FROM THE STREETS TO THE VILLAGES

ABORIGINAL MOVEMENT IN TAIWAN:
THE TRANSFORMATION OF ETHNIC IDENTITY
FROM THE 1980s TO 1990s

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ABSTRACT

An amount of scholars have addressed various perspectives in regard of the complexities of race and ethnicity. Later on social movement theorists presented different approaches in inquiring of the structural dynamics of collective actions and some laid emphases on collective identity in social movement. Based upon these discussions, this research inquires the dynamics of initiation of Taiwan’s pan-aboriginal movement and the triggers of its orientation shifts by looking at the changes of structural circumstance. Furthermore, this research also investigates the dynamics of formation and transformation of Taiwan’s aboriginal collective identity (called “Taiwan’s pan-aboriginalism” in this research adopted from Hsieh Shinh-Chung) through reviewing Taiwan’s colonial historical contexts. The finding shows that the stigmatized collective identity is a historical product which afterward prompted the initiation of Taiwan's pan-aboriginal movement, the notion of pan-aboriginalism (Yuanzhumin) and the blueprint of Taiwan’ aboriginal nation (Yuanzhumintsu), nevertheless, were constructed in the process of social movement as a strategy of movement mobilization. Moreover, if the raison d'etre of aboriginal movement is to rescue their tribes, then the proposition of and tribalism is eventually inevitable.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements .................................................................................... iii
Abstract ........................................................................................................ iv
List of Tables ................................................................................................ v
List of Figures ............................................................................................. vi

Chapter 1: Introduction
  1.1 Background of Taiwan ................................................................... 1
  1.2 Colonial History of Taiwan ............................................................ 4
  1.3 Taiwan’s Aboriginal Movement .................................................. 12

Chapter 2: Literature Review ................................................................. 17
  2.1 Ethnicity: Situational Ethnicity and Layered Ethnicity .............. 18
  2.2 Panethnicity: Collective Identity and Collective Actions ............ 21

Chapter 3: Research Questions and Methodology ..................................... 28

Chapter 4: Taiwan’s Aboriginal Movement since the Early 1980s .......... 34
  4.1 From the Streets to the Villages .................................................. 34
  4.2 United Daily News Articles ........................................................ 37
  4.3 Tribalism and Aboriginal Writing ................................................ 54

Chapter 5: Historical Analysis ................................................................. 64
  5.1 From Primordial Tribalism to Pan-aboriginalism ................. 65
  5.2 Appearance of Pan-aboriginalism ............................................ 74
  5.3 From the Streets to the Tribes: Tribalism ............................... 81

Chapter 6: Discussion ................................................................................. 89
  6.1 Environmental Triggers ............................................................ 90
  6.2 Stigmatized Identity Constructed Pan-aboriginalism ............ 94
  6.3 Failure or Succeed? The Rise of Tribalism ....................... 102

Chapter 7: Conclusion .............................................................................. 106
References ................................................................................................ 108
LIST OF TABLES

Table 4-1

Table 4-2 Article Numbers of UND,
“Shanbao” and “Yuanzhumin” as Keywords, 1980-1995 .................. 43

Table 4-3 Social Protests Reported in Taiwan by Number, 1983-1987 .......... 47

Table 4-4 The Size of Social Protest Events, 1983-1988 ....................... 47

Table 4-5 Article Numbers Related to Tribalism, 1980-1996 .................. 56
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1-1 The Geographic Distribution of Taiwan’s Aborigines .......................... 4

Figure 4-1 Article Numbers, “Shanbao” and “Yuanzhumin” as Keywords,
1980-1995 ........................................................................................................... 43

Figure 4-2 Number of National and Local Associations Registered in Taiwan,
1979-2001 ............................................................................................................. 48

Figure 4-3 Article Numbers Related to Tribalism, 1980-1996 ............................ 56

Figure 6-1 Proto-nation: Before Japanese Regime ............................................. 97

Figure 6-2
Stigmatized Identity: During Japanese Regime and KMT Regime. ..................... 98

Figure 6-3 Pan-aboriginalism: “Yuanzhumin” and “Aborigines” ...................... 99

Figure 6-4
Strategy of Movement: “Yuanzhumintsu” and “Aboriginal Nation” .............. 101
Chapter One
Introduction

Pan-ethnic movements from the 1960s have become the trend of a way of ethnic movement. By gathering the resources from each minority group, fighting and striving for what they want for people of disadvantaged groups would be relatively easier. Moreover, in the process of the collective action, people who participate in may gradually generate the sense of belonging: panethnicity. This research intends to inquire the formation of Taiwan’s pan-aboriginal movement and the changing process of Taiwan’s pan-aboriginalism. Before jumping into the main research questions, to understand Taiwan’s history and the role of Taiwan’s aborigines within it are important and necessary.

1.1 Background of Taiwan

1.1.1 Geography and Demography

Taiwan is a small island in the Pacific Ocean and Portuguese named it as *Ilha Formosa*, meaning “the Beautiful Island”. Its shape is like a sweet potato, or a tobacco leaf, some people say. This small island is just 250 miles long, 80 miles wide and the total area is about 14,000 square miles. The Taiwan Straits which divides Taiwan from China to the west are about 100 miles wide. Two hundred miles to the south of Taiwan lies in the northern tip of the Philippines archipelago and 70 miles to the north-west is the Japanese-controlled *Ryu-Kyu* Islands. To the west, there are only the Hawaiian Islands in between Taiwan and the coast of Mexico. 60 percent of the whole island is mountainous and only about 25 percent arable farmland lies in the lowlands on the western coast. Fortunately,
blessed with a subtropical climate and a rich alluvial plain in the western lowlands, the agriculture in Taiwan has always been fertile. (Simon Long, 1991)

Taiwan is a multi-ethnic country and the main four groups are Taiwan’s aborigines, Taiwanese, Hakka and Mainlanders. Taiwan’s aborigines currently are generally believed as the first inhabitants of Taiwan Island. However, little is known about the very origins of Taiwan’s earliest inhabitants and the time they have settled in this Island. Taiwanese, who had immigrated to Taiwan from mainland China (particularly from the coastal area) since Han (206B.C.-222A.D.) and Tang (618-907), is majority group in Taiwan. Hakka, another small ethnic group, have settled in Taiwan for hundreds years and were mainly from Guangdong Province of mainland China. Mainlanders basically refer to Chinese people who withdrew from mainland China with the Nationalist Kounintang (lead by Chiang Kai-Shek) after 1945. According to the latest census paper, by the end of February 2007, the total population of Taiwan is 22,879,132. (Monthly Census Paper of Taiwan, http://www.ris.gov.tw/ch4/static/st1-1.html)

1.1.2 Taiwan’s Aborigines

According to the census paper of Ministry of Interior, by the end of 2005, the total population of Taiwan’s aborigines is 474,919 and around 2.08% of total population of Taiwan. (2006 Important Population Index of Taiwan Census Paper. http://www.ris.gov.tw/docs/f4a-1.html) The aborigines in Taiwan speak languages belonging to the Austronesian language family. The Austronesian languages are the widest distributed of the world’s language families: The area inhabited by Austronesian peoples extends from Madagascar in the west to Chili’s Easter Island in the east; and
from Taiwan in the north to New Zealand in the south.

Austronesian speakers on Taiwan can be roughly divided into the “aboriginal” tribes, which live in the mountains, and the Pingpu tribes, which mainly live in the plains. The great majority of the Pingpu tribes have already lost their languages and customs because in the early days, the Chinese settlers lived in very close contact with them and then quickly became assimilated. This assimilation can be even derived from Ching dynasty (1644-1912). Ching dynasty forced Pingpu tribe to learn traditional Chinese customs and forced them to use Han (Chinese) family names. Due to the assimilation and intermarriages, the Pingpu people gradually became indistinguishable from the local Chinese. (Bureau of Cultural Park, Council of Indigenous People, Executive Yuan, http://www.tacp.gov.tw/ENGLISH/HOME.htm) Although the mountain aboriginal tribes still preserved their languages, customs, and village-type life, they are now facing the impact of rapid modernization in modern Taiwan’s society. So far, there are thirteen different aboriginal tribes have officially recognized. The following figure is the distribution.

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1 The thirteenth tribe—Sakizaya was officially recognized recently in January 2007. They were misconceived as Amis due to the close living area with Amis in the eastern Taiwan. In fact, Sakizaya people was having serious conflicts with Ching dynasty hundreds years ago and in order to escape from genocide, they separated and hided in other tribes, especially in Amis tribes. Thus, for a long run, they have been misconceived as Amis. Finally, with the efforts that Sakizaya chief, their peoples and ethnic scholars made, Sakizaya people now finally have their name back and can start their cultural construction.
1.2 Colonial History of Taiwan

To understand the present, we need to trace back to Taiwan’s colonial history. Taiwan was experienced many colonial regimes and each regime indeed left certain effects in Taiwan’s society and Taiwan’s inhabitants. In the following section, I simply divide Taiwan’s history into six periods: prehistory (before Chinese), prehistory (first contacts with Chinese), Western colonialism, Cheng Cheng-Kung Regime and Ching Dynasty,
Japanese colonial regime, and Chiang Kai-Shek Regime (Nationalist KMT Regime) and shortly present the relationship between Taiwan’s aborigines and each colonial regime.

1.2.1 Prehistory and Early History: Before Chinese

Generally speaking, proof of human life in Taiwan can dates from ten thousand years ago, however, the very origins of the island’s earliest inhabitants are less clear. Anthropologists hold different perspectives about the origin of Taiwan’s aboriginal people. Some scholars believe that they were from Southeast Asia and are related to the present-day Malay people. Some argue that the aborigines are related to the Miao people in southern China. (John, F. Copper, 1990; Simon Long, 1991) Little is known about Taiwan prior to a few centuries ago because there is no written record left. Accurately to say, the aborigines have only oral system, no written system.

1.2.2 Prehistory and Early History: First Contacts with Chinese

Taiwan was mentioned in early Chinese records because some people, who lived in the coastal areas, like Fukien Province, had started traveling to Taiwan by boats. However, a lot of literatures have indicated that at that time going to Taiwan was considered dangerous due to extremely unstable Taiwan Strait and brutal barbarians (Taiwan’s aborigines). Taiwan was seldom mentioned in early “official” documents in Chinese history. Furthermore, early court records have made clear that Taiwan was not regarded as part of China. Until Han dynasty (206B.C.–222A.D.), the emperor sent a 10,000-member expeditionary force to Taiwan aiming to explore this island. During Tang dynasty (618-907), Chinese had started to migrate to Taiwan and never planed to return to their hometown, because at that time immigrating to Taiwan was against Tang
Dynasty’s law.

Then, during Yuan dynasty (1263-1294), when Mongols ruled China, Taiwan remained outside their jurisdiction. Meanwhile, Chinese and Japanese pirates and Chinese immigrants wrested control of the coastal areas of Taiwan from the aborigines. Chinese, mainly Hakka people, occupied the southwestern part of this island and Japanese held the northern coastal areas. (John, F. Copper, 1990; Simon Long, 1991) At this era, there were mainly four powers, Chinese pirates, Japanese pirates, Chinese immigrants, and Taiwan’s aborigines and they wrestled with each other for the control of this island. Afterwards, a ban on maritime trade in the sixteenth century had been imposed by Ming dynasty (1368-1644) to try to stop piratical depredations. In 1567, the maritime ban was replaced by a system of licensed trading ships. Taiwan, considered as a pirate-trader settlements and an unclaimed land inhabited by savages, became an attractive port. (John, F. Copper, 1990; Simon Long, 1991) Following era was Western colonialism.

1.2.3 Western Colonialism

In the sixteenth century, the China seas had begun to see European ships. In 1517, Portuguese vessels en route to Japan sighted Taiwan and named it Ilha Formosa, “the Beautiful Island”; however, Portuguese did not try to colonial Taiwan. In 1624, Taiwan was firstly occupied by Dutch forces; and after two years later, in 1626, Spanish forces seized Keelung, a port in northern Taiwan. The major Spanish settlement on Taiwan was taken over in 1642 by Dutch forces. Afterwards, Spanish forces left Taiwan.

During 1624 to 1662, Taiwan became a Dutch colonial enterprise ruled by the Dutch
East India Company. According to Nakamura Takashi’s *Introduction to History of Taiwan*, around 1650, most of Taiwan’s aborigines lived in the plains of southern Taiwan and the population was about 68,600. However, due to an amount of conflicts and incidents later on, many aborigines were killed or forced to move to mountain area and the total population shrank down to 32,200 in 1656. (Cheng Shui-Yuan, 2000) Except the conflicts, the Dutch regime built up some establishment, such as rented land and farm implements to Chinese settlers and introduced oxen to till the farms. They also built castles, dug wells, conducted land surveys, and romanized the aboriginal languages. They sent missionaries to Taiwan to “civilize” Taiwan’s aborigines and to translate Bible. (Cheng Shui-Yuan, 2000)

In 1644, Ming dynasty fell down by the Manchus, who established the last dynasty of China, Ching dynasty (1644-1912). Afterwards, in 1662, Cheng Cheng-Kung, who was appointed by Ming dynasty to command Ming Naval force to protect Ming, launched an attack on the Dutch in Taiwan and the Dutch colonial period ended in 1662. (John, F. Copper, 1990; Simon Long, 1991)

1.2.4 Ching Dynasty

After Ming dynasty died, Cheng Cheng-Kung established a Ming-style regime in Taiwan and considered Taiwan as a base to counterattack to Ching dynasty in the future. However, Cheng Cheng-Kung regime ended up in 1683 because of an invasion of Ching dynasty. During 1684 to 1886, Taiwan was ruled under Ching dynasty and considered as a part of *Fukien* Province. In this period, Ching dynasty generally ignored local problems of Taiwan and official Chinese records during this period called Taiwan a “frontier area.”
Despite of this ignorance, Ching dynasty still proclaimed some laws in Taiwan, and some were about the aborigines. For example, in 1737, intermarriages between Han people (Chinese) and aboriginal people were prohibited; in 1758, Ching dynasty asked Pingpu tribes to learn traditional Chinese customs and forced them to adopt Han (Chinese) family names. We can generally argue that the way the Dutch regime took to conquer Taiwan’s aborigines was force and conversely, Ming dynasty and Ching dynasty took a relatively milder method, which is what they called “fu fan”, meaning “placate barbarians”. Ching dynasty put a lot of effort on Hanizing\(^2\) shou-fans\(^3\) (literally, cooked barbarians) but passively dealt with sheng-fans (literally, raw barbarians). For example, Ching dynasty planed a fan-chieh (literally, barbarian boundary line) and prohibited sheng-fans from leaving their area and vice versa. (Cheng Shui-Yuan, 2000) In 1894, China and Japan went a war. China ended up with a lost and ceded Taiwan and the Pescadores to Japan “in perpetuity” under the 1895 Treaty of Shimonoseki. (John, F. Copper, 1990; Simon Long, 1991; http://www.fg.tp.edu.tw/~nancy/Taiwan/B5.htm)

1.2.5 Japanese Colonial Regime

Japanese colonial period was from 1895 to 1945, about a half century. Ironically, Japanese colonial policy may be described as beneficial and progressive on the one hand, however, discriminatory and predatory on the other. First aims were to establish order and domestic serenity and to promote economic development. Both were considered as enhancing the power and image of Japan. In the economic behalf, Japan’s first priority

\(^2\) The meaning of Hanize (han hua) is to “civilize” and to assimilate non-Chinese (mostly indicate ethnic groups) either by coercion or ideology.

\(^3\) Ching dynasty divided Taiwan’s aborigines into two different groups in terms of the living areas: shou-fans (cooked barbarians) and sheng-fans (raw barbarians).
was to increase Taiwan’s agricultural productivity in order to export to Japan. Moreover, Japan regime built Taiwan’s economic infrastructures, such as roads, railroads, and communication systems, to increase Taiwan’s commerce. Public hygiene also improved radically. Not only economic, but also social environment had big changes in this period. (Cheng Shui-Yuan, 2000) Especially through educations and assimilation, loyalty to Japanese government was almost achieved.

The exploitation of resources of Taiwan was the core of the policy-making for Japanese colonial regime. In order to exploit the mountain resources, such as camphorwood, Japanese regime announced a policy that all the mountainous land are state-owned and set up the picket fences to prohibit tribal people to approach their original inhabitancy. This generated an amount of conflicts between tribes and Japanese polices. Japanese Government-General in Taiwan (Taiwan Sotokufu) at the beginning (1895 to 1906) announced that “the future business will be developed in fan land (tribal land), hence, we should first make fan people (tribal people) obey our government...Fan people are suspicious but faithful, therefore, comforting them is not difficult if we use the correct methods.” (Wang Hsiao-Po, 2002: 228)

However, after Japanese regime successfully governed the plain people, they started to carry five-year managing tribal people plan with violence and coercions. Without question thousands of people, including Japanese and tribal people were dead or injured within these five years. (Huang Chao-Tang, 1989; Wang Hsiao-Po, 2002) Afterwards, public education was the main program in order to assimilate tribal people and further to

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4 This picket fence was called Ai-Yu line and was used to block the tribal people from the near mountainous areas. It was made by iron wires or woods. During the five-year “managing tribal people plan”, they even use electric picket fences to control tribal people. The soldiers who were in charge of this picket fence were called Ai-Yu.
generate their identity toward Japanese regime.

Because of these conflicts in mountain resources, Taiwan’s tribal people for Japanese regime were much difficult to deal with than Chinese population, even though Japanese were generally disarmed them and forced them to give up hunting and devote to agriculture. Their strong resistances made the Japanese still fail to effectively police Taiwan’s mountainous areas in the 1940s. (Cheng Shui-Yuan, 2000) At the beginning of World War II, Taiwan was considered as a base for the Japanese invasion of the Philippines and other offshore countries to the south and Taiwan’s newly created industries played an important role in supplying the Japanese war machines. With Japan’s defeat in World War II, an agreement, which was researched by the Untied States and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek at Cairo Conference in 1941, confirmed in the Potsdam Declaration in July 1945 and asked Japan to return Taiwan and other territories. Japanese colonial regime in Taiwan ended in 1945. (John, F. Copper, 1990)

1.2.6 Chiang Kai-Shek Regime (Nationalist Koumintang Regime)

Although the surrender agreement had not specified who would have jurisdiction of Taiwan, Chiang Kai-Shek sent military forces and officials of Republic of China to Taiwan to replace the Japanese colonial administration. In this period, misunderstandings and conflicts between the Taiwanese and the mainlanders happened quite often because the mainland Chinese perceived the Taiwanese as traitors lacking Chinese culture and the Taiwanese perceived the mainlanders as dirty, dishonest, and technologically backward. These bad feelings between the two groups came to a head on February 28th, 1947 and widespread rebellion erupted. The role of Taiwan’s aborigines in this period had being
ignored in the researches of Taiwan’s history. However, according to the later researches of the 228 event, the secondary data show that there were some tribal people joined the rebellion of the 229 event as well.

The 228 event made damages and hatred of the government and the mainland Chinese for the Taiwanese people (including all different ethnic groups). Martial Law was announced at this time. In late 1949, the Communists on the mainland defeated Chiang Kai-Shek forces, and he and a large portion of his army and government fled to Taiwan, in where they hope to regroup and counterattack. Taiwanese had no choice but accepted Nationalist rule. During this period, the Nationalist Kouvintang took over Taiwan and only local-level democracy was allowed. However, due to a series of protests and struggles and effects from the international sphere, Democratic Progressive Party (DDP), which was formed to compete with KMT, was legitimated and joined the first two-party election in 1986. The next year, Martial Law also ended. (John, F. Copper, 1990; http://www.fg.tp.edu.tw/~nancy/TaiwanIB7.htm)

Regarding the issues of Taiwan’s aboriginal people, Nationalist KMT regime in the large part continued the policies of Japanese regime, such as state-owned land programs and the principles of assimilation. The only differences were that their name was changed from Takasago people to Mountain compatriots; the former administrative areas were re-demarcated, namely tribes and villages were allocated again arbitrarily; they needed to adopt Chinese names instead of Japanese names; and they were educated in Mandarin, not Japanese. Nationalist KMT regime made efforts on suppressing the public rebellions and meanwhile on the economic development during the 1960s to 1980s. Nevertheless,

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5 Japanese regime also called Taiwan Takasago, therefore, they sometimes called Taiwan’s aborigines Takasago people as well.
the long-term suppressions and assimilations by colonial regimes gradually destroyed the tribal life, culture and values. Without supports of tribal culture and value, economic development further made the traditional tribal lifestyle fragile than ever.

