor on the idea of setting up separate households for themselves and families. Farmers speak of the day when they will enjoy shorter working hours and an easier life, thanks to mechanization of farm techniques and an improved standard of living.

The acceptance of new ideas from another culture brings problems and responsibilities to both the individual and the group. Old ways can be abandoned only gradually and new ways must be modified to suit the old existing situation.

The people of Hukou are still being indoctrinated into the new ideas and responsibilities of democracy and until this process is complete, self-government will not always function smoothly and effectively. Family life in Hukou is undergoing a gradual change. As children learn and accept new ways of the modern world there will be disagreements between them and their elders concerning which is the better path to follow. Increased independence of individuals in the selection of mates and greater equality for women may be reflected in rising divorce rates. Improved medical facilities have already resulted in a rapidly increasing population which in turn creates serious economic problems for every family. Still, opinions differ as to whether or not the Western idea of birth control should be resorted to as a means of stabilizing the population. Unfavorable economic conditions and the shortage of arable land forces children of farmers to reject the traditional work of their ancestors and seek their fortunes in the city. But in the cities they will be confronted with more foreign ways which may tempt them and create problems for the children, their parents, and the community.

Meanwhile, old Chinese ways persist along with the new. The ancestors are revered at the family altar. Elders and teachers are respected and obeyed. Children fulfil their responsibilities of filial piety. Rice remains the principal crop and the staple food. Farmers till the soil in age old ways. Men who leave the farm to seek employment elsewhere maintain their ties with ancestral home and soil. New Year is still the day of days and neither government policy nor unfavorable economic conditions dissuades the people from celebrating their pai pais in a traditionally jubilant way. Women have equality under the law but keep their humility and exemplify the classic virtues.

These ideas are Chinese and for generations the Chinese people have held to them tenaciously. Only in the generations to come will these ideas give way gradually to new.

Limitations on Development

The leaders who attended the leadership conference were able to foresee certain difficulties within their community which may hamper the progress of the community, even after water is made available.

They felt that aspects of the political process of Hukou might be limiting factors. For example, the low educational level of the general population makes the practice of the democratic process difficult. There are also those who feel that there is lacking an interest in and devotion to the public benefit among some leaders in the community. Competition for political office is very keen but these leaders feel that some people are interested in election not for the public good but for their own private advantage instead. The short-sightedness of the local people is considered to be another cause of political complications. It was reported that there are some political quarrels.

All these factors may have some bearing on the problems which currently beset the Farmers' Association, which seems to be a sore point among the leaders of Hukou. It is said that a wholesome Farmers' Association is essential to progress.

Another factor considered by some to be a handicap in future development of the community is the conservative customs of the farmers.

The lack of public and private funds is at present a serious handicap to development.

Finally, the leaders stressed the fact that the lack of a spirit of cooperation among the people will be a detriment to progress. One said that this lack of cooperation may be serious enough to counteract the advantages of good transportation facilities which already exist and water which will be available after the completion of the Shihmen Project. Another leader pointed out that before, the land and the sky were the only advantages that Houkou had. Now when water is available, only the cooperation of the people themselves is needed to assure successful development.

CHAPTER VI

TALUEH

Introduction

Talueh is a small neighborhood located about three kilometers west of Chung-li. It is reached by a good paved road. The countryside around it is green with rice and presents a general appearance of prosperity. The community has reaped the benefits of irrigation water from the existing Taoyuan Canal.

Population

The following population statistics were obtained from the Township Office at Chung-li and except where indicated are the figures for

Total population		10,746
Males		5,517
Females		5,229
Population increase per year:	2,476	23%
Births rate	420	4%
Mortality rate	67	0.61%

Since 1954 mortality rates in Chung-li township as a whole have dropped from 7.94 per 1000 to 6.06. It is reported that infant mortality rates have decreased because of maternal health and education programs.

The life expectancy rate is about 50 years.

SIZE OF HOUSEHOLDS

Participants in the leadership conference in Chung-li were of the opinion that there are still more large, extended households in the township than small, conjugal households. But they felt that there is a definite tendency toward the small.

One informant explained that the tendency toward smaller households

began about three years ago when economic conditions worsened as a result of typhoon damage and blights. He said that in a small family no one can be idle but each must make his own living. The individual has no one to rely on but himself and can work extra hours if necessary.

Additional reasons are given for this change toward smaller households. The amount of arable land is, according to the informants, no longer enough to support large households. Therefore, families divide and the number of farm households increases. There is also a growing tendency for young men, especially the better educated, to set up independent households when they marry. It is customary for brothers in large farm families to separate upon the death of their father.

It is generally felt that if a family lives together harmoniously it is good for them to continue in one household. Otherwise, they must separate. For example, it was said that if all the members of a household are not willing to pool their money for the common good then they must divide.

One informant expressed the idea that when a family is too large it needs to be divided so that everyone can exert his own effort. If it remains a small family, it is better for the members to live together.

Divided families are gaining in popularity and no special problems related to this type of household were expressed.

Of the ten families investigated by the social survey 70 percent were 2-generation families and 30 percent were 3-generation families.

SIZE OF FAMILIES

Results of the social survey indicate that the majority of people questioned in Talueh still prefer large families. About 80 percent of both the heads of household and their sons stated a preference for large families and only about 20 percent of each said that they preferred a small family. However, when questioned about how many children they would prefer to have the heads of households preferred an average of five, whereas the sons preferred an average of three. The actual size of families studied is a total average size of 7.3.

POPULATION INCREASE

Informants estimated that the population of the community increases

by about 100 persons per year. Results of the social survey indicate that the average size family at present is 7.3.

ATTITUDES TOWARD FAMILY PLANNING

Informants expressed the opinion that the pressure of rapidly increasing population is widely recognized in the community as a serious problem. It is considered to be an important contributing factor to presently poor economic conditions.

In Chung-li township birth control is becoming increasingly popular, at least among the townspeople.

