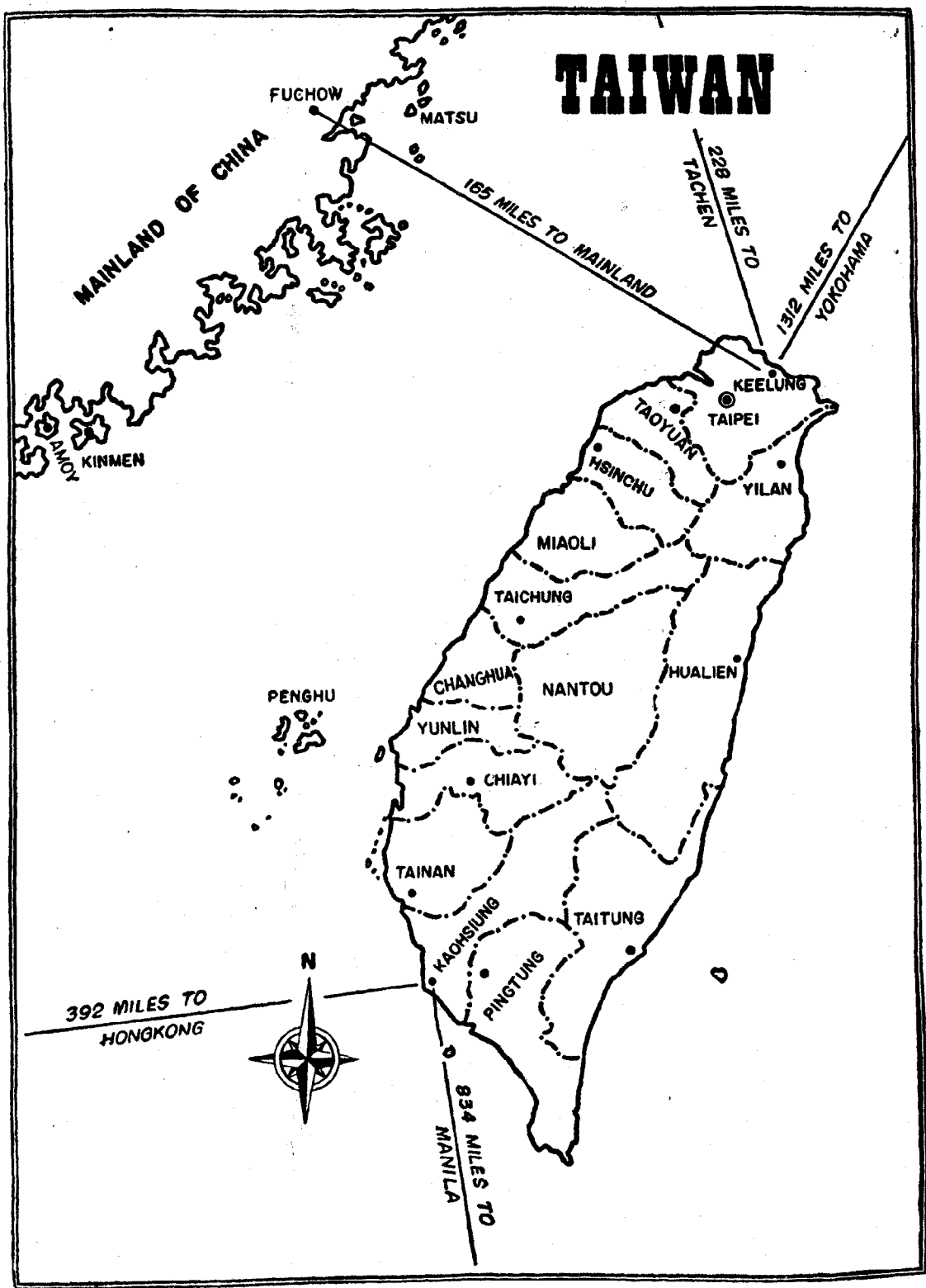


RURAL PROGRESS IN TAIWAN



TAIPEI, TAIWAN
REPUBLIC OF CHINA
DECEMBER 1960

TAIWAN



CHINESE-AMERICAN
JOINT COMMISSION ON RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

RURAL PROGRESS IN TAIWAN

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TAIPEI, TAIWAN,
REPUBLIC OF CHINA
DECEMBER 1960

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PREFACE

The Chinese-American Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (JCRR) published in July 1953 the findings of a detailed survey of rural Taiwan, undertaken in late 1952 by a team headed by Dr. Arthur F. Raper of the Mutual Security Agency, which gave first-hand information about the work of JCRR in 16 representative rural districts and served as an evaluation of Sino-American joint efforts towards rural reconstruction in Taiwan.

In 1959, the Joint Commission asked the National Taiwan University and the Department of Economics and Political Science of the University of Hongkong to prepare a further survey of rural Taiwan. One condition only was made, namely, that the survey should be carried out and first presented in a manner similar to the Raper Report published seven years ago. Of the sponsors, the National Taiwan University played a leading role from the planning stage up to the drafting of a preliminary report, while its British counterpart presented ideas and opinions for planning, participated as observer in the field and was responsible for presenting the findings of the survey in this book. JCRR itself helped very considerably in planning the survey. It also assumed responsibility for all local currency costs and for such technical and administrative services as map drawing and transportation. U. S. dollar costs were met by the Asia Foundation, San Francisco.

As Dr. Raper observed in his report, it is not easy to make a study for an action agency; for such an agency likes to see itself put in a good light before the public. It is significant therefore that JCRR has not tried to influence our findings. Nor is this necessary, for the Joint Commission can stand proudly on its record; its programme is realistic, its officers are enthusiastic and its reputation is of the highest, both in the world at large and among the people of rural Taiwan itself. For these reasons alone it is certain that this report will be of value to persons in other countries interested in the development of effective rural programmes; and, in comparison with Mainland of China, the efforts in Taiwan present a test case of Chinese achievement on non-Communist lines.

Taipei, September 1960.

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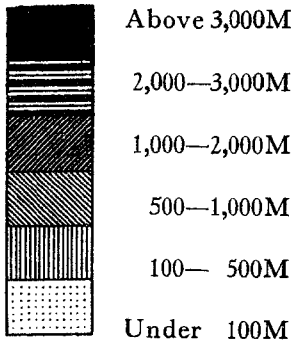
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TOPOGRAPHY

Altitude (meters)



CHAPTER 1

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE 1959 SURVEY

The methods of the Survey are explained in Appendix 1 below, and various technical aspects in Appendix 2. In this chapter the general character of the country is described.

The island of Taiwan is beautiful but rugged. More than half of it is forest-capped mountains or hills. Out of a total land area of 3,596,121 hectares, only 880,000 hectares of coastal plain and low hills can be brought under cultivation.

Many crops are grown; rice, sugarcane and sweet potatoes are the most important. Hogs and fowl are raised on nearly all farms, as a side line.

Almost two-thirds of the arable land is paddy. It is farmed intensively. Yields are good and it is normal to harvest two rice crops. In some areas, an additional one or two, and occasionally three, other crops are harvested from the same land. Farm implements are simple and of traditional design. The farmers work small farms, mainly with draft animals and hand labour. But modern technology has been introduced, tested locally and accepted rapidly by the farmers. It is this which has been responsible for the phenomenal agricultural improvement in the past six years.

Progress has been great

The per-hectare yield of nearly every major crop in Taiwan has increased markedly in the past six years. This increase has been due principally to the introduction of improved crop varieties, improved methods of cultivation, soil preparation and pest control, increased or improved application of fertilizers, improved organization of cultivation and better use and more efficient control of water resources. All are changes in the direction of still more intensive agriculture.

Farming in Taiwan is also being markedly diversified, with more and more interplanting of soya beans, cotton, vegetables, wheat, tobacco, etc., between the two rice crops, in fields of young sugarcane, on new land, and alongside or instead of sweet potatoes.

Farm incomes have increased accordingly. Many new farm dwellings are in evidence, and local communities have also reduced or liquidated their indebtedness,

built schools and other civic facilities. There is a notable increase in the infrastructure for development in Taiwan.

One corollary is commercialization; the rural people have greatly and rapidly raised their cash-crop consciousness, and cash-consciousness in general. The tremendous rise in consumption and commodity-availability, over the recent period, is very striking. It represents a general change in the pattern of living, compared with earlier years and especially the pre-war period. The general setting is however inflationary, and in some cases part of the activity is speculative. Farmers who have gone in for crops such as citronella and lacquer materials have been vulnerable to fluctuations, in some cases. The supply of rural credit is more plentiful than before, from more varied sources. The farmers' attitude towards credit-indebtedness has greatly changed; they are no longer ashamed to borrow for productive purposes.

The use made of the credit, and of the increased incomes, is not good in many cases. Basic investment in agriculture is however well maintained. Farm implements, especially since the immediate postwar difficulties were overcome, have been in good supply. Some of the recent innovations in rural equipment, though contributing to the increase in production, have not had quite the effects that were anticipated; notably the new small power tillers, which seem to be hardly used in cultivation, but have become a great means of transport.

In the township areas, an actual shortage of farm labour is reported, particularly where industrialization has taken place and commerce developed (e. g., Hsinchuang, Chungli, Fengyuan, Kangshan and Chaochow). New industrial and urban employment opportunities have opened, while agriculture has become more intensive.

The rise in the living standard is quite marked. (Though there is no lack of complaints, through which the surveyers had to penetrate to the facts. In real life there is no such thing as an enthusiastically contented farmer!) In fact many farms, the great majority, have newly built or remodelled dwellings, and new furniture of more modern styles than before. Rural electrification has been brought to 399 villages with 31,897 families and 208 small power consumers. The availability of clothing, recreational facilities, cinemas, sewing machines, radio sets, etc., and their quality have much improved. So has the diet. *Per capita* consumption of rice is 151-155 kg. per annum, compared with 135 under the Japanese occupation. Rural bus routes and roads have been much extended and improved. Some of the places surveyed could not have been reached by road at all a few years ago, but now are on regular traffic routes. Nearly all the townships have taxi services; and

pedicabs are to be found everywhere.

The propensity to consume is, however, high. Much as one may discount the conservatism of rural elders or the puritanism of some political circles, there is substance in their criticism of the insufficiency of saving, the relative increase in unnecessary eating and drinking (in daily life, besides such special occasions as the local feasts, or *pai pai*, which are still going strong), and perhaps above all the extent of 'show off' or vulgarity in modes of spending.

Education has been expanded and improved. School attendance average 94% in mid-1959, compared to 90% in 1952. But the popular predilection is for utilitarian education, which is quite a break with tradition; more so than six years ago. Parents now take the initiative in pressing for more educational facilities, where previously they had to be pushed by the authorities; and characteristically the demand is for more secondary education, on the ground that primary education alone does not give a child high earning-power.

Of particular interest is the working-out of the Land Reform, effected in 1953 on a democratic basis, by which the transfer of 'the Land-to-the-Tiller' was arranged in an orderly fashion, with compensation of the owners. At present many of the former tenant families are paying off the purchase price as rapidly as they can, well before the expiry of the ten-year term which the programme prescribed. This tendency reflects the real increase in prosperity and the basic peasant desire to own the land absolutely and keep it in the family's cultivation. Traditional relationships between landlords and tenants, their age-old interdependence and friction, have now quite vanished, being replaced by calm and formal relations of a contractual nature—underlying which there is, however, much resentment.

Health conditions have improved, though not as much as one would like, for many villages are still backward in hygiene. Continued reduction is however noted in the incidence of malaria, trachoma, flies, mosquitoes, infant mortality and the death rate as a whole. But there is dissatisfaction over the work of the local health offices, which are not sufficiently numerous or sufficiently staffed. Perhaps too much was expected of them; they are essentially for the dissemination of information, rather than for shouldering all the tasks in this field.

The Farmers' Associations, which are an important and successful feature of rural and agrarian organization, show good progress. They have all increased their credit-against-deposits business five-fold in the last six years. Their processing and marketing activities have similarly increased. 'Extension' services (rural practical

education, etc.) have greatly increased. In the last few years, modern American ideas and forms in this sphere of work, such as 4-H clubs, 'home economics', community centres, etc. have become widespread.

Women are largely drawn into all these activities. At the same time, many of the officially inspired and sponsored organizations—educational, athletic and women's—have disappeared altogether, or existed only feebly in the last few years. This is sometimes displeasing to official orthodoxy, but on balance one must feel that there is healthy evolution, since the newer and more spontaneous forms are developing, and there is much activity by other youth groups and auxiliaries; moreover, the purposes of the new groups are more specific and concrete, while there was some redundancy and duplication in the older units.

Community leadership has distinctly shifted into younger hands: the 30-50 age group, instead of the 60-70 as before. Yet it has distinctly improved in quality, in organizational, procedural and administrative ability, with increased appreciation of efficiency and less tendency to fall back on 'face' and precedent. Local political leadership, it is noted, changes more frequently (in terms of personnel) than before, while local administrative leadership is more stable and continuous. These are deeply encouraging signs.

Much needs to be done

Of course, very much needs to be done. There is no space to enter in this chapter into all the requirements, and the innumerable suggestions advanced for remedial measures. But it may be of interest to note, in roughly the order of priority generally suggested for them, the specific categories under which the rural Taiwanese themselves desired improvements:

a) Irrigation, b) rural credit (especially longer-term), c) more staff, especially for rural health stations, d) aid to handicraft industries, e) agricultural extension, f) common facilities in silage, threshing floors, etc., g) strengthening Farmers' Associations, h) crop diseases, i) local farm-labour shortages, and j) settlement of discharged servicemen.

The Taiwan people are, more than ever before, practically and intelligently interested in 'matters of everyday life', rather than remote issues. One general problem which is much in mind is, however, the population problem. The personnel and family outlook has changed considerably. Ten years ago, farmers would have considered ten children per family the optimum; they now expressed it as five or six for a family in reasonably easy circumstances, with proportionate reduction for families in greater poverty.

Only in the recently industrialized and still industrializing areas, as yet, do people believe that industrialization can possibly be the sole solution. Elsewhere there is acute consciousness of the limited land-area. Family limitation is being increasingly considered (though not yet much practised); a majority of the leaders of local opinion are openly in favour of it. The common complaints are that contraceptive information is not easy to get, and the appliances not cheap enough. Conservative rural opinion is concerned with such questions as the likelihood that the better educated people will limit their progeny, while the more backward will not, so that the quality of the nation will decline.

But the future is bright

The thinking, even of conservative-minded opponents of the newest trends, is thus notably rationalistic and pragmatic. A similar objectivity prevails over the whole field of thought and work covered by this Survey. A realistic attitude, straight thinking, much effort to improve organizationally, and a widely democratic flow of ideas, discussion and suggestions from all sections of the people, are encouraging features in the current progress of Free China.

CHAPTER 2
RURAL TAIWAN TODAY
THE JCRR



JCRR Building

Commissioners discuss rural problems



Commissioners on the field

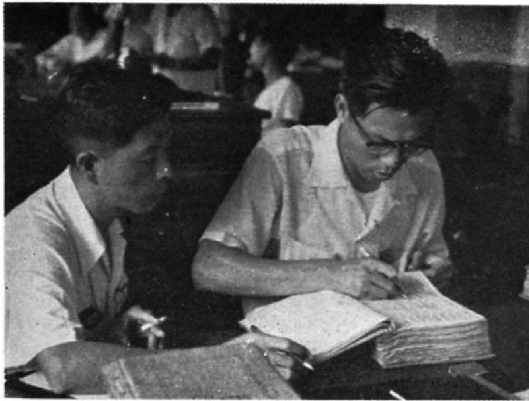
Dr. Chiang Monlin signs on the guest book at a rural meeting



THE SURVEY TEAM



Team members ready to start



Selection of sample households



Leaders' Conference



Collection of township data



Family interview

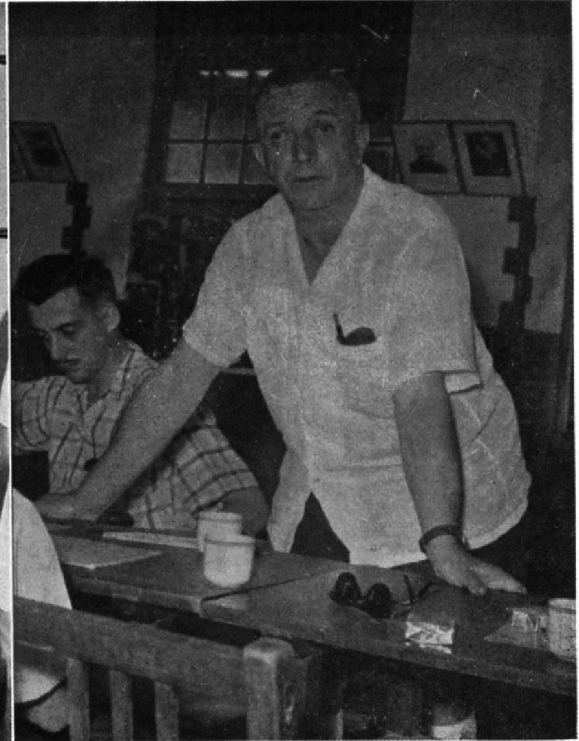
AT LEADERS' CONFERENCE



Commissioner T. H. Chien of JCRR

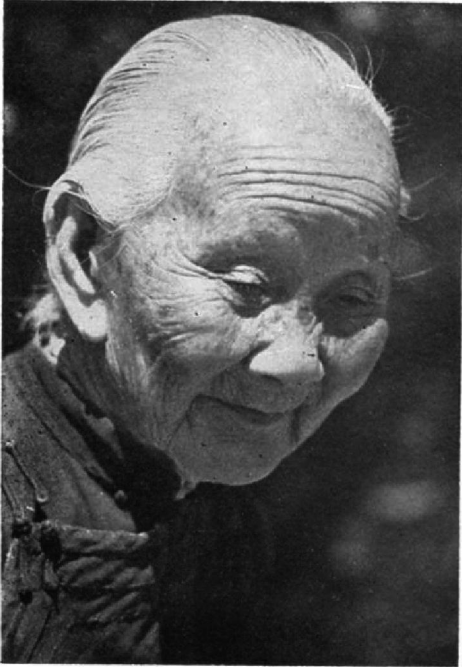


Dr. R. J. Miller of Asia Foundation

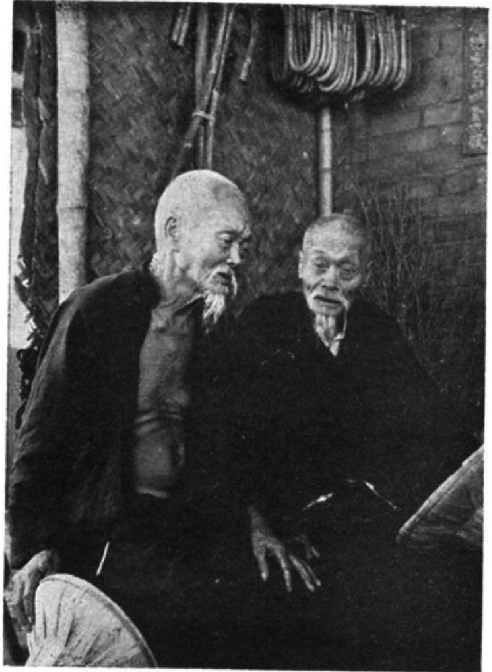


Prof. E. S. Kirby and Dr. G. Davies
of Hong Kong University

FOUR GENERATIONS



Great grand mother



Grand fathers



The father



The daughter

FAMILY LIFE



A happy family



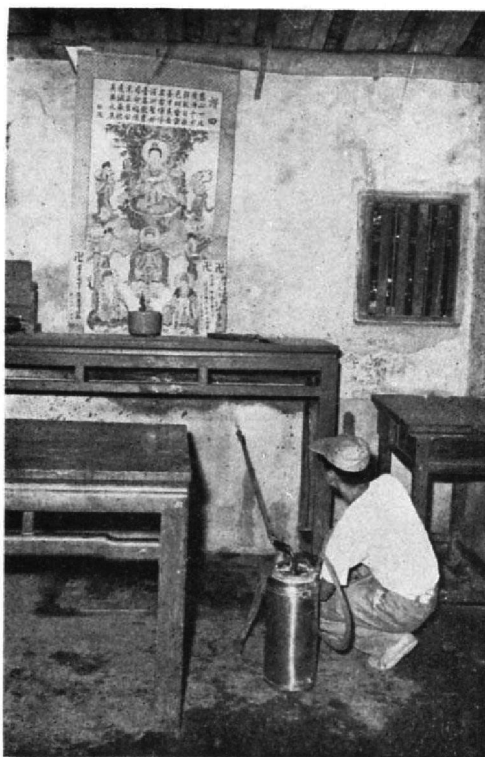
Household appliances become increasingly available



Radio audience

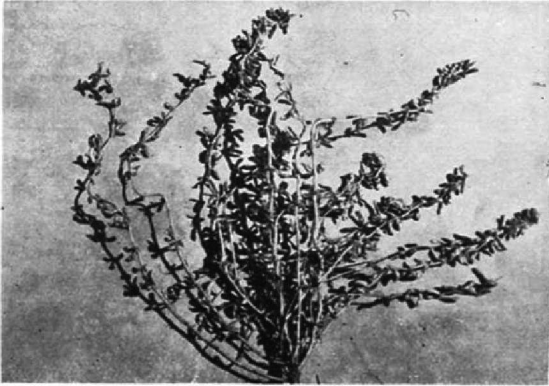


A young mother with 7 children

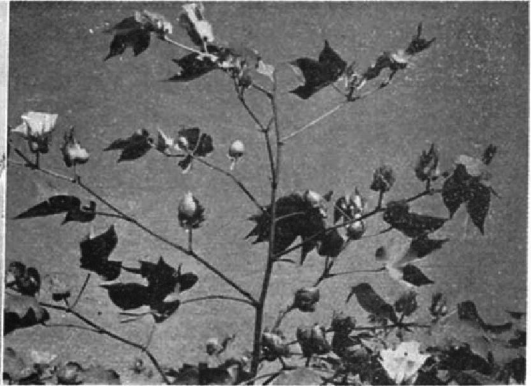


DDT spraying

FARM PRACTICES



A new variety of soya bean



Improved cotton crop



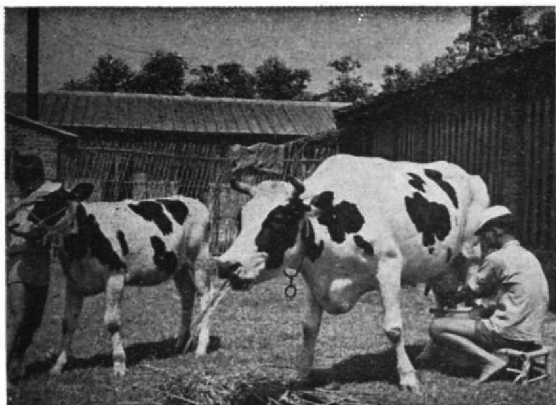
Tea cultivation



Increasing use of pesticides



A sweet orange grove



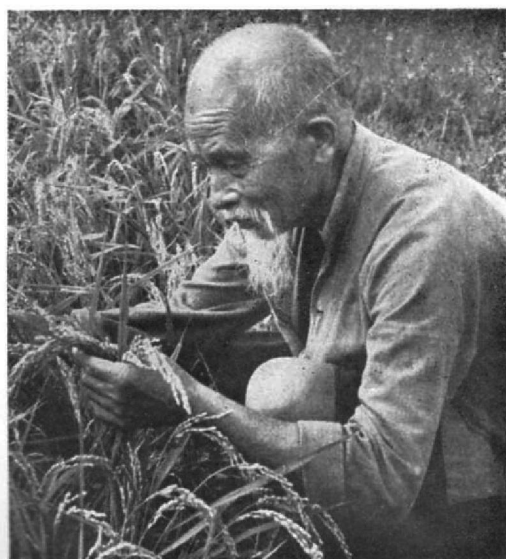
More and more dairy farms



Chicken raising becoming a major industry



Tiller used for traction



"I don't remember such good crops before"



Tobacco curing

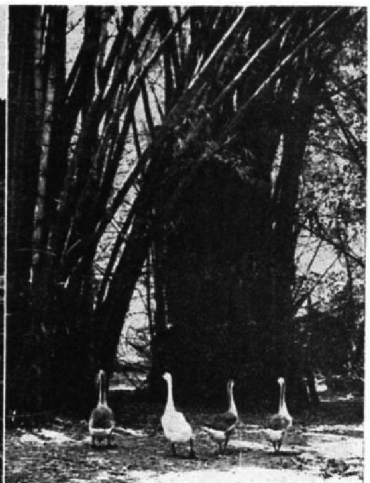
FORESTRY



Virgin forest



Logs



Bamboo grove



Tree nursery



Wind break

WATER AND SOIL CONSERVATION



Experiments in terracing and soil conservation



Pineapple on bench terraces



Working on bench terraces

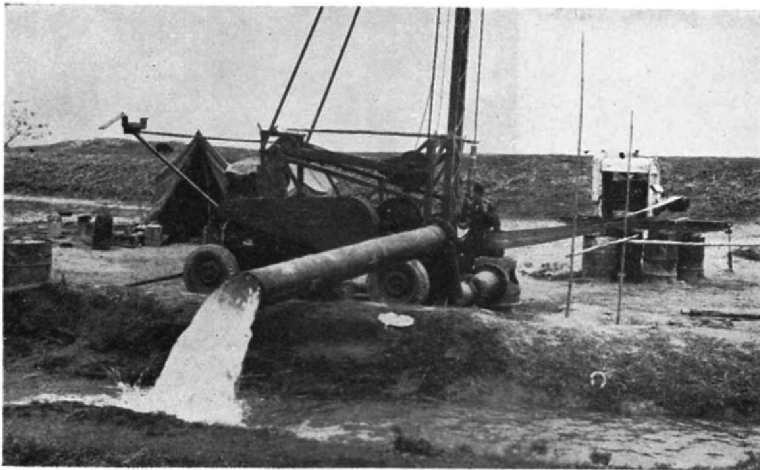
IRRIGATION AND FLOOD CONTROL



Reservoir



Irrigation canal



Underground water



Rotational irrigation system



River dyke

FARMERS' ASSOCIATION ACTIVITIES



More and more credit is extended

Sewing class



Sale of chemicals and sprayers

Seed warehouse



Milling and packing of rice



A reinforced concrete warehouse

Aluminum rice storage bins

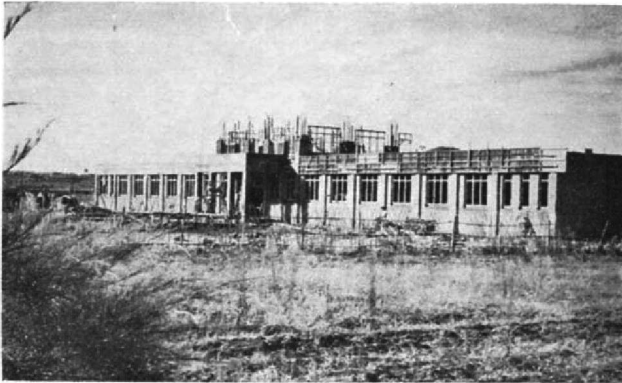


EDUCATION



Classrooms remain crowded

Rural children are healthy



Many new schools are under construction

Aborigines' girls in a vocational school



HEALTH AND SANITATION

A local health station



Public nursing service has been stepped up

Clinics have multiplied



Herbalists continue in business

RELIGION



Rural church



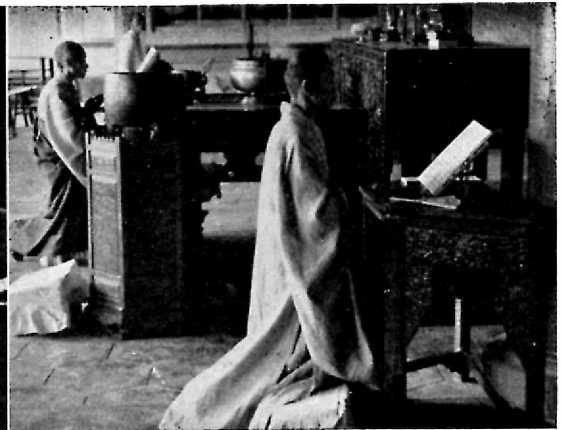
Town church



Sunday school



Taoism



Buddhism

LOCAL MARKET



A market



Rural grocery



Food stalls



Chemicals for the farmers



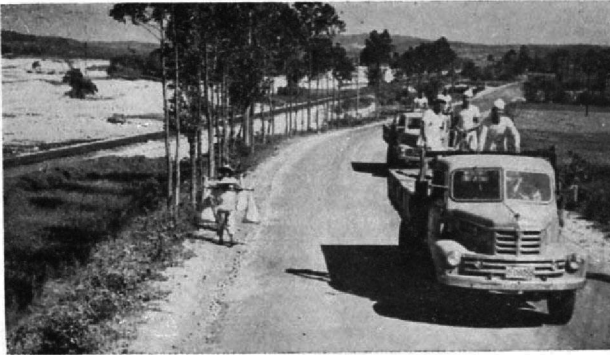
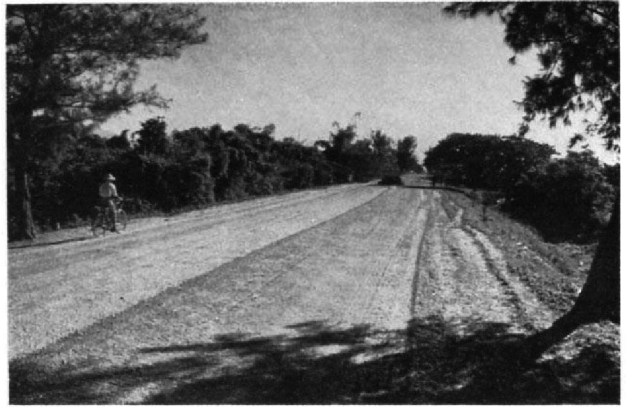
Rural hardware store

TRANSPORTATION



National highway

Provincial road



Road and rail reach all parts of the country

Highway construction



WONDERFUL LANDSCAPE



Misty morning

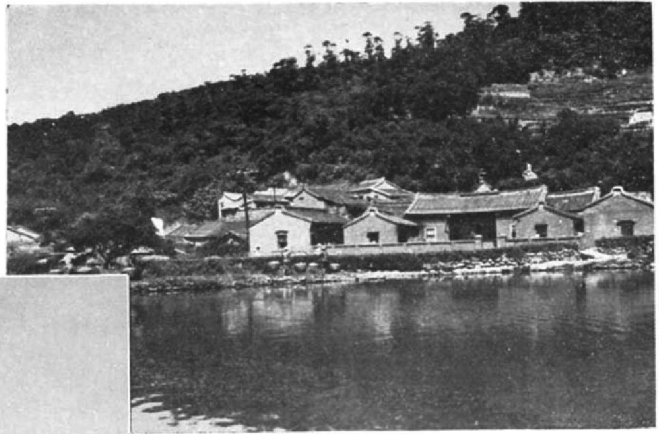
Terraced fields



Terraced rice-fields



Early to work



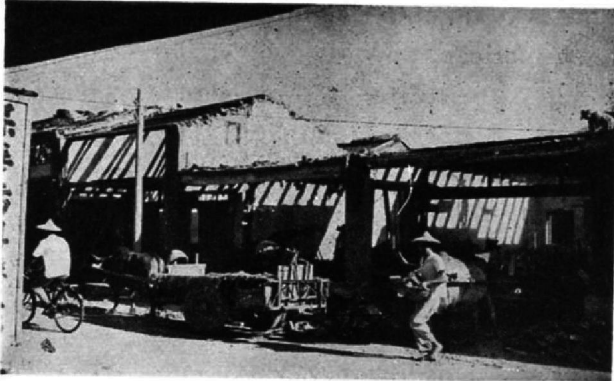
Fish pond and farm houses



A fishing village by the sea coast

NATURAL CALAMITIES

Flood damage



Earthquake damage

Banana stems destroyed by typhoon



Repair of highway damaged by typhoon

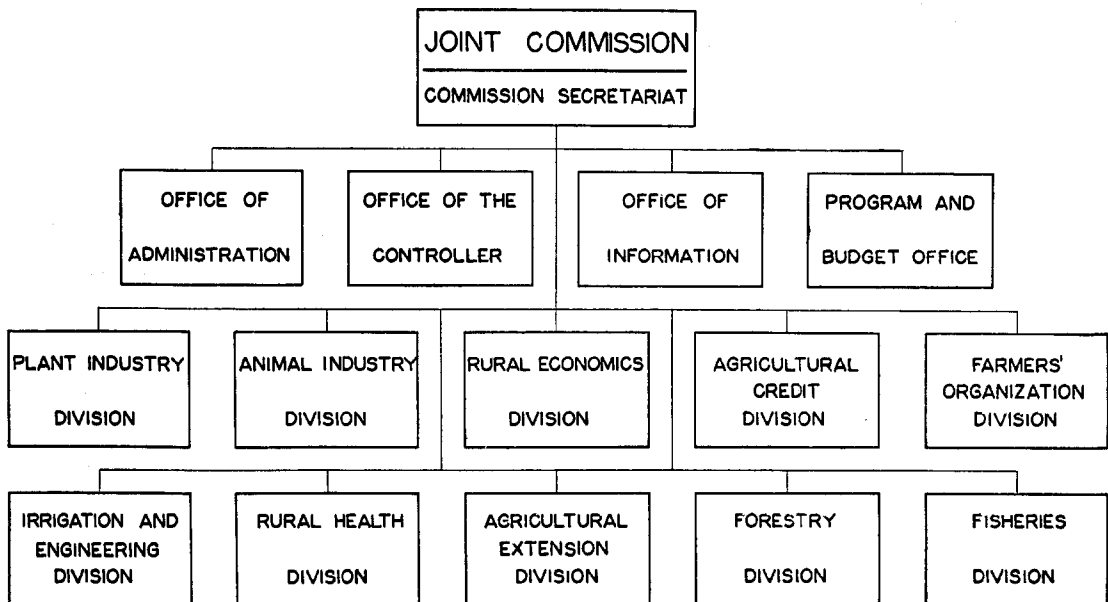
CHAPTER 3

THE JOINT COMMISSION ON RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

The five-member Chinese-American Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (JCRR) was established on the Mainland in October 1948 and directed to 'formulate and carry out a programme for reconstruction in rural areas of China' according to broad policies stipulated in the notes exchanged between the Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs and the American Ambassador to China on August 8, 1948.

Of its members, the Chairman and two of the Commissioners are Chinese while the other two Commissioners are American, appointed by the heads of their respective governments. In their work they are assisted by a permanent secretariat of both Americans and Chinese, though the latter predominate. The secretariat is organized as follows:

ORGANIZATION CHART OF THE JOINT COMMISSION ON RURAL RECONSTRUCTION



The Commission's programme is designed to achieve increased production with social justice; aims which are geared in practice to the over-riding consideration that all policies should lead to specific results which the people can see. To this end JCRR seeks out, and often initiates, programmes to which it gives its approval; and provides financial and technical assistance on the understanding that all projects should be subject to JCRR supervision and audit.

In all, the Commission has sponsored 2,913 projects, of which the more important are listed below.

JCRR Projects: helping others to help themselves

Land reform

The land reform benefitted 554,000 (about 75%) of Taiwan's farm families through rent reduction and by acquiring ownership of land they tilled. Before land reform 41% of farm land was operated by tenants. This has been reduced to 16%. Farmers, retaining more income, are making land improvements, constructing better houses, buying more equipment. With improved economic and social status, they take greater responsibility in community activities.

Rural health

A province-wide network of rural health facilities provides medical care and health services for rural people. This network consists of 22 health centres on municipal or county level, 389 township health stations, 168 full-time and 411 part-time small village health rooms. Public wells and latrines, including those for primary schools and farm homes, are being established. Outbreaks of smallpox, cholera and plague have been completely controlled through cooperative projects. In 1950 more than 1,200,000 cases of malaria were reported on Taiwan while in 1958 only 558 cases were detected. Of 1,300,000 school children examined in 1954, 80% had trachoma. This was reduced to around 20% in 1958.

Water use and control

Ninety-two irrigation projects and 13 drainage projects receiving JCRR support furnish a complete water supply to 56,340 acres of formerly dry land and provide supplementary water or better drainage for 667,800 acres. Newly constructed flood control dikes total 23½ miles and 21 miles of old dike repairs provide flood protection for valuable agricultural lands and urban areas. A newly developed 'rotational' system of irrigation is in use. Differing from customary 'continuous' flood, it provides irrigation water on a definite rotating schedule to each field in a given area to save water and fertilizer and help prevent water disputes.

The Shihmen Dam project, assisted by JCRR at the very beginning stage of planning, is being constructed under the supervision of the Shihmen Reservoir Construction Commission, whose chairman is now Dr. Chiang Monlin. The completed project will provide irrigation for over 53,000 acres of new paddy land, improve the flow to 185,000 acres already under cultivation, and generate 112,000 kw. of electricity.

Forestry and soil conservation

Taiwan's forest lands are a major resource despite extensive logging, forest fires and high harvesting costs. Proper forest management with heavy emphasis on reforestation and based on an up-to-date forest inventory has been fostered by encouraging intensified local efforts. Nearly 2,500,000 acres on Taiwan are in need of reforestation. Improved nurseries now produce more than 140,000,000 tree seedlings annually. Original reforestation goals have been exceeded by about one-third; in the past five years about 350,000 acres have been planted.

Soil erosion is a serious problem on one-third of the island's farm land. Personnel are being trained and equipment readied to fit in with a long-range, overall soil conservation policy.

Crop production

Total food production has been increased about 5% annually through use of better techniques including more effective use of irrigation water, heavy fertilization, widespread use of local and imported pesticides, better varieties through seed improvement and multiplication, and improved cultural methods.

A few specific results: new soybean varieties are adapted for areas where these crops were not previously grown. One-fourth of the peanut acreage is now planted with new, higher-yielding varieties. Rice seed certification has been initiated and procedures are being prepared for certification of upland food crop seed. A new, but relatively simple cultural practice—drilling instead of broadcasting seed—shows farmers how to increase wheat yields by as much as 20%. Pineapple canning reached a postwar record of more than 1,500,000 cases in 1958. JCRR helped plan and supervise allocation and distribution of 680,000 metric tons of fertilizers in 1958.

Pest control has raised citrus quality to meet standards of importing countries. Clean cultivation and use of insecticides are controlling the costly banana weevil, which damaged 51% of the crop in 1954. Island-wide rat control campaigns are expected to save annually an estimated 200,000 tons of food destroyed by these pests.

Farmers are interested in farm mechanization. Many problems are involved, but JCRR has shown, as a first step, that in certain types of farm operations small power tillers do the work better, faster and cheaper than draft cattle. Funds and know-how helped construct nearly 15,000 square feet of cement rice drying grounds in the past four years and 100,000 compost shelters in eight years. Jute production has been self-sufficient since 1953 except for one year when imports were necessary because typhoons destroyed most of the seed crop. Cheaper

decorticating on the farm, through rental of special machines, has stimulated interest in ramie as a textile crop. Possibilities of using slope land (below 3,300 feet) and saline and tidal land point to potential new cropping areas.

Fisheries²

JCRR assists coastal fisheries and fish culture, both important food sources, mainly through 78 fishermen's associations. The 1958 increase in coastal fishery production resulted from small fishing craft mechanization, harbour facilities improvement, establishing net treating centres, battery charging units, boat slipways, signal posts, drying grounds, warehouses and cold storage plants. Fish culture was improved through more adequate supply and better fish seeds, chemical fertilizers, pesticides and introduction of exotic varieties.

Livestock

Livestock production increased more, in terms of percentages, than any other agricultural product during the past five years. Hog numbers nearly tripled between the immediate success in control of hog cholera—the eradication of which is in sight—and the development of hybrids through crosses between Berkshire boars and native sows. The poultry industry has expanded to a new record. Numbers and quality of draft cattle have steadily increased since re-eradication of rinderpest in 1950. More demand for dairy products has stimulated a new interest in this industry. Increased livestock development is anticipated through new emphasis on improved forage crops. Livestock utilize large quantities of waste material and produce much-needed organic fertilizer.

Farmers' associations

A Farmers' Association in each rural township provides technical advisory services, rice milling, storage and distribution of fertilizers, pesticides and other essential commodities, and a banking service including agricultural credit. 80% of Taiwan farm families belong to such associations. JCRR has assisted associations in construction or renovation of 32 rice mills and 336 rice and fertilizer storage warehouses. Assistance and training of association personnel has improved services and increased earnings.

Agricultural extension

Educational Agricultural Extension is geared to work on a farm family basis. Nearly 40,000 rural boys and girls belong to 4-H clubs in 100 townships and 49 schools on Taiwan and five on Kinmen (Quemoy). Work with adult farmers was extended during 1958 to 89 townships. Farm advisers gave 2,610 result and 1,194 method demonstrations on improved farm practices. An introductory home eco-

nomics programme is being enthusiastically accepted in 66 townships. In addition, extension work with aborigines is being conducted in 20 townships, mainly in mountain areas.

