HYBRIDITY, INDIGENEITY, AND GENDERING:
CHANG HUI-MEI, POPULAR MUSIC, AND TAIWANESE IDENTITY

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ABSTRACT

While Austronesian study has become prevalent in Taiwan, the conscious preservation of aboriginal culture is growing stronger just as that culture itself is endangered. Taiwanese culture is hybrid by nature, due to the nation’s colonial history. Cultural penetration by colonizers, including the Dutch, early Han settlers, the Japanese, and the more recent Chinese Nationalists, has resulted in several changes of identity for the Taiwanese people. However, aboriginal culture has become one of the foundations of Taiwanese cultural hybridity.

In this thesis, I focus specifically on the indigeneity and matriarchal characteristics suppressed by those colonial patriarchies, through an exploration of the production and performance of Taiwanese identity in popular music. Focusing on the images and performance personae in the Taiwanese popular music industry, and using data collected during fieldwork from concerts, TV shows, and interviews, this work illuminates aboriginal movements that seek self-affirmation and a hope for the future.

This thesis examines a variety of aboriginal musicians in the Golden Melody Awards (the Taiwanese equivalent of the Grammy Awards), and their ethnic classification is studied in depth. In particular, I focus mainly on Chang Hui-Mei, a pop female singer from the Pinuyumayan, one of Taiwan’s aboriginal groups. I interrogate the cultural paradox arising from a hybrid patriarchal power structure imposed upon a matrilineal culture base. I posit in this case that the mechanism of disidentification (Muñoz) is critical in generating a contemporary national consciousness, and look at how the resultant internal conflict affects individual perceptions of identity construction in Taiwan.
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Mandarin

Two types of Mandarin romanization are used in this thesis. Traditionally, Wades-Giles romanization prevailed in Taiwan, as was authorized by the government. Hanyu Pinyin is the current world standard, and has become an alternative since 2000 in Taiwan. Words such as Chang (Wades-Giles) could also be rendered as Zheng (Hanyu Pinyin). Thus, the names of people born before 2000 will use Wades-Giles in this thesis. Chinese historical terms, such as dynastic names, are given using Hanyu Pinyin.

Hoklo

The romanization system for the Hoklo language is based on the Taiwanese Hoklo Romanization Pinyin Plan (臺灣閩南語羅馬字拼音方案)1 established by the Ministry of Education on October 14, 2006. However, the names of historical characters pronounced in Hoklo, such as Koxinga, retain the traditional usage.

Austronesian

There are three Austronesian languages used in this thesis, including A‘tolan Amis (Coastal Amis), Pinuyumayan, and Tgdaya Seediq. The Phonetic Alphabet systems are referenced from the document published by the Ministry of Education and the Council of Indigenous People on December 15, 2005.

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Problematizing Nationalism and Identity in Taiwan

This thesis answers some basic questions regarding the connection between power relations and identity. Those answers will necessarily be tentative, because the balance of power between different individuals, groups and political sovereignties is always shifting and always changing. So, too, is human identity. For a long time, human relations and cultures were thought to consist of dichotomies, such as male and female, majority and minority, heterosexual and homosexual, etc. I agree that in my analysis of human relationships this approach is inevitable, but the question that must be asked is: how about those who are in-between? How do the in-betweens identify themselves? What is their reaction to a situation in which they are afraid of admitting who they are, and in which an identity is critically superimposed upon them by others? What causes this dilemma and how does it shape the creation of music and cultural practices? To answer these questions, I choose to study the identity issues of contemporary Taiwan.

Taiwanese culture is hybrid by nature due to its colonial history beginning with the Dutch conquest (1622–1661), and extending through Chinese settlement (1661–1895), Japanese colonization (1895–1945), and the 1945 arrival of the Chinese Nationalist Party. With this successive influx of newcomers to the island, the people of Taiwan are categorized by their relative length of residence on the island. The four major Taiwanese ethnic groups reflect those historical stages: aboriginal Taiwanese, early pre-twentieth century Han settlers, and Chinese mainlanders who followed either China’s Nationalist party (Kuomintang or KMT) or the Republic of China to Taiwan after the communist take-over of the Chinese mainland in 1949. These stages not only affected the
lives of native Taiwanese but also shaped layers of Taiwanese identity. The response of the Taiwanese to newly-introduced political and cultural realities run the full gamut, from wholesale acceptance to absolute resistance, generating new cultural practices and sentiments. However, the discussion of modern Taiwanese identity seems predominantly centered around the political issue of the “One China” dilemma. Is it possible to study Taiwanese identity and nationalism from a perspective other than that of the cross-strait relationship? Why is Taiwan—an island on the Pacific Ocean—always discussed from the perspective of a Taiwan/China dichotomy?

1.2 Literature Review

Although Jonathan Manthorpe, in his *Forbidden Nation: A History of Taiwan*, attempts to emphasize the importance of Taiwanese aborigines by indicating that “[i]ntermarriage with Chinese over the past five hundred years means that about 70 percent of modern Taiwanese have aboriginal blood” (Manthorpe 2005, vi), the aborigines and their culture are scarcely mentioned in his account. Similar in approach to Manthorpe, Kiyoshi Ito’s *History of Taiwan* and *The Concise History of Taiwan* published by Taiwan Historica assert the significance of Taiwanese aborigines by putting them in the first chapter and referencing them as the owners of Taiwan. They describe aboriginal life as declining at the point of the Dutch arrival and followed by Han-oriented documentation (Ito 2004; Tai 2007). Tonio Andrade’s *How Taiwan Became Chinese* and *Lost Colony* provides a glimpse of traditional life among the Taiwanese people, and how their culture and rights to natural recourses were gradually influenced and dispossessed by the Han Chinese with the Dutch as their colonial ally. However, these historical
sources neglect the cultural influence stemming from intergroup contacts in the history of Taiwan and disregard the aboriginal inspiration of Han culture on the island. The traditional culture of Taiwan is now exoticized by referring to it as aboriginal culture, thus, creating a wide gap between aboriginal life and current Taiwanese culture, and disregarding the fact that of inter-ethnic cultural influence between the Han and aborigines.

Benedict Anderson discusses the main causes of nationalism in his book *Imagined Communities* (1983). He argues that the emergence of the printing press under a system of capitalism (print-capitalism) led to the formation of a communal consciousness, and, in the West, developed further into nationalism. Partha Chatterjee (1993) takes the viewpoints of the colonized in the discussion of nationalism. Arguing that scholars have been mistaken in delineating the process of forming nationalism in Asia and Africa, he shows that anticolonialist nationalists innovate their own methods to battle imperial power by dividing their culture into material and spiritual domains. Chatterjee’s approach seems to be applicable to the Taiwanese identity and nationalism, but the characteristic of cultural hybridity in Taiwan and its colonial history make it hard to distinguish between what belongs to the spiritual sphere and what is properly in the material sphere. That is to say, the colonial history of Taiwan compounds the difficulty of explaining Taiwanese identity as hybrid nationalism.

Anthony Reid touches slightly upon Taiwanese nationalism in his book *Imperial Alchemy* (Reid 2005). He states that “it is not anti-imperial nationalism because it operates particularly in states that are formally independent, yet not as successful or powerful as their citizens demand. It is not state nationalism because it lives so
uncomfortably with the compromises made by the state, and can be a major factor leading to its destabilization or overthrow” (Reid 2005, 10). Reid creates a category to describe the KMT’s nationalism as “outrage at state humiliation” (OSH). However, Reid disregards the fact of the indigenization of the Republic of China (ROC) and the localization of the KMT’s political power in Taiwan. His case, as with most of the books that deal with Taiwanese nationalism, is made from the perspective of Han (an ethnic majority in Taiwan and mainland China), and still revolves around the controversial debate that either Taiwan belongs to China or it does not.

In his contribution of The “One China” Dilemma, “National Identity, International Image, and a Security Dilemma: The Case of Taiwan,” Hans Stockton describes the formation of Taiwanese nationalism by stating that “in the case of Taiwan, democratization and localization have allowed for public consideration of what defines the nation-state of the Republic of China on Taiwan” (Chow 2008, 104). He further explains, “…this nation-building effort on Taiwan attempts to reconcile the ethnic divide between mainlanders and Taiwanese, and thus mandates the construction (or reconstruction) of a localized national political identity that is inclusive of Taiwanese and Chinese ethnic identification.” While books such as Cultural, Ethnic, and Political Nationalism in Contemporary Taiwan; Language Choice and Identity Politics in Taiwan; and Taiwan’s Rising Rationalism: Generations, Politics and “ Taiwanese Nationalism” mention the establishment of democracy and localization in Taiwanese nationalism, aboriginal culture and identity seem to be neglected in their discussions (Makeham 2005; Wei 2008; Rigger 2006).
The current government of Taiwan classifies its aborigines into fourteen ethnic groups according to their culture, language, costume and social structure. These are the Saisiyat, Seediq (Sediq), Thao, Bunun, Tsou, Rukai, Paiwan, Atayal, Truku, Sakizaya, Kavalan, Amis, Pinuyumayan (Puyuma), and Yami (Tao). Most of these are located throughout the eastern and central parts of Taiwan. Due to the Han cultural influence, groups that remain unrecognized are generalized and grouped as Pingpu (平埔, Peipo in Hoklo), which literally means the aborigines living on the western plains of Taiwan. More and more groups which were used to be considered Pingpu are now officially included among Taiwanese aborigines, such as the Tsou, recognized in 1998, and the Kavalan, in 2002. However, more research needs to be done on the reconstruction of culture of Pingpu aborigines, including Luilang, Ketagalan, Taokas, Pazeh, Papora, Babuza, Hoanya and Siraya (consisting of Siraya, Makatao, and Taivoan).

David Faure uses a title from the July 1994 issue of the Shanhai magazine in 1994 to demonstrate the complexity of Pingpu research: “we are all Pingpu,” it said, referring to the frequency of intermarriages between Han and plains people through the ages. The people of the plains ‘disappeared’ as a feature of Taiwan society in the post-war decades, but their absorption into the Han was heralded for decades before it happened. In outward appearance many records noted that even under Japanese occupation they look no different from Han people, even though many existed as recognizable indigenous communities under the Japanese.” Suggesting the possibility of a hybrid culture of aborigines and Han in Taiwan, he further explains this hybridity in terms of language by

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noting that “for the generation that went to school in the 1950s, at home language was a blend of the indigenous and Japanese, at school it was Mandarin, and in the market place, Minnan (Hoklo) and Hakka” (Faure 2000, 101). This statement illuminates the existence of the inter-ethnic relations and cultural influences from Han, Japanese and natives. Eriksen states, “cultural boundaries are not clear-cut, nor do they necessarily correspond with ethnic boundaries” (Eriksen 2010, 41). That is, if the culture of Taiwan is considered to be hybrid, influences from the aborigines must be included when examining Taiwanese identity.

1.3 Fieldwork and Methodology

I see aboriginal culture as one of the fundamental parts that shape Taiwanese culture and identity. In this thesis, I attempt to explain Taiwanese identity from the aboriginal perspective, focusing upon the Taiwanese pop diva, Chang Hui-Mei (張惠妹), also called A-Mei, who is from one of Taiwan’s aboriginal groups, the Pinuyumayan. Chang gained her popularity throughout Taiwan, Hong Kong, mainland China and even part of southeast Asia beginning in 1996. In 2009, after fourteen successful albums, she released her new album *Amit: The Album of Chang Hui-Mei’s Ideology* (阿密特：張惠妹意識專輯). Using her aboriginal name, Gulilai Amit for inspiration, she created Amit, a powerful persona who wears heavy make-up and a provocatively punk outfit. How does this character represent the aboriginal movements of Taiwan?

In *Female Power and Male Dominance: On the Origins of Sexual Inequality* (1981), Peggy Reeves Sandy discusses the basic differences between male and female when facing stress and power, arguing that colonization and Westernization affect a
people’s traditional sex-role model and, further, result in the development of male dominance and sexual inequality. Although anthropologists doubt the existence of matriarchal society, it is well-established that some societies are considered matrilineal, and that in these societies women play a more prominent public role than in patrilineal ones. However, Steven Goldberg (1996) argues that even in a matrilineal society like the Vanatinai, more men than women would occupy positions of power and prestige. Books written in Chinese describe the early aboriginal society in Taiwan as Muxi (母系) which was practiced throughout the plains area, but which was gradually affected by Han patriarchy (Tai 2007; B. X. Liu 2001; H. Y. Liu 1996). The meaning of Muxi makes no specific indication of the distinctions between matriarchal and matrilineal society; the Chinese language tends not to clearly classify the difference between the two. However, it is certain that the gender and sexual relationships, ideologies, and female empowerment of Taiwanese aborigines are different from those in traditional Chinese thinking. In this thesis, the terminology of “matriarchy” is used to explain the characteristics that females hold certain power over males, based on the comparison between aboriginal and Han traditional ideologies. Yet, the Pinuyumayan, of Chang’s heritage, can be considered as a historically matrilineal society. What caused the decline of these societies in Taiwan and how did it affect females’ role?

Queer theorist José Esteban Muñoz provides a critical look at identity theory and cultural representation, specifically focusing on people of color, queers of color, white queers, and other minorities. Although he focuses a significant portion of his writing on the identity of homosexuals in America, he also tackles the relation between cultural representation and disempowered politics. Many of the aspects of performing identity can
also be applied to Taiwanese aboriginal people and even the Taiwanese majority. Thus, for this thesis, I find the concept of “disidentification,” developed by Muñoz in *Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics* (1999), to be useful. Disidentification, which is the mode of dealing with dominant ideology, is a “response to state and global power apparatuses that employ systems of racial, sexual and national subjugation, for one that neither opts to assimilate within such a structure nor strictly opposes it” (Muñoz 1999, 11). Disidentification is also the mechanism of “recycling or re-forming an object that has been invested with powerful energy,” centering around the minority subject practice that negotiates majoritarian public spheres that punish those subjects for nonconformity to “normative” spaces. Along with disidentification, I selected the framework propounded by Dru Gladney’s arguments in *Consuming Ethnicity and Nationalism* that “[i]n China and elsewhere, constructing minority identities is directly related to that of the majority” (Dru 1999, 79). Minority people, such as non-Han people in China, non-whites in the Americas, and Taiwanese aborigines, constantly employ a strategy or process of disidentification to negotiate their existence.

Muñoz also demonstrates the connection between minorityhood and creating performances of utopia in *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity*, by stating “it is my belief that minoritarian subjects are cast as hopeless in a world without utopia. This is not to say that hope is the only modality of emotional recognition that structures belonging; sometimes shame, disgust, hate, and other ‘negative’ emotions bind people together” (Muñoz 2009, 97). He considers queerness as a staged utopia in which there is a space of time and place that has not yet arrived. In this thesis, I intergrade this approach to Taiwanese indigeneity by examining Chang as a cultural paradox—she grew
up within a matriarchal tradition informed by a patriarchal Han hegemony, and now lives in the Republic of China’s domination, under the political power of People’s Republic of China—to further explain the formation of Taiwanese identity. Chang’s identity exemplifies a Taiwanese hybrid identity on three levels: native, Taiwanese, and Chinese. Important questions for this thesis include: Why and how is Chang able to create this persona and further present a performative utopia? How do the traditionalism of Taiwan and current globalization inform Chang’s identity? And finally, how do these become discourses for modern Taiwanese identity and nationalism?

1.4 Chapter Outline

This chapter provides a literature review on the issues of gender, Taiwanese identity, and aborigines, indicating the significance of this thesis in the field of ethnomusicology. Chapter 2 shows the multiple realities that form the ethnic classification and cultural paradoxes in contemporary Taiwan by revealing the alteration of people’s identity. The examination starts from the national musical awards and its award categories. I select this approach, encouraged by Thomas Eriksen’s argument that “in order to come to grips with ethnic identity, we must try to understand what it is about ethnic classification and categorical belonging that makes sense to the people involved” (Eriksen 2010, 72). I investigate Taiwanese history to explain the current ethnic classifications in contemporary Taiwan and what Eriksen called the fluid character of ethnic categorizations. Issues of power relations, cultural assimilation, the cultural penetrations of capitalism, and nationalism have resulted in the process of negotiating ethnic identity. By providing evidence of asymmetrical inter-ethnic relations in terms of
access to political power and economic resources in Taiwan, I argue that the social hierarchy is reflected in the music awards, which contain the specific meaning of the inter-ethnic relations to the Taiwanese people.

Along with the aboriginal musicians and the national awards, Chapter 3 presents the trend of self-affirmation among Taiwanese aboriginal people after the arrival of democracy in the dominant Han patriarchy. The first part of the chapter looks at the current status of Taiwanese aborigines by examining aboriginal singers as an ethnic minority in Taiwan. How are self-affirmation and hopes for the future exemplified in their musical productions, while they market themselves to the audience in Taiwan? The second part focuses on the aboriginal diva, Chang Hui-Mei, who is popular in the greater Chinese-speaking world. I adopt ideas from *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches by Audre Lorde* when examining the political status of the aboriginal female. Lorde as a black lesbian analyzes feminism from multi-layered perspectives: white feminism, black feminism, and lesbian feminism (Lorde 1984). By investigating the career of Chang, I argue that the misinterpretation of Taiwanese indigeneity as part of Chinese feminism shaped her early musical production.

Along the lines of Lorde’s argument, Muñoz criticizes Frantz Fanon’s argument on colonial identity, pointing out the possibility that a homosexual component might be an identic formation. He argues that “a disidentification with Fanon might be one of the only ways in which she is capable of reformatting the powerful theorist for her own project, one that might be as queer and feminist as it is anticolonial” (Muñoz 1999, 9). What is anticolonial about Chang’s performance and music? Chapter 4 details the fluidity of identity and anticolonial characteristics by extending the analysis of Chang’s
resistance of matriarchal culture. It examines the creation of Chang’s second persona, Amit. By examining Chang Hui-Mei’s cultural representation in the light of the idea of disidentification and what Muñoz calls “a stage of temporal utopia without negative emotion against minoritarian subjects,” I seek to expand his theory from the minority voice of a Hispanic queer and apply it to the Taiwanese people.

Along with the information collected during my fieldwork, I investigate Chang’s albums and musical videos from the perspective of life as an ethnic minority in Taiwan, as a Taiwanese under the PRC’s political power, and as a female from a matriarchal tradition in a patriarchal contemporary world. Through analyzing the symbolism, meanings, and images present in Chang’s concerts, music videos, and lyrics, I contend that Chang—like homosexuals—evidences the development of a process of disidentification. I further argue that this disidentification becomes a strategy for Taiwanese people to negotiate the multiple identities existing in Taiwanese hybridity due to its in-between political climate.

Chapter 5 illuminates the trend of future development for Taiwanese identity, based on aboriginal movements and further answers the questions I propose throughout the thesis. This chapter discusses the possibility of forming a Pan-Taiwanese identity based on aboriginal perspectives.

1.5 Significance

The documentary film, Paris is Burning (1990) directed by Jennie Livingston focuses upon the ball culture of New York City describing the stories of the poor, African-American and Latino gay and transgendered community. Narratives in the movie
signify the connection between creating a performative utopia in ballroom and critique of the present:

It’s like crossing into a wonderland. You going there, you feel hundred percent right of being gay. It’s not what it’s like in the world. But you know, it should be like that in the world.

The society wants football games, [and] basketball games. That’s their entertainment. You know a ball is ours. We may spend more time prepare for balls than anybody would spend time for anything else. The ball is like our world. The ball to us is as close to reality as we gonna get to all of that fame, fortune and spotlight.

In real life, you can’t get a job as an executive unless you have the educational background and the opportunities. Now, the fact that you are not an executive is really because of the social standing of life. That is just a pure thing: black people have hard time getting anywhere. And, those they do are usually straights. In a ballroom, you can be anything you want. You’re not really an executive but you look like an executive and therefore, you’re showing the straight world that ‘I can be an executive. If I have the opportunity I can be one because I can look like one.’ That is like a fulfillment. Peers and your friends are telling you: oh you look like an executive.

What is the parallel between the Taiwanese people and the queers in the ballroom? This project discusses the similarity of identity and performance between queers and aboriginal people in Taiwan. Not only focusing on the issue of identity in contemporary Taiwanese culture—a topic that has always been discussed from political perspectives—this thesis also looks into traditionalism of Taiwan, proposing a question that is not limited only to queer and indigenous studies, by asking how the minoritarian subjects react to the political apparatuses, and further, create a utopia for the present and hope for the future.

In his article, “Music and Social Categories” (2003), ethnomusicologist John Shepherd discusses the possible relationships between music and identities, social classes, and gendered and ethnic groups, pointing out the importance of music during the development of cultural studies. He further indicates that the study of popular music in ethnomusicology has become the emergent new paradigm suggested for the cultural study of music when dealing with the theorization of music and identity. Following the notion of popular music and identity, David Brackett examines the issue of marginalization and subordinate people by showing the changing of musical categories and mainstream notions in the representation of African Americans in the United States (Brackett 2003). Combining the approaches of Shepherd and Brackett, Richard Middleton (2003) centers around the discussion of popular music and subordinate others, indicating that “if popular songs can be related to underlying social formations, such relationships take culturally-specific forms that, moreover, are never stable, always multivalent.”

This thesis not only studies the similar issue of subordinate others and popular music, but also examines Taiwanese identity from aboriginal matriarchal perspectives that appear to be severely lacking in English and Chinese publications. Thus, this examination of matriarchal identity production in a modern context and how it affects national identity is uncommon, and departs from the usual studies of musical genre, which are predominantly focused on either traditional or popular music. I combine traditionalism and modernism to speculate that the cultural paradoxes of minority/majority and matrilineal/patrilineal are presented within a hybrid society. It is
multilayered, including the interaction between central Han, an imposed majority culture, and the subordinated Taiwanese aborigine, a preserved traditional ideology.

Given the origins of aboriginal culture in Taiwan, I also interrogate its relations with the wider family of Austronesian cultures throughout Southeast Asia and the wider Pacific. Using an interdisciplinary approach to understand Taiwanese identity by deconstructing the complex mechanism in which fluidity of identity is migrated and disidentified, and with theories and resources from a variety of disciplines (ethnomusicology, anthropology, gender studies, and Chinese studies), I address identity construction in Taiwan from multiple angles in order to provide a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding of subordinated people. This project definitely benefits research in ethnomusicology defining Taiwaneseness and Chineseness, using the minority to explain the majority in contemporary Taiwan.
2.1 The Golden Melody Awards in Contemporary Taiwan

In the summer of 2011, I attended the ceremony of Golden Melody Awards, the equivalent of Grammy, in Taipei Taiwan. The year 2011 holds a special cultural and political meaning for the current government of Taiwan because it represents the centennial anniversary of the founding of the Republic of China (ROC). The Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT), which established the ROC in 1911, is also one of the contemporary political parties in Taiwan and the ruling party since the presidential election of 2008. The symbol of “100” (Figure 2.1), used here as a stage prop in this photo, exemplifies the imagery used and promoted throughout the island of Taiwan.⁴

Figure 2.1 The Symbol of “100” at the 22nd Golden Melody Awards

The Taiwanese president and premier attended the Golden Melody Awards ceremony on the same night. In fact, this was the first time in the history of the Golden Melody Awards that any president had participated in the ceremony since its establishment in 1990. The current president, Ma Ying-Jeou (馬英九), gave a short speech on how memorable the occasion was to the history of the ROC and the Golden Melody. Later, he handed the “Best Aboriginal Album” award to the aboriginal singer, Suming Rupi, who was born in 1978 as a member of the Amis group. The award was presented in the very first section of the program, and the president left at the first commercial break before the arrival of Premier Wu Den-Yih (吳敦義), who is currently vice-president after the presidential election in 2012. The second section—the awards for Hakka (客家, Han minority in Taiwan) singers—began after a duet sung by a Hakka diva and an aboriginal female singer from Puyuma village. Premier Wu stayed until the end of the ceremony, and presented the Special Award” to a Hoklo (河洛, Han majority in Taiwan) musician right before the last two sections: the awards for “Best Taiwanese language” singers and “Best national language” (國語) singers. On the second day of the Golden Melody ceremony, President Ma announced that Premier Wu would represent the KMT as its candidate for vice-president in the 2012 Taiwanese presidential election.

What is the importance of this national music award ceremony, to which politicians are

---

5 In this paper, I choose to use the term “Hoklo” (河洛). The Hoklo people are a group whose ancestors originated in southern Fujian Province. Although there are several terms used to designate these people and their culture, such as Hokkien and Southern Min (閩南 Min-Nan), the fact that both Hokkien and Southern Min refer to the people who actually live in Fujian Province cannot be disregarded. Today, the Hoklo culture and language are not limited only to those living in Fujian.

6 Ma and Wu were elected as 13th president and vice-president, respectively, of the Republic of China on January 14, 2012.
invited, and even participate in? Also, what does the order of the awards given or received throughout the ceremony signify?