In Talueh the people are familiar with Dr. Chiang Monlin's suggested Planned Family Program. They consider it to be a good plan and would like to know more about it. It is said that more people become interested every day because of propaganda spread by the Chung-li Public Health Center. Birth control information is available through this agency and it is reported that it is often requested. However, the agency believes that such a program is still not very popular among rural people.

One informant volunteered the opinion that after one has a family of five (three boys and two girls) it is high time to use birth control. This opinion reflects a point of view which may be shared by many Chinese people and seems to have an important bearing on the question of whether or not family planning will be practiced and at which time.

It seems to be a very commonly accepted idea that birth control could not be considered until a certain optimum sized family had already been reached which would always include more than one boy, preferably two or three. It is said that every family must have at least one boy to continue the family line and to pay homage to the ancestors. In order to avoid the danger that one son might die or become somehow ineligible for this responsibility it is necessary to have two or three sons.

Various informants expressed different ideas regarding the ideal number of children a family should have. One said four children, all boys. Another said at least two boys and one girl. One other said that birth control cannot be practiced until a family has five children; three boys and two girls.

On the basis of this information one might conclude that in some instances at least, even though a family had ten or more children, all girls, they might still not be willing to consider the idea of practicing birth control.

MOBILITY

In Talueh, according to results of the social survey, families interviewed had lived at their present address for an average of 20.36 years. The range was five to thirty-five years. They had lived at their former address for an average of 38.75 years. The range in this case was two to a hundred years.

Of the group studied 50 percent of the heads of households stated a preference to remain where they now are but another 50 percent said they would prefer to move to a city. Only about 18 percent of the sons preferred to remain where they now are and 63 percent preferred to move to the city.

According to the Statistical Abstract of Shihmen Canal Irrigation Area (1960) there were a total of 7,301 immigrants and 7,415 emigrants in the whole township of Chung-li but no figures are available for the community of Talueh alone.

Culture Contacts

It seems evident that the people of Talueh are becoming more and more emersed in the stream of Western culture pouring in from Chung-li and Taipei but remnants of Japanese culture are found everywhere. Even some interesting results of culture contact between the Fukienese and the Hakka peoples remain.

LANGUAGE

The common language of the community is Fukienese although a majority of the population is Hakka. The Fukienese people settled in the area first and kept their old language which later came to be accepted by the Hakka people as their own.

Results of the social survey indicate that in 60 percent of the ten families studied there is still at least one person who speaks Japanese, but

in 100 percent of the families there are now Mandarin speakers. Of these, however, there are no adults in the sample; only children who have attended Nationalist schools. In one family 3 members have studied English and of these two can speak, write and understand the language.

One informant reported that his daughter is studying English very diligently, possibly with the realization that a knowledge of the language may open the door to a better paying job, a scholarship in a Western university, or perhaps improve her chances of a favorable marriage.

MATERIAL CULTURE

In the households of Talueh it is possible to observe an interesting combination of material goods which serve as a pictorial history of the community and also reflect the improved standard of living now enjoyed by the people.

Insect sprays and fertilizers, farming manuals and thermos bottles, florescent lights and radios, pin-up calendars and cigarettes take their place near wooden clogs, tatami mats, and sliding doors. Josh sticks chop sticks, tea cups, talismans and calligraphic bits of Chinese wisdom stand as proof that all things old have not yet passed away.

Subsistence Patterns

GENERAL CONDITIONS

Participants in the leadership conference in Chung-li felt that in some respects conditions in the township are better now than they were a few years ago but that in other ways they are worse. It is interesting that they said the thing people still fear the most is draught.

In Talueh conditions have grown worse in the past two or three years because of natural disasters. A blight attacked the rice crop and in that year 8/10 ths of it was lost. A severe typhoon caused great damage to the community another year. As a result there has been a noticeable increase in agricultural loans, both loans of rice and money.

It was reported that as a result of the worsening economic conditions people must economize on clothing and even on food. The people try to economize on meat and they save vegetables to sell in the market. When

there is illness in a family it is necessary to borrow money or go into debt for hospital and medical care.

Other factors also play a part in effecting the situation. The price of agricultural products was stabilized but the price of consumer goods was increased. Exchange rates for rice are reportedly unfavorable. The people now enjoy a higher standard of living. Although the economic condition of an individual farmer may be better than before he now spends more money improving his house and buying clothing.

Increasing population is a factor which the local people themselves think has seriously hampered economic improvement in recent years.

It is said that economic conditions must be improved because the land is now more populous. In spite of irrigation, better farming methods, and increased crop production, there are still problems. One informant expressed the idea that the hope of the community lies in the completion of the Shihmen project so that wasted land can be cultivated and new crops developed.

When asked what he would do if he could save more money an informant replied that there was not much to save but if there were he would use it to buy farm equipment, improve the house and buy clothes. Leaders of Chung-li township said that surplus money would be used for commercial and industrial development land reform and to subsidize supplementary production work.

Of the eleven families who gave responses to the social survey questionnaire five said that if they had more money they would use it for increasing agricultural production, but three preferred to use it for business ventures. Others said they would use it for public benefit, to improve sanitary facilities in their houses, or to buy merchandise for the family.

One respondent said that he would borrow money to buy land and another to take care of family affairs. Four people said they would borrow money from family or friends if it were necessary.

THE FAMILY AS AN ECONOMIC UNIT

In Talueh the family remains a vital economic unit. In large extended households the brothers pool their earnings and the total is controlled by

the head of the family or another person who has been assigned this responsibility. In one family studied the their son was assigned the work of house manages. If there is something to buy or problems to be solved the family will discuss the matter together. When all agree on the action to be taken this man will see that it is done. It is this son who makes the major purchases of the family. The women buy domestic necessities and clothing.

At the leadership conference participants expressed the opinion that whether or not a son, who is separated from his father's family or who lives away from home will contribute to the common fund from his earnings depends upon the economic conditions of the family. It is apparently not always required that he does so.