Rural economics

The activities in the field of rural economics include studies on agricultural development and farm economy, farm income and prices, marketing margin of agricultural products, farm management and farm record keeping, food consumption and administration and agricultural planning. Projects have been initiated for taking of agricultural census, betterment of marketing facilities, carrying out supervised credit demonstrations, and crop reporting. Reports on a number of surveys on food administration, farm income, per capita consumption of basic food, competition between rice and sugarcane, analytical review of agricultural development and crop potentials have been published.

Information and education

Information and audio-visual aids are provided for getting know-how to rural people in the most economical and practical form. One project assists in publication of a farm magazine going twice a month to a loyal and interested group of more than 30,000 paid subscribers. Another major project is helping set up and train an Information Unit for the Provincial Department of Agriculture and Forestry so that the government, rather than JCRR, will carry out this type of activity.

National Taiwan University's College of Agriculture has been strengthened by substantial JCRR support in addition to help in contract arrangements whereby the College received technical assistance from the University of California. The Provincial Agricultural College at Taichung, and many vocational agricultural schools, have received JCRR assistance.

Offshore islands

The Kinmen (Quemoy) and Matsu island groups, about 100 miles across the strait from Taiwan, are within sight—and artillery range—of the communists on the Chinese Mainland. Some of the most spectacular results of JCRR's work have been in bringing to these islands better health, more production and improved rural conditions. Human plague, once a dread disease on Kinmen, has been eliminated through rat control and other environmental sanitation measures. Newly-introduced food crop varieties, increased use of fertilizers, more irrigation water, use of soil improving legumes and pest control have boosted crop production. Vegetables production, for instance, is 20 times greater than four years ago.

Control of hog cholera and introduction of new breeding stock helped increase hog production ten-fold in five years. Local pork supply is now adequate for both civilian and military populations. Health centres have been established for the civilian population and schools have been improved. Kinmen, formerly treeless, now has reforested areas which help stabilize soil and will supply fuel in future.

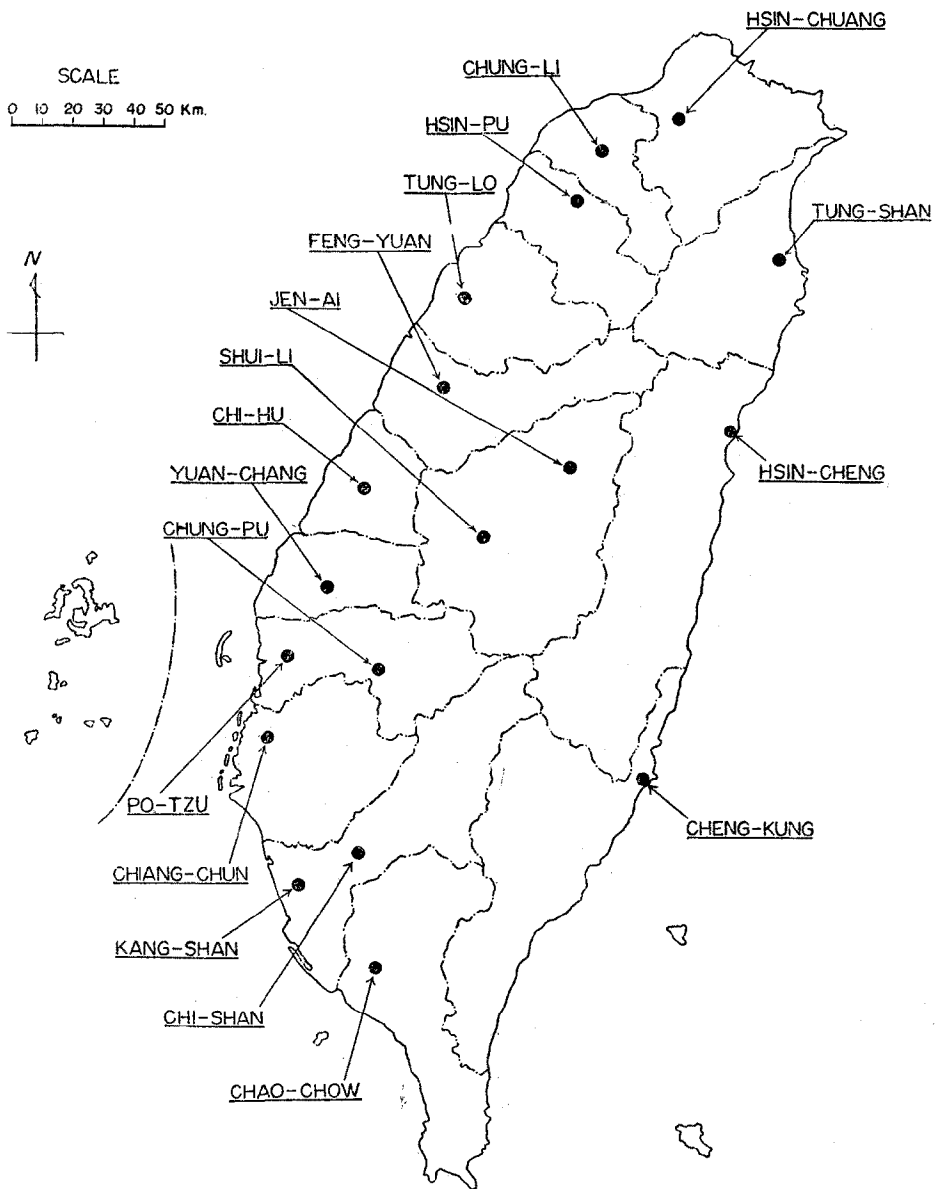
CHAPTER 4

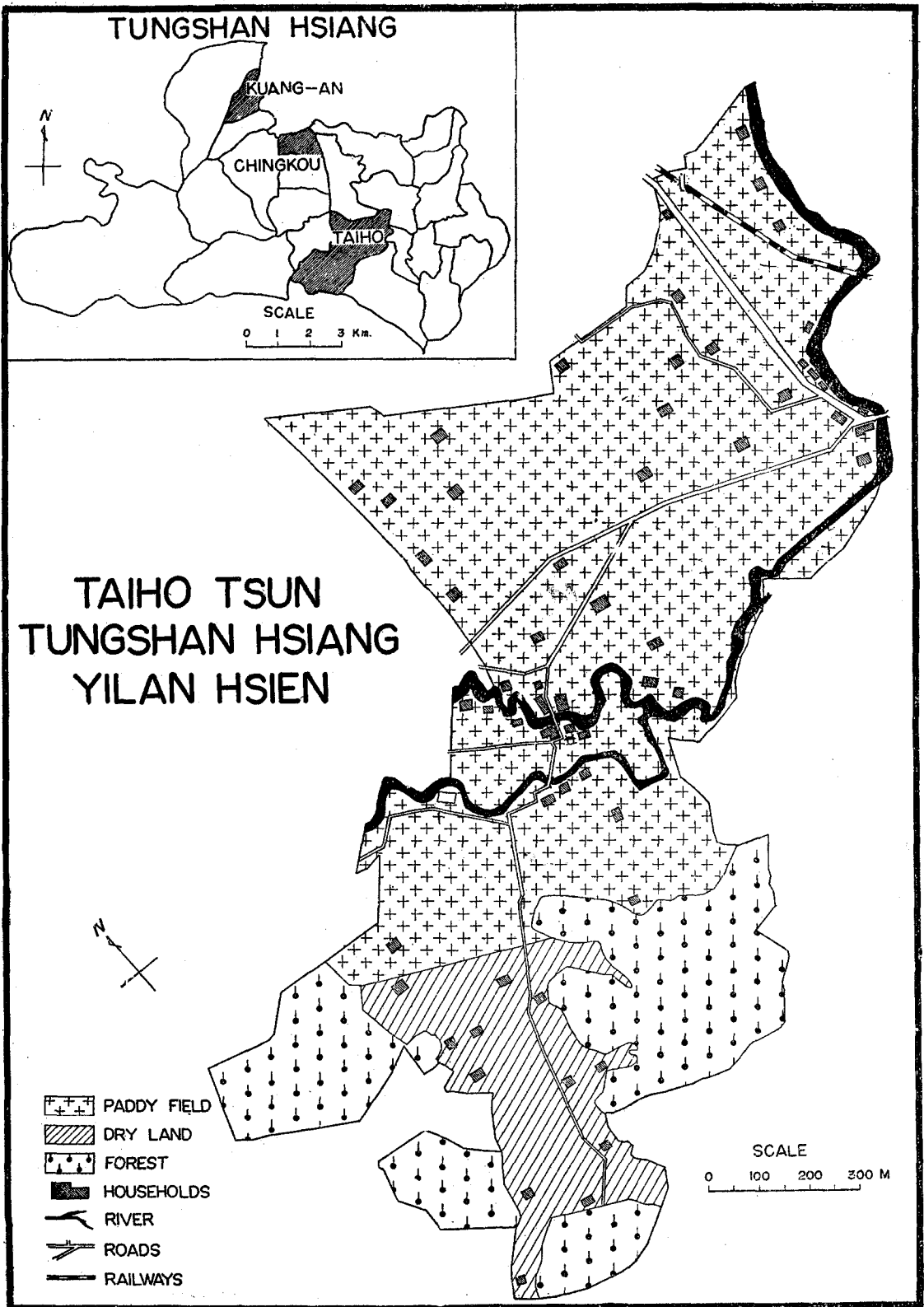
THE TOWNSHIPS SELECTED FOR STUDY

Eighteen townships were selected for study in the 1959 Survey of which sixteen were the same as those covered in the 1952 Survey. The two additional townships were Chungli and Potzu. The former shows the effect of new industries, and the latter of new crops, on rural life.

Three villages were chosen in each township for intensive study, of which two were picked at random and one by the local leaders. In the following pages are shown maps of the villages selected by the local leaders, inset maps of the township as a whole, and some representative local scenes.

THE 18 TOWNSHIPS STUDIED







Township chief



Community development: experimented village

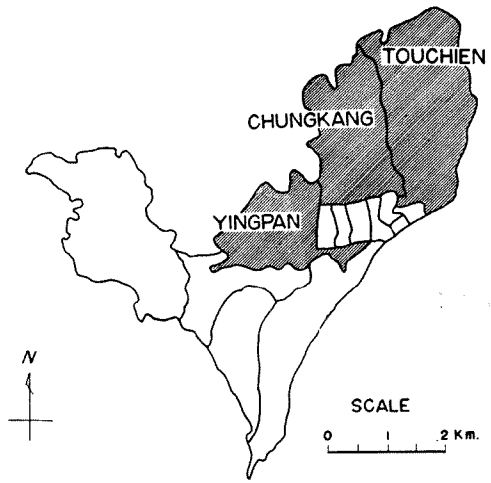


Small power tiller

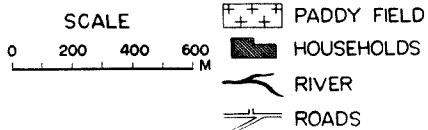
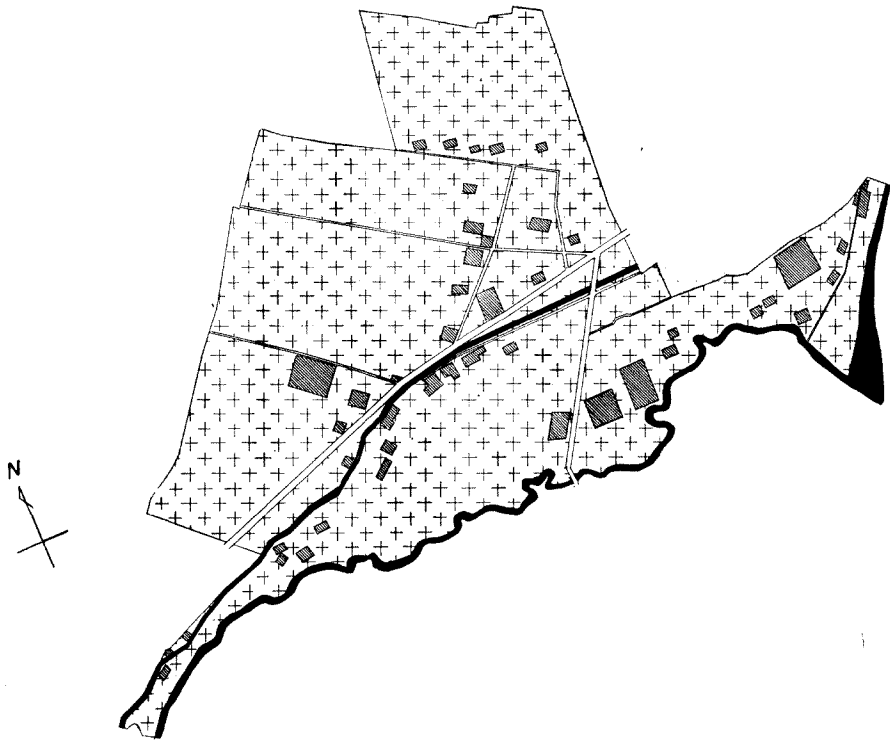


Highway construction

HSINCHUANG CHEN



YINGPAN LI HSINGCHUANG CHEN TAIPEI HSIEN





Transportation of vegetables to
the market by power tiller



Soya bean curd

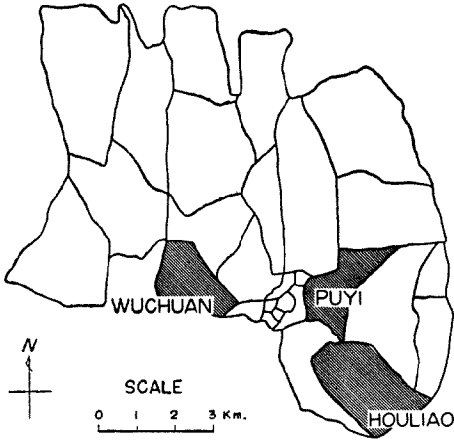
Textile worker



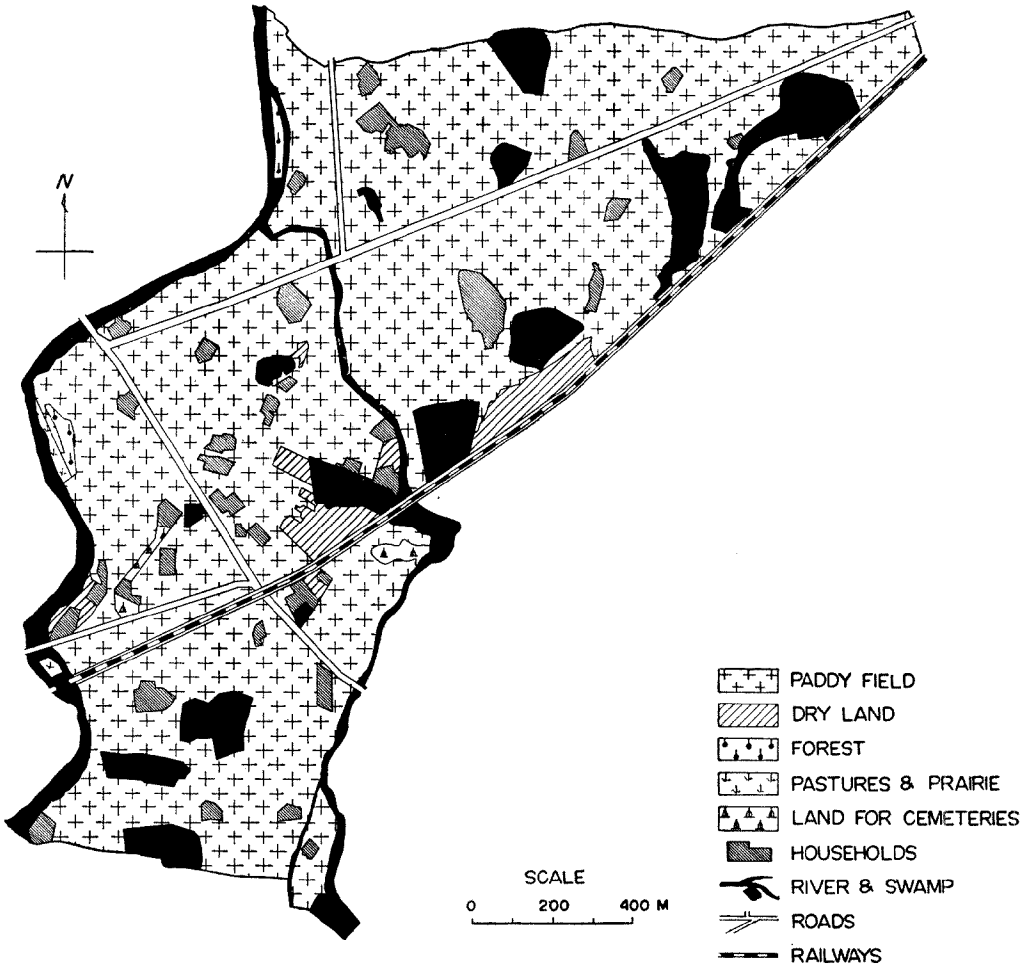
Institution for the blind

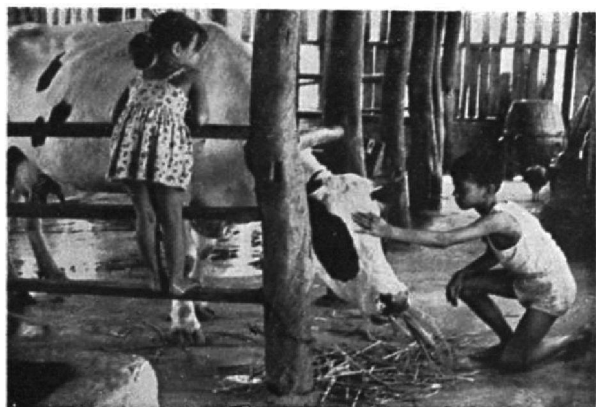


CHUNGLI CHEN



PUYI LI CHUNGLI CHEN TAOYUAN HSIEN





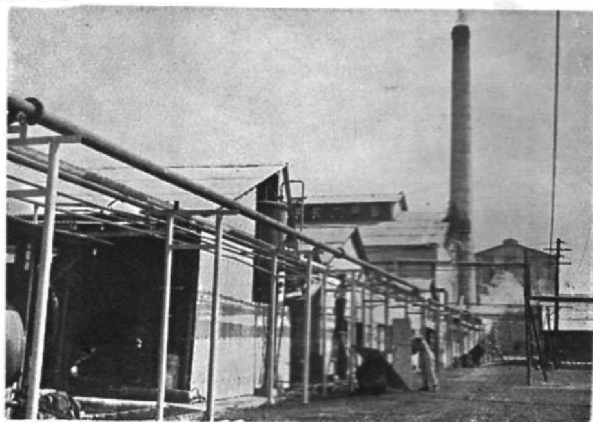
Dairy farm



Bus station

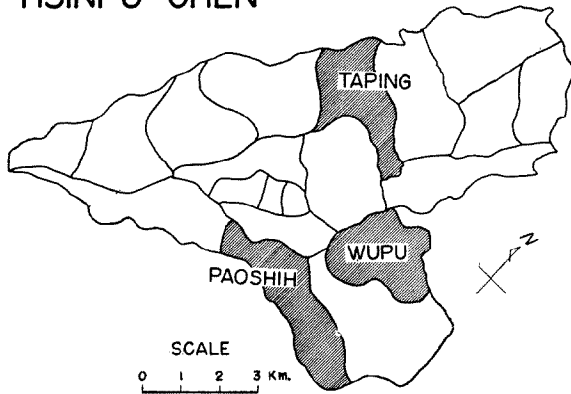


Chungyuan Institute of Technology

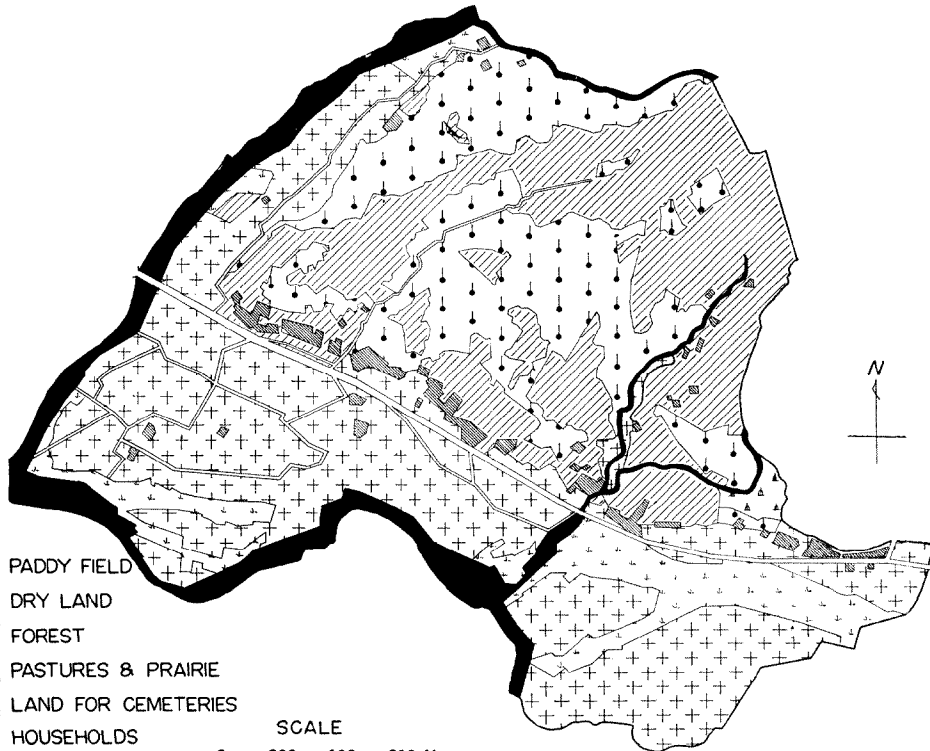


A new factory

HSINPU CHEN



WUPU LI HSINPU CHEN HSINCHU HSIEN





Grading oranges



Tea plantation

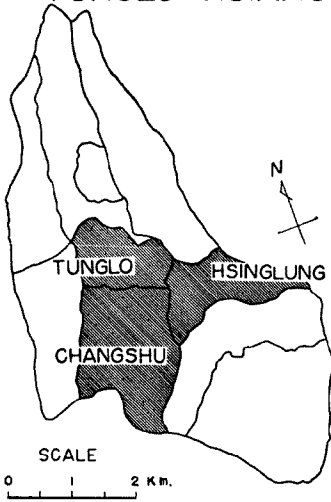


Farmers' Association, Credit Department

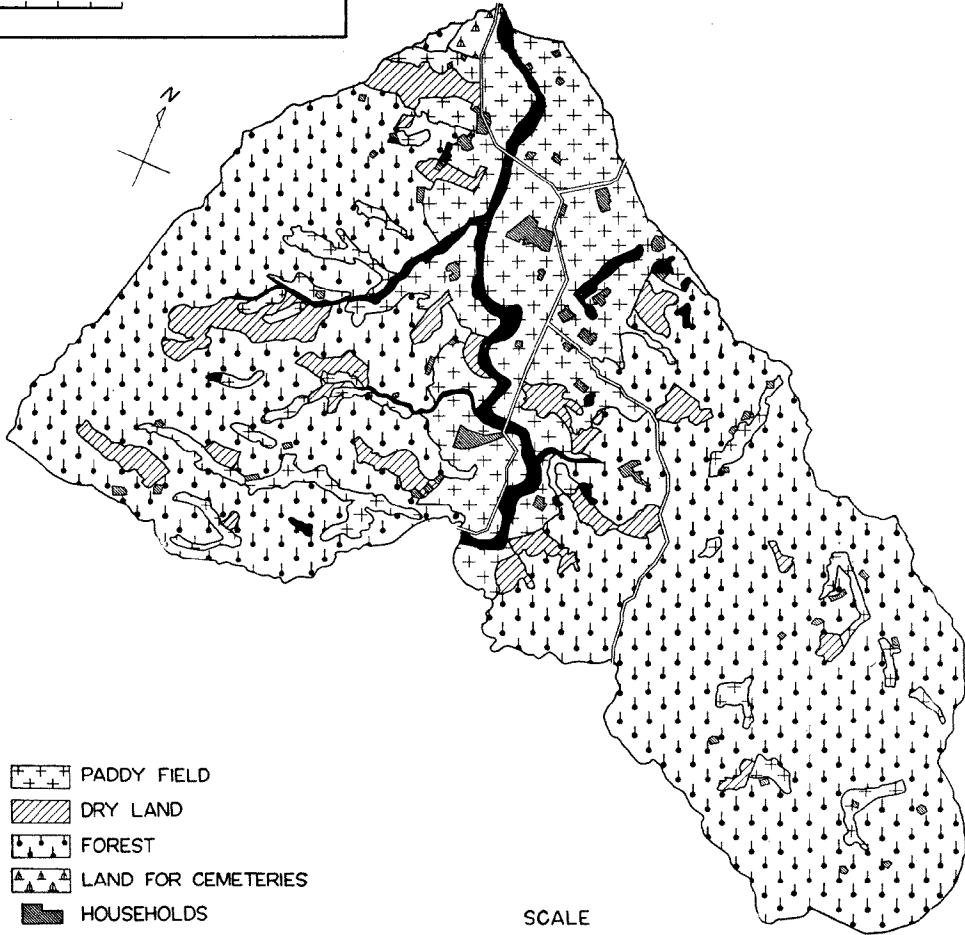









General view of the town

TUNGLO HSIANG



HSINGLUNG TSUN
TUNGLO HSIANG
MIAOLI HSIEN



-  PADDY FIELD
-  DRY LAND
-  FOREST
-  LAND FOR CEMETERIES
-  HOUSEHOLDS
-  RIVER & SWAMP
-  ROADS

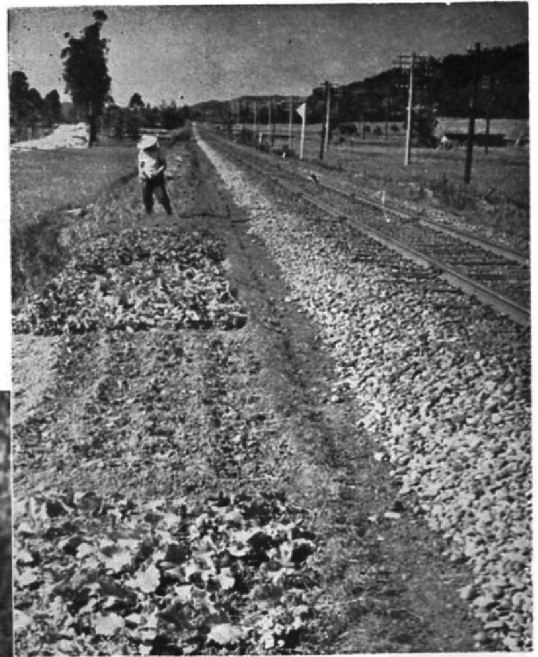


Charcoal kiln



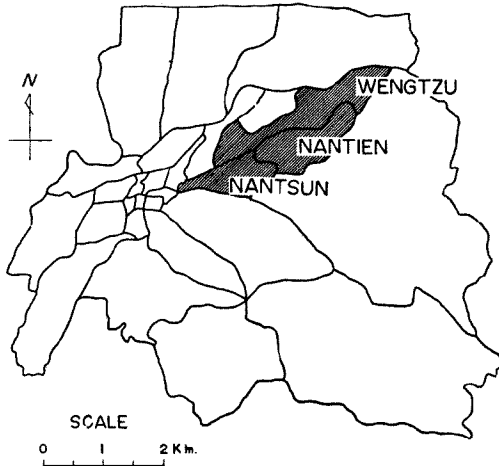
Citronella oil plant

Maximum land utilization: vegetables
beside railway tracks

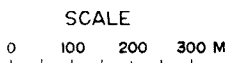
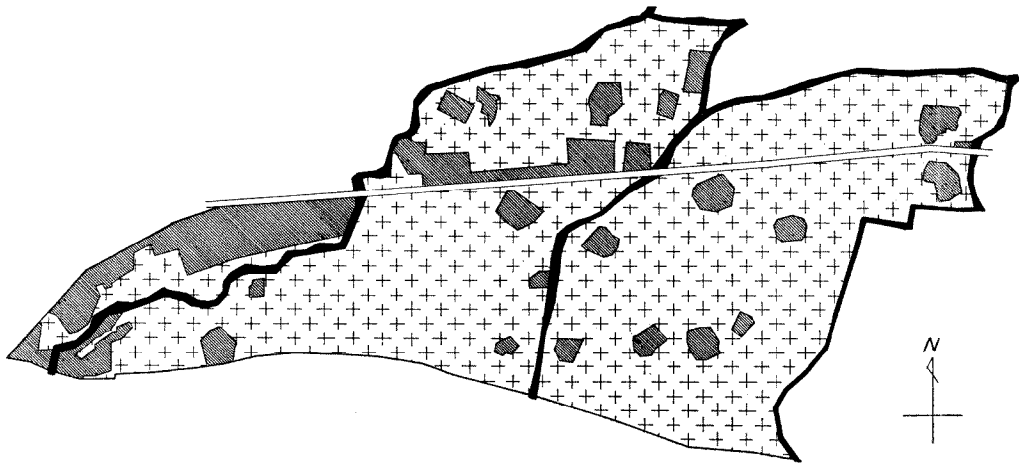






Lacquer trees

FENGYUAN CHEN



NANTSUN LI FENGYUAN CHEN TAICHUNG HSIEN



-  PADDY FIELD
-  HOUSEHOLDS
-  RIVER
-  ROADS



Timber storage pond



Railing lumber

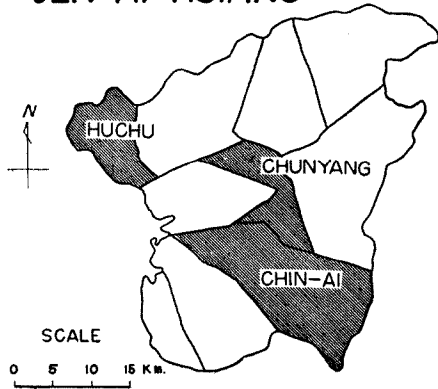


Wheat crop

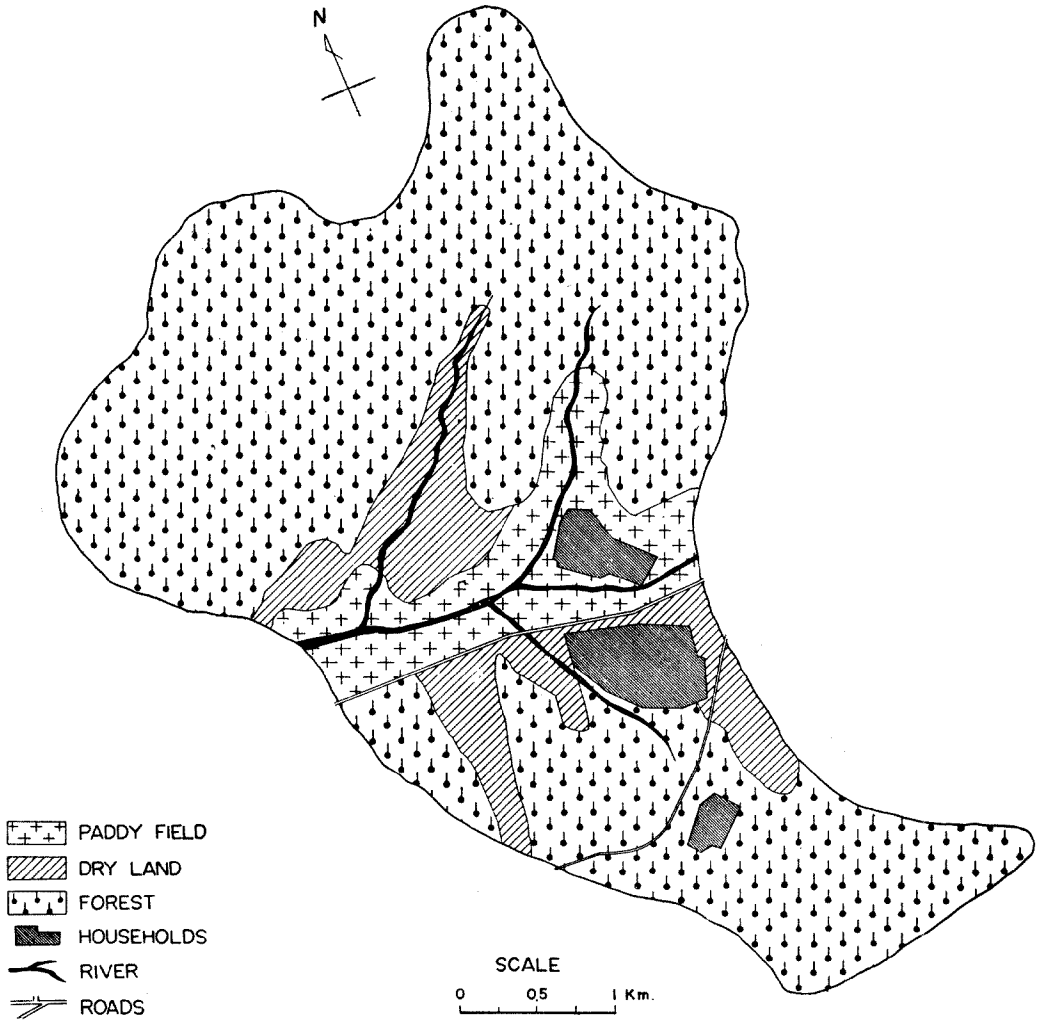


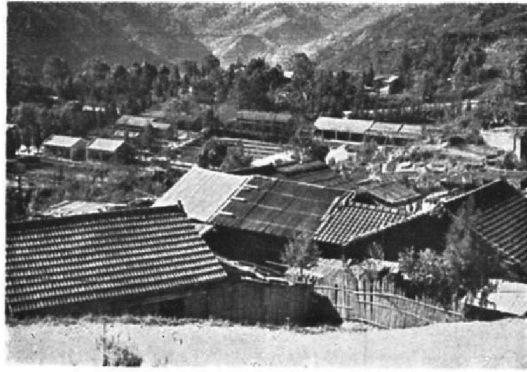
Cinema

JEN-AI HSIANG



HUCHU TSUN JEN-AI HSIANG NANTOU HSIEN

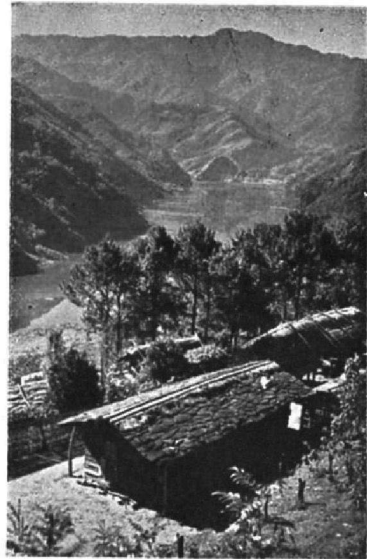




Agricultural Vocational School for aborigines



Aborigines' village
(background: reservoir)