As above presented, Taiwan had experienced many colonial regimes and each regime left certain effects in Taiwan's society even until now. These measures of governances and imposed policies gradually changed Taiwan's societal circumstances and the tribal fates and dignities of Taiwan's aborigines. Taiwan's aborigines became a silent group during the governance of KMT regime until the beginning of the 1980s. In general, the democratization of Taiwan started from the late 1970s and the consciousness of being Taiwanese and dissensions with the ruling government started to skyrocket. This period for Taiwan was a crucial moment that Taiwan’s society eventually began changing and being active to voice for themselves and to strive for their rights. The next section, I briefly present the background of this research.

1.3 Taiwan’s Aboriginal Movement

It is believed that the aboriginal movement in Taiwan was carried out in 1983 when *Gaoshan Qing* (literally, Mountain Blue), an underground magazine, was issued by a group of aboriginal students of National Taiwan University in May. They mainly targeted at aboriginal students and aimed at prompting aboriginal ethnic consciousness and at appealing for a monolithic solidarity. And next year, the Committee of Minority was established in April and their task was to unify people who were concerned about

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6 The term “aboriginal” I use in this research is adopted from other studies, however, some researchers and the government institutes, such as Council of Indigenous Peoples, also use the term “indigenous".
minority rights, including the aborigines and plains people/Han people (usually refers to Chinese) and to provide help services for the minority groups. (Hsieh Shih-Chung, 1987)

After eight months, in December 1984 the Committee of Minority was reshuffled into the Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines (the ATA or literally the Association for Yuanzhumin’s Right Promotion). Their main job, similar with what the Committee of Minority did before, focused on the social problems, such as child workers and child prostitutes. Despite the different aims between student magazines and the ATA, all their objects were the whole aboriginal population in Taiwan. (Hsieh Shih-Chung, 1987; Lin Shu-Ya, 2000) Generally speaking, Taiwan’s aboriginal movement started with a collective consciousness of pan-aboriginalism.

Because the main heads of the ATA were the leaders of the Committee of Minority and Gaoshan Quing magazine, therefore the ATA, the Committee of Minority, and Mountain Blue magazine interacted with each other closely and meanwhile, these interactions firstly built the connections with aboriginal intellectuals7. In the first place, the ATA decided to translate the term “aborigines” into Yuanzhumin as their name to replace other stigmatized names, such as Fan (barbarians), Gaoshanzu (mountain tribe), Shanboa (mountain compatriots). Their main task was focusing on aid seeking for individual aborigines.

In 1987, the ATA revised its name into “Alliance of Taiwan Aboriginal Nation”§ and in 1988; this Alliance stated “Taiwan Declaration on the Rights of Aboriginal Nation” and claimed “Taiwan aboriginal nation is not descendants of the Yan and Huang

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7 National Taiwan University is considered as the top university in Taiwan and a lot of intellectuals and politicians graduated from NTU. Usually they are considered as ‘intellectuals’ and ‘political elites’.

§ I translate “tsu” into “nation” and abbreviate “Alliance of Taiwan Aboriginal Nation” into “the ATA” since it was essentially no big difference with the former organization.
Emperors (or China nation). The whole aborigines are Austronesian and different from Taiwanese (or Minmanren), Hakka people, and Mainlanders, who consider themselves as descendants of the Yan and Huang Emperors and Han people.” (Icyang Parod, 1994: 283)

Moreover, this declaration also claimed the Land Rights (Article 8-10); a requirement of aboriginal representatives in each state ministry (Article 4); the notion of self-government in the traditional places of settlement of Taiwan aborigines (Article 2, 3); the rights to basic life guarantees, self-government, and cultural identity (Article 2); the rights to self-defined and self-named (Article 11, 17); the rights of cultural autonomy and maintenance (Article 12-15). (Chou Chiung-Chi, 2003; Kao Teh-Yi, 2005) In 1989, the ATA further convened the first preparatory meeting for drafting “the Aboriginal Basic Law”, which is a special law based on the principles of “self-government, autonomy, and self-determination.” (Kao Teh-Yi, 2005)

Meanwhile, in 1988 and 1989, “the Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines Return My Land Movement” launched twice “Give Back Our Land Movements” against Taiwanese government’s seizing of aboriginal reservations. Although the government responded to their demands by revising the regulations, e.g., “Regulation for Development and Management of Mountain Peoples’ Reservations” in 1990, “Three-year Project of Enlarging Mountain Peoples’ Reservations” during 1991-1993 and “Additional Project of Enlarging Mountain Peoples’ Reservations” in 1994-1995, however, these revisions did not give up the notion of “state-controlled” in essence. (Lin Shu-Ya, 1998)

In 1991, Taiwan’s first round of constitutional reforms was launched. The ATA further proposed their demands, such as the rectification of their names and the guaranteed seats in the legislative assembly. At the same year, aboriginal activists from each tribe gathered
in headquarter of The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan and announced the establishment of “the Preparatory Committee of Taiwan’s Aboriginal Self-Government District” and released “the Declaration of Taiwan’s Aboriginal Self-Government Congress”. Most of these activists believed that the difficulty of solving aboriginal problems was derived from lacking of autonomy; therefore an amount of aboriginal publications at that time were urging the notion of self-government.

In 1992, the second round of constitutional reforms started and aboriginal groups launched a march presenting their demands of adding “the aboriginal clauses” into the constitution. (Lin Shu-Ya, 1998; Chou Chiung-Chi, 2003) Next year, “the UN General Assembly proclaimed 1993 the International Year of the World's Indigenous People, and the same year, the Assembly proclaimed the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People (1995-2004).” However, Taiwanese government still forcibly relocated aboriginal reservations and established the national parks and the cement industrial district. Therefore, the ATA decided to launch the third ‘Give Back Our Land Movement’ and proclaimed “the declaration of Anti-Invasion, Fight for Survival, Give Back Our Land”. (Lin Shu-Ya, 1998; Chou Chiung-Chi, 2003; Aborigines magazine: Vol. 17, http://web.my8d.net/m5a07/volem017/land2.htm)

In 1993, Taiban Sasala, who is a Rukai person and the organizer of Aboriginal Post, first proposed the notion of “tribalism (Pu-lo-chu-yi)”. He argues that it was a wrong decision and makes aboriginal movement fragile for the ATA to take the city as their base. He criticizes that the past decade of Taiwan’s aboriginal movement lacked of the

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9 UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. It states, “The goal of the Decade is to strengthen international cooperation for solving problems faced by indigenous people in such areas as human rights, the environment, development, education and health.”
linkages with local aborigines and lost supports from grassroots. Moreover, he indicates that these movements only focused on socio-political problems and neglected their foundation: traditional social structures. (Taiban Sasala, 1993)

With the appeal of “tribal autonomy, go back to hometown”, many educated aboriginal youths and activists were going back to their own home tribes and proceeding with their cultural revivals actively after 1993. When tribalism brought educated youths back to their tribes, pan-aboriginalism was still being carried out, especially on the issues of land right and self-autonomy. (Chou Chiung-Chi, 2003) As a matter of fact, adherents of tribalism did not reject the identity of pan-aboriginalism; instead they believe that tribes were the foundation of pan-aboriginal nation. Only when the tribal cultures and values are living, tribes can be “real” and further strengthen their own subjectivity. At this stage, tribalism was more like “the Renaissance” rather than social movement.

“Identity is not a thing, but a process,” states Simon Frith. (1996) Therefore, the process of changes, shifts and transformation of Taiwan’s aboriginal identity is inquired in this research; that is, it is more important to focus on impetuses of these changes than the identity itself. Before discussing the process of the transformation of aboriginal identities, we need to first look at Taiwan’s aboriginal movement (from 1983 to 1996) and Taiwan’s colonial history (Japanese regime and KMT nationalist regime). Hence, in Chapter 4, I discuss the changes of orientations of aboriginal movements focusing on the mass media especially in order to have a general picture of Taiwan’s recent social events and the changes of societal environment. Following is Chapter 5 focusing on historical events and changes of Taiwan’s societal circumstances, furthermore how these changes impacted on Taiwan’s aboriginal tribes and their identities.
Chapter Two  
Literature Review

This research inquires the dynamics of Taiwan’s aboriginal movement, which began in the earlier 1980s and the forces behind the transformation of Taiwan’s aboriginal identity. There are so far thirteen different aboriginal tribes have officially recognized by the Taiwanese government. These tribes locate in different geographical dispersions and possess their own different culture and languages. Taiwan’s aboriginal movement can be considered as a panethnic movement because it started with a collaboration of several individual tribes as a unity. Meanwhile, a collective identity, which I call “Taiwan’s pan-aboriginalism” here, was generated. After a decade of Taiwan’s aboriginal movement, the thought of “tribalism” was proposed by some aboriginal activists and shifted the orientations of this decadal movement. Thus, in this chapter, I make explorations of related theories and try to indicate a similar model to explain the case in Taiwan.

Simon Frith (1996) states “identity is not a thing, but a process.” An amount of researches have tried to inquire the identity per se and many of them have argued that identity in fact is a process; thus there is no way to concretely picture a “real identity.” My research is based on this concept looking at this process within Taiwan’s aborigines. Before continuing, some concepts need to be cleared and explained. At the beginning of this chapter, the concept of ethnicity and ethnic changes are discussed. Moreover, regarding the fluidity of ethnic identity, I secondly examine the concept of panethnicity and panethnic movement, as a kind of collective action. The theme of ethnicity and ethnic identity drew a lot of attentions in the late 1960s and 1970s due to the occurrences of the painful process of decolonization in Third World. It called attention to the complexities
of race and ethnicity and how these complexities recoiled back upon the center of industrial capitalism. (David Lopez and Yen Espiritu, 1990; Rex 1983; Horowitz, 1985)

2. 1 Ethnicity: Situational Ethnicity and Layering Ethnicity

What is ethnicity per se and what determines ethnicity has been discussed since the late 1960s when ethnic movements massively took place in Third World. Broadly speaking, ethnicity is “a general term for a wide variety of social phenomena which are exhibited by people who shares (or believe they share) a common cultural-historical background (Greeley, 1972) and who contrast themselves with other people of a different background within the same socio-political order.” (Arnold and Robert, 1983: 174) However, as Arnold and Robert also points out, from this point of view no effect can be attributed to ethnicity per se but only to manifestations of the shared heritage.

An amount of researches had basically declared that ethnicity is fluid, not simply a fixed socio-cultural entity, which is an inherence of a group tied to its past heritage and cultural tradition. (Cohen, 1974; Bennett, 1975; Arnold and Robert, 1983; Herzog, 1984) Circumstantialists regard “ethnicity as a dependent variable, created and controlled by a broad combination of external interests and strategies, which invest it with a potential for action and mobilization.” (Judith Nagata, 1981: 89) Thus, we now can shortly conclude that ethnic boundary is changeable, variable, and even negotiable. As the contention Judith illustrates, “the distinctiveness of ethnicity and that which separates it from other types of social identity and organization lies in the unique way in which elements of primordiality and other (nonprimordial) culture attributes and awareness of strategic interests (the fur sich quality) are combined.” (Ibid., p. 92)
2.1.1 Situational Ethnicity

The notion of situational ethnicity is proposed to examine the variability of ethnicity with microstructural investigations and interpretations. Jonathan Okamura (1981) explains that situational ethnicity “focuses on an analysis of a lower level of social organization and the situational approach manifests the essential variability in its significance for social relations in different social contexts and at different levels of social organization.” (p. 452) Furthermore, “an individual’s membership in a particular group in a particular situation is ‘determined’ by the values, interests, and motives that influence his behavior in that situation.” (p. 453) From this standpoint, ethnic boundary is variable and determined by the situations; however, “situation” is such a broad notion and can refer to different levels of social structures, both on the macro-level and the micro-level. For example, some researches suggest that the process of social interaction that “lead people to acknowledge the ‘US’ versus ‘Them’ divide as significant for their life in the first place” (Klaus Eder et al., 2002: 4) is one of determinants, and some indicate that change of societal circumstance is one of the cruces.

“Structures...shape social life only through the practices which reproduce them. The stability of structures depends on their reproduction through practices.” (Ibid.) Furthermore, social structures are interwoven and a slight move (e.g., micro-level) in one part may affect the situation as a whole (e.g., macro-level) and vice versa. Nevertheless, it is not enough to just list structural variables or examine the correlations between them; more important is to understand how actors use structures for different purposes to make new sense of them, or even invent new practices, which fit with structures in the making. (Ibid.) This is what constructionists argue: “ethnic groups become agents in their own
construction, shaping and reshaping their identities and the boundaries that enclose them out of the raw materials of history, culture, and pre-existing ethnic constructions.” (Stephen Cornell, 1996: 266)

To combine with these two perspectives, we should assume that each social actor possesses their own agency: not only do social situations affect their actions, their free will can also make changes on social situations. The intention of this research is to examine these dynamics “both on macro-structures (e.g., historical) and on micro-structures (e.g., spatial specifications which constrain and open opportunities for actors) behind the transformation of ethnic boundaries.” (Klaus Eder et al., 2002: 5) Moreover, how groups construct and reconstruct the boundaries to fit with the changing structures.

2.1.2 Layering Ethnicity

As previously discussed, ethnic boundary is constantly undergoing redefinition and reconstruction with the situation it encounters. (Nagel, 1994) Espiritu (1992) indicates that those previous approaches, e.g., primordialists and instrumentalists, ignore the range of ethnicity, such as small kin groups and large categories of people bound together by symbolic attachments. Therefore, later studies start to be attentive on internal ethnicity and ethnic difference within a national origin group. (Pp. 7-8) Some assume that ethnicity is not really shifting or replaced by the new identity (but it is still fluid), however it is layered meaning that ethnicity per se possesses different level of identities. Take Native Americans as an example, many studies have indicated that ethnic organization of American Indians occurs along four boundaries: subtribal, tribal, regional and supratribal. (Nagel, 1982; Cornell, 1988; Espiritu and Lopez, 1990; Espiritu, 1992; Nagel, 1994)
Furthermore, panethnicity is at the end of the spectrum of ethnicity, “in which groups of different national origins merge into new larger-scale groupings.” (Espiritu, 1992; Nagel, 1982; Padilla, 1985; Cornell, 1988)

In a word, “the ebb and flow of panethnic tendencies indicates that ethnic organization is multitiered (multilayered), situational, and partly ascribed.” Espiritu shortly concludes. The theory of layering ethnicity basically focuses on these expansions and contractions of ethnic boundaries. (Dina G. Okamoto, 2003) Moreover, panethnic movement, as a form of collective action, is common after the 1960s and considered as an efficient way for minority groups to demand for their rights. Regarding Taiwan’s aboriginal movement, panethnicity can be seen as a strategy of coalition and a representation of collective actions; nevertheless, as mentioned earlier, it is variable within the different situations. Therefore, after a decadal aboriginal movement, the thought of tribalism was proposed and bringing out another direction of Taiwan’s aboriginal movement. The concept of “layering ethnicity” gives a further illustration of the fluidity of ethnicity; i.e., ethnicity is not just fluid, but also layered; these layers exist at the same time, however, depending on different situations, the certain layer of ethnic identity may be shown or emphasized particularly. Thus, in my research, what I intend to explore is these dynamics behind the fluidity between Taiwan’s panethnicity and tribalism.

2.2 Panethnicity: Collective Identity and Collective Actions

Panethnicity is not just one form of ethnic identity and yet is essential in the transformational process of ethnic change. David Lopez and Yen Espiritu (1990) state that “panethnicity—the development of bridging organizations and the generalization of
solidarity among subgroups of ethnic collectivities that are often seen as homogeneous by outsiders—is an essential part of ethnic changes.” (p. 198) In the 1960s, panethnic activism, for instance civil rights, anti-war, women and minority issues, was evoked by a series of social struggles that swept across America. These struggles made minority groups start to recognize that forming coalition was the only way to advance their interests. Furthermore, the success of international events, such as anti-colonization movement in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, meanwhile stirred racial and cultural pride and inspired this wave of ethnic movements globally. (David Lopez and Yen Espiritu, 1990)

“The rise of the civil rights movement and antiracism brought to the attentions of North American Indians, Aborigines in Australia, and Maori in New Zealand the possibility of fighting for fundamental rights and freedoms.” (Andrew Gray, 1995) This wave of antiracism and decolonization expanded quickly around the world and inspired many ethnic minority groups to rethink their group dignity. As Hsieh Shih-Chung (1987) mentions, this wave of pan-movements not only happened in global sphere but also prompted small scale of pan-movements at national level. Pan-Indianism and Taiwan’s aboriginalism are two of such cases. He names Taiwan’s aboriginal movement as “Pan-Taiwan aboriginalism” arguing that Taiwan’s aboriginal movement is “a socio-political movement which, on the one hand, possesses the nature of pan-movement, on the other hand, is mini-nationalism.” (p. 137)

Without question Panethnic movement is a form of collective actions. “Broadly speaking, collective action refers to joint action in pursuit of a common objective.” (McAdam and Snow, 1997; Dina Okamoto G., 2003: 813) Okamoto further defines pan-
national mobilization “as the public action of people from two or more national origin groups who express grievances or claims on behalf of the collective, pan-national group.” (p. 813) However, inquiring into the social and political structure is not enough to understand the dynamics in the process of forming panethnicity. Moreover, how does panethnicity stir up the collective movement and vice versa?

Taylor and Whitter’s article in 1992 points out, “new social movement theorists, in particular Pizzorno (1978), Boggs (1986), Melucci (1985, 1989, Offe (1985), and Touraine (1985), take a politics of personal transformation as one of their central theoretical problematicss, which is why these approaches are sometimes referred to as ‘identity-oriented paradigms.’” (p. 109) That is to say, collective grievances and precondition of social structure are not sufficient anymore to explain the formation of collective identity and dynamics of collective action. Alberto Melucci in his article in 1995 further discusses the process of collective identity in mobilizing collective actions presenting “three basic points that are fundamental to a processual approach to collective identity: (1) collective identity implies a constructivist view of collective action; (2) it has some epistemological consequences on the way one considers the relation between observer and observed in social research; and (3) it affects the research practices themselves.” (p. 43) Moreover, “collective identity is a learning process that leads to the formation and maintenance of a unified empirical actor that we can call a social movement.” (Ibid, p. 49)

Nevertheless, structural circumstance may not be crucial, but certainly play an important role in the formation process of collective identity. Thus, the following focuses on dynamics of social structure. Nagel notes the ethnicity as the product of social
ascriptions and a labeling process engaged in by oneself and others. Moreover, it is "the result of a dialectical process involving internal and external opinions and processes, as well as the individual's self-identification and outsiders' ethnic designations—i.e., what you think your ethnicity is, versus what they think your ethnicity is." (Nagel, 1994: 154) In this dialectic process, "to interact meaningfully with those in larger society, individuals have to identify themselves in terms of intelligible to outsiders. Thus, at times, they have to set aside their national or tribal identities and accept the ascribed panethnic label," states Espiritu. (1992: 10) Lopez and Espiritu (1990) argue that when subgroups 'look alike' from the perspective of outsider, they usually experience a powerful force for panethnic solidarity. (1990: 203) In short, ethnic boundaries and ethnic identities are a dialectic process and constructed by both the individual and group as well as by outside agents and organizations. (Nagel, 1994: 154-155)

2.2.1 Dynamics of Social Structure: Political, Economic and Social Circumstances

Political Circumstances "According to Joane Nagel (1986: 98-106), ethnic resurgences are strongest when political systems structure political access along ethnic lines and adopt policies that emphasize ethnic differences." (Espiritu, 1992: 10) Furthermore, when the state uses the ethnic label in allocation of economic political resources, ethnic groups usually find it convenient and necessary to act collectively. (Ibid.) In Lopez and Espiritu's research of panethnicity in USA, they argue that the case of Native Americans, compare to Asian Americans, Indo Americans and Latinos, is unique because their ethnic organization is largely determined by federal Indian policies. (1990: 216)

Unwittingly, some government policies fostered inter-tribal contact and
communication. Moreover, education policies require all Native Americans to learn English that further provides these linguistically diverse tribes with a common language and increases the inter-tribal communication. In addition, education policies produced many high-educated aboriginal elites whom later became the leaders and core members of panethnic organizations and movements. (Lopez and Espiritu, 1990; Espiritu, 1992) These educational occasions provided opportunities for Native Americans to share their tribal experiences and further formed solidarity as a unit. While these persons with diverse backgrounds come together and share their experiences, they begin developing common views of themselves and of one another and common interpretations of their experiences and those of the larger society. (Cornell, 1988: 19; Espiritu, 1992: 12) These construct a shared cultural solidarity for these people who are from different groups.