OCCUPATIONAL PREFERENCES

In Talueh people feel that it is good to be a farmer. One informant expressed the opinion that the majority of people are farmers. Otherwise, they only work as cheap laborers. Therefore, their position is high and the status of a farmer is equal to that of other occupations.

Leaders of the township, however, indicated that they may feel differently. At the leadership conference they expressed the opinion that farmers are not well qualified to operate the Agricultural Association by themselves. Members from other walks of life should be represented.

On the other hand, it is reported that many young people would rather be public employees or work in business enterprises than to be farmers because in these occupations there are better opportunities. Unfortunately, however, it is difficult for them to find such jobs. One informant stated that engineering was considered by many to be the most desirable occupation.

Of the eleven families that responded to the social survey questionnaire ten heads were engaged in farming and one was a merchant. Of these seven would still prefer to be farmers, one would choose to be a merchant, one would prefer to breed fish, and two would like to be business men. Four would prefer to have their sons be farmers, one a merchant, one a driver, two industrial workers, one a doctor, and one a doctor or agriculturalist, and the last a business man.

NON-AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Talueh is primarily an agricultural area and there are few non-farm employment opportunities to be found. Those who seek such occupations must for the most part find them in Chung-li or Taipei.

In this community the people recognize the fact that improvements in their economic condition which have come in recent years because of irrigation and better farming techniques have failed to keep pace with the rapidly increasing population. The amount of land is no longer sufficient and neither is the income. They say that the area of arable land cannot be increased but somehow a way must be found to absorb the population increase by providing more non-farm employment opportunities.

The fact that many youth these days prefer not to be farmers presents another serious problem in the community. Since jobs of other kinds are seldom available the young people remain idle at home and in not a few cases, it is reported, they often become "rascals", passing the time drinking, gambling, and going to the theaters.

It is said that every year more and more people in order to augment their income must seek non-farm employment opportunities. Some find jobs as housemaids, salespeople, and carpenters. As more and more factories are established more non-farm jobs are available. It is interesting that those who find jobs customarily return to the farm to help with the work in busy seasons.

CHOICE OF OCCUPATION

In the neighborhood of Talueh it is still customary for parents to decide a suitable occupation for their sons but more and more the decision is made with the approval of the son. Now in many cases the parents' choice is influential but not decisive.

DIVISION OF LABOR

The president of the Women's Association of Chung-li reported that the majority of women still are engaged in farm work. In addition to caring for the family and looking after domestic affairs they tend the vegetable gardens, raise poultry and hogs.

Of the girls who graduate from primary school the majority continue

to work for the family either in shops or in the fields. Those who graduate from junior middle school frequently find jobs in factories where they work for twelve hours a day. Newcomers receive approximately NT\$ 300-400 (U.S. \$ 7.00-10) per month but after three or four years the wages are increased to about NT\$ 1,000 (U.S. \$ 25.00) There are no extra benefits provided.

Senior middle school graduates can obtain work in government offices and a small number are employed in the better sales positions. In public offices the salary is NT\$ 600 per month (U.S. \$ 15.00) for eight hours a day, six days a week.

In Chung-li the director of the Public Health Center is a woman doctor. She reported that in Taoyuan Hsien there are four women doctors in public health work in addition to women doctors who have private practice. Of the four in public health offices three were trained on the Mainland and one is a Taiwanese.

LABOR AND LEISURE

In Talueh the farmers interviewed reported that they enjoy more free time now than they used to before irrigation, but added that before they had only two crops to tend. Now they have three. Rainy weather still means a day of rest for the farmers but some reported that they now work only ten hours a day instead of twelve. One farmer who came from a large family only works seven hours a day. In addition he takes time off on rainy days and seven festival days plus five days for the lunar new year.

Of the farmers interviewed many reported that they use their free time to repair tools and equipment, mix fertilizer and take care of farm animals. One said that he reads the *Harvest Magazine* put out by JCRR.

The five responses to the social survey questionnaires indicate that these farmers enjoy an average of 1.0 free days per week. The only two who stated what they do on these days said they stay home.

LAND OWNERSHIP

It is estimate that about 90 percent of the land in Talueh is owned by the tillers. Approximately 130 families are tenants.

CROPS

The principal crops of Talueh are rice, vegetables and sweet potatoes. It is now possible to grow two rice crops and a third crop of vegetables. One informant said that it will now be necessary to experiment with new crops, for example, mushrooms, in the hope that economic conditions can be improved to meet the demands of an increasing population.

CULTIVATION

Irrigation and improved farming techniques have increased agricultural production in recent years. However, the maximum utilization of the land has not yet been attained and farmers say there is still room for improvement.

The farmers of the community are becoming increasingly aware of the benefits to be derived from the use of fertilizers and insecticides and other improved cultivation techniques which are being fostered by the JCRR. Sprayers and insecticides, chemical fertilizers, and slicers are in common use.

Although at present only three or four tractors are in use in the neighborhood people are talking about buying them and are seeking help from the JCRR in making this dream possible. Farmers are convinced that tractors will benefit them. They are only waiting now until they can afford to purchase them. Farmers recognize that if tractors are to be used it will be necessary to plant in larger fields.

Farmers interviewed were asked what they thought of the possibility of owning tractors cooperatively. This idea they said would be all right but when troubles arose they would look at each other and say, who will fix it. There would be no one who could take care of the machine. The possibility of renting tractors they thought would not be feasible because there wouldn't be enough available to make it worthwhile. The season is short and many would want tractors at the same time.

At present two tractors in the community are owned privately and two cooperatively. It is reported that at present it is possible to hire an operator and a tractor for 600 catties of rice to plow 1 chia of land. Tractors in Chung-li township are used both for plowing and for transportation.

ANIMALS

Farmers in the area keep the animals common to the traditional agricultural pattern: chickens, ducks, geese, buffalo, dogs, cats, and hogs. In Chung-li township pigs are raised for sale and several farmers interviewed stated that they kept them for that purpose.