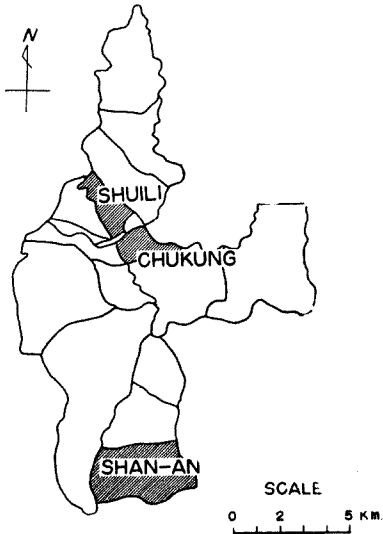


Aborigines










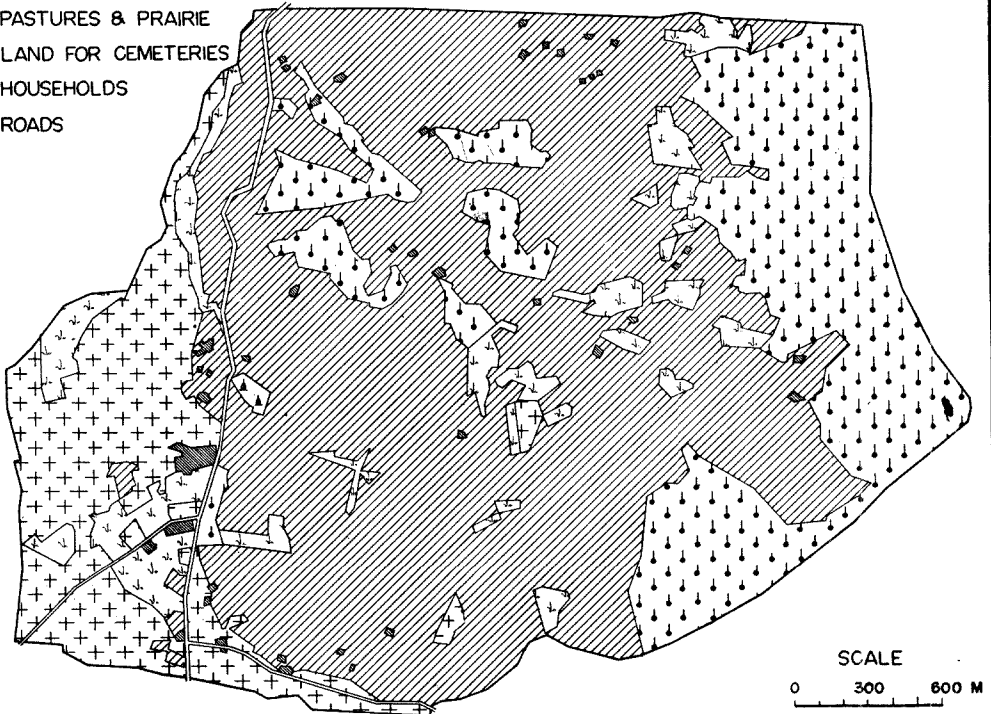
Clinic

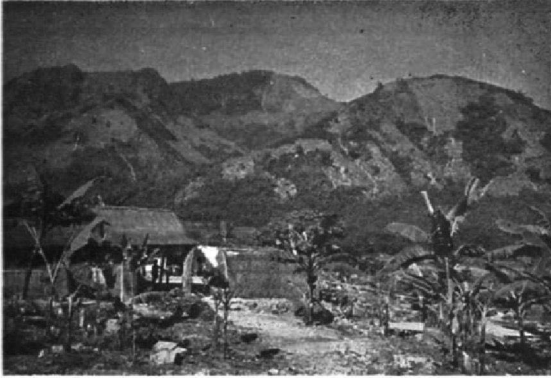
SHUILI HSIANG



SHANG-AN TSUN SHUILI HSIANG NANTOU HSIEN

-  PADDY FIELD
-  DRY LAND
-  FOREST
-  PASTURES & PRAIRIE
-  LAND FOR CEMETERIES
-  HOUSEHOLDS
-  ROADS





Banana plantation



Bamboo baskets

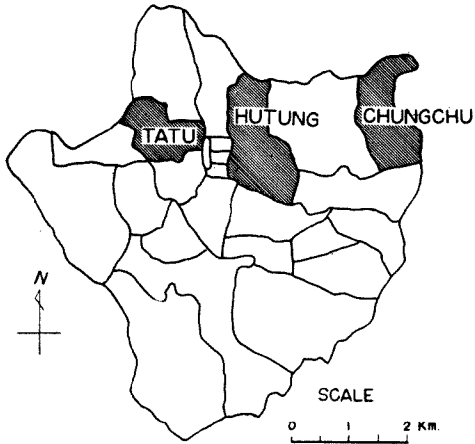


Lumber

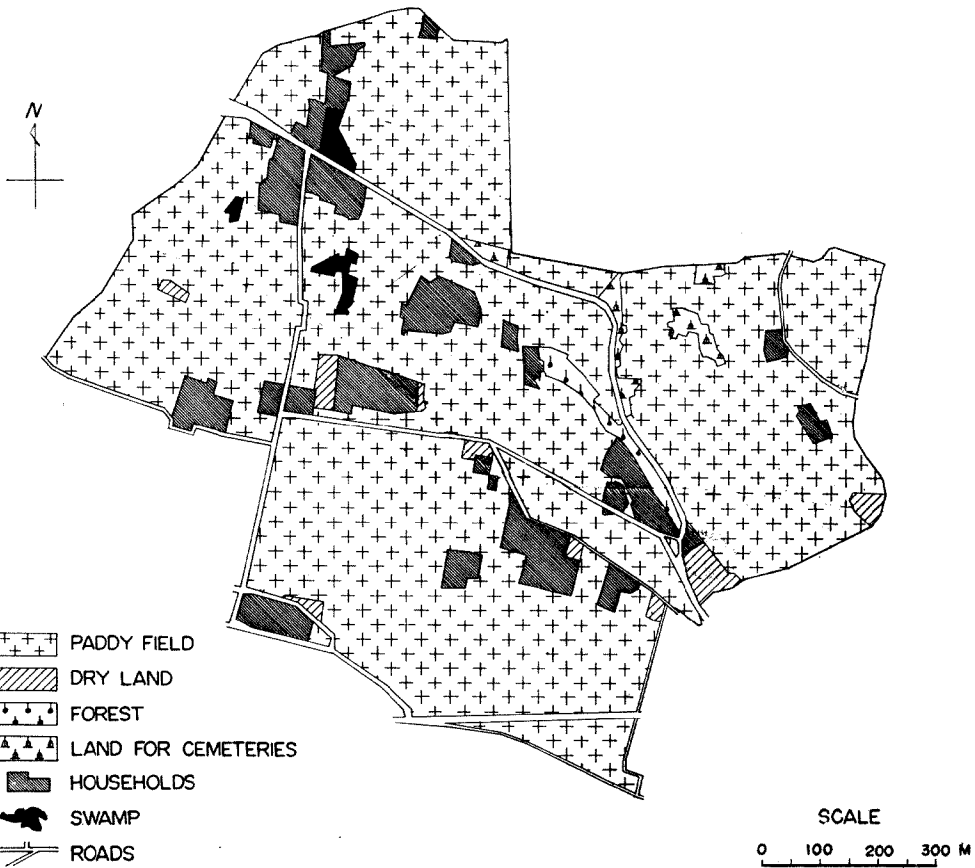


Earthen jars

CHIHU CHEN



TATU LI CHIHU CHEN CHANGHUA HSIEN



Drying paddy rice



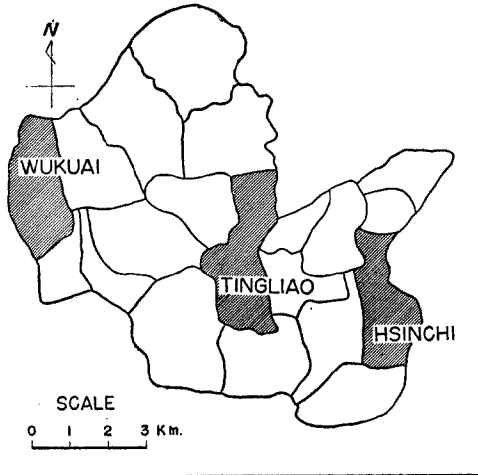
Inter-cropping of rice and sweet potato

Preserving vegetables

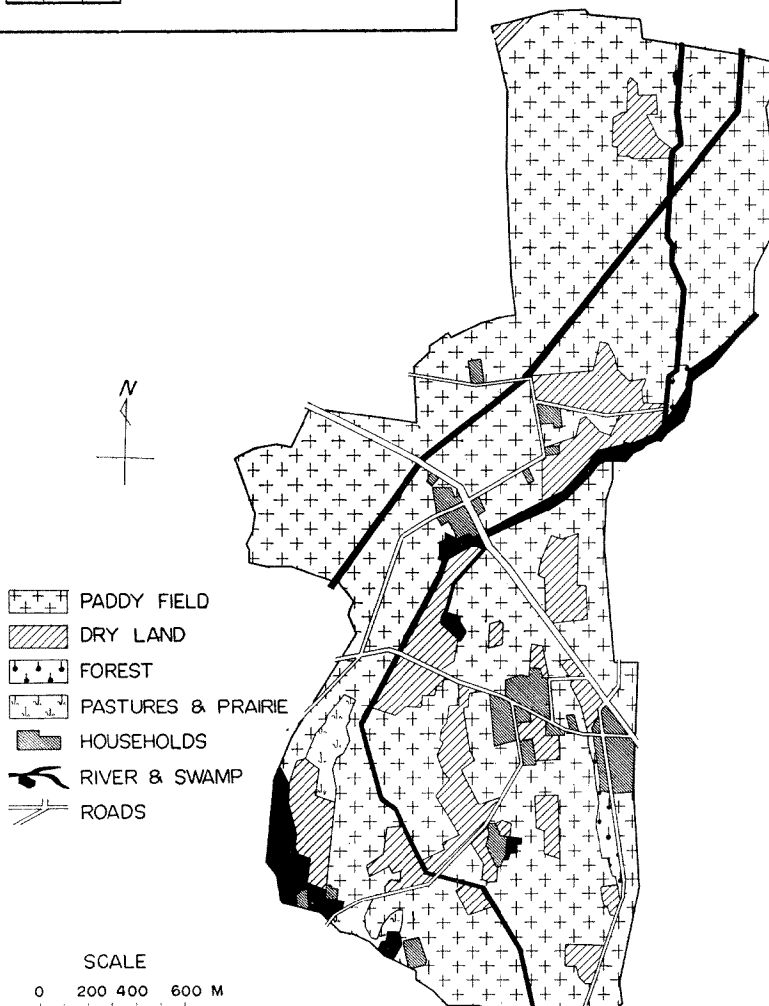


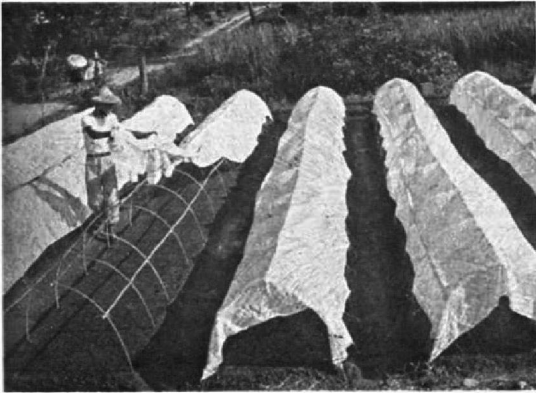
Vegetables market

YUANCHANG HSIANG



TINGLIAO TSUN YUANCHANG HSIANG YUNLIN HSIEN





Seed beds



Farm tools

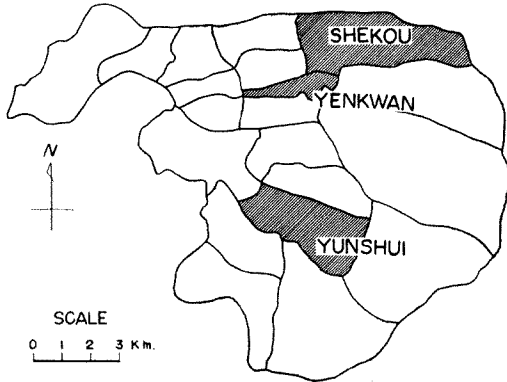


Jute

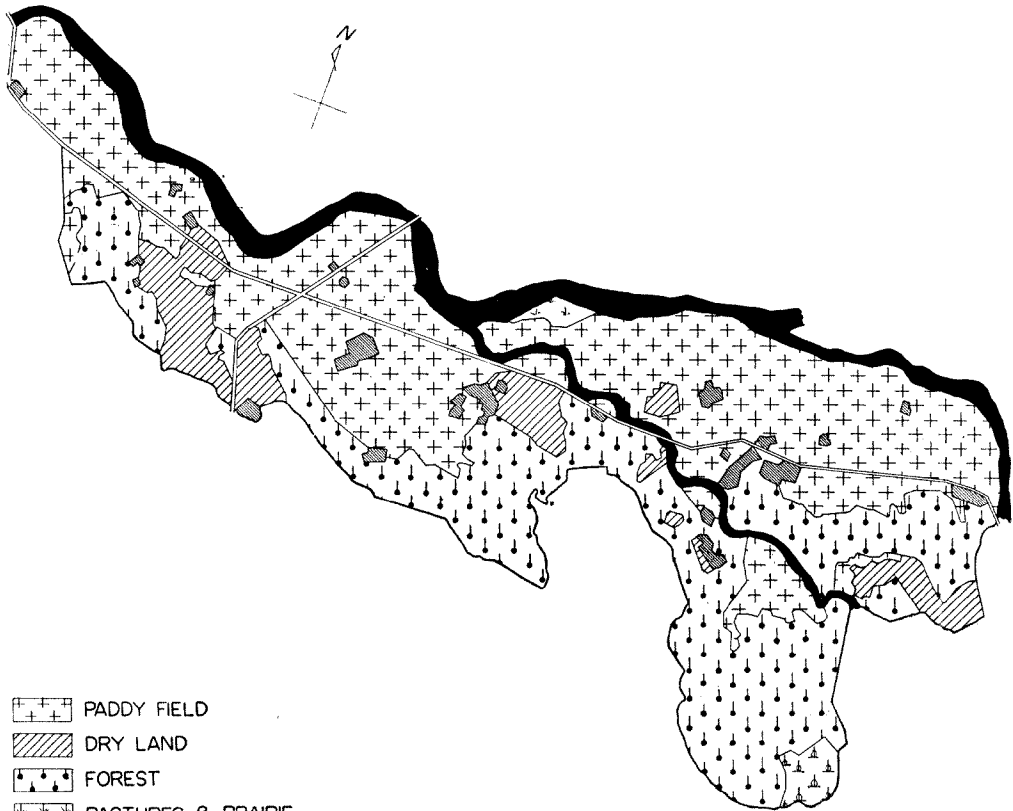










Duck raising

CHUNGPU HSIANG



YENKWAN TSUN CHUNGPU HSIANG CHIAYI HSIEN



-  PADDY FIELD
-  DRY LAND
-  FOREST
-  PASTURES & PRAIRIE
-  LAND FOR CEMETERIES
-  HOUSEHOLDS
-  RIVER & SWAMP
-  ROADS

SCALE
0 200 400 600 M



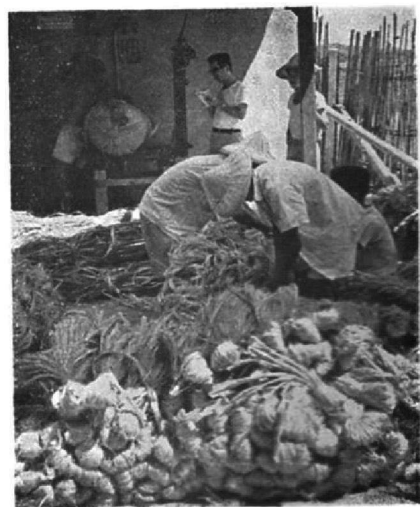
Rice fields and coconuts



Tobacco

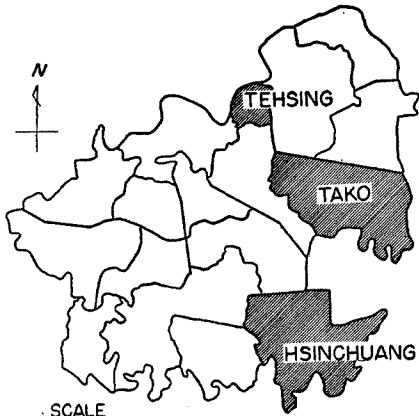


Loudspeaker for public
announcement

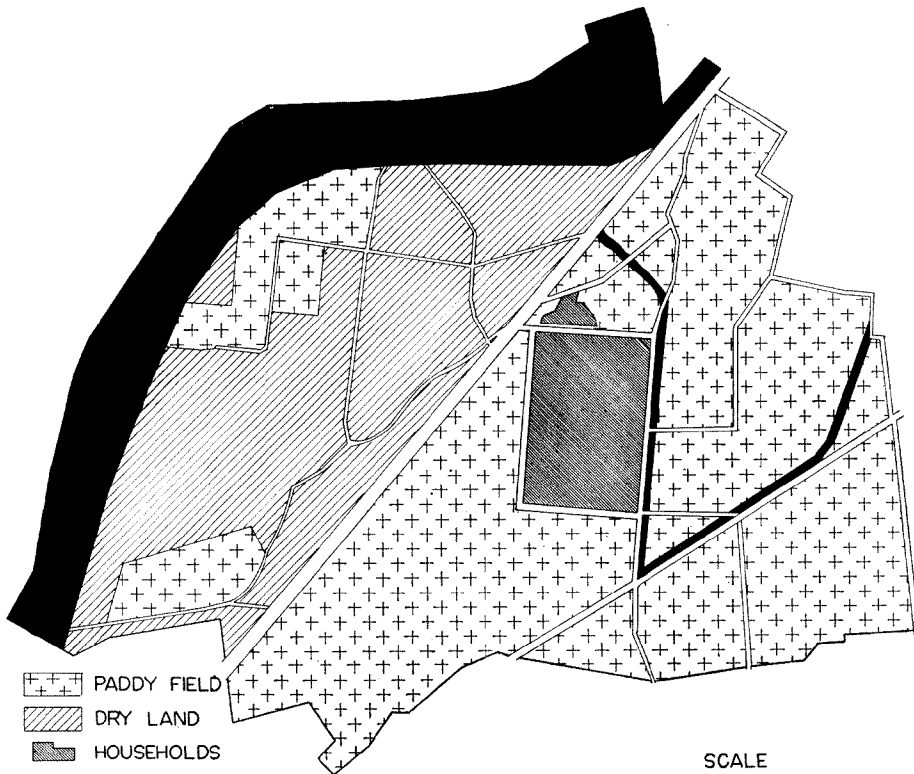


Jute fibre

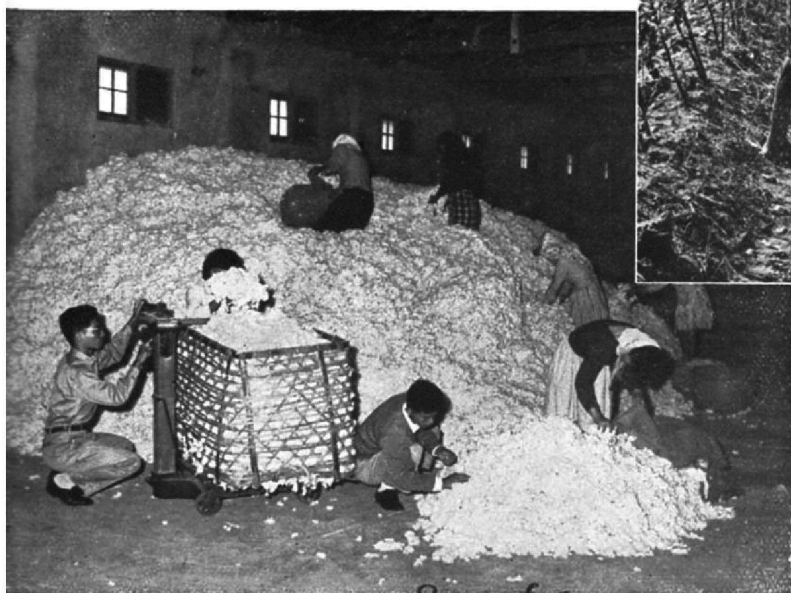
POTZU CHEN



TEHSING LI POTZU CHEN CHIAYI HSIEN



Cotton crop (after typhoon damage)



Cotton storage

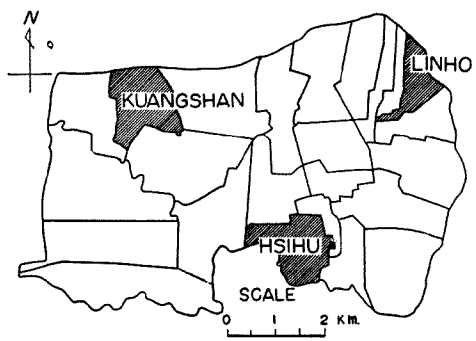


Washing jute

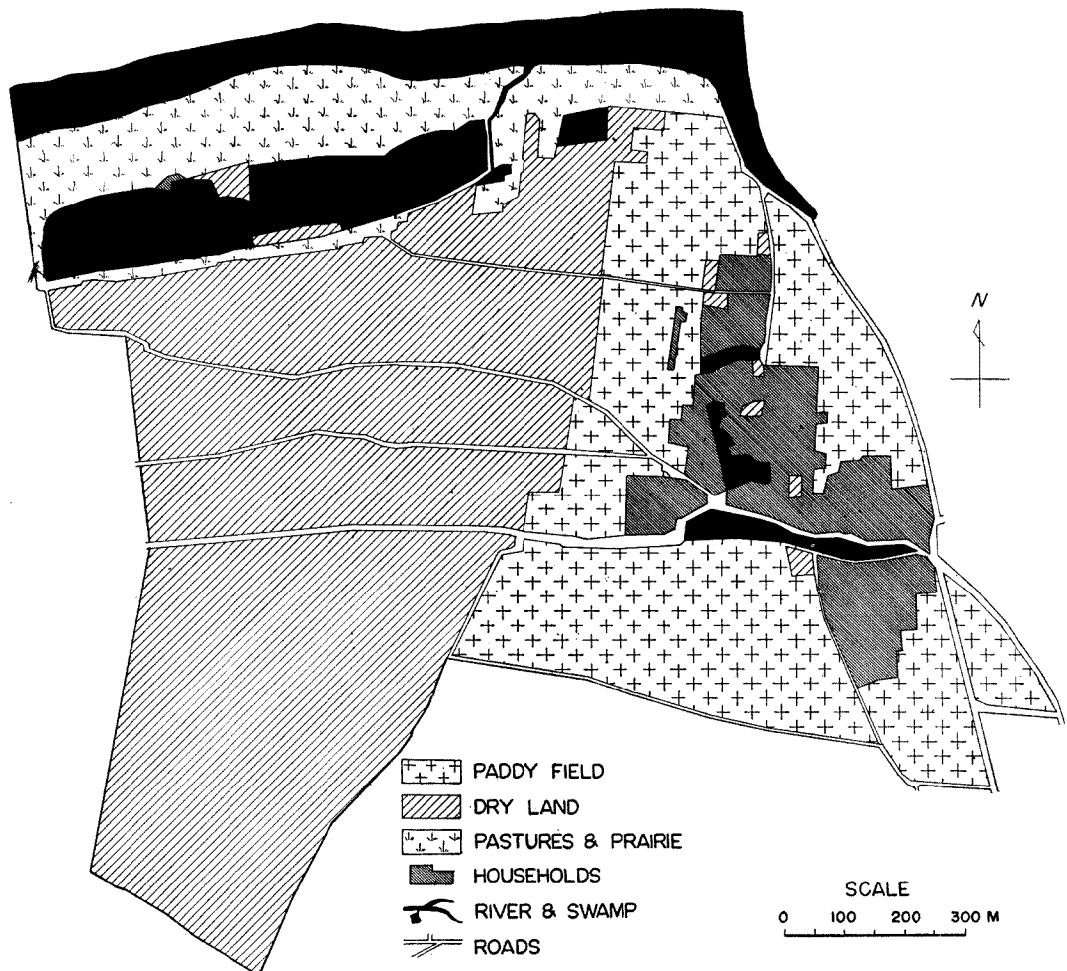


Silk embroidery

CHIANGCHUN HSIANG



KUANGSHAN TSUN CHIANGCHUN HSIANG TAINAN HSIEN





Fishing harbour

Milkfish ponds

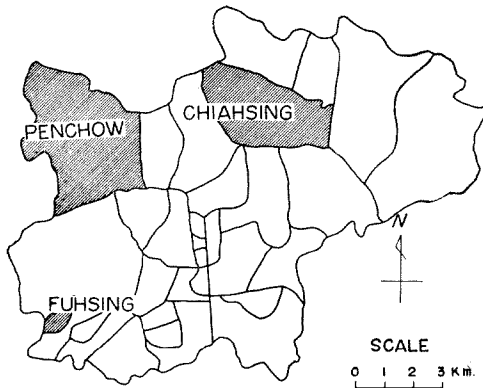


The district is famous for its wooded avenues

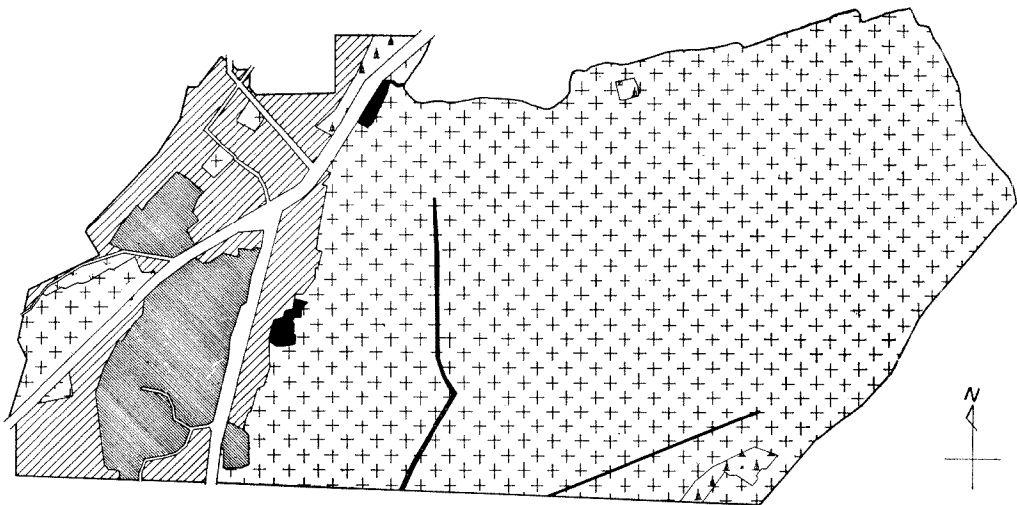
Mat making










KANGSHAN CHEN



FUHSING LI KANGSHAN CHEN KAOHSIUNG HSIEN

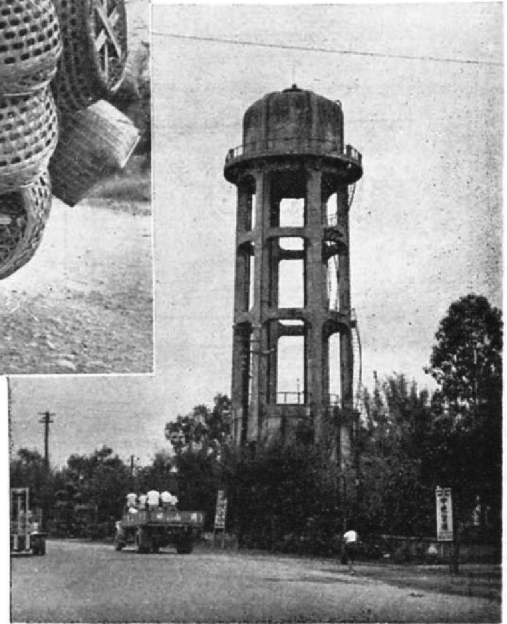


-  PADDY FIELD
-  DRY LAND
-  PASTURES & PRAIRIE
-  LAND FOR CEMETERIES
-  HOUSEHOLDS
-  RIVER & SWAMP
-  ROADS

SCALE
0 100 200 300 M



Bamboo baskets



Water tower

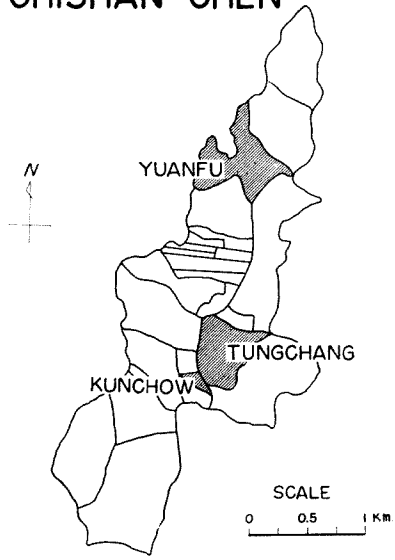


A tailor shop for ladies

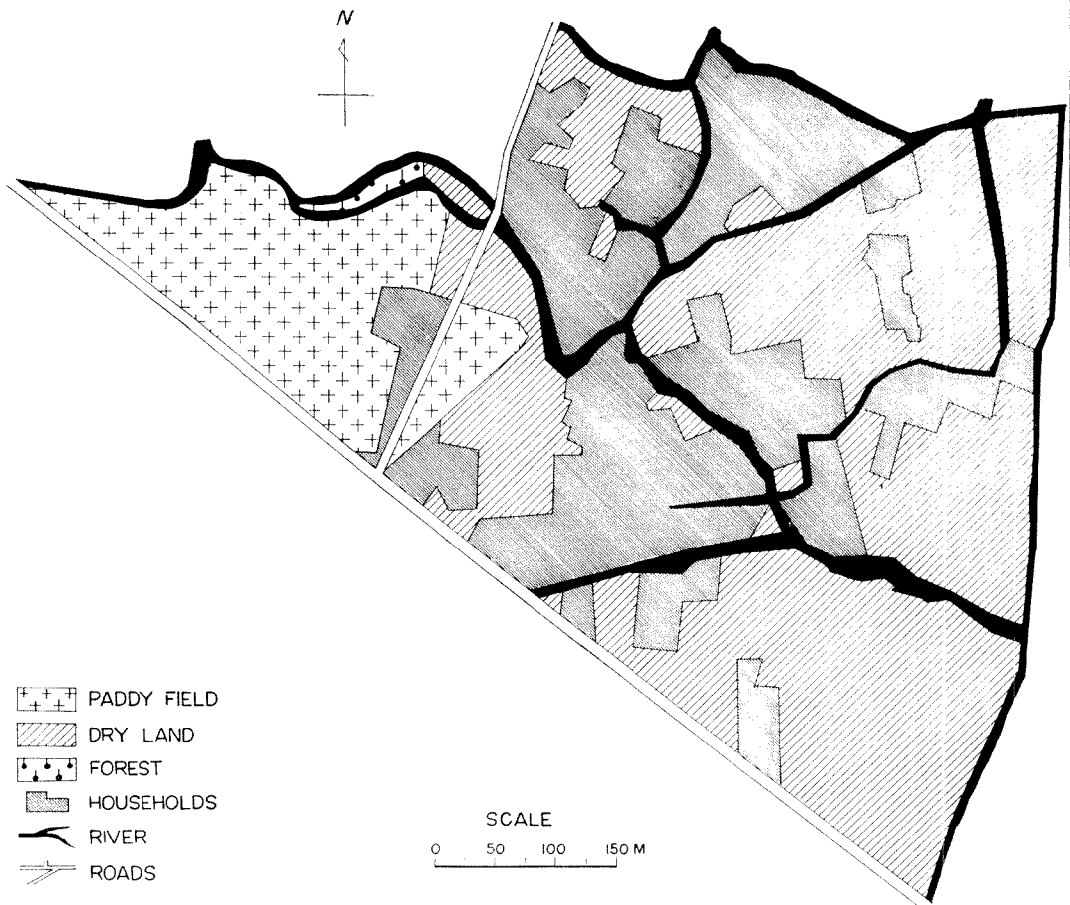


Hog raising

CHISHAN CHEN



KUNCHOW LI CHISHAN CHEN KAOHSIUNG HSIEN

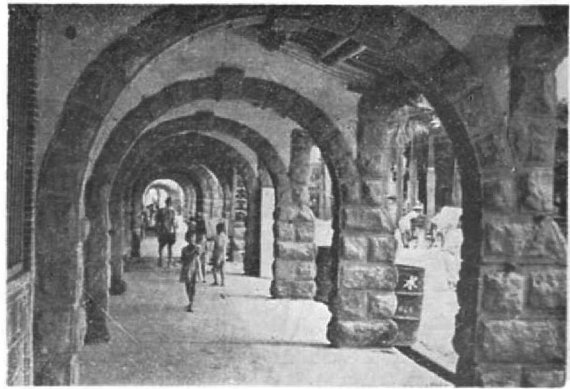


Banana plantation



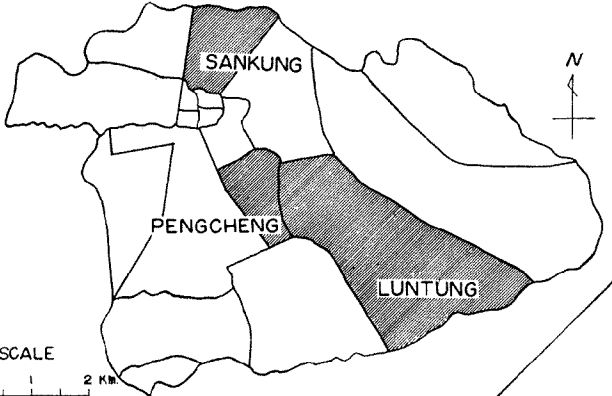
Shipment of bananas

Distinctive architecture

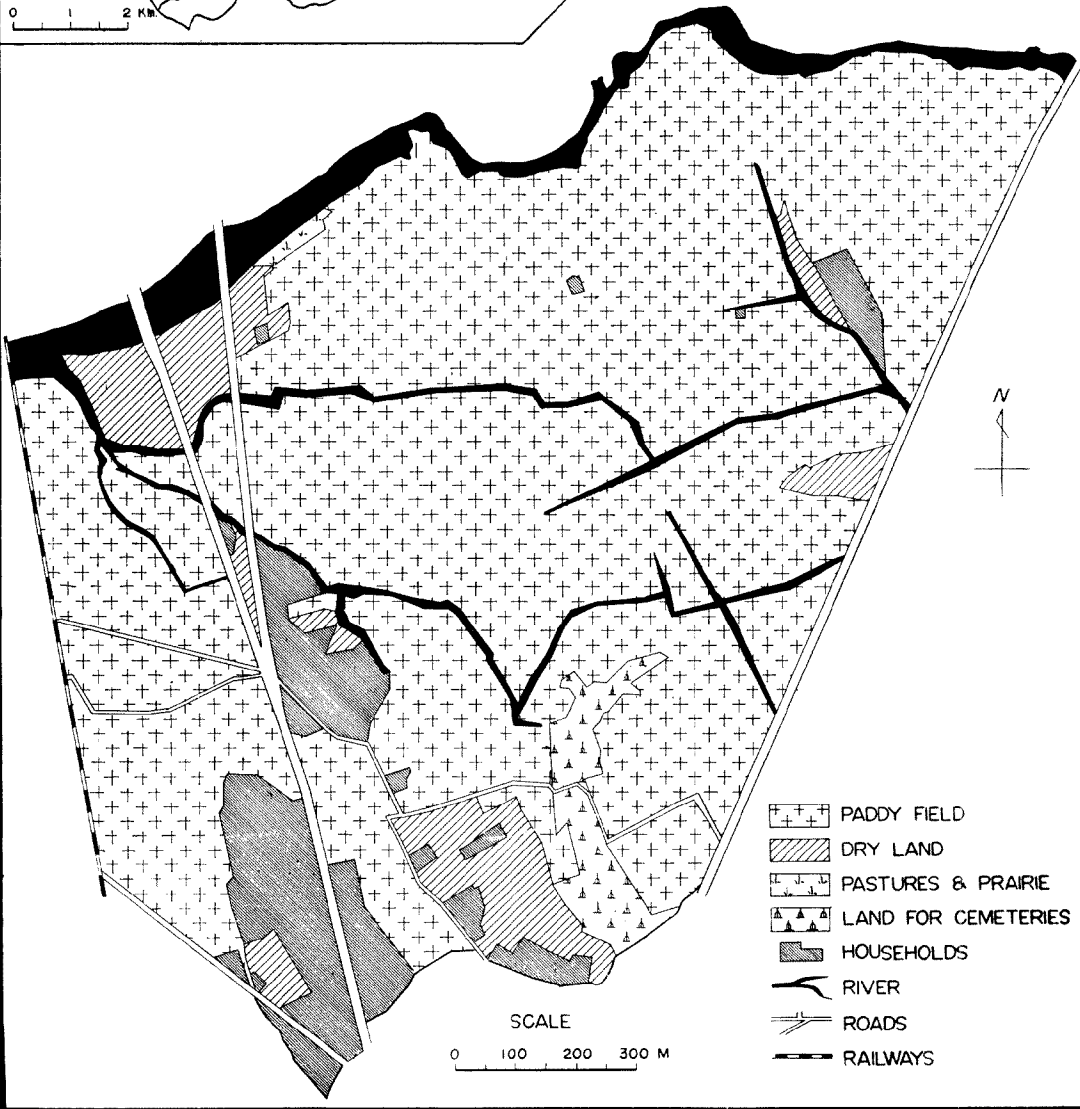


Home Economics extension work

CHAOCHOW CHEN



SANKUNG LI CHAOCHOW CHEN PINGTUNG HSIEN





Hakka people weeding rice-fields

Picking riped papaya

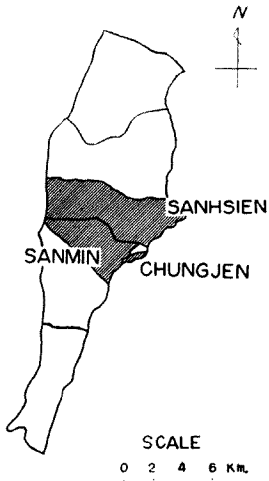


Water from deep well

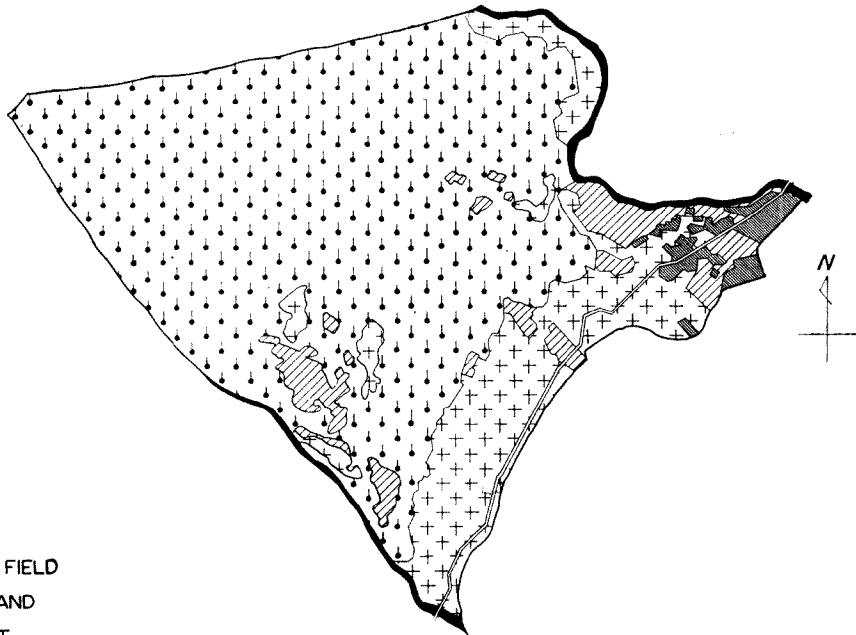
Malaria control








CHENGKUNG CHEN



SANMIN LI CHENGKUNG CHEN TAITUNG HSIEN

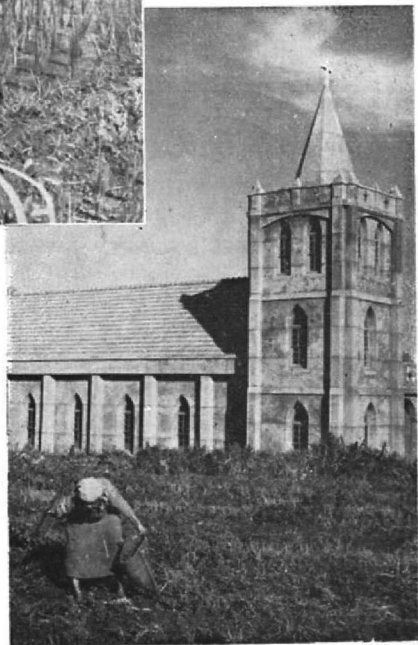


-  PADDY FIELD
-  DRY LAND
-  FOREST
-  HOUSEHOLDS
-  RIVER
-  ROADS

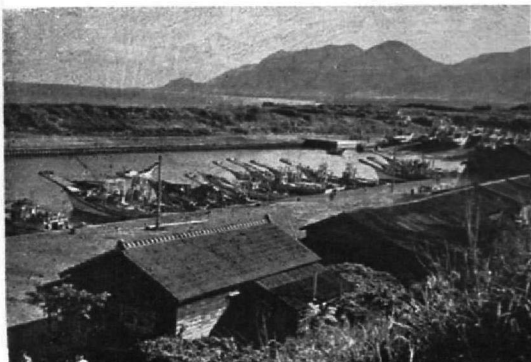
SCALE
0 600 1,200 M



Weeding: bamboo mats as sunshades



Typical church

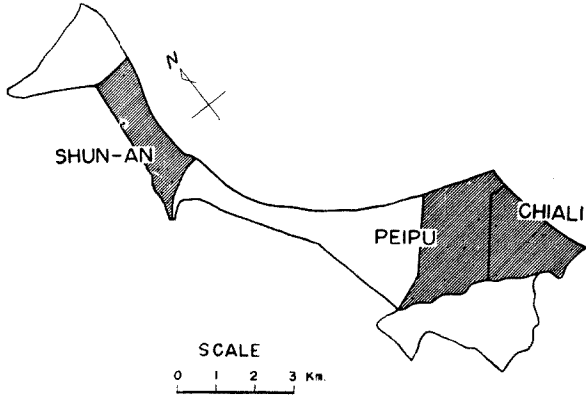


Fishing harbour










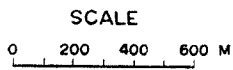
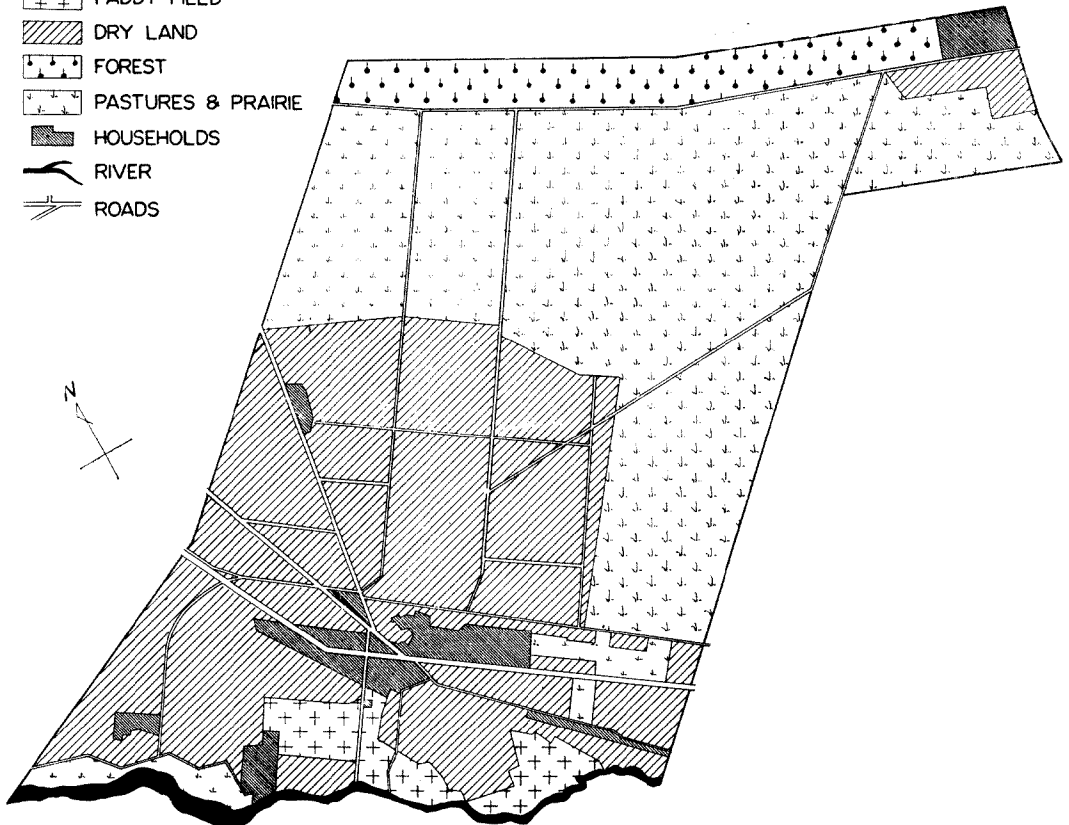
Catching milkfish fry

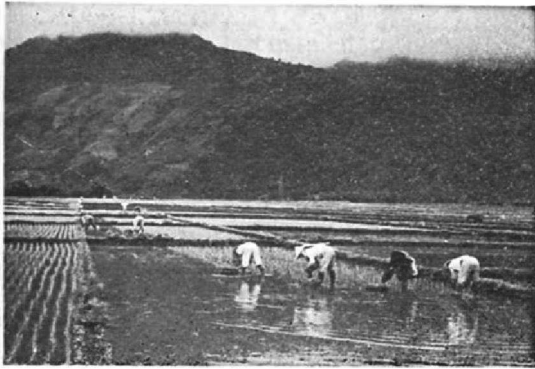
HSINCHENG HSIANG



PEIPU TSUN HSINCHENG HSIANG HUALIEN HSIEN

-  PADDY FIELD
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Rice transplanting

Sugarcane growing



A model of village cleanliness

Extension of farm credits



CHAPTER 5

THE PEOPLE'S LIVELIHOOD

Eighteen townships taken in 1958 contained altogether 52,773 households engaged in agriculture for a living, representing 52.8% of all the households. The percentage varies considerably, however, from place to place. In four townships (Tungshan, Jenai, Yuanchang and Chungpu) it was as high as 80-90%, whereas it was as low as 25-40% in the four townships where considerable industrialization has occurred (Hsinchuang, Chungli, Fengyuan and Kangshan). The remaining ten townships are in the range between 50.4 and 74.5%.