Cornell (1996) indicates that these middle-class professionals and the intelligentsia are usually the central actors who maintain, reinforce and enlarge the panethnic cultural solidarity. Moreover, in modern political system, for example government-funded social service, rewards professionalism; i.e., the influence of traditional elites and grass roots activists is reduced and the power of articulate, credentialed, and politically sophisticated persons is increasing. (Espiritu, 1992: 110) Hence, panethnic movement and organizations are gradually changed toward more systematic, professional, and political-oriented coalitions. As Espiritu argues, the state is not an entirely independent force: “depending on its political strength and resources, a panethnic group can pressure political institutions to advance the material interests of its members.” (1992: 13) Thus, ethnic change can be considered as a dialectic process: political environment forested the formation of panethnicity, and conversely the panethnic groups can also affect political
institutions and policies by collective actions and electoral behaviors.

Economic Circumstances The allocation of political and economic resources can be seen as two of the most important triggers of panethnic movements and “communities of interest are typically the consequence of a set of economic and political circumstances that place persons in common positions in the social order.” (Cornell, 1996: 274) Espiritu states, “Politics revolves around economic issues more than anything else” (1992: II), for example, employment, housing, social welfare program and so on. Besides, generally speaking, similar class position strengthens the construction of panethnic consciousness. (Lopez and Espiritu, 1990: 204) However, Espiritu further points out that ironically the leaders and the core members of these organizations are most often to be predominantly middle-class professionals and “the class bias undercuts the legitimacy of the organizations and the use of panethnicity as their organizing principle.” (1992: 11) This could be one possibility of the changes of movement orientations.

Lopez and Espiritu (1990) in their study of panethnicity in the USA point out that the socio-economic differences among Latino subgroups limit their potential for panethnic organization. However, in contrast, Indo Americans, Asian Americans, and Americans Indians are each much more homogeneous socio-economically. Thus, compare to Latino, these three panethnic groups have relatively better-organized cooperation. Nevertheless, common interests among subgroups unify them sometimes; however it could be the constraint of the cooperation and generates conflicts over the distribution of resources, such as land and water rights for American Indians. (Pp. 204-205)

Social Circumstances it is a broad concept and can refer to different level of social phenomenon. A slight move (e.g., micro-level) in one part may affect the situation as a
whole (e.g., macro-level) and vice versa. Social interaction is one of micro-level of social circumstance. Cornell indicates that “at the heart of ethnic identity, as of all collective identities, is contrast: the perception that we, somehow, are different from them. (1996: 269) Through social interactions, people perceive the differences between themselves and others and this is the first step of construction of ethnicity. Moreover, when social interactions and the perceptions change, ethnicities change. The changes of social circumstances can also refer to the macro-level changes, such as the changes of whole societal environment, both national ground and international ground. Take Taiwan for example: in the 1960s and 1970s, due to the diplomatic breakup with the United States and amazing economic miracle, Taiwan’s society was facing a huge change. Social structure started to change and a new urban middle class appeared; moreover, the public began to care about political and economic affairs and gradually formed civil society. This civil society brought impacts on Taiwan’s political system and prompted the process of democratization.

Identity is fluid, changeable and is composed by different level of layers; it is a process, not something visible or concrete, and yet, shown within social actions and interactions. In this study, I do not intend to find out what Taiwan’s aboriginal identity per se is; instead I inquire the transformation process from primordial tribal identity to pan-aboriginalism, and further to tribalism. Basically, I would like to answer three questions: what kinds of dynamics were behind the transformation, how was pan-aboriginalism socially constructed, and what strategies that pan-aboriginal movement used to mobilize subgroups?
Chapter Three
Research Questions and Methodology

Chapter 2 shortly concludes that most of scholars have generally agreed that ethnic identity is fluid and changeable; moreover, the process and politics surrounding ethnic identity formation and assertion are highly contextual and situational. (Miri Song, 2003)

Namely, to understand the transformation of identity, the political and social circumstance will be the crucial crux to inquire into. Therefore, in order to look at the formation of pan-aboriginalism and the transformation of Taiwan’s aboriginal identity, Taiwan’s history, in terms of political, economic and social changes, should be focused and discussed.

In this research, I intend to inquire my research questions from two dimensions: the dynamics of formation of Taiwan’s pan-aboriginal movement starting from the early 1980s and chronological transformation of Taiwan’s aboriginal identity since the Japanese colonial regime. Based on the principal orientations, Taiwan’s pan-aboriginal movement can be roughly divided into three stages: 1) from 1983 to 1987: the main task for the Alliance of Taiwan’s Aborigines was to help individual cases and focus on aid-seeking; 2) from 1987 to 1993: the Alliance of Taiwan’s Aborigines decided to change their strategies and went on streets for protests; 3) after 1993: the thought of tribalism was proposed and it leaded Taiwan’s aboriginal movement to another direction. In this part, the question I inquire is: (1) How did Taiwan’s aboriginal movement begin and what were the dynamics of its occurrence and formation of pan-aboriginalism? Why and how did Taiwan’s aboriginal movement shift its directions in 1987 and in 1993?

Regarding Taiwan’s aboriginal identity, Hsieh Shih-Chung in his book *Stigmatized*...
Identity: Ethnic Change of Taiwan Aborigines has done a terrific research explaining the occurrence of pan-aboriginalism and the initial stage of aboriginal movement from 1983 to 1987. Additionally, there are many finished studies discussing the starting point of Taiwan’s pan-aboriginalism and Taiwan’s aboriginal movement. In my research, I am interested in the changes of Taiwan’s aboriginal identity and how it occurred and transformed especially the occurrence of pan-aboriginalism, and the meanings of the appearance of tribalism. Thus, in this paper, not only do I focus on Taiwan’s aboriginal movement, the correlation between Taiwan’s aboriginal identity and aboriginal movement is also discussed. Hence, the questions I intend to inquire in this part are: (2) How was pan-aboriginalism transformed in historical contexts? What kinds of role did Taiwan’s pan-aboriginalism play in Taiwan’s aboriginal movement? Moreover, what was the meaning of tribalism and its appearance in Taiwan’s aboriginal movement in the early 1990s?

Discussion of Taiwan’ history is needed and crucial in this paper in order to examine why Taiwan’s aboriginal people, who had been silent for many decades, started to voice for themselves in the early 1980s and why pan-aboriginalism and tribalism occurred and was formed. To answer these questions, I mainly adopt the unobtrusive measures, including the analysis of the existing newspaper archive and existing statistics (part of quantitative content analysis), and historical analysis (combined with secondary materials and qualitative content analysis).

Thus, in Chapter 4, I first present this transformation from Taiwan’s pan-aboriginalism to tribalism by analyzing the online news archive from 1980 to 1996. United Daily News (UDN) is considered as the biggest newspaper in Taiwan and possesses a complete
electronic news archive. I began counting news articles online on June 2006 and my count basically focused on the news articles from 1980 to 1996. It is generally believed that Taiwan’s aboriginal movement started in 1983, thus my count started from 1980 in order to see what was going on before 1983. Moreover, my count ended in 1996 when the Executive Yuan established the Council of Indigenous People. This establishment is considered an important legislative footstep of Taiwan’s aboriginal movement.

I started counting the number of articles which are related to Taiwan’s aboriginal issues using *Yuanzhumin* (literally, aboriginal) as a keyword and further separated these selected articles into four categories in terms of the issues the news report: politics and protests; culture, education, and commonweal; environmental issues; and activities and tourism. In addition, I also used *Sha-bao* (literally, mountain compatriots) as a key word to select the articles in the UDN online archive and further compared the article numbers with previous numbers (*Yuanzhumin* as a key word). By doing this, I inquire when and how *Yuanzhumin* this name was widely accepted by the public and the mass media in Taiwan.

Furthermore, in order to inquire the correlation between tribalism and Taiwan’s aboriginal movement, I selected the articles which are related to “tribalism” from 1980 to 1996, such as the articles written by the aboriginal people and the articles reporting the efforts that the aboriginal people made to their own tribes. Not only does it evidence the trend through pan-aboriginalism to tribalism, the numbers of articles and the contents also show how tribalism was presented in the mass media. Moreover, the concept of the tribalism not merely affected the orientation of aboriginal movement, but displayed in Taiwan’s aboriginal literature. Therefore, I look at how tribalism displayed on the ground
of Taiwan’s aboriginal literature as well.

In addition to the information from the UDN online archive, statistic data are also useful and necessary. The data I accessed are related to Taiwan’s civil society and social protests from the beginning of the 1980s to the early 1990s in order to investigate the correlation between Taiwan’s civil society and Taiwan’s aboriginal movement. I mainly gathered these data from Ministry of Interior, Executive Yuan and some finished researches and assumed that the occurrence of Taiwan’s aboriginal movement was correlated with the uprising of Taiwan’s civil society and the revival of Taiwanese awareness; and moreover, the orientations of Taiwan’s aboriginal movement and their demands were consistently changing with the transformation of Taiwan’s political and societal environment.

Thus, in Chapter 5, I adopted the methods of historical analysis and secondary data analysis in order to have a further and detailed explanation of the formation of Taiwan’s pan-aboriginalism and the appearance of Taiwan’s aboriginal movement, furthermore the changes of movement directions and aboriginal identities. Ethnic identity is contextual and situational, therefore historical analysis and qualitative content analysis is suitable measures, which can help to illustrate and explain the transformation of Taiwan’s aboriginal identity chronologically. Through reviewing the historical events, we can reasonably illustrate how Taiwan’s aboriginal movement occurred and how aboriginal identity transformed along with Taiwan’s history. Additionally, through analyzing the secondary material, we can observe the transformation and Taiwan’s aboriginal identity.

In short, chapter 4 looks at the trend from pan-aboriginalism to tribalism in mainstream mass media, furthermore identifies and examines the crucial moments and occasions in
Taiwan’s history and in Taiwan’s aboriginal movement during 1980 to 1996. Chapter 5 starts with the presentation of Taiwan’s history from the period of European colonizers, moreover, puts emphases on the following colonial Japanese regime and Nationalist Kuomingtang regime, while Taiwan’s aborigines started facing changes. I present it chronologically and divide chapter 5 into three periods: 1) from primordial tribalism to pan-aboriginalism; 2) the formation of pan-aboriginalism; 3) from the streets to the tribes: tribalism. Chapter 6 discusses my research questions and mainly focuses on three aspects: the dynamics of the formation of Taiwan’s pan-aboriginalism, the triggers of the occurrence of Taiwan’s aboriginal movement, and the causes of the shift to tribalism.

This research adopts historical analysis and secondary data analysis looking at the finished researches, the newspaper archive, aboriginal publications, such as magazines and issues.

The material I gathered

1) The finished researches and the publications related to Taiwan aboriginal movement and ethnic identity.

2) United Daily News (聯合報), which is considered as the biggest news press in Taiwan and has a complete online news archive. I gather the news from the beginning of 1980 until the end of 1996. I use UDN’s electronic news archives to collect news articles related to Taiwan’s aboriginal issues.

3) Aboriginal publications: I find Aboriginal Post (原報), Aboriginal Issues (原住民族月刊) and Taiwan Indigenous Voice Bimonthly (山海文化雙月刊) in the National Central Library and moreover, there are some books written by aboriginal scholars.
However, many of early aboriginal publications such as *Mountain Blue* (高山青), the *ATA publications* (原權會會刊), and *Hunter Culture Magazines* (獵人文化) are already suspended and did not be found in several libraries.

**Research Questions**

1) How did Taiwan’s aboriginal movement begin and what were the dynamics of its occurrence and formation of pan-aboriginalism? Why and how did Taiwan’s aboriginal movement shift its directions in 1987 and in 1993?

2) How was pan-aboriginalism transform in historical contexts? What kinds of role did Taiwan’s pan-aboriginalism play in Taiwan’s aboriginal movement? Moreover, what was the meaning of tribalism and its appearance in Taiwan’s aboriginal movement in the early 1990s?
Chapter Four
Taiwan’s Aboriginal Movement since the Early 1980s

“Although the ruler purposely had tried to weaken the *ethnic consciousness* of the aborigines, Taiwan’s aborigines now re-identify their tribes, unify every tribe that had been governed, and form the *power of the ethnicity* collectively with their *self-consciousness*,” said Icyang Parod. “With the name of *Yuanzhumin* (the aborigines), we possess confidences and hold the *truth* to fight with the ruling group”. (Icyang Parod, 1994, *A Preliminary Study of Taiwan Aboriginal Movement*, Page 278)

“We believe that all aboriginal organizations and activists should give up unstable city life completely and return to our own tribes. We should keep distances from the neon light, throw ourselves into mountains and oceans, be ourselves, cultivate our soil, embrace our people, and care about the basic survival problem for our people,” said Taiban Sasala. “This is the only way to enlarge our movement space; furthermore, to fulfill and to reinforce our capability to proceed with the movement.” (Taiban Sasala, 1992, *The Aboriginal Post*, No.9, Page 2)

4.1 From the Streets to the Villages

“From the streets to the villages”, the magazine *Taiwan Panorama* (2006: 7) gives Taiwan’s aboriginal movement an appropriate title which clearly expresses the rough picture of Taiwan’s aboriginal movement. It is generally agreed that the initiation of Taiwan’s aboriginal movement was in 1983 when an underground publication *Gaoshan Quing* (literally, Mountain Blue) began issue by a group of aboriginal student of National Taiwan University. Next year, the Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines (the ATA or literally the Association for *Yuanzhumin*’s Right Promotion) was established and focused on aid seeking such as the social problem of aboriginal child prostitutes, which drew most attention in the early 1980s. (Hsieh Shih-Chung, 1987; Lin Shu-Ya, 2000) Icyang Parod, one of the major leaders of Taiwan’s aboriginal movement, in 1986 took over the leadership of the Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines and shifted the direction of the Taiwan’s
aboriginal movement from aid-seeking job to protests on the street. The Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines called on aboriginal people and took to the streets to protest against social injustice and fight for ethnic autonomy. The magazine *Taiwan Panorama* says, "In 1986, the movement entered what was to be a decade-long golden age." (2006: 10)

Rectifying aboriginal name was the first task for the Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines. When the ATA was just formed in 1984, its members discussed and decided to adopt *Yuanzhumin* (literally, aborigines) to represent the whole aboriginal tribes. Next year, Icyang Parod published an article "*Yuanzhumin*—the reason we choose it as our name." Moreover, the Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines in 1987 decided to alter its name into the Alliance of Taiwan Aboriginal Nation (literally, the Association for *Yuanzhumintsu*'s Right Promotion) stating, "*Yuanzhumin* (aboriginal) is defined as an individual; and *Yuanzhumintsu* (aboriginal nation) is defined as the whole aborigines who are possessed of collective rights." (2005: 5) Furthermore, the Alliance of Taiwan Aboriginal Nation in 1988 pronounced a declaration (Taiwan Declaration on the Aboriginal Nation's Rights) emphasizing that Taiwan's aborigines are different from Han Chinese. Furthermore, the declaration claimed their right of autonomy, right of self-determination, and right of land as well. (Icyang Parod, 1994; Chou Chiung-Chi, 2003; *Review of Taiwan's Aboriginal Nation's Give Back Our Name Movement*, 2005; Kao Teh-Yi, 2005)

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the Alliance of Taiwan Aboriginal Nation was actively being the leader of aboriginal movement to strive for the rectification of aboriginal name, land right, and right of autonomy. "Taiwan's aboriginal movement got a late start relative to similar movement overseas," said Icyang Parod. "But it moved very fast. When our demands didn't conflict with the interests of mainstream society, we
almost always received a very satisfying response.” (2006: 12) However, aboriginal movement was gradually disorientated. While young aborigines had been active in the street protests, meanwhile, the tribes were facing another problem: young people left behind children and the elderly going to town for dreams of earning a fortune. Notwithstanding, the movement did not decrease the aboriginal unemployed rate and release the pressing financial problem. Notable political and legislative footstep was made, e.g., adoption of Name in 1993 and the establishment of Council of Indigenous People in 1996, nevertheless, the problems in tribes were getting worst. (Taipang Sasala, 1993; Chou Chiung-Chi, 2003; Taiwan Panorama, 2006)

Due to the critiques of this disconnection between Taiwan’s aboriginal movement and the tribes, some aboriginal intellectuals proposed the thought of “tribalism (Pu-lo-chu-yi).” Taiban Sasala in 1992 first mentioned this idea in the Aboriginal Post. Some aboriginal activists began to introspect and realized that the foundation of the aboriginal movement is the power of grassroots and that going back to the tribes was the only way to strengthen the power. Afterwards, on the one hand, the previous direction was still proceeding with fighting for aboriginal political and legislative affairs; on the other hand, the later direction was starting focusing on cultural renaissance in the tribes and enhancing the power of the grassroots.

“From the streets to the villages” is the core of this research. Not only do I focus on the changes of the movement’s directions, but the transformation of Taiwan’s aboriginal identity is also being inquired. The following section emphasizes the shifts of movement directions by looking at the mainstream media. In the later section, display of tribalism in the mainstream media and aboriginal writing, that is regarded as one form of tribal
cultural revival are the foci.

Notwithstanding, some scholars criticize that the mainstream media often does not fully function to voice for minority groups; moreover, the minority groups do not have access to the mainstream media. Kung Wen-Chi (1994), an aboriginal scholar, mentions that the quality and the quantity of news reports of aboriginal issues is uprising in recent years, nevertheless the way that journalists deal with the events still tends to be culture-and problem-oriented. Moreover, the news is always stereotypical and gradually reinforces the stigmatized image of aborigines into the public, such as the image of alcoholic. However, by categorizing and counting these news articles, we can see what aboriginal issue was focused in which period and where the shifts of movement orientations were in terms of numbers of news reports.

4.2 United Daily News Articles

*United Daily News* (UDN) is national and considered as the biggest newspaper in Taiwan and in this section, the foci of aboriginal issues and report numbers by years and genres are stressed by counting the UDN news from 1980 to 1996. I first used “Yuanzhumin” (aborigines) as keyword and collected news articles from the UDN online archive. Since the keyword “Yuanzhumin” is too broad and some come-out articles are not directly related to the aboriginal issues, I selected the related articles by reading the title and the abstract of each article. Then, I classified these selected articles into four categories: politics and protests; culture, education and commonweal; environmental issues; and activities and tourism.

In “politics and protests” category, the articles I classified are related to any political
activities, protests and conflicts, policy discussions, etc. About “culture, education, and commonweal” category, I selected the articles focusing on cultural and educational issues, such as performances of aboriginal music, dance, the culture and languages heritage, and the like. As for “commonweal”, the articles are related to public-served activities and public opinions. In terms of “environmental issues”, the articles are about the controversy of balance among aboriginal culture, industrial development, and ecological reservations, for instance, Heng-ping (literally, peace) cement industrial district and Lan-yu (literally, orchid island) national park. Regarding “Activities and Tourism”, the articles I selected are mostly in “activity and tourism” pages and the contents are to promote the tribal tours and encourage the participations of aboriginal culture activities. Hence, contrary to “culture and education” category, these articles are from non-aboriginals’ angle encouraging their readers to enjoy “exotic” culture.

