

MARRIAGE PRACTICES IN CONTEMPORARY CHINA:  
A Comparative Study of Urban and Rural Marriages in Caiwan

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ABSTRACT

A field study was carried out in 1978 to assess differences and similarities in marriage practices between rural and urban families in northern Taiwan. One thousand, two hundred and twenty-eight questionnaires were analyzed to determine attitudes about mate selection, parent's attitudes toward their children's marriage, attitude toward marriage as a family affair, and age at first marriage. Significant differences between the attitudes of rural inhabitants and urban inhabitants were found. Rural residents maintained more traditional chinese values and customs than the urban residents. While the majority of rural families and strong parental influence in mate selection, the urban families did not. However, both rural and urban respondents considered marriage as a major family affair. The age of marriage for both males and females was older in the urban areas in comparison to the rural areas. Analysis of data also showed that higher education levels tend to raise age at first marriage for both sexes in urban and rural areas. This trend, however, was particularly strong among the urban male respondents.

The information presented in this research report provides insight into the effects of industrialization and urbanization on the social fabric of contemporary Taiwan. The differences in marriage practices between urban and rural families has important implication for development of family planning practices and other social programs.

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## INTRODUCTION

In traditional Chinese society, marriage at an early age was common and marriage was considered by the young couple to be a duty to their families. Parents usually arranged their children's marriage without the children's participation or consent. Marriage was simply an act performed by the family and not by the individuals involved. The privilege, or duty, of arranging a marriage for children was probably the most direct expression of authority and power of parents over their children. (4)

The traditional marriage system weakened gradually through a long series of social changes. Influences of western ideologies, especially among urban inhabitants and intellectuals, has been especially evident since the establishment of the Republic of China in 1912. (16) In Taiwan, however, the isolation which Japan imposed upon the island protected the traditional Chinese marriage system from western influences such as those which provoked social upheaval in mainland China during the 1920's and 1930's. (13) The traditional institution of marriage remained largely intact in Taiwan.

Several authors describe Taiwanese marriage forms, marriage customs, and women's lives and their status. For example, Arthur Wolf (1964, 1974, 1975), Margery Wolf (1968, 1970, 1972) and Bernard Gallin (1966) reported that the traditional family arranged marriages existed in pre-modern Taiwan, and that the so-called compromised (alternative) forms of marriage such as "Sim-pu" (童養媳) and uxorilocal marriages (入贅) were also common, especially in rural areas. Arthur Wolf's research is especially interesting because of the detail of his analysis of Taiwanese marriage forms. He projects that "Sim-Pu" and "uxorilocal marriages" accounted for more than half of the marriages in northern Taiwan in the early part of this century and for at least one-third of all marriages as late as 1940. (15) A survey conducted in the early 1950's by the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (7) reported that about 50% of the urban marriages, and over 85% of the rural marriages in Taiwan were still arranged by parents.

During the past three decades, Taiwan changed from a pre-modern agricultural society to an urbanized industrial society. Rapid industrialization and urbanization is continuing. Today, about 63% of the total population lives in urban areas and two-thirds of the employed population is engaged in non-agricultural occupations. Western scholars such as Wirth (1938) and Goode (1963) argue that the industrialization and urbanization not only minimize family arranged marriage practices, but also lead to greater freedom of mate selection as well as an increase of age at first marriage. The trend toward free marriage and subsequent delay in the first marriage for both sexes is especially common in urban areas today. However, a review of published literature indicates that to-date, the analysis of marriage practices in Taiwan is very limited. Current marriage practices in Taiwan have been poorly documented in recent anthropological and sociological literature. Little has been reported about recent social investigations and field studies pertaining to marriage practices in modern Taiwan. Nancy Olsen (1974) and Albert O'Hara (1976) reported that the attitudes of Taiwanese youth, especially youths in urban areas, are unfavorably inclined towards family arranged marriages. Olsen found that in urban areas parents appear to retain certain control over determining the initial suitability of a potential spouse. However, the young people seem to have a genuine final veto power.

Recent comparative studies of urban and rural marriage practices in Chinese society have not been reported in detail. This lack of comparative data presents an important knowledge gap in understanding the impact of urbanization and industrialization on marriage practices in Taiwan.

