

**The Making of Ethnicity in Postwar Taiwan:
a case study of Kavalan ethnic identity**

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Abstract

This thesis attempts to conceptualise ethnic identity in a more comprehensive theoretical framework. It focuses on the Kavalan, a Taiwanese aboriginal group, in order to investigate why these people have strongly reasserted themselves as a distinctive ethnic group and pursued their minority rights since the 1980s, especially after a long period of sinicization and close interaction with other ethnic groups, when they were considered to have assimilated into mainstream Chinese society. This thesis thus examines problems of ethnicity and identity formation and explores the significance of the construction/reconstruction of Kavalan identity in relation to the historical development of Taiwanese culture and society.

The discontinuity and revival of Kavalan identity provide a good example of the reconfiguration of an ethnic identity. The historical development of these people shows the situational and contextual character of ethnicity. The revival of the Kavalan identity reveals the political dimensions of ethnicity in relation to political mobilisation and self interest. As the Kavalan revival coincides with the process of redefinition of Taiwanese national identity, it is closely interlinked with the larger structures of nationalism and culture which highlights the problematic relationship between ethnicity and nationalism.

In this thesis, I also examine other vital issues related to ethnicity, such as nationalism, authenticity, invented tradition, religion and, more importantly, the politics of representation. The representation of the Kavalan in written literature and the mass media has contributed to the formation of their identity, reinforcing the image of ethnic characteristics; however, the Kavalan have appropriated the media to represent themselves. I conclude by looking at another important aspect of ethnicity, that is, the determination of ethnic groups to mould their own identities.

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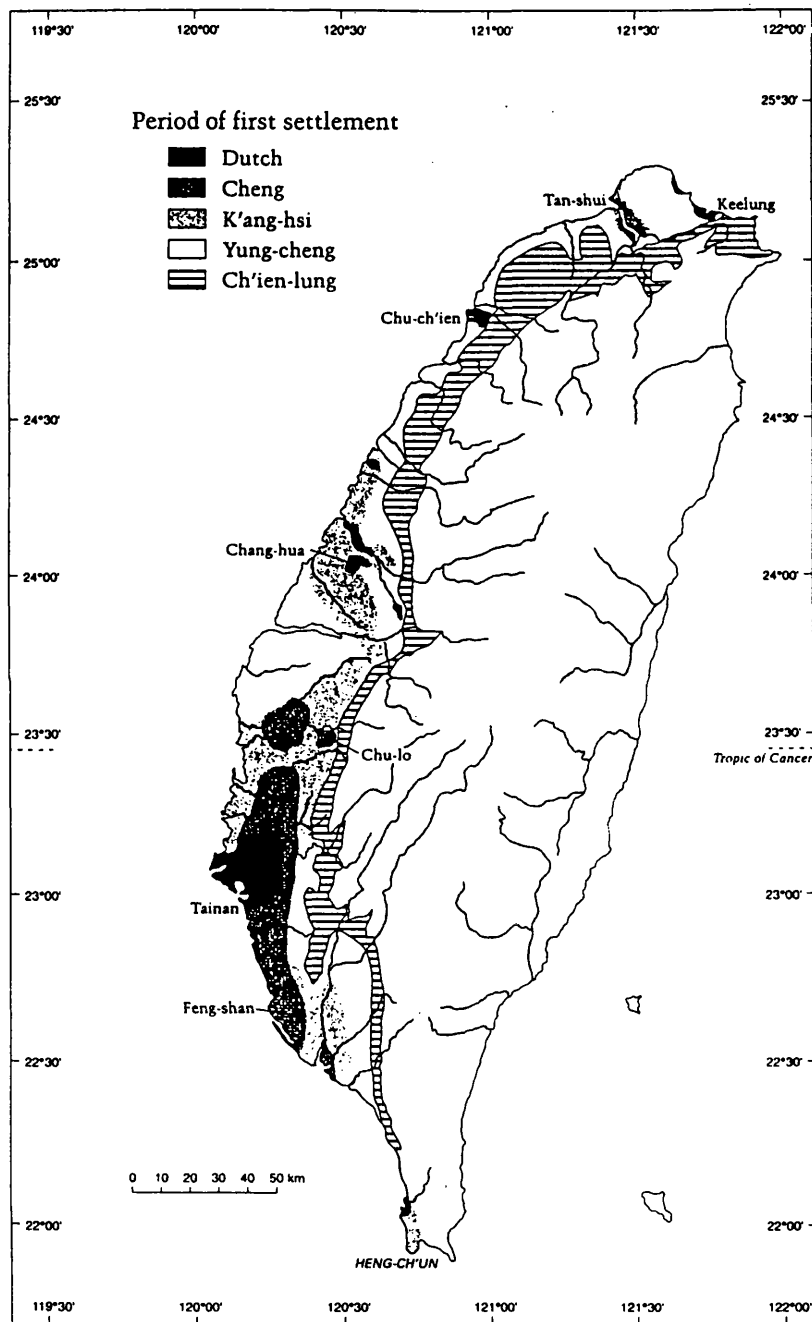
Finally, any mistakes or any errors of fact, and the views expressed in this thesis, are my own responsibility.

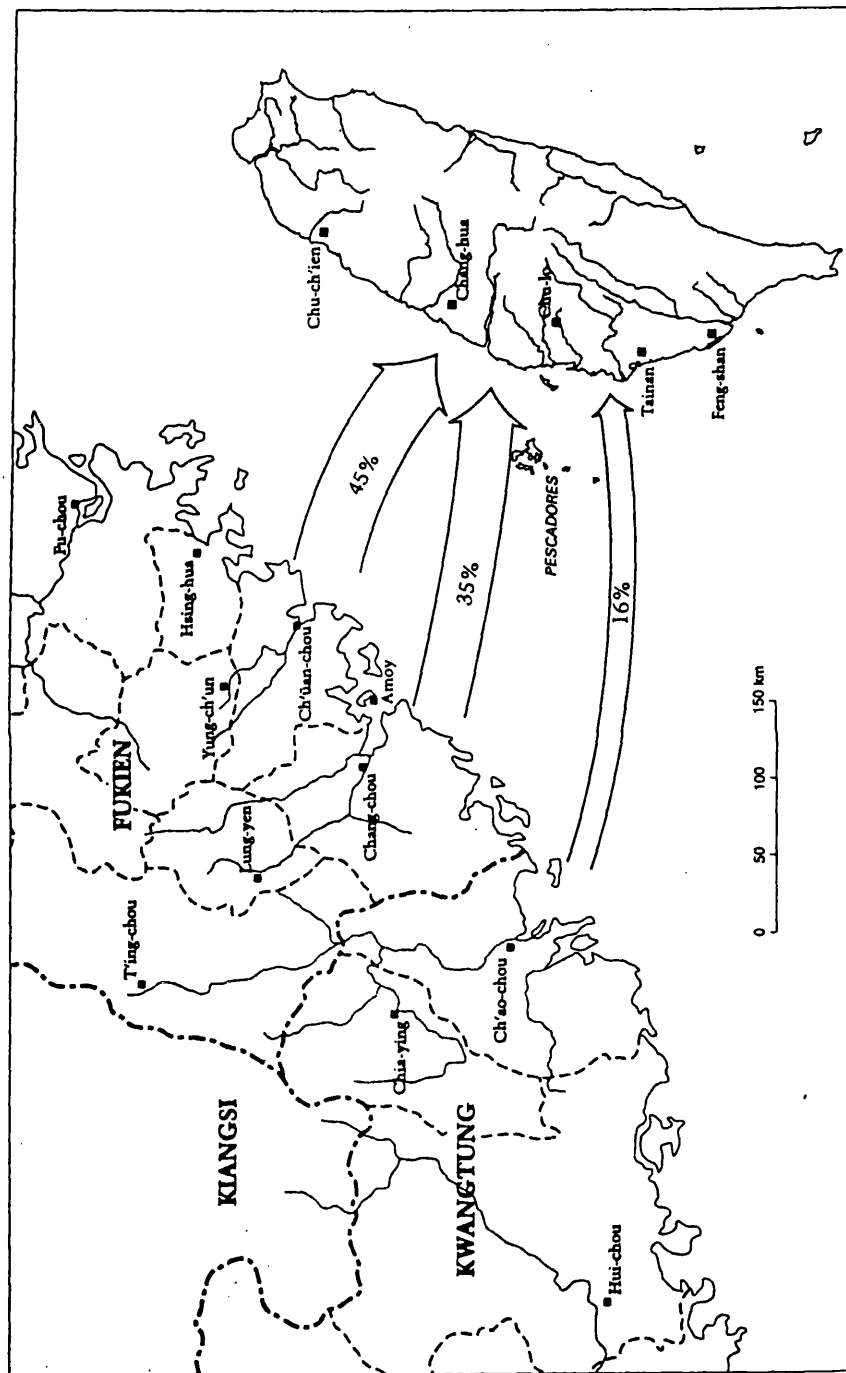


Map 1: Taiwan's location in East and Southeast Asia.
Based on The Times Atlas of World.

Map 2: The territories of earlier colonisers in Taiwan.

Adapted from Shepherd 1993: 175. (Kang-hsi 康熙 [1661-1722], Yung-cheng 雍正 [1723-1735], and Chien-lung 乾隆 [1736-1795] all belong to the Ching Dynasty.)





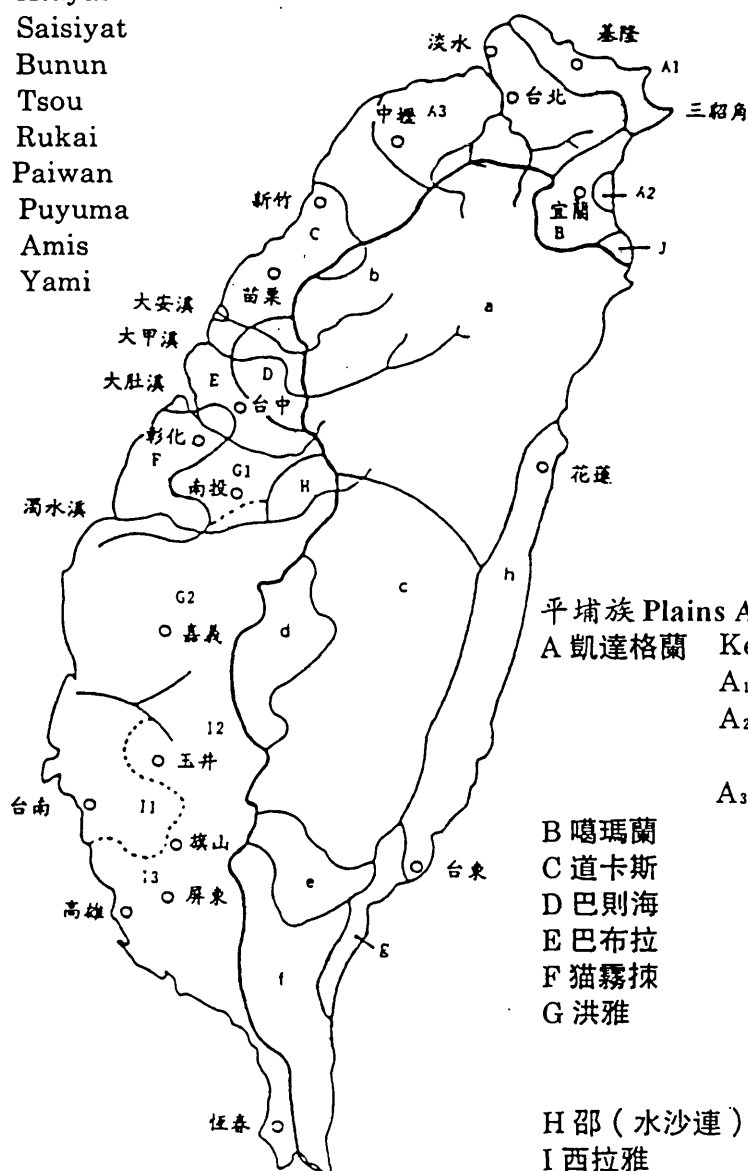
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Adapted from Shepherd 1993: 145.

Map 4: Linguistic distribution of Taiwan's aboriginal groups.

Drawn by Tsuchida 1983, adapted from Li 1997: 36.

高山族 Mountains Aborigines

- | | |
|------|----------|
| a 泰雅 | Atayal |
| b 賽夏 | Saisiyat |
| c 布農 | Bunun |
| d 鄒 | Tsou |
| e 魯凱 | Rukai |
| f 排灣 | Paiwan |
| g 卑南 | Puyuma |
| h 阿美 | Amis |
| i 雅美 | Yami |



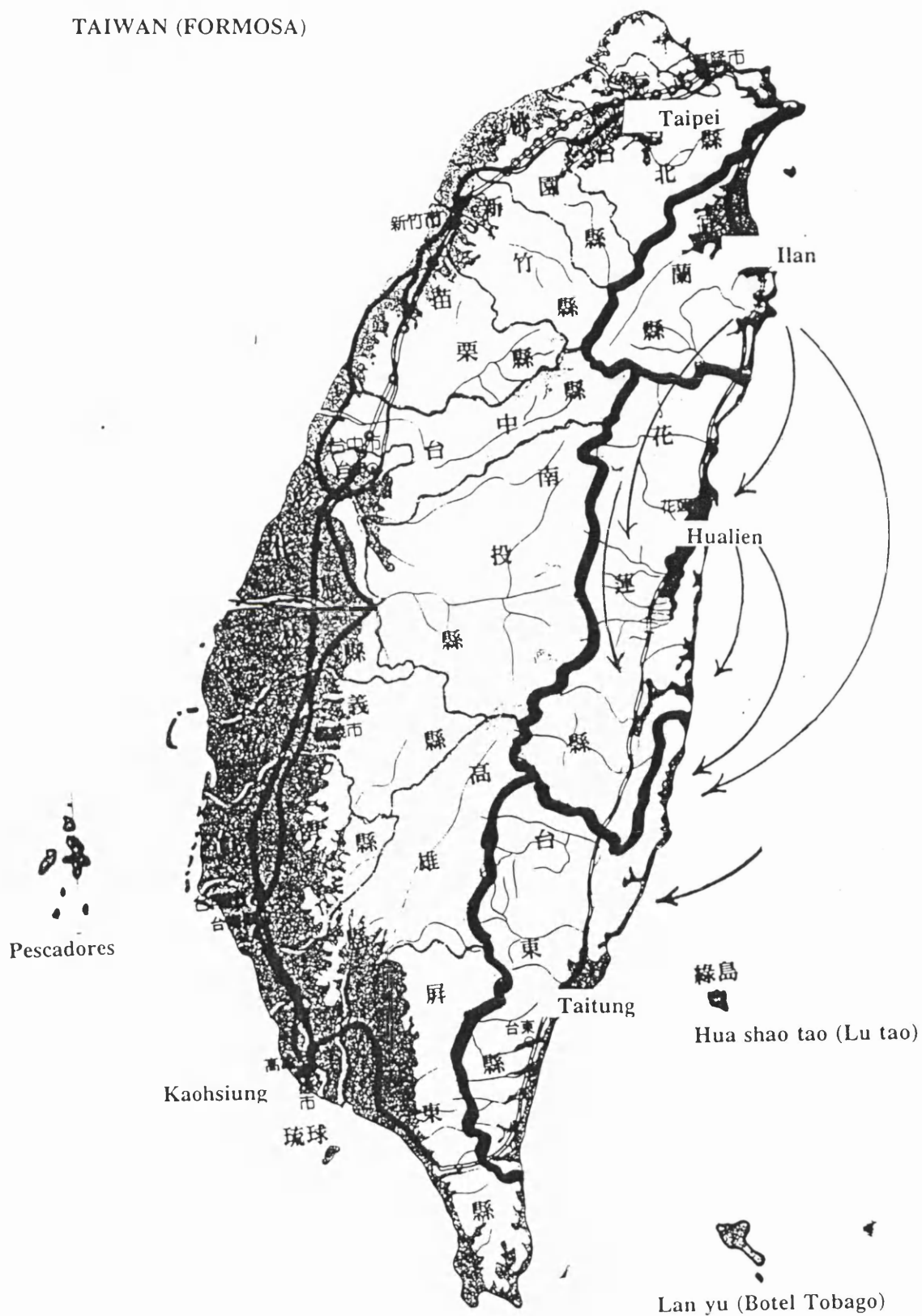
平埔族 Plains Aborigines

- | | |
|-------------------------|-----------|
| A 凱達格蘭 | Ketagalan |
| A ₁ : 巴賽 | Basay |
| A ₂ : 哆囉美遠 | Trobiawan |
| A ₃ : 雷朗 | Luilang |
| B 噶瑪蘭 | Kavalan |
| C 道卡斯 | Taokas |
| D 巴則海 | Pazeh |
| E 巴布拉 | Papora |
| F 貓霧揀 | Babuza |
| G 洪雅 | Hoanya |
| G ₁ : Lloa | |
| G ₂ : Arikun | |
| H 邵 (水沙連) | Thao |
| I 西拉雅 | Siraya |
| J 猴猴 | Qaugaut |

Map 5: Kavalan migration to Hualien and Taitung at the end of the 1890s.

Adapted from Taiwan Province General Atlas 1992.

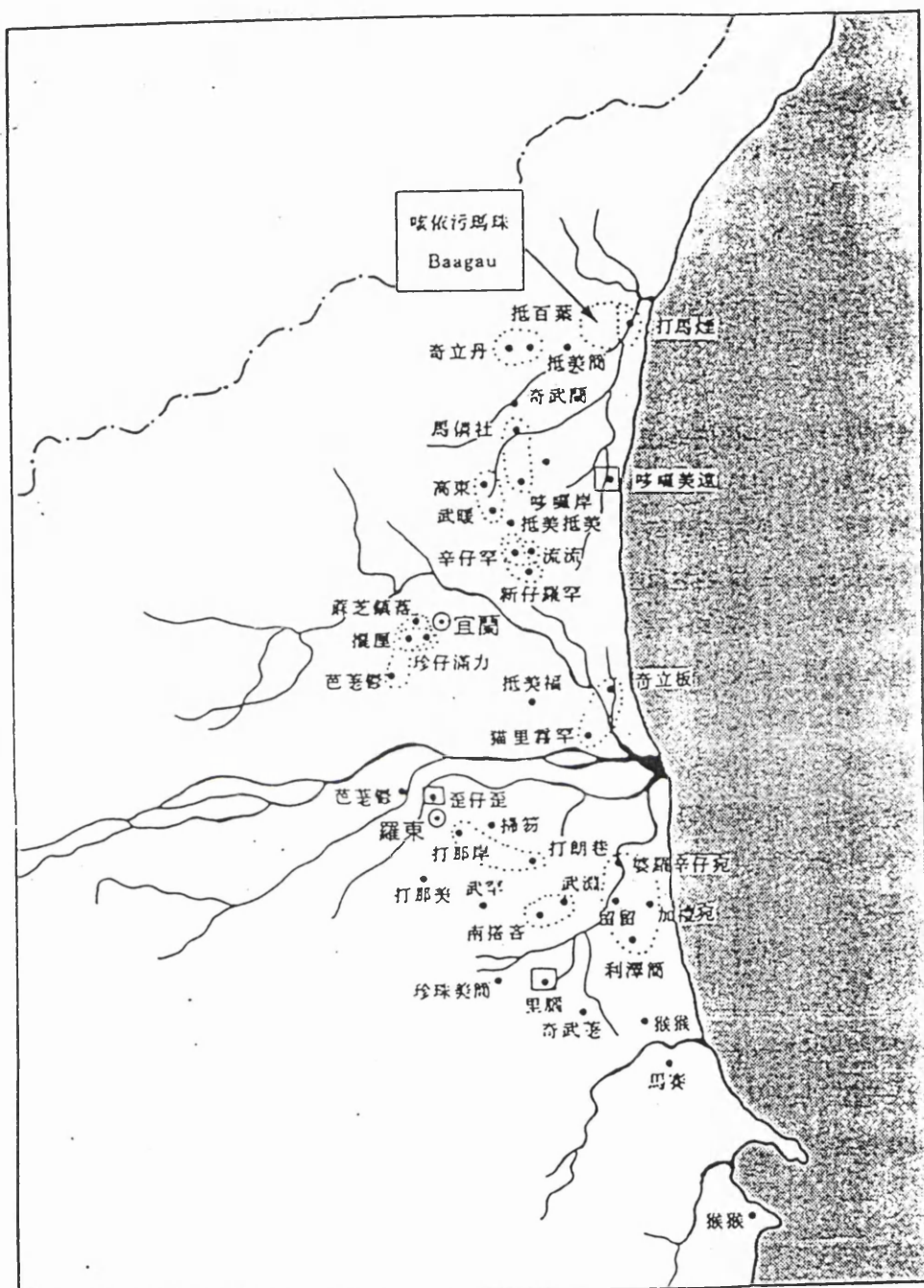
TAIWAN (FORMOSA)





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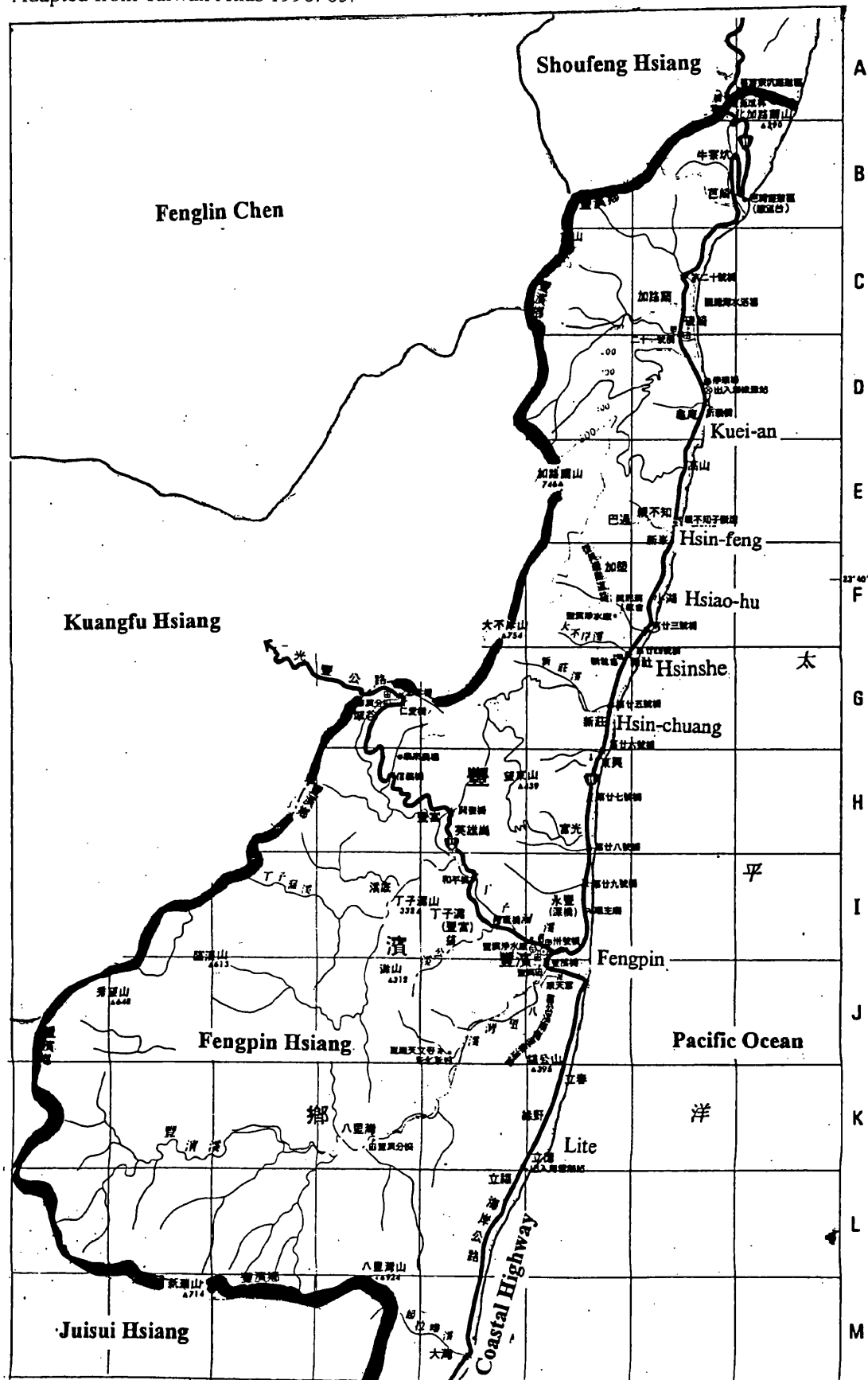
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Adapted from Chan 1998.

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Adapted from Taiwan Atlas 1996: 65.



Introduction:

Ethnicity, Methodology, and the Politics of Fieldwork

I. The Context of the Thesis

The thesis deals with the problem of ethnicity in post-war Taiwan by examining a specific case of the reinvention of Kavalan identity in relation to the historical development of Taiwanese society. Although the Kavalan are one of the aboriginal groups in Taiwan, they are not officially recognised as one, as they are believed to have assimilated into the mainstream Chinese society. In this sense, the situation of the Kavalan is parallel to that of Taiwan: the Kavalan have not been officially recognised as an ethnic group just as Taiwan has not been recognised as a country; Kavalan ethnic identity and Taiwanese national identity are fragmentarily imagined; and the Kavalan are struggling to participate in the national forum as Taiwan is struggling to join the international community. The uncertain and ambiguous state of Taiwanese and Kavalan identity illustrates the complexity of contemporary identity formation both at micro and macro levels. It also reveals the limitation of emic perception of one's identity, when it is not recognised by others. Therefore, the invention of Kavalan identity reflects the larger struggle involved in the making of Taiwanese ethnicity. I will discuss these and other related issues such as the shifting nature of individual and national identity, the rise of ethnic awareness, the negotiation of ethnic boundaries, the competition for social equality, and the impact of modernisation and globalisation in a theoretical framework and perspective in this thesis.

The case of Taiwan demonstrates the difficulties of creating a modern nation. According to international law, there are four qualifications for nationhood: territory, population, government and diplomatic ties. Taiwan obviously fulfils three criteria: it has a sizeable population and its territory is clearly demarcated, and it is one of the fastest democratising nations in the world (Copper 1996). Its only weakness is its diplomatic ties as most of the countries in the world do not wish to upset China by establishing relations with Taiwan. Unless China gives up its threat to attack Taiwan, or the United States and other influential countries change their foreign policies, or Taiwan declares full independence, Taiwan is most likely to remain a sovereign yet ambiguous

nation. Nevertheless, modern Taiwanese are not satisfied with the present situation of their nation-state, they are striving for a new Taiwanese identity. As many (e.g. Klintworth 1995, Copper 1996) have acknowledged, this new Taiwanese identity emanates from the wealthy, educated, internationalised middle class. This middle class tries to create a distinctive Taiwanese identity as well as a clear national image. They highlight the success of the Taiwanese economic experience, but at the same time they also actively re-interpret history and re-invent traditions. However, how to and who can define Taiwanese nation has become a debatable problem which leads to competition among ethnic groups.

To analyse the contemporary situation in Taiwan, one has to take into account three national problems: its struggle for a consistent international and national identity (Gold 1993), its transition to democracy and the problem concerning ethnic groups. These three problems, though apparently separate, are interrelated. Firstly, the demand for a national and international identity is a major issue in contemporary Taiwan. Owing to its ambiguous national identity and the ruling party Kuomintang's (KMT) commitment of being the Republic of China (ROC), Taiwan has been excluded from the world community (Klintworth, 1995: 1; et al) in political arena. However, its global economic success has helped Taiwan to achieve a sort of national identity abroad. At the same time, Taiwan has been struggling to map the imaginary nation of ROC as well as define its actual sovereignty. Taiwan's political, economic, social and cultural problems originate, evolve or surround this national struggle in the shadow of threat from the People's Republic of China (PRC). Its international recognition mainly depends upon the attitude of the US and the United Nations.

The second problem results from the process of transition to democracy. Holo Taiwanese who are in a majority in Taiwan started to develop their own nationalist consciousness some time ago. They questioned the KMT's hegemony and political legitimacy and demanded a new nation-state of their own. The KMT, afraid that the Holo would become a potential problem, started to democratise the political system and allowed opposition parties to take part in the electoral process. Dissatisfied with partial democracy, Taiwanese nationalists have been trying to change the Taiwanese situation from within the political system. As a result, political developments mingle with culturally resurgent movements. The three main political parties, the KMT, the

Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) and the Chinese New Party (CNP) represent three competing nationalist ideologies in the major debate in Taiwan about defining national culture, namely, the Great Chinese culture, Taiwanese culture, or a unified Chinese culture. In other words, to support a certain political party indicates one's identification with particular national identity.

The third problem is that some marginalised ethnic groups, stimulated by the success of the Holo Taiwanese, have started to reassert themselves by challenging KMT's ethnic policies. They demand equal opportunities in politics and a fair representation of their ethnic cultures in national definition. Their participation in the Taiwanese political agenda has not only changed Taiwan from a one-party-dominated society into a pluralist society, but also helped to re-define what modern "Taiwanness" is. However, some of the ethnic groups continue to struggle in order to obtain recognition and equal rights and thus remain on the national agenda.

The complexity of Taiwanese problems leads us to challenge traditional approaches and theories of ethnicity and nationalism. It challenges the definition of nation and the theories of nationalism and demonstrates the complexity of contemporary identity formation and ethnic make-up under the influence of modernity and globalisation.

My research interest lies in the study of ethnic identity and the social interaction of ethnic groups within a nation-state. It is evident that contemporary ethnic consciousness is closely linked to nationalism and violence (Appadurai 1996: 139). Therefore, ethnicity becomes a key issue to the problems of nationalism, racism, ethnic violence, and so on. The discussion of ethnicity will explore ethnic identity formation, consciousness of group affiliation and nationalist sentiment. However, ethnic identity is not merely identity formation and continuity of the actors themselves, it is often transformed or influenced by powerful outside forces, such as dominant groups, the state policy, modernity etc. Therefore, I propose, by taking the example of Taiwan, that ethnicity must be understood in relation to its political, socio-cultural, and historical contexts.

II. Specific objective of the study

The major focus of this thesis is the formation of Kavalan identity and their interaction with other groups. The Kavalan, who are classified in the category of plains aborigines as opposed to “mountain” aborigines, are not officially recognised aborigines, as they are believed to have assimilated into Chinese society. Today, they vigorously perform the activities best described as constituting an invention of Kavalan tradition. What we can acknowledge from the example of the Kavalan is that the extent to which minority groups challenge the dominant groups or regime and claim their minority rights by resorting to the assertion of what is an invented tradition. As the study of the Kavalan is always related to the study of plains aborigines, I will discuss them together with a special focus on the Kavalan.

One may doubt if the aborigines who constitute only 2% of the population can have any significant impact on the redefinition of Taiwan. In my opinion they do. With the participation of many groups of plains aborigines the aboriginal movement in Taiwan has begun to challenge the present criteria of one’s ethnic identity especially at a time when the Chinese custom of following one’s father’s ethnic origin is questioned. The criteria of ethnicity have been a subject of many debates, such as, does a person need to be a pure aborigine in order to be an aborigine, or is a half, or one fourth, or one sixth of aboriginal blood enough? What worries the politicians is that, if the estimated number of plains aborigines who are mixed with other Taiwanese, which is said to be about one million people¹, is correct, then they may not be able to offer minority rights to all of them. This debate is still going on, especially during the election period, when ethnic issues become important as a means to attract voters.

Therefore, the study of the Kavalan reveals four significant factors in Taiwan-Chinese society, that is, it challenges the Taiwan-Chinese patriarchical idea of defining a person, shows how a non-Chinese minority survives under a predominantly Chinese society, illustrates how a marginal group realises its civil rights and pursues those rights in a nation, and finally and most importantly, displays how an ethnic group constantly shifts its

¹ This estimate varies from one million to even as much as 85 per cent of the population.

strategies of re-defining its status for the sake of its existence.

Relevant writings about the Kavalan

If we review modern scholarly accounts, it is clear that scholarly research on plains aborigines is not as consistent as Chan (1996:46-7) claims. Pan Ing-hai (1998: 2) directly points out that contemporary scholars have done little so far about the revival of plains aborigines since they started to emerge from the 1980s. According to a classified bibliography of plains aborigines she co-edited with other researchers in 1988, there has not been much evidence of academic research on plains aborigines; on the contrary, some early modern accounts were actually done by non-academic researchers, such as novelists or the people who were personally interested in their culture. Only a few scholars paid attention to plains aborigines, such as Li I-yuan (1982) on material culture, Yu Chin-chun (1951) on physical anthropology and census, Wei Hui-lin (1981) on the Pazeh, and Liu Pin-hsiung (1987) and Shih Wan-sou (1990, 1994) on southern plains aborigines during the period from 1950s to 1970s, apart from translated articles on plains aborigines originally written by Japanese scholars. Most of the scholars who mention plains aborigines in their work locate these peoples in the studies of the development of Chinese society in Taiwan in order to show that they were assimilated by the dominant culture during the Chinese settlement.

It was not until the mid-1980s when more and more scholars began to study various plains aborigines all over Taiwan that the studies of plains aborigines developed a different dimension. Their systematic research techniques and insights have enriched our understanding of these forgotten people. For example, Li Paul Jen-kuei (1991, 1992, 1996, 1997) studies the linguistics and migration of plains aborigines, Liu I-chuan (1995) examines archaeological evidence, Pan Ing-hai (1989, 1994) tries to theorise the vase-worship of the Siraya, Lin Ching-tsai (1994) studies the significance of Siraya's ritual and folk music, Chan Su-chuan (1996, 1998) looks at the development of the Kavalan from a historical perspective, Weng Chia-yin (1984, 1987) studies the significance of historical documents of plains aborigines, Hong Li-wan (1992, 1997) has conducted detailed research on the Papora, and so on. These scholars and other

researchers formed a research group in 1992 dedicated to the study of plains aborigines. They meet in regular seminars and hold annual conference to discuss various aspects of plains aborigines. Their keen interest has tackled more fundamental problems about the plains aborigines which contribute to a better understanding of these peoples.

The differences between the above two periods are salient. Earlier scholars tended to generalise about plains aborigines, without acknowledging the individual features of those lowlanders. Although they studied many aspects of plains aborigines, such as kinship systems, material culture, and traditional beliefs and practice, their conclusions were always drawn towards their merger into mainstream Chinese society. Now this politics of representation has turned full circle and the movement is in the opposite direction as scholars now stress the differences within them and with the majority Chinese population. The discourse now is oriented towards the possibility of recuperation and not assimilation. Recent scholars study the different characteristics of each group which leads them on to discuss the criteria of classifying these people. The inadequacy of Chinese terms, such as *tsu chun*, *chun*, *min-chu*, and *chu* (to be discussed in Chapter 3), do not address the urgent need of a more accurate ethnic classification. Through the examination of the revival of various plains aboriginal groups, they are inspired to rethink the criteria of how to categorise the people of Taiwan. Generally speaking, these scholars treat each group as an individual ethnic group and give detailed ethnographic accounts of them. As a result, they do not use a generalised term, *ping-pu tsu* or plains aborigines, to describe these peoples; rather, they describe them by their individual names. In addition, they have started to question the simplistic generalisation about the “sinicization” of these peoples. Scholars like Pan and others adopt the notion of cultural synthesis after examining the cultural development of plains aborigines. They have also begun to look at the interaction between plains aborigines and other ethnic groups.

There is one interesting phenomenon in the studies of plains aborigines, which is the vital role the foreign scholars’ research has played in inspiring local researchers. For example, Tsuchida Shigeru, John Shepherd, and Shimizu Jun, have made distinguished contributions to the various research areas in the studies of plains aborigines. Tsuchida has continuously studied the languages of plains aborigines since 1960s. He has recorded and analysed the dying languages over the years (e.g. Tsuchida 1992). As

local cultures were given much attention from the early 1990s, his accounts have become most valuable, as many languages of plains aborigines have become extinct. Shepherd's work (1991, 1993) examines in detail how plains aboriginal groups were integrated forcibly into Chinese society and how their social systems and cultures were changed by the integration from the seventeenth to nineteenth century. What makes Shepherd's work special is that he examines the relationship between Chinese immigrants and plains aborigines in the development of Chinese society in Taiwan from the point of view of plains aborigines, a view rarely taken by the Taiwanese scholars in the past. Shimizu's work, an excellent ethnographic record on the Kavalan at Hsinshe, has become a resource book for many researchers to refer to. Her work will be discussed in more detail in the following part of this section.

In contemporary scholarly accounts, plains aborigines are presented as hidden minorities who are struggling to maintain or revive their dying traditions under the impact of sinicization and modernisation. However, many scholars (e.g. Pan 1995: 461; Chan 1996: 45-78) feel sceptical about the significance of the revival of plains aborigines and their ethnic culture. Basically, most scholars or researchers try to restore what plains aborigines' original ethnic features and culture should be by largely analysing historical records or archaeological findings. In fact, some encourage those plains aborigines to restore their traditional rituals with traditional practices (such as Pan 1995). Therefore, the images of plains aborigines and their culture presented by scholars (e.g. Hong Li-wan, Chen Chih-jung, Li Kuo-min, and so on), excluding historians, are mostly historical restorations. Very few scholars take a wider perspective to look at the relationship between the current practices and their history in order to bridge the gap during the transformation. Among them, Pan Ing-hai has done substantial work on this aspect, he has also played a leading role in the studies of plains aborigines in Taiwan.

Pan has been studying the Siraya since 1985². Siraya is the name which has been used to describe a group or groups of lowlanders in southern Taiwan. Since they were the first people whom Chinese immigrants or foreigners encountered, they were thought to

² Pan started to do research on the Siraya since he conducted a fieldwork on these people for his doctoral study in 1985.

have experienced foreign influence much earlier than other lowland groups all over Taiwan and were sinicised completely. However, when a novelist and medical doctor Wu Hsin-jung (1953, 1954, 1978) wrote about a group of people who worshiped *A-li-tsu* in the Tainan area in the early 1940s, his prose attracted many people to come to the area to do research (Pan 1995: 446). Among them, a Japanese researcher, Kokubun, conducted a survey on the villages which worshipped *A-li-tsu* and named them the “villages of the jug worshippers”(Kokubun 1962). From then on, people who practice jug-worship have been considered to be the descendants of the Siraya. Many researchers followed in the footsteps of Kokubun and his student, Liu Pin-hsiung, and continued research on those people. After Kokubun, Shih Wan-shou is the second researcher who has done a detailed survey of the Siraya (1994). After his long-term research on jug-worship and the people who practice it in various areas in Tainan, Kaohsiung, Pingtung, Taitung and Hualien counties, Pan managed to reconstruct the migration route of those people in the south from the diversity of jug-worship from one village to another village. Most importantly, he (1998: 7) raises a vital question whether the so-called Siraya are the real descendents of the original inhabitants of the area who were written about in the historical records. He reviews historical records and documents and compares them with his own research about the continuity and discontinuity of jug-worship. He uses notions of cultural discontinuity and variation to interpret how the Siraya transformed their culture to adapt to a new place (ibid). This transformation appears to interrupt traditional practices, but actually it creates a novel culture in the process of localising their traditions. In a word, Pan tries to use the concept of synthesis, rather than “sinicisation”, to explain the transformation of Siraya culture. However, he does not go back to the question he posited, which refers to the doubt whether the modern Siraya are the descendents of original Siraya in the area. In addition, he does not de-construct the reasons why those people insist on their traditional ritual practices even though they are unclear about their ethnic identity and forget the meaning of their practices. He also fails to explain why they want to revive their traditions now and why they did not do so in the past.

The Kavalan, however, did not receive much attention until they were “re-discovered” in the early 1990s. Like most of the materials about plains aborigines, there are not many historical documents about the Kavalan. Before the World War II, some Ching officials wrote about the customs of lowlanders in the Ilan area. The Japanese Government sent its

scholars to conduct research on these people as part of a survey on the population of Taiwan. Western adventurers or missionaries also left their impression of the Kavalan in the nineteenth century. However, these documents or records are only bits and pieces with which it is difficult to present the ethnic features and culture of the Kavalan.

After World War II, Juan Chang-jui³ was one of the few pioneer researchers who studied the Kavalan. Although his main research was on the Kavalan in Ilan area⁴ (1966) and their conditions of sinicization (1969), he also carried out surveys of the Kavalan population in Hualien and Taitung County (1966: 41-42). Combining his interview notes on elderly Kavalan with the materials of Chinese officials and Japanese researchers, Juan reconstructed their social organisation, social life, lifestyle, traditional ritual practices, and their relations with the Atayal and Chinese immigrants. He also tried to explain the reasons why their numbers had decreased dramatically⁵ citing three

³ Juan Chang-jui came to Hsinshue for his survey of the Kavalan population in 1960s. He married a Kavalan woman from Hsin-chuang. His parents-in-law had helped him to collect many Kavalan traditional utensils, tools, or furniture which were discarded by the Kavalan in their pursuit of modern goods. Some of the items are kept in the Taiwan Provincial Museum. Some remain in his private collection. When the villagers talk about the things they gave or sold to Juan's parents-in-law, they feel that they had made a mistake in not keeping their ancestral belongings as such things have become popular nowadays.

⁴ In Juan's estimate, there were about 800 Kavalan in Ilan area when he conducted the research at the end of 1960s (Juan, 1969: 3).

⁵ Juan pointed out that war, disease, and economy were the three major reasons for the decrease of Kavalan population (Juan, 1966: 37-40). He first used three different censuses to show the decrease of the Kavalan population over centuries. Here are the census he used (Juan: 1966: 36):

The first census	1650	8,000 Kavalan	
The second census	1821	5,569 Kavalan	(decreased by 2,431 within 171 years)
The third census	1908	2,843 Kavalan	(decreased by 2,626 within 87 years)

The first census was recorded by the Dutch, the second was by the Chinese and the third was done by the Japanese. Juan explained the significance of these censuses is that the number of the Kavalan had dropped dramatically owing to Chinese migration to the area. Notably, he was aware of the fact that some western lowlanders moved to Ilan in the aftermath of losing their land to the Chinese and these people were also counted in the third census which means that the actual number of the Kavalan should be even less. However, the problem of these censuses is that we are not clear about the criteria and the area. For example, we do not know if the so-called Kavalan area in these three censuses was the same place. Although the Japanese scholars claimed to use more systematic methods (e.g. language, cultural traits, etc.) to classify the people of Taiwan, they seemed to overlook the problems which were caused by some plains aboriginal groups who imbibed Chinese influences (Hsieh 1979). They also did not how to deal with some aborigines who lived in Chinese territory (Weng 1984). In such cases, many people were re-classified into other categories. One thing is clear that the number of Chinese increased dramatically during the Japan period, even though there were not many migrations from China to Taiwan.

Juan used various historical records to show the evidence that the Atayal had invaded Kavalan villages from time to time and the Chinese used force to occupy the land of the Kavalan (1966: 37-38). It seems that the Chinese overbearing occupation has a more severe impact on the Kavalan, as some historical records indicate that many Kavalan were forced to move elsewhere. Juan did not go into great detail about disease. He mentioned that disease had always been a killer for the Kavalan. He also mentioned that the Chinese and a missionary, MacKay, had helped to cure some diseases among Kavalan villages.

major factors, namely, war, disease, and the economy.

Juan's work is short and general in description. His articles are not substantial enough to present a clear image of these people at the time he conducted the research. Readers can only read between the lines and capture how those Kavalan looked like. For example, many Ilan Kavalan he met refused to admit their ethnic status (1969: 1-7); most of the households had a Chinese style of ancestral altar which mentioned their family origin on it⁶ (ibid); only elderly Kavalan knew their traditions and could speak a little of their mother tongue while most of the younger generations thought they were Taiwanese (ibid). Most of them had mixed-marriages with other ethnic groups (ibid); their economic life was still agricultural though some worked in the small towns in the area (ibid); most of them had abandoned their traditional beliefs and converted to Christianity or Taiwanese popular religion; however they somehow still maintained a few Kavalan traditional beliefs and some Taiwanese came to seek help from Kavalan shaman⁷ (ibid). But these details are sketchy and do not form a complete picture of these people.

With the "re-appearance" of the Kavalan from the mid-1980s, publications on the Kavalan have increased accordingly. Most of the contemporary writings on Kavalan are

However, if this was the case, the Kavalan population should not have decreased dramatically. Juan regarded Kavalan economic inferiority as the crucial factor which led to the Kavalan leaving their homeland for new settlements in Hualien and Taitung in the early twentieth century. Because of losing their lands to the Chinese, the Kavalan were transformed from landowners to tenant farmers. They therefore fell into poverty which reduced their life expectancy and forced many of them to find a better life in Hualien and Taitung.

⁶ In Chinese custom, each family name has "*tang hao*" which normally indicates the name of the place where one's family originated from or a place which was given by an emperor in some rare cases. Since the Taiwanese-Chinese are mainland Chinese, their *tang hao* mostly refers to places in China. Juan found that many Kavalan families adopted this custom and put *tang hao* into their ancestral altar, however, they used the name of places in Ilan (1969: 3). Juan did not mention that some Kavalan families used directly the *tang hao* which their adopted surname referred to. Like my host family, their surname is Li, they adopt the *tang hao* of Li, which is Lung-hsi, and *tang hao* of Hsu, which is Kao-yang. Therefore, they put Lung-hsi and Kao-yang in their ancestral altar as well as gravestone.

⁷ Juan discovered that some Taiwanese came to seek help from Kavalan shamans (Juan, 1969: 7). In my fieldwork experience, I also found out that people from different ethnic backgrounds also came to ask for help from Kavalan *metiyu*. Senior *metiyu* still have the memory of seeing their *metiyu* mothers or aunts "curing" people. The Kavalan who believe in Taiwanese popular religion tend to maintain more Kavalan ritual practises than those who believe in Christianity. Most Christians ceased practising their traditional rituals. This could be related to the reason that Christianity acknowledges the only one God and Jesus, whereas Taiwanese popular religion and Kavalan beliefs are polytheistic in nature. Therefore, Taiwanese popular religion and Kavalan beliefs can co-exist.

about their exotic rituals. Such writings are mostly influenced by the work of Shimizu Jun, a Japanese anthropologist. The materials which she gathered from the elderly Kavalan in the mid-1980s have become valuable as those people have since passed away. Her work therefore becomes the most important reference point in the study of the Kavalan. In addition, the importance of Shimizu, as I found in my fieldwork, is that her presence in the village stimulated the Kavalan to re-evaluate their own traditions. Although her book (1991) on Hsinshe Kavalan is the first work to document in detail the transformation of Kavalan life-style and their fading traditional beliefs, she pays little attention to the continuity of Kavalan identity in the context of the historical development of Taiwanese culture and society.

The politics of representation

From the case of the Kavalan, we come to know that the myth of the decline or sinicization of these people is closely connected with the lack of representation of them in the modern history of Taiwan. This happened during the transition of Taiwan from a Japanese colony to the KMT's outpost. When the latest Chinese immigrants became the dominant group, its counter-others, especially those who were marginal, were largely ignored. Nowadays, Kavalan identity becomes possible in the context of the recent history of Taiwan. The social actions of self-naming and the reconstruction of Kavalan ethnic identity can, therefore, be acknowledged as a new sense of self-empowerment which is used to challenge to Taiwanese-Chinese domination.

III. Methodology

Fieldwork, as the principal anthropological methodology, requires long-term residence in order to immerse researchers in the local environment and document the ordinary life and ongoing activities of the people they study. My intention to conduct fieldwork in a small village was to present another version of ethnicity from a local perspective; that is, to present "the politics of the people" rather than "the politics of the elite", like Guha's (1982: 1-7) subaltern approach. I have thus attempted to analyse the local expression of ethnicity and nationalism.

Sources

Apart from my own empirical research data which is mostly used in this thesis, I also used intensive library research⁸ in order to reconstruct the history of Kavalan in Ilan and Hualien. I looked into classical Chinese records, Japanese accounts, westerners' writings, recent research, newspapers and other media forms. From a historical perspective, I have tried to analyse the cause and effect of the exclusion of the Kavalan from Taiwanese society and the reasons behind the Kavalan cultural revival. I also compared official and written histories with local oral history which helped me to examine the process how people selected memory and passed it to the next generation. Apart from historical research, I reviewed government papers and policy on aboriginal issues and ethnic relations and studied the political culture of the three major political parties in Taiwan. I also carried out media research (e.g. newspapers, magazines, television, films, literature, cultural treatises, and so on) both in Chinese and English on the topics of ethnicity, nationalism, culture and elections.

Duration and locations of fieldwork

Before my formal fieldwork from March⁹ 1997 to July 1998, I conducted a pilot study from mid-March to April in 1996 to observe the attitude of the Kavalan towards the first Presidential election. My fieldwork is mainly based on Hsinshe village which is located on the eastern coastal strip of Hualien county, Taiwan. The significance of Hsinshe is that it is imagined as the centre of Kavalan culture by diasporic Kavalan, researchers and the mass media. It also has a large number of Kavalan who still use Kavalan language as their mother tongue. In order to examine the importance of Hsinshe to other Kavalan, I visited some villages around Hsinshe where small Kavalan diasporic communities live, places like Kuei-an, Fengpin, and Lite. I also went to visit the Kavalan in other far off places, including Chang-yuan and Da-chu-lai in Taitung County and Chiali in northern Hualien

⁸ I mainly used three libraries in Taipei to gather the mentioned information. These libraries are the Library of the Institute of Ethnology in Academia Sinica, the Centre of Politics and Economics of National Cheng-chih University, and the Central Library of Taiwan. I also used the private library of Formosa Folkways Publishing Company.

⁹ Because of health problem, I did not live in Hsinshe until June 1997. However, I visited Hsinshe several times and travelled with the villagers to Taipei for a performance from 27th to 29th of the March 1997.

County. On some occasions, I travelled with the Kavalan people to their homeland Ilan in order to observe their interaction with the Kavalan in Ilan. When I went to Taipei to do library research on the history of the Kavalan, I spent some time interviewing the urban Kavalan community.

Although I focused on the Kavalan in Hsinshue, my informants were not confined to the Kavalan background. I interviewed Amis, mainlanders, Holo, Bunun, Atayal in Hsinshue, its surrounding villages, and other counties and cities. I also interviewed people who were involved with or participated in the activities of Kavalan cultural revival, including folklore writers Liu Huan-yeh and Chiu Shui-ching, ethnomusicologist Wu Jung-shun, journalist Liang Wen-hsiang, and Chou Chia-an, a member of the Ilan County Cultural Centre, and other leading Kavalan activists.

I interviewed all the Kavalan who lived in Hsinshue during my fieldwork. I selected some key Kavalan informants for my research on different aspects. For example, Chieh Wan-lai, A-niao, Wu-dai, Hsieh Chung-hsiu, Bauki Anao, A-bi, I-bai, and Yang Kung-min were selected on the basis of my pilot study. A-yuk, A-jung, A-wen, Dua-tai, Wu-hsiung, Di-nas, A-sheng, A-mi, A-hui, A-bas, Kao-kiung, Pan Teng-yueh, Chen Tsun-jung, and Hsiao Hsieh were people I was in particularly frequent contact with. Following what Burgess (1982: 77) calls “snowball sampling”, I got to know more people through my key informants. However, my design of selecting key informants was slightly different, as I planned to have specialist key informants for different areas which I wanted to explore and those key informants had a good knowledge of those areas. Therefore, my key informants not only introduced me to other members of their group, they were also the people I cross-checked with, after I interviewed others. For general knowledge and the history and development of Hsinshue, I talked at great length with Chieh, A-sheng, and A-niao. I followed *metiyu* A-bi, I-bai, A-yuk, and Di-nas to observe them in their work as Kavalan shamans and their interaction with other Kavalan. I went with A-jung, Wu-hsiung, Dua-tai, A-bas, A-bi, and A-yuk to pick wild vegetables, gather seashells, and cultivate ricefield in order to know their agricultural life. I listened to Chieh, Hsieh Chung-hsiu, A-jung, A-hui, Kao-kiung, Hsiao Hsieh, Pan Teng-yueh, and Yang Kung-min talking about their optimism for a promising Kavalan future. I followed Bauki Anao, a Hualien Kavalan, when he filmed the Kavalan in Hsinshue and other diasporic Kavalan settlements. Apart from these Kavalan, I often consulted with Uncle Hu, a mainland soldier, who has lived

in Hsinshe for more than thirty years and had a very good knowledge of the Kavalan and mainlanders in the village. It should be noted that the names I use here are the names by which they were normally addressed by other villagers¹⁰.

Ethnographic strategies

Common fieldwork techniques, like participant observation, constructed or informal interviews, collecting life history, collecting local and oral history, media studies, historical survey, and case studies were all applied throughout my fieldwork. Particularly, I closely interacted with local groups and participated in local activities, cultural and religious ceremonies¹¹.