Moreover, based on the research questions, the articles related to tribalism are selected as well from all of these articles. There are mainly two categories in this genre: the articles which report that Taiwan’s aborigines make efforts to their own tribes and tribal culture and the articles written by the aboriginals expressing their tribal experiences, stories and myths.
Table 4-1.
Articles of UDN, “Yuanzhumin” as Keyword, 1980-1996

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Selected</th>
<th>Politics and Protests</th>
<th>Culture, Education, and Commonweal</th>
<th>Environmental issues</th>
<th>Activities and Tourism</th>
<th>Tribalism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wu Feng issue.</strong> (please refer to footnote 12)**</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lan-yu National Park issues (Tao Tribe); Give Back Our Land Movement was held; aboriginal music, antiquities and ancient sites were started being conserved and considered important and valuable.</strong></td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Give Back Our Land Movement was held; Wu Feng issue.</strong></td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4-1. (Continued)
Articles of UDN, “Yuanzhumin” as Keyword, 1980-1996

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Selected</th>
<th>Politics and Protests</th>
<th>Culture, Education, and Commonweal</th>
<th>Environmental issues</th>
<th>Activities and Tourism</th>
<th>Tribalism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

National Theater & National Concert Hall: a series of Taiwan’s Aboriginal Music and Dance—Amis Tribe; Ho-ping Cement Industrial District (Truku Tribe); and Lan-yu national park (Tao Tribe).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Selected</th>
<th>Politics and Protests</th>
<th>Culture, Education, and Commonweal</th>
<th>Environmental issues</th>
<th>Activities and Tourism</th>
<th>Tribalism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

National Theater & National Concert Hall: a series of Taiwan’s Aboriginal Music and Dance—Bunan Tribe
Large cultural festivals were held many times during this year.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Selected</th>
<th>Politics and Protests</th>
<th>Culture, Education, and Commonweal</th>
<th>Environmental issues</th>
<th>Activities and Tourism</th>
<th>Tribalism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>368</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Give Back Our Name Movement was held again and several non-aboriginal peoples submitted their writing to support this movement; National Theater & National Concert Hall: a Series of Taiwan’s Aboriginal Music and Dance—Puyuma Tribe; a series column of aboriginal culture introductions. More and more aboriginal voices appeared in Public Opinion page.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Selected</th>
<th>Politics and Protests</th>
<th>Culture, Education, and Commonweal</th>
<th>Environmental issues</th>
<th>Activities and Tourism</th>
<th>Tribalism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>725</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Name Act is adopted; Lan-yu national park issue (Tao Tribe); several series reports introducing different tribes and their culture, such as “country Karaoke — the aborigines”, “life and customs in countryside”; a special column: Taiwan Indigenous Voice- Aboriginal writers; National Theater & National Concert Hall: a series of Taiwan’s Aboriginal Music and Dance—Tsou
Table 4-1. (Continued)
Articles of UDN, “Yuanzhumin” as Keyword, 1980-1996

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Selected</th>
<th>Politics and Protests</th>
<th>Culture, Education, and Commonweal</th>
<th>Environmental issues</th>
<th>Activities and Tourism</th>
<th>Tribalism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>1035</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Aboriginal Culture Meeting, which was the first one held by the government (Council of Cultural Affairs, Executive Yuan); &quot;Shanbao (mountain compatriots)&quot; to &quot;Yuanzhumin (aboriginals).&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>1166</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lan-yu nuclear waste issue (Tao Tribe); Majia Dam issue (Paiwan Tribe); Bunan Culture Foundation was set up; Tsou Culture Foundation was established; Amend Name Act was adopted.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>1212</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A special column -- Aboriginal cultural relics gleaning; Council of Indigenous People, Executive Yuan was organized; Aboriginal culture gradually drew people's attentions in literature and art field; discussion of establishment of ethnic college.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: UDN Online Archive (http://udndata.com), 1980-1996
As the above Table shows, there are seldom articles about aboriginal issues in the early 1980s. The reason we can infer is the keyword I used Yuanzhumin. The term Yuanzhumin was proposed in 1984 when the Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines was just formed. Before 1985, the aboriginal people were being called Shanbao, which means “mountain compatriots.” Hence, as Table 4-1 shows, if we use Yuanzhumin, there is no article directly related to Taiwan’s aborigines during 1980 to 1984. Furthermore, the Table presents that Yuanzhumin was being used after 1985. However, if taking a further step to see the contents of these articles, the term Yuanzhumin was not really being used instead of Shanbao in these articles. In these articles, most of the term Yuanzhumin appeared only when the articles were reporting the events related to aboriginal organizations whose name is Yuanzhumin, such as the Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines. Therefore, we can see that even though the ATA decided a new name for the whole Taiwan’s aborigines, they still had difficulties to make their new name penetrate into the public sphere.

Although the rectification of aboriginal name was the first demand to be addressed, until 1994 Taiwan’s third round of constitutional reform, Yuanzhumin was finally officially being recognized and adopted into the constitution. It took almost a decade to legitimate Yuanzhumin. Why is rectification of name so important for the aborigines and the aboriginal movement? Why did it take so long to rectify their name officially? What is the implicit meaning of Yuanzhumin? These important questions will be discussed deeply when going to the historical analysis in Chapter Five. In order to inquire when the mass media broadly used Yuanzhumin when reporting, I collected the articles in the UDN online archive again using Shanbao as keyword. Moreover, the figure below this table shows the numerical differences of Shanbao and Yuanzhumin.
Table 4-2
Article Number, “Shanbao” and “Yuanzhumin” as Keywords, 1980-1995

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shanbao</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuanzhumin</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shanbao</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>338</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuanzhumin</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>368</td>
<td>725</td>
<td>1035</td>
<td>1166</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: UDN Online Archive (http://udndata.com/), 1980-1995

Note: a. Most of Yuanzhumin articles are overlapped with Shanbao articles.
   b. The reason I collected the data from 1980 to 1995 is because these Shanbao articles in 1995 are all in the literature page (in aboriginal writings). Namely, the term Shanbao the authors used has a different meaning from the use in previous years. Thus, I would infer that after 1995, Shanbao was rarely being used in the newspaper reports.

Figure 4-1
Article Numbers, “Shanbao” and “Yuanzhumin” as Keywords, 1980-1995

Source: UDN Online Archive (http://udndata.com/), 1980-1995
There are two interesting points in the above figure: the year 1987 and the period after 1992. The number of news articles (both Shanbao and Yuanzhumin) increases quiet substantially from 1987: number of Shanbao articles increases almost threefold from 100 in 1987 to 280 in 1988. Even exceeding than Shanbao articles, number of Yuanzhumin articles increases fivefold from 33 in 1987 to 157 in 1988. Furthermore, if we look at the Yuanzhumin article number, after 1990, the number of articles keeps increasing and during 1992 to 1994 the number of news articles rises up largely. However, after 1994, the increasing rate seems to be slow down. In the following section, I inquire why the aboriginal issues started becoming visible after 1987, what happened in 1993 and 1994 to cause such a big change in terms of article numbers, and why the increasing rate slowed down after 1994.

4.2.1 1987, a Crucial Year for Taiwan and for Taiwan’s Aboriginal Movement

Unsurprisingly, when we use Shanbao to search for the articles, there is indeed the amount of articles related to aboriginal issues. As the Figure 4-1 shows, from 1980 to 1986, Yuanzhumin was just randomly and rarely being used by the mass media although the term Yuanzhumin had been proposed by the ATA in 1984. Until 1987, the frequency that Yuanzhumin was used starts to increase. The reason I would suggest is that a lot of small-scale aboriginal movements were carried out irregularly in 1987; furthermore, “Give back our land” movement was massively launched in the next year, 1988. 1987 was the year that the ATA shifted its orientations starting to fight on the streets and organizing their protests systematically. Hence, the aboriginal movement and the term Yuanzhumin would be much visible than ever in the mass media after 1987.
Take a further step to see what happened in 1987. The ATA had an important change in 1987 when Icyang Parod took over the leadership of the ATA. They first changed the name of the ATA into the Alliance of Taiwan Aboriginal Nation (the Association for Yuanzhumintsu's Right Promotion). Secondly, the goal of the ATA was changed as well after the alteration of the name. Icyang Parod (1994) indicates that during 1987 to 1993, the ATA went on the streets fighting for their rights. Although the ATA started to use the term Yuanzhumin in 1984, the mass media and the public did not broadly adopt Yuanzhumin this name. Until the Alliance of Taiwan's Aboriginal Nation in 1987 “officially” claimed again that “Yuanzhumin (aboriginal) is defined as an individual; and Yuanzhumintsu (aboriginal nation is defined as the whole aborigines” (2005: 5) and a lot of street protests were launched, Yuanzhumin this name just began to spread out. Hence, as Table 4-2 and Figure 4-1 shows, the frequency that the aboriginal issues were reported in the mass media was increasing largely after 1987.

1987, for the whole Taiwan’s society, was a crucial year as well because the martial law that suppressed Taiwanese people for almost four decades was finally lifted. The Nationalist Kuomintang regime took over Taiwan from Japanese government in 1945 and Fan Yun (2004) indicates, “the Nationalist émigré regime ruling Taiwan has been defined by authoritarian clientelism.” (p. 164) Due to the setback in Mainland China, the Nationalist regime announced in May 19th, 1949 that the martial law would be implemented from the next day, May 20th, 1949. (Hsiao Chuan-Chung, 2001)

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10 Fan Yan quotes the definition from Naiteh Wu (1987: 14-15), who first described the Nationalist regime’s status as authoritarian clientelism, that “In the political scientists’ clientelism, the patron politicians offer material and non-material goods to the client supports....In return for these benefits, the clients offer patron politicians political support in election. With the support from the former, the partner gains political power so that more benefits can be distributed to the supporter.” (retrieve from Fan Yun, 2004: 186)
regime restricted citizen rights and human rights in the dimensions of politics, society, and culture. Under the control of the martial law, people in Taiwan had lost the freedom of speech and the right of assembly, and had prohibited from any social protests. (Hsiao Chuan-Chung, 2001; Hsiao Hsin-Huang, 1995) After almost 40 years, the martial law was finally abolished in 1987 due to the pressure from Taiwan’s civil society, the discontentedness of the public and efforts of overseas Taiwanese (Fan Yun, 2004).

Fan Yun points out that the incidences of social protest increased from 143 in 1983 to 676 in 1987. Table 4-3 shows that the number of social protests was upraising gradually; especially in 1987, the number of social protests was burgeoning suddenly. Besides, Hsiao (2001) indicates that the size of the social protests waxed by years as well. Table 4-4 presents the increase of average people who joint social protests: it almost increases fourfold from 1983 to 1988. Hsiao also mentions that the appearance of political-oriented magazines after the middle of 1970s, such as Political Comment of Taiwan (Taiwan Cheng-Lun), Summer Tide (Hsia-Chao), This Generation (Che-Yi-Tai), Beautiful Island (Mei-Li-Tao), shows that Taiwan’s civil society had started to challenge authoritarianism in terms of Han-Chinese ideology and the distribution of political power between local Taiwanese and mainlanders. (2001: 72) As many researchers have pointed out, from the late of 1970s and 1980s, Taiwan’s civil society started to delegitimate the Nationalist regime through the mass mobilization and the construction of counternarratives. (Hsiao, 1994; Hsiao, 2001; Fan Yun, 2004)
Table 4-3
Social Protests Reported in Taiwan by Number, 1983-1987

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>1516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>149%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 4-4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10 or less</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>336</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-30</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>427</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-50</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>332</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51-100</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>483</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101-200</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>173</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201-500</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>187</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>501-1000</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>101</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1001-5000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>63</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5001 or more</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average number</td>
<td>73.4</td>
<td>110.4</td>
<td>83.1</td>
<td>301.8</td>
<td>265.3</td>
<td>267.2</td>
<td>229.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The abolishment of martial law in 1987 certainly is a milestone in the history of Taiwan. Hsiao, Huang, and Wung (1995) point out that there are the reasons causing KTM moved to the liberalization gradually: the mobilization of the resistance movements, the mushrooming of the social movements, and the crisis of the state machine itself. Moreover, they indicate “the abolishment of the martial law can be understood as a “rational” response from the authoritarian when it faced the demands of anti-domination and autonomy from the civil society.” (p 129) Furthermore, Fan Yun points out, “the growth of civil society after lifting of martial law in 1987 was remarkable in terms of the
density of civic organizations” (p 176) and the following figure confirms this trend.

**Figure 4-2**

**Number of National and Local associations Registered in Taiwan, 1979-2001**

![Graph showing the number of associations registered in Taiwan from 1979 to 2001. The number increased significantly, especially after the lifting of martial law in 1987.](image)

Source: Dept. of Social Affairs, Ministry of Interior of Agriculture, Council of Labor Affairs, Executive Yuan. (http://www.moi.gov.tw/dca/renovation01_15e.asp); Fan Yun, 2006: 176

According to the Statistical Yearbook of Minister of Internal Affairs, the number of registered associations, both national and local, increased fourfold—from 3,960 in 1980 to 18,695\(^{11}\) in 2001. (Fan Yun, 2004; http://www.moi.gov.tw/stat/ retrieve by 10/18/06)

As Figure 4-2 shows, the new associations increased dramatically from the beginning of the 1980s to the end of the 1990s. Moreover, 1987, the time the martial law was lifted, is a crucial point that the number of new associations started to upraise. Although the number of aboriginal organizations had not been surveyed, both Table 4-1 and Table 4-2

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\(^{11}\) The number I collected here is a slightly difference from Fan Yun’s data. The number of associations in 2001 I found is 18,695, but Fan Yun’s data shows that the number is 18,465. In spite of this difference, the big picture of the growth of Taiwan’s organization is almost the same.
show that aboriginal organizations were active to proceed with their movements on the streets. Furthermore, the visibility of the aboriginal issues was higher than ever and the voice of the mass media became diverse and vital after 1987.

At the moment, we can argue that the appearance of Taiwan’s aboriginal movements was related to the development of Taiwan’s civil society in the end of the 1970s and 1980s. However, the dynamics of the initiation of Taiwan’s civil society in the 1970s and the relations between Taiwan’s aboriginal movement and vigorous civil society still remain unanswered. Moreover, in addition to the prosperity of Taiwan’s civil society, how the historical events and international environment affected the path and the trajectory of Taiwan’s aboriginal movement? Chapter 5 will further focuses on detailed historical events chronologically.

4.2.2 After 1992, the Term Yuanzhumin was Gradually Used and a Huge Footstep in Legislative Affairs was Achieved

As Table 4-2 shows, the number of Shanbao articles and that of Yuanzhumin articles have big changes in 1993: the number of Shanbao articles decreases from 338 in 1992 to 179 in 1993; and that of Yuanzhumin articles upraises from 368 in 1992 to 725 in 1993. It is not surprising to see that Yuanzhumin gradually replace Shanbao, however it is interesting to inquire why Yuanzhumin has being used quite broadly (compared with the 1980s) before it was officially recognized in 1994. There are mainly three reasons I would infer in terms of the question why aboriginal issues became visible in the mainstream media after the 1990s: (1) frequent protests, (2) concrete legislative demands, and (3) 1993 the International Year of the World’s Indigenous People. Regarding the
question of why the increasing rate of news articles was slowed to a crawl after 1994 is because of the disorientation of the aboriginal movement. However, to what extent did the aboriginal movement disoriented and what made the aboriginal movement disoriented?

Icyang Parod (1994) indicates that during 1987 to 1993, the direction of the aboriginal movement shifted and began to go on the street striving for their rights. These aboriginal organizations mainly focused on four issues during that period: (1) fought for justice, such as breaking up the Wu Feng myth\(^\text{12}\); (2) announced the “Taiwan Declaration on the Aboriginal Nation’s Rights”; (3) launched “Give Back Our Land” movements; (4) demanded the legitimacy of Yuanzhumin in the constitution and included the “Aboriginal Articles” into the constitution. (Icyang Parod, 1994: 281-289) The activists advanced these voices not only to the state but also to the public via the mass media.

Fortunately, most of these demands were seen and discussed by the government after the early 1990s. Icyang Parod further indicates that when the demands did not conflict with the interests of the mainstream society, the government usually was willing to response to them. For instance, in 1990, the Reservation Management Act was revised and “mountain reservations” became “Shanbao (mountain compatriots) reservations.” Moreover, in 1993 the Ministry of Interior drafted “the outline of developing and managing Yuanzhumin reservation\(^\text{13}\)” in the following years, the reservation issue has

\(^{12}\) Wu Feng has been a controversial historical figure in Taiwan’s history. Taiwan General History describes that Wu Feng was a government official who put a lot of efforts to dissuade the aborigines from “chotso” (hunting human’s heads). Finally, he sacrificed himself and stopped hunting heads custom. Japanese government divinized Wu Feng and Wu Feng became the discourse foundation for Japanese regime to govern the aborigines. Later on, KMT regimes edited this story into the text book. From 1987, the aborigines started to refuse this stigma and asked to eliminate this myth from the course book. Now, according to a lot of suspicious points and later researches, some scholars believe that Wu Feng myth is fictional or maybe partial fictional. (http://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E5%90%B3%E9%B3%B3, wikipedia)

\(^{13}\) Although the name “Yuanzhumin” was not legitimated officially, some of governmental institutions had already adopted this name instead of “Shanbao” in the early 1990s.
been one of main issues for the government and aboriginal organizations. Besides, the legitimacy of Yuanzhumin officially had been achieved in 1994 when the third round of the constitutional reform was held. (Good Yu-Jane and Chang Yu-Fen, 1999)

Nevertheless, Taiwan’s civil society became weaker than ever after 1992. Hsieh Huai-Hui (2000) points out that there were mainly two reasons she indicates: on the one hand, the government’s attitude toward social movements became softer than ever; on the other, the parliament was reformed. Due to the active civil society in the 1980s, the KMT regime had learned how to deal with the social protest events and was willing to negotiate with these local protests sometimes in order to win the elections. As the leader of aboriginal movement Icyang Parod stated, once their goals did not harm the interests of the state, they usually received satisfying responses from the state. Furthermore, because of the reform of the parliament, Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) had more chances to compete with KMT in the parliament and this made KMT pay more attentions on the issues the public cared when running the elections as well. (2000: 66-68)

According what Piven and Cloward points out, “When government is unable to ignore the insurgent, and is unwilling to risk the uncertain repercussions of the use of force, it will make efforts to conciliate and disarm the protestors” (1977: 335-336), abolishment of the martial law can be considered as the first placating effort the KMT made. Moreover, Hsieh indicates that the separation between political society and civil society was very ambiguous in Taiwan, “the reform of the parliament crated a space for the new political generation; therefore, these political leaders grabbed the chances to enter the political sphere” (2000: 68), so-called “co-opt” in social movement theory. That is to say, the KMT opened the political space first for these political leaders in order to disarm the
protestors by co-opting them. This situation occurred in the aboriginal movement in the early 1990s. Many leaders of aboriginal movements entered the political ground and became a sort of bridge between the KMT and Taiwan’s aborigines. Hence, as Table 4-1 shows, the main events were shifting from the street protests news reports (1988 to 1992) to the achievement reports (1994 to 1996). Moreover, the power of aboriginal organizations became weak and was replaced by the government organization. Taiwan’s aboriginal “social movement” was gradually disoriented.

Let us turn to the first question, why aboriginal issues became visible in the mainstream media after the 1990s? The reason as discussed earlier is that the aboriginal social movements were actively carried out continuously especially in the early 1990s. Meanwhile, the government also had much will to respond to their demands. These made Taiwan’s aboriginal issues become visible and get the public’s attentions. However, if their demand conflicted with the state’s interests, it would be hard to negotiate with the state, such as the establishments of national parks and of cement industrial district. As a matter of fact, aboriginal movement became very visible in the mainstream media after they decided to fight on the street in 1987; besides, the aboriginal issues the mass media focused on became broader than previous. Not only did they speak out for aboriginal children prostitute and workers, but aboriginal rights and tribal dignity also became the main issue and the goal of Taiwan’s aboriginal movement. Compare to previous period, it was not hard to find aboriginal news in the mainstream media. Besides, the mass media gradually adopted Yuanzhumin this term when they reported the aboriginal news.

