

THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF TAIWANESE SOCIETY

Edited by
Emily Martin Ahern and Hill Gates

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Lawrence W. Crissman, Hill Gates, Stevan Harrell
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Preface

In August 1976, thanks to the gentle prodding of Arthur Wolf, the enthusiastic guidance of Myron Cohen, and the generous support of the Joint Committee on Contemporary China of the Social Science Research Council, thirty social scientists, mostly anthropologists, met for a week at Wentworth-by-the-Sea, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, to explore the state of Taiwan anthropology and to criticize its products. Papers that had, for the most part, been previously circulated to all conference participants were presented by Emily Ahern, Göran Aijmer, Chung-min Chen, Myron Cohen, Lawrence Crissman, Donald DeGlopper, Stephan Feuchtwang, Morton Fried, Hill Gates, Katherine Gould-Martin, Stevan Harrell, Hsu Chia-ming, Lydia Kung, Harry Lamley, John McCreery, Michael Moser, Burton Pasternak, Barbara Pillsbury, Gary Seaman, Lung-sheng Sung, Wang Sung-hsing, Edgar Wickberg, Edwin Winckler, Arthur Wolf, and Alexander Chien-chung Yin.

A number of scholars who did not write papers also attended the conference in the capacity of discussants, commentators, and sources of inspiration. Professors Norma Diamond, Bernard Gallin, G. William Skinner, and T'ang Mei-chun assisted in this way, though we regretted the absence of Professor Li Yih-yuan, whose busy schedule prevented his attendance. Professor Sidney Mintz represented the nonsinic branches of anthropology, a task he performed with insight and charm. His helpful Afterword completes this volume. Susan Greenhalgh, a Columbia University graduate student, and Robert Weller, a Johns Hopkins University graduate student, took on the substantial labor of preparing a lengthy and valuable summary of the proceedings from tape recordings and notes. Dr. Patrick Maddox, then of SSRC, carried his earlier administrative role over into the conference itself, where his presence smoothed many practical problems during the week-long gathering.

Participants shared the responsibility for formal discussions of papers with the discussants, and the sometimes demanding job of chairing each session rotated within the group. Discussion of the pa-

pers and of the prepared critiques by formal discussants spilled over from the six-or-more-hour daily sessions into a nonstop seminar laced with field-workers' "war stories" and references to a mystifying menagerie of champion pigs, cans of worms, and black dogs. As anthropological argument filled up the days, various themes isolated themselves, some apparently irreconcilable positions were clarified to the point of discussability, and a number of theoretical alliances were forged.

The conference on Taiwan anthropology was a genuinely collective effort, and the effects of this approach are well demonstrated in the final versions of the papers presented here. For the work they did at Wentworth, participants deserve not thanks but mutual congratulations for a job well done. The varied contributions so enlivened that week and, we believe, the future of Taiwan anthropology, that we can only regret even more voices were not there to be heard.

We owe thanks to several people for help in preparing this volume for publication. Chung-min Chen did the calligraphy for the Character List; Wang Sung-hsing assisted in checking the Character List's accuracy; and Sergio Chavez prepared the map. Finally, we owe special thanks to Stanford University Press. J. G. Bell's encouragement and guidance were indispensable; and Norris Pope's energetic editing did much to make the collection a book, and to make the book readable.

E.M.A.

H.G.

Contributors

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HILL GATES received her Ph.D. from the University of Michigan in 1973 and is now Associate Professor of Anthropology at Central Michigan University. Working largely in urban anthropology, she has done field research in Taiwan in 1968-70, 1974-75, and 1980, where she has focused on political and social change in Taiwan's rapidly evolving economy.

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HARRY J. LAMLEY, Professor of History at the University of Hawaii, received his Ph.D. from the University of Washington in 1964. A specialist in Chinese local history of the Ch'ing and Republican periods, he has had a strong interest in Taiwan ever since his first stay on the island in 1956-59. He has published on Taiwanese walled cities, the Taiwanese gentry, and early Japanese rule in Taiwan, as well as on violence in Southeastern China. He is currently working on Chinese communal feuding.

