CHAPTER 2—TAIWAN'S INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

"During the Dutch period there lived a mosaic of Austronesian-speaking cultures on the western plains. These cultures have been either assimilated into the greater Han culture or they had sought refuge in Taiwan's mountains through the course of history"

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This chapter addresses the identity of the indigenous peoples of Taiwan, where they may have come from, their current population, and the key events leading to their contemporary situation. The purpose of this chapter is to survey three significant areas of focus: firstly, Taiwan and Austronesian prehistory; secondly, Taiwan's twelve indigenous ethnicities, their similarities and dissimilarities, and how their social organizations make them unique; and thirdly, a survey of the outstanding socio-political periods in Taiwan's *full* history. These key topics, when placed together, form a foundation for this thesis' case study on the Bunun people, the history of Laipunuk, and the ethnographic narratives of this thesis' key informants.

Currently the ROC government recognizes twelve Austronesian-speaking indigenous cultures in Taiwan, making up two percent of the island's population. Eleven reside on the main island and one, the Yami, on Orchid Island (*Lan Yu*). There were at one time twenty-seven distinct Austronesian languages in Taiwan (Blundell 2006 interview).

While anthropologists struggle with identifying the boundaries of indigenous languages and cultures, the individuals of indigenous cultural groups struggle with classification of their ethos. The people themselves may not identify with external classifications imposed upon them; they may or may not seek their own identification. Taiwan's Austronesian speakers are no exception. When the Japanese identified *nine tribes* in Taiwan, they classified the Paiwan and Rukai as one culture, the Tsou and Thao as another, the Atayal and Truku yet another. Today, these people are recognized as separate and distinct cultures, and current ethnographic work may, for example, separate Mantauran speakers from the Rukai, or the Northern Tsou from the Southern Tsou. Thus, from time to time, there are heated debates in the light of democracy in Taiwan. Zeitoun (2006 interview) discerns three means of classification for us to consider: the individual or ethnic group's self perception; the government's perception; and those perceptions made by academics (which may be split between various fields, for example linguists and ethnologists).

With official government recognition, inherent issues arise that include land rights, privileges for education, and retributions. The population of Taiwan's indigenes constitutes approximately two percent of the total population; however, the government measurement follows the aboriginal father's lineage (patrilineal). Therefore, if a child's father is aboriginal and the mother is Han Chinese, the child is classified as an aboriginal. Conversely, if the child's Father is Han Chinese and the mother is aboriginal, the child is classified as Chinese. In the latter case, the descendants of these offspring must follow the government classification as non-aboriginal. This law was recently revised to allow a child born to a Han father to legally change his or her family name to the mother's aboriginal name. However, statistically they will still not be counted as aboriginal, nor do they enjoy any of the recently drafted benefits attributed to being an indigenous minority. Taiwan's indigenous peoples and populations are shown in *Table 1* (GIO Yearbook, 2005)[6].

INDIGENOUS POPULATION BY ETHNICITY (DECEMBER 2004)

Amis	阿美	167,700
Atayal	泰雅	88,000
Truku	太魯閣	7,000
Paiwan	排灣	79,000
Rukai	魯凱	11,000
Puyuma	卑南	10,000
Bunun	布農	46,000
Tsou	鄒	6,000
Thao	邵	550
Saisiyat	賽夏	5,500
Yami	雅美	3,000
Kavalan	噶瑪蘭	800
TOTAL POPULATION		**454,682**

Table 1: Indigenous Population by Ethnicity
Source: Taiwan GIO Yearbook (2005)

Although the plains indigenes are assimilated into the mainstream Han Chinese culture, this does not mean that there is today no trace of them at all. For example, the Thao, Kavalan, and Pazih are all plain tribe languages. There are some native speakers still alive who can remember

[6] Adapted from GIO 2005 Yearbook (Note that 29,000 indigenous peoples did not identify or provide details of their ethnic origins). Available at: http://www.gio.gov.tw/ (last accessed Oct. 2006).

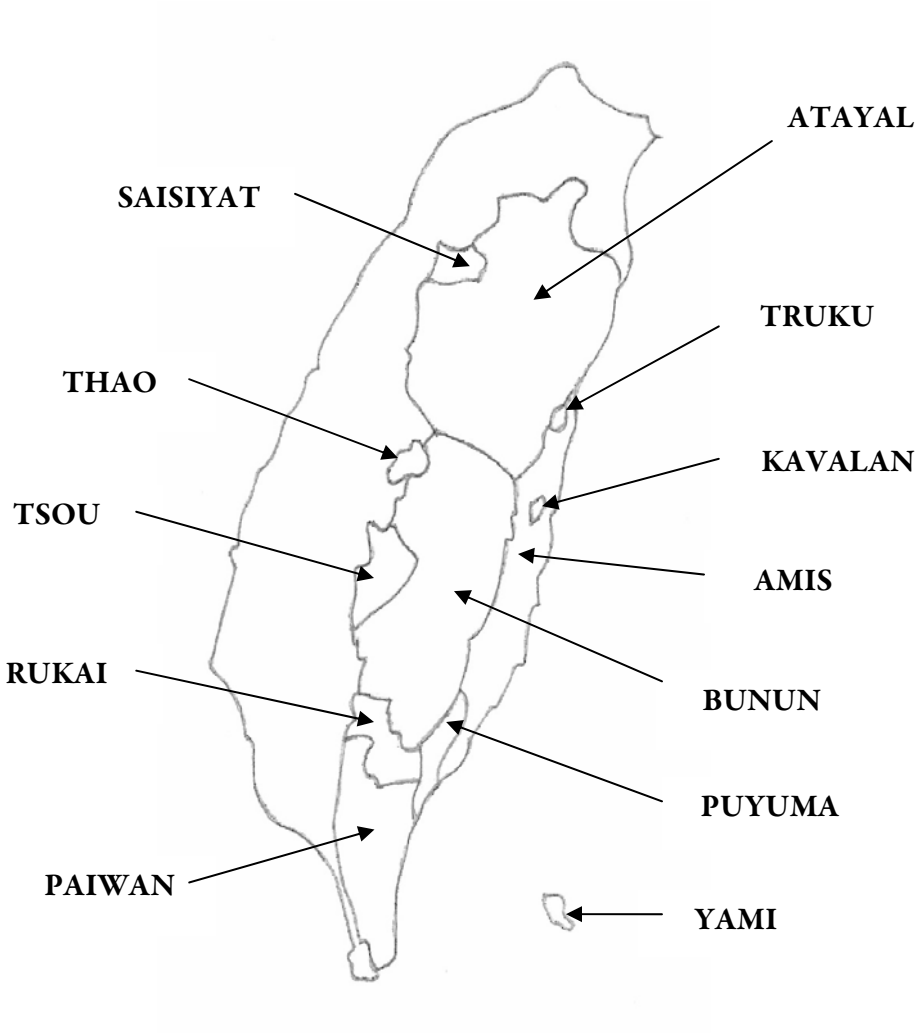
most or part of these languages or can attest to their ancestry as belonging to one of these ethnicities. In alphabetical order, the plains indigenes are as follows: Babuza (貓霧揀); Basay (巴賽); Hoanya (洪安雅); Ketagalan (凱達格蘭); Luilang (雷朗); Pazih (巴宰); Papora (巴布拉); Qauqaut (猴猴); Siraya (西拉雅); Taokas (道卡斯); and Trobiawan (多囉美).

Until the early twenty-first century, the Formosan languages were classified into nine distinct languages. At the beginning of this century the Taiwan government realized the diversity of each group and their dialects and began designing new teaching materials and textbooks to address such issues, and now recognize twelve ethno-linguistic groups. The line between language and ethnicity is intricate and ambiguous. Blundell (2003 lecture) expresses this sensitive and complex issue in the following way: "We now believe there to be nine Formosan language groups with forty dialects remaining, but this number is arbitrary and not static. As the methods of classification change, the challenge is to define the actual boundaries of a language. There are many ethno-linguistically unique cultures within the Formosan language family." A fairly accurate distribution of Taiwan's indigenous peoples is illustrated on *Map 4* below[7].

2.1. Prehistory and the Austronesians

A great mystery surrounds the origin of Taiwan's indigenous peoples. As mentioned, scholars generally agree that they belong to different stocks of people, yet little is known of exactly how or when they arrived in Taiwan. We can only engage in conjecture regarding whether they evolved from Taiwan's Paleolithic or Neolithic cultures, arrived during or after the Neolithic period from China or South-east Asia or both, and whether individuals or groups came during a specific period or at various periods.

[7] The locations illustrated here are very general, and although approximate current locations of the Truku and Kavalan are shown, this map does not reflect the significant relocations of the Atayal, Bunun, Tsou, Paiwan and Rukai to lower elevations or the plains. See *Map 7* regarding the history of the Formosan languages.



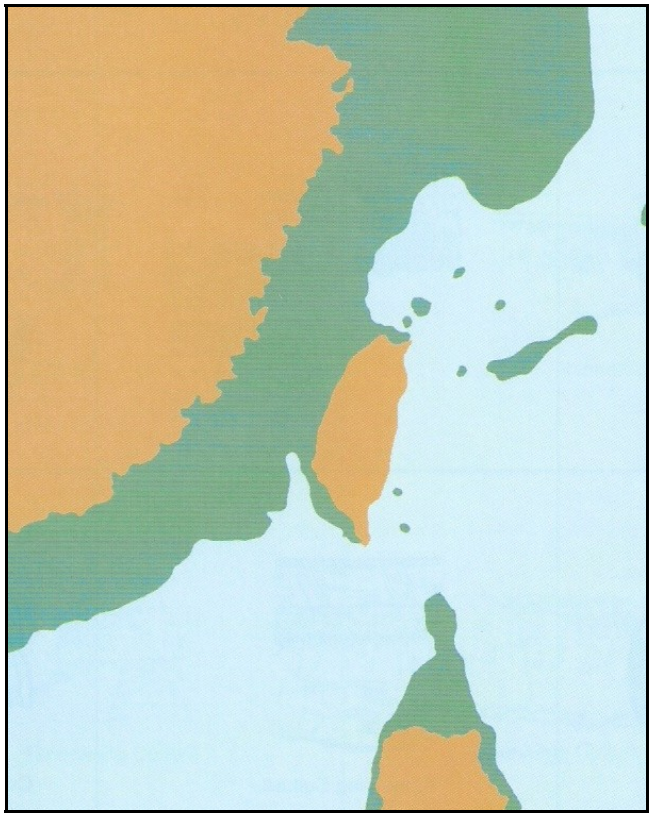
Map 4: Approximate Distribution of Taiwan's Twelve Indigenous Ethnicities
Source: Author

The study of Taiwan's indigenous peoples and their origins offers great insight to, and is a key component of, the wider field of Austronesian Studies. Similarly, the wider field of Austronesian Studies offers great insight to the study of Taiwan's indigenous peoples. Bellwood (2006 interview) offers three key fields of Austronesian Studies: archaeology, linguistics, and human genetics. These fields are significant for a number of reasons: from an archaeological point of view we can understand the arrival and development of early man in Taiwan and entertain various hypothesis of Austronesian arrivals and dispersals; from a linguistic point of view we can better recognize the relationship between Taiwan's indigenous peoples as well as to other Austronesian speaking peoples around the world; and from a genetic point of view we can

search for DNA evidence of these relationships[8].

Archaeology

During the Pleistocene epoch (approximately 3 million to 10,000 years ago) sea levels were at times lower than today. As recent as 10,000 to 12,000 years ago ocean water was still contained in glacial forms and sea levels were low enough to allow the migration of animals across land bridge extending from mainland China to Taiwan (see *Map 5*) (Tsang 2000: 53). It is logical to presume that hunters and gatherers followed these great animal migrations south and eastward onto Taiwan (*ibid.*). In the early 1970's cranial bones and teeth of Taiwan's earliest of Homo Sapiens Sapiens were unearthed in Tsochen, Tainan Prefecture. These fossils are believed to be 20,000 to 30,000 years old and collectively known as *Tsochen Man* (*ibid.*).



Map 5: The Pleistocene Epoch
Source: Archaeology of Taiwan (Tsang 2000: 52)

[8] Bellwood (2006 interview) identifies current studies targeting mitochondrial DNA and the *Y* chromosome.

Other sites, dating from the Paleolithic, such as Pahsientung Cave on Taiwan's east coast, have revealed lithic artifacts, bone needles, harpoons, and other tools and are generally referred to by archeologists as *Changpin Culture*. Material culture and lithic assemblage from this era shares a great deal with Paleolithic cultures in South Mainland China, and scholars such as Sung Wenhsun propose that these people may have crossed the Pleistocene land bridge (*ibid*: 55).

As early as 6,500 BP a new culture emerges in Taiwan with the evidence of unsophisticated pottery making. Named *Tapenkeng Culture*, after a site in Taipei, evidence of this type of Cord-marked pottery has been found at numerous sites in Taiwan as well as the nearby Penghu Islands.

Cereal agriculture and diverse cultures appear between 5,000 and 3,500 BP. This era marks the appearance of *Fine Cord-marked* pottery and the appearance of sites all over the island. After the appearance of cereal agriculture on Taiwan and into to Christian era, the population of indigenous peoples increased enormously with human habitation occurring all over the island. One of the great mysteries of this era is just which cereal agriculture appeared first (rice, millet, or Job's tears), who brought them, and why has millet become deeply embedded into Taiwan's indigenous culture? Responding to this question, Solheim (2006 interview) suggested to me, "If you can crack the mystery of millet cultivation you will have solved a great puzzle."

There are a great number of archaeological sites during this period. Of these sites, by far the most significant and complete is from the mid-to-late Neolithic period. Called the *Peinan Culture*, it constitutes the longest continuous and largest Neolithic site in the Pacific Rim (Blundell 2006 interview)[9]. *Peinan culture* was a large Neolithic village with pottery and jade workshops, they practiced tooth extraction and in-house burials[10], used slate coffins, and were hunters and fishermen (Tsang 2000: 77). This site is named after the Beinan River due to its proximate location[11].

Stone pillars from *Peinan* and large stone monoliths, wheels, and pillars from the *Chilin Culture* of the same period, demonstrate that Taiwan had its own *Megalithic Culture* like Stonehenge (*ibid*.). Blundell (2004 interview) proposes that these monoliths could be related or similar to Maoi (stone heads) found on Easter Island, pointing out that Taiwan's are thousands

[9] D. Blundell worked for several years at the Peinan site and served as editor of *Austronesian Taiwan.*

[10] Several of Taiwan's indigenous cultures, including the Bunun, practiced tooth extraction and in-house burials well into the Japanese era.

[11] As mentioned in Chapter 1, the Lu Ye River of Laipunuk is a tributary of the Beinan River.

of years older and therefore more primitive. Below, *Photo 2* shows a stone pillar of the *Peinan Culture* period standing approximately six meters tall.

Photo 2: Stone Pillar of the Peinan Culture Period
Source: Author, 2004

Beginning at least four thousand years ago (according to radio carbon dates), crude jade (nephrite) from Hualien, Taiwan was exported to Itbayat island in the northern Batanes Island chain[12], where it was manufactured into numerous products which included jewelry fashioned in a style consistent with that found in the Philippines (Bellwood 2006 interview)[13]. Bellwood believes that nephrite materials from workshops on Itbayat were then traded southward (*ibid*.). Nephrite materials have been found in Sarawak (island of Borneo) and a number of other locations, including the southern Philippines and Viet Nam (*ibid*.). The presence of prolific nephrite workshops in the Batanes is compelling evidence of a well-established relationship between Taiwan and the Philippines and clearly demonstrates the movement of materials out of Taiwan[14]. *Table 2* provides a general overview of Taiwan prehistory.