In addition to the events in domestic sphere, the international events had great impacts on Taiwan’s society and Taiwan’s aboriginal movement as well. The United Nations
proclaimed 1993 the International Year of the World’s Indigenous People and this gave a strong prop for Taiwan’s aboriginal movement. This proclamation was another stronger reason for Taiwan’s aboriginal organizations to fight for their rights. Due to the failure of the second round of Give Back Our Land movement in 1992 and 1993 the International Year of the World’s Indigenous People, the ATA decided to launch the third round of Give Back Our Land movement in 1993. Most important demand in this movement is that “the right of nature” and they further announced that “Taiwan’s aborigines would never accept the government’s decision to confiscate their tribal land arbitrarily.” (Lin Shu-Ya, 1998: 74; Chao Chiung-Chi, 2003: 209) “The ultimate aim of Give Back Our Land movement and the demand for self-governed district is nothing to do with political or economic purposes; instead, saving the tribal culture and tribal value is the reason we claim the land rights.” (Sun Ta-Chuan, 2000:41)

After 1994, while the number of street protests declined, the articles related to aboriginal issues also decreased. As mentioned previously, Taiwan’s civil society and Taiwan’s aboriginal movement became weak and disoriented after the middle of the 1990s. In addition, although Taiwan’s aboriginal movement achieved a huge footstep in legislative affairs during 1987 to 1993, the gap between political sphere and the real tribal life became much wider at the same time. Some aboriginal intellectuals started to propose the idea of tribalism and appealed to the aboriginal activists. Hence, when the protests on the streets became disoriented, another direction of Taiwan’s aboriginal movement appeared and focused on tribes and cultural revival. These two directions of Taiwan’s aboriginal movement have been proceeding at the same time: on the political ground, aboriginal organizations and aboriginal government officials still work on the legislation
affairs and strive for the “collective interests” for “the aboriginal nation”; on the other hand, some aboriginal activists and young students go back to their tribes working for their “tribal cultural revival.”

When Taiwan started to reconstruct the discourses of her own history in the 1970s and the 1980s, Taiwan’s aborigines began to consider their position in Taiwan’s history. Sun Ta-Chuan (2000) indicates that to the certain point, this historical condition prompted their self-consciousness of the whole aborigines; moreover, it triggered the revival of tribes and the creativity of aboriginal literature in the 1980s. From colonialism to post-colonialism, Liu Shao-Hua states, is a process from political domination to cultural hegemony. Because of the close linkage among culture, economics and politics, the people who had been colonized have difficulties to be independent from the colonizers. “Cultural identity is an active process, not motionless.... For the colonists who had separated from the colonizers, the thing they lack is the independent history. History and culture for them is a tool, which makes them unify together and identify themselves.” (Liu Shao-Hua, 1993: 50) Hence, once their self-consciousness awakes, constructing the history with their own subjectivity becomes the important work to identify who they are. For Taiwan’s aborigines, a group without their own writing systems, it is indeed important to consider the possibility of writing their historical texts and culture. (Sun Ta-Chuan, 2000: 81) Thus, next section goes back to Table 4-1 discussing how tribalism displayed in the mainstream media and focusing on a form of tribal cultural revival: writing.
4.3 Tribalism and Aboriginal Writing

Here we turn to another issue of the role of aboriginal writing in tribalism principle by looking at how the aborigines escape the domination of power and make aboriginal writing possible; furthermore, how they display their subjectivity in their writing and what role of tribal identity plays in this process. Writing is one form of culture and the appearance of aboriginal writing can be considered important that the aborigines started to present themselves and narrate their subjectivity. Although Taiwan’s tribes do not have writing systems, they do have a plentiful spoken language. Sun Ta-Chuan indicates that it is the loss of aboriginal “living world” the reason for the fracture in Taiwan’s aboriginal history instead of the lack of writing system. (2000: 89)

A variety of tribal ceremonies and customs carried thousands years of tribal histories and tribal values, however, once these are disintegrated, spoken language will malfunction to carry tribal histories and tribal values. To this point, writing plays an important role to pass on tribal culture and values. The aborigines have lost their subjectivity in Taiwan’s history in a quite long period; however, in the trend of decolonization, democratization, and localization in Taiwan in the 1970s, Taiwan’s aborigines started to “voice” themselves with “the first person” tone. (Sun Ta-Chuan, 2000:90)

4.3.1 Tribalism and UDN Articles

Let us return to Table 4-1 (Pp. 39-41) focusing on the article numbers related to tribal issues. There are two different types of articles I selected in this category: one reports the efforts that the aborigines made to their pressing their tribal experiences, stories and...
myths. The following table and figure are retrieved from Table 4-1.

**Table 4-5**
*Article Numbers, Related to Tribalism, 1980-1996*

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*Source: UDN Online Archive (http://udndata.com/), 1980-1996*

**Figure 4-3**
*Article Numbers, Related to Tribalism, 1980-1996*

As the table and figure show, there is no article related to tribalism before 1989. In the early period, the aboriginal voice still remained unheard; furthermore, most of articles were discussing political or social issues related to aborigines and introducing the "exotic" aboriginal cultures. Until the end of 1980s, the number of the news articles regarding of tribalism (tribal culture) increased gradually. Some articles/ poems were written by aboriginal writers that talk about tribal myths or retrospect tribal memories; some reported tribal issues, for instance, one news article reported that *Amis* people and
Paiwan people translated the Bible in their own tribal languages; there is another reporting that a young aborigine who just graduated from a university went back to his tribe and learned sculpture of tribal totem from his father. These seem trivial matters but indeed the concrete performances of tribalism; moreover it represents a spirit of tribalism.

After entering the 1990s, the article number regarding of tribalism was increasing and the peak happened during 1993 to 1995 can be referred to the proclamation of 1993 the International Year of the World’s Indigenous People by the UN General Assembly. Following was presented the special column “Taiwan Indigenous Voice- Aboriginal writers” in UND in 1993. Not only the mass media and the public started to have interests in tribes (with the perspective of outsiders/visitors), the aboriginal organizations started to carry out activities in tribes as well.

In 1990, one news article written by a scholar mentioned that more and more aborigines started to involve in the preservation of their own tribal languages. Moreover, in 1991, the government, aboriginal scholars and aboriginal activists had a discussion about the preservation of old tribal sites. And in the same year, Kachapog’’an village, an old Rukai tribe, was announced by Ministry of Interior to be a second-grade historic site. Additionally, several aboriginal associations organized ‘tracing the roots’ activities. For instance, the Association of Bunun Cultural Development held a six-day activity going to search for their old village, Pashe. Besides, in 1992, Rukai people also launched the movement of rebuilding Kachapog’’an village and this idea gradually drew a lot of attentions by scholars and former residents of Kachapog’’an village.

In 1993, United Daily News and Taiwan Indigenous Voice Bimonthly, which was published first in 1993 by several aboriginal scholars, aboriginal activists, aboriginal
politicians, and aboriginal writers, cooperated and displayed a series of columns for aboriginal literature on the supplement page of UDN. Aboriginal writers can submit their own works to the newspaper office by themselves as well. Moreover, when the United Nations proclaimed 1993 the International Year of the World’s Indigenous People, Taiwan’s newspaper vigorously reported this event and started to put a lot of emphases on Taiwan’s aboriginal issues. In short, after the early 1990s, the aboriginal literature became more visible in the mainstream media.

The thought of tribalism became obvious after 1992 and in the following years, the tribal culture was mentioned pretty often. For example, some tribal artists were interviewed and introduced on the mass media; revival activities of tribal culture were also mentioned; many tribal workshops and organizations which aimed to go in for their tribal cultural revival were established, and so on. It seems that many tribal works were proceeding after 1992, however we cannot affirm that these tribal works first appeared in the early 1990s. One possibility is that these works were probably carried on before 1990 but considered unworthy by the mass media until 1992. Although there is no conclusive evidence when these tribal cultural activities started exactly, the point we can argue is that the visibility of the tribal cultural issues shown in the mass media was much prominent after 1990.

Even though just a few articles related to the theme of tribalism, it does represent that more and more aborigines had being aware of their tribal problems and being active to deal with tribal cultural issues. Writing, this new form of culture for Taiwan’s aborigines is an important element in practicing tribalism. The following thus focuses on the aboriginal literature and its role in shaping and displaying the tribal identity.
4.3.2 Aboriginal Literature

"The term 'aboriginal literature' has been mentioned in the nearest decade and this represents a kind of social movements and a rise of self-consciousness. Moreover, the appearance of aboriginal literature is closely related to the international trend of the aboriginal issues, Taiwan’s localization and cultural movements, and self-reflection of the aborigines,” stated Pu Chung-Cheng, an aboriginal scholar and a government official. (1999: 185) As discussed previously, Taiwan’s society faced dramatic changes either in domestic sphere or in international sphere in the 1980s. Economic development prompted the possibility of democratization, moreover, the process of democratization loosened the centralization of state power. Sun Ta-Chuan (2005) indicates that the trend of localization in Taiwan had deeply influences on the culture aspect, such as historical consciousness, Taiwanese literature, popular culture, and non-Mandarin languages.

Undoubtedly, these changes in social environment contributed a relatively open society. “To some extent, this historical background triggered the starting point of self-consciousness, tribal revivals, and the creation of aboriginal literature for Taiwan’s aborigines.” (Sun Ta-Chuan, 2005: 205) Notwithstanding, what is aboriginal literature? Pu Chung-Cheng (1991) provides four different definitions according to (1) the writer’s identification or genetic lineage; (2) the languages of the pieces; (3) the themes and contents; and (4) a writing piece whose writer has aboriginal identification or genetic lineage writing about his/her tribal themes in his/her tribal language. (Pp. 187-188)

Pu Chung-Cheng further points out that most of aboriginal literatures were written in Mandarin because of social conditions. For instance, the aborigines do not have their own written system and they were educated in Mandarin. Only few of aboriginal writers try to
use their tribal languages (Romanized) to create their pieces and provide Mandarin translations aside. Although most of aboriginal writers work on their writing pieces in Mandarin, the contents and skills reveal their specific tribal styles. It seems that aboriginal creators have the strong intention of presenting their pieces of arts to the broad “alien nation (yi-tsu).” (Ibid.)

Sun Ta-Chuan (2005) indicates that ethnic discrimination is a common scar in aboriginal literature; moreover, this painful emotion universally appears in every piece of aboriginal literature works. In the 1980s, most of writing pieces were more like statements or calls for “the whole aborigines” written by Taiwan’s young aboriginal college students. However, the contents of aboriginal writings gradually changed after the late 1980s. The pieces from two aboriginal writers were different and exceptional from those considered as propagandas or strategies of aboriginal movement: Tien Ya-Ke, a Bunun people, and Walis Nogang, an Atayal people. Sun Ta-Chuan points out that literary creation for them is not just a tool for street protests or accusations; and yet, these literature pieces possess their unique life and carry emotions. Concluded briefly, in the first decade of Taiwan’s aboriginal movement, the purpose of aboriginal writing was to appeal for common interests, shared historical memories, and a collective identity of Taiwan’s aboriginal nation. Nevertheless, in the latter years of the movement, writing became a way of releasing emotions and to search for their tribal subjectivity.

From the streets to the villages, the aborigines look for their identity and express themselves through the process of writing. “The cause of the appearance of Taiwan’s aboriginal writers is because a large number of Taiwan’s aboriginal intellectuals were born in postwar and had accepted modern education,” said Pu Chung-Cheng. (1999: 193)
Modern education system advanced the writing ability; moreover, with this ability, they found that writing could help to interpret their tribal historical experiences, to express their thoughts and emotions, and to record their tribal culture. Therefore, not only fighting on the streets, but also taking up the pens represents a process of searching for their subjectivity and aboriginal/tribal identity in Taiwan’s aboriginal movement.

Here let us briefly look at different types of wringing. Some of literary pieces voice for the whole aborigines and criticize the discriminations, cheats, and exploitations by Han people, such as Mo-na-neng 14 *The Beautiful Spike of Rice*. Some present a “black humor” in a sarcastic tone combining their experiences in modern society and in tribes, for example, A-wu’s *Red-Mouth Vu Vu*. Some of them explore their tribal tradition and culture reflecting the situation of modern society, for instance, Syman Rapongan *The Myths of Pa-Tai Wan* (literally Eight-generations Bay). Some mainly collect and record the tribal myths, customs, and cultures. Ao-wei-ni Ka-lu-szu-ang 15 *The Inheritor of Clouded Leopards* is an example of this type of literature. (Ibid., p. 195)

“The process of literature creation seems just a deliberation of individual spirit and performances, nevertheless, it actually represents the interactions between individual tribal members and their tribal history and culture,” states Pu Chung-Cheng. (Ibid., p. 196) Similar as what Sun Ta-Chuan says, “the idea of ‘return (hui-kuei)’ commonly appears in the soul of the aboriginal writers, because this seems to be the only way for them to receive the spirit of their ancestor.” (2005: 92) They realized that protests on the streets have had never enough for them to know who they are, where they were from, and where

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14 莫那能. I did not find the romanized tribal name. Some authors usually use their tribal names with Chinese characters in their writings instead of romanized names.
15 奥威尼 卡路斯盎. Same as above.
they belong to; instead, they need to enter their real tribal life, experience tribal culture in person and taste tribal emotions. Through these experiences and cultural practices, aboriginal writers look for themselves and recall their tribal identity. They not only discuss or criticize the cultural, political and economic issues, but also propose the statement of “against big-Han-nation chauvinism” and the counter-discourses. (Liu Shao-Hua, 1993: 52)

Nevertheless, “elitism” in Taiwan’s aboriginal movement, either in political dimension or in cultural dimension, was mentioned or criticized by many aboriginal activists. Despite Sun Ta-Chuan takes a positive attitude toward the accomplishments they had done Sun mentions the importance of the criticism of elitism and urbanized “pan-aboriginalism.” (2000: 150) “I would say, pessimistically, only Han people would pay attentions on the aboriginal articles, such as Sun Ta-Chuan’s and Walis’ articles, because these people are not with the grassroots. They prejudge the future of the aborigines using their positions as intellectuals, however their opinions are often regarded important by the mass media,” quoted Sun Ta-Chuan from the interview record of Lin Tsung-Ming in February 6th, 1994. (Ibid., Pp. 150-151)

Sun Ta-Chuan argues that ‘pan-aboriginalism’ is a subjective, supposititious and abstract construction. Nevertheless, he, as an aboriginal intellectual, believes that pan-aboriginalism is just a starting point. “To understand me, to search for me and to fulfill me is our finally goal. In other words, from the villages to pan-aboriginalism, this process is a preparation for pan-aboriginalism to return to the tribes,” stated Sun Ta-Chuan. (2000: 151) In a sense, the original stigmatized silent object has being gradually transforming into the active subject and the discourse of pan-aboriginalism can be seen as a strategy
therein this process. The quotation at the beginning of this chapter “With the name of Yuanzhumin (the aborigines), we possess confidences and hold the truth to fight with the ruling group” (1994: 278) and the discourse ‘we are different from Han people’ rationalize and legitimate the street protests, furthermore, help to strengthen collective identity among each tribe. Pan-aboriginalism brought many aboriginal people who were from different tribes to the streets and strived for their collective interests, for example, hundreds of aboriginal people had participated in Give Back Our Land movement in 1993. They were not necessarily from the same tribes; however, they must have the common interests to fight for.

Due to an expanding gap between the ideology of pan-aboriginalism and the reality of tribal life, some aboriginal intellectuals argued that it was time to return to tribes. Tribalism was not only practiced in aboriginal writings, but presented in concrete tribal cultural activities as well. Despite the tribalism was proposed and indeed brought an amount of young aboriginal people back to their home tribes, pan-aboriginal identity was not replaced by tribal identity. More important is that the strength and the truth from the discourse of pan-aboriginalism support their activities of both the aboriginal intellectuals and tribal cultural creators. With such a self-esteem of being an aboriginal, they went back to their tribes searching for their tribes’ self-esteem by explore their tribal culture, tribal memory and tribal values.
Chapter Five

Historical Analysis: From Colonization to Decolonization

This chapter focuses on Taiwan’s history using historical analysis and secondary material to inquire into the transformation of Taiwan’s aboriginal identity in the process from colonization to decolonization. I first divide this process of transformation into three stages: (1) from primordial tribalism to pan-aboriginalism; (2) the appearance of pan-aboriginalism; and (3) from the street back to the tribe: tribalism and discuss these three stages individually in the following sections. Chao Chung-Chi (2003) indicates that before the appearance of "aboriginal nation (Yuanzhumintsu)" in 1983, Taiwan’s aborigines had existed in Taiwan’s history as “proto nation” and “incipient nation”. Based on his arguments, Taiwan’s aboriginal society was a “proto nation” before Nationalist KMT regime took over Taiwan in 1945. After KMT regime governed Taiwan in 1945, Taiwan’s aboriginal society had slowly transformed into what Chao calls “stigmatized incipient nation.” (Chao Chung-Chi, 2003: 199) Until 1983, the notion of “aboriginal nation” was gradually formed when Taiwan’s aboriginal movement was organized and aboriginal people started to resist to be stigmatized. Furthermore, after 1993 the direction of movement turned to cultural area in where their tribal experiences and memories exist.

Section 5-1 examines the transformation from primordial tribalism to pan-aboriginalism which is what Chao describes, “proto nation” and “incipient nation”. In 5-2, pan-aboriginalism and the formation of “Taiwan’s aboriginal nation” in the 1980s are the foci. Lastly, section 5-3 discusses the shift from pan-aboriginalism to tribalism and the meaning of tribalism. Without question the transformation of aboriginal nation and
aboriginal movement were tie-in with Taiwan’s colonial history and societal circumstances. Additionally, the global phenomenon did impact on the transformation as well. Thus, these historical events I discuss here can be seen as the core for the understanding of the transformation of Taiwan’s aboriginal movement and aboriginal identities.

5.1 From Primordial Tribalism to Pan-aboriginalism

“Generally speaking, there are two different kinds of history: one is antique and antiquarian; the other is the inquiry of the past, which helps to understand the present.” (Wu Mi-cha, 1995: 15) To understand the transformation of Taiwan’s aboriginal identity, tracing back to the period of Japanese regime or even the earlier stages is needed. Before Japanese regime came in 1895, Taiwan had been through several colonial periods, such as Dutch, Span, Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) and Ching Dynasty (1684-1886) early or later.

Before Japanese regime colonized Taiwan, there were many settlers from the coastal region of China and from Europe, such as the Dutch and the Spanish. However, these European regimes had never built strong bureaucratic system in Taiwan but simply had stressed on agriculture and trade. For example, the Dutch authority rented lands and farm implements to Chinese settlers and introduced oxen to till the farms. They also built castles, dug wells, conducted land surveys, romanized the aboriginal languages and sent missionaries to Taiwan to “civilize” aboriginal people. (John, F. Copper, 1990; Simon Long, 1991)

Chou Chiung-Chi, (2003) indicates that except Ching dynasty and Japanese regime, these settlers only administered the northern part (Tai-shui) and southern part (An-ping)
of Taiwan. Even Ching dynasty only governed the western Taiwan. Sun Ta-Chuan states, “according to the descriptions from Torii Ryuzo, a famous Japanese anthropologist coming to Taiwan in 1896 to carry out his study, the transportation systems in northern, southern, eastern and southern Taiwan were not connected to each other at that time. Furthermore, there was a huge barrier among Han people, Pinpu people, and each tribe of the aborigines.” (1992a: 157-158, transcribed from Chou Chiung-Chi, 2003: 190) In addition, Han people were scared of the ceremony of “chll-tsao (hunting human’s heads)”; hence, in this era, Han settlers had no access and no will to interact with these aboriginal tribes; moreover, there were no communication between these tribes either due to the poor transportation system, different culture, different languages, and different hunting and living domains.