The shift of households from farming into non-farm occupations is a general tendency; but has occurred unevenly in different parts of Taiwan. Some rural townships remain unchanged, in respect of the continued overwhelming predominance of farm households; while others, which have been particularly subject to industrialization, now have more than 70% of the households finding their chief livelihood in non-farming occupations. But the majority of the townships appear as maintaining a balance between farming and other occupations.

Four categories of farm households are distinguishable: owner operators, part-owner operators, tenant operators and farm labourers. In 1958, 61% of the 52,773 farm households in the survey were in the first category, owner operators; 19.4% were part-owner operators, 16.5% were tenants and 3.1% farm labourers.

The distribution shows great variations, however. Jenai is an exceptional case, the land there being owned largely by highland aborigines. Two of the seventeen others, Yuanchang and Chiangchun, had the next highest proportions of owner operators (92.4 and 90.3% respectively); the reason for this is probably that they are areas of low-quality upland soil. The ownership of inferior land is usually much more widely distributed than that of good land.

Four of the townships show a particularly low ratio of owner operators. That for Chungpu is 27%. The farm land in this area is also of poor quality, but in this case there is another reason for the low percentage, many of the traditional gentry families in this city bought land in the surrounding townships, and live on the land rentals. Part-owner operators and tenants combined constitute 59.2% of the households in this area, and farm labourers 13.9%. In Chaochow, Kangshan and Hsincheng the proportion of owner operators was 31.1%, 34% and 36.3% re-

spectively. In the last-named township the percentage of tenancy was particularly high, because its sugarcane land used to be very profitable, and was owned by absentee landlords.

Small changes in crops

So far as crops of the first order of importance are concerned, there has been little change in the 18 townships; in 14 townships, the leading crops remained the same ones in 1958 as in 1952. In 12, paddy rice was the crop of prime importance in both years. In one township bananas were the leading crop in both years; in another, tea. The four townships which show a change in their first-ranking crops are as follows. (Two of them show a basic qualitative improvement; the others, changes in the nature of a rationalization, or new specialization in response to circumstances.)

In Hsincheng, the principal crop in 1952 was sweet potato; in 1958, paddy rice had replaced both this and upland rice. The acreage under upland rice declined from 382 hectares in 1952 to 40 in 1958, while the area under sweet potatoes fell from 482 hectares to 350. More than half of the land taken out of these crops was transferred to paddy. The local people are proud of this advance in their agriculture. It represents an improvement in the land, as well as a change to a more economic crop, and advances in pest control and cropping practices were involved, as well as irrigation.

In Jenai also, there has been a change from sweet potatoes to paddy rice, undoubtedly representing an agricultural advance. It has taken time for the aborigines' people to learn the production of rice as an economic crop, but this is now being achieved.

In Chiangchun on the other hand, the change, so far as the first-ranking crop was concerned, was from rice (both paddy and upland) to sweet potato, the figures (in hectares) being as follows:

	1952	1958
under paddy rice	725	620
under upland rice	934	127
	<u>1659</u>	<u>747</u>
under sweet potato	1423	1641

Irrigation in this area is comparatively limited; hence the yield of rice, particularly paddy rice, is not so dependable as that of sweet potato and other dry-land crops. The local people, however, ascribe the change largely to another factor:

hog-raising has recently been profitable, and sweet potato is still very important as hog-feed.

In Yuanchang, another combination is featured; groundnuts have replaced rice at the head of the list of local crops, though both show increases in acreage. In 1952 there were 2,415 hectares of paddy, and 1,746 under peanuts. In 1958, the paddy area had increased only very slightly, whereas the area planted to peanuts had increased to 3,316 hectares. This vicinity is particularly suited to the growing of peanuts, which have been quite profitable as a cash crop in recent years, giving the farmers a better return. But these alternations are also partly explained by the existence of a three-year crop rotation (see below).

Many more changes are noted in respect of the crops which appear in the lower rankings (in order of acreage) from third to eighth. This is due to the advent of a number of new cash crops, such as soya beans, cotton, citronella grass, wheat, tobacco, Indian corn, and various kinds of vegetables. Overall, there is a close relation between the changes in the cropping pattern and the increasing commercialization of agriculture.

Hog raising and poultry

According to the officials of the reconstruction sections in the township offices, 52,773 farm households in the 18 townships raised a total of 251,702 hogs in 1958; an average of 4.77 per household. Five of the 18 townships were greatly above the average in this respect, however; these outstanding contributors were Chungli, Chishan, Yuanchang, Fengyuan and Chihu, with averages of 8.36, 8.24, 7.14 and 5.54 respectively.

Much talk has been heard in recent years in Taiwan of 'farmers going out of the hog business', 'the prices of hogs being too low and the price of hog-feed too high', and so forth. Local leaders do not, however, consider there is such a trend, though they report that the business fluctuates a great deal, with market variations in the island and abroad.

The statistics of the Provincial Department of Agriculture and Forestry do not appear to bear this out; they show no fluctuation in either the total number of hogs, or the number of hogs slaughtered. In fact they show a steady increase; the total numbers being (in thousands throughout) 2,799 in 1955, 3,040 in 1956, 3,511 in 1957 and 3,573 in 1958, while the numbers slaughtered were, for the same years respectively, 1,762, 1,904, 2,063 and 2,310.

For the period of this survey, the talk of a decline is actually unfounded. Two points do, however, explain its persistence, at the time the survey was being

made: (i) there were in fact periodic fluctuations, which these overall figures conceal, with particular local incidences, and grounds for suspicion of manipulations by hog dealers, etc., and (ii) a decline in the hog population, to 3.24 million, did occur in 1959.

Leaders of 14 of the townships reported increases in poultry, principally in chicken raising. In the last few years, many farm families have begun egg-production on a business basis, instead of merely having a few birds loose in the yard. Chicken farms numbering from several hundred to two thousand birds are seen in the raising areas. Chicken-raising is one of the favourite projects for members of 4-H clubs. Prices for both chickens and eggs have been good in the past few years.

In the mountainous area of Shuili 300 out of 3,347 farm households were in this business. While Hsinchuang is not so favourably situated for poultry, it is near the great market of Taipei, and had 100 business enterprises in this line of production. Yuanchang had 98; followed by Potzu, where the local Farmers' Association had recently organized the cooperative marketing of eggs, and by Tungshan.

According to the Taiwan Agricultural Yearbook for 1959, the total poultry population increased from 10.9 million in 1953 to 12.6 million in 1958.

The pattern of land utilization

For the 18 townships, only 15.3% of the total land area was irrigated, or accessible to irrigation facilities, in 1958. Six percent was non-irrigated and cannot be irrigated at present; marginal land, or slopes, account for another 3%. Uncultivable land, mountains and seashore were returned at no less than 75.75%. There has been no significant change in this respect in the past six years.

If the three predominantly mountainous townships among our 18 townships (Chengkung, Shuili and Jenai) are omitted, the proportions significantly change, 62.64% of the remaining area appearing as cultivated and 37.36% uncultivated.

Though Taiwan is rightly reputed as a paddy rice producer, only 7 of the 18 townships had more than half their land area under irrigation in 1958. Even if the three above-mentioned mountainous township areas are again excluded, about half of the 18 townships show well under 50% of their area as irrigated. Moreover, it is not clear how good the irrigation is, in some of the areas returned as irrigated. For instance, Potzu is one of the seven townships mentioned above as having more than 50% of its land area irrigated. It is in the Chianan Grand

Canal zone, but paddy rice has never been a crop of first importance in that township, in terms of acreage; strictly speaking Potzu is a dryland crop area.

Another of the seven, Yuanchang, claims to have 78% of its area irrigated. Yet it has changed its leading crop (by acreage) from paddy rice to peanuts. The explanation is, not only the profitability of this crop as previously mentioned, but also partly that irrigation-water comes fully to this township only one year in three; in the dry years this district turns to dryland crops, in the watered years to paddy, in a three-year rotation.

While six of the 18 townships reported an increase in the amount of irrigated land between 1952 and 1958, 12 reported an actual decrease. The largest increase, by 301 hectares, or 17% of its total irrigated area, was in Chaochow; it is attributed to wide use of power pumps. The next largest increase (by 90 hectares, or 26%) was in Jenai, and is another illustration of the advance of the aborigines in agriculture.

Among those which lost in irrigated area, Chiangchun and Potzu make the worst showing. Chiangchun's irrigated area was reduced by 175 hectares or 3.3%; JCRR specialists note that of this, 95 hectares are accounted for by bad drainage and high alkali content, 70 hectares were put to dry-land crops by their owners, owing to their unsuitability for irrigation, 5 hectares were washed away, and another 5 hectares diverted to non-agricultural uses.

Nevertheless, overall, though there has been no increase in the total irrigated area, there has been some improvement in irrigation methods and conditions. Farm Irrigation Associations have been reorganized and many of the irrigation canals repaired. The practice of rotational irrigation, mentioned above, has recently developed; it could be a means of rational improvement in some cases, though regular annual watering may generally be preferable.

The absorption of land for non-agricultural purposes—roads, housing and military installations—is a growing threat to Taiwan's farmland, as population rises, industries develop, and military power increases. Kangshan, for instance, lost 200 hectares of irrigated land in this way in the six years. Sixteen townships which noted to the same effect lost altogether 537 hectares.

Fifteen of the 18 townships reported that land reclamation had occurred in the last six years, but only three of them considered the area concerned was significant. Shuili had the highest results in this respect, having added 158 hectares of ricefield and 1,000 hectares of banana groves to its farmed area. Tunglo followed, with the reclamation of 200 hectares of dry land.

Power on the farm

In general, the number of farm households not possessing any work-animals has increased in the past six years. Local leaders attribute this to two factors. First, many new small families have come into existence in this period, few of which have enough land of feeding-stuffs to support a water-buffalo or an ox. Second, the prices of these animals have gone up considerably and are beyond the means of small farmers.

In two of the townships, Chengkung and Jenai, none of the farm households were without work-animals. In only three of the remaining 16 was the proportion of farm households which lacked work-animals less than 50%. In Chihu it was well over 80%, and in three others (Chungpu, Chiangchun and Chishan) it was about 75%; the average for these 16 townships was 59.5%.

In contrast is the extension of mechanical power units in Taiwan farming in these six years. Three of the 18 townships (Hsinpu, Hsincheng Jenai) reported having no power pumps or power tillers in 1958, but the remaining 15 had 236 power-driven water pumps and 123 power tillers. Tungshan headed the list in respect of power tillers, with 47; Kangshan in respect of power pumps with 102, followed by Chaochow with 53, contributing very greatly to their ability to increase their irrigated area.

The Taiwan farmers have also begun to use other types of powered machinery. In Chungli, for instance, there were 30 engine-driven rice threshers in 1958, in Chiangchun and Potzu 8 power sprays were being used on private farms, and in Yuanchang 30 sweet-potato slicers.

There was a great increase in both the kinds and numbers of ordinary farm tools in the six-year period. Especially notable was the increase in the number of sprayers for controlling insects and diseases, as was verified from both field observation and sales records in Township Farmers' Association offices.

Change in crop yields

Sixteen principal crops were listed as important in Taiwan's agriculture in 1958. All but two (jute and citrus fruits) had increased their per hectare yield in the past six years, many of them substantially. First-crop paddy rice showed an increase of 11.8%, second-crop paddy rice 15.3%. The other increases were: sweet potato 15.8%, peanuts 5.7%, sugarcane for factory use 48.4%, sugarcane for local consumption 23.2%, soya beans 25.5%, vegetables 1.5%, pineapples 34.3%, cotton 190.8%, wheat 28.6%, tea 39%, green manure 15.1%, bananas 3.4%, upland rice 10.7%, and tobacco 55.7%.

It may be considered that the largest increases in yield per unit of area were mainly in the newer crops: notably soya beans and cotton, followed by wheat, tobacco, sugarcane for factories, bananas and tea. The per hectare yield of paddy rice, long cultivated and technically already advanced in Tâiwan, did not increase markedly.

The increases varied greatly from one township to another. A township with a good record in respect of one crop may be comparatively weak in another. But generally the leader's conferences reported an increase in per hectare yield of most crops, and in some cases a great increase. Of particular interest is the high percentage increase in the per hectare yield of second-crop paddy rice in Hsincheng, Hsinpu and Jenai; previously, none of these places were main producers of paddy rice.

The average size of holding has decreased

The leaders' conferences unanimously reported that the average size of land-holding had declined in the past six years. Reasons given were as follows: The 'Land-to the-Tiller' Programme had divided all the comparatively large estates of former landlords into small units and sold these to farmer tenants and semi-owner operators, thus greatly increasing the number of small-holders. Many of the former large households had also split themselves into small families, to avoid the application of this Programme to themselves, and also to escape certain forms of taxation.

In any case, land ownership has remained small in Taiwan in recent years. In the 18 townships surveyed, 38.2% of farm households owned less than half a hectare of land each in 1958, 32.4% owned 0.5 to 1 hectare, and 19.2% owned between 1 and 2 hectares. Thus about 90% of farm households in these 18 townships owned not more than 2 hectares each, and only just over 10% owned more than 2 hectares each.

Other factors must be mentioned. One is industrialization, which is marked in Hsinchuang, Chungli and Kangshan, and to some extent in Chaochow. In each of the two first-mentioned, most of the farm households owned between 1 and 3 hectares of land; in the other two, 65-75% of the farm families owned between 0.5 and 2 hectares. Thus the industrialized areas show comparative concentration of land ownership. A second-connected-aspect is the fertility of the soil. Better farm land can sustain a larger population and result (under the Taiwan conditions and especially because of the land reform there) in a smaller average size of land-ownership. This is illustrated by Chihu, Potzu and Fengyuan; the

proportion of land-ownerships of less than 0.5 hectares was very high in these places. A third factor is population pressure, the scarcity of good farm land in proportion to the size of the agrarian population in particular. This is illustrated by the high ratio of very small holdings in Chiangchun, Chishan and Tunglo.

In Hsinpu, land-ownership was comparatively evenly distributed, in more gradations of size, than in the other townships. The interesting suggestion is raised of a possible connection between this situation and the fact that this district is largely peopled by Hakka farmers.

The question of *transactions in land* was carefully investigated, and the following indications emerged. In the first place, there had been land sales in every one of the 18 townships in the preceding six years, during and after the completion of the Land-to-the-Tiller Programme. Even in Jenai there had been some sales of land, 15 households having bought land during the six years, but this compares with the highest entries for Chengkung 900 households, Kangshan 800, Yuanchang and Potzu 700 each. All the transactions were effected under the Land-to-the-Tiller Programme.

It is particularly striking that in practically all the land transactions there were no kinship relations between the buyers and sellers; the transfers were between landlords and tenants.

Many of the families who bought land were working very hard to pay off the purchase price before the end of the ten-year period which is allowed. This was sometimes ascribed to their being in debt, and desiring to sell the land—which is not permitted till they have full paid-up ownership of it. But more generally this simply reflected the eagerness of small farmers, who have never owned land, to complete their ownership as quickly as possible.

Strained relations between landlords and tenants

Only one of the 18 townships had no tenant farmers (Jenai); tenancy was a significant feature in all the others. Phenomenal changes have been proceeding ever since the Land-rent Reduction of 1949; developments in the last six years were as follows. Farm production has increased everywhere, and land rents have declined. The system of land-rent payment has not changed, but tenants are now generally prompt and regular in their payments, though a few have to be given reminders, and a minority are late with their payments. One important change is, however, that all tenancy agreements are now in writing, which was not the universal rule before.

Relations between landlords and tenants have become 'cold and strained'. The

compulsory sale of land by the landlords to the tenants, under the Land-to-the-Tiller Programme, was welcome to the latter and unwelcome to the former. At the beginning, there was general resentment by the landlords, and in some cases hatred on their part towards the tenants. More recently, feelings appear to have become calmer. Twelve townships reported at the Leaders' Conferences that the relationships were now merely formal, contractual and cold, the old-fashioned *kanching* (or sentiment) having disappeared. Five townships reported, however, that feelings between landlords and tenants had 'gone from bad to worse'.

It the old days it was common for tenants to make some presents to their landlords on special occasions, out of their surplus or some special product, and also to render them special voluntary labour services occasionally, to court the landlords' friendship and leniency. And the landlords would reciprocate by lending work animals, extending emergency loans, finding work for relatives on or off the farm, waiving or postponing rent claims, etc. This system, accepted out of long usage and ignorance, disappeared in the two stages of the Land Reform Programme in Taiwan.

The size of farms has decreased

Many farm households cultivated rented land, as well as the land they owned. Hence the size of farms in operation differed from the areas actually owned by households on the average. Most farm households owned less than one hectare of land, whereas most of the operating farm units were between half a hectare and two hectares. A significant number of land-ownerships were over two hectares in extent, but comparatively few operating units were on that scale.

In four townships (Chishan, Chiangchun, Chihu and Jenai) most of the households farmed less than half a hectare. The general run—11 townships—showed the majority of their households farming between half a hectare and one hectare. The other four were characterized broadly by having larger operating units, with one-third of their farm households operating between one and two hectares each. It is noteworthy that Chungli alone—an area of comparatively high industrialization—had over 38% of its farm households operating between one and two hectares, and another 26% with farms of over two hectares (up to 7 hectares).

All but one of the 18 townships reported that the size of farm had generally become smaller in the past six years.

Technological change due to the need for more farm credit

The need for agricultural credit had greatly grown in the past six years, with the trend of commercialization, modernization and mechanization. Since 1952

there have been four institutions regularly extending such credits: the Taiwan Land Bank, the Taiwan Cooperative Bank, the township Farmers' Associations and the Provincial Food Bureau. In addition to these, the Provincial Supply Bureau has sometimes made loans to farmers for the production of jute, the Taiwan Sugar Corporation lends money to the sugarcane growers who are under contract to it, and the JCRR occasionally makes loans for experimental work, whether directly or through other agencies.

During recent years, especially from 1955 onwards, there has been a sharp increase in the total supply of institutional credit for agriculture. Allowing for the change in the purchasing power of the NT\$, the amount of such credit available per hectare of cultivated land was in 1958 (at NT\$970) nearly twice what it was in 1952.

Almost all the farm loans made by government banks or agencies are for production purposes; only the rice loans made by the Provincial Food Bureau are not restricted to directly productive purposes, but they are in fact so envisaged, as being to help small farmers over temporary difficulties which impede their production. Small loans made by the Farmers' Associations to their farmer members may be used for purposes other than direct production, but the borrowers are encouraged to use them for such needs as buying farm tools, animal feed, chemicals, etc., rather than for consumption goods. The Provincial Food Bureau's fertilizer loans, for example, are chiefly or almost exclusively for rice production, the Taiwan Sugar Corporation's for sugar production, the hog-raising loans for hogs, and so forth, with rules which are fairly rigidly imposed.

Leaders of 17 of the townships stated that the number of farm households which received agricultural production loans had increased considerably in the past six years, only one township—Tunglo—noting a decrease. Between 60% and 95% of their farm families had had some loans from the above-mentioned institutions: mostly nearer 95% than 60%. The Food Bureau's fertilizer loans are usually not included in this calculation, since they involve no cash transfers, but are seen rather as an exchange of fertilizer for rice.

The rural people were much more eager to receive loans than they had been six years earlier. The great majority no longer consider it shameful to borrow money, so long as it is for productive purposes and can be repaid in time; a small minority have gone so far from traditional attitudes as to be ready to seek for any available loans, with less scrupulous attention to questions of use and repayment.

Fourteen townships reported that the rate of interest had fallen in the past six

years. The interest rates charged by the official agencies, mentioned above, are of course lower than those charged by moneylenders, grain dealers and merchants. Both official and private rates have fallen. But farmers continue to complain that even the official rates are too high. A majority of the townships considered the present farm credit facilities inadequate, though a minority are broadly satisfied with them. All progressive farmers and all who wish to expand their agricultural production press for increases in the loan budgets of all the credit institutions; and all the township Farmers' Associations are petitioning to the same effect.

Farming techniques have been modernized

Numerous changes have occurred in farm operations in Taiwan during the past six years, in the general direction of more modern, scientific and mechanized methods. Leading changes are the following: nine of the 18 townships stressed the increasing use and number of power tillers on private farms. The increasing use and number of power pumps for irrigation was also stressed by nine townships. Half of the townships, also, noted most significantly the use of rectangular-spacing markers in transplanting rice. Four townships spoke rather in terms of a general and overall improvement in practices and greater efficiency in farm operation, as the main recorded advance in the six years.

The following were emphasized by three townships each: increased use of sprayers for controlling plant diseases and insects, and the increased use of female labour on farms. The last-mentioned feature, and an increase in diversification, which was mentioned by one township, are the only items in this list which may be said to be out of line with the general trend of modernization.

Two townships gave some pride of place to each of the following features: deep ploughing, and increased use of modern methods of hiring labour, in place of the traditional system of exchanging labour. The following were also listed, by one township each: greater intensification of agriculture, spreading fertilizer over the whole planted area (instead of only along furrows, which was the older tradition), use of the hole planter for soya beans, use of the electric sweet potato slicer, increased use of rice threshers and improved ploughs, better use of seed rice, and more weeding.

New crop patterns have been introduced

Accordingly, there have been significant changes in the cropping pattern in Taiwan in the six years. The three great traditional crops are still dominant in the whole island—paddy rice, sweet potatoes and sugarcane. But, owing to the better prices generally prevailing for such products as soya beans, cotton, wheat,

citronella grass and various vegetables, and as a result of new knowledge in such matters as the contribution of green manure crops in increasing the fertility of the soil, these crops are being raised in increased quantities almost everywhere, in fields other than rice-fields, and in the rice-fields themselves, while the rice is not in. In many places, soya beans, cotton, wheat and vegetables are replacing sweet potatoes. Inferior rice land, is being given over to some extent to good cash crops such as cotton, tobacco or vegetables. Except in Taichung, Changhua and Miaoli Prefectures, however, four townships report some decline in wheat crops, after a period in which they had been particularly flourishing; for which one reason is damage by flocks of sparrows.

Technical changes are widespread

More fertilizer was being applied, and spread over the whole crop area, instead of concentrating on the rows or ridges. This was being done with more knowledge of the nature and properties of the fertilizers. The increased use of chemical fertilizers, especially P and K, was notable. And fertilizers were being applied earlier in the growing period.

Smaller seed beds were being used for rice, but with better management and more careful treatment of the seed. More farmers were recognizing the advantages of the rectangular-spacing marker, and had begun to use it. Deep ploughing was becoming a general practice. More weeding was being done, and methods of harvesting and storage improved. The whole business of farming had become more intensive, as compared with six years before. Technical progress was particularly marked in Jenai Hsiang, where the aborigines had adopted Chinese methods of farming in place of their own primitive practices.

A greater variety of chemicals was being used for controlling insect, pests and plant diseases, better knowledge and techniques in this field, using more modern sprayers and dusters, having been promoted and effectively taken up by the farmers.

Irrigation problems are always to the fore. Ten of the 18 townships reported construction of major irrigation, flood prevention and drainage works in the preceding six years. In Jenai, alone, seven irrigation canals were built in the period of 1953 to 1958. Four of the 18 townships were using power pumps for irrigation in the six-year period.

Only three of 18 townships were still without power tillers at the time of the survey (Chengkung, Chiangchun and Jenai) though three others has only recently acquired them, in the earlier part of 1959. They had appeared in the previous year, in seven of the townships; four (Chungli, Chishan, Potzu and Shuili) had

had them since 1956; while one, Tungshan had had them since 1954.

New crops were of special significance in some cases, with good cash returns, as follows: mint in Yuanchang in 1956 and 1959; in 1957 leeks in Chihu, *ching kai* (a medicinal herb) in Chungpu and palmetto soya beans in Kangshan were featured. In 1958, outstanding new items were watermelons and *sankuo* soya beans in Chungli, *sankuo* and peanuts in Hsincheng, citrus fruits in Chaochow and cotton in Chiangchun. In 1959, citrus fruits again did well in Chaochow, mint came to the fore in Yuanchang, and lacquer in Tunglo.

Vaccine cultivated in rabbits came into general use preventing hog-cholera epidemics. Injections were increasingly used by specialist poultry raisers.

High crop yields and increasing diversification

Crops were of course variable. Outstanding bumper crops in the survey area in the six-year period were as follows: in 1956, both crops of paddy rice were especially good in Tunglo and Chaochow, while peanuts were outstanding in Hsincheng, and Indian corn in Jenai. In 1957, the first rice crop in Kangshan was very exceptional. In 1958, the paddy rice crop was outstanding in six townships, and the cotton crop in two. In Hsiñpu, the production of citrus fruits constituted a record in 1957.

In contrast, extraordinarily bad crops were as follows: both the rice crops in Tunglo in 1954, onions in Fengyuan and the first rice crop in Chengkung in 1955. In 1956 peanuts in Hsincheng, onions in Chaochow, rice, sugarcane, sweet potato and peanuts in Yuanchang, and cotton in Potzu, were all on the black list. Upland rice in Chiangchun in 1957 and both the 1958 rice crops in Chishan and Kangshan were particularly bad.

In a general view, however, it is very striking that the per hectare yield of nearly every major crop rose considerably in the six years. The improvement is attributed mainly to better methods of cultivation, more thorough preparation of the soil or fields, improved control of insects and diseases, better, heavier application of fertilizer and better use and control of water resources—in short, more intensive cultivation.

Hardly less striking is the increased diversification of agriculture. In addition to the traditional 'big three', rice, sweet potato and sugarcane, attention was being paid to crops with good markets—especially those of which the prices were not controlled by the government. Such crops as soya beans, cotton, wheat, green vegetables, tobacco and onions were planted, usually between the two crops of rice, in the fields of young sugarcane, and newly reclaimed land on moderate

slopes. Such crops helped many farmers to secure their livelihood, and in many cases further enabled cultivators to build new houses or improve their dwellings, and give their children higher education.

Another aspect in which there has been distinct progress is in the availability and use of farm implements. This applies mostly to the category of small tools. Much was expected of the small tractors, which have been produced in Taiwan since July 1956. These expectations were partly fulfilled, but not primarily in the direction originally anticipated. They are hardly ever used for ploughing, but figure very much as general means of transportation, so much so as to be one of the most characteristic and common sights in Taiwan nowadays. The use of power pumps for irrigation also has notably increased.

The channels and availability of farm credit have been greatly expanded, many more farm families using credit, and the general attitude towards institutional borrowing has significantly changed, people no longer feeling ashamed of receiving loans for production purposes.

Farmers supplement their income by non-farm work

In 1958, nearly 10% of the households (in 17 townships—Chungli being excluded, for lack of information) had earnings from both farming and other occupations. But there were great variations from this average; in Shuili the percentage was nearly 38%, in Tungshan 32%, but in both Chishan and Fengyuan it was well below 1%. This is of course related to the availability of factory work, other non-farm employment, and jobs in service trades, in the various localities. Opportunities in those directions were particularly plentiful in Tungshan; Hsin-chuang, Kangshan, Shuili and Tunglo. Local commerce and the public service (in government and teaching) were distinctly in the reach of the members of farming families; one-third of the households which pursued both farming and other means of livelihood specified either or both civil service and teaching among the family sources of non-farming income. Few rose however into the professional categories or grades, as yet. In the east-coast townships of Hsincheng and Chengkung, a considerable number of households combine fishing with farming.

Social as well as economic aspects are involved; the social attitude to families of mixed vocation varies considerably. In some cases such families enjoy higher respect or social standing; especially, of course, where white collar posts are held by family members. A person's working in a modern factory, or being the proprietor of a small business, or a service clerk in a store, usually causes his family as a whole to be regarded on the same footing as middle-class farm house-

holds with solely agricultural interests. Menial work, on the other hand, generally reduces the social standing of the family as a whole; while a household living by a mixture of odd jobs is, socially as well as economically, no better off than a poor family engaged solely in farming. Generalization is thus extremely difficult, but broadly it may be considered that upward social mobility has increased.

The number of households which are only part-time in farming has increased in recent years, but it is difficult to measure this change exactly. Shortage of land was generally considered in the township leaders' conferences, to be the main reason, combined with the increasing cost of living, driving the rural people to seek non-farm employments. There was however also consciousness of general over-population affecting the non-farm population as well as the tillers; leaders of four of the townships stressed that 'it's getting harder and harder for the country people to find any non-farm work'. Nevertheless, while all this is largely true, it is definitely observable that non-farming opportunities have greatly increased, and a positive 'draw' has developed in recent years, for the younger generally especially—the attraction of urban, even small-town, ways of life, in contrast with village life. While complaints about the rising cost of living also reflect the marked rise in the *standard* or plane of living; many things are in common use, or rank at least as attainable luxuries, which were out of reach of the masses even a few years ago.

Handicrafts have improved in quality

Twelve of the townships gave particulars, showing nine categories of handicraft work to be of importance: wickerwork, basketry, bamboo work, woodwork, straw-weaving, canvas making, embroidery, making hats, the manufacture of incense and paper-gear for temples, and iron working (especially sickles). The aborigines of Jenai are skilled in weaving canvas and in wickerwork, and fond of these occupations. Bamboo work was important in Chungli, straw-weaving or plaiting in Kangshan and Chiangchun, the latter also specializing in the manufacture of panama hats, almost every farm family taking some part in such work.

Shuili and Chishan depend especially on the making of bamboo baskets, since they are the chief areas for the production of bananas.

But there have been significant changes in the field of handicrafts in the period under review. Until quite recently, handicrafts in Taiwan were on traditional lines. They used local materials, (wicker, bamboo, wood, straw, fibres, etc.), with primitive methods, and catered for local needs and local markets. Recently, however, both exporters and the government have been promoting exports of such

products, trying to improve the quality and increase the output, encouraging the producers to use better tools, learn more efficient methods, and adopt more suitable designs. An example was furnished by Kangshan, where the straw-weaving activity had benefitted greatly from the use of *lin*, a type of rush specially grown to manufacture handbags and shopping bags, and the introduction of new tools and skills for this purpose.

Institutional efforts have also contributed to this effect. A number of institutions and centres have been established, staffed mostly by experts and workers from the Mainland of China who brought with them the traditions and experience of the old Chinese folk-arts and crafts, but are adept also in taking up ideas and patterns from Japan, the West, or elsewhere.

Modern industries have been developed in rural districts

Four of the 18 townships had felt, in the past six years, a major impact of industrialization: viz., Hsinchuang, Chungli, Fengyuan and Kangshan. Hsinchuang may almost be considered to be a suburb of the capital city, Taipei, the proximity of which has much influenced its development. Kangshan is quite close to the great southern port of Kaohsiung, and is influenced by it; both these places saw considerable industrial development under the Japanese occupation, but have expanded notably further in the past six years. Chungli, on the other hand, is a centre which has quite newly and recently developed entirely of itself. So is Fengyuan; it is about 10 miles from the city of Taichung, but the latter has never been a centre of industry. Fengyuan had previously some industrial activities (lumber and sawmills), but has recently added a range of entirely new ones.

The new industries in these four townships are textiles, paper, rubber goods, machinery, electrical appliances, iron and steel work, bicycle parts, building materials, cement, bricks and tiles, soft drinks, toilet goods, confectionery, flour milling, soya bean oil pressing, pharmaceuticals, printing, etc. The surveyors were unable in many cases to obtain full or frank particulars of the investments or scales of plant involved, but these clearly represent many millions of NT\$ and thousands of workers.

Just under 60% of all the industrial and commercial undertakings were located in the city limits of the 18 townships, and just over 40% scattered outside these in the villages; but with great variations from one place to another. In Tungshan, for instance, 50% were within the township area, 50% outside it; in Chungli, 70% within the township area, 30% in the villages. In the less industrialized places, the opposite proportions held: in such places, as Hsincheng and Chiangchun, most

of the enterprises were outside the towns.

A matter of the greatest interest is the participation of the local people in the ownership of these new forms of enterprise, apart from furnishing merely the labour for them. Many of the founders and developers have been people coming from the Mainland; in some cases Overseas Chinese have also figured. But 'outsiders' also includes those from other parts of the island, not permanently resident in the locality. In Chungli, 90% of the commercial or shop-keeping enterprises belonged to local people, but 60% of the industrial areas belonged to 'outsiders'. In both Hsinchuang and Fengyuan, 90% of the industries and commerce were owned by local people. In Kangshan, however, 60% belonged to outsiders. on the whole, local participation and investment are quite high—much higher than has sometimes been supposed—and absentee or rather rentier ownership not a marked feature. Owners and operators of industries in the township are mainly resident, and fully participant in all aspects of the local life.

CHAPTER 6

THE ADMINISTRATION OF RURAL TAIWAN

Rural Taiwan is well organized. The general pattern of organization is from the Provincial Government to the prefecture (hsien) or city to the township, to the village, to the neighbourhood, to the head of household. But the township is by far the most important administrative unit. At its centre is the Township Public Office. This is organized on the same basis throughout Taiwan for both urban (chen) and rural (hsiang) townships. It includes the head, secretary, personnel officer, accountant, Civil Affairs Section, Financial Section, Reconstruction Section, and Household Registration Section, and Draft (Conscription) Administration Section of the township. Fourteen of the 18 townships had in addition a manager or business inspector. Special offices are added in some cases for particular needs; for instance, Jenai had in 1958 a Cultural Affairs Section charged with assisting the adaptation of the *aboriginal* people, who dwell in the uplands there, to modern ways of life. Yet Chengkung (which is also an aborigines' area) had no such Section. Fengyuan and Tunglo had each a Security Office, but none of the sixteen others had. Chengkung had, however, other special features; an Office of Village heads, and a Water Bureau.

The functions of the public offices had greatly developed in the past six years, and the numbers of staff had grown accordingly. The 18 Township Offices in the survey area had in 1958 a total staff of 1,070, or an average of about 60 each. In this, as in all other respects, there was much variation between the townships; the Fengyuan Public Office had as many as 92 employees, whereas Hsinchuang (despite its being an important and busy township) had only 33. The median is somewhere over 40 (e.g. Jenai 42, Tunglo 43, Chengkung 44) with townships which are growing in population and prosperity naturally increasing their staffs.

The Township Office as focus for democratic self-government

The legal basis in Taiwan, from the prefectural down to the village level of administration, is democratic self-government; of which the Township Public Office is the focus and the means. Functions are divided by law among the five essential Sections already mentioned, as follows. The Civil Affairs Section has the basic local responsibility for all questions of township self-government, land administration, education, social welfare, cooperatives, public health, social institutions,

and general matters. The Reconstruction Section has main charge of all matters of agriculture, fisheries, development and regulation of industries and trade, water works, transport and communications, the building of roads and bridges, and public works. The Financial Section is naturally concerned with the township's finances, the collection of certain taxes, public and private, financial regulations, the issue and servicing of bonds, and the custody of public funds. The Household Registration Section is the census office, keeping population records and vital statistics, issuing identification cards, etc. The Draft Administration Section is responsible for mobilizing conscripts for the regular armed forces, maintaining local militia, and the care of serving soldiers or ex-servicemen (veterans) in the area.

The local offices are widely credited with having made remarkable progress in recent years in the performance of all these functions—especially in the fields of transport and communications, agricultural production, the construction of dams and irrigation canals, public health and sanitation, population records and statistics, education and rural electrification.

Township Finances measure of rural prosperity

Local budgets give direct indications of the scale and kinds of local operations. In 1958 the 18 townships had total receipts of NT\$42½ millions, or an average of NT\$2¼ million each. The more prosperous townships were clearly much above this average. Fengyuan took the leading place with over NT\$5 million, followed by Chungli with 3.7 million, Kangshan 3.5, and Chishan 3.2; whereas Chengkung's receipts were less than NT\$1 million. Six other Township Offices stood at between NT\$1.25 and 2, seven between 2 and 2.8 million.

The main heading of regular revenue was taxes, which accounted for a little over 41% of the total receipts. But the second largest item was subsidies from higher levels of government (prefectural, provincial and central) and from institutions; this heading accounted in 1958 for nearly 38% of total revenues in the 18 townships. The remaining 21% was derived from the following regular sources: commissions and fees for trusteeship or other services, fines and indemnities, and sometimes revenue from public enterprises. But the first-mentioned of these also represented in some part receipts from higher government organs, for services on their behalf; further emphasizing the large element of subsidy from above.

Naturally the more prosperous and developed townships were more self-sufficient in revenue, with larger local tax-receipts, property earnings, etc. Thus Fengyuan in 1958 reversed the average figures given above, drawing less than 21% of its revenue from higher government sources, over 46% coming from local taxation,

over 13% from its own property earnings and over 14% from profits on its own enterprises; and Chihu had a similar balance, with less than 21% from governmental subsidies, nearly 56% from local taxes and over 13% from local miscellaneous earnings.

The relatively high percentage of local tax receipts in Chungli, Hsinchuang, Chaochow, Chihu and Fengyuan is readily correlated with their higher degree of local economic development. However, this may not be a necessary correlation, as was shown by Yuanchang which remained a thoroughly rural township, yet covered more than 61% of its total income of NT\$2½ million by local taxes.

On the other hand, Jenai depended on subsidies for nearly 93% of its revenue in 1958, Hsincheng for over 90%, Chengkung and Shuili each 53%, Tungshan 51%, and Tunglo 42%.

In this context it should however be emphasized that it is not entirely a question of one-way subsidy by the higher organs of government; the latter in fact received a proportion of the local taxes from the local authorities. Local leaders often complained that the proportion thus taken was too high, and urged a rationalization of the procedure, whereby more of the local taxes would remain in local hands. They believed this would also contribute to greater efficiency in public works projects.

Turning to an analysis of the expenditures, it is noteworthy that the 18 townships were generally solvent in 1958, total expenditures at NT\$41½ million being slightly below total receipts. The average public expenditure per township was thus about NT\$2.3 million. Just over one-third of this went to wages and salaries, over 20% to education and cultural purposes, nearly 11% to economic construction projects, some 9% to transport and communications, civil affairs 4%, public health and welfare 2% each, and police a little over 1%.

The list of township functions, as disclosed by their expenditures, is as follows: All the 18 townships listed:

1. Political functions (elections, Township Assemblies, meetings).
2. Administration.
3. Education and cultural.
4. Economic reconstruction.
5. Public health.
6. Social welfare.
7. Financial operations.
8. Civil affairs.

9. Transportation and communications, and
10. Police administration,

besides a residual category of 'others'. Some townships specified in addition:

11. Trusteeship and stewardship.
12. Assistance to social organizations and institutions.
13. Salaries and wages.
14. Civil defence.
15. Retirement funds and pensions.
16. Village administration.

The Township Head: the most important personality in the Township

The Chief Officer of the Township Office (here called the Head) is the most important personality in this structure. He is elected for a term of three years, and may be re-elected. Several of the present Township Heads had served 6, 9, 13, or even 14 years; in many of the townships local leadership had been very stable.

Twelve of the 18 Township Heads in the survey area in 1958 were in the age group 40-55, four were between 60 and 67, and the remaining two were much younger, one 33 and the other 36. The shift of social leadership and community prestige in Taiwan in recent years, in all respects, from the over-60 group to a middle-aged group, is quite striking.

Six of the 18 Heads had had only primary school education, three were graduates of middle schools, three graduates of normal schools, and another three graduates of technical, vocational or agricultural schools, two of police training schools, and one was a graduate from a medical college; one had also a degree from a Japanese University. Their educational level is not therefore low, particularly by the standards of other underdeveloped and recently colonial countries, but it is very mixed.

The Head's background of previous experience and family connections is also interesting. Twelve of the 18 had previously served in some kind of public office, including school teaching. A few had been private businessmen, and one or two had been police officers. Ten of the 18 were members of farm families, five of which were in the landlord category; three gave their family background as commerce, one in medical practice, and one school teaching, while the remaining three had varied family interests. All their connections were however distinctly local in nature.

The election of Township Heads being a major political matter, it is not surprising that they had distinct party affiliations; only one of the 18 Heads had no

party membership, and all the others were members of the Kuomintang. Democracy and elections are innovations in Taiwan since the end of the war, and active interest and participation on the part of the public are still weak, though improving. Seven of the townships in the survey area had had only one candidate at the last Headship election; another seven had two candidates, two had three candidates each, and one had four candidates.

The Township Head may transfer personnel within his Township Office, and has to give his judgment on his subordinates' records, character, etc., but appointments and dismissals are not in his power, being made only through the appropriate civil service machinery. His administrative powers are also quite limited; Township Offices are at present operating mainly within a framework of policy or decisions already set at the *Hsien* or prefectural levels, and within relatively small budgets, which also depend very much, as was seen above, on subsidies from higher organs.

Much depends on the local public relations of the Township Head. The investigators in the present survey obtained full information on the relations between Township Heads and the local Farmers' Associations. In fifteen townships those relations were cooperative and cordial. In two, the relations were less happy; in one township, the position was so bad that the Township Head actually denounced the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Farmers' Association at the local leaders' conference held for this survey, and the Chairman had refused to attend that conference.