It was the purpose of this study to assess the similarities and differences between urban and rural marriage practices, especially with regard to mate selection, attitude toward marriage and age at first marriage. It is anticipated that this data will contribute to an overall understanding of the attitude development and transition taking place as a population moves from rural settings to an urban environment. Not only can the findings of this study help increase our understanding of the impact of urbanization on Chinese marriage practices in contemporary Taiwan, but this study can also serve as a guide to help the academic community and government in developing family planning strategies and to develop educational and social policies to benefit a nation in social, cultural and economic transition.

#### METHODS AND PROCEDURES

The field investigation for this project was carried out in 1978 in northern Taiwan. Seven hundred and ninety urban families were studied in Taipei City and 438 families were studied in six rural villages. The 1,228 families were selected based on elementary schools which were chosen randomly from selected urban and rural districts. Student registration records for the sixth grade of each school were used in identifying a pool of families. Families were selected randomly from this pool. However, only families were considered where both the mother and the father were Taiwanese. Mainlander families were excluded.

Questionnaires were distributed to the randomly selected sixth graders. These students were asked to take the questionnaire home and have their father or mother complete the forms. The completed questionnaire was to be returned within a one-week period. The sample of Taiwanese families selected this way was considered to be heterogeneous by socio-economic class, by family type and by family size.

The questions contained in the questionnaire were based on information gained during two pre-tests conducted in 1978. The pre-tests consisted of intensive tape-recorded interviews with 34 Taiwanese urban and rural families. The majority of questionnaire items in the final questionnaire were pre-coded while a few questions were open ended. Coded questions required selecting appropriate coded options while open ended questions permitted short written responses. An average return rate of 87% was achieved.

All returned questionnaires were checked for completeness prior to coding. Two trained university students assisted in the coding of the questionnaires. When the authors returned to the United States, the data were key-punched and varified. After several consistency checks were run on the key-punched data, the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) was used for statistical analysis. The chi-square test was used as the primary test of statistical significance. The general accepted limit was  $p < 0.05$ .

#### RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

##### 1. Mate Selection

Table 1 compares urban and rural mate selection methods, and shows that urban respondents reported more freedom in the participation of mate selection than rural respondents. Forth-six percent of the urban respondents in this study chose their own spouse, while only about one-fifth of the rural respondents chose their own spouse. For 40 percent of the urban respondents, marriage was arranged by parents with the consent of the respondents. Only 14 percent were arranged by parents without the respondents' consent. On the contrary, parental arranged marriages were the predominant pattern in rural areas. Over 80 percent of marriages among the rural respondents were arranged by parents, 35 percent by parents without the respondents' consent and 46 percent by parents with the respondents' consent.

TABLE 1

Comparison of Percentages of Urban and Rural Respondents' Mate Selection Methods

Method	Urban		Rural	
	No.	%	No.	%
Parental Arrangement	111	( 14.3)	149	( 34.8)
Parental Arrangement and Own Consent	309	( 39.7)	195	( 45.6)
Own Choice	359	( 46.0)	84	( 19.6)
Total	779	(100.0)	428	(100.0)

Chi square = 109.21449 with 2 deg. of freedom  
significance = 0.00000

Table 2 suggests that the method of mate selection has changed over time, both in urban and rural areas. A general shift away from arranged marriages to more modern marriages occurred. In urban areas, comparing those who have been married for 16-19 years with those who have been married for over 20 years,

TABLE 2

Comparison of Urban and Rural Respondents' Methods of Mate Selection in Relation to Years of Marriage