Chou Chiung-Chi, further points out that the tribal life at that time was a representation of tribalism. “Tribalism” here varies from the one appeared in 1993 and I call this one “primordial tribalism.” Tribalism in proto nation represents a way of life, a “primordial community.” On the contrary, tribalism proposed in 1993 is a cultural movement for tribal revivals. “Tribalism (in proto nation) represents a unique cultural unit ad political unit. Each unit has their own domain, political system, ceremonies, values and ethics; moreover, these construct a ‘cultural complexity’, which regards the tribe as their realm,” stated Chou Chiung-Chi. (p.191) Sun Ta-Chuan (2000) also indicates that at that period Taiwan was not integrated and there was no collective consciousness between each tribe. Tribal members constructed their tribal identity through participating and performing tribal culture and traditions, furthermore, identified and distinguished themselves from others. As the argument of Klaus Eder et al. (2002), social interactions lead the awareness
of differences between us and them is the first step of the construction of ethnicity.

Nevertheless, “this proto nation started to change due to the implements of Japanese colonial policies, such as field research and civilization policies.” (Chou Chiung-Chi, 2003: 193) Japanese regime announced in 1896 that all the mountain resources were state-owned. As a result of the exploitation of mountain resources, the conflicts between Japanese regime and Taiwan’s aborigines were getting serious. In order to efficiently control this situation, Japanese government massively launched a series of field researches and actively implemented civilization policies, such as the establishment of the Alliance of Takasago\textsuperscript{16}Youth. Not only did Japanese regime arbitrarily relocate the tribes and villages, Japanese investigators and anthropologists also categorized and named these tribes “using their own disciplines of knowledge.” According to these scholars’ researches, however, different tribes whose cultures were overlapped or similar were categorized or considered as the same groups.

Sun argues that in the process of ‘naming actions’ spawned the concert ideas of tribes for tribal peoples and outsiders. For example, the term Atayal in their tribal language means “real human beings” or “brave people”; thus an Atayal people in primordial tribe would not consider himself/herself as an “Atayal people” and yet he/she would regard himself/herself as a “real human.” However, after the implementation of naming action, Atayal tribe and other tribes started to be recognized as the tangible existences; moreover, the expansion of primordial tribal identities occurred, for instance, these tribes which were named as Takasago by Japanese regime gradually generated an blurry broad

\textsuperscript{16} Japanese regime at first continued to adopt Ching dynasty’s categorization and divided Taiwan’s aborigines into Pinpu fan/tsu or Heiho People (literally, plains barbarians) and sheng-fan or People (literally, raw barbarians or mountain barbarians). In 1923, Prince Hirohito (Emperor Shōwa) visited Taiwan and suggested to adopt Takasago to replace the discriminated name of fan people.
identity for the group of *Takasago people*. (Sun Ta-Chuan, 2000; Chou Chiung-Chi, 2003)

These implementations made Taiwan much integrated than ever and spawned a blurred identity toward the group that was called *Takasago or fan people*.

Hence, each tribe during Japanese regime started to have contacts with each other, however, at this stage, the aboriginal society was what Chou calls “incipient nation,” since they still did not form aboriginal nation’s self-consciousness and concrete practices. (Chou Chiung-Chi, 2003) The *Wūshè Incident*¹⁷ (*Musha Jiken* in Japanese) in 1930 was a turning point and tremendously changed the relationship between Taiwan’s aborigines and Japanese regime. After this incident, Japanese regime relocated Taiwan’s aborigines forcedly to break down their strong tribal identities and the possibility of forming coalitions among tribes. As a matter of fact, the loss of *Wūshè Incident* also generated conflicts among tribes. Although Taiwan’s aborigines suffered the similar colonial experiences ruling by Japanese regime, their positions and attitudes toward Japanese regime actually were quite unlike.

It seemed that Japanese colonization destroyed the possibility of a union of these different tribes; in fact, the boundary line between Taiwan’s aborigines and colonizers became obvious due to the sufferings of same governed policies and mistreatments. Thus, we can assume that incipient pan-aboriginalism was gradually being formed during this period. In brief, embryo pan-aboriginal identity has started being formed during Japanese

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¹⁷ *Wūshè Incident* (*Musha Jiken*) was “the biggest and the last rebellion against Japanese colonial forces in Taiwan, resulting in the massacre of the Taiwanese aborigine group, Atayal. According to Japanese record, 700 *Atayal* people were killed or committed suicide, and 500 surrendered.” However, about 200 of these 500 surrendered people were said to be killed afterwards. The remaining rebel survivors were relocated to small reservations and forced to live under strict supervision by the police. The chief Rudao Bai would not surrender and finally committed suicide. Later on, his family members committed suicide as well. ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wushe_Incident](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wushe_Incident), wikipedia)
regime due to a series of governmental measures, which treated those different tribes as an aggregate. Though ethnicity was considered self-determinant, as a matter of fact, it is a dialectical process, i.e., what you think your ethnicity is, versus what they think your ethnicity is.” (Nagel, 1994: 154) In the case of Taiwan’s aborigines, each tribe had never considered themselves the same (they have never possessed the same culture and languages); however, outsiders who possessed the power had decided who they are.

After half century governed by Japanese colonial regime, Taiwan in 1945 was again taken over by another regime, the Nationalist Kuomintang regime from mainland China. During the KMT regime, a shared “stigmatized identity” of Taiwan’s aborigines has formed and become more and more apparent. (Hsieh Shih-Chung, 1987; Chou Chiung-Chi, 2003) Hsieh argues the external and internal factors that made this “stigmatized identity” be formed. External factors include “(1) the traditional view of world of Hua-Yi of Chinese, (2) the worst symbol of stigma-- Wu Feng, and (3) stereotype, prejudice, and discrimination of Han people. Internal factors are (1) the shared historical experiences, (2) losing function of the socio-cultural tradition, and (3) the situational reaction of the aborigines.” (1987: 136) Hsieh’s argument further proves that identity is an interactive and dialectical process, which is influenced by both external environment and internal perceptions simultaneously. Taiwan’s aborigines eventually refused to be identified who they are and started to look for their subjectivity in the early 1980s.

Chou Chiung-Chi further points out that it is the “structurally cultural bias” that pressed the aborigines down in the social structure and find no way to get out of it. Structurally cultural bias can be referred to those discriminations and biases that affect the process of policy-making, which is full of “nature of prejudice.” (2003: 204) For
example, in order to efficiently assimilate the whole islanders and reinforce the national identity for the KMT regime, the colonial government implemented “speaking Mandarin” policy and other languages, such as Taiwanese, Hakka, and tribal languages were strictly prohibited; moreover, the aborigines were forced to adopt Chinese names in place of aboriginal names. Besides, long-term discriminations and social injustice spawned a stigmatized image of Taiwan’s aborigines. Biased policies and discriminatory social structure made Taiwan’s aborigines lose their strength not only in Han society but also in their own tribes as a result of the destructions of tribal value and culture. These shared stigmatized experiences generated a stigmatized collective identity that was full of sensation and grievances. In short, Taiwan’s pan-aboriginalism was first spawned from the shared historical experiences in a biased social and political structure.

Therefore, to inquire the way in which circumstance construct identities, let us now return to look at Taiwan’s history after 1945. Hsiao Hsin-Huang (1995) divides this period into three stages in terms of social power and historical events (1) from 1953 to 1964: authoritarianism; (2) from 1965 to 1979: economic-oriented policies and Taiwan’s economic miracle; and (3) from 1980 to 1995: demands for autonomy and anti-dominations. In this era, Taiwan’s economic miracle, industrialization and urbanization were closely related to the appearance of vigorous Taiwan’s civil society in the 1970s.

Winckler (2001) points out, Taiwan’s old regime was a changing hybrid of “hard” and “soft” authoritarianism during 1945 and 1986 before the martial law was abolished. Hsiao Hsin-Huang describes how the hard and soft measures were implemented during 1953 to 1964, “on the one hand, the KMT used ‘exclusionary corporatism’ to corner social resources, control every social department, such as labor, agriculture and business,
and set up the intelligence agency to interfere in each level of social organizations. On the other hand, they established a vertical ‘clientelist context’ for individuals to exchange their personal interests and eliminate the political consciousness.” (1995: 124-125) In order to eliminate the objection power in Taiwan’s society, the KMT found that co-opting local elites was the better way: e.g., purged old local elites, redesigned local organizations, and recruited new local elites to efficiently penetrate into local organizations and won the elections. As Winckler’s argument, “the system shifted from highly coercive at the beginning...toward somewhat more normative at the end.” (2001: 27-28)

In the middle 1960s, Taiwanese society was undergoing a tremendous change. Due to the economic-oriented principle and aids from US government in the 1950s, Taiwan’s “Export-oriented Industry” (EOI) policy succeeded massively and Taiwan finally had accesses to the global capitalistic system in the 1960s. During 1960 to 1980, “Capitalism was the most crucial trigger of social structural changes in Taiwan’s case,” Hsiao points out. (1995: 126) Economic development prompted a succession of social structural changes in Taiwan, for instance, an increase of job opportunities in non-agriculture department in urban area. Besides, the KMT gained overall success as well at educational reform, “which gradually created modern citizens who (later) could not identify with Chinese National authoritarianism.” (Winckler, 2001: 28) The trend of capitalism and the success of education spawned two meaningful changes, the abundance of living and the diversity of social structure and societal environment. These changes further produced two new social classes— urban labor class and urban middle class, whom became a new power in pushing the transformation of social and political structure in Taiwan afterwards.
In the 1970s, Taiwan’s domestic society was in the process of structural transformation; meanwhile, geopolitical changes were going on in the international sphere. Winckler states, “Transfer of American reliance from the ROC to the PRC removed the extraordinary opportunities and resources that American protection had previously awarded.” (2001: 28) During this period, the United States changed its political attitude and prepared to cooperate with China. Moreover, under “one China” principle, in 1971 Taiwan (the KMT regime) was forced to withdraw from United Nations and facing a series of breakups of diplomatic relations one after another. Under such a situation of diplomatic setback and the oil crisis in the early 1970s, Taiwan’s society was surrounded by an atmosphere of slump. (Hsiao Hsin-Huang, 1995; Hsiao Chuan-Chung, 2001)

Because of the political constraints in the international sphere in the 1970s, the leader Chiang Ching-Kuo proposed the principle of ‘replacing politics by economics’ and tried to keep connections with other countries via economics. (Hsiao Chuan-Chung, 2001: 70) Moreover, a doubt of “governed legitimacy” appeared in domestic sphere, that is, when the support from the United States was removed, the KMT regime lost its legitimacy to govern Taiwan. This crisis motivated the KMT regime to put emphasis not only on economic issues, but also on reinforcing governmental legitimacy inward by cooperating with local political and economic elites or recruiting them into the political core. (Hsiao Hsin-Huang, 1995: 127) Notwithstanding, this power structure was only open for the elites, not for the public.

Taiwan’s social power was not strong enough to organize social movements against the State power until the middle of 1970s. As mentioned, economic development geared
up the appearance of urban middle class and urban labor class. The new middle class established organizations which functioned differently from the NGOs we now define in social movement theories due to the constraint of the martial law. They worked with intellectuals whom Hsiao Hsin-Huang regards as a “new class”, criticized the structural domination and fought for social justice and human rights. 1977 certainly is a watershed that the activists started to unify against the bribe when the mayors and representatives elections were running. After 1979, this burst of social power was gradually being gathered, organized, and motivated against toward the state and indeed pressured the legitimacy of the authoritarianism. Eventually, Taiwanese society in the 1980s showed its autonomy in challenging the authority of the state through organizing NGOs and launching social protests. As many scholars have point out, 1983 is the most crucial turning point that the number of social protests skyrocketed and gradually upraised by years. 175 social protests occurred in 1983 and the number increased to 1172 in 1988. (Hsiao Chuan-Chung, 2001: 72)

These pressures forced the KMT regime to give up the authoritarianism and to abolish the martial law in 1987. Hsiao Hsin-Huang (1995) explains that Taiwan’s society in the 1980s showed its long-term eagerness of changing the unbalance relationship between the state and the society. There were roughly 19 different issues going on in the 1980s and Taiwan’s aboriginal movement was one of them starting at the very beginning of the 1980s. They claimed for collective rights and further in 1987 declared a statement of “aboriginal nation (Yuanzhumintsu).”

To sum up, Japanese regime and the Nationalist KMT regime implemented policies to control the islanders, including local Taiwanese and all aboriginal tribes; furthermore,
what Chou calls “structurally cultural biases” repressed and destroyed their traditions of all tribes. These historical events have marginalized and stigmatized the whole Taiwan’s aborigines in a long run and further spurred a “stigmatized collective identity of Taiwan’s aborigines.” Interestingly, this stigmatized collective identity slowly transformed in the 1980s into an active power which can attribute to the trend of decolonization in Third World and the uprising social power in Taiwan. Next section explores the role of pan-aboriginalism in aboriginal social movement.

5.2 The Appearance of Pan-aboriginalism

It is believed that Taiwan’s aboriginal movement appeared in 1983 when several aboriginal college students of National Taiwan University issued the underground magazine *Gaoshan Quing* (literally Mountain Blue) to arouse the consciousness of the aborigines. Taiwan’s aboriginal movement from 1983 can be considered as a process of searching for self-identity and arousing self-consciousness of the aborigines. Icyang Parod, one of major leaders of Taiwan’s aboriginal movement, states,

“The process of the movement itself is a process of consciousness. This process makes aboriginal activists gradually realize their rights and the (ill) essence of the ruler.” (1994: 279)

At the beginning stage of the aboriginal movement, no massive social protest had been launched by the Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines (the ATA). Due to the restricted societal circumstance, besides some sporadic small protests, the ATA had never organized massive street movements to demand the rights for the whole aborigines (the aboriginal nation) until 1986. Namely, although fitful protests happened in the early stage of aboriginal movement, these protests in fact did not demand the concrete policies, but
speak out for the individual cases instead. Icyang Parod (1994) notes two stages based on their different aims in the first decadal movement from 1984 to 1993: from 1984 to 1987, the aim was to do aid-seeking for individual cases; the second stage was from 1987 to 1993 aiming to fight with the ruling regime. In 1993, another wave of Taiwan's aboriginal movement had been proposed: tribalism, which was first addressed by Taiban Sasala in No.9 of Aboriginal Post in 1992 and different from the one in the prototype of tribal societies.

The main task of the first stage (from December 1984 to March 1987) for the Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines was to help individual cases. Icyang Parod (1994) points out that in this time, the ATA “served” individual aborigines in order to promote their awareness of aboriginal rights. The ATA basically focused on the social problems, such as aboriginal child workers and aboriginal child prostitutes, (Lin Shu-Ya, 2000; Hsieh Shih-Chung, 1987; Icyang Parod, 1994) and believed that through resolving individual problems, they can instill the idea of aboriginal rights in Taiwan’s aborigines and shows them the way of striving for their rights. Furthermore, through helping their people, they can know better the difficulties Taiwan’s aborigines were encountering. Moreover, the most important is that this form of movement was more acceptable for the KMT regime and the whole society. These serving works had being carried out around two years until the Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines was shuffled and altered its name into “the Alliance of Taiwan Aboriginal Nation (Yuanzhumintsu).” In brief, Taiwan’s aboriginal movement was not massively launched at the beginning, and yet in order to avoid getting in troubles, they chose mild way to carry on their plans.

The second stage was from March 1987 to December 1993. Icyang Parod declares that
the leadership of the earliest massive demonstration on January 1987 was held by Rainbow Women Institute, which worked on the issue of aboriginal child prostitutes and protested against trafficking in persons. Not only were the main leaders, the most participants were also not the aborigines. Until 1987 the martial law was lifted, the number of aboriginal groups upraised. These small groups and the Alliance of Taiwan Aboriginal Nation, the biggest aboriginal association, unified together when propelling demonstrations, such as protesting Tung-pu village event (in Bunan tribe\(^{18}\)), fighting the establishment of Ho-ping (literally, peace) Cement Industrial District (in Truku tribe)\(^{19}\) and destroying “Wu Feng myth.”\(^{20}\)

As many panethnic movements around the world, such as pan-Asian movement in the USA, their relatively small numbers (of sub-groups) make cooperation necessary. (Lopez and Espiritu, 1990) Same as Taiwan’s case, the total population of Taiwan’s aborigines is around 2.08% of total population of Taiwan and includes more than ten different tribes

\(^{18}\) Tung-pu village is one of Bunan tribe located in Nan-tou County in central Taiwan. After Yushan National Park was established, Tung-pu became its gate and a huge amount of tourists flooded into this quite village. In 1986, the local government decided to forbid burying here and asked villagers to move the graves because they believed that this graveyard hindered the local tourism. Next year, the local government dug and destroyed Bunan graveyard without any forewarn and exposed the die bodies and coffins on the ground arbitrarily. Government officials refused to answer. (http://web.my8d.netlmSa07/volem010ldonpu05.hlm)

\(^{19}\) Ho-ping village is a Truku tribe located in Hua-lien County, eastern Taiwan and has rich limestone mines. This project was carried out in 1984 at first because there was a voice asking the government to construct eastern Taiwan and moreover a lot of spots in western Taiwan were going to close around 1997. Hence, in 1991, this project was officially listed on the Six-Year National Construction Project, no matter how the villagers protested and resisted. Now this peace town has already become a dusty town. (http://ecocity.ngo.org.tw/newfile/maintopic/hoping/hoping3.htm)

\(^{20}\) Wu Feng has been a controversial historical figure in Taiwan’s history. Taiwan General History indicates that Wu Feng was a government official and he put a lot of effort to dissuade the aborigines from “chu-tsao (hunting human’s heads).” Finally, he sacrificed himself and stopped hunting heads custom. During Japanese regime, Japanese government diviniz ed Wu Feng and Wu Feng became the discourse foundation for Japanese government to govern the aborigines. Later, KMT regimes also edited this story into the course book. From 1987, the aborigines started to refuse this stigma and asked to eliminate this myth from the course book. Now, according to a lot of suspicious points and later researches, some scholars believe that Wu Feng myth is fictional or maybe partial fictional. (http://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E5%90%B3%E9%B3%83, wikipedia)
therein. In order to successful compete with majority groups for resources, collective actions become needed. Then, how do they call for the collective action/identity of Taiwan’s aborigines from different villages and tribes? Interestingly, the method they first adopted was to emphasize their similarity, such as the statement of ‘we are the same’ which implicitly hints at their differences from Han people (outsiders). This statement quickly and simply made distinctions between all tribal people and the state regime, which did Han mainlanders compose mostly. The following statement is one of examples announced in 1988 in Taiwan Declaration on the Rights of Aboriginal Nation:

“Taiwan aboriginal nation is not descendants of the Yan and Huang Emperors (or China nation). The whole aborigines are Austronesian and different from Taiwanese (or Minmanren), Hakka people, and Mainlanders, who consider themselves as descendants of the Yan and Huang Emperors and Han people.” (Icyang Parod, 1994: 283)

Moreover, in this declaration, the Alliance of Taiwan’s Aboriginal Nation not only highlighted the differences between Taiwan’s aboriginal nation and Han people in Taiwan in terms of bloods and origins, but also emphasized the reasons they possess the mastership of Taiwan Island. Icyang Parod in 1985 wrote the article “Yuanzhumin—the reason we choose it to be our name” stating,

“According to the oral history of each tribe, our ancestors lived in Taiwan originally. According to the record of the history, over ten different aboriginal tribes, which share different culture, languages and customs, have existed in the island before outsiders. And according to our “self-determination”, the Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines voted for the adoption of the name Yuanzhumin to present aboriginal individuals or the whole tribes.” (Icyang Parod, 1993: 188)

Such a statement appeared in the later declarations and social movements several times. Although the ATA was established in 1984, there was actually no strong official declaration or statement revealing a collective identity until 1987 the ATA changed the
orientation of their movement fighting on the streets.