No less important are the Head's relations with the representative Township Assembly. In this connection also, there was reportedly sometimes rivalry between the Township Heads and the Chairmen of their local Assemblies. Though no such serious cases were in evidence as the one noted in the last paragraph, and only two townships noted any unfriendliness in relations between Township Heads and the Assembly Chairmen, it is judged that there may sometimes be a degree of friction between them.

The Township Secretary's role is of particular importance

In almost all townships, the Head was only serving part-time in his official duties. The Township Secretary's role was therefore of particular importance; often he deputized for the Head generally, though as a rule the division of labour was for the Head to handle particularly all outside and public relations matters, while the Secretary mainly saw to the internal functioning of the Town Office.

The Secretaries were somewhat younger men, as a rule, than the Heads. One

was as old as 59, six others were in the earlier fifties, ten were in their forties, and one was as young as 33. But their educational level was generally higher than that of the Heads. Only three had not proceeded further than primary school, one had graduated from a junior agricultural school, two from senior middle schools, eight from senior vocational training schools (agricultural, commercial and normal), and four were college or university graduates. The function of Secretary is much more permanent and stable than that of Head; many of the Secretaries had seen long service, often in the same township. Most of the Secretaries had in fact been long and continuously in government service in the same township; the three longest personal records were 38, 36 and 31 years, and seven others had served in the same township for periods of from 20 to 27 years. The majority had thus been in government service in the same locality, though in junior ranks, under the Japanese rule. The majority of the Secretaries were local people, from families with local backgrounds in farming, trade, and teaching; but many of them depended solely on their official salaries (which were very modest) for the support of their families.

The Township Representative Assembly is the voice of local democracy

The voice of local democracy is the Township Representative Assembly. The 18 townships had in 1958 altogether 493 representatives, or an average of about 27 per township, although the large townships had more (Chungli 58, Fengyuan 52, Kangshan 45) and the smaller ones less (Hsincheng and Chengkung 12 each, and Jenai 11).

These representatives are chosen by formal election. As with the Headship and other elections in Taiwan, popular interest and participation are far from vivid. In the latest elections for the Assemblies the 18 townships had had a total of 739 candidates, or less than two for each seat, on the average. Local conditions, public interest in welfare or other affairs, and the availability of local people ambitious to take some political part do, however, vary greatly from one locality to another—even, definitely, from one village to another in the same township.

Local factions do play some part in the local Assemblies; six of the townships reported the existence of two or three distinct factions in their own Assemblies. All but one of the townships declared that relations between their Assemblies and Township Offices were harmonious. Constitutionally, the Township People's Representative Assemblies have to meet at least once every three months, the sessions lasting from one to three days.

The attendance records at the Assemblies are of interest. All were well and regularly attended. Two of the townships, Hsinpu and Chengkung, showed 100%

attendance, three 98%, one 97%, six 95%, one 93%, four 90% and one 80%. The matters discussed were listed by the townships in roughly the following order of importance: 1. The township budget; 2. Schools and education; 3. Road and bridge building and maintenance; 4. Public health; 5. Construction and repair of irrigation facilities; 6. Township lands and endowments; 7. Local taxes, and 8. Drinking water supply, etc.

The Township Representatives are mainly younger men

The great majority of the assemblymen belonged to the middle-age group; just under 90% of the total were between the ages of 30 and 49. This conforms to the general finding that the traditional dominance of elders had been greatly modified in Taiwan in recent years. But there are marked variations between the townships. In the aboriginal township of Jenai, with an Assembly of 11 members, the average age of the representatives was much lower than in the lowland areas; there were five still in their twenties, and another five in their thirties, leaving only one 'elder'—who was in his forties.

Just over 50% of the representatives were farmers, and 23% were in trade. Some 27% were in various professions including school teaching (5%). But this distribution varied greatly from place to place, according to the degree of rural or urban development. In the rural areas farmers naturally dominated more heavily (e.g. Yuanchang 93%, Hsinpu 83%, Tunglo 80% and Chungpu 78%). Only one township—Hsinchuang close to Taipei—had more representatives of commerce than of farming. Chungli's position as an industrial locality is reflected in the fact that 9% of its representatives were labourers; Tungshan, near the rail and lumber-industry centre of Lotung Chen, has many of its people working in the latter, and its proportion of representatives from the labour interest was even higher, at over 15%.

Nearly 59% of the representatives had had only primary education, 27% secondary, about 6% vocational training, and some 3% higher education; just under 5% had had no school education. Understandably, the average level of education is higher in the more urbanized of the townships. With some interesting variations, such as Hsincheng—which, though until recently a rural and backward district, showed that more than one-third of the members of its Representative Assembly had college or university degrees. The explanation is that the seats of the Hualien Prefectural Government, Prefectural Assembly and other institutions recently moved from Hualien City to a location near Hsincheng, bringing to the latter a considerable population of people with higher education, who have interested themselves in local affairs.

An attempt was made in the survey to determine the influence of people's clan affiliations, in such respects as their prospects of election to the local assemblies. But without any very clear result; the membership appears to reflect fairly closely the numbers and importance of the respective clans in each township, but no more specific linkage emerged.

The party allegiances of the representatives were not, like those of the township Heads, concentrated almost exclusively in the Kuomintang. Kuomintang members made up little more than 37% of the total. None of the others belonged to any political party. Two other political parties of some significance exist in Taiwan, the Democratic Socialists and the Youth Party, but they have little influence in these rural areas.

The townships vary in this respect also. The proportion of Kuomintang members among the representatives was high in; Hsincheng 83%, Jenai 82% and Chaochow 72%. The first two of these are backward aborigines' areas, under some degree of 'tutelage', and with special development-aid from the metropolis; their local leaders are mainly newcomers and enthusiasts of the ruling Nationalist party. In the economically and socially more advanced townships, it is particularly interesting to note, the proportion of non-partisan Township Representatives was comparatively high; such are Chungli, Fengyuan, Potzu, Hsinpu, Chishan and Kangshan, where the outstanding and capable are deemed to be interested in practical business, industry, commerce and economic development, rather than political partisanship.

The position of Chairman of a Township People's Representative Assembly—or Speaker, as he may be called—should be an important one. Constitutionally, he should be nominated, rather than elected, by the Assembly; i. e., unanimous selection is envisaged by the law in this case. In practice, however, it is interesting to note, in all the 18 townships there had always been more than one candidate for the position, and consequently a vote had always been necessary. Twelve of the 18 townships reported that on each occasion there had been two or three, sometimes four, candidates. Yet the Speaker's position is generally deemed to be less important than that of the Township Head, the latter also carrying more political and social prestige. The suggestion also occurs that sometimes a conscious effort is made to elect some person to the Chairmanship who will be in some desired respect a 'balance' to the Head.

Possibly in part from the latter point of view, but more likely because Speakers more often resign on securing some other position which is preferred, the turnover among them is much greater than among Township Heads or other officials.

The Farm Tenancy Committees arbitrate between landlords and tenants

The Farm Tenancy Committee in each township is a body of considerable importance and esteem, alongside the Public Office and the Representative Assembly. Its function is to arbitrate in disputes between landlords and tenants, in such matters as the amounts of rent, grading of land, and payments. These Committees played a great part in the implementation of the Land-to-the-Tiller Programme. Ever since 1952, the Farm Tenancy Committee in each township has had 11 members, including two landlord representatives, two owner-operators and five tenants, the last-mentioned representing tenants in five grades of status which are distinguished. The remaining two members are the Township Head, as *ex-officio* Chairman of the Committee, and the official in charge of Land Administration in the Township Office, who serves as Secretary to the Committee.

All the nine non-official members of the Committee are elected by an indirect process, which may be summarized as follows: first, the farmers vote in their villages, by groups according to their own status in respect of tenure, to appoint representatives who (again by tenure groups) select their representatives on the Committee.

All the 18 townships in the survey had Farm Tenancy Committees, except Jenai, the mountainous aborigines' area under special conditions. Of the 187 members of these 17 Committees, 41% were in the 40-49 age group, 28% in the 50-59 group, only about 10% were in their thirties, and of the remainder at the two extremes of age, those of 60 and over outnumbered those still in their twenties. The median age was thus somewhat higher than that in other public bodies in Taiwan today; though it varies from place to place, Chungli and Shuili having, for instance, a higher proportion of older members, Kangshan's being predominantly in their forties, Chungpu's in their thirties.

Two-thirds of the Committee members (66%) had had only elementary education, 17% had had secondary schooling, and over 10% no schooling at all. The proportion of college-educated members was insignificant. In two of the townships, none of the members had received more than primary education. Only in one, Yuanchang, were all the levels of education represented.

Six of the townships reported that there had been keen competition in the election of members of these Committees, five others reported some competition, but not intense; and another five recorded no competition. In some places and categories more than others, local political and social prestige is attached to membership of these tribunals, and the number of people coming forward, for the slightly protracted and laborious process of the two-stage election, varies accordingly.

Statutorily, the Farm Tenancy Committees are required to meet once a month. In practice, however, only eight of the 17 townships concerned in the survey could show a record of twelve meetings during 1958; another eight had had respectively, 10, 9, 8, 6, 4, 4, 3 and 1. The remaining one showed a record of irregularity in the frequency of meetings.

Particulars were taken, in the survey, of 329 cases of disputes arbitrated by the Committees in the 17 townships in 1958. This is not the whole total of the cases they handle, but may serve as a large representative sample. Of the number, 206, or just two-thirds, were disputes regarding failure to pay rent, or delay in payment of rent. The next category, with 64 cases or about 20%, was that of disputes about the duration or determination of the rent contract. The average of 19 disputes per township in 1958 is very much lower than that of previous years, and measures the extent of settlement, and the improvement of landlord-tenant relations, since the completion of the Land Reform.

The Township Arbitration Committee helps to settle all other disputes

Another important form of local organization is the Township Arbitration Committee, the purpose of which is to help in the settlement of disputes (other than those concerned with tenancy problems) without recourse to litigation, which the villagers usually cannot afford. Such Arbitration Committees exist in all the townships in this survey. In ten of the townships, the Committees had nine members, in seven townships there were seven members, and in one township only five. Yet another type of procedure is used in the formation of these Committees, combining the elements of nomination and election. The number of members is to some extent discretionary. The Township Head recommends a number of candidates, who are to be twice as many as the number of vacancies on the Committee, and the local Township Assembly then votes half of these into membership of the Committee. The Committee elects one of its own members as its Chairman.

The age-composition of the membership of Arbitration Committees, as of the Farm Tenancy Committees, tends to be somewhat higher than that of other organizations in Taiwan. 87% of the members in 1958 were between the ages of 30 and 59; over 10% were aged 60 and over, and 3% between 20 and 29. But variations between the townships were again striking. Chengkung and Chiangchun had a higher proportion in the 30-39 group. In Tungshan, Hsinchuang, Hsincheng, Yuanchang and Jenai, the majority were in the 40-49 age group. In Chaochow, Kangshan, Potzu, Fengyuan and Tunglo, the 50-59 group predominated. Jenai particularly stands out in this list, as the age of its representatives in the other

bodies referred to above was generally so much lower, with men in their twenties and thirties.

Experience, enlightenment and education are considered to be the criteria for the selection of members of these general Arbitration Committees. Clearly, also, their concern is largely outside the farming interest. Only 28% of the members were occupied, wholly or partly, in farming; so nearly three-quarters were from other walks of life—particularly business, teaching and the public service. In five of the townships, the local Arbitration Committees, consisted entirely of non-farmers. On the other hand, in Yuanchang six out of the seven members were farmers, and in Hsinpu and Chishan the majority were farmers.

The educational level of the members of these Committees was rather higher than in any other of the local bodies discussed above. There were in 1958 no members of the Arbitration Committees, in the 18 townships, with no schooling; 46% had had elementary education, 33% secondary education, 15% vocational school training, and over 6% higher education. But again, there were striking differences between townships. In four townships, the proportion who had had no more than primary school education was higher, at over 70%; surprisingly, the distinctly advanced townships of Chungli and Chihu were included among these four; whereas Chengkung, Chungpu and Jenai all showed one-fourth or more of their Arbitration Committee members as persons who had received higher education.

The general trend of reduction in the age of persons holding significant positions in Taiwan is again illustrated in the case of Chairmen of the Arbitration Committees. In 1952, the youngest of such Chairmen was 44, the average age of all of them 59. The present survey reveals that in 1958 the youngest was 35 and, though the eldest was 76, the average had fallen to below 53. (As a draft report humourously expressed it, 'Arbitration Committee Chairmen have become about seven years younger in the past six years'.) Of the 18 Chairmen in 1958, three were in their thirties, four in their forties, seven in their fifties, three in their sixties, and one was 76.

More than half of the Chairmen had received secondary or higher education. Seven of the 18 were farmers; the others, by occupational backgrounds, were school superintendents, professional men, ex-Township Chiefs, ex-Chairmen of Township Assemblies, members of Prefectural Assemblies, and business men.

In principle, the Arbitration Committees should meet once a month. Only four townships had, in 1958, held twelve meetings. Two had held 10, one 9, one 8, three 7, four had had 5, and three had met irregularly. The Arbitration committees were, however, very busily occupied. In 1958 they handled a total of 1,035

cases, or an average of about 60 in each township. But the number varied extremely between the townships. Chiangchun had only three cases in the whole year, and three other townships had less than ten, whereas Yuanchang had as many as 184, Chungpu 181 and Chungli 137.

Two-thirds of the disputes (65%) concerned debts and financial obligations, nearly 10% were on property rights, and a similar proportion on questions of rentals. Matrimonial, inheritance, adoption or kinship problems accounted for about 5%, and the remaining 10% were miscellaneous cases. It is particularly striking that only an insignificant number of mercantile or business disputes were brought to these tribunals in the 18 townships in 1958—viz., three.

Contributed Labour is always voluntary

Finally, at the township level, the *corvee* system must be specially considered, as an important aspect of local life and organization. Townships are empowered, at various times of year, to conscript citizens for labour for public purposes or works such as road repairs, drainage, afforestation, local defence works, etc. Each family, under carefully prescribed conditions, may be called on for about ten days' service per year.

The frequency of such calls varies very much from township to township. In 1958, Yuanchang made only three such calls, while Tungshan made 19; on the average, each township made eight. 'Forced labour' is a repugnant idea to the modern democratic mind. In East Asia, and other underdeveloped area, the *corvee* is not yet so remote or outdated a matter. However, what is here in question in present-day Taiwan is by no means what these terms tend to suggest to the Western reader. The services in question are in fact voluntary, and are not exacted unless the people are willing to provide them.

They are imposed only if, and to the extent that the local people have civic pride and morale; i.e., the will to keep their dwelling areas in good condition and improve their public facilities. The spirit of the Taiwanese rural people is generally good in these respects. It is one of the main responsibilities of the Township Head to maintain and raise it, to be able to organize the people for such tasks, with their own consent, on a basis which they will accept as principled, equitable and practical. If such consent is not obtained, the labour-conscription is not much enforced, and the statutory requirements only perfunctorily observed. There is no question of the mobilization of labour by force, such as is characteristic of Communist states.

All the 18 townships used 'contributed labour' of this kind in 1958 for road

repair work. Fourteen of them used it for the maintenance of public cemeteries, nine for afforestation and the like, eight for building air-raid shelters, eight for repairing river dikes, four for public welfare projects, two for cleaning village streets, two for drainage works, one for making a sportsfield, one for spring-cleaning a community nursery.

Local leaders stressed that such services were rendered, not unwillingly, in the increasing realization that consequent savings in the public budget would be applied, generally but concretely, to other purposes of public benefit; and that they contributed to the raising of civic consciousness and the development of the spirit of self-government. They complained of the difficulties of calling the people together for such projects, of finding administrative expenses, costs of equipment, etc., and of finding personnel to supervise the execution of the undertakings.

Village administration is used to support the Township administration

At the lowest level in the administrative and representative structure, are the Village Assemblies. Each village in a township has its Assembly. This is an important channel for the final dissemination of information and instructions on government policies and programmes, and the expression of the people's views on current affairs. practically all the 18 townships defined the above as the main functions in 1958 of the Village Assemblies in this area, some adding also their effectiveness in promoting democratic usages and giving the people experience in self-government and administration.

The list of matters which had figured on the agenda of the Village Assemblies in 1958 is of interest. Eleven of the townships noted in this connection the repairing of dikes and drainage systems, nine the repair of wells, dams or bridges, nine the settlement of questions of public health and welfare, six the building of roads, five the rations of fertilizer and feeding stuffs, four the public electric lighting systems; and such various items as refuse disposal, the construction of public meeting halls, arrangements for typhoon signals and weather warnings, provision of more schoolrooms, etc., all figured in various ways.

The 18 townships had, in 1958, a total of 353 Village Heads, or an average of nearly twenty per township. At the village level also, leadership has moved in recent years into the hands of a younger age-group. Eighty-five of the 353 Village Heads, or about one quarter, were aged 30-39, 121, or over one-third, were between 40 and 49, while some 28% were in their fifties. This despite such interesting exceptions as Hsinpu, where nearly half the Village Heads were aged 60 or more, and Hsinchuang where half the Village Heads were in the 50-59 age-group.

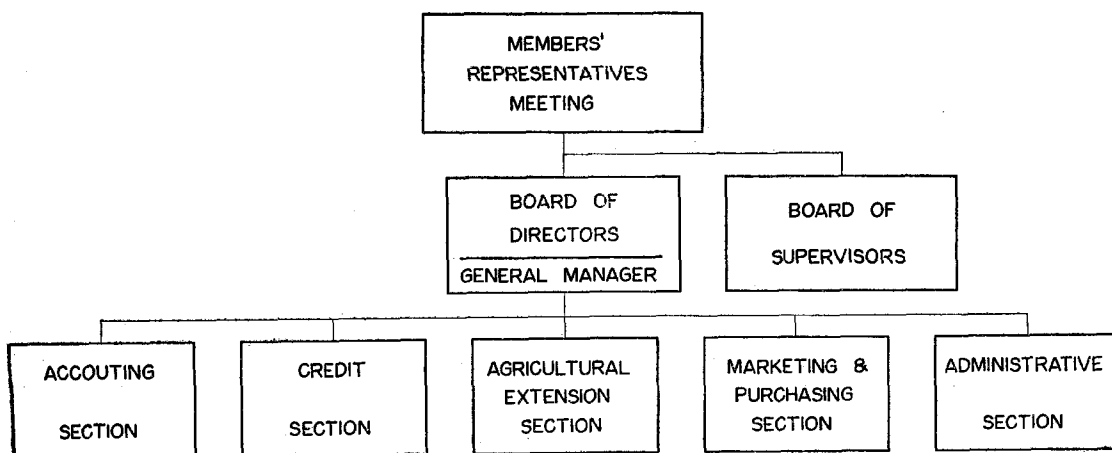
Village Heads were men of less education than the other local leaders considered above. In the 18 townships in 1958, just over two-thirds of them had had only elementary school education. Nearly 20% had received no modern or regular school education at all. Only about 8% had had secondary school education, 8% vocational training, and only 1% higher education. Two-thirds of them were farmers, about 20% were in business, primarily shopkeepers, and 5% engaged in handicraft production. The other 8% were professional people, or unemployed.

Village Heads are elected for a term of two years. There is usually little competition for these posts—except in some urban parts of the township areas. Usually a member of some leading local family comes forward as willing to serve. The Village Office is in most cases a very simple affair—just a room, or merely a desk, in the Head's own home. Commonly also a small portion of the Township Office is designated for the use of all the Village Heads in the township area. Transactions and meetings with the local people are held simply in those surroundings

The Farmers' Associations are a pillar of strength

The basis of organization of the township Farmers' Associations did not change between 1952 and 1958, but the spread of agricultural extension education has strengthened and broadened their work. The organizational structure is shown in the following chart.

ORGANIZATION STRUCTURE OF TOWNSHIP FARMERS' ASSOCIATIONS



From 1953 to 1958, the total number of members of all township Farmers' Associations in Taiwan increased from 589,299 to 726,681, i.e., by over 23%. Two-thirds of the members in 1958 (66.1%) were active members, one-third associate members. Associate members are those who derive less than half their income from farming. They enjoy all the privileges of membership, but cannot hold elective office in the Associations, other than through the proviso that one-third of the Supervisors may be elected from among them. In townships where the farmers are not only numerous but influential, however, the percentage of full members is much higher than the above general average; thus, in Hsinpu the proportion of active members was 79%, in Chaochow 77%, in Chungpu 75% and in Chihu 75%.

Since the reorganization of the farmers' associations in 1949, the officers of a township Farmers' Association consist of from 11 to 15 directors, 3 to 5 supervisors, and a general manager. The members meet in their respective Small Agricultural Units to elect representatives to the annual meeting, in which control is vested. At the latter, the Boards of Directors and Supervisors are elected. The general manager is employed by the Board of Directors to manage the organization under its direction and authority.

Since the township Farmers' Associations are very active and influential in local business, their directors, supervisors and general managers are important persons in the community, and there is usually keen competition for these posts.

When the Associations were reorganized it was specified that at least two-thirds of the directors should be owner-farmers, tenant farmers or hired farm labourers, and not more than one-third graduates of agricultural schools and workers on government farms. Owing however to the fulfilment of the Land-to-the-Tiller Programme, circumstances have much changed since 1949. The proportion of owner-operators among the directors was nearly 82% in 1953 and had risen to 85% in 1957; less than 17% of the directors were tenants in 1953, and little over 13% in 1957. The same trend is visible in respect of the supervisors. In 1953, 61% of the supervisors were owner operators, in 1957 nearly 64%; 26% were associate members in 1953, 24% in 1957, while 12% were tenants in 1953, 11% in 1957.

A wide range of functions is open to the Farmers' Associations by their statutes: marketing, warehousing, processing of farm products for the members and for government agencies, procurement, processing, manufacture and distribution of farm requisites, formulation and operation of extension programmes, provision of deposit and credit facilities to members (and to non-members also, if special per-

mission is given by the provincial government).

In actual practice, the broad fields of activity generally developed by the township Farmers' Associations are the provision of deposit and loan facilities, the marketing, processing and warehousing of commodities, especially on behalf of government organizations, and the provision of agricultural extension services. In recent years, the scale of activities has remarkably increased. Thus deposits with the Farmers' Associations amounted at the end of 1958 to NT\$616 million, more than six times the figure for the end of 1953, while loans outstanding totalled NT\$399 million, nearly five times the amount in 1953. The marketing and merchandising services include distribution on behalf of the government of about 600,000 tons of chemical fertilizers and 80,000 tons of bean cakes per annum, and the collection, processing and warehousing of about 700,000 tons of paddy rice. The income from such services amounted in 1958 to NT\$66 million, or 2.7 times that of 1953.

The agricultural extension programme was first taken up by the Farmers' Associations in 1955, when a pilot scheme was initiated for a co-ordinated programme of this kind. The township Farmers' Associations are the single channel for communicating practical information to the farmers on a variety of aspects of the improvement of production, income and level of living, with the following main features. The programmes are sponsored by government agencies, but their execution rests with the Farmers' Associations. Trained extension workers are assigned to specific geographical areas, and work full time.

In practice, the extension personnel of the township and its Farmers' Association use a common office provided by the Farmers' Association, and work together as a team. The programme is financed jointly by farmers' associations and government agencies, while policy guidance is furnished by Extension Advisory Committees at all levels. Thus at the township level the Hsiang or Chen Advisory Committee approves the programme, gives guidance and coordinates the activities. (JCRR General Report, VII, 1956, pp. 20-21.)

In 1957 there were 39 Farmers' Associations undertaking agricultural extension work; in 1958 the number increased to 89. Moreover, responsibility for the work of 4-H Clubs, instituted in 1952 under the sponsorship of the JCRR, was transferred in 1957 to the Provincial Farmers' Association. In 1957, 74 Farmers' Associations were conducting 4-H work, in 1958 the number had increased to 101, and the subjects included citizenship training, community services such as planting trees, maintaining village roads, etc., and agricultural production methods.

To finance agricultural extension work, the Farmers' Associations levy fees of NT\$10-20 per hectare of cultivated land and NT\$5-10 per head of cattle; but in addition to these levies many associations spend as much as 70% of their net income on extension work, and these allocations are often supplemented by grants from the JCRR and from the government departments concerned. In 1955 the total expenditure on extension services through Farmers' Associations was NT\$17.5 million, in 1958 it rose to 42.8 million. (Kwoh Min-hsioh, *Taiwan Farmers' Associations in Progress*, p. 11.)

In the present survey, practically all the townships reported a considerable increase in the main activities of their Associations. The only Association to mark a decrease was that of Hsincheng, and that only in respect of the period 1953-56, since when its activities have been expanding and improving again. The Associations have accordingly gained increasingly the confidence and participation of farmers and others. Over 90% of the farmers are members of Associations.

The 17 townships had, in 1958, 547 persons on their regular staff, or an average of 32. It is notable however that Farmers' Associations in places on the east coast are comparatively poorly developed, performing few functions and having small staffs. The Farmers' Association in Hsincheng, for example, had a staff of only three, that of Chengkung four; whereas the Association in Chishan had a regular staff of 86 plus an emergency staff of 26, a total of 112, and the Kangshan Association had a staff of 68. All the Associations except those of Hsincheng and Chengkung have considerably increased their staffs in the past six years, along with the increase in their business.

The Associations have for the most part correspondingly increased their budgets. Sixteen township Farmers' Associations in the present survey (Jenai has no Farmers' Association, and one other, Hsincheng returned no information on this point) had a total budget for 1958 of nearly NT\$37 million, or an average of 2.3 million; but some were well above this average, Chishan having 6 million, Kangshan over 4, Chungli 4.5 and Fengyuan over 3.3.

The Farm Irrigation Associations are of supreme importance to the farmers

There are 26 Farm Irrigation Associations in the Province of Taiwan, each establishing, maintaining and regulating the use of irrigation facilities in a particular agricultural area, which may include a number of townships with their own irrigation stations. They have 747,000 farmer members.

A Farm Irrigation Association is governed by a chairman, a board of 7-11 supervisors, and an assembly of 50-150 representatives of the members; all these

officers are elected. Each Association employs a general manager, and in addition there were in 1959 a total of 2,610 administrative and technical workers employed by the 26 Associations. There were altogether 3,882 Irrigation Working Groups organized under the Associations.

The irrigation and drainage work being of supreme importance to the farmers, all this organization is much subject to their constant criticism, in response to which many changes have been made. Originally, a Hydraulic Association was established under the Japanese Occupation. Under the National Chinese administration, this institution was thoroughly transformed, in successive reorganizations, with the following declared aims:

First, to safeguard the farmers' rights and benefits in the use of irrigation water, to enhance farmers' participation in the control and administration of irrigation facilities, and to increase the per hectare production of various crops. Second, to simplify the structure of the Hydraulic Association, make its organization democratic, and its operations business-like, promote technical and functional specialization among its personnel, clarify its responsibilities and rationalize the burden of work. (Chang Kuang-tsai, *The Administration of Irrigation Works in Taiwan*, Lectures on Agricultural Improvement and Reconstruction in Taiwan, No. 5., College of Agriculture, National Taiwan University, March, 1958).

Much has been done to satisfy these requirements and extend the supply of irrigation-water.

Social Welfare and relief are not well organized

All the townships reported some social welfare and relief work, but only two of the 18 townships investigated had, in 1958, a specific Association or organization for the purpose. In the other 16, such matters were handled by members of the staff of the Township Public Office, with the co-operation of local persons who raised and distributed funds and supplies for the needy.

The activities in question fall into two categories. On the one hand there are all the seasonal relief operations which are considered 'routine' because they occur every winter and are taken somewhat for granted. The other category includes 'emergency' relief measures, on such occasions as fires, earthquakes, typhoons, floods, etc., when the Township Office or the relief associations raise special funds and distribute them to those affected. There are also the special activities of the Township Offices, occasionally participated in by voluntary associations, in caring for orphans or the indigent aged, dispensing free medical supplies to needy fa-

milies, distributing government subventions to the families of men on active military service, or extending financial assistance to young men and women for higher education in the cities and abroad.

Until recently, in China social welfare and relief operations have fallen mostly, in the extra-family range, to clan associations, circles of mourners, and certain private institutions. The survey disclosed that there are still in each township in Taiwan today informal organizations of small numbers of families in the same community, the chief function of which is mutual help in funeral arrangements. And the prominent clan associations still obtain much support and loyalty through their relief and welfare activities—which, in the case of the especially prosperous clan associations, are sometimes extended to persons outside their own kinship circle.

In practically every township there is a People' Service Centre (*Min Chung Fu Wu Chan*) i.e., a township headquarters organization of the Kuomintang Party, which is therefore in fact something of a public organization, specially charged with undertaking social welfare activities for the local people, without charge, such as social education, legal advice, family counselling, letter-writing, recreational facilities, etc.

Township Women's Associations have also taken up various social activities in recent years, including family counselling, protection of underprivileged girls, and instructing young women in dressmaking, sewing, cooking, child-care, etc. Moreover, the Christian Churches, Catholic and Protestant, have become increasingly important in this field; though their ministrations are mainly limited to their congregations, sometimes they are extended to others.

The following changes in the conduct of welfare and relief work were noted for the period 1953-8. The number and variety of organizations and institutions in this field have greatly increased, and a greater part is taken by public and community offices, as distinct from kinship and private organizations. The amount and variety of the work in question have also increased, with the rise in civic or community consciousness among the local people, and of competition between the participating organizations. Some of the secular organizations have political motives in this work. The churches' motive is to seek converts. Leaders of practically all the townships were of the opinion that the responsibility for social welfare and relief work should lie with the government; in four of the 18 townships, it was advocated that it should be a matter of joint efforts by the local community organizations.

The Township Women's Associations are active in social work

Each township has a Women's Association. These were all in existence six years ago, but have undergone changes in the meantime. They are active in the social work field. They concentrate on the protection of family life, especially on advising in cases of marital problems, and in the protection of women, particularly in respect of the protection of *yang nu* (adopted girls). The approach is usually to persuade the foster-parents to renounce their legal or customary rights over these girls, place them in institutions if necessary, and teach them an independent livelihood. The Women's Associations also participate actively in emergency relief measures on the occasion of natural disasters, etc.

Another of their undertakings is the operation of temporary children's homes in the busy agricultural seasons, usually in collaboration with the official of the township Farmers' Association who is in charge of Home Economics work; this service is welcome by some of the local farm women. All this is of course in addition to their general feminist work, which renders them always well-informed on matters of local politics, and sometimes directly involved in them.

The Women's Associations are typically organized under a number of directors, with a chairwoman of the board of directors, a number of supervisors, and an executive secretary. One association (in Chungli) had actually, in 1958, four executive secretaries. In practice, their current operations are mostly in charge of the chairwoman and secretary. The former is usually one of the most prominent female citizens in the locality, the latter typically one of the outstanding teachers at the local elementary school, and both are usually members of the Kuomintang.

In recent years there has been some keen competition in the townships between the Women's Associations, the People's Service Centre and the newly established National Women's League (of which the wife of the Township Chief, in each locality, is the president), stimulating the participation of all of them in community affairs.

Fire Brigades urgently need modernization

Each township has a fire brigade, as a subdivision of the local police office, staffed partly by regular trained full-time men, partly by volunteers who are called out at need. In 1952, all were incorporated into the local Civil Defence forces, but subsequently these were separated. However, in most of the investigated townships the fire brigades were found to be in bad condition; their equipment was obsolete and in poor order, not having been renewed for many years, their budgets inadequate, the morale of the members low, and the effectiveness of the brigades

in controlling fires declining. Reform and renewal are urgently required in these respects.

Forestry Protection Associations are useful

In almost all the townships in mountainous areas (in this survey, in 8 of the 18 townships) there was in 1958 a Forestry Protection Association, headed by a chairman of the board of directors, with supervisors and a general secretary. These are quite large organizations; the average membership of the Associations in the eight townships in the survey was 347, some counting many more, such as Chungpu with 967 and Chishan with 876. Their chief functions are of course the prevention and control of forest fires, in which they co-operate with government measures, and the prevention of illegal or unwise cutting of trees. They have also assisted in afforestation work, establishing nurseries, planting trees and studying forestry.

Township athletic associations are widespread

The people in Taiwan are fond of sports; which, encouraged already under the Japanese occupation, have been further popularized in the recent period. Consequently, Township Athletic Associations have been widely formed. Such organizations existed in twelve out of the 18 townships surveyed. Their concern is not only to foster sporting activities and competitions, but to find all the facilities for them, donate prizes, etc. All the public offices, school and assembly halls, and many private homes in Taiwan are adorned with banners and trophies for various sports and games.

Township Education Associations are inactive

Sixteen of our 18 townships also had, in 1958, Educational Associations; but in fact almost all these have been dormant or inactive in recent years. These organizations were officially sponsored after the war, but with the increase and improvement in general public education, the need for them has greatly declined.

Other rural organizations

The picture of Chinese village life in Taiwan would, however, be most incomplete without some account of the other numerous social organizations, formal and informal, permanent and temporary. The shopping centres of villages and temples should perhaps be mentioned first, as old-established features which have most significantly changed in recent years. Radios are very numerous, and an attraction to shoppers. There has been a great modernization of shop premises, with many new goods displayed, and in tremendously increased variety. The village shopping centres play a great part in popular life and consciousness, and the 'demonstration effects' may be said to be very wide and deep.

An important kind of informal organization at the village level, in the economic sphere, is the *ho hui*. Typically, a group of people in a small village (about ten persons), who have urgent financial needs, join together in contributing a modest sum of money each (e.g., NT\$100); one of the members is selected by lot to hold the total amount, at a high rate of interest, for a prearranged period, and eventually each in turn will hold the sum as a loan in this way.

This is a very old system in China, in both rural and urban areas. It is certainly still practised in Taiwan, especially where newcomers from the mainland have settled in rural areas, with special need for initial credit, and where the financial needs of people in general have increased; and will continue to flourish until credit facilities of more modern types are better developed. But the latter process is under way, and the *ho hui* is apparently declining to some extent; only seven of the 18 townships in the survey reported the practice of *ho hui* as still significant in 1958.

A third type of organization, important at village level, is the Small Agricultural Unit (SAU); which, with the Farmers' Associations, has a history extending over half a century. Each SAU elects three or four representatives to the annual township meeting of the Farmers' Association, at which the officers of the latter are chosen by vote. Through the rest of the year, it performs a variety of functions.

In 1952 there were about 5,000 SAUs in Taiwan, and the number remained very closely the same in 1958, reflecting simply the basis that there is one such unit for each village in the Province. But their work for agricultural improvement has increased meanwhile, in connection especially with their activities in extension work.

Farm Discussion Groups, the main extension work for men, generally show increase and improvement; eleven of the 17 townships reported most definitely to that effect, with 1,168 members of such groups in these eleven townships. Three appear to have this type of work less concretely or continuously developed, and four reported having none. Home Economics Improvement Clubs are naturally the sphere of the women; nine of the townships have these firmly in existence, with a membership of 869 in 1958, and only three lacked this type of organization altogether. The 4-H clubs cater to the young people; 192 of these clubs were reported, in eleven of the townships, with a membership of 3,814 boys and girls. All these represent increases over 1952.

Labour exchange arrangements, on traditional but quite informal lines, are an important feature of farm-village life. Twelve of the 18 townships had such arrangements in active existence in 1958, though the extent of farmers' participation

in them varied greatly from place to place. In Tunglo, the informal exchange had become very popular in recent years, almost all the local farmers joining in it, owing to the shortage of regular farm labour, and the high wages demanded by hired labourers. Five other townships reported an increase in the use of such exchanges, for the same reason, but to a less pronounced extent. On the other hand, six other townships declared the practice to have decreased, most farmers finding this pool and system too complicated, and preferring normal hire of labour.

Rural leadership

In 17 townships (Chungli being excluded for lack of information) there were in 1958, 133 persons of the kind officially recognized as 'leaders'—118 men and 15 women—or an average of eight per township. Most of the female leaders were chairwomen of township Women's Clubs. The men leaders were township chiefs, presidents of township Representative Assemblies, board chairmen and general managers of Farmers' Associations, deputies to Prefectural Assemblies, and chairmen of the various other organizations mentioned above.

89% of the leaders were between the ages of 30 and 59, less than 10% being 60 or over, one per cent under 30. Local affairs have become more truly democratic in the past six years, competition in elections for offices becoming more active and the turnover of office-holders more rapid. About 10% of the 1958 leaders had held their positions for 10-15 years, approximately 5% for 4-8 years, and some 55% for less than four years.

About 20% of the local leaders in the survey area had had higher education, 80% had primary or secondary education, less than 1% no schooling at all. The variations between the townships, in this respect, are very great. In Kangshan and Tunglo as many as 43% of the leaders had received higher education; whereas most of the leaders of Hsincheng, Chihu and Chengkung had only elementary education. In four other townships, the local leaders' educational standing was equally divided between four levels; elementary schools, middle schools, vocational schools, normal schools and colleges.

Various factors were stressed by the township people as contributing to a person's chance of becoming a local leader. The desired qualities were ranked broadly in the following order:

1. Willingness to serve the public.
2. Possession of wealth or property.
3. Local influence, through clan membership or political connections (though two townships would, on the contrary, rather place 'impartiality in public and political affairs').

4. Educational attainments, and
5. Health and personality.

All the local leaders are elected, by general process of the bodies concerned, except the following, which are appointed posts: heads of all public schools, police chiefs, heads of township Health Stations, and chairwomen of the township Women's Leagues.

'Lay leaders' also play an important role, however, i.e., persons who do not hold office in public or private bodies, but nevertheless take leading parts in local communities and groups. Forty-six persons were named to the investigators in the 18 townships as especially prominent in this way—37 men and 9 women—and clearly there were others less prominent. The majority were individuals locally eminent in industry, commerce, the medical or teaching professions, or religious activities. The age factor appears also to be involved here, the lay leaders figuring mainly in the higher age-groups; 13 of the 46 were between the ages of 60 and 79. Thus they tend to be in the quality of elders, with long experience, often including the previous holding of official positions, locally or elsewhere.

Relations between all these local leaders are generally good; there were everywhere some complaints, in private conversation with the investigators, of local affairs being affected by conflicts between local leaders or groups of leaders, but only six townships could adduce any significant indications of the kind worthy of actual record in the formal survey.

It is striking that, in comparison with 1953, community leadership has markedly shifted from older persons in the 60-70 age-group to a younger generation in the thirties and forties. Yet the present new leadership appears nevertheless more mature in thought, character, intellectual awareness, knowledge and utterance. These contrasts were evident in the conduct of the local leaders' conferences, and other arrangements and procedures, in 1959-60 as compared with 1952-3; the activities in the present survey were characterized by orderly speeches, responsible utterances, objective judgements and analysis, clear statements, and increased understanding on the part of the local people of provincial, national and even world affairs and trends.

An equally important observation is that political life in rural Taiwan appears more lively, with political leaders in the localities changing more frequently: whereas social leadership and the civil service postings and working appear more stable, in comparison with the time of the previous survey.

CHAPTER 7

POPULATION AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Population pressure was regarded as a problem in 17 of the 18 townships; Hsinchuang being the only exception. In all cases, this problem was clearly and specifically linked with the amount of cultivated and cultivable land, of developed and developable resources, the prospects of encouraging industry and trade, and with the consciousness that population pressure existed in so far as conditions were unfavourable or insufficient in these respects.

When the local leaders were asked about possible means of meeting population pressure, they urged, in six of the 18 townships, the development of new lands, specifically hill slopes and coastal swamps. Another six favoured large-scale emigration overseas. Five townships vigorously urged that both the ideal, and in fact also the only feasible way, was the development of industry and commerce in both the urban and the rural districts. In addition some township have considered, in varying degrees of priority, increasing the per hectare yield of crops, developing forestry production, building more irrigation facilities, and developing mining in the mountainous areas. Lastly, but not least, five townships claimed that family planning or control offers the only radical solution.

Birth control is known and discussed among the leaders in every one of the 18 townships. The following is a summary of the main viewpoints expressed by them:

- 1) In view of the limited amount of land, and for the sake of children's health and education, the idea and practice of birth control are widely approved.
- 2) Most of the educated and informed people are in support of it, only those most strongly bound by tradition believe that a large number of children is the sign of a family's prosperity.
- 3) The majority have now realized the extent and nature of the population problem, or learned the advantages of having fewer children, but are unable to practise birth control owing to their lack of knowledge of its techniques.
- 4) Families which already have many children are in the lead in wishing not to have any more, and seeking ways of arranging that they do not.
- 5) People in the younger generation all wish to have fewer children; those in the older generations are slow to be convinced.

6) All the leaders in local society desire that people should have fewer children, and that the government will proclaim and endorse this policy, and then help the people to practise it.

7) Some people are, however, opposed to such a programme, chiefly because of religious beliefs, either traditional or newly-acquired.