Total Years Married	Method of Mate Selection						Total	
	Parental Arrangement		Parental Arrangement & Own Consent		Own Choice		No.	%
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<u>URBAN</u>								
20+	37	(17.5)	94	(44.5)	80	(37.9)	211	(100.0)
16-19	36	(18.5)	77	(39.5)	82	(42.1)	195	(100.0)
10-15	36	(10.1)	130	(36.3)	192	(53.6)	358	(100.0)
<u>RURAL</u>								
20+	86	(41.0)	101	(48.1)	23	(11.0)	210	(100.0)
16-19	32	(31.4)	45	(44.1)	25	(24.5)	102	(100.0)
10-15	30	(27.8)	44	(40.7)	34	(31.5)	108	(100.0)

parental arranged marriages without an individual's consent remained quite similar, while parental arranged marriages with an individual's consent decreased from 45 percent to 40 percent, and modern free marriages (choosing one's own spouse) increased from 38 percent to 42 percent. When comparing respondents who have been married for only 10-15 years to respondents who have been married 16-19 years, parental arranged marriages decreased from 19 percent to 10 percent. Parental arranged marriages with an individual's consent also decreased from 40 percent to 36 percent, whereas free marriages increased from 42 percent to nearly 54 percent.

The same trend also holds true in rural areas. Comparing rural respondents who have been married for 16-19 years to those who have been married over 20 years, parental arranged marriages decreased from 41 percent to 31 percent. Parental arranged marriages with an individual's consent decreased from 48 percent to 44 percent while modern free marriages increased from 11 percent to nearly 25 percent. Comparing rural respondents who have been married only 10-15 years to respondents who have been married 16-19 years, shows that parental arranged marriages decreased from 31 percent to 28 percent. Parental arranged marriages with an individual's consent decreased from 44 percent to 41 percent. However, free marriages increased from 25 percent to 32 percent.

## 2. Attitude Toward Children's Marriage

The attitude toward children's marriages (mate selection) changed during the past thirty years. There has been a general trend toward the direction of children's free mate selection. However, differences in magnitude still exist between urban and rural areas. When respondents were asked about their attitude toward their children's future marriage, as shown in Table 3, nearly 85 percent of the urban families indicated that they would allow their children to choose their own spouse. Fifteen percent of the urban families still indicated that they would want to arrange their children's marriage; while in rural areas, about 72 percent of the families reported that they would allow their children to choose their own spouse. Twenty-eight percent still want to arrange their children's marriage.

TABLE 3  
Comparison of Urban and Rural Respondents'  
Attitudes Toward Marriage of Children

Preferred Method	Urban		Rural	
	No.	%	No.	%
Parental Arrangement	9	( 1.2)	17	( 4.0)
Parental Arrangement & Own Consent	110	( 14.1)	103	( 24.2)
Children's Own Choice	660	( 84.7)	306	( 71.8)
Total	779	(100.0)	426	(100.0)

Chi square = 31.73137 with 2 deg. of freedom  
significance = 0.00000

The pattern of mate selection shows drastic differences when comparing the respondent's own mate selection and their attitude toward the mate selection for their children. The majority of respondents, both in urban and rural areas, are in favor of having their children select their own spouse. The parents' preferred mate selection for their children appear much more progressive than their own marriage practices.

As Table 4 shows, among the respondents who had parental arranged marriage when they were married, 70 percent reported that they will allow their children to choose their own spouse. Twenty-three percent will arrange their children's marriage but will seek their children's consent. Only 7 percent will arrange their children's marriage without the children's consent. Among those respondents

TABLE 4

Comparison of Urban and Rural Respondent's Own Method of Mate Selection in Relation to Their Preference for Their Children's Future Mate Selection

Preference for Children's Mate Selection	Respondents' Own Method of Mate Selection					
	Parental Arrangement		Parental Arrangement & Own Consent		Own Choice	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<u>URBAN</u>						
Parental Arrangement	7	( 6.5)	0	( 0.0)	2	( 0.6)
Parental Arrangement & Own Consent	25	( 23.1)	58	( 18.9)	22	( 6.2)
Children's Own Choice	76	( 70.4)	249	( 81.1)	329	( 93.2)
Total	108	(100.0)	307	(100.0)	353	(100.0)
<u>RURAL</u>						
Parental Arrangement	9	( 6.2)	4	( 2.1)	3	( 3.7)
Parental Arrangement & Own Consent	32	( 21.9)	55	( 28.8)	14	( 17.3)
Children's Own Choice	105	( 71.9)	132	( 69.1)	64	( 79.0)
Total	146	(100.0)	191	(100.0)	81	(100.0)

whose marriage was arranged by parents with their consent, 81 percent of them will allow their children to choose their own spouse, 19 percent of them will arrange their children's marriage, but will also seek their children's consent. Among the respondents who selected their own spouse when they married, over 93 percent of them reported that they will offer their children similar freedom with regard to mate selection; only 6 percent prefer to arrange their children's marriage with the condition of the children's consent.