[12] The Batanes Islands are located in the Bashi Channel between Taiwan and Luzon.
[13] While I was in company with Bellwood in the Batanes Islands during his recent archeological survey (April 2006) he explained this matter to me.
[14] This discovery supports Peter Bellwood's theory on the movement of people, material, and language out of Taiwan as is further addressed in the next section.

PREHISTORIC CULTURES ON TAIWAN

Dates Before Present (BP)	Archeological Period on Taiwan	Corresponding Period	Major Event On Taiwan
30,000	Tsochen Man	Pleistocene	appearance of homo sapiens sapiens
? to 6,500	Changpin	Paleolithic	hunting, fishing, shell gathering
6,500 to 5,000	Tapenkeng	Late Paleolithic	appearance of *Cord-marked* pottery, incipient agriculture (root and tuber cultivation) and the appearance of an Austronesian *cultural package*[15]
Pre 4,000 to 2,000?	Taiwan-Batanes	Neolithic	movement of materials southward (including nephrite jade) from Taiwan to the Batanes Islands
3,500 to 2,000	Peinan, Chilin, and others	Neolithic	*Fine Cord-marked* pottery, megalithic culture, rice and millet cultivation
2,000 to 500	Shihsanhang and others	Iron age	stone artifacts decrease

Table 2: Prehistoric Cultures on Taiwan
Source: Adapted and Modified from Tsang (Tsang 2000: 48)

Currently there is not enough evidence to support a clear-cut conclusion that Taiwan's Neolithic age people were *proto*-Austronesian. Nonetheless, Taiwan's prehistoric cultures, dating as far back as the *Tapenkeng* culture, may yet prove to be related to today's indigenous peoples. According to Blust (1995: 592)[16], the oldest Austronesian archaeological site in the world is the *Pa-chia-tsun* site (4300 B.C.), near Tainan, Taiwan.

Diamond (1999: 340)[17] offers the following chronology on Taiwan prehistory: originating with *Tapenkeng culture period* we see a *cultural package* of pottery, stone tools, bones of domesticated pigs, and crop remains, which move southward into the Philippines around 3000 B.C.; subsequently appearing in Celebres and Borneo around 2,500 B.C.; Java and Sumatra around 2,000 B.C.; and coastal New Guinea around 1600 B.C. It was at this later period, beginning about 3,500 years ago, that the *cultural package* assumed *speedboat* pace to Polynesia. Diamond (*ibid*.) notes, "One specific type of artifact linking Taiwan's *Tapenkeng* culture to later Pacific island cultures in the bark beater, a stone implement used for pounding the fibrous bark of certain tree species into rope, nets, and clothing."

[15] The concept of the Austronesian cultural package is offered by Diamond (1999: 340).
[16] Blust (1995: 592) provides a table of widely accepted radiocarbon dates associated with Austronesian Southeast Asia and the Pacific (in *Austronesian Studies Relating to Taiwan* published by Academia Sinica).
[17] J. Diamond wrote *Guns, Germs, and Steel*, which includes a chapter on Taiwan prehistory, entitled *Speedboat to Polynesia*.

Languages and People

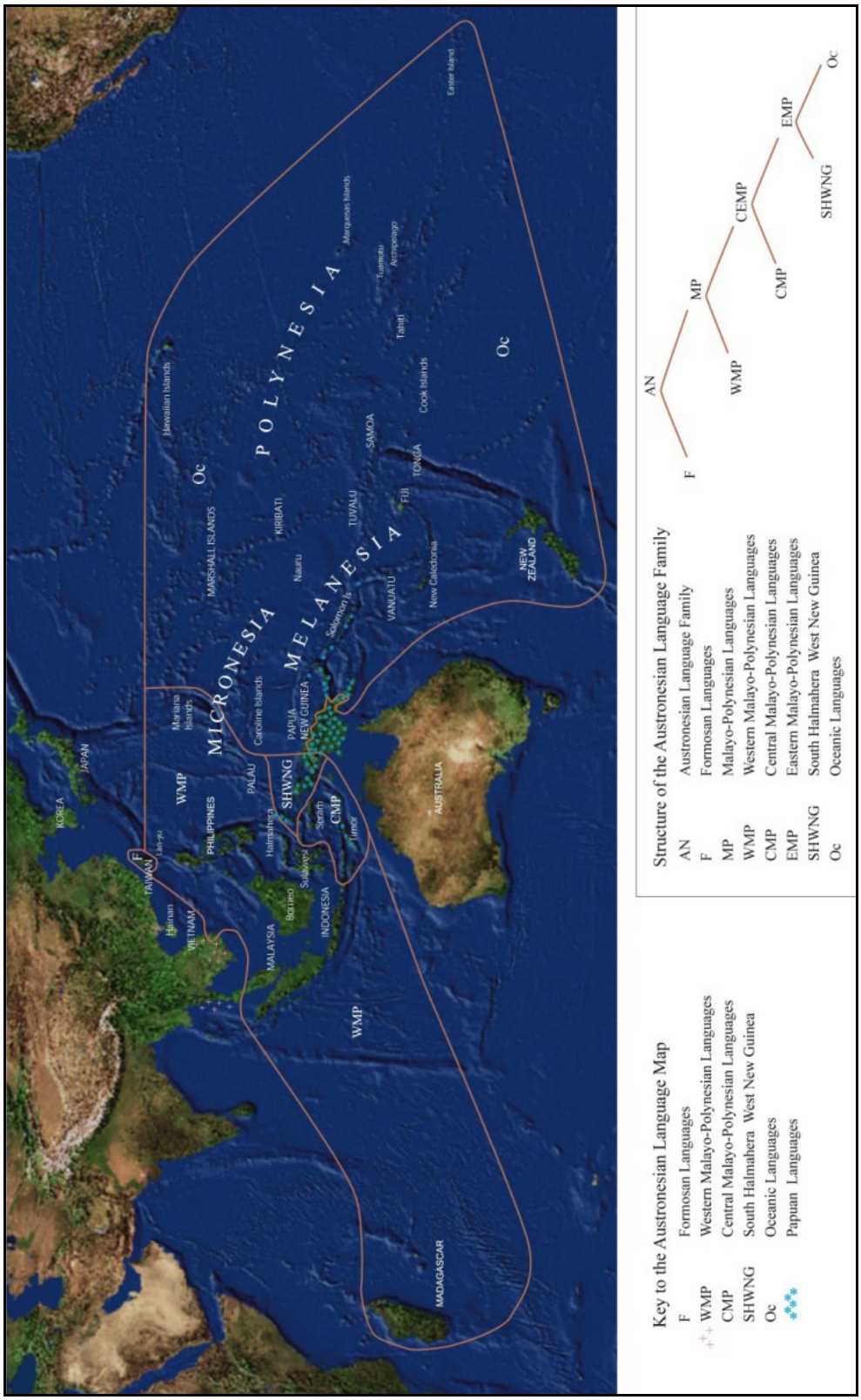
As previously mentioned, the indigenous peoples of Taiwan speak Formosan languages belonging to the Austronesian language family. The Austronesian languages are among the most widely distributed of the world's language families. The area inhabited by Austronesian-speaking peoples extends from Taiwan and Hawaii in the north to New Zealand and the islands of the South Pacific in the south; and from Madagascar in the west to Easter Island in the east. *Map 6* (Blundell 2000: 343) shows the vast geographic area of the Austronesian language family. In total there are 959 languages, with 945 of them belonging to the Malayo-Polynesian subfamily (Diamond 1999: 338).

Austronesian speakers on Taiwan can be roughly divided into the mountain tribes and the plain tribes (called *pingpu* tribes). As aforementioned, most of the plains aborigines have been completely sinicized. *Map 7* (Academia Sinica, after Tsuchida 1983)[18] provides clear reference of the geographic distribution for twenty [of the twenty-seven previously mentioned] of Taiwan's indigenous languages belonging to the Formosan language group.

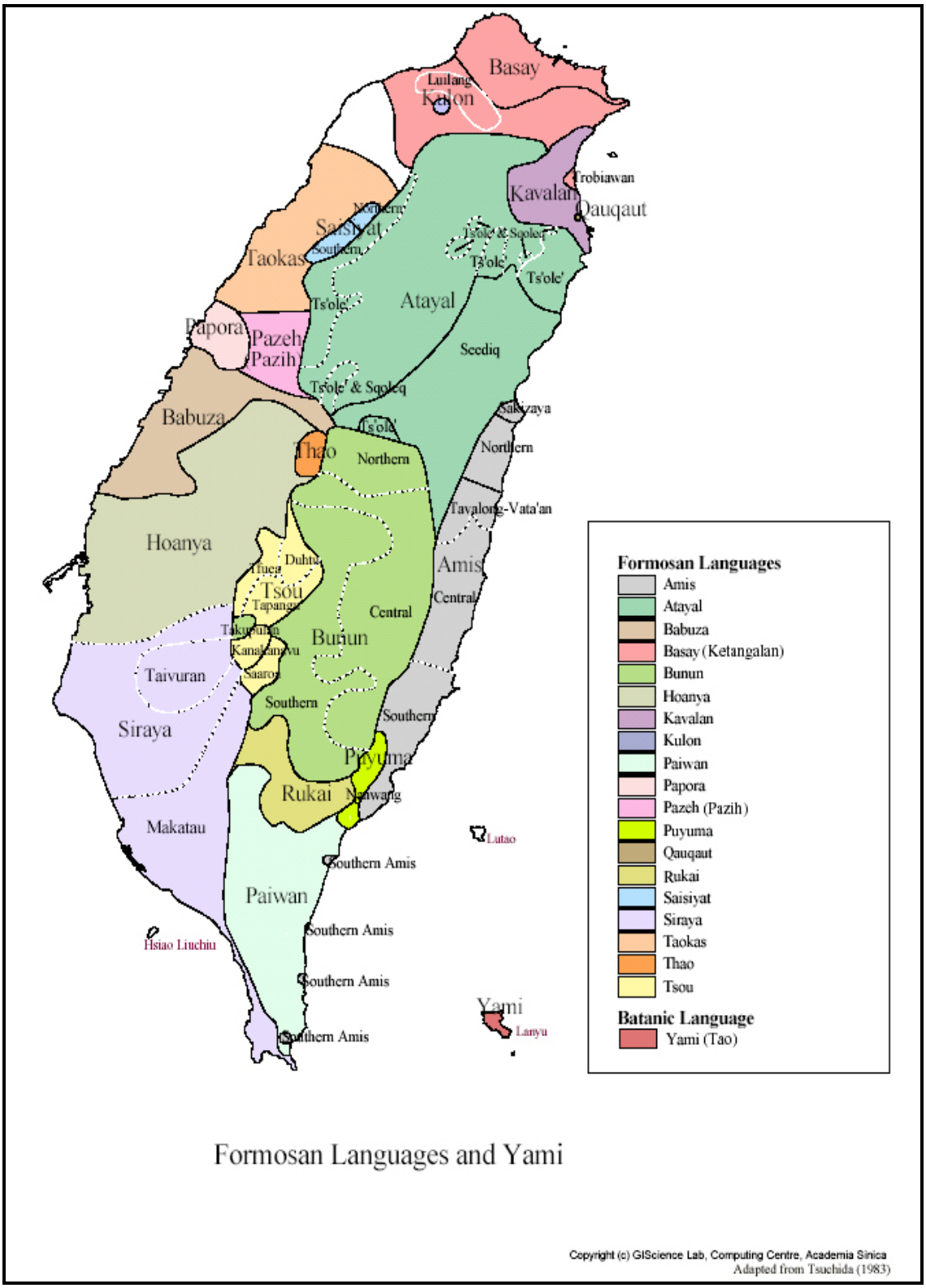
To reiterate, Austronesian-speaking people may very well represent the last peopling of the Pacific, the 'last layer of the human cake', inasmuch as they found uninhabited places and inhabited them (Blundell 2006 interview)[19]. They were ethnocentric and not united in terms of their cultures (*ibid*.). They were a "pottery making, farming, pig and dog keeping population" (Bellwood 2006 interview). Austronesian speakers show us that maritime trade had tremendous organization networks that covered two-thirds of the world. This language family represents the widest dispersal of humankind before global European expansion (the *Columbian Era*).

[18] GI Science Lab, Computing Center, Academia Sinica; Adapted from Tsuchida (1983).

[19] Blundell was referring to primarily to the islands east, northeast, and south of Melanesia, such as French Polynesia, Hawaii, and New Zealand.



Map 6: The Geographic Realm of the Austronesian Language Family
Source: Blundell (2000: 343)



Map 7: Formosan Languages
Source: Academia Sinica, after Tsuchida (1983) Copyright ©

Diamond (1999: 336) believes that the Austronesian expansion was among the biggest population movements of the last 6,000 years and "One prong of it became the Polynesians, who populated the most remote islands of the Pacific and were the greatest seafarers among Neolithic peoples."

Austronesian-speakers seem to prefer islands. Austronesian is almost exclusively found on islands. When considering Taiwan, New Zealand, and Madagascar, we find three great islands with Austronesian languages not found on their adjacent continents.

There are currently two main hypotheses concerning the origin of the Taiwanese aborigines and the wider Austronesian puzzle. These theories are generally based on the current topics under address (archaeological, linguistic, and genetic), but may also include mythology and other historical sources.

The first hypothesis proposes that the Austronesians originated in some area other that Taiwan, for example the South-coastal China and/or South-east Asia. The second proposes that Taiwan is the ancestral homeland of the Austronesian peoples. These theories may overlap when examining pre- or proto-Austronesian origins. Regardless of the debate amongst scholars, Taiwan certainly has fascinating connections to the greater Austronesian cultural realm and is a focal point in scholarly discussions.

Peter Bellwood, proponent of the second hypothesis, Taiwan as the Austronesian homeland, postulates that proto-Austronesian would have come from China, but Austronesian as we know it today developed in Taiwan. Philosophically he states: "Nothing really originates, everything evolves from something else" (Bellwood 2006 interview). "The most widespread opinion held by linguists concerning the origin of the Austronesian language family is that a common ancestral language, Proto-Austronesian, was spoken in Taiwan. This is because the homeland of any given language family is very likely to be close to or within the geographical location of the first determinable separation of the ancestral common stock into two or more separate groups" (Bellwood 2000: 340)[20]. Therefore, Bellwood (*ibid*: 340) agrees with linguist Robert Blust who proposes that first separation into two or more subgroups in the case of Austronesian occurred in Taiwan.

Blust (1999) proposed that the Austronesian language family is split into two early groups. One is the Formosan group and the other is the Malayo-Polynesian group; and while nine of these

[20] P. Bellwood's article *Formosan Prehistory and Austronesian Dispersal* appears in Blundell, D. *Austronesian Taiwan*.

are found in Taiwan, the remaining nine groups constitute the other half of the Austronesian linguistic family (comprising nearly a thousand languages). In this way, the *nine tribes* identified by Japanese anthropologists at the turn of the twentieth century represent nine Formosan sub-branches. *Figure 1* illustrates these primary divisions.