Participant observation is the main technique to study social relations and daily activities in natural settings. By conducting participant observation and observant participation, I got close to the Kavalan by having casual or semi-constructed conversations with them or non-selective involvement in some activities. I made them feel comfortable enough with my presence and research¹² so that I witnessed, experienced and collected quantitative and qualitative data about their lives from their own perspectives. The Kavalan took a great deal of interest in my research, as they hoped that I could help to promote their ethnic identity. In such cases, the dual role of participant observer and observant participant has given me chance to step in or get out of my field settings whenever I was under pressure or in a dilemma. Throughout my fieldwork, I shifted between the roles of observer and participant and tried to maintain the balance between being an insider and outsider.

Apart from participant observation, interviews, formal and informal, constructed and

¹⁰ Most of the mentioned names here are Kavalan names. However, some people use their Mandarin name but with Holo pronunciation. It should be noted that I got their consent to use their real names in this thesis, even though they did not know how I would write about them. I cannot say if they trusted me too much or they simply thought that it did not matter to them as I was writing my thesis in English.

¹¹ In my preliminary field trip (from 8 March to 18 April, 1996), I was invited to participate in the activities of cultural and religious revival in Hsinshe, Chia-na-pu and Lanyu. My task was to investigate the history of their traditional ceremonies and to assist them in planning culturally resurgent activities. This shows the eagerness of the villagers to know more about their local cultural history which has been long suppressed by the government.

¹² They were familiar with my appearance and my research. They did not feel that they were being treated as research objects. On the contrary, they tried to be helpful to me.

unconstructed, were the basic methods of my fieldwork. In particular, formal and constructed interviews have provided me with qualitative information about certain topics, activities, events or people. Bearing in mind that some Kavalan already had the experience of being interviewed by researchers and reporters, I tried not to use formal and constructed interviews too often. I discovered from cross-checking that the Kavalan tended to give “false” answers, when they were pressed to give an answer. They also tended to give some kind of “standard” and pre-meditated answers for certain questions like their traditional rituals. Hence, I used semi-constructed or unconstructed conversations to interview them¹³. Another method I used quite frequently was group discussion. I gathered a few people to talk about their life histories or their early experiences in life and this kind of discussions often produced unexpected results. I used these methods to document or record their own expressions or interpretation of their own myths, stories, proverbs, songs and dances, rites and rituals and ceremonies, and life histories.

Apart from the above methods, I conducted an investigation on the census on Hsinshe and nearby settlements in the local registration office. I combined my investigation with the data from my interviews and got an overall picture of the distribution of age, gender, education and occupation of the Kavalan. I also carried out a genealogical survey on some family histories which provided me with some insights on how people identified themselves at home over generations, as it seemed to be different from the way they did outside the family, and on kinship networks and clan affiliation. I collected life histories of some key informants in order to get personal accounts of their life experiences and recorded kinship network and operation for the study of the ties between individuals, their kinsmen and group affiliation. I particularly paid attention to the present gender relationship among the Kavalan after they adopted the patrilineal system from the Chinese. I tried to examine gender issues, such as the structure of the family, division of labour, decision-making and inheritance after this change. All these techniques helped me collect quantitative data on a wide range of topics, especially on the operation of their self-other categorisations and the form of their social organisation.

¹³ However, these interviews were not really unconstructed, as I had planned in advance what to ask. They were unconstructed in the sense that the interviews were flexible which made respondents feel free to express themselves. If they strayed too far from the topic, I tried to bring them back to the relevant point.

Apart from the investigation of the historical background of the Kavalan, I examined the issue of ethnicity at the national level in order to analyse the integration and persistence of ethnic groups with the state. Here is a summary of the data that I gathered from my fieldwork. From my library research, I achieved the following aims:

- reviewing academic research accounts from different disciplines on the Kavalan, plains aborigines, and the issues of ethnicity and nationalism.
- conducting a mass media research (e.g. newspapers, magazines, television, films, literature, cultural treatises, and so on) on ethnicity, nationalism, elections, the relations with China and the United States, and the impact of globalisation and modernisation in Taiwan. I also reviewed governmental documents, policy papers, speeches, legislations and reports on the above mentioned issues.
- making a comparison of the political culture between the KMT, the DPP and the CNP in order to see the impact of these parties upon citizens.
- examining the impact of mass mobilisation and nationalist ideology in the elections.
- studying how urban elites integrated numerous rural communities and ethnic groups and mobilised social consciousness at the national level.

Apart from the ethnographic information about the Kavalan and their lifestyle, traditions, and the activities of Kavalan cultural resurgence, the crucial data I gathered from the fieldsite with the help of the above techniques includes:

- in-depth data on the ways in which people identified themselves and classified others, and how they retained their identity and passed it to the next generation at home.
- the mechanisms of shifting personal, collective and national identities during intensive ethnic contact.
- the ways in which different ethnic groups forged a collective and consistent identity and the patterns of different levels of group loyalty.
- their struggle to revive Kavalan tradition and culture under the Chinese cultural hegemony as well as globalisation and modernisation.
- the impact of the national electoral system upon villagers and an analysis of their attitudes towards the nation.

Notably, I tried all possible ways to cross-check the data obtained. If time allowed, I checked twice with the informants. Sometimes I cross-checked with different informants or compared the data I had gathered from interviews with the data I got from participant observation.

Evaluation of methodology: Strengths and weaknesses

One of the main strengths of my methodology is the in-depth ethnographic data which I managed to collect from my fieldwork. Fieldwork, which has long been seen as a rite of passage for anthropologists, requires a long-term immersion in the setting where researchers carry out their research. Through long-term daily observation, it generates a wide range of detailed data. For me, “being there” gave me the opportunity to know the Kavalan and their culture from direct experience. Apart from collecting data, I learnt, saw, smelt, heard, sensed, and absorbed all kinds of elements of their life. I also closely interacted with them on a daily basis which helped me to understand the Kavalan and their world. In this light, I gathered in-depth and first-hand information from this intensive period of participant observation together with interviewing and other ethnographic methods.

Another strength is the historical research that provided depth of context. I spent a great deal of time in libraries searching and reading references in classical Chinese records in order to reconstruct the history and life of their ancestors in Ilan. Although I did not find a great deal of material, the ones I did study and take notes from became valuable to my understanding of the Kavalan.

Working with Bauki Anao, a Hualien Kavalan and documentary filmmaker, was another contribution to my fieldwork methodology. I got an unexpected opportunity to follow him around in the summer of 1997 when he was filming the Kavalan and his relatives in various diasporic Kavalan settlements in Hualien and Taitung. We did not work as a team, as we carried out our own tasks. However, I had a chance to meet and interview other Kavalan and more importantly, observe his work and his interaction with them. We often discussed our work together and exchanged information. I came to know many things which I had missed out on owing to my gender.

However, there are some weaknesses in my methodology. The major weakness is that I could not solve the problem of recording the time of important events in my interviews with the Kavalan people, as they are not precise with dates. Hence, the years or dates I

recorded are often the approximate ones. For example, when some elderly Kavalan mentioned time, they always said “some years back” or “long time ago”. As they did not have the habit of remembering the year or date, they could not tell me the exact year when certain things happened. I tried to mention some important national events in order to see if they could relate to those things. Unfortunately, it was not too helpful, as they did not pay attention to national history or events. Moreover, they tended to confuse the sequence of events. Because of this, I found it difficult when I tried to record their life histories, genealogies, important events, and the possible time when their families moved to Hsinshe. Most of the time, I could only trace back the approximate time for some events with an error margin of five to ten years. However, thanks to the media attention the Kavalan have been getting, I could find the date of some events from newspaper archives.

Another weakness is that I could not form a complete picture of their family structure and kinship system. The Kavalan have the custom of adopting children from their relatives or other people (even from different ethnic backgrounds), if they had no children or if they wanted to have a bigger family. In addition, some foster children did not sever their relationship with their natural parents and sometimes went back to stay with them. Moreover, the Kavalan at the turn of the twentieth century still practised the custom of leaving a marriage if they were not happy and then marrying again¹⁴. They also tended to use the same names¹⁵. Under these circumstances, I found it difficult to record their kinship system before starting the research on their official registration record.

I also found it difficult to use a tape recorder to record the interviews of some people on several occasions. For example, some people would speak less on sensitive issues, particularly relating to their political opinions or on the local politics¹⁶. Even if some of

¹⁴ Some Kavalan omitted the mention this kind of personal history or family business, regarding them as scandalous.

¹⁵ The popular male names are (N)A-gao, Wu-dai, (N)A-bang, Wa-no, etc. Women tend to have names like, Na-bas, A-bi, A-wen, I-bai, Wu-mus, and so on.

¹⁶ The Kavalan were conservative in their political views. Most of them were obedient to the KMT, as it was the ruling party. They were not really its supporters, they were haunted by the memory of the KMT's strict control in its early days. Normally, they were very loyal to people they supported in local politics. Some Kavalan would not even talk to each other if they did not support the same candidates during election time. Nonetheless, I found “in-depth” or unstructured interview (Lee 1993: 101-102) useful in asking respondents sensitive questions after winning their trust.

them chose to speak to me frankly, others would remind them not to speak too much. I first thought they stopped commenting only in my presence. Then I realised that they normally did not like criticising people in front of others, unless they trusted them very much, as they did not want to create disputes. Some people, on the contrary, became relatively talkative when my tape recorder was switched on which made me wonder whether if they were telling the truth or were simply boasting. Therefore, I sometimes did not use tape recorder or write notes during interviews or conversations and wrote down whatever I could remember afterwards.

Language was another weakness I encountered. The Kavalan tend to skip some sounds and merge two words together. There is no clear rule for it and it often varied from person to person. In addition, they mixed some Amis words and phrases in their conversation. When I found it difficult to follow and asked them to explain to me, they would switch to Holo or Mandarin for me, even though I insisted on speaking in Kavalan. However, my host, A-niao, who was one of the few so-called “pure-blood” Kavalan, was inspired by me and decided to learn Kavalan with me. We often shared our frustration as well as pleasure in the course of learning.

Politics of fieldwork

Anthropologists have been trying to improve field research methods since Malinowski (1922: 24-25) raised some conceptual problems, including the notion of conducting long-term intensive fieldwork and bringing “the native’s point of view”. However, in a long-term interaction with a group of people, it seems difficult to avoid personal or emotional involvement. Whether the analysis of “the native’s point of view” in anthropological framework is still the native’s view is also questionable. These two notions are more problematic in the writing of Kavalan ethnicity, as the Kavalan expect scholars to be sympathetic to their conditions and help them to restore their aboriginal status as kinds of reciprocity. Therefore, my anthropological analysis of their ethnic identity may be totally unexpected to them.

As a single woman who is educated in Britain, I received more respect from the

Kavalan than my peers who were married and had children. My educational background and experience of being abroad seemed to transform my female identity¹⁷. Some Kavalan men asked my opinion on national events. They were particularly interested in my political views which often put me in a dilemma, as I did not know their intention and had no wish to upset them. Later I came to know that they were puzzled by the fact that many intellectuals supported the DPP (Democratic Progressive Party), the former opposition party, and presumed that I was also a member of the DPP. Women saw me as a modern young lady and wished to know more about my life. I was extremely popular among school children, as I was probably the only person in the village who had the patience to talk or listen to them, as their parents either worked or were away in cities. I sometimes helped them with their homework or offered to babysit them. Some of the children followed me around and helped me with translation when I did not understand what the adults were talking about in Kavalan.

My half-aboriginal status also helped me quickly establish rapport with them¹⁸. The Kavalan constantly told me that they trusted me very much and always told me all they knew. They thought that I would not cheat or exploit them, as I was also an aborigine like them. Young Kavalan presumed that I understood their conditions and shared their predicament, as I also grew up in an aboriginal village. They often talked to me about the difficulties in finding jobs in towns and cities and the problems in following government's agricultural policy. They also expected me to help them when they were invited to do performance in the cities¹⁹.

However, my close relationship with the Kavalan had its disadvantages. For example, they often invited me to taste their special food²⁰, as they knew that I was interested in

¹⁷ However, it did not mean that I skipped the problems which female researchers face in the field. Like Easterday, Papademas, Schorr, and Valentine (1982: 64-66), I also encountered the problems like men's hustling and wives' hostility and father-daughter-like relationship with some older men. I generally avoided having intimate relationship with them.

¹⁸ They gave me a Kavalan name, A-wen, in the beginning of my fieldwork. However, after finding out that I was half-aborigine, they insisted on using my Bunun name, A-bing, to address me.

¹⁹ For example, I helped them to find directions and arrange accommodation for them. I also helped them to deliver their wishes to organisers and sponsors. Sometimes, since I was a scholar they expected me to confirm to journalists that they were truly aborigines.

²⁰ For example, they made me try raw pork, dried or salt-marinated animal intestines, fresh animal blood with rice wine, rotten fish intestines, snails, raw frogs, and so on. They often invited me to taste their

their diet. They saw me as an intelligent “scholar” who understood them and would help them to restore their ethnic status. This high expectation will be shattered if they read my thesis, as I analyse their ethnic identity as “constructed” identity and their “traditions” as modern “invention”. Words like “constructed” and “inventions” are obviously against their claims of their Kavalan status as “genuine” and “authentic”. It is clear that I will not win their respect as Shimizu does who published a detailed ethnography on Kavalan traditional culture. But will they think that I have betrayed their trust and manipulated the information they so willingly gave me? It is a risk inherent in studies of this nature which a researcher cannot avoid, if he or she remains faithful to his or her particular methodology and perspective. Nonetheless, I have tried to highlight the problematic nature of these polarised concepts in the thesis.

IV. Chapter Content

The thesis consists of three parts and seven chapters. Part One begins with a discussion of existing theoretical approaches in the study of ethnicity. It searches for a suitable approach which can accommodate the complexity of Kavalan ethnicity. Part Two locates the Kavalan and discusses Kavalan ethnicity in a wider framework, such as its relationships with the nation-state and other ethnic groups. In Part Three, it analyses how the Kavalan mobilise their ethnic power by a series of activities which can be described as Kavalan cultural resurgence. It also discusses the importance of representation in the making of ethnic identity. Although each chapter highlights one particular topic related to ethnicity, it also discusses other issues involved.

Chapter One is the only chapter in Part One. After reviewing and comparing three major approaches, namely primordialism, circumstantialism, and constructivism, it argues that a comprehensive approach would be invaluable in analysing the complicated nature of Kavalan ethnicity, as primordial ties and circumstantial elements are both at work in this case. It thus proposes that we cannot rely on emic identity solely and we need to take into account the recognition of others. In addition, we need to consider other etic elements in a wider system. More importantly, we need to consider a historical dimension in order to explain the reason why ethnic groups tend

fresh catch in the morning when they came back from fishing.

to use their past to legitimate their ethnic identity. Moreover, whether the Kavalan are the real Kavalan is not the issue, as the practice of ethnicity only makes sense in terms of social actions. In case of Kavalan, its self-identification is used to confront Chinese and Amis domination.

Part Two consists of three chapters. Chapter Two examines the identity formation of the Kavalan. From historical and empirical information, it reconstructs the image of “historical” Kavalan who were imagined by others and “contemporary” Kavalan which emerges from a self-ascribed identity. We do not know if Kavalan was an ethnic self-ascribed identity, as there are no sufficient historical records to prove so. However, linguistic evidence suggests that the so-called Kavalan people were from complicated ethnic makeup. Nonetheless, the modern Kavalan insist on the authenticity of their ethnic identity by using historical records on Kavalan to endorse their claim. Hence, this chapter suggests that we see ethnic groups as ongoing processes of divergence and integration and use the notion of “constructed primordiality” to analyse Kavalan attachment to their primordial ties.

Chapter Three argues that nationalist ideologies have profoundly influenced the course of ethnicity. The three major political parties in Taiwan, invoking different political ideologies, are debating the definition of national identity and culture at all levels of Taiwanese society. Such debate leads to competition among ethnic groups which is reflected back to nationalist ideologies. This phenomenon is particularly significant as Taiwan is in the process of forging its own national identity. Not sharing the national culture which is based on traditional Chinese culture, the marginalised people, such as plains aborigines and official recognised aborigines, demand minority rights by using the argument that they are also the “citizens” of Taiwan. Chapter Four discusses the relationship of the Kavalan with other ethnic groups from historical, local, and national perspectives in order to investigate how they distinguish between “us” and “others”. It takes a specific example to show how the Kavalan justify some cultural characteristics which they borrow from their dominant neighbouring group, the Amis.

In Part Three, the emphasis shifts toward the Kavalan cultural resurgence. Chapter Five examines their newly invented tradition, Chapter Six analyses the significance of their revived religious practices, and Chapter Seven investigates how the Kavalan have been represented by different agents and by themselves. In Chapter Five and Six, I propose that tradition is not something “born” in the past, rather, it is an ongoing social construct which involves the ways in which ethnic groups define or re-define themselves. More importantly, I argue that the transformation of the Kavalan and their culture is linked with the development of Chinese society in Taiwan. Chapter Seven tries to establish whether the disappearance of Kavalan people is a myth which resulted from the lack of representation of them in the modern history of Taiwan. Here, I argue again that ethnicity is a social construct, as the construction of Kavalan identity only becomes a possible topic of research when the recent history of the Kavalan becomes well known.

In my conclusion I mention the potential theoretical contribution of this work to the study of ethnicity. This thesis also makes a contribution to the existing knowledge in understanding how Taiwan is forging its own new national identity as a result of the debate on ethnicity among its ethnic groups. Finally, it raises other theoretical as well as political concerns about ethnicity and identity, the discussion of which I hope will benefit future researchers.²¹

²¹ The Chinese characters in this thesis have generally been romanised according to the Wades-Giles system used in Taiwan. The Kavalan, Japanese, and other aboriginal names and terms are transcribed in roman. Because the tone of pronunciation is difficult to indicate, it is therefore left out. However, the Chinese characters used in the thesis are listed with translation in Appendix B.

Chapter One

Theoretical Debates on Ethnicity: Problems and Limitations

The term ethnicity has been used as a key concept by anthropologists to identify peoples and groups, as terms such as “race” and “tribe” cannot accommodate the complexity of classification in the fast changing world. However, it has been seen as “an arguable and murky intellectual term” (Chapman, McDonald and Tonkin 1989: 11), which has caused various semantic as well as conceptual confusions (Levine 1999). Thus, it is important to clarify the concept of ethnicity before any further discussion.

The major confusion about ethnicity comes from its short history in the literature of anthropology and other disciplines. For example, Glazer and Moynihan (1975: 1) consider it as a new term¹ which is still evolving and reflects a new reality (ibid: 5). R. Cohen states (1978: 380) that it received little discussion before the 1970s. Hutchinson and Smith (1996: v) mention that ethnicity is a recent term as well as a subject of study². Jenkins (1997: 11) also points out that the concept of ethnicity in anthropological study started to receive more attention in the United States in the 1960s. Nonetheless, the emergence of ethnic issues, such as ethnic cleansing, ethnic conflicts and violence, ethnic discrimination, and so on, in the aftermath of the changing postcolonial geopolitics, globalisation, and migration around the world have caught the attention of anthropologists and social scientists who try to understand and theorise ethnic phenomena in the contemporary world. Hence, the study of ethnicity has been a subject of heated debates. Because of their different approaches and emphases, anthropologists have endowed the term with divergent, and sometimes, contradictory definitions and perspectives.

In addition, the over-use of terms like ‘ethnicity’ and ‘ethnic’ by ethnic groups themselves and the mass media further complicates the problem. For example, many

¹ Ethnicity is considered to be a relatively new term. Glazer and Moynihan (1975: 1) discover that it was used by David Riesman for the first time in 1953 and it first appeared in the supplement of the Oxford English Dictionary in 1972.

² Hutchinson and Smith (1996: 3) also mention that the issues such as kinship, group solidarity, and common culture which closely relate to ethnicity have existed in human societies from long ago.

ethnic groups reinvent themselves in the political sphere in order to acquire or defend their ethnic rights, in some cases with tragic consequences. The mass media disseminate the news and images of ethnic cleansing in Rwanda and former Yugoslavia and various other smaller ethnic conflicts in cosmopolitan cities and around the world. Reporters tend to use the word “ethnic” to refer to “minorities” or “tribal groups” which have been suppressed or persecuted by other dominant or powerful groups or happen to have become aware of their separate identities. This phenomenon creates a gap between ethnicity as an analytical concept and its popular meaning in the public imagination. Such indiscriminate use of the term and its wide application thus produce confusion in the understanding of the theoretical as well as real problems relating to ethnicity.

This thesis will take into account the existing literature in understanding the idea of ethnicity and attempt to discover a more comprehensive approach to conceptualise ethnicity that can account for the emergence of multiple identities. It will explore the significance of preferred ethnic identity among many other identities of individuals and the importance of ethnicity in understanding social relations within nation-states. Through this discussion, I wish to present how an ethnic identity is continually recreated through complex interactions within a larger system and examine what role such interactions play in the formation of new ethnic identity. In addition, I wish to explore the paradox of ethnicity as a cultural construction as analysts conceptualise it or as an inheritance from a past as actors claim it to be.

Apart from the discussion of theories of ethnicity and related issues, this chapter attempts to locate the problematic situation of the Kavalan ethnic community in a theoretical framework. Certain aspects of Kavalan ethnic identity defy the assumptions of contemporary theories of ethnicity and force us to rethink ways of defining a particular type of ethnic consciousness in an industrial society. Therefore, this chapter will also take into account the problems of ethnicity which often occur in the contemporary world and try to show how intensive ethnic contact influences ethnic identity in modern times.

I. The Theoretical Debates on Ethnicity: Problems and Limitations

The Discourse of Ethnicity: the dialectics of the objective and the subjective

The essence of ethnicity is derived from a Greek word “ethnos”, which later came to mean “pagan” or “non-Christian” (Tonkin, et al 1989: 14) and is now translated as “people” or “nation” (Jenkins 1997: 9). When “ethnos” was made to refer to “group of people of shared characteristics” in the mid-19th century (ibid), the word and its evolved form “ethnic” always related to “race” (the term was used very often in the first half of the 20th century) and ethnic groups. As a result, at the fundamental level, the idea of ethnicity refers to the definition of an ethnic group. However, the criteria for defining ethnic groups are problematic, and its association with the idea of identity makes the definition of ethnicity complicated. The notions of ethnicity and identity are interlinked and need to be discussed together. Following is a selection of some influential theories on the definition of ethnicity. This outline illustrates the development and change of scholarly understanding of ethnicity over time:

...ethnic groups are categories of ascription and identification by the actors themselves, and thus have the characteristic of organising interaction between people. (Barth 1969: 10)

Ethnicity is fundamentally a political phenomenon, as the symbols of the traditional culture are used as mechanisms for the articulation of political alignments. (Abner Cohen 1974b: 97)

...basic group identity consists of the ready-made set of endowments and identifications that every individual shares with others from the moment of birth by the chance of the family into which he is born at that *given* time in that *given* place. (Isaacs 1975: 38) (my emphasis)

[Ethnicity is] the character or quality of an ethnic group. (Glazer and Moynihan 1975:1)

My basic argument is quite simple: ethnic and racial sentiments are extension of kinship sentiments. (van den Berghe 1981: 18)

A situational approach to ethnicity manifests the essential variability in its significance for social relations in different social contexts and at different levels of social organization. (Okamura 1981: 452)

...it [ethnicity] refers to aspects of relationship between groups which consider themselves, and are regarded by others, as being culturally distinctive. (Eriksen 1993: 4).

...a collection of rather simplistic and obvious statements about boundaries, otherness, goals and achievements, being and identity, descent and classification, that has been constructed as much as by the anthropologist as by the subject... (Banks 1996: 190)

The above quotations clearly show how diverse the definitions of ethnicity and ethnic identity are, even though these terms have been extensively used in academic literature. Many social scientists have grouped existing theories of ethnicity into two to four approaches that include primordialism, circumstantialism, instrumentalism³, and constructivism⁴. Although social scientists categorise these theories from their own point of view, most of them agree that ethnicity, as an analytical concept, relates to classification in relation to identity construction, the maintenance and negotiation of boundaries, and social interaction between groups.

The quotations given above reveal a trend in the way the study of ethnicity has developed. Primordialist and circumstantialist approaches dominated the study of ethnicity in its early stage in the 1970s⁵. Owing to the limitations and weaknesses of these two approaches, more and more scholars from the 1980s have shifted their attention to a more comprehensive or synthetic conceptualisation, constructivism, which they believe can provide a better analysis of ethnicity. As a result, circumstantialism and constructivism are the two major approaches in contemporary scholarly literature.

The differences between these approaches depend on how scholars conceptualise the fundamental issues in the construction of ethnicity. Primordialists conceptualise ethnicity in terms of some basic primordial ties in the formation and maintenance of

³ Instrumentalism and circumstantialism have a slight conceptual difference. Hence, many scholars do not differentiate between them. I also discuss these two approaches together, but still bear in mind their differences.

⁴ Others discuss the theories differently. For example, Glazer and Moynihan, 1975; Hutchinson and Smith, Banks, Cornell and Hartmann, 1998; and many others.

⁵ Glazer and Moynihan (1975: 19) pointed out that there are two poles of analysis in the study of ethnicity, namely, primordialism and circumstantialism.

group identity. Instrumentalists and circumstantialists believe that external factors can determine or diversify ethnicity. As for constructivists, they take in the theory of circumstantialism and make further analysis of some crucial factors which broaden the scope of ethnicity.

Primordialism

Primordialism focuses on “given” aspects of ethnicity, such as primordial ties or biological nature. From a socio-cultural perspective, Shils (1957) and Geertz (1963) found that primordial attachments are far more powerful in the construction of individual identity and group solidarity. Primordial attachments, which Shils (1957: 131) termed “primordial loyalties” and Geertz (1963: 110) “primordial ties”, were a kind of natural affinity among group members. Arguing against assimilationists, Shils believed that primordial ties were the reasons why many ethnic or racial groups did not assimilate into the mainstream society in the modern world. Geertz (ibid: 108) pointed out the importance of “primordial politics”, when he observed the tension between ethnic groups in larger states, especially new states. Both Shils and Geertz strongly emphasised “the tie of blood”. However, Geertz (ibid: 109) referred to “assumed” givens, which implied that primordial ties, including blood ties, were claimed to be so by actors themselves, rather than a blood connection in a real sense.

Isaacs believed in “basic group identity”. As shown in the previous quotation, Isaacs (1975: 38) stated that basic group identity is given to a person from the time he or she is born. As to the “ready-made endowments and identifications”, he (ibid: 38-45) referred to physical body, a name, history and origins, nationality, language, religion and value systems⁶. Among these endowments and identifications, the body and name are the most explicit elements, as they carry one’s biological features and ethnic physical characteristics that are distinctive in other people’s eyes. Nonetheless, all these

⁶ To summarise Isaacs’ (1975: 38-45) points about those endowments and identifications: a child takes after the physical characteristics (like skin colour, hair texture, facial features, and so on) of his or her parents owing to genetic inheritance. Then, the child is given a name which includes an individual name and a family name which signify the child’s origin. Growing up in a place where his or her family stay, the child learns the mode of living and the language from his environment. The child is also automatically given the history and origins as well as the religion and nationality of his or her family. And a child’s value systems are also built upon those of his or her parents. All these inheritances from his or her family make up “basic group identity” which determines group identity.

elements provide one with a sense of belonging, a sense of security, and a source of esteem (ibid: 42-45). According to Isaacs' argument, basic group identity is fixed, unquestionable, unchangeable, and deeply rooted inside every individual.

Although primordialism was severely attacked in the 1950s and 1960s, van den Berghe (1981) still insisted on a sociobiologically-based primordialist approach which focused on genetic connection and kin selection, with the endorsement of evolutionism. He (ibid: 17-18) pointed out two drawbacks of the "conventional" primordialist approach: first, it failed to further the explanation of the fundamental nature of ethnic sentiment; second, it ignored the reason which caused circumstantial fluidity of ethnicity in relation to the multiplicity of ecological conditions (ibid: 18). Although he did not deny the importance of culture, he thought that genetic natural selection and environment are far more significant, as culture is only an aspect of human environment. Through cooperation with kin (which he called "nepotism") and with non-kin ("reciprocity"), human beings increase in fitness, while responding to a multitude of environmental conditions. However, because of an individual's capacity for self-deceit and collective self-deceit, religion and ideology are the most serious forms in collective human behaviour, as human beings develop ethnocentrism, racism, sexism, ageism, class struggle, and so on. In other words, van den Berghe (ibid: 18) thought that ethnocentrism, racism and other factors are extended forms of nepotism, which is the natural tendency to favour a kin over nonkin.

Circumstantialism/Instrumentalism

Cohen's position on ethnicity is clearly circumstantialist. The central point of his approach is that ethnicity is conceptualised as a political instrument which is employed by an ethnic group to pursue its interest. He took a radical stand by treating ethnic groups as "interest groups". Basically, in Cohen's (1974a: ix; 1974b: 97) opinion, ethnicity is a universal fact that exists in every society, both the developed and the less-developed. It refers to the degree of conformity by members of the collectivity to the shared norms in the course of social interaction (1974a: ix-x). Therefore, ethnicity is a complex phenomenon that covers psychological, historical, economic, and political elements. However, the expression of ethnic identity is contingent on context (ibid: xv), which refers to the particular circumstances of an ethnic group. That is, ethnicity is

created by people, especially by the elite, who want to assert themselves to gain political and economic advantages. Cohen particularly paid much attention to the connection between ethnicity and political (including economic) relations (ibid). According to his argument, any group can become an interest (or ethnic) group as long as that group maintains its distinctiveness (or ethnic boundary) and employs extensively the symbols of its characteristics. Take the example he uses in his essay, the London economic elite who dominate the City of London and the financial system of Britain can be seen as an interest group, as they have many similarities and pursue collective interests⁷. Hence, as Cohen recognised, ethnicity does not necessarily relate to minority status, lower class, migrancy, and so on (ibid: xxi). Cohen also specified how the symbols, which help a group to obtain their ethnicity, are manipulated, maintained, borrowed, and developed for political aims.

Glazer and Moynihan's definition of ethnicity looks like a primordialist approach. However, they (1975: 7) also saw ethnic groups as "interest groups", as Cohen did. They tried to explain the phenomenon why ethnic groups wish to attain their desired condition in a society. By contesting the theories of the "melting-pot" in the United States they showed that various immigrant groups make their interests public. Thus, their position is clearly an instrumentalist one, even though they repeatedly emphasised that they (ibid: 20) neither "celebrated" primordialism nor "dismissed" circumstantialism. However, their approach did not improve much on the understanding of ethnicity, as they treated the notion of ethnic group as an unproblematic concept. In addition, it is too arbitrary to say that "interests" define ethnic groups, without considering other possible cultural elements that may be crucial to the definition. Nonetheless, they did foresee the importance of immigrants in the ethnic politics of the United States.

Constructivism

In the early 1980s, Okamura (1981) proposed a new perspective that was different from

⁷ These business elites create relationships with a high degree of trust in the trading network. Cohen (1974a: xix) illustrates that they share many characteristics, such as common life style, similar background, and so on. They are also related to each other by friendship, kinship, and affinal relationships (ibid: xx).

primordialism and circumstantialism. He termed it as “situational ethnicity”. He looked at the two dimensions of ethnicity, namely the cognitive and the structural. By cognitive, he referred (1981: 463) to the actor’s understandings and explanations of cultural and symbolic elements. By structural, he referred (ibid) to the social relations, social contexts and social organisation by which an actor is constrained. Because ethnic identity, which is fluid and changeable in nature, is not always obvious or expressive, one has to examine some crucial elements in relation to the actors. Therefore, Okamura synthesised the existing theories and developed this perspective which, he believed, could accommodate the actor’s subjective and the analyst’s objective viewpoints.

Constructivism is thought to be a more dynamic approach among these approaches. Cornell and Hartmann (1998) propose a clear definition of constructivism. They consider that the constructivist approach “focuses on the ways ethnic and racial identities are built, rebuilt, and sometimes dismantled over time. It places interactions between circumstances and groups at the heart of these processes. It accepts the fundamental validity of circumstantialism while attempting to retain the key insights of primordialism, but it adds to them a large dose of activism: the contribution groups make to creating and shaping their own identities (1998: 72)”. In short, constructivism is a combination of primordialism and circumstantialism with a great deal of consideration given to socio-cultural and historical factors that dominate the change of an ethnic identity. In this sense, ethnic identity is treated as fluid, contingent, and variable product. Because group boundaries are often reconstructed in order to correspond to the transformation of identity, group interaction is given much attention in the analysis of ethnicity.

The constructivist emphasis on group interaction is said to derive from Barth (Cornell and Hartmann 1998: 72). Barth’s (1969) introduction of boundary construction and maintenance has made an important contribution to the scholarly understanding of ethnic groups, as he led us to change the use of the colonialist-oriented term, “tribe”, to “ethnic group” (Banks 1996: 17). The essence of Barth’s argument is that ethnic identity is determined by self-ascription of the actors or ascription by others. He opposes those who use biological or cultural features to define ethnic groups. He argues that ethnic groups share some cultural characteristics with each other after a period of inter-group interaction; therefore, such elements are unable to distinguish ethnic groups

from one another. However, he does not diminish the importance of cultural elements, as he acknowledges that some limited cultural features which are significant to the members of one ethnic group can delimit ethnic boundaries. Therefore, in Barth's perception, ethnic identity is situational and depends on contexts (e.g. the negotiation between ethnic boundaries). The study of the maintenance of ethnic boundaries can help to find out the mechanisms of continuity and persistence of ethnic groups (Barth 1969: 38).

Approaches compared

As shown in the above quotations, the most recent scholars, such as Eriksen, Banks, and many others, tend to adopt a synthetic or more comprehensive approach to conceptualise ethnicity. Nonetheless, the debate between primordialism and circumstantialism is vital, as it has stimulated much thinking in the field. It has widened our understanding on the topic and the issues closely related to it, such as race, nation and nationalism, assimilation, and so on; however, it has also brought some confusion.

Primordality has always been a contentious problem in the discussion of ethnicity. Ever since Shils and Geertz started to use the concept of primordialism to analyse ethnicity, scholars have been debating different aspects of primordiality in the formation of ethnic identity, yet they have not arrived at any broad agreement. On the contrary, they enlarge the dispute by adding other dimensions. For example, Isaacs (1975) and van den Berghe (1981) use socio-biological approach to endorse primordialism, Horowitz (1985) emphasises the social-psychological aspect of ethnicity, etc. Primordialism is also under severe attack, especially from circumstantialists. For example, Cohen (1974a: xii-xiii) criticises primordialists (such as Barth, in his opinion) for having no power to analyse ethnicity logically, methodologically, and sociologically. Eller and Coughlan (1993: 187-201) take a relatively radical view and suggest abandoning the use of primordialist approach altogether, as they regard primordialism as a 'bankrupt concept' which is unable to explain or analyse ethnic phenomenon⁸.

⁸ Eller and Coughlan (1993: 187-201) criticise the concept of primordialism adopted by Geertz and his followers. They analyse the approach from three dimensions, namely apriority, ineffability, and affectivity and point out the fallacy of primordialism that scholars fail to deal with the notion of 'emotion'. However, their suggestion that primordialism should be completely discarded is questioned by Grosby (1994), who, again, highlights the aspects of socio-biological bond and locality of primordiality.

This confusion results from the ambiguity of ethnicity as a category which leads scholars to conceptualise it either subjectively or objectively. This ambiguity is described as the “duality” of ethnicity by Eriksen (1993: 56), who suggests that the study of the debate between primordialism and circumstantialism can be instructive (ibid: 54-58). Comparing the approaches of Barth and Cohen, Eriksen points out that the crucial difference between them lies in their subjectivist or objectivist views on ethnicity. The key point of Barth is that he treats ethnicity as a continuing ascription which classifies a person in terms of their most general and inclusive identity, presumptively determined by origin and background (1969: 13), as well as a form of social organisation maintained by inter-group boundary mechanisms, based not on possession of a cultural inventory but on manipulation of identities and their situational character. As for Cohen, an ethnic group is just a group of people who share some common interests. In order to secure their interests, this group of people will unify and organise themselves by means of manipulating cultural symbols, such as kinship, religion, myths of origin, and other elements. In this sense, Cohen sees ethnicity as an analytic term for describing social organisations within a society and these organisations can be variable depending on their needs and other circumstances. Implicitly, Barth’s position is genuinely subjectivist, as he conceptualises ethnicity from the actors’ point of view, whereas Cohen’s perspective is objectivist, as he looks at ethnicity from an analytic perspective. Because of these different emphases and approaches, Cohen (1974a: xii) criticises severely what Barth calls “basic most general identity”⁹, since he strongly believes that ethnic identities are the result of “functional organisational requirements”. In this sense, Barth emphasises more the relationship between ethnicity and culture, while Cohen is interested in the interplay between ethnicity and politics. Although both of them recognise the importance of cultural or primordial elements, Barth regards those elements as crucial factors in the formation of ethnic identity, while Cohen treats them as the tools for pursuing political purposes. Therefore, Barth’s idea is partially right in terms of the formation of ethnic identity,

⁹ When Barth (1969: 13) discusses ethnic groups as a form of social organisation, he mentions that self-ascription and ascription by others are the crucial factors in the organisation of ethnic groups. In his opinion, “a categorical ascription is an ethnic ascription when it classifies a person in terms of his basic, most general identity, presumptively determined by his origin and background”. His assertion about ethnic identity is based on an actor’s origin and background. This is the main point which Cohen criticises.

while Cohen's analysis is partially right in terms of the function of ethnicity.

Generally speaking, both primordialists and circumstantialists only see one aspect of ethnicity. For example, primordialists emphasise internal, subjective, and affective elements in identity formation. Those elements often refer to the blood tie. In other words, ethnic identity is a given, meaning that it is a biological inheritance, which is unchangeable by any circumstance. In this respect, primordialists conceptualise ethnic identity as a basic, rigid, unchangeable, and permanent identity, which is deeply rooted in one's tradition and history. Circumstantialists stress some external, objective, and socio-political circumstances which can dominate an ethnic organisation and its interests. For circumstantialists, an ethnic group is a collective group of people who share common interests. Ethnic identity is instrumental, as it reflects the actor's need under certain circumstances, such as history, inequality, and so on. Therefore, circumstantialists see ethnic identity as a shifting and variable identity. Tradition and other cultural elements are just tools for ethnic groups to manipulate in order to get what they want.

Nonetheless, both approaches still fail to explain the fluid, contingent, negotiable and creative nature of ethnic identity and how this identity is created, advocated, maintained, and transformed. The primordialists insistence on biological inheritance somehow appears to be common-sensical, as in reality people tend to differentiate themselves from other people(s) by physical appearance and the people who share similar features distinguish each other by language, religion, locality or nationality. More importantly, this primordialist argument has become less significant owing to the growing number of mixed marriages and migration in a globalised world in which the mechanism of self-identification becomes more complicated. The primordial approach also overlooks some social and historical conditions that influence the formation of ethnic identity. Hence, ethnicity as a field of study should be carefully differentiated from the general understanding of the term and cautiously examined with other social and historical forces. As to the circumstantialist approach, its emphasis on treating the ethnic group as an "interest group" is often criticised. As Epstein (1978: 94), puts it, when he criticises Cohen's and Glazer and Moynihan's usage of the term, the interests of a group change in time, but the group may still exist. The circumstantialist notion that ethnic identity is instrumental has also been criticised. As circumstantialists suggest

that the tendency of ethnic identity is to mobilise group affiliation in order to pursue political power or economic advantage within the modern nation-state, the ethnic identity is often limited to a political identity. In addition, circumstantialists examine the issue of ethnicity from an analytical perspective and ignore the ethnic group's point of view. Over-stressing circumstantial forces thus leads to the circumstantialists' failure to explain the reason why an ethnic group is sometimes emotionally attached to what they claim to be their authentic identity.

The comparison between primordialism and circumstantialism shows the advantages and problems of both approaches. Neither of them is adequate to accommodate the complexity of ethnicity. As Eriksen and others (like Okamura) pointed out, not every ethnic group has a clear-cut choice in relation to its own identity, nor is an ethnic identity instrumental by nature; rather, ethnic identities "are wedged between situational selection and imperatives imposed from without (Eriksen 1993: 57)". In such cases, a more comprehensive approach is required. Because the constructivist approach integrates primordialism and circumstantialism, the approach enlarges the scope of the topic. The constructivist approach includes both the actor's and the analyst's points of view in order to examine the power of primordial attachment and circumstantial forces which influence ethnic identity. More importantly, as inspired by Barth, the constructivist approach takes group interaction into account, as interaction is seen as one of the crucial factors in shaping ethnicity. In this sense, constructivism is, so far, the better conceptual foundation for the understanding of ethnicity.

Ethnicity conceptualised

As this thesis follows and develops the constructivist approach to conceptualise ethnicity in Taiwan, it is important to summarise it explicitly. Notably, the thesis does not rely on one particular theory; rather, it seeks for an integration of ideas from constructivists, circumstantialists, and primordialists. By doing so, the aim is to develop a more comprehensive insight for the study of ethnicity.

Ethnicity in this thesis is defined in a relational sense and as "a term that only makes sense in a context of relativities, of processes of identification, and that nevertheless aspires to concrete and positive status both as an attribute and as an analytical 'concept'"

(Chapman, McDonald and Tonkin 1989: 11)". As to the definition of the ethnic group, three criteria suggested by Yinger (1994: 2-3) are useful, they are: (1) the group is considered different from others in the society by some cultural elements (such as language, religion, race, and ancestral homeland with its related culture); (2) the group members see themselves as ethnically distinct from others; (3) the group members engage in common activities which are related to their real or mythical common origin and culture¹⁰. However, the cultural elements Yinger suggests should not be incorporated rigidly, as some ethnic groups may share common cultural traits after long-term interaction, and the difference is that they may have different interpretations toward those shared cultural traits. Therefore, these primordial attachments should be regarded as "constructed primordiality" as in Cornell and Hartmann's (1998: 89-90) understanding. Such ties are used to prove the authenticity of ethnic identity and are considered to be the crucial source of ethnic power. Cornell and Hartmann (ibid) observe that ethnic groups tend to relate primordial ties, mostly blood ties, to their identity in order to connect them with a past which is deeper and more intimate to them, even though these primordial elements may not be their sole property. Cornell and Hartmann also further their argument by pointing out that the power of ethnicity comes from the rhetoric and symbolism of primordialism and not from "pure" primordial ties themselves. In this sense, their view corresponds to Geertz's "assumed given". Primordiality in these authors' analyses is not "real" primordial or biological ties; rather, it is a construct which is made to attribute blood ties by actors. With this understanding, it is therefore not difficult to appreciate the role of cultural elements, such as tradition, history, and other components in the construction of ethnic identity.

Secondly, the scope of ethnicity covers "boundaries, otherness, goals and achievements, being and identity, descent and classification" (Banks 1996: 190). Amongst these, the concept of ethnic boundaries is a vital key for understanding the situational and contextual character of ethnicity, as group boundaries are deeply influenced by the interactions between groups. Because ethnic boundaries are not practical boundaries, nor territorial ones, these invisible social boundaries often confuse researchers who try

¹⁰ However, bearing in mind the example of the Chinese Hui people who are from diverse "origins" and do not have their own language, ethnic dress, literature, music, and so on (Gladney, 1991), I do not feel comfortable about the use of "origin" (in the sense of socially constructed) as a primary reference to classify people, as Levine does (1999: 168). I prefer to follow Brah's (1996) concept of "making difference" among people, as it can further analysis of ethnic differentiation.

to classify ethnic groups. Moreover, the boundaries become more difficult to draw, as ethnic groups share more similarities in the aftermath of frequent contact in the modern world. Because of this, the study of ethnic boundaries will help to conceptualise the construction, creation, maintenance, and transformation of ethnic identity.

Lastly, Jenkins (1997: 165) has listed some propositions which he thinks can be presented as a “basic anthropological model” of ethnicity, they are:

- ethnicity is about cultural differentiation (bearing in mind that identity is always a dialectic between similarity and difference);
- ethnicity is concerned with culture – shared meaning – but it is also rooted in, and the outcome of, social interaction;
- ethnicity is no more fixed than the culture of which it is a component, or the situations in which it is produced and reproduced;
- ethnicity is both collective and individual, externalized in social interaction and internalized in personal self-identification.

However, ethnicity should not be limited to “cultural stuff”, as ethnic identity is a cultural as well as social identity, based on a contrast that ethnic groups use to differentiate themselves from others within a society. Because ethnicity is often related to power relations and economic inequality, it also connotes political behaviour and this should not be overlooked.

Because ethnicity involves the differentiation between “us” and “them”, it is inevitable that difference is highlighted, such as the distinctions of the majority and minority, the superior and the inferior, the rulers and the ruled, the dominators and the subordinates, and so on. The gap of difference is often magnified or widened, when involved with power, especially within a nation-state. Under these circumstances, ethnicity is inevitably manipulated by the minority, the inferior, the ruled, and the subordinates in order to stress structural inequality or institutional discrimination in order to further their interests. The magnification of difference though frequently leads to conflicts which sometimes result in ethnic segregation, discrimination, or even violence, such as ethnic cleansing and genocide.

Ethnicity and Nationalism

The distinction between ethnicity and nationalism is problematic, though these two topics are often discussed together. Many scholars agree that most nationalisms tend to relate to ethnic ties (such as Eriksen, Cornell and Hartmann, and many others). However, while some assert that nationalism and ethnicity are the same thing, others insist that they are different matters, even though related to each other to some degree. There are some factors that contribute to this confusion. For example, in reality many nationalisms do appear to have an ethnic character. In addition, Geertz observes that one of the two motives of ethnic expression, the practical motive, refers ethnic identity to “a demand for progress, for raising standard of living, more effective political order, greater social justice, and beyond that, playing a part in the larger arena of world politics, exercising influence among the nations”(Geertz 1963: 108)¹¹. Moreover, the usage of some terms, such as race, nation, ethnic group, and minority, seem to be overlapping and thus puzzling. Since this thesis is not about nationalism, it will concentrate mainly on the relationship between ethnicity and nationalism and will not discuss nationalism separately.

Gellner regards nationalism as a political innovation that came into being in the aftermath of industrial society. “Nationalism is primarily a political principle”, he (1983: 1) writes, “nationalism as a sentiment, or as a movement, can best be defined in terms of this principle. Nationalist *sentiment* is the feeling of anger aroused by the violation of the principle, or the feeling of satisfaction aroused by its fulfilment. A nationalist *movement* is one actuated by sentiment of this kind” (emphasis in original). In Gellner’s opinion, nationalism, a distinctive species of patriotism (ibid: 138), is so powerful that nations can only be defined by it, it cannot be engendered by nations (ibid: 55). In addition, only nationalism has the power to hold nations and states together (ibid: 6). However, in Gellner’s model of nationalism, only one group’s identity is defined as national identity, and the state has to play an important role to protect or maintain homogeneous national (high) culture.

¹¹ Geertz points out two motives of ethnic expression. One is the practical motive which is the demand for civil rights. The other is to acquire an identity which is known or acknowledged by others.

While Gellner focuses on the political dimension of nationalism, Anderson (1991) emphasises the notion of “nation”. In his influential definition, the nation is conceptualised as “an imagined political community - and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign (Anderson 1991: 6-7)”. Owing to group consciousness, even though people do not know or meet each other, they develop a sense of unity and “imagine” their belongingness to their nation (ibid.). The strength of imagination arouses people’s patriotism which makes them willing to die for their nation. Anderson notes that nationalism is a modern phenomenon which derives from the Enlightenment and French Revolution (ibid.: 7). Through the print capitalism and education the notion of nationalism has spread all over the world and rendered imagined communities realistic. Anderson emphasises the western origin of nationalism and argues that nationalism is not a transformation from old existing nations. Notably, Anderson over-emphasises the homogeneity of a nation and does not acknowledge the diversity of ethnic groups or ethnicity in his work.

Smith’s model of nation formation seems to provide a better conceptual tool for understanding the relationship between the formation of a nation and its ethnic groups. Dissatisfied with modernist propositions (e.g. Anderson and Gellner), Smith (1986) draws attention to the persistence of *ethnie*, or ethnic community, in the formation of nation. He argues that “not only did many nations and nationalisms spring up on the basis of pre-existing *ethnie* and their ethnocentrisms, but that in order to forge a ‘nation’ today, it is vital to create and crystallise ethnic components, the lack of which is likely to constitute a serious impediment to ‘nation-building’ (Smith 1986: 17)”. He continues to argue that both *ethnie* and nation need to have symbolic characters, such as myths, symbols, memories and values, with which people of an *ethnie* can identify. Owing to “ethnic roots”, some nations have transformed from old *ethnie* to modern nations, and some nations have been reconstructed by the revival of old culture by the modern elite (ibid.: 17-8). Therefore, ethnic roots not only provide people with a sense of continuity but also restore people’s confidence and dignity, most importantly, these ethnic elements unify different groups and classes within a unit by emphasising the myth of common descent (ibid.: 201).

The main dispute between Anderson, Gellner and Smith is about the formation of the nation. All of them agree on the modern and western origin of nationalism. However, Anderson and Gellner do not emphasize the issue of ethnicity in the formation of nation. Hence, they do not foresee the phenomenon that some nation-states have met ethnic resistance in the second half of the 20th century. Only Smith goes into detail to explain the ethnic origin of nationalism and the relationship between modern political ideology and ethnicity. All these authors emphasise the homogeneous nature of the nation and the role of elites in nation building. Anderson and Gellner single out print capitalism, education and language as tools which unify national sentiment and culture. However, though their arguments may be the most useful in studying homogeneous political communities during specific periods, they do not do justice to nationalisms of post-colonial or plural societies which do not directly follow the western model. For instance, Chatterjee (1993: 120) argues that nationalisms of the Third World (e.g. Africa and Asia) are closely related to traditionalism, unliberal political regimes, religious fundamentalism, racial hatred and anti-modern ideologies. In reality, nationalism involves the problems between ethnic identities and citizenship as well as minorities and majorities which lead to racism, ethnic cleansing (e.g. in Eastern Europe and Rwanda), ethnic conflicts over territory (such as indigenous Indians' claim over Canada) and historical heritage (such as Greek claim on Macedonia).

These phenomena direct us to rethink the nature of nation and nationalism which Gellner and Anderson fail to achieve. Gellner's models of nation and nationalism are transitory phenomena which cease to be important after a nation achieves industrialism and becomes a homogeneous society (Gellner 1983: 111-122) and Anderson's imagined community seems to have an overwhelming power over the continuity of nation. Although Gellner and Anderson are correct in highlighting the homogenising tendency of a nation and nationalism as a group consciousness and political ideology, but it is not a clear-cut or static ideology. Eriksen (1993: 118) significantly points out that nationalist ideology is an ethnic ideology in the sense that it is about the demand of an ethnic group to establish a state. However, Banks criticises Eriksen's argument for being unable to explain the crucial concept, the inclusion and exclusion criteria of nationalism. As long as the state has control over the nation, Banks suggests, all nationalisms, as an ideology, "actively seek both to enhance and reify the specifically ethnic identities of deviant others with the nation state, and at the same time to efface

the idea of ethnic particularism within national identity (Banks 1996: 158)". That is to say, the nation belongs to its defined ethnic group(s) and it also incorporates, automatically or forcibly, other ethnic groups. Moreover, he endorses Williams' (1989) argument that the distinctness between ethnicity and nationalism lies in the matters of race and class. Whether race or class are the major factors, it is true to say that there is an arbitrary classification between a nation's defined group (or class) and its others which is often used by an elite group (or class) to exclude the others as its members (Williams 1989: 431). Other ethnic groups either reduce their individual and collective status and interests in order to be incorporated into the nation or become the problem groups of the nation's hegemonic group. Ideologically, the homogeneous and hegemonic nature of the nation does not allow differences among its members and other ethnic groups to endanger its sovereignty. The imposition of citizenship and national high culture alienates other ethnic groups like minorities and indigenous peoples who share the same territory with nation's defined group(s). The problems of ethnicity, therefore, range from the claim of ethnic rights, ethnic conflicts, ethnocide, to the claim to an alternative nation.

Handler's and Kapferer's conceptualisations of nationalism in the modern world add another dimension to the topic. Although from different perspectives, both of them look at the significance of the past in the construction of a nation. Handler (1988) sees nations as human organisation. Through his case study on Quebecois nationalism, he follows Louis Dumont's idea that the modern nation is a collective individual as well as a collection of individuals. In Handler's opinion, a nation needs to possess a culture for its existence and that is the reason why Quebecois nationalists "must claim and specify the nation's possessions (Handler 1988: 154)". Handler also challenges the conception of social scientists who believe that national culture is a pure and homogeneous form which continues from the nation's past. He argues that French Canadian nationalist discourse actually changes through time as a reflection of people's need. So-called authentic identity does not exist. It is actually a construction or reconstruction using historical materials (e.g. folklore) to endorse an authentic ethnic identity in order to prove its continuity from the past.