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES PERTAINING TO AGRICULTURE

In Talueh in spite of irrigation and the acceptance of scientific methods of farming the Soid God is still revered and worshipped as before. Informants say that just as many people pray to him as always. In fact, they say, scientific information is very helpful to farming, but even if it were one hundred percent effective the belief in the Earth God would not be abolished. They explain that it is necessary to pai pai this god even for raising poultry.

Sacrifices are made to the Earth God at planting and harvest time, on the occasion of selling a house, and on special festival days, including January 15, a day honoring Matsu; July 15, Hungry Ghosts; and the Lunar New Year.

AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATIONS

Farmers in Talueh are enthusiastic about the several organizations which function under government sponsorship.

Farmers' Association.—The Farmers' Association of Talueh, it is reported, has a total membership of seven hundred. A primary interest of the group is insect control. Training courses are held in Chung-li as well as in the homes of local farmers on the use of insecticides and fertilizers, methods of growing vegetables, home economics and the land reform program.

Although the farmers seem happy with the organization leaders who participated in the conference at Chung-li said that the Association is beneficial only to farmers. They thought it is not well directed because the farmers lack the necessary knowledge to run it themselves. The leaders felt that the situation would be improved if people from other walks of life were represented in the organization.

JCRR.—The farmers of Talueh welcome the assistance that they are

receiving from the JCRR. They understand what benefits can be derived from cooperation with the organization and they turn to the JCRR for help.

When asked what questions or suggestions they might like to make informants often directed their comments to the JCRR. These suggestions were made:

1. They would like to see an increase in the number of insecticide teams now supported by JCRR.
2. They would welcome a resumption of the school milk program.
3. They hope the JCRR can help the farmers obtain cement drying fields and tractors at a lower price.
4. They hope the JCRR will subsidize the purchase of fertilizers and tractors to relieve economic problems.
5. Farmers would like to borrow money from the JCRR.

4-H Club and Womens' Club.—At the leadership conference it was implied, if not stated explicitly that these two groups serve little purpose because they are “beneficial to farmers and women only”.

IRRIGATION

Most of the agricultural area of Chung-li township is already irrigated by water from the existing Taoyuan Canal which was built by the Japanese about 30 years ago. When the Shihmen dam is completed the remaining small section which is now dry waste land will also be irrigated.

Before water from the Canal was made available in the area only half of the land was planted in rice and the other half was planted in tea or was waste land. The farmers were dependent on rain and ponds for water. No one wanted to buy land in the neighborhood.

Now almost all the land is in paddy and it is easily sold for a good price. Production has increased because farming can be planned in advance, knowing that water will be available. It is now possible to grow three crops. Increased use and knowledge of fertilizers, insecticides, and improved farming methods have been factors in the improved crop production.

However, it was reported that in spite of all these changes the quota per person remains the same as it was before irrigation because of the rapid population increase. The living standard is higher and as a result it costs more money to live. There are more children in school and they need and want more and better clothing. Adult also have more needs. For example, they now want to improve their houses and invest in more expensive farm implements. They have more leisure time to enjoy and the things which they enjoy, like movies and radios, cost money.

Farmers in the community believe that they will have to work for more intensive cultivation of the arable land. They say that it has not yet been utilized to the maximum but perhaps in ten years it will have been. The only other answer to the problem that they can see for the future is more and better non-farm employment opportunities.

Some informants believe that as farmers become more dependent on scientific methods of cultivation they will become less and less dependent on religious practices. Some said that most people now believe in irrigation, not in the gods, but this has been a gradual, not a sudden change. Reportedly religious activities have decreased.

However, as has already been pointed out, not everyone shares the view that the need for religion will completely disappear. The idea is commonly held that no matter how effective scientific methods are the people will still make sacrifices to the Earth God and worship him as before. In most households visited this god is revered as always.

In the most progressive farm household visited the family shrine was covered with baskets of seeds, bottles of insecticides, and pamphlets about farming methods. The farmer reported that he no longer worshipped the ancestors. Upon further questioning however, it was revealed that at the New Year season he returns to his father's home and participates in the traditional ceremonies with the rest of the family. He also worships the Soil God still. It is interesting to note that high on the wall above the no-longer-revered shrine hung a Buddhist talisman.

Marriage and the Family

SELECTION OF MARRIAGE PARTNERS

It seems still to be a common practice among the people in Talueh

to employ a go-between for the purpose of arranging suitable marriages. It is customary for parents to choose the partner but more and more it is reported that consideration is given to the opinions of the sons before a final decision is made. Occasionally sons are permitted to make their own choice it is said. Free love is thought to be gaining in popularity.

RESIDENCE

The most common practice seems to be for the sons to bring the bride to the father's house to live. However, informants expressed the opinion that more young people, especially those who have received a higher level of education, more and more prefer to have a house of their own upon marriage.

PROPERTY EXCHANGE

The sum paid by the groom's family to the bride's in Talueh is reportedly about NT\$ 30,000 (U. S. \$ 750). When questioned about what one would do if he didn't have so much money one informant promptly replied that it would then be necessary to wait another year.

AGE AT MARRIAGE

There seems to be a difference of opinion regarding whether marriages nowadays are earlier or later than they used to be. In some cases at least marriages are delayed while the young men complete their military requirements. According to informants men usually marry about the age of 22 and girls about the age of 18 or 19.

No valid correlation could be obtained from the results of the survey regarding differences in marriage age between generations. Of the males who responded 71 percent were married between 20 and 24 and 29 percent between 15 and 19. Of the females, 64 percent were married between 15 and 19 and 36 percent between 20 and 24.

DIVORCE

People interviewed were of the opinion that there are fewer divorces now than before because of two important factors. Economic conditions have improved and the opinions of sons are now considered before a final decision concerning marriage partners is made. However, the eleven respondents to the social survey questionnaire indicated that they thought

there were more divorces now than before. Economic problems and differences of opinions and interests were regarded by them as the most important causes of divorce and increased equality of women, changing customs, immorality, and sentimental causes were of secondary importance in their opinions.