Rural respondents are still relatively conservative in terms of attitude toward their children's marriage when compared to urban respondents, as shown in Table 3. However, when comparing the respondent's own mate selection with their attitude toward their children's marriage, it can be seen that the traditional attitudes have changed greatly even in rural areas. Among respondents whose own marriage was arranged by parents without their own consent, nearly 72

percent of them will allow their children to choose their own spouse, 22 percent will arrange children's marriage with children's consent, and only 6 percent will arrange their children's marriage without children's consent. Among those respondents whose marriages were arranged by parents with their own consent, 69 percent of them will allow their children to choose their own spouse, 29 percent will arrange children's marriage with children's consent, and only 2 percent still want to control completely their children's marriage. As for those respondents who chose their own spouse when they got married, 79 percent of them will offer their children the same freedom in mate selection, 17 percent will arrange children's marriage with children's consent, and only 4 percent still want to control totally their children's marriage.

### 3. Attitude Toward Marriage as a Family Affair

Marriage has traditionally been considered a family affair in China. Even in contemporary Taiwan, as shown in Table 5, an overwhelming majority of both urban and rural respondents (93 percent urban respondents and 89 percent of rural respondents) agree that the marriage decision is a major family affair involving not only the individual's own happiness and well-being but also the family's (parents') wishes.

TABLE 5

Comparison of Urban and Rural Respondents' Opinion  
Whether Marriage is Family Affair

Response	Urban		Rural	
	No.	%	No.	%
No, Strongly Disagree	3	( 0.4)	9	( 2.1)
No, Disagree	23	( 2.9)	14	( 3.2)
Undecided	29	( 3.8)	24	( 5.5)
Yes, Agree	519	( 67.3)	238	( 55.0)
Yes, Strongly Agree	197	( 25.6)	148	( 34.2)
Total	771	(100.0)	433	(100.0)

Chi square = 23.92665 with 4 def. of freedom  
significance = 0.00000

In Spite of the changing attitude toward children's marriage, parents in Taiwan are still very much concerned about the children's mate selection process. When respondents were asked whether they think that parents should participate and be involved in their children's mate selection, over 89 percent of the urban respondents and nearly 78 percent of the rural respondents agreed that parents should participate and be involved in the children's mate selection (Table 6).

A number of factors may be responsible for this attitude, including a lack of independence training among youth, lack of a dating culture in Chinese society and the emphasis on equal family standing on marriage especially among upper and middle class families.

TABLE 6  
Comparison of Urban and Rural Respondents' Attitudes Toward  
Participating in Their Children's Mate Selection

Response	Urban		Rural	
	No.	%	No.	%
Strongly Disagree	7	( 0.9)	10	( 2.3)
Disagree	44	( 5.7)	47	( 10.9)
Undecided	33	( 4.2)	39	( 9.1)
Agree	549	( 70.7)	252	( 58.6)
Strongly Agree	144	( 18.5)	82	( 19.1)
Total	777	(100.0)	430	(100.0)

Chi square = 31.06978 with 4 deg. of freedom  
significance = 0.00000

During the pre-test interviews, most of the respondents expressed the belief that marriage is a serious business and that parents are responsible to help and guide children during their mate selection process. However, most felt that the final decision is up to their children themselves, regardless of social class and family type of the respondents.

It must be noted that although divorce is legal in Taiwan, our data suggested that there are relatively few divorces. Only 6 percent of the urban respondents and about 5 percent of the rural respondents admitted that they were divorced (Table 7). The differences between urban samples and rural samples were surprisingly small. This fact also suggests that Chinese attitude toward marriage is serious and that the social pressure to maintain a marriage are still quite powerful.