Kapferer (1988) sees the dominant, emotional, and passionate power of nationalism that inflames the nationalist sentiment of its members. Therefore, he uses the idea of ontology to interpret nationalism, as ontology is vital in the process of historical ideological action of human beings (1988: 80). By ontology, he (ibid: 79) means “a being in the world” and the experience of such a being. Simply put, it refers to “modes of being” or the essence of reality. Because living realities are different from one place to another, nationalism varies in each culture. Even though some share similar symbols or beliefs, like the myths shared by the Sinhalese and the Tamils as described in Kapferer’s account; different interpretations of myths and culture result in different nationalist sentiments or actions which are often in conflict. This leads Kapferer to conclude that nationalisms are often related to violence, as happened in the 1983 riots between the Sinhalese and the Tamils in Sri Lankan society. It is not the case in his other example, Australia, whose nationalism is described as egalitarian industrialist by Kapferer, in opposition to Sri Lankan Sinhalese hierarchical nationalism. Australian nationalism empowers the dead, the people who died for the Australian nation, as in Anzac legend, in the construction of Australian national identity. Despite the different formulations of these two nationalisms, Kapferer demonstrates that both mythologise their nationalist discourses by using symbols (e.g. myth, legend, past, etc) to enhance or instil their nationalist imagination and commitment. By pointing out the differences in the two nationalisms, Kapferer also attempts to challenge Universalist approaches to nationalism.

The relationship between nationalism and ethnicity is an overlapping one. Both nationalism and ethnicity denote ethnic consciousness as well as difference from “others”. Both ideologies rest on ethnic symbols which are significant to people and lay claim to ethnic identification. Relatively, nationalism emphasises political legitimacy and cultural homogenisation. This political agenda of nationalism can be seen as the main distinction between nationalism and ethnicity, as Cornell and Hartmann (1998: 37) explicitly point out. However, the nation or nation-state in order to avoid any ambiguities, need absolute sovereignty, autonomy, and self-determination, whereas ethnic communities can still survive without these. In addition, Hutchinson and Smith (1994: 16, quoted from Weber) restate that the difference between nation and ethnic communities lies in the degree of self-consciousness: an ethnic group may be defined by others, but a nation must be self-defined. Although in the idea of nationalism the

political organisation is ethnic in character, representing the interests and identity of a nationally-defined ethnic group, the nation-state needs to convince the whole population that they belong to the same cultural unit (Eriksen 1993: 101). As a result, nationalism as a consciousness and ideology is a continuous product of a nation and ethnicity plays a crucial role in shaping the nation-state.

Nonetheless, nationalism is not a clear-cut ideology, it should be treated like ethnicity as a continuous concept in response to specific historical and socio-political instances within a certain boundary. Nationalism is sometimes another form of ethnicity or a “variant” (e.g. Eriksen 1993: 101; and many others) of ethnicity, and the differences between them are not in kind but in degree. Such understanding of nationalism can help to extend the analysis to include some other problematic forms of nationalism.

Ethnicity Reconsidered

Because the fundamental concept of ethnicity and nationalism is the division of “us” and “others”, the categorisation of inclusion and exclusion is inevitable. As most nationalisms favour one particular group, most of the time other ethnic groups cannot gain full membership of the nation-state. As Banks (1996: 160) points out, these ethnic groups can “achieve ‘success’ only by reducing their ethnicity to external, folkloristic forms (music, dances, costumes) and by sacrificing individual and collective interests to those of the nation”. Facing cultural hegemony and structural inequality, other ethnic groups, including diaspora communities, aborigines, and other marginalised groups tend to reassert themselves for the protection of their civil rights. Because of the conflict between the nationally defined group and other ethnic groups, such ethnic groups are often considered pressure groups or “problem groups”. Nonetheless, some scholars (such as M.G. Smith 1969) have used the concept of “plural society” or “plurality” in order to accommodate the problems of ethnic relations.

Each society has different criteria for the categorisation of inclusion and exclusion owing to its historical and socio-cultural background. Race, language, religion, history, culture, etc. have been manipulated or elaborated in many different spheres in order to highlight such categorisation. Fundamentally, it is not these elements in themselves which can divide ethnic groups. On the contrary, these elements are constructed to

enhance the boundaries between them. Nevertheless, the operation of the categorisation of inclusion and exclusion often leads to prejudice, discrimination, segregation, conflicts, or even violence. Under these circumstances, it is always the marginalised groups, especially minorities, immigrants, and aborigines who are subordinated to the majority group(s) or the groups with power, and experience institutional inequality or injustice in the economic, political, and cultural life of their nation-state.

Scholars use different concepts to interpret the discourse of minority and majority or subordinate and superiors. For example, Brah (1996) uses the concepts of diaspora, borders, and multi-axial locationality to explain the problematic relationship between host and immigrants in Britain. Oliver (1984) and O'Brien (1984) employ the idea of human rights in the case of minorities in their argument to suggest that they have long suffered in the process of integration into society. This argument has been adopted by minorities in order to fight for their rights. Nonetheless, as the boundaries between the minority and majority have become difficult to define clearly into binary oppositions in the aftermath of globalised economy and mass migration, the construction of identity needs to be understood from wider perspectives and dimensions.

Among the above mentioned elements which have been manipulated for drawing group boundaries, racism is the most confusing one, as the term "race" often relates to "ethnic group" in public imagination. Whether "ethnic group" is the synonym or a sub-category of "race" has been debated in many disciplines. Some (like Banks) suggest that these two terms should be differentiated, some (like Cornell and Hartmann) link the two together, some (like van den Berghe) see race relations as a special case of ethnicity. Banks does not think that "race", a term based on physical appearance, is an adequate term as an analytic concept; however, he (1996: 100, 178-181) acknowledges the importance of "race" in the study of ethnicity in Britain, as in reality the perception of skin colour is crucial to the power relations between minorities and their white hosts and people tend to label or stereotype other peoples by their physical appearance. With the American model of ethnicity in mind, Cornell and Hartmann think that ethnicity and race, as two forms of collective identities, have much in common, even though they still insist that these two terms are different¹². Although Banks, Cornell and Hartmann have

¹² The reasons why Cornell and Hartmann (1998) still use these two terms together are: firstly, both

different views on how to treat race and ethnicity, they share a stress on the fact that race cannot be ignored in the study of ethnicity and that the two concepts need to be properly differentiated. In this aspect, race, as a cultural construct but not merely a physical categorisation, should not be disregarded in the study of ethnicity.

Ethnic groups in the modern world tend to be self-ascribed and self-conscious. Hence, many of them, such as diaspora communities, aborigines, and marginalised or subordinated groups, reassert themselves and seek for protection or civil rights within nation-state. Having survived national standardised education and cultural homogenisation, ethnic groups learn to use modern technology to enhance their claims or ethnic sentiment, which transforms the aspects of ethnicity and expands scholarly understanding on the construction and complexity of modern identity and culture. The conflicts or tensions between the nation's hegemonic group and other ethnic groups or between the nation-state and ethnic groups sometime intensify. For example, immigrants in the US play an important economic and political role not only in their host country but also in their homeland. American Indians want to build their ethnic nation in South and North America. Aborigines have won land disputes in Australia. Nonetheless, assimilation and persistence in ethnic relations thus make group boundaries even more fluid, blurred, and variable in the contemporary world.

Radical growth of ethnic consciousness and self-representation complicates the study of ethnicity, as scholars (e.g. Lavie and Swedenburg, 1996) often find it difficult to define ethnic groups, especially in case of such groups as those who experience radical disruptions in their historical continuity; the attachment some people have to a specific place in which they no longer actually reside as the basis for constructing their identity; and those actually possessing hybrid culture after a long period of interaction with other groups. Take the Mashpee Indians in Clifford's (1988: 277-346) account as an example, the Indian status of these people was denied by a jury whose verdict was that Mashpee Indians were not consistently a tribe. After examining textual records throughout the history of three centuries and their current conditions, the jury decided that they have lost their Indianness and only have fragmental memories of their past. However,

academia and the public tend to link them together, secondly, both are the products of interaction between groups. In addition, they are the identities constructed by self and other. Finally, they sometimes overlap in many ways, such as physical characteristics, ancestry, history, and so on.

Clifford points out some problematic areas in this trial. He observes that throughout the trial the jurors and the public used western concepts like culture, history, and the institution of “tribe” to define Mashpee Indians, ignoring the fact that those Indians are actually in the process of re-defining themselves at that conjuncture of their life, when the group boundaries between them and other ethnic groups are blurred or even overlapping. Hence, the revival of Mashpee Indian identity is like a creative resistance to its others, especially to its white counterparts. Nonetheless, the attitude of the jurors also takes place against the backdrop of the academic world that leads to the debate between “the subject of study” and “the disciplinary object of study” or between “the centre” and “the margin”. It also leads to the crucial question: who has the authority to decide the authenticity of one’s identity or culture.

II. Theoretical Perspectives on Kavalan Identity in Taiwan

The ethnic group which I use in this thesis as a case study for the study of ethnicity in Taiwan is known as the Kavalan. However, interpreting their newly revived identity in the Taiwanese society is not an easy task. Like many other minorities in the developed world, the Kavalan are caught between maintaining a local past and living in an economic and social reality whose scope is rapidly becoming global. They are engaged in an on-going process of re-defining themselves in the fast-changing world. I try to apply major existing theories in an attempt to situate and understand Kavalan ethnicity and to see which theoretical approach is useful to understand the complexity of modern ethnicity in Taiwan.

Identifying the Kavalan: from a primordialist perspective

The Kavalan, a marginalised aboriginal group, re-emerged in Taiwan in the mid-1980s, after a gap of almost a century, when some Kavalan in Hsinshe village in Hualien County tried to unite their descendants into a distinct aboriginal group, in the aftermath of receiving much national attention after their “ethnic revival”¹³. Before Chinese

¹³ This thesis identifies 1991 as a key date in the ethnic resurgence of the Kavalan, as it was the year that the public came to know them. More importantly, it was the time when the Kavalan began to engage in activities aimed at reasserting themselves as a distinctive ethnic group and demanding their rights.

immigrants came to occupy their homeland in the 18th century, they were just groups of autonomous people living on the Kavalan plain in present Ilan County. The Chinese political administration named these people by a geographical term and forced them to incorporate into Chinese society. Then, Japanese colonisers modified Chinese administrative system and labelled them as “*shou fan*” (cooked aborigines) or “*ping pu fan*” (plains aborigines)¹⁴. However, they lost their aboriginal status when the KMT came to power from 1949 onwards, as they were thought to have assimilated into Chinese society. Because the Chinese occupied their homeland, these people were forced to incorporate into either Chinese or Amis territories. During long-term interaction with these two groups, they imbibed numerous influences from these groups. Moreover, they also identified themselves with either one of them, even though they were not considered as their members. This remained the case until they were “re-discovered” by the mass media as a “lost” group in the middle of 1980s. Public attention has given them confidence which in return encouraged them to enhance their ethnic status and distinctive features. As aborigines and minorities in Taiwan are given certain privileges by the government¹⁵, the Kavalan started to reassert themselves as an ethnic group in order to pursue their rights. As a result, they actively engage in re-inventing their traditions in order to prove the authenticity of their ethnic identity and to display the distinctiveness of their cultural property to the public. Hence, the revival of the Kavalan illustrates how a group of people tries to transform or re-define themselves in a different environment, a process which cannot be fully explained by the concepts of assimilation or resistance.

¹⁴ *Fan* means “savages” or “barbarians” both in Chinese and Japanese. This term was created by the Chinese government in order to distinguish between aborigines and Chinese immigrants and later the Japanese colonial government adopted it. Roughly based on geographical distribution, the extent of sinicization, and the degrees of closeness, highland and eastern aborigines were called *kao shan fan* (mountain savages), *sheng fan* (raw savages), or *yen fan* (uncivilised savages), while those who lived on the plains were *ping pu fan* (plains savages), *shou fan* (ripe savages), or *hua fan* (civilised savages).

¹⁵ The present law of identification of aborigines in Taiwan emanate from the second clause of the Order No. 30738 which was issued by the Provincial Government in 1980. The constitution itself does not particularly have any provision for the Taiwanese aborigines, as it was written mainly for accommodating mainland China. Because the KMT had to deal with Taiwanese aborigines, it made a special provision for them. However, it mainly followed Japanese classification. In that order, Taiwanese aborigines are classified into two categories, namely “mountain dwellers” and “plains dwellers.” The former is defined as “those people and their parents who lived in mountain administrative area and were registered as aborigines in the Japanese period”. The later is defined as “those people and their parents who lived in plains administrative area and were registered as aborigines in the Japanese period.” Ami, Puyuma, East Rukai, and Thao are placed in category of plains dwellers. The rest of the aborigines are classified as mountain dwellers. There is no regulation about the rights of aborigines in the constitution; however, some ministries or councils (e.g. the Ministry of Education, the Council of Labour Affairs) have issued

Currently, most of the Kavalan live sparsely in a narrow strip of land along the eastern coast of Taiwan, mainly in Hualien and Taitung counties. They did not have much contact with each other until the Kavalan consciousness movement began in the last decade of the 20th century. Several factors contribute to the mobilisation of this group of people. For example, they speak the same language, practice common rituals, and more importantly, they share the same myth of homeland and sentiments, experiences of exile, the Chinese occupation and exclusion from other groups. They also relate to each other by kinship. Even though they are markedly distinct from their neighboring groups, such as the Holo, the Amis, and other groups, they did not have a collective ethnic name for themselves, nor did they know that scholars classify them as the Kavalan. Hence, before the use of the term “Kavalan”, they tended to address themselves as the Amis to outsiders since they live in Amis territory. Some of them identified themselves as Holo, as they carried their family tradition of practicing Holo customs and speaking the Holo language which they started to adopt when they were forced to assimilate into mainstream Chinese society in their homeland, Ilan. This identification with different ethnic groups results from their history of migration and interaction with other ethnic groups. There are several suggestions and explanations involved in this. First, most of the Amis-ascribed Kavalan could have moved to Hsinshue earlier than the Holo-ascribed Kavalan which implies that they had a longer period of interaction with the Amis. Second, some Holo-ascribed Kavalan might have come either directly from their homeland, or from their mid-point settlement, Kaliawan in northern Hualien. Even though they tried to link themselves with these ethnic groups, they were still not considered members of these groups.

The primordial approach does not seem to fully accommodate the situation of Kavalan identity, even though they fulfil the criteria of speaking the same language, practicing common rituals, and sharing the same myth of homeland and ethnic sentiments. Nor does the idea of “basic group identity” apply. First of all, the name Kavalan is a new invention which is used to describe the people who originated from Ilan, despite the fact that some historical and linguistic accounts suggest that those people did not belong to the same group. Secondly, they have a history of adopting other identities before. Thirdly, at local level, these so-called Kavalan self-ascribe themselves locally as either

“Kaliawan” or “Trobuwan”, the name of the places in Ilan where their ancestors came from. These two groups, according to Li and other linguists, belong to different linguistic groups and could not communicate with each other in their own mother tongue, which implies that they do not belong to the same ethnic group.

As a result, if one assumes present Kavalan identity to be their “basic group identity”, one will make analytical mistakes. Firstly, the idea of “basic group identity” endorses the idea that group identity is a long-lasting, static, and constant identity. That is to say, Kavalan identity has always existed. It also ignores the fact that this group of people has experienced many social changes and interacted with many groups over time, which might have transformed the identity of these people. Lastly, it denies the possibility of choice which a people may exercise and which might have changed the perception of their identity.

Nonetheless, the power of primordiality should not be overlooked. For example, this group of people does stress their primordial ties in order to claim the property of the name of Kavalan as a proof of the authenticity of their identity. Symbolic resources, such as the myth of homeland, history, tradition, and blood ties, are constructed for group’s solidarity and survival. However, these resources are not real primordial ties but “constructed primordialties” in their imagination. Thus, the use of “primordiality” needs to be carefully examined while discussing the process of making of Kavalan ethnic identity.

Shifting Ethnic Boundaries: from a circumstantialist perspective

If one looks at the creation of Kavalan identity as a single incident, one might easily take a circumstantial approach for analysing the revival of Kavalan identity, as the process and the purpose of self-naming or self-defining by the Kavalan as an ethnic group in Taiwan appears to be instrumental. Interestingly, the invention of their traditions is also, to a large extent, deliberate and pre-meditated.

In the circumstantialist model of ethnicity, ethnic groups are unified and mobilised for their common interests or goals in response to particular social, economic, and political circumstances. They also need to employ specific symbols in order to highlight their

ethnic characteristics, solidify their ethnic alignment and distinguish themselves from other ethnic groups; however, those symbols are not seen as primordial attachments but as the tools or markers with which ethnic boundaries are drawn. In other words, external instrumental interests can influence the content or direction of ethnic identity. Since external factors are variable, ethnic boundaries shift or change accordingly.

Inspired by the larger aboriginal movement in Taiwan, the Kavalan started to reassert themselves from the late 1980s onwards. Owing to their ambiguous status, they did not receive much attention or help from the government since Taiwan was handed over from Japan to the KMT after the World War II. Therefore, the Kavalan have “invented” their tradition which is a part of their “cultural resurgence”, and have used this resurgence as a tool to reassert their ethnic identity and pursue their political rights. It thus can be interpreted as part of a process by which other ethnic groups, including the indigenous peoples, of Taiwan are challenging the political pre-eminence of the KMT. With reference to scholarly accounts and mass media reports, they have transformed the term Kavalan from a geographic and administrative term to an ethnic name. The Kavalan do not care whether the term itself is accurate or not, they have adopted it to prove the authenticity of their ethnic status and to demand official restoration of their ethnic name.

The circumstantialist approach provides an explanation of reasons why the Kavalan manipulate ethnicity under a particular socio-cultural and political situation for their common interest. It also enables us to analyse the significance of those external factors in the formation of their ethnic identity. However, it fails to clarify the persistence of Kavalan ethnic identity and attachment or why the Kavalan insist on a particular identity. In addition, it seems to suggest that people can choose, change, or abandon their identity whenever they want if the situation suits them. Moreover, it is unable to account for the importance of self-ascribed ethnic identity.

Constructivism and Beyond

Judging by organisation and action, Kavalan identity is a modern phenomenon, even though it is based on the claim to identity from the past. As shown earlier, the reasons for the creation of Kavalan identity lie in the history and contemporary situation of Taiwan, the interactions between the Kavalan and other ethnic groups, and the power of mass

media. As the revival of Kavalan identity has occurred at a time when Taiwan is in the process of redefining a new Taiwanese identity and when other ethnic groups are competing in this process, the Kavalan sense of identity is deeply shaped by inter-ethnic relations. In consequence, the revived Kavalan identity and its importance in the national agenda since the mid-80s has given a new dimension to the political debate on ethnic and national identity in Taiwan. The new ethnic definition in Taiwan challenges the KMT's claim of "we are all Chinese", as many Taiwanese now emphasise Taiwan's own culture, history, and ethnic makeup. The recognition given to aboriginal groups and their recent prominence suggest that the Taiwanese people wish to present them as authentic native inhabitants of the island in order to highlight the distinctive ethnic character of Taiwan and, to some extent, counter the Chinese claim that Taiwan is a break-away province of China. Hence, the creation or revival of Kavalan identity is not merely a matter of self-ascription, it has much broader implications.

The case of the Kavalan suggests the need for a more complex understanding of ethnicity, neither a fixed primordialism nor a fluid circumstantialism alone can fully provide a satisfactory interpretation. The constructivist approach integrates key insights from primordialism and circumstantialism. It does not neglect the power of primordial attachments; rather, it tries to examine how primordial ties are constructed in the process of social interaction between groups. At the same time, it also analyses circumstantial factors that influence ethnic identity under different social, economical, and political situations. More importantly, it sees ethnicity as an ongoing social construct that produces, maintains, disrupts, and reproduces identities, in the aftermath of social interaction between groups and as a reflection of changes in the wider environment.

Several factors, often contradictory, combine to make the ethnic revival of the Kavalan a complex phenomenon. The approaches discussed above largely base their theories on groups that already exist as coherent and distinct ethnic entities. These approaches look backwards into the past from a point in the present, taking into account the evidence they gather from a group's ethnic characteristics, its political aspirations, the compromises it makes, the cultural inventions it engenders, to arrive at the crucial factors that shaped its identity. In the case of the Kavalan we are looking at the originary moment of its birth, witnessing the very process of identity formation unfolding in the present time, the act of negotiating and carving an ethnic territory for

itself, which makes it a unique problem. After a group has emerged and achieved a distinct ethnic status, several crucial factors and negotiations it had to undergo are forgotten or not considered important enough for study. We, then, look at it from an academic point of view, analysing it from established categories and concepts that happen to be in vogue at that time (e.g. language, folklore, handicrafts, family, food, rites and rituals, dress, social organisation, and so on). However, what we forget is how it came into reckoning in the first place and that is the process we have the opportunity to see when we study a group as recent as Kavalan emerging from the shadows of its long forgotten past.

After evaluating the pros and cons of all the above approaches, it can be said that constructivist approach is a good starting point. However, the revival of Kavalan ethnic identity involves both etic and emic elements, none of the above approaches can alone accommodate its complexity. Therefore, I propose that the examination of Kavalan ethnicity should have a more comprehensive framework, which locates the importance of interactions in the reconstruction of Kavalan identity, examines circumstantial functions of their ethnicity, and analyses how they empower their primordialty by authenticating the idea of their past. I also propose that ethnicity should be analysed within larger social and political systems, for example, ethnicity in Taiwan should be seen in relation to Taiwan's complicated and ongoing development as a nation, and its ambiguous status in the international community. Moreover, the historical dimension of ethnicity should also be examined in order to see how it evolves. In other words, Kavalan ethnicity should not be confined to a case study in social isolation; rather, it should be understood in the context of their interactions with their contact groups and the development of the society and nation from historical as well as contemporary perspectives. This is the approach I broadly follow in this thesis. With this understanding, we should be able to explain in a more meaningful way the reasons why ethnic identities are created, elaborated, diminished, and re-created across space and time.

Chapter Two

Constructing Kavalan Identity

This chapter explores whether the constructivist view is a better approach to analyse the construction of Kavalan identity. From the first two sections which are a review of the historical development of the term Kavalan and the description about them in various writings, I aim to show that the Kavalan were presented as homogeneous people by rulers or colonisers. As they were historically represented as a homogeneous group, most contemporary scholars regard them as a continuous group. Therefore, when they lost what were thought to be their ethnic traits (e.g. Mabuchi 1954, 1960), scholars assert that they had ceased to be the Kavalan. From my empirical research which is presented in section Three, I examine the modern Kavalan, their lifestyle and culture as a background for a deeper analysis of their ethnic identity. In section Four, I argue that these Kavalan people are not only from different ethnic makeup but had also mixed with other ethnic groups (e.g. the Amis and the Holo). This proves my theory that the term Kavalan as an ethnic name is a modern invention and so is Kavalan ethnic identity.

This chapter follows the notion of “constructed primordiality” to analyse the construction of Kavalan identity. The significance of this notion is that it enables us to deconstruct the symbolic power behind primordial ties and explains the strength of ethnic sentiment in identity-formation. More importantly, it helps to account for the problem of authenticity in ethnic invention. We will then understand the empowerment of this self-ascribed term and its connection with their evolving self-determination.

I. Kavalan: from a geographical term to an ethnic name

The term, Kavalan, as an ethnic name is a modern invention. It first appeared in a Chinese official's record in the eighteenth century as a geographical description, referring to the area in the present Ilan area (Huang 1957). Ino, a Japanese scholar, who was in charge of the classification of the aborigines in Taiwan for the Japanese colonial government, adopted the term Kavalan to refer to the people who lived in the Ilan plains. Like other aborigines who lived in the plains all over the island, they were also

generalised as “ping pu tsu (plains aborigines)”, in order to distinguish them from highland aboriginal groups, “kao shan tsu”. Although the term Kavalan was said to mean “the people who live in plains” in the local language in order to distinguish themselves from the highland group, the Atayal (Ino, cited from Juan, 1966: 23), no evidence so far can prove so. However, Japanese and Taiwanese scholars have continued to use the term in order to classify the people who inhabited the present Ilan plains. Because of misunderstanding, the term Kavalan has been transferred from a geographical term to the name of a people. Nonetheless, since the early 1990s, it has been adopted by a particular group of people whose ancestors used to live in those plains in order to reassert themselves as a recognisable ethnic group.

One incident, in particular, exemplifies the common use of the term by these people. In 1997, when A-bi and A-yuk, the two old *metiyu* (shaman) in Hsinshe village, were asked to wear red Amis dress for the annual harvest festival, they became furious and protested that they were Kavalan and would only wear the black-and-white Kavalan dress for the festival. As it turned out, all of the Kavalan people wore the Kavalan dress that day. A very small number of the Amis who participated only in the later part of the festival wore their own red traditional dress. For the Kavalan, it was an important gesture of defiance as well as a demonstration of their newly acquired group identity.

Consciousness of being “Kavalan” has never reached such a high level of awareness. In my first encounter with the Kavalan in 1991, the notion of Kavalan was vague to them. For instance, Hsinshe villagers often referred to themselves as Hsinshe *jen* (Hsinshe people) to others from outside the village, however, within the village they addressed themselves and other villagers as “Kaliawan”, “Trobuwan”, “Amis”, “Holo *lang*, and “*wai-sheng-jen* (mainlanders)”. Some elderly villagers have the memory that they were once called “*ping pu fan*” (plains savages) in the Japanese period. In the early stages, the name of Kavalan was only used by scholars and mass media. This situation gradually changed during my field visits in 1995 and 1996. I noticed that some villagers, especially the younger generation, had started using the term “Kavalan”. They made T-shirts and caps with “Kavalan” printed on them so that the villagers could wear them on public occasions. They also displayed stickers of “Kavalan motorcade” on the rear window of their cars. By the time I started to do fieldwork at Hsinshe in 1997, the term had already become common among the villagers, even school children would tell

you that Hsinshe is a Kavalan village and they are the Kavalan people.

At the beginning of my fieldwork in 1997, I often asked the people in Hsinshe the question: “who are the Kavalan?” Most of them laughed loudly and told me that it was the silliest question they had ever heard. When I persisted they came up with various answers like “the Kavalan are the people who live in Hsinshe, Li-te and Chuang-yuan”, “people who speak Kavalan”, “the people whose ancestors originated in Ilan” etc. Then I went on asking how to distinguish the Kavalan from the Amis and the Kaliawan from the Trobuwan in the village and they treated me as a *pa-dai* (idiot). From their point of view, that was the most obvious and straightforward thing and not a question which deserved an answer. In this small and face-to-face community, everyone clearly knows ethnic background of each group. If I further asked the reason why they used Kavalan instead of Kaliawan or Trobuwan, they threw the question back to me: “You should know better since you have read lots of materials on the Kavalan”. In their opinion, the Kaliawan or the Trobuwan were once the people who lived in the villages in Kavalan plains. Because those people have been classified as “Kavalan” by scholars since the Japanese period, they are convinced that they are the descendants of the same Kavalan people. This clearly shows how the influence of academic representations operates in the creation of an ethnic identity.

In this respect, the Kavalan community of Hsinshe village is not simply a self-imagined community in Anderson’s (1991) sense, it is a community which is also defined and invented by others then later reflected to its members, that is, Kavalan ethnic identity is both emic as well as etic. At this juncture, the Kavalan became aware that they needed to revive or rather re-invent their traditions in order to emphasise their ethnic characteristics as well as solidify group coherence. Therefore, they have been engaged in re-inventing Kavalan festivals, rituals (such as curing, death, New Year, ancestor worship, farming, and other every-day rites), dances, and music. They emphasize their distinctive food, dress, and handicrafts. They have also managed to revive their native language with the help of the local primary school. In addition, they actively participate in some activities related to ping pu tsu. As the Kavalan ethnic identity is at a crucial phase of definition and construction, the study of this case not only displays how a group of people adopts a term mainly used by scholars to raise their ethnic profile and legitimise their ethnic status, but also provides us with an excellent opportunity to study

the process of identity formation and group cohesion.

II. Who are the Kavalan?

Today, the name Kavalan refers to the people whose homeland is in the present Lanyan plains in Ilan County. However, it is difficult to define the Kavalan people in the present day, as the term itself is problematic and the complicated ethnic makeup of the so-called Kavalan, both in the past and present, defies a straightforward categorisation. Generally speaking, most of the scholars in Taiwan tend to use the term without considering the complexity involved. Although they use certain criteria (e.g. language, cultural traits) to define the Kavalan and other plains aborigines¹, they basically follow the ethnic categorisations made by Japanese scholars, especially the one by Ino in 1904, to define the Kavalan and other plains aborigines. Nonetheless, these divisions do not explain fully the complexity of ethnic revival. Rather, they sometimes become obstacles when one tries to analyse the significance of this newly constructed identity.

The term was in common use for many years, especially amongst Japanese and Taiwanese anthropologists and ethnographers, even though it was not used by the people themselves. Nevertheless, the people have adopted this term for the purpose of defining themselves and to re-discover and assert their distinctive identity. Interestingly, the Kavalan are not alone in this, the Dao and other plains aborigines (e.g. the Siraya, the Makatao, the Ketagalan, and many others) have been striving to restore their “authentic” ethnic name. Such processes of self-naming reveal a common wish among the indigenous people to take hold of their own destiny, after their long-term suppression by rulers and majority groups.

Kavalan in History

The Kavalan people have always existed in the history of the colonisers or rulers in

¹ Taiwanese scholars mainly follow two kinds of criteria to define plains aborigines: one based on cultural traits, the other on linguistic categorisation. From the 1950s to 1970s, many scholars either depended on Japanese scholars' divisions or Li, I-yuan's categorisation (1982) which used material culture and cultural traits to categorise plains aborigines. In the recent years, scholars turn their attention to the categorisations made by linguists, such as Tsuchida, Li, and Paul Jen-kuei.

Taiwan. For example, the Spanish recorded that hundreds of people in Kavalan plains² were baptised by their priests after the area from Tan-shui to Keelung in northern Taiwan came under their control in 1634, in opposition to the Dutch power in the south. The Dutch documented forty-five villages in the Kavalan plains in 1650 with a population of 9,670 (Chan 1998: 185)³. In 1722, Huang Shu-ching⁴, a Chinese official, recorded that there were thirty-six⁵ *she*⁶ (villages) in the region. In most writings and documents, these people were an autonomous aborigines who lived from hunting and gathering and practised their traditional customs. They were in the majority in the region and had occasional trading contact with their neighbouring ethnic groups, the Ketagalan and the Atayal. They also exchanged goods with the Chinese traders who travelled from northern Taiwan. However, their life was changed completely when an ambitious Chinese settler, Wu Sha⁷, leading hundreds of Chinese migrants, successfully acquired some land in the Kavalan plains in 1796. Later, when the Kavalan area was incorporated into Ching territory in 1810⁸, more Chinese poured in. From then on, the life of the local people changed dramatically. The Kavalan people who were in the majority were reduced to a

² Because of this Spanish preaching, Liao Feng-te (1982) considers the Spanish as the pioneers who introduced modern civilisation to the Kavalan area. However, there is no concrete evidence to prove so.

³ The Dutch expelled the Spanish and ruled most of Taiwan in 1643. The Dutch were interested in the area because of deerskins and the possibility of gold mines.

⁴ Huang, Shu-ching recorded the name of those thirty-six *she* and listed local resources like gold. He also described local people and their lifestyle (e.g. the habit of eating raw seafood, their unique style of canoes, etc.). More importantly, he mentioned that there was a Chinese trader in one of the villages around that time.

⁵ The number of plains aborigines villages in the Kavalan plains varied from time to time, it ranged from 45 to 36 villages. However, “36 *she*” has become a commonly-used term for the plains since the Ching period. These “36 *she*” included Torobiwan, Kiriptan, Tupayap, Tamayan, Tuvigan, Raorao-a, Kiriploan, Varivuhan, Tuvihok, Sinarohan, Pairi, Ttenamoarak, Moatsittenrok, Sinahan, Kivuran, Tuvuran, Tuvituvu, Tautau, Torogan, Marin, Kilanvuran, Kivurao, Linao, Tanangan, Ttentsurikan, Vuyen, Tanavi, Wai-a-wai, Panaut, Sahun, Malavuyan, Namtarin, Karewan, Porosinaoan, Ritakkan, Raorao, and Qauqua-a (Chan 1998: 56-57). The plains was bisected by Chuo-shui River.

⁶ The Ching government used *she* to describe the aborigines’ villages and *chuang* to describe the Chinese villages.

⁷ According to Chen Shu-chun’s book about the Kavalan area in 1840, Wu Sha had been trying to occupy the land of the Kavalan by force for a long time. At first, he came without a certificate for cultivating the region; however, he finally got the official document and brought more Chinese immigrant to Kavalan plains. He eventually got access to the Kavalan when he started giving medicines to the local people who suffered from exanthema. A few years later, the number of Chinese in the area had increased to 50-60,000.

⁸ The reasons that the Ching decided to put the Kavalan area into its control were that, it wanted to control the growing number of Chinese immigrants in the area, it also worried that more and more

minority in their own homeland. They were also forced to learn Chinese culture and customs. Some people who resisted the Chinese were forced to move southwards to Hualien or Taitung and those who remained in the area had to assimilate into the Chinese society. Although one local Ching official, Chai Kan, worried about the survival of the Kavalan people and created special reserve areas⁹ for them, his policy could not stop the speed of Chinese migration. (See Map 5, 6, 7)

Following is the summary¹⁰ of the description of Kavalan society and culture in the nineteenth century before massive numbers of Chinese immigrants replaced them in the plains. This description is often treated as “authentic” Kavalan culture by Taiwanese scholars. Today, these documents have also become the major resource for the Kavalan to reinvent their traditions from.

Myth of origin. The exact location of the places where Kavalan originated from are unknown but there are myths that indicate that the ancestors of the Kavalan came from various place in the Southern Taiwan.¹¹

Social organisation. There are documents to suggest that each Kavalan village was an independent unit. There is no mention of larger political structures like nation or state. According to Juan (1966: 26), political control within the village was exercised by the

foreigners came to develop the area (Chang 1886: 70-90), such as Beneowsky (Ino 1904), Americans (Chang 1986: 80-85), Horn (Davidson 1903: 131-132, Pickering 1898), and many others.

⁹ The policy of creating reserve areas for the Kavalan is called “*chia liu yu pu*”. According to this policy, each Kavalan village should have some areas reserved for them. Small villages had one *li* (Chinese measurement unit) and bigger villages had two *li* around the villages as special reservation areas.

¹⁰ Materials represented here are from Chinese records, Japanese surveys, foreigners’ writings, and contemporary research on the history of the Kavalan. Except Huang’s book (originally written in 1722), most of the materials were written in or about the nineteenth century. For example, Yao wrote in 1833, Ke in 1835, Chen in 1840, and Liu shih chi also around mid-nineteenth century.

¹¹ For example, MacKay was told by his informants and followers that their ancestors came from somewhere in the south (MacKay 1991: 94-95). In the late 1890s, Ino gathered the story which mentioned “Mariryan” as the original place of the Kavalan and the Kavalan expelled the Atayal to occupy the coastal plains (cited from Juan 1966: 23). Mabuchi discovered a myth that Kavalan ancestors came from “Sanasai” Island, which is the present *Huo Shao Tao* or *Lu Tao* (Green Island) in southeast Taiwan (cited from Juan 1966: 23). Juan (1969: 1) also suggests that the language and culture of the Kavalan are similar to those of Indonesians. Nonetheless, Chan (1998) studies the ethnic histories of the groups who share or shared the myth that their ancestors migrated from the south, particularly “Sanasai”, and suggests that the ring of Sanasai could correspond to their migration territory and the people who share the same myth could be from the same ancestry.

head¹² who was elected by the villagers and he was in charge of public affairs. There were also *suii* or leaders helping him to perform administrative duties. This system was accompanied by an age-grade system. Elderly men played the role of guides or mentors for younger generation. Juan (ibid) also remarks that villagers were divided into four social classes: rich families, middle-class, poor families, and extremely poor people. The villagers believed that poverty resulted from laziness and despised poor people¹³.

Marriage and family. The Kavalan had a matrilineal descent structure. One of the daughters and her husband inherited the parental home and “the women’s side” extended Kavalan families. Young people had freedom in the choice of a partner. In theory, a couple had to get the approval of the girl’s parents and the girl’s mother’s brother before marriage. Incest prohibitions extended to fourth cousins.

Religion. According to Juan (1966: 27-28, 1969:4), the Kavalan divided the world into two layers: the world of human beings, the world of deities and spirits. Deities and spirits had the power to bless or punish people. There were three kinds of mediums communicating with deities and spirits: witch doctors, *kisaiiz* priests, and *patohokan* shamans. There were a variety of rituals that were related to ancestor worship and agriculture.

Housing. Kavalan houses had thatched roofs, with floors and walls of bamboo, grass, or wooden planks. They looked like an upside-down boat¹⁴ (Huang 1957). Because of the damp weather, houses were raised off the ground (Swinhoe 1858) with a ladder leading up to the house (MacKay 1991). The whole family lived together in one room (Chen 1963). Ferrell (1969: 51-52) points out that Kavalan houses were similar to those of Amis and Ketagalan.

¹² Whether the selection of a village head was Kavalan custom is difficult to trace. However, it is evident that a head (*tou mu*) and a village interpreter (*tung shih*) were elected for the purpose of delivering and supervising government policy when Ching took over (Chen 1963). *Tou mu* would be punished if they did not help to promote the Ching policy of sinicization (Weng 1984: 103).

¹³ Hsinshe Kavalan still have the same view about laziness. They often criticise the poor people for not working hard enough.

¹⁴ This style of housing was said to be inspired by the way the people in Keelung placed their boats along the riverbank (Chen 1963).

Boats. “*Mang-ka* (or boats)” were an important means of transport for the Kavalan. They rowed *mang-ka* to near-by Chinese market places to exchange goods in summer and autumn (Chou 1962, Pan 1992: 64). *Mang-ka* were dugouts constructed from large tree trunks (Huang 1957). Besides *mang-ka*, they also had big wooden boats and bamboo rafts for fishing. This proves that the Kavalan were skilled in sailing.

Clothing. The Chinese believed that the Kavalan had no proper clothes (Yao 1957). They normally only wore a simple loincloth made of animal skin, though their leaders used robes woven from hemp (Chen 1963). On average, there were one or two aborigines wearing Chinese-style clothes in each village (Ke 1961).

No calendars. The Kavalan used knots to record important public events (Ke 1961). They regarded the blossoming of *na-bas* tree as the signal of the change of the year when they would get on their buffalo carts to visit friends or families in nearby villages (Chen 1963).

Agriculture. They practised swidden agriculture. They regarded millet as the most highly valued and ritually important crop¹⁵. They also grew sweet potatoes, maize, and dry rice. They only used small spades for cultivation. They raised pigs, chickens, and dogs. They also brewed rice wine and made salt. Both men and women loved drinking (Chen 1963). They made their own clothes.

Hunting and fishing. For fishing they used a variety of fishing tools, rafts, and boats. They also hunted wild boar, deer, and other animals. Deer were the most highly valued game. The Kavalan kept these game meats for themselves and exchanged the skins and horns with the Chinese for rice, sugar, salt, wine, red cloth, and some other commodities (Chen 1963). These game meats were also used as a part of payments to the bride’s family at the time of marriage (Ke 1961).

Diet. They adored fermented food and wine and tended to put too much salt in their food (Chen 1963). They ate raw crabs and fish (Huang 1957) and raw game (Ke 1961). Apart from eating fresh game meat, they also dried it in winter (Ke 1961).

¹⁵ There were many rituals related to millet. For example, millet was the most important object in the ritual of worshipping ancestors.

Entertainment. In autumn, they flew kites and celebrated the harvest. During their festival, they drank the wine they brewed, sang and danced. Normally, one person sang, others joined in the chorus while clapping (Chen 1963).

The relationship with water. Many materials seem to suggest that the Kavalan lived close to rivers. After giving birth, mothers would bathe the newly born baby in the river. When somebody fell ill, they poured water on the head of the patient till he or she recovered (Liu Shih Chi 1961). Apart from their close relationship with river, they also had the ability to use the sea. Taintor (1875) found them travelling up and down the northern and eastern coast of Taiwan.

These are general descriptions about the people in the Kavalan plains. Although most writers noticed that there was a group of western plains aborigines who had moved to the Kavalan plains, they presumed that these people were from the same ethnic background as those who already lived there. As a result, no writing recorded the similarities and differences between villages.

The migration of western plains aborigines to the Kavalan plains has complicated the ethnic makeup in the area. In 1804, Pan Hsien-wen and Toanihan-moke led more than one thousand¹⁶ plains aborigines from western Taiwan to the Kavalan plains (Yao 1957). These people included Taokas, Pazeh, Babuza, Hoanya, and Basai. Because these people owned guns and had been involved in fighting with mountain aborigines, the Chinese immigrants in Ilan were afraid of them and tried to destroy their power (ibid). The Kavalan felt the pressure from these western aborigines and a Kaliawan chief begged the Ching government to incorporate the Kavalan area into its control in return for protection (Ke 1961). These plains aborigines got involved in ethnic fights with the Chinese from 1806 onwards. One of their leaders, Pan Hsien-wen, was prosecuted by the Ching government in 1810 and after that most of the plains aborigines escaped into Kavalan villages (Yao 1957). Nevertheless, like the local Kavalan, they were also assimilated into Chinese society after the Ching government assumed the control of the area.

¹⁶ Ke (1961) recorded about 990 plains aborigines in this migration.

Within one century, from 1796 when Wu Sha succeeded in migrating to the Kavalan plains till 1895 when Japan took over Taiwan, the people in the Kavalan plains who were masters of the plains were reduced to a minority in their own homeland. These people, who now are referred to as the Kavalan, eventually lost their autonomy. They experienced Chinese social and economic domination from the eighteenth century onwards. The imposition of direct administrative control incorporated them into the mainstream of Chinese life. The fact that Kavalan either moved southward or were incorporated into the mainstream Chinese society led Japanese scholars to assume their disappearance from Ilan.

Contemporary Kavalan in Hualien and Taitung

When Rev MacKay visited Hualien from 1890 to 1892 for the purpose of expanding his parish (Kuo, 1971: 103), there was already a large settlement built by the people who had fled from Kavalan region in the delta area of northern Hualien (MacKay 1991). When they moved from Ilan to Hualien and build six villages¹⁷ in the Kaliawan area is not clear. The Official County History of Hualien (1979: 7) indicates the year as 1853 that these people moved down. Bareigts (1987: 6) assumes that they migrated to Kaliawan around 1870. The confusion regarding the exact year the Kavalan moved to Hualien suggests that they might have migrated at various times over many years.

Nonetheless, the Kavalan did not settle down in Kaliawan's six villages for long, as massive waves of Chinese immigrants once again defeated those people and occupied their land. One incident particularly affected Kaliawan settlement in 1878 when a Chinese businessman, Chen Wen-li, was killed by the Kavalan in Kaliawan area. The incident led to large-scale rioting between the Chinese officials and the Kavalan, as the latter refused to pay compensation to the family of the dead man. After Ching forces suppressed the riot, the authorities decided to relocate the Kavalan to several villages in the narrow plains between Hualien and Taitung and to the coastal area. From then on, there was to be no more big Kavalan settlements and the Kavalan had to live mixed with other ethnic groups.

Ironically, the Japanese survey of these people somehow created Kavalan as an ethnic

¹⁷ These six villages were Kaliawan, Chu-lin, Wu-nuan, Chi-chieh, Tan-ping, and Yao-ko. Among them, Kaliawan *she* was the biggest village of this Kavalan settlement. As most of these people were from Kaliawan, Kaliawan became a substitute name of these people as well this settlement.

name. They were officially recognised as an ethnic group in the category of plains aborigines in opposition to the Takasago¹⁸. Ironically, the colonial government had prohibited the practice of most of the customs and dubbed them as superstitions. In addition, it tried to impose Japanese culture on the people in Taiwan, and coerced them to give up their traditions. Under these circumstances, the Kavalan people were left with no recourse but to gradually give up their traditions.

Kavalan and the system of nation-state

The “disappearance” of so-called Kavalan people is closely related to their incorporation into the system of nation-state. Is it because of the actual extinction of these people or re-classification? Take the census of Kavalan population as an example, there were about 10,000 in the Dutch period, the number dropped to 3,000 or so in the early twentieth century. Bareigts (1993) suggests that there were around 2,000 left in Taiwan in the late twentieth century¹⁹. However, from my fieldwork experience, these population surveys do not explain the decline of these people, as most of them have dual or multiple ethnic identities. In other words, these people do not actually “disappear”, either they have been re-classified or they have attached themselves to their favoured identity. Before they felt the need to re-identify themselves as “Kavalan”, most of them were contented with their Holo or Amis identities. Therefore, the population surveys are not reliable measures of their actual population which after their re-awakening might increase dramatically. Rather, it is also the lack of representation of them in the history of Taiwan which is closely linked with their “disappearance” from the Taiwanese society.

The situation of Kavalan needs to be understood within the system of nation-state, as their encounter with it was the most significant moment in their history which brought severe social changes. When these people were incorporated into the Chinese nation-state, they were already marginalised by increasing Chinese expansion, moreover, they had to pay

¹⁸ In the Japanese colonial period, the Japanese government sent many scholars to study the people all over Taiwan. Japanese scholars devised a categorisation system to classify the people according to their ethnic characteristics in its colony. They also left behind many valuable and detailed documents about the ethnic features and customs of Chinese and aboriginal groups. “Takasago” is the term which the Japanese used to describe “mountain aborigines. The origin of the term should be a corruption of the name of an aboriginal group, “Tako-san”, who once lived in Takao, the present Kaohsiung (Ishii 1916: 3).

¹⁹ In Shimizu’s estimation (1991), there are only about 1,000 Kavalan in the late 20th century.

taxes and come to terms with Chinese legal system. Lack of knowledge about Chinese judiciary meant losing in land disputes with the Chinese. Even though there was a law protecting them, it did not favour them. After losing land to the Chinese, the Kavalan could not afford to pay taxes. Therefore, moving out of Chinese territory was one of the better choices for them. From the government's point of view, the dispersal of Kavalan community led to the decline in Kavalan population, as the census was the official measurement for ethnic categorisation. Likewise, the Japanese scholars also assumed that Kavalan had ceased to exist as an ethnic category, since the Kavalan people had assimilated into Chinese society and only very few of them still practised their traditions.

Following the Japanese findings, the KMT did not give the Kavalan as well as other plains aborigines any official recognition when it reviewed its definition of Taiwanese aborigines in 1954. It ignored the fact that some diasporic plains aborigines who live in remote areas struggle to retain and preserve their tradition. Even though these diasporic people live and closely interact with other ethnic groups and are influenced by other groups in many aspects of life, they still maintain a clear sense of group solidarity, as ethnic groups have their own way of differentiating or grouping each other at local level.

The salient feature of the Kavalan re-awakening is that they have realised the advantages of the democratic system and have decided to fight for their rights. Since they adopted the term Kavalan as their ethnic name from the mid-1980s, they tried to unify the Kavalan descendants in various places in order to pursue their ethnic rights as a distinct aboriginal population. The revival of Kavalan identity has put the issue of ethnic identity politics on the national agenda. Today, the people who live scattered on a narrow strip of land along the whole eastern coast of Taiwan in Hualien and Taitung counties identify themselves as the Kavalan, despite the fact that the Kaliawan and the Trobuwan might have come from different ethnic backgrounds. Furthermore, most of these Kavalan are actually mixed-blood, such as Ami Kavalan, Holo Kavalan and mainlander Kavalan. Nevertheless, they have formed several organisations in order to strengthen group consciousness and to politicise their ethnic identity.

For instance, the Kavalan have joined the Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines to strive for their minority rights with some other aboriginal groups. The Kavalan themselves have also established several associations to unify Kavalan diasporas and proceed with their

demand. *Kavalan hsien chin hui* (Association for the Development of Kavalan) was founded by a member of Hualien Kavalan elite, Chen chien-chung²⁰, in 1991. Its aims are to communicate with and unite the Kavalan of the whole island and to seek official ethnic status. *Kavalan chiao shih* (Kavalan Classroom) was organised by Chieh²¹, who is respected by both Hualien and Ilan Kavalan and is considered to be the only expert on Kavalan language, culture and traditions. His main interest is to teach Kavalan children their own language and to promote Kavalan culture²². These two associations try to combine urban organisation and local knowledge to reinforce the cultural resurgence of the Kavalan.

The third association, *Lu pei tung hsiang hui* (Association for the Kavalan in Taipei), is for the young Kavalan who work around the capital. Both men and women, generally husband and wife, work as teams for construction companies and leave their children with their parents in the villages. They live in temporary huts or unfinished buildings on construction sites and send money back home to their parents and children. Their financial situation considerably improved when the construction business was booming in the 1980s. But business was hit by recession from the early 1990s onwards. Nonetheless, they are always the main source for financial support for their public activities. The association is a kind of co-operative group which provides the members with help, support, emotional security, and work opportunities. The members participate in several public activities in Taipei under the banner of Kavalan. By so doing, they believe that their ethnic name will be known and accepted by others.

The descendants of the Kavalan and their supporters in Ilan have also been preparing to organise a foundation since 1995. The foundation aims at unifying all the Kavalan in Taiwan and promoting Kavalan traditions, culture and language. This idea is proposed by

²⁰ Chen, who was the principal of a Hualien polytechnic college, represented the Kavalan as an urban leader of their cultural resurgence. Unfortunately, he died in the early 1990s.

²¹ Chieh can be seen as the local Kavalan culture specialist. He has been trying to preserve Kavalan culture. Because of his rich knowledge of Kavalan traditions, he also acts as a very important informant to many scholars who conduct research on the Kavalan.

²² Chieh has been giving lessons in Kavalan language in Hsinshe Public Primary School since 1993. He taught Kavalan children not only Kavalan language, but also Kavalan songs, stories, and traditions. He was also invited to teach in Ilan from 1996.

the Ilan Kavalan and the Ilan county government and is supported by the Kavalan from Hsinshe, Lite, Kaliawan, Chang-yuan, Ta-feng-feng, Taipei and elsewhere. It has now collected enough legal deposit necessary to establish a foundation and will re-apply in 2000 to the authorities to become a legal foundation²³. The Kavalan hope that through the foundation they will be able to build a collection of Kavalan handicrafts, songs, dance, edit Kavalan history, publish newsletters and arrange regular meetings for the Kavalan from everywhere to enable them to meet each other. Notably, this idea is particularly supported by the young Kavalan who would like to see their ethnic group unified and recognised by others.

III. The Kavalan at Hsinshe

In this thesis, I carry out a specific case study of the remaining Kavalan, a diasporic group of people who inhabit a narrow strip of coastal land in eastern Taiwan, in order to examine the local expression and evolution of ethnic identity through their rituals, every-day activities and oral history. However, the difficulty of defining the Kavalan is very similar to the case of the Lue in Thailand in Moerman's (1965) study. The Lue, like Kavalan, have close contact with their neighbouring group(s) and share many similarities in culture with each other, which results in a situation where one group may share more 'cultural traits' with its neighbouring group(s) than the people from the same origin. Obviously, in neither case do cultural boundaries correspond to ethnic boundaries, I, therefore, adopt the notion of "the native's point of view" as a starting point to define the Kavalan.

The importance of the place, known as Hsinshe, and the diasporic Kavalan there, is that the emerging Kavalan consciousness originated from this village. It is also the symbolic centre for Ilan Kavalan and other diasporic Kavalan people, such as those from small Kavalan communities along the coast, including Chiali and Lite of Hualien and Ta-feng-feng, and Changyuan and Ningpu of Taitung County. Activities of cultural resurgence and campaigns for political claims are all organised or announced from

²³ Before the Central Government streamlined the Provincial Governments, to apply for establishing a foundation to County or City government a deposit of NT\$ 2,000,000 was needed, to the Provincial Government NT\$ 5,000,000 were needed, and in case of the Central Government \$ 10,000,000 were needed. Nowadays, one needs to have NT\$ 5,000,000 in order to apply to County or City Government, and NT\$ 20,000,000 to the Central Government. It was this new regulation which delayed the establishment of the Kavalan Cultural Foundation.

Hsinshe. In a word, Hsinshe Kavalan have been regarded as the representative of "authentic" Kavalan traditions and culture by their own people, media, and researchers.

Like many other villages in Taiwan, Hsinshe is just an ordinary rural village which is, in many ways, self-contained, and ignored by the rest of the nation. It became famous when the mass media and scholars rediscovered the Kavalan. The village is located in the eastern coastal strip of Taiwan. It belongs to Fengpin *hsiang* of Hualien County. In the Taiwanese administrative system, Taiwan Province is divided into 16 counties and 2 municipalities²⁴ and 5 municipalities²⁵. Every county governs several townships (*hsiang* or *chen* in Chinese) which consist of several villages. Compared with other counties, Hualien has a relatively high proportion of aboriginal peoples.