Throughout the ceremony, host Jacky Wu (吳宗憲) continued to remind the audience that “the closer to the end, the bigger the prizes that will be announced” (越到後面獎越大). The order of the awards is based on the ethnic classifications of contemporary Taiwan. Figure 2.2 is the program of the 22nd Golden Melody Awards ceremony.

In order to understand the significance of the awards order, it is important to comprehend ethnic group dynamics in Taiwan. Today, the current government categorizes its people into four major groups, according to the length of their residence in Taiwan: Taiwanese aborigines (原住民), Hoklo and Hakka, who are the early Han Chinese settlers, and the mainlanders (Waishengren 外省人), who followed the KMT to Taiwan after the Communists took over in 1949. The ethnic classifications and awards in order of the Golden Melody are based only on those the multiple ethnic groups recognized by the Taiwanese government. However, the classification order of Golden Melody at its inception was different, and there was no award for Han Taiwanese and aboriginal people in 1990.
Figure 2.2 Program of the 22\textsuperscript{nd} Golden Melody Ceremony
Based on this ethnic classification, multiple traditional singing styles can be loosely categorized. Different Taiwanese aboriginal groups have individual singing styles varying from monophonic unison to call-and-response and polyphonic tone-clusters. For example, the Bunun people’s famous Pasibutbut, literally meaning “let’s pull up together,” is in colotomic structure. During millet harvest season, eight to ten male singers will be divided into four voices. The piece starts from the highest voice singing certain notes in vowels such as o, e, or i. After a while, second voices join in on a note that is a minor third lower than the highest note. While the highest voice still maintains the same note, the third voice comes in a major second lower than the second voice, after the second voice stops. The third voice stops and is followed by the fourth voice a major second lower than the third voice in response to the highest voice. This whole process operates as a cycle: the highest voice will slide a half note higher and then the next cycle continues. After the fifth cycle, the highest voice will signal the end by singing a note that is a perfect fourth higher or lower. The piece ends with all the singers maintaining the harmony in a perfect fifth (Lui 2003, 284).

Hoklo singing, mostly pentatonic, traditionally originated from the characteristics of tonal language; compared to the four tones in Mandarin, Hoklo has seven tones (Fang 1993, 10). A strategy called liām kua 唸歌, literally “speaking singing,” was developed because of the Hoklo language. It originated out of talking and depends on the tonality of lyrics evolving into singing. In Taiwan, Hoklo singing was influenced by Taiwanese opera or kua-á-hî 歌仔戲, in which two styles, tshit-jī-á 七字仔 and tsap-liām 杂唸, are used. Tshit-jī-á was mostly used in love songs and storytelling, in which every phrase is composed of seven words. On the contrary, the number of words in tsap-liām can
range from three to twelve, applied to such items as children’s songs. Hakka songs have a slightly different singing style compared to Hoklo, due to the nature of the Hakka language—it is well-known for the so-called nine-accent-eighteen-tune (九腔十八調) style. Based on the traditional classification, Hakka songs originated from musical forms or qupai such as old-mountain-songs and mountain-songs (Yang 1974). Nowadays, Hoklo and Hakka singing in popular music can be varied due to cross-cultural influences, but most still reflect *enka* style as a result of Japanese colonization.

The Golden Melody has been sponsored by the Government Information Office (行政院) since 1990. There are seven award categories, in area such as best album, composition, and lyricist, as shown in Chart 2.1. At the first and second Golden Melody, the songs performed at the ceremony were sung only in Mandarin. The third Golden Melody in 1991 divided the “Best Lyricist,” the “Best Male Singer” and the “Best Female Singer” into subcategories by national language and “local dialect” (方言). Here, the national language is Mandarin, and the local dialect is Hoklo. The aboriginal and Hakka people were not included in the Golden Melody until its ninth ceremony in 1998. What reasons prompted the organization to include aboriginal people in separate categories for the award?

In this chapter, my main purpose is to illustrate the history of oppression of the aboriginal people of Taiwan through examining the transitions and compromises made socially, culturally, and politically by these aboriginal groups. By detailing the strategies of the colonial powers, including the Dutch, Chinese, and Japanese, I intend to explain the reasons that inform the current ethnic classifications and dynamics of Taiwan. Through the identification of different ideologies of nationalism from political
apparatuses, I also hope to illuminate the nuanced discourse and formation of Taiwanese identity and its relationships.

![Table](chart.png)

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<th>Category</th>
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<th>5th</th>
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<td>Best Song of the year</td>
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<td>M/HK</td>
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<td>Best National Language Lyricist</td>
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<td>Best Local Dialect Lyricist</td>
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<td>Best Arrangement</td>
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<td>Best Album Producer</td>
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<td>Best Singing Album Producer</td>
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<td>Best Instrumental Album Producer</td>
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<td>Best National Language Male Singer</td>
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<td>Best Local Dialect Male Singer</td>
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<td>Best Local Dialect Female Singer</td>
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<td>Best Singing Group</td>
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<td>Best New Star</td>
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<td>Special Award</td>
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Chart 2.1 Seven Categories of Awarded Recipients (T= Hoklo, M/HK= Singer from Hong Kong sings in Mandarin)

Through my assertions, I hope to reason the decline of Taiwanese aboriginal population and identification, arguing that although the contemporary Taiwanese culture is occupied by Han the aboriginal culture has became a fundamental part of Taiwanese hybridity. Nancy Guy states, “the Taiwanese aborigines are not ‘‘Han-Chinese’, but are a Malayo-Polynesian people whose languages belong to the Austronesian family. Before Chinese contact, the aborigines lived throughout the island in numerous tribes which were distinguishable on the basis of languages, costumes, and belief systems, among other factors” (Guy 2002, 100). But, according to official government data published in 2011, the total population of Taiwan is more than 2.3 million, of which the aboriginal
population is only 2 percent. What factors have contributed not only to the decline of the Austronesian population but also to the dominance of the Han people in Taiwan?

2.2 Austronesian Speakers in Taiwan

The book, *Austronesian Taiwan*, provides detailed classifications of the Austronesian speakers in Taiwan, stating:

Austronesian is a term for the geographic region of the language family spreading from the Western Pacific (e.g., Taiwan) to the Indian Ocean (e.g., Madagascar) over the past 6,000 years. The people speaking these languages in the Austronesian diaspora are known as Austronesians, also grouped as Formosan speakers in Taiwan and Malayo-Polynesian speakers from general Insular Southeast Asia to further Oceania (Blundell 2000, 43).

Josiane Cauquelin describes Austronesians as “a sea-going civilization that enabled these populations to expand towards the Pacific Ocean, Taiwan, the Philippines, Indonesia, Oceania, and into the Indian Ocean as far as Madagascar” (Cauquelin 2004, 1). Tonio Andrade provides a brief description of the origins of the Austronesian people in Taiwan: “thousands of years ago, groups of people speaking Austronesian languages moved to Taiwan, the first step of an epic migration that took their descendants across the Indian Ocean to Madagascar and across the Pacific Ocean to Easter Island—the most expansive pre-modern migration in human history” (Andrade 2008, 25). The most widespread statement held by linguists indicating the origin of the Austronesian language family is that the common ancestral language, Proto-Austronesian, was spoken in Taiwan. According to Robert Blust (1995b, 1999), the first separation of into two or more subgroups in the case of Austronesian occurred in Taiwan (Figure 2.3). Some Linguists

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(Ross 1995; Starosta 1995; Pawley 1999), different from Guy’s classification, agree with Blust that Taiwan was the location of Proto-Austronesian and later grouped into Malayo-Polynesian and Formosan.

Peter Bellwood summarizes the stages of Austronesian dispersal as (Bellwood 2000, 346):

1. Pre-Austronesian moves to Taiwan from South China.
2. A period in Taiwan to allow the Formosan Austronesian languages to develop a head start in primary subgroup diversity compared to all other Austronesian areas.
3. Rapid movement through the Philippines, Indonesia and Oceania, to as far east as Samoa.
4. A further pause in expansion in western Polynesia, perhaps for up to a millennium
5. Eastern Polynesian dispersal, the greatest in geographical terms, within the past 1,500 years according to archaeology, with population finally reaching New Zealand less than 1,00 years ago.

However, despite the diversity of Austronesian Formosan, the current government of Taiwan classifies its Austronesian people into two groups: the Aboriginal People (原住民) and the Plains Aborigines (Pingpuzu 平埔族). Most of the Aboriginal People are now living in the eastern plains or the mountainous part of Taiwan, having less Han influence, still practicing their traditional culture. The Plains Aborigines used to live on the western plains of Taiwan, and are now practicing Han/Aboriginal culture. The specific groupings of the Plain Aborigines still remain unclear, so they are not officially recognized. Research on the Plain Aborigines is important to Austronesian studies because “Austronesian studies in Taiwan have occupied a peripheral position in both Southeast Asian and Oceania anthropology due to the unique colonial history of Taiwan” (Chang 2000, 201). It is crucial to understand the social processes of the Taiwanese Austronesian people, in their assimilation to Han culture. Reviewing the inter-ethnic relations among colonizers and the colonized within Taiwan, current issues such as identity, nationalism, and ethnic classification require that such processes be better understood.

The history of Taiwan can be divided into seven transitional periods: pre-1624, Dutch and Spanish colonization (1624–1662), the Zheng family (1662–1683), the Manchus (1683–1895), the Japanese (1895–1945), the Chinese Nationalists (1945–1986),

8 The younger generation moved to big cities, such as Taipei, due to urbanization, but most of them still recognize their hometown and identify themselves as aborigines.
and the arrival of Taiwanese democracy (after 1986) (Jacobs 2008, 38). Each of these incursions affected the aboriginal Taiwanese and their cultures: their religious beliefs were altered, their rights to acquire natural resources were reduced, their communities relocated, their men conscripted into military service, and their languages suppressed. This is a story of pirates, samurai, merchants, and headhunters.

Before 1624, population density in Taiwan was lower than in other Austronesian areas such as the Philippines, Borneo, and Indonesia, due to a relatively lower standard of living in Taiwan. The early European missionaries noted that the aborigines were tall and had a healthy-looking physicality. The huge numbers of deer in Taiwan provided the aborigines with access to animal protein—their primary source of food before colonization. Besides using the deer as sustenance, its skin was also used for clothing, armor, weapons, and bedding. This popularity of deer products was the main reason that foreigners were attracted here for resource trading. The symbol of the deer is always used as the representation of aboriginal culture within Taiwan.
Figure 2.4 Blust’s Classification of the Distribution of Austronesians in Taiwan
The Austronesian aboriginal people in Taiwan have always been stereotyped as barbarian, perhaps even more so now. The few Chinese who even thought about Taiwan, imagined, with some justification, that it was filled with violent headhunters and miasmal swamps. The first description of Taiwanese aborigines was provided in “Dong Fan Ji” (東番記, *The story of the eastern barbarian*), and written by Chinese scholar Chen Di in 1603. Chen Di portrayed the lives of the Taiwanese aborigines, indicating that “by nature they are brave and like to fight,…they kill and wound each other with the utmost of their strength.” Chen also notes that a male warrior would take his victim’s head, strip it of its flesh, and hang it at his door. Similarly, Dutch captain Elie Ripon arrived in Taiwan in 1623 and also describes the aborigines having “a great number of heads of their enemies, having nothing but the separated skin next to each head, made tied in the fashion of a horsetail, and also the heads of deer and boar.” In fact, the group of aborigines that both Chen and Ripon observed was the Siraya people (see southwestern part in Figure 2.4), who are one of the Plains Aborigines that lived in the southwestern region of Taiwan. The southwestern area later became the major route for access by intruders, such as the Dutch who built their military there. These historical observations show that Taiwanese aborigines had a culture, and longtime traditions such as headhunting have been scrutinized for centuries. However, why headhunt?

Anthropologist John Shepherd noted that headhunting took place in the context of a basic feature of Sirayan\(^9\) society: gender separation. Shepherd relates that a boy would move from his mother’s house to one of the men’s houses, where he received training in

\(^9\) Although the Siraya people will not be discussed in detail in this thesis, the age-system and gender separation are cultural practices commonly seen among the aboriginal groups who live on the plains, such as the Pinuyumayan and Amis.
hunting and fighting. As he grew older, he proceeded through a series of stages called age-grades, each of which were marked by changes in hair and clothing styles which had names referencing each level. Females also followed an age-system focusing on domestic works such as, weaving and farming, and some of them would be selected as shamans, known as *Inibs*. These shamans were the primary mediators between the human and supernatural spheres in Sirayan society before the arrival of the Dutch. The dominance of females in the sphere of divine power paralleled the dominance of males in areas of worldly power, such negotiating territories. This gender ideology differs from Chinese thinking regarding the empowerment of female and male.

Father de Mailla (1781) describes the courtship, the marriage and the gender status of the early Pinuyumayan people:

> Their marriages have nothing barbaric about them. Women are not bought, like in China, and no attention is paid to wealth that may be acquired on one side or the other, as is often the case in Europe; the mothers and fathers have very little say in the matter. When a young man wishes to marry, and he finds a girl who pleases him, he goes to her door several days running with a musical instrument (Jew’s harp): if the girl likes it, she comes out and joins the man who seeks her, and they come to an agreement. Then, they notify their mothers and fathers, who prepare the marriage feast, which takes place at the bride’s house, where the young man stays without going back to his father. From then onwards, the young man regards his father-in-law’s house as his own, and he must support the family, whereas he considers his own father’s house in the same way a girl does in Europe….Thus, these people do not greet the birth of a male child with joy, but hope to have girls, who will provide them with son-in-law to support them in their old age. (Cauquelin 2004, 102–3)

Thus, uxorilocal marriage, in which a man has to marry into a female’s family and become a son-in-law, was an important characteristic of maintaining the matrilineal structure of aboriginal people. Before the influence of colonizers, women controlled the domestic universe and tilled the fields. The women did all the chores and worked in the
fields with their children strapped to their backs. The men, on the contrary, devoted themselves to protecting the women while they worked in the fields. They were also educated as great hunters who practiced the ritual of headhunting. Traditionally, males, moving between the village and the mountains, were considered as eternal travelers until the age of fifty: the males could finally move into the domestic domain after informing the females. That is, although males seemed to have political power that allowed them to negotiate with hunters from other villages, without the females’ permission, males were not to enter the domestic center. The inner public relations within the village was dominated by females. Furthermore, opposed to the religious power which was occupied by females, male headhunting was primarily targeted toward outside political powers.

There are two meanings of the headhunting culture\(^\text{10}\): territoriality and fertility.

The explanation below is from an interview about the meaning of headhunting to the Pinuyumayan people.\(^\text{11}\)

If we summon our enemies, they will be with and accompany our seeds. If we take the head and complete it, we will have foods and more enemies’ heads. Anyone who catches the enemy is welcomed to our village. If they come, we will have larger population and more heads. The reason we headhunt is to draw the territories of our farm, hunting ground and other areas that belong to us.

\(^{10}\) The culture of headhunting was practiced in Taiwan, China, India, Japan, Southeast Asia, Australia, New Zealand, New Guinea, South America and Ancient Europe. Every aboriginal group who lived on the main island of Taiwan used to engage in the culture of headhunting.

Power relations of territorial boundaries among the aboriginal people were maintained by the culture of headhunting. This rule was later destroyed by the cooperative efforts of the Han Chinese and the Dutch. People from China started migrating to Taiwan no later than the Yuan Dynasty (1271–1368), and possibly much earlier. Most of them were merchants or pirates who cruised through the Taiwan Strait. Taiwan was the island mecca of Chinese and Japanese trading, where merchants and aboriginal people bartered without paying taxes to China’s government. How did the Western colonial powers influence this trading arrangement among the Chinese, Japanese, and aborigines?

### 2.3 Sino-Dutch Co-colonization in Taiwan

The Chinese and Japanese were eager to acquire each other’s silk and silver in the seventeenth century. The Chinese Ming court place a ban on Sino-Japanese trade, and the Chinese therefore sought a place to meet the Japanese outside the jurisdiction of China. Taiwan was one of these places. Furthermore, the Japanese preference for Taiwanese deerskins saw Chinese peddlers begins making huge profits by buying deerskins from aborigines. Taiwan was always a trading base outside the power of Chinese and Japanese authorities before the penetration of Western colonial power. Fujianese trade with Taiwan increased markedly in the late sixteenth century and some Fujianese merchants had even learned aboriginal languages. Most of these visitors, Hoklo speakers, were primarily from Fujian Province and stayed temporarily for fishing, hunting, and trading. Although the Fujianese understood the fertility of Taiwan’s soil, agricultural colonization was difficult.
These settlers needed a more stable, secure, and powerful alliance—that is, the Dutch East India Company.

The Dutch were establishing their empire in Indonesia while the Spanish were in the Philippines during the late sixteenth century (Jacobs 2008, 38). Like to the Spanish in Manila and the Portuguese in Macao, the Dutch chiefly sought a base for trading in Asia. Their first attempt was in Penghu (a group of islands to the west of Taiwan that is now a county of the ROC), but the Ming government insisted that the Dutch leave; the Dutch military later penetrated into Taiwan from the Bay of Tayouan (大員),12 near today’s Tainan City in 1624. This shows that the Ming Chinese considered the islands of Penghu as part of the territory of greater China but the that Taiwan Island was still seen as a barbarian land.

The Spanish established a fortress in the Bay of Jilong (雞籠, the current Keelung基隆) in northern Taiwan in 1626, two years after the Dutch. Spanish missionaries suggested to their officials, who had been thriving in the colony of Manila since 1571, that Taiwan could be a steppingstone toward the spiritual conquest of China and Japan. Based on their evidence of converting some Taiwanese aborigines, Spanish missionaries further recommended that Taiwan could be made profitable by inviting Chinese colonists to farm and hunt, and then taxing them. However, Spanish officials did not follow this advice due to their advance toward the Islamic southern Philippines. The Spanish colonists in Taiwan, under the pressure of Spanish officials and the Dutch intention of expanding their colony in Taiwan, withdrew in 1642.

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12 The term Tayouan gave Taiwan its modern name. It was originally derived from the language of the Siraya people. The Siraya people called outsiders as tayan, later transliterated into tayouan by Hoklo immigrants.
The Dutch already understood that the Taiwanese aborigines were headhunters during the preliminary investigation done by Captain Ripon in 1623. The four main aboriginal villages of Sirayan around the Bay of Tayouan are Sinkan, Soulang, Baccluan and Mattau. I have noted that the culture of headhunting was a way for aborigines to maintain their own hunting grounds as well as power relations. Among these villages, the aboriginal people from the Mattau were the most powerful (with a population of about 2,000 during the early Dutch occupation), and attacked Captain Ripon’s crew in 1623. These complicated power relations among the southwestern aborigines were destroyed by the Dutch offer of friendship. The Company allied itself with Mattau’s enemy, Sinkan (population of about 1,000), which was the smallest in the Tayouan area. In 1629, the Company received a message from the Sinkan warning the governor that people from Baccluan, Soulang, and Mattau had sent warriors to stop the construction of houses and fortifications. The Mattau were trying to prevent the Dutch from establishing themselves gain on the mainland of Taiwan. For their part, the Sinkan were pursuing the Dutch as a counterweight to the Mattau. That is to say, the traditional method of maintaining territories and hunting grounds among the aboriginal villages by the culture of headhunting was altered by the presence of the Dutch.

Although the Sinkan grew concerned that the Dutch were becoming too powerful and planned to join in the other three villages’ rebellion against the Company, the Dutch had become too integrated into Sinkan life. The Sinkan uprising was immediately put down. In 1635, the Dutch, with the help of the Sinkan, finally entered Mattau and set fire to the village and its fields. With the fall of the powerful Mattau, not only did the Baccluan and the Soulang in the Sirayan area make peace with the Dutch, the Tevorang
(a political unit consisting of three mountain villages located on the interior of the Sirayan area) sent an offering of peace. In 1636, twenty-eight villages presented themselves to the Dutch governor. The United Villages were formed under the Dutch’s political power, and the Fort Zeelandia was successfully built. By helping the aboriginal villages against their enemies, the Dutch bought obedience from its allies and attracted more villages to join in the union.

The Dutch officials had also devised a set of institutions for ruling the aborigines; the landdag was one of them. The landdag was an annual gathering in which aboriginal delegates appeared before the Dutch governor, who would appoint aboriginal elders for the following year. The governor would also confer on them the staves that symbolized the authority of the Dutch. In the meetings of the United Villages, Han workers were not incorporated in the political organization. Instead, the Dutch used this cooperation with the aborigines in their effort to control the Han people’s smuggling and piracy. The direct exploitation of the aboriginal people was conducted primarily by the Han Chinese with the Dutch’s protection. Where did these Han people in Taiwan come from?

The Dutch expressed their willingness to offer friendship to a Chinese pirate, Zheng Zhi-Long (鄭芝龍), who cruised the Taiwan Strait under the Dutch flag, and later became a Ming official in 1628. Zheng not only helped the Dutch defeat the Japanese merchants and samurai but also provided transportation of people from the drought-stricken Fujian to well-watered Taiwan. Zheng aided the Dutch in importing Han Chinese workers to Taiwan in order to help with both agriculture and trading. Among those workers, most were Hoklo speakers.
Beginning in 1625, Dutch officials tried to encourage Chinese colonists to live near Saccam (赤崁), close to the current city of Tainan. Most of these Han immigrants were male and later married into the matriarchal aborigines’ families. It must be remembered that, if there is any cultural influence from the Dutch, it merely limited to the romanized aboriginal language, used to teach Christianity. The influence of Han Chinese immigrants has been broad and long-standing (Tai 2007; Tian 2010). The population of Han Chinese in Taiwan gradually increased from 4,995 in 1640, to 15,000 in 1650; 35,000 in 1661; and to a maximum of 50,000 when the Dutch left in 1662.

The most significant deprivation of the use of natural resources occasioned by the Dutch and the Han Chinese was deer hunting. As I pointed out earlier, the deer and its symbolism possess cultural significance regarding both nutrition and culture to Taiwanese aborigines. The aborigines have their traditional methods to hunt Taiwan sika deer (梅花鹿) without irretrievably depopulating it. Also, the traditional Han deerskin-traders bought their skins from aborigines and later sold them to the Japanese and the Dutch. However, the Dutch East India Company in Taiwan tried to monopolize the control of deer trading by replacing aboriginal hunters with Han Chinese commercial hunters. By the late 1630s, a new hunting-license system was established.

The new commercial hunters, who had the Dutch as partners and protectors, invaded aboriginal hunting grounds and killed deer more quickly than was possible by traditional means. The new Sino-Dutch cooperation altered the traditional ecology and economy between the Han and the Taiwanese aborigines. The Dutch gradually gained control over the Han Chinese in Taiwan, even those who had lived in the aboriginal villages and understood aboriginal languages. The strategy of legalizing deer hunting by
distributing permits and rewarding the Han Chinese who delivered “illegal” deerskins attracted more and more immigrants to join the business and pay taxes to the Dutch. It was the same with fees for fishing, farming, and woodcutting. For example, when Han Chinese wanted to farm on aboriginal lands, they generally paid the Dutch Company a fee that was meant to be remitted to the aborigines. A form of co-colonization was established wherein the Dutch and the Han Chinese were partners in the colony of Taiwan. Both enjoyed profits from turning sparsely-populated plains and forests into commercial hunting fields and farms. With the introduction of capitalism, the aborigines around Tayouan were slowly removed from their traditional livelihoods.

In 1636, due to the decrease of the deer population around Saccam, the Dutch encouraged Han hunters to expand their hunting area north, toward the center of Taiwan, in Favorlang (current Huwei 虎尾), where there was a high density of deer. The Favorlang people were Babuza speakers and part of an aboriginal kingdom.¹³ The Company had never anticipated that central Taiwan was occupied by an aboriginal kingdom, united by the Camachat (千仔轄) or Quataong¹⁴ (Takashi 2002, 82). This kingdom consisted of twenty-seven villages of people from Pazih, Babuza, Papola, and part of Hoanya (see orange area in Figure 2.4). The Dutch tried to invade the kingdom in 1644, but only seven out of the twenty-seven villages were occupied. In the interest of peace, the kingdom joined the United Villages and became semi-independent. During the Dutch occupation, the United Villages even expanded into southeastern Taiwan.

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¹⁴ The Dutch called this leader the Prince of Middag (Vorst van de Middagh). The term Quataong was the Hoklo pronunciation of the king of barbarian (番大王). This kingdom is now called Daduwang guo（大肚王國） by Taiwanese scholars who research the Plains Aborigines.
United Villages were categorized into four areas: the north (aboriginal villages located at the north of Tayouan), the south (aboriginal villages located south of Tayouan), the Danshui area (occupied after Spanish withdrawal), and the Peinan area (villages located around southeastern Taiwan). The Dutch tried to have meetings with the village leaders from these four areas, but only the ones who lived around Tayouan would entirely follow Dutch rule.

The Han Chinese immigrants who were Hoklo speakers started to complain about the Dutch due to the increase in population and high rice prices in the 1640s. For their part, the Dutch tried to control the monopoly of Han Chinese merchants who sold their wares at whatever price they chose, especially rice. Furthermore, the Dutch only saw the Han Chinese as the “only bees in Formosa that give honey.” The famous Guo Hui-Yi (郭懷一) Event, the pit the Han rebels against the Dutch, took place in 1652.