In effect the purpose of the above statement mainly explained their rights to choose what they wanted to be considered and did not really aim to challenge the governed legitimacy of the state. However, the ruling regime had never disapproved this demand because once they admitted that Taiwan's tribal people are aboriginal of Taiwan Island, the legitimacy of the KMT would become weaker. Moreover, in spite of this statement claiming their ownership of Taiwan Island to some extent, the events they carried out during 1983 to 1986 did not directly attack the legitimacy of the KMT regime. Nonetheless, when the governmental legitimacy of the KMT regime faced challenges and decided to lift the martial law in 1987, it was also the best moment to clarify Taiwan's aborigines' position in Taiwan's history and to claim the aboriginal rights, e.g., land rights, names rights and rights for self-government and autonomy.

Therefore, after 1987 the ATA became much more active in stating their demands and fighting for their rights on the streets. (Hsieh Shih-Chung, 1987) Moreover, after proposing the declaration in 1988, the Aboriginal Article was announced in 1992 and the aboriginal activists requested the government to include this Article into the constitution. (Icyang Parod, 1994) In Taiwan's constitution, there was no article related to aboriginal issues until 1994 the third round of the constitutional reform was held and finally included the name Yuanzhumin into Taiwan's constitution. (Good Yu-Jane, Chang Yu-Fen, 1999) Not only was Yuanzhumin officially approved, but also "Amended Name Act" got approved. Two years later, "to respond to the needs of the indigenous peoples, as well as to bring Taiwan in line with global trends", the Executive Yuan made a preparation for the establishment of the Council of Indigenous Peoples devoted to aboriginal affairs.
“Amended Name Act” began to be implemented in 1995 and stated that Taiwan’s aborigines can choose to recover their aboriginal name based on their will. However, according to the statistics of Department of Population, Ministry of the Interior, among more than three hundreds thousands of aborigines, only 193 aboriginal people applied for rectifications of aboriginal names from 1995 to the end of September 1997; afterwards, two of them changed their Han names back. (Nusagu Alang, 2002) So far, the Council of Indigenous Peoples said that they do not have accurate number of such rectification cases. The Council responded that the definition of aboriginal name is variable; hence it is hard to count it by the use of technology systematically. According to Nusagu Alang’s survey, the attitude of most of his aboriginal interviewees was passive. They responded, “changing name do not directly affect daily life”, “I get used to my Han name”, “aboriginal name is not common in Han society”, “I get used to using Mandarin in daily life”, and so on. These reasons make most aboriginal people have no will to spend their time and energy on rectifying their names. (2002: 253-255) Nevertheless, Nusagu Alang finds that if there are cultural organizations in the tribes, the residents there usually have more will to change their name back. Not only is the counting difficult, the process of the application is also awkward.

It is not hard to see that all these legislative achievements were done for the whole Yuanzhumintsu (aboriginal nation) and all these demands were based on the whole aboriginal nation. As Chao Chung-Chi (2003) argues, the ATA in fact tried to spread the concept of pan-aboriginalism to motivate all tribes and strive for the collect interests.
Indeed, the concept of *Yuanzhumintsu* was first proposed in 1987 when the ATA decided to shift the direction of the movement and altered the name of the ATA into “the Alliance of Taiwan’s Aboriginal Nation.” Icyang Parod in 1987 states,

“*Yuanzhumin* (aboriginal) is defined as an individual; and *Yuanzhumintsu* (aboriginal nation) is defined as the whole aborigines who are possessed of collective rights.” (*Review of Taiwan’s Aboriginal Nation’s Give Back Our Name Movement*, P 5)

Despite the ATA in 1987 did not clearly explain their intention of altering alliance’s name, the word ‘nation’ revealed a collective, shared integration. (Hsieh Shih-Chung, 1987) Moreover, in 1992 Icyang Parod further issued an official statement “why we chose ‘*Yuanzhumintsu* (aboriginal nation)’ to be our name” in the conference of “the constitution and the Aboriginal Article” by applying United Union’s concept of ‘Indigenous Peoples.’ Hsieh Shih-Chung argues that the ATA seemed to try to strengthen the foundation of the aboriginal movement for a long run through confirming the truth of being “a nation” to enhance their rights of autonomy. (P 159)

The demonstrations of “Give Back Our Land” and “Give Back Our Names” were in progress actively in this decade and the strategies they used were political-oriented. That is, mostly aboriginal activities tended to strive for aboriginal rights through the bureaucratic system. Nonetheless, though a plenty of the legislative achievements were done and the state was becoming negotiable, some aboriginal intellectuals and activists started to point out the problems and flaws of the aboriginal movement, such as lacking of roots from the tribes, lacking of resources, lacking of integration, too political-oriented, etc. (Icyang Parod, 1994)

“Amended Name Act” is a good example showing that although the legislation works
were successful, the life in tribes in fact did not have any huge change or improvement. Additionally, the first decadal movement did not emphasize the culture aspects much and indeed, the tribal culture and life was facing more difficulties and hard to be maintained in industrial contemporary society. The aboriginal movement in Han society and the reality in the tribes just eventually became two parallel lines and no crossover point. At this moment, the thought of tribalism (Pu-lo-chu-yi) was proposed and some intellectuals and activists believed that tribalism is the most crucial key to help the revival of aboriginal culture.

5.3 From the Streets to the Tribes: Tribalism

Taiban Sasala (1992) first proposed this idea of tribalism (Pu-lo-chu-yi) in No.9 (1992.01.30) of Aboriginal Post. The article title is “A practical starting point—fighting in our tribes”, pointing out the flaws of the previous movements and encouraging young aborigines and activists to return to their home tribes. He says,

“We believe that all aboriginal organizations and activists should give up unstable city life completely and return to our own tribes. We should keep distances from the neon light, throw ourselves into mountains and oceans, be ourselves, cultivate our soil, embrace our people, and care about the basic survival problem for our people,” said Taiban Sasala. “This is the only way to enlarge our movement space; furthermore, to fulfill and to reinforce our capability to proceed with the movement.” (Taiban Sasala, 1992, Aboriginal Post, No.9, Page 2)

Afterwards, Taiban Sasala continuously published his articles encouraging the idea of tribalism in No.10 (1992.03.01), No.11 (1992.04.28), No.12 (1992.07.15), No.13&14 (1992.10.25) and No. 15 (1993.01.15) of Aboriginal Post. In No.9, there are two articles and the titles are “Without the jungle, without the hunters-- Taiban Sasala talks about
why we need to fight in our tribes”, and “A practical starting point—fighting in our tribes.” In No.10, the article title is “Back to the tribes, the practicing journey for the aboriginal intellectuals.” In No.11, the article title is “Back to where we started—set up a movement and take tribes as the subject.” In No. 12, the article title is “Let’s go to the countryside!” and in No.13&14, the editorial is “Rebuilding the tribes is the origin of the movement.” In No.15, the article title is “Fight in our tribes—to the deepest cry to the aboriginal movement.” (Aboriginal Post, No.10-15)

Interestingly, the editorial direction of Aboriginal Post was slightly altered because of the concept of tribalism. Aboriginal Post was published in 1989 and most of the articles on the earlier issues tended towards political issues, e.g., who will run for the legislators, the members of Parliament, or any governmental official? What is the result of the election and what kinds of the impacts it may bring to the aboriginal movement? Moreover, these articles also focused on the policy-making and vetoed-projects related to aboriginal issues. Nevertheless, regarding the later publications, although these political-oriented articles still occupied most of the printed pages, there also something different appeared on the later publications. For example, from No.12 of Aboriginal Post, there were printed pages for aboriginal literature and myths. Furthermore, in No.13-14 they added a special annex reporting the movement of rebuilding Kochapog’an village. And in No.15 another special Supplement talked about the Hsiao-Kuei Lake (literally Little-Ghost Lake) and Ta-Wu Mountain (literally Great-Force Mountain) Natural Ecological Reservation. Moreover, they added a printed page for the theme of tribalism on each

21 Hsiao-Kuei Lake and the nearby mountain area in 1988 were announced as “Ta-Wu Mountain Natural Ecological Reservation” without any negotiation with local people. This area totally overlaps the traditional Rukai domain, which is considered by Rukai peoples as a sacred place and this law prohibits them from
publication from No.16 focusing on the tribal peoples, the lands, and any issue about the tribes. They even changed the masthead annexing a slogan “Peoples, Lands, Dignity” to show their faith of tribalism.

Rebuilding Kochapog’an village movement can be regarded as a fitting example of tribalism. Kochapog’an village belongs to part of Puyuma tribe, however due to the state-owned land policy during Japanese regime, the KMT’s “plainization (Pian-dehua)” policy in the late 1970s, and the changes of social and economic structure, most of villagers (somehow forcedly) moved downward to somewhere close to urban area for more job opportunities. (Taiban Sasala, 2004) Shang, Tao-Ming (1993) in Blue Tung-Kang Stream Electronic Newspaper indicates that rebuilding Kochapog’an village started from around 1990 when Auvinin, a Rukai people growing up in Kochapog’an village, decided to give up his accounting job in the plain and went back to Kochapog’an village. He said,

“After a period of time staying in the plain, we (aboriginals) always feel labored...For example, we always need to listen to others...My English is good and I am advantaged with this ability.... However, if there is promotion opportunity, mainlanders and Han people always take the position first...Therefore, I decided to give it up and came here!” (Retrieve by 10/21/06 from Shang, Tao-Ming, 1993, http://bbs.ntu.edu.tw/cgi-bin/readgem.cgi?board=Aborigines&dir=AQBOC5D&type=file)

going into Rukai’s tradition life. No.15, 16 and 17 of Aboriginal Post have a series of reports and discussions about this issue. (Preservation of Culture Assets Law, Council for Cultural Affairs, Executive Yuan; Taiban Sasala, 2004)

22 In the 1930s, Japanese regime entered Kochapog’an village implementing the state-owned land policy. They deforested and prohibited hunters from carrying out Rukai’s tribute customs. Taiban Sasala points out that these policies damaged Rukai’s traditional hunting culture and resource distributions; moreover destroyed the organic relation between hunting culture and natural environment. (Taiban Sasala, 2004: 49)

23 In the 1970s, KMT regime massively carried out the “plainization” policy, which aimed to “civilize” mountain people and made them look like plainsmen. Taiban Sasala indicates that this policy stigmatized their hunting culture and their tribal activities. Moreover, in 1979, the state moved the villagers to another village and called it “new Kochapog’an village.” However, more and more people moved out from new Kochapog’an village afterwards. Kochapog’an village was announced to be included a part of reservation in the 1980s and Rukai people were prohibited to enter it. (Taiban Sasala, 2004: 49-50)
The idea of rebuilding Kochapog’an village eventually became a cultural movement. Hung Tien-Chun, a scholar and organizer of several environmental and cultural organizations, met Auvinin during a trip when the Association of Mountain Culture Study visited Kochapog’an village in 1991. Auvinin mentioned the idea of rebuilding Kochapog’an village to Hung Tien-Chun and Hung further proposed this idea through the mass media. Afterwards, Kochapog’an village was announced to be second-grade historic site by Department of Civil Affairs, Ministry of Interior. (Retrieve by 10.23.06 from http://www.moi.gov.tw/dca/renovation01_15e.asp)

This encouraged an amount of people to plunge into this movement, and most of them however are scholars. Taiban Sasala was one of them (since he grew up there) and also the editor of Aboriginal Post meanwhile. Therefore, an amount of space in Aboriginal Post was used to report this movement and to promote the idea of tribalism. Nevertheless, Shang, Tao-Ming found in his interviewing with former residents of Kochapog’an village that most of interviewees tended to be pessimistic about rebuilding Kochapog’an village. He describes that the elders were nostalgic to the movement, however they did not believe that it would success in real life. Most of people confessed that they wanted to go back in their mind, however they needed to consider the reality in their brain, such as money issue for rebuilding a house, children’s education, and children’s will. (Shang, Tao-Ming, 1993) Auvinin states,

“\textquote{I advocated going back (to Kochapog’an village), so I should be the first one going back to our village and reconstructing our traditional lifestyle. With real strength, I believe, this will make people who follow me do it by themselves.”}

Auvinin sets a pertinent instance how tribalism practices and takes himself as an example.
to encourage former residents; meanwhile, he keeps his writing and working in the village to record Kochapog’han’s history, myths and culture. (Retrieve by 10/21/06 from Shang, Tao-Ming, 1993) Shang, Tao-Ming further indicates that as a matter of fact, the motivations and goals of Auvinin and Taiban Sasala were slightly different. For Auvinin, a former resident, the reconstruction work is what he can did for his tribe and this village; for Taiban Sasala, as an aboriginal activist (also a former resident), he believes that this reconstruction work can be an example and bring “collective benefits” to other aboriginal tribes. Although Shang, Tao-Ming’s interviewing shows the pessimistic reactions of former villagers, Taiban Sasala in his article on No.13-14 of Aboriginal Post has an optimistic attitude toward this movement. He says,

“So far, there are several villagers have constructed their stone slated house (shih-ban-wu) and they travel to and fro between new village and old village quite often. Their concrete practice sets up a best ideal for our cultural reconstruction in modern society.” (Taiban Sasala, 1992. Aboriginal Post, No.13&14. This article is also embodied in Taiban Sasala’s book Search for the Missing Arrow: the Prospects and Actions of Tribalism, 2004: 37)

This case, as well as the case of “Amended Name Act” shows that culture organizations indeed play very important and crucial roles in the revival of their tribal culture. In the case of rectifying aboriginal names, not only is the process awkward, the government information is also hard to be reached for people in tribes. Furthermore, the local governments sometimes do not catch up the new policies and failed to provide fully supports; moreover, the system and procedure are not well designed. According to Nusagu Alang’s interviewing, some interviewees responded that they will plan to

24 Nusagu Alang totally interviewed 70 peoples: 58 interviewees from Atayal tribe, 7 from Bunun tribe, 1 Amis, 1 Rukai, 1 Paiwan, 1 Tao and 1 Amis-Atayal. Although the number of the interviewees is not that many, it still shows their opinions and thoughts toward the issue of changing name to certain degree from
change names when “the system is well-done”, “the related law is complete”, and “the process is simple and convenient.” (2002: 266) Moreover, Nusagu Alang’s survey shows that 54 of 70 interviewees (77.2%) hope that people can recognize they are aborigines and 94.3% interviewees hope that their tribal culture can be well preserved. However, they did not show high interests in changing back to aboriginal names. Nusagu Alang makes a short conclusion that most of his interviewees believe that real life is more important than symbolic identity.

Among all his interviewees, only two people changed back to their aboriginal names and both of them have joining local cultural organizations. Nusagu Alang illustrates, “tribal cultural organization not only enhances the emotions among people in the tribe, moreover strengthens tribal cultural identity and motivates people to carry out real action in practice.” (p. 269) Although the legislation work is gradually achieved, the tribal revivals still need local organizations to help out. This is what Taiban Sasala meant of “tribalism”, namely only when the aborigines return to their tribes, practice their culture in person, and carry out the revival movement from the bottom, their power can be strengthened and the disadvantaged situation they are facing can be improved.

In 1993, another important magazine Taiwan Indigenous Voice Bimonthly was published. The publisher is Hua, Chia-Chih, an aboriginal legislator and its editor in chief is Sun, Ta-Chuan, who is a Puyuma aboriginal scholars. Most of their editors are aboriginal scholars and activists. In the opening statement of the magazine, Hua, Chia-Chih (1993) says,
"We gradually found that reconstruction and inheritance of our culture will be the foundation for all our aborigines to be safe and comfortable; moreover this is also indispensable to construct the integral of Taiwanese culture. Based on this understanding, we established the Association of Taiwanese Aboriginals’ Culture Development and set up *Taiwan Indigenous Voice Bimonthly* to strive for the space for aboriginal culture and discourses; furthermore, to reinforce the power of aboriginal culture." (No.1, p.1)

Afterwards, a lot of magazines which are related to aboriginal issues were mushrooming; such as *Aboriginal Education Quarterly* (1996), *Taiwan Aboriginal Peoples Quarterly* (1997), *Taiwan Aboriginal Education Studies Annual* (1998), *Taiwan’s Aborigines Monthly* (1999), *Aboriginal Culture and Education Bimonthly* (1999) and *Taiwan Aboriginal Youth Magazine* (2004), and so on. Compare to the previous decade, after 1993 the cultural aspect and tribal history caught more foci and emphases from the aboriginal intellectuals and activists than ever. Moreover, an amount of aboriginal intellectuals and activists organized tribal cultural workshops and tribal local organizations, and held all kinds of tribal culture-related activities, such as issuing the magazines, doing field researches, recording tribal history, organizing ‘experience tribal culture’ activities toward the publics, organizing knitting workshops and so on. Sun Ta-Chuan gave an address in 1994 in a workshop for aboriginal cultural workers stating his points about tribal organization and tribal reconstruction. He points out,

"Before talking about the way of organizing the tribes and communicating with people in tribes, we need to introspect ourselves." "Some aboriginal activists and tribal cultural workers sometimes have their own blueprints of tribes...however, this is very dangerous."

"A lot of young aborigines sometimes said ‘I am going back to my tribe, to teach my tribe, to civilize my tribe, to reform my tribe...However, they have never built close relations with tribal people and never known what the tribe needs.” (*Taiwan Indigenous Voice Bimonthly*, No. 7, P 8-18. Also in Sun Ta-Chuan’s book *Ethic Construction in the Cleft*. 2000: 58-79)
Sun Ta-Chuan indicates that tribe is alive and changing all the time. Hence, it is useless to read previous field researches if someone wants to understand the tribes. He says, “The only way to know your tribe is to enter your tribe in practice.” “Do not close the door. Try to know people and let them participate in.... When you start learning (the tribe), meanwhile you are also forming your social network.... And then, communication work can be carried out in tribe.” (P 69-70)

After 1993, more and more this type of workshops was held and taught tribal cultural workers the way of organizing activities and motivating people in tribes. These workshops provide a space for these cultural workers to share their experiences in tribes and thoughts. Moreover, not only was the practical aspect discussed, but also humanity and spiritual aspect were also a part of issues. From this point, we can confirm that more and more Taiwan’s aborigines were willing to return to their tribes and carry out the cultural activities in person. Furthermore, local organizations sometimes can be the bridge between tribes and outside world. To illustrate, they convey the governmental policies and related information to the tribes; moreover, they work with tribal people and deliver their thoughts to local governments or to other workshops. Nevertheless, as Sun Ta-Chuan concerns, if local tribal organizations do not fully understand tribal people and communicate with them well, the organizations will malfunction and may lose their trust from their local people.

When cultural activities were carrying on in tribes and a lot of young aborigines jumped on board, meanwhile the street movements were still proceeding. Icyang Parod (1994) indicates that they hope to develop the Alliance of Taiwan’s Aboriginal Nation into a well-designed organization that can represent all aboriginal people to negotiate
with the state. In 1996, the Council of Indigenous Peoples was officially established under the Executive Yuan and is now in charge of all Taiwan's aboriginal issues. However, some activists have criticized that aboriginal people now have an official department to take care of all aboriginal issues and the space for negotiation may become border than ever, however, these government aboriginal officials who had being part of activists somehow lose their autonomy and passions. In brief, Taiwan’s aborigines now not only strive for their rights “as a nation”, but also save their own tribal culture. Being a nation is the goal of Taiwan’s aborigines, however, preserving the materials composed of tribal culture, tribal traditions, tribal languages, and tribal values, are the foundation of the aboriginal nation is the top priority task of Taiwan’s aboriginal movement.
Chapter Six
Discussion

There are two dimensions in this research I inquire into, the first is dynamics triggering Taiwan's aboriginal movement and the second is the transformation of identity from primordial tribal identity, pan-aboriginalism, and then to tribalism. I conclude four domestic dynamics why these different tribes organized as a unity in the early 1980s and protested on the streets all of a sudden: (1) Taiwan’s rapid economic development; (2) Taiwan’s decolonization and localization; (3) the vigorous civil society and mushrooming social movements; and (4) the appearance of aboriginal elites. In addition to these domestic events, there were two global reasons triggering Taiwan’s aboriginal movement: (1) the concept of multiculturalism and (2) international aboriginal organizations (Non-governmental Organizations). Nevertheless, according to Alberto Melucci's statement, “The study of social movements has always been divided by the dualistic legacy of structural analysis as a precondition for collective action and the analysis of individual motivations” (1995: 42), these domestic and international dynamics should be seen as a precondition for Taiwan's social movement.