TABLE 7  
Comparison of Reported Divorces Among  
Urban and Rural Respondents

Response	Urban		Rural	
	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	47	( 6.0)	19	( 4.5)
No	735	( 94.0)	404	( 95.5)
Total	780	(100.0)	423	(100.0)

Corrected Chi Square = 0.94692 with 1 deg. of freedom  
significance = 0.33050

When respondents were asked whether their parents or relatives would prevent them from separating or getting a divorce, 93 percent of the urban respondents and 91 percent of the rural respondents indicated that pressure not to do so would come from parents and relatives. This is summarized in Table 8.



TABLE 8

Comparison of Urban and Rural Respondents About the Question  
 "Will Pressure Come From Your Parents and Relatives  
 If You Want to Separate or Divorce Your Husband/Wife?"

Response	Urban		Rural	
	No.	%	No.	%
Absolutely Not	2	( 0.3)	5	( 1.3)
Probably Not	7	( 1.0)	2	( 0.5)
Don't Know	41	( 5.9)	27	( 7.2)
Probably Yes	207	( 30.0)	142	( 37.7)
Definitely Yes	434	( 62.8)	201	( 53.3)
Total	691	(100.0)	377	(100.0)

Chi square = 13.38503 with 4 deg. of freedom  
 significance = 0.00954

#### 4. Age at Marriage

Urbanization as a whole tends to raise the age at first marriage. In Taiwan, the age at first marriage has risen substantially in the urban areas. According to the national statistical data of 1978, the average age at first marriage for males was 28 and for females was 24. In the 1950's, it was about 23 for males and 18 for females.

In this study, as shown in Table 9, rural respondents married much earlier than urban respondents. Five percent of the urban male respondents married before 20, while over 15 percent of the rural male respondents married before 20. Twenty-one percent of the urban male respondents married between 21-24, while 37 percent of the rural male respondents married between 21-24. The majority, 57 percent of the urban male respondents, married between the ages of 25-29, while only 39 percent of the rural male respondents married between 25-29. Delayed marriages are greatest in urban areas. In this study, approximately 17 percent of the urban male respondents married over age 30, while only 8 percent of the rural male respondents married when over 30.

TABLE 9

Comparison of Urban and Rural Male Respondents'  
 Age at Time of Marriage

Age at Marriage	Urban		Rural	
	No.	%	No.	%
≤ 20	29	( 5.2)	53	( 14.7)
21-24	117	( 21.0)	126	( 37.3)
25-29	318	( 57.0)	133	( 39.3)
30-34	84	( 15.0)	25	( 7.4)
35+	10	( 1.8)	1	( 0.3)
Total	558	(100.0)	338	(100.0)

Chi square = 72.92252 with 4 deg. of freedom  
 significance = 0.00000

Also, as expected, women usually marry at a younger age than men. Particularly rural women married at much younger ages than urban women.

Table 10 shows that only 21 percent of the urban female respondents married under age 20, while over half (51 percent) of the rural female respondents married at such a young age. Nearly half of the urban female respondents (49 percent) married between 21-24 while less than one-third (29 percent) of the rural female respondents married in this age group. Over one-quarter of the urban female respondents married between 25-29, while only 19 percent of the rural female respondents married at this age group.

Women who marry over age 30 are not very common in Taiwan. In this study, only 4 percent of the urban women and 1 percent of the rural women married over 30.

As would be expected, higher education levels tend to raise the age at first marriage for both sexes. Table 11 and Table 12 clearly indicate that more highly educated respondents tend to delay age at first marriage more so than those with lower education. This holds true in both urban and rural areas. This trend, however, is particularly strong among urban respondents.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This study has provided a data base for a comparative analysis of urban and rural marriage practices in contemporary Taiwan. This study revealed that marriage is still a major family affair not only involving the couple but also their parents. Marriages are very much based on the concerns and wishes of the parents. There are significant differences however between urban and rural residents with regard to spouse selection methods and age at first marriage.

In the process of industrialization and subsequent urbanization, the policies and strategies developed by local and national government must accommodate the traditions and preferences of both rural and urban inhabitants. Marriage practices reflect the cultural and moral fiber of a nation. Therefore, in an effort to implement family planning programs, social security, health care and cultural growth, it is important to accommodate those features of the society which provides stability and continuity.