Diamond (1999: 339), subscribing to the second hypothesis, put it in plain words: "Taiwan is the homeland where Austronesian languages have been spoken for the most millennia and have consequently had the longest time in which to diverge. All other Austronesian languages, from those on Madagascar to those on Easter Island, would then stem from a population expansion out of Taiwan."

In this context, Bellwood (2000: 346) offers a simplified five-point summary regarding Austronesian development and dispersal:

1. Pre-Austronesian people moved to Taiwan from Southern China.
2. A period of time passed in Taiwan that allowed the Formosan Austronesian languages to develop a head start in primary subgroup diversity compared to all other Austronesian areas.
3. This was followed by a rapid movement of these peoples through the Philippines, Indonesia and Oceania, to as far as East Samoa.
4. A further movement in western Polynesia took place, perhaps for up to a millennium.
5. The Great Eastern Polynesian Dispersal took place within the past 1,500 years, perhaps the greatest in geographical terms, with Austronesian- derived peoples finally reaching New Zealand (Aotearoa) less than 1,000 years ago.

Approximate dates for initial Austronesian contact and/or colonization: Taiwan was 4000 to 3500 BC; Luzon was 3000 BC; Borneo was 2,000 BC; French Polynesia and Hawaii was AD 1 to 1000; and ultimately New Zealand was AD 800 (Bellwood 1995: 102). The Austronesian language chart below illustrates the archaic nature of the Formosan languages. They represent the earliest linguistic group in the Austronesian family. Conversely, Hawaiian language (just one of the many languages in the vast Oceania group) represents one of the furthest places inhabited by Austronesian speakers. The author of the present thesis has added Bunun and the currently acknowledged Formosan languages and Hawaiian to *Figure 1* (below) in order to make obvious a distant relationship. Consider that Taipei, Taiwan is 5,053 miles from Honolulu, Hawaii over open water, and the Bunun are renowned as a high mountain-dwelling people with no relationship with the sea. To further illustrate this point, *Table 3* (below) provides a few cognates among Hawaiian and Bunun and those listed in *Table 3* are common to

a myriad of Austronesian languages. Cognates among Austronesian languages serve as a key component to the study of Austronesian linguistics.

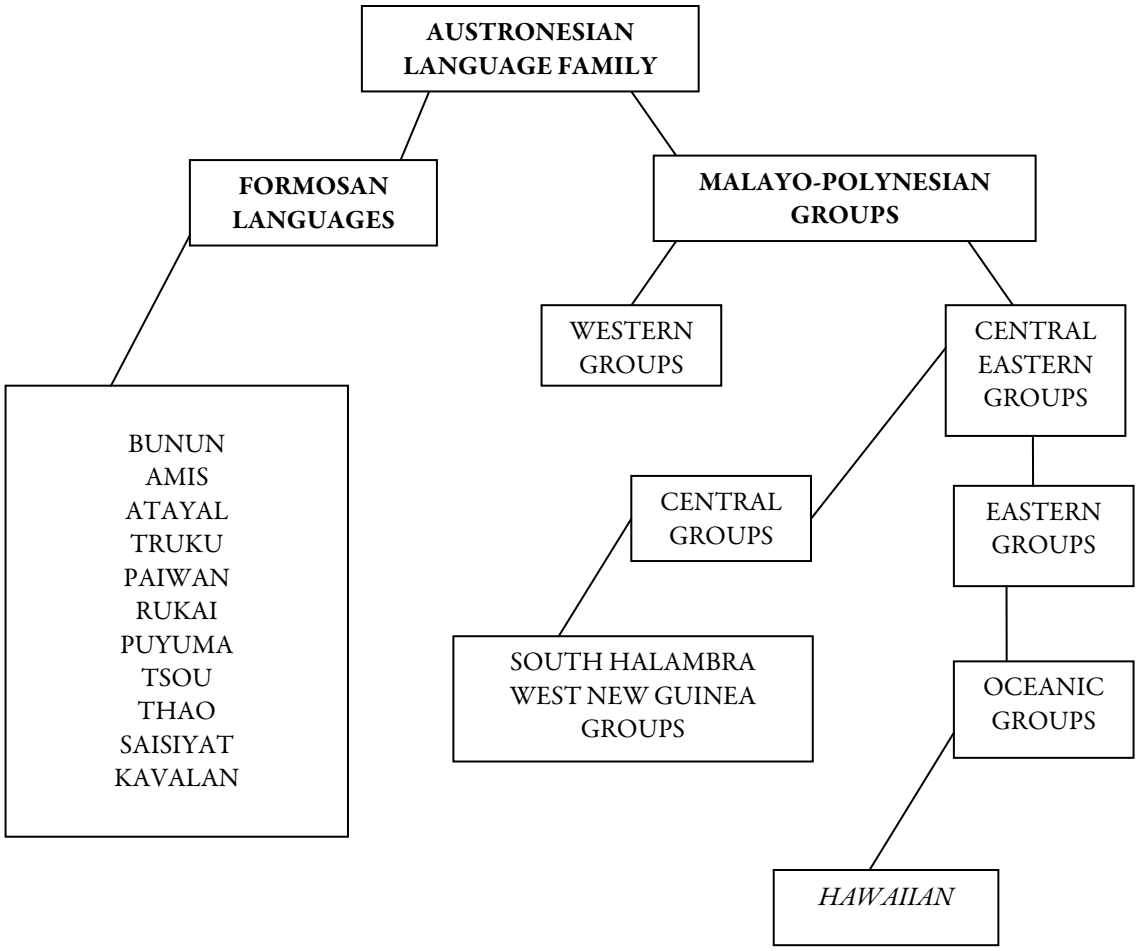


Figure 1: Structure of the Austronesian Language Family[21]
Source: Adopted and Modified from Blust (Bellwood 2000: 343)[22]

[21] Yami (spoken on Orchid Island) is classified as a Batanic language and is not placed on the Formosan language list.

[22] Adapted and modified by author from R. Blust, *Australian National University* (Bellwood 2000: 343). Note that not all of the nine sub-groups under Malayo-Polynesian are not shown here, nor does Hawaiian form its own sub-group.

AUSTRONESIAN COGNATES

	Hand	***Eye***	***Two***	***Five***	***Seven***	***Eight***	***Nine***
Bunun	ima	mata	dusa	hima	pitu	vau	Siva
Hawaiian	lima	maka	lua	lima	hiku	walu	Iwa

Table 3: Austronesian Cognates
Source: Istanda and Author[23]

Wilhelm G. Solheim, II[24] subscribes to the first hypothesis, that Taiwan's aboriginal Austronesian peoples originated elsewhere, perhaps South China and/or Southeast Asia. My first question for Solheim during a recent interview was: "Who are the Austronesians and where did they come from?" He responded: "First of all, to assume that Austronesian is a people is incorrect; *Austronesian* is a linguistics term, it refers only to a very major super-family of languages, and should not refer to people" (Solheim 2006 interview). He proposes that indigenous peoples came to Taiwan as early as 5,000 or 6,000 BC, and that independent small populations of must have had: "Very little contact with each other in order to have developed mutually unintelligible Austronesian languages" (*ibid*.). Solheim recognizes the peculiar position of Taiwan in the field of *Austronesian Studies*, however he offers a unique hypothesis regarding the quest to pinpoint the Austronesian place of origin: "The Austronesian homeland was on the boats – they may have lived their lives without having ever set foot on land" (*ibid*.).

With respect to the second hypothesis, which offers a reasonably clear-cut view that people, language, and materials were moving out of Taiwan, Solheim maintains that: "People aren't simple, people are complicated, there is no simple answer, everything came from many directions" (*ibid*.). He believes that we need to consider the terms *migration*, *dispersal*, *diasporas*, and *circulation*, and know their differences (*ibid*.). "The majority of the prehistoric relationships between Formosa and Southeast Asia do not appear to me to be direct, but the results of small movements from a common general source in south China and northern Indochina, and possibly even more important, the diffusion of specific culture elements in all directions from late Neolithic times on" (Solheim 2006: 57).

With regard to these links among Austronesian languages, cultures, people, and materials, Solheim offers an hypothesis dubbed *Nusantao* as part of a scheme which he calls *Nusantao Maritime Trading and Communication Networks*: "I created the term *Nusantao* to represent

[23] The Bunun words listed in *Table 3* were recorded from N. Istanda, (2004 interview), whereas the Hawaiian was based upon the author's personal experiences with the language.
[24] 86 year old Wilhelm G. Solheim, II is a professor at the University of the Philippines at Diliman (UP-Diliman), Quezon City.

people rather than language" (Solheim 2006 interview). *Nusantao* represents the ocean-going Austronesian-speaking peoples (Solheim 2006: 57). *Nusantao* stems from the Austronesian root terms *nusa* for *south island* and *tau* for *man* or *people* (Solheim 2006: 58). Solheim wants us to understand that this term is open to change: "My hypothesis changes as new data becomes available and as I come to understand these people and their networks better" (Solheim 2006 interview).

Setting the two main hypothesis regarding Austronesian Taiwan aside, Blundell (2006 interview) surmises that it is obvious that indigenous peoples came to Taiwan a very long time ago and their languages and cultures got old there. An appropriate term for Taiwan's indigenous peoples may well be Taiwan's *first residents* (Sinorama I 1994: 21) inasmuch as they indisputably belong to the oldest group of peoples who have maintained Taiwan as their homeland.

Nonetheless there is yet another puzzle behind the first residents of Taiwan. Common among the indigenes are myths and tales of a little people who inhabited the island long ago. Blundell (2004 interview) notes that such mythology is pervasive throughout the Austronesian-speaking world. Certainly Hawaii, with their legends of the *menehune*, is no exception. Although this topic is shrouded in speculation, there is evidence to support a theory that such a people once lived on Taiwan and were in contact with Taiwan's indigenes. Beauclair (1986: 416) addresses the question of the former presence of "Negritos on Formosa" as a question well-worthy of research:

> "As *Kano*[25] has proved and later fieldworkers had many occasions to confirm, most of the tribes retain traditions of former dark-skinned dwarfs. Such traditions are especially vivid among the Saisiyat and the Paiwan. Among the Paiwan of the southeastern of Formosa some artifacts were found in places described by the Paiwan as former dwelling sites of the Negritos. The Saisiyat, who celebrate a festival in remembrance of the dwarfs (Pastai), preserve the memory of their strong magic. Among the Paiwan, the alleged former living places of the Negritos are tabooed and are not used for agricultural purposes. It is not impossible that these sites include old burial places, and their exploration seems an urgent task."[26]

[25] Tadeo Kano, The tradition of dwarfs among the Formosan aborigines. Journal of the Anthropological Society of Tokyo, vol. XLVII, no. 533, 1932.
[26] Spellings are those used by Beauclair.

2.2. Social Organization of Taiwan's Indigenous Cultures

The Research

This section of the thesis is constructed from secondary sources and serves to précis the social organization of each ethnicity, especially in the context of community structure, family, marriage, and gender-specific responsibilities through a brief survey of each ethnicity. This section is not intended to provide a comprehensive documentation; rather it serves to shed light on obvious commonalities, particularities, and diversities. Although social organization has been employed as a means to look across the ethos of each ethnicity, in order to better identify each society, a brief introductory paragraph providing alternative names, apparent cultural markers, and other key points of interest has been provided. A shortlist of anthropological kinship terms has been provided below and all in-text kinship terms have been italicized.

KINSHIP TERMS RELATED TO THIS SECTION

Ambilineal	descent traced and kinship groups assigned through either the male or female line; allows the individual the option of choosing their own lineage
Ambilocal	newly married couples live with the husband or wife's parents
Endogamy	marriages occur within the boundaries of the domestic group (between members of the same group); not the same as incest
Exogamy	marriages occur outside of the domestic group (between members of different groups, villages, classes, casts, or lineages)
Matriarchy	a form of social organization in which the mother, and not the father, is the head of the family, and in which descent and relationship are reckoned through mothers and not by fathers
Matrilineal	descent traced through the mother's line; example of unilineal rule system (unilineal meaning a single lineage)
Matrilocal	applied to the custom in certain social groups for a married couple to settle in the wife's home or community
Patriarchal	of or belonging to a patriarch; of or belonging to a hierarchical patriarch; ruled by a patriarch
Patrilineal	kinship with and descent through the father or the male line
Patrilocal	applied to the custom in certain social groups for a married couple to settle in the husband's home or community
Phratry	kinship division consisting of two or more distinct clans which are considered as single units with separate identities with the phratry
Primogeniture	the fact or condition of being the first-born of the children of the same parents; the right (of succession) of the first born
Uxorilocal	newly married couple lives with wife's kin
Virilocal	newly married couple lives with husband's kin

Table 4: Anthropological Kinship Terms
Source: Author

A Survey of Twelve Ethnicities

As aforementioned, Taiwan's indigenous cultures (and languages) as defined by the government, are categorized into twelve distinct ethnicities. Commonalities include the following: Austronesian language (the Formosan languages); swidden (slash and burn) agriculture; the farming of millet and rituals centered on the harvest of millet; domestication of chickens, pigs and dogs; hunting of wild boar and deer; dances or ceremonies held by circular formation; shamanism; and they were basically animists who believed in the spirits of their ancestors, the dead, and those of environmental features. All ethnicities pierced their ears (both men and women). All ethnicities transmitted their culture and history through oral traditions and had no writing system[27].

Sagawa's 1953 study on Taiwan's indigenes noted the following: all groups grow foxtail millet, sweet potato, taro, banana, ginger, ramie, sugarcane, and the bottle-gourd; all groups (except for the Yami of Orchid Island) grow Job's tears, tobacco, and peanuts; and foxtail millet is the considered the most valuable crop, whereas taro and sweet potato are important staples (Chen 1988: 22)[28]. Foxtail millet is the most important cereal crop, highly valued and sacred (*ibid*: 54).

Notably, all ethnicities were headhunters (except for the Yami) and headhunting profoundly contributed to cultural and physical boundaries. Chiang (2000) discusses the lack of unity among Taiwan's ethnicities: "Feuds and hostilities between villages (sometimes even of the same cultural and language group) were frequent. Conflicts were mostly settled by revenge or negotiation with compensation. Village alliances were found in some cases, but none of the groups had developed any formal or centralized political organization beyond the village level."

In 1930 Ogawa and Asai compiled *Traditions and Myths of the Taiwan Aborigines* (which was translated by Baudhuin in 1960)[29]. This literature lends insight into the cosmic world of Taiwan indigenes, a people whose perceptions of the cosmos were inextricably linked to their taboos of headhunting, hunting, religion, agriculture, and daily social life; divinations of ornithomancy (birds), oneiromancy (dreams), hydromancy (water), animals, and plants; omens connected to plants, animals, natural phenomena, human activities, and ghosts and spirits;

[27] The Bunun had a primitive writing in the form of a moon calendar (see Chapter 3).

[28] A table of Sagawa's observations is provided by Chi-Lu Chen who wrote *Material Culture of the Formosan Aborigines* in 1968. The book was reprinted by SMC Inc. in 1988.

[29] Baudhuin's 1960 work was an English translation (from Japanese) of *Traditions and Myths of the Taiwan Aborigines* compiled by Ogawa and Asai in 1930.

incantations (spells and charms); and imprecations (curses). The para-science of the Taiwan indigenous cosmos is embodied in superstitious beliefs:

> "The aborigines attribute the natural calamity and good or ill luck to the supernatural beings. Natural phenomena and daily occurrences are interpreted by means of various superstitious beliefs, which have been handed down from the forefathers. Taboos are strictly observed above all things. When there appears some boding phenomenon, divination and incantation are practiced. The superstitious beliefs, which are of a great variety, are grouped under several heads according to the various tribes" (Baudhuin 1960: 425).