However, Melucci criticizes that the explanations never fill the gap between behavior and meaning, the gap between “objective” conditions and “subjective” motives and orientations. (Ibid.) In order to smooth this defect, 6.2 focuses on “subjective” motives by looking at the transformation of aboriginal identity and how pan-aboriginalism played as a collective identity in prompting and organizing social movement in the 1980s. Generally speaking, I agree with Hsieh Shih-Chung's argument of “stigmatized identity,” which is a collective identity for all tribes and a fundament of aboriginal collective
actions. This stigmatized identity is a historical outcome and is composed of grievances and shared historical scars. Notwithstanding, the movement scholars have criticized classical social movement theory, which “has normally assumed a close link between the frustrations or grievances of a collectivity of actors and the growth and decline of movement activity,” (McCarthy and Zald, 1977: 15) and resented three broad sets of factors in analyzing the emergence and development of social movements/revolutions: resource mobilization, political opportunities and framing process. (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, 1996) In this research, social movement is not the main focus; however, by looking at the aboriginal social movement of the 1980s, we can inquire how stigmatized collective identity transformed into pan-aboriginalism.

6.1 Environmental Triggers

6.1.1 Domestic Sphere

There are four triggers of appearance of Taiwan’s aboriginal movement I conclude: (1) Taiwan’s rapid economic development; (2) Taiwan’s democratization; (3) vigorous civil society and social movements; and (4) appearance of aboriginal elites.

First, Taiwan’s economics rapidly developed in the middle of 1960s and 1970s. Due to the economic-oriented policy and support from the US government in the 1950s, Taiwan’s “Export-oriented Industry” (EOI) policy succeeded and made itself go into the system of global capitalism in the 1960s. Economic growth and capitalism from the 1960s to 1980s were the crucial triggers of Taiwan’s social structural changes. As mentioned earlier, economic growth generated a new social class—urban middle class and urban labor class, who were the main actors in pushing Taiwan’s democratization
and civil society latter on.

Second, after breaking off diplomatic relation with the United State, the ruling legitimacy of the KMT was being doubted and facing challenges from Taiwanese society. With the pressures from the public, the KMT regime eventually released their power of authority and started to recruit non-mainlanders into the political structure. Their strategy was to co-opt local elites in order to win in the official elections. In doing this, they could keep legitimacy of their rules. Furthermore, because non-mainlanders could run the elections, this was also an excellent chance for them to enter the political structure.

Third, with ruling regime’s relative openness, Taiwanese society was becoming more active. Due to a series of repressive events, the public had sympathies for the opposition and further supported them and openly criticized the state. The aboriginal elites were inspired and enlightened by the continuing variable social movements and began to voice and demand for human rights in the early 1980s (and latter on for the aboriginal right). Additionally, the abolishment of the martial law triggered the openness and activeness of Taiwan’s civil society because people finally possessed the freedom of speech and the freedom of organization. This is the reason as well that the ATA decided to shift their orientation of their movement in 1987.

Finally, the KMT massively carried out universal education in order to assimilate (plainize) the aborigines and to construct their national identity and patriotism for the Nationalist regime. High education created a group of aboriginal elites whom afterward established the Alliance of Taiwan’s Aborigines and were in charge of all aboriginal issues, including organizing aboriginal social movements. In addition, due to a lot of voices and demands from the aboriginal elites, the states gradually put more emphases on
the aboriginal rights and also increased their opportunities to participate into the process of legislative affairs and political sphere. Because of the efforts made by the ATA and aboriginal activists, in 1996, the Executive Yuan established the Council of Indigenous Peoples.

As a result, historical events and their consequences were tangled together and created a suitable timing and environment for the development of Taiwan's civil society and social movements. Taiwan's aborigines caught up this wave and found their part in the process of Taiwan's democratization. From the protests on the streets, they now end up entering the political sphere and participate into legislative work. Although these aboriginal elites have been criticized by some aboriginal activists and intellectuals that legislative work did not rescue the real life in aboriginal tribes and the gap between urban aboriginal elites and tribal aboriginal people was becoming wider than ever, it is generally agreed that political and legislative strides in aboriginal affairs were still noteworthy.

6.1.2 Global Sphere

In addition to domestic historical events, there were two global causes triggering Taiwan's aboriginal movement: (1) the concept of multiculturalism and (2) international aboriginal organizations (Non-governmental Organizations).

The definition, "As an ideal, multi-culturalism celebrates cultural variety (for example linguistic and religious diversity), and may be contrast with the assimilationist ideal assumed in many early studies of race, ethnicity, and immigration," was given by Dictionary of Sociology, published by Oxford University Press (Pp. 434-435). Broadly
speaking, the period 1840 to 1960 was the age of nation. (Jan Pieterse, 2004) In order to embody the concept of nation, assimilation was a common method for the dominant group to instill the value and culture into the subordinate groups and make them amalgamated. Practically, through education, mass communication, and any social mechanism, the subordinate groups come to accept and internalize the ideology, value system and culture of dominant group and further create a consolidated identity for the nation-state.

Nevertheless, after the 1960s, the politics of ethnicity in Western society was gradually resuscitative and has generated conflicts with Western societies. Until the 1980s, because of the problems of integration of Russia and Eastern-European countries, scholars started noticing the defects of assimilation and criticized it for neglecting the ability, culture and value of the subordinate groups. (Chou Wei-Hsuen, 2004: 13) Thus, the thought of multiculturalism was addressed in the period of 1970s and 1980 and highly emphasized in place of the previous concept of nation and unitary identity. Additionally, globalization advanced the diffusion of this concept and furthermore, many subordinate groups caught up this wave of thought and began rethinking this new perspective and their own situations. Taiwan’s aboriginal movement was a good example in this case.

Consequently, the ethnic issue and the aborigines began to be noticed and discussed at every corner of the world. Appearance of international non-governmental ethnic organizations was mushrooming and most of them keep tight connections with each other. For instance, some well-organized international organizations hold the meetings and conferences often and invite local (national) aboriginal organizations to participate in and share their experiences and thoughts in terms of aboriginal issues, such as Working
Group on Indigenous Populations (WGIP) and the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (PFII). Due to the globalization, Taiwan’s aboriginal intellectuals have more chances to receive new ideas from other countries and further learn their experiences in how to motivate people and carry out the movements. Besides, they not only share the thoughts, but also enhance their strength by keeping connections with other organizations. This collective power creates more strength in pushing aboriginal affairs.

More importantly, United Nations General Assembly proclaimed 1994 the International Year of the World's Indigenous People and the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People starting on 10 December 1994. This inspired Taiwan’s aborigines, Taiwan’s mass media and the government began to put their foci on Taiwan’s aboriginal affairs. Because of this declaration, a series of news reports were published discussing Taiwan’s aboriginal issues; moreover, it enhanced the legitimacy of the aboriginal movement. Doubtlessly, from the beginning to the end, Taiwan’s aborigines fight for their rights in the bureaucratic system all along. This top-down model was attacked by grassroots activists and triggered the notions of “tribalism”, “aboriginal nation” and “self-governmental administrative areas.”

6.2 Stigmatized Identity Constructed Pan-aboriginalism

Melucci (1995) argues, “Collective action is not simply a reaction to social and environmental constrains; it produces symbolic orientations and meanings that actors are able to recognized.” (p. 46) Chao Chung-Chi also points out that pan-aboriginalism per se is a constructed discourse. He states, “ethnic identity is generated through participating
in ethnic culture and their own customs, however, 'Taiwan’s aboriginal nation' itself does not possess any certain culture or symbols which can be practiced or interacted with. Real cultural symbols exist in each tribe instead of aboriginal nation.” (2003: 209-210)

Aboriginal movement started from a group of aboriginal elites and the first decade of the movement was very political-oriented. They decided to use “aborigines” and “aboriginal nation” to represent “all tribes” as integrity and fought for their rights “as a nation, which is different from Han people”. To this point, pan-aboriginalism and the concrete notion of “Taiwan’s aboriginal nation” can be considered as a strategy, or framing process in social movement theory, in order to achieve legislative goals.

In addition, Chao indicates that Taiwan’s pan-aboriginalism can be regarded as a “resistant symbol”— to resist Han society and the stigmatized identity. Namely, the grievances toward Han society and injustice of social structure gradually prompted the stigmatized collective identity; and this stigmatized collective identity was not only used to be foundation of pan-aboriginalism latter on, but also utilized as a symbol for streets protests by the ATA. Taiwan’s pan-aboriginalism and pan-aboriginal movement as a matter of fact is pretty similar with Asian-American movement in US emerged in the 1960s. According to Lopez and Espiritu’s research, there are several points triggering the formation of Asian-American: first, “Asian American largely on the basis of race, have often been lumped together and treated as if they are the same”; secondly, “‘Asian American’ as a unit in economic allocation and political representations”; thirdly, in order to win the arena of electoral politics, Asian Americans vote and lobby as an Asian bloc and become a political power; (1990: 209-211) Taking a further step to look at Taiwan’s aboriginal movement, we may argue that the formation of pan-aboriginalism in
effect was a movement strategy in framing process in order to win in political arena.

Briefly speaking, during Western colonial period, despite the aborigines lost their advantages on plains and few mountain areas, they still possessed their own territories and autonomy. However, during the 50 years of Japanese colonial rule, state-owned land policy and the intrusion on mountain resources gradually encroached on aboriginal territories and caused several rebellions between tribes and Japanese regime continuously. Hsieh believes that during Japanese regime, the aborigines still possessed a certain degree of self-confidence and tribal consciousness until 1930 the loss of Wushè Incident. After Wushè Incident, the Taiwan's aborigines completely lost their strength and their mastership of Taiwan. The worse was that after the KMT regime took over Taiwan and Han people massively immigrated into Taiwan, Pinpu people (Plain people) were almost assimilated by Han people and disappeared.

Although the aborigines lost their mastership of Taiwan, their tribal value and social structure still remained complete to some extent. Notwithstanding, the KMT's detrimental policies, such as plainization policy (to assimilate the aborigines) and mountain reservations (to prohibit people's entry), broke down the tribal value and social structure eventually. Moreover, with the rapid changes of Taiwan's economic and social environment, the aborigines' lifestyle and tribal values started changing and a large number of young aborigines flooded into big cities forming so-called "city aborigines." (Hsieh Shih-Chung, 1987) Nevertheless, the conflicts between city aborigines and Han people in big cities, e.g., discriminations, tribal identities, difficulties of adopting city life, social-economic problems and the like, were getting serious. In addition, a series of policies, for instance, set-up of mountain preservations, upraised the tension between the
aborigines and Han society. These shard experiences and resentments toward the state and Han society gradually constructed “an identity to the whole aborigines”, which is what Hsieh calls “stigmatized identity.” The following series figures illustrate the transformation of Taiwan’s aboriginal identity chronologically until the present.

Figure 6-1
Proto-nation: Before Japanese Regime

Before Japanese regime, tribal people have their own identities for the tribes they belong to. This stage is what Chao Chung-Chi calls “proto-nation” however there was no any concrete concept of “nation” but huge gaps and barriers among tribes. In short, each tribe was an individual unit and did not have any connection or share common history. The size of circles and the location is random and do not have any reference.
In order to efficiently exploit Taiwan’s mountain resources, Japanese colonial regime massively built up the transportation system and many urban constructions in Taiwan. These not only brought Taiwan into the era of modernization, but also narrowed down the gaps of each tribe. Furthermore, because Japanese policies considered all tribes as a kind (Fan people or Takasago) and arbitrarily categorized and named them, Taiwan’s aboriginal tribes started having connections in between. After the KMT took over and governed Taiwan, the shared historical experiences and resentments were gradually
enhanced and constructed a stigmatized collective identity. Although the collective sentiments seemed to surround all different tribes, they have never formed any tribal identity between tribes. To illustrate, Atayal people might possess a certain degree of collective identity of non-Han group, nevertheless they would never have tribal identity for Puyuma tribe.

In addition, the boundary between Han identity and Taiwanese identity is ambiguous however this ambiguity is beyond the scope of this paper. Thus, I simplify it in this figure by including them together in a circle to make a comparison with other aboriginal tribes.

Figure 6-3
Pan-aboriginalism was Formed:
Aboriginal Social Movement of the Early 1980s
After 1983, a group of aboriginal young college student who are from different tribes issued an underground magazine and aimed at all Taiwan’s tribes. Moreover, in 1984 the Alliance of Taiwan’s Aborigines was established and decided to adopt *Yuanzhumin* (aborigines) as their name. From then on, these different tribes (the left circle) had a tangible, integral name— *Yuanzhumin*. Furthermore, the ATA in 1985 declared that they (*Yuanzhumin*) are different from Han people: they are the very first residents to Taiwan this island and different from the later settlers. So far, the differences between all aboriginal tribes and Han society were strongly addressed and became obvious truths. These differences from Han people and the stigmatized identity gradually constructed certain collective feeling and identity toward people who have similar experiences and are facing the same situation.
The ATA in 1987 revised their name into "the Alliance of Taiwan's Aboriginal Nation" and claimed that "Yuanzhumin (the aboriginal) represents each individual of the aborigines; Yuanzhumintsu (the aboriginal nation) represents the whole aborigines." That is, each individual in the left circle of the above figure belongs to the aboriginal nation, which is totally different from Han people (the right circle). In this stage, the concept of "being a nation" (the left circle) was fully addressed by the ATA and also revealed in aboriginal movements as a foundation of the arguments.
We can see that the ATA transformed and enhanced the notion of Taiwan's aboriginal nation in this process; furthermore, this idea was framed in order to strive for collective interests, e.g. legislative rights in political ground. In a word, the concept of “Taiwan aboriginal nation” and “pan-aboriginalism” in this stage was more like a strategy to mobilize all the aborigines rather than a real, concrete, and existential ethnic identity. Nevertheless, this constructed identity indeed became a known and aggregative notion due to the long-term aboriginal movement and legislative work. That is, Taiwan’s pan-aboriginalism and the concept of Taiwan’s aboriginal nation were clearly shown in the legislation and the political sphere, but not in each aboriginal tribe.

However, as the figure shows, as Taiwan’s aboriginal nation (the left circle) becomes strong in political ground, meanwhile, the aboriginal tribes (the small circles inside of the left circle) were becoming weak. Johnston and Klandermans (1995) state, “Daily interactions is a substantial part of the raison d'être of these movements.” (Pp. 11-12) In this regard, everyday in tribes definitely is the substantial part of the raison d'être of Taiwan's aboriginal movement and the proposition of and tribalism is eventually inevitable. However, pan-aboriginalism and the notion of “aboriginal nation” are somewhat like an umbrella and enable tribal units to carry out their tribal revival. How pan-aboriginalism and tribal identity can work together efficiently is the most important issue now in aboriginal movement.

6.3 Failure or Succeed? The Rise of Tribalism

This section explores the causes of the rise of tribalism and I mainly conclude two reasons: first, the unsatisfying goals of aboriginal movement; second, the uprising
concerns and uncertainty about their tribal culture and destiny.

6.3.1 The Unsatisfying Aboriginal Movement

Many aboriginal activists have criticize that Taiwan’s aboriginal movement in effect should be considered failed although some indeed admitted that a notable political and legislative footstep was achieved to certain extent. The failure was shown in two dimensions. First, after the Council of Indigenous Peoples was established, the aboriginal movement just became weaker than ever. The space for social movement was restricted and the arena of negotiation was shifted from streets to political ground. Second, although the claim of Taiwan’s aboriginal nation strengthened the movement itself, the individual tribes did not receive much benefit from this decadal political-oriented movement. When aboriginal activists fully devoted themselves to empower Taiwan’s aboriginal nation, the power of tribes was fading in modern society.

Nevertheless, it is difficult, to certain point, to exactly measure the degree of failure of a movement. As Icyang Parod points out, they in effect received pretty satisfied responses from the state and mainstream society in the former decade of aboriginal movement. Moreover, all the legislative works are in the process of negotiation in the arena of political system. The establishment of the Council of Indigenous Peoples further showed the strength of Taiwan’s aboriginal nation and made this collective identity concrete. Meanwhile, aboriginal activists received the strength and supports from legislative achievement and shifted their movement direction to culture ground.

Pan-aboriginal movement was generally considered failed, however, in political sphere, it succeeded. In spite of this success, uncertainty of city life and unstable political arena
still scared aboriginal activists. They figured out that tribal culture and value is the key point to unify their people tightly and afterwards a lot of voices appealed for tribal cultural revivals. In brief, Taiwan’s aboriginal movement split cross; one still tries to enhance the power of Taiwan’s aboriginal nation, the other goes back to individual tribes to enhance the fundament of being a tribal people and search for their subjectivity and strength.

6.3.2 The Uprising Concerns and Uncertainty

Sun Ta-Chuan indicates that ethnic discrimination is a shared scar in aboriginal literature. In the first decade of Taiwan’s aboriginal movement, most of these literatures appealed for shared interests and historical memory and emotions toward all Taiwan’s aborigines (Taiwan’s aboriginal nation). Not only was the ethnic discrimination shown in the aboriginal literature, but also the emotions toward their ancestors and tribal culture were revealed in the latter stage of aboriginal writing. It is easy to notice concerns and uncertainty about tribal culture and destiny in aboriginal writing pieces. Sun Ta-Chuan, as an aboriginal writer, says that “the idea of return (hui-kuei) commonly appears in the soul of the aboriginal writers, because this seems to be the only way for them to receive the sprit of their ancestor.” (2005:92)

More appropriate to address, the proposition of tribalism was not just an orientation shift of aboriginal movement and yet revealed the transformation of self-consciousness of aboriginal intellectuals. Pan-aboriginalism, to some extent, should be regarded as a product of Taiwan’s contemporary history and it implies a historical scar for each tribe. Pan-aboriginalism is shown only in political sphere and in Han society but does not exist
in everyday tribal life. Identity, as discussed in Chapter two, is fluid, situational, and layered. Depending on the situations and whom you are interacting with, people show different levels of identities and how strong their identity is. In this case, the one that tribal people practice every day is sub-tribal identity and through practicing their tribal culture, they know who they are and where they are from. Despite different levels of identities are formed within various social or historical contexts, each layer of identity indeed possesses its own meanings and functions for aboriginal individuals and their everyday life.
Chapter Seven
Discussion

As just motioned, everyday in tribes definitely is the substantial part of the raison d'être of Taiwan's aboriginal movement. If we regard pan-aboriginalism as a historical product, then tribalism seems to be an inevitable outcome in the transformation process of Taiwan’s aboriginal identity. As Icyang Parod states, “the process of the movement itself is a process of consciousness.” Despite the “consciousness” Icyang Parod mentions implies “an awareness of human/aboriginal rights”, we cannot deny that indeed in the process of aboriginal social movement, self-consciousness and tribal subjectivity were gradually seen and enhanced and eventually the notion of tribal cultural revivals was proposed in response.

This research presents how historical, social and political contexts transformed the identity and how layered identity flows within tribes and aboriginal nation. Nevertheless, the “subjective (individual) motives and orientations” (Melucci, 1995) have not fully inquired into yet. Undeniably, as Chao and Hsieh argue, pan-aboriginalism is a constructed existence in historical precondition; however it in effect is more than that. Regarding the framing process in social movement theory, pan-aboriginalism is a framing product and the strong, concrete collective identity toward Taiwan's aboriginal nation can be regarded as an outcome of framing process. For the future research, micro-level study is important in order to closely look at the construction process of collective identity and that of aboriginal nation in framing process.

Furthermore, the contemporary hybrid of aboriginal culture is an interesting theme to inquire into. This research does not lay much emphasis on the relationship within tribal
culture, tribal identity and aboriginalism and neglects the display of tribal culture in the fluid identity. What kind of pan-aboriginal culture has being created and what kind of meaning it represents will be very interesting research questions as well for the future researches.
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