No statistical data is available to verify either point of view.

KINSHIP

It is said that in Talueh members of the same family stick together for the purpose of maintaining closer family relations, but not for such purposes as defeating local factions.

According to one informant his family is organized into a clanship association which for one thing must approve political candidates before they can be supported for election. The association meets once a year, on January 9. The family is made up of approximately 200 people who live close to one another.

ADOPTION

Participants in the leadership conference reported that the practice of adopting daughters has decreased. They also observed that most of the girls leave the family when they grow up and learn that they are adopted. No information was obtained concerning the number of cases in the township nor of the treatment they now receive.

Social Relationships

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

The leaders of the community feel that in Chung-li township there are no social classes except the traditional Chinese stratification. However, people group themselves according to family associations and occupational classification.

As was explained earlier, the status of farmers as an occupational group remains fairly high in the agricultural community of Talueh. Nevertheless, people aspire to positions in other occupations. Whether or not economic status influences social status in any marked way in this community cannot be determined on the basis of available evidence.

STATUS OF WOMEN

A great change in the status of women here as elsewhere on Taiwan has taken place in the past ten years. Before they did not participate in public gatherings. Instead they sent representatives. Now they take an active part. Under the Nationalist government they enjoy many more legal rights. Under Japanese rule the legal activities of wives were of necessity approved first by the husbands.

The inheritances law here is the same for women as for men. Unmarried women accept their inheritance but one informant estimated that about 90 percent of married women reject it and pass it on to a young brother if there is one. If a woman inherits before her marriage she is likely to accept it and then to maintain control over it herself rather than passing it on to her husband.

It is said that when women have money and social position they become more free and independent.

LEISURE ACTIVITIES

According to results of the survey the most popular form of leisure time activity in Talueh is going "downtown". Householders reported that some of the men spend at least part of their idle time repairing tools, mixing fertilizer, feeding the animals and reading *Harvest Magazine*.

Listening to the radio is a popular pastime. The movies seem to be more popular than the local theater now. Informants reported that their favorite movies are foreign films, especially Japanese films which they can understand. One said that he goes to the movies twice a month in Chung-li or Talueh, depending on which offers the best feature and on alternate weeks he enjoys the local drama in these towns with his friends. Enjoying dinner at a restaurant with the family and taking excursions are also popular pastimes among townspeople.

In the social survey only four people stated that they subscribe to newspapers or magazines. Many farmers, however, do seem to receive the *Harvest Magazine* which find useful and interesting.

The women of the township still seem to have little spare time to enjoy as they like. When asked what they do husbands report that they

tend the pigs, feed the chickens, grow vegetables and attend the babies. One male informant said that the women don't see the movies. They see the vegetable garden instead. Another husband said that he sometimes lets the women go separately to the movies.

ASSOCIATIONS

The community leaders felt that there are too many community associations but explained that most social organizations are formed according to the government rules and regulations.

They would like to eliminate unnecessary organizations so that people will be free to use their time for their own purposes.

ETHNIC STRATIFICATION

According to information received from the neighborhood leader about 60 percent of the population of Talueh are Hakka people from Kuantung Province and 40 percent are Fukienese.

The Fukienese people were the first to settle in the area and they kept their old language. The Hakka people, who came later, accepted this language as their own and today it is the common language.

Differences between the two groups appear to be very insignificant. Differences in customs related to the observation of festivals and religious beliefs are few. It was reported that near Hsinchu there is a large burial ground where Hakka dead were buried who died in conflicts between the Hakka and the Fukienese. Formerly this was a Hakka shrine; but today, people of both groups make pilgrimages to this place for pai pai.

Methods of farming, houses, types of clothing, interest in business and politics are said to be not easily discernable. Inter-marriage between the two in this community is not unusual.

More than 100 years ago there were conflicts between the two peoples when they first came in contact with other. However, it is reported that they now live harmoniously together all over the Island. The minority group bows to the majority; for example, in Taipei where the Fukienese are the majority, and in Hsinchu and Miaoli, where the Hakka peoples are the majority.

Community Life

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND PARTICIPATION

The local government of Talueh is headed by a neighborhood leader but is under the direction of the township government of Chung-li. The farmers interviewed did not demonstrate much enthusiasm for political participation. They explained that they obey the orders of the government but they wouldn't want a position in the government because they have no knowledge for such work. No one who completed the social survey stated such a job preference, either for himself or his son.

The leaders attending the conference, however, reported that the people are very eager to cast their votes in elections and that there are many candidates for the positions. This may mean that the townspeople are more interested than the rural people. The leaders complain that some people don't yet understand the meaning of elections.

Women are said to be still in the minority in political affairs, however, according to the law, one-tenth of the local government staff must be women, and one out of every ten representatives must also be a woman. In Chung-li there are three. For this position there were five or six candidates and competition was keen.

QUALIFICATIONS OF LEADERS

Participants of the leadership conference stated that the Town Chief of Chung-li exemplifies all the qualities which they think are desirable in a leader: sufficient knowledge, experience, and an eagerness to serve other people.

Religious and Ceremonial Life

PARTICIPATION

Leaders say that religious activities in general are increasing in recent years because they direct the people to do some good. But the young people of the community do not seem very enthusiastic. It is reported that there is probably more participation in religious activities among the women than among the men.

CHRISTIANITY

The township leaders reported that the most popular religious belief in the community is Buddhism, which probably means the form of polytheism peculiar to the local people. Christianity, particularly among people who have come from the Mainland is said to be increasing very fast.

Among the households visited only one indicated that a member had become a Christian and no symbols of Christianity were observed.

CHANGES IN POPULAR BELIEFS

Leaders indicated that scientific knowledge has replaced religion in the township but among the rural people there is disagreement on this point.

Some say that religion has decreased in importance but explain that it is because people now achieve a higher level of education. The presently poor economic conditions tend to diminish expenditures for pai pais but one informant said that the people will always keep the traditional pai pais because they provide occasions for people to come together and the institution is important for social intercourse.