All groups fashioned weapons such as spears, bows, and arrows, used for hunting animals, head-hunting, and war. In some cases they used harpoons and crossbows (Chen 1998: 146). All groups played the Jew's harp (except for the Yami) (*ibid*: 74) and although all groups played the mouth flute (*ibid*: 77), the Rukai, Paiwan, and Tsou are known for their nose flutes (*ibid*: 76). All groups wove baskets (*ibid*: 87), used bamboo (*ibid*: 125), used both gourds and wood as vessels (*ibid*: 129), and used animal hides (except for the Yami) (*ibid*: 142). Most groups did tattooing (*ibid*: 246), plucked their body hairs to some extent (*ibid*: 257), and wore distinguishing headgear (*ibid*: 201). Very little in known about indigenous toys and pastimes, but like children everywhere they imitated the doings of the adults (*ibid*: 83). The spinning of *tops*, which were used in religious rituals, was also used as toys by children (*ibid*: 83).

Worthy of note is the existence of totemic art in Taiwan. Totems, or figures arranged in vertical series, were prevalent among the Kavalan, Paiwan, and Yami. Although totems are most well-known among the Northwest coastal American Indians and Pacific Islanders (Chen 1988: 388), Formosan art offers the most primitive of motifs of the *Old Pacific* style (*ibid*: 404).

Particularities are also striking: each ethnicity is a different stock and has their own physical appearance, language, geographic area and settlement pattern, material culture, music, origin and other mythology, artistic expression, and social organization.

Social organization of each ethnicity differs considerably at the community, family, or individual level and serves as a point of departure from common practices. Individuality, collectivity, and societal and political hierarchy are evident in gender roles, marriage practices, and community affairs. Comparatively, the Bunun of the high mountains are principally *patrilineal* and *patrilocal*, the Amis of the eastern-coastal region are principally *matrilineal* and *matrilocal*, and the Puyuma of southeast are principally *matrilineal* (Chiu 1972: 49) and

uxorilocal (*ibid*: 37)[30]. Whereas the Bunun have a clan system normally consisting of small family groups whose societal decisions are made by a highly respected male elder, the Paiwan and Rukai of southern Taiwan observe strict political hierarchies based on family nobility. Such variation in social organization on a small island is not only out of the ordinary, it is encoded with information that can help us to grasp the dynamic and legacy of their cultures.

The Chinese, or *Han*, culture constitutes ninety-eight percent of the population on Taiwan and is profoundly *patriarchal*, *patrilineal*, and *patrilocal*. With the Han migration to Taiwan, the indigenous peoples living on the Western Plain were either displaced or assimilated, often through marriage when Han males took indigenous wives[31]. As land areas came under increasing pressure, indigenous groups were often pushed closer together, resulting in the integration of their cultures (such as the Saisiyat and Atayal, the Amis and Kavalan, or the Tsou and the Thao). Questions of whether or not association with or assimilation to Han *patri*-centered culture may have encouraged a shift in *matri*-centered tribal behaviors are difficult to answer. Taiwan's plain peoples are generally thought to have been primarily *matrilineal* societies (Blundell 2006 interview).

Scholars have proposed that some cultural groups took refuge in the mountains. This corresponds to some orally transmitted legends, like that of the Bunun, which indicate an ancient migration to the mountains from the plains (Istanda, N. 2006 interview). As aforementioned, the Amis, Kavalan, and Thao are considered plain-dwelling cultures, although the Thao live in the mountains.

Some generalizations regarding marriage culture are: indigenous cultures are strictly *monogamies* (Paiwan and Rukai cultures notwithstanding); they all have strict rules which prohibit incest based on various kinship lineages; heads of families normally conduct marriage negotiations and wedding preparations involving the brewing of wine and hunting of wild boars, which may last for several days to a week (Sinorama I 1994: 95); and women often play an important role as mediators between the mortal and spiritual worlds through shamanism and spiritual divination (this is especially pronounced in Amis culture where women shamans are still highly visible in society) (Blundell 2003 lecture).

Taiwan's indigenous cultures have many gender-specific behaviors manifest in daily life, such as superstitions, taboos, rituals, use of foods, and agriculture related practices. All men wore

[30] The terms used here provide only a general classification and may vary among anthropologists. Furthermore, due to pressures from foreign cultures, social systems have been, and currently are, in a state of change.
[31] This issue is addressed in Chapter 2.3 (Socio-political survey).

loincloths (Chen 1988: 163) and practiced hunting, fishing, blacksmithing, and basketry (except the Rukai) (*ibid*: 49). All women wore skirts (*ibid*: 169) pounded millet (apart from for Yami) (*ibid*: 49). General examples include: women weave, with strict taboos on men touching the instruments of weaving (which was thought to bring bad luck). Men hunt, with strict taboos on women touching their hunting implements. Other examples include taboos centered on harvest rituals, the household, and the consumptions of foods. Within each culture, there are unique and clear-cut rules and roles that must be strictly adhered to in the scheme of social organization.

The discussion of social organization would not be complete without mentioning that a great many of Taiwan's indigenous peoples have converted to Christianity. This and other contemporary influences have, and are having, a profound influence on the indigenes' social systems. Many marriages are now Christianized and ancient traditions are either infused into the Christian tradition or abandoned altogether. However, this thesis will mainly address social organization in a historical context.

The Bunun 布農

The name Bunun means *man* or *human*. The Bunun people lived in the highest mountains, moved frequently in search of better hunting areas, and therefore would have come into contact with most or all of the other ethnicities on mainland Taiwan. They are conspicuously eclectic (Ferrell 1969: 32), adopting material culture from other ethnicities. The Bunun are the only ethnicity in Taiwan who did not dance; rather they held rituals (often in circular formation) where body movements were of a serious nature and supported the telling of material or military exploits[32]. Blundell (2004 interview) notes that historically the Bunun were of a solemn nature when compared to other ethnicities such as the Amis. Istanda, N. (2004 interview) attests to culture markers: "Adults grew their hair extremely long and pierced both ears; children's lateral incisors were extracted by their parents; wore tight waist bands which held the abdomen tight; and we once practiced in-house burials."

Social positions within Bunun society are meritoriously achieved; especially rewarded are valor and bravery. In the wider sense, the Bunun constitute an *egalitarian* society with a *patrilineal* clan kinship structure. Their communities are considered patrilineal clans. These clans are like small family groups, which at all levels form their social organization. Therefore, larger communities consisted of *phratries*. Social organization among the Bunun is very complex,

[32] Refer to Chapter 3.2 (Bunun Ethnomusicology) for further explanation.

particularly concerning kinship structures, marriage taboos, and family alliances. Specific to the Bunun is the manner in which many aspects of their social organization can be overshadowed by exceptional behavior or deeds that benefit the collective family or community.

Although marriage by exchange was common in many of Taiwan's indigenous cultures, the Bunun were particularly attuned to the practice. The Japanese ethnographers Ogawa and Asai noted in the 1930's that Bunun marriages were commonly arranged and the principle practice was "marriage of exchange" (Baudhuin 1960: 379; Istanda, N. 2004 interview). This means that when a woman from one family is offered to another family, that family must provide a woman in return. In a case where one of the parties has no marriageable person for exchange, then the bride may be obtained through payment in betrothal goods (Baudhuin 1960: 379). Normal marriage age is late teens for men and early teens for women. However, in the case of marriage exchange, sometimes a girl who has not reached marrying age is sent to her husband's house, and a young boy may be sent to an older woman (*ibid*: 379; Istanda, N. 2004 interview). In the case of a mother giving birth to twins, the Bunun once killed both newborns.

The Bunun people and culture will be addressed in more detail in Chapters 3, 4, and 5.

The Amis 阿美

The name Amis may mean *north* and the Amis people self-identify using other names such as *Pangtsah*. There are five major cultural-linguistic groups (each with their own names) oriented in a north – south distribution (mainly Hualien and Taitung counties). Archeological and ethnographic evidence suggests that the Amis may have been living in the plains area of Eastern Taiwan for over four thousand years (Hsu 1991: 32)[33]. The Amis maintain the largest communities of all Taiwan's indigenous peoples (some as large as 1,000 to 2,000 residents), holding grand ceremonies with large groups of energetic circle dancers. They are the only Formosan ethnicity with detailed cosmogony and theogony[34] and this behavior is curiously Polynesian in flavor (Ferrell 1969: 54).

The Amis people are commonly referred to as a *matriarchal* culture (Sinorama I 1994: 90, 95). However, the Bureau of Culture Park, Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan's website mentions that there are actually communities based on *matrilineal* clans that are internally guided by senior age male cohorts who meet and make decisions at a

[33] Hsu cites Sung and Lien: *A Report on the Archeological Excavation of the Puyuma Site* (1986 unpublished manuscript, in Chinese).

[34] Theogony refers to the origin or descent of the gods, where as cosmogony refers to theories regarding the origin of the universe.

community-centered meetinghouse (Bureau of Culture Park)[35]. In this way, Amis society is an unusual type of *matriarchy* where men hold important tribal decision-making authorities. Although men are subordinate to their wives: "Men had legitimate and complete authority over tribal affairs" (Hsu 1991: 32). Within the male authority structure there was an age-grade hierarchal system, which positioned older generations above younger generations in tribal decision-making. This system has fallen into decay in recent decades, as younger generations are largely absent from tribal affairs due to migration to larger cities. The traditional age-grade system of Ami society is fading (*ibid*: 27).

In David Faure's article appearing in *Austronesian Taiwan*, he discusses the position of *mother* in recognizing that the Amis are a *matrilineal* society: "In Amis society, the mother holds a central position of respect and authority" (Faure 2000: 103). However, while males were subordinate in their wives' houses, they held great authority over their sister's children (Hsu 1991: 32). Yamaji (1991: 50) classifies Amis kinship in the following manner, "The Kinship structure of the Amis has always been one characterized by *matrilocal* residence, *matrilineal* inheritance and a *matrilineal* system of descent."

In marriage, the groom married into the bride's family and moved into her mother's house; there he had very little power (Hsu 1991: 32). A son-in-law was expected to work hard and be respectful. Divorce was normally initiated by the wife and could be swiftly commenced. "His wife could divorce him simply be throwing out his betel nut bag and hanging his waist knife outside the door" (*ibid*: 32; Istanda, N. 2004 interview).

The Atayal 泰雅

The name Atayal may mean *upright man*. The Atayal people occupy northern mountainous Taiwan and their society "is on the whole *egalitarian*" (Kasahara 1991: 4)[36]. Notably, the Atayal women have large horizontal facial tattoos that cover their mouth and cheek areas, whereas men have vertical tattoos on their foreheads and chins. Facial tattoos were a sign of maturity, accomplishment, and severed as a spiritual connection to their belief that it will help them to cross the *rainbow bridge* to the afterlife (Blundell 2004 interview). Another particularity of the Atayal is that they have no tradition of pottery (Ferrell 1969: 30).

[35] *Bureau of Culture Park, Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan* is hereafter cited as (Bureau of Culture Park). Available at: www.tacp.gov.tw/english/intro/fmintro.htm (last viewed Oct. 1, 2006).
[36] Kasahara, M., is a contributing author to *Kinship, Gender, and the Cosmic World* in Yamaji, K. (ed).

Atayal kinship system is often considered as *nuclear* and *patrilocal* (Hsu 1991: 30) as well as *ambilineal* (Ferrell 1969: 31). Social groups in traditional society identify themselves as being descended from a single ancestor and this single ancestor's identity is either *matrilineally* or *patrilineally* recognized (Hsu 1991: 30).

Atayal communities are based on the membership of the same lineage and all members participate in the same ancestral rites. These groups, called *alans*[37], average in size from fifty to two hundred people whom work and hunt together, sharing in both good and bad fortunes (*ibid*: 29). Consistent with egalitarian societies, *alan* leaders are chosen based on their: "Wisdom, integrity, bravery, and honesty" (*ibid*: 29). However, as the *alan* leaders are often younger than the community's influential elders, councils of elders may serve as to balance the *alan* leader's power.

The Atayal have a sense of *lineal* equality. For example, when a baby is born the father of a newborn presents a gift to a new mother's brother (or a male cousin) in order to gain social recognition for the birth by the *maternal* kinfolk. Kasahara (1991: 4) observes this behavior as: "The newborn infant first obtains status as a regular member of society by passing through a process of recognition by one of its *maternal* kinsfolk." Therefore we observe a sense of lineal equality insomuch as the *patri*-line seeks acceptance from the *matri*-line in acknowledging birth and potential inheritance rights.

Truku 太魯閣

The name Truku corresponds to a location near present day Hualien. The Truku people split from the Seediq ethnic group (which is divided into the three dialects of Truku, Toda, and Tkdayan). The name Seediq may refer to a location in the vicinity of present day Nantou. Stemming from the Atayalic language, Atayal forms one branch and Seediq forms the other (Zeitoun 2006 interview). However, these languages are nearly incommunicable. The Truku are infamous for their resistance to the Japanese in the Wushe incident in 1930[38].

Although Truku and the Atayal share a level of homogeneity of culture (Ferrell 1969: 32), such as facial tattooing, the Truku were officially recognized by the Taiwan government as an individual ethnicity in January of 2005.

[37] *Alan* is an Atayal kinship term.

[38] See Chapter 2.3 (Socio-political events) for more information.

Due to this recent distinction academic materials addressing there particularities are rather limited. However, Bureau of Culture Park website mentions that *gaya* (a kinship society) is home and the center of the tribal unit. Every family member or clan member must observe the regulations (if one person violates, the whole family or all tribal unit should be punished). The husband is the head of a family and it is the parent's responsibility is to participate in social gatherings and negotiate problems, whereas clan elders are responsible for mediating family's difficult problems, offering advice, and offering respect to the *gaya* ancestors. Children are strictly taught to fulfill filial piety towards parents, courteous to the elders.

Saisiyat 賽夏

The name Saisiyat may be related to a place where they lived prior to their current location in northwestern Taiwan (Zeitoun 2006 interview). As mentioned in at the end of the previous section, the Saisiyat people are often identified for their festival of the *little people* (Pas-taai) which is held every other year. Although many of Taiwan's indigenous people have some oral tradition regarding a clever, small stature people who once shared their territory, the Saisiyat still carry out a nostalgic festival in their honor. They Saisiyat wore facial tattoos inherited from the neighboring Atayal (Yuan-Liou 2002: 45) as well as unique chest tattoos for accomplished hunters.

Saisiyat stem from the plains indigenes; their societies are believed by some scholars to have been *matriarchal* and *matrilineal*. The social structure of the Saisiyat was deeply influenced by external social pressures from other indigenous peoples, such as the Atayal as well as the Chinese, that their current social organization is *patrilineal* and extremely sinicized. Originally, families related by blood lived together creating a large-family system (Baudhuin 1960: 369). This deep sense of family relation may explain their peculiar adoption of the Chinese tablet worship system used in the worship of ancestors (Suenari 1995: 147)[39].

The Saisiyat are strictly monogamous and marriage was often by exchange, as long as both families agreed (Baudhuin 1960: 375). Marriage between those with the same surname, or thought to have come from the same ancestor was strictly forbidden (*ibid*: 375).