Guo Hui-Yi, a Han Chinese farmer, gathered an army of peasants to attack the Dutch settlements at Saccam. This rebellion was large and well-organized, with at least five thousand followers who were rich farmers and agricultural laborers. Dutch soldiers, with the help of aborigines, killed around five hundred Han. The event lasted for twelve days, and ended when one of the Sinkan warriors beheaded Guo Hui-Yi and delivered his head to the Dutch. Through this event, it is obvious that the aborigines believed that they had suffered more from Han exploitation, including high rice prices and deer hunting, and that the Dutch—the authority that gave them the symbolic staves—also had political power.

Regarding rice plantations, the aborigines understood how to farm and grow rice but their traditional methods could only provide for one individual village. With the large
demand for rice after the Dutch and Han Chinese came to Taiwan, the Chinese agricultural system, which could produce more rice, was introduced. The Dutch did encourage the aborigines to adopt the intensive farming practices of the Chinese, but with the respective differences in cultural ideology, this proved difficult. In the Taiwanese Austronesian society, women plant and harvest, whereas men hunt, but intensive agriculture involved an enormous amount of labor and thus required more active participation from the men (Cauquelin 2004; Andrade 2008). Even though the Dutch encouraged the aborigines to hire Han to farm for them, most of the aboriginal lands were taken by the Han people.

After the Guo Hui-Yi Event, the Han Chinese in Taiwan began to wonder if they needed these “red-haired barbarians” (紅毛番) to be their allies. Zheng Zhi-Long’s son, Koxinga\(^{15}\) or Zheng Cheng-Gong (鄭成功), helped the Han Chinese gain more political control over the Taiwanese aborigines. The beginnings of Chinese colonization in Taiwan were established at the end of the Dutch era. Since the Dutch’s power was now replaced by Koxinga’s army, the Han Chinese in Taiwan became an ally against the Taiwanese aborigines and the Manchurian Qing Dynasty.

\(^{15}\)Koxinga is the Hoklo pronunciation (Kok Seng Ia) of Guoxingye (國姓爺), meaning the Lord of the Imperial Surname. Koxinga later became a religious icon for the Han Chinese around Tayouan (current Tainan City), where temples inspired by him were also built.
2.4 Chinese Cultural Penetration: Koxinga and the Manchus

Koxinga was born in Japan in 1624, the year when the Dutch established Fort Zeelandia in Tayouan.\(^\text{16}\) As I pointed out earlier, his father, Zheng Zhi-Long was a pirate-turned-official who became the main contact between the Ming and the Dutch. By 1624, Zheng Zhi-Long had been named the military commander of Fujian Province. Unlike his father, who did not receive a proper education and started his career as the leader of pirates, Koxinga left Japan when he was seven years old and went to Fujian to attend school. He later went to Nanjing to study at the Imperial Academy of Learning and had the potential to become an official just like his father. However, the Ming’s fall changed his life in 1644.

Koxinga kept supporting the Ming Dynasty despite his father’s acceptance of the office of viceroy of Fujian and Guangdong provinces from the Manchus in 1646. It is clear that Koxinga “was willing to sacrifice more than his father did for the sake of Ming restoration” (Andrade 2008, 211). The Manchus marched southward and stormed the Zheng family’s clan, so Koxinga had no place to go and cruised along the southwestern coastal area of mainland China with a few followers. He later managed to become one of the most feared generals and a ruler of the sea. By using resources from the Zheng family’s maritime trade network as a financial base, Koxinga constantly fought with the Qing government. In the early 1650s, the relationship between Koxinga and the Dutch in Taiwan appeared cordial, but the revolt of 1652 among the Han immigrants in Taiwan incited his help. Also, after a few years of wandering around the southwestern coast,

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\(^{16}\) Some scholars, such as Tonio Andrade, have argued that Koxinga’s boyhood in Japan was inculcated by the virtues of samurai codes.
Koxinga needed a base from which to achieve the restoration of the Ming Dynasty. Taiwan was a perfect place, and he decided to invade.

In early 1661, Koxinga summoned his commanders and announced: “I want to pacify Taiwan. We’ll settle our families and dependents there and use it as our new base” (Andrade 2011, 99). Crossing the Taiwan Strait was considered dangerous. Many Han immigrants described the trip as the “Adventure from Mount Tong” to Taiwan (唐山過台灣), and referred to the Taiwan Strait as Blackwater Trench (黑水溝). The Dutch were shocked by the arrival of Koxinga’s army that consisted of soldiers who had experience from fighting with the Manchus. These Han Chinese were different from the poorly-armed peasants they had encountered in 1652. With the help of a Dutch sergeant, Koxinga understood the weakness of Fort Zeelandia inside and out. In January 1662, Koxinga’s army targeted a most important redoubt and began firing. After the fall of the redoubt, the Dutch were ready to surrender, and were forced out, surrounded. Koxinga raised his flag, signifying that the Chinese colony the Dutch had fostered now had a new master.

Did Koxinga know anything about the aboriginal people in Taiwan? In fact, his army had encountered the Price of the Middag and his kingdom located in central Taiwan before the establishment of his sovereignty in 1661. Koxinga’s troops were defeated by the kingdom and were only able to occupy the Tayouan area. After all, gaining control of Taiwan and its aboriginal people was not his main focus. Taiwan was only a base for fighting with the Manchus in mainland China. Koxinga’s regime lasted only until 1683,

17 “Mount Tong” refers to mainland China. Both Hoklo and Hakka have folk songs about this adventure.
18 According to Chinese sailing accounts the Taiwan Strait has two section: the first Redwater Trench and later the fearsome Blackwater Trench.
when a Qing invasion force, led by one of his former generals Shi Lang (施琅), successfully occupied Taiwan.

Taiwan, in both Ming and early Qing texts, was described as “hanging alone beyond the seas” and “far off on the edge of the oceans.” Thus, when the Qing court defeated Koxinga in 1683, the Qing emperor said, “Taiwan is no bigger than a ball of mud. We gain nothing by possessing it, and it would be no loss if we did not acquire it” (Teng 2004, 34). However, General Shi Lang argued for the inclusion of Taiwan in the Qing Empire because it could be used as a base by pirates and foreign powers. He also suggested that Taiwan was a fertile land full of dense forests and thick bamboo. The emperor decided to make the western part of Taiwan into a prefecture attached to Fujian Province.

After Koxinga’s regime was subjugated, the Qing proclaimed a new regulation requiring those who did not have wives or children, business, or property in Taiwan to be sent back to mainland China immediately. The rule was severely restrictive for anyone who intended to migrate to Taiwan, such as those without family allowed to accompany other passengers to Taiwan. Like to the previous Han immigrants, most of these Han settlers were male and later married into aboriginal families. This situation was reflected in the Hoklo saying, “there are no Tang-Mountain grandmothers but only Tang-Mountain grandfathers in Taiwan.” Also, Hakka speakers migrated from eastern Guangdong Province to Taiwan during this period. Despite the large number of Han Chinese that migrated to Taiwan during this time, the population of the aborigines was still greater than that of the Han immigrants. What was the Qing policy towards aborigines that led the Han to eventually outnumber the aborigines?
The main Qing aboriginal policy was the establishment of fanjie (番界, barbarian boundary). In 1685, the Taiwanese aboriginal people were classified into tufan (literally earth-bound barbarians, 土番)—ones who paid taxes and were controlled by the Qing, and yefan or wild barbarians (野番)—ones who were not controlled by the Qing. This policy, I argue, is the foundation of the current division between the Aboriginal People and Plains Aborigines. Officially-designated boundaries, clay buffalo walls or clay-made buffalo ditch (土牛堆 or 土牛溝), were built to protect the Han people from the “wild barbarians.” Those who trespassed the artificial divide would be seen as illegal migrant by the Qing (Wen 1995). Early in the Qing’s occupation, there were only three counties established: Taiwan County (Tayouan area), Fengshan County (鳳山, near the current Kaohsiung City), and Zhuluo County (諸羅縣, later the current Jiayi county). These three counties remained limited to the western plains of Taiwan. In 1710, yefan was replaced by shengfan (生番, raw barbarian) and later, tufan was replaced by soufan (熟番, cooked barbarian). Another category of Taiwanese aboriginal people, naturalized barbarians (歸化生番), was created with the intention of expanding the Han people’s territories. Naturalized raw barbarians were ones who paid taxes but were not controlled by the Qing.

In 1723, as the Han population expanded more and more to central and northern parts of Taiwan, Zhanghua county (彰化縣) and Danshui Hall (淡水廳) were established. However, the Qing never really intended to rule Taiwan, and only focused on the western part of the island. According to a drawing by geographer and cartographer, Jean Baptiste
Bourguignon d’Anville (Figure 2.5), the map of Fujian Province only included the western part of Taiwan; the east coast still remained outside the map in 1737.

Figure 2.5 Jean Baptiste Bourguignon d’Anville’s Drawing of Fujian Province during Qing

Although the Qing court forbade the Han people from entering the “raw barbarian’s” land, Han frequently violated the regulation. The aboriginal land was gradually occupied by the Han population from the southwestern part toward central Taiwan after the Qing defeated the Prince of the Middag in 1732. The aborigines who refused to follow Qing domination moved to eastwards or into the mountains of the west, such as the basin of Puli (埔里). The Japanese anthropologist, Torii Ryuzo (1870–1953), noted out that the remaining aborigines who lived on the western plains moved to the basin of Puli later around the 1830s.
For those soufan (assimilated barbarians) who lived within the Qing’s territory, the process of assimilation was conducted through education and intermarriage. Also, the policy of “granting” the aboriginal people Chinese surnames was another reason that caused the shift of indigenous identity. Among the adopted Han surnames, “Pan” (潘) was the most common-used, due to the close pronunciation of fan and the character of 番 (barbarian) on the right side. The Qing government forbade intermarriage between Han immigrants and the aborigines, but this too was still practiced among people in Taiwan around 1695. As Melissa Brown points out, “intermarriage is a primary means for cultural change because descent as a primary line of cultural transmission provides an important mechanism for introducing different cultural values and practices into a community” (Brown 1996, 44).

As I have noted, the Plains Aborigines were all matriarchal. During the Qing occupation, the children from inter-ethnic marriages were considered Han immigrants and adopted Chinese surnames. However, matriarchal and aboriginal cultural characteristics could still be observed among the “cooked barbarians.” According to the Qing document, Record of Zhuluo County (諸羅縣誌, 1717), “the income of money and grain are mainly centered on women.”19 Furthermore, aboriginal instruments, such as the nose flute, were also documented (Figure 2.6). Although the drawing is from Han imagining aborigine, the cultural hybridity between aborigines and Han was shown. Indicating the foundation of Taiwanese culture was gradually formed at this period.

The Qing attitude, that the court had no responsibility to control the “raw barbarians” encouraged Japan to attempt invasion. Several foreign ships landed in the

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19 The original texts are 錢穀出入，悉以婦為主
aboriginal coastal area of Taiwan and the crews were killed by the aborigines. The Qing still refused the responsibility of protecting them since it was not inside the artificial boundary. The rising colonial power, Japan, started to think that they could perhaps control these fan people in Taiwan. The Peony Incident (牡丹社事件) of 1871 between Taiwanese aborigines and Ryukyuans (from present-day Okinawa) served as a warning signal. The Japanese ambition toward the control of Taiwan began to show.

Figure 2.6 Han’s Imagination of Aborigine Playing Nose Flute
2.5 Japanese Colonization and Chinese Nationalism

On December 18, 1871, a ship from Ryukyu ran aground near Hengchun (恆春), located in the southern Taiwan, and 66 sailors made it to shore, in an area belonging to Botan villagers of the Paiwan people. In this event, 54 Ryukyu sailors were killed by Botan warriors and 12 made it home to Miyakojima (宮古). The survivors told their story to local dignitaries and asked for compensation and future protection. The sailors’ petition was later sent to Tokyo by the local dignitary.20 The Qing court announced that “it could not be held responsible for the behavior of aborigines, because it always allowed them large measures of freedom and never interfered with their internal affairs.” The Japanese government responded that “sovereignty over a territory was evidenced by effective control; since China did not control the Formosan aborigines, they were clearly beyond its jurisdiction” (Hsu 1983, 136). Tokyo saw Peking’s denial of responsibility as an agreement that Japan could take any action to resolve the “problem” in Taiwan. In 1873, another group of Qing officials informed the Japanese foreign minister that “China claimed no control over the savage tribes in the mountainous eastern half of Formosa…”21 As a new, rising colonial power after the Meiji Restoration of 1867, Japan realized that this was a great opportunity to expand its territory. The Bureau of Taiwan Barbarian Territory Affairs was set up by the Japanese government and put in charge of planning and leading the expedition in Taiwan. In 1874, Japan sent troops to invade Botan village, with the excuse of managing the barbarians, but in fact to execute an

20 The Japanese government was delighted to receive this indication, meaning the Ryukyus were acknowledging Japanese sovereignty. In 1872, the Ryukyu islands were incorporated in the Japanese empire as a prefecture. Thus, the Peony Incident is a main cause of Japan’s sovereignty over Okinawa.

expedition. Although this incursion troubled the Qing governor in Taiwan, who later changed the ruling attitude into one of more positive management, the island of Taiwan became a chip after the Qing lost the Qing-Japanese War in 1895.

On April 17, 1895, the Sino-Japanese Peace Treaty was signed and it indicated the secession of Taiwan and the Penghu islands. The Qing government failed to inform the local government and people in Taiwan. Two days later, the Qing government officially notified them of the secession of Taiwan and the Penghu islands. The notification stated, “secession of Taiwan is inevitable. Taiwan is important, but it is less important than the nation’s capital. Taiwan is also an isolated island on the sea, resulting in the impossibility to defend…” Han residents in Taiwan had the same reaction: that “Taiwan has already been abandoned by the Qing, the people of Taiwan have no one to depend on but only to defend themselves to the last.” Therefore, it was under this feeling of abandonment that the Taiwan Democratic Republic was formed by President Tang Ching-Sun in 1895. Although the governor of Taiwan, Tang Ching-Sun, established the Taiwan Democratic Republic and declared its independence, Taiwan failed to receive recognition from other countries and came under attack by Japanese troops. The short-lived republic quickly vanished.

“Japan was the first colonial power whose control over Taiwan penetrated into the mountains and reached the east coast” (Chiang 2000, 202). Indeed, Japan was the first colonial power that controlled the whole of Taiwan, from 1895 to 1945. Although at first Japan’s attitude toward Taiwan and its people was passive, the rebellious emotions from both Han and aborigines were getting stronger. Especially for those aborigines who were never controlled under the Qing’s occupation, the Japanese incursion was indeed sudden
and could not be understood. The Japanese government considered the Taiwanese aborigines as second-class citizens and also discriminated against Han residents. The Japanese government’s policy towards the aborigines was based on the idea of “managing the barbarians” (理蕃計畫). The Office of Educating Barbarian Children (蕃童教育所) and public schools for barbarians were opened around 1900. Adopting Japanese names and forbidding the speaking of aboriginal languages were officially declared. The Five-Year Barbarian Management was later implemented from 1910 to 1915, including strategies such as arranged marriage. This type of arranged marriage was a frequent political strategy prevalent in the more remote regions of Taiwan. It was aimed at increasing social connections between Japanese and aborigines. Japanese policemen married aboriginal chief’s daughters so that the Japanese government could receive insider information from the wives. Figure 2.7 is the picture of one of an aboriginal leader’s daughter\textsuperscript{22} who was forced to marry a Japanese policeman. After marriage she would usually dress in kimono, and would only put on traditional aboriginal clothes when prying inside information from her village.

\textsuperscript{22} Misako Shimoyama (Hsianglan Lin), trans, 2011, \textit{Liuzhuanjiazu: Taiya gongzhu mama riben jingcha baba he wo de gushi} [Wandering Family: The Story of Atayal Princess Mother, Japanese Policeman Father, and Me 2011] (Taipei: Yuanliu chubanshiye youxiangongsi) 81. This resource only uses Mandarin to transliterate this lady’s name which is Beike Daolei (貝克道雷). She was the princess of one of the Atayal people’s villages.
Also, under the aboriginal management policy, any weapon for hunting was confiscated to prevent revolt and of course, the cultures of headhunting and facial tattooing were also forbidden. The aboriginal cultural ideology, such as gender division, was undermined. As I point out earlier, hunting was one of the aboriginal men’s main jobs and a way to prove their masculinity. There was no space for the aboriginal men to prove their manhood, and lots of girls were taken by Japanese policemen. It was under this climate that a massacre occurred, in which aborigines killed 132 Japanese in 1930. This event is called the Wushe Incident (霧社事件), and represents the anger of indigenous Taiwanese people at being treated as barbarians and lower class. After the
incident, the Japanese government mobilized the army and over eight hundred soldiers went into action. In April 1931, the second Wushe Incident happened, wherein two hundred and ten aborigines were attacked and killed by other tribes. This was due to the Japanese government’s policy of “using the barbarians to suppress other barbarians” (以蕃制蕃) (Ito 2004, 201–04). The Japanese officers manipulated the hatred between the aborigines from the first Wushe Incident and aborigines who were not involved in the first rebellion. After these events, the Japanese government felt it was necessary to show respect to the aborigines. Thus, the term barbarian was changed to Takasago people (高砂族). Later, the Japanese government even codified the story of the “Takasago Volunteers” (高砂義勇隊) to describe how brave the aborigines were to fight for Japan in Southeast Asia during the Pacific War. It was the Japanese ruling policy that controlled all of Taiwan and allowed the KMT to enter effortlessly in 1945.

China gained more control of Taiwan (compare to the Qing) at the close of World War II under Chiang Kai-shek’s leadership and his Nationalist government. However, Chiang Kai-shek’s Nationalists battled with Mao Tse-tung’s Chinese communists, and by late 1949, the Communists had gained control of most of Mainland China. The defeated Nationalists had to retreat to Taiwan; therefore, nearly two million refugees who followed the Nationalist’s rule made new homes in Taiwan. This group of immigrants included Nationalist government officials and military personnel. Therefore, the first group of settlers, as well as these new refugees, consider the Nationalist refugees as mainlanders or waishengren (外省人, people who live outside the province).

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23 The term Takasago was the old Japanese name for Taiwan. The name, Takasago people (高砂族), was later adopted by the Chinese Nationalist Party and changed into Mountain People (高山族) to refer to the Taiwanese aborigines.
The KMT, as governor of Taiwan, believed that all the people living in Taiwan had been poisoned by Japanese education. Following a strategy similar to that during Japanese rule of Taiwan, the KMT forced people to learn Chinese culture and forbidding local cultural expression and identities. In fact, there are many similarities in ruling policy between the Japanese and the Chinese Nationalists (Jacobs 2008, 41). Both regimes considered Taiwanese natives to be second-class citizens, and systematically discriminated against the Han Taiwanese. Furthermore, many aboriginal women married into mainlanders’ families. During my fieldwork in 2011, I interviewed a male around age 40, who speaks “accurate” Mandarin and told me: “my father is waishengren and also a retired solider; although my mother is Amis, I never consider myself an aborigine and my mother never teaches me anything related to her family; she only speaks Amis language to her mother and when she talks to me, she uses Mandarin.” Those who experienced both late Japanese and Chinese Nationalist occupations would have three names: one Japanese name, one Chinese name and one aboriginal name.

The Chinese Nationalists needed to impose their nationalism onto the Taiwanese people quickly, so that they could “fight back to the mainland” (反攻大陸). School textbooks included the idea that “Mainland China belongs to us and we have to win it back,” and educated people acquired a sense of humiliation (OSH nationalism). The national consciousness was built upon the loss of state. However, conflict was caused by the disparagement and suppression of Taiwanese culture. The Chinese Nationalists felt it necessary to discourage the use of any Taiwanese language—Hoklo, Hakka, and all the aboriginal languages—while Mandarin was taught in schools. Speaking anything other than Mandarin would incur fines as punishment.
Four distinct groups inhabit Taiwan: the aborigines, the Hoklo, the Hakka, and the Mainlanders. As people came from different cultural backgrounds and gathered in Taiwan, the most famous conflict was between the Hoklo people, who are majority Han, and mainlanders, in the “February 28th Incident” (二二八事件) of 1947. Nationalist military suppression of the uprising was brutal; an estimated ten thousand people died in the struggle. This began a period known as the “White Terror” which lasted until 1987, with the lifting of martial law, and was ultimately a major reason for the movement toward Taiwan’s independence.

2.6 The Arrival of Taiwanese Democracy

After their arrival on the island in the late 1940s, the KMT and its supporters assumed a near monopoly over political power in Taiwan. The KMT’s White Terror suppressed the other settlers and the Taiwanese indigenous people. With the lifting of martial law in July 1987, Taiwan advanced rapidly to becoming a democratic country. The KMT started to share political power and governance. The first voice calling for their human right was from the group that has the largest population in Taiwan, the Hoklo speakers.\(^{24}\) Thus, in the same year, the first non-KMT and legally-recognized party, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), was born. Most of its members are Hoklo speakers who received education in the US or the Japan. Members of the DPP see the KMT as well as the ROC as outside political powers which dominate Taiwan illegally. In this political climate, the idea that “the communists took our mother land and we have to fight

\(^{24}\) Due to its majority in Taiwan, the term Taiwanese is used to refer to the Hoklo language. However, the Hoklo language in Taiwan has developed its special terms because of the aboriginal and Japanese influences.
back,” which the KMT had tried to inculcate in the Taiwanese since its arrival in 1945, was challenged. The nationalism of the ROC, which recognizes the island of Taiwan as one of the provinces of China, was gradually altered. The development of Taiwanese democracy is now officially started.

Now, let us go back to host Jacky Wu’s statement that “the closer to the end, the bigger the prizes that will be announced.” The national language (Mandarin) section of the Golden Melody Awards was placed at the end of the ceremony, and the Hoklo section was second to the last. The cultural hierarchy produced by the complicated sequence of historical events was illustrated in Wu’s statement and the order of the Golden Melody Awards ceremony. The section for national language, the most commonly-known Chinese language and which is spoken by the mainlanders, is placed at the end of the awards ceremony. After the founding of the DPP, the Hoklo who are the Han majority in Taiwan had their voice and could take their place second-to-last in the ceremony. The Han minorities in Taiwan, the Hakka, and the aborigines as the legitimate owner of Taiwan, are to be found in the first and second and parts of the ceremony. However, aboriginal awards were not included in the Golden Melody 2000.

After the Dutch, the Han Chinese, the Japanese and the KMT, the Taiwanese aboriginal people, most assimilated into Hoklo, have been denied the free usage of the land, maintaining their traditional values, and being stereotyped as alcoholics. The Hoklo people, who had the protection of the Dutch, took natural resources from the aboriginal people and destroyed their traditional method of balancing power relations between each village. The Manchus helped more Hoklo, as well as Hakka, to migrate to Taiwan and assimilated Taiwanese aborigines culturally. Most of the western Plains Aborigines
received Chinese education, and their children only identified themselves as Han. The Han Hoklo speakers finally became the majority in Taiwan, combining the population of the Chinese immigrants and assimilated aborigines. With the Japanese government’s help, the Chinese Nationalists took the entirety of Taiwan, ignoring the fact that the Manchus only managed the western part of the island. Like Koxinga, the Chinese Nationalists used Taiwan as a military base to fight with the dominant sovereignty in mainland China, the PRC. The mainlanders (waishengren) become the elite class in Taiwanese society and their language is considered as the “national language.” The popular music that is sung in Mandarin was developed into a specific musical style called Mando-pop. Singers, such as Teresa Teng, were iconized as having a perfect tonality demonstrating Chineseness in Taiwan. However, with the rise of the Hoklo-based DPP, the Hoklo people, who are the majority in Taiwanese society, have started to ask for their rights. Hoklo pop songs, due to the influence of Japanese enka, differ from the Hoklo songs in mainland China, and have developed its own style in Taiwan.

The people of Taiwan underwent a series of identity changes through intermarriage, the introduction of capitalism, nationalism and cultural assimilations. These penetrations influenced people’s identity in Taiwan and its cultural hybridity. The result of this negotiation of identity is shown in the award categories and order and its fluidity and relativity represent the state of current inter-ethnic relations in Taiwan. In the next chapter, the “barbarians” begin to shine and ask for their human rights through music in the Golden Melody Awards. How do they negotiate their existence and culture in the music production? What is the reaction of the aborigines when facing audiences from different political backgrounds, the PRC and the ROC?
3.1 Aboriginal Movements

In the previous chapter, issues of cross-cultural contact, colonialism, and competing nationalisms revealed the process of shifting identity in the face of cultural penetrations by political apparatuses aiming to control the natural resources of Taiwan. Via global political strategies, such as cultural assimilation and the formation of a hegemonic national consciousness, these differences—often seen among indigenous peoples and aboriginal communities—create social inequality through forced compliance. Hence, the process of self-determination has become a source of indigenous discourse and policy implications for individual rights, as affirmed and defended by states (Niezen 2003, 146). In Taiwan, the main focus is on seeking the government’s recognition of indigenous movements that are centered on regaining lost power or culture by re-adopting aboriginal names.