Hualien is one of the eastern counties in Taiwan. With an area of 4,629 square kilometres and a population of 355,829 people (1998), it is the least densely populated county in Taiwan. The county has 10 *hsiang*, 2 *chen* and 1 city. Hualien city is the capital of the county. Aboriginal peoples account for more than 20% of the population. There are few plain areas in the region owing to two big mountain ranges (the Central Mountains and the Coastal Mountains) in the county. These mountains separate Hualien from other counties which is the main reason for its rather slow development. The problem of under-development still remains and is always a major issue in every election, and figures prominently in every candidate's agenda.

Fengpin is the south-eastern most region in the eastern coast of Hualien. With the Pacific Ocean in the east and the Coastal Mountains in the west, Fengpin's area is about 162.43 square kilometre, with the length of 47 kilometre from the north to the south. As two-thirds of the area is mountainous, most of the settlements are located along the narrow coastal plains. Fengpin lies between 23cX26' and 23cX46' north latitude and 121cX24' and 121cX34' east longitude. The Tropic of Cancer runs through the near-by area. Therefore, Fengpin is sub-tropical with abundant rainfall during most of the year. The period from December to January is the only moderately dry season. The average

²⁴ Taipei City and Kaohsiung City are the two municipalities which are under the direct jurisdiction of the Executive Yuan.

²⁵ Keelung City, Hsinchu City, Taichung City, Chiayi City, and Tainan City are the five municipalities under the direct jurisdiction of the provincial government.

temperature is around 20 degree Celsius. Because it faces the Pacific Ocean, the area is often hit by typhoons during the summer. For this reason, the villagers abandoned their traditional houses that were made of traditional building materials like grass, wood and bamboo and started using cement and bricks. As a result, they have gradually lost their traditional construction skills.

Fengpin is an aboriginal *hsiang* where the majority of the population are the Amis, who are also the biggest aboriginal group in Hualien County. It has five villages with a population of 7,098 people (1997). Fengpin village is the capital of the *hsiang* as well as the centre of administration, medical care, trade and education.

Hsinshe village is one of the five villages of Fengpin and has one of the larger plain areas in the region. Because of a rich water supply, its terraced fields were once the major rice-producing area along the coast. It now supplies water to other villages in the region, especially to Fengpin.

As an administrative unit, Hsinshe village includes 6 *damo* (settlements), namely Hsinfeng, Hsiaohu, Fuhsin, Hsinshe, Tunghsin and Fukuang (Map 8). Among these *damo*, Hsinshe, Hsinfeng and Hsiaohu were developed earliest by the Kavalan around the second half of the nineteenth century. Tunghsin was established by the Amis during the Japanese period. Fuhsin was also developed by the Amis after the second World War while Fukuang was cultivated by the local Taiwanese about 30 years ago. The total population of Hsinshe village is 1,041 people with a total of 251 households (1997). Apart from the Kavalan and the Amis, there are few Holo, mainlanders, and other aborigines.

My study focuses on the Kavalan community in Hsinshe village which includes settlements of Hsinshe, Hsinfeng and Hsiaohu. In the Kavalan language, they are known as *Batohongan*. Normally, the villagers refer to these settlements as Hsinshe to outsiders, and use the Kavalan names amongst themselves in every-day life. Considering the significance of Hsinshe in the development of Kavalan history, I will use the name of Hsinshe to collectively refer to all the three settlements in this study.

The majority of these three settlements are Kavalan and the daily language spoken there is also Kavalan. At present, Hsinshe has a large number of Kavalan who use the Kavalan language as their mother tongue. The neighbouring Amis have been influenced by them and speak the Kavalan language when communicating with them. Kavalan who are over sixty years old sometimes talk to each other in Japanese. The use of Holo has also become common. Normally, the Kavalan can speak four to five languages, which include Mandarin, Holo, Japanese, Amis and their own mother tongue. Many people use their Kavalan names in their everyday life and only use their Chinese name on special occasions and for the purpose of official records, writing letters, etc.

Generally speaking, when people in the region refer to Hsinshe they mean Kavalan Hsinshe. The Amis settlements, Tunghsin and Fuhsin, are always ignored. I find that the Hsinshe Kavalan always address the Amis as their tenants, though this is not the case anymore. It is obvious that the Kavalan try to manipulate this fact to justify their settlement in the Amis territory and their legal possession of the land.

The strip of flatland and the rich water supply were the reasons that attracted the first Kavalan people to move here. It is difficult to find evidence whether it was an Amis settlement earlier, but it is clear that the whole coastal area from Hualien to Taitung was and still is Amis territory. An eighty-six-year-old man, Tsai A-sheng, who is a descendant of one of the two previous land owners, said that according to his grandfather there were about three to five Amis households in the area before, but they moved southwards to Kang-kou village (in the southern part of Fengpin) when more and more Kavalan moved in. Since rice cultivation needed a great deal of labour in former times, Hsinshe once attracted many Kavalan who came to work as tenant farmers. In its heyday, which was about the mid-Japanese period in the early twentieth century, Hsinshe was the official centre of the region. It remained so till the Japanese government moved its local administrative centre to Fengpin.

However, there are some stories about land disputes between the Amis and the Kavalan among the Amis outside Hsinshe. For example, the present *hsiang* head told me that the Kavalan population is declining every year because of divine punishment for stealing Amis' land. I also heard stories how the Kavalan played dirty tricks on the Amis in order to grab their land. From the circulation of such stories in the region, we can tell

that the relationship between the Kavalan and the Amis has become more hostile.

Because rice cultivation needed extra labour, the Kavalan started to accept Amis tenant farmers who came in search of work opportunities. Gradually, two groups of Amis who came from the southern areas, Mei-shan and Chi-mei, established the first *damo* (settlement) in the south of Hsinshe during the Japanese period, and other two groups which came from Fu-yuan and Jui-sui, across the Coastal Mountains, established the second *damo* in the north-western part of Hsinshe just after the Japanese period. However, the hostility and the landowner-tenant relationship between the Kavalan and the Amis have always marked a clear boundary between these two groups.

So far, there are no official figures on the Kavalan population at Hsinshe, since most of them have been ascribed to the Amis group. According to my investigation, Hsinshe has about 85 Kavalan households with 322 Kavalan members which is one-third of the whole population in the village²⁶. Most of them have mixed with the Amis by inter-ethnic marriage or adoption. Notably, these figures are only estimated numbers owing to the fact that not every registered person lives in Hsinshe and some people have temporarily registered in the cities for the sake of convenience. This reflects the common phenomenon that most of the young people work or have worked in urban areas. However, the most interesting thing is that the number of residents increases in an election year. According to a generous estimate, there should be nearly 1000 Kavalan originally from Hsinshe village, which makes it the single biggest Kavalan community in Taiwan.

Most Kavalan households are large joint-family units with three generations living together, even though they may be registered as different households. However, because the younger generation work in urban areas and only come back home when they have long holidays, only grandparents and grandchildren live together in the village. In recent years, it became a common phenomenon that many young people prefer to settle in the cities. Although they invite their parents to live with them in the cities, the elderly people prefer the countryside and always return to Hsinshe from the cities. However,

²⁶ These figures came from my interview of every single household in Hsinshe and my survey on household registration in Hsinshe at the registry of residence at Fengpin, the administrative centre for the Fengpin *hsiang*.

because of family bonds, the Kavalan community has not fragmented in Hsinshe.

Most of the Kavalan at Hsinshe are Christians and Catholics outnumber Protestants. They go to church every Sunday morning and try to read the Bible written in phonetic Amis symbols. Although the churches have discouraged them from practising their traditional beliefs, some of them perform minimum rituals and rites in private (this will be discussed in Chapter Six).

In general, men go out to work as construction workers²⁷ and leave agriculture and gardening to women. This division became clearer after the opening of the Hualien-Taitung coastal road in 1968. Before 1968, Hsinshe was an isolated village and people were self-sufficient; growing their own food, fishing for seafood, hunting and gathering game and wild vegetables. However, they still needed kerosene, rice wine, matches, salt, etc. Because of scarcity of cash, villagers bartered rice for these commodities. They took loans from grocery shops and paid the debt with interest in sacks of grain (one sack is about 90 kilograms). In addition, they had to pay for all sorts of taxes and fertilisers in grain as well. Most of the time the remaining grain was not enough for the whole family and villagers had to take loans from the shops again, even though they knew that they would have to pay double for it. In such cases, they spent much time in gathering seashells or wild plants whenever they were free from work in rice fields. In general, most of the villagers worked very hard but still lived in poor conditions.

Before the coastal road opened, villagers normally went to see an unlicensed doctor or local quacks²⁸ for a so-called “nutrition injection” as a cure for all sorts of illnesses. If the condition of the patient became critical, the villagers would take him or her to bigger hospitals in Hualien for better treatment. They put the sick person on a stretcher and carried it on foot via Fengpin to Kuang-fu or Fu-tien where they took train to

²⁷ Most of Kavalan men make shutter doors in construction business. They used to earn NT\$ 420 per square metre. Now they can only get NT\$ 170 per square metre because of recession and cheap foreign labour.

²⁸ The people who ran pharmacies in Fengpin were not qualified medical doctors. However, they diagnosed the people who came to buy drugs. Although they were illegal, the aborigines in Fengpin area went to them whenever they fell ill, as there were no doctors around in local clinics, and hospitals were located in bigger towns or cities. Those people sold a medicine which they called “nutrition injection”. They cheated the aborigines by charging high prices for this dubious drug.

Hualien City. However, the road from Fengpin to Kuang-fu was very narrow passing through the riverbed of the Ting-tsu-lou hsi. It was also a rocky and rugged terrain and would take people six to eight hours to complete the whole journey. Sometimes they took the route from Chi-chi to Fenglin by crossing the Coastal Mountains and then travelled to Hualien by train. They also travelled by sea but they rarely took this route because there was no proper port in the village and the waves were too rough for small boats. The above mentioned routes were also used by people sometimes when they needed to travel or buy necessary commodities from towns.

The coastal road has opened a new door for this isolated village. The style of self-subsistence in the village soon disappeared and the village became a part of the national economic system. Now there is more cash circulating in Hsinshe which has helped to improve the living standard in the village. This has also led to rapid transformation in many aspects of their traditional lifestyle.

Once buses started to run on the road, waves of villagers travelled to other places to look for job opportunities in order to bring cash back home. At the beginning, many of them worked for fishing companies in Kaohsiung as they were good fishermen. They often signed a work contract for a period of from six months to two years to work at the sea in order to get better wages. Normally, if there were one or two young men in a household doing this kind of job, that family would have a reasonable income and could improve their lifestyle. Some families preferred to send their children to military schools so that they could save money spent on their education and get a regular income from the military at the same time²⁹, if they felt it was too dangerous to work at sea. Parents either sent their children to sea or to military schools after they had finished primary or secondary high schools. This was one of the major reasons that the villagers did not receive a proper education³⁰, and this, in turn, prevented them from seeking better jobs.

²⁹ Military schools were considered a good alternative for poor families in the 1970s and 1980s, as parents did not have to pay tuition fees for children's education, as the schools took care of all the expenses.

³⁰ According to the Constitution, every child must complete minimum education for nine years which means that one should at least finish secondary high school. But most of the Kavalan had to withdraw their children early in order to send them to work.

In the 1960s to 1970s, many outsiders came to the region to look for trading or small business opportunities. Because they had cash, they often ran shops and earned money by selling merchandise including food to villagers. Ironically, fish and seashells which were the staple food for the villagers became increasingly valuable and expensive. Many Holo-Taiwanese had come to the region to collect and then take seafood to sell in the cities. They were the only people who benefited from this enterprise.

Because of overfishing, the sea resources began to dry up and the villagers turned to work for construction companies in big cities or overseas as Taiwan's economy was booming. They did construction or construction-related jobs. These jobs are less dangerous than fishing at sea for months or even years and are generally welcomed by the villagers. Because labour was needed urgently, the villagers often introduced their kinsmen to the construction companies they worked for. Naturally, they formed a group even outside their village so that they could work together and help each other.

Even those who remained or came back to the village did construction jobs in nearby villages. Most of them had experience of doing these kind of jobs in cities. When they learned the skills and saved enough money to buy tools for construction work, they worked independently and got contracts from small companies. However, most of the young Kavalan choose to work in cities. Some middle-aged men after retiring from construction work help women in the fields or go fishing. They also go to the seashore to gather seashells and seaweed or go to mountains to pick wild vegetables according to the season. Most of the harvest, such as rice, vegetable, arecas and fish, are for themselves, only the surplus is sold to the villagers or to the farmers' association in Fengpin. Valuable fish and lobster are sold to the restaurant in the village, or sometimes if the catch is good, to the near-by villages or Fengpin.

The relationship between youth and older people is also changing, because the younger generation is financially independent, and their income is crucial for running the household. Therefore, their status at home has become more important than ever. They bring home new ideas and changes in the styles of living and traditions which they learn from other ethnic groups, especially the Taiwanese. For example, in some cases parents have started to worship Chinese gods because their children persuaded them to do so. In many ways, the elderly people feel that they are inferior to the young people. They

often told me that they live in a backward world and the young people should go out and live in a civilised way. Interestingly, they prefer to live in a “backward” style even though they have the chance to live in cities with their children.

The Kavalan have a very loose social structure that is based on the age division among men. These age-categories were once the most important thing in the Kavalan community because each household needed some help from others in many aspects of life. One of my informants, A-niao, told me that he and other men of the village were divided into different age groups for harvesting rice, clearing the rice fields, transplanting rice seedlings to the field, building houses or bamboo rafts, hunting and gathering, organising funerals, and preparing for village ceremonies and other activities. Take the harvesting of rice for example, men would have meetings to discuss and decide the schedule, divide men into several age groups, and arrange tasks for each age group. Then they would start the harvesting work from one paddy field to another till they had finished all the rice fields. And the whole work would last for a month or so. If anyone was lazy or dropped out, he would not get any help from the age division for agricultural labour, wedding, funerals and so on. He could also be excluded from village events or public activities.

Normally, men born in or initiated in the same year would be ascribed into the same division and they would remain in that division all their life. However, they would be assigned to different sets of groups according to their capacity for labour. Nowadays, men who are under 50 have a very vague memory about the structure and operation of these age-group systems. The reason why this age-division system ceased is unknown. However, one of the reasons could be that the Japanese colonisers saw this kind organisation as a threat to their bureaucratic system. The Japanese also prevented them from practising their own rituals and traditions and speaking their mother tongue. Nevertheless, the decline of agriculture and the move to urban areas for jobs have certainly contributed to the ending of this system.

When villagers decided to revive the harvest festival in 1992, they also decided to recreate the male age-group system in order to make labour divisions. Apart from the chief, vice-chief, some respected elderly men and consultants, young men whose ages were between 18 to 45 were divided into three sets, which are *mamanugaba*, *lageling*,

and *bagalonine*. *Mamanugaba* means that the leaders of the young people who were responsible for planning activities and dividing labour. The second age set *lageling* is the executive body that was in charge of all sorts of preparations and execution. *Bagalonine* was the youngest set which was responsible for dancing and singing in the festival or creating a merry atmosphere, and sometimes, doing trivial tasks. Normally, this organisation is not important until some big event is held in the village, such as the ritual of sea worship, harvest festival, funerals, weddings, and so on.

Because this age group system has been revived recently, villagers often feel confused about its structure and functions. When I asked them about the numbers and divisions of the sets, they gave me different answers and admitted that they did not know exactly. The reason for confusion is that few young people participate in village activities every year. Some young people who are away on military service and a small number of those who work in cities are not able to come back home in time for preparations or even to participate in the activities.

Unlike the present age sets which are only related to labour divisions for big events, the old ones had more significance. The old system was to create a network of cooperative groups and manage labour efficiently. Nowadays, the Kavalan take their age-set system in a flexible way. If the members of the age-group committee feel a young boy is about to reach adulthood or is capable, he can be grouped into the youngest set. If a man refuses to be grouped into the age-set system, he or his family can be fined.

In 1990, villagers established a Hsinshe Youth Association, which was supported by the government for the purpose of organising young people to do service in the village. Villagers have incorporated the idea of the old age-set system into this new association and made it a modern age-set system. This new idea has inspired the people who work in Taipei to organise a similar association in the city. These two associations have been complementary to each other and are responsible for all social events at Hsinshe.

Under the modern national administrative system, the social structure of the village has changed. For example, the head of the village and the representative of *hsiang* have become more important than the other kinds of leaderships in the every-day life of the villagers. They deal with disputes, quarrels, and public affairs in the village and pass on

the opinions of the villagers to the authorities. They also serve as the representatives of the authorities.

The government has suggested that women should organise their own association. There are two women's organisations at Hsinshe: one was organised by the Bureau of *Hsiang* in 1970s while the other was newly established by the Agriculture Association two years ago. These two organisations used to serve the interests of the KMT, especially during election time when the KMT tried to mobilise people and attract voters. However, there are some activities that are aimed at helping women adapt themselves to modern life. These also provide women good opportunities to talk to other women and exchange views and experiences. These women's organisations have also contributed to the Kavalan cultural resurgence by collecting, editing and performing Kavalan traditional songs and dance. They have also learned to make traditional handicrafts.

From the early 1990s, the notion of community has become important in Taiwan. As a result, every village is organised as a community organisation that has a president, consultants and secretaries. These office-bearers are elected regularly by the villagers and are responsible for all sorts of matters in the village. The community organisation should be free from any political influence and should work for the benefit of the village. However, in many cases, it is influenced by the village head and other official representatives who belong to the government. In Hsinshe, because the villagers do not understand the function and structure of the community organisation, they tend to merge it with other governmental organisations.

In my experience, the Kavalan people are simple, optimistic, straightforward and hard working. They see life in a positive way and rarely complain about its hardships. They are open-minded and kind to strangers and outsiders. They are willing to learn from others if they think it can improve their lifestyle. They love sharing food and other things with their kinsmen, neighbours and friends. They always offer their help voluntarily when other people are too busy to help. They sometimes complain about their life but soon convince themselves that it is their destiny which they have no power to alter.

Their simplicity and optimism can be seen in the case of the expansion of the coastal road. Villagers strongly protested when they heard the news that the new road would bisect their houses. But eventually they accepted the fact and started to calculate whether or not they had enough money including the compensation they would get from the government to rebuild their houses. At this stage, they even thought that they had got a good deal, or that they could never build a decent house by themselves³¹.

These are the characteristics I noticed in the Kavalan people in Hsinshe, Taipei, Changyuan, and other small settlements. They are aware of their characteristics and often use them to emphasise the differences between themselves and other ethnic groups. For instance, they always say that the Amis are relatively lazy and less civilised, the Holo are cunning and calculating, the Hakka are hard-working and selfish, and so on. Even between the Kaliawan and the Trobuwan, the Kaliawan often criticise the stingy nature of the Trobuwan, especially the fact that the Trobuwan never allow anyone to see or participate in their New Year ritual. The Trobuwan in turn criticise the Kaliawan for being self-centred. Apart from these stereotypes, the Kavalan, in general, consider hard-working and generous people as good people and pay them a great deal of respect. They strongly condemn vindictive, unjust, dishonest, cunning, and complaining people. They may not tell their children or grand-children about the family history of exile, but they certainly teach their descendants the above mentioned virtues as they were taught by their parents before³².

It is an intriguing phenomenon that even before their revival the Kavalan in Hsinshe still maintained a clear distinction between them and the Amis though they had only a very sketchy awareness about their ethnic history from their previous generations. Their manner of forgetting or hiding their Kavalan identity can be described as “ethnic stigma” in Eidheim’s (1969: 39-57) sense, as, like the Lapps, the Kavalan used to avoid expressing their ethnic identity in public as they felt inferior to Chinese groups. For this

³¹ Only one Kavalan, Chieh Wan-lai, refused to take the government’s offer, as he thought that the compensation was unfair and the government did not announce the criteria for calculating the compensation. He got a better compensation in the end which made many villagers envious.

³² Many Kavalan seem to share the same experience that their parents or grand-parents did not want them to know their ethnic background and history. However, they told them that they should work hard, be generous with people, be fair and honest, respect elderly people, and help their own people.

reason, they did not want to tell their children about their ethnic history and identity.

For example, when I interviewed Chen Wu-tai's son about his family history, he told me: "Although my father had a very good knowledge about the Kaliawan in the area and provided many Japanese scholars with lots of materials, he did not tell us anything about the history of the Kaliawan. He did not even tell us why and when we moved to Fengpin". Chen Wu-tai was well educated and worked in the only school of Fengpin during the Japanese period. Two famous Japanese ethnographers, Mabuchi and Utsurigawa, used him as the major informant. Fortunately, Chen Wu-tai left behind an article which he wrote about language and oral history of Fengpin area in the early 1900s³³. Chen's son treats this article as a family treasure.

Many other Kavalan who are over fifty and who had suffered hardships before and after the Second World War had similar experiences to relate. They only roughly know that their parents or grandparents had migrated from Ilan since they could not earn their livelihood in their homeland and they still have some relatives in Ilan. Take another example of A-bi, the oldest and one of the most respectable *metiyu* (shaman), who told me that she had learned to be a shaman by herself. She recalled all the rituals, songs and dance from what she had seen when her grandmother and mother performed. A-yuk also complained that her mother did not teach her how to weave³⁴, and for that reason she has only very limited weaving skills. My informant A-niao tried to explain to me that these were common experiences. He said, "When people were struggling to raise their family, they had no time at all to teach their children skills or tell them stories about their family or clan".

The above examples show that the Kavalan people have encountered a crisis of group identity, especially at the time when modernity and industrialisation changed the life

³³ This document also proves that people still used the word "Kaliawan" in the early to mid twentieth century. Notably, I found that Chieh learnt about the history of the Kavalan in Hsinshe from Chen's article.

³⁴ In A-yuk's experience, her parents were always busy earning the living for the whole household. They were tied up with rice cultivation all year round. Whenever they got time to rest, her father would go fishing to the sea or hunting in mountains, whereas her mother would gather wild vegetables, fruits, and seashells while doing weaving at the same time. Her parents did not have time to teach them how to do agricultural work or weaving, she and her siblings just learned to do those things while observing their parents.

and the value system of people and when the government imposed strict control on its citizens. The disruptions in Kavalan history have made them aware of the significance of continuity of their identity. Although the missing link between their past and present results in the confusion about their “authentic” ethnic characteristics and tradition, it also becomes a challenge which leads them to look into scholarly accounts for these missing links.

Even so, we can clearly see that the Kavalan in Hsinshe actually have their own way of defining themselves and distinguishing themselves from other ethnic groups, a fact which can only be gleaned from a study of their daily life when they express it unconsciously. Superficially, the boundary between the Kavalan and the Amis has gradually blurred after long-term interaction. However, the perception of being different from the Amis or other ethnic groups has been passed on from generation to generation. Through many encounters in every-day life, through family education and the language and a mutual recognition of boundary between Amis and themselves the perception of difference has persisted. That was the reason that they did not mind being classified with the Amis after the KMT took over Taiwan, because it did not affect what they or the Amis perceived about each other in real life. It was not until recently that they come to understand their rights within the nation-state and have started to construct their discursive identity and to try to unite the Kavalan across regional and geographical boundaries in pursuit of their political and cultural goals. In such case, even though their ethnic identity developed loosely and discursively, it is deeply rooted in their unconscious and has become persistent and durable.

The opening of the road which connected them to the rest of the nation made radical changes to the lifestyle in the village since 1968. Hsinshe, like many other villages in Taiwan, has been incorporated into national economic and political system and as a result it soon became more or less similar to other villages and gradually lost its own characteristics. Although the government has provided many services, at the same time, their life is controlled more tightly by the government and their autonomy has been taken away. The Kavalan were also dissatisfied with the imposition of other ethnic names. Stimulated by other ethnic groups in Taiwan, the Kavalan have developed their

political consciousness and have tried to take hold of their own destiny. They employed the term Kavalan in order to legitimise their existence so that they can revitalise their communities as well as assert their political rights.

IV. The Construction of Kavalan Identity

The Kavalan people not only use the myth of a common homeland in Ilan from which they had originated, but also the experience of collective suffering under successive waves of colonial invaders, as well as the nation-state, to create a group identity. In addition, they employ all possible resources to ensure that they are taken as a homogeneous people. They use early Chinese and Japanese materials and contemporary scholarly writings to reinforce the authenticity and continuity of their identity. However, are they truly the real descendants of the people who resided in the Kavalan plains centuries ago?

In addition to the fact that Kavalan people in early Ilan had a complicated ethnic makeup, I discovered, from my long-term daily observation, that the contemporary Kavalan are not a uniform people. I noticed that in Hsinshe, these so-called Kavalan address themselves or other villagers as either Kaliawan or Trobuwan. These two groups used to speak different languages³⁵ till the Kavalan (or Kaliawan) became the dominant language in the village. The Trobuwan still practise some private rituals which clearly distinguish them from the Kaliawan. Nonetheless, the number of the Trobuwan in Hsinshe is much less than the Kaliawan which is just about six or seven families³⁶.

According to historical records, Kaliawan and Trobuwan were two of the thirty-six *she* in the Kavalan plains. The former was located on the south bank of the Chuo-shui River and the latter on the north bank of the river. Both villages were close to the sea. As the Trobuwan had built a settlement on the Li-wu River in the northern Hualien, the scholars who try to figure out their origin find it confusing. Although Japanese official

³⁵ Bareigts discovers (1987: 6-7) that the Trobuwan language was spoken at family level from 1925 to 1930. And the last Trobuwan who could speak the language fluently died around 1960. The remaining Trobuwan can only speak some words.

³⁶ These six or seven families are the people who still do Trobuwan *palilin* before New Year.

records mention that the Trobuwan were later immigrants to the Kavalan plains³⁷, no materials indicate their interaction with the rest of the people in the plains.

The Kaliawan and the Trobuwan in Hsinshe are always considered by outsiders as the same people for several reasons: their ancestors came from Ilan, most of them are related to one another, and the Trobuwan use Kavalan³⁸ as their every-day language. However, in everyday life the Kaliawan and Trobuwan do not think that they are the descendants of the same people, despite the fact that they speak the same language. According to linguistic research, the Trobuwan are a sub-group of the Ketagalan, an ethnic group which used to inhabit northern Taiwan (Li 1991, 1993, 1995) and which was considered to have completely integrated into Chinese society. Linguists (e.g. Li) believe that the Kavalan and the Ketagalan languages share many similarities but they belong to different linguistic systems which suggests that originally they were two ethnic groups though they had close interaction with each other.

Nevertheless, in front of outsiders the Kaliawan and the Trobuwan present themselves as one people belonging to the same ethnic group. It is not only that others consider them as the same people over the whole Amis area, but they are also related to each other by affinity, shared experiences and history in Hsinshe. Most importantly, for them, scholars' accounts indicate that their ancestors had dispersed from the same original homeland.

However, I often noticed that they differentiate themselves from each other on many occasions in their everyday life. Both the Trobuwan and the Kaliawan point out that the Trobuwan belong to the group which, on New Year Eve, kills a black rooster by knocking it against the wall and eats its viscera. It implies that the Trobuwan still take pride in celebrating their barbaric customs. This rite is performed so secretively that only the people from the same household are allowed to participate. Even though their language and tradition have disappeared and most of their ritual and rites have been

³⁷ Quoted from Chan (1998: 79). Original text is in Japanese and the title is Taipei chou li fan chih---chiu I-lan Ting (The Management of Aborigines in Taipei Area---Old Ilan Ting), edited by The Police Office of Taipei Area (1924).

³⁸ The language the Kaliawan speak is always called "Kavalan", while the Trobuwan's language is referred to as "Trobuwan" (Bareigts, and many others).

forgotten, they insist on retaining this rite in its supposedly original form. It functions as a symbolic marker that separates them from the Kaliawan.

The fact that they were different from the Amis provided them with a sense of sharedness. Interestingly, the Amis also do not differentiate between the Kaliawan and the Trobuwan and see both of them as Kaliawan and eventually as Kavalan. In the past, the division between the Amis and the Kaliawan was magnified when they started to use stereotypical images to describe each other. The Amis accused the Kavalan of being cunning and calculating as the Kavalan had occupied their land in the past. The Kavalan mocked Amis for being naïve and primitive people. The Amis view of the Kaliawan and the Trobuwan, their common homeland in Ilan, and their diasporic experience have produced a kind of togetherness in them which binds them as the same people.

When Kavalan consciousness movement began to rise in the early 1990s, the Kaliawan and the Trobuwan formed themselves as an ethnic group under name of Kavalan in order to create internal cohesion and differentiate themselves from others. Apart from the shared diasporic experience and homeland in Ilan, they often emphasise “pure” blood ties between the present generation as well as ancestors to prove the authenticity of their Kavalan identity. But the evidence of this interaction is not convincing since they had mingled with other aboriginal groups in a similar fashion. Thus, this ethnic bonding between them is more constructed than primordial. From an analytic perspective, we need to consider how the actors themselves interpret their identity, we have to take into account this quasi-primordial ties with the help of the notion of constructivism. As we have seen in this chapter, the concept of “constructed primordiality” can help us to analyse the complexity of Kavalan ethnicity.

Having formed themselves as one ethnic group, they now need to construct their ethnic identity and culture. They heavily rely on scholars’ accounts which they hope can endorse their “genuine” identity. They actively refer to Ilan as their imaginary homeland, which has brought them much respect and importance. Some Kavalan have located their relatives in Ilan. However, except for attending funerals and the annual Harvest Festival in Hsinshe, they rarely interact, since they feel unfamiliar with their newly found relatives. Nonetheless, in their imagination, they feel closer to Ilan Kavalan than their Amis relatives.

Modern Kavalan tradition is a novel idea and is invented for the purpose of solidifying group identity. It is novel in the sense that it is a re-construction based on academic accounts, memories of the past and their present interpretation. However, the modern Kavalan rituals have become a kind of performance, aiming to attract public attention. Also, the rituals often integrate traditional, Christian and Chinese Taoist forms in order to satisfy the needs of the members³⁹. Some other rituals and ceremonies and cultural activities, which traditionally excluded outsiders or strangers, were publicised for the purpose of introducing them to others⁴⁰. All these newly invented traditions have been given new social meanings and have become a part of the shared history of the Kaliawan and the Trobuwan.

The re-invention of Kavalan tradition is not only for the purpose of reviving their ethnic identity and cultural resurgence, it also has its significance in the political agenda of Taiwan. Because Ilan County is governed by the DPP, it emphasises local and ethnic culture, which was totally ignored by the earlier ruling party, the KMT⁴¹. The Ilan county government also decided to re-write a history of Ilan in order to include the history of lesser known aboriginal groups of the county. The 195th anniversary of the Ilan therefore started the political competition between the DPP and the KMT, both the parties were seeking the support of ethnic groups. The terms “ethnic groups”, “ethnicity” and “multi-ethnic society” have since become common in everyday life in Taiwan.

It is obvious that the construction of Kavalan identity results from the fear that they may lose their ethnic features after long contact with other ethnic groups and modernisation.

³⁹ For instance, when I attended the Kavalan ritual of the sea worship in April, 1996, I discovered an interesting phenomenon. The ritual took place at the spot where their ancestors landed from the sea (they claimed so). The chief and Kavalan shamans first led the members to worship the sea and commemorate the ancestors. Then, a Protestant cited from the Bible and led Christians to sing a song of praise. Finally, Taoist shamans performed Chinese rites.

⁴⁰ The Kavalan like to talk about their sacrifices for the restoration of their ethnic status. For example, Li-yuk thought that she became serious ill because Shimizu took pictures of the *palilin* at her household. A-bi also regarded her bad health as the punishment from the Kavalan gods for performing Kavalan rituals in public.

⁴¹ The county government invited Dr. Yen-hsien Chang to conduct research on Kavalan language, customs, migration, and the process of sinicization. The county government has also decided to build a museum for the Kavalan and make Kavalan history a part of school education (see the press release of Ilan county government, December, 1990, which can be found in all newspapers in Taiwan).

Therefore, the purpose of their re-invented tradition is to strengthen the group solidarity and to re-mark the ethnic boundaries with other groups. Additionally, they use the arguments of inequality and suppression to justify their claims in order to have a fair representation in the national politics. Their demand for participation in national matters shows that they have changed their earlier negative attitude about the nation and have started to develop a sense of being a part of the nation. This clearly illustrates the fact that people, especially minorities, have multiple loyalties towards various identities and often have a degree of control over those identities in the modern era.

More significantly, the Kavalan have established several organisations and associations for the purpose of solidifying their group identity. Symbolically, these organisations and associations are modelled on the social organisations they had in their villages in the nineteenth century. Instead of public affairs, which the village administration office now deals with, these organisations have basically social and cultural concerns such as unifying the Kavalan members and promoting their tradition and culture.

One may wonder why these people use the name of Kavalan instead of Kaliawan or Trobuwan. The answer is simple. Since the term Kavalan has long been used officially by the Japanese government and the scholars and refers to the name of their homeland, they naturally favour this term more than Kaliawan or Trobuwan which have less significance. In this way, Kavalan was transformed from a geographical term to a colonial ethnic category and then to an ethnic name. Thus it clearly shows that ethnic identity is not a static or concrete identity, rather it is a constantly constructed process, and it is more a matter of collective acceptance than actual proof of authenticity.

V. Conclusion

Many scholars have debated the basic criteria and method of defining ethnic groups. Among them, Barth's (1969) model of ethnic groups as self-ascribed social units is very useful in the study of the Kavalan. However, sometimes ethnic labels are imposed by others over which a people have little control. Also people have different levels of loyalty to certain social organisations or groupings. Modern technology has enlarged human knowledge, widened horizons and increased contact between people which provide them with alternatives and mobility for the purpose of identification (Appadurai 1990). All of

these phenomena demonstrate the complexity and fluidity of a modern identity. Therefore, we need to turn to a more flexible and comprehensive approach to analyse it.

The case of Kavalan shows that an ethnic identity is historically and contingently constructed. The Kavalan are invented by others as well as themselves in the postwar Taiwan. From the history of the term Kavalan and the process of self-naming, we learn that the Kavalan identity is a dynamic process of knowing and doing. Therefore, being of a Kavalan descent does not mean that a person is Kavalan, since many Ilan Kavalan had formally “converted” to become Chinese. As Chieh Wan-lai puts it, “the requirements for being a Kavalan is to know their roots, learn to behave like a Kavalan, participate in Kavalan activities, speak Kavalan language, protest to restore the Kavalan name, sing Kavalan songs, and eat Kavalan food”. In this respect, the biological aspects of identity is no longer important, since there are not many “pure” Kavalan left. Rather, they adopt a more dynamic strategy to unify their members in the Kavalan communities. Therefore, the revival of Kavalan identity illustrates how a group of people revise their strategy of identification in order to adapt or respond to the changing world.

Kavalan identity is in the process of being constructed, to an extent, for the purpose of legitimising its ethnic status and lobbying for the minority rights. However, there have been a number of disputes and debates about this process among the Kavalan themselves. For example, many people claim that what they know or remember were the authentic Kavalan traditions or language. The old and young generations also have different perceptions and expectations regarding the image of the Kavalan. The Catholics and the Protestants debated with each other about its compatibility with their faiths. In addition, the introduction of politics in this debate about the construction of Kavalan identity has made matters more complicated. These issues will be taken up in the subsequent chapters.

Chapter Three

Constructing Taiwanese National Identity: History, Ethnicity, and Plurality

Nationalism and its main product nation-state have dominated world politics ever since the success of the French revolution in the eighteenth century in replacing old loyalties to the monarch or the lord with new loyalty to the nation. Many modernists (e.g. Anderson, Gellner, etc.) presume the growth of the homogeneity of a nation-state in the aftermath of nationalism, as its people imagine themselves as a part of the national community. In the spread of this idea of nation, print capitalism and standardised education have played a vital role. However, if one looks carefully, the nation's homogeneity appears to be superficial. In most cases, only one particular group monopolises the definition of the nation, often excluding other ethnic groups in the process. Many nation-states thus face ethnic resistance from their marginalised groups, for example, Canada faces Quebecois resistance, Spain encounters Catalanian nationalism, India has the ethnic Kashmiri problem, Australia faces its Aborigines' campaign, Russia meets Chechen resistance, and so on. Some of these ethnic resistances have gone on to become full-fledged nationalist movements (Guibernau and Rex, 1997: 3). Nonetheless, these phenomena illustrate the fact that ethnic groups adopt strategies quite similar to those which a nation employs to prove its legitimacy, and which they seek to encounter. For example, ethnic groups borrow the idea of 'self-determination', the core concept of nationalism, in order to legitimise their claims. This leads to the conflict between national and ethnic identities as nation has an in-built resistance to the replication of its fundamental ideas at ethnic level.

This chapter examines the complicated relationship between ethnicity and nationalism. As discussed in Chapter One, these two concepts are closely interlinked, and sometimes overlapping, despite the fact that ethnicity promotes diversity while nationalism endorses hegemony. Through the discussion of the conflict between national and ethnic identities in Taiwan, I wish to emphasise that ethnicity has been a problematic dimension in the construction of modern nation as ethnicity not only helps to create

nations but can also undermine nation-building. This chapter deals with the complex relationship between the minorities and nation-state, the minorities and dominant groups, the historical discourse of the development of national and ethnic identities, and the possible emergence of a pluralistic society in the wake of on-going globalisation. More importantly, the chapter proposes that ethnicity and nationalism cannot be examined in isolation, as they are equally crucial for understanding the complexity of the construction of modern identity.

The chapter is divided into four sections. The first section looks at the history and the development of Taiwanese nation in order to explore how it has been imagined over times. The next section examines contemporary issues, such as how the latest ethnic divisions evolved and how different ethnic groups are in the process of negotiating a shared sense of Taiwanese national identity. The third section analyses a specific case, the development of the aboriginal movement with a particular focus on Kavalan movement, in order to see how the negotiation of a shared national identity develops and why the notion of a plural society is important in Taiwan. The fourth section reviews the significance of Kavalan revival in relation to the construction of Taiwanese nation.

I. Nation and History

The case of Taiwan clearly demonstrates the conflict between nationalism and ethnicity. The problem stems from the fact that it is a nation which has been differently imagined by three different entities, the Chinese communist government, the Kuomintang (the KMT), and the people of Taiwan. These three imaginations not only contradict but are also intolerant of each other. Hence, the Taiwanese case involves the contest between three different nationalisms: claims of an off shore nation-state (the People's Republic of China), a nation-state without international recognition (the Republic of China), and a nation without state (the Taiwanese nation and its struggle for independence). This problem forces us to rethink the construction ethnic and cultural identities in relation to larger structures like nation and history.

In order to gain a proper understanding of Taiwan's complicated development of ethnicity and nationalism, we must turn to its rather chequered history. On the surface, Taiwan's

nationalism fits the modernist model of nationalism which developed in the aftermath of industrialisation. It has been promoted through print-capitalism, education, and cultural symbols. However, it is in perpetual conflict with its counter-nationalism, the nationalism of the People's Republic of China (PRC). In reality, the nationalism in Taiwan is a far more contentious issue than it appears.

Over-imagined nation amid contradictory ideologies

The contemporary problem of Taiwan, as Gold (1993: 169) perceives, is that its development of economy, polity, society and culture takes place under the shadow of mainland China. After the split between communist China and the KMT in 1949, Beijing and Taipei fell into a state of prolonged cold war. Both of them reiterate their resolve to take over each other in the name of the political ideology they follow. Ever since Beijing replaced the Republic of China (the ROC) in Taiwan in the United Nations in 1971, it has been trying to exclude Taipei from the world community. China regards the take-over of Taiwan as the ultimate goal of its rising nationalism while Taiwan resists unconditional reunification with communist China. The inconsistent relationship between these two countries is like a landmine in East Asia that has deeply concerned the United States (US). The US does not want to see its massive commercial interests in the region affected by a possible war between China and Taiwan. On the other hand, the US also does not want to see Chinese domination of East Asian rim and regards this as a threat to its security. Under these circumstances, the progress of Taiwan's indigenous nationalism and ethnicity is closely monitored by China as well as the US.

This triangular relationship between Taiwan, China, and the US was well demonstrated in recent incidents. For example, China tried to influence the third Presidential election in March 2000 in Taiwan. During the campaign period, China openly showed its disapproval of one of the candidates, Chen Shui-bien, who was later elected as the President. The reason was that Chen was the presidential candidate of the Democratic Progressive Party (the DPP)¹, an opposition party which proclaims the independence of Taiwan. China was

¹ The Democratic Progressive Party was formally established as a legal opposition party in 1986. It was an underground party before and was portrayed as a separatist and illegal organisation by the KMT.

also angry about the provocative comments made by the previous president Lee Tung-hui. In such a delicate situation which might have led to a possible war, the US constantly asked for restraint from both sides. On July 9, 1999, then president Lee Teng-hui told two German interviewers that Taiwan sees its relations with China as a “special state-to-state relationship” rather than an “internal one” as China claims. China responded to this statement by conducting missile tests and mobilising its armed forces in southeastern China. Chinese air force planes flew along the official boundary between these two countries a couple of times in order to test Taiwan’s determination. The US, again, immediately sent officials to Beijing and Taipei in order to diffuse the tension.

These events are like a re-run of incidents of a few years ago that happen whenever Taiwan tries to break its international isolation or assert its statehood. When President Lee went on a semi-official visit to the US in 1995 and later when Taiwan held its first ever democratic presidential election in 1996, China tried to subdue Taiwan by firing missiles into the sea around Taiwan and a massive mobilisation of its armed forces along the southeastern coastal region. The US responded by sending aircraft carriers in the Taiwan Strait as well as its envoys to both countries. These acts seem to fall into a pattern, which is re-enacted whenever Taiwan displeases China.

One particular incident displeased the Taiwanese people. It was the reaction of China when a severe earthquake struck mid-Taiwan on 21 September 1999, just a few weeks after the row over Taiwan’s claim to statehood. Measuring 7.6 on the Richter Scale, the earthquake killed more than 2300 people and made about 100,000 people homeless. China while offering sympathy and assistance² to its “Taiwanese brethren,” still used the opportunity to restate its claim over Taiwan to the international community by announcing that all humanitarian aid to Taiwan must be routed through China. China’s humanitarian gesture

² After the quake, the Chinese President Jiang Zemin said that China would offer as much aid as it could afford. The Chinese Red Cross offered \$100,000 in cash and relief goods worth \$60,000. The Red Cross also offered to send rescue workers and seismologists for help. However, Taiwan only accepted the money and turned down other offers. The Chinese government even announced that all international aid must be delivered to Taiwan via the Chinese Red Cross or get consent from the Chinese government. The Chinese government was worried that direct international aid to Taiwan might be considered as some kind of recognition of Taiwan as a separate country. Taiwan took this opportunity to highlight the arbitrary attitude of the PRC and reasserted itself. Nonetheless, the dispute on this issue between the two countries has annoyed many people who think that human tragedy should not be exploited for political purposes.

did not win support from the Taiwanese people, as many angrily referred to China's act as hypocritical³. Western media (e.g. ABC News 22/09/1999) pointed out that China's humanitarian help is unlikely to mend the rift between Taiwan and China, as China's assistance had political overtones. Nevertheless, China's attempted manipulation of the disaster seemed to unite the Taiwanese people against China as it forced them rethink whether they wanted to be unified with the Chinese regime which has little consideration for them. Whether the victory of Chen Shui-bien in the presidential election owed a great deal to the Chinese threat, as many local newspapers suggested, is not certain but the victory of the opposition signifies that the people of Taiwan are trying to get out of the shadow of China.

The conflict between China and Taiwan is not only about contrasting political ideologies between communism and democracy, but also about the legitimate right to represent the whole of Chinese territory. Ironically, both the Chinese government and the KMT in Taiwan agree that Taiwan is only a province of China and it should be unified with China but they have strong disagreement regarding the terms and conditions. The peculiarity of Taiwan's national identity is the crux of the problem between China, the KMT, and the people of Taiwan. Copper (1996) demonstrates that Taiwan fulfils three of the four criteria necessary to qualify for nationhood⁴: it has a sizeable population and its territory is clearly demarcated, and it is one of the fastest democratising nations in the world. Its only weakness is its diplomatic ties as most of the countries in the world do not wish to upset China by establishing relations with Taiwan. Unless China gives up its threat to attack Taiwan, or the US and other influential countries change their foreign policies, or Taiwan

³ The Minister of Foreign Affairs Hu Tzu-chiang, held a press conference and expressed Taiwanese government's condemnation of China on following counts: China's obstruction of a Russian request to fly a rescue team to Taiwan through Chinese territory, China's insistence that the countries wishing to send rescue teams or help must consult China first, forcing Taiwan to accept China's Red Cross' help on the basis of a province of China and to let Chinese rescue workers and a team of seismologists to fly directly from China to Taiwan. These are sensitive topics on which China and Taiwan have not yet come to an agreement (United Daily News 1999). Taiwanese public and media strongly criticised such arrogant attitude of China reports of which appeared in all kinds of Taiwanese newspapers and in some Chinese reports.

⁴ According to international law, there are four qualifications for nationhood: territory, population, government and diplomatic ties (Copper 1996: 83).

declares full independence, Taiwan is most likely to remain a sovereign yet ambiguous nation.

As modern Taiwanese are not satisfied with the present situation of their nation-state, they are striving for a new Taiwanese identity. Many other scholars (e.g. Klintworth 1995: 231) have acknowledged that this new Taiwanese identity emanates from the wealthy, educated, internationalised middle class. This middle-class tries to create a distinctive Taiwanese identity as well as a clear national image. They highlight the success of the Taiwanese economic experience, but at the same time they also actively re-interpret history and re-invent traditions. However, how to and who can define the Taiwanese nation has become a debatable problem which leads to competition among ethnic groups.

The contemporary situation in Taiwan has three different dimensions: its struggle for a consistent international and national identity, its transition to democracy and the problem concerning ethnic groups. These three problems, though apparently separate, are interrelated. Firstly, the demand for a national and international identity is a major issue in contemporary Taiwan. Owing to its ambiguous national identity and the ruling party KMT's commitment to the idea of the ROC, Taiwan has been excluded from the world community (Klintworth 1995:1) in the political arena. However, its global economic success has helped Taiwan to achieve a sort of national identity abroad. At the same time, Taiwan has been struggling to map the imaginary nation of ROC as well as to define its actual sovereignty. Taiwanese political, economic, social and cultural problems originate, evolve or surround this national struggle in the backdrop of threat from the PRC. However, its international recognition mainly depends upon the attitude of the US and its relations with China.

The second problem results from the process of transition to democracy. Holo Taiwanese who are in a majority in Taiwan had started to develop their own nationalist consciousness some time ago. They questioned the KMT's hegemony and political legitimacy and demanded a new nation-state of their own. The KMT, afraid that the Holo would become a potential threat, started to democratise the political system and allowed opposition parties to take part in the electoral process. Dissatisfied with partial democracy, Taiwanese nationalists have been trying to change the Taiwanese situation from within the political

system. As a result, political development mingles with culturally resurgent movements. The three main political parties, the KMT, the DPP, and the Chinese New Party (CNP)⁵ represent three competing nationalist ideologies in the major debate in Taiwan about defining national culture: as Great Chinese, Communist Chinese culture, or Taiwanese culture. In other words, support for a certain political party indicates one's identification with a particular national identity

The third problem is that some marginalised ethnic groups, stimulated by the success of Holo Taiwanese, have started to reassert themselves by challenging KMT's ethnic policies. They demand equal opportunities in politics and a fair representation of their ethnic cultures in national definition. Their participation in the Taiwanese political agenda has not only changed Taiwan from a one-party-dominated society into a civil and pluralist society, but also helped to re-define the modern Taiwanness. However, the ethnic groups continue to struggle in order to obtain recognition or equal rights and thus remain on the national agenda.

The Complicated History of the Island

The main dispute between China and Taiwan is about the legitimate ownership of territory. This issue should be understood from the history of the island which displays how Chinese expansionism had transformed an island of autonomous tribal peoples into a Chinese territory, which later led to the disputes between two Chinese societies which believe in different political ideologies and practise different political systems. From this example, we can clearly see how a process of the island's identity has been shaped by its residents whose perception of their identity has been transformed by their political as well as socio-cultural beliefs.

Taiwan, or Formosa, is an island off the east coast of China. It was the homeland of various groups of aborigines who are classified as a part of the Malay-Austronesian family. Because the island is close to China, the south of Japan and Korea, and in the north of Southeast Asian region (Map 1), it was considered as an important middle-point

⁵ The Chinese New Party was established in 1993.

of the trading network in the seaborne age. Products like rice, tea, sugar, camphor and coal drew the attention of would-be colonisers. The Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, Chinese, English, Americans, and Japanese all showed their interest in Taiwan.

From written records (e.g. Shih 1980, Goddard 1966), we know that Taiwan has been subject to waves of colonisers from the beginning of the seventeenth century. In 1624, the Dutch started to colonise southwestern Taiwan. Two years later, the Spanish followed the Dutch and established their trading centres in northern Taiwan. Later, the Dutch displaced the Spanish and successfully expanded their territory in Taiwan in 1641. In 1661, Cheng Cheng-kung (Koxinga) expelled the Dutch and built up an outpost for the purpose of defeating the Ching Dynasty. Afraid of Cheng's growing power, the Ching government sent troops to attack Taiwan and finally conquered Cheng's kingdom in 1683. From then on, the Ching Empire slowly realised the importance of the defences on the eastern coast and decided to put Taiwan under its control in 1684. However, none of the above regimes ruled the whole of Taiwan. It was the Japanese colonisers who managed to control the entire island from the beginning of the twentieth century when they took over Taiwan after the Sino-Japanese War (1894-5).

Colonisers' interest in the area brought Taiwan into world market from the early seventeenth century. The Dutch and the Spanish used Taiwan as their base for operating their East Asian trade. Even when Taiwan became a battlefield for Cheng and the Ching, Cheng Cheng-kung encouraged trade with westerners and wished to get official support for his kingdom in the island. From the mid-nineteenth century, another wave of colonisers competed to dominate Taiwan as demand for certain trading items increased, for instance, the demand for camphor before the World War II. English, Americans, and some other European companies tried to take control of eastern Taiwan which had received little attention from the Ching government. Taiwan was not controlled wholly by one power before until Japanese colonised it from 1895⁶. A small group of Ching

⁶ Although Ching government made Taiwan as one of its provinces in 1885, it hardly controlled the aborigines who practised slash and burn in mountainous areas. Later when Japan annexed Taiwan, Japanese colonisers faced resistance from the people in Taiwan, especially from "mountain aborigines" like Atayal and Bunun.

officials established “*Taiwan min chu kuo*” or “Taiwan Republic”, which is said to be the first republic in Asia (Goddard 1966: 140-157), and selected Tang Ching-sung as the President in order to resist Japanese colonisers⁷. It soon collapsed when those officials fled back to China after the Japanese entered the island.

The Island’s identity was determined when massive numbers of Chinese immigrants began to arrive four centuries ago. Before the Dutch came, there were already some Chinese immigrants cultivating southern areas of Taiwan. However, they treated the island as an extra place for rice cultivation. Thus, they came to cultivate rice fields in early spring and took the harvest back home in autumn each year (Lien 1977). Apart from farmers, some pirates also used Taiwan as a haven to escape from Chinese jurisdiction. When the Dutch came, they populated their colony by encouraging Chinese and Japanese to move to Taiwan and to grow rice and sugar cane. Because the Dutch colony was limited to the southern corner of Taiwan, they received more Chinese than Japanese people. Chou suggests (1997: 61) that there were about 35,000 to 50,000 Chinese in the Dutch colony by the end of its colonisation, which was significantly more than what they had when they had just settled in Taiwan in 1638, when approximately 10,000 Chinese were recorded. There were around sixty thousand aborigines, who were mostly plains aborigines, in Dutch territory during that time (Chou 1997: 56). Apart from taking his soldiers with him, Cheng Cheng-kung also encouraged his followers to move to Taiwan with him. Thus, the number of Chinese increased to 120,000 (some suggest between 150,000 to 200,000), which could almost compete with the number of the aborigines of Cheng territory, whose number was said to be around 100,000 to 120,000 (Chou 1997: 66). Although the Ching sent back most of the Cheng rebels, a great number of Chinese immigrants still moved constantly to Taiwan, despite inconsistent regulations on immigration from the Ching government, as it showed no interest in Taiwan till it became the paradise of outlaws. When the Japanese first did the census of Taiwan in 1906, the Chinese were about 2,900,000, the total number of aborigines was only 113,000, not including plains aborigines as they were thought to be

⁷ On 23 May 1895, Tang was appointed the president of the Taiwan Republic by a group of Taiwanese intelligentsia, after Taiwan and the Pescadores were ceded to Japan by the Ching following the Treaty of Shimonoseki. In Tang’s presidential declaration, the Taiwan Republic still remained a province of China. Nonetheless, Tang and other top Chinese officials fled to China right after Japanese army landed in northern Taiwan, leaving Taiwanese people to fight with the Japanese (Goddard 1966: 140-157).

sinicized. In 1997, the population was more than 21.5 million, including less than 2% aboriginal population (excluding plains aborigines), which is about 380,000⁸. (See Map 2)

The overwhelming number of Chinese immigrants has determined the island's population⁹; however, it was the Japanese colonisers who helped to form the identity of Taiwan. Being the colonised, the Taiwanese were treated as an inferior people and prohibited from higher education or any governmental position. Therefore, the colonised people started to organise themselves to fight with the imperialists for the cause of the common people. As a result, the idea of common identity and self-determination was born.