The influence of the family on social life is growing less

Reactions to the question 'is the traditional (Chinese) family still strong, or is it declining?' were interesting. The 18 townships surveyed were equally divided on this, nine saying it is still strong, nine believing it is declining. To the question whether the 'small family', meaning the modern conjugal family basis, had become more general in the past six years, eleven of the 18 townships replied in the negative. They had distinctly in mind however that a traditional-type family which is small in numbers is also to be considered a 'small family'—though the latter term is specially applied to the new conjugal-family types (parents going with their children, living apart from the grandparents). The interesting fact here is that people favour a small family, but not necessarily the modern 'simplified' conjugal family.

On the whole, the family's influence on its individual members is decreasing; losing its traditional pattern, it is getting smaller in size and simpler in composition. By simpler is meant that married brothers separate from each other and establish their own conjugal families earlier. Most of the younger generation prefer to have smaller families, to have fewer children and have them later. Beyond the family sphere, the feeling for community traditions is giving way to the development of society relationships.

Parental authority is declining

Leaders of practically all the 18 townships emphasized a significant decline of parents' authority over their grown-up children, in the past six years; but in various ways. In some cases parents are allowing their adult children more independence in such matters as choosing their own occupation, marriage partners, etc. In others, the family affairs are handled less autocratically, all important matters being discussed by the whole family. In the arrangement of marriage, practically all parents, in all kinds of families, abandoned their traditional authority, and wish only to be consulted and figure as advisers.

The family compound is becoming a thing of the past

It is felt, however, that the family basis has become precarious from another

angle. Leaders of twelve of the 18 townships reported that it had become general for married brothers and their spouses to insist, regardless of their parents' wishes, on breaking up 'compounds' and establishing their own new homes.

Historically, the majority of small households were more or less bound by kinship relations, and resided together in large or small clusters (compounds) of five, ten or more houses, of separate but kindred families. This pattern is still dominant, though threatened by the development just mentioned.

People are marrying later in life

The growing tendency to defer marriage is striking. It has developed markedly in the last six years. Formerly in rural Taiwan, early marriage was customary: boys at 18, girls at 16. A majority of the young men now defer marriage, often till the age of 25, and the girls have to wait three, four or five years for them. The following reasons are given:

- 1) Desire to complete military service before marriage.
- 2) Desire to complete secondary or college education before marriage.
- 3) Parents and grandparents no longer insist on having grandchildren and great-grandchildren before they themselves become old.
- 4) Young people, now having a voice in their own matrimonial arrangements, spend much longer in 'looking around and making a choice' than was formerly taken by entrusting the matter to 'chance or fate', or the arbitrary decision of the parents (assisted by astrologers, etc.).

Divorce has increased

Leaders of ten townships reported an increase in the number of divorce cases, though four reported a decrease and the other four no change. The following reasons were adduced:

- 1) The spokesmen are somewhat censorious of 'loose talk' about marital faithfulness not being an absolute matter, which, coupled with the attraction of 'modern luxuries' has led to the decline of the traditional morality. It is revealing that the women are chiefly blamed. 'Dissatisfied with their poor farmer husbands, they go to the cities, find various jobs, eventually divorce their husbands and marry other men'.
- 2) Cases of wives' infidelity while their husbands are away on compulsory military service, usually leading to divorce.
- 3) Where husbands do not accept the new democratic basis of family life,

with husband and wife as equal partners deciding everything jointly, quarrels and separations result.

Female adoption is decreasing

The custom of *yang nu* (adoption of girls, similar to *mui tsai* in other parts of South China) is declining, and the treatment of these adoptees is improving, according to the local leaders.

Clans and other kinship associations are still strong

As in Mainland China, clan associations have been strong in Taiwan. Though most of the young people are nowadays very indifferent about kinship relations, in most of the townships strong associations are organized by the prominent clans, which continue in the same ways as hitherto, though sometimes calling the old functions by new names. In Chungli people defined the function of the local clan organizations as strengthening *kanching* (emotional or sentimental ties) among their members, commemorating and revering the common ancestors, and influencing local politics and elections. In Chaochow the clan associations' social welfare functions, especially the relief of poorer members, were additionally stressed. In other townships the function of these bodies was more vaguely that the members 'help each other in various ways'.

The community structure differs between the north and the south

It is striking that generally speaking, in the northern half of Taiwan, rural households are dispersed or found in small neighbourhood groups whereas in the southern half they are gathered in much larger villages. Another significant generalization is that people tracing their origins from Fukien Province (in South China) prefer to live in larger villages, while farmers of the Hakka (a particular ethnic group, widely dispersed in South China) usually establish individual houses on their own farms. There the families may grow into three, four or five independent households with houses built together, but thereafter many of them move out to live elsewhere. The Fukien people were the earlier settlers in Taiwan; in past centuries they occupied and developed most of the settled areas, and did so in closer settlement, for protection and mutual help in developing the land. The resultant two patterns still remain distinct.

In Taiwan there are two bases of community structure, from another point of view also: the formal administrative structure, and the *de facto* structure which has developed for natural and historical reasons. These largely, but not entirely, coincide. The significant administrative unit is the township, consisting of a town

in a rural area and the farm villages and neighbourhoods surrounding it; of which the town is the economic, social, cultural and political centre. If the villages and localities are entirely agrarian, the town is the only centre in these respects; but sometimes the villages are of considerable size, with shops, schools, post offices and regular social activities, and figure at least as 'sub-centres'. The natural and historical pattern consists of a market town, with a number of farm villages and neighbourhoods surrounding it. People from the latter make quite prolonged visits to the market towns for trade and social purposes, returning for farming and family concerns. Twelve of the 18 townships surveyed reported their administrative or market town was their only economic, social, political and cultural centre. Only two replied that they had also villages figuring as centres; four could give no definite answer.

Asked whether villages also figured as social and economic centres for the subsidiary districts, eleven townships answered in the affirmative and five in the negative. The discrepancy in these answers can be explained, as in fact most people take the market-town to be the centre for the whole township-unit, while some of the large villages in its area function as centres or sub-centres for their own vicinity. In the latter case, the large village is considered to be a community unit; otherwise, and if the village people often go to the town, the township as a whole is considered the community unit. Asked whether the rural people considered their own village a rural community, eleven of the townships recorded an affirmative answer, four a negative one. Asked whether the people considered their whole township as the rural community, nine answered affirmatively and four negatively.

There are three broad social classes

Fifteen of the 18 townships distinguished simply three broad social classes: upper, middle and lower. Six townships defined the upper class as persons having influence and wealth, another six included also such status-holders as Congressmen (and women) and physicians. Three townships considered the local leaders to be in their upper class; two specified men of learning as belonging to it. Other categories included were 'rich and enlightened farm families', 'big capitalists', people active in public affairs, and engineers. Several townships held that only people having high position, wealth and 'virtues' should be considered to be in the upper social stratum.

Hsincheng presented a special view of its own, placing the Taiwanese of Fukien origin and some of the Hakkas in the upper class, recent immigrants from the Mainland in the middle class, and the sinicized aborigines in the lower class.

In practically every township, the middle class covered the school teachers and

civil servants, a large percentage also including farmers, 'merchants who do not cheat, and the general run of townfolk.' The concept of middle class used by four of the townships covered 'all ordinary law-abiding people'.

The lower social level included, in the majority of townships, poor people, menial workers, labourers, unemployed and propertyless people, the work-shy unemployed and criminal elements. In two townships, people engaged in farming were relegated generally to this lower category. In Chungli, a highly industrialized township, the factory workers were also placed in the lower class.

In Hsinpu, four class divisions were adduced and the labourers allocated to the lowest one. Tungshan postulated five divisions: placing the local leaders in the highest, school teachers in the second, civil servants in the third, well-to-do and educated people in the fourth, farmers and rural people at large in the fifth. Fengyuan, interestingly, applied solely the criterion of economic condition: placing 'wealthy' persons in the top stratum, the less wealthy but comparatively comfortable in the middle one, and the poor in the lowest.

The survey found that wealth was the main determinant in social grading, followed by education, the possession of special virtues, and enthusiasm in serving the community. It is noteworthy that generally the middle class is considered to comprise teachers, civil servants, independent farmers and merchants of honest repute.

Local factions have decreased in importance

According to general hearsay, local factionalism is a bad influence in all the communities of Taiwan. Leaders of most of the townships surveyed were particularly eager to impress on the investigators that factions did not exist or were unimportant; hardly any of the 18 townships admitted that local factions, formed on such bases as family relationship, religious sectarianism, racial background, party affiliations, economic interests and (to some extent) personal affection, operated in all local elections. The general impression is that factionalism has in any case been mitigated in the last six years, owing especially to local populations having become more mixed.

CHAPTER 8

EDUCATION

The 18 townships investigated had altogether 98,885 children of school age in 1958, or an average of about 5,500 each—52% boys and 48% girls. There were considerable variations between townships. Chungli had the largest school-age population, with over 12,000; Kangshan and Fengyuan each had over 10,000. But Hsincheng had less than 1,500; Jenai and Chengkuang also had small numbers.

The discrepancy between the sexes is interesting. All the townships had more boys than girls. In Chiangchun, the school age population was divided into 54% boys and 46% girls, and the proportions were similar in Chihu and Kangshan.

School attendance is high

There were 91 elementary schools in the 18 townships in 1958, with 91,700 pupils—53.5% boys and 46.5% girls. Boys and girls have nowadays, in Taiwan, about the same opportunity of getting elementary schooling; the pace of change, in the matter of the final disappearance of the traditional Chinese attitude that it is more essential for boys to have education than girls, has distinctly quickened in the past six years. Nevertheless, boys still have some slight priority, non-attendance on the part of girls, at over 3%, being roughly double that on the part of boys, which was under 2%.

According to the above figures, there were in 1958 over 7,000, or about 7% of the school-age population, not attending elementary school. Other statements put the percentage rather lower, at 5.6%. In rural Taiwan as a whole it would appear that between 93% and 95% of the children in the appropriate age-groups attend elementary schools; in the urban areas, the proportion is of course higher. In some of the townships in the survey area, it was much higher than the average of the area, in some it was lower; in Fengyuan it was over 99%, in Chihu over 98%, in Shuili over 88%, in Kangshan over 90%. Such are the overall figures; but again there are great differences among the localities. In Yuanchang, for instance, only an insignificant number and proportion of the boys failed to attend elementary school, whereas 7½% of the girls failed to attend, and in Kangshan over 7% of the girls did not have elementary schooling, while only a little over 2% of the boys were missing it. In Chihu and Chungpu, on the other hand, the girls had a higher number and proportion of elementary school attendances than the boys.

New schools have been built and old schools remodelled

Fourteen of the 18 townships had built new elementary schools in the past six years, to a total of 24 between them. No less than six of these were located in Jenai. There is no doubt that this highland township of aborigines' people made a great stride in its education facilities in the time; but the need to look at statistics from all angles is illustrated by pointing out that the six new schools in Jenai had a capacity of 800 pupils altogether, whereas Hsinpu, for instance, though it built (like most of the 18 townships) only one new school, made that one school of about the same capacity, 800 pupils.

Meanwhile many of the old elementary schools have been repaired or renovated. The 18 townships spent over NT\$2.5 million on this, in the six years, or an average of about NT\$142,000 per township. Some spent more—notably Tungshan (NT\$621,000), Chiangchun (290,000) and Chungli (250,000)—some less.

The principal effective contribution to the expansion of elementary school capacity was however in the form of extensions to existing schools. In the 18 townships, 395 new classrooms were added to the elementary schools, besides 42 old classrooms being rehabilitated to such an extent as to represent virtual additions; i.e., an average of about 22 new classrooms and three rehabilitated ones per township, in the six years. This involved a total outlay of nearly NT\$20 million.

These funds came from four 'regular' sources (provincial government subsidies, prefectural government subsidies, township levies, and contribution by local people), and one 'irregular' source (namely, subsidies from the JCRR). This applies to the repairing of existing school facilities, as well as the building of extensions. Together, these totalled nearly NT\$22.5 million; of that sum provincial government subsidies covered nearly 18%, subsidies by prefectural government over 25%, township levies 46%, public contribution over 9%, and the JCRR supplementation very little (much less than 1%). But these proportions varied greatly between the townships, which draw on these sources in different ratios.

In spite of these extensions in elementary teaching, the need for additional classrooms is increasingly outrunning the supply. Only one exception is noted—Chengkung. Fengyuan declared the need for 49 more classrooms to cater for existing needs, Chungli for 48; and so on, to a total of 386 new classrooms required for all the 18 townships, or an average of over 21 each.

Owing to this shortage of space, the practice still prevails of teaching two or three shifts of pupils a day (or even in some cases four); though the situation in this respect has improved recently, the shift system being now applied only to

classes below the third year.

There is need for more elementary school teachers

Fourteen of the 18 townships reported that in the six years the number of their elementary school teachers had increased more than in proportion to the number of pupils and the other four noted that the proportion had kept pace; none had suffered a decrease, therefore, in the teacher/pupil ratio. That ratio, with 2,112 elementary school teachers in the 18 townships in 1958, stood at 1:44 on the average. But it is striking that the ratio of teachers to pupils was lower in the more advanced of these townships (e.g., in Fengyuan, Chihu, Kangshan and Hsinchuang each teacher had 47-50 pupils) and higher in the more backward places (e.g., Shuili 35, Chengkung 32, and Jenai down to 22). School superintendents in every township expressed a crying need for more elementary school teachers. Some townships were looking to recruit 40 or 50 or them, others hoped to get six, eight or ten; to a scheduled total of vacancies for 445 teachers in the 18 townships in 1959.

In 1958, 68% of the employed elementary school teachers were men, 32% women. The number of women teachers has, however, increased notably in the elementary schools in the more industrialized and modern townships; Hsinchuang had 45% women, Chungli over 42%, Chaochow 40%, Kangshan over 48%, Fengyuan nearly 43%. Whereas in such rural townships as Jenai, Chengkung and Chiangchun, only 12-16% of the elementary school teachers were women.

In comparison with six years ago, the average age of elementary teachers has fallen. In the 18 townships in 1958, the great majority of them were in their twenties and thirties; less than 5% were under 21, 26% were from 21-25, 26% were from 26-30, 32% were from 31-40, 10% were over 40.

The level of qualification of the teachers has been raised generally. Graduates of normal schools are preferred as elementary school teachers, and these represented 59% of such teachers in 1958; followed by graduates of senior middle schools (18%), graduates of junior middle school 15%, graduates of senior vocational school 7%, less than 1% being college graduates. However, those who are not normal school graduates had to have passed a certifying examination set by the Department of Education.

The number of secondary schools has increased

Generally, there has been a great increase in the number of secondary schools in rural Taiwan in the past six years. In the 18 townships of the survey there were, in 1958, 19 middle schools and 12 secondary vocational training schools, or

an average of 1.7 secondary schools per township. Two of the townships actually had none (Hsincheng and Chiangchun), and Jenai had a junior agricultural school for the aborigines' people only. At the other end of the scale, however, Chungli had two middle schools and six vocational training schools, one agricultural school and one school of Home Economics. Kangshan had two middle schools and one agricultural school, also two schools especially for children of members of the Chinese Air Force. Fengyuan, Hsinpu, Chishan and Potzu each had two secondary schools, one of a general nature and one vocational.

Twenty-five of these 31 schools were public, i.e., Controlled by provincial, prefectural or local governments, six private. Almost every township desired especially to have a complete middle school, sponsored by the Provincial Government; or failing that, a prefectural school, in the belief that such governmental arrangements would involve better equipment and more prestige to attract good teachers.

These 31 schools had 24,003 pupils in 1958, or an average of 774 each, 74% boys and 26% girls. The more industrialized and advanced townships had larger enrolments; for instance, Kangshan's Middle School had 1,586, and its Junior Middle School 1,100, the Chishan, Chaochow and Chungli Middle Schools each had nearly 1,000, whereas the corresponding schools in the more rural areas had much smaller student bodies.

The desire of rural families to have their children attend school has considerably developed in the last few years. There were 18,995 youngsters receiving higher education in the 18 townships. There were 13,953 in middle schools (68% boys and 32% girls), 4,357 in vocational secondary schools (71% boys and 29% girls) and 685 in colleges (88% males and 12% females).

The average per township was thus 1,055, but again the average was exceeded in the economically and generally advanced townships, while others fell short of it. Thus the secondary school and college population of Chungli was 3,790, Kangshan had 2,242, Fengyuan 1,861, Chishan 1,591, Potzu 1,315, Hsinpu 1,235, and Chaochow 1,005; while Jenai, Chiangchun, Chengkung and Hsincheng numbered only a few hundred each.

The proportion of girls is inadequate, as all the townships noted, the number of girls in secondary education being only one-seventh the number of boys. In the 18 townships, per 1,000 of their total population, there were 32.7 in middle schools, secondary vocational schools and colleges; but this represents 45.3 per thousand of males and only 19.9 of females. In this respect also, the more advanced townships are well ahead of the others; for example, Chungli had 74 per thousand of males

and 37 of females, whereas Chiangchun had 17.4 per thousand of males and 4.7 of females.

There were 24 students in middle schools, per thousand of the total population, in the 18 townships altogether; 35 per thousand of males and 15 per thousand of females. Vocational schools counted only 7.5 per thousand of the total population, with 10.7 per thousand of males and 4.3 per thousand of females. One, Tungshan, had at that time no girl students in vocational schools. College students were 1.2 per thousand of the population, of the 18 townships, with 2 per thousand for men and 0.4 for women; six townships had no women college students, but Kangshan had 29, Potzu 13, Chungli 10 and Chaochow 7.

The desire for education is strong

The desire of rural families to have their children attend school has considerably developed in the last few years. Everyone strongly desired that all children should have at least elementary education. The motives specified are interesting; They were as follows, in order of frequency:

1. People's own experience of 'sufferings through illiteracy and ignorance'.
2. Improved living conditions since the Land Reform (making it both more important and more feasible to have the working people educated).
3. To improve the social position of one's family.
4. Education makes it possible for the recipient to get a better job and improve his and his family's social position.
5. Passively, because of the compulsory education system.
6. Importance of learning new technology, specifically new techniques of production.
7. Increased financial feasibility, owing to the free education system.
8. Increased realization of the importance of education.
9. To meet the needs of modern life.

A test question in the enquiry was on the reaction of people towards the erection and maintenance of temples, compared with the building and extension of schools. For a small majority of the people in the area covered, it appears, the maintenance of the traditional rural religion and customs is the more important of the two things; nine of the townships reported that their people showed greater eagerness, and were more ready to contribute, for the upkeep of temples than for the schools. Reasons given were:

1. Continued strength of belief in the gods and cults.

2. Respect for tradition.
3. Inadequate understanding of the need for education.
4. The practical fact that soliciting and fund-raising for the temples is carried out by persons of special social position and prestige.

Those who gave the priority to school or classroom building and repair, stressed the growing realization of the importance of education; in their townships the local leaders did much to promote such a realization, and the teachers themselves also worked to publicize the need, with a ready response, owing to the dissatisfaction with the situation where the schools were working on shifts. The aborigines' townships weigh the balance towards preference for schools, inasmuch as there are very few Chinese traditional temples or cults in those areas.

People were invited to give their views on the schools, and their relationship to the local community. Criticisms were chiefly of the shortage of classrooms, equipment and teachers, hence of the heavy load on the teachers; the teachers were deemed to be very conscientious in their duties, and school superintendents were respected, in all the townships. Relations between the school and the public were distinctly cordial. Every township mentioned the good work of Parents' Associations. The work of the schools in teaching the Chinese national language to Taiwanese draftees, and teaching not only reading and writing, but also general knowledge to adult illiterates, was also praised. Moreover, the schools promoted civic consciousness and activity in other ways, such as the organization of drives for catching rats and flies, suppressing mosquitoes, etc., and in aiding general agricultural activities, with help in busy seasons, allowing the school yards to be used as drying grounds for rice paddy, etc.

In sum, it must be noted that the most manifest and universal advance made in rural Taiwan in recent years has been in this field of education. In every township investigated, primary-school attendance rose from 90% in 1952 to between 93% and 95% in 1958. Formerly, many of the parents had to be called upon, reminded, and even threatened, to send their children to school; now they themselves take the initiative and press for admission as soon as possible. A great, though still inadequate, effort is being made to provide the required classrooms and facilities—a task of increasing difficulty as the school-age population rises.

A higher proportion of parents than before feel ashamed if they cannot put their children through secondary school and college. This aspiration is largely social, but realistic calculations are stressed at the same time; both parents and children think that elementary education is insufficient, to enable a person to secure employment at a higher level than working on the family farm or in a village shop.

CHAPTER 9

RELIGION

The temples are numerous

In the 18 townships there were 199 temples in 1958; nearly a dozen each, on the average, but some had many more, some less. Potzu had as many as 30, Tungshan 29, Kangshan 22, Jenai, however, with an aborigines' population little affected by Chinese traditions, had only one, which was in fact extraneous; it is a Confucian shrine, situated at the little town of Wushe, and used only by Chinese residing there or coming to trade.

The numbers returned for the lowland Chinese townships themselves vary considerably; presumably for the following reasons. Some places have minor shrines, not counted as temples; the number returned as temples somewhat underestimates the influence of traditional religions in rural Taiwan. A definite, though rough, correlation is observed however with the exposure of a locality to natural disasters, and the dependence of local agriculture on weather and other natural conditions; places more liable to floods, fires, earthquakes, etc., or which happen to have had more of them, and places where the farming activities are dependent on rain, wind, etc., show more religiosity.

The traditional religions which the people of rural Taiwan have followed are Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism and Matsuisim—usually in some mixture. The doctrine of Tao is strong in rural Taiwan. 130 (two-thirds) of the 199 temples in our 18 townships belong to this sect. There were 34 Buddhist temples, 11 of the Matsu sect, 22 jointly Taoist and Buddhist, one jointly Taoist and Confucianist. (East Asians generally do not see any need for their religions to be mutually exclusive, and often follow two or more together). The remaining temple, not covered by the above, is rather a memorial to a celebrated personage, Wu Feng, than a temple in the proper sense.

Matsuisim, very much a religion of the common people, is an indigenous cult in Taiwan.

Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism are, of course, the three great traditional religions of China, but it is necessary to note that they have undergone, historically, very great adaptations to local conditions, so much so that they are scientific-

ly considered to be 'outgrowths' of the original cults on the mainland.

The census of the deities worshipped in the temples of the 18 townships illustrates the easy-going heterogeneity of local religious observance. Matsu (or T'ien Shang Sheng Mu) figured in 32 temples, Kuanying (Kwannon, the goddess of mercy) in 25, Sakyamuni Buddha in 17, and half a dozen other major deities in from 11 to 13 temples each. There were, however, no less than 58 other deities, almost all of merely local significance, none of them being worshipped in more than eight temples.

The traditional dates of religious significance, still considered important in these rural areas, are of course closely linked with the calendar of necessary agrarian activities. The most important was the 23rd day of the 3rd moon (celebrated in 23 temples), closely followed by the 8th of the 4th moon (22 temples), the 15th of the 7th moon (21 temples) and six other festivals in widespread observance.¹ In addition, however, there were over 100 other dates in the year, celebrated more or less religiously, but of distinctly local significance, none of them being observed in more than eight of the temples in the survey area.

Of special interest is the fact that these temples support practically no retinue of priests or nuns. The 199 temples of the survey area had only six priests and eleven nuns. Usually there were one or two custodians, who cleaned the temples and performed minor ministrations; temple-worship in rural Taiwan is a completely personal affair, the worshippers themselves doing the praying, offering of incense, etc. Only the biggest and wealthiest temples are under any kind of larger organization, and then usually in the form of a local committee, or voluntary parochial association.

Different temples are frequented by different kinds of people. Some temples receive visitors from a wide area, others only from the immediate vicinity. There are 'specialized' temples, so to speak, with only one distinctive (or at least principal) function—i.e., the granting of one particular sort of desire, or the like. Others may be called 'community temples', usually having several idols, major and minor, catering for all kinds of wishes or spiritual aspects, and visited by all sorts of people.

As might be expected, the traditional temples generally are attended more by old and middle-aged people than by the young, and by women more than men.

¹ Viz., the 15th of the 1st lunar month in 16 temples, the 19th of the 6th moon (15 temples), the 3rd of the 3rd moon (14 temples), the 12th of the 9th (12 temples), the 15th of the 10th (12 temples) and the 19th of the 2nd (11 temples).

Otherwise classified, farming people are the social class most interested in temple-going, followed by merchants, labourers and fishermen.

Christianity has spread

Christian beliefs and practices, both Catholic and Protestant, have greatly increased in Taiwan in recent years. Much of the foreign missionary effort, frustrated from operating in Communist China, is now devoted to Taiwan. The effect is particularly marked in the highland aborigine areas. In 1958, the 18 townships in the survey had 116 churches, 76 Protestant and 39 Catholic. Seventy-six of these had been built since 1952. These 116 churches had congregations totalling 24,153 members; 46% of these were males, 54% females, and 56% Protestants, 44% Catholics.

No less than 66 of these 116 churches were in the aborigines' areas. Chengkung had 28 churches, 20 Protestant and eight Catholic, with 8,690 members between them; and Jenai has 38 churches, 26 Protestant and 12 Catholic, generally smaller in size, since they totalled only 2,989 members. Thus these two townships had nearly 50% of the Christians in the survey area.

As already indicated, the individual churches are of various sizes and kinds. About one-third are proper buildings of the usual kind; but a similar proportion operate merely in rented rooms or premises. Most of the churches in the aborigines' townships are in the 'tin tabernacle' (and bamboo hut) category, though in Chengkung Chen particularly there are some modern church buildings. Most of the churches have regular ministers of the ordinary clergy, though some may be described as 'evangelists with less formal training'. In Jenai, particularly (in some contrast to its relative superiority in the matter of church architecture) many of the churches are served largely by itinerant preachers and their own elders.

The social welfare work of these Christian churches is of particular importance. Its first feature, as noted by this survey, was the distribution of clothing and foodstuffs, largely from the United States, and its second main contribution was in the form of medical services; further, many of the churches were operating schools, nurseries and kindergartens, and some provided agricultural training.

Local social and religious festivals are a time of jollification

Special mention—possibly even some pride of place—must be devoted to the *pai-pai*. The name literally means worship (joining the hands in prayer), but the occasion is actually social. The *pai-pai* is the great local feast and jollification. These village holidays have traditionally been observed in Taiwan with considerable extravagance. They are still strongly and very cheerfully observed, though

there has in recent years been a marked tendency to simplify them, particularly from the point of view of reducing the over-expenditure and over-indulgence involved. Formerly, villages held these festivals individually, in turn; now several villages combine together to hold them jointly, and somewhat more economically, reducing the element of 'conspicuous consumption' rather than the conviviality which attends it.

All religions have increased their strength

Traditional observances or ceremonies for treating sickness and preventing calamities have declined; and the spirit of the *pai-pai* has changed, as indicated above. The majority of the young people and a significant proportion of the middle-age groups, are no longer so much influenced by traditional beliefs and practices as their elders were, and still may be. Funerals are still attended with some panoply, rather as a show of wealth and status than a demonstration of devoutness. More of the young and educated people are reputedly atheistic.

Christianity is increasing its influence and activity, particularly in the districts inhabited chiefly by aborigines. There especially, the more 'emotional' types of evangelism have apparently had the strongest (or most visible) influence. Christianity is credited with having done much to reduce the aborigines' over-addiction to liquor; on the other hand, it is said that their new-found eagerness for all sorts of religious observances and holidays is carried to the extent of interfering with their work and ability to earn a livelihood.

The traditional cults—particularly Taoism, Buddhism and Matsuisim (Confucianism figuring rather as a philosophy of behaviour, or a social ethic) have somewhat renewed their efforts, partly in response to the new challenge of Christianity. The chanting of Buddhist and Taoist prayers may often be heard, in temples and homes, in the mornings and evenings. In many of the towns, Associations for reading the Buddhist Classics have recently been formed.

CHAPTER 10

HEALTH AND SANITATION

Health and sanitation have improved during the past seven years though much remains to be done. Leaders of all the 18 townships stressed improvements in the period, such as the great extension of drains and the protection of food and beverages from flies, dust, etc. In the investigators' direct observation, many of the villages are well drained, and well kept in these respects.

Drainage of town and village streets has much improved and extended in recent years. In township centres, this is the work of the Public Offices; in villages, conscripted labour is often used for this purpose. Creditable efforts have also been made towards supplying clean water, with pipelines and new wells; but such facilities are still largely limited to the township centres and their vicinities, shallow wells remaining typical of the farm villages. Public latrines have also been built in various townships in the past six years: notably, Kangshan (8) and Chungpu (6).

Every local school has a 'Health Room' with a nurse or attendant, though these provide only first-aid and minor treatments; school inspections for the prevention of epidemics and for regular student-health and physique checks are handled by the township Health Stations. Conditions in the local schools are, however, unsatisfactory in such respects as insufficient provision of lavatories, cleanliness of grounds, and inadequacy of water-supply both for drinking and cleaning, though efforts are being made towards their improvement.

The local leaders justly claim considerable improvement in all the above-mentioned respects. But the investigators' own direct observation is that the situation is very mixed. The following is a typical summation from field reports:

Some of the towns are really clean, but others and many of the villages are still under filthy conditions. Of the 18 townships, Tungshan, Hsincheng, Chungpu and Chishan, are the best for environmental sanitation. Potzu and Chengkung are also not bad, and have some very clean villages. Hsinpu is not bad in the township centre. Comparatively rich townships like Chungli, Chaochow, Kangshan and Hsinchuang all have dirty streets in both the township centres and the villages. Fengyuan is not bad in the town, but it is in the village. The dirtiest villages are in Chihu, Chiangchun, Yuanchang and

Shuili, all showing lack of improvement in environmental sanitation.

It is striking that in many cases the more prosperous townships do not have good sanitary conditions and improvements, whereas those which are economically much worse off make a much better showing. Thus there is some scepticism about the excuse of lack of funds. This is only one of the conditions; and desire for clean and improved living conditions, on the part both of the local authorities and the people, would appear to be a more important factor. The movement in that direction is gaining impetus in Taiwan. The streets of villages and small towns are usually cleaner than they used to be, insect pests visibly fewer; malaria has been largely eliminated, the incidence of trachoma greatly reduced, lowered death rates and infantile mortality are facts. But the conditions are uneven, and unsatisfactory in many respects.

Health Stations are available in each township

Each of the 18 township centres has a public Health Station. Statutorily, it is in charge of a Head and a physician; but in practice, from the first inception of these stations until the present, both these posts have almost always been held concurrently by one person, a doctor. Altogether there are the following (figures in brackets indicating the respective numbers in the 18 townships surveyed, in 1958): physicians (19), midwives (30), nurses (7), inspectors (1), laboratory technicians (9), clinical attendants (43), clerks (23) and office messengers (13). The 18 townships had, in 1958, 145 staff, or an average of about eight each. All the 18 township Health Stations in the survey had existed prior to 1952, but had all moved into better buildings and improved their services and facilities since 1952.

The statutory functions of the township Health Stations are:

1. Provision of basic medical and health service,
2. Control of infectious diseases,
3. Care of mothers and infants,
4. Health program for school children,
5. Inspection and improvement of environmental sanitation,
6. Health education for the public,
7. Collection of data on mortality and morbidity, etc.
8. Other activities related to health and medical service.

In some townships the Health Stations are also charged with supervising the sale of certain drugs, registering medical practitioners, inspection of restaurants, etc.

The JCRR encourages and assists the work of the Health Stations, with reference especially to their provision of clinical services for treating diseases, maternal and child care, prevention and control of such diseases as malaria, tuberculosis, venereal diseases, diphtheria and smallpox, school health services, general health education, sanitary measures, and collection of basis statistical data.

The success of the Health Stations' operation depends on the personnel equipment and operating funds available to them. The survey showed that in most of the townships investigated the Health Stations were inadequately provided for in all these respects, and would be greatly strengthened in their services, with marked potential effect on the rural standard of living, if given more resources.

Nevertheless, their work is much appreciated by the rural people, most widely because of their free or low-cost services, though the more advanced members of the public also note their impersonal contribution in the control of infectious diseases, education on sanitation and nutrition, child care and maternity services. Many have, however, an exaggerated idea of the functions of these Health Stations; assuming they should serve as clinics or hospitals, which is not really within their scope and constitutions, and complaining when they fail to fulfil such major expectations.

Clinics and dispensaries

The 18 townships had at the time of the survey, over and above the Health Stations, 240 hospitals, clinics and dispensaries, or about 13 each on the average. But of course, the prosperous townships had more than this average, the less developed localities fewer. Fengyuan numbered as many as 69, Chungli 30; whereas at the bottom of the scale Yuanchang and Hsincheng had three each, Tungshan two, and Jenai only one.

Similar variations are manifest in other respects. The 18 townships had 71 midwives, or an average of four each; but, for example, Chungli had 12, Fengyuan 10, whereas two townships had only two each, four others only one each, and two had none.

The belief in Chinese traditional medicine is still strong in Taiwan. The 18 townships had 86 doctors of traditional Chinese medical practice. It is noteworthy that the three townships of aborigines (Jenai, Chengkung and Hsincheng) had none of these.

CHAPTER 11

PUBLIC WORKS

197 construction projects were undertaken in the 18 townships

In the preceding six years the 18 townships had completed 197 important public construction projects, or an average of 11 each. But there were great variations from this average in individual cases. Jenai had the most, with 21 major projects (besides 20 minor ones); followed by Hsinpu with 19 important projects. Ten other townships each had ten or more major projects completed. Chungpu had however only four, and Chengkung only one.

The total expenditure on the 197 important projects completed was NT\$43 million, giving an average for the 18 townships of about NT\$241,000. There were two projects costing over NT\$3 million each and one of NT\$2½ million, eight at over NT\$1 million, four at little below NT\$1 million each, and 17 on the scale of around half a million NT\$ each; but most of the projects (140) were at or below the average.

According to their kinds, these major projects are classified under eight headings. In terms of expenditure, the largest was transport and communications (nearly NT\$14 million, or some 32% of the whole). This was closely followed by the construction of schools and classrooms (also over NT\$13 million). The third place was taken by the building of local markets and shopping centres (NT\$4.3 million, or 10% of the whole outlay). Next came the construction of public health facilities of all kinds—drainage, sewerage, water supply, lavatories, etc. (NT\$3.7 million, or 9%)—together with irrigation works (showing the same amount NT\$3.7 million or 9%).

The expansion and improvement of transportation facilities is a matter of great pride to the Taiwan people, and one of the most marked features in recent local development. Many roads and bridges have been built. Almost all areas and settlements are now served by bus routes, and by trucks collecting and transporting local produce. Almost every village selected for detailed investigation in the 1959 household survey was in fact reached by the enumerators in cars, in contrast to the conditions in the survey six years earlier, when access to the villages was chiefly on foot. Every one of the 18 townships had a flourishing taxi service in 1959, with about six hire cars, and the latter are now quite common on the rural

roads, where they were unknown in 1953.

Major projects financed by the government

More than 90% of the major construction projects (179 out of 197) were completed with subsidies from governmental sources, usually covering a large part of the cost; the remainder being contributed by the local people either in money or labour. Just over half of the local people contributed in those ways, and the same proportion were wholehearted in their approval of all the projects in question. Just over 30% supported only such projects as they considered to provide direct and immediate benefits to themselves; 16% were indifferent on this question, and the remaining few were generally against any kind of public works.

These attitudes did not appear to be correlated with any particular circumstances such as the wealth or poverty of the township. Hsincheng, for example, displays very poor economic conditions, but its people had given 100% positive support in money and labour, to all its public works. Tunghan, Chiangchun and Tunglo also showed very complete support. In Fengyuan, on the other hand, only 10% of the people supported public construction projects without qualification, while 30% supported only those which were considered to provide immediate and direct benefit, 55% showed no concern, and 5% were opposed to such works in general. Chihu is also a better-off township, but it too showed only 10% of its people supporting all meritorious public construction works, and 90% supporting only those directly beneficial to them. In Shuili, only 2% of the people supported the entire works programme, 75% favoured only those of present benefit, 15% were indifferent, and 8% uncooperative.

The attitude varied also in terms of the receptivity to outside assistance in improvement works. Over 67% of the people in the 18 townships felt that they should contribute whatever they could, in money or labour, to local works, while equally welcoming any outside aid, national or foreign. Some 29% of the people wished that outside aid might be drawn on to cover the whole cost of public works. Only a few were opposed to receiving any kind of outside help, governmental or foreign, for such purposes; the highest was Tunglo with about 10%.

In Chengkung, a poor township, the people were anxious to pursue major projects of road and bridge building, land improvement, and new fishing harbour works, and 80% of them wanted all the costs of these to come from outside sources. Fengyuan, despite its relatively high degree of industrial development, showed 60% of its people desiring to have all its public works projects externally financed. Yet such a poor rural township as Tunghan stood out with all its people holding that a community should do all it can for itself, before drawing on the help of others.

CHAPTER 12

WHAT THE PEOPLE TOLD US

The previous chapters of this book were mainly about the township community as a whole, but in this final chapter of our report we are concerned with the household and with some of the things the people told us about their way of life and their hopes for the future. These should be considered as the results of interviews, reproducing the recorded opinions of the large sample of households, rather than having a strictly factual basis.

In all we interviewed 75 households in each of the 18 townships surveyed; a total of 1,350 households representing 9,421 persons. Three out of every four of these households were farm households, though one third of the farm households also did other part-time work. In the broadest sense the typical household in rural Taiwan may be visualized as a farm family including a husband and wife, three children of school age or under, an elder daughter or son possibly working away from home or on military service, and an aged parent. The household owns a little over a hectare of land divided into two lots located between one and two kilometres apart. It occupies a three-roomed house in a village community of no less than twenty households. Rice, sweet potatoes, sugarcane and possibly one other crop are cultivated, with the aid of gravity flow irrigation; and the household has two pigs, eight chickens and perhaps a waterbuffalo. Electricity is the main source of artificial light. If the family is among the more prosperous it also has a sewing machine and a radio set and perhaps a bicycle. Drinking water is obtained from underground wells. There is a brick-built stove, and probably a screened food-cabinet in the kitchen.

These then were the sort of people we met and in the rest of this chapter and in Appendix 2 we have recorded some of the things they told us.

About education

Of the persons covered by the survey about 41% had received an elementary school education and some 6% secondary or vocational school education. Less than 1% had received higher education. About 20% were infants and 32% were illiterate.

About health conditions

In general our investigation into health conditions proved unsatisfactory because the household heads were often unwilling to admit of sickness in their family though no fewer than 85% of the persons interviewed said that health conditions were better now than formerly. However, much remains to be done in this field.

About birth control

Here again the information we received was incomplete and we were unable to determine questions such as the extent of birth control. However, 760 household heads said that birth control was necessary after the interviewers had explained what was meant by birth control and family planning. From this we would conclude that knowledge of birth control is less widespread than the township leaders believe, though it is certain that the people would be receptive to information about family planning if it were better available.

About Methods of increasing crop yields

About three quarters of the farmers emphasized that increased application of fertilizers, both chemical and compost, was in their view a prime way to increasing per unit crop yields. Over 42% specified the improvement of irrigation facilities, 36% improvement of control over plant diseases and insects, about 25% selection and use of better seeds, and over 10% urged a variety of other methods—soil improvement, more and better weeding; better drainage, getting more labour, protection against storms, deep ploughing or better cultivation, better farm management, better farm tools, the use of tractors, extended farm credit, etc.

About fertilizers

Two-thirds (648) of the farm households surveyed considered that the fertilizers distributed in 1958 were adequate; 22% thought they were not. A small proportion gave no reply on this question. A higher proportion of the farm households in two townships (those mentioned below) complained that the supply of fertilizers had been inadequate in that year. Chihu wanted more; with reason, as it is a vegetable-growing area. Chengkung had constantly suffered delays and shortfalls in the delivery of fertilizers, from the supply centres on the west coast of the island across the high mountains to the east coast, and again from the east coast to the upland farms; local leaders urgently requested that more attention be given to the administrative arrangements, and demanded the construction of more roads in their area, with outside assistance.

The families were asked, if the supply of fertilizers was insufficient to cover all the needs, to which crops would they give priority in allocating fertilizers? The majority replied, rice; a small percentage, sugarcane, and another small minority favoured sweet potatoes. Some households naturally mentioned other crops in which they were individually most interested: jute, onions, cotton, citrus fruits.

Though the Taiwan farmers have long been using chemical fertilizers, they still need guidance in the more rational and efficient use of fertilizers; the agricultural extension services are devoting much attention to this question. More than 56% of the farm households interviewed in this survey reported having received such guidance; more than 35% reported to the contrary. Only a very small minority appeared to be unaware of this problem. The extension services appeared to have done much in this respect in Chishan, Hsinpu, Chungli and Potzu; and the Chinese authorities in the two aborigines' townships had done much there, in the same connection.

The Farmers' Associations appear, however, to take a large share of the credit; nearly 50% of the farm families stated they had received advice and instruction on this matter from that source. Others specified variously neighbours and friends, 4-H clubs, village, assemblies, township offices, fertilizer factories and electric power stations as effective aids in the dissemination of information about the use of chemical fertilizers; and some had gained such knowledge by attending agricultural classes, or reading farmers' magazines. All these varied sources are often combined, in the farms' experience; many knowledgeable farmers could not specify where or when they learned various aspects of this subject.