Paiwan 排灣

Unique to the Paiwan people are their slate carvings, use of glass beads (which are passed down the family line), and their snake motifs. Precariously, they have a long tradition of prestige

[39] This is due mostly to neighboring Hakka influences (Suenari 1995: 147).

pottery jars handed down from distant generations, yet they have no recollection of pottery making (Ferrell 1969: 44). Legend has it that the chief of the Paiwan was born from a pot, and the ordinary people are descendants of the hundred-pace snakes and people (Sinorama I 1994: 156). They build well-crafted stone-slab houses from local materials and are renowned for their style of relief carving on slate.

The Paiwan are a class society controlled by ruling elite, made up by the members of noble and chiefly families. The chief is the member of the village with the highest status, most wealth, and greatest power. Wealth and social class are hereditary. In this way, the Paiwan fit the description of an *ascribed* society[40].

The signature aspects of Paiwan kinship structure are that they are *ambilineal* (Ferrell 1969: 45) and practice *primogeniture* (Bureau of Culture Park). Paiwan communities are based on a hierarchal structure of nobility, meaning that their societies are normally composed of several noble families at the highest stratus, commoners comprising a medium stratus, and tenant farmers making up the lower stratus. Each Paiwan community was under the rule of a high chief from the family with the most authority and the longest lineage, and councils of elders served as intermediaries between the nobility and the common people (Bureau of Culture Park).

Paiwan (and Rukai) are Taiwan's only cultures that permitted *polygamy*. Although it was not commonly practiced, in some cases a man from a noble family could take more than one wife (Sinorama I 1994: 95).

Marriage among nobles is much celebrated and has complicated protocols. The groom's family gives glass beads, ceramic jugs, and a piece of land (along with a tenant to farm it), with ten assorted tools, such as a harrow, axe, pot, and a knife (*ibid*: 93). The wedding night is spent at the bride's house and is supervised by her parents (meaning that they are separated and do not share the same bed.) Afterwards she can come to the groom's house and they can sleep together (*ibid*: 90).

Rukai 魯凱

The name Rukai means *elevated* (Zeitoun 2006 interview). Before their relocation during the Japanese Colonial Period, they occupied the remote areas of mountainous southern Taiwan. Noble classes wore elaborate headgear, communities were well organized, and their homes were

[40] *Ascribed* society is hierarchal society, such as in Hawaii and Tahiti before European colonization. In contrast to ascribed society of the Paiwan, there is *achieved* society, equalitarian, such as the Bunun.

constructed using stone-slab architecture. Uniquely, they decorated their homes with traditional art including wood sculpture and pottery.

Their social organization – like the Paiwan – is based on the nobility, meaning that their type of community is composed of several noble families, the commoners, and tenant farmers. Kasahara (1991: 4) observed, "Rukai society for its part is one formed of notable social stratification distinguishing aristocrats from commoners." Like the Paiwan, the Rukai community's high chief came from the family with the most power and the longest genealogy. Secondary leaders were selected from among the influential tenant farmers or the collateral branches of noble families; these leaders were responsible for community matters at various levels (Bureau of Culture Park).

Until the mountains came under the hegemony of the Japanese, not only did the chiefs possess vast tracts of land and exact tribute from the commoners, but also they monopolized rights particular to themselves. Thus, they held Rukai government and economics in their grasp (Kasahara 1991: 15).

Social stratification among the Rukai is vertical. When a person of higher standing gets married to a person of lower standing, one is lowered while the other rises, bringing them closer to each other (Sinorama I 1994: 95). People of higher standing are socially expected to find someone of equal status as not to lower their family's position by marrying to a person of lower status. Upon marriage, a Rukai wife ordinarily follows *uxorilocal* and *virilocal* norms and domicile at the home of her family with her husband for two or three years after their marriage (Kasahara 1991: 9).

The Rukai give preference to their first-born child, however this is not fundamental *primogeniture*. Although first-borns are given priority, males are given a higher position than females: "As a rule eldest sons fall heir to both their fortunes and positions, but in the event that there is no male successor, the eldest daughters benefit" (*ibid*: 15).

According to Rukai tradition, when twins are born, they would kill the second of the newborns. In the case of triplets, the practice was to kill both second and third newborns (*ibid*: 10; Istanda, N. 2004 interview)[41].

[41] This is slightly different from the Bunun who kill all infants of multiple births.

Puyuma 卑南

The name Puyuma was first spotted in the literature in 1898, and has been said to mean *gather together*, it may actually mean *be sent to the fields* (Zeitoun and Cauquelin 2006). Alternatively, they are identified as the *Peinan tribe*.

Cauquelin (2004: 104) categorizes the dichotomy of duties based on gender in Puyuma society (prior to the 1920s) as the following: men are in charge of hunting, guarding the village, protecting the women, driving away enemies, and preparing for hunting in the men's house; whereas women work in the fields, fetch wood and water, gather crops, raise children, cook, and bring breakfast to the men's house. Women ruled the domestic universe and tilled the fields; they looked after the possessions and represented stability (*ibid*: 103)

Traditionally, the Puyuma people had extended families, daughters remaining in their natal families usually taking husbands from families of the same village (Suenari 1995: 142) and given their moderate village sizes, had detailed rules to avoid incest (Cauquelin 2004: 84). However, such tradition of *endogamy* is almost completely replaced by a trend of *exogamy*, and most marriages today occur to spouses from outside of the village and culture (*ibid*: 84). Inheritance often went to the member of the family who stayed home, which was in general the eldest daughter (*ibid*: 84). Marriages are not determined until adulthood (*ibid*: 89).

The Puyuma have, since the Qing Dynasty (1683-1895), had significant level of contact with the Chinese including intermarriage. Descendants of mixed blood maintained a Puyuma identity although, like the Saisiyat, they incorporated the Han Chinese tradition of ancestor tablet worship (Suenari 1995: 143). Importantly, the Chinese and Japanese hegemonies made alliances with the Puyuma, using them as a workforce and empowering them over enemy tribes like the Bunun (Lee 2006 interview)[42].

Tsou 鄒

The name Tsou means *person* in the sense of Chinese person (*ren*). The Tsou are commonly identified by their leather caps and feather headdresses. They are noted to be keen hunters, able in the skills of tanning of animal hides, and were fierce rivals of the Bunun (Istanda 2004 interview).

[42] Such a divide-and-rule ideology was employed against the proud highland-dwelling Bunun who found themselves subservient to a *lowland tribe* who they considered an adversary (Lee 2006 interview).

The Northern Tsou and the Southern Tsou are slightly different in their kinship customs. However, both groups follow a *patrilineal* kinship structure and attend masculinity-training centers where women are forbidden. Their kinship structure is based primarily on social and traditional attitudes toward women (Bureau of Culture Park).

The social organization of the Tsou (like the Bunun and Thao) is a *patrilineal* clan structure, often consisting of *phratries*. In other words, the Tsou live in compound communities composed of several smaller communities. According to the Taiwan Bureau of Culture Park:

> "Newly formed communities did not cut organizational ties with the original community; instead, they maintained a stronger or weaker subordinate relationship, resulting in a two-level structure. The greater and lesser villages are representative of this pattern. Only the greater villages have formal chiefdom, and the heads of the lesser villages consist of either a representative of the heraldic field or a member of the leader's clan selected by the leaded. All major ceremonies or important decision-making was performed at the greater village" (*ibid*.).

Like the Bunun, principle matrimony practice of the Tsou is marriage by exchange. This means that when a woman from one family is given to another family, that family must provide a woman in return. In a case where one of the parties has no marriageable person for exchange, then the value of the bride may be compensated through the provision of labor (Baudhuin 1960: 385), this practice is in contrast to the Bunun who pay in betrothal goods. In such case, the man obtains his wife by offering his labor to the girl's family. The 1930 study by Ogawa and Asai offered a similar, more detailed account of this, which describes how the husband may live with and work for the wife's family for several years or oscillate between the husband's household and the wife's for periods of several months at a time (*ibid*: 385). This type of *ambilocal* behavior was deemed temporary and in the end this arrangement would become *patrilocal*.

Afterbirth and umbilical cord are buried either at the place of birth, in the back yard of the house, or under the floor of the house (Ogawa 1991: 94)[43]. Ogawa remarks that the mother's sub-clan has spiritual authority over the children of their clans-women who have married out. This may include specific rituals, which include gift giving to the infant through the natal family, such as a knife for the boy and a hoe for the girl (*ibid*: 95).

[43] Note that this author is Masayasu Ogawa, not to be confused with the late Ogawa of Ogawa and Asai (1930).

Thao 邵

The name Thao means *person* (Zeitoun and Cauquelin 2006). In 2001 they were officially recognized by the Executive Yuan as Taiwan's tenth aboriginal group, and as distinct from the Tsou. The Thao are noted for their pestle music, whereby eight to twelve players strike a large stone slab with long wooden poles of varying length to produce a unique rhythm and harmony. The Thao reside in the high mountain area of Sun Moon Lake in Nantou County where they farm, hunt, and fish; they look to the lake's *Lahu* Island as a sacred place where their ancestral spirits reside.

Social organization of the Thao is very similar to the Tsou inasmuch as they have a *patrilineal* clan structure with clan units forming an organizational structure. Therefore, unlike the Bunun and Tsou, the Thao did not have the *phratry* system. However, the Thao have a single hereditary clan that maintains control of the society's leadership.

Kavalan 噶瑪蘭

The name Kavalan may mean *flatland people*. In 2002, the Kavalan gained official registration as Taiwan's 11th indigenous ethnic group. Although their mythology and religion have long been neglected (Ferrell 1969: 55) they represent one of the significant surviving cultures of the plains tribes. They are believed to have lived on the East coast plains for a thousand years and their mythology indicates they arrived via the sea. Dutch sources indicate that there were once eight thousand Kavalan living in thirty-nine villages in 1650 (*ibid*: 56). A small and unique group, they have endured constant and severe external pressures from Chinese, Japanese, and other tribes, such as the Atayal and the Amis. They are thought to have been pushed southward and to the east coast area in the 1840s. Currently, only ten percent of the Kavalan can speak their native tongue, mainly older women, and very few children can speak it at all. Other cultural markers include the construction of ethnicity totems and fishing skills.

Although very little is known about the Kavalan's social organization, they are a *matriarchal* society and have a kin system whereby the eldest daughter inherits most property. In such a circumstance where there is no eldest daughter, then the eldest son is chosen.

Yami 雅美

The name Yami was imposed upon them by the Japanese and they may self-identify as the *Tao*. The Yami live on Orchid Island (*Lan Yu*) southeast of Taiwan. Their language belongs to the Batanic family and their culture is closely related to the Batanes Islands, Itbayat island in

particular (Bellwood 2006 interview)[44]. Unique to the Yami are their intricate irrigation systems used in the cultivation of taro. Blundell (interview 2006) compares the sophistication of Yami taro cultivation to that of the Hawaiians. The Yami build half underground typhoon-proof houses, fashion specially balanced boats from the wood of the breadfruit tree and painted white and red, and they worship the seasonal migrations of flying fish. The watercolor below illustrates the Yami men united in the launching of their cultural icon.

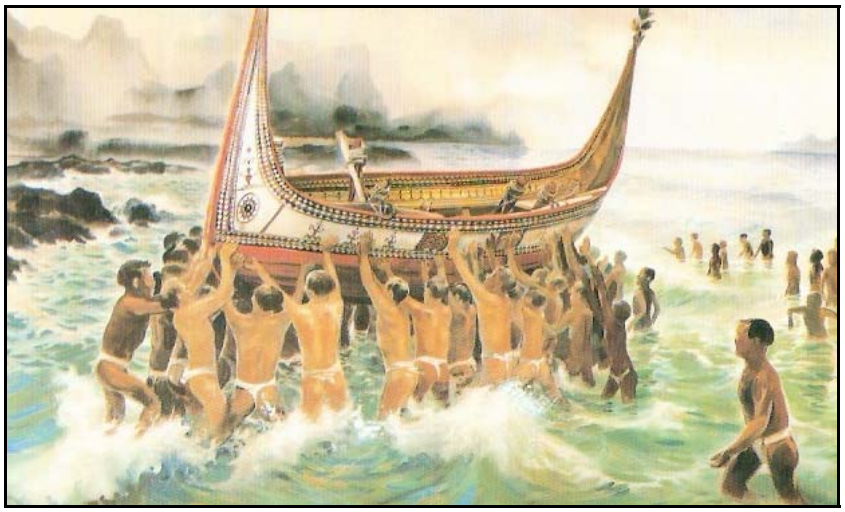


Photo 3: Watercolor of Launching of a Boat by the Yami Men
Source: Blundell (2000: 400); by Ho Sofeng

The Yami tribesmen are on equal terms, there were no class distinctions and they on principles of liberty and equality (Baudhuin 1960: 299). Their kinship structure is primarily *patrilineal* (*ibid*: 363). The Yami do not have the custom of marriage exchange, nor are there go betweens to facilitate unions (rare exceptions notwithstanding) as can be seen with other indigenous cultures in Taiwan (*ibid*: 389). Peculiar to the Yami, the parents may make arrangements for the marriage of their children when they are as young as four to ten years old – referred to as *infantile engagement* – although the actual marriage is consummated when both parties are around 20 years old (*ibid*: 390). For those who marry for the first time, no *free will* marriages are permitted, meaning that the children must obey the will of their parents. However, once married, divorce is permitted and a *free will* marriage can occur (*ibid*: 390).

[44] Interview conducted at Bosco, Batanes Islands, Philippines. April 2, 2006.

2.3. Socio-Political Events Affecting the Indigenous Peoples

A Survey of Six Political Periods in Taiwan

Socio-political and administrative policies affecting Taiwan's indigenous peoples are the result of a long history of foreign (non-indigenous) colonial authority and governments. This section will discuss the political agendas of ruling authorities and key events related to indigenous peoples and cultures through nearly four hundred years of Taiwan's history. Significant political authorities on Taiwan can be divided into six distinct sections: the Dutch East India Company Period (1624-1661); the Koxinga Period (1661-1683); the Qing Dynasty or Manchu Period (1683-1895); the Japanese Colonial Period (1895-1945); the Chinese Nationalist Period (1949-1996); and the current Independent or Democratic period (1996- present).

Although the Portuguese are credited with having given the name *Ilha Formosa* (meaning *beautiful island*) to Taiwan and the Spanish controlled the Taipei basin from 1626 to 1642, neither left an indelible mark on indigenous cultures. The Dutch era marks the keystone of socio-political transformation.

The Dutch East India Company

The Dutch East India Company, although not officially a government, established the first organized colonial authority in Taiwan in 1624. They built stone fortresses and kept first-rate official records. Fort Zeelandia at An-ping (Tainan) and Fort Provintia nearby are still partially standing; Dutch archives remain extremely valuable in the study of Taiwan's indigenous cultures.

The Dutch period was an age of trade and commerce. They governed the indigenous peoples in a roundabout way via employment of negotiation with tribal leaders. The Dutch learned indigenous languages, built schools on the plains, and developed a means to apply a Roman alphabetization system for indigenous languages in order to promote communication and Christianity. For example, the first indigenous language Bible was compiled in the Siraya language employing such a Dutch alphabet. "The Dutch with much foresight at once sought friendly relations with the savage tribes" (Davidson, 2005: 14)[45], always observing kind and considerate policy over these wild children whose friendship was so essential to the company's success (*ibid*: 15)."