After World War II, despite the San Francisco Treaty which put Taiwan under the mediation of UN, Chiang Kai-shek and his ROC took over Taiwan. Later, in 1949, he withdrew to Taiwan after losing power to the Communist forces in mainland China. For the mission of "recovery of China", Chiang Kai-shek and his half a million refugees dominated Taiwan and its people and cut off any contact with Communist China. Chiang's special mission and tight political control not only prevented people from contacting their family or relatives in China, but also put Taiwan in a hostile relationship with China. When Communist China assumed the China seat in the UN in 1971 and when the US recognised the PRC as a legal government of China in 1979, the ROC lost its international recognition and support. In addition, the PRC has tried to isolate Taiwan from the international community and has threatened to take it over by force.

Throughout Taiwanese history, we find a series of colonisations by alien regimes. These have transformed Taiwan from an island of autonomous aboriginal tribes into a trading colony, Chinese prefecture and, finally, a refugee outpost. In consequence, the life of Taiwanese people has been severely affected, especially the life of those so-called

⁸ Data from the Republic of China 1998 Yearbook: 22, 27. The number of aborigines in the Yearbook includes "plains" and "mountain" dwellers, but it refers to them as those who "originally" live in the plains and mountains. As most of the Amis live in plains in Hualien and Taitung, they are classified as "plains dwellers". However, most of the Kavalan in Hualien and Taitung are wrongly categorised as the Amis and have the status of "plains dwellers", as they are scattered along the eastern plains of the island, which is the territory of Amis. Apart from the Kavalan, the total number of aborigines excludes other plains aborigines.

⁹ The number of Chinese immigrants reduced during the Japanese period, as Japan put a tight control on immigration regulations. Accordingly, the communication between China and Taiwan was infrequent.

“aboriginal” peoples, who lost their rights.

The Significance of History

From the perspective of historical change in Taiwan, Taiwanese nationalism is clearly a modern invention. People on the island were formerly fragmented and had an ill-developed sense of shared identity in the pre-modern period. As Taiwan was never fully conquered by foreign invaders, it was never a complete political entity until after it was colonised by the Japanese. The KMT continued to develop from where the Japanese had left, and the system of nation-building was imposed in the island from then on. The ethnic differences still existed but were mostly at local level or on small scale, as the more urgent distinction was between the colonisers and the colonised or the rulers and the ruled. Nonetheless, education and modern mass media, the means which are controlled by the KMT to promote its nationalist sentiment and to integrate other ethnic groups into national system, provide other ethnic groups with social mobility and collective consciousness. In addition, the population in Taiwan have gradually realised their civil rights within the nation-state and, thus, have eagerly organised themselves on the ethnic basis in order to pursue their political and socio-cultural interests. From these aspects, we are sure that ethnic relations exist from pre-modern era; however, ethnic resurgence and nationalism are entirely new concepts.

History is also a tool which is used by nation-states and ethnic groups in order to make a link with the past (Smith 1986). It is the source of authenticity, cultural continuity, and traditions. One group, usually the most dominant, monopolises the history of the nation for its own political ends. That particular group sees itself, or its own image, in the nation, thus the history of the nation is often the history from the point of view of that group. In Taiwan, for a good part of this century, the so-called official history has been dominated by the ideology of the KMT. It is not that there were no other competing histories but the strict political control relegated them to the margins. The Holo and the Hakka who make up over two thirds of the population have their own versions of history. Likewise, the aborigines too contest the official version. Although the KMT's rule in Taiwan is half a

century old, its national history goes much beyond that and appropriates 5000 years of uninterrupted Chinese history. For the majority of Taiwanese it does not mean anything since for them Chinese history is at best extra-territorial and has little to do with the history of Taiwan. They believe that Taiwanese history has to deal with the people who have been living in the island, that is, the history of the Chinese settlement in Taiwan over the four centuries. Both these versions exclude the original inhabitants, the aborigines, who have been marginalised since the Chinese started to migrate to the island. History from the aborigines' point of view is a history of disruptions and discontinuities. It is an essentially tragic view of history foregrounding with suffering, dislocation and dispossession being pre-eminent. The aborigines have not been able to regain their lost place in the society as well as history. These contesting histories are enmeshed with the changing definition of the nation in Taiwan, but with democratic process these marginal histories are beginning to make some impact.

II. The Making of Ethnicity and the Negotiation for a Shared Taiwanese Identity

Wu (1993: 48) states that ethnicity is an important variable in the political development of Taiwan. From a social perspective, the making of ethnicity reveals the need of a new social order and structure in Taiwanese society. This is closely related to the new educated middle class who came into being as a result of rapid economic growth. They transformed Taiwan from an agricultural and traditional society into an industrial, modernised, globalised, and democratic one. They also participated in the process of re-defining national identity. Their positive engagement in the process intensifies the interaction and competition between different ethnic groups not only in the political domain but also in the cultural sphere.

The formation of ethnic groups: search for a new social order

It is clear, then, that the terms ethnicity and ethnic groups are not merely academic concepts in Taiwan, they are descriptions of denominations that are crucial to the ongoing social and political formation. *Tsu chun* or “ethnic group”, a concept borrowed from the west, and which is used to describe a social unit in Taiwanese society, is a recent phenomenon. Before the late 1980s and the early 1990s, when the term ethnicity

was largely accepted, scholars used the term of *sheng chi wen ti*¹⁰ to describe and analyse the problematic relationship between *pen sheng jen* (people from Taiwan province) and *wai sheng jen* (people from outside of Taiwan province). However, the *sheng chi wen ti* was first denied by the KMT, which monopolised the ethnic definition of the people in Taiwan and prohibited people from questioning its myth that “we are all Chinese”. Notably, the indigenous peoples were totally ignored in this argument. In response to the opposition movement which constantly justified its political claims by using the argument of the *sheng chi wen ti*, the KMT agreed to political liberalisation in 1986, which allowed the formation of opposition parties, it decided to lift martial law in the following year, and granted mainlander veterans permission to visit their family and relatives in China. From then on, people could discuss the *sheng chi wen ti* in public without the fear of breaking law. Consequently, ethnic minorities, like the Hakka and aboriginal peoples, began to reassert themselves and pursue their civil as well as minority rights on ethnic basis. Scholars therefore created a new word *tsu chun kuan hsi*, another concept borrowed from the western world which means “ethnicity” in English, to accommodate the socio-cultural as well as political problems among the people in the contemporary Taiwan.

The rise of ethnic groups in Taiwan has a very close relation with the political climate in the island. As Chang (1994: 94) puts it, the *sheng chi wen ti* actually reveals “the ‘making’ of an ethnic problem and the re-discovery (or for some, discovery) of a new ethnic identity” especially in the political sphere, rather than a simple conflict among peoples from different provincial origins. However, this leads to more than political dispute or inequality. It is about allowing ethnic groups to take hold of their own definition and destiny and to make sure their distinctive culture is protected from the mainstream cultural domination.

By the mid-1990s, academics, the mass media and even the public had largely accepted an

¹⁰ “*Wen ti*” means “problems” while “*sheng chi*” refers to “groups from different provincial origins in China”. The KMT used to insist that people in Taiwan are all originally from China, including the indigenous peoples of the island. Therefore, the problem in the Taiwanese society is called *sheng chi wen ti*, which refers to problems between mainlanders and other Chinese-origin groups. It is not seen as an ethnic problem as it may cause disunity among the people.

ethnic categorisation which classifies Taiwan's population into four categories: *wai sheng jen* (mainlanders), *Holo jen*, *Hakka jen* (these two groups are often called *pen sheng jen* or Taiwan-Chinese together), and *yuan chu min* (aborigines). Before the 1980s, it was a political taboo to discuss such a division, anyone who emphasised ethnic origins could be charged with treason. As a result, the statistics about the constituent group of this ethnic division have never been accurate. The estimated proportion is as follows, mainlanders: 14%, Holo: 70%, Hakka: 15% (or more), and aborigines: 1.7%. However, there are some aborigines who have since lost their ethnic status, such as aboriginal women who automatically become Chinese after marriage to Taiwanese or mainlanders. Also, some aborigines like *ping pu tsu* have been wrongly categorised as the Holo or as a part of other aboriginal groups. There is no estimated population of these hidden peoples. Furthermore, the children of mixed-marriage families automatically follow the ethnic origin of their father, as the concept of patriarchy still dominates Taiwanese society, despite the fact that those descendants might have grown up in an environment which belongs to the mother's side or they may prefer to identify themselves with their mother's ethnic group. (See Map3)

Mainlanders or *wai sheng jen*, refers to approximately 1.5 million post-World War II Chinese immigrants, comprising mainly soldiers, officials and students, who followed Chiang Kai-shek's government to Taiwan in the late 1940s, and their Taiwan-born descendants. The majority of the mainlanders live in big cities, particularly Taipei, or the outskirts. Prior to the political liberalisation in 1986, they enjoyed political privilege and regarded themselves politically and socio-culturally superior to other peoples in Taiwan. They have monopolised social and governmental resources but their monopoly has been challenged by the new Taiwanese middle-class (Gates 1981). However, they still control the military and hold influential positions in national politics and the Education Bureau. Mainlanders came from all over China but most of them were from the southern provinces of China¹¹. They brought their local cultures to Taiwan, however, because they closely follow the KMT, which promotes the "high Chinese culture", they regard themselves as the protectors of Confucianism and orthodox Chinese culture and tradition. They also carry

¹¹ Chiang Kai-shek himself was born in Chekiang Province of China and his power was confined to South China.

a myth that they will eventually take orthodox Chinese culture along with Dr. Sun Yat-sen's "Three Principles of People (democracy, nationalism and people livelihood)" back to China, where the culture has been polluted and destroyed by the Communists.

Both the Holo and the Hakka are ethnically Chinese¹² and their ancestors migrated to Taiwan from the seventeenth century¹³ (some say from the eleventh century) to the early twentieth century before the Japanese occupation. The Holo, or the Fukienese, are the people who speak the Fukien dialect and whose ancestors came from what is now Fukien Province in the southeastern China, more precisely, *Chuan-chou* and *Chang-chou* around Amoy. The Holo are the majority ethnic group in Taiwan and many Holo elite are enthusiastic about re-defining the Taiwanese nation which has caused enormous tension between the mainlanders and the Holo. The Holo are spread all over Taiwan (mostly in the plains) and control the economy (e.g. most business, real estate and agricultural sectors) and local politics.

The Hakka or *ke chia jen*, which means "guests" in Hakka and Holo languages or "gypsies" refers to the people whose mother tongue is Hakka and whose ancestors came from the present-day Kuangtung Province and the south of Fukien in China. According to Hakka myth, they were a diasporic people who were driven from the northern region, which was the original place of Han Chinese and the centre of the Chinese Empire, to southern China about 1,500 years ago¹⁴. Because of their diasporic experience and minority position in Taiwan, the Hakka are very close to their kin groups and maintain their traditions. Most importantly, as Constable discovers (Constable 1994: 76), Hakka

¹² Some scholars view the Hakka as a sub-group of the Holo (Lamley 1981). However, the Hakka oppose this view and insist on their own ethnic identity.

¹³ Here I refer to the time when a great number of the Chinese migrated to Taiwan. It is mentioned in most historical records that the Dutch encouraged the Chinese and the Japanese to cultivate the territory in the early seventeenth century. Later, after expelling the Dutch, Cheng Cheng-kung populated the island with his soldiers and followers in the late seventeenth century. Although the Dutch found some Chinese in the southern plains of Taiwan, there is no evidence to suggest when the earliest migrants came to Taiwan.

¹⁴ However, much recent research suggests that the Hakka are actually the indigenous people in the hilly areas of South China. However, this finding is not accepted by the Hakka and Hakka scholars in Taiwan, as they still believe that they are the descendants of authentic Han Chinese, who migrated to the south in the aftermath of severe civil wars in the sixth century in their homeland. In Taiwan, most of the Hakka family genealogies often refer their first ancestors as the officials of Chou Kung, an elegant and famous king of the Chou Dynasty around 1000 BC.

identity has been constantly narrated and re-constructed throughout generations on a family basis. Therefore, they still manage to maintain their unique culture and identity within Holo socio-cultural domination till today. Although many Chinese historical records suggest that the Hakka came to southern Taiwan as tenant-peasants periodically for rice agriculture as early as the seventeenth century, there is no evidence to show when they started to reside on the island. Nowadays, there are about two million Hakka in Taiwan, excluding those who have lived mixed with the Holo for centuries in the western plains. These Holoised Hakka follow Holo customs and have ceased to use their mother tongue, Hakka. The Hakka are the minority in most of the counties, except Hsinchu and Miaoli, the only two counties where they are the majority.

The Holo and the Hakka were called *pen sheng jen* or *tai wan lang* (“the Taiwanese” in Holo pronunciation) to distinguish them from mainlanders. However, these two terms connote pejorative implications, such as inferior and uncultured, most seriously, it implies the people who have been colonised by *wo nu*, a very pejorative term to describe the Japanese¹⁵. When the Holo elite began to promote a distinctive “Taiwan consciousness” and intended to make Taiwan an independent country, they addressed themselves as the Taiwanese and have reversed the pejorative connotation into “people who are not mainlanders and who have lived in the island longer than mainlanders”. Notably, the Holo originally referred to themselves as the Taiwanese. Dissatisfied with the Holo monopoly on the definition of “the Taiwanese”, aboriginal people claim that they are the original indigenous residents in Taiwan since long before Chinese came. The Hakka (e.g. Yang 1993), who felt less enthusiastic about Taiwanese independence and did not wish to confront the authorities, also disagreed with the Holo’s claim and insisted that they too are a part of “the Taiwanese”¹⁶.

It is now difficult to say which group, the Holo or the Hakka, arrived in Taiwan first. Based on the distributions of the Holo and the Hakka in contemporary Taiwan, the *Chuan-*

¹⁵ “*Wo*” is an ancient name of the Japanese in Chinese usage. From imperial Chinese point of view, the Japanese were described as *wo nu*, which means *wo* slave or savage.

¹⁶ Yang (1991) points out that the Hakka have been active in social movements (e.g. labours’ and farmers’ movements) from 1980s onwards.

chou Holo live in coastal plains around the island, *Chang-chou* Holo reside in the plains near foothills or mountains, and the Hakka are scattered around foothill areas. Earlier scholars suggested that *Chuan-chou* Holo must have arrived at the island earlier than the other two groups, for they occupied the best parts of the land, and the Hakka arrived the last, therefore, they could only acquire the land in the hills, undesirable areas which are close to “head-hunting” aborigines. However, Shih (1987) overrules previous theory and suggests that the areas the Holo and the Hakka chose to live in early times is simply a reflection of their customs, that is, they tended to choose the place which was geographically similar to that of their hometowns. Nevertheless, since the Hakka are the minority in the island, they do not receive much attention. In fact, they are either ignored or incorporated into the categories like the Han Chinese or *pen sheng jen* in most writings in Taiwan.

The need of the Hakka to differentiate themselves from the Holo has become more urgent after the movement of *huan wo mu yu* (or “the return of my mother tongue”) in 1988¹⁷. This Hakka movement was inspired by similar movements of the Holo and aborigines which aims at restoring the use of one’s mother tongue and to confront the KMT’s compulsory policy of using Mandarin as the only language in Taiwan. In order to draw the boundary between the Holo and themselves, the Hakka strongly emphasised their distinctive language and cultural and religious practices, which later became another wave of the Hakka consciousness movement of *hsin e Hakka jen* (or “new Hakka”). Although these two groups use different dialects, they share many similar cultural traits after centuries of contact in Taiwan. For instance, they worship similar gods and practice similar ceremonies. However, the salient difference between them is that, the Holo are polytheists and regard temples as the centre of their life, while the Hakka are loyal ancestor-worshippers who focus more on the ancestral shrine of the family. Their diets are also very different. Most importantly, as the Holo and Hakka had a long history of community strife

¹⁷ Hakka consciousness movement itself is a complex issue. Since the Hakka are not the main topic in the thesis, I will not go into the details of their movement. Briefly speaking, the whole Hakka movement started from the late 1980s, when they petitioned for their civil, ethnic, cultural as well as political rights. So far, they have succeeded in obtaining the right of teaching Hakka language and history to Hakka students in primary schools, broadcasting Hakka programmes on radio and television, and so on. In the petitions, the Hakka have always particularly stressed the protection of their language, as many feel that their younger generations are ashamed of speaking their own language (Lo 1990, 1991) and prefer to speak Mandarin or Holo, the second most popular language in Taiwan which is spoken by the majority.

and revolts before Japanese colonisation, the social memory of ethnic hatred still exists between the Holo and the Hakka till today which deeply differentiates one from the other.

Taiwanese popular culture, or low Chinese culture, is a generalised term that refers to the local cultures of the Holo and the Hakka. More precisely, it refers to Taiwanese popular religion, which is based on the ceremonies and rituals of cosmology, the living and the dead, and agriculture. Although Taiwanese popular religion originated in southeastern China, it has been adapted, adjusted and integrated in the process as the Holo and the Hakka were struggling to survive in the island. It absorbed Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, polytheism, shamanism, animism, and evolved into the new popular religion of Taiwan.

Compared with high Chinese culture, Taiwanese popular culture was viewed as a low rural culture which was associated with superstition. Regular religious festivals were criticised as a waste of money by the KMT. From the 1980s onwards, as Taiwanese consciousness grew, local culture has been given more importance. Many activities of cultural resurgence have been held all over the island. Local culture is now considered to be the representative of real Taiwanese culture. As Jordan observed (Jordan 1994), rapid socio-economic change has transformed the practices of popular religion. When the Taiwanese became richer, they started to contribute freely to the temples. Consequently, the number of new temples grew, the offerings increased, the decorations of temples became more elaborate and the scale of religious festivals and feasts increased considerably. This transformation has made Chinese popular religion more Taiwanised.

Yuan chu min (which means “aborigines” in English), revised from *shan pao* or *shan ti tung pao* (mountain brethren, which means “natives” in English), refers to Taiwan’s aboriginal peoples (Map 4). Academically, *yuan chu min* are divided into *kao shan tsu* (mountain aborigines) and *ping pu tsu* (plains aborigines) in terms of geographical distribution: aborigines who lived in mountainous areas were called *kao shan tsu*, while lowland aborigines were described as *ping pu tsu*. They were the majority in Taiwan till the massive Chinese migration to the island. Thereafter, the aborigines suffered

exploitation and discrimination by the Chinese in many aspects of life. During the KMT regime, some aboriginal groups failed to get official recognition owing to their semi-assimilation into the Chinese society. Many who did not want to stress their stigmatised identity buried their past and preferred to be sinicised.

Kao shan tsu, which includes Atayal, Saisiyat, Bunun, Tsou, Rukai, Paiwan, Puyuma, Ami and Tao, has been officially recognised. According to the constitution, they enjoy minority rights and are protected by the constitution in respect of land, education and health service. For instance, all mountainous areas, where most aboriginal groups have settled, have been protected by the government. However, aborigines only own whatever they have or grow on the land but not the land itself. A very limited number of aboriginal students can be recommended for high schools, colleges and universities. In reality, aborigines do not fully enjoy these benefits. Because of its land protection policy, the government became the legal owner of the land, and exploited the land without consulting the aborigines which lead to many disputes on the rights of the land when aboriginal consciousness rose. As for educational policy, there are always shortages of teachers in schools in aboriginal villages. Because of their aboriginal status and inferior education, they often face discrimination in jobs. Most young aborigines leave their children with their parents in villages to earn their living in cities by working for factories and construction companies. Generally speaking, their social and economic status is the lowest in the Taiwanese society.

Ping pu tsu, which refers to Ketagalan, Kavalan, Taokas, Papora, Babuza, Hoanya, Pazeh, Luilang and Siraya¹⁸, have neither received any recognition nor minority rights. Some scholars maintain that *ping pu tsu* have been completely sinicized since they lost their languages, traditions and ethnic features long ago. However, as Shimizu (1991) and other scholars have pointed out, some traditions of the *ping pu tsu* still survive by co-existing with local Chinese (mostly Holo) tradition at the village level. Some of the *ping pu tsu*, like Siraya, Makatao, Kavalan and Ketagalan, started to reassert themselves from the 1990s onwards. Their demands vary from the restoration of their ethnic names¹⁹, reviving

¹⁸ Many scholars have classified Siraya, Makatao, and Taivoan as the three subgroups of Siraya.

¹⁹ President Lee personally admitted Kavalan as the tenth aboriginal group in 1994. However, the official recognition has not followed till now.

their traditions, claiming back their land to fighting for full minority rights. Although they are small minorities, their claims have sparked off a serious debate on the issue of ethnicity.

These aboriginal groups differ from each other in their phenotypical characteristics, languages and socio-cultural institutions. In addition, all *kao shan tsu* did not and still do not inhabit mountainous areas. For instance, the Ami live in coastal plains of East and Southeast Taiwan. The Tao inhabit a small island in southeastern Taiwan. The only similarities are that they are of the Malay-Polynesian family and they had inhabited Taiwan long before the arrival of the Chinese. Owing to Chinese assimilation, Japanese colonisation, Christian missions and modernity, most of them have largely lost their distinctive features (LeBar 1975). Their social structure has been strongly influenced by the Chinese. Additionally, they face problems of adaptation to modern life, such as unemployment, low education, alcoholism and prostitution. Facing such rapid social, political and cultural changes and with little help from the state government, “aboriginal consciousness” has been aroused by the aboriginal elite and Christians. With the support of some of the Taiwan-Chinese and missionaries (in particular from the Canadian Presbyterian Mission), the aboriginal elite started to forge a larger aboriginal identity based on the ethnic categorisation made during the Japanese colonial rule. As a result, the first aboriginal association, the Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines (ATA), was established in 1984. Activities, petitions and street demonstrations have been organised systematically ever since.

The evolution of ethnic division: a contradictory yet competing division

As a result of modernism, globalisation and standardised education, it is difficult to distinguish the ethnic origins of the younger generation by their accent, dress, physical appearance, mannerisms, diet, etc. in contemporary Taiwan. Inter-marriage also helps to diminish ethnic barriers. The Taiwanese people have developed a shared Taiwanese style of living which makes salient ethnic features no longer visible, and ethnic antagonisms and prejudices seem to have decreased. But still, ethnic groups face political and socio-cultural discrimination and inequality in life. Therefore, the need to differentiate oneself from others has become more urgent than ever. Cultural resurgence and “invention of tradition”

have become ethnic markers in order to underline "differences". For instance, the Holo, the Hakka and aboriginal groups have engaged in numerous activities to highlight their distinctive ethnic features from the late 1980s. Politicians also take an interest in such activities in order to attract ethnic votes during election campaigns. From the early 1990s, the KMT has allocated a large sum of money for reconstructing local tradition or community culture in order to retain its position and dominance.

It is interesting to see the complexity of identity that has been transformed and fragmented across time and space. As shown previously, most of the population in Taiwan are of Chinese origin. However, their particular experiences of being in the island and the division of superiors and inferiors, or the rulers and the ruled, have differentiated them. For example, a large number of the population are Holo from Fukien: a small number of people came with Chiang after the World War II, while most of them are the descendants of those who came before or around the Japanese period. These people are called *min jen* or *min nan jen*²⁰, a sub-group of Han Chinese in cultural sense, and speak the same dialect and perform similar practices, yet they claim that they are different ethnic groups in Taiwan. In particular, the Holo, who are discriminated against for being ruled by the Japanese, have constantly emphasised their ancestral experience in the island for the past four hundred years, as they want to create a history of their own in Taiwan in order to question the legitimacy of the KMT.

As for the Holo and the Hakka, they had a long history of ethnic hostility and conflicts mainly over land and water before the Japanese period. As a result, they tended to live with their kin group or people from the same villages in China in order to organise themselves in armed groups. Even between *Chuan-chou* Holo and *Chang-chou* Holo there were constant fights (Goddard 1966). During this period, their ethnic alliance was primarily based on primordial ties like language, kinship, clan, custom and the locality of origin. But Japanese colonial government and the KMT termed both the Holo and Hakka as the Taiwanese for the purpose of ethnic management. This shared experience of colonialism

²⁰ *Min* is the ancient administrative term for Fukien Province. Because most of the Holo came from the southern counties of Fukien, they are also called as *min nan jen*, which means people (*jen*) from the south (*nan*) of *min* area.

and suppression united the Holo and Hakka on an ethnic basis against the exploitation and discrimination of their alien rulers and led them to demand independence. During these two periods, the Taiwanese were ascribed a collective identity over which the Holo and the Hakka had no control and which was in opposition to that of the rulers. Ironically, this other-ascribed identification later became self-ascribed identity in order to differentiate themselves from their successive rulers. What unified them were no longer primordial ties but common interests to oppose the suppression and inequality.

The term "mainlander" was invented for differentiating between the Taiwanese and the Chinese who followed the KMT into exile. It is a term constructed by the KMT and used in Taiwan for the purposes of regrouping its followers and retaining its power. Therefore, the various ethnic backgrounds²¹ and the origins of locality are not primarily significant, political reasons are the main elements to constitute them as an ethnic group. And the myth of returning home is used as a symbolic tool to mobilise their group identity and solidarity.

There are also several historical events that shaped the contemporary ethnicity of Taiwan. Apart from the experience of Japanese colonisation, the 228 Event is the most significant one²². This event can be seen as an outburst of dissatisfaction of the Taiwan-Chinese who expected improvement in their lives under the KMT regime; however, what they experienced was social disorder, inflation, and exploitation, as resources were diverted to the mainland to support Chiang in his fight with the communists. The Taiwanese elite and politicians, who had previously fought against Japanese colonisers, reasserted themselves and re-organised a self-determination movement against the corrupt and unjust Chinese Nationalist government. In response, General Chen Yi called for army reinforcements from China and started a brutal massacre. The 228 event finally ended on the 17th March 1947 when General Chen was replaced by General Pai who carried out a series of reforms to lessen the tension between the Taiwanese and the mainlanders. However, a large number

²¹ The ethnic backgrounds include the Han, the Manchu people, the Mongols, the Hui, Tibetans, Miao people, Yao people, and so on.

²² The 228 event took place on the 27th February 1947 when an old Holo Taiwanese woman selling cigarettes on the black-market was killed by mainlander officials and as a result rioting broke out. General Chen Yi, the administrator of Taiwan, tried to suppress the protest by force, but riots became more serious and spread all over the island.

of Taiwanese nationalists as well as innocent people were either killed²³ or imprisoned during and after the event. Since that time any political expression has been suppressed under the KMT's dictatorship. The 228 massacre aroused ethnic hatred and hostility between the mainlanders and the Taiwanese and was deeply etched in the memory of the Taiwanese people. Even today, the event is constantly relived and manipulated to appeal to ethnic emotions.

As the three Chinese groups compete for their legitimacy over Taiwan, aboriginal groups also use the same argument in order to declare themselves as the earliest inhabitants in the island. The Chinese immigrants in Taiwan have isolated aboriginal groups for a long time. Except for some plains aborigines, they had little contact with the Chinese immigrants before the Japanese colonisation mainly for geographical reasons. They had been demonised as headhunting savages and this stereotype is repeated even today. The KMT regime deliberately ignored the existence of plains aborigines and denied them official recognition. The KMT has introduced a series of social programs for mountain aborigines aimed at integrating them into society, but ironically, the KMT gained the control of their life and property without consulting their opinions. Nowadays, aboriginal elites, especially those who have received higher education, endeavour to bring the aboriginal issue into the national arena and demand same rights as other Chinese groups have enjoyed. They protest against the discrimination and inequality in the constitution and in daily life. Modern information technology, like telephone, faxes and internet have helped them to mobilise each other from all over Taiwan.

Negotiating a shared sense of Taiwanese identity

It is clear that people in Taiwan have begun to emphasise their ethnic identity and discuss the problems of ethnicity openly since the KMT's political liberalisation in 1986, and especially after the abolition of martial law in 1987, when many restrictions on speech, group gatherings, mass media, and so on, were lifted. However, the rise of ethnic

²³ More than 140,000 people were involved in the 228 event. About 4,000 people were executed, and a much larger number of people were killed without trial. The total number of the Taiwanese who died in this event is estimated to be 30,000 or more.

groups was not the cause for political liberalisation, as it was the response of the KMT to cope with the tremendous pressure from the public on the issue of reforming its hegemonism. Nevertheless, the people in Taiwan have also questioned their national identity during the process of creating an ethnic identity. This phenomenon clearly reveals the wish for self-determination of the people in the island. As a result, in the case of Taiwan, a political regime does not determine the identity of a people; rather, people's identity is the product of the negotiation among its ethnic groups. Therefore, the making of ethnic groups in contemporary Taiwan is to challenge the KMT's myth of "we are all Chinese" and to seek for the real identity of the nation.

The rise of ethnic groups and the search for a national identity involve several factors, such as the liberalisation of the political system, economic success in the international market, the emergence of a new middle-class, standard education, modernisation and globalisation. All these factors are interrelated. However, the liberalisation of the political system is the most crucial one among all, as it allows the opposition not only to organise their political parties but also to participate in policymaking through electoral system. Thus, the DPP and the CNP, the two major opposition parties in Taiwan, are legal entities and have their elected members in the national assembly. In addition, people can debate about what they feel openly, including national identity, which was a touchy issue before. In brief, the KMT was forced to agree to reforms for several reasons. It was not popular in the early stages of its rule as its absolute political control brought a devastating period to the life of the people. Its educational policy aimed at China's recovery, promoted Chinese consciousness and prohibited people from speaking their mother tongue.

The KMT's position became relatively secure when it gained US support in the 1950s. However, when the US began to change its attitude towards the KMT in Taiwan and towards communist China, the KMT gradually lost its control over Taiwan. Incidents like the returning of Tiao Yu Tai²⁴ from the US to Japan in 1971, Peking's gaining of

²⁴ Tiao Yu Tai are potentially oil-rich islands located off the northeastern coast of Taiwan in the Pacific Ocean, between Japan and Taiwan. The islands came under the US' control after the Second World War and were later returned to Japan. Even today, China and Taiwan are still vying with Japan for the control of these islands.

China seat in the UN in 1971, and the US recognition of PRC as the legitimate government in China in 1979, have made the people in Taiwan question the KMT's monopoly. Humiliated by events, many citizens and students protested and criticised the KMT for not being able to deal with the situation properly. Some liberal intellectuals organised underground parties to unify the people who shared the same views and attacked the KMT. Faced with the situation of the KMT losing its power in the island, the president, Chiang Ching-kuo, the son of former president Chiang Kai-shek, carried out "Taiwanisation" reforms in politics and most significantly, gave his blessing to the biggest opposition party, which later became the DPP. Chiang Ching-kuo's remark that he was also a Taiwanese after living in the island for almost forty years and his decision to appoint many young Taiwanese in higher level of political positions²⁵ won him support as well as respect, even from the people who resented mainlanders.

The economic boom has certainly been a factor in speeding up the democratic reforms. The economy became intensively internationalised from the 1960s (Gold 1986). A great deal of foreign capital poured in (mostly from the US) and many products were exported to the US and other countries. The economic success has not only won Taiwan a kind of international recognition but also resulted in growth of a new middle-class, which has now become the main pillar of the Taiwanese society. The KMT turned its attention to this economic development by improving the environment for investment and giving attractive offers to industrialists and businessmen in order to win their support.

The growth of the economy brought not only the exchange of goods between Taiwan and other countries (mainly the US), but also the exchange of culture between them. In this way, other cultures (mostly American) had a great impact on Taiwan. For example, the Taiwanese learnt American business techniques and management skills in the process of selling goods to the US. More and more Taiwanese, including businessmen and tourists, have travelled to the US since 1980s. A large number of Taiwanese students have gone to study in the US. The American life-style and popular culture has influenced Taiwanese society. American concepts of democracy have also inspired

²⁵ The most significant example was to selection Lee Tang-hui, a Taiwanese technocrat, as his Vice-President.

Taiwanese liberals or political activists who later fought with the KMT and demanded a more democratic state or Taiwan's independence.

The rapid success of the economy has also had its drawbacks, such as the decline of agriculture, the exploitation of labour by capitalists and the breakdown of traditional values, which caused many social problems. In *hsiang tu wen hsueh*, or nativist literature, which was popular from 1960s to 1970s, many Holo- or Hakka- Taiwanese writers²⁶ noticed the social changes and used this new literary genre to express their concerns about the social consequences of industrialisation on the working-class people, especially farmers and labours, and to criticise the government's indifference and incompetence on the issue. Notably, some pro-KMT soldier writers created another literary genre, "worker, peasant, soldier literature", which criticised *hsiang tu wen hsueh* members and praised the achievements of the KMT and reinforced the mission of China recovery. When another new form of literary genre, *pao tao wen hsueh*, or reportage literature, emerged in 1980s and became popular in 1990s, writers or essayists of this genre continued the spirit of *hsiang tu wen hsueh* but used the accurate reporting style in reportage to write about local culture and rural traditions. They wrote about all walks of life, past and present, and various ethnic groups. They also wrote about local or ethnic history, cuisine, antiques, handicrafts, religious festivals. Their writings helped the people of Taiwan understand each other; they particularly bridged the gap between the Chinese and the aborigines. More importantly, they "discovered" *ping pu tsu*, in mid-1980s, the plains aborigines, the groups of aborigines who had lost their ethnic recognition. Apart from writings, the writers of this genre also put their ideas in all kinds of arts or art-related forms, such as music (classical, folksongs, and pop songs), dancing, paintings, sculpture, films, theatres, dress, etc. Various dialects were also revived during this period. The popularity of these writings has helped to define the distinctiveness of Taiwan's culture and reconfirm that their cultural roots lie in rural Taiwan.

Ironically, the people who liberal intellectuals or the DPP claim to be the representatives

²⁶ Some of them wrote against imperialism during the Japanese period. They continued to criticise the KMT which did not pay attention to the people in Taiwan as it was more interested in its unrealistic goal of China recovery.

of the real Taiwanese are mostly KMT-supporters. Those liberal intellectuals or the opposition members argue that the KMT has controlled the Taiwanese by its educational system and political threat. For instance, the mission of China recovery and insistence on being the Chinese had been taught at every stage of education. In addition, the KMT appointed soldier instructors to give courses like military training and education to the students in high schools, college, and university. The students also have to learn Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People, which is a part of many important examinations. The thing for which the KMT had been criticised most was to make high school students the members of the party in a special ceremony, as those young students were not even given a chance to decide or consider whether they wanted to be members or not. Apart from highly controlled education, the KMT has also threatened the people that China will invade Taiwan by force if Taiwan declares independence. Although this is what China actually announces, the KMT uses the threat as often as the communists do.

The growing *Taiwan i shih*, or Taiwanese consciousness, has gradually shaken the *chung kuo i shih*, or Chinese consciousness, which has been controlled by the KMT for almost fifty years. The number of people who favour the new definition of Taiwan's own identity has increased every year since 1990. However, they are still concerned about China's threat to take over Taiwan by force and they are not convinced that they can maintain their life-style under the communist regime. Although China's constant military exercises as well as its intention to isolate Taiwan from the international community have made Taiwan's situation more vulnerable, an increasing number of people in Taiwan feel more confident about the pursuit of Taiwan's identity, an identity separate from the Chinese one.

By the late 1990s, three kinds of perception about Taiwan's identity have come to dominate the society, namely Chinese, Chinese-Taiwanese, and Taiwanese identities. These perceptions cross-cut ethnic boundaries which makes it difficult to assert which ethnic group favours a certain identity. Roughly speaking, mainlanders and the KMT's supporters favour Chinese identity, while Holo- and Hakka- Taiwanese and the DPP's supporters prefer to have an identity of their own. Nevertheless, politicians from different political parties tend to manipulate the issue during elections in order to attract

voters. Thus, elections become an important period when the issue of national identity is debated in public.

So far, the ideologies of the three major political parties roughly capture people's perception of their national identity in contemporary Taiwan. The whole direction of the KMT's politics has become more localised (or Taiwanised) under the rule of former president, Lee Tung-hui. The KMT started to relax its claim of unifying China with Three Principles of the People, the ultimate principle of its party. It is more concerned with the people in Taiwan and their welfare in order to retain its declining support from people. The DPP, a major opposition party of the KMT, has been forcing it to carry out political reforms, abandon its mainland recovery policy, and declare Taiwan's independence. The CNP was founded by the mainlander fundamentalists within the KMT who were dissatisfied with the KMT's localised reforms. Its aims are to safeguard orthodox Chinese Nationalist ideology and to unify Taiwan with mainland China²⁷.

When the DPP introduced the idea to recognise every ethnic group in Taiwan from the early 1990s, various ethnic groups came out to struggle for their rights. This led to a serious debate among these political parties. The DPP's aims were to oppose the KMT's myth that all the people in Taiwan are of the same Chinese origin, and to show the public that it has a more realistic policy than the KMT. The DPP wished the multicultural character of Taiwanese society to be recognised in order to win equality for each ethnic group. Because of the decline of its influence, the KMT in response reformed their party policy and acknowledged different local cultures and groups. The CNP also tried to compete with the above two groups. Thus, ethnicity in Taiwan has become a hot national issue on the political and cultural agenda in the field of ethnic identity politics. Political competition among the KMT, the DPP and the CNP deeply affect people's recognition of national identity and culture. And in socio-cultural domain, different ethnic groups have become more confident about their identity and demand their legal and cultural rights. By manipulating the argument of inequality, these ethnic groups have been staking their claim of being legitimate inheritors of the island and have been fighting for a fairer definition of

²⁷ The political environment has changed after first opposition President was elected in 2000. However, its impact is not yet clear and need to be observed for a longer period.

their nation in the name of self-determination. As a result, Taiwan as a place has been imagined differently by its various ethnic groups.

III. The Revival of Ethnic Groups and Taiwan's Transformation into a Plural Society

The Aboriginal movement in Taiwan

The aboriginal movement in Taiwan is significant because it intensifies the ethnic dimension in national politics²⁸. Problems of ethnic groups and ethnicity have emerged at a time when Taiwan is in the process of transforming itself from a dictatorial regime to a democratic civil society. As the protests and campaigns of various ethnic groups came earlier than the KMT's democratisation, it allowed these ethnic groups more space to negotiate with the ruling party about the kind of country they wanted. However, being a small minority, aboriginal groups in Taiwan have a more severe battle to fight. Fortunately, their effort and the recognition from other ethnic groups have won them a place in the predominantly Chinese society which allows them to continue their fight for their rights.

The problems of Taiwanese aborigines are similar to those of other indigenous peoples in Asia. All of them have experienced the struggles for self-determination, sovereignty and independence in their own countries (Nicholas 1996). As a matter of fact, these problems are not confined to Asia, the indigenous peoples in Australia, Canada, America and Africa have shared similar experiences.

The aboriginal movement in Taiwan has developed dramatically in the past fifteen years. Various aboriginal groups in Taiwan began to assert themselves in the 1980s, after four

²⁸ In Taiwan, the electoral politics has become more and more ethnocentric. Most candidates tend to appeal to their voters by emphasising the similarity in their ethnic backgrounds, while voters tend to favour candidates from their own ethnic origins. This practice is particularly widespread in local politics. However, in recent years even in national politics this trend of ethnic preference has been increasingly noticeable. In Chang Mao-kuei's analysis (1997: 37-71) of different ethnic groups' preference for political parties from a public poll which was done before the National Assembly elections in November 1995: mainlanders supported the KMT and the CNP, the Holo favoured the KMT and the DPP, and the Hakka supported the KMT and the DPP. The distribution of support was as follows: most mainlanders backed the KMT; 75% Holo supported the DPP; 44% mainlanders backed the CNP.

centuries of suppression and deprivation of all political rights. The movement was started when some urban aboriginal elite from different aboriginal groups realised their inferior conditions within the nation state and decided to forge the first aboriginal alliance, *Taiwan yuan chu min chuan li wei yuan hui*, or the Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines (ATA) in December 1984²⁹ to reassert their aboriginality. From then on, the ATA mobilised aboriginal groups to carry out various campaigns and protests, such as the campaign for revising the aboriginal title³⁰ in 1984, the protest against nuclear waste buried in Lan-yu from 1988 onwards, the campaign for returning aboriginal land from 1988 onwards, and other social problems which resist exploitation by the government or non-aborigines. The main goal of the above activities has been the right of self-determination and their ultimate goal is to have sovereignty for aborigines. Although the ATA later split into various societies which strive for different goals, all these aboriginal societies have actually spearheaded the whole of aboriginal movement³¹.

Many Taiwanese scholars or researchers have tried to analyse the revival of the aboriginal movement. Hsieh (1987) suggested that it came from the dissatisfaction with a stigmatised identity, as the aborigines have been called different pejorative names with the implication of inferior people by non-aboriginal groups over times. Many researchers regard the aboriginal movement as an inexorable trend as Taiwan's society becomes freer and more tolerant to different voices. An aboriginal elite, I-chiang, argued that it came from aboriginal awareness that the KMT was trying to assimilate them into the mainstream Chinese society and they tried to differentiate themselves from those Chinese groups (I-

²⁹ Many scholars regard the year when the alliance was first established as the year when the aboriginal movement started. However, an aboriginal elite, I-chiang (1994), suggested that the aboriginal consciousness had begun from the previous year, 1983, when a group of aboriginal students from National Taiwan University published an underground journal, *kao shan ching*, to express the ideas that the aborigines were becoming extinct largely due to assimilation in Chinese society and they should come out to fight for the right of continuity for their groups. The aboriginal students who were responsible for the journal were caught by the university's military instructors, who confiscated all the issues and tried to persuade them to abandon it, as publishing such a journal was against martial law at that time. Although the journal ceased publication in 1988, it had a huge impact on aboriginal as well as non-aboriginal students, who later got involved in promoting aboriginal movement.

³⁰ They wanted to use a more positive term *yuan chu min* instead of "*shan pao*" to describe themselves.

³¹ Li Tzu-min (1991) suggests that early aboriginal campaign for returning land actually unified Taiwanese aborigines who are from different cultural and social backgrounds and made them imagined that they were in the same ethnic category, *yuan chu min*.

chiang 1994: 278). Nevertheless, despite different claims or appeals, the aboriginal movement is similar to the movements of the Holo and the Hakka in the sense that they are all against political, cultural and social suppression from the KMT and they are fighting against structural inequality in the society. Because of close contact with the modern world, these movements constantly influence or interact with each other.

For example, the establishment of the first aboriginal organisation, the ATA, was inspired by a society, *shao shu min tsu wei yuan hui* (Committee for Minorities), which was established by *tang wai pen chi tsuo chia lien i hui* (Alliance for Opposition Editors and Writers) in spring 1984. The aim of the Committee for Minorities was to support the minorities in Taiwan and its members included aborigines and non-aborigines who were dissatisfied with the KMT. The protests or campaigns that were led or supervised by the ATA in the early stages had always received full support from the opposition (Hsieh 1987: 89), even though the opposition existed illegally then. One of the ATA's campaigns, for the return of aboriginal land, was also inspired by the opposition who argued with the KMT that they are the real Taiwanese, the people who own the island. The ATA thus used the evidence from history and linguistics to prove that the aborigines are the original people in Taiwan. The ATA later extended this argument in order to demand the KMT government to return them the rights of their land. However, the ATA was split into several small organisations in 1993, as its members who were from different aboriginal backgrounds had their own opinions about the direction of ATA's activities and they started to mobilise their own people and form an organisation of their own, when the restriction on gatherings was lifted as martial law was abolished. Nevertheless, new societies or sections continue the goals of the ATA. Although the ATA has ceased to exist, the aboriginal movement has actually spread widely to rural areas because of its fission. As a result, the scope of the movement has also become wider and deeper.

Generally speaking, the aims of the aboriginal movement have gradually become similar to the goals of the Holo and the Hakka from the mid-1990s. They all have been trying to improve their ethnic positions at national level by sending their own representatives to the Legislative Yuan. What they try to achieve is to get their claims legalised and their rights written in the Constitution at a time when Taiwan is in the process of becoming a

civil society.

The aboriginal campaigns or protests have always received a great deal of public support, especially from the Canadian Presbyterian Mission, mass media and academics. Like the campaigns for revising aboriginal titles from 1984 onwards, when the ATA announced the use of a more positive term *yuan chu min* (aborigines) in order to emphasise the fact that they are the original peoples or earliest inhabitants in Taiwan, it received an instant and supportive response from the public. They argued that the title they were called, *shan ti tung pao* (mountain brethren), was an imposition, which also connotes some pejorative meanings, such as “primitive”, “heathen”, “savage”, “backward”, and “inferior”. From then on, *yuan chu min* has been widely used in the mass media reportage, academic accounts, oppositions’ memorandum, and church papers. Although they have pressurised the government through street demonstrations, protests, and campaigns, the KMT did not respond to their claims until 1993, when many pressure groups, mostly from universities or academia, also put pressure on it, and that year also happened to be the year of “Human rights” and “International Aboriginal Year” declared by the UN.

Like the Holo’s Taiwan consciousness movement, the aboriginal movement also tries to seek international support, which the aborigines hope, will bring them a step closer to their goals. For example, from the first aboriginal organisation, the ATA, till the latest ones, they have sent aboriginal representatives to participate in the annual meetings for indigenous peoples in the UN since 1991. They have also studied the condition of aborigines, especially the Australian, American, and Canadian aborigines, around the world. They have particularly paid much attention to foreign governments’ policy on ethnic management (e.g. H Li 1997). As a result, the aboriginal movement in Taiwan has learnt from many experiences of other countries on the issues of ethnic rights, cultural and intellectual rights, land rights, reservations, and self-determination.

Here, I define aborigines in a broader sense. Apart from the nine officially recognised groups, I also consider plains aborigines as Taiwanese aborigines, even though plains aborigines are not counted as aborigines and do not enjoy certain minority rights which aim at protecting the aborigines constitutionally in respect of land, education and health

service. Dissatisfied with unfair treatment, some of the *ping pu tsu*, like Siraya, Makatao, Kavalan, Ketagalan, and Pazeh, started to reassert themselves as distinctive aboriginal groups from the late 1980s onwards. Their demands which include the restoration of their ethnic names, reviving their traditions, claiming back their land, and fighting for full minority rights are similar to those of *yuan chu min*, their activities should be recognised as part of the aboriginal movement in Taiwan. In any case, they began to stand together with *yuan chu min* against the governmental exploitation and inequality. Although they, both *yuan chu min* and *ping pu tsu*, are small minorities of the whole Chinese-origin population in Taiwan, their claims have sparked off a serious debate on the issue of ethnicity.

The rise of the Kavalan and the transformation of Taiwan

The rise of the Kavalan in contemporary Taiwan confirms a common phenomenon that people in the islands are striving for self-determination to decide their future. It thus challenges stereotypical perception of defining people, especially ethnic groups, in a patriarchal society that has been under one-party control for almost fifty years. Therefore, the democratisation of Taiwan and people's need for self-determination are like two forces competing yet influencing each other and which help to define Taiwanness in the process.

Chiang classified (1997: 71) the Kavalan consciousness movement into three periods. The first period which is from 1987 to 1991 is the cultivation period of the consciousness movement, the second phase which starts from 1991 to 1995 is said to be the developing period, and the third stage which dates from 1995 to 1997 is the period of protests and campaigns. However, this division is slightly problematic in the sense that it fails to explain why the Kavalan chose to protest from the 1990s, not earlier or later. It is evident that the Kavalan have always been clear about their claims, that is to preserve their "dying" tradition ever since they came to national limelight. For example, in their first public appearance in a performance for an exhibition in the Provincial Museum in 1987, they distributed a press release which clearly declared their wish to preserve their culture with outside help, along with an explanation of *kisaiiz*, the ritual they

performed³². Nevertheless, they started to proceed with their protests and campaigns from 1991, when it became common to talk about *Taiwan i shih* or Taiwan consciousness in public, as the KMT relaxed its China recovery policy and regarded Taiwan as the top priority. This shows the conservative attitude of the Kavalan towards politics that confined their ethnic consciousness movement to only a cultural claim in the early stages.

Voting to promote Kavalan identity

Like many other rural villagers in Taiwan, the Kavalan were kept under tight control by the KMT ever since it took over Taiwan. Having received political education from the Japanese colonisers, the people in Taiwan were trained to be loyal and obedient to the government. The KMT reinforced people's obedience and loyalty by propaganda via its administrative system, which was operated by the local officials and local KMT promoters. However, one particular KMT reform on land distribution won the hearts of a large number of farmers in the rural areas. The land reform which was implemented from 1949 to 1953 included the reduction of rent, the distribution of public lands, and land-to-the-farmer laws. As a result, two major landlords in Hsinshe, like many other landlords all over Taiwan, were compelled to sell their land to their tenant farmers. Thus, the percentage of owner-farmers grew almost double the amount of 1948. Most farmers were convinced by the KMT that it was concerned about their benefits, despite the fact that the KMT actually wished to remove the power of elite landowners, who were mostly Holo Taiwanese, from the society. Nevertheless, most elderly Kavalan farmers still believe this policy as a part of the KMT's benevolent administration and loyally support the KMT.

The Kavalan's changed attitude towards the KMT can be observed during elections. Like many other aboriginal villages, Hsinshe has supported the KMT since it started elections since 1950. It remained so till recent years when a growing number of villagers

³² The press release included two short writings, one was an explanation of the *kisaiiz* performance, the other about the present conditions of the Kavalan and an appeal to researchers and scholars to study them in order to help to preserve and record their traditional culture.

started to vote for the DPP candidates. Chieh Wan-lai was the pioneer to vote for the opposition, after experiencing the DPP's support for the revival of the Kavalan. He gradually persuaded his close friends and relatives to vote for the DPP, given the evidence how the DPP helped them and respected their culture. Hence, Hsinshe started to vote for the DPP over years. However, it was not easy for the opposition supporters in the beginning, as they were called *mai kuo tsei* (people who sell or betray their country) by most villagers. They have also been suspected of "selling" their village to the DPP. The tension became great especially during the first presidential election in 1996, when the KMT's supporters avoided talking to the DPP's supporters. Some actually called the opposition supporters *mai kuo tsei* to their face. The KMT's promoters had also come to visit them a couple of times and hoped to change their mind. When the result came out after the election, the DPP candidate, Peng Ming-min won 16 votes more than Chieh expected³³.

The result is actually understandable. When I was at Hsinshe during the presidential election, I heard villagers talking when they were discussing the election while watching news on television, that they would vote for the opposition if President Lee did not do well during his presidency. Some acknowledged the success of the DPP members in Ilan and Taipei counties. Some even said that the Kavalan would have got official recognition earlier if they had a DPP county magistrate or if they were in a DPP county. Young Kavalan started to criticise the government's corruption, scandals, and bribery; they were particularly dissatisfied with the agricultural policy which showed little concern for farmers' life. It would have been impossible to hear these kinds of remarks previously. However, those who are elderly and belong to the KMT network still remain loyal to the KMT and often preach to young people to look at the fact that the KMT has brought a better life to them. Young Kavalan counter the complaint that the elderly people submit to the KMT, as they worry that the KMT members will report them to the police, as they had experienced or heard before. Nevertheless, most of the Kavalan agree that Taiwan is more democratic than before.

³³ President Lee Teng-hui got 397 votes out of 446 from the whole administrative area of Hsinshe, including Hsinshe, Tang-hsin, and Fu-hsin. However, according to Chieh, those who voted for the DPP candidate were probably mostly from Hsinshe.

The Kavalan have a strong sense of being a member of the country. They respect, or rather obey, the ruling party of the country. They will not violate the law, even though they think what the government does is wrong. That is the reason why they did not want to have any relationship with the opposition in the beginning, otherwise they would feel that they were betraying the government. However, when Taiwan became more democratised and the KMT allowed the oppositions to participate in governmental services and the Legislative Yuan, the Kavalan gradually realised that a good government should do services for people, rather than people obeying the government. Therefore, more and more Kavalan began to participate in protests for their ethnic rights.