The government’s official identification of the Taiwanese aboriginal people has taken several forms: from the “Mountain People” (山地人) to “Mountain Fellow” (山胞) in 1947, further divided into contradictory classifications, like “Mountain Mountain-Fellow” (山地山胞) and “Plains Mountain-Fellow” (平地山胞), according to residency. The indigenous movements in Taiwan have sought territorial rights and self-determination, starting with the early “Return My Land” (還我土地運動) initiative in 1988, followed by the second and third “Return My Land” movements in 1989 and 1993, respectively. Additionally, the name “Mountain Fellow” was replaced with “Aboriginal People” (原住民) in 1994. Aborigines were categorized into nine groups in 1954, based
on Japanese classification; that number has increased further to fourteen groups in contemporary Taiwan. Yet, disregarding urbanization, the current Taiwanese government still uses the Mountain/Plains system to categorize Taiwanese aboriginal people. This system, based on administrative divisions of the KMT, is problematic because people from the same group, such as the largest group, the Amis, could be classified into two different areas. However, the cultural characteristics of Amis place them among the Plains Aborigines. In the next section, the discussion will examine indigenous self-determination and the development of Taiwanese democracy through musical representation in several case studies of aboriginal artists and their music.

Within the indigenous movements, one—“Return My Name”—has had the most influence on the process of self-determination. After the more respectful name “Aboriginal People” was officially recognized in 1994, the Taiwanese aboriginal people were further legally allowed to change the name on their identification cards from Han to their original native name in 1995. In 2000, the ID card layout was altered to accommodate the length of aboriginal names which can be longer than Han names, as well as the choice of romanization or Mandarin transliteration. In this climate, aboriginal people have gradually come to accept their mother tongue and traditional values. However, embracing their aboriginal names and, further, releasing albums completely based on their mother tongues is a fairly recent trend which began around 2008. In this section, the transition from using a Han name first, followed by the aboriginal name in quotes to using only the complete aboriginal name is examined through the case studies of aboriginal singers.
3.2 Aboriginal Singers in the Golden Melody Awards

Before 2000, there had been aboriginal singers among the Golden Melody Awards selection, but the fact that singing in the colonial language (here, Mandarin) was the only way to compete with majority singers could not be disregarded, and thus forced compliance in using assimilated languages. The first aboriginal singer to win as “Best Composer” and “Best National Language Singer,” in 2000 at the 11th Golden Melody Awards, was Chen Jian-Nian25 (陳建年; aboriginal name: Pau-dull), from the Puyuma Pinuyumayan26 or Nanwang Peinan (南王卑南), located in Taitung County on the southeastern plains of Taiwan (see Figure 3.1).

The song, “Ocean,” which won the “Best National Language” award, is a piece from Chen’s album, Pau-dull: Ho-Hai-Yan, Ocean. Sung in Mandarin, it included a specifically aboriginal singing style at the bridge sections that uses many words with indirect meanings, such as Ho, Hi, and Yan, and which traditionally is only practiced within aboriginal groups such as the Amis and Pinuyumayan.27

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26 Commonly found in literature today, “Puyuma” can refer to the whole Peinan group; however, Puyuma is only one of the sub-groups within the Peinan people. The term, Pinuyumayan, is viewed favorably by other sub-groups. Thus, in this thesis, Pinuyumayan will be used when referring to the Peinan people. Thus, Peinan is a reference that will not be utilized, because it is derived from the Hoklo word for betel nut. The culture of chewing betel nut is practiced throughout the whole island of Taiwan and is not limited to aboriginal people and practices.
27 While doing fieldwork in the summer of 2011, many comments from Amis people about the Pinuyumayan’s music were that “they borrow lots of songs from us.” The Pinuyumayan are surrounded by the northern Amis and Bunun, western Rukai, southern Paiwan and Yami, located on the off-shore island of eastern Taiwan, and their culture is also influenced by these groups.
The lyrics of the song describe the seaward view off Taiwan’s east coast and are performed with a wild-shouting vocal quality. The lyrics and style of singing bring a simplicity and authenticity to this song characteristic of aboriginal music and the emotions it draws forth. Acoustic guitar adds to the simplicity, while the choral singing brings out a Pacific island flavor that suggests feelings of unity and belonging. On a cool night outside, this song would stimulate one’s desire for a wood fire burning by your feet while listening to the ocean hitting the shore and the fulfillment of breathing in the salt air.

Another song on the album called “Put Spirit into Tradition” (走活傳統) illustrates Puyuma traditionalism. Accompanied by acoustic guitar and cello, the first half of the song is sung in Puyuma and the second half, which is a translation of the first half,
is sung in Mandarin, after a cello melody in the bridge section. Chen Jian-Nian also won the title of “Best Composer” in 2000 for his rearranged version of “Put Spirit into Tradition,” called “Myth” (神話). “Myth” is arranged without Mandarin translation; instead, the Puyuma lyrics are repeated. This was the first song recorded entirely in an aboriginal language to win an award in the popular music category. The award itself may not be the real prize here, but rather, the recognition not only of aboriginal language, but also of the people, their culture, and traditions.

The music in “Myth” is in new-age style, sung by Chen’s niece, Samingad, commonly known by her Han name, Chi Hsiao-Chun (紀曉君). She won the “Best New Star” award for her debut album, Chi Hsiao-chun’s Holy Folk Song: The Sounds of Sun, Wind and Grassland (紀曉君聖民歌：太陽風草原的聲音). The analysis in Figure 3.2 is a transcription of lead singing from Samingad’s “Myth.” The song is newly-composed music, based on Puyuma ideology regarding myths and traditions. The first part (measures 1–9) is in traditional singing style with rubato. The lyrics have direct meanings, and start after four measures of break chords. I regard this song as praise of an endangered culture, where “traditionalism is a response to the vicissitudes of modernity, an anchorage and protection against a fractured self” (Niezen 2003, 202). This song, like many others, is a response to colonial hegemonic nationalism after the Japanese and the current ROC. The lyrics also contain the hope for a future life of self-determination, as in the phrase, “our people wish that we could pass down the ancient tradition, and to prolong the ancient power of life.”
The Myth (0:03-2:14)
Put Spirit into Tradition

Transcribed by Yuan-Yu Kuan
Original key: Ds Major

Tempo = 40 Rubato

heee yooo ooo  in  i ye yanan

ha u wa ya  no hoooo

(mixer

a ngai da kar ma sal ma sal i to ti ya da ta o

The myth is a beautiful dream

a ta o mai sar e dan da ga ram, ga man ka di po na po nam

It implies people's feelings toward every creation in the universe

to koar i san da ya a ngad da ta o

the myth is the cradle of every tale

a ma a to ti na ba oan tto ke dang da ta o

It is further the sense of belonging of human's belief and spirit.

ma roa ya ta pa ta li da ki na bel te nga

Our people wish that we could pass down the ancient traditions,

nan si me ao  a ka koa ya nan

and to prolong the ancient power of life.
As more and more aboriginal singers are willing to embrace their own identity by recording music in their mother tongues, the greater the need for redefinition and expansion of the classification system and categories of the Golden Melody Awards to accommodate more aboriginal groups. In 2003, the 14th Golden Melodies decided to expand the “Best Local Dialect Male Singer” and “Best Local Dialect Female Singer” awards into the categories “Best Taiwanese Language Male Singer,” “Best Taiwanese Language Female Singer,” “Best Hakka Language Singer,” and “Best Aboriginal Language Singer.” The “Best Singing Album” award was also expanded into four categories at the 16th Golden Melodies in 2006 (see Chart 3.1).
Chart 3.1 Categories from 14th to 17th Golden Melody Awards (M/HK= Singers from Hong Kong who sing in Mandarin, M/C= Singers from the PRC who sing in Mandarin, M/S= Singers from Singapore who sing in Mandarin, M/A= Aboriginal singers who sing in Mandarin, T/A= Aboriginal singers who sing in Hoklo, and A=Aboriginal singers)

A social hierarchy can be observed in this classification, in which only Mandarin and Taiwanese (Hoklo) singers maintain a gender dichotomy, and where the Hakka and aboriginal people are still categorized as other minorities. Also, for most of the “Best Ethnic Music Album” awards shown in Chart 3.1, aboriginal musicians chiefly win in the “traditional” artform section. That is to say, it is difficult to win an award that does not belong to an “ethnic” category in the popular music section if the Hakka and aboriginal musicians choose to sing in their mother tongues.

Chart 3.2 indicates that from the 18th to the 22nd Golden Melodies (2007–2011), the tendency toward a raised recognition of indigenous music continued. Releasing new albums under their aboriginal names and writing songs in their mother tongues has become a common practice among aboriginal singers. The singers who used to only
arrange traditional songs with indirect lyrics, such as Ho, Hay, and Yan, are now composing in pop style and writing lyrics with direct messages, such as Jiang Sheng-Min’s *Suming* and Chang Hui-Mei’s album *Amit*.

<table>
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<th>Chart 3.2 Categories from 18th to 22nd Golden Melody Awards</th>
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Suming Rupi (Han name, Jiang Sheng-Min), who is ethnically A’tolan Amis, gained his popularity after current president Ma handed him his award in person at the 22nd Golden Melody in 2011. After receiving the award from the president, he asked several questions of the audience: “I am an aboriginal singer and every song in my album provides Chinese, English and Japanese lyrics translations. Isn’t that international? I always wonder that, besides the junkies for Japanese and Korean culture (哈日族, 哈韓...
are there any junkies for aboriginal culture?” His statement can be regarded as reflecting a general aboriginal issue, seeking the recognition of colonial powers and also, by being cosmopolitan, correcting the stereotypes of, for example, the uneducated and alcoholic aboriginal people of Taiwan.

Suming’s music already had an audience since 2002, when he was the lead singer of the Taiwanese underground band Totem. Most of the members of Totem are aboriginal people: two from Paiwan, one from Pinuyumayan, one from Amis, and one Han. The Totem band has released two albums, I am Singing Over There (我在那邊唱) and Shepherd Boy (放羊的孩子). Both were nominated for the “Best Band” award in the Golden Melody Awards of 2006 and 2009, respectively.

Both the music and lyrics of the song “I am Singing Over There” were written by Suming. The lyrics describe everything in the homeland still remaining the same, including the ocean, the flowers, and the elders, picturing a homeland that endures. However, he left this homeland for the city, and nothing in the city can compare to the environment at home, including the warmth of the sun and the flatness of the grasslands. The music is sung with a light guitar accompaniment in the beginning, which is then joined by the band drumming, with singing in Amis aboriginal style.

Suming’s album (see Figure 3.3), which won the best aboriginal album of 2011, is sung in his mother tongue, Pangcah, with Mandarin, English, and Japanese translations.
provided in the lyrics book. The elements on this album can be classified into three categories: homeland, traditional ideology, and Ho-Hay-Yan traditional singing. The song, “Kasasetek no mita” (Our Promise), which adopts Amis traditional singing style, Ho-Hay-Yan and group singing, shows him longing to meet his friends at home in the future.

As the sun sets in the west, I walk along the seashore.
My dear friend, the sound of the waves reminds me of your voice!
Don’t forget our promise…take care of yourself until we meet again.
When I return home, we can be together once more.

Figure 3.3 Suming’s Debut Mother-Tongue Album

In this section, I discuss three aboriginal singers who have won prizes in the award ceremony while showing the influence of democracy and the native movement in Taiwan after 2000. Descriptions of nature and aboriginal tradition become the elements that are infused into their mother-tongue songs, and which have the further purpose of garnering more respect and recognition in the future. Aboriginal people are also part of the Taiwanese people who need to face the political power of the PRC as well. The political and identity struggles of Taiwanese vis-à-vis the Chinese emerged following the
Chinese Nationalist’s arrival in Taiwan after 1945. The native movement for self-determination must also face a more powerful global and political apparatus in the PRC.

The next section not only discusses an aboriginal singer under the ROC’s domination but also suggests the larger context of the aboriginal people as Taiwanese subject to the PRC’s political power, focusing on one aboriginal singer who is popular in both mainland China and Taiwan. This female singer experienced the shifts of Taiwan’s political climate from Chinese- to Taiwanese-oriented. As an aboriginal female singer, how does she survive in the patriarchal, Han-dominated philosophy of both Taiwan and mainland China?

3.3 Rising Star from the Other Side of the Mountain

The Five-Lights Award was one of the singing competitions with the longest history (1965–1998) in Taiwan. In 1994, a new star was born in the competition. Chang Hui-Mei defeated twenty-five singers and is the seventy-third “star of five-lights.” Chang Hui-Mei, also known as A-Mei, is the seventh of nine children in her family, and is from the aboriginal group, Tamalakao Pinuyumayan, or Taian Pienan (泰安卑南).

This was her second time in the competition, after her failure in 1992 due to forgetting lyrics and nervousness. “After returning home, I didn’t sing for six whole months,” Chang said in an interview. Her parents were always her biggest supporters. When Chang Hui-Mei was going to give up, her father encouraged her, saying “Why don’t you enter the singing competition again and win it since you are better than other participants?” She decided to rejoin the Five-Lights Award in 1993, and finally won the championship six months later. The former host of Five-Lights, Liao Wei-Fan said “this
contest is not a hundred-meter sprint where the finish line is a short distance away; you had to beat twenty-five other contestants in order to win...so she had to sing at least one hundred and twenty-five songs.” Her father passed away before she won the competition, and she once said “the biggest regret is that she never had the chance to share the joyfulness of winning this singing competition with her father.” How did this aboriginal girl from eastern Taiwan, which is usually called “the other side of the mountain” or the houshan, become a pop diva in Taiwan?

Taiwan’s pub culture was influenced by the US army forces stationed in Taiwan since the 1970s and its live performances provided young Taiwanese with an outlet for self-expression during martial law. Thus, the pub culture set the stage for young singers and Taiwanese popular music over the next decades. Chang Hui-Mei did not immediately become a popular singer after winning the competition; instead, she started her career working as a bar singer from 1993 to 1995. Chang’s live performances at bars, singing Whitney Houston’s “I Will Always Love You,” attracted the attention of Taiwanese record company music producers. In 1996, the record company Forward Music reached out to Chang, and officially started their agency with Chang Hui-Mei. Under the nickname, A-Mei, Chang released Sisters, her debut album (Figure 3.4). This was the moment when the music of indigenous Taiwanese had gained attention and was used to promote the 1996 summer Olympics.

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Taiwan officially became a democratic society when it held its first presidential election in 1996. The first elected president, Lee Teng-Hui proposed that the indigenous peoples were the national “treasures” of Taiwan (Huang 1999, 504). He claimed that the aborigines were the original landowners of Taiwan, and his goals were to legitimize Taiwan as a sovereign nation and to unite the various identities of its people into one homogenous Taiwanese identity. Although the term national treasure was meant as a compliment to the aborigines, it nevertheless implies a lifeless commodity and reveals how the native Taiwanese had been treated as the Other or exoticized by dehumanizing them. What marketing strategy did Forward Music use to promote Chang Hui-Mei when most of the Taiwanese audience still held that stereotype and treated the aboriginal people as Others?

The Discovery episode “Taiwan renwuzhi: Chang Hui-Mei” (aired May 22, 2005) perfectly illustrates how Chang’s voice caught the ears of the Taiwanese audience: Chang’s voice became familiar to the Taiwanese due to the needs of a radio show. The
rise of a huge demand for the radio shows from drivers in rush hour traffic provided a perfect opportunity for Chang. The signature tune of the UFO Radio station\(^{31}\) is called “Dreamer on Air” (空中的夢想家) which has two versions: a slow ballad and a fast version in rock-and-roll style. Chang’s voice caught many Taiwanese ears because of her singing this song. Her vocal quality is described as roaring, powerful, and energetic. A Taiwanese politician, former member of the DPP, feminist, and television commentator, Sissy Chen, comments on Chang’s popularity:

She became popular because she sang the slogan for UFO Radio station, FM 92.1. It was the voice that got the attention. Was it particularly pleasant-sounding? There are many other voices out there, representing different musical expressions, but the reason that slogan made A-Mei popular was because she didn’t sing the slogan. She roared it.

![Slogan Song for UFO Radio](image)

Figure 3.5 A-Mei’s Version of Slogan Song for UFO Radio

Apparently, Chang’s vocal quality was fresh and new to the Taiwanese audience. David Tao, a Taiwanese pop singer, points out the reason that Chang’s voice was unique to the Taiwanese audience:

…her husky, and kind of rough voice…I think another thing is Chinese music listeners always thought that the female voice should be very sweet, clean, like

\(^{31}\) The UFO radio was established in 1996. Although many Taiwanese popular singers have sung the slogan song, Chang was the first singer to make this song popular.
Teresa Teng and Faye Wang, very clean, but when A-Mei’s voice came out, it was powerful.

The image of females had been viewed as soft, sweet, and uptight. As seen in Teresa Teng’s performance, this image was the generalization of the “traditional” Chinese female singer in the greater Chinese-speaking world. After the lifting of Taiwanese martial law in 1987, not only democracy but also a tendency of liberal thinking increased, emphasizing such areas as feminism and indigenous representation. Sissy Chen points out the relationship between Chang’s performance and the rise of feminism during the ’90s in Taiwan:

Su Rui represented the past when she sang in pubs; her emotions and the feelings in her vocals symbolized the free expression of feminine emotions; but then A-Mei came along; she set her body free, too.

Su Rui is a female singer of Han origin (a mix of mainlander and Hoklo) who was also a former competitor on *Five-Lights*, and who started her career as a singer in pub culture. Her debut album, *The Same Moonlight* (一樣的月光), released in 1983, gained her popularity in Taiwan and later in mainland China. Because of her energetic vocal quality, I argue that the reason Chang Hui-Mei’s performance was associated with Su Rui in 1996 was because of the similarity of both women’s powerful and energetic voices. Sissy Chen’s and David Tao’s comments on Chang’s voice exemplifies the central Han’s imagination of the Taiwanese aborigines, essentializing aboriginal voice as more powerful than that of the Han. Even between two singers both having energetic vocality, the Han singer, in this case, Su Rui’s performance is considered less powerful than Chang’s owing to her body movement. That is, the Han people regard aboriginal body movement as “freer,” further orientalizing Chang as the Other.
Even though Chang’s voice and performance are not considered to follow the Han standard, the content of *Sisters* still follows the Mandarin pop marketing strategy, whereby most of the songs are laments and love ballads. The only piece on the album with an aboriginal element is the song “Sisters” which highlights Chang’s aboriginal origins and a matriarchal ideology. It describes the scenery of nature where this cute young girl comes from and also incorporates singing by Chang’s mother at the beginning, bridge, and ending sections.

In the beginning of the song “Sisters,” there is a dialogue in Tamalakao, Chang’s mother tongue, between Chang and her mother:

*Mother asks A-Mei: Do you know how to sing this piece?*
*A-Mei: Which piece?*

Indeed, her mother teaches Chang most of the aboriginal songs that she sings. The aboriginal song on “Sisters” is one that she learned during her leisure time. Her family members would sit in the courtyard, and her mother would teach everyone to sing the aboriginal songs. One of Chang’s aunts stated, “Her mother taught us how to sing since we were young and everyone in the village learns traditional songs from her.” Thus, the background vocals on the song “Sister” are sung by her mother, Wang Yu-Mei, two sisters, Chang Hui-Ying and Chang Hui-Ch’un, and a female cousin, Chen Ch’iu-Lin. An all-female group sings on the song, and indeed, use of an all-female choir is a common practice in Pinuyumayan music.

Figure 3.6 is a transcription of the beginning section of the song. Chang’s mother joins in singing in Pinuyumayan style after three measures of an electronic drumbeat pattern (measures 1–3) while the drumbeat maintains the same pattern until Chang’s
voice enters at the thirteenth measure. The lyrics describe a girl with a beautiful voice by
comparing multiple objects that symbolize nature, such as a bird and the forest.

Even the wind of spring will smile because of the singing is so beautiful.
You are just like a happy bird.
The inflaming sun causes the burning of green land.
You make the world into a better place.
I remember your smile and your goodness.
It is just like chanting from the forest.
I am like a piece of grass embraced by the warmthness.
I think you must understand how it feels.

Sisters (0:03-0:41)

Figure 3.6 Singing of Chang’s Mother at Beginning Section of “Sister”

Figure 3.7 details the reappearance of the mother’s singing at the bridge section
(measure 9) after the theme phrases. Her cousin’s voice adds a background echo to the
phrase, “you are my sisters,” by applying the Pinuyumayan singing style (ho hi I yan ho I
yan) at measures 2 and 6.
Figure 3.7 Sisterhood and Mother’s Reappearance
The same arrangement also appears before the ending section of the song (Figure 3.8). The section consists of three kinds of motives. First, the phrase “o ai ya o ai e o ya” at the beginning of the ending section has a particular motive pattern (measure 1) which presents a melody associated with dance movements. Later, the same combination from previous sections (“you are my sisters; you are my baby; oh yeah” and a following response, “ho hi I yan ho I yan”) reaffirms the main theme of sisterhood. In measure 15, all the music suddenly stops with the shouting of “HA” and the short staccato phrase “en da en do” to an accompanying drumbeat. As the end approaches, more vocal lines join in.
Chang Hui-Mei’s second album, *Bad Boy*, released in 1997 (Figure 3.9), also followed the pattern in that most of the songs were lamenting love stories. The laments on this album include “Lonely Tequila,” “Dancing Alone,” and “Listen to the Sound of Ocean.” All songs are sung in Mandarin without any use of Pinuyumayan singing style.

One piece that contains or suggests aboriginal elements is “The Moment I Think of You” (一想到你呀), which focuses on the natural environment of Chang’s hometown (Figure 3.10). The accompanying music video was also shot at the Tamalakao River with
children from the same village. The music of “The Moment I Think of You” is composed in a casual, peaceful, and relaxing style. Chang’s sister and cousin are again used in the background vocals. In fact, her sister and cousin also became her dancers, and later formed a two-girl group, called A-Mei Mei (阿妹妹), meaning the sister of A-Mei.

![Figure 3.10 Children and Chang in “The Moment I Think of You”](image)

*I feel happy the moment I think of you.*

*Similar to the moment when a dragonfly sees the greenness of grass.*

*It is as similar as mother’s soft singing.*

*I can’t help smiling the moment I think of you.*

*The ancient lively power is as similar as the clouds in the sky and the wild flowers on the ground waiting to explode.*

*It is as similar as father working throughout entire year.*

*The world is as similar as heaven the moment I think of you.*

*Open your heart and eyes lightly but much more.*

*Take in the bitterness and tears much more but lightly.*

---

In the summer of 2011, I met a child participant in the music video. He is now age 22, and his godfather is Chang’s second oldest brother. The aboriginal people who live on the plains, such as the Pinuyumayan, have an age-system for the purpose of work distribution. Males are required to go through a certain ceremonial military training to become an adult. After the nine-day training, the boy’s father or the boy himself could ask one of the men whom he respects the most to be the boy’s godfather. This ritual and training is recruitment for becoming a member of adult Pinuyumayan society; the practice is not restricted only to Pinuyumayan people. That is to say, a Han male can become Pinuyumayan by participating in the ritual. As a result, the Pinuyumayan is a group of people who are highly “Han-ized” among Taiwanese aboriginal societies.
I feel happy the moment I think of you.
It is as similar as a carefree macaque running in the forest.
It is as similar as grandmother holding up the childhood.
She holds me and the world up.
La la la la la la, make your wishes and throw a coin waiting for the full moon.
La la la la la la, make your wishes and throw a coin waiting for the full moon.

I feel happy the moment I think of you.
It is as similar as a carefree polar bear in the polar circle.
It is as similar as the story that grandfather is about to tell.
Spread your love and mercy heavily but thinly.
Burn your goodness and beauty gently but ragingly.

The Latin-style song, “Bad Boy,” on her second album is all about a female’s rebellion in a romantic relationship. The guitar solo at the beginning of the song brings out the Latin flavor and a fiery feeling before Chang’s powerful singing (Figure 3.11). The lyrics describe a bad boy who keeps lying and the girl who decides to leave him. At the end of the song, Chang sings “Bye” twelve times to say goodbye to the bad boy.

Bad Boy(0:00-0:10)

We can now identify the three elements that Forward Music used to promote Chang Hui-Mei as an aboriginal singer: nature, female power, and aboriginal-style singing. Who made the decision to market Chang in this particular way by reinforcing the image of a powerful female persona?

This can be further examined by investigating the producer and lyricist of the songs which seem to have aboriginal influences. The songs “Sisters,” “The Moment I Think of You,” and “Bad Boy” were all written by Chang Yu-Sheng (張雨生), a male
singer and producer of half-aboriginal and half-Han descent. His father is a mainlander and his mother is from the Atayal aboriginal group. In an interview, Chang Hui-Mei recalled the first time she met Chang Yu-Sheng:

During that time nobody had a concrete image of me, Chang Yu-Sheng deeply understood where I belonged. I had a talk with him in the beginning so he knew I was about forests and mountains; I’m the person surrounded by fields, forests, and creeks and cultivated by my family. So he really got the spirit of the song “Sisters,” and what lies in the forests, the explosive force, I think he was awesome in this way.