[45] *The Island of Formosa Past and Present* was originally published in 1903, and most recently republished in 2005 by SMC Publishing Inc.

When the Dutch first arrived, the Austronesian speaking peoples inhabited the entire island of Taiwan, with a small Chinese population on the western plain. The indigenes that came into direct contact with the Dutch were mainly the plains-dwelling groups, although mountain-dwelling groups would have come into limited contact as a result of the deer hide trade (Chiang 1997: 4). Generally speaking, the Dutch were occupied with maintaining their port areas and governing Taiwan's indigenous peoples within their immediate reach.

From the beginning, the Dutch rushed along at headlong speed, intent on obtaining a maximum of financial gains in the shortest time possible (Davidson 2005: 14). The Dutch were primarily interested in obtaining resources through trade with the indigenous peoples, especially deer hides and rattan. The deer hides were sent in considerable quantities to Japan, while rattan was dispatched to China. In order to facilitate commerce, they set up trading posts on Taiwan's southwestern plain and encouraged the plains indigenes to deliver hides. The demand for hides was substantial and Dutch records indicate that staggering quantities were loaded on Dutch vessels. Campbell remarked on the Englishman Jacobus Valentyn's[46] thorough accounts about the Dutch trade on Formosa:

> "The chief articles of export were hides of various kinds, because the western side of the island then abounded in heavy game, and the skins were bought at nominal prices and sold in other markets at huge profits" (Campbell 2001: 541)[47].

The Dutch period also marks a time of prolific Chinese immigration. When the Dutch arrived, the estimated Chinese population on the island was approximately five thousand (Chiang 1997). Davidson (2005: 13) estimates there were as many as twenty-five thousand Chinese who were under the influence of pirate chiefdoms. The Dutch were the first to bring in large numbers of Chinese settlers for labor for the production of sugar, as colonial overlords could not easily convince enough aboriginal men to give up hunting and take up farming (Simon 2005b: 3)[48]. By 1649 there were an estimated 11,339 Han Chinese, of which 838 were women (Brown 2004: 136)[49]. Campbell (2001: 384) points out that thousands of Chinese were likely driven out of mainland China due to war, and formed an armed colony amounting to

[46] Jacobus Valentyn was a former magistrate (deputy governor) in the Dutch service (Campbell 2001: 628). He also acted as a historian for the Dutch (Davidson 2001: 11).

[47] *Formosa Under the Dutch* was originally published in 1903, and most recently reprinted in 2001 by SMC Publishing Inc.

[48] Scott Simon, a Canadian who authored on issues relating to indigenous economy, wrote *Paths to Autonomy: Aboriginality and the Nation in Taiwan*.

[49] Melissa J. Brown wrote *Is Taiwan Chinese?* This book addresses the issue of the *aboriginality* of the Taiwanese.

twenty-five thousand armed men, not including women and children. By the end of the Dutch period, an estimated twenty-five thousand to fifty thousand Chinese settlers were permanently living in Taiwan (Chiang 1997: 5).

One of the great legacies of Dutch trade was the Dutch Matchlock Rifle. According to Bunun descendant N. Istanda (2004 interview), indigenous people learned how to maintain and repair them, passing them down from generation to generation as these guns were especially prized: "The Bunun knew how to fix the Dutch guns and were able to keep them in working condition, they were fabricated in such a way that made them easily repairable and therefore prized, whereas the Chinese-made guns were not nearly as valued by our people"[50].

As many of the deer hides came from the mountains the deer hide trade may have brought groups from the mountainous interior into direct contact with the colonists (Chiang 1997: 4). Paiwan oral history from Bia Village area, which is located south of Laipunuk, indicates that the Dutch had ventured into the mountains of that area. Bia Shirakimura, an eighty-four year-old Paiwan man recalls, "The Japanese went to the places of the Dutch; they knew how to find those locations. The elders often spoke about a time, many years ago, when the Dutch had visited their village" (Shirakimura 2004 interview)[51]. Although that was 345 years ago, accounts of the Dutch among indigenous peoples tend to be positive: "Tsou and Bunun oral history has some mention of this and stories of the Dutch are favorable" (Istanda, N. 2004 interview). When Koxinga forced the Dutch out in 1661, some Dutchmen may have been left behind, making their way to the high mountains.

All in all, the Dutch were the first western power to have a significant impact on the indigenous peoples of Taiwan. They brought western religion, organized agriculture, and a global economy. They exported enormous amounts of natural resources and opened the way for prolific Chinese immigration. Nevertheless, when compared to the Chinese and Japanese periods to follow, we can say that indigenous language and culture was fairly stable under the short-lived rain of the Dutch in Taiwan.

[50] N. Istanda notes that most of these rifles were confiscated during Japanese period.
[51] Shirakimura, father of thesis informant N. Istanda, currently uses his Japanese name.

The Koxinga Period (1661-1683)

Koxinga was the son of a Chinese trader and a Japanese mother. Having fled from China to the Pescadores Islands (Penghu Islands) off the central western coast of Taiwan, in 1661 (acting as a general of the Ming Dynasty) he launched an attack against the Dutch.

On the first of February 1662, with an estimated "12,000 troops and a fleet of about 300 junks with another 12,000 soldiers, reinforced later with seven regiments from China" Koxinga pressured the Dutch to abandon Taiwan including assets and goods estimated at 400,000 guilders (Weiss *et. al.* 1991: 104). However, Koxinga's establishment of an independent kingdom was fleeting. His vision was to use the island as a place to regroup and launch resistance against the mainland's Qing government. He offered Taiwan and all his possessions to Ming loyalists; his dream was to restore the lost Ming Empire (*ibid.*). Compared to the Europeans of the time, he was not considered to be an offensive pirate, rather a man who earned his respect among the indigenous people: "Koxinga never failed to treat the inhabitants with kindness and consideration, and further won their good-will by distributing tobacco and clothes among them" (Davidson 2005: 50).

Koxinga died the following year, on May 1, 1662. During most of the twenty-two years of the Koxinga period, his young son, Cheng Ching followed his deceased father's resistance against the Qing. Wartime events kept him occupied and affairs pertaining to the indigenous peoples were not of primary concern. On Taiwan, Cheng Ching promoted Chinese education (including official triennial examinations) and offered lands to newcomers and soldiers alike to farm (Weiss *et. al.* 1991: 108).

Shortly after the death of Cheng Ching, Taiwan fell to the Manchu when his young son surrendered on July 19, 1863 (Davidson 2005: 61). The legacy of the Koxinga era was the use of troops to farm the land in order to provide food for his forces. This legacy of agriculture, development, and Chinese education goes hand and hand with Chinese civilization, becoming a key issue with respect to the occupation of indigenous lands during the Manchu period that followed.

The Qing (Manchu) Period (1683-1895)

From 1683 to 1895, Taiwan was under consecutive Chinese authorities, ruled various Qing or Manchu Emperors. Unlike the Dutch, who had a trade-centered ideology, the Chinese were mostly farmers and long-term settlers. Over the next century plains indigenes were displaced or assimilated and their cultural identities suffered greatly. This is due in part to the fact that, from

1684 to 1788, Chinese settlers were not permitted to bring their wives with them, intermarried with local aboriginal women, and Han surnames were passed patrilineally (Brown 2004: 149).

First and foremost, it should be noted that Qing Dynasty did not officially consider Taiwan as part of its territory until 1887 when it was made a province. Overall, Taiwan was a wild frontier with countless rebellions against the colonialist rule of the Manchus. Professor Chen Hsiao-hung explains that the Manchu period was unruly and Taiwan was untamed and poorly administered place, with constant struggles against government authority: "Every three years a minor rebellion, every five years a major one" (Chen 2004 lecture).

Relations between the Chinese and the indigenous peoples on the plains can be looked at as a choice between assimilation and displacement. With limited government control over Chinese immigrants, indigenous people quickly became subject to discrimination as a minority. They thus sought refuge either in the mountains or the eastern-coastal region. For example, the Kavalan group still resides in eastern Taiwan today. Therefore, discussions of indigenous socio-political issues during the Qing and Japanese periods are herein focused primarily on the mountain-dwelling groups.

Taiwan's mountains form the highest ranges in East Asia. They are rugged and foreboding, with precipitous valleys prone to floods, and are home to a number of wild animals and deadly snakes. Plains-dwelling Chinese were mainly agriculturists and unaccustomed to this high-mountain environment, thus only later arrivals of Chinese settlers, mainly the Hakka Chinese, were willing to live in the foothills abutting the mountains and risk confrontation with the indigenes. The geographic delineation between plains and mountains becomes synonymous with the demarcation between Chinese and indigenes, and it would be hard to consider one without the other.

Qing strategies for mountain indigenes oscillated between two adversative policies: *defensive segregation* and *development by pacification*. It was under the *defensive segregation policy* that the line of demarcation between Taiwan's plains and mountains was distinctly stratified, and would remain so until the present day. This policy included construction of earth mounds, brick walls, and guard posts, especially at strategic points or passages between the mountains and the plains. Called the *Ai-Yun Line* 隘勇線 (literally the *Guardsmen Line*) it administratively, legally, and geographically divided the island into two parts for the first time in Taiwanese history (Chiang 1997: 5). We may consider the thinking behind the construction of this *Ai-Yun Line*, which began in 1722, to be analogous to the thinking behind the construction of the Great Wall of China (called *Wan Li Chang Cheng*) in the Chinese homeland from which these settlers came.

Although materials, style, and scale of construction were different, both were defensive barriers aimed at protecting plains-dwelling agricultural people from what they perceived to be aggressive barbarian cultures.

With respect to the other policy of the times, *development by pacification*, the Chinese did enter the mountainous areas and confront indigenous peoples. There are two possible explanations for this aggressive advancement. One is martial: the indigenes already had long-standing grudges against the Chinese; their headhunting practices were ever feared by Chinese settlers; and they launched periodic raids across the line. The second explanation is economic: the mountains held resources, especially camphor and timber. As the global demand for camphor oil and cellulose grew, so did justification for entering the mountains. Under the *development by pacification* policy, the Chinese entered the mountains, identified, and subordinated indigenous group leaders (called *tou-mu*), often imposing Chinese customs and principles on entire villages. However, mountain dwelling groups remained largely autonomous while maintaining ever-increasing trade relations, which introduced clothing, iron cooking pots and guns. Above all, indigenous peoples valued salt and guns from the Chinese.

As time went on, the Qing authority in Taiwan began to exercise a more aggressive policy toward the indigenous peoples. Peking was under increasing pressure from foreign governments, and transferred this pressure to the Taiwan prefecture. Two particular incidents occurred that affected politics in Peking and thus Taiwan, one concerning the United States, the other involving Japan. The first incident was the 1867 shipwreck of the American ship *Rover*, during which the crew was slain by the Paiwan tribe of Kulalus village, prompting the American Ambassador to give an ultimatum to Perking to control their frontier on Taiwan or face reprisal. The second incident in 1871 involved the killing of fifty-four out of sixty-six Ryukyuans after their boat ran ashore in eastern Taiwan, this by the Paiwan from Shinbauzan village, prompting Japan to officially protest to Peking. Japan used this incident as justification to attack Taiwan; they later reached an accord with Peking. Internally, the Qing government used these incidents to launch a military campaign across the *Ai-yun Line* in an attempt to subdue the indigenous peoples (Chiang 1997: 6-7).

Indicative of indigenous resistance to the Chinese advances, records of that time show a profound reduction in camphor production along forest boundaries. As a result, camphor exports in Tamshui fell from 1,239,028 pounds in 1881 to 656,089 pounds in 1882, and by

1885 it had fallen to just 399 pounds (Davidson 2005: 442). This profound decrease in camphor production is attributed to conflicts on the *Ai-yun Line* (Wei 2006 interview)[52].

By the end of the Manchu Period on Taiwan, the estimated Chinese population was 2,546,000. An 1886 survey lists the indigenous population at around 150,000 (Chiang 1997: 5). Officially, the unassimilated indigenes were classified as *raw barbarians* and assimilated indigenes *cooked barbarians*. The mountain indigenes (the raw barbarians) had managed to maintain a fair sense of cultural integrity and continuity, due in part to the magnitude and ruggedness of Taiwan's mountains as well as to the ideology behind the *Ai-yun Line*. Other than sporadic events when Chinese ventured beyond this boundary, indigenes were in relative isolation from the Chinese and the rest of the world. When comparing Taiwan with Austronesian-speaking peoples in the Philippines, Taiwan's were less assimilated. This is likely due to the more insistent cultural and religious influences such as Islam and Catholicism" (Blundell 2006 interview).

In summary, the Koxinga and Manchu periods saw prolific Chinese immigration into Taiwan, with two opposing socio-political ideologies and accompanying policies with regard to the indigenous peoples: one defensive; the other aggressive. The Chinese gained control step by step over the island as their populations and need for resources expanded. The construction of the *Ai-yun Line*, as a line of demarcation and discrimination, had separated Taiwan into mutually exclusive worlds. Demand for forest products fueled the breach of this line and by the 1870s things would change forever. Tragedies resulting from two foreign-power shipwrecks on Taiwan shores energized politically-charged aggression toward the mountain dwelling indigenes. Each of these legacies would carry over into the Japanese period that followed.

Japanese Colony of Taiwan (1895-1945)

In 1895, the Japanese defeated the Chinese in the Sino-Japan War. Li Hong-Zhang, the representative of China's Qing government, signed the Treaty of Shimonoseki and ceded Taiwan to the Japanese. This event marks the beginning of the Japanese colony of Taiwan and brings a new chapter of conflict for the indigenous peoples.

The Japanese occupation of Taiwan is an immense topic. The impact on the indigenous people is undeniably profound. Compared with the Manchu period, during which time only limited records were kept, the Japanese kept immaculate records. The legacy of the Japanese on Taiwan and their studies, management, and overall attention to the indigenous peoples is unprecedented in the history of Taiwan.

[52] Mr. Wei from SMC Publishing Inc.

During the Japanese period in Taiwan, the vast majority of indigenes were extradited from their remote mountain villages and relocated to lowland communities. Many were required to adopt wet-patty rice cultivation and attend Japanese schools. As the period progressed, the official language policy requiring indigenes to learn Japanese was strictly enforced. Linguistic and cultural degradation of indigenous languages were rapidly accelerated during this period.

Whereas the Han residents of Taiwan were rather easily brought under Japanese rule, the indigenous peoples were to become the key obstacle to complete control of the island for the Japanese: "The Japanese greatly underestimated the indigenous peoples, and the indigenous peoples would give the Japanese a bloody nose" (Lee 2006 interview). Lee points out that there were few Taiwanese resistance heroes, as the Han were actually immigrants themselves. However, the indigenous people had deep feelings that the mountains were their lands and were prepared to defend their lands at any cost (*ibid*.).