Ten of the eleven people who responded to the questionnaire stated, however, that they send more money on pai pais now than they did a few years ago.

Soil god.—The Soil God still plays a significant part in the lives of the agricultural community of Talueh in spite of increased acceptance of scientific methods of farming. It is said that the same percentage of people pray to him as always.

Prayers and sacrifices are made to the Soil God at planting time and harvest time and he is worshipped on January 15, July 15, and the lunar new year. The people still pray for longevity beginning at age 51. Results of the survey indicate that at least some of the people still pray to the gods in time of illness though there is evidence that this practice is not so common as before.

Community leaders expressed the opinion that the Farmers' Association and the JCRR have eliminated the need for prayers to the gods; that scientific achievement has replaced religion. The people admit that the

organizations have contributed much and that many farmers depend on government guidance and insecticides more than they do on traditional forms of worship. But still the belief in the Soil God continues.

One change in religious practice has definitely come as a result of irrigation. It is no longer necessary, of course, for the people to pray for rain as they once did in this community.

Matsu still plays an important part in the lives of the local people.

Festivals.—The list of traditional festivals still observed in Talueh may be decreasing. One family reported that it only observes the Lunar New Year and celebration in honor of Matsu in January and July.

Other festivals observed by people interviewed include the following:

23 March	The local Matsu's birthday
8 April	Day for sweeping the graves
5 May	Dragon Boat festival
15 July	Hungry Ghosts
15 August	Mid-autumn festival
15 October	Heavenly Spirit
1 January	Lunar New Year

Lunar new year.—In Talueh it is not unusual for farmers to take a five day holiday at the New Year season. Celebrations are said to be about the same as usual but because of economic conditions celebrations are not so grand as formerly.

It is still customary for children to return to the family home to celebrate the occasion with their relatives.

Education

In Talueh there is one primary school and one junior middle school. At present both are housed in one building pending the construction of a new campus for the middle school.

The people of Chung-li township face the same problems common to other communities of Taiwan: the serious shortage of classrooms and the heavy financial burden of the local people.

ENROLLMENT

Enrollment in the primary school is increasing at a rate of approximately thirty or forty pupils per year. This means that a new classroom is required every two years. At present there are twenty-five classes but in five years there will be a need for thirty.

The rate of increase in the middle school is reported to be about two or three hundred per year. At present many students are coming from Chung-li where better economic conditions favor higher education.

FINANCIAL PROBLEMS

In Talueh worsening economic conditions make it difficult for the school to collect money from the parents to aid in the purchase of classroom and special equipment, especially visual aids.

It is customary for the Provincial Government to supply five-sixths of the budget required for the construction of classrooms but it will not be given until the local people have made available a counterpart fund to the amount of the remaining one-sixth of the total sum required.

The annual voluntary assessment from each family for the Parents' Association is NT\$ 10 (U. S. \$ 0.25) per child per family. This provides a total sum of 10,000 NT\$ (U. S. \$ 250) per year to augment the income derived from the government. This sum is becoming increasingly difficult to collect.

One-quarter of the budget for the Middle School is collected locally. In Talueh it is reportedly not difficult to collect tuition fees for middle school students. If a child has a desire and the ability to continue his education then in most cases money is available from the families.

There is no shortage of teachers in Talueh. In fact it is reported that in Taoyuan Hsien there is at present a surplus. Retired servicemen and senior middle school graduates with one year's special training can become eligible for teaching positions. Requirements for teaching the middle school are higher but still there is not a shortage.

COEDUCATION

In Talueh about a quarter of the students of the middle school are

girls. This figure represents a steady rise in the percentage of girls attending. However, if economic conditions limit opportunities then only rich girls can enjoy the benefits of higher education. A greater emphasis is still placed on the need for boys to go. If economic conditions of a family were such that both a boy and a girl could go to college then the idea might still persist that a girl need not.

Results of the social survey from Talueh indicate that about 20 percent of the people who responded thought a boy should attend nine years of school and 40 percent thought 12 years. Another 30 percent thought that he should go on to finish 16 years. However, only 30 percent of the respondents thought that a girl needed nine years of education. Twenty percent thought that girls should continue through twelve years and only 20 percent said that they should have sixteen years. The average number of years thought to be sufficient for boys was 11.4 years but girls, 10.0 years.

EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Participants in the leadership conference expressed the idea that higher education is important in promoting the social status of both an individual and the community from which he comes. But because education is not always designed to fit the employment needs in the local community, many graduates must seek employment elsewhere.

There is evidence of a continuing belief in the superiority of an academic education, over vocation education. However, if this cannot be achieved then some parents say they would like their children to receive occupational training. Farmers said that they would like their sons to go to agricultural school to learn new farming methods and some do; but many are reluctant to accept farming as an occupation.

In Talueh there is no agricultural school. Still, it is difficult to find students for the specialized school that is available in Chung-li. The amount of arable land in the community is very limited and it is necessary for some sons to obtain employment in non-farm occupations. It is customary for the family to send the most intelligent of the sons to seek outside employment but for one or two to remain at home to run the farm. Problems of rapidly increasing population only exaggerate the

problem of finding suitable employment for everyone. This task will become increasingly difficult in the future.

ATTITUDES TOWARD EDUCATION

It is interesting that 90 percent of the respondents of the social survey in Talueh indicated that they would prefer to give money to schools than to temples. The need for higher education is recognized as an important goal for children to attain. Parents are said to be much interested in the schools locally and they understand the need for good education and good teachers.

ADULT EDUCATION

The program for the education of illiterates has not been compulsory in Talueh since 1950. This program was sponsored jointly by the Education Department and the Provincial Government. Results of the survey indicate that of the respondents in Talueh about 50 percent of the household members over age nine cannot write.

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

According to the survey about 90 percent of the household heads who responded from Talueh had received a primary school education, about 40 percent of their spouses, and about 80 percent of their children. One head, and two children had attended junior middle school. Two daughters were attending senior middle school.