Elections are the best example to show how the Kavalan feel about their obligation and right to the country. To an extent, they have been brainwashed by government propaganda to the effect that “every vote is sacred and capable and virtuous candidates should be voted for”, “voting is the obligation on all citizens”, etc³⁴. The villagers, therefore, regard voting as a serious matter. For them, voting is the way to show one’s respect to the country. In other words, voting is a form of patriotic behaviour. They criticise those who do not take voting seriously. For example, I was told to go back home and cast my vote during elections³⁵. On the polling day, the villagers dress in their good clothes and go to the polling station with family, relatives, or neighbours. Most of them stop working that day; in any case, polling day is a national holiday. They normally gather around some households or grocery shops near to poll station after finishing their voting. They chat, drink, and smoke while waiting for officials to begin count and announce the ballots in the afternoon after polling is closed. Most of them wait for the result anxiously and applaud when they hear their favourite candidate gaining votes and

³⁴ The KMT has always controlled rural areas, especially aboriginal villages. Whenever an election takes place, the KMT allocates special funds for the election campaign, which are distributed from the KMT’s election office through town or *hsiang* chiefs, village heads, and neighbourhood leaders to the local campaigners. It is regarded as legal expenses and not bribery to buy votes.

³⁵ When I was at Hsinshe, I observed two elections, one was the first presidential election in 1996, and the other was local election in 1997. I was told by many villagers to go back home and vote several times. They argued that as an intellectual I should have more respect for my vote. They asked me to leave the village even though I could not have reached home before the polling station closed. Nevertheless, one informant still suggested to me to leave for a while and come back next day otherwise the villagers would gossip about me and would not respect me anymore.

sigh when the opponents are winning.

Copper (1996: 105) is right to point out that elections have played an important role in transforming Taiwan to a more democratic county. He (1996: 97-105) particularly singles out the contributions made by local governments, as local elections, which include elections for the county and city councils, magistrates and mayors, township and village councils, and village and town chiefs, were relatively more democratic than national elections, when those elections were frozen by the KMT before 1980s.

Whether local politicians have helped to improve the political reforms needs to be re-evaluated, but the regular practice of local elections since 1950 does help the villagers like the Kavalan gain experience and understanding of how a democratic system operates and what it is for. Therefore, when the opposition pushed the KMT to release more rights for citizens, the Kavalan had no problems in adjusting their original ideas about the government and in protesting for their rights.

The annual official village meeting has also helped them to comprehend the democratic system. The annual meeting is usually held in autumn, after the rice harvest period. In 1997 when I was in the field, the meeting took place on the 16th October. As there would be elections for magistrates and mayors in the following month and for county and city councils and town and *hsiang* chiefs in January 1998, many officials came to the meeting in order to attract villagers' attention. The local authorities reported the requests from the previous year and the future plan, followed by villagers' request for improving public facilities and criticism for local officials. It looked like a proper democratic meeting. Ironically, the officials did not take the requests and criticisms seriously, as the *hsiang* chief told me in private that it was just for show and to give the people to have a chance to talk. It is no wonder that villagers' requests for building a fishing port and a bigger shelter for bamboo rafts and other things have never been followed up. It also explains why some people who had been officials or council members like Chieh and A-niao do not even bother to attend such meetings.

Nevertheless, the Kavalan have put in practice what they learnt from the democratic operation. For example, they use the name of an organisation, *Hualien hsien Kavalan tsu*

*hsien chin hui*³⁶, when promoting the Kavalan, protesting their rights, or organising activities. The petitions they send to the authorities are in the form of official documents. Every thing seems to be institutionalised. In 1993, Chen Chien-chung, who was the leading organiser, died suddenly. The organisation was then stranded. Later, Chieh and his son-in-law occasionally used *Taiwan yuan chu min tsu Kavalan tsu fu min tsu chin hui*³⁷, when they protested for the restoration of the Kavalan. Notably, Chieh used *Kavalan chiao shih*³⁸ when he introduced Kavalan language and culture to outsiders. Chiang (1997: 80) criticises the second society since it is not a proper organisation and has no members. Nor is the first one, even though it had a loose organisational structure and personnel. Nevertheless, it shows the intention of Chieh, Yang, A-niao, Bauki, and many young Kavalan to institutionalise their resources which, they hope, can provide them with the strength to negotiate with the government.

The Kavalan have also encouraged their own people to participate in local or county councils in recent years. They wish to get more recognition by sending their own people to debate the Kavalan issue in local or county councils. The Kavalan used to have a great faith in Chen Chien-chung, who was the principal of the Hualien polytechnic college, selected as the *hsiang* chief twice, and represented as an urban leader of Kavalan resurgence movement. They had been trying very hard to send him to the county council. However, Chen's sudden death left them in deep sadness and despair. So far, they have Chen Chung-hsiang as a chairman in the *hsiang* council. However, Chen worries that he will upset other Amis supporters by over-emphasising his Kavalan identity, which he does when he speaks to the Kavalan at Hsinshe. Therefore, the Kavalan are disappointed by him in general but they also wish to have him in the county council for getting other rights. The Kavalan have had new hopes in recent years of a young man who is about to graduate from a medical school in Kaohsiung. They teach him a great deal of Kavalan tradition and culture whenever he is around in summer vacation. They also encourage

³⁶ Chen founded *Hualien hsien Kavalan tsu hsien chin hui* (Society for the Promotion of Kavalan People in Hualien County) in 1991.

³⁷ Chieh started to use *Taiwan yuan chu min tsu Kavalan tsu fu min tsu chin hui* (Society for Promoting the Restoration of the Ethnic Name of Kavalan) from 1995.

³⁸ *Kavalan chiao shih* (Kavalan Classroom) was founded 1991.

him to follow in the footsteps of Chen Chien-chung in order to gain the official recognition for the Kavalan.

Protests and campaigns

In an overview of the activities the Kavalan have engaged in, we can find a pattern, in that the Kavalan always distribute press releases about their performance or activities to the press, relevant researchers and the public. According to my observation, they actually inform journalists and researchers of their activities by themselves. As mentioned above, they introduced themselves and *kisaiiz* in short essays in 1987. They produced “Kavalan’s *laligi*” and “*Na-bas* blooming” for Ilan’s 200th Anniversary in 1996, a brief introduction about the Kavalan and their traditional rituals for the Aboriginal Conference which was organised by *Taiwan shan ti wen hua yuan chu*³⁹ in 1994, and “Hsinshe Kavalan and banana fibre weaving” for a celebration of the opening for an international stone carving exhibition in Hualien in 1997. These clearly show that the Kavalan are aware of the dissemination power of the mass media and wish to use this power to achieve their aims.

As to protests and campaigns, they produced a declaration of their claims and presented it along with leaflets about their history and culture to the authorities. They sent their campaign announcements to the then president, Lee Teng-hui, the then premier, Lien Chan, the Ministry of the Interior, the then Taipei Mayor, Chen Shui-bian, the County magistrate of Ilan, the County magistrate of Hualien, the head of the Commission of Aboriginal Affairs, and other top governmental officials or departments. They only got a positive response from the County Magistrate of Ilan and the former Taipei Mayor, Chen

³⁹ *Taiwan shan ti wen hua yuan chu* (the Park of Aboriginal Culture) was established in 1986 by the Provincial Government in order to advance aboriginal culture, provide sources for academic research, and promote tourism (see the introductory leaflet written by *Taiwan yuan chu min wen hua yuan chu*). It is located in Pingtung County, in the heart of Paiwan’s and Rukai’s territories. However, this cultural park only displays the cultural characteristics of the nine officially recognised aboriginal groups. The name “*shan ti*” was severely criticised by the aborigines. The Aboriginal Conference, the first-ever aboriginal conference organised by the government, was mainly for the purpose of showing its concern towards the aboriginal groups. The theme of the conference mainly focused on aboriginal issues in Taiwan. Ironically, the name of the park in which the conference took place still uses the term “*shan ti*” to describe aborigines. The Provincial Government finally revised the name of the park to *Taiwan yuan chu min wen hua yuan chu* in 1997.

Shui-bian. The former has always respected the Kavalan and their culture and tried to help them to restore their ethnic name, as Ilan is the homeland of the Kavalan; the latter has given a position to the Kavalan in the commission of Taipei Aboriginal Affairs in 1996. Former president Lee Teng-hui showed his sympathy to the Kavalan and promised to consider their claim during a meeting with aborigines in the conference which was held in *Taiwan shan ti wen hua yuan chu* in 1994, when a Kavalan supporter and representative, Chieh Wan-lai's son-in-law, presented a petition to him. However, the raised hope was soon shattered when the Kavalan did not receive any official response from the president's office after the meeting. Nevertheless, the Kavalan had sent another petition to the President in 1996 in order to remind him of his promise as well as restate their claim. The kind response and sincere respect from the former Taipei Mayor and the County Magistrate of Ilan, who happened to be the members of the DPP, made the Kavalan realise that the DPP was more concerned about their needs. Gradually, more and more Kavalan felt disappointed by the KMT and started to accept the DPP, an opposition party which was described by the KMT as a *luan tang* (the rebellion party), since the DPP protested violently in its early stages. This signifies that more and more people have started to accept an opposition party.

Major claims in Kavalan protests and campaigns

There are two central claims of the Kavalan protests: to restore their ethnic name and to admit them as the tenth official aboriginal group in Taiwan. The first claim was set up by Chen Chien-chung who thought that they were in urgent need to make themselves heard in the society, while the second was idea of Chieh Wan-lai and his son-in-law who reinforced Chen's initial idea. However, they had developed a clear sense of what they want the government to do by 1996, when they issued a petition to the Executive Yuan and aboriginal legislative members, before the Tomb Sweeping Day, one of the major Chinese festival which is aimed at paying tribute to ancestors. The following are the five appeals of the petition:

1. To restore the correct name of Kavalan in order to correspond with the regulation of the constitution which states, "every ethnic group in the country all enjoy the same legal protection".
2. Make regulations to protect the relics which were left by the Kavalan ancestors.

3. Acknowledging the position of the Kavalan in the historical development of Taiwan and help to preserve Kavalan language and culture.
4. Make a census about actual Kavalan population and provide an entry in the Registration Office which allows the Kavalan to register.
5. The Commission of Aboriginal Affairs of the Executive Yuan should include the Kavalan in its recognition of the aboriginal groups and help to protect Kavalan ethnic rights, as it does in case of other aboriginal groups.

It seems that Kavalan constant protest and petitions have paid off, when an important commissioner of the Commission of Aboriginal Affairs of the Executive Yuan told a Kavalan in private that the Commission will announce soon the restoration of the classification of plains aborigines which was done in the Japanese period. However, it is not clear if it is another election promise, as this happened before the second presidential election in 2000. Nevertheless, most Kavalan are anxious about the announcement to come.

Some scholars doubt if the government will settle the issue of restoring the identity of plains aborigines. For example, Chan directly points out (1996: 46-50) the difficulties of restoring official recognition to the Kavalan, as it involves a serious problem of how to recognise one's ethnic identity. Her argument is that those so-called plains aborigines who protest for their ethnic rights are only the "descendants" of plains aborigines, the indigenous people who only exist in history and scholarly accounts. However, her view has a hint of Chinese patriarchal ideology that every one should be the descendant of one's father's side. She has ignored the fact that many plains aborigines including the Kavalan still maintain a strong ethnic identity at family or village levels. Although those people may have mixed with other ethnic groups owing to inter-ethnic marriage and were excluded from official definition because of their close contact with Chinese immigrants in the past and with the Amis in the present, they are still entitled to decide which identity they want to self-ascribe to, especially since they exist in a country which declares itself as a democratic one.

What Chan argues about the exclusion of plains aborigines in the KMT's classification is also problematic. Basically, she states that the KMT's regulation followed the Japanese classification which was said to be based on one's patrilineal descent (Chan, 1996: 70). Therefore, she says that plains aborigines were not classified as aborigines, as

they did not reside in aboriginal areas and lived mixed with Chinese immigrants during the Japanese period. However, I found in the Japanese registration record that the terms like *ping pu fan* and *shou fan* were still in use to indicate plains aborigines even when they lived mixed with other ethnic groups. In other word, plains aborigines were still classified as aborigines to some extent during the Japanese period. Actually, some of the Kavalan at Hsinshe told me that they had a choice in 1950s to decide which category they want: Amis or Holo, as the officials from the Registration Office did not know how to classify them as there was no category for either Kavalan or Kaliawan. In addition, as Chan also recognises (1996: 71), the Japanese classification of ethnic backgrounds of the Taiwanese population was only set up for its own colonial management. It becomes problematic as it does not correspond with the actual situation of social units in a society, especially when the social and political situation of that society has already changed.

IV. Conclusion

Analytically, the rise of the Kavalan in contemporary Taiwan has its own significance. Firstly, both Taiwanese nationalism and Kavalan ethnicity are modern inventions. Secondly, both use history to create cultural property in the discourse of nationalism and ethnicity. Lastly, they raise the question whether ethnic identity is a cultural or political identity.

The core idea of Taiwanese nationalism and Kavalan ethnicity is self-determination, that is, Taiwanese nationalists and the Kavalan wish to take control of their destiny. The notion of self-determination was brought from the US after the Second World War by the new wealthy and well-educated middle-class in Taiwan and was used to fight against the KMT hegemony. Modern communication technology has helped to spread the idea all over Taiwan. After Taiwan's economic success in the global market, more and more people were attracted to the idea. Even the Kavalan, a small of group of people who live in remote rural areas were inspired and decided to reassert themselves as an ethnic group in order to participate in national debate about Taiwan's identity. In this thesis, I argue that the Kavalan use the power of mass media to gain public recognition and adopt some principles used in the debate on democracy to pressurise the government to accede to

their demands. In addition, they join larger organisations, such as Taiwan aboriginal organisations and the UN's various fora on indigenous peoples, send their petitions to the authorities, establish societies and associations to unify the Kavalan and their supporters, send their members to council assembly, publicise their wish to invite scholars to study them, and so on. In short, it can be said that the invention of Kavalan ethnicity mirrors or even mimics the process of the invention of Taiwanese nation. Like most of the ethnic groups in Taiwan, the Kavalan make their claim to the government via democratic procedures⁴⁰ which makes ethnic consciousness movement relatively peaceful in Taiwan.

In the discourse of Taiwanese nationalism and Kavalan ethnicity, history plays an important role in the creation of their cultural property. Both Taiwanese nationalists and the Kavalan use historical materials in order to prove their authentic identity which continues from the past. Unlike Canadian Quebecois nationalists who use folk culture as authentic national culture (Handler 1998) and Sri Lankan Sinhalese nationalists who use a myth to highlight the difference between the identities of Sinhalese and Tamils (Kapferer 1998), Taiwanese Nationalists and the Kavalan use their suffering and oppression in the past to reinforce their identities and legitimise their inheritance. In this sense, Taiwanese nationalism and Kavalan ethnicity are interlinked, as the Kavalan's suffering during Chinese expansion and domination mirrors and endorses the discourse of Taiwanese nationalism that Taiwan has long suffered from imperial and hegemonic powers and the people in Taiwan should have the right to decide the future for themselves. Thus, their invention of Taiwanese and Kavalan pasts is related to their political motivation (e.g. self-determination). The historical past also plays a significant role in the construction of both contemporary Taiwanese and Kavalan identities.

The case of the Kavalan revival in contemporary Taiwanese society raises the question whether ethnic identity is a cultural or political identity. The way the Kavalan politicise their ethnic identity makes us wonder if an ethnic identity is also a political identity. In

⁴⁰ Holo nationalists used violent protests and campaigns to oppose KMT's domination but they changed their strategies to relatively peaceful means after they formed a legal opposition party and their candidates became members of the National Assembly and the Legislative Yuan.

Chapter One, I modify Jenkins' "basic anthropological model" of ethnicity which conceptualises ethnicity as cultural as well as social identity which make people group themselves within a society. One has to be careful here as sometimes ethnicity tends to connote political and economic inequality. However, an ethnic identity may overlap with a political identity in some cases, but it cannot be reduced to a mere political identity. The Kavalan have their political motivations in the making of their ethnic identity. But at analytical level, ethnicity should still be conceptualised as a socio-cultural identity, as ethnicity indicates the differentiation between "us" and "them" which does not necessarily have political implications.

The rise of the Kavalan illustrates that identity making is not a simple issue, rather, it is recognition of one another on equal basis among ethnic groups within a society. Hence, the process of making an ethnic identity involves complicated issues, such as interaction among ethnic groups, socio-cultural and historical backgrounds, political factors, and modernisation and globalisation. This, again, demonstrates that ethnicity is not merely related to an ethnic group itself or its interacted groups, it also involves, like the concept of nation, a wider background. Ethnicity cannot be studied alone from an analyst's point of view, nor from actors' perspective. It has to be examined in a larger context accommodating both the perspectives of an analyst and actors in much larger framework.

Chapter Four

Drawing Ethnic Boundaries: the Kavalan and Other Ethnic Groups

In many studies of ethnicity, the term “ethnicity” is often used as an analytic term which refers to a cultural property of a group, aspects of relationships between groups that consider themselves and are regarded by others as being culturally distinctive, or a mechanism for an ethnic group to include or exclude its members. However, through its use in the mass media, ethnicity is no longer a term of academic analysis alone and has been increasingly used in public language and thought. Likewise, in Taiwan, the term *tsu chun kuan hsi*, which is equivalent to ethnicity, has been very commonly used in everyday life, especially when people emphasise their ethnic identity in order to distinguish themselves from other groups, when the press stresses multi-cultural aspects of Taiwanese society, and when the political parties highlight their concern about the inequality among ethnic groups.

Although the usage of ethnicity in Taiwan may be inaccurate and ethnic division may not be systematic, still ethnicity is used as an umbrella term. This phenomenon has its implications for Taiwanese society. It illustrates the fact that every ethnic group has been trying to participate in the process of ethnic reconstruction in order to secure a position for itself in the nation-state. As Taiwan becomes more democratised, the people of Taiwan have come to have a say in matters relating to the island’s future make-up. From this perspective, ethnicity plays a vital role at a moment when Taiwan is forging its new national identity. It explains the reason why some minorities, including the Kavalan, are anxious about their position in the process of emerging ethnicity in Taiwan.

In this chapter, I will discuss the ways in which contemporary Kavalan identity developed, both in everyday life and at a conceptual level, in relation to other ethnic groups in Taiwan from historical and contemporary perspectives. I will also examine the importance of Kavalan identity in the discourse of ethnicity in Taiwan. This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section reconstructs the interaction between the Kavalan and other ethnic groups (mainly Chinese) in the past, followed by a section on

how the Kavalan locate themselves among ethnic groups in Taiwan. The third section pays special attention to the relationship between the Kavalan and the Amis, the ethnic group the Kavalan have closely interacted with since they moved from their homeland, Ilan. Nevertheless, the discussion in these sections shows how the Kavalan draw, both consciously and unconsciously, boundaries between themselves and others. In the concluding section, I try to interpret the significance of Kavalan identity revival in the process of emerging ethnic re-organisation in Taiwan.

I. Kavalan Interaction with Others: from the past to the present

The Kavalan have a long history of ethnic interactions with many groups¹, such as Atayal, Ketagalan, western plains aborigines, Chinese, and Amis. According to historical records, Chinese and Amis had (and still have) the most impact upon the Kavalan. As for Atayal, Ketagalan, and western plains aborigines, there are very few historical materials about their interactions with the Kavalan. Nevertheless, the fate of the Kavalan people has been closely linked with the constant change of ethnicity in Taiwan's history. Before the Chinese invasion, they were an autonomous people living in Ilan plains. They had occasional exchange of goods with the Atayal, the highland group in the region. Some writings suggest that there were headhunting raids between the Atayal² and the Kavalan, but there were no large-scale battles between them. Both groups maintained a clear boundary: one inhabited the plains, the other the highland area. There were some wastelands between their territories, a kind of natural boundary which prevented close contact between them. However, the Kavalan had trading contacts with the Ketagalan from northern Taiwan. Some Ketagalan people set up villages and lived alongside the Kavalan in the plains. For a brief period some western plains aboriginal groups had dominated the people in the Kavalan plains with their gunpower in the beginning of the nineteenth century but their involvement in the

¹ The Kavalan in Hualien and Taitung might have had close contact with the Siraya who migrated from southern Taiwan. In my field research, I found that in some settlements a few Kavalan and Siraya families live next to each other. However, it is difficult to detect their influence on each other.

² Most of the so-called "mountain aborigines" practised headhunting. However, only the Atayal and the Bunun continued to practise it till the beginning of the twentieth century during the Japanese period (Ishii 1916: 17). Chan (1998: 85-106) suggests that one of the reasons which forced the Trobuwan and other plains aborigines in Ilan to migrate is the headhunting raids from the Atayal. In many Ching official documents (e.g. Yao 1957: 82) about the pass between Chinese and aboriginal territories, Atayal headhunting raids are frequently mentioned.

battles with the Chinese migrants, the incorporation of Kavalan area into Ching territory, and the death of their leader, Pan Hsien-wen, led to rapid decrease in their power and influence. Eventually these groups were incorporated into Kavalan and Chinese societies (Chan 1998: 139-150). All these ethnic conflicts did not affect the Kavalan as seriously as the massive Chinese migration to their area did from the eighteenth century onwards. The Chinese altered the ethnic distribution and brought severe turmoil to the region³. Two centuries later, the Ketagalan and the Kavalan of the Ilan plains have substantially assimilated into Chinese society while the Atayal survive under the shadow of dominant Chinese culture and modernisation. Only the remaining Kavalan, who were exiled to the narrow strip of coastal land in eastern Taiwan, have struggled to maintain their tradition and culture by asserting their ethnic identity, as they face yet another danger of assimilation into Amis society.

For several political and historical reasons, the Chinese cultural influence upon the life of the Kavalan has been the most profound and ideological. It needs to be examined from two dimensions: the ethnic and cultural transformation the Kavalan experienced during the Chinese settlement in Taiwan and what the Kavalan have been able to retain of their own culture. The ethnic and cultural profile of Taiwan underwent a massive change with the arrival of the Chinese immigrants. Most of the original population experienced radical changes in their way of life, some groups completely disappeared either through total assimilation or persecution while others had to adjust themselves to the ruling class in order to survive. In a way, the experience of the aborigines has not been much different to that of the indigenous populations in the US, Canada and Australia. Under relentless political and cultural pressure from the Chinese, the aborigines had to accept transformation and were forced to abandon what were dubbed as their “barbaric” and uncivilised customs and practices. From ethnic point of view, Chinese influence constitutes the single biggest transformative factor, although these groups have been actively engaged in rediscovery and reinvention of their discontinued traditions in recent years, many important elements of Chinese influence have become a part of their lifestyle and cannot be reversed. This shows the typical construction of

³ Chinese migrants were involved in many armed conflicts with the Atayal and the Kavalan. They also fought with each other, as Chuan Chou Holo, Chang Chou Holo, and the Hakka could not resolve their differences. Most of these clashes were over the land disputes. (see Chen 1963).

ethnicity that it is never unalloyed, pure, and static, though it claims to represent authenticity and antiquity. It is actually an ongoing process. In the course of four centuries of varied and forced interaction, the Kavalan, like any other besieged group, had to negotiate their identity and constantly shift their ethnic boundaries. So much so that after prolonged cultural onslaught they were left with the sense of blurred ethnic frontiers. In recent years of ethnic upsurge in Taiwan, the Kavalan and other groups have been trying to map their ethnic territories and build imaginary boundaries between themselves.

Before the discussion, we need to clarify the definition of Chinese culture. It will become easier to examine Chinese culture if we adopt the idea of Harrell and Huang (1994: 2-3) of dividing Chinese culture into high and low culture. High Chinese culture refers to artistic, literary, and philosophical culture which is based on Confucianism. Low Chinese culture is a combination of the local cultures which were brought by the Holo and the Hakka from Fukin and Kwangtung in southern China⁴. High Chinese culture used to be an integral aspect of political power when China wanted to govern other societies. Therefore, sinicization was an important policy when Chinese power expanded to other cultures. Throughout Chinese history, we can see that the Chinese were not only proud of their culture but were also eager to introduce their civilisation to their neighbouring “barbarians” or “savages”. Apart from the adoption of Chinese life-style and customs, the Chinese also imposed their script and religious practices upon other groups. For example, when a missionary, MacKay⁵, first came to Ilan in the 1870s, he found that the Kavalan experienced the impact of the Chinese in daily life on

⁴ Notably, these low cultures that reflected their southern coastal and rural origins used to be different from each other in many ways. However, they have developed more similarities after centuries of interaction in the island. Low Chinese culture has also been influenced by the aborigines and the Japanese. Therefore, Holo and Hakka cultures have already become different from the ones from which they originated.

⁵ Rev. George Leslie MacKay was the first missionary from the Canadian Presbyterian Mission to come to northern Taiwan in 1872. He founded the Tamsui Middle School (which was later called Oxford College), a girls’ school, and a hospital (which became the MacKay Memorial Hospital). He married a local woman and had a son with her who later also became a missionary. MacKay died in Taiwan in 1901. He once succeeded in converting many Kavalan in Ilan and Hualien from 1870s to 1900. However, the Christian influence soon faded away after he died. According to one of his famous legends, he had pulled 21,000 teeth of his followers. (Otness 1999: 102-105) Nonetheless, his thirty-year’s missionary work among the Kavalan had a great impact on them.

their language, economy, religion, marriage, and customs⁶.

Although MacKay's account is from a missionary point of view, he was right about the Chinese governmental domination. In the case of since 1796 when U Sha successfully built Chinese settlements in the Ilan plain, the Kavalan still retained tribal autonomy. For instance, in 1870s when a Kavalan chief wanted to join the Ching Empire in order to escape from Chinese illegal occupation, there were about two to three Kavalan in each *she*, or village, dressing like the Chinese (Chen 1963). It remained so until the middle of the nineteenth century when a Ching official Shin Pao-chen and his followers who were in charge of a development project in East Taiwan, which covered the area where the Kavalan lived, enforced a series of new policies. The main purpose of the policies was to sinicize eastern aboriginal groups so that the government could control them easily. Meng (1988: 65) particularly points out that those aborigines who refused to be sinicized were not allowed access to necessities such as salt, rice, sugar, wine, etc., by the Chinese traders. Many Kavalan who remained in Ilan plain therefore increasingly adopted Chinese culture under the Ching's policy of combining conciliation and the use of force. The influence of high Chinese culture never ceased, not even during the Japanese period, perhaps because the Japanese also believed in Confucianism.

When the Kavalan were under Chinese political control, the influence of high Chinese culture upon them progressed very slowly. On the contrary, low Chinese culture quickly penetrated the life of the Kavalan and they started to use Holo dialect, wear Holo dress, and accept their popular religion. The evidence of this phenomenon can be seen in MacKay's triumphant account of his success in converting the Kavalan, who had fled from Ilan and built a settlement called Kaliawan in Chilai plains of what is at present called Hualien county, at the end of the nineteenth century. At that time, he

⁶ In his description, he says:

Whenever a tribe submits, the first thing is to shave the head in token of allegiance, and then they are introduced to temples, idols, and tablets. At the present time the religion of the Pe-po-hoan is the potpourri of Confucian morality, Buddhistic idolatry, and Taoistic demonolatry, to which they have added relics of their own nature-worship and superstitions. Some of the younger devotees are the most bigoted idolaters in China, but many people hate the new order of things. Idolatry does not suit the average Pe-po-hoan, and it is only out of necessity that he submits to even the formal observance of its rites and ceremonies. It is meaningless, except as a reminder of their enslavement to an alien race. (MacKay 1991: 208)

asked Kavalan Christians to clear idols from their houses in order to show their loyalty to God. The Kavalan agreed immediately. He recorded the incident as follows:

The five villages were unanimous to a man. They wanted to worship the Jehovah-God. An idol-temple built for themselves at a cost of ten thousand dollars was handed over for chapel services. The following was a joyous day. No one went to work. The head man invited one party to join him, and ordered four boys to follow, carrying eight baskets, one on either end of a pole. We then went from house to house and from village to village, until the idolatrous paraphernalia of all were collected into the baskets and carried to a yard near the temple. There was a large pile of mock-money, idols, tablets, incense-sticks, and flags. A great crowd assembled, and several vied with one another in firing the heap. Many showed their contempt for the dirty, dusty, greasy old idols. (MacKay 1991: 231)

From the above description, we can see that most of the things the Kavalan burnt were the utensils and accessories of Chinese popular religion. This also implies that the Kavalan had adopted Chinese religion. These Kavalan who had set up Kaliawan settlement from 1850s might have brought Chinese popular religion from Ilan, as most of their fellow people had already converted to the religion, or they had been influenced by their neighbouring Chinese settlements. Nevertheless, it shows that the dominant Chinese political power had reinforced the assimilation of the Kavalan into Chinese mainstream society within half a century.

When the Chinese immigrants came with their political power in the middle of the nineteenth century, the Kavalan adopted their customs and beliefs. Similarly, when the western missionaries came to Ilan and Kaliawan in Hualien County with medical aid and other presents in the late nineteenth century, the Kavalan changed their belief to Christianity. Nowadays, only three or four Hsinshe Kavalan households still practice Chinese popular religion. Very few Christians actually follow their ancestor's belief, since most of them have converted to Christianity after the World War II. Nevertheless, they have experienced rapid social change because of intensive contact with other ethnic groups, especially with Chinese-origin groups, and their cultures as well as pressure from the state. They have imbibed high Chinese culture via national educational curriculum, mass media, and governmental policies. At the same time, they have been influenced by low Chinese culture through personal contact, trade, work, and mass media. Under the predominantly Chinese influence, the Kavalan have been sinicized in many aspects of life. For instance, the Kavalan have followed some

Chinese customs and celebrated major Chinese seasonal festivals, such as Chinese Lunar New Year, Tomb Sweeping Day, Dragon Boat Festival, Moon Festival, and so on, which are more than most of the aboriginal groups do. In addition, the number the Kavalan who speak Holo dialect is also much more than that of the Amis in surrounding villages⁷.

The most obvious example of how the Kavalan have followed Chinese customs is the cemetery of the village. They not only copy the form of tombs and the style of funerals but also practise Chinese ways of ancestor worship. But their dilemma is that they are still not considered to be Holo by others. According to many Holo businessmen or visitors whom I met in Hsinshe, these Kavalan people were merely aborigines who could speak perfect Holo.

The cemeteries along the eastern coastal road have an obvious distinction, either they are Christianised cemeteries or Chinese style graveyards, which signify Amis or Chinese settlements. Only the cemeteries in Hsinshe and Fengpin have a large number of Chinese and Amis tombs at the same time. It is understandable that Fengpin has many Chinese tombs as there are many Holo Taiwanese and some mainlanders living in this *hsiang* centre. As for Hsinshe, those who do not believe in Christianity have Chinese style tombs.

Christianised tombs have a symbol of the cross, the dead's Christian name, and some quotations from the Bible engraved on the tombstones. As for the Chinese-style tombs, they look like a small house or have many Chinese symbols, whose designs are influenced by the idea of *feng-shui*, on the tombs in order to bring prosperity to the descendants of the dead person. Nevertheless, both styles are done in cement and are mostly built by Holo professionals.

The building of concrete tombs at Hsinshe started with one of my informants, A-niao, who had been inspired by Chinese graveyards when he went to work in cities from 1960s onwards. He explained the reason that he wanted to re-build his family tombs:

⁷ Most of the Kavalan can speak Holo fluently which has often puzzled many outsiders who do not understand how can these aborigines speak such fluent Holo.

Look at those Holo Taiwanese, they have shown respect to their dead ancestors so much that they do not mind spending lots of money building beautiful tombs for them. They also come to clear the graveyard every year, no matter how long the journey is. We Kavalan love our ancestors as well. But we leave them in graveyard after burying them and never come back to pay our respects or just to clean the tombs. I feel ashamed of myself whenever I think of those Holo Taiwanese. You see, the tombs are the places where our ancestors rest. We should take good care of their tombs. Therefore, I decided to build the family tombs for my family and the members of my wife's family.

Before A-niao died in December of 1997, he and his family went to clear the tombs on Chinese Tomb Sweeping Day every year with Chinese offerings, such as pork, chicken, fish, rice, Chinese pastries and cakes, wine, incense, and Chinese paper money for the dead to use in *ming fu*, or the underworld. They also performed the rite of worshipping ancestors according to the Chinese customs.

After A-niao's first concrete and Chinese-style tombs in 1970s, it soon became fashionable in the village to build concrete tombs instead of traditional tombs with a small and blank stone in front as a mark. As for the Christians, they add a cross on the top of concrete tombs. Most of the villagers, including Christians, also come to the graveyard to clear the tombs and pay their respect to the dead on Chinese Tomb Sweeping Day⁸. However, Christians come to pray instead of performing Chinese rites. They bring flowers instead of the Chinese-style offerings.

Today, only very few tombs still remain in the traditional Kavalan style in the cemetery. As most of the tombs have been transformed into concrete graves, the views the Kavalan held about the dead have also changed. They never paid any attention to the dead before, since they believed that the spirits of their ancestors would be around them at home. Now they follow the Chinese belief regarding tombs and always try their best to build splendid graves for the dead of their families. Moreover, those who do not refurbish ancestors' graves are condemned by other villagers as ungrateful or stingy people. For example, Li A-mei's family has a well-known dispute about the share each sibling should pay for renovating their mother's tomb. Many villagers have

⁸ The habit to clear tombs was imposed by the KMT before. The KMT propagated Tomb Sweeping Day and New Year Eve as public cleaning days, when the people in the country were mobilised to clean their villages or streets.

criticised them behind their back for their selfishness and ungratefulness. In short, the Kavalan not only adopt the Chinese customs but also make these customs as the norm in their life.

The Kavalan have experienced rapid change in the past two centuries. In the early stages, they experienced Chinese and Japanese social, political and economic domination. Their land was occupied by the Chinese immigrants. Their villages fell victim to division which resulted in the collapse of their social structure. Their culture was suppressed as a result of the incorporation of their population into the mainstream of Chinese life. Compared with their ancestors in Ilan, the present generation of the remaining Kavalan at Hsinshe has been facing much severer crises. They have to cope with the strong Chinese and Amis cultures, as well as modernisation. They gradually lost their ethnic characteristics and traditional values in the process of assimilation into the Chinese society. In spite of their integration, they have been discriminated against by the majority and have been ignored by the government. It is evident from the above description that assimilation into a society does not guarantee full acceptance from the host society. Partial acceptance or rejection often push people back to their roots. In a way, forcible or unwilling assimilation can be counter-productive and can result in renewed sense of one's original identity. Although the Kavalan were forced to assimilate and even adopted many Chinese cultural traits, they were never fully accepted into the mainstream Chinese and perhaps that is the reason they still retained their sense of difference in their social memory.

II. The Kavalan View of Others: a contemporary account at the local level

During my fieldwork, I often asked the Kavalan in Hsinshe about their opinions towards other ethnic groups. I was struck by the fact that unlike most of the other aborigines, the Kavalan have a clear idea of other ethnic groups. They are aware of the *busus* (the Holo), *pahin* (the Hakka), *lao ou-a* (mainlanders), and other aboriginal groups and their characteristics as well as their areas of distribution. They also apprehend that they are also called *pe-poo* (plain aborigines), though they do not quite understand the reasons for this. The majority of the Kavalan at Hsinshe have been officially classified

as *yuan chu min* (aborigines)⁹ which groups them with the Amis, since they live in Amis territory. Some Kavalan who have not got the status of *yuan chu min* are considered to be and describe themselves as Holo. Both the Kavalan and the Amis know clearly about their separate ethnic origins.

There are many stories circulating in their social memory which actually serve the same purpose as myths and legends do for any other group for constructing difference. These stories generally relate to their collective memory of exploitation and dispossession by the Chinese. By repeating these stories, they generate the sense of victimisation and otherness. The Chinese 'other' is thus produced in collective imagination and is always seen as an embodiment of threat. These popular legends, in turn, encourage belongingness and group loyalty among themselves.

These stories suggest that most of the Kavalan do not have a good impression of the *busus*. One of my informants Chieh Wan-lai explained the reasons to me in Holo Taiwanese:

Even though we do not mention the history how the *busus* played dirty tricks to occupy our land in the Ilan plains, we can still find plenty of examples how the *busus* have deceived or exploited us at Hsinshe. When the *busus* ran grocery shops and grain mills in the village around forty or fifty years ago, they often deceived the villagers, gave them usurious loans or forged account books. Because cash was not common at that time, villagers had no idea how it worked with their debts. In the end, they paid more grain in order to return their debts. Many people became poorer because of the endless cycle of debts.

Other villagers have also supported this statement¹⁰. In their collective memory, they knew little about the history of how their ancestors had lost their land in Ilan and were

⁹ In national registration of personal and household records, there is a column for *chi kuan* or the name of one's native place or hometown. For mainlanders, the column is filled in with their hometown in China. The native place of the Holo and Hakka is shown as some county in Taiwan. However, the column for aborigines' has an added description of *shan ti yuan chu min* ("mountain" aborigines) or *ping ti yuan chu min* ("plains" aborigines). The term plains aborigines only refers to the Amis, who usually inhabit the plains area. The complete system of census for the whole population in Taiwan was implemented in the Japanese period, though it was started by Chinese colonisers centuries ago. In the Japanese record, aborigines were divided into two major groups: mountain aborigines and plains aborigines. This means that the Kavalan still had their original ethnic identity in official records then. The KMT government has abolished the registration of one's native home in 1992.

¹⁰ Negishi (1964: 7-15) discovers that the Chinese immigrants had already used this trick to cheat the Kavalan ever since they were allowed by Ching officials to open the first shop in the Kavalan area.

forced to exile in eastern Taiwan owing to the *busus* invasion. However, they remember clearly how the *busus* have deceived them. There are many stories about *busus*' exploitation in the village. The most common situation which has been mentioned by many villagers was as follows:

Whenever our grandfather or father came to pay their debts after rice harvest, *busus* shopkeepers would encourage them to celebrate their happiness with others, including *busus* shopkeepers and their friends. At that time drinking was the ultimate way of celebration. Then the *busus* would suggest that each one should buy a round of a bottle of rice wine. After finishing one bottle, each person put his bottles under his seat. When our grandfather or father were drunk, the *busus* would push some of their bottles towards their side. When they finished drinking, shopkeepers came to count the bottles and asked them to pay for the wine or wrote down in credit books. If our grandfather or father doubted and confronted the owners, they would face the risk of them and the rest of the family being barred from the shop or from receiving credit from the shop anymore.

In 1950s to 1960s, being barred from a shop or from credit at local grocery shops was a serious matter. It could bring devastation to a household, since villagers relied on those shops for many necessities, such as kerosene, salt, rice wine, soap, and so on, and took those things on credit when they had no cash in hand. Because of this, villagers had to put up with the exploitation of the shopkeepers. In spite of this, the villagers mocked themselves for their stupidity and regarded the *busus* as clever people who knew how to make money. Some villagers were inspired and they gathered money from close friends or relatives and opened a grocery shop together. Like Chieh and A-sheng with other close friends opened the first Kavalan shop in the village in the 1960s. Others soon followed. A few years later, Chieh, A-sheng and their friends fell out over some dispute. Chieh and A-sheng have opened their own shops which have survived since then. Other shops were short-lived.

The *busus* still come to sell some goods of dubious quality in the village. One hot morning in summer of 1997, one of our neighbours, the seventy-four-year-old Di-nas, bought a red radio from a *busus* vender who came to sell goods in the village. The radio started to malfunction by the afternoon. She came over to ask how to fix it when we were chatting with some other villagers at the house where I stayed. My host, Dua-dai, soon realised that she bought it from that *busus* vender, who she had got rid of in

disgust in the morning. She made fun of Di-nas for being simple-minded.

Most of those venders were *busus*, and came to the village very often twenty to thirty years ago. They came to sell all sorts of low quality things, such as kitchen utensils, medicine, clothes, shoes, furniture, and so on, from villages to villages. They talked nicely to the remaining villagers like elderly people and housewives. Sometimes they told them some extremely sad stories, for instance, they had traveled all the way from the west to the east to sell goods in order to earn more money for sick parents, wives, or children. Innocent villagers took pity on those venders and bought things from them. When other people told them the truth or they found faults in the goods, they came to realise that they had been cheated. Nowadays, they have developed a kind of neighbourhood watch system. Once they find out dishonest venders in the village, they will go around to tell other villagers to watch out. As to honest venders, the Kavalan trust them deeply and treat them as friends. They often buy goods during their seasonal visits.

Nevertheless, villagers' opinion towards the *busus* has not changed much, even though they have more contact with the *busus* in everyday life. They still describe them as cunning, calculating, dishonest, selfish and money-oriented people who always exploit aborigines. However, they admire the success of the *busus* and try to learn from them.

The villagers admire the *pahin* or Hakka for their efforts to survive the *busus*' exploitation and oppression. Although there are no *pahin* settlements in the nearby area, lots of elderly men who are over seventy had worked with them or heard about them during the Japanese period. When the Kavalan went into Coastal Mountain Range to search for camphor trees and rattan, they met the *pahin* who were also searching the mountains. They travelled together along the Coastal Mountains. The Kavalan sometimes travelled through the mountains to Wu-ho in Jui-sui, one of the small market towns in the long and narrow Hua-Tung plains. They worked for and with the *pahin* in the tea gardens, which was experimental agriculture promoted by the Japanese in the area in the early twentieth century. In short, the Kavalan trust the *pahin* more than the *busus* and prefer to do business with them. They also praise the *pahin* for their strong sense of family bonds and hardworking nature. This may explain why the

Kavalan use “*pahin*”, which means “hard wood” in the Kavalan language ¹¹, to describe the Hakka.

My host Dua-tai also reinforced the Kavalan’s impression towards the *pahin*. She was a *pahin* who was adopted by a Kavalan couple when she was a few months old and has lived with the Kavalan ever since. She always says that her skin and flesh are of the Kavalan, but the bones and blood are of the *pahin*. Villagers know her *pahin* origin and still consider her as a Kavalan, because she was raised in Kavalan ways. Nevertheless, her diligent nature endeared her to elderly Kavalan when she was small. And her caring and frank nature has also won the respect and trust of the villagers. The living example of Dua-tai makes the Kavalan believe that the nature of the *pahin* is as good as that of theirs.

As to *lao ou-a*, an expression borrowed from *busus* which refers to mainlanders, the villagers have little comment about them. It could be the result of tight control from the ruling party, the KMT, when it came to govern Taiwan from late 1940s. At that time, whoever criticised or complained about the government was put in jail. Therefore, villagers did not dare to offend the *lao ou-a* in case they went to make false reports to the police. Even nowadays, when the villagers have quarrels or conflicts with the *lao ou-a*, the latter sometimes bursts out with the threat that he will report them to the police.

From the early 1990s, a few years after martial law was lifted, villagers started to feel free to express their opinions about mainlanders. They think that the mainlanders are eccentric but family-oriented who care very much for their children and wives and who try their best to give their children a better education. However, because of limited contact, they only talk about the mainlanders they know in the village or near-by areas.

In general, most of the elder generation do not criticise mainlander officials. Many of them speak of those officials with a blend of respect and fear which is the result of the KMT’s tight control under martial law. As the society has become more open, the younger generation feels freer to criticise the KMT government, especially mainlander

¹¹ The Amis also addressed the Hakka as *kilang* which also means “hard wood”. However, it is difficult to tell who has borrowed the term from whom.

officials who are conservative and who do not acknowledge the massive local Taiwanese population in the island.

Young Kavalan who choose to work at home or in the nearby region after returning from cities are very close to each other. They often go fishing, or sometimes hunting¹², together during their free time. Most of the time they get together to drink after work. After a few rounds, they will start to criticise the policies or attitude of the government and the propaganda which has brainwashed the older generation. The objection from the elder generation has prevented them from protesting against the government for the purpose of improving the conditions in the villages or creating opportunities for people.

One occasion illustrates the conflict between young and the older generations on this issue well. On Christmas Eve 1997, I was chatting with a group of young Kavalan who were about thirty years old after the celebration at the Catholic church. As usual, they had set a big fire in the courtyard in order to keep people warm as well as for the barbecue. We sat around the fire talking about the preparation of this celebration and the psalm-chanting competition for all of the churches in Fengpin *hsiang*. As time went by, many elderly people went back home to sleep. Only the young people still hung around. They started to criticise the way the government has ignored and misled them by its irresponsible policies. They took agricultural policy as an example and explained the reasons: the government first encouraged them to grow peanuts or some other crops, then later when it was over-produced and the prices fell on the market, the government refused to compensate their loss. Sometimes the government persuaded them to leave the rice fields fallow and promised to give them compensation. They received less than they should have owing to the shortage of governmental funding. These kinds of things have happened so often in the past that they have gradually started to distrust the government. They went on complaining that the KMT does not care about Taiwan and its people and how the mainlanders try to exploit the Taiwanese and invest or deposit their money in foreign countries. They said if China really attacks Taiwan, those people will abandon Taiwan and flee to other countries. As the conversations further progressed and people

¹² It is very difficult to hunt nowadays since the government has tightened laws for the registration of shotguns and the kinds of game people can hunt. Most of the animals or birds they used to hunt before are now protected by law as rare species.

began to get drunk, the half-drunk chief of the village ran into the circle and shouted down their criticism. He gave two of the men, who were his sons, in the group a particularly severe look and ordered them to go home. He said to us,

Do not be ungrateful! The KMT has taken good care of aborigines in many aspects of life. Look, our life is much better than before. We should be thankful to the KMT and its policies. Do not learn from some ungrateful people (referring to the DPP) who are all the time thinking about protests and demonstrations. They are the people who break the peace and bring turmoil the society.

Those young people looked at each other with an understanding smile and changed the topic. The son of the chief told his father to go home and rest. The chief sat with us for a while and made sure that we did not continue the criticism. After he left, I asked if it was because of me that he asked them to shut up, in case I reported them. The young Kavalan laughed loudly and asked me if the police still deals with this kind of things nowadays. They explained to me that it is the typical attitude of the older generation who had bad experiences in the early stages of the KMT regime.

Although most Kavalan consider themselves to be aborigines, they sometimes demonstrate a somewhat patronising attitude towards other aborigines in Taiwan. They perceive themselves as the *pe-poo*¹³, who are totally different from the “mountain aborigines”. Generally speaking, they feel that they are more civilised than other aborigines. Therefore, they show a certain degree of superiority when they are talking about aborigines. For example, they mentioned that savage Taroko still continued headhunting till the end of last century, whereas the Kavalan had abandoned that barbarian activity long time ago. The Kavalan often recalled the lunch the Bunun offered them when they went to buy some plants in near-by village, Kao-shan, for feeding pigs in late 1950s. They said that even the poorest Kavalan could offer their guests rice instead of sweet potatoes and ginger pickle. They also pointed out how the Amis could not integrate themselves into Taiwanese society nowadays.

The perception of Kavalan superiority comes from the fact that aborigines have lived in poorer living standards in isolated areas and have less contact with Taiwan-Chinese since

¹³ Pe-poo means “ping pu” which is “plains aborigines” in the Holo language.

the past, whereas the Kavalan not only have contact with them but also master their language, the *holo wei* or Holo Taiwanese, and understand their customs. However, when talking about the oppression and exploitation by the Taiwan-Chinese, A-niao always pointed to the village and said bitterly that the Kavalan are not better than other aborigines, and could be worse than them because the Kavalan have not even been recognised as an ethnic group.

Owing to the ambiguity of their existence, the Kavalan care very much about other *pe-poo* or plains aborigines. The Kavalan first encountered the Makatao, who have also been regarded as one of the *pe-poo*, on the 28th to 29th of March 1997 due to an invitation from the Taipei City government to the opening of an exhibition for the culture of plains aborigines. Both the groups were invited to perform their traditional songs and dance at Pei-tou, Taipei. The Kavalan were more excited about this meeting than the Makatao. They asked many questions about the place they live in and their history in the Holo language. They took great interest in the Makatao's ritual songs and dance. They were particularly interested in the Makatao language and asked a number of words¹⁴ in order to compare them with Kavalan ones. After a while, a Kavalan shaman A-bi along with some other women took me to the corner and asked why those people speak a different language. What puzzled them is that they should speak the same language, since they are all *pe-poo*. My scholarly explanation about the fact that they are not actually from the same ethnic group did not clear their doubt. Finally the *fu tou-mu* or vice chief suggested the reason why they could not communicate with each other in their mother tongues is that those Makatao had been almost sinicized and had forgotten their own language. After that meeting, the Kavalan started to mention the Makatao and wondered when they can meet again, as if those were really their relatives. The Makatao also alerted them to the danger of losing their language and then their traditions soon.

Some leading Kavalan do not like the Ketagalan, who have had a long historical connection with the Kavalan before the contact with the Chinese. The Kavalan feel that they had been exploited by the Ketagalan many times. Chieh was the first person to notice the motives of the Ketagalan, when he found that some Ketagalan tried to prove to the

¹⁴ The Makatao have used Holo Taiwanese as their daily language. They can only speak a few words and sing some ritual songs in Makatao.

television reporters that they still remembered their mother tongue by speaking some Kavalan words which he had taught them a few days ago. One incident in 1996 also contributed to this feeling of distrust. The Kavalan were invited by the Ketagalan to Taipei to perform their traditional ritual dance. When the Kavalan arrived they discovered that they were to perform in a protest against building a nuclear plant in the area. Some women refused to perform for the fear of breaking the law. Therefore, the Kavalan do not trust the Ketagalan and do not wish to have any further connection with them.

III. The Kavalan and the Amis

Among the numerous villages in eastern coastal Hualien, it is very difficult to distinguish Kavalan villages from the Amis ones. The similarity is not only because of modernisation and sinicization, but also because of the assimilation between these two groups. If one drives along the coastal road, it is very hard to identify Hsinshe. From physical appearance, Hsinshe just looks like any other Amis village along the road. For instance, like other villages Hsinshe also has a village symbol which stands at the entrance of village. The village symbol was built by the Department of the East Coast National Scenic Area of the Ministry of Communications, as a part of tourism promotion projects for the purpose of directing tourists during Amis harvest festival in summer.

Most Kavalan in the village have abandoned their traditional style of house-building and changed their houses into one, two or three storey cement buildings. Like most of the households in Taiwan, almost every household has television, refrigerator, telephone, washing machine, electric rice cooker, gas cooker, and other modern facilities. A few Kavalan households have installed cable television which allows them to watch thirty to forty channels, including the channels set up by the opposition parties and some select international channels. Those who can afford cable television¹⁵ are over sixty years old, they have some savings and they were educated during the Japanese period. They follow NHK news everyday and watch Japanese programmes

¹⁵ The customers are asked to pay about 2000 to 3000 New Taiwanese dollars as cable installation fee in the region. No such fees are charged in any other part of Taiwan as cable companies receive enough rental from customers to cover the instalment fees. The monthly rental for cable television is about 700 to 800 New Taiwanese dollars, which is relatively expensive compared to the average in rest of Taiwan.

with a great deal of nostalgia.

With the Kavalan consciousness on the rise, the Kavalan feel the urgency to distinguish themselves from the Amis. However, the ethnic characteristics which the Kavalan claim as theirs are very similar to those of the Amis. These include a male age-grade system, diet, festivals, rituals, songs and dance, and so on. The Kavalan have also borrowed many phrases and terms from the Amis language. Whenever I point out some Amis influences in Kavalan characteristics, the Kavalan normally defend themselves by saying that those traditions or customs were actually stolen or imitated by the Amis. Or, they try to single out what they think is Kavalan essence from those characteristics. When they asked me to list them, the Kavalan were astonished by the number of similarities that they have shared with the Amis. Most of them think that what they do or have are typically of Kavalan origin.

Interestingly, despite the close similarity between their and Amis customs, the Kavalan constitute their ethnicity in opposition of that of the Amis. They are anxious to be different in order to avoid the danger of their being grouped together with the Amis. That is why they anxiously highlight their different interpretations of ceremonies and customs rather than the overlapping elements.

As mentioned previously, the Kavalan have a sense of superiority towards other aborigines, particularly the Amis. They think that the Amis have learned certain things from them over time. For example, A-niao and Wu-hsiung pointed out that the Amis did not cultivate rice fields until the Kavalan started to do so in the region. The Amis then learned the techniques of rice agriculture when they worked for the Kavalan. A-yuk and A-mi said that they used to teach their Amis classmates to wear knickers under the school uniform and to clean themselves when they attended the primary school at Fengpin in the 1930s. A-niao also added a story to prove uncouth behaviour of Amis. He said that Amis women used to bathe shamelessly in the river at the entrance of Fengpin and ignored passers-by. Once he and some Kavalan men needed to pass through the bridge and found a group of Amis women and children bathing in the river. They had to hide themselves for a while till the Amis women had finished their bath. In a way, the Kavalan hinted that they brought civilised influence to the Amis.

The term, Amis, which means northerner is from another aboriginal language, Puyuma¹⁶. It has been used to describe the people who live in the north of Puyuma territory. The Amis address themselves as “Pang-tsah”, which means “people” in their own language. The Kavalan as well as other ethnic groups use “Amis” to address the Pang-tsah as the Puyuma do. Nowadays, the Kavalan’s neighbouring Amis have been incorporated with some other Amis-speaking people who are scattered over three present administrative counties, Hualien, Taitung and Pingtung, and have been officially recognised as aborigines which entitles them to certain minority rights. With an estimated population of 146,796 (1997)¹⁷, the Amis have become the majority among the aborigines in Taiwan and play an influential role in local politics.