Overall, the Japanese plan of action was to *agriculturalize* Taiwan in order to *industrialize* Japan. Furthermore, Taiwan was the staging ground for the Japanese imperial expansion into the Pacific. The Japanese built Kaohsiung Harbor in Southwestern Taiwan as a base for their *Southern Conquest*, essential to their vision to create a *Grand & Glorious East-Asia Zone* (大東亞共榮圈). Taiwan was to serve as the model colony for all East Asia (*ibid*.). While the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, was primarily initiated out of the Kuril Islands, simultaneously the invasion of the Philippines was launched from Taiwan. These key global events signify that, like the world at large, the world of Taiwan's indigenous peoples was to be changed forever. Chiang (1997: 9) points out that the attack on Pearl Harbor and subsequent events increased Japan's need for materials. The Colonial government moved toward mobilizing all possible resources required for the war effort, including the resources found in the mountains of Taiwan, human as well as material. Mountain products were procured by any means necessary. This is known as the *Imperial-subjectification period* due to the special focus on human resources, including the enlistment of mountain indigenes for military service (the *Takasago Volunteers*) (*ibid.*).

The Japanese expected absolute obedience from the indigenes under their social policy of *Zet Tai Fuku Ju* (絕對服從):

> "*Zet Tai Fuku Ju* was the *Emperors Policy* and it stood for absolute obedience. During the Japanese Colonization era, there were three main ranks in Taiwan's society. In order of privilege, they were: Japanese; Han Chinese; and aboriginal. There was a strict separation between the ruling and the ruled. Japanese police had power and they made aboriginals work without pay, it was forced labor.

> This philosophy was pervasive in Japanese Colonial Society. There were clear-cut levels of society: lower level must obey the upper level" (Lin 2004 interview)[53].

This ruler-subject ideology (above mentioned by Lin) may have had lasting effects on the indigenous subjective mind as it broke the spirit and structure of the culture (Istanda, N. 2004 interview).

The Japanese used a *Divide-and-Rule* ideology to bring the indigenous peoples under their control. Similar to the British rule in Africa, divide and rule involves dividing interests. Indigenous ethnicities were separated into small groups and juxtaposed with other ethnic groups such that one group may have a rival group on either side. This broke down the indigenes power structures and concord. The Japanese learned and documented the history of tribal disputes in order to manipulate them to their advantage: "Before they could divide they needed to know the tribal and intertribal relations, such as their hatreds, marriage disputes, hunting grounds, and headhunting events" (Lee 2006 interview). "In general, we can say that the Japanese did their anthropology with a purpose. It was a government mechanism. This activity resulted in the formation of National Taiwan University's Anthropology Department" (*ibid*.).

Prior to the Japanese attention to social science in Taiwan, there had been little or no actual research in regard to the indigenous peoples. The Japanese, likely influenced by western social sciences, were the first to initiate modern social science in Asia. Taiwan became somewhat of an island laboratory. Just a decade prior to the Japanese period on Taiwan, they had founded the Tokyo Anthropological Association, which was the first of its kind in Asia. "Compared with the Qing period, the Japanese were much more interactive with Taiwan indigenes: they paid attention to them, educated, modernized, and had a great interest in their ethnography" (Blundell 2004 interview).

When the Japanese inherited the *Ai-yun Line* it was under a loosely administered and primarily private system left over from the Chinese (B.I.A. 1911: 12). The Japanese Bureau of Indigenous Affairs [BIA] estimated the indigenous population in the high mountains at 120,000, and was divided into 671 large and small villages (*ibid*: 1). The new Japanese administration adopted a policy toward the mountain regions based solely on economic development for the benefit of Japan. The Japanese were interested in forest products (especially camphor and cypress), minerals, and the labor required to obtain these resources. Unlike the Qing government before

[53] Lin is a volunteer historian at the *Taiwan National Prehistory Museum* in Taitung.

them, the Japanese policy toward the mountains and indigenous affairs was well ordered Japanese administration was two-fold: economic development and law enforcement (Chiang 1997).

The year 1897 marks the Japanese initiation of reestablishing the *Ai-Yun Line*. In 1903 Japanese government officially instated all guardsmen as government employees (B.I.A. 1911: 14; Meyers 1984: 219). Taiwan's mountains and forests were more strictly administered than previously. After several stages of administrative reshuffling, the Bureau of Forestation became the bureaucratic machine required to administer management and control of Taiwan's mountains and forests. Camphor production was increased, island-wide resource evaluation was conducted, and mountain roads were constructed. *Map 8* below illustrates the approximate *Ai-Yun Line* (Davidson 2005 index)[54].

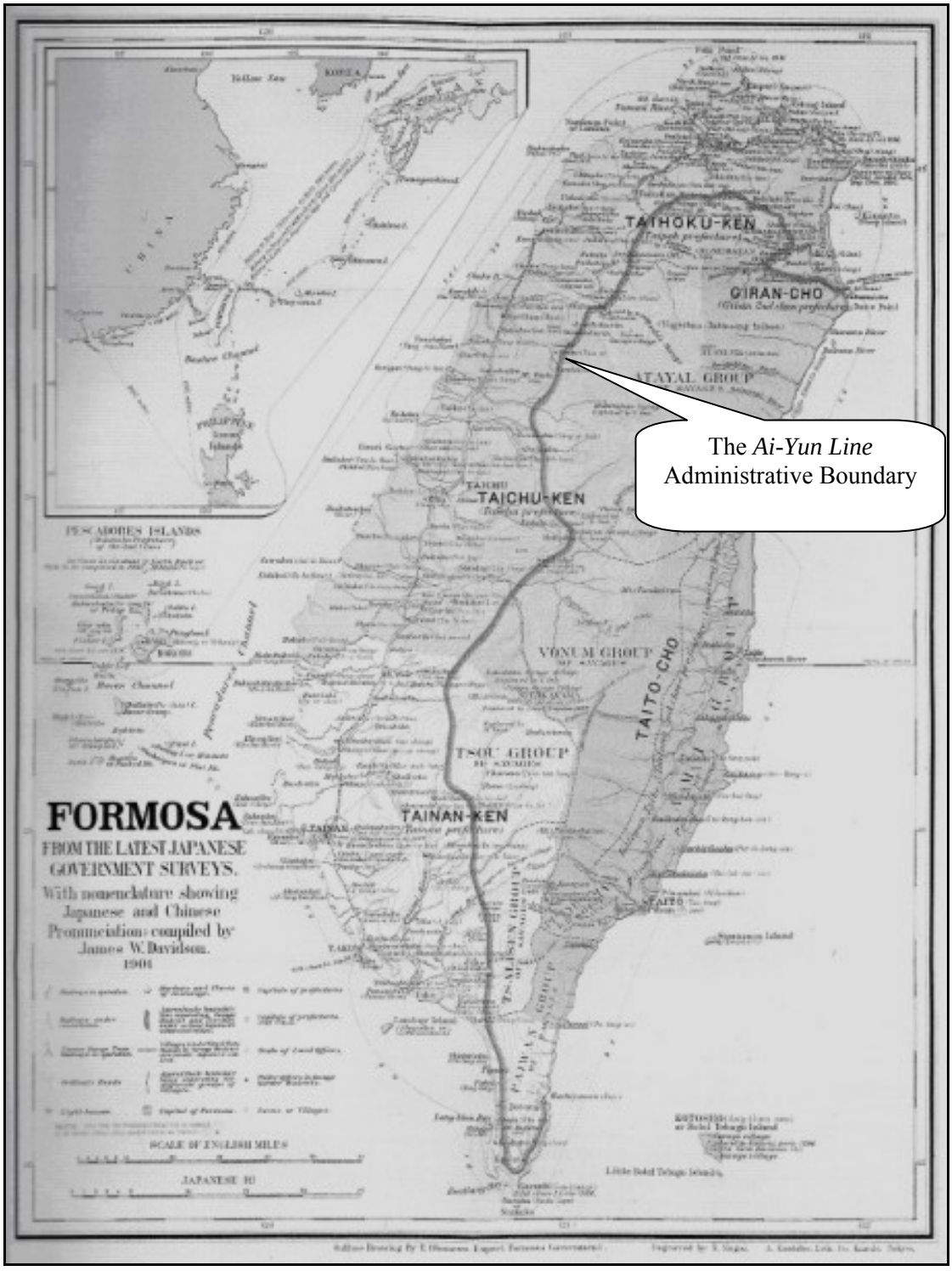
Military actions to take control of the mountains were launched in 1909 and by the end of the 1920s, the *Ai-yun Line* was refortified with land mines and electric fences (Chiang 1997). The Japanese had been trying to confine the aboriginals to certain large tracts of land in the interior of the island. The construction of some five hundred miles of fences and guarded walls proved very expensive, sometimes exceeding two million yen per year (Myers 1984: 218).

The 1930s and early 1940s saw an accelerated penetration into Taiwan's mountainous areas, resulting in intense deforestation and the dispossession of mountain dwelling indigenes. Particularly, the 1930 *Wu She* incident near Nantou marks the turning point for indigenous policy. Reportedly three hundred Seediq attacked a school during an athletic meeting, killing 134 Japanese. The Japanese retaliated with more than seven thousand men, machine guns, and artillery, even employing air power and poison gas to bombard an aboriginal settlement. By the time the rebellion was over, an estimated 644 indigenes were dead.

Following the *Wu She* incident, the Japanese incorporated lands into their empire as hastily as possible. In 1933, the Japanese launched a ten-year-plan for the relocation of mountain aborigines. Nearly every indigenous community was forcibly removed to lower elevations. Tactics employed included education of aboriginal children (using police officers as teachers) and recruitment of men for the military. Simon (2005b) points out that it's important not to overlook the violent use of state power that was necessary to subdue these indigenous communities. For many indigenes it was a paradox: on the one hand they lost their ancestral

[54] Davidson's map illustrates the boundary of the *Ai-Yun Line* in 1901 under the Japanese colony on Taiwan. The boundary is approximately the same that of the Qing Dynasty.

lands; on the other hand they found the benefits of modernity including nice clothing and medical care.



Map 8: The Ai-Yun Line of 1901
Source: Davidson (2005 Index)

By 1940 the Japanese began to strictly enforce a naming policy on all indigenous peoples. Every man, woman, and child was given a Japanese name. This was an attempt to accelerate the assimilation policy (similarly when the Chinese Nationalist took over, the aborigine's Japanese names were changed to Chinese).

The following year, 1941, marks the onset of WWII and opens a very significant new chapter for indigenous peoples, namely induction into the military. Chester Lin remembers the era:

> "A long time after the occupation, aborigines were summoned or forced to join the military. History says the aborigines were forced to fight, but actually they were taught to go. I mean that they were educated or brainwashed to enlist. They were considered as volunteers. These are the aboriginals we now call the "Takasago Volunteers." When these people left for the war, many people came to see them off. There was lots of encouragement and pride. Every child my age thought it was a great honor. I did to. As I remember, aborigines were often sent to the front lines as a group. They could be sent ahead of regular forces to cut the jungle. The Japanese were not fit for this type of work. Even a well train Japanese soldier was clumsy in the jungle when compared to the aborigines. It was a second nature to them. The aboriginals did the most dangerous jobs" (Lin 2004 interview).

Many aboriginals lost their lives and the history of the *Takasago Volunteers* is not well documented. As the Japanese government did not want to claim responsibility for wartime events, most records with reference to the *Takasago Volunteers* were destroyed: "The Japanese military authorities, aiming to avoid prosecution after the war, destroyed records of the bitterly-fought campaigns that took place in Asia and the Pacific from 1942 onwards" (Huang, C.)[55]. The war ended abruptly, the Chinese Nationalists took over, and the subject of the Takasago was not popular. Indeed, few people outside of Taiwan knew much about it: "The old folk won't talk about it, and the young don't know how to ask" (Sun, T.) [56]. However, interest was kindled with the discovery of an Amis tribesman on the Indonesian island of Morotai in 1974. The man, once named Suniyon and now called Li Kuang-hui[57], had been left behind on the island by the Japanese when the war ended. For thirty years he lived in total isolation with no knowledge that the war had ended. His story gained global attention and it was then that

[55] Professor Chih-hui Huang is an assistant researcher at Academia Sinica's Institute of Ethnology. Quoted from *Voices from a Buried History, The Takasago Volunteers*. This web source is no longer available and was last viewed on June 15, 2006 at http://www.sinorama.com.tw/en/1999/199903/803078e1.html

[56] *ibid.* Note: Ta-chuan Sun was vice chairman of Taiwan's Council of Aboriginal Affairs (CAA) from Dec. 1996 to May 2000. In Jan. 2002 the CAA became the Council of Indigenous Peoples (CIP).

[57] Suniyon was the man's original Amis name. His Japanese is Nakamura Teruo. Upon being returned to Taiwan, the Nationalist government required his name to change to Chinese Li Kuang-hui.

scholars from around the world launched investigations in the history of the *Takasago Volunteers*.

First-hand accounts of sentiments felt by aboriginals at their time of conscription lends insight to cultural and community perspectives during that era. According to 88 year-old Tama Biung Istanda, a former *Takasago Volunteer:*

> "When the war came... I was very proud to join and serve in the military. In Bunun culture the man should be brave. Traditionally we fought with other tribes and were headhunters. At that time in my life it seemed the same: be brave and fight with other tribes. Joining with the Japanese was like joining a strong tribe. I felt I should be honest to the Japanese king and not be afraid to fight. I presented myself to the powerful Japanese. My decision was spontaneous. In Bunun culture, when we are needed, we go to fight. Bravery is rewarded in your social standing in the tribe. I was not afraid of getting hurt or dying" (Istanda, T.B. 2004 interview)[58].

Personal experiences of *Takasago Volunteers* attest to the expectation of the Japanese. Shirakimura (2004 interview) enlisted in the military and took great pride in being a model conscript:

> "At eighteen I enlisted in the military. The training was difficult and serious. We could not have any problems or bad relations with each other or with people from surrounding villages, including Japanese. Each of us was expected to be a good model, and if we weren't, we knew the alternative was to be kicked out, disgraced, and punished. I considered it a privilege to be in the Japanese military. My service in the military was entirely in Taiwan. My regiment's assignment was to protect and care for the forests, waterways, and villages. We served as peacekeepers of that area. I saw very little fighting during my service. They grouped all aboriginal servicemen together, regardless of which tribe they had originally come from. Although some tribes had long-standing rivalry, we needed to get along in the military. We were called, *Yamanaka Budai*, which meant *Mountain Troops*. We wore our Japanese military uniforms with pride" (Shirakimura 2004 interview).

As revealed in the testimonies by Lin, T.B. Istanda, and Shirakimura, each demonstrates a sense of excitement, encouragement, and the duty felt during that period regarding the military, providing a different and valuable perspective on much of the discourse found in the section of

[58] T.B. Istanda, a Laipunuk Bunun informant for this thesis' ethnohistorical research, served as a *Takasago Volunteer* from 1942 to 1945 in Papua New Guinea and saw active duty, including engagement with American forces.

this thesis. This input marks the first opportunity to integrate oral ethnography into this paper, as there are few informants over ninety years old alive today who can offer first-hand accounts of life before WWII.

At the end of World War II Japan gave up title to Taiwan, without specifying to whom. Chiang Kai-shek, the head of the Chinese Nationalists or Kuomintang (KMT) representing the Allied forces, occupied Taiwan with his troops. Driven by the Chinese Communists, Chiang Kai-shek's KMT officially took refuge on Taiwan in 1949. These events lead to an entirely new chapter for indigenous peoples and the fate of their languages, cultures, and self-identities.

In summary, the Japanese era in Taiwan marks a complete upheaval of the indigenous peoples. As the plains indigenes were assimilated during the Manchu period, most mountain indigenes were acculturated during the Japanese period. By and large, they were removed from the mountains, forced to learn Japanese, and required to take Japanese names. Yet new changes and new challenges were about to unfold.