Health

Health conditions in Talueh are considered to be better than before.

COMMON DISEASES

Parasites and intestinal problems continue as common afflictions but according to the Chung-li Public Health Center the situation is now improving in this regard. High blood pressure, heart disease, pneumonia and enteritis are the principal causes of death. Infant mortality is lower now because of a maternal health program

PUBLIC HEALTH CLINIC

There is no public clinic in Talueh so the people are obliged to go to

Chung-li for treatment. This clinic has a staff of two doctors, three midwives who are nurses, two assistant nurses, and one administrator. The unit operates on a budget of approximately NT\$150,000 (U. S. \$ 3,750) per year which sum is derived from township taxes. Patients pay regular fees for treatment and medicine but it is also possible for needy cases to secure both treatment and medicine free. About 10 percent of the Out Patient Department patients are treated free.

The patients number about twenty or thirty a day and this number includes both children and adults.

The clinic sponsors a milk program with milk supplied by World Health Organization (WHO). It is reported that the amount provided doesn't support many people because one person requires milk over a long period of time. Vitamins and other nutritional supplements are also distributed.

POPULAR METHODS OF TREATING ILLNESS

The people of Talueh report in many cases that when there is sickness in the family they call a modern doctor from Talueh. It is said that about half the people use traditional methods and half the people rely on more modern methods. Although the rural people are admittedly still superstitious and continue the practice of praying to the gods in time of sickness, this custom is said to be dying out. However, when the illness is very serious people resort to traditional religious practices as well as modern practices.

According to the social survey most families in time of illness receive help from members of the family. The family is also called up for help at time of births.

PROBLEMS OF COMMUNITY HEALTH

Three major public health problems beset the people of Chung-li township. Drinking water, which is obtained mostly from private wells is often contaminated and in the summer becomes scarce because wells go dry. The people hope that the Shihmen Project will make available to them a supply of safe water. This problem is common to both urban and rural areas.

Human waste disposal is a problem, particularly in the busy seasons when no one can leave his work on the farm to remove the accumulation from the cities.

Garbage disposal is another problem which is limited to urban areas.

SCHOOL HEALTH AND HEALTH EDUCATION

Children in the schools of Talueh receive physical examinations twice a year. The inspection includes vaccinations and trachoma treatment in both the primary and middle school. A thirty-minute hygiene class held once a week is compulsory in the primary schools.

The Public Health Clinic provides a program of pre-and post-natal care as well as classes in maternal health. These classes are held once a week for three months for members of the Mothers' Club and these classes include instruction in improvement of environmental conditions.

APPENDIX

Social Survey

House number

Time of day

Enumerator

Date

Status of respondent

A. COMPOSITION OF THE HOUSEHOLD

1. Head of household

- a. Age
- b. Sex
- c. Birthplace
- d. Age at marriage

2. Family members

Relationship to head of household	Age	Birth place	Sex	Age at marriage
--------------------------------------	-----	----------------	-----	--------------------

- a.
- b.
- c.
- d.
- e.
- f.
- g.
- h.
- i.
- j.

3. Children permanently away from home

Sex	Age	Place	Purpose
-----	-----	-------	---------

- a.
- b.
- c.

4. Other people living in the house

Number	Sex	Age
--------	-----	-----

- a. Adopted children

- b. Servants
- c. Tenants
- d. Others

B. ATTITUDES TOWARD FAMILY

1. Which would you rather have, a small family or a large one? How many children?
2. Does your son prefer a large or a small family? How many children?
3. Do you think there are more divorces now than there were five years ago? Why?
4. What is the hardest thing for you to understand about the children of today?

C. EDUCATION OF FAMILY MEMBERS

- | | Number of
years attended | Type of
school | Spoken | Languages
written | Understood |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|--------|----------------------|------------|
| 1. Head of household | | | | | |
| 2. Spouse | | | | | |

- | | Age | Sex | In school
now | Type of
school | Last
year
completed | Language
Sp. Wr. Un. St. |
|---|-----|-----|------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 3. Children | | | | | | |
| a. | | | | | | |
| b. | | | | | | |
| c. | | | | | | |
| d. | | | | | | |
| e. | | | | | | |
| f. | | | | | | |
| 4. What language do you use most in your home? | | | | | | |
| 5. How many years do you think a boy should go to school? A girl? | | | | | | |
| 6. Would you rather give money for more schools or more temples? | | | | | | |

D. MOBILITY

1. How long have you lived at your present address?
2. Where did you live before? How long?
3. When your son marries where will he and his wife live?

4. If you had your choice where would you live now?
5. If your son had his choice where would he live now?
6. Where do you celebrate the New Year Festival?

E. HOUSING

1. How many rooms are there in your house?
2. Do you have these things in your house: sewing machine, radio, charcoal iron, electric iron, ice box, screens on doors and windows, spring and mattress bed, watch, flashlight, bicycle

F. HEALTH

1. How many people were sick in your household last month?
2. When someone is sick who treats him?
3. When your wife has a baby who helps her?
4. When someone is sick do you ask the gods for help? Which ones?
5. Do you think your family is more healthy now than five years ago?

G. RECREATION

1. How much free time do you have in a week?
2. How do you spend it?
3. Did you ever go to Taipei Chung-li Taoyuan Hsinchu
4. Do you spend more or less money on pai pai's now than five years ago?
5. How many people in your household belong to
Farmers' Association 4-H Club
Women's Association Other organizations
6. How many people in your household hold a position in the township government? In the village government?
7. Do you subscribe to a newspaper? a magazine?

H. EMPLOYMENT

1. What is your present occupation? (head of household)
2. If you had a choice of occupation what would you want to be?
3. What would you want your son to be?
What would he like to be?
4. If you could make more money what would you do?
5. For what purpose would you borrow money? From whom?

6. Do you think you are better off now than five years ago?
7. Do you think you will be better off when the Shihmen Dam is completed?