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GARY SEAMAN received his Ph.D. from Cornell University in 1974 and is the author of *Temple Organization in a Chinese Village* (1978). Noted for his ethnographic films on China, he has been invited to show his films and speak at a number of American universities, and his films have been shown at meetings of the Association for Asian Studies, the American Anthropological Association, and the Conference on Visual Anthropology. He is currently at Austin Community College, in Austin, Texas.

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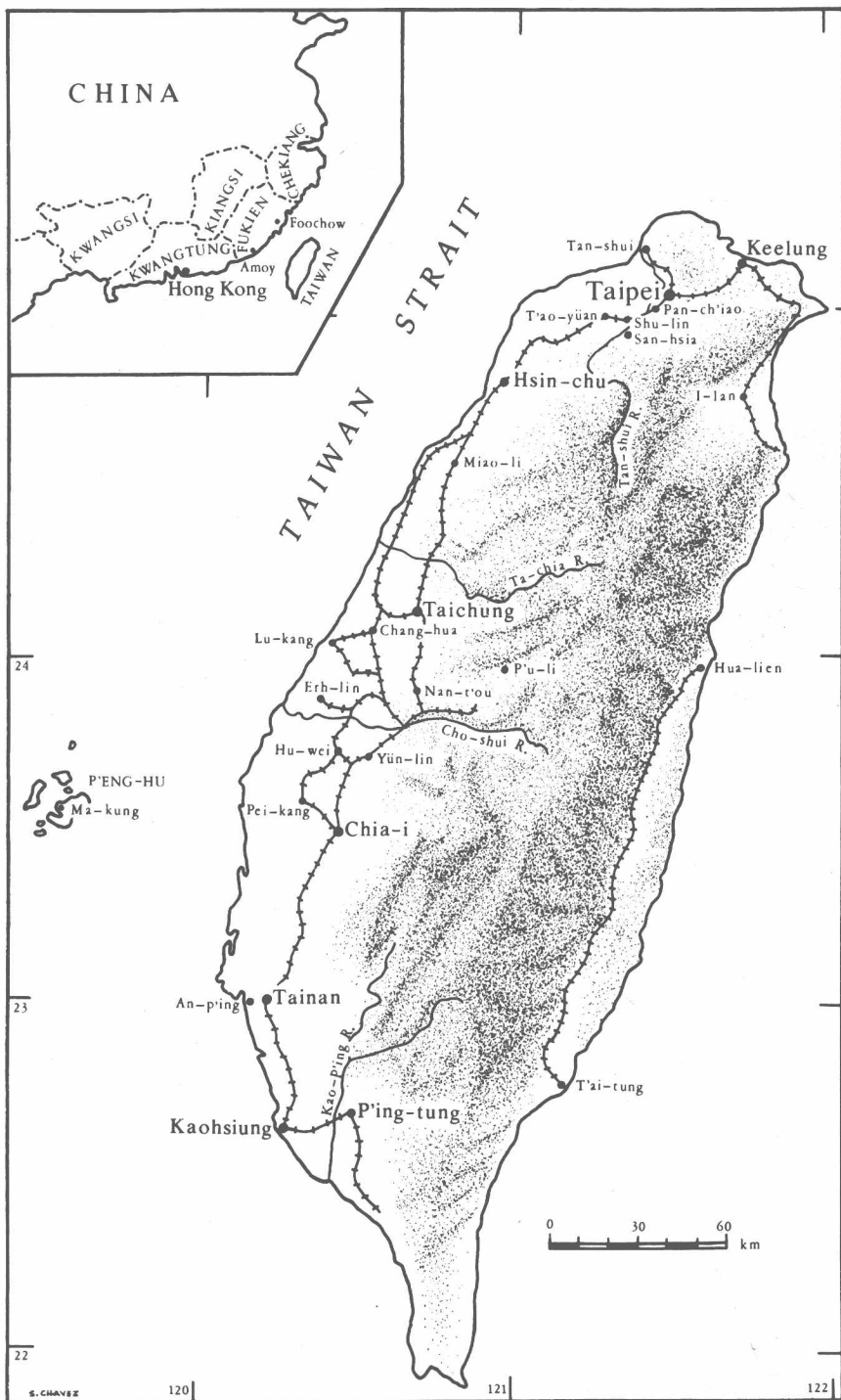
EDGAR WICKBERG, Professor of History at the University of British Columbia, received his Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley, in 1961. A specialist in the late Ch'ing period, he has published articles on Chinese land tenure and on Chinese influence in the Philippines, and he is the author of *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898* (1965). His research interests currently focus on Chinese land tenure.