The Chinese Nationalist (KMT) Period (1949-1996)

At the beginning of the KMT (Kuomintang) Period, indigenous cultures and languages entered into a frozen stage. Before long the KMT began an assimilation policy and cultural degradation of the indigenes became acute. The 1950s through the 1980s were laden with social, political, and economic woes for the indigenes. However, the 1990s ushered in a new era and the KMT period ended in 1996 with democratic elections.

A short-list of milestone political events[59] during the early years of the KMT Period includes the following:

In 1947, the name official name for the indigenes was changed from *Mountain People* to *Mountain Compatriots*;

In 1948, the Government promulgated a new package of regulations for the management of Aboriginals;

In 1950, some aboriginals were executed for alleged involvement in the *228 Incident* or *228 Massacre*, an uprising in that began on February 28, 1947 against the KMT government, resulting in thirty thousand civilians killed. Chester Lin remembers when the KMT suddenly

[59] Many of the milestone political events described in this section are listed on the Shung Ye Museum for Formosan Aborigines (Taipei) exhibit, located on the basement floor. However the display offers only a chronological list and contains no commentary.

showed up in Taiwan and began to take control. His memory gives a deep sense of the emotion people felt at that time in Taitung, Taiwan:

> "When the KMT came, they hated everything Japanese – their language, their clothes. But Japanese had become my mother tongue. It was difficult. If I spoke Japanese, I was punished. The *228 Incident* was not too serious in Taitung, although many young people who had come from the military did go to fight against KMT. But some people brought KMT into their houses and fed them. In Taitung, the civilians were not trained to fight and they had no weapons, so they didn't get involved. I remember there was no school and lots of propaganda on the radio. Some students broke into gun storage places to get guns to fight KMT. They also occupied radio stations. I remember seeing truck full of young people on their way to *Jiayi* to fight. They were yelling, shouting, just the same as the Japanese pride and spirit" (Lin, 2004 interview).

The KMT government inherited the Bureau of Forestation and the Bureau of Minerals from the Japanese to become the Taiwan Forestry Bureau (TFB). There has been no large-scale military force in the mountains since that time. As the vast majority of mountain dwelling indigenes had already been extradited from the mountains, the KMT government only needed to control and restrict their reentry. The TFB created the *Mountain Reservation System*, out of the Japanese *Mountain Territories System*. The Japanese police offices were renamed as check points. Indigenous peoples were given only limited access to the mountains under the KMT.

With the indigenous population largely removed from the mountains during the Japanese period, TFB policies differed from the Qing and Japanese. Primary emphasis was on land management vs. people management, in stark contrast to the days of the *Ai-yun Line* and policies that combined a ruthless approach to man, forest, and the mountains, such as in the Japanese era. N. Istanda (2004 interview) feels that by this time, indigenous peoples had already learned to obey the government: "The Japanese taught us to obey, so when the KMT came we were not willing to put up a fight." Comparatively, KMT policies with respect to the indigenous people were more benign than those of the Japanese, with little bloodshed. Chen Hsiao-hung feels the Chinese were able to employ a live-and-let-live policy at that time: "If you make a fight, then we have a fight, if you are willing to go along, you will have some support" (Chen 2004 lecture).

In 1951, the Taiwan Provincial Government implemented the *life-improving proclamation* (生活改進運動), which was actually an acculturation policy with a title that appeared favorable to the indigenes: "[An] unapologetic campaign aiming at the sinicization of the indigenous

population. Among its goals are the promotions of things ranging from Chinese language (Mandarin) to… the use of chopsticks" (Chiang 1997: 11). Furthermore, the policy was a blend of vague moral statements prohibiting many indigenous traditions, including traditional healing.

The National Language Policy or g*uo-yu zheng-ce* (國語政策) specified that indigenous languages must be written in Chinese, which rapidly caused degeneration of linguistic and ethnic identity. The z*hu yin fu hao* phonetic system (nick-named *bo po mo fo*) replaced the Roman alphabet system previously developed by the Dutch as a phonetic model for language education, further accelerating degradation. In 1953 the Taiwan Provincial Government began a new 5-year assimilation plan and in 1954 the KMT prohibited Romanization of all indigenous languages, including names and place names.

Guo-yu zheng-ce reflects the mono-lingualism of the KMT government in Taiwan. Under this policy, Mandarin was chosen exclusively as the official or national language (*guo-yu*), and it would be considered the high language in diglossia. The Japanese first established the g*uo-yu zheng-ce* when Japanese was chosen as the *guo-yu*.

The g*uo-yu zheng-ce* was carried out in significant arenas: education, mass communication, and language rights. In the education arena, the teaching of indigenous languages was excluded from the national education system. In the arena of mass communication, indigenous languages were restricted and discriminated against in mass media; for example, the 1975 Broadcasting and Television Law. In the arena of language rights, people were not allowed to use indigenous languages in public places, such as post offices, theaters, and government offices. Even in the church, preaching in indigenous languages was not allowed until the most recent political reforms.

In 1983 an Atayal student named Evan Yukan at National Taiwan University (NTU) published a student journal named *Kau Shan Ching* (also called Green Mountains), which notably marks the beginning of indigenous cultural reconstruction. The stated purpose of the Journal was "to investigate the problems of the mountain territory, to arouse self awareness of the mountain population, to care about the mountain community, and to attain self-help and self-salvation" (Chiang 1997: 13). In 1984, the Minorities Committee was formed and the Association for Promoting the Rights of Taiwan Aborigines was set up to confront activities such as nuclear waste dumping on Orchid Island.

During the 1980s, the contemporary revitalization movement began. By then, political movements were somewhat tolerated and citizens could take action to voice their opinions. In 1987, with the lifting of martial law, the Tau (Yami) of Orchid Island began protesting against the Taiwan Power Corporation's (Taipower) dumping of nuclear waste on their island. In 1988, aboriginal students started a social movement, the *Return Our Land, Return Our Names Movement* or *Huan Wo Tudi*. Led by then fifty-eight-year old Igeung Ciban, a Seediq woman who joined forces with Bayan Dalur and other indigenous environmental activists, they took their long-standing case against Asia cement (dating back to 1973) to the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations in 1998 (Simon 2005b).

The 1990s ushered in a new era and political events become notably more favorable for the indigenes. In 1993, the United Nation's *Year of Indigenous Peoples* received extensive attention in Taiwan. In 1994, Japanese businessmen established the Shung Ye Museum for the Formosan Aborigines as a foundation. In 1995, the Nationalist Government approved the registration of identification cards for indigenous peoples in their own language (with Chinese Latinized writing). In 1996, the Taipei City Government changed several Taipei street names from Chinese to Austronesian (such as Chienshou to *Ketagalan*). A milestone event occurred during the same year: the founding of the Bureau of Aboriginal Affairs, the country's first top-level indigenous peoples government organization to draft aboriginal-related policies and protect the rights and interests of Taiwan's indigenous peoples.

Public protests were at the heart of government reform in the 1990s. From 1990 to 1996, many indigenous peoples demonstrated at the Presidential Palace in Taipei. Their main concerns revolved around revitalizing their language and culture, as well as land rights issues. They demanded their right to rewrite their history, as they strongly felt that Taiwan's textbooks were not fair (Li 2004 interview). Although it may be difficult to measure the benefit of public protests, considering the powerlessness of indigenous groups during the KMT period, and examining the empowerment they now feel with the birth of democracy in Taiwan, local movements and demonstrations have resulted in much-needed attention. "Public protests in Taiwan have been very successful" (Chen 2004 lecture).

A few headlines reflecting a healthy image of Taiwan's indigenes during the early Nationalist Period include:

> In 1960, Chuan-Kuang Yang, an Amis athlete, won the men's decathlon in the Rome Olympics;

In 1970, the Bunun "Red Leaf Little League" from Taitung won the world championship in Tokyo (some of these children were Laipunuk descendants);

In 1973, the New Testament was published in the Isbukun dialect of the Bunun language;

In 1975, Kuang-hui Lee returned from Indonesia (the missing *Takasago Volunteer*) and in the same year Professor Ping-Chuan Lu's recording of the music of Taiwan aboriginal mountain people was honored by Japan's Department of Culture.

As the KMT period ended and its political structure changed, the *Bunun Cultural and Education Foundation* in Yen-Ping village, Taitung County, became Taiwan's first non-profit organization to be founded by aboriginals. In 1995 the foundation built Taiwan's first aboriginal kindergarten. The founder, Laipunuk descendant Bai Guan Sheng (his Bunun name is Biung Husungan Istanda), is the son of Laipunuk-born Langus Istanda (ethnographic informant for this thesis).

The Democratic Period (1996 - Present)

The lifting of Martial Law in 1987 by Lee Teng-hui and his election in 1996 mark the rise of the democratic period. The Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) leadership, which followed in the year 2000, marks the establishment of democracy in Taiwan. New and profound changes regarding the precarious situation of indigenous peoples began. Taiwan's indigenes, almost overnight, reacquired many long-lost rights. As indigenous movements rushed forward, often through public demonstrations, globalization played a role in the process as international attention reopened studies and exchanges with universities. There was a renaissance of Christian movements rekindling the Romanization of indigenous languages.

In 1998, the political pendulum continued to swing in the favor of the indigenous peoples. Public Television began broadcasts of an aboriginal news magazine, which was Taiwan's first TV news program to be reported and anchored by indigenous peoples. The Executive Yuan passed an eight-year Aboriginal Development Program, covering eight key areas such as political development, education and culture, social welfare, employment, medical treatment, finance and land, housing assistance, and transport and water conservation. In the same year, the Legislative Yuan passed the *Aboriginal Education Bill*, which was the first law since the constitutional reforms that specifically targeted aboriginal rights and considered the rights of indigenous peoples.

In 1999 the plight of indigenous people was given public attention when the Executive Yuan's Commission of Aboriginal Affairs released its survey of aboriginal living requirements:

aboriginal unemployment was 1.65 times higher than the national average, and that most aboriginal people work in low-skilled jobs or manual labor.

In 2000, the DPP *White Paper on Aboriginal Policy* was put forth by President Chen Shui-Bian, after publicly announcing on September 10, 1999 a legal term *natural rights* to recognize that indigenous peoples were the original owners of Taiwan (Simon 2005b)[60]. The document depicts the KMT as just one more colonial power in Taiwan, subsequent to regimes including the Dutch, Koxinga, Qing Government, and Japan. The *White Paper* Document blasts the KMT for continuing the Japanese policy of "Administering Barbarians Policy." Attending to issues of poverty among the indigenous, the *White Paper* suggests that the problem was due to the fact that indigenous lands were lost to colonial powers, including institutions originally founded by the KMT state such as the Forestry Bureau (Simon 2005b). Furthermore, the document, using aboriginal land rights and sovereignty as a platform, suggests that Taiwan is inherently independent from China. The *White Paper* is a political tool for independence and the promulgation of indigenous rights per se.

Milestone events during the democratic period include:

The 2001 *Law on Aboriginal Identity,* proposed by President Chen Shui-bian, was primarily concerned with recognizing aboriginal identity and protecting their rights. Shortly thereafter, ratification by the Executive Yuan recognized the Thao as Taiwan's tenth aboriginal group. In the same year, Taiwan's first affirmative action plan promulgated the Aboriginal Workers Rights Protection Law, which requires all levels of government, public and private businesses, to employ aboriginals in one percent of their workforce (and one-third of all employees in aboriginal areas). Furthermore, the Taiwan Council of Indigenous Peoples, in compliance to the Ministry of Education, set up the *Certification Means for Indigenous Language Competency* program for non-teachers (meaning the general public) and commissioned National Chengchi University (NCCU) to undertake the certification testing program aimed at training new indigenous language teachers (Li 2004 interview).

In January 2002, the Council of Aboriginal Affairs (CAA) changed to the Council for Indigenous Peoples (CIP). Later that year the official registration of Kavalan as Taiwan's eleventh indigenous ethnic group occurred as well as the inauguration of the Ketagalan Culture

[60] Simon's paper, *Taiwan's Indigenized Constitution: What Place for Aboriginal Formosa?* (Listed in the reference list of this thesis) introduces the *White Paper* policy and is available on line at: www.soas.ac.uk/taiwanstudiesfiles/EATS2005/panel6Simonpaper.pdf (last viewed June 15, 2006). However, the paper cited here as 2005b is not currently available online.

Center by the Taipei City Government. The Ketagalan Culture Center includes a museum of aboriginal culture, as well as study rooms and workshops for aboriginal NGOs. Household registration laws were amended to allow aboriginals to register under the classification of their ethnic group, a change from previous classifications as either plains-dwelling or mountain-dwelling groups, which is considered as an improvement in aboriginal demographics.

On January 14, 2005, the Seediq were officially recognized as Taiwan's newest culture and July 1, 2005 witnessed the launch of Indigenous Television Channel. At the time of writing this thesis, this channel was airing a myriad of indigenous programming form children's shows, news programs, language education programs and more. When compared with historic events and government policies, such as those in the Japanese period and the early KMT period, the new *Indigenous TV* marks a new dawn in the revitalization of indigenous language and culture.

The years of 2005 and 2006 have been filled with change and progress for indigenous people's rights and recognitions. The CIP has become a significant force in this movement. The Democratic Period marks a time of prolific change for the social standing of Taiwan's indigenous peoples, yet the indigenous minority is facing new challenges in efforts to regain their identities and come to terms with the events of history. When matching the people with the government, there may be different sets of hopes. Whereas indigenes may have new expectations toward land rights and government support at the individual or local level, the government may have their own agenda, such as a policy to incorporate indigenous votes rather than promotion of indigenous culture (Chen 2004 lecture).

Indigenous issues have progressed into discovering new values, especially in the sphere of international relations. The government now utilizes the indigenous people as a tool for socio-political communication and identification of Taiwan with other Austronesian speaking peoples (New Zealand, Palau, Solomon Islands as examples) or with nations that may have similar indigenous rights issues (Canada is such a case). The indigenous movement is therein an integral tool for the current administration for Taiwan independence movement.

A Long Hard History

In a socio-political context, the indigenous peoples have six major foreign political systems, beginning with the Dutch. Today, for the first time in four hundred years, the indigenous peoples are salvaging and revitalizing their languages and cultures. Although they were once separate ethnicities, with mutually unintelligible languages, which practiced headhunting against each other, after centuries of outside pressures they have in many ways become united in

the quest for indigenous rights. The Japanese were the first to gather the indigenous together and wholeheartedly impose a *lingua franca*. Indigenous men fought side by side in WWII, with entire regiments made up of men from different ethnicities. The KMT brought a new *lingua franca.* A sense of indigenous solidarity in Taiwan is today stronger than ever before in history. During my field research it was common to witness individuals from four or five ethnicities talking together in Chinese and sharing ideas for the future. Currently, Taiwan is still not recognized by the United Nations and questions regarding the island's independence and future remain to be seen. According to the People's Republic of China (PRC) there is only one single indigenous group on Taiwan, which is classified as *Mountain Aboriginals* (one of the 56 ethnic minority groups of China). The fate of Taiwan's indigenous peoples is under the influence of socio-political environment in the wake of the ROC's new democracy, the relationship and influence of the PRC, and global events. With an estimated five thousand-year history in Taiwan, indigenous issues have moved from the mountains to the global stage in a single century.

Photo 4: Bunun Cultural and Educational Foundation
Source: Author, 2005