TABLE 10  
Comparison of Urban and Rural Female Respondents' Age at Time  
of Marriage

Age at Marriage	Urban		Rural	
	No.	%	No.	%
≤ 20	48	( 21.3)	47	( 51.1)
21-24	111	( 49.3)	27	( 29.3)
25-29	58	( 25.8)	17	( 18.5)
30-34	8	( 3.6)	0	( 0.0)
35+	0	( 0.0)	1	( 1.1)
Total	225	(100.0)	92	(100.0)

Chi square = 32.46835 with 4 deg. of freedom  
significance = 0.00000

TABLE 11  
Comparison of Urban and Rural Male Respondents'  
Education Level and Age at Marriage

Age at Marriage	Education Level												
	Illiterate	Elementary		Junior High		Senior High		College		University		Graduate School	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>URBAN</b>													
≤ 20	1 ( 9.1)	18 ( 8.2)	7 ( 6.1)	3 ( 2.3)	0 ( 0.0)	0 ( 0.0)	0 ( 0.0)	0 ( 0.0)	0 ( 0.0)	0 ( 0.0)	0 ( 0.0)	0 ( 0.0)	0 ( 0.0)
21-24	5 ( 45.5)	52 ( 23.9)	23 ( 20.0)	28 ( 21.0)	4 ( 14.8)	5 ( 10.2)	5 ( 10.2)	5 ( 10.2)	5 ( 10.2)	5 ( 10.2)	5 ( 10.2)	5 ( 10.2)	5 ( 10.2)
25-29	4 ( 36.3)	121 ( 55.5)	65 ( 56.5)	75 ( 56.4)	15 ( 55.6)	33 ( 67.3)	33 ( 67.3)	33 ( 67.3)	33 ( 67.3)	33 ( 67.3)	33 ( 67.3)	33 ( 67.3)	33 ( 67.3)
30-34	1 ( 9.1)	23 ( 10.6)	19 ( 16.5)	24 ( 18.0)	8 ( 29.6)	9 ( 18.4)	9 ( 18.4)	9 ( 18.4)	9 ( 18.4)	9 ( 18.4)	9 ( 18.4)	9 ( 18.4)	9 ( 18.4)
35+	0 ( 0.0)	4 ( 1.8)	1 ( 0.9)	3 ( 2.3)	0 ( 0.0)	2 ( 4.1)	2 ( 4.1)	2 ( 4.1)	2 ( 4.1)	2 ( 4.1)	2 ( 4.1)	2 ( 4.1)	2 ( 4.1)
Total	11 (100.0)	218 (100.0)	115 (100.0)	133 (100.0)	27 (100.0)	49 (100.0)	49 (100.0)	49 (100.0)	49 (100.0)	49 (100.0)	49 (100.0)	49 (100.0)	49 (100.0)
<b>RURAL</b>													
≤ 20	0 ( 0.0)	46 ( 20.1)	6 ( 16.2)	1 ( 5.3)	0 ( 0.0)	0 ( 0.0)	0 ( 0.0)	0 ( 0.0)	0 ( 0.0)	0 ( 0.0)	0 ( 0.0)	0 ( 0.0)	0 ( 0.0)
21-24	20 ( 43.5)	79 ( 34.5)	18 ( 48.7)	7 ( 36.8)	2 ( 40.0)	2 ( 40.0)	2 ( 40.0)	2 ( 40.0)	2 ( 40.0)	2 ( 40.0)	2 ( 40.0)	2 ( 40.0)	2 ( 40.0)
25-29	18 ( 39.1)	88 ( 38.4)	13 ( 35.1)	10 ( 52.6)	2 ( 40.0)	2 ( 40.0)	2 ( 40.0)	2 ( 40.0)	2 ( 40.0)	2 ( 40.0)	2 ( 40.0)	2 ( 40.0)	2 ( 40.0)
30-34	8 ( 17.4)	15 ( 6.6)	0 ( 0.0)	1 ( 5.3)	1 ( 20.0)	0 ( 0.0)	1 ( 20.0)	1 ( 20.0)	1 ( 20.0)	1 ( 20.0)	1 ( 20.0)	1 ( 20.0)	1 ( 20.0)
35+	0 ( 0.0)	1 ( 0.4)	0 ( 0.0)	0 ( 0.0)	0 ( 0.0)	0 ( 0.0)	0 ( 0.0)	0 ( 0.0)	0 ( 0.0)	0 ( 0.0)	0 ( 0.0)	0 ( 0.0)	0 ( 0.0)
Total	46 (100.0)	229 (100.0)	37 (100.0)	19 (100.0)	5 (100.0)	5 (100.0)	5 (100.0)	5 (100.0)	5 (100.0)	5 (100.0)	5 (100.0)	5 (100.0)	5 (100.0)