One-third of the farm households said they use only chemical fertilizer. Nearly 50% stated they had to supplement the supplies of chemical fertilizers, which were inadequate, with barn manure. The rest did not answer this question.

About the soya beancake ration

Only 5% of the households were completely satisfied with the way in which soya beancake was being rationed. 22% were fairly satisfied. Some 13% were indifferent. Nearly 38% were rather dissatisfied, a small minority (2%) bitterly so; one household in five gave no answer.

The main cause of dissatisfaction was the smallness of the ration; the second cause the lateness of the delivery, often coming after the season when it was required. The third ground of complaint was red tape, unclear procedure and delay. In some cases the price was deemed to be too high—but this was sometimes due to misunderstanding on the part of the farmers as to the method of pricing. Other

occasional complaints were inequalities in the distribution and poor quality of this material.

Most of the farms were sharply opposed to the system whereby hog-feed of sweet potatoes is distributed together with the ration of soya beancake; this hog-feed is almost invariably rotten and stale, according to their statements, and the hogs refuse to eat it.

About animal husbandry

Three-quarters of the households in the survey area which raised hogs considered the most profitable type to be the hybrid, or crossbred of native and imported strains. This was specially stressed by farmers in Chungpu. A minority preferred the pure-bred indigenous animal; a considerable number were unable to say which was the better.

Over 67% of the households which kept animals had had them vaccinated. Only a few had no knowledge of the facilities. About 98% of the animals vaccinated or inoculated were hogs (mainly against hog cholera and erysipelas). A considerable minority of farmers had, however, no understanding of what diseases their animals were being innoculated against.

Only a small number of poultry keepers had had their birds innoculated—only the specialists in poultry raising, of whom there were very few included in the survey. Nearly half the households receiving animal innoculations or vaccinations paid for them wholly or partly themselves; for rather more than half, the cost was borne by the government or rural service agencies. According to JCRR records, in 1959 the expenses of the hog cholera programme were shared as follows: local governments 36%, the hog owners themselves 34%, JCRR 26% and the Provincial Dept. of Agriculture and Forestry, 4%. Fees were NT\$3 for breeding hogs, NT\$2 for meat hogs and NT\$1 for piglets. Aborigines in the upland areas were entirely exempt from charges.

About irrigation

25% of the households (246) were entirely satisfied in this respect, enjoying sufficient irrigation facilities. A further 29% (288 families) had irrigation facilities for all their land but required more water-given which, they considered that they could increase (in some cases, double) their per hectare yield. About 39% of the farm households had their land only partly irrigated, and needed extension of the facilities. And 14% had land which could not possibly be irrigated.

Intermittent flow, or rotational irrigation, is the most common method used

by two-thirds (66%) of the farm households, and preferred by most of them. Most of the rest use, and ordinarily prefer, continuous flow, though 14% make no use of irrigation.

More than 47% of the farm households in the survey area had participated in the elections for officers of the Farm Irrigation Associations; some 32% replied that they had not. Some 21% did not answer this question. None of the 75 households in Jenai Hsiang had participated.

744 farm households (about 76%) gave their views on the Farm Irrigation Associations. 298 of these were satisfied with these Associations and their work, 200 were not, and 246 were rather indifferent whether the associations were good or not.

Yuanchang, Potzu, Chishan and Hsinchuang showed high proportions of favourable views of the Associations; but the majority of farmers in Chungli, Hsincheng, Chungpu and Chihu were either indifferent or dissatisfied. The aborigines' farmers in Jenai either avoided answering the question or expressed indifference, none of them voicing satisfaction or dissatisfaction.

Questioned whether they had ever been asked by the Farm Irrigation Associations to take part in the repair or building of irrigation facilities, about 66% of the farm families replied that they had, nearly 16% that they had not. The rest gave no answer. In Yuanchang, Chishan, Chengkung and Tungshan a good proportion of the rural households took part in such work; only a small proportion had been asked to do so in townships like Fengyuan, Shuili, Kangshan, Chaochow and Tunglo, and in Jenai none at all. Some of the households were paid for any such work, some were not; the usage appears to vary locally, in relation especially to the local view as to whether such work is of direct benefit to the actual workers concerned. But even when paid, the remuneration was low; less than a farm labourer's, or in some cases rather a token payment.

About fuel and timber

Firewood is the most important fuel in Taiwan. At the time of the survey, each household consumed annually on the average 5,811 *tai chin* of fuel, or 3,487 kg. (one *tai chin* equals 0.6 kg.), of which more than 42% was firewood including much brushwood. The next most important fuel was rice straw and rice chaff, which was more than 30% of the total, followed by sugarcane leaves and miscellaneous kinds of straw, each being about 12% and other materials 4%. The pattern of fuel use naturally varied according to localities.

The reports of local leaders stressed that the laws forbidding the gathering of firewood in the forest areas prevented the people from using this source of fuel; and that generally fuel is not so abundant and cheap as it had been six years previously. The production of coal and natural gas, and the import of kerosene, have increased in recent years, but none of these are largely used in the rural areas. The households survey did not however bear out these statements; most of the rural households interviewed said the conditions of fuel supply were about the same in 1958 as in 1952, only a small minority considering that they had improved, and another small minority taking the opposite view.

Somewhat similarly, about 42% of the households thought that the conditions of supply of timber remained unchanged between 1952 and 1958; about 20% considered that they had improved, about 8% that they had worsened and about 30% did not answer. In fact, the supply had been greatly expanded; witness the very large amount of private and public building construction in the period. But the price of timber has risen; some rural households could not afford good timber for their house building, and referred to scarcity in this sense.

Almost all of the rural households in the districts concerned considered that there should be more windbreaks along the sea shore.

About fish ponds

General observation has been that most farm families in Taiwan have fish ponds, to raise fish for their own home consumption. Yet 96% of the households interviewed in the survey said they had none. This seems incredible; possibly they were afraid the information might be used for tax purposes?

One of the questions on the schedule was whether it is more profitable to raise fish or grow crops. Only a few households could make such a comparison or answer the question. Private ponds, or part interest in a common pond, are regarded rather as a sideline production, for home consumption, not the market.

About handicrafts

More than 87% of the households said they did not engage in any handicraft production; only 6% said they did, 7% did not give an answer. Where undertaken, handicrafts figured generally as supplementary or spare-time employment for some members of the family; only in a few cases were such activities pursued by the whole family, and then they formed the family's chief livelihood. The aim was generally either to make some supplementary income, or to save the expense of some item which would otherwise have to be purchased.

About the Land-to-the-Tiller Programme and land ownership

More than 52% of the households said that the Land-to-the-Tiller Programme had led to an improvement in the people's living conditions; less than 4% held to the contrary, 12% said there had been no change, and about 32% could make no comparison. In Hsinchang and Jenai none of the households attributed anything but good effects to the programme.

About 45% of the farm households believed that the Land-to-the-Tiller Programme had caused an increase in rice production, none believed it had decreased production. Over 19% thought the programme had no effect; and about 35% said they could make no comparison on this point. Regarding the effect on the production of other crops, 32% believed the effect had been good, 22% that it had made no significant difference and 45% could make no comparison.

Those farm households in the survey population which owned land, had at the time of the survey altogether 1,968 parcels or plots of land. Such households numbered 977; so that the average number of plots of land owned per land-owning household was about 2.01. This does not indicate very extreme fragmentation; though it is known that there were some extreme cases of inconvenient separation of the same farmer's lots.

380, or 19% of these lots had been acquired by ordinary purchase on traditional lines, usually six or seven years previously. The oldest of these transactions had been 18 years previously. 152 lots, or about 8%, had been purchases, in the last four or five years, from public land. (In Hsinpu, however, such a purchase of public land had been made 15 years and others five or six years, previously). 343 lots, or over 17%, had been public land and were purchased under the Land-to-the-Tiller Programme, mostly five or six years before, but in some cases at the very beginning of the programme, six or seven years previously.

In the overall average each township had been 19 purchases of land-lots from public land under the Land-to-the-Tiller Programme, and slightly more by the other methods mentioned, outside this programme. Those which had more than the average number of purchases from public land under this programme were: Hsinchuang 56, Chungli 53, Tungshan 48, Kangshan 38, Hsinpu 30, and Chungpu 23.

88 lots, or about 4½%, were purchases of private land (not previously vested in the government) from landlords, under the Land-to-the-Tiller scheme, bought in the past six years. No less than 24 of these were in Hsinchuang, and 13 in Tungshan.

A very small proportion (24 lots, about 1%) had been acquired by marriage. This is not at all a usual or popular way of land-acquisition in Taiwan, except among the aborigines' people: eight of the lots in this category were in Jenai, six in Kangshan, four in Chiangchun, three in Chishan, two in Chungpu, and one in Chaochow.

Inheritance thus remains the greatest and most general way of obtaining land: 860, or about 44%, of the 1,968 lots owned by households in the survey area had been inherited.

Nearly all (98.6%) of the 1968 lots were cultivated by the owners themselves; 23 were rented to others for cultivation, and 5 were reported not in use.

Households purchasing land under the Land-to-the-Tailer Programme were asked what use they would make henceforward of the money, at present devoted to paying off the land acquired under that programme, when the payments cease. Only 329 households made any definite answer. Over half (56%) considered they would use the money to improve their living conditions; over 16% (54 households) wished to use it to buy still more land. 37 households, or over 11%, wished to replenish their farm equipment or add to it. The remaining 17% put forward a variety of other desiderata: to give their children more education, to marry off their sons, pay off old debts, start supplementary enterprises, repair workshops, buy fertilizers, improve irrigation, change to some occupation other than farming, and repair barns.

Over half the farm households (52%) reported that there had been some change in the area they cultivated between 1952 and 1958. Only 92 households, or less than 10%, however, reported an increase in their cultivated area. This is quite inconsistent with general observation, and the fact that there had been so many land acquisitions under the Land-to-the Tiller Programme. It is presumed that most of the households did not like to give particulars of increases to enquiring strangers. Only 54 households, or about 5%, reported a decrease in the area they cultivated.

Only a little over one-half of the households gave any definite answer to questions concerning purchase and sale of land. The great majority of these (82% of them) said they had bought or sold no land in the past 6 years. Only 85 (12%) had bought land, and 41 (6%) had sold land.

About farm tenancies

Nearly 54% of the households said the Rent Reduction Programme had raised the people's standard of living; about 13% felt that there was not much difference, and 31% were unable to make any comparison. Only a very small proportion 12%

(30 households), held that the Programme had lowered living standards for the people. This distribution of opinions was uniform throughout the 18 townships.

Most tenancies (60%) were recent, 33% had been held by the present tenant's father, and 7% by his grandfather; in one case the land had been farmed by the present tenant's great-grandfather.

The landlords of the 315 tenant farmers included in the survey were mainly private individuals, of whom about half were absentee landlords. Only very infrequently was there a kinship tie between landlord and tenant. In 45 instances the landlord was one of the departments of the government or a public company.

Almost all tenancies were held on contract, though a small percentage were informal, and on the average rents amounted to NT\$893 per household or a little over 25 per cent of the total annual value of farm products (about the same as in 1952). Regional differences in rent were marked, however, ranging from NT\$150 in Kangshan and Chiangchun to NT\$5,000 in Hsinpu, an area of prosperous citrus orchards and large farms.

Some portion of rents was paid in kind, though less than in 1952, when more than a third of all rents were paid in kind.

About the Farmers' Associations

Three-quarters of the farm household heads were voting members of a Farmers' Associations. The percentage of household heads who were members of Farmers' Associations was higher in Yuanchang, Potzù, Chiangchun, Kangshan, Chungli and Tungshan than in Fengyuan, Shuili, Chungpu, Chengkung and Hsinpu.

When asked to give their opinion of the work of the Farmers' Association 38% said that they were favourable, 28% were uninterested, 5% were critical and 29% gave no answer.

Among the suggestions for extending the work of the Farmers' Association were the following:

- a) the promotion of part-time non-farm employment for farmers, b) the purchase or hire of tractors for the farmers, c) the introduction of new knowledge, d) helping farmers to subscribe to more magazines, e) further improvement of land, crop and livestock, f) more fertilizer information, and g) assistance in changing the tax collectors.

This compares with the list of existing Farmers' Association projects compiled from survey records:

- a) distribution of fertilizers (mentioned by 391 households), b) distribution of soya beancake (232 households), c) farm loans (186 households),

d) supply of chemicals (91 households), e) agricultural guidance (76 households), f) crop and livestock improvement (34 households), g) control of plant diseases and insects (18 households), h) distribution of animal feed (13 households), i) purchase of farm tools (10 households), j) agricultural extension services (6 households), as well as (in the case of one or two households respectively), the building of compost shelters, supply of sprayers, marketing of farm products, control of animal diseases, building of drying grounds, distribution of improved seed varieties, erection of warehouses, purchase of night soil, rice loans, cement subsidies, purchase of young hogs, social welfare, purchase of draft animals, jute for fertilizer exchange, artificial insemination, farm subsidies, hire of implements, processing of farm and forest products, animal insurance, provision of lavatories, assistance to families of military personnel, scholarships, supply and marketing of rice and sugar, and the control of natural calamities.

About living expenses

The main items of expenditure incurred by farm and nonfarm households in 1958 are presented in absolute amounts and in percentages in Table A below. Expenses incurred in respect of transportation, toilet goods, hair cutting, tea, gifts, recreation and taxes are not included. This probably explains why the overall expenditure recorded in Table A is some NT\$3,000 less than in the unpublished Preliminary Report on the Impact of Farmers' Associations and Extension Education in the Development of Agriculture in Taiwan.

Table A. Average Family Living Expenses Incurred by Farm and Non-farm Sample Households in 1958, by Items

Items	Farm Households		Non-farm Households		All Households	
	(NT\$)	%	(NT\$)	%	(NT\$)	%
Food	5,591	37.69	3,276	34.07	4,921	37.74
Clothing	1,167	7.87	670	6.96	874	6.70
Light & Heat	1,837	12.38	1,742	18.12	1,813	13.90
Rent, House	616	4.15	184	1.91	411	3.15
House Repair	1,416	9.55	1,110	11.54	1,389	10.66
Furniture	601	4.05	325	3.38	528	4.05
Education	432	2.91	366	3.80	412	3.16
Tobacco	777	5.24	620	6.45	742	5.69
Medicine	1,436	9.68	824	8.57	1,271	9.75
Entertaining	789	5.32	411	4.28	558	4.28
Religion	172	1.16	88	0.92	119	0.92
Total	14,834	100.00	9,616	100.00	13,038	100.00

Surprisingly farm household living expenses are very much higher than those of non-farm households. This is partly due to the fact that non-farm households are generally more secretive about their incomes, though it is perhaps due more to the fact that farm families are on the whole larger and more prosperous than non-farm families in rural Taiwan except in Chengkung Chen and Jenai Hsiang.

Table B. Average Family Living Expenses Incurred by Farm and Non-farm Sample Households in 1958, by Townships

Townships	Farm Households (NT\$)	Non-farm Households (NT\$)	All Households (NT\$)
Tungshan Hsiang	15,322	9,441	14,187
Hsinchuang Chen	21,671	9,641	17,346
Chungli Chen	20,069	13,056	16,184
Hsinpu Chen	16,608	9,184	14,921
Tunglo Hsiang	21,177	13,444	19,230
Fengyuan Chen	18,574	14,201	15,908
Jenai Hsiang	7,699	8,897	7,610
Shuili Hsiang	13,359	8,230	11,590
Chihu Chen	13,839	8,800	13,624
Yuanchang Hsiang	12,526	3,226	11,210
Chungpu Hsiang	15,090	8,771	13,430
Potzu Chen	12,310	7,026	11,243
Chiangchun Hsiang	10,556	4,215	9,921
Kangshan Chen	11,707	7,069	10,479
Chishan Chen	13,436	9,775	12,121
Chaochow Chen	13,648	9,928	12,167
Chengkung Chen	12,941	17,353	15,058
Hsincheng Hsiang	16,486	10,576	14,417
Average	14,834	9,616	13,038

About credit facilities

To the question 'when money is needed, is it possible to borrow it?' About 55% of the households interviewed said yes, 28% no and 17% were uncertain. But proportionately more said 'yes' in Tungshan, Chungli, Chishan, Tunglo, Kangshan, Hsinpu and Jenai than in Yuanchang, Chungpu and Chiangchun. The JCRR Farm Credit Demonstration Programme has operated in Chishan and Kangshan since 1956 and in Yuanchang, Chungpu, Shuili and Chaochow since 1959.

Borrowing was said to be easiest when the householder had a) relatives and friends willing to help (this in 278 cases), b) a good credit reputation (272 cases), c) property and other wealth to pledge as security (26 cases), or because of d) the

proximity of an office of the Land Bank (19 cases). Other credit sources mentioned in one or two cases were, merchants or stores, cooperatives, 'factories, Taiwan Power Company, Provincial Food Bureau. 183 persons mentioned the Farmers' Association as a source of credit.

Loans were said to be likely to be refused on the ground that a) the borrower's credit reputation was poor (99 cases), b) because of overall poverty and the consequent difficulty of deciding the merits of particular borrowers (130 cases), c) poor collateral security (11 cases), d) fear of bankruptcy (11 cases). Mention was made by one or two persons of the difficulty of borrowing from Farmers' Associations, whose rules were too strict. Six persons also said that it was a rule of theirs never to borrow money.

The Associations charge low rates of interest. Almost a quarter of those interviewed said that they paid 1.8% interest on loans, sixteen percent paid 3%, seven and a half per cent paid 2%, five per cent paid 1.5%, three per cent paid 2.5%, another three per cent paid no interest.

About certain community organizations and political activity

Christian churches. Christian church members were relatively numerous among the aborigines in Jenai, Chengkung and Hsincheng. There were relatively fewer lowland Chinese Christians—notably in Shuili, Chaochow, Hsinpu and Hsinchuang. There were altogether 404 church-going Christians in the 18 townships; it is striking that nearly half of them were sons (187); husbands (78) and wives (85) representing about 20% each, and daughters (54) some 13%.

Among the Chinese generally, the majority of the Christians are women, especially middle-aged and older women; but the survey found that among the aborigines it was the sons, or the younger and middle-aged men, who were the great majority. Some explanations of this can be suggested, by those who know Chinese social psychology.

Scouts and 4-H Clubs. The scout movements are popular in the city schools, but not so flourishing in the rural areas; Only 78 Boy Scout members, and 12 Girl Scouts (Guides) were found in the survey area, and they were scattered in all the townships except Chiangchun, Girl Scouts being found in six townships only.

The 4-H Clubs have been well developed and successful in Taiwan for some ten years past, so that it is quite extraordinary (and needs further checking) that only 10 members of 4-H clubs are recorded by the survey. It is equally strange that no women are reported, in the whole survey area, as past or present members of Home Improvement Clubs; this form of activity is so widespread that there must

be women in every village who have participated in such clubs.

Office holders. 40 persons in the 1350 households surveyed were office holders in the Farmers' Associations at the time of the survey, and 23 others had held office in them in the past. Very few of the others mentioned were, or had been, office holders. But the survey returns must be very incomplete in this respect.

Political participation. 119 persons in the survey area were working in government or political offices at the time of the survey, and 132 had previously done so; an average for the two categories together of about 14 per township. With great variation among the townships: the highest figure, for Tunglo, being about double the average (27), and Jenai following with 20. Government staffs are somewhat larger in the more advanced and developed areas, and staffs of political organizations distinctly larger. But the proportion of farmer or rural members in such areas is lower.

It is noted that there is a transitional stage, in general and civic development, when progress begins to be marked and better educated or qualified people become available for all sorts of local functions; the engagement and involvement of the latter actually displaces the working farmers in such functions and reduces the proportion of the latter's participation. But this is of course only ostensibly regressive, as the quality of the operations is raised, the *participation* of the working people is rising, though fewer of them appear in the leading roles, and this situation is temporary as improvement of standards spreads among the rank and file.

Elections to the Land Tenancy Committee. The formation of this committee, and its working, are matters of political and practical significance to the rural communities. Yet the survey found that participation of the latter was weak in this field of activity. Only about one-third (438) of the male heads of households had ever participated in these elections. A larger number (494 or 37%) had never participated. Only 85 of the female heads of households had participated, 636 or 51% had never done so and 520 or 42% did not answer the question.

Election of Township Heads. In elections to the Town headships, however, active interest was displayed. 95% of the male heads of households had participated. Only 85 or 3% said they had not participated; and 29 or 2% did not answer.

Election of Farmers' Association Representatives. All households were asked about their participation in the election of representatives in the Farmers' Associations. 708 (52%) had taken part, just over 27% had not, and about 21% gave no answer on this point.

CONCLUSION

The picture of rural life in Taiwan is undoubtedly varied, and its full explanation complex. In sum, the practical progress achieved, in the face of great difficulties and problems, is such as to enhance the confidence and reputation of the free Chinese people of Taiwan. Industrious, cheerful and alert, they play a great part in developing an essentially democratic way of life; which is still something new in Taiwan, but is making much progress, in all the aspects on which this survey has touched.

APPENDIX 1

THE METHOD OF SURVEY

Eighteen townships were selected for study in the 1959 survey of which sixteen were the same as in the 1952 survey. The two additional townships were Chungli and Potzu. The former shows the effect of new industries and the latter of new crops, on rural life.

The 1959 Survey Team under the direction of Professor Martin Yang visited the eighteen townships during the period July 28, 1959 to October 9, 1959.

Basic information was collected by means of three questionnaires:

The first questionnaire, the leaders' conference questionnaire, was presented to the leaders of the rural community, at a meeting held on the eve of the arrival of the full survey team. At this meeting the head of the township government was asked to give a brief introductory address. This was followed by a short talk by Professor Yang, who then invited one of his assistants to present to the meeting the leaders' conference questionnaire. Another assistant wrote down the answers given by the participants. These included comments on such diverse topics as health, education, land ownership, birth control, religion, and crop patterns.

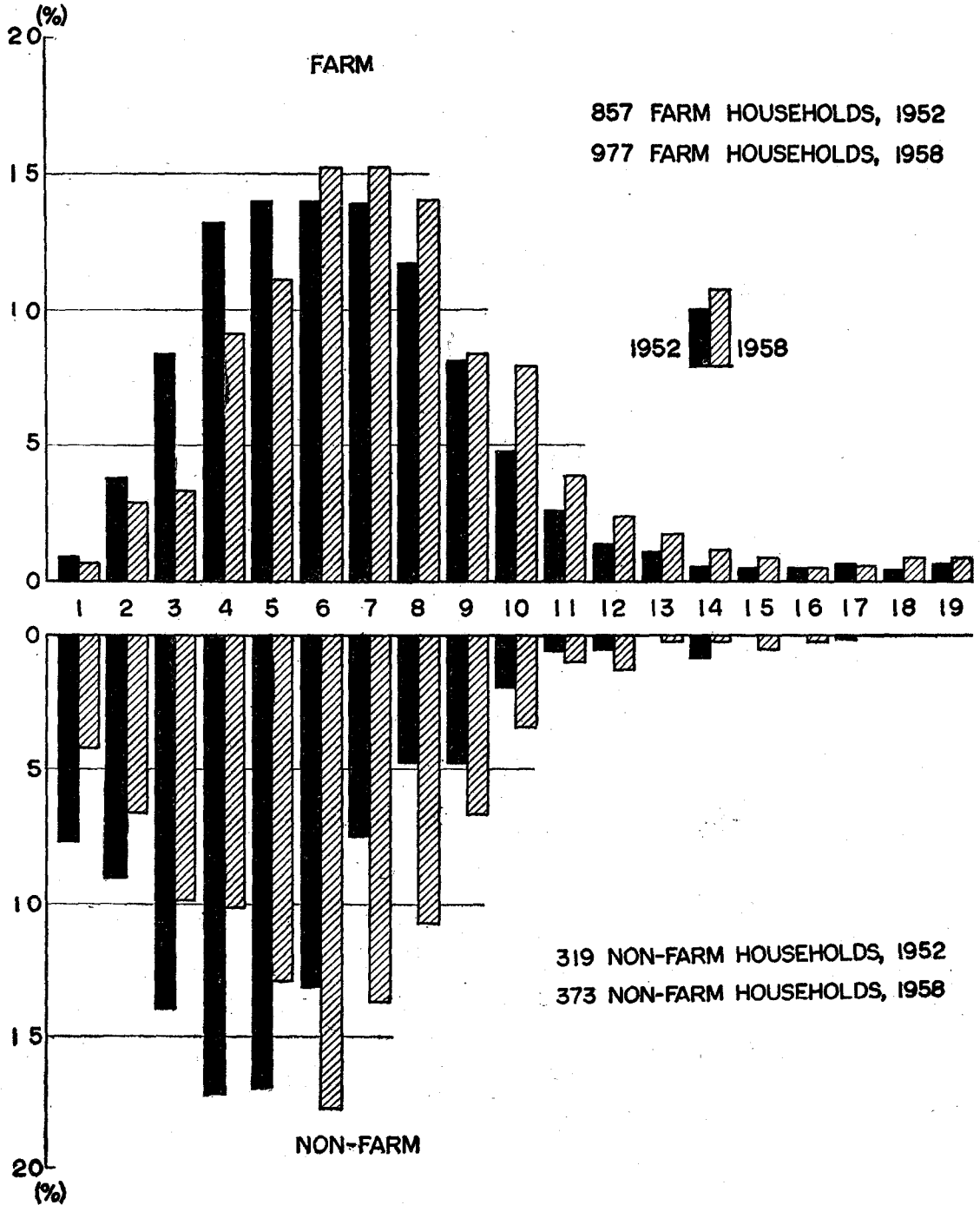
The second questionnaire was the township questionnaire. This was designed to tap statistical material (such as births, deaths, school attendance, etc.) already available in the township.

The third questionnaire was the household questionnaire. This was designed both as a check on the material obtained in other ways and to give due weight to the opinions of individual household members. It was presented to seventy five household heads chosen at random from the three villages selected for special survey in each township (see Chapter 12).

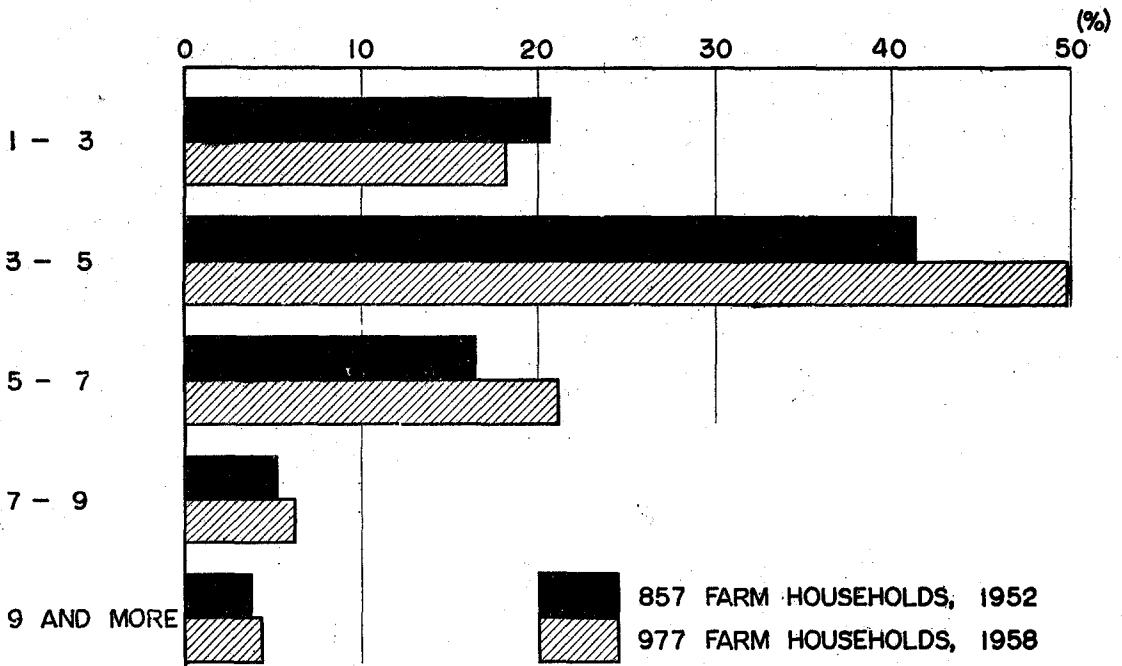
Lastly, supplementary information was obtained by direct observation and through conversations with persons familiar with life in the district and it was a feature of the work of the survey team that its members were actively encouraged to discuss daily with each other their views and observations about life in rural Taiwan.

APPENDIX I
TRENDS AND BENCHMARKS
DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS, BY SIZE

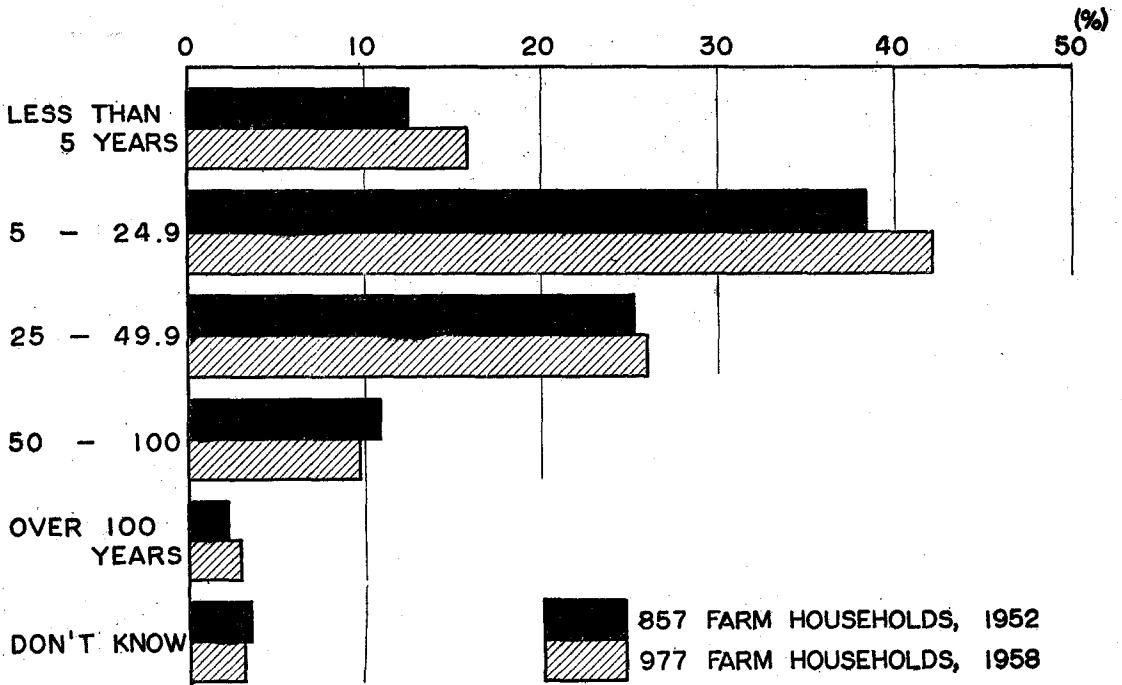
(ACTUAL AND CUSTOMARY RESIDENTS)