Leadership Conference Questionnaire

I. GENERAL CONDITIONS

1. What are the most significant changes which have occurred in this township since the inauguration of the Land Reform Program?
2. Of what things are the people in this township most proud?
3. Of what things are they most afraid?
4. What is the most important thing that the farm people in this community need to make their lives better?
5. As you see it, are the people here better or worse off than they were ten years ago, generally speaking?

II. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

1. In this township has the number of non-farm households increased or decreased in the past ten years?
2. In this community who is most respected?
 - a. People who engage solely in farming
 - b. People who engage solely in non-farm work
 - c. People who engage in both farming and non-farm work
3. Do the young people here aspire to farm or non-farm employment? Will they be able to find employment in occupations of their choice?
4. If many young people left the community to seek employment in the cities and towns what effect would it have on the community? On the family? Do you think this might happen? If so, would it be good or bad?
5. If the people had an increased cash income what would they do with the money?
6. How do they feel about borrowing money? For what purpose would they borrow? From whom?
7. To what extent has population pressure been felt in this township? How do the people think it can best be relieved? Do you think the people here would gladly accept the Planned Family Plan proposed by the government?

III. EDUCATION

1. In your opinion what are the most serious problems pertaining to education in this township?
2. What are the present goals of education in the township? Do these goals fit the changing needs of the community?
3. How do the people feel about the need for obtaining and education for themselves and their children?
4. To what extent will education, particularly higher education, improve the social status of an individual and his family?

IV. HEALTH

1. What are the most serious problems pertaining to health in this community?
2. When in need of medical care on which do the people most commonly rely?
 - a. Religious techniques for prevention and cure of disease
 - b. Modern medical facilities (health stations, clinics)
 - c. Traditional Chinese medicine (herb medicines)
3. Would this change if they had more money to pay for medical care? What else might change this pattern?
4. Is there still room for further improvement in sanitary conditions within the township? How do you think such improvement could be brought about?

V. FAMILY

1. Has the size of the families in this community increased or decreased in the past ten years?
2. Are there now more large family compounds or small independent households in the township? How do you explain this?
3. In this township is it customary now for sons to set up independent households or to bring their wives to live in the household of their father?
4. If the sons set up independent households do they work to contribute to the family income or do they work just for themselves?
5. In what ways would the sons still feel responsibility to their father even though they had set up their own independent households?
6. In what ways is the influence of parents over their children still

strong; for example, do they still exercise control over the selection of marriage partners for their children and over the selection of an occupation for their children? How has this changed in recent years?

7. How do young people today feel about being obedient to their parents' wishes in these matters?
8. What changes have you observed in the traditional marriage patterns of the community: for example, are marriages still arranged by parents or go-betweens or is free love now more popular? Are there more divorces now? How can these changes be explained?
9. What changes have you observed in the status of women in recent years? Do they now have more freedom and exercise more independence? Have they gained equality with men in matters pertaining to education, marriage and occupation? Can you give examples?
10. How many adopted daughters are there in this township? Are they well treated?
11. In marriage do adopted daughters want dowries. Are there other conditions?

VI. RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

1. What are the most important religions in this township? Has there been any change in recent years?
2. Have religious activities increased or decreased? Why?
3. How do young people feel about participation in religious activities?
4. What changes have you observed in customs related to the celebration of the new year? For example, do the children still come home for this occasion or is it no longer considered very important?
5. Is it still the custom of the people in this community to seek the blessings of the gods at planting time and to thank them for their help after the harvest? Has this changed in recent years?
6. At what other times do the farmers call on the gods for help in matters relating to farming?
7. When would the farmers call on experts of the Farmers' Association and JCRR instead?
8. Has there been any significant change in the importance of Pai Pai's and traditional festivals among the local people in recent years?

VII. SOCIAL LIFE

1. What social classes can be distinguished at present in this township? What groups of people make up each class? Has this changed in recent years?
2. Omitted
3. Are the people in this township very much interested in political affairs: for example: What percentage of the people voted in the last major election?
4. Are there very many candidates for the positions?
5. Do any women seek office from this township?
6. Do the people work closely together and organize their efforts to accomplish things or do they work independently; for example, in social welfare activities.
7. What qualities are most desired in a leader of this township?
8. In your opinion does this township have too many organizations or not enough? Are there too many meetings? Is there a need for more activities?
9. What do people do for recreation at home? Who shares this kind of recreation?
What do people do for recreation outside the home? With whom?
10. Which kind of recreation is most popular in this township? Do the people prefer to do things at home or things outside the home?
11. What are the advantages to you of the Farmers' Association?
12. What are the advantages of the Cooperative Society?
13. What are the advantages of the 4-H Club?
14. What are the advantages of the Women's Association?

VIII. ATTITUDES AND OPINIONS REGARDING THE SHIHMEN PROJECT

1. In your opinion, are conditions in this township likely to get better after the completion of the Shihmen project? Why?
2. Would you expect the project to bring more employment opportunities and more economic prosperity to the community?
3. In what direct ways will the people benefit from the primary objectives of the Project: Irrigation, power (both increased availability of electricity and possibility of industrial development), flood control, water supply, associated benefits (recreational facilities, fish

- and wild life conservation, sediment control)
4. Which of these things will be of most benefit to this township?
 5. Do the people here think there are any other benefits which might be derived from the project?
 6. How do the people feel about the proposed plans to develop industrial areas and recreational areas?
 7. What kinds of industries would you like to see developed in this area? Recreational facilities?
 8. What suggestions can you make for utilizing the buildings and physical plant which have been constructed at the Shihmen damsite and Shihifen Camp after the completion of the project?
 9. How do you think this township will change as a result of better roads and better transportation facilities?
 10. Can you foresee any other modern changes which the Shihmen project may bring to the township?

IX. RESISTANCE TO CHANGE

1. What things in the lives of the people in this township do you think will never change or will change only very, very slowly?
2. What factors would hinder change in this township?

行政院農委會圖書室



0014533