Although the Kavalan along the eastern coast of the island are classified as one of the Amis groups, owing to their locality in Amis territory, they have very little influence in the region. Even though some of the Kavalan accept the fact that they also have an Amis background, they are still excluded by the Amis to a certain extent. Take a local politician Chen Chung-hsiang as an example, he could not win the trust of the Amis and beat Amis candidates in the country elections, despite having an Amis father who married into a Kavalan household. He narrowly won the county election as *hsiang* representative in 1997. Some Kavalan did not vote for him. They were dissatisfied with his attitude as he did not acknowledge his Kavalan identity in public and did not participate in Kavalan activities enthusiastically. He is caught in a dilemma that if he gets too close to the Amis, he will lose Kavalan votes, and if he emphasises his Kavalan identity too much, he will not get many votes from the Amis.

Many Kavalan often express their worries about being excluded by the Amis in local politics. As the Kavalan became aware of the power and benefits of politics in a democratic set-up, they preferred to have someone in the *hsiang* politics to speak for them and secure their rights. Even though a large number of Kavalan are not satisfied with the performance and attitude of Chen Chung-hsiang, they still support him

¹⁶ The Puyuma were the dominant group in the southeastern part of Taiwan before Chinese contact. King Puyuma had set up a Puyuma kingdom and ruled the area, including some neighbouring groups. At that time, the Amis were the dominant group in the upper eastern Taiwan, whereas the Puyuma were in the lower part of eastern Taiwan.

¹⁷ The Amis population was recorded by the Council of Aboriginal Affairs.

whenever he contests elections. Some Kavalan have started to encourage a young Kavalan who is a fourth-year university student in Dentistry. They hope that he will become their political representative in the future.

Apart from competing with the Amis in local politics, the Kavalan also try to distinguish their harvest festival from that of the Amis. Still, the Kavalan do imitate the style and form of the Amis festival.

The magnificent Amis harvest festival and cheerful songs and dances have been recognised as the most distinctive cultural trait among all Taiwanese aborigines. Because Amis characteristics are so famous some other aboriginal groups, especially the Kavalan, tend to adopt their style of performance. Ironically, the Amis harvest festival and their songs and dances are not their authentic traditions but were modified by the Japanese and KMT rulers in the first half of the twentieth century. Although the annual harvest festival is still the most important festival in Amis life, it was far more significant before, as the Amis solely relied on their sacred crop, millet, before they changed to rice cultivation¹⁸. The present festival is only a part of the year-long rituals for millet. The rituals, which included the rituals for preparation, sowing, weeding, repelling insects, appealing to the sun, reaping, storage, and so on, were led and performed by men's age-grades. The last ritual, which is the present Amis Harvest Festival, celebrated the harvest and men's upgrading to different levels. As a result, the ritual was an important expression of masculinity, as many rites emphasised manhood or adulthood.

The Japanese colonisers may have been worried that the Amis rituals, especially the harvest ritual, posed a potential threat of rebellion, they therefore put many restrictions on the activities and shortened their duration. They announced that the rituals were tribal superstitions and unfair to other members of the village, when elderly people,

¹⁸ According to Huang's research (Huang 1994: 10, 12-13), the Amis changed to rice cultivation because there are too many rituals and taboos associated with millet crop and its yield is much less compared to rice. Millet is considered to have a sacred and sensitive spirit that needs to be treated with care and respect, as the spirit has the power to punish or reward people. The Amis therefore prefer rice cultivation, though it needs lots of labour. The most important reason which Huang missed out is that the Amis could exchange rice for cash when the rice was in a great demand by the majority, the Chinese-Taiwanese, and the Japanese colonisers, since their staple food was rice.

women, and children were excluded. Therefore, they ordered the Amis to abandon their traditional rituals and changed their harvest ritual into what the Japanese favoured, cheerful Amis songs and dances, which allowed everyone to participate. During the Japanese period, the Amis were often called on to perform their songs and dances in order to entertain important Japanese officials. Or, the Japanese officials would come to the Amis harvest festival to watch their performance. Because of Japanese forcible persuasion, some Amis changed the style of the festival into competitions for sports or fun games, performance, or entertainment for the Japanese.

The KMT also forbade the Amis to perform the traditional festival under martial law. After negotiation, the KMT allowed the Amis to have their festival on the condition that they shortened the duration of the whole festival, finished daily activities before midnight, modernised the festival as an entertaining performance, and set up a committee which could communicate with the government and also were responsible for the festival. In return, the government would sponsor the festival which, at the same time, legitimised the KMT as monitor of festival. The KMT also tried to encourage Amis villages to hold a single and unified festival for the purpose of propaganda and touristic attraction, despite the fact that every village worshipped its own ancestors and gods, operated a different system of men's age-grades, and had its own village customs. The Catholic Church has been helping the Amis villagers to preserve their own traditional festival, after realising the futility of forbidding them from performing it. The Church no longer sees the festival as a superstition of Amis original belief. They have re-interpreted it as a thanksgiving festival in a religious sense. Nowadays, Protestant priests have loosened their rigid attitude towards the festival. They take in the Catholic view and accept the festival as folk culture.

Political environment often influences the ways ethnic groups express their culture. In the case of the Amis, they were encouraged to restore their harvest festival after martial law was lifted. The government hopes that an exotic and cheerful festival could bring prosperity to backward counties like Hualien and Taitung. This also provides the government with a chance to show its concern for the aborigines. Nowadays, the Hualien and Taitung governments have sponsored the villages which hold the festival

for more than five days. They have also increased the expense for publicity by holding press conferences and producing an introductory leaflet on Amis harvest festival. Therefore, from July to September, many tourists are drawn to the festival, students come to study the festival, journalists come to cover the festival, and even top-level officials come to get publicity.

The change of staple crop, the demand of rulers and the interest of tourists have all helped to transform Amis traditional and agricultural-based rituals over time. The whole set of year-long rituals has been reduced to one performative festival. Some festivals even follow the formality¹⁹ which starts with the national anthem with the raising of national flag, followed by the speeches from the chairman and honorable guests (mostly officials or politicians). The autonomy of traditional rituals which were decided by individual villages was also destroyed when the rulers encouraged them to have a collective festival. Amis rituals have lost their historical connection and values. Apart from this, the Amis festival has become a battleground where politicians come to get publicity and compete with each other by their donations to the event. Therefore, if there is a election approaching, the festival of that year will be particularly splendid and bustling²⁰.

When the harvest festival was greatly promoted by the government from late 1980s, Hsinshe, like many other villages, started to restore or recreate their public festival. This festival was based on the one the Catholics had been celebrating in time. However, the festival had a strong Amis flavour in its songs and dance in the beginning. Participants also wore red Amis dress. This continued till Kavalan consciousness began to emerge, after being invited in 1991 to visit Ilan in the 195th anniversary for a Chinese U Sha who had successfully set up Chinese settlements in Ilan area. The Kavalan have engaged in re-creating or re-inventing what they consider to be “authentic” Kavalan tradition ever since. They transformed the festival into a

¹⁹ This formality became compulsory at every public occasion or performance, even the cinema, when the KMT came to power in Taiwan. Anyone skipping it could be charged for committing treason. It has been simplified nowadays.

²⁰ This is the matter of timing as election usually takes place around the end of the year, mostly in November, and the Amis festival period is from July to September. Therefore, most of the candidates regard the festival period as the best time to get publicity.

Kavalan occasion. They even changed the common-use Chinese name for harvest festival, *feng nien chieh*, to *feng nien chi* first, then to *ching feng nien*²¹ in order to differentiate their festival from that of Amis in the eyes of the public²². They have also invited Ilan Kavalan to the festival. During the festival period, some scholars and researchers came for their research, massive numbers of journalists and television presenters also came to report the events. The Kavalan again caught national attention, but this time Hsinshe Kavalan were the only focus.

Outsiders cannot tell the differences between Kavalan and Amis harvest festivals, when they ignore the different dress they wear, the Kavalan in black and the Amis in red. Whether the Kavalan had a similar festival is unknown. Chen (1963) recorded that the Kavalan people in Ilan sang, danced, and drank during the celebration of their festival. According to Dua-tai and some other Kavalan who are over sixty, they remembered seeing their parents or grandparents, but mostly women, singing and dancing in a circle in a square yard, where A-mi's house is now, after the first harvest in summer. It was a spontaneous gathering which was not fixed on certain days or styles. And this is the tradition that the Catholic Church has helped to preserve. However, under Amis influence, they used to sing more popular Amis songs than their own Kavalan songs before, for Amis songs sounded more cheerful.

When Kavalan consciousness began to develop, the Catholic priest Pan started to record the musical notes of the songs which the eldest shaman A-bi and some other elderly Kavalan could recall. Pan also re-created Kavalan-style dances with the help of elderly people. Those songs as well as some other new songs which were written by Pan and Chieh have become so-called Kavalan folk songs nowadays and are sung during the harvest festival and other public performances. In a word, the Kavalan have re-invented their traditional songs and dances and put them in the form of an Amis-

²¹ Actually, *feng nien chieh*, *feng nien chi*, and *ching feng nien* all mean the same thing. It refers to the celebration of harvest festival. Amis have several terms for *feng nien chieh* in their language, such as *ilisin* (referring to the whole set of millet rituals), *malaikid* (celebration with joyful songs and dance, used for rice harvest festival), *malikoka* (singing and dancing), and *kiluma'an* (family reunion) though they differ from village to village. Some elderly people who are over fifty still use Japanese terms like *zukumisai* (moon festival) or *siukakusai* (harvest festival) to describe it (Huang 1994: 14). Nevertheless, *feng nien chieh* is a Chinese term that is commonly used by the Amis and others.

²² However, as the change of the name was entirely the idea of one individual, Wan-lai's, and was not discussed with others, some Kavalan complained about it in private.

style harvest festival.

While Amis performative culture has been greatly exploited by politics and tourism, some Amis have decided to restore their “traditional” harvest festival. This gives us a chance to examine the differences between what the Kavalan have learned from the Amis and what the Amis claim to be their original traditions.

The festival of Chi-mei²³, or Kiwit in Amis language, is known as one of the most authentic harvest festivals among Amis villages in Hualien. On 24th of August, 1997, I went to this small village in the Coastal Mountains, which is also at the riverbank of Hsiukuluan, a famous river for rafting during summer time, to observe its harvest festival. The salient feature of Chi-mei Amis’ harvest festival is its male-oriented celebration ritual, in which women and children are excluded from most of the event. During the five-day festival, all men, excluding elderly people, have to come back to the village and join their age group. Or, they will be fined for their absence.

Men went to River Hsiukuluan for *komoris* (fishing) and performed the rite of worshipping the God of the river during the first two days. The purpose of this activity is to pass on their traditional fishing skills and the traditional values of respecting seniors by the younger generation. From the third day onwards, after preparation of the festival, the men dressed up in traditional dress and performed *malitapud*, the rite of welcoming the ancestors. They began to sing and dance in a semi-circle, when elderly people sat in the middle smoking, drinking and chatting. The dancing group was led by seniors in order from elder to younger age group. They had five age groups that year and each group wore different dress and accessories. The senior and youngest groups wore simple and less colorful dress, headgear and accessories, whereas the appearance of the junior groups was more colorful and sophisticated. The junior males danced dramatically with sudden jumps and squats, which required a great deal of energy.

²³ There are more than 60 percent Amis at Chi-mei village. The second biggest group is the Bunun who are over 20 percent. Other villagers like the Holo Taiwanese and mainlanders are in the minority. Being in the middle of Hsiukuluan rafting route, the Amis have been trying to attract tourists to stay at Chi-mei and not just have lunch on the river bank for about an hour. With help from the government, they have built new houses or transformed their houses for holiday accommodation. The business has been running for three years but it does not seem to be promising, owing to the lack of tourism planning. However, it does attract more tourists and students during the festival time.

While dancing and singing, the youngest members would come to their seniors and offer them a drink, mostly rice wine, from time to time. On the fourth day, men went to visit the households of their fellow men and sent their greetings to the head of the households, generally the mother of the family, since Amis households were traditionally matriarchal. They also performed *pihololan*, the rite of inviting ancestors to eat, during lunchtime, a feast exclusively for men. They normally killed one pig for this special lunch. Women could join the celebration from the afternoon onwards. The last day which is known as *pipihayan*, the rite for sending ancestors away, is the climax of the festival, when guests and all of the villagers were invited to the festival. Apart from the men's performance, women also came to perform in order to entertain the guests.

Before the whole performance ended in the evening, there was some excitement among the men. The juniors all ran after their seniors in order to take off their headgear or accessories for themselves. They also had to choose a leader for each age group. Being a leader has many responsibilities, and whoever was chosen would refuse and run away. However, some other people tried to catch the reluctant leaders, and their family would come up and defend their son or brother. The whole situation was resolved when the unwilling leaders gave up their resistance, and the new order of age group was then produced. After the ceremony of upgrading, everyone was invited to the banquet, which was catered by the Holo Taiwanese. Throughout the festival, men are expected to work as a group with discipline. They are taught how to survive in the wilds. Most importantly, they are constantly reminded to respect and obey elderly people.

Although the Kavalan claim that the duration of their harvest festival is five days, for the benefit of getting funding from the government, the festival actually lasts for three days, including the Catholic festival on the first day, the village festival on the next day, and the *hsiang* unified festival in the last day. The missing two days are considered to be the preparation period, when they hold several meetings to discuss the distribution of labour. During the festival period, men who had been organised according to their age before are assigned various jobs, including decorating the performing area, preparing meals and the banquet, inviting guests, collecting money

from every household, etc. They get busy even before the festival starts, when they go out to the sea for fishing, and their wives also help to collect wild vegetables. According to them, the most troublesome job is to prepare meals for villagers, as they have to get up very early in the morning to kill pigs, which is the essential meat for the festival. They buy five pigs for the whole festival and kill one pig everyday for lunch. Like the Amis in Chi-mei, the banquet on the last day in Hsinshe is catered by Holo-Taiwanese professional cooks who prepare authentic Chinese food²⁴.

Kavalan's harvest festival is more like a performance. What the Kavalan perform in these three days is basically the same. There are the same songs and dance, however, the version for *hsiang* unified festival is slightly shorter, while the version for the village celebration is much longer and more dramatic. Although the Catholic festival is for Catholics, other villagers still come to participate. The festival which takes place at the courtyard of the Catholic Church is quite similar in form to what Chi-mei Amis have. The Kavalan hold hands in hand and dance and sing in an semi-circle. Elderly people sit with the Father in the middle smoking, drinking and chatting. Unlike Chi-mei Amis, the Kavalan dancing group consists of men during the first part and women during the second part, when they are led by the people who are considered to be good singers and who know how to lead the group. Therefore, it does not matter whether they are men or women. As to village festival, they add a performance in which young men carry the chief and vice chief into the centre of the dancing ground. After the simplified version of the official formality, which includes speeches from chairman and honorable guests, etc., those young men crowd around in a circle, behind the chief and vice chief and groups of women, preparing the tools for hunting. In the meantime, the women start to perform the rites of expelling plague, welcoming ancestors and celebrating with ancestors. When they finish this performance, every villager holds each other's hand and starts to sing and dance in a big circle. They sing all kind of songs, including the Kavalan and Amis songs.

The Catholic festival starts with the morning mass, when only Catholics attend. Then

²⁴ Most aborigines regard their food as "primitive" and feel embarrassed to offer it to their guests, especially Chinese guests. However, aboriginal cuisine has gradually become popular in recent year as a result of growing aboriginal consciousness. Nonetheless, they prefer to offer Chinese food to their guests on special occasions like wedding, funeral, etc., in order to show their respect to the guests.

they continue the celebration with singing and dancing together after having lunch at the church. The village celebration starts late around three o'clock in the afternoon at the sports ground of the primary school, for there is no shelter at the ground in hot summer afternoon. Like many other Amis villages, Hsinshe also has a banquet for guests and villagers in the evening. At the *hsiang* unified harvest festival, the speeches which are given by county magistrate, *hsiang* head, *hsiang* councilor, and other honorable guests can last for almost two hours. Those officials and politicians wish to continue their position as they look for votes since their service terminates at the end of that year. After every village or settlement finishes their performance, they all dance together in various big circles.

It is clear that the idea of the Kavalan festival is borrowed from the Amis model, even though the Kavalan would argue that the songs and dance of the festival are their "traditional" culture. Nevertheless, there are some similarities between Chi-mei Amis' and Kavalan's harvest festivals, for example, the fact that harvest festival is the major public activity in their villages; it is an important social gathering which allows villagers to communicate wishes and happiness to each other; it is also a family reunion, when everyone will come back for the festival; pork and wine are essential in the festival; and lastly, the banquet they have for the guests on the last day is always catered by Holo-Taiwanese professionals, while the lunches they have during the festival are cooked by themselves.

The salient differences between these two harvest festivals are the function of the festival and the system of men's age grades. The Kavalan festival is simple and straightforward, as it is the time for the Kavalan to communicate with their family and other Kavalan. As for the Amis festival, it is about historical continuity of their beliefs and customs, and ancestor worship, whereas the Kavalan have a separate rite for ancestor worship, *palilin*, in the end of lunar year. Consequently, the conceptual sense of the men's age-grade system is relatively weak for the Kavalan. The men's age-grade system of the Kavalan is more practical as it is designed only for the distribution of labour for public activities. The Amis system is aimed to train their young men to learn to live within a group, to know their responsibilities at each stage, and respect elderly and wise people. Apart from these, the Kavalan have also tried to differentiate themselves by re-designing their own dress, they first wore all black clothes such as

their ancestors used to wear at important occasions, including wedding dress for bride and groom; later, women changed their dress to a white blouse with black edge, black skirt and calf covers, the dress of shamans and chiefs remains the same, the all black blouse and pants. However, men's dress, headgear²⁵, and other accessories²⁶ are no different from that of Amis men. Also, Kavalan songs sound sad and somber while Amis songs are much more brisk, lively, and cheerful. Because of the sad tone, some young Kavalan have suggest to change to joyful Amis songs. As to dance, Kavalan steps are much easier and simpler than Amis ones.

The Kavalan are still the dominant people in Hsinshe village as a whole, despite the fact that they are closely related to some other Amis villagers through intermarriage and adoption. Most of the Amis in Hsinshe can speak fluent Kavalan. Only a few Amis who live away from Hsinshe and who moved in later cannot speak the language. Since Hsinshe is considered to be the main Kavalan settlement, the Amis villagers of Hsinshe participate, or are expected to participate, in Kavalan public activities. For those Amis, they prefer to participate in the activities at Hsinshe rather than other Amis settlements at Hsinshe. They consider their involvement as the obligation of community activities. However, the Kavalan are gradually losing their influence as a great number of the Amis have set up their settlements around Hsinshe. Nonetheless, the Kavalan in Hsinshe try to maintain Kavalan-style festival in the village.

It is interesting to point out that those Amis who live mixed with the Kavalan at Hsinshe have no confusion about their own ethnic identity. They acknowledge themselves as the Amis and know clearly why they participate in Kavalan activities. They told me that there are too many Amis in Taiwan, as the Amis are the biggest ethnic group both in Hualien and Taiwan, and they feel that they should support the Kavalan, the very minority whose status does not receive any official attention and importance. But for the Amis in Tunghsin and Fuhsin, most of them neither speak the Kavalan language, nor participate in Kavalan activities. Moreover, they do not feel

²⁵ Within the age-grade system, the older the men the more decorated headgears they wear. The youngest members only wear simple headscarf. Elderly men normally do not wear anything.

²⁶ Accessories include a small decorated waist bag, chest band (sometimes with a bag), waistband, bracelets, necklaces, footgear, and so on.

happy about the idea that Hsinshe is a village for the Kavalan, and try to make this point on many occasions. For example, they strongly object to the Kavalan language class taught in the only primary school at Hsinshe, for they are Amis not Kavalan.

However, the Kavalan have gradually lost their power in the village as some other Amis villagers have started to become a part of the whole imaginative ethnic group. The Kavalan worry that they will be soon swallowed by the Amis, whose population has already overtaken Kavalan population in the whole of Hsinshe, like some other Kavalan at Lite, Chang-yuan, and so on, living under the shadow of the Amis. The crisis becomes intensified whenever the new village head is due to be elected. The Kavalan always choose to elect a Kavalan village head so that they at least can secure their influence in the village.

The Kavalan are at the crossroads and feel uncertain about their future. Most of them feel helpless about the crisis of being assimilated into Amis society, as their ancestors were incorporated into Chinese society in the last century. Some try to attract media attention in order to get public recognition. Some strive to win legal protection from the nation-state. Therefore, the Kavalan have been re-creating or re-inventing their distinctive characteristics, for the purpose of reassuring themselves, and most importantly, distinguishing themselves from the Amis.

VI. Conclusion

From the case of the Kavalan, it is apparent that their identity is elusive in many respects. It is shifting yet persistent at the same time. The study of Kavalan identity, therefore, provides us with a chance to look at how an ethnic group resists social and cultural assimilation from dominant groups or culture. It also shows that revived Kavalan identity and culture are shaped by inter-ethnic relations and their geographical displacement. Moreover, it contributes to a greater understanding of the historical development of Taiwanese culture and society.

The above description shows that the Kavalan have their own way of grouping which differentiates themselves from others at the local level. Even though they share many similarities with the Amis and the Holo in many aspects of life after long-term contact,

they still believe that they are different from these two groups; moreover, these groups do not consider them as their members. In this sense, it is like what Moerman (1965: 1219) finds out in his search for “Lueness”: “[s]omeone is a Lue by the virtue of believing and calling himself Lue and of acting in ways that validate his Lueness”. The Kavalan try to make their ethnic characteristics more obvious which they hope can convince the government to recognise their ethnic status. Thus, the Kavalan go a step further than the Lue by publicising their identity and displaying their traditional culture. In doing so, they hope to make differences that will objectify boundaries between them and others. Therefore, the Kavalan engage themselves in re-inventing their traditions, as the emphasis on “traditions” will not only empower their ethnic identity but also validate their Kavalaness by linking themselves to their ancestral Kavalan found in history textbooks. This issue is discussed in greater detail in the next chapter of the thesis.

However, it will be misleading if we treat Kavalan identity as an identity that has been existing since long before. Rather, Kavalan identity is a modern invention which is defined from the relationship of an ethnic group to others and emphasised through the boundaries between them as a result of social interactions. As the case of Kavalan shows, their identity is ascribed as well as achieved. The making of Kavalan identity also reveals the need of a group of people who are trying to make sense of their existence in modern Taiwan.

Analytically, the development of Kavalan reconfiguration of identity is deeply related to the historical development of Taiwanese culture and society. In the past, the Kavalan were dominated by imperial, colonial, and other hegemonic powers; they had passively submitted and accepted whatever had been imposed upon them, as they had no power to fight against it. It remained so until recently when in the aftermath of democratic reforms they, like many other groups who were long suppressed during the Japanese and KMT absolute control, gradually began to understand the meaning of democracy and their rights within it. Inspired by other larger ethnic groups like the Holo and aborigines who had been officially recognised, they started to participate in the aboriginal movement in order to acquire minority status. In a sense, the reconstruction of Kavalan identity is a process of realisation that they have a chance to end their marginalisation and gain legitimacy as a distinct ethnic group in a democratic country. In order to participate in the new social structure in Taiwan, the Kavalan strive to reconfigure their ethnic identity and culture, as

they have been caught between the Chinese influences on the one hand, and Amis on the other, and in the process have lost a great deal of their own ethnic characteristics.

From a social perspective, we find that ethnicity is a constantly constructed process rather than a primordial entity in modern Taiwan. It is a social dynamic which is constructed through generations with other ethnic groups in time. From a historical point of view, we can conceptualise Taiwanese contemporary ethnicity as “periodic” ethnicity which reflects certain purposes of groups of people in response to special social, historical and geographic conditions in modern Taiwan. We can clearly see that the interaction between ethnic groups helps them create a sense of sharedness and develop common characteristics which gradually forge a shared collective identity between them within the same political unit. But at the same time, they discover a need to retain, or in some cases regain, their distinctive features and identity. Therefore, they create or invent a symbolic boundary in order to distinguish themselves from other groups. From this perspective, ethnicity is not only a set of social relations, group consciousness and a social classification of people, as Comaroff (1987) and Eriksen (1993) perceive, but also a sense of purpose and meaning for their existence, an awareness of the continuity of their community and a social construct for re-defining their group identity.

We can conclude that ethnicity emerges when ethnic groups are closely integrated and gradually start losing their ethnic characteristics. Because of intensive ethnic contact, weaker groups encounter the danger of cultural and political assimilation into dominant or majority groups. As Comaroff argues (1987: 301), ethnicity denotes the incorporation of groups into a single economy (e.g. nation-state) while some weaker groups are inevitably classified into the subordinate class of social order. Ethnicity also underlines awareness of social continuity of a group. As a result, weaker groups tend to highlight their distinctive characteristics, re-invent their tradition in order to reassert themselves, strengthen their group solidarity and fight for their rights. More importantly, a point which many have ignored, ethnicity should be viewed as a politicised self-identification which often emphasises power struggle and structured inequality. This is the reason why ethnic consciousness is inevitably in conflict with the homogeneous nature of nation.

Chapter Five

Mobilising Ethnic Power: the Dynamic of Kavalan Cultural Revival

This chapter deals with the Kavalan's attempt to reconstruct their disrupted tradition and cultural practices which have now become a part of their cultural resurgence. I shall analyse various forms of culture and traditions which have been in the process of being recreated since they emerged from obscurity into the national limelight for the first time in 1987. The remarkable thing about the Kavalan revival is that their reinvented traditions are generally designed for performance rather than as a restored social practice that was part of their daily life in the past. The aim of this performative tradition is not only to connect them with their past but also to highlight the distinctiveness of their culture through mass media in order to gain acceptance and popularity, as a first step towards gaining full recognition as one of the original inhabitants of Taiwan.

Both Shils (1981) and Hobsbawm (1983) stress the importance of traditions. The former (Shils 1981: 321) sees traditions as a necessity, like rules, categories, and institutions in human life, whereas the latter regards traditions as a vehicle that symbolically connects the present with the past. Both of them agree that traditions are closely related to the past. Shils (*ibid.*) thinks that people seek help from the past when they cannot create some rules, categories, institutions, etc and endow those traditions with special meanings on particular occasions. Some traditions are therefore different from those of the past (*ibid.*: 46), as they are not created but are necessary forms of adaptation. Shils also remarks (*ibid.*: 321) that the traditions which are chosen in modern times have been "antitraditional intellectual traditions". He (*ibid.*: 44-46) then goes on to suggest that we should treat traditions as starting points for new beliefs or new patterns of actions. Hobsbawm (1983: 1) argues that the aim of the invention of traditions is to repeat some rules, rituals, or practices which originally come from the past. Through the repetition, these traditions are not only endowed automatically with the symbolic meanings of the past, but are also considered as demonstrating continuity with that past. Hobsbawm (*ibid.*: 10-1) thus acknowledges the novelty and difference of newly invented traditions from the old ones in ideological and practical aspects. In comparison, Hobsbawm's view is more

comprehensive than that of Shils, as it enables us to understand why old traditions were specific in nature and were bound up with social practices, whereas newly invented traditions are unspecific and not necessarily related to the secular world. However, Shils is right to mention that the traditions are created for the purpose of adaptation. Nonetheless, the aim of the invented traditions is often to serve as symbolic signs which can integrate and unify group cohesion and to pursue certain benefits or advantages. Thus, the Welsh invented their past from the Romantic Period to fill the lack of a strong identity (Morgan 1983: 43-100). By connecting with their ancestors who had succeeded in the invention of Welsh symbols in the Romantic Period, “Welshness” became continuities for them and this idea would be handed down to future generations. Likewise in Just’s account (1989: 71-88), the Greeks manipulated their classical culture to unify the whole population of Greece for nation building, even though the majority knew little or nothing about Greek classical culture. In a word, the significance of the past is the means by which an ethnic group or a nation can strengthen their ethnic image and identity¹.

Shepherd, an American anthropologist who has studied Taiwan’s plains aborigines for several years, provides us with a more satisfactory explanation on the reason why people tend to emphasise their connection with their ancestors. He says:

Only in specific circumstances is the adoption of elements from another culture seen as compromising an ethnic identity or signalling a desire to join another group. Paradoxically, it is frequently only after a group has already become highly acculturated to another that members discover an advantage (psychic, political, or economic) in maintaining a separate group identity. They then begin to raise ethnic boundaries by reinventing group traditions, often using as symbolic markers of group membership traits that have acquired contrastive significance only in the present and that their unacculturated ancestors would have been surprised to learn represented unique group characteristics. (Shepherd 1993: 303)

According to Shepherd, when highly acculturated peoples try to maintain their own identity, they use their “pure” and unacculturated ancestors as a sacred symbol which can help them to separate from the ethnic group they incorporated with and can display their distinctive characteristics to other ethnic groups. As long as they connect themselves with their ancestors, they automatically regain their original identity.

¹ In Smith’s account (1986: 208), the past, such as ethnic myths, memories, values, and symbols, can form the dynamic and expressive character of ethnic identity. These are renewed or re-told in every generation. Therefore, Smith views “nation-building” as a recurrent activity of ethnic renewal.

I suggest that the invention of traditions is not necessarily a form of adaptation as Shils perceives. It serves as an expression of the zeal to maintain an ethnic identity. Hence, it is related to the notion of drawing ethnic boundaries, presenting ethnically distinctive characteristics, connecting symbolically with the past, and solidifying group cohesion. Hence, invented traditions have novel implications for political and socio-cultural reasons and for a particular period. As a result, they do not need to have original meanings and functions.

In order to study the Kavalan cultural revival, it is important to investigate how it started. Therefore, this chapter starts with an individual's search for family roots, followed by how other Kavalan people compete to emphasise their Kavalanness in the first section. Then, it deals with the activities of Kavalan cultural resurgence in the next section. The third section examines the significance of the re-invented Kavalan traditions in the construction of their ethnic identity and in the context of Taiwanese society.

I. Individual Search, Collective Revival

Chieh's search for his clan

The Kavalan cultural revival owes more to one individual's initiative and effort than to any other factor. The contribution of a Hsinshe Kavalan, Chieh Wan-lai, in rediscovering the Kavalan is singularly significant in bringing a lost group of people to a renewed consciousness of their identity. Therefore, Chieh's search for his lost relatives, which laid the foundation of ethnic revival among the Kavalan, needs to be taken into account in detail.

Before the Kavalan received formal acknowledgement from a county government in 1991, there were two significant events that brought them into the limelight for the first time in 1987. The first incident occurred in May 1987 when Chieh came to the Cultural Centre of Ilan County to ask for assistance in finding his Kavalan relatives and his family history in the Ilan area; the second occurred in November when the Kavalan

were invited by the Taiwan Provincial Museum to perform their traditional ritual songs and dances in Taipei New Park at the opening of the exhibition of stone coffins which were found in Fengpin county. The reporting of these events in the media shocked the public who believed that the Kavalan had already merged into the Taiwanese society. From then on, the Kavalan has gradually become a well-known household name which has made the Kavalan more confident about their newly acquired ethnic identity.

According to Chieh, his search for his kinsmen who are scattered all over Taiwan is to fulfil his father's will. As his father used to remind him not to forget his family origins, he decided to look for the people with the surname of Chieh when he was about to retire from a civilian position as the head of military service section in the Fengpin Council. Using his position, Chieh has managed to find 601 people with the surname Chieh in the island². About half of them actually turned out to be his relatives.

Chieh was born in Hsinshe in 1932, the eighth child of Chieh Pa-pao. Young Chieh moved with his elder brother, who took care of the livelihood of the family as well as his father, to various places in Hualien County before settling down in Hsinshe with his elder sister who had married into the Chen family, one of the two rich landowner families in the village. He has been living in Hsinshe village for about forty years. He worked as a local civil servant in the village before taking up a job with the Fengpin Council. When he was about to retire from the post, he started to look for his relatives all over Taiwan, whenever he went on business trips. His search was encouraged by his Holo-Taiwanese son-in-law, Yang Gong-ming, who was very enthusiastic about presenting the Kavalan to the nation. Apart from finding his relatives, Chieh also took Yang's advice about introducing himself to the Ilan County Cultural Centre to gain acceptance.

The special thing about his surname is that it is said to be derived from that of a

² According to Chieh's research on families with Chieh surname in Taiwan in 1978, he found out 28 people in Taipei County (including 2 people with a different Chinese character for Chieh), 282 in Ilan (including 62 with a different Chinese character for Chieh), 14 in Taoyuan, 1 in Miao-li, 2 in Taichung, 4 in Changhua, 2 in Tainan, 2 in Kaohsiung, 118 in Hualien (including 16 with a different Chinese character for Chieh), 55 in Taitung, 16 in Keelung, 77 in Taipei City. The interesting phenomenon in this distribution of Chieh families in Taiwan is that there are more Chieh in the areas like Ilan, the homeland of the Kavalan, Hualien and Taitung where the Kavalan were forced to migrate in the last century, and Taipei City where many had migrated to for better job opportunities.

Canadian missionary, MacKay, whose Chinese surname was Chieh³ and who had converted lots of Kavalan in Ilan area into Christianity at the end of the nineteenth century. Chieh recalls what his father told him:

When Dr. MacKay came to Ilan, he lived in my father's house. MacKay suggested to him to have a surname like Chinese immigrants have⁴. He then chose fifty Chinese surnames along with his own surname for the Kavalan to use by drawing lots. My father and his brothers drew Chieh and made it their surname. Other relatives drew various other surnames.

Chieh's father⁵ was a devoted Christian who was selected by MacKay to study in his Oxford College at Dam-sui, Taipei, to be trained as a priest. He was appointed to Hualien to preach after five years of study. However, when MacKay appointed him to Hsin-tsu in western Taiwan, he refused the offer and quit the job, as he preferred to stay near his relatives and friends at Hualien. He then began to run various businesses in the region. He became very successful in his business before he got involved in the bankruptcy case of a relative. After losing his businesses and land, he went to work as an accountant for his relative, Tsai Wu-li, who was the other of the two richest landowners at Hsinshe. Because of Chieh's relationship with these two early developers in the village, Chieh learned a great deal about the development of Hsinshe.

Chieh also did some research on the Household Registration during the Japanese period in order to trace his family tree. He found out that his great grandfather was Chieh Wu-tai⁶ and great grandmother was Pan Hu-pao, grandfather was Chieh Chiu-

³ MacKay had adopted "Ma Chieh" as his Chinese name. If we accept the argument that many Kavalan chose his name as their surname as a mark of respect and gratitude to him, then the question is why did they not choose "Ma" instead of "Chieh", as "Ma" is MacKay's Chinese surname. Whether this myth is created by the Kavalan, media, or Christians is still not known.

⁴ In the past, the Kavalan did not use surnames and only had first names. In order to identify their family origins, they used names like this one: "A-bi na Di-nas" which means "A-bi" (the daughter) of Di-nas. The government has now allowed aborigines to use their aboriginal names in legal documents. However, not many aborigines change their name owing to the complication involved in it. Nonetheless, some aboriginal elites use their aboriginal domain along with their Chinese name. Take Bauki, a Kavalan elite, as an example, he uses his Kavalan name, Bauki Anao together with his Chinese name, Pan Chao-cheng, in his publications and documentary productions.

⁵ Before MacKay selected Chieh's father to study at the Oxford College, he had already known how to speak and write Mandarin, as his father had employed a Chinese tutor to teach him Mandarin at home. Chieh's father's knowledge of Mandarin could be the reason why MacKay selected him. This also shows that the Kavalan had already accepted a great deal of sinicization before MacKay came to preach.

⁶ Chieh's father perhaps changed the surnames of his father and grandfather. The Kavalan did not have

mai, and father is Chieh Pa-pao. He also discovered an official stamp which has the name of his grandfather Chieh Chiu-mai on it in the Ilan County History Museum. He then found that his grandfather was selected as the head of *maoliwuhai she*, one of the Kavalan thirty-six *she* in the Ilan plain, three times and worked for six years. He is very proud of this discovery and always repeats it to his grandchildren and anyone who comes to interview him.

There is a contradiction in Chieh's discovery of his family history. It was the Ching government who gave the Kavalan fifty Chinese surnames to draw from in 1812 and not MacKay as Chieh's father claimed. Although MacKay first came to the Ilan area in 1875, he started to pay particular attention to preaching to the Kavalan from 1883 to 1888, when he helped his 2,378 followers to build twenty-eight churches in the region (Chen 1972: 10); however, many Kavalan had already adopted Chinese surnames by then. It is possible that Chieh's grandfather could have abandoned the Chinese surname they had previously used and changed to Chieh in honour of MacKay. Notably, because MacKay and the priests he trained used Holo as the common language to communicate with the Christians, most of the Chieh families who became MacKay's followers abandoned their mother tongue and used Holo as a day-to-day language. In Chieh's case, his family used Holo at home and he only started to learn Kavalan in order to communicate with the villagers when he began to work as an official in his early twenties at Hsinshe.

The case of Chieh reveals two interesting points. Firstly, it shows that many Kavalan have appropriated the Chinese concept of family tree, particularly the use of the patrilineal line. Secondly, it reveals the problematic of Kavalan identity. Nevertheless, these two points illustrate well how the contemporary Kavalan try to define themselves in this transitional stage.

Like many Kavalan as well as other aboriginal groups in Taiwan, Chieh's concept of clan structure is influenced by the Taiwanese. The imposition of Chinese names and surnames for the purpose of recording the census by the Ching, Japanese, the KMT, and missionaries also contributed to this influence. The Ching and the Japanese

the practice of giving surnames. It started with their interactions with the Chinese and Christians.

colonial governments only formed words or syllables in Chinese or Japanese for Kavalan names or surnames by their phonetic symbols. The KMT transformed Kavalan names or surnames into Chinese-style names or surnames. Missionaries, like MacKay, over time helped the Kavalan, as well as other aboriginal groups, to adopt Chinese names and surnames in order to fit into Chinese-dominated society.

The adaptation of Chinese names or surnames has changed the family structure of the Kavalan over time. A Ching official (Chen 1963) suggested that the Kavalan recognised matrilineal descent. In my fieldwork, I discovered that most Kavalan who are over sixty have a matrilineal descent structure and married uxorilocally. My investigation corresponds to the result of Juan's research⁷ in the 1960s. Many men married into women's households. However, men become the official heads of the household owing to the modern census registration system. This not only empowers men to take control of the properties of their wives, but also changes the previous loose structure of ambilineal descent into a preeminently patrilineal descent. Hence, the majority of the Kavalan take their father's surname and identify themselves with their father's side.

Chieh is one of such cases. He talks very little about his mother's side, partly because his mother died when he was very young. He pays little attention to his wife's family side either. He only traces down the family tree of his father-side. So far, he has traced seven generations of his family after his great grandfather. He emphasises his complete family tree to prove his "pure" Kavalan blood, and that his ancestors had been the head of *she* and connected with the most famous missionary in Taiwan. This certainly adds glory to his family history. He constantly tells his grandchildren and others about his family tree and family history. Because of his past family glory and his detailed knowledge of his own family tree, Chieh has become the most popular Kavalan who reporters and researchers love to interview. Apart from Chieh's effort to introduce his family history and the Kavalan to the public, many reports also have also pointed out Chieh's tremendous will power. He suffers from a kidney problem and has been going to hospital for dialysis three times a week for more than ten years. As a result, Chieh

⁷ According to his interview with the elderly people, Juan (1966, 1969) states that Kavalan society was matrilineal. Men married into women's household and children lived with the mother's family.

has not only won the sympathy from the public but has also become the most well known Kavalan in Taiwan.

The making of one's family tree is not common among the Kavalan, as they did not have the concept of family tree and simply refer to the dead as their ancestors. Nevertheless, the publicity surrounding Chieh and his family history has inspired the rest of the Kavalan. Some have started to trace their family history or make their family tree. Like my host, A-niao, who tried to make his family tree starting from his grandfather to his grandchildren. Pan, the village head, also tells his children and grandchildren about their genealogy.

Among the relatives whom Chieh has managed to trace, not every person is happy to admit his or her relationship with Chieh. Before Chieh's story was reported in many newspapers, some of them who were actually his close relatives denied their relations with him, very few of them were happy to greet him. The problem comes from the typical Kavalan dilemma about whether they should admit their aboriginal identity, as most of them are content to be "Holo"⁸. Therefore, if they admit being Chieh's kinsmen, they would also be regarded as one of the "*pe-pu-huan*" ("plain savages" in Holo), which is a stigmatised identity they have tried to deny for years. It was so until the Kavalan got positive attention from the public and since then some of them have gradually changed their attitude and admitted their origins.

The denial of one's ethnic origin is a common phenomenon among plains aborigines in Taiwan. As some researchers have noticed (e.g. Liu 1995), many people who are the descendants of the plains aborigines are content with the status of being regarded as Holo. If their ethnic background is found out, they argue that they have already become a "*lang*" ("people" in Holo) and are no longer a "*huan*" ("savage" in Holo). These people normally use Holo as their daily language and have almost forgotten their mother tongue. Most of them hardly perform their traditional rituals and practices.

⁸ Kavalan descendants in Ilan tend to identify themselves as Holo, as they speak the Holo language and practice Holo traditions. However, most of the Kavalan in Hualien and Taitung counties identify themselves as Kavalan, only a few Kavalan descendants prefer to define themselves as Holo and would rather not talk about their Kavalan background.

This phenomenon is the result of Chinese and Christian sense of superiority. Because of living in the plains, the plains aborigines were the first to be affected by Chinese culture and Christianity from the seventeenth century onwards. They were told that they were savages and that their tribal beliefs and practices were backward and superstitious. Furthermore, they were forced or enticed to accept what the Chinese or the Christian missionaries thought to be “civilised”. The denial of their original identity gradually led them to believe that their traditions and practices were inferior over the years. Therefore, the plains aborigines who lived mixed with Chinese immigrants regarded their own identity as a stigma and tried to abandon it. Only those plains aborigines who refused to incorporate into mainstream Chinese society and those who lived in the inland or mountainous areas received lesser pressure from Chinese and Christian “superior” cultures.

It is doubtful that Chieh’s father’s last will is the only incentive that led Chieh to search for his kinsmen, as he always emphasises. In my understanding, scholars’ various researches on the Kavalan in Hsinshe over time have also played a vital role in stimulating him to discover his own history and Kavalan culture. For example, the Japanese linguist, Tsuchida Shigeru⁹, the Japanese ethnologist, Shimizu Jun and other Taiwanese researchers have certainly inspired him. After encountering the first scholar Tsuchida in the village, Chieh started to learn Kavalan from elderly people. It was perhaps the time when Chieh decided to figure out his family history. Later, Shimizu’s massive research on Kavalan traditional belief and household structure also inspired Chieh to know more about Kavalan religious life and culture. Chieh, using his knowledge of Japanese, often quotes descriptions from Shimizu’s work in the handouts which he prepares for press or other occasions.

As Chieh always puts it, “those Japanese scholars come all the way from Japan to learn our language and culture. Compared with their enthusiasm, I feel ashamed of myself

⁹ Tsuchida is a specialist in the Austronesian languages of the plains aborigines in Taiwan. He has been visiting Hsinshe regularly for about forty years in order to record Kavalan language and look at the transformation of usage in time. He met Chieh in one of his initial visits to Hsinshe and had him as an assistant during his research. Tsuchida has also brought students from Japan to do research on the Kavalan. For example, he recommended Shimizu to do the ethnography for her doctoral research in Hsinshe.

that I have not paid much attention to my own culture, nor have I tried to preserve it". The scholars have not only inspired Chieh to learn more about his own culture, they have also influenced him in the areas of what to select or emphasise in Kavalan culture. As a result, Chieh has developed a clear sense of what to tell scholars or researchers¹⁰.

Collective creation of Kavalan performance: the Kavalan Ensemble

One may argue that Chieh's action is only a personal search for his clan, not a collective action to search for Kavalan roots. However, it did inspire the Kavalan to notice their family history and their ethnic name, especially when they were interviewed by journalists or researchers. From then on, the Kavalan have gradually developed a strong sense of ethnic consciousness. Therefore, when the villagers of Hsinshe were asked to perform their traditional ritual songs and dances by the Taiwan Provincial Museum in Taipei New Park at the end of 1987 for the exhibition of a stone coffin which was found at Hsinshe, some villagers insisted on performing what they claimed to be Kavalan traditions.

This event was simply coincidental. It began when a stone coffin was found along the riverbank of *Chia-lang hsi* in the northwest part of the village. The coffin had no connection with the Kavalan as it dates from 3000 years ago and belongs to the Chi-lin Culture of the Neolithic Age (Liu et al 1993: 50-56). When the Taiwan Provincial Museum decided to put some stone coffins which were found in the Fengpin area on exhibition, it organised a programme, *Fengpin chih yeh* (or the Fengpin Evening), and invited the villagers of Fengpin County to perform local music and dance in order to make the exhibition more interesting. Although the Kavalan came to settle at Hsinshe much later, they felt that they were legitimate participants in this big event as one of the coffins was found in the village. They were finally chosen to participate in the programme after beating other villages in the county competition. Their distinctive Kavalan ritual performance at the exhibition was introduced to the whole of Taiwan via television and newspapers for the first time.

¹⁰ That is the reason why some of my information is not much different from other researchers or scholars, though Chieh always told me that he gave me more information than he gave to others, as he approved of me as an aborigine studying aboriginal issues. This raises an important issue of circular re-confirmation between researchers and Chieh. This aspect will be discussed in Chapter 7.

The original idea of striving for the opportunity to perform the Kavalan ritual in Taipei came from an Amis villager, Lin Chi-jung, who was a *hsiang* representative then and had once been a senior priest in the Protestant church in the village. In order to present a different style of performance from that of the Amis, he thought of the Kavalan *kisaiiz* which he had seen when he was very young. Therefore, he gathered the *metiyu* and asked them to recall what they remembered about the ritual. He then asked the Kavalan Catholic church leader, Pan, who is very good at music and dance to note down the songs and reconstruct the performance. Although the *metiyu* first refused as the ritual should not be performed casually, Lin eventually persuaded them to regard it as a means to build a pride in their village. He also mobilised the women in the village to participate in the performance. The chiefs and most of the Kavalan and Amis villagers were excited and supported his efforts. At that time, performing in Taipei had become the only goal for the Hsinshe villagers.

The Kavalan described what they had invented as genuine Kavalan tradition. Villagers gathered many times to discuss the contents in order to present an authentic picture. They relied very much on the memories of elderly people and *metiyu*, especially A-bi. Some people introduced to the meeting scholarly accounts about the Kavalan in the Japanese period. A few suggested to make it interesting and presentable, as the songs of Kavalan rituals are generally sad and dull. After weeks of discussion and debates, the church leader, Pan, completed his task of noting down the ritual songs which the *metiyu* recited from memory and summarised what people recalled to be the acceptable form of Kavalan rituals (we may call it “Kavalan Ensemble”). They also actively discussed the so-called Kavalan dress for the performance.

The Kavalan Ensemble is mainly based on *kisaiiz*, the Kavalan traditional healing ritual for women. A small-scale version of the rituals of hunting and the rite of inviting the chiefs are also added in order to include men in the performance. Just as it should be in *kisaiiz*, the performance is led by two or three *metiyu* with a group of women surrounding them. According to the eldest *metiyu* A-bi, this performance is very similar to the procedures of *kisaiiz*. They sing all of the eight songs from the original ritual¹¹. Although it is only a performance, the *metiyu* have taken it seriously and

¹¹ These eight songs include songs for inviting the gods and goddesses, obtaining the thread of the soul,

prayed for forgiveness from the gods and goddesses for their performance in front of the public. Nevertheless, the Kavalan Ensemble became the core theme in their future performances, accompanied by other ritual-like activities. For example, they use this sequence for the main part of their Harvest Festival in the summer.

After their performance in Taipei, many reporters from various forms of mass media broadened their coverage from Chieh's individual search for his clan to the Kavalan as a group. They were surprised to know that there is actually a group of Kavalan living in a community who speak their aboriginal mother tongue and practice their traditions. Their reports which were focused on the topics like the diasporic history of Hsinshe Kavalan, the Chinese exploitation of the Kavalan, their marginalised status and so on, caught the public imagination which helped the Kavalan to win sympathy from a very large number of people.

The initial intention of Lin Chin-jung was only to win the opportunity to perform in the capital; however, the impact of the performance was far more than he and Hsinshe villagers had expected. Although it was only a public performance, the attention it got made the Kavalan think for the first time about the importance of their identity and tradition which they had abandoned or ignored over the years. The pride of getting media attention stimulated them to reinvent their history and tradition, such as rituals, folksongs, music, handicraft, and so on, which, later on, greatly helped the Kavalan to construct their ethnic image.

The significance of this Kavalan Ensemble was that the Kavalan created it as what they claim to be their traditional and distinctive culture and one which they can display to the public. In addition, as the Kavalan stressed in their press release for the event, this performance showed the effort that they were trying to save their dying tradition under the pressure of mainstream Chinese culture and modernisation. Although it was a performative re-creation in the sense that it was primarily intended for public performance and did not represent a social practice, it has become a model which the Kavalan have used to emphasise their "Kavalanness". After the *Fengpin chih yeh* in

performing the healing ritual, recovery from illness, expressing their gratitude to the gods and goddesses, and bidding farewell to the gods and goddesses.

1987, they were invited to perform this Kavalan ritual at various occasions by several county governments and organisers from 1991 onwards. Such performances have helped them effectively to create their ethnic image.

Kavalan's first official recognition

In the aftermath of these two incidents, one particular event in 1991 had a significant impact on the Kavalan revival. The Kavalan and their culture were not only intensively presented to the whole nation by researchers and mass media they were also, for the first time, officially acknowledged by a county government.

In October 1991, the Ilan county government organised a particularly large celebration in Ilan City, the capital of Ilan County, to mark the 195th anniversary of Ilan's development¹². Because of Chieh's previous visits to Ilan County Cultural Centre, the county government arranged a special programme for the Kavalan at the anniversary. Many Kavalan from the countryside of the three countries, Ilan, Hualien, and Taitung, were also invited to attend the celebration.

The event can be seen as a breakthrough as the Ilan government openly acknowledged the existence of the Kavalan. The themes that the Ilan government focused on in the anniversary celebrations were "to respect minority groups" and "to experience the contribution of multiple cultures". Therefore, in addition to the Taiwanese Cultural Exhibition and Performances, the Atayal and the Kavalan were also invited to participate in the exhibition of their cultures. This unconventional act of the Ilan government has not only won much praise but also led other county governments to take up the issues of the aborigines, as central as well as county governments had normally tended to ignore their existence.

Hsinshe Kavalan from Hualien were in charge of organising a special programme for the anniversary. Apart from the performance which they had invented in 1987, they also demonstrated how to make traditional houses and prepared a traditional Kavalan

¹² The celebration was the commemoration of Chinese migration to Ilan County, when in 1796 a Chinese immigrant, U Sha, successfully built the first settlement in Kavalan territory.

feast in the county cultural centre. To accompany Kavalan performance, the county centre organised an exhibition of Kavalan culture¹³. The centre specially arranged for Hualien and Taitung Kavalan to visit some sites of original Kavalan villages and relics. It also organised a gathering for all of the Kavalan from various places to meet.

For the Kavalan the most significant moments in this event were when the county magistrate, Yu Hsi-kun, invited them to open the Kavalan exhibition with him and when he apologised on behalf of the Han Chinese to the Kavalan in public for occupying their land and forcing them to move elsewhere. As he apologised to the Kavalan, one eighty-three-year-old Tuo-tai went down on his knees in front of Yu to show his gratitude¹⁴, while others sobbed. During my fieldwork from 1997 to 1998, most of the Kavalan I met in Hualien and Taitung still remembered this event with emotion. They felt proud of these moments and were grateful to the Ilan government and the county magistrate. Therefore, whenever they are called to present a performance for the Ilan Kavalan, they always consider it as their obligation to do so.

Other individuals' experience of Kavalanisation

Although the official acknowledgement from Ilan County did not help the Kavalan to get the official recognition from the central government, it gave them confidence about their ethnic status and culture. From then on, many Kavalan no longer felt ashamed to reveal their ethnic identity. They were proud of being Kavalan. They talked about their early experience at Kaliawan and Hsinshe and the traditions they had seen or taken part in when they were young¹⁵. They became aware of their language and culture and

¹³ The exhibition included topics such as “who are the Kavalan?”, “distribution and migration of the Kavalan”, “Kavalan material culture (including traditional housing models, clothes, pottery and implements)”, “Kavalan spiritual culture (including rituals and their implements, and arts)”, “Kavalan relations with other ethnic groups (especially with Chinese immigrants and MacKay)”, and “historical records and current research on the Kavalan.” It also exhibited video and audio cassettes on *kisaiiz*, house-making, Kavalan language, music and stories (see the programme menu produced by the Ilan County Government in 1991).