Chang Yu-Sheng’s works written for A-Mei emphasize the natural environment of her hometown, while her energetic and powerful voice exemplifies the liberal thinking of feminism. Sissy Chen further explains the relationship between Chang’s performance and feminism:

It was probably because of A-Mei’s aboriginal ethnicity with this kind of background. I don’t think the concept of gender was as important to her as it is in Han culture. Because of that, she was like: “this is who I am; I belong to the wild; when I walk, I’ll run and jump, I don’t need to be restrained while walking, I’m not what you think. My mother didn’t wear a cheongsam. She wasn’t any of that. Because she wasn’t any of that in that era, the role she played came just at the time when women’s roles, voices, and bodies needed to release their energy. There she was. The female role she played was similar. The way she showed off her sexiness and body was a healthy kind of sexy. It wasn’t related to sexy. It was very healthy and made everyone feel a sense of “dynamism” (動感). But to analyze this more deeply, there was a new generation who didn’t want to constrain themselves. It was the same across the Taiwan Strait so they decided to find a new style of pop music. Therefore, in those circumstance with the cultural energy accumulated by the new generation, A-Mei came along and became an instant success.

Here, I would argue that Sissy Chen equates Taiwanese indigeneity with Han Chinese feminism, and ignores the differences of ethnicity. Chen’s comments on Chang Hui-Mei’s female representation recall Audre Lorde’s argument about black feminism vis-à-vis white feminism. Audre Lorde states, “white women focus on their oppression as women and ignore differences of race, sexual preference, class, and age” (Lorde 1984,
The misunderstanding of aboriginal culture blurs the essence of the matriarchal characteristics of the Pinuyumayan culture and further causes the misinterpretation of aboriginal feminism. Also, Chang’s voice as roaring and performance as dynamic are gendered differently from those of Han pop singers. Because of her aboriginal background which cannot be fit into the role of Chinese female, the imposed image of release from traditional gender roles furthers the assumption of “feminism.”

The Chang Hui-Mei phenomenon spread throughout Taiwan, Hong Kong, mainland China and even parts of Southeast Asia. *Sisters* sold 1.21 million albums in Taiwan and over 4 million in Asia. Her second album, *Bad Boy*, reached over 6 million in sales throughout Asia. After the first two albums in 1997, Chang released a new album, *Mei’s Glamorous Radiance: The Advance Version of Chang Hui-Mei’s 1998 Concert* (妹力四射：1998張惠妹演唱會提前先聽版). This album was targeted toward the Chinese-speaking world and its songs were based on classical pieces which were popular when sung at bars and also favorites with the Chinese-speaking audience. The double-CD album includes one with classic Mandarin songs and one with English songs, and also uses a Han composer’s work from the ’60s to signify her aboriginal roots, for example, the song “Standing on Top of the Mountain” (站在高崗上), written by Han composer Situ Ming (司徒明) and lyricist Yao Min (姚敏) as part of the soundtrack for the early Taiwanese film, *The Warbler from Ali Mountain*, produced in 1957. The storyline describes a love story between a “mountain” beauty and a Han boy who perform this duet. I regard this song as an ideal example of the “Han imagining” of aboriginal people and culture, because it is about tradition, yet is danced to, in a representation of

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the “Mountain People.”

The beginning of Chang’s version of “Standing on Top of the Mountain,” after the sounds of flowing water and chirping birds, includes an arrangement of singing by Chang’s mother, brother, and sisters, combining stereotypical aboriginal imagery and traditional aboriginal singing.

Mountain by mountain continuously is hundred meters long, ya.
The peaks get up greatly like a barrier, ya wei.
The green mountain ridge grows up through cloud and sky, ya.
The white clouds and blue sky, ya wei.

Mountain by mountain continuously is hundred meters long, ya.
The boy is standing on the top of mountain waiting for the girl, ya wei.
The green mountain ridge grows up through cloud and sky, ya.

There is a boy who falls in love standing, ya wei.

I (the girl) am standing on the top of mountain looking afar; the greenness is like a ocean wave by wave.

You are standing on the top of mountain looking down; who is singing toward you?

Mountain by mountain continuously is hundred meters long, ya.

The green mountain ridge grows up through cloud and sky, ya.

We are falling in love on the top of mountain, on the top of mountain.

This arrangement is the product of accommodating Han culture within the greater Chinese-speaking world, especially given the consideration that the large market of mainland China could prove to be more profitable. As Gladney points out, the minorities in China, “by allowing the objectivizing gaze of the state-sponsored media, establish their identity and right to a voice in their own affairs, appropriating and turning, whenever possible, these objectivizing moves to their own benefit” (Gladney 1999, 77). Therefore, the song with some relation to Chang’s background is a Han interpretation of aboriginal culture, sans feminism, with an eye on the large mainland China market.

The 1998 concert tour was a huge boon to her popularity, and it included musicians and artists from Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia, and Taiwan. Musical
arrangements and stage designs helped to popularize Chang Hui-Mei as a diva in the pan-Chinese-speaking popular music industry. Other honors followed in rapid succession. In 1998, *Billboard* named her the most popular singer in Asia. The media, such as CNN, pointed out that the phenomenon of Chang Hui-Mei had crossed cultural barriers and the cold war between Taiwan and China.\(^\text{34}\) After discovering the potentially huge demand for Chinese popular songs within mainland China and the Chinese-speaking world, Forward Music decided to produce albums with more Mandarin pop songs and fewer aboriginal elements or songs. The albums that were released from 1998 to 2000, such as *Holding Hands*, and *My Lover, May I Hold You?*, have no aboriginal singing nor any description of Chang’s hometown. Another reason for this decline of aboriginal elements or influences, I argue, is the death of her producer, Chang Yu-Sheng, in 1997.

To compare the albums released before and after Chang Yu-Sheng’s death, the production *Holding Hands* had no aboriginal elements yet still maintained the image of the cute young girl in nature by presenting images of the ocean and grasslands (Figure 3.12). The first track on the album, “Are You Ready?” was composed by Chang Yu-Sheng before his death. The lyrics booklet provides a description of her interaction with Chang Yu-Sheng:

A-Mei dreamt about Baoge (寶哥, nickname of Chang Yu-Sheng) talking to her last night. He said: “hey, A-Mei; are you singing any of my songs this time?” A-Mei answered: “there is the song ‘Are You Ready’!”

Both melody and lyrics were written by Chang Yu-Sheng. Similar to previous works that he had written for Chang Hui-Mei, such as “Sisters” and “Bad Boy,” the song “Are You Ready” also focuses on female power, using the phrase “My kingdom welcomes your obedience and contribution.” Pieces composed by Chang Yu-Sheng became a key marketing point for the following albums, *My Lover, May I Hold You?* (1999) and *Recklessness* (2000), which both include his compositions. The image of Chang now only presented a girl from nature appearing energetic and healthy, again, with no aboriginal elements or influences. Her career was not only affected by the death of Chang Yu-Sheng, but also by the political struggle of the cross-strait relationship between China and Taiwan. The next section looks closer at an aboriginal girl evolving and getting involved in issues of nationalism between the PRC and the ROC.
3.4 An Aboriginal Girl in the Cross-Strait Relationship

The year 2000 was important to the development of Taiwanese democracy. The presidential candidate and eventual second elected president of Taiwan, Chen Shui-Bien, came from Hoklo origins and was a member of the DPP. To many Taiwanese, this showed the localization of Taiwanese politics and the end of the KMT’s Chinese-centric domination. Earlier, this chapter noted the year that aboriginal singers started to release their albums under their native names and using their mother tongues. To claim the sovereignty of Taiwan as the Republic of China, the government asked Chang Hui-Mei, with her aboriginal background, to sing the national anthem at the presidential inauguration. “Immediately following A-Mei’s appearance at the inauguration, the Communist Party’s Propaganda Department ordered China’s state-owned television and radio stations as well as newspapers to halt the dissemination of advertisements featuring the Taiwanese star for the soft-drink Sprite” (Guy 2002, 11).

China announced a series of commercial bans against Chang because the Chinese government thought she supported the idea of a Taiwan independent from China,35 since the elected president, Chen Shui-Bien, as well as the DPP generally, is uniformly viewed as supporting Taiwanese independence. The PRC’s central television accused Chang of being a “Taiwan independence supporter” three days after the inauguration. The Chinese audience asked Chang to apologize to all the Chinese people because she tried to split Taiwan from its motherland. Ironically, the UFO Radio station, for which she sings the theme song, was established by Jaw Shau-Kong, who is considered to be one of the most pro-China politicians in Taiwan.

For her part, Chang, just as every Taiwanese, sang the ROC national anthem since she was a child. The song is played during flag-raising ceremonies every morning at elementary, junior, and senior high schools. For the Taiwanese, this song is part of the everyday routine, and not everyone considers it as a political statement when singing it, but rather a morning requirement to start the school day. In fact, some supporters of Taiwan’s independence refuse to sing the song because it represents the outside political power of the ROC and the forced compliance of the aboriginal people, Hakka, and Hoklo.

The words of the anthem were written by Sun Yat-Sen and also began his speech at the opening ceremony of the Whampoa Military Academy in Guangzhou, China. Therefore, the content of the song is all about loyalty to the Chinese Nationalist party and its ideology. The music of the anthem was composed by Cheng Mao-Yun in 1928 and won the title of the world’s best anthem in 1936 at the Berlin Olympics. Both the national flag and the anthem of the ROC were created by the KMT to symbolize its political power. Therefore, the will to sing the national anthem and respect the national flag are never considered as pro-Taiwan independence in a Taiwanese context. Instead, it only reflects patriotism toward the ROC’s nationalism.

Chang’s agent stated, “I think the government said a lot of things to convince her in the end, but it was very unfortunate because singing the national anthem takes only two minutes. She has just launched in mainland China and they made an example of her, she couldn’t do anything, she could only wait”.
3.5 Recovering from Career Trauma

It was during this period of turmoil that Chang Hui-Mei made the devastating decision to switch record companies to Warner Music Taiwan in 2001. She needed a global record company that could promote her internationally. With the release of the album *Truth*, Chang became closer to a cosmopolitan diva. This made her representation and music less aboriginal and more international. The following albums, *Fever* (2002), and *Bravery* (2003), largely emphasized love songs and lamentations decorated with soft, feminine cover photos. Further, the search for support from one’s family was also a theme of the next few albums. The album, *Fever*, celebrates her origins by referring to the nickname, “Katsu,” that was adopted from Chang’s parents. The beginning of the song “Katsu” starts with the sound of a river, later joined by the heterophonic singing of Chang and her mother (Figure 3.13), intentionally creating the sense of a mother leading a child.

![Katsu (0:05-0:19)](image)

Figure 3.13 Heterophonic Singing in “Katsu”

Again, after the aboriginal singing, there is a dialogue provided by Chang’s mother and her niece, who plays as Chang when she was a little girl. This strategy was repeated from Chang Yu-Sheng’s production for Forward Music, as I mentioned earlier.
Mother: Katsu, if you follow the moonlight and along the river, there is a city on the other side from the distance. You will live there and find your own dream when you gradually grow up.”

Her niece (as Chang): I want you always by my side!
Mother: But, you have to go. You will find the person you love and experience your life. You have to work harder and be braver so that you can grow up by yourself.

In 2003, the album Bravery had no aboriginal elements but the search for the support of familial love is still presented in the lyrics booklet in a quote: “To my brothers, sister-in-law, niece, nephew, and the dearest mother from Taitung: you guys and the guardian of the homeland are always the power that support me and keep me going.”

Beijing eventually relented and allowed her to conduct a mainland concert tour in 2004, but protesters demanded Chang sing the PRC national anthem. By using the same formula that she had while with Forward Music Company, she planned to revive her career by referring to her homeland, motherhood, and, later, a Han composer’s production to regain the Han audience in mainland China.

The album, Maybe Tomorrow (2004), employs a similar marketing strategy that targets the greater Chinese-speaking world. Once again, she includes a Han composer’s work “NaLuwan Love Song,” composed in the ’70s. However, not only was the “National Anthem Event” a setback to her career, but her voice also faced health issues due to frequent singing and overstress. Most importantly, the sales of her records for Warner Music Taiwan were not profitable, and she started losing her popularity because this repetitive strategy was no longer effective. The Biography Channel episode titled “A-Mei” (aired January 31, 2011) explains the reaction when Chang faced these pressures by saying that under all these pressures, Chang could only think about one thing: a total escape. She disappeared in 2005, by travelling to the US to recover from the
setback. During an interview, she recounted that

The tours were cancelled and the recording sessions were cancelled. Everything was decided. There was nothing to do but leave (to me). I put everything aside. It was gutsy. So I got out. I did it because I’d rather reached my limit.

In 2006, she returned to Taiwan to produce the album *I Want Happiness?*, which returned to the heartfelt love ballads of her early success. She also decided to perform on stage in opera and, after the challenge of the play *In Love with Carmen* in Taiwan, she participated in a Japanese version of *Turandot*—a play entirely performed in ancient Japanese. Her agent said: “I told A-Mei, let’s use this musical to recharge your batteries because you need to do something you haven’t tried…but it really refocused her energy.”

In 2007, Chang Hui-Mei left Warner Music Taiwan and signed with Gold Typhoon Music, releasing the album, *Star*. Examining the copyright of the album, published by Gold Typhoon Music, I found that the sound was recorded and copyrighted by Mei Entertainment. That is, Chang established a sound recording company and has total control over her music. *Star* consists of several love songs, but the opening song, “Forever Happiness,” presented an advance announcement of her vision for cultural resistance and female power as an aborigine. The song that is all about enjoying life and ignoring any rule is sung in Mandarin. The phrase “don’t care any XX twisting rules and use all your energy till feeling exhausted; so come on! come on! and love me tonight,” is her proclamation of being free from the old rules and ready to embrace happiness. After singing this phrase at the end of the song, Chang uses a screaming vocality from death metal music, yelling “ROCK.” This rock-and-roll song ends with Chang saying “Peace.” What does this contradictory representation of dark-sharp screaming and casual peace mean? How will her music and image evolve when she has recovered from her career
trauma and strengthens her total control of her musical production? Furthermore, how is Muñoz’ argument about disidentification of homosexuals related to Chang’s transformation?

As seen in this chapter, the Taiwanese aboriginal singers in the popular music industry embrace their own culture and identity by releasing albums based on their traditional singing, mother tongues, and cultural ideologies. This trend follows the process of indigenization from the early Hoklo to the current aboriginal movements, and has created an environment in the Taiwanese music industry for aboriginal singers seeking a utopia where their traditions could survive, sustain, and evolve. For the aboriginal singers who primarily focus on an audience within the Taiwanese community, the futurity of aboriginal self-determination and self-affirmation is expressed by adopting images of nature (in this case, the nature in which the Pinuyumayan and the Amis live) and incorporating traditional singing into popular music. This association of nature and traditional singing has become a signifier of a “pan-aboriginal” music style for the majority Han audience.

For the aboriginal singer who is popular both within Taiwan and in mainland China, a traditional singing style is less utilized than the imagery of nature to characterize self-determination for aboriginal people. In the second part of this chapter, Chang Hui-Mei is seen to attempt a balance between her own identity and the identity demanded by the larger Chinese-speaking world. The PRC’s political power and the Taiwanese Han’s worldview stereotype and misinterpret the elements and influences of indigeneity and Chinese feminism. To the Taiwanese aboriginal people, both the PRC and the ROC are colonial powers, or “colonizing forces, overwhelmingly men from the metropole, [who]
seized women’s bodies as well as the land; and a fused gender/race hierarchy became a core feature of colonial society” (Connell 2002, 78).

I have also argued that Chang’s performance and indigeneity in the context of Han culture is misinterpreted and misrepresented as feminism by referring to the rebellious attitude of the female in romantic relationships. As Audre Lorde points out, “black feminism is not white feminism in blackface” (Lorde 1984, 60), and similarly, Chang’s feminism from aboriginal roots is also not feminism from the roots of the Han people. Then, how does Chang’s aboriginal feminism, identity, and self-determination evolve as she re-represents herself in her music and takes total control over her productions? In the next chapter, Chang Hui-Mei is about to reach another pinnacle of her career. The discussion will begin with female gender and aboriginal ethnicity as “minorities” within a Han heterosexual male hegemony, focusing on the creation of Chang’s rebellious identity, Amit. Via her creation, an aboriginal utopia is gradually formed for the present and future. This utopia aids aboriginals in facing the larger Chinese-speaking world as well as participating in the aboriginal self-determination movement. I will further point out how Muñoz’ queer theory of disidentification applies to Taiwanese identity, including homosexual/heterosexual and female/male aborigines, Hoklo, Hakka, and Mainlanders.
4.1 Disfranchising Female Power and Cultural Hybridity

Anthropologist Peggy Sanday quotes other anthropologists in noting that “the penetration of Western colonialism, and with it Western practices and attitudes regarding women, have so widely influenced women’s role in aboriginal societies as to depress women’s status almost everywhere in the world” (Sanday 1981, 135). This is certainly true in Taiwan. Although in Taiwan’s history, the Dutch were the only Western colonial power, cultural penetration by the patriarchal Han and Japanese still negatively influence female power in traditional Taiwanese society. Traditionally, a matrilineal society could be seen within the communities that are located on the plains and patriarchal society only survived in the mountains (Liu 1996, 37). The influences of patriarchal traditions upon Taiwanese society were through intermarriages with the Han, the Japanese, and the Mainlanders, all rooted in Confucianism.

As I point out in Chapter 2, most of the Han people who migrated from southern China were male and later married into aboriginal female’s families. The hybrid culture of Hoklo and aborigines became the foundation of Taiwanese culture. For example, the term “khan-tshiú” (牽手) literally means the one who holds hands, and the term is used to refer to wives in Hoklo in Taiwan (Liu H. Y. 2001, 45). Traditionally, an aboriginal girl would hold a male’s hand to express the intention of marriage. Another instance is the Hoklo saying in Taiwan, “thinn-ting thinn-kong, tē-ē bú-kū-kong” (天頂天公，地下母
舅公\(^{36}\), meaning “the power of mother’s oldest brother within the world has as much power as the god in the heaven.” This phrase exemplifies the integration of Han patriarchal ideologies and the submission of prominent Taiwanese aboriginal matriarchal values. These forms of penetration or integration encouraged and strengthened the patriarchal values within a traditional matriarchal society. Later, under Japanese colonization, not only the aboriginal women from the plains but also those from the mountains were forced into marriage with Japanese policemen based on the “Managing the Barbarians” policy, a colonial act that aimed to civilize and undermine aboriginal family values. More recently, the KMT and its followers adopted the same political strategy, resulting in the disintegration of aboriginal matriarchal culture. In the course of less than a century, the process of colonization led to the decline of female power and the weakening of matriarchal values in indigenous Taiwanese society.

Despite this history, some aborigines have recently attempted to go against this tide, as the Taiwanese government tries to recognize the rights of indigenous people. The case study in this chapter highlights the matriarchal cultural resistance in Taiwan by examining Chang Hui-Mei’s album released in 2009. Chang’s female power stems from the matrilineal social structure which, however, has always been contested by the patriarchal power, as Connell remarks that the “[c]olonizing power was always contested, and women played an important part in colonial liberation struggles” (Connell 2002, 78). By adopting a concept from queer theory, I use the term “disidentification” (1999), along with the ideologies of aboriginal masculinity and femininity to analyze my case studies. I argue that Chang’s album *Amit* whose contents, lyrics, representation, and sentiment were

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informed by an aboriginal sensibility, in essence constitutes cultural resistance to the patriarchic and hegemonic Han worldview in Taiwan and China.

Also, I explain the identity issue of Taiwanese people from three, layered directions: an ethnic minority in Taiwan, a Taiwanese under the PRC’s political power, and a female in the contemporary patriarchal world. I suggest that the idea of disidentification as proposed by Muñoz can also be applied to heterosexuals and further portends a new form of Taiwanese identity. Chang’s album presents a form of cultural resistance that goes against the grain of a patriarchal Han Chinese and Taiwanese worldview. This form echoes the majority Taiwanese’s internal personal conflict and suggests a new form of Taiwanese identity. The Taiwanese people, due to their political struggle, have become a minority group who refuse to conform to the PRC’s nationalism. Developing a mechanism similar to that of aborigines and gays has allowed them to disidentify and wander among native, Taiwanese, and Chinese identities. How could an aboriginal girl have such an ability to explain the identity of every Taiwanese person within a patriarchic worldview? The story begins with the creation of Gulilai Amit.

4.2 The Creation of Gulilai Amit and Matrilineal Origin

After gaining total control of production under her company, Mei Entertainment, Chang Hui-Mei departed from her established softer feminine image and singing style with the album Amit: The Album of Chang Hui-Mei’s Ideology (2009) (Figure 4.1). Invoking her aboriginal name, “Gulilai Amit,” for inspiration, she created “Amit,” a powerful persona who wears heavy make-up and a provocative punk outfit. The songs in this album touch upon an internal personal conflict, the loss of family love, sexual love,
suicide, homosexuality, and feminism; it was sung in three languages: Mandarin, Taiwanese, and Chang’s mother tongue of Tamalakao. Although Chang Hui-Mei describes Amit’s music as non-mainstream, the album won several prizes at the 2010 Taiwanese Golden Melody Awards. The album received ten nominations in the Golden Melody and won six prizes, including “Best Song of the Year,” “Best National Language Album,” “Best Lyricist,” “Best Arrangement,” “Best Producer,” and “Best Female National Language Singer.” How does Chang manage to express her aboriginal identity when none of these prizes were in the aboriginal categories?

Figure 4.1 Amit: The Album of Chang Hui-Mei’s Ideology
Remembering the National Anthem Event, Chang realized the best strategy for her career was to detach herself from any politically-related criticism. Thus, when the album *Amit* was released in 2009, Chang’s official website immediately explained that Amit is a new ideological musical branding of Chang (新意識音樂品牌) who “lives only for singing and was born only from music” (只為歌唱而活，只為音樂而生). Her agent, Isaac Chen (陳鎮川), explains, “in creating Amit, we didn’t want something fixed. She can sing in Taiwanese, rock’n’roll, be offensive, [and] be sexual. She can [also] address homosexuality, [and] suicide.” At the same time, during my fieldwork her brother revealed the intention of reviving traditional songs by saying: “we are planning to record traditional songs into an album as we have been re-learning songs from our mother since 2004. By doing so, we can pass down traditional songs to the next generation.” Chang’s friend and lyricist Wu Yu-Kung points out that “A-Mei has been thinking of this second identity for many years.” However, “it was a huge disappointment for the album *Amit* [that] the original idea of this album is to include songs that are sung entirely in her mother tongue but there is only one in the final production…” said Suming’s agent Derla—also an aborigine from Seediq and a friend of Chang’s agent—during my interview. A young musician I interviewed from Puyuma also said, “I don’t like Chang’s music because it is too plainized” (平地化), or *Han-nized*. In contrast, Chang Hui-Mei stresses that the album *Amit* is not only a breakthrough in terms of her musical style, but also represents the complete expression of her thinking and ideology.37 Apparently, Chang believes *Amit* is a perfect balance between traditional beliefs and contemporary

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values while still satisfying her people and fans. How does this provocative persona of Amit manage to present an avant-garde persona and aboriginal traditionalism at the same time? Before discussing the character of Amit and her musical representation further, it is helpful to examine the indigenous Pinuyumayan culture from which Chang comes.

The Pinuyumayan, also called Peinan in Mandarin, are located on the Taitung plain of southeastern Taiwan. During the Dutch and the Zheng family occupation, they were classified into seventy-two clans. After the Qing and the Japanese colonization, they were formed into eight villages, including Katipol, Kasavakan, RiKavong, Tamalakao, Murivurivuk, Alipai, Puyuma and Pinasiki (Song 1965, 3; Tian 2002, 32; Badai 2009, 1). Thus, the Pinuyumayan people were also called the “Eight Village Barbarians” (八社蕃).

Due to migration and human distribution, the Pinuyumayan people have now expanded into two new villages, Danadanaw and Apapolo, increasing the total number of villages to ten. Chang Hui-Mei is from the Tamalakao.