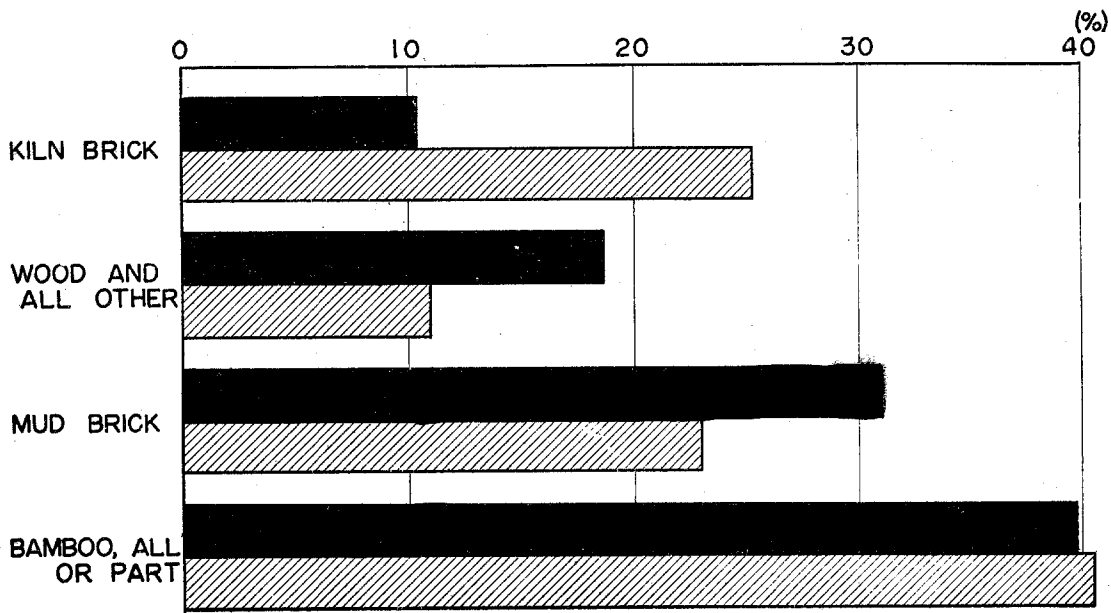
NUMBER OF DWELLING ROOMS OCCUPIED BY FARM HOUSEHOLDS



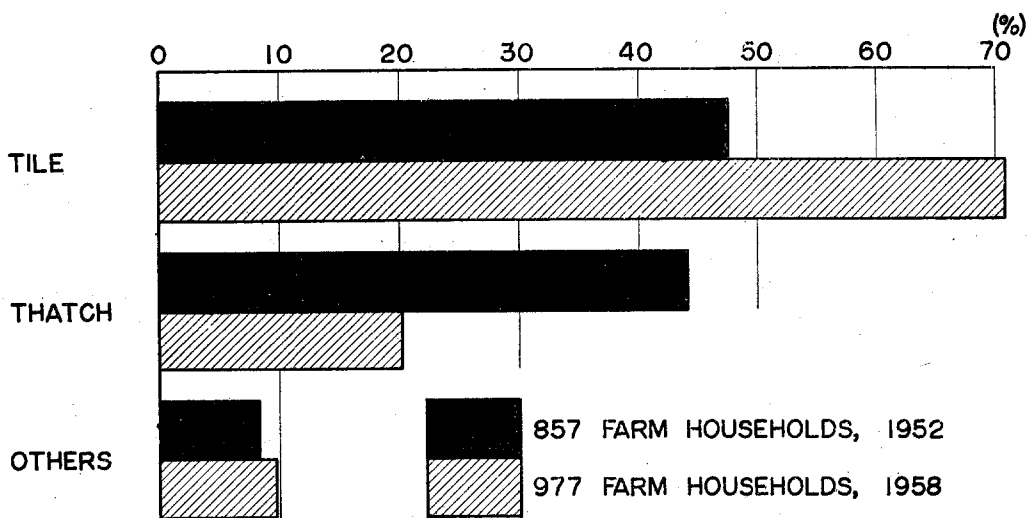
AGE OF DWELLINGS OF FARM HOUSEHOLDS



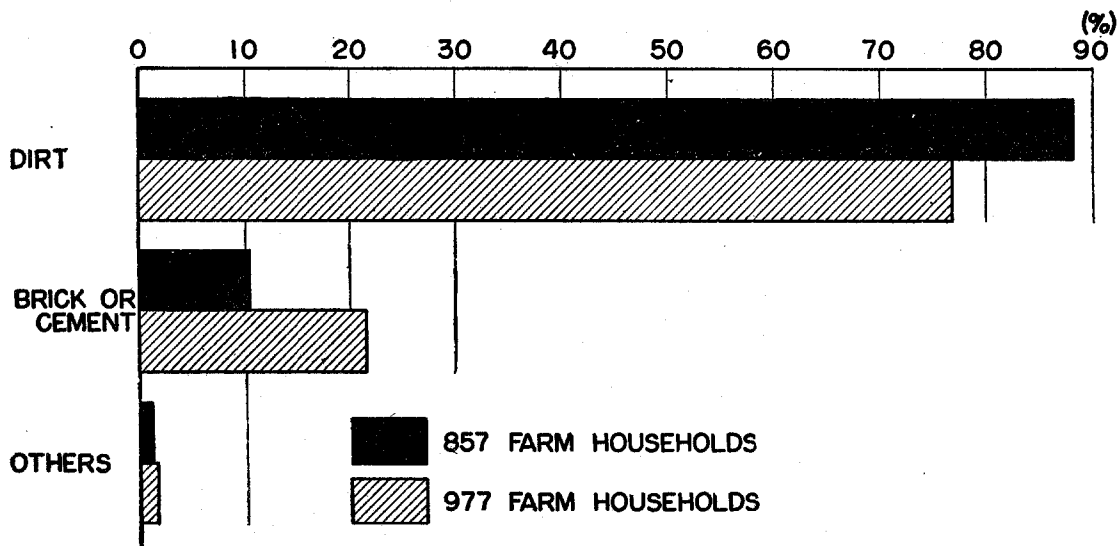
DWELLING WALL MATERIALS OF FARM HOUSEHOLDS



DWELLING ROOFING MATERIALS OF FARM HOUSEHOLDS



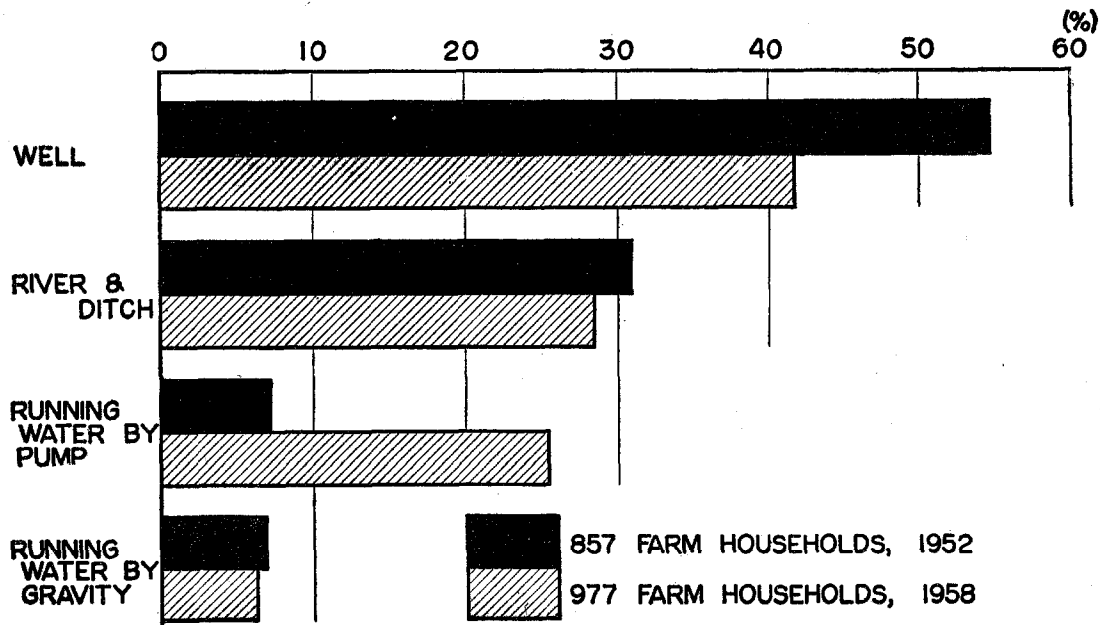
DWELLING FLOOR MATERIALS OF FARM HOUSEHOLDS



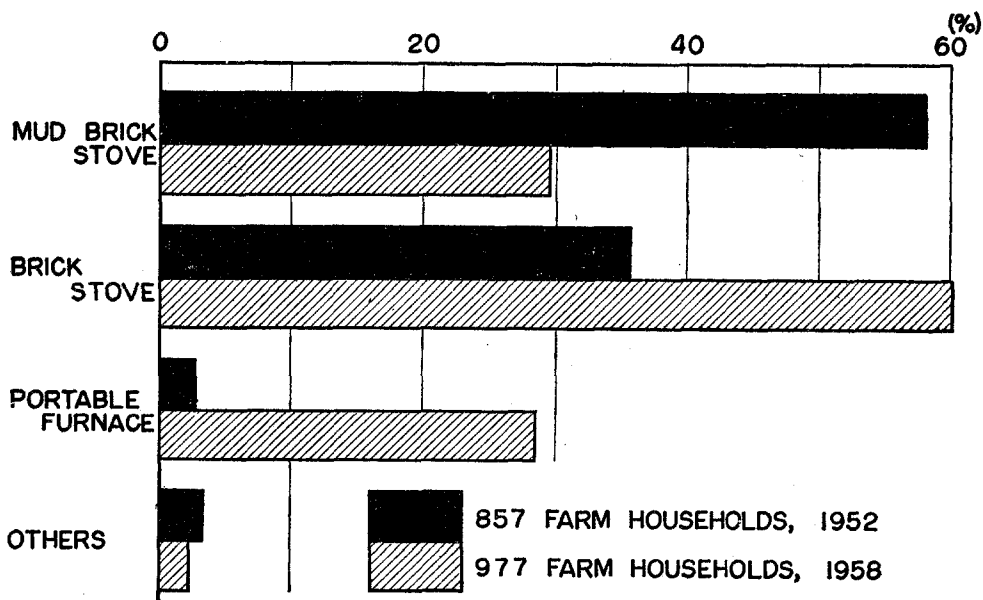
ARTIFICIAL LIGHTING IN FARM HOUSEHOLDS



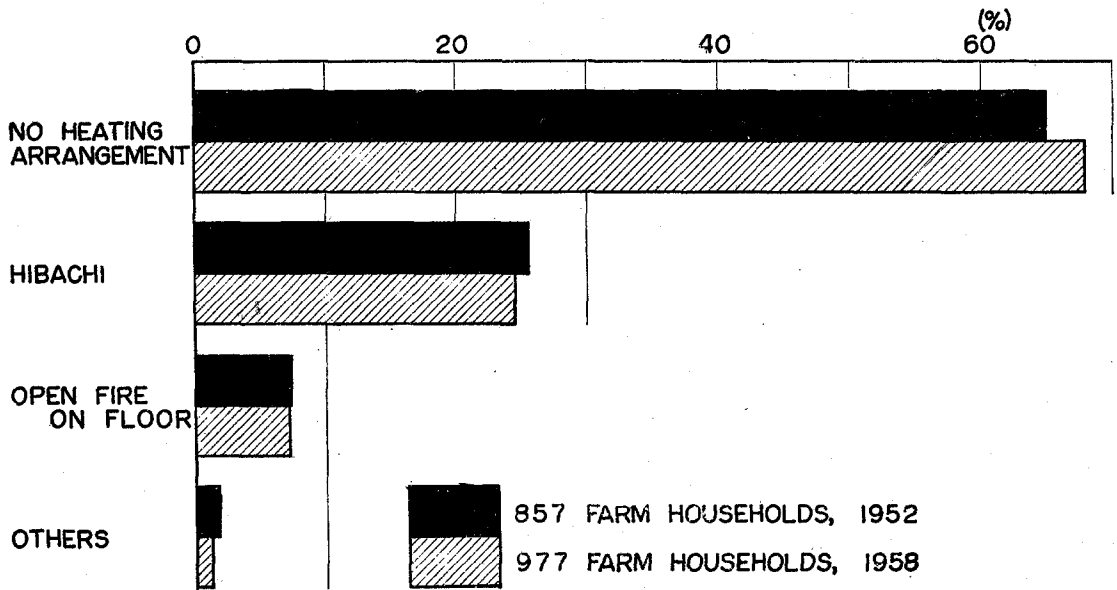
SOURCES OF WATER SUPPLY IN FARM HOUSEHOLDS



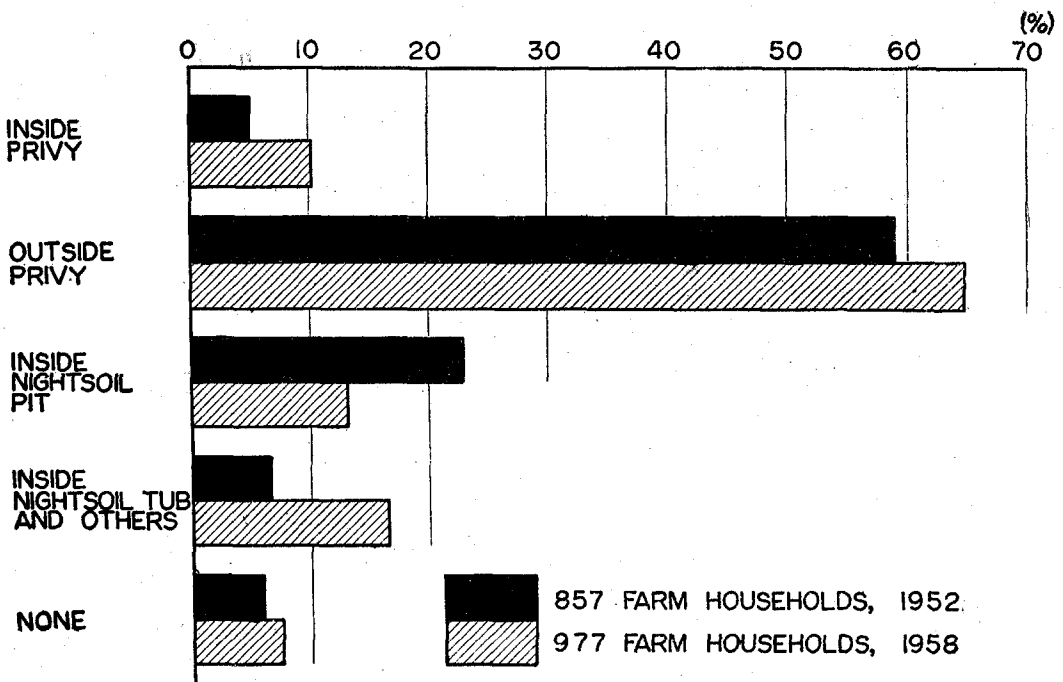
MAIN COOKING ARRANGEMENTS IN FARM HOUSEHOLDS



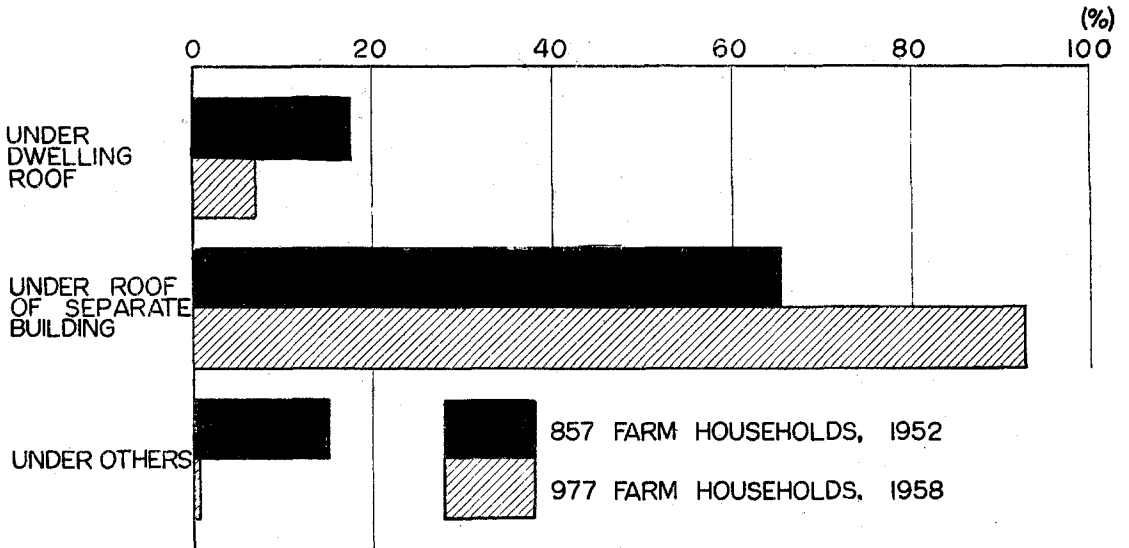
MAIN HEATING ARRANGEMENTS IN FARM HOUSEHOLDS



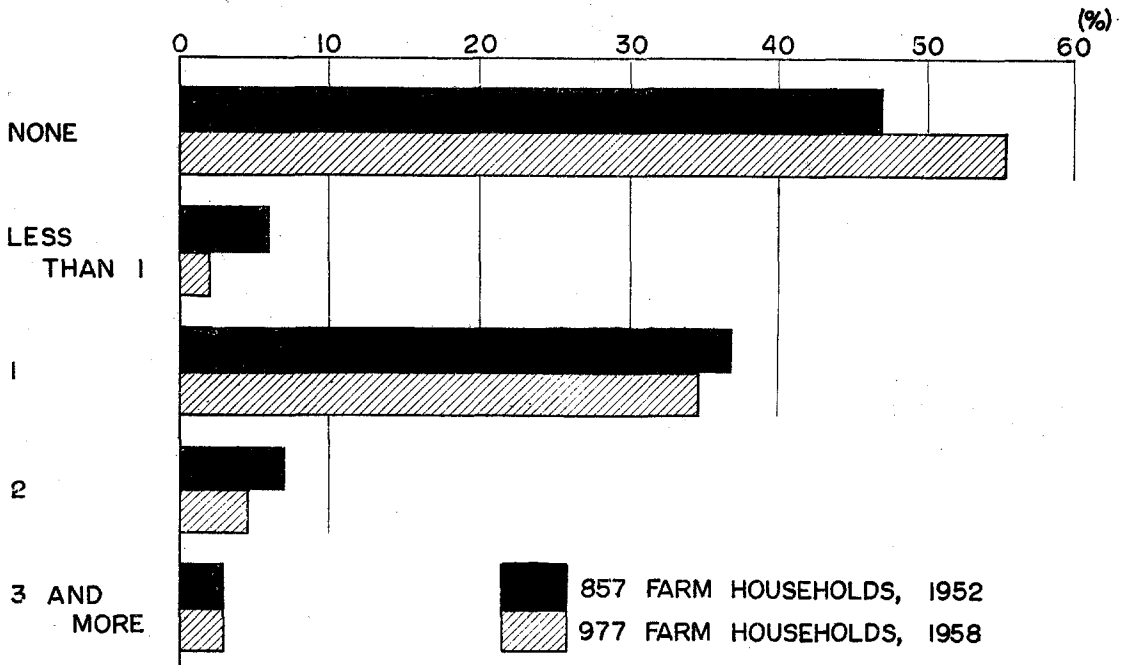
TOILET FACILITIES IN FARM HOUSEHOLDS



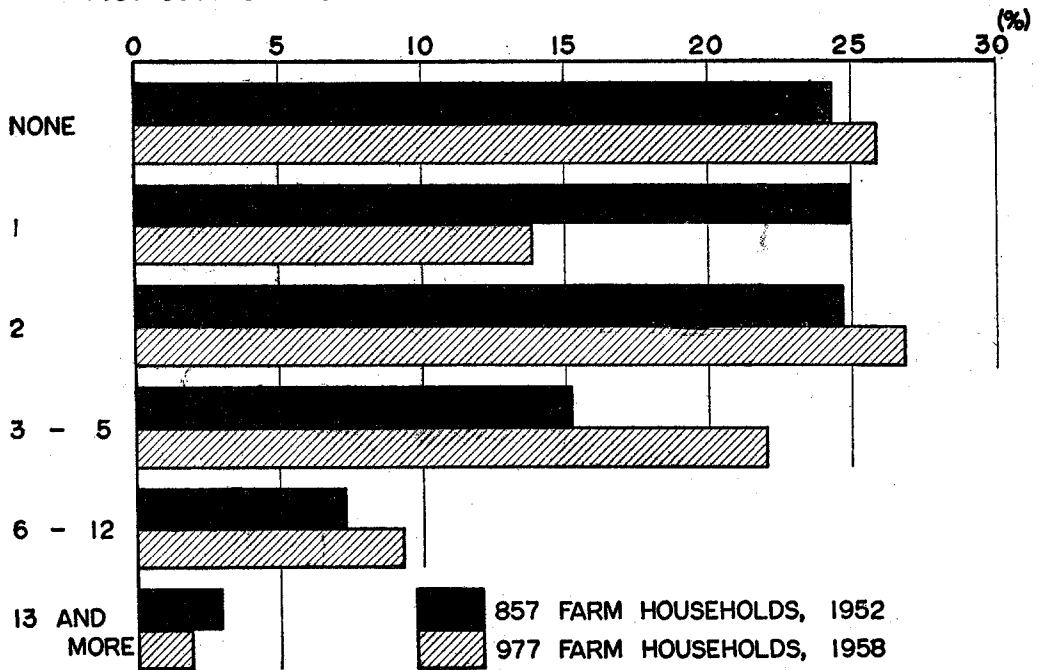
HOUSING OF FARM ANIMALS IN FARM HOUSEHOLDS



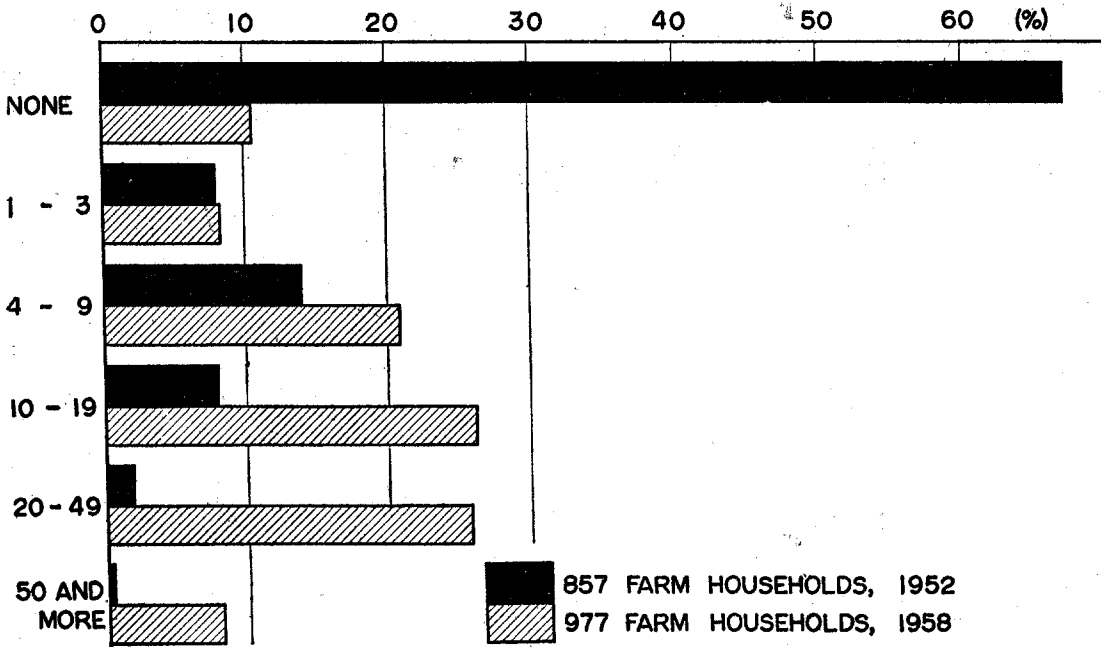
PROPORTION OF FARM HOUSEHOLDS OWNING BUFFALO AND/OR DRAFT CATTLE



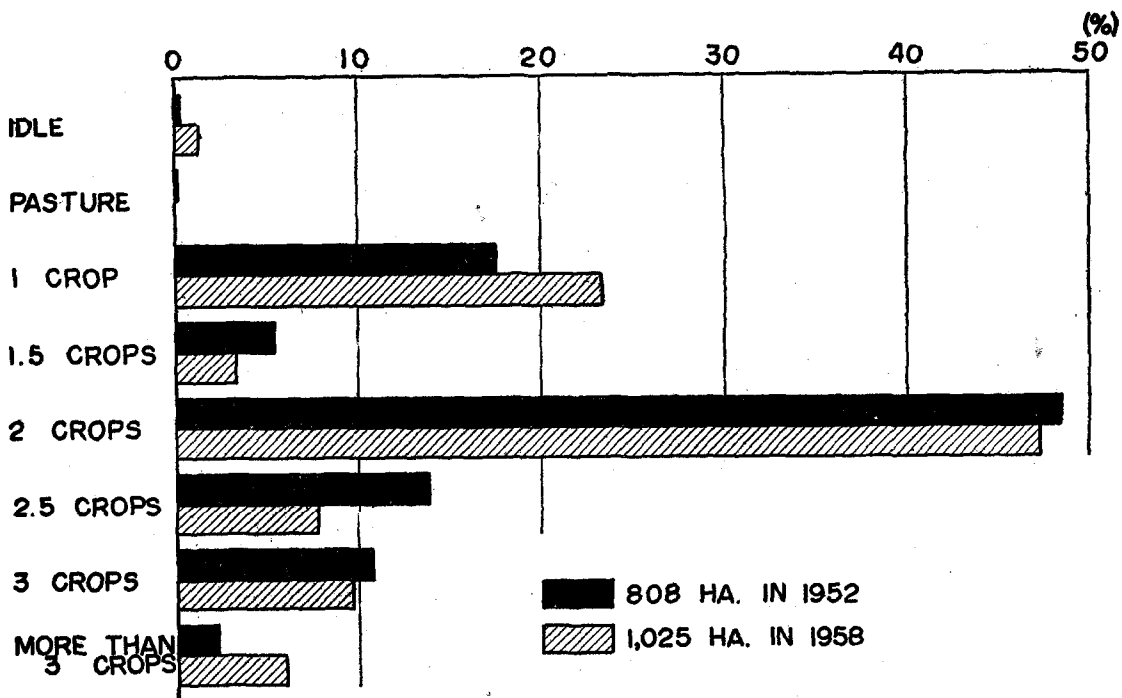
PROPORTION OF FARM HOUSEHOLDS OWNING HOG



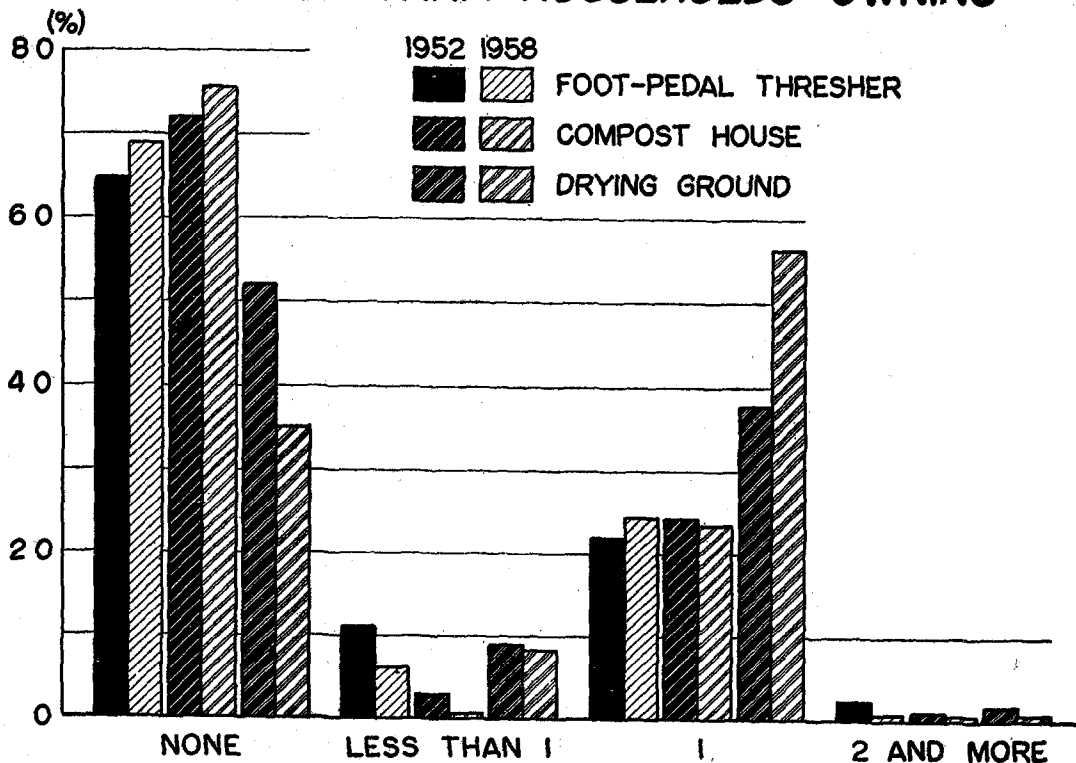
PROPORTION OF FARM HOUSEHOLDS OWNING FOWL



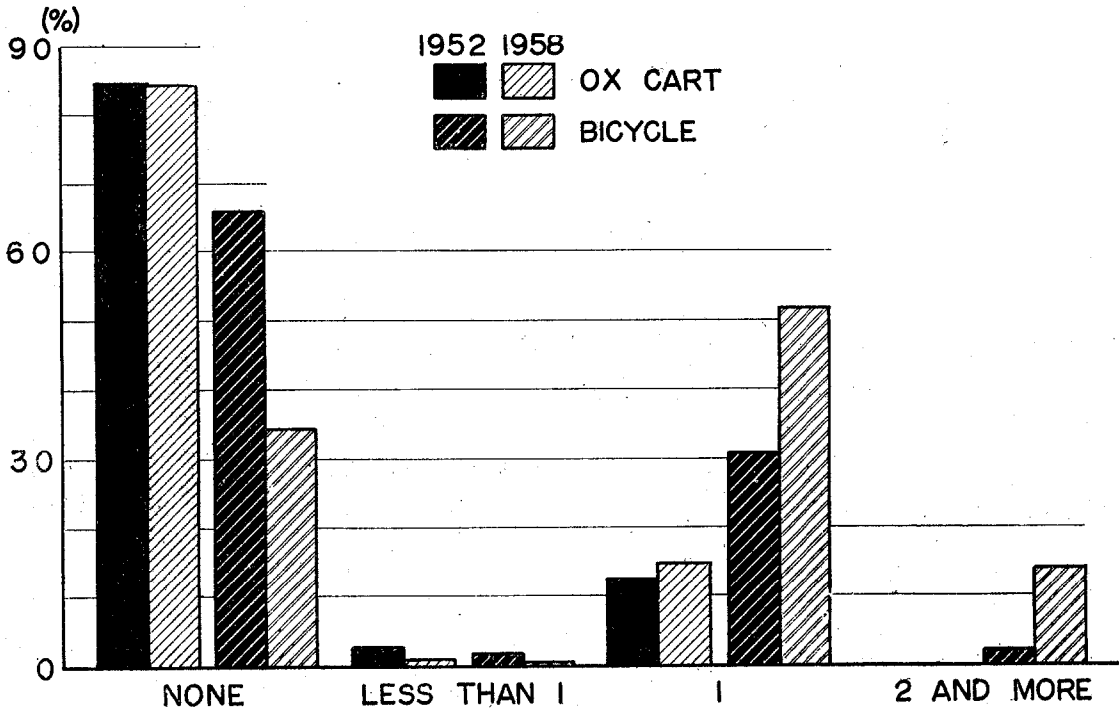
MULTIPLE USE OF OPEN CROP LAND IN ONE YEAR



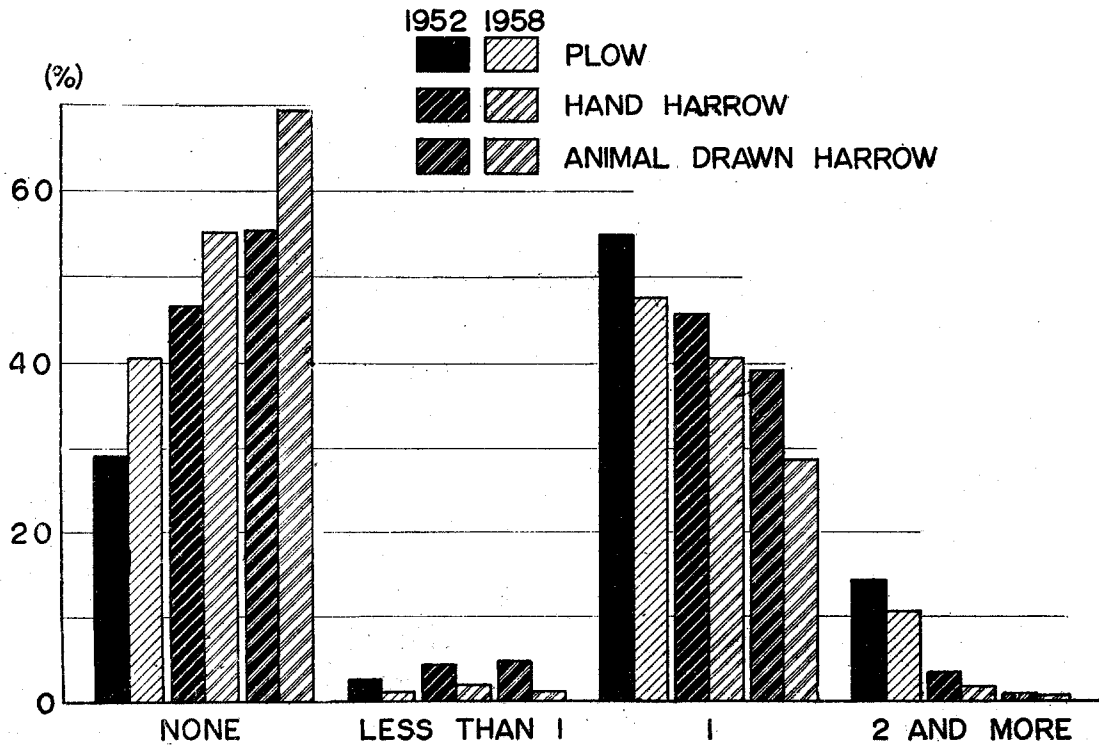
PROPORTION OF FARM HOUSEHOLDS OWNING



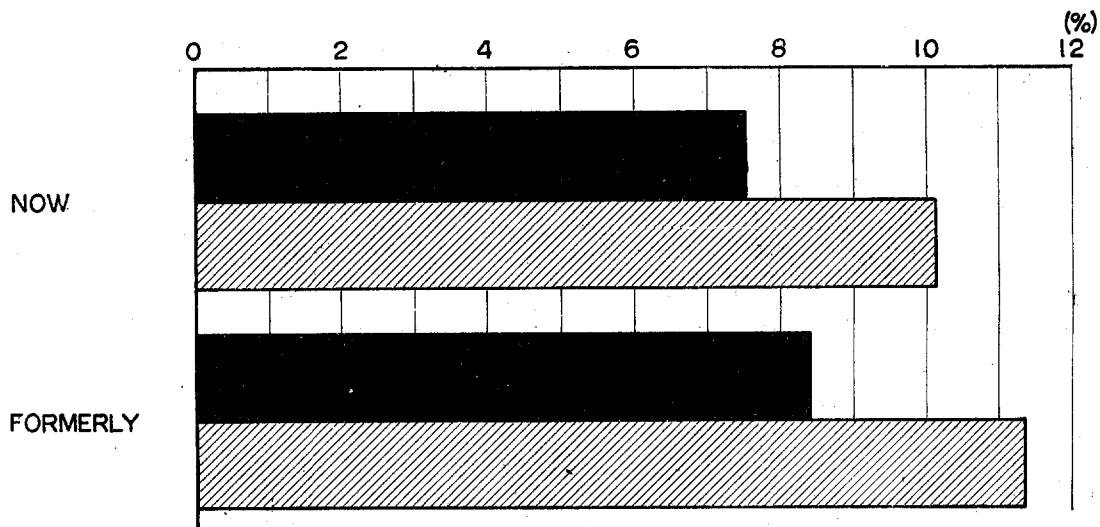
PROPORTION OF FARM HOUSEHOLDS OWNING



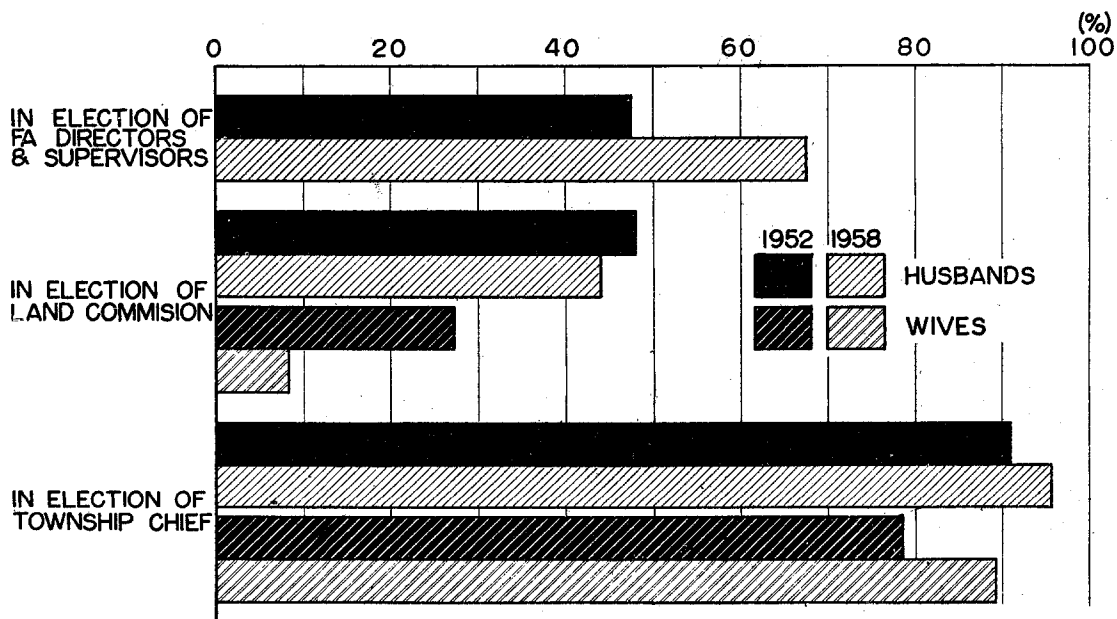
PROPORTION OF FARM HOUSEHOLDS OWNING



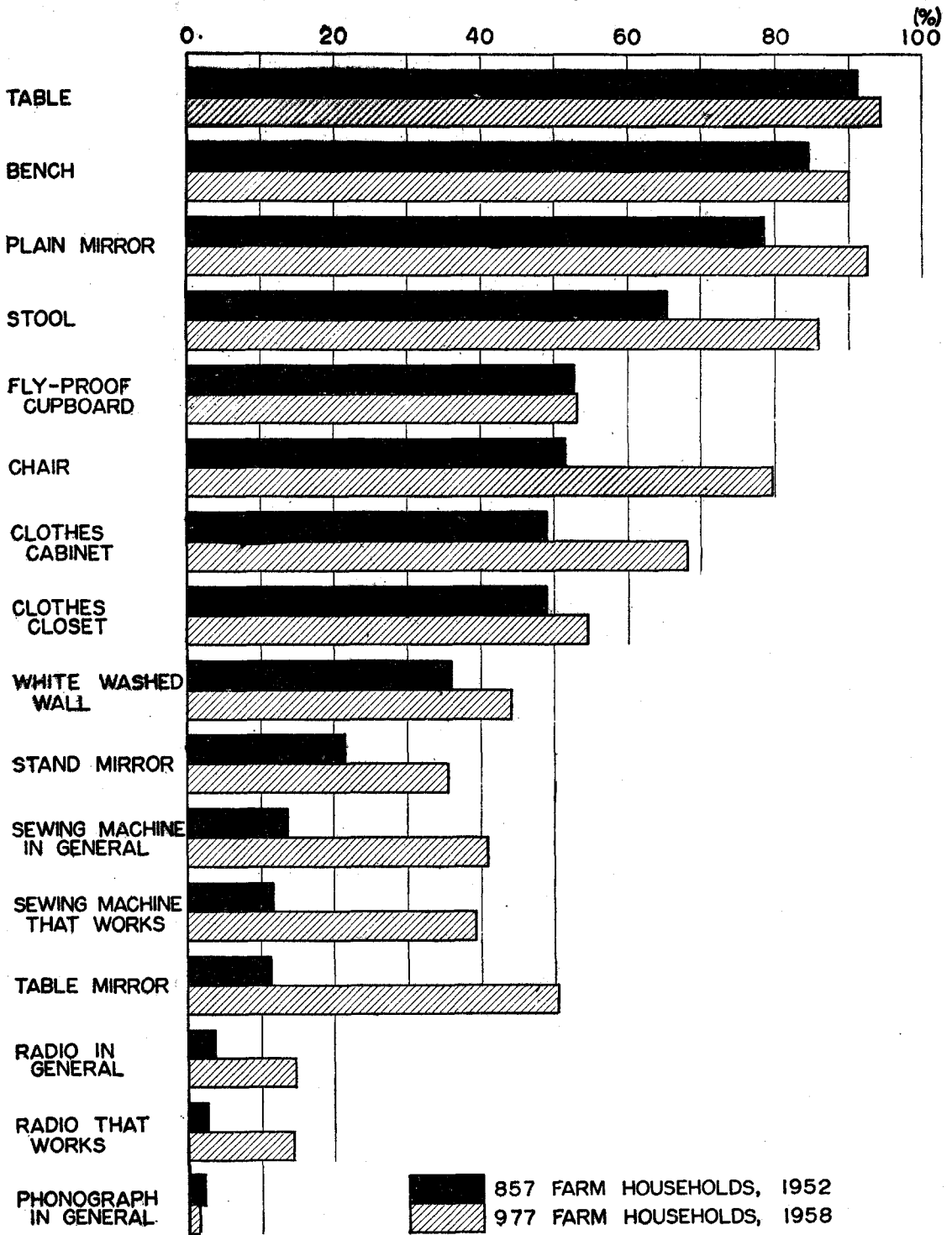
PROPORTION OF FARM HOUSEHOLDS HOLDING POLITICAL OFFICES



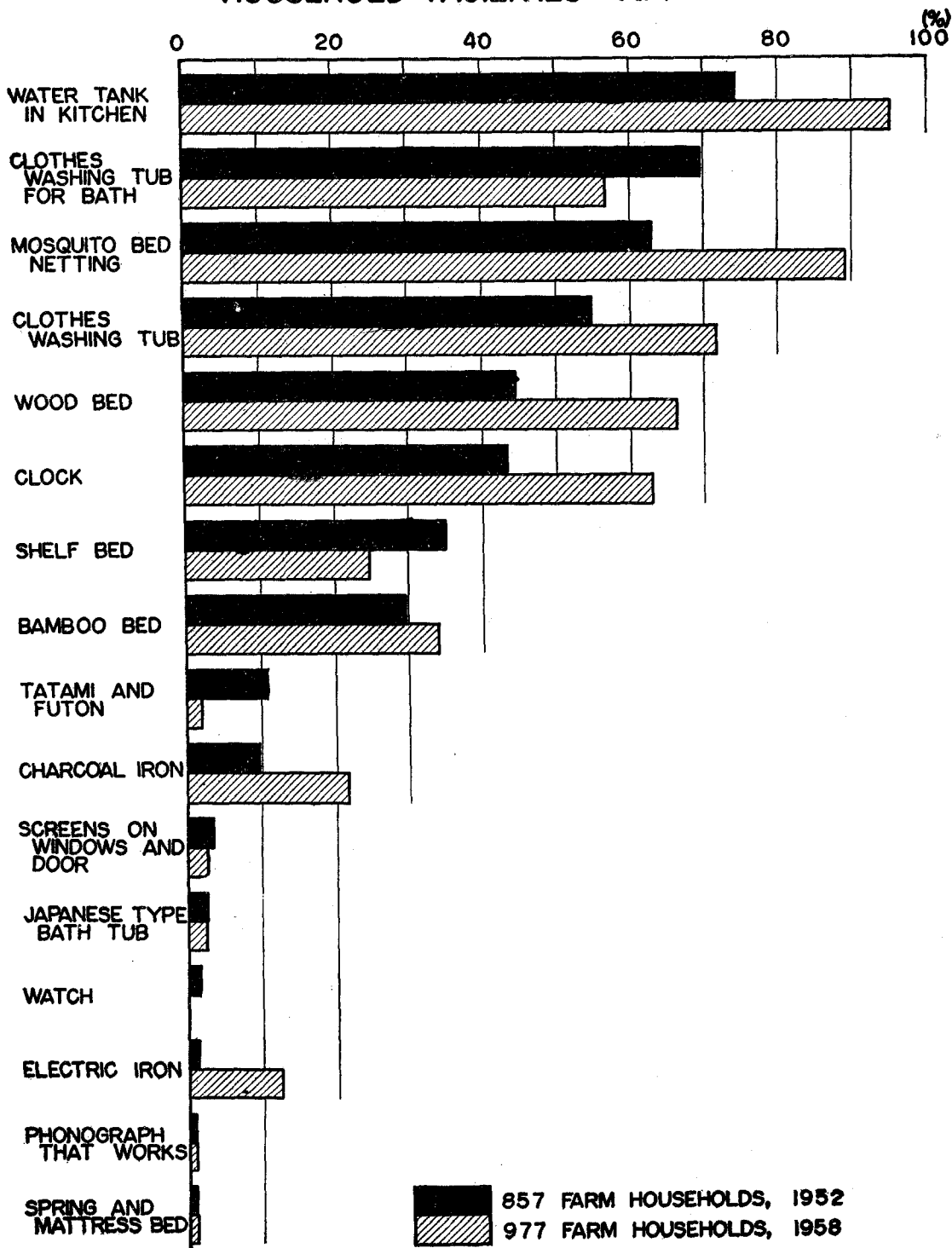
VOTING EXPERIENCE OF FARM HOUSEHOLDS



PROPORTION OF FARM HOUSEHOLDS WITH CERTAIN HOUSEHOLD FACILITIES (1)

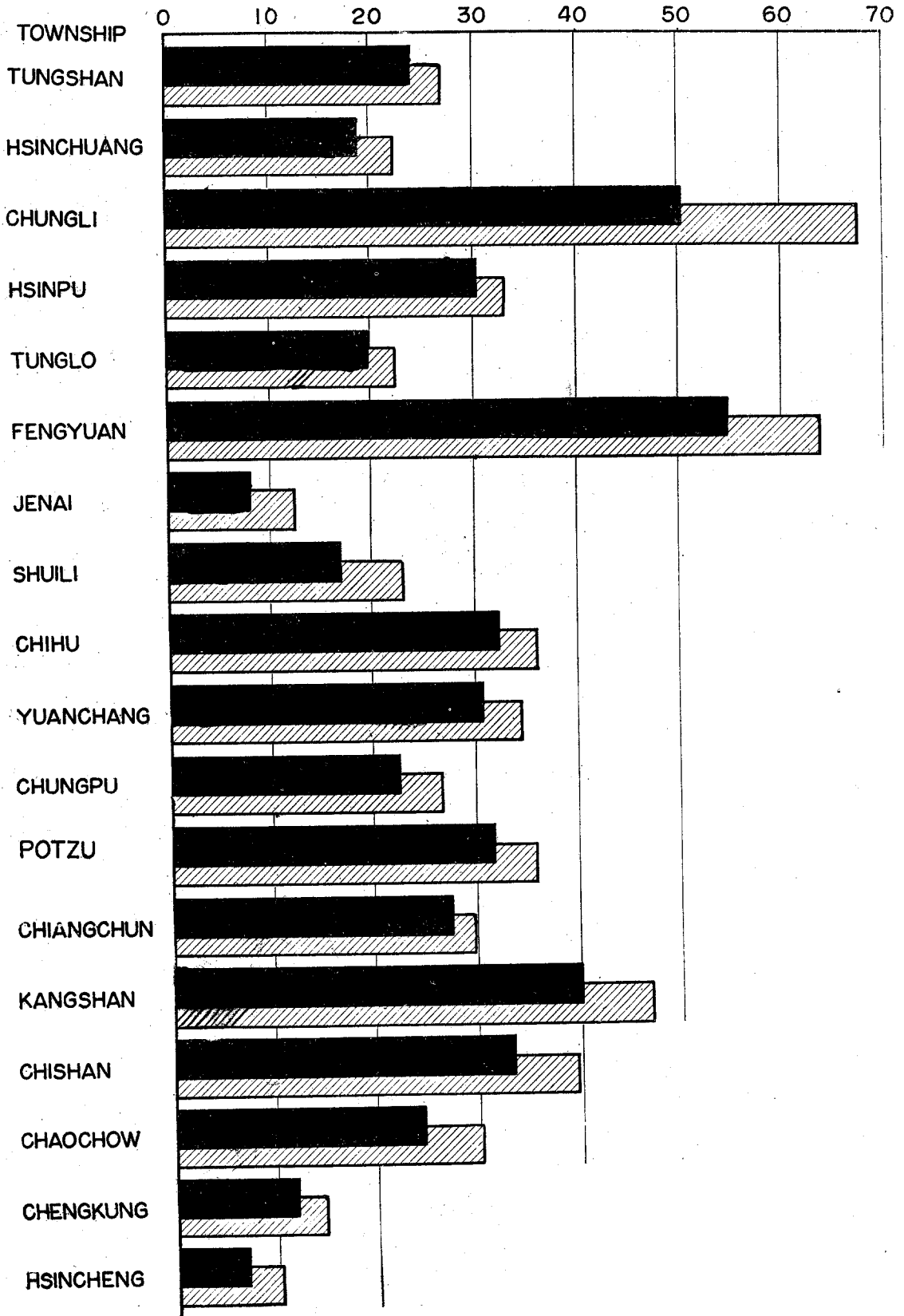


PROPORTION OF FARM HOUSEHOLDS WITH CERTAIN HOUSEHOLD FACILITIES (2)



POPULATION IN 1952 ■ & IN 1958 ▨

UNIT : 1,000



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