¹⁴ See United Daily News, 16/10/1991. Tuo-tai, a half-Kavalan and half-Amis, who died in 1993 had an extraordinary life. Because he was educated in Japan and was familiar with Japanese and English, he became an assistant to some Japanese scholars (e.g. Kano Todas) during and after the Japanese period (Yang 1984). However, he was known to them as an Amis.

¹⁵ I used to wonder whether their nostalgia was due to my presence. Later I found out that it was not the case. When they gathered for a chat or card games, they always talked about the issues related to their culture. This is actually a good opportunity for Kavalan children to learn about their history, as they not

began to differentiate between the elements of Kavalan and Amis cultures. They performed their rituals, particularly the New Year ritual, more regularly than before instead of doing it whenever they remembered it. Many young people encouraged their parents or grandparents to restore some traditions at home and tell their children their family history.

I shall discuss a few individual examples here. The *metiyu* A-bi and I-bai started to communicate with Kavalan gods and revived some shamanic rituals, like *pagalavi*, for themselves. A-yuk felt the need to reinforce her shamanic skills and knowledge. She asked her cousin, A-bi, to teach her how to perform the ritual, what materials to prepare for various rituals, and so on. A-niao, my host, asked A-sheng to teach him Kavalan and he often practiced with me. A-sheng, a very Holoised Kavalan, constantly told his grandchildren about their ethnic background. The former village head performed *palilin* with great care and asked every member of the household to come home for the ritual, as he and his wife wanted their grandchildren to be aware of its importance. Even the small Kavalan community in Chang-yuan demonstrated similar interest and awareness. For example, the parents repeatedly reminded their children of their ethnic origins and encouraged them to learn the language and culture. Pan Cheng-o, a Kavalan-Amis mix and an enthusiast, took trouble to attend Kavalan activities in Hsinshe or Ilan. She switched to speaking Kavalan language with her parents and children instead of Holo which they used to speak before. She also encouraged her brother who is a singer to announce his Kavalan background to the public. Her other brother who is an artist was inspired by her and started to use Kavalan motif in his art. Her son, Pan Cheng-wei, attended Kavalan language course with other young people in their community. As he wanted to become a painter in the future, he read historical materials about Kavalan in order to look for inspiration.

The growing Kavalan awareness is particularly clear among school children. When I went to Hsinshe in March 1996, not many school children were aware of their Kavalan identity. They had heard their parents, grandparents, relatives, and neighbours talking about “Kavalan” and seen them doing Kavalan rituals. Though they learned Kavalan as an additional subject at school, they never got confirmation from their family about

only talked about things in the past but also how things should be.

their Kavalan origins. But when I went to Hsinshe again for long-term fieldwork in 1997, I found that more and more school children knew what Kavalan meant to them. For example, Yen-ting, the granddaughter of the former village head, had pretty good knowledge of Kavalan. She knew the meaning of the rituals which they did at home. She specially had a very good knowledge of Kavalan food, as she often followed her grandmother to the hills or coast to gather wild plants and seashells. Grandchildren of I-bai felt proud of their *metiyu* granny and paid more attention to the rituals she performed at home. Even in A-sheng's household, his two grandchildren started to ask him to tell them about their family history which A-sheng had not mention to them before, even during the time he helped Shimizu to learn Kavalan language and history.

With Kavalan consciousness on the rise in Hsinshe, the friction among villagers, and between the Kavalan and the wider environment became inevitable. Conflict dates back from the early stage of the development of the Kavalan consciousness movement. These conflicts included personal clashes and conflicts between the county government and different political parties. The former involves the question of who should get the credit for introducing the Kavalan to the public, who can present authentic Kavalan tradition, and who can speak on behalf of the Kavalan. I have already discussed the latter issue in Chapter Three which deals with the construction of Kavalan identity in the context of Taiwanese national identity. Therefore, I will only examine individual conflicts in this section.

Individual conflicts among the Hsinshe Kavalan result from competition and different perceptions of their tradition. As shown, Chieh is popular with reporters and researchers. His popularity annoys some other Kavalan and Amis villagers who also help the Kavalan to get public attention. Take the above example about the Kavalan performance in Taipei in 1987, Lin, an Amis, helped the Kavalan to win the opportunity to present themselves in the capital. But Chieh got more attention from reporters and researchers since he prepared a press release about the contemporary conditions of the Kavalan and the background information about the performance. A few Kavalan who had contributed to the performance also felt upset that Chieh got all the credit and did not acknowledge their effort. Some were dissatisfied with the fact

that Chieh only focused on his family tree and ignored the history of other families while mentioning the history of the Kavalan. However, because most Kavalan at this time did not have a constructed perception about their tradition and its meaning, they often did not know how to respond to interviewers. Moreover, most of them were afraid to break the rules and upset the government, they somehow hesitated to make remarks.

In my observation, Chieh became popular with reporters and researchers because he had developed Kavalan consciousness much earlier than other Kavalan. He also has a more comprehensive knowledge about their history as he learned from or was inspired by the researchers he has encountered over the years. In addition, unlike other villagers who do not know how to express themselves clearly or struggle in using Mandarin or Holo, and who have no clear idea about what to tell interviewers, Chieh always impresses the reporters and researchers by his eloquence. He knows what kind of stories and materials appeal to the interviewers. Therefore, most reporters or researchers tend to choose Chieh as their informant or interviewee. Furthermore, he is often invited to talk on the topics of his family history or Kavalan culture by universities and institutions. Although reports or studies of Chieh or on what he says about the Kavalan could help the Kavalan get more public attention, at the same time, they worsen the conflict between Chieh and some Kavalan in the village. Nonetheless, Chieh's popularity also stimulates other Kavalan to become more Kavalanised in order to compete with him. Despite these disputes and competitions, Chieh still remains a figure whom many Kavalan who live elsewhere identify with owing to his popularity in media. In view of this positive contribution, he was also made the honourable president of the Kavalan Foundation.

II. The Dynamic of Kavalan Cultural Revival

Ethnic identity has become an important issue in post-war Taiwan. As Taiwan becomes increasingly democratised, it allows its ethnic groups to speak for themselves and participate in national politics. This gives some ethnic groups a chance to express their wish to reappear in the ethnic map in Taiwan. They, therefore, are involved in all sorts of activities in order to emphasise their ethnic identity, and more importantly, to acquire the official recognition. In the case of the Kavalan, they reassert their ethnic

identity by engaging in the activities of cultural resurgence. In this section, I discuss the significance of these activities, including retelling their ethnic history, recreating ethnic symbols, inventing ethnic traditions, and teaching their language to schoolchildren, and discuss their significance. I also point out the fact that the Kavalan constantly refer to the work of scholars or writers in order to lend authenticity to their newly invented culture.

All these activities and references serve the purpose of constructing a Kavalan image in order to prove that, firstly, the Kavalan still exist and are not, as some scholars had asserted (e.g. Ino 1904), completely sinicized. Secondly, it shows that their attempt to present their unique ethnic characteristics begins to re-create distinctions between Amis and Kavalan rituals and customs after their long-term interaction. Thirdly, the Kavalan try to unify their ethnic power because they are scattered in various places. Most importantly, they try to connect themselves with their ancestors which allows them to automatically regain their authentic ethnic identity.

The Kavalan often emphasise that the traditions are their cultural property which they had abandoned or forgotten a long time ago. However, their newly invented traditions sometimes reveal their confusions about their tradition and culture, or even identity. Therefore, they often give flexible and varied interpretations about their revived traditions in order to justify their confusions. It is also interesting to note that the cultural forms which the Kavalan have re-invented are closely related to the published accounts about those traditions which are written by scholars, researchers and journalists. When writers or journalists publish interviews with Kavalan people or write about their history or tradition, the information given in such publications circulates amongst the Kavalan through the people who read them to those who cannot read. Such information either awakens their memories or teaches them what they do not know about their own culture. In such case, it is sometimes difficult to differentiate the things they know from experience or invent from the things they learn from publications.

Retelling Kavalan ethnic history

The first step the Kavalan take in reasserting their identity is to retell their ethnic history from their point of view since they have long been neglected in the history of Taiwan. They particularly point out the mistakes in early academic accounts which consider the Kavalan an extinct aboriginal group. Although some researchers were aware of the existence of the diasporic Kavalan in remote areas (e.g. Ino 1996, Yuan 1966), they did not consider them to have any significance in term of a distinct ethnic group, nor did they discuss the importance of the Kavalan in the formation of Taiwanese identity. Therefore, when the Kavalan realised the advantage of being an ethnic group within a democratic society, they reconstructed their ethnic history by emphasising their exilic experience, the occupation by Chinese immigrants' and the imposed superiority of Chinese culture.

Most Kavalan mention that they were forced to go into exile to various places because Chinese immigrants occupied their land by force or deviousness. For example, a Kaliawan Kavalan, Chiang, said that the Chinese immigrants threw into Kavalan fields what they considered to be taboos or bad omens, like excrement or dead bodies of animals, because they knew that the Kavalan would give up the land out of the fear of unclean things. Hsinshe Kavalan, A-niao, pointed out that the Chinese often secretly changed the contract of the land they rented from the Kavalan by bribing officials in charge. Chieh also said that Chinese occupied Kavalan land by secretly shifting the boundaries of the fields at night or by creating disputes over water supplies. Many also mentioned that Chinese created many disputes on the land in order to drag the Kavalan to court, as Chinese knew that the Kavalan were afraid of going to court and they knew how to bribe the officials.

Another issue that the Kavalan try to rewrite in history is about supposed Chinese superiority and Kavalan inferiority. Contemporary Kavalan argue that, when Chinese immigrants became the majority in Ilan and Hualien and took control of economic and political power, they treated the Kavalan as "*fan* (or savages)" and tried to sinicize them, forcing them to adopt Chinese customs. Chinese cultural and political superiority made the Kavalan feel inferior to the Chinese owing to their "superstitious" beliefs and ignorance in Chinese eyes. Therefore, under tremendous pressure from the Chinese, the

Kavalan either hid their stigmatised identity and lived with the Chinese, or moved to remote areas like inland Ilan or East Taiwan. Many modern Kavalan claim that their parents or grandparents did not want to admit their original ethnic status because of their stigmatised identity. Unlike the previous generations, they often emphasise their ethnic dignity and treasure their Kavalan traditions and eagerly teach their ethnic history to their children at home.

The Kavalan also argue that history should re-evaluate the contributions of their ancestors, as they were earlier inhabitants than the Chinese immigrants and developed Ilan and some of the remote areas in Taiwan. This is the response many Kavalan had after attending “*kai lan jih* (or the day of developing Ilan)”, the 195th Anniversary of Ilan. This festival is to commemorate U Sha and his followers to develop Ilan in 1795. However, the Kavalan argue that their ancestors had already cultivated the region for a long time but did not get any credit for developing the Ilan area. Therefore, they appeal to the government as well as scholars to give a fair re-evaluation of the Kavalan¹⁶.

One interesting point in the reconstruction of Kavalan history is their connection with MacKay. It is stressed by Chieh, some Ilan Kavalan, Christians, but mostly by writers or journalists who evaluate the importance of MacKay in preaching to the Kavalan at the end of the nineteenth century¹⁷. However, it is difficult to evaluate the significance of MacKay upon the Kavalan as his influence declined when he died in 1901 and as his son George W Mackay failed to establish a good relationship with the officials during the Japanese colonial period. After MacKay’s influence faded, the number of churches in Kavalan settlements dropped sharply from twenty-eight to less than half and most of the Kavalan returned to Chinese popular religion. Nonetheless, the myth of MacKay is articulated in order to prove the existence of the Kavalan in the modern history.

¹⁶ Similar appeals were made by some other groups of plains aborigines in the west of Taiwan, like Makatao, Siraya, Taokas and Ketagalan.

¹⁷ In an additional history textbook which is produced by the Ilan County Government for the secondary high schools, MacKay’s relationship with the Kavalan is stressed. It also mentions that many Kavalan chose to use Chieh as their surname in order to honour him (1994: 23).

Recreating ethnic symbols

An important aspect of the Kavalan's reassertion of their identity is an attempt to recreate their ethnic symbols. So far, they have recreated two symbols, *ga-sou* and *na-bas*, with reference to previous accounts and modern publications.

Ga-sou or Formosan Nato Tree, a tree which is also called "the tree of Kavalan nostalgia" in Ilan, is connected with a myth related to MacKay. Many Ilan Kavalan believe that it was brought by MacKay who planted it himself along the Tung Shan River in Ilan (Hsu 1986). As a result of the relationship between MacKay and the Kavalan, the tree has become a symbol for the Kavalan people, that is, wherever the *Ga-sou* tree grows that place is said to be a site of former Kavalan settlements.

Shimizu doubts if *ga-sou* can represent the Kavalan, as it was not regarded as "the tree of Kavalan nostalgia" by the Kavalan who live elsewhere¹⁸. However, after learning about the historical connection between MacKay and *ga-sou*, Hsinshe Kavalan also agree that *ga-sou* tree is the symbol of the Kavalan as there were many *ga-sou* in the village before they were cut down during the building and subsequent expansion of the coastal road. There are several reasons for them to accept the story of MacKay: firstly, they remember that their great-grandparents or grandparents were mostly Christians; secondly, they believe that *ga-sou* were brought by their parents or grandparents from their homeland Ilan to Hualien and Taitung; and lastly, many of them are Christians which makes them believe the association of *ga-sou* tree with the arrival of Christianity among the Kavalan. Therefore, they have started to plant *ga-sou* in their gardens in order to reinforce the symbol. Chieh particularly planted two saplings of *ga-sou* which he brought from Ilan in the primary school at Hsinshe. He also taught schoolchildren the story of *ga-sou* and MacKay and referred to *ga-sou* as the symbol of Kavalan¹⁹. He hopes that the *ga-sou* will inspire Kavalan children to learn their ethnic history.

¹⁸ See United Daily News 19/10/93.

¹⁹ See *Kavalan mu yu tu pen* or the Kavalan Language Learning Book, 1995: 41-46. *Kavalan mu yu tu pen* was the first Kavalan language learning book. When Chieh was invited to teach Kavalan by the principal of Hsinshe Primary School, he prepared some handouts for the class. Eventually the school principle managed to find some funding and published those handouts. Nowadays, the school uses the latest edition of the textbook prepared by linguistic experts, academics, and some Kavalan native speakers (including Chieh).

The *Na-bas* tree, or *tzu-tung* in Chinese, has been thought to have a long connection with plains aborigines dating back to the Ching period. Chinese officials (e.g. Chen 1963) described that the plains aborigines used *tzu-tung* to signal the turning of the year as they had no calendar. Although it is not entirely a Kavalan symbol, the Kavalan use it more often than other plains aboriginal groups.

For Hsinshe Kavalan, the blossom of the *na-bas* is closely related to the fishing season. Most of them still remember that there were lots of *na-bas* trees in the village before the road was built. When red *na-bas* started to blossom in March, the Kavalan knew it was the springtime and the beginning of the season of *saoh* (or “flying fish”). After performing *laligi* or sea worship, they would start their fishing season. *Na-bas* was also used to mark the beginning of the sowing season in spring.

The symbol of *na-bas* was, in a sense, confirmed when the Kavalan from Taitung were invited to organise *laligi* in Ilan by Ilan County Government at the 200th anniversary of the development of Ilan in 1996²⁰. The symbol of *na-bas* was used to make a connection with *laligi*. Again, massive news coverage at the Anniversary reinforced the meaning of the symbol among other ethnic groups as well as the Kavalan.

Ga-sou and *na-bas* are not solely Kavalan symbols, as they can be seen all over the island and have been used by other ethnic groups. Nevertheless, this does not affect Kavalan perceptions or interpretations of these two species of tree. For example, *ga-sou* is a native tree of Taiwan which grows in the north, the southern coastal area and Lan-yu or Orchid Island²¹. This, however, does not deter the Kavalan from associating it with MacKay and their ethnic origins.

²⁰ Chang-yuan Kavalan were the leading organisers of *laligi*. Other Kavalan from Hsinshe, Kaliawan, Lite villagers also participated in it. The activity was named *Tzu-tung hwa kai lo* (The blossom of *na-bas*) which included *laligi* on 17 May 1996, and *Munizi da Kavalan* (We are Kavalan) from 18 to 20 June 1996. They were also invited to participate in boat racing in Chinese Boat Festival from 18 to 19 June (see the leaflet of *Tzu-tung hwa kai lo*, produced by Ilan County Government 1996).

²¹ See United Daily News 16/10/91. *Ga-sou* was wrongly called the olive tree or *kan-jen* tree in Mandarin before. A forestry specialist Lin Ching-fu corrected the mistake and said, “we should show our respect and clarify the name of the tree. We should not make the same mistake by regarding the Atayal as the Kavalan, and vice versa.” (United Daily News 18/10/91)

Reinventing tradition

The Kavalan, in their quest to create a unique ethnic image, have reinvented several traditions such as rituals, music, handicrafts, aboriginal arts and so on. In this discussion of Kavalan rituals, I will only discuss some “ritual-like” public activities and a fuller discussion of the revived traditional rituals and rites will be given in the next chapter. By “ritual-like”²², it refers to some activities which take form of rituals but do not contain or contain little ritual meaning, as those activities are endowed with new meaning and function.

Ritual-like public activities

Gataban (harvest festival) and *sa-tsu-buz* or *laligi* (sea worship) are the two major public activities in Hsinshe. The former takes place in late summer and is also seen as an aspect of the Amis Harvest Festival in Hualien. *Gataban* has been discussed as a means of understanding the interaction between the Kavalan and the Amis in the Chapter Four which deals with Kavalan’s relations with other ethnic groups, this section will thus focus on the significance of *gataban* in Kavalan life. The latter takes place in the early spring before the arrival of *saoh*.²³ Both activities have been influenced by Amis customs.

Gataban

The Harvest Festival has become central to Kavalan life ever since it was restored in 1993. The restoration was inspired by the 195th Anniversary of Ilan Development. After coming back from Ilan, many Kavalan felt a need to organise public activities in order to consolidate Kavalan consciousness. Having been stimulated by the famous

²² I borrow the notion of “ritual-like” activities from Bell (1997:164-165) who suggests that the content of “ritual-like” activities is not unique to religious institutions or traditions, as such activity is ritualised and reproduced by people.

²³ *Saoh*, or *fei yu* in Mandarin, is a seasonal fish which comes to the eastern coast of Taiwan from early spring to early autumn. It has wings at its back and often flies on the surface of the sea. Other ethnic groups like the Amis who live along the coast and the Tao of Lanyu Island have similar rituals related to *saoh*. Especially for the Tao, the ritual of *saoh* is central to their cultural life. The ritual lasts for the whole season of *saoh* and has sophisticated rules and taboos.

Amis Festival, the Kavalan decided to hold their own festival regularly. From then on, *gataban* has become the major public activity for the villagers. No matter whether they are Protestants, Catholics, Taiwanese popular religion believers, or atheists, they all come to participate in the festival.

The significance of *gataban* is threefold: it is a family reunion, a big gathering of the Kavalan from all over Taiwan, and an occasion to display Kavalan cultural characteristics. In other words, it is a great occasion to consolidate Kavalan ethnic consciousness. Therefore, the Kavalan take special care in making preparation and people come from far off place to participate in the festival. Young Kavalan who work or live in cities take a few day off in order to come back home for the festival. Many Ilan Kavalan and their supporters come in hired coaches and make a one or two day trips to Hsinshue to watch the Kavalan performance. Other Kavalan come from nearby areas, like Lite, Fengpin, Kuei-an as well as from Taitung and Chang-yuan. Hsinshue Kavalan hold several meetings to discuss the preparation and procedure of the festival. Women practise songs and dances in the evening. Men are divided according to their age-grade groups and are responsible for various jobs in organising the festival. All of them take the festival seriously and try to present it well.

With the Kavalan consciousness on the rise, the Kavalan often try to differentiate their festival from those of the Amis. As the Kavalan festival takes place around the same time as the Amis' festival, it also receives financial assistance from the Hualien county. The county government promotes Amis festivals as a tourist attraction during the period of summer vacation but the outsiders tend to ignore the differences between the Kavalan festival and Amis festivals. In 1997, the Hualien county government wrongly described the Kavalan festival as a part of the Amis Festival and the programme was advertised all over Taiwan. Many Kavalan were very upset since they regarded these mistakes as typical of the government's ignorance of their existence. In order to protest they held a press conference, before their festival started, with Talorku, an ethnic group which is always classified as Atayal. They called on the Hualien County Government to rectify the mistake and asked for official recognition of their status. Although they received a response from the government and the mistakes in the leaflet were corrected the following year, they still discovered some other mistakes.



A banana-fibre clothes from the end of 19th century.



I-bai was weaving banana-fibre cloth.



Kavalan-style *sa-tsu-buz* in Hsinshu.



A kind of wild vegetables the Kavalan collect in the wild.



Seashells.



Kavalan women in seashore collecting seashells.



The Kavalan are invited to participate in the Boat Festival in Ilan every year. (Courtesy of Bauki Anao)



Illustration from Liu Shih Chi (1961). Houses indicate Chinese settlements. Six people around the fence were plains aborigines who came to exchange goods with Chinese. Three people who were hiding in mountain were "raw savages".

Some Kavalan in Lite decided to organise the Kavalan Harvest festival on August 7, 1997, two days before Hsinshe's festival. In fact, a year before, in their festival they had tried to perform in Hsinshe Kavalan style but soon discovered that no one could sing a complete Kavalan song which left them in despair. Although Lite Kavalan use Kavalan as the daily language among themselves, they have almost forgotten their traditions. In order to display the authenticity of Kavalan *gataban*, they decided to invite some Hsinshe Kavalan to teach them songs and dances a month before the festival. At the festival, they had also invited Hsinshe Kavalan to participate in their festival as guests.

The interesting thing at Lite is that most of the villagers are Amis. Because the decision-makers, the village leader and county representative are the Kavalan, they decided to present their festival in the Kavalan style. When I asked some of the Amis in the festival about this change, they said that they did not mind about the Kavalan style because they live in the same village and most of them are connected by kinship, but they would mind if they did not have the festival at all.

As the Harvest festival has long been considered the main characteristic of the Amis in Taiwan, the Kavalan festival is always under the shadow of their reputation. Although the Kavalan often emphasise that their songs, dances and clothes²⁴ are totally different from that of the Amis, an outsider can hardly tell the differences. Facing this situation, the Kavalan choose to publicise their differences through media in order draw the boundaries between themselves and the Amis.

Sa-tsu-buz

Sa-tsu-buz, which is also called *laligi* by Chang-yuan Kavalan who live in the eastern coastal area in Taitung, refers to sea worship in early spring when the *na-bas* starts to blossom. Normally, it is organised by the villagers who own rafts. It used to be a

²⁴ Most of Amis wear red dresses which is said to be their traditional colour. However, some Amis villages have their own colours, such as blue, black or white. In Hsinshe, women dress in white blouse with black trim in front and black skirt, while elderly men dress in black and young men wear colourful pants which are similar to that of the Amis'.

private ritual for the fishermen²⁵, in which they performed *sbau* to offer the ancestors wine in order to get their blessings before the fishing season started. After Kavalan consciousness began to rise in the early 1990s, it was transformed into a public ritual in 1995 in which every villager comes to participate.

I had attended *sa-tsu-buz* three times, twice at Hsinshe in 1996 and 1998, and once in Chang-yuan, Taitung in 1997. Sea worship in these two villages has sharp differences which reveals different interpretations of this ritual among these Kavalan. Hsinshe's *sa-tsu-buz* is held in early spring before the fishing season starts. But Chang-yuan's takes place when fishing season is about to end. Both of their *sa-tsu-buz* are related to *saoh*, one is at the beginning of the season, the other is at the end of the season. Therefore, Chang-yuan's *sa-tsu-buz* has the implication of harvest which makes this the most important ritual to them as there is no Harvest festival in Chang-yuan in autumn. And this is the reason why they describe their sea worship as *laligi* (the word "*laligi*" means "jolly festival"). For Hsinshe Kavalan, the Harvest festival is central to their public activities, and *sa-tsu-buz* is only a ritual of sea worship. Nevertheless, the sea worship was restored about the same time in the mid-1990s in these two villages.

I have asked Kavalan who were in charge of the *laligi* in Chang-yuan about the timing, they said that it is convenient for them to shift the timing to late summer so that they can celebrate the rice harvest and perform sea worship together. Besides, school children are free in the summer vacation and have time to participate and learn about their tradition. In my opinion, another reason could be that it is difficult to call the Kavalan who work in cities to come back home too frequently as they have full time jobs there²⁶. Also, Chang-yuan Kavalan are in minority in the village and the number of people who actually live in the village is not substantial. As for Hsinshe Kavalan, they insist on following their tradition to have *sa-tsu-buz* before the *saoh* season comes; otherwise, they believe, they will not have safe and fruitful fishing in the sea.

²⁵ Some elderly Kavalan recalled that the *sa-tsu-buz* was a public ceremony in their childhood. Almost every villager came to the coast to celebrate the ritual. Because the Japanese colonisers and the KMT prohibited them from having public gatherings, *sa-tsu-buz* was reduced to a private and simple ritual for fishermen.

²⁶ It takes 6 to 7 hours to reach Chung-yuan by train and bus from Taipei even with good connections.

Sa-tsu-buz in Hsinshe

Because the publicised *sa-tsu-buz* is a new invention, the style and the form of the ritual vary each year in Hsinshe. For example, the *sa-tsu-buz* in 1996 had three kinds of rituals: Christian, Taiwanese-style, and traditional, in order to please every Kavalan in the village. For the Christian style, a Christian priest led people to Mass. He cited some paragraphs from the Bible and prayed for their safety when they go fishing in the sea. In the Taiwanese style, they prepared Taiwanese religious offerings, performed Taiwanese-style rituals and fired massive firecrackers. Some respectable elders left the port where *sa-tsu-buz* was held and went to the seashore, to the place where, they suppose, their ancestors had landed and performed the ritual in Kavalan style. Offerings were made in the traditional way and were cast to the sea after the ritual to symbolise giving food to the sea. Notably, women are not allowed to come near this Kavalan traditional ritual. It looked like a private ritual, as it was performed by elders away from the rest of the villagers.

According to my informants, they had simplified the ritual a little in 1997. However, it was celebrated on a much larger scale because many government officers, including the governor and some officials of Fengpin Township and the senior members of nearby military base, attended the festival. Those officials attended the ritual perhaps either because they were trying to get support from the villagers or expressing their gratitude to the voters as two local elections were held at the end of 1996 and in the beginning of 1997.

The *sa-tsu-buz* which I attended on 30th March 1998 was held at the usual place, the harbour,²⁷ where most rafts are moored. Men came to the bay very early in the morning to do some preparation jobs: some men were assigned to go fishing while some were told to stay in the harbour to prepare the feast for the whole village. Those who had gone fishing brought back a big catch around eight-thirty in the morning. However, they did not find any *saoh* that day. The men who stayed in the harbour were busy

²⁷ Actually, it is not really a harbour, but just a small natural gulf where rafts can be pulled into shore with less difficulty. Villagers have applied for funding from the county government to build a proper port there; however, they have not yet received a response from the government. The port is also used by the Amis from Fengpin village who normally donate some money for Kavalan *sa-tsu-buz* which takes place on this site. But they hardly attend the ritual.

cooking the pig they had just killed and the seafood which was just brought back. Around nine o'clock, women started to arrive to help men in cooking. They also brought some chicken and wild vegetables.

The ritual started at 9.30 a.m. when most of the villagers had arrived. Because the Catholics are in majority in the village, they began with the mass which was led by a Catholic leader, Pan Chin-jung. They recited some paragraphs from the Bible to ask God for blessing and then some senior members of the church sprinkled Holy water on the rafts in the port. There were three or four new rafts waiting for the blessing before putting out to sea that year.

Around 10.10 a.m., after the Catholic mass, the vice chief led the other two senior Kavalan men to perform the Kavalan ritual²⁸ in a quiet place. They used chicken organs and wine as offerings and *sbau* three times towards the sea. And finally, they threw everything into the sea. There was no Taiwanese popular religious style ritual in 1998. When I asked the chief and village head the reasons, they replied that no one had asked for it that year. Nevertheless, there were still some fireworks to signal the celebration.

Around 12.00 p.m., Kavalan men invited everyone to have lunch. Normally, villagers bring their own rice for this kind of feasts where only the main dishes are provided. The villagers squatted on the ground to eat but the guests ate at the table.

There were some officials who attended the ritual in 1998, such as the *hsiang* governor, some senior staff from *hsiang* council, and the people who were in charge of the public construction around the village for the expansion of the road. As usual, important guests like the *hsiang* governor and council officials were invited to give a speech.

The feast finished around two o'clock. Most of the Kavalan went back home but some young men stayed behind to clean the place. As the head of my host family had died

²⁸ There used to be five or six senior Kavalan to perform the Kavalan ritual. One of the absentees was Chieh who could not come due to some private reasons, the other was the father of my host who died in 1997. If Chieh were there, he would have led the Protestants to perform Protestant mass.

the previous winter, some Kavalan men asked me to take some pork and fish with me for his wife, who had stayed at home because of the mourning period.

Laligi in Chang-yuan

The *laligi* at Chang-yuan was a different interpretation of sea worship from that of Hsinshe²⁹. It was a mixture of Taiwanese and Amis styles. The offerings and performance were in the Taiwanese religious way³⁰, while the activity of the ritual was similar to the sea worship of the Amis which requires male fishermen to stay, dine and live at the seaside and go fishing together for three days. They also strictly followed the taboos for men and women, such as women did not come to the beach too often during the daytime on the first two days³¹, men stayed away from home and women, men worked as a group while fishing and cooperated with each in other activities and so on. After making the offering to the sea in the morning of the third day, men were joined by their family and relatives at the seashore for a celebration lunch prepared from the fishermen's catch, followed by some fun and games about fishing for children and their parents. On the very last day of the sea worship, Chang-yuan Kavalan held a thanksgiving ritual for finishing the seaworship without any incident happening to it. They hosted a dinner party for the participants and guests afterwards.

From the ritual of *sa-tsu-buz* in Hsinshe and Chang-yuan, we see that the Kavalan have almost forgotten their traditions as the villagers have different opinions about the about the way it should be performed. As a result of rising awareness in Kavalan self-identity and culture, people have started to recall and rethink what their traditions were and what they should be like. However, what they can recall is so sketchy that they could not draw the whole picture of it. Also, for the sake of Christians, they hesitate to perform old rituals, which were discouraged by the missionaries before. In addition, they tend to borrow ideas from their neighbouring groups to their re-invented tradition.

²⁹ This is based on the *sa-tsu-buz* I attended at Chang-yuan from 9th to 11th July in 1997.

³⁰ The Chang-yuan Kavalan used chicken, fish, and pork, along with two kinds of wine, as their offering. They also used Taiwanese incense while worshipping.

³¹ Women were allowed to join the dinner, which was prepared mostly from the catch of the day and was cooked by men on the beach on the first two days. However, they had to leave as soon as they finished the dinner and were prohibited from staying over night on the beach.

Therefore, they are searching for a balance while in the process of making new traditions. Because of different experiences and environments, the Kavalan in Hsinshe and Chang-yuan to have different views and ways to present their traditional rituals.

Music

Music is one aspect of Kavalan reinvented culture which has been especially emphasised. Apart from the songs of revived rituals, the Kavalan have also created many new songs in order to reinforce the distinctiveness of their culture. The Kavalan songs, whether new or old, reach the audience wherever they present their performance. These songs have been produced as CDs and cassettes which are easily available in the market. Former principal of Hsinshe Primary School, Ku Yueh-heng³², published a collection of the Kavalan lyrics and cassettes in 1996 with the financial help from the government.

According to Wu (1998: 21-23), Kavalan songs which are found in Hsinshe can be classified into five categories: one is *kisaiiz* songs, the second is non-ritual folksongs, the third is new Kavalan lyrics in old Kavalan tunes, the fourth is Kavalan lyrics in the tunes from other songs, and the last one is new folksongs. Songs of the third, fourth, and fifth categories clearly show the influences from the Amis, the Holo, and the Japanese. For example, they borrow many Amis, Holo, or Japanese words and tunes. The most significant songs are the new songs or the songs with new lyrics, as they describe Hsinshe village, their life, emotions, exilic experience, nostalgia about their lost home land and so on. Some are created to strengthen their ethnic identity or consolidate group coherence, for example, songs like “*qasengat paita na kebaran*” (let us stand up, Kavalan) and “*aita na kebaran*” (we are Kavalan), emphasise Kavalanness. Notably, most of the new lyrics are created by Pan Chin-jung and some by Chieh Wan-lai.

The Kavalan not only sing their songs during a performance or festival, they also sing them whenever and wherever they feel like in their everyday life. After realising the

³² Ku is a Hakka but he is very much interested in Kavalan culture. He had applied for funding from the county government to produce Kavalan language learning books and record Kavalan songs.

importance of their ethnic status, they have started to prefer singing Kavalan songs. They have become more conscious about singing their own songs instead of Amis songs in public.

Handicrafts

Some Kavalan handicrafts were reinvented much later than other traditions. Among them, banana fibre weaving is the most unique handicraft which is not found in other ethnic groups in Taiwan. The restoration of the handicraft is said to have been inspired by others, for example, by some researchers who asked the Kavalan if they had any traditional handicrafts. Although the Kavalan could have chosen other available fibres from various plants for weaving, they prefer to use banana fibre in order to show their uniqueness.

Technically, the tool the Kavalan use to weave banana fibre is a kind of horizontal loom which has very simple tools and requires little skill. However, it is a very tiring job to weave with the traditional tools and the progress is slow. Although most of the Kavalan women who are over fifty learned weaving when they were small³³, there are only three women who are willing to do banana fibre weaving. Incidentally, these three women also happen to be the active shamans in the village.

The Kavalan also make their own thread from the stalk of the banana tree by themselves. They first choose a kind of banana tree which has hard fibre. Before cutting down the tree, they perform *sbau* to get the blessing from ancestors for completing the job successfully³⁴. They take the stalks and slice them, followed by scraping starch from the stalks. After drying the fibre slices, they peel them into very thin threads and roll them into a thread ball.

³³ They did not actually learn how to weave from their elders who were reluctant to pass on this old technique to them. A-yuk learned weaving by quietly watching her mother weave, as her mother did not want her to mess up her weaving. Her mother had never seriously taught her the weaving techniques, apart from asking her to dry banana stalks or peel them into thin threads.

³⁴ The Kavalan have a special custom that they pray for blessing from gods and ancestors before they begin something or travel. After accomplishing their task or journey, they thank gods and ancestors for the help and blessing and have a feast for all the participants afterwards.

Weaving is a long process which requires great deal of labour. After making warps in a warper, they transfer the warps into the loom and start to weave. They sit on the ground with their legs straight in order to make the surface of warps flat so that the woof can shuttle in between. Because it is not an easy job, they only weave for special occasions. So far, they have shown their products and demonstrated their technique in various exhibitions in Ilan, Hualien and Taichung since 1996. Their products have attracted attention of many museums and private collectors.

Diet

The Kavalan often mention their unique diet in order to highlight their separate identity from the Amis. They try to differentiate from the Amis by pointing out two major differences in their respective diets. The first difference is that, though both the Kavalan and the Amis eat raw meat, the Kavalan, unlike Amis, also eat raw organs. The second difference is that while both eat wild vegetables; the Amis tend to boil them but the Kavalan like to eat them raw.

Like the Amis, the Kavalan eat many kinds of raw meats, such as pork and seafood; however, the Kavalan even eat raw organs of animals, like pig's liver, chicken's organs, or the intestines of wild animals and fish. They simply marinate those meats or organs with salt. They also preserve many kinds of meats, especially seafood, with salt and chilli. They specially like the stinking smell of the preserved seafood. Apart from the meats, they also eat raw wild vegetables. They knead or squeeze the wild vegetables till they become soft, then they sprinkle a pinch of salt before eating. Most of the wild plants they eat have a strong and bitter taste.

The Kavalan are very proud of their food. Young Kavalan who work in cities have a special attachment to their traditional food. Whenever their parents go to visit them in cities, they ask them to bring many Kavalan preserves and wild vegetables. Also, before they come back home for holidays, their parents go to mountains or seashore to gather wild vegetables and seashells. In the recent years, Kavalan food is often displayed in exhibitions along with other cultural items. For example, Kavalan food tasting was a part of the activity of *Munizi da Kavalan* (we are Kavalan) at the 200th anniversary of the development of Ilan in 1996.

Compared to the Ilan Kavalan who regard themselves as “*lang*” (or people), the Hsinshe Kavalan still view themselves as aborigines, as they still eat raw food, eat whatever is available in natural environment, and eat food with their hands. It is interesting to note that the Kavalan were regarded as “*sou fan*” (cooked savages) by the Chinese who thought the Kavalan had already become sinicized in Ilan in the last century (Chen 1993: 1-12). On the contrary, the Hsinshe Kavalan strengthen their aboriginality by emphasizing their habit of eating raw food. It clearly suggests that the Kavalan are much more confident about their ethnic identity than before.

Dress

The Kavalan often wear their ethnic dress to mark their ethnic identity on public occasions. The current Kavalan dress has been modified several times from the one they designed for the programme of *Fengpin chih yeh* in 1987. They created what they call their traditional dress for elderly men, *metiyu*, and women from the memory of old people and references from the Japanese ethnographic records. The dress for elderly men and *metiyu* is black blouse and black pants. Female dress is white blouse with a few white Chinese button knots on a broad black stripe in front and black skirt. They often emphasise the significance of black colour as they recall their parents or grandparents wearing black dresses on important occasions. For example, A-bi remembered that her mother wore black dress when she performed rituals. A-sheng showed a wedding photo of his parents who wearing black. In short, they take a great cultural pride in wearing their “traditional” dress.

Reinforcing Kavalan language teaching

Apart from the above activities, the Kavalan have also reinforced Kavalan teaching in the local primary school. The consciousness about teaching Kavalan to their children at home was aroused by their experience in the 195th Anniversary of Ilan in 1991, when they were asked to speak to Ilan Kavalan who only remembered few phrases and had a very limited use of the language. Many Kavalan told me, they were afraid that they would become like Ilan Kavalan and no longer speak complete Kavalan and only have a partial memory of their traditions. They feared that they would not be able to communicate with their ancestors if they forgot the Kavalan language.

Inspired by the Japanese researcher Shimizu, former school principal Ku decided to arrange a Kavalan language class in the school. He invited Chieh to prepare the teaching materials and teach the schoolchildren once a week since 1993. The programme was welcomed by Kavalan parents who did not know how to persuade their children to learn their mother tongue at home, as the children prefer to use Mandarin or Holo as daily language.

This incident happened during the period when the KMT and the DPP were competing with each other about enacting policies that took better care of people's needs. As a result, Ku managed to get funding from the Provincial Government and invited Chieh and other scholars to edit the first volume of a book of Kavalan language in 1995. In 1996, the programme of teaching mother tongue at school became a principal policy of the Bureau of Education and Ku was given the responsibility of editing the second volume of the language teaching book with a funding of more than NT\$ 1,000,000. Although Ku had left the Hsinshe Primary School by then, he continued his job and invited more scholars and linguists to participate in collecting materials and editing. The second volume of the teaching book was put on trial from 1997.

Chieh has always participated in the process of making Kavalan teaching books as well as teaching. He has a clear idea of what and how to teach the schoolchildren, perhaps fuelled by his ambition to promote Kavalan language and culture. He not only teaches them how to speak, he also tells them many stories about the history and customs of the Kavalan. Because of his success, he was also invited to teach Kavalan in Ilan from 1996 by a primary school in Kung-kuan, which has relatively more Kavalan descendents. Chieh was worried that his health would be affected by the teaching so he asked two other Kavalan, Ha-jung and Li Wen-sheng, to join in teaching in Hsinshe and Kung-kuan.

These language teaching books have some shortcomings. For example, the phonetic systems are confusing, as schoolchildren do not understand English phonetic symbols and only know Chinese ones, while teachers like Chieh, Ha-jung, and Li use different systems which they have learnt from their own churches³⁵ and they do not understand

³⁵ Chieh is a Protestant while Ha-jung and Li are Catholics. The priests in these two churches teach them

Chinese phonetic signs. Although they tried to unify the system by using an improved Chinese phonetic system which students know better³⁶, there are many sounds which cannot be transcribed. The contexts of the books also have some problems, such as there are too many new words to learn in a lesson which often put students off, lessons are not well related, and some dialogues are not in the language that it is customary for the Kavalan to use, as many of them are directly translated from Chinese texts.

The parents or grandparents of schoolchildren also began to speak to them in Kavalan at home. Compared to the first time I visited Hsinshe in 1995, I found that there were more children who could understand or speak Kavalan. However, as more than half of the schoolchildren in Hsinshe are Amis, their parents oppose Kavalan language teaching at the school and insist that their children should learn their mother tongue, Amis, instead of Kavalan. The current school principal tries to ease the anger of Amis parents and has included some Amis songs and dances as additional learning. This act provoked Kavalan parents' anger since they regard Hsinshe Primary School traditionally as a Kavalan School³⁷. The dispute is still going on.

Despite the shortcomings of the language books and teaching, and the opposition from the Amis, the continuity of Kavalan speaking has improved in comparison with the past. Earlier the schoolchildren did not want to speak the language. The relatively systematic language books and the public attention have given children an incentive to learn Kavalan. The language books have also been used by other Kavalan in other parts of Taiwan for teaching their children in the village school or at home. In short, the teaching of Kavalan at school has given a hope to Hsinshe Kavalan that their mother tongue will continue into the next generation.

different phonetic systems in order to read the Bible in Kavalan or mostly in Amis. Protestant priests use a variation of Pin-yin system while Catholic priests use Romanization system.

³⁶ See the Kavalan language learning book, 1997:VI.

³⁷ The Kavalan used to be the majority in Hsinshe. As many young people choose to live in cities and take their children with them, unlike before when they left their children with their parents in the village, the number of Kavalan children in school continues to decline.

The Kavalan always distribute some handouts that are the extracts from publications on public occasions, to the press, or to the government. For example, they gave two handouts to the public when they went to perform in Taipei New Park in 1987: one was an introduction to *kisaiiz*, the other was about the history of the Kavalan and Kavalan in Hsinshe. In 1994, when President Lee attended a programme about the Taiwanese aborigines in which the Kavalan also participated, they presented him with a handout about Kavalan history and tradition which was an extract from books and articles together with a statement of appeal for the recognition of their ethnic status. In short, they always disseminate information about themselves by using the work of scholars and other writers everywhere they go.

As the Kavalan have a great interest in published accounts, some of them read the publications about their life and culture carefully. They sometimes discuss among themselves in the village the mistakes or mis-interpretations the writers have made in the published versions of interviews with them. However, they have never taken those mistakes seriously unless the authors wrote about personal disputes among them, as they do not want to present a bad image of the Kavalan. Chieh narrated an incident to me that in 1997 a postgraduate student, Chiang, from the National Taiwan University made personal attacks on him in her dissertation while dealing with the disputes between Chieh and other villagers. When Chieh, after reading her dissertation, pointed out the mistakes to her, she did not reply to him about the issue of whether she wanted to revise it or not or if it was the final version of her dissertation. Chieh made a formal complaint to her department which later asked her to justify her claims or revise her dissertation. He also notified her that he might sue her if she did not revise those descriptions within a certain period of time³⁹. Most of the people who knew about the issue felt annoyed by the misinterpretation and sympathised with Chieh. She agreed to carry out the revisions demanded by Chieh.

³⁸ A more detailed discussion of publications is in Chapter 7.

³⁹ What upset Chieh was that he had provided her with much information including books, articles, and news clippings about the Kavalan during her fieldwork. He also introduced her to other villagers in Hsinshe. When she could not find accommodation to stay, Chieh offered her to stay in his house for a couple of nights.

The published accounts about their culture give the Kavalan a great deal of confidence about their identity. It not only helps the Kavalan to develop the ethnic consciousness movement but also to reconstruct their traditions. However, there is a danger that the Kavalan might believe in or follow some accounts which are not based on facts and might turn out to be the creation of authors. In this case, the claim of reconstructing authentic traditions becomes a little doubtful. But from the Kavalan point of view, the accuracy of the revived traditions is not a crucial factor, they are more concerned about remaining in the limelight in order to keep reminding the authorities to grant them recognition. The inter-representation between scholars, media, and the Kavalan will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

III. The Invention of Tradition

In the preceding section, I have described the traditions that are invented by the Kavalan. Most of these reinvented traditions are like performance which are, in a sense, designed for display in public. For instance, the creation of “Kavalan Ensemble” is for the purpose of performance, which is different from what it originates, the *kisaiiz*. Although the Kavalan call it their original religious tradition, it is actually novel in terms of its function, style and significance, as it is reconstructed from historical records, scholars’ accounts, and the elderly Kavalan’s memories. So are other reinvented features like ethnic symbols, music, diet, dress, ritual-like activities and even history. In this sense, the ongoing process of invention involves not only the re-invention of Kavalan traditions, but also the production of new traditions in order to adapt themselves to the changing world. This thus raises some crucial issues, such as whether the invention of Kavalan is traditional performance or performative tradition, if the tradition is inherited or invented, what is the significance of Kavalan invented tradition in Taiwanese society, and finally, what is the nature of culture.

Traditional performance or performative tradition?

From the way the Kavalan present their newly invented tradition, one will ask the question if this is traditional performance or performative tradition. It is obvious that these new traditions either are visual objects or have visual effect, which are different from what those traditions were. In this case, Hobsbawm’s (1983) interpretation on

invented tradition is a helpful analytic concept to start with in order to understand Kavalan performative tradition. He (ibid.) sees the function of invented traditions as symbolic signs for certain meaningful purposes or motivations. Whether culture should be genuine or authentic is no longer relevant, as the new traditions do not necessarily connote the social practices or functions as they used to. Therefore, as long as Kavalan newly invented traditions fulfil the criteria which is based on the practicality of performance, the Kavalan feel they have achieved their purpose. As a result, revived traditions, like songs and dances, ethnic symbols, banana fibre handicrafts, and so on, are devised more for public display than any practical reason. Kavalan Ensemble can be performed in public, despite the fact that it consists of a very sacred and secretive ritual, *kisaiiz*. *Laligi*, a ritual which has more practical purposes, can also be moved from Kavalan villages to Ilan for the sake of performance. In short, their invented traditions are used to express their ethnic identity and mark the boundaries between them and others⁴⁰.

With this understanding, it is not difficult to comprehend why the Kavalan choose the form of performance to present their tradition. One of the reason is a political motivation which aims at restoring their ethnic name in national agenda. As indicated throughout this thesis, the Kavalan are not considered as one of the aboriginal groups mainly for the reason that they have lost their ethnic features. In order to prove their distinctive characteristics, they choose to “display” their characteristics to the public via media, the most powerful and efficient mean of diffusing their message. Therefore, their invented traditions need to be eye-catching and with visual effects so that they can attract the attention from media and the public. By keeping themselves in the limelight, they wish to promote their culture, furthermore, they ask for official recognition. Because of these, they regard performing Kavalan tradition as their mission and do not miss any opportunity to display themselves. So far they have been invited to perform “Kavalan Ensemble” more than twenty times by various county governments and private organisations ever since their first performance in 1987.

The second reason is to solidify their group cohesion. Because the Kavalan are

⁴⁰ These are similar to what Strokes (1994) and Eicher (1995) discover in their studies of the functions of ethnic music and dress.

scattered over three counties, including Ilan, Hualien, and Taitung, they do not have territory of their own, nor do they have leadership. In addition, there are some confusions about who can be authentic Kavalan in their imaginative “Kavalan community”, as most of them have mixed with other ethnic groups. Through massive reportage of Kavalan invented traditions, the Kavalan display their culture not only to the public, but to the Kavalan in those three counties as well. Hence, the Kavalan are able to solidify their members which makes their community imaginable.

The last reason is psychological. The most important aspect of Kavalan revived ethnicity is to enhance their ethnic identity and draw a clear boundary differentiating them from others. Their invented traditions thus play a crucial role in their revival. However, they need to make sense of their existence and prove the authenticity of their identity. Therefore, the new traditions should also be the medium in order to connect the Kavalan present with their past. These reinvented traditions, ideologically, enable the Kavalan connect with their “pure” and “unacculturated” ancestors (as in Shepherd’s sense). In so doing, the Kavalan can verify their authentic ethnic identity.

Inherited tradition or invented tradition?

The Kavalan often emphasise that the traditions they have reinvented are from their ancestors, as if they have “inherited” these traditions. From the above description of Kavalan reinvented traditions, it is clear that these traditions are not inherited from their ancestors; rather, they are cultural constructs which are produced or invented by scholars, media, the Kavalan, and their interacted groups. In other words, they are not “real” or “authentic” Kavalan traditions. Nonetheless, these performative traditions symbolise the code of life of the Kavalan which only belongs to them. This not only shows the disputed and complex nature of culture, but also reveals the fact that no one “possess” or “inherits” pure culture. Because all traditions are invented (Handler and Linnekin 1984: 286), the question whether those traditions are authentic or not does not matter as long as they are constructed for symbolic ends. As Goldstein-Gidoni (2000: 48-50) discovers in his article how the Japanese constantly manufacture new wedding traditions in the modern world, culture is an ongoing creative process which is invented or produced in a dynamic and interactive manner. In this sense, Hobsbawm’s theory reaches its limitation, for traditions are constantly invented in order to serve different

purposes or to reflect different backgrounds.

Negotiating traditions

The process of making Kavalan traditions is also a process of negotiating Kavalan traditions between scholars, media, the Kavalan, and groups they interact with. As shown, there are many elements, ideas, and efforts which have been incorporated into the new Kavalan traditions⁴¹. These elements and the people or agents involved are not always consistent. For example, the myth whether the surname Chieh is related to MacKay is doubtful, one of Kavalan ethnic symbols, *na-bas*, is not merely a Kavalan cultural property, scholars and the Kavalan have different views about the authenticity of Kavalan reinvented traditions. There are also disputes among the Kavalan about what and how to present and who can present their traditions, and tensions between the Kavalan and the media about how to constantly attract media attention in order to keep themselves in the limelight and deliver their message. Moreover, the Kavalan want to differentiate themselves from the Holo and the Amis but inevitably they often use their style or concept of traditions to represent theirs. In other words, people who are involved in the construction of Kavalan culture and traditions are no less important than the Kavalan who invent or revitalize the traditions. All these aspects illustrate that Kavalan traditions are being continually invented, contested, and negotiated. Again, this phenomenon demonstrates that culture is not static, fixed, essentialistic forms but an ongoing, creative, and interactive human creation.

The significance of Kavalan invented tradition in Taiwanese society

Kavalan revival at this particular time has its own significance in contemporary Taiwanese society and needs to be interpreted in a much larger social context. Since the World War II, the Taiwanese society has experienced numerous changes which have transformed Taiwan from a Japanese colony to a fascist-style democratic country and finally to a democratic country. In a more open political environment from the mid-

⁴¹ There are numerous examples to demonstrate how others help the Kavalan to reinvent or publicise their traditions. For instance, music specialist Wu has produced a CD with a detailed introduction to Kavalan songs, Principal Ku has always tried to find some funding to edit Kavalan language learning books, supporters from Ilan raised money to invite Hualien or Taitung Kavalan to visit their home land, TV presenters have introduced the Kavalan and Hsinshe in cultural programmes, and so on.

1980s onwards, people in Taiwan started to search for a national identity and culture. They look into local cultures in order to construct their “unique” identity and past that will allow them to get out of the shadow of China. From then on, ethnic consciousness began to develop and local distinctive cultures were given much emphasis. Books, musical records, arts, films, videotapes, etc. on ethnic and local cultures have therefore been in great demand in the market. Local peoples have taken this opportunity to request the local county as well as central governments to pay attention to their cultures. The Kavalan together with plains aborigines, groups of people who are supposed to have been assimilated into the Chinese society in Taiwan, are “re-discovered” in this trend. Therefore, pro-independence nationalists tend to use their cultural revivals to prove that Taiwan is a multi-cultural and ancient society and the acceptance of these people is to acknowledge Taiwan as a civil and democratic country in its own right.

In his intriguing article on the politics between a rural marginal group, Messogites, and eminent nationalist elites in Greek society, Gefou-Madianou (1999: 412) presents a very useful insight, “a double dialectic of tradition”. By this, he illustrates the negotiation between how nationalist elites deny the Messogitic folk traditions in national culture and how the Messogities use the same argument to demand their position in the nation building. This is similar to the situation of Kavalan in Taiwanese nation building, apart from the fact that the Kavalan are caught between the Taiwanese nationalists who support local and ethnic cultures and the Chinese nationalists who emphasise Chinese culture. However, the development of Kavalan consciousness is different from what Gefou-Madianou predicts that over-emphasis on local or ethnic cultures will lead to further marginalisation, as the Kavalan and the Messogities exist in different social and political backgrounds: Taiwan