I have indicated that matrilineal social structure was found throughout the Taiwanese aborigines who lived on the plains of Taiwan. Also, a major characteristic of Plains Aboriginal societies is gender segregation. Those groups were gradually infused with Han culture on the western plains and only the eastern plains aborigines still maintain these distinctive characteristics. This is also true for the Pinuyumayan people. Education for young boys focused on hunting, making implements, surviving in the wild, and learning from nature. For young girls, besides domestic chores, the most important part of education was the passing down of traditions, such as history, laws, epic stories, mythologies, and religion through oral tradition, which includes singing.
The Japanese colonial administration forbade aboriginal culture in Taiwan, including such things as hunting and religious practices. Among these practices, the abandonment of the traditional ritual of headhunting heavily affected the matrilinelineal social structure and traditional gender status. Men were idle and fell back into the women’s sphere of the fields and the home. They took women’s jobs and cultivated the land, and in this way, the uxorilocal trend declined, giving more importance to virilocal residence. With the arrival of the Chinese Nationalists in the 1950s, Pinuyumayan society underwent a second external crisis. Over the years, they started to adopt patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent, copying the Chinese system. When I mentioned the uxorilocal residence to Chang’s uncle, he said: “only the elders who are now in their 60s had uxorilocal practice and we are practicing gender equality now because we are influenced by modern thinking.” The denial of matrilineal tradition by referring to male-centric “gender equality” can be observed in this statement.

Corresponding to the male headhunting ritual, another important religious practice of female labor is shamanism. Women represent by far the majority in shamanism, but with the impact of patriarchy, male shaman can still also be seen. As Buddhist practitioner Mabuchi notes, “… all shamanistic performances are monopolized by women and there are no shamans but only shamanesses. An exception to this is a few ‘feminized shamans’” (Mabuchi 1976, 101). These effeminate males are not considered homosexuals by the Pinuyumayan people, because some of them are married, with children. Today, these effeminate shamans are mentioned as the primary shamans within each Pinuyumayan village. This change only happened after the Japanese forbade ritual and shamanistic practices. As Josiane Cauquelin points out regarding this alternation in
the Puyuma village, “the Japanese administration pursued the shamans and destroyed their attributes, and it is at that point that a man, Samguan, intervened” (Cauquelin 2004, 193). In Chang’s village of Tamalakao, it is also true that there are six shamans in the village shamans, with only one male as leading shaman among them (Badai 2009, 209). Thus, we can identify the traditional ideology in Pinuyumayan culture that headhunting and shamanism both represent masculinity and femininity in the religious domain. The male needs to be “feminized” in order to be a shaman, and under the patriarchal influences, the effeminate became the leaders among shamans. How are these traditional values of gender separation represented in Chang’s album *Amit*?

Although contemporary Pinuyumayan society cannot be considered absolutely matrilineal, because of influence from the Han and Japanese, females definitely hold power over males. In terms of music, as I note in the last chapter, the importance of Chang’s mother is evident throughout her music production. Chang also mentioned several times that when finishing a new album, especially one that had Tamalakao elements, she would ask for her mother’s permission before releasing it. Thus, we can regard the production of *Amit* as a combination of Chang’s commercial career and her personal choice to adhere to her traditional indigenous heritage.

After the lifting of martial law in 1987, a Taiwanese democracy was gradually formed. More and more aborigines were willing to embrace their own identities due to the development of democracy in Taiwan after 1996. The policy of official recognition of aboriginal names on identification cards was legally established during the DPP’s domination from 2000 to 2008. Nowadays, adopting both Han and native names is a common practice for aborigines. Localization and indigenization were emphasized during
the DPP’s domination and forced the KMT to switch their political ideologies to be more Taiwanese-centric. The KMT regained their political dominance in 2008 by promoting multiculturalism in Taiwan. I suggest that it was within this new political climate in 2009 that the character of Amit, Chang’s rebellious identity, was born. Part of the rebellion reflects the attitude of contemporary youth toward gender and sexuality, including a pronounced openness concerning homosexuality. These attitudes and rebellions inspire a utopia, especially regarding homosexuality, where this political critique is focused upon the present, encouraging self-determination for the future. How does Chang use her performances to create a temporal utopia for aborigines and gays in Taiwan?

4.3 Homosexuality and Embracing the Other Self

Chang is consistently a big supporter of the gay community in Taiwan. She was the representative of 2007 and 2010 gay pride.38 “In concerts she will ask where are my gay friends? It makes her gay fans happy and they go crazy!” says David Lee from the Taiwan LGBT Pride Community. In a commercial for Taiwan 2010 Gay Pride, Chang expresses her support toward gay rights and community in Taiwan (Figure 4.2):

I think there are a lot of people who don’t understand the lifestyle of gays in the current society so there are many strange misunderstandings towards them. By using this way [the parade], more and more people would realize that gay people are extremely adorable. I hope people can utilize a lot of love to build a gay-friendly society. Here, I’m also asking people from different areas to treat gays equally regarding their rights of working and life. Furthermore, I understand that there are multiple groups in this society so it is not easy to be yourself. Thus, I hope all the gays can be brave and be true to you. My gay friends no matter where you are now, please be brave and be consistent, fighting against the traditional

38 Although the possibility that Chang is gay cannot be disregarded, the reason she is gay-friendly might also be because of the gender and sexual ideology of Austronesian culture. Furthermore, the compassion shared by the subordinated people, gay and ethnic minorities, could also contribute to her actions in supporting the gay community.
bind. I am standing by your side and supporting gay policy.

Figure 4.2 Chang Supporting Gay Policy

Some of Chang’s songs became anthems for Taiwan’s gay community, such as the song “Rainbow” (彩虹) from the album Amit. In the lyrics book, Chang as Amit says: “I have many gay friends. They are there with me and have been through those days full of laughter, sadness, and they also always teach me to look at the beautiful side of the world. I have always wanted to sing a song that truly belongs to my friends as a gift. Now, I finally followed through on my promise.” “Rainbow” is sung in Mandarin and accompanied by acoustic guitar. Using the chords B major, F# major, G minor, and E major, in order, throughout the song, the music brings out an atmosphere of simplicity and relaxation. Chang’s voice joins in after four measures of chords. The warmth of her soft and airy tone provides a soothing sound you would normally encounter with a close friend, sharing secrets under the covers of your bed (Figure 4.3). As the song progresses, Chang’s voice strengthens to a harsh tone emitting a frustration while remaining content in the friendship she describes.
Let us take a look at the contents of the lyrics to the song “Rainbow.”

Your well-organized and clean-white bed is the place I share my feelings with you.
I always hold you while crying until the dawn comes.

You are waiting for the happiness in the kitchen to come but you and I had dinner together this Valentines Day.
(Repeat) The closet is not considered very wide but it hides your heaven,
And you are still willing to share the space with me.

The relationships we have had both have similar pattern, both of us hurt by men.
However, we still choose to collide.

When the sky is dark, the temperature changes; you always fight back by using your powerful strength.
When the sharp eyesight and the loud voice appear, you gently use your romantic rainbow to embrace them.

(Final) When I threw away his Western business suit, you cried before my eyes were wet.
You tease my silliness and you go crazy with me.

When I found my path to happiness, you helped me to put on my makeup joyfully.
You act silly with me and tease my craziness.

When the sky is dark, the temperature changes; you always fight back by using your powerful strength.
When the sharp eyesight and the loud voice appear, you gently use your romantic rainbow to embrace them.

I assume that the homosexual person/friend in this song specifically refers to a male gay friend, for two reasons: the phrase “the relationships we have had both have similar pattern, both of us hurt by men,” and the lyric writer who is also her agent, Isaac Chen (陳鎮川), is a male. Chang empathizes that the same situation happens to both her

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and the gay friend, and subtly creates a space shared by both Amit as an aborigine and a gender minority, and gays as a sexual minority in Taiwan. There are several signifiers in the lyrics indicating domesticity, such as the bed, the heaven, and the closet, that show trust and willingness to share private spaces together. Later, Chang and the friend encounter the same pressure from heterosexual/majority societal norms. The sharp eyesight, loud voice, dark sky, and abnormal temperature refer to the gaze of the majority, yet they inevitably still choose to collide with them. This can be considered to represent the colonized/colonizer, gay/straight, and matriarchal/patriarchal cultural collision.

The rock band joins in at the bridge (1m 39s) before the lyrics are repeated. The ending section starts with the phrase, “when I threw away his Western business suit, you cried before my eyes were wet.” The empathy that they share reaches a peak in this phrase (Figure 4.4). The “Western business suit” can be seen as the social norm in Taiwan and colonial Western culture shaped by patriarchal, heterosexual, and colonial powers. That is to say, ethnic, gender, and sexual orientation minorities should operate as a group to fight against the “men,” or normative heterosexuals in general. This theme and phrase appear again at measure 10 (3m 39s) in Figure 4.4, with the chorus singing about creating a space for togetherness and embracing people from aboriginal and gay minorities.
Figure 4.4 Ending Section of “Rainbow”
In one of Amit’s concerts, before singing the song “Rainbow,”\textsuperscript{40} she spoke to the audience, saying, “I have to thank everyone, no matter if you are male, female, or homosexual, whoever continuously gives ‘A-mei’ support. The next song portrays a world peace ideology so please hug the person you love beside you.” Later, she raised one hand above her eyes, gazing into the crowd and said, “I want to know where my gay friends are.” Several young males jumping up and down raised their hands, and as more and more gays came out of the closet raising their hands in the concert, the roar of the audience became louder and louder. She called out “fierce”\textsuperscript{41} and then started to sing the song.

Figure 4.5 Rainbow and Buck

The two symbols, the rainbow and a shadowy buck, as background in Figure 4.5,


\textsuperscript{41} The original words she uses are “算你們厲害,” for which I think the best translation is “fierce.”
in the same concert, embody these two minorities—aboriginal and gay—on stage. Via Amit, Chang iconizes both native and queer through the combination of symbols, the rainbow for gay minorities and the buck for native culture. I consider this specific combination part of a strategy to disidentify her from the social norms being applied to Chang as well as her homosexual audience. Placing multiple cultural signifiers on stage, the performance creates a temporal utopia which only exists in this specific concert, allowing the participants to claim their political statements for the present and hope for the future. Furthermore, this “staged utopia” allows Chang and her homosexual audience members to “constantly disidentify,” to perform “the hybridity of another modality where meaning or identifications do not properly line up” (Muñoz 1999). The buck, representing the aboriginal culture, signifies the past that enables utopian imaginings of another time and place for a future that is not yet here but nonetheless functions as an idea and path for self-identification. This is what Muñoz described as queer temporality, the creation of a performative utopia for minorities that allows viewers to see the past, the present, the hope, and potential for transformation (Muñoz 2009, 103). Dressing in red, which is the first color of the rainbow, and a punk hairstyle in gold, Chang further adopted the rebellious modes of modern culture that allow her to represent the minorities as a leader, conjuring both future and past to critique the present social normality within this temporal performative utopia.

Muñoz believes that “performance is the kernel of a potentiality that is transmitted to audiences and witnesses and that the real force of performance is its ability to generate a modality of knowing and recognition among audiences and groups that facilitates modes of belonging, especially minoritarian belonging” (Muñoz 2009, 98). He also
points out that “the postcolonial hybrid is a subject whose identity practices are structured around an ambivalent relationship to the signs of empire and the signs of the ‘native,’ a subject who occupies a space between the West and the rest” (Muñoz 1999, 78). In the case of “Rainbow” in the concert, I argue that this specific staged utopia allows colored, gender, sexual orientation minorities to disidentify with the identity formed merely by social norms and hope for a future for both queers and Taiwanese aborigines, the in-betweens. Furthermore, the temporal utopia Chang creates offers the homosexual audience a critique of the present and allows them to imagine a space outside of heteronormativity. How is the persona of Amit able to represent the people in-between?

“Popular culture is the stage where we rehearse our identities” (Muñoz 2009, 104). The first-released song, “The Birth from Dividing” (生), on the album Amit explains the process of how one person, Chang herself, became two separate individuals. Amit says: “There is another self living inside of everyone but maybe not a lot of people are brave enough to let it show. However, it cannot be denied that this character is only suppressed and it will never die.” Chang understands the existence of multiple identities that live inside of her. “The Birth from Dividing” is sung in Mandarin with rock band as accompaniment. The lyrics of the song accordingly display the internal struggle of Chang and her multiple identities, especially the line “I am not sure how many ‘Is’ there are living inside of me and sometimes, they are like an enemy and sometimes, they are like sisters.” The multiple I’s were shaped by different cultural backgrounds, creating anxiety for Chang. This is the anxiety of belonging, either Han or Pinuyumayan (majority or minority), and the anxiety of choosing which identity she should be. Which character is

the enemy and which are her sisters?

One of me never gets tired and keeps walking ahead.
One of me cannot move at all and sinks into an extreme depression.
I am not sure how many “Is” there are living inside of me.
Sometime, they are like an enemy and sometimes, they are like sisters.
One of me has so many friends on Internet websites.
One of me is always alone by myself in my room.
The sad music occupies my dark night, like I’m getting high by injecting anesthesia.
By doing so, I could calm my stomachache and forget about the world.
The tears before the splitting-up; the cold eyes after the splitting-up
The more you love, the more you will protect yourself, like a fragile hedgehog.
The heartbeat within the splitting-up: the mask after the splitting-up

Unhappy yet without sadness, the emotion has been buried like a landmine waiting to explode.

When Chang tries to survive in the Han-dominated society, she has to follow the social norms of Taiwan, constructed by Confucianism, which say that women should obey men’s orders. These two social structures, the Han majority’s social norms and the Pinuyumayan minority’s social norms in Taiwan, form the background to her internal personal conflict and struggle for empowerment. This song laments the status of life in the current Han social structure, and the difficulties of choosing sides and appropriate identities. The process of choosing sides includes being aboriginal or Han, Taiwanese or Chinese, and minority or majority, creating a cultural conflict buried inside of Chang, which, according to the lyrics, is “unhappy yet without sadness, the emotion has been buried like a landmine waiting to explode.” I see this explosion as the result of the collision Chang mentioned in the song, “Rainbow,” and the detachment from patriarchal social normality. In this song, the highest note (F#5) is located in the same phrase (measure 5 in Figure 4.6). This is also the moment that Chang transmutes into another
multi-dimensional character, Amit, through a colorful explosion. Chang disidentifies from the original identity constructed in the Han society.

Figure 4.6 Highest Note at the Moment when Chang Splits Apart from Han Construction

Figure 4.7 is the image of “The Birth from Dividing.” The character that split-off from Chang wears a white bridal dress with red hair. The shadow of the new character Amit reveals the horns and body of a buck on the backrest of a bright red, oversized chair. I read this image of a male deer, again, signifying the past of aboriginal culture that identifies Amit as a native and disidentifies A-Mei from Han-ness. The shadow of a buck also implies that under this bridal dress Chang still recognizes herself as a Pinuyumayan. By showing horns, the image of animalistic masculinity, she attempts to empower herself. The use of eight horns (six on the chair and two on the shadow of the buck) signifies, represents, and additionally empowers the traditional “Eight Village Barbarians” of Pinuyumayan. That is to say, she uses these horns and the oversized red chair to empower this newborn character, Amit. The bridal dress is a representation
celebrating disidentification from the Han.

Figure 4.7 The Aboriginal Self Reflects on the Oversized Red Chair

Peggy Sanday believes that “women may react to the male attempt to seize control by ‘playing the game’ of balancing formal male power against informal female power. Females seem to respond to stress in these instances by striking a conciliatory note” (Sanday 1981, 210). Chang, as Amit presenting a series of utopias in popular music, can be regarded as informal female power standing against male power politically. This process of empowering the female will evoke discussion of feminism. Therefore, she has three songs in this album that touch on the issue: “Dog Eats Dog,” “Come and Get Me if You Dare,” and “The Animalistic Sentiment after Having Sex.” The first two songs, especially, demonstrate the multiple layers of the process of Chang’s
disidentification from Chineseness to Taiwaneseness.

4.4 Creating an Aboriginal Utopia

The metal and punk rock musical style of “Dog Eats Dog” (黑吃黑)\(^{43}\) contains rebellious statements about the asymmetrical relation between male and female in contemporary Han-dominated society. The song scornfully challenging patriarchal masculinity is sung in Mandarin, indicating its audience is the hegemonic Chinese. Like “Rainbow,” the lyrics are written by Isaac Chen.

Where is your “head” and how come it is not located above your neck?
You stood me up the whole night and had dark circles around your eyes at breakfast.
I learned “an eye for an eye” when watching gangster movies with you.
The reason I didn’t retort is that I am incubating a storm of payback.
I am waiting to stab you in your back when I see your smile.
The store you said is obviously a non-smoking one but you stink of smoke.
Whose place were you staying at last night and having your late night meal?
Black eat black (dog eat dog); ghost bite ghost, I can play with you if that is what you want.
Which girl did you lie to and lie down to comfort you?
I really want to see this pathetic girl.
Black eat black (dog eat dog); ghost bite ghost, I can play with you if that is what you want.
I also would like to challenge my limitations. Your lies are my dessert after my meal.
It’s bullshit. It’s bullshit.
Don’t you know what A.D. is it? How come you still see cheating as a way to perform your masculinity?
It is simple to say goodbye when you decide whether you want this relationship or not.
You yawn when I ask you to go shopping with me as if it were torture.
And you cannot even take a break during the night
Because you have to sneak out in the dark to hook up with others
No worries. I will definitely fake my smile until the day I run out of my patience and you don’t even have the chance to ask me back.

The game between Han male and aboriginal female starts with the solo lead guitar playing the steady motive throughout the song to bring out the disdainfulness against Han masculinity (Figure 4.8).

\(^{43}\) Amit, “Dog Eats Dog.” Youtube. http://youtu.be/XnTOHDsEq6s (accessed May 12, 2011). The name of the song “Dog Eats Dog” is a translation from the Mandarin Heichihei, meaning black eats black, in order to represent its gangster meaning. Therefore, it is not associated with dog in Mandarin.
After eight measures of the motive in the beginning of the lyrics, Amit references aboriginal ideology in which the head represents power and knowledge by singing “where is your ‘head’ and how come it is not located above your neck?” Using “head” as the referential term not only mocks Han masculinity underlined by aboriginal masculinity, but also challenges the animalistic behavior of contemporary males seeking the female body as conquered land. Later, Chang joins the game with the male by adopting Han masculinity in the phrase, “I learned an eye for an eye when watching gangster movies with you.” By performing masculinity, Chang is ready for a revolt. Thus, Chang mentions her revenge by singing “I am waiting to stab you in your back when I see your smile.” She figures that it is necessary to learn masculinity and become a penetrator, ironically, in order to represent her rebellion. The theme of the song starts with the phrase “black eats black (dog eats dog); ghost bites ghost, I can play with you if that is what you want…” It adopts a dark hard rock style with sixteenth and eighth notes per word, creating a murmuring vocality that expresses Amit’s attitude. Pitying women who are subjugated by men, Amit contests Han men by simply “playing the game” with them. In the end of the song, she shouts, “it’s bullshit” to indicate her disregard toward Han masculinity (Figure 4.9).
Again, she uses the deer in the image of “Dog Eats Dog” to refer to aboriginal roots from the past. Instead of dog eats dog, a more aboriginal masculine idea is buck eats buck which was formed in Chang’s utopia (Figure 4.10).
The beginning of the video of “Dog Eats Dog,” before the song starts, provides a short monologue, saying “Amit, wake up…..” The images presented in this music video are in a punk and S&M style; in terms of disidentification, it is, “the rejection of normative feelings.” Chang, dressed in black with horns on her head, is tied on a wall made of bedsprings. Later, a male character appears, sitting in a chair (as a sign of throne-like empowerment) surrounded by his female slaves. After escaping from the bondage, Chang encounters this male character. They fight in front of the “throne,” roaring like animals at each other. Finally, she stabs the male with the horns protruding from her body while pretending to embrace him. At the end of the video, after chopping off his head, she intones, “Amit is coming” (Figure 4.11).
I regard this music video as an instance of staged utopia, in which Amit creates a space wherein the female gains masculine potency, both politically and sexually. Chang is actually transitioning into male masculinity while stabbing the male character with the horns protruding from her body, empowering Chang as a penetrator into the male body. I suggest this episode represents a homosexual act—Han-ness being penetrated by a minority Other (simultaneously queer, female, and aboriginal). The subordinate one that historically has always been penetrated is now the penetrator. The beheading references a headhunting tradition of Pinuyumayan only practiced by males. By performing aboriginal masculinity, Chang is able to penetrate into Han masculinity. I regard this as the first layer of the disidentification process through which Chang’s matriarchal character Amit disidentifies herself from a male-dominated Chinese society by recycling masculinity. The genre of female performing maleness is powerfully recycled through disidentification, and such a reterritorialization of masculinity, as Muñoz argues, “can be understood as a disidentification with the sign of masculinity” (Muñoz 1999, 58). This aboriginal girl’s game with the Han people is getting more interesting (Figure 4.12).
After “Dog Eats Dog,” the song “Come and Get Me If You Dare” (好蠍你就來) was released. Here, Chang is more “Taiwanized.” The lyrics of this song are in Taiwanese (Hoklo), as part of the rise of indigenous Taiwanese rights and consciousness, and further reflect a Pinuyumayan value: females control the domestic domain and wait for males to come during courtship. Amit says: “I change a new language to sing so the message I want to express is in the simplest and the most direct way. There is nothing more to explain since I have portrayed love in this way.” Thus, the music style in the song, compared to the previous ones, is relatively straightforward but still in a metal rock style (Figure 4.13).

It is entirely your fault; it is entirely your fault
It is entirely your fault to make my face blushed
Your heart and my heart intertwined together
How are you going to deal with it?
It is entirely your fault; it is entirely your fault
You made me so confused all day
Let us not fake our feelings to each other anymore
If you dare to ask my love, you better come and try to get it
Do not hide your feeling inside and complain no one knows
Your longing is like a chaotic typhoon and your mood is like a hot-and-cold sauna bath
Actually, I knew that already, so you better come and try to get my love if you dare.
It is entirely your fault; it is entirely your fault
It is entirely your fault to make me extremely angry
Your heart and my heart intertwined together
What are you going to deal with it?
It is entirely your fault; it is entirely your fault
It is entirely your fault to make me mad like a fire for all day
Let us not fake our feelings to each other anymore
If you want my love, you better come and get it
Do not hide your feeling inside and complain no one knows
Your longing is like chaotic typhoon and your mood is like hot-and-cold sauna bath
Actually, I knew that already, so you better come and try to get my love.

Come and Get Me If You Dare (0:58-1:16)

Figure 4.13 Theme in “Come and Get Me If You Dare”

Chang borrows the traditional ideology of courtship that women are the ones in control when singing to the Taiwanese audience. As I pointed out, in Pinuyumayan tradition when a male finds a girl who pleases him, he goes to her door several days running with a Jew’s harp, and if the girl likes it, she comes out and joins the man who seeks her. Indeed, the female is the calm one waiting for the male who seems to be panicking over a relationship to come in this song. Under this temporality of the past, Chang empowers the minority, female, and indigenousness, to control the Han
masculinity in Taiwan. This utopia she creates signifies the past and further implies the aboriginal futurity in the present.

In the music video of the song “Come and Get Me If You Dare” (Figure 4.14), there are no males included; Chang appears in two scenes: one with the oversized red chair, and one with the buck. Males are no longer considered as the ones holding power over females, after Amit beheaded them in “Dog Eats Dog.” This theme is a continuation of “Dog Eats Dog,” further emphasized by presenting an image in which Chang has short blond hair, standing beside the oversized red chair and wearing a leather skirt that exposes most of her legs. This staged utopia is formed with the female in the center of political power.

![Figure 4.14 Female Control in Aboriginal Courtship](image)

Chang again invokes deer horns (and their medicinal associations) as male sexual power, perhaps to aid in her empowerment as a gender minority. The red objects include the horns, the chair, the cloth, and the hairpin. As with the previous usage of the color red

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in Chang’s representation, the red is a signifier of empowerment that assesses the female control. With male virility represented by a pair of hairpins on her head echoing the maleness of the buck, it shapes her image into the realm of androgyny. In the other image, the short hair and over-exposed skirt additionally create a sense of androgyny. The legs are observed to be widely opened due to the avant-garde skirt, yet Chang’s gender is still blurred. In the context of binary gender division, this androgyny represents the gender minority in the contemporary heteronormative culture. I argue that Chang is also producing a stage of in-between-ness, a spatiality that is aligned with a temporality on the threshold between identification, lifeworlds, and potentialities (Muñoz 2009, 105). The images of androgyny imply the social status of ethnic and gender minorities, and even the political status of the Taiwanese people’s in-between-ness. By presenting them, she can further disidentify herself from Taiwaneseness. Now, Chang has only one more layer of disidentification to fully transcend from Taiwaneseness to indigenousness.

After reinforcing the matriarchal and aboriginal ideology, she released the mother-tongue song “Amit.” Under Chang’s aboriginal name, the song includes three Tamalakao pieces: two traditional and one composed by her mother. In the lyrics book, Amit says, “it is the music I’ve listened to since I was little, thus, this is the song that represents me—we always sing with simple words but have the most beautiful and memorable meanings. The third section of this song that has the picture of me playing happily when I was a child is written by my mother.” The content of this song describes her village and family, but the melody is in a rock-and-roll style. The first part expresses how regretful she is for not being there to take care of her family and village. The second shows the scene of the younger generation celebrating in festivals through dancing and
singing. And third, she tries to memorize the imagery of her homeland and the return of her father. That is, combining the past (father) with the present (her regret) and the future (younger generation), Chang creates a utopia in which to transform into her native self and arise like a phoenix.