TABLE 12  
 Comparison of Urban and Rural Female Respondents'  
 Education Level and Age at Marriage

Age at Marriage	Education Level										
	Illiterate	Elementary	Junior High	Senior High	College	University	Graduate School	No.	%	No.	%
<b>URBAN</b>											
≤ 20	1 ( 11.1)	27 ( 28.4)	17 ( 30.7)	3 ( 7.1)	0 ( 0.0)	0 ( 0.0)	0 ( 0.0)	0	( 0.0)	0	( 0.0)
21-24	5 ( 55.6)	50 ( 52.6)	20 ( 36.3)	19 ( 45.3)	13 ( 76.5)	3 ( 60.0)	1 ( 100.0)	1	( 100.0)	1	( 100.0)
25-29	2 ( 22.2)	18 ( 19.0)	15 ( 27.3)	16 ( 38.1)	4 ( 23.5)	2 ( 40.0)	0 ( 0.0)	0	( 0.0)	0	( 0.0)
30-34	1 ( 11.1)	0 ( 0.0)	3 ( 5.5)	4 ( 9.5)	0 ( 0.0)	0 ( 0.0)	0 ( 0.0)	0	( 0.0)	0	( 0.0)
Total	9 ( 100.0)	95 ( 100.0)	55 ( 100.0)	42 ( 100.0)	17 ( 100.0)	5 ( 100.0)	1 ( 100.0)	1	( 100.0)	1	( 100.0)
<b>RURAL</b>											
≤ 20	20 ( 58.8)	23 ( 47.9)	3 ( 50.0)	0 ( 0.0)	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
21-24	11 ( 32.4)	13 ( 27.1)	1 ( 16.7)	1 ( 100.0)	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
25-29	2 ( 5.9)	12 ( 25.0)	2 ( 33.3)	0 ( 0.0)	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
30-34	-- ( -- )	-- ( -- )	-- ( -- )	-- ( -- )	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
35+	1 ( 2.9)	0 ( 0.0)	0 ( 0.0)	0 ( 0.0)	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Total	34 ( 100.0)	48 ( 100.0)	6 ( 100.0)	1 ( 100.0)	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

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# 現代中國婚姻研究——

## 台灣城、鄉地區居民婚姻之比較研究

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### 中 文 摘 要

本研究報告係根據1978年台灣北部地區之實地調查資料，對台灣城、鄉人民有關擇偶方式、結婚年齡、對婚姻之傳統觀念以及父母對其子女婚姻所持態度等方面的異同情形之比較、分析。本研究所用樣本計為都市家庭790戶，農村家庭438戶，共計1228戶。

研究結果發現台灣城、鄉居民在婚姻態度上有許多顯著的差異。農村居民較之都市居民保有更多的傳統的婚姻觀念和習俗。在擇偶過程中，絕大多數的農村家庭，父母均具有很大的影響力，相反的，都市家庭的父母在子女選擇對象的過程中影響力較小。然而，無論是都市居民或農村居民都仍然認為婚姻乃家庭大事。都市居民的結婚年齡較農村居民為晚。此外，本研究結果也顯示了男、女教育程度較高者，無分城、鄉，往往都比較晚婚。而這種高教育程度者趨向遲婚的現象尤以都市中之男性為最。

由此研究報告我們不難窺見工業化與都市化在今在台灣的社會變遷中所扮演的角色和影響。上述城、鄉居民在婚姻方面所表現的諸多差異，當可提供我們今後發展家庭計劃以及其他社會政策的借鏡與參考。

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