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ARTHUR P. WOLF, Associate Professor of Anthropology at Stanford University, received his Ph.D. from Cornell University in 1964. He is known for his work on incest and on Chinese religion, and more recently for his book *Marriage and Adoption in China, 1845-1945* (1980), written with Chieh-shan Huang. He spent the academic year 1980-81 in China doing a follow-up study of the classic demographic surveys of John Lossing Buck.

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Introduction

Hill Gates

Emily Martin Ahern

Anthropology emerged in Taiwan in the 1950's, a surprisingly vigorous transplant whose European, American, and Chinese rootstocks quickly crowded out the earlier luxuriant Japanese ethnography. Particularly since the publication of Bernard Gallin's *Hsin Hsing, Taiwan: A Chinese Village in Change* (1966), Taiwan has been the site and subject of an extraordinary amount of research. Initial interest was due, no doubt, to the island's peculiarity as the only part of China accessible to Western social scientists. But having come to find China, anthropologists stayed to study Taiwan. By the early 1970's, a torrent of monographs and papers produced in the course of this research began to demand interpretation, analysis, and assessment.

Participants in the Conference on Anthropology in Taiwan, held in Wentworth-by-the-Sea, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in August 1976, were originally asked to direct their efforts toward three goals: to make progress in formulating an integrated model of Taiwan's social organization useful to non-Taiwan and non-China anthropologists as well as to Taiwan specialists; to expose weaknesses and gaps in recent Taiwan anthropology and so guide future research in the most fruitful directions; and to establish research priorities, taking into account the fact that Taiwan's unique traditions and experience of industrialization may not always remain open to non-Chinese investigators.

The three papers that together sketch the framework of Taiwan's society and thereby bring us closer to reaching the first conference goal are Edwin Winckler's "National, Regional, and Local Politics," Lawrence Crissman's "The Structure of Local and Regional Systems," and Hill Gates's "Ethnicity and Social Class." Readers inter-

ested in Taiwan's politics and economics, in dependency theory, or in the anthropology of complex societies might do well to begin with these papers. Winckler's review of political studies in Taiwan emphasizes the importance of events at the national level within a society characterized by a very high degree of political centralization and power, of whose workings we—and perhaps most participants in the system—are largely ignorant. Although people involved in provincial and regional politics are concerned about the local allocation of resources, they are more concerned about gaining access to the central sources of power and funds through upward mobility.

Crissman's examination of the politics of local systems fits neatly into this setting. Crissman shows how the "moral community" based on shared norms is connected to the administrative divisions of the Chang-hua countryside through the efforts of local factions to elect officials. These factions mobilize around local personalities and issues or around the possibility of tapping the central sources of power more directly. Crissman contends that a variety of organizational patterns affect political interaction. Indeed, marketing systems, kinship ties (often shaped by marketing systems), and various voluntary associations all support the local political factions that operate in the political world Winckler describes. Finally, Crissman compares contemporary political behavior with patterns of gentry control in pre-revolutionary mainland China, concluding that factional organization may be more decisive in shaping rural social organization than the economic and the ecological factors commonly associated with central-place theory.

Hill Gates's study of social class and ethnicity complements these descriptions of the political continuum by linking social stratification and Chinese subcultural "ethnicity" with national political and economic patterns and with Taiwan's international position. Showing how present class relations are a legacy of Japanese colonialism, the early refugee monopoly of power, and the impact of foreign investment, Gates explores some social consequences of the tension between political organization and economic expansion in Taipei.

In their broad approaches, Winckler's, Crissman's, and Gates's papers supply the beginnings of an integrated model of Taiwan's social organization and make clear how many gaps must be filled to complete such a model. In general, other papers in this collection are more narrowly focused. Yet the ease with which many of these fit into the wider framework is an indication—we trust—of both the