Part 1:
Oh, my family I am so sorry for not taking good care of you. I am working very hard outside now. No matter how have I been, I will be fine. You are always inside my heart. You will always be my dearest family.

Part 2:
Young boys and girls, let's sing and dance together.

Part 3:
Father goes out for hunting. Few of us kids are waiting in the entrance of forest. Looking at beautiful waterfalls pour down the cool water. Suddenly, the dog barks happily. Turns out to be father's return.

The most controversial image (Figure 4.15) is Amit as a punk phoenix who flies above the New York City skyline and the Statue of Liberty—symbols of capitalism, modernization, and globalization. In the image, Chang seems to stage a future utopia in which the male-dominated world is destroyed by an army following this dark angel/bird. Muñoz’s statement on the relationship of the performative utopia and capitalism is relevant: “the ‘should be’ of utopia, its indeterminacy and its deployment of hope, stand against capitalism’s ever-expanding and exhausting force field of how things ‘are and will be.’” Referring to her origins and mentioning the happiness of the past, Chang uses disidentificatory performances to “re-make the self.” I suggest that Chang reaches this final form of phoenix on the cover of the album, remaking the native self with its matriarchal female power and traditionalism within a modern context. This performance is thus an outpost of an actual existing aboriginal future existing in the present.
4.5 The End of Utopian Performativity?

As a popular singer with an aboriginal identity that was historically stereotyped as barbarian, the only apparent strategy for survival open to Chang Hui-Mei was to act Han and have a Chinese name. However, Chang elaborate the mode of disidentification to respond to the dominant Han culture and global power apparatuses, while not rejecting outright the majority culture, which has allowed her to remake the native self. Using her popularity, signified by aboriginal culture, Chang further encourages the minority people who refuse to embrace the other self to acknowledge the existence of multiple identities. By facing the presence of internal cultural paradox, these in-betweens, like Chang, are in order to process disidentification. The disidentificatory performance of Chang offers a utopian blueprint for a possible future while, at the same time, staging a new political formation in the present. At the beginning of this chapter, I mentioned the attempt to explain the national consciousness of Taiwan as a whole, and that, because of the complexity of political struggles, the people of Taiwan refuse to conform to a PRC
political normality. The Taiwanese are marginalized in the greater Chinese-speaking
world as a minority under the PRC’s political power. Similar to gays’ refusal to conform
under a heteronormativity, the aboriginal Amit refuses to conform to Han, and the
Taiwanese people, as well, resist conforming to the Chineseness of the PRC. However,
the majority position in the larger Chinese-speaking world is occupied by the PRC. My
assertion is that Taiwanese identity, like Chang’s and homosexual identities, have been
transformed and informed through disidentification.

Every performance comes to an end. When the clubs close, gays must leave the
utopia they have created together. Drag queens pack up their outfits and makeup, and go
home for a rest after a long night’s werk. In 2011, Chang Hui-Mei changed back to the
original A-Mei character and her soft feminine imagery, returning to laments and love
songs for her newest album, “are you watching?” (你在看我嗎 Figure 4.16). The
aboriginal Amit calls for a break. The album Amit will eventually reach its time of
popularity in the future, but for now, Chang’s image reverts to this chic and feminine
character with porcelain skin and long black hair. Does the disappearance of Amit
represent the vanishing point of the movement for self-affirmation? Is this the end of
Amit’s aboriginal performance? Does this mean that the people in Taiwan will stop
forming a national consciousness when the staged utopia vanishes?
On her latest album, there is a song called “Schizophrenic.” It has a Mandarin name “一個人的對話” (Dialogue with myself), and is sung by both A-Mei and Amit. Although the aboriginal Amit certainly also embodies a marketing strategy in the promotion of Chang’s music, the acknowledgement of multiple identities hints at the return of the aboriginal personality. Muñoz states, “every vanishing point signals a return, the promise of the next performance, of continuation….For queer, the gesture and its aftermath, the ephemeral trace, matter more than many traditional modes of evidencing lives and politics” (Muñoz 2009, 81). The ideology of self-affirmation and embracing multiple identities truthfully has circulated to Chang’s fans and the Taiwanese people; the outcome of Chang’s performance not only signals aboriginal people in Taiwan but also informs the majority Taiwanese. After all, we must understand that Chang’s creation of Amit only follows the indigenization and the rising indigenous consciousness in Taiwanese politics. In the next chapter, I will point out the elements that allow Chang to process disidentification, and also analyze the application of queer theory to subordinated heterosexuals and Taiwanese identity as a whole, at the same time examining the meaning underlying Chang’s disidentification when all these staged utopias vanish.
Chapter 5: Beyond Disidentification and Re-identification in Taiwan

In the previous chapters, I have explained the formation of Taiwanese identity from aboriginal perspectives and also how modern capitalism affects the identity of Taiwanese people, who have recognized themselves in identities ranging from the aboriginal village-centric to Han Hoklo. With Japanese, and later, Chinese Nationalist domination, identity evolved from the concept of being Japanese, then Chinese, to the current Taiwanese. The Taiwanese, especially the aboriginal people, have been through layered identity changes, resulting in a process of disidentification. As a female aboriginal singer, Chang Hui-Mei must stage several performative utopias to disidentify herself from Chinese to Taiwanese, and finally, to a new form of native self. Aboriginal resistance, stemming from matriarchal tradition, is performed through popular music. In this last chapter, I will compare the differences between the productions of Chang’s A-Mei and Amit, illuminating the process of disidentification. Using Chang as an example, I discuss the essence of disidentification and how it is related to Taiwanese identity.

Centering around identity and nationalism in contemporary Taiwan, the big question here is how an ethnic minority relates to the majority Taiwanese. What forges the link between a cultural group and the state when Taiwan as a nation is seeking ideological constructions? I shall use several examples to point out how aboriginal issues connect to the Taiwanese identity and nationalism.
5.1 Acknowledging the Paradoxes in Taiwanese Identity

Chang’s agent’s claim that Amit was a character that could sing controversial issues, such as homosexuality, defined her music away from A-Mei’s production which had been constructed in the Mando-pop industry. In her early albums, aboriginal elements declined after the death of her first producer, Chang Yu-Sheng. In order to make her albums salable to the audience in mainland China and the greater Chinese-speaking world, Forward Music superimposed an aboriginal image that was constructed in Han’s appropriation. Mother’s voice quickly vanished after the classic “Sisters.” Following the Mando-pop pattern, Chang’s music and image were all about longing for a man’s love, as in Teresa Teng’s catalog. Although liberal thinking and democracy gradually took shape in Taiwan after the lifting of martial law in 1987, Chang’s indigeneity—including a freer body movement in the eyes of the Han—was misinterpreted as Chinese feminism. During her recovery from the National Anthem Event, her mother’s singing re-appeared, with the songs still lamenting but searching for family support. However, this did not seem to work. After taking control of musical production under Mei Entertainment, Chang, inspired by her aboriginal name Gulilai Amit, managed to create the character of Amit, representing a rebel against the majority normality. To take control of her own image is a significant move in Chang’s career as this is about “managing and negotiating historical trauma and systemic violence” (Muñoz 1999, 161). I argue that this move can be seen as Chang’s agency in disidentifying herself by juxtaposing her multiple identities.

Amit borrows styles from metal and punk rock music, announcing detachment from A-Mei, and expressing a rebellious attitude against Han patriarchal and political apparatuses by combining images contain signifiers from several cultural backgrounds,
such as S&M and aboriginal matriarchal values. I proposed questions earlier in this thesis, such as how the traditional aboriginal values of gender separation were represented in Chang’s album *Amit*, and how this provocative alter ego manages to present an avant-garde persona and aboriginal traditionalism at the same time. To address these, I suggest that it is through embracing the “other” identity that is constructed in the discourse of cultural hybridity, as in Taiwan, and further acknowledging the existence of cultural paradoxes. Muñoz agrees with queer theorist David Halperin’s statement that “To practice a stylistics of the self ultimately means to cultivate that part of oneself that leads beyond oneself, that transcends oneself: it is to elaborate the strategic possibilities of what is the most *impersonal* dimension of personal life—namely, the capacity to ‘realize oneself’ by becoming other than what one is” (Halperin 1995, 75). In Chang’s account, it is by being aware of the existence of cultural conflicts that she combs out the aboriginal self, Amit. Recognizing these cultural paradoxes and the status of in-between-ness, as described in “The Birth from Dividing,” Chang’s aboriginal self, Amit, is able to split off.

Informed by her traditional roots, Amit’s avant-garde image represents non-conformity. Traditional ideologies, such as aboriginal masculinity and uxorilocality, therefore, are used to aid her political statements and musical production. The newly-composed self challenges the always already reductive self, or Han-constructed A-Mei, that is mass-produced in the discourse of Taiwanese multiculturalism. Amit, who is the character distant rendering of the self is what Muñoz called disidentity. The disidentity is ultimately an impersonal self that elaborates the strategy of disidentification. It is the “part of oneself that leads beyond oneself” against the dominant ideology that presents
the potential to transcend oneself. Through Chang’s disidentification, the disidentity of Amit, like an “objective” judge, challenges the self that is produced in Han and the public. “This moment of transcendence is the moment in which [subaltern] counterpublics become imaginable; it is a moment brimming with the possibility of transformative politics” (Muñoz 1999, 179). Therefore, Chang is allowed to present several “staged utopias” or counterpublics, in which minorities and subordinates (gays, women, and aborigines) proclaim their political transformations.

I also asked: how could an aboriginal girl have such an ability to explain the identity of majority Taiwanese? Eriksen comments on identity in the contemporary world:

> Multiple identities cannot be placed in concentric circles in orderly ways; they can scarcely be represented graphically at all….One has a shared identity with different people at different times…the status sets of individuals are not clustered around intricate social relationships with a limited number of people; they are diverse and flexible. (Eriksen 2010, 211)

Chatterjee’s material/spiritual approach for anticolonialism and Reid’s OSH nationalism which considers the KMT’s nationalism in the center are therefore not applicable in explaining Taiwanese nationalism. That is to say, the clear-cut material/spiritual domains and concentric circle-based OSH nationalism, fail to clarify Taiwanese cultural hybridity. The colonial nature of Taiwan shaped its people’s multiple identities and cultural paradoxes. Those multiple identities, layer-by-layer, form into several public and counterpublic spaces—Aborigines versus Han, local Taiwanese (Hoklo, Hakka, and Aborigines) versus Mainlanders, and Taiwanese versus PRC Chinese. Chang Hui-Mei, as an aborigine, exactly fits into these three layers of minority/majority relationships in Taiwan. Taiwanese, like minoritarians who have been
denied a world by the majority PRC, constantly fashion strategic disidentification to enable a freedom from the “One-China” dilemma.

5.2 Transitory Disidentification and Re-identification

Back to the questions I proposed at the end of Chapter 4: Does the disappearance of Amit represent the vanishing point of the movement for self-affirmation? Does this mean that the people in Taiwan will stop forming a national consciousness when Chang’s staged utopia vanishes? The disidentity of Chang disidentifies from Chineseness to Taiwaneseness, and finally to the aborigines. Later, Chang announced that it was time for Amit to take a break, when advertising the album Are You Watching?. That is, perhaps disidentification is a transitory, and an unstable, state. “Disidentifications are strategies that are called on by minoritarian subjects throughout their everyday life” (Muñoz 1999, 179). Although disidentification is not permanent but a transitory utopia, the nature of marginalized minority will keep elaborating it against the majority. Like Chang reverts back to A-Mei, gays can pretend and act heterosexual, and Taiwanese, as well, can pass as PRC Chinese. But whenever strategic disidentification occurs, it cultivates a part of oneself to realize and transcend oneself. After the end of disidentification, one can never be the “original” self. The more one disidentifies from the mass-produced identity, the more parts, or disidentities, inside oneself can be combed out. In the case of Chang, although she changed back to A-Mei after the album Amit, because of disidentification, the rebellious Amit could survive on the newest album to sing the duet “Schizophrenic.” That is, every disidentification is followed by a re-identification. Every re-identification is shaped by strategic disidentification. Then, when is Chang’s next disidentification and
what elements will she elaborate to fashion that second disidentification in musical production? This thesis is thus meant to complement the discussion of Taiwanese identity and further push the envelope of a possible future for Taiwan.

To celebrate her 15th anniversary in showbiz, Chang held her AmeiZING world tour concerts in 2012. In one of the concerts, there was a guest singer, Chiang Hui (江惠), a local Taiwanese diva, famous for singing in Hoklo. Chang dressed in red, with horn-shape decorations on the front of her costume—the color of red was heavily used for empowerment in Amit, on, for example, the over-sized chair—while Chiang dressed as Amit (Figure 5.1). Despite the fact that the persona of Amit is popularized as a commercial icon, what does it represent when a Han Hoklo female dresses as Chang’s disidentity? Could this be regarded as Chiang’s disidentification?

![Figure 5.1 Han Female Dresses as Aboriginal Amit](image)

Figure 5.1 Han Female Dresses as Aboriginal Amit
As Muñoz points out, “disidentification’s use-value is only accessible through the transformative politics that it enables subjects and groups to imagine. Counterpublics are not magically and automatically realized through disidentifications, but they are suggested, rehearsed and articulated.” The re-identified A-Mei might suggest a possible way (i.e., dress like Amit) for Chiang and the Taiwanese to articulate their disidentification. But, for now, more time is needed for future research to examine how the aboriginal disidentification will function within Taiwan and further the transformative politics of Taiwanese nationalism. How will the movement of aboriginal self-determination inform Taiwanese identity and shape its nationalism?

Conclusion

Scholars, such as Shelley Rigger, have challenged the existence of Taiwanese nationalism, based on a survey of ethnic consciousness conducted in 2005, which indicated that 41 percent of the population felt they were Taiwanese, and only 7 percent considered themselves Chinese. Yet, nearly fifty percent of the people thought they were both Taiwanese and Chinese. This may suggest that the dominant trend is to hope for the best: a future in which Taiwan enjoys positive relations with the mainland while maintaining the high degree of freedom and autonomy it enjoys today. However, could this be regarded as the elaboration of disidentification? Were the Taiwanese who claimed they are also Chinese “pretending”? In any case, the question here is: what is the moral lesson that emerges from the discussion of the A-Mei/Amit story? If the process of disidentification is the reaction of non-conformity to majority culture, how do we mitigate it? Do gays act like straights, Amit acts like Han, and Taiwanese people “pretend
to be Chinese” forever as the PRC’s political power gets stronger? There is a song on the album, *Amit*, called “Dropped” (掉了), written by Wu Tsing-Fong (吳青峰), the lead singer of a Taiwanese band, Sodagreen (蘇打綠), famous for his androgyny and talent at falsetto singing (Figure 5.2).

![Figure 5.2 Wu (with pink hair) and Sodagreen](image)

*The song we used to sing,*

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The heartbreak rose still blossoms in the middle of night.
It could not find the stamen that fell in a hurry.
It is too late to go back to the scene.
Waiting, but still could not receive any response.
The light kite floating in the winter air could not go back to the string holder.
How come it will fit if there is no blue sky? Why bother?

The black smile is dropping; the snowy tear is falling.
The expressions that suppose to appear are suddenly dropping.
The eye pupils have no color, like a long frozen river.
The most terrified enemy is memory.
The plot of story is dropped.
The dialogue of the leading role is dropped.
The scene that belongs to each other is dropped.
There is no happiness inside my heart, like the broken-wings dove.
The excuses that hold me not to wither are all dropped.

The song we used to sing,
And the laughter we used to share are constantly pulling and dragging inside my heart.
I could not admit how I miss your presence, so I wipe off tears secretly.
It will still be cold even past winter.

“Dropped,” sung in Mandarin, is accompanied by piano in a steady 4/4 beat. It describes the loss of familial love, and Chang’s father, who passed away before she became a pop diva. While lamenting the absence of her father, at the same time, Chang also juxtaposes her longing for her life in the past. The life without controversial political issues was much simpler than now. Chang sings “I could not admit how I miss your presence, so I wipe off tears secretly.” Everything is dropped after her father’s death, which was also the period when she entered the popular music industry, and faced all the cultural penetrations from the majority Han. This loss of father and happiness-in-the-past is described as a kite without a blue sky: “The light kite floating in the winter air could not go back to the string holder. How come it will fit if there is no blue sky? Why bother?” The sentiment in “Dropped” exemplifies the feelings of subordinate people, like a kite without sky or a broken-winged dove. When the right of being who you are is taken away by the majority, “the excuses that hold me not to wither are all dropped.” People of color and queers are always assaulted in all manner of ways. Taiwanese, in the relative position of queers to the PRC Chinese, are constantly targeted. This is the main reason contributing to disidentifications and the creation of counterpublics for the subordinates, because there is “no sky to fly.”

Chang’s attitude toward the people in-between seems to suggest a possible method to mitigate disidentification. Constantly working with the people in-between, as I pointed out in Chapter 4, Chang’s attitude might benefit from the gender and sexual
ideology of Austronesian culture. In her 2011 world tour concert, she gave a lecture, saying:

I am surrounded by all kinds of loves and I really appreciate them, including love between brothers and sisters, family, friends, classmates, and lovers. No matter if it is the love between male and male or female and female, they are all worth to be cherished. I hope everyone appreciates all kinds of love around you. Let’s cherish each other, ok? The song I’m going to sing is dedicated, no matter where you are now or my co-workers, to all my dearest gay friends.

Thus, it is the attitude of treasuring and appreciating all kinds of love; when she needed a song on the album Amit to memorialize her father’s presence and the past, Wu, the effeminate, came along. I believe it is also one of the ways to mitigate disidentifications—through respecting differences of individuals and cultural diversity. The initial step of showing respect is to stop imposing any assumptions and opinions on others, e.g., all aborigines are alcoholics, or all Taiwanese essentially recognize themselves as Chinese—replacing the bias that holds that all the minorities are the ones who refuse to conform; and to understand and cherish all kinds of possibilities of culture and human identity.

Taiwanese musicologist Chien Shan-Hua has contributed a great deal in collecting music from Austronesian people. He approaches Austronesian study through the digitalization of traditional music from all the Austronesian people, in places such as Taiwan and Palau, in order to archive their voices. The world can continue to hear the music from Austronesia because of this academic plan. At the same time, however, it inevitably orientalizes the Taiwanese aborigines by putting them into the category of Austronesian and distancing them from the Han people in Taiwan. Austronesian people

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in Taiwan, like gays, are everyday people. By examining an Austronesian pop icon, I believe this thesis can offer the study of Austronesian culture and music another perspective. My project not only focuses on Austronesian people in Taiwan but also examines the Taiwanese as subordinate cross-ethnically. Instead of archiving music, through the examination of popular music, this thesis is able to highlight the values regarding traditions and ideologies that the aborigines consider important, as their lives keep evolving along with the majority Taiwanese. I believe that my approach, which examines traditionalism in modern, or even avant-garde, context, could provide a new perspective for ethnomusicologists dealing with subaltern identity and music.

A focus on the development of Taiwanese identity, starting from the aboriginal perspective, enables us to investigate topics which are of crucial importance to research on nationalism and identity. One’s reaction to cultural penetration can shift one’s identity entirely from original to the dominant. One can also respond to a complicated political struggle by adopting the process of disidentification. Research on ethnic identity has opened up a new field in Taiwan, where Han-centric research is no longer the only possible approach to understanding Taiwaneseness and Chineseness. By drawing insights from queer theory, I exemplify the possibility of utilizing minorities, gays and aborigines, to explain the identity of both homosexuals and the heterosexual majority. We would be better served to be critical and keep in mind that identity is a momentary and ever-changing concept that needs to be continually researched in generating a new understanding of human society.
Glossary

Amis: one of fourteen Taiwanese aboriginal groups with largest population
Atayal: one of fourteen Taiwanese aboriginal groups with second-largest population
Babuza: one of Plain Aborigines
Bunun: one of fourteen Taiwanese aboriginal groups
Gulilai Amit: Aboriginal name of Chang Hui-Mei
Fanjie (番界): barbarian boundary
Fujian (福建): a province on the southeast coast of mainland China
Hakka (客家): literally means “guest family”; one of the ethnic groups of Han
Hoanya: one group of Plain Aborigines
Hoklo (河洛): people who speak language originated from Southern Fujian province
Houshan (後山): The other side of mountain; nickname of Eastern Taiwan
Inibs: term for female shaman in Sirayan language
Jacky Wu: a Taiwanese host
Kavalan: one of fourteen Taiwanese aboriginal groups
Ketagalan: one group of Plain Aborigines
Kua-á-hì (歌仔戲): Taiwanese opera
Kuo-min-tang (國民黨): KMT China’s Nationalist party.
Landdag: an annual gathering of aboriginal delegates during Dutch occupation
Liām kua (唎歌): speaking song
Luilang: one group of Plain Aborigines
Makatao: one subgroup of Siraya people
Ming (明): one of the dynasties in Chinese history from 1368–1644
OSH: outrage at state humiliation
Paiwan: one of fourteen Taiwanese aboriginal groups
Papora: one group of Plain Aborigines
Pazeh: one group of Plain Aborigines
Peinan (卑南): geographical area in Taitung; also refers to Pinuyumayan people in Mandarin
Penghu (澎湖): a group of islands to the west of Taiwan that is now a county of the ROC
Pingpu: Plain Aborigines
Pinuyumayan (Puyuma): one of fourteen Taiwanese aboriginal groups
Plainized: used to refer to Hanized aborigines
Qing: one of the dynasties in Chinese history from 1644–1912
Qupai: Musical Form
Muxi: Chinese terminology for describing society that women’s empowerment is different from patriarchy and patrilineal societies.
Saisiyat: one of fourteen Taiwanese aboriginal groups
Sakizaya: one of fourteen Taiwanese aboriginal groups
Seediq (Sediq): one of fourteen Taiwanese aboriginal groups
Shengfan (生番): raw barbarian
Siraya: one group of Plain Aborigines

Soufan (熟番): cooked barbarian

Rukai: one of fourteen Taiwanese aboriginal groups

Taivoan: one subgroup of Siraya people

Takasago: Japanese term for Taiwanese aborigines

Tamalakao: one subgroup of Pinuyumayan people

Taokas: one group of Plain Aborigines

Teresa Teng: Teng Li-Chun, born in Taiwan, who is one of the most influential Chinese pop stars

Thao: one of fourteen Taiwanese aboriginal groups

Truku: one of fourteen Taiwanese aboriginal groups

Tàp-liām (雜唸): a singing style used in Taiwanese opera

Tshit-jī-á (七字仔): a singing style used in Taiwanese opera

Tsou: one of fourteen Taiwanese aboriginal groups

Tufan (土番): literally earth-bound barbarians

Waishengren (外省人): people who live outside the province

Yami (Tao): one of fourteen Taiwanese aboriginal groups

Yefan (野番): literally means wild barbarians

Yuan (元): one of the dynasties in Chinese history from 1271–1368
Appendix A: Song Lyrics and Translations

海洋
作詞：陳建年
作曲：陳建年
編曲：陳建年

選擇在晴空萬里的這一天
我背著釣竿獨自走到了東海岸
徜徉在海邊享受大自然的清新
忘卻所有的煩憂心情放得好輕鬆
雲兒在天上飄
鳥兒在空中飛
魚兒在水裡游
依偎在碧海藍天
悠遊自在的我
好滿足此刻的擁有
啊鳴 喔 海洋
啊鳴 喪 海洋
海洋

Ocean
Lyricist: Chen Jian-nian
Music: Chen Jian-nian
Arrangement: Chen Jian-nian
Translated by: Kuan Yuan-Yu

Choosing this sunny day, I carry fishing pole on the back walking toward the eastern coast alone.
Wandering about unhurriedly at beach, I enjoy the freshness of nature.
Forgetting all the troubles and worries, my mood turns into relaxation.
The clouds float in the air; the bird fly in the sky; the fish swim in the water.
Leaning close to the green ocean and the blue sky, I feel carefree.
A Hoo. Oh Ocean (Ho-Hay-Yan)
A Hoo. Oh Ocean (Ho-Hay-Yan)
Ocean (Hay-Yan)
The myth is a beautiful dream.
It implies people’s feeling toward every creation in the universe.
The myth is the cradle of every tale.
It is further the sense of belonging of human’s believe and spirit.
Our people wish that we could pass down the ancient traditions, and to prolong the ancient power of life.
The myth can integrate culture into life, and create the newborn and unite with sky and earth.
Let us be in the inspiration of myth.
Let us follow the steps of our ancestors, and sing to the ancient outstanding ethnic group, the eternal praise song.
I am Singing Over There
Lyric and Music: Suming
Translated by: Kuan Yuan-Yu

The ocean wave is still hitting seacoast as usual.
The wild flower is still blossoming randomly; spreading its fragrance.
VuVu (grandparents) is still waiting in the homeland.
However, I left that place; drifting.
The city does not have the warmthness from the sun.
The paved road does not as flat as the grassland in the homeland.
The streetlight does not light up the way that I have lost for a long time.
I am still here feeling disconsolate.
Ho Wo Hay Yan Ho I Yo In Ho I Yan
Ho I Ya Na Ya In Hoy Yan
Ho O Ye Yan Ho I Yo In Ho I Yan
Ho I Yo In Hoy Yan
Kasasetek no mita
Lyrics and music: Suming

Yo c cay kako a romakat itila i lawac sa no liya , miclem to koya cidal
Idangaw ,o soni no tapelik hato ngiha iso mitapal mahalateng ngako kiso
Aka tawalan ko ya kasasetek no kasasowal nomita naonen ko tileng iso
Talaen kako tangasa i pinokayan nako a romiad , mala ccay to ko kita

a hoiyan ho iya o way i yanna iyeyan iyeyan
a hoiyan ho iya o way i yanna iyeyan iyeyan

Aka tawalan ko ya kasasetek no kasasowal nomita naonen ko tileng iso
Talaen kako tangasa i pinokayan nako a romiad , mala ccay to ko kita

a hoiyan ho iya o way i yanna iyeyan iyeyan
a hoiyan ho iya o way i yanna iyeyan iyeyan

ho ihya
oh hiya
woo

a hoiyan ho iya o way i yanna iyeyan iyeyan
a hoiyan ho iya o way i yanna iyeyan iyeyan
a hoiyan ho iya o way i yanna iyeyan iyeyan
a hoiyan ho iya o way i yanna iyeyan iyeyan
a hoiyan ho iya o way i yanna iyeyan iyeyan
a hoiyan ho iya o way i yanna iyeyan iyeyan

Our Promise
Lyrics and music: Suming
Translated by: Andrew Ryan

As the sun sets in the west, I walk along the seashore.
My dear friend, the sound of the waves reminds me of your voice!
Don’t forget our promise…take care of yourself until we meet again.
When I return home, we can be together once more.
Yeah. UFO network, the dreamer on air, loves to send you message with electricity. UFO.

Dreamer On Air (Slogan of UFO Radio)
Lyrics: Yang Li-Te
Music: Chen Chih-Yuan
Translated by: Kuan Yuan-Yu

Yeah 飛碟Network
空中的夢想家
就愛電你 UFO

空中的夢想家(飛碟電台台歌)

作詞：楊立德
作曲：陳志遠

Yeah 飛碟Network
空中的夢想家
就愛電你 UFO
Sisters
Lyrics and Music: Chang Yu-Sheng
Arrangement: Wang Chi-Kang
Translated by: Kuan Yuan-Yu

Even the wind of spring will smile because of the singing is so beautiful.
You are just like a happy bird.
The inflaming sun causes the burning of green land.
You make the world into a better place.
I remember your smile and your goodness.
It is just like chanting from the forest.
I am like a piece of grass embraced by the warmness.
I think you must understand how it feels.
You are my sisters; you are my baby.
Oh yeah. No matter how far it is.
You are my sisters; you are my baby.
Oh yeah. I really love how it feels.
Comparing to the red leafs swing in autumn your face looks pretty.
You are just like a naughty spicy pepper.
Celebrating harvest in winter, the world is carefree and trouble-free because of you.
I remember your beauty and your wonderfulness.
I will never forget.
I have to let you see when I’m able to fly up in the sky.
一想到你呀
作詞：張雨生
作曲：張雨生
編曲：Koji Sakurai

一想到你呀 就讓我快樂 就好比蜻蜓呀看見綠草的油亮
像媽媽 輕柔的歌唱 一想到你呀 情不自禁的笑

天上的雲 地上的野花 古老的活力都等著一觸而爆發
像爸爸 終年的奔忙 一想到你呀人間似天堂

輕一點 卻多一些 張開你的心與眼
多一點 但輕一些 收起你的苦與淚

一想到你呀 就讓我快樂 就好比獼猴呀穿梭樹林的輕鬆
像阿媽 牽起了童年 牽起了我呀和一整個世界

啦啦啦啦啦啦許下你的心願 丟一枚錢幣等月兒圓
啦啦啦啦啦啦許下你的心願 丟一枚錢幣等月兒圓

一想到你呀 就讓我快樂 就好比極圈悠閒自在的POLAR BEAR
像阿公 述說的故事 那正是我呀要接下的世界

重重的 而細細的 撒下你的愛與憐
柔柔的 而熊熊的 燃燒你的善與美
The Moment I Think of You
Lyrics and Music: Chang Yu-Sheng
Arrangement: Koji Sakurai
Translated by: Kuan Yuan-Yu

I feel happy the moment I think of you;
Similar to the moment when a dragonfly sees the greenness of grass.
It is as similar as mother’s soft singing.
I can’t help smiling the moment I think of you.
The ancient lively power is as similar as the clouds in the sky and the wild flowers on the ground waiting to explode.
It is as similar as father working throughout entire year.
The world is as similar as heaven the moment I think of you.
Open your heart and eyes lightly but much more.
Take in the bitterness and tears much more but lightly.

I feel happy the moment I think of you.
It is as similar as a carefree macaque running in the forest.
It is as similar as grandmother holding up the childhood.
She holds me and the world up.
La la la la la la, make your wishes and throw a coin waiting for the full moon.
La la la la la la, make your wishes and throw a coin waiting for the full moon.

I feel happy the moment I think of you.
It is as similar as a carefree polar bear in the polar circle.
It is as similar as the story that grandfather is about to tell.
Spread your love and mercy heavily but thinly.
Burn your goodness and beauty gently but ragingly.
Bad Boy
作詞：張雨生
作曲：張雨生
編曲：Martin Tan

你說的是我不想走 你說的是我不想走 你說的是我從來不放手
我不會問你為什麼 你不用教我怎麼做 我要抹上最鮮豔的口紅 喔
原來你是這種 BAD BOY 難道我曾經默默縱容 難道是我 喔

你說的唯一有很多 你說的專情像煙火 你其實騙了自己騙了我
我不想再挽回什麼 你不必再疲於奔波 我要找到最亮眼的自我 喔
原來你是這種 BAD BOY 難道我曾經默默縱容 那全是你犯的錯 喔

BAD BOY BAD BOY 你的壞讓我不明白
BAD BOY BAD BOY 我必須要離開
你是BAD DOG BAD BOY 你的壞讓我太無奈
BAD BOY BAD BOY 讓我對你說BYE-BYE

你說的是我太軟弱 你說的是天的捉弄 你說的是我離不開優柔
我不能證明是與否 也不想證明是與否 這不是我你分開的理由 喔
原來你真的是個BAD BOY 我一直無心縱容 那全是你惹的禍 喔
**Bad Boy**
Lyrics and Music: Chang Yu-Sheng
Arrangement: Martin Tang
Translated by: Kuan Yuan-Yu

You said I never want to leave and wouldn't let go.
I will not ask you why and you don’t have to teach me what to do.
I’m going to put the most colorful lipstick.
Is it possible that because of my connivance you turned into this kind of bad boy?

According to you, there are so many the ones: your royalty is like firework.
Actually, you lied to both yourself and me.
I will not ask you back so that you don’t have to running around.
I’m going to find the brightest self.
Is it possible that because of my connivance you turned into this kind of bad boy?
No, the entire fault blames on you.

Bad boy, I don't understand your bad.
Bad boy, I have to leave.
You’re a bad dog and bad boy.
I cannot help with your bad so let me say goodbye to you.

You said I’m too weak and you said it is a joke of fate.
You said I couldn’t make a decision.
I can’t and am not going to prove if you’re right or wrong.
This is not the reason for our break up.
You are a real bad boy. My unwitting connivance allowed you to make all these troubles.
站在高崗上
作曲：司徒明
作詞：姚敏
編曲：Martin Tang

連綿的青山百里長呀
巍巍聳起像屏障呀喂
青青的山巒穿雲霄呀
白雲片片天蒼蒼呀喂

連綿的青山百里長呀
郎在崗上等紅妝呀喂
青青的山巒穿雲霄呀
站著一個有情郎呀喂

我站在高崗上遠處望
那一片綠波海茫茫
你站在高崗上向下望
是誰在對你聲聲唱

我站在高崗上遠處望
那一片綠波海茫茫
你站在高崗上向下望
是誰在對你聲聲唱

連綿的青山百里長呀
郎情妹意配成雙呀喂
青青的山巒穿雲霄呀
我倆相愛在高崗  在高崗
Standing on Top of the Mountain
Music: Situ Ming
Lyrics: Yao Min
Arrangement: Martin Tang
Translated by: Kuan Yuan-Yu

Mountain by mountain continuously is hundred meters long, ya.
The peaks get up greatly like a barrier, ya wei.
The green mountain ridge grows up through cloud and sky, ya.
The white clouds and blue sky, ya wei.
Mountain by mountain continuously is hundred meters long, ya.
The boy is standing on the top of mountain waiting for the girl, ya wei.
The green mountain ridge grows up through cloud and sky, ya.
There is a boy who falls in love standing, ya wei.
I (the girl) am standing on the top of mountain looking afar; the greenness is like a ocean wave by wave.
You are standing on the top of mountain looking down; who is singing toward you?
Mountain by mountain continuously is hundred meters long, ya.

The green mountain ridge grows up through cloud and sky, ya.
We are falling in love on the top of mountain, on the top of mountain.
Are You Ready?
Lyrics and Music: Chang Yu-Sheng
Arrangement: Martin Tang

Tell me baby are you ready 天色已經黑
Tell me baby are you crazy 用力說聲嘿
Tell me baby do you want it 搖醒這世界
告訴我你做好最 cool 的準備

Come on baby I am ready 火花四處飛
Come on baby Let's go crazy 別想的太累
Come on baby we can make it 越夜越狂野
我的王國歡迎你來臣服或貢獻

我是一個子夜的靈蝶 連接你的夢通往那座神秘花園
你偶而睜開了你的雙眼 卻看不見美的無法形容的畫面
他們傳說要等待天上月圓 才能讓我體驗撞擊的滋味

你等著等著日以繼夜 但願一陣風吹開黑夜厚重的幕簾
我想著想著望穿秋水 時間為什麼如此規律的一眼一眼
誰讓愛情封存了一年 只為了那時時刻刻相遇的芳醇甜美

Are you Ready?
Lyrics and Music: Chang Yu-Sheng
Arrangement: Martin Tang

Tell me baby; are you ready? The sky is getting dark.
Tell me baby; are you crazy? Using all your energy shouts: hey.
Tell me baby, do you want it? Rocking this world until it is awake.
Tell me you have already made the coolest prepare.

Come on baby; I am ready. The sparks are everywhere.
Come on baby; let’s go crazy. Don’t think this is exhausting.
Come on baby; we can make it. It gets crazier when it gets later.
My kingdom welcomes your obedience and contribution.

I am a shaman in the mid-night connecting to the secret garden through your dream.
I sometimes open your eyes but couldn’t see the beautiful picture that cannot be described.
They said you have to wait for full moon in order to experience the flavor of collision.
You are waiting day after day for the wind to blow open the dark and heavy curtain.
I think for a long time that why the time is always following a pattern.
Who allows love to sit for an entire year just to wait for the sweetness when they meet each other?
中華民國國歌
作詞：孫逸仙
作曲：程懋筠

三民主義 吾黨所宗
以建民國 以進大同
弩爾多士 為民前鋒
夙夜匪懈 義是從
矢勤矢勇 必信必忠
一心一德 貫徹始終

National Anthem of the Republic of China
Lyrics: Sun Yet-San
Music: Cheng Mao-Yun
Translated by Tu Ting-Hsiu

San-min-chu-i, our aim shall be.
To found a free land, world peace be our stand.
Lead on, comrades, vanguards ye are; hold fast your aim, by sun and star.
Be earnest and brave, your country to save; one heart, one soul, one mind, one goal!
**Katsu (A-Mei’s Nickname)**

Lyrics: I Chia-Yang  
Music: Hsu Kuang-I  
Arrangement: Hung Ching-Yao  
Translated by: Kuan Yuan-Yu

The cycling of time and the clue of memory are like a song telling me:  
No matter how far, there will be a guy who loves me as I walk down alone the river.  
Go! Planting the seed of dream: cry, adventure and then let go.  
Love! Choosing my own way to learn to grow up.  
Love is always with me protecting me on the way home in the wind.  
Love is to learn to forgive so that I will not be afraid at night.  
Love is sky and hope is smile. There are both dream and pain in the world.  
As the time goes by, we will eventually understand.
娜魯灣情歌
作詞：左宏元
作曲：左宏元
編曲：Tman For 'Sonic Sanctuary'

娜魯灣 娜魯灣 娜魯灣
娜魯灣伊呀娜魯灣 娜魯灣伊呀娜魯灣

高高的山有我的愛 熊熊的火是我的情
天上的心是愛人的心 我要去追尋

娜魯灣伊呀娜魯灣 （娜魯灣）
娜魯灣伊呀娜魯灣 （吶吶呀）
娜魯灣伊呀娜魯灣 （娜魯灣 娜）
娜魯灣伊呀娜魯灣

娜魯灣伊呀娜魯灣 娜魯灣伊呀娜魯灣

相愛的手要拉得緊 不變的情像旭日昇
愛人的心是天上的星 陪伴小浮萍

娜魯灣伊呀娜魯灣 娜魯灣伊呀娜魯灣
娜魯灣伊呀娜魯灣 娜魯灣伊呀娜魯灣

NaLuwan Love Song
Lyrics and Music: Tso Hung-Yuan
Translated by: Kuan Yuan-Yu

Naluwan I Ya Naluwan
My love is on top of the mountain.
My love is like a burning fire.

Naluwan I Ya Naluwan (Naluwan)
Naluwan I Ya Naluwan (Ho-Hay-Yan)
Naluwan I Ya Naluwan (Naluwan Na)
Naluwan I Ya Naluwan Naluwan I Ya Naluwan

The hands of lovers need to hold tight.
The unchanged love is like rising sun.
Lover’s heart is like star in the sky, giving duckweed a company.
Naluwan I Ya Naluwan
彩虹
作詞：陳鎮川
作曲：阿弟仔

你整齊潔白的床　是我傾訴的地方
抱你哭著到天亮　你等待幸福的廚房
那次情人節晚餐　卻是我陪著你嘗
衣櫃不算太寬　藏着你的天堂　依然歡迎我分享
我們的愛很像　都因男人而受傷　卻又繼續碰撞
當天空昏暗　當氣溫失常　你用巨大的堅強　總能抵擋
當尖銳眼光　當刺耳聲響　你用彩虹的浪漫　溫柔包裝
看我丟掉他的西裝　比我先紅了眼眶
笑我傻　陪我慌　當我找到幸福去向
幫我快樂的化妝　陪我傻　笑我慌

Rainbow
Lyrics: Chen Chen-Chuan
Music: A Ti-á
Translated by: Kuan Yuan-Yu

Your well-organized and clean-white bed is the place I share my feelings with you. I always hold you while crying until the dawn comes. You are waiting for the happiness in the kitchen to come but you and I had dinner together this Valentines Day.
(Repeat) The closet is not considered very wide but it hides your heaven, And you are still willing to share the space with me. The relationships we have had both have similar pattern, both of us hurt by men. However, we still choose to collide.
When the sky is dark, the temperature changes; you always fight back by using your powerful strength. When the sharp eyesight and the loud voice appear, you gently use your romantic rainbow to embrace them.

When I threw away his Western business suit, you cried before my eyes were wet. You tease my silliness and you go crazy with me.
When I found my path to happiness, you helped me to put on my makeup joyfully. You act silly with me and tease my craziness.
When the sky is dark, the temperature changes; you always fight back by using your powerful strength.
When the sharp eyesight and the loud voice appear, you gently use your romantic rainbow to embrace them.
分生
作詞：姚若龍
作曲：鄭楠

一個我像不會累一直往前
一個我動彈不得傷心欲絕
我不確定 幾個我 住在心裡面
偶爾像敵人 偶爾像姐妹
一個我在網路上朋友一堆
一個我在房間裡獨自面對
灰色的音樂 塞滿黑夜 HIGH的像麻醉
好讓翻攪的胃 安靜一點 忘了全世界
分裂前的熱淚 分裂後的冷眼
越愛誰 越防備 像隻脆弱的刺蝟
分裂中的心碎 分裂後的假面
不快樂 不傷悲 情緒埋藏成了地雷 等待爆裂
一個我相信用心會被感動
一個我大喊真心會被欺騙
開始的熱烈 不停奉獻 後來剩決裂
謊言吞噬了心 帶來刺痛 撕裂的蛻變
分裂前的熱淚 分裂後的冷眼
越愛誰 越防備 像隻脆弱的刺蝟
分裂中的心碎 分裂後的假面
不快樂 不傷悲 情緒埋藏成了地雷 等待爆裂

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The Birth from Dividing
Lyrics: Yao Ji-Lung
Music: Cheng Nan
Translated by: Kuan Yuan-Yu

One of me never gets tired and keeps walking ahead.
One of me cannot move at all and sinks into an extreme depression.
I am not sure how many “Is” there are living inside of me.
Sometime, they are like an enemy and sometimes, they are like sisters.
One of me has so many friends on Internet websites.
One of me is always alone by myself in my room.
The sad music occupies my dark night, like I’m getting high by injecting anesthesia.
By doing so, I could calm my stomachache and forget about the world.
The tears before the splitting-up; the cold eyes after the splitting-up
The more you love, the more you will protect yourself, like a fragile hedgehog.
The heartbreak within the splitting-up; the mask after the splitting-up
Unhappy yet without sadness, the emotion is been buried like a landmine waiting to explode.

One of me believes that if I work hard, the result will be seen.
One of me shouts out loud saying that I will be cheated if I show my true colors.
I keep devoting my enthusiasm in the beginning but it only gets devastated and frustrated in the end.
The lies devoured my heart by bringing pain that tears me apart.
The tears before the splitting-up; the cold eyes after the splitting-up
The more you love, the more you will protect yourself, like a fragile hedgehog.
The heartbreak within the splitting-up; the mask after the splitting-up
Unhappy yet without sadness, the emotion is been buried like a landmine waiting to explode.
黑吃黑
词：陳鎮川
曲：阿弟仔

你的頭長在哪邊 怎麼不在脖子上面
我被你晾了一夜 早餐配著你的黑輪
陪你看警匪片 學會以眼還眼
我不還嘴 是正在 醞釀一舉攻堅
對你的笑 藏冷箭
你說的 那家店 明明全面禁菸
你的宵夜 到底在 哪個家裡解決
沾了一頭 菸臭味
黑吃黑 鬼咬鬼 愛演我陪你演
是哪個妹 又被騙 躺著給你安慰
有夠可憐 我超想見她一面
黑吃黑 鬼咬鬼 愛演我陪你演
是我也想 惫一愖 我有多少極限
你的謊言 是我的飯後消遣

IT'S BULLSHIT
現在是西元幾年 還把劈腿當作表現
愛不愛一念之間 不過就是一句再見
折磨你 打哈欠 還得陪我上街
然後半夜 摸著黑 上別條船搞鬼
黑夜白天 都別睡
你放心 我絕對 永遠笑容滿面
找到一天 跟你說 我的耐心有限
少在那邊 想挽回
黑吃黑 鬼咬鬼 愛演我陪你演
是哪個妹 又被騙 躺著給你安慰
有夠可憐 我超想見她一面
黑吃黑 鬼咬鬼 愛演我陪你演
是我也想 惫一愖 我有多少極限
你的謊言 是我的飯後消遣

IT'S BULLSHIT
少在那邊 你的謊言 對我是種表演
少在那邊 你的眼淚 對我是種笑點
少在那邊 你的犯罪 對我是種磨練
少在那邊 準備滾到一邊
**Dog Eats Dog**  
Lyrics: Chen Chen-Chuan  
Music: A Tī-á  
Translated by: Kuan Yuan-Yu

Where is your “head” and how come it is not located above your neck?  
You stood me up the whole night and had dark circles around your eyes at breakfast.  
I learned “an eye for an eye” when watching gangster movies with you.  
The reason I didn’t retort is that I am incubating a storm of payback.  
I am waiting to stab you in your back when I see your smile.  
The store you said is obviously a non-smoking one but you stink of smoke.  
Whose place were you staying at last night and having your late night meal?  
Black eat black (dog eat dog); ghost bite ghost, I can play with you if that is what you want.  
Which girl did you lie to and lie down to comfort you?  
I really want to see this pathetic girl.  
Black eat black (dog eat dog); ghost bite ghost, I can play with you if that is what you want.  
I also would like to challenge my limitations. Your lies are my dessert after my meal.  
It’s bullshit. It’s bullshit.  
Don’t you know what A.D. is it? How come you still see cheating as a way to perform your masculinity?  
It is simple to say goodbye when you decide whether you want this relationship or not.  
You yawn when I ask you to go shopping with me as if it were torture.  
And you cannot even take a break during the night  
Because you have to sneak out in the dark to hook up with others  
No worries. I will definitely fake my smile until the day I run out of my patience and you don’t even have the chance to ask me back.
好膽你就來
詞：阿弟仔
曲：阿弟仔

攏細你啦 攏細你啦 攏細你害我的面來紅紅
你的心我的心結結作一伙 是要打算按怎
攏細你啦 攏細你啦 攏細你害我整天在茫茫
你的心我的心現在賣攏假
要討我的愛 好膽你就來 賣放底心內 怨嘆沒人知
思念作風颱 心情三溫暖 其實我攏知 好膽你就來
攏細你啦 攏細你啦 攏細你害我來氣心魯命
你的心我的心結結作一伙 是要打算按怎
攏細你啦 攏細你啦 攏細你害我整天在火大
你的心我的心現在賣攏假
要討我的愛 好膽你就來 賣放底心內 怨嘆沒人知
思念作風颱 心情三溫暖 其實我攏知 好膽你就來

Come and Get me If You Dare
Lyrics: A Ti-á
Music: A Ti-á
Translated by: Kuan Yuan-Yu

It is entirely your fault; it is entirely your fault
It is entirely your fault to make my face blushed
Your heart and my heart intertwined together
How are you going to deal with it?
It is entirely your fault; it is entirely your fault
You made me so confused all day
Let us not fake our feelings to each other anymore
If you dare to ask my love, you better come and try to get it
Do not hide your feeling inside and complain no one knows
Your longing is like a chaotic typhoon and your mood is like a hot-and-cold sauna bath
Actually, I knew that already, so you better come and try to get my love if you dare.
It is entirely your fault; it is entirely your fault
It is entirely your fault to make me extremely angry
Your heart and my heart intertwined together
What are you going to deal with it?
It is entirely your fault; it is entirely your fault
It is entirely your fault to make me mad like a fire for all day
Let us not fake our feelings to each other anymore
If you want my love, you better come and get it
Do not hide your feeling inside and complain no one knows
Your longing is like chaotic typhoon and your mood is like hot-and-cold sauna bath
Actually, I knew that already, so you better come and try to get my love.
掉了

作詞作曲：吳青峰

心疼的玫瑰 半夜還開著 找不到匆匆掉落的花蕊
回到現場卻已來不及 等待任何回音都不可得
微弱的風箏 冬天裡飄著 回不去手中纏繞的那個
沒有藍天 又何必去飛 怎麼適合

黑色笑靨掉了 雪白眼淚掉了 該出現的所有表情瞬間掉了
瞳孔沒有顏色 結了冰的長河 回憶是最可怕的敵人

故事情節掉了 主角對白掉了 該屬於劇中的對角戲也掉了
胸口沒有快樂 斷了翅的白鴿 不枯萎的藉口全掉了

曾經唱過的歌 分享過的笑聲 在心中不斷拉扯
想念不能承認 偷偷擦去淚痕 冬天過了還是會很冷

Dropping
Lyrics: Wu Tsing-Fong
Music: Wu Tsing-Fong
Translated by: Kuan Yuan-Yu

The heartbreak rose still blossoms in the middle of night.
It could not find the stamen that fell in a hurry.
It is too late to go back to the scene.
Waiting, but still could not receive any response.
The light kite floating in the winter air could not go back to the string holder.
How come it will fit if there is no blue sky? Why bother?

The black smile is dropped; the snowy tear is fallen.
The expressions that suppose to appear are suddenly dropped.
The eye pupils have no color, like a long frozen river.
The most terrified enemy is memory.
The plot of story is dropped.
The dialogue of the leading role is dropped.
The scene that belongs to each other is dropped.
There is no happiness inside my heart, like the broken-wings dove.
The excuses that hold me not to wither are all dropped.

The song we used to sing,
And the laughter we used to share are constantly pulling and dragging inside my heart.
I could not admit how I miss your presence, so I wipe off tears secretly.
It will still be cold even past winter.
Appendix B: Album Covers

Chi hsiaochun’s Holy Folk Song: The Sounds of Sun, Wind and Grassland (1999)
Bad Boy (1997)
Holding Hands (1998)
My Lover, May I Hold You? (1999)
Recklessness (2000)
Journey (2001)
Truth (2001)
Bravery (2003)
Perhaps Tomorrow (2004)
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**Sound and Video Recordings**  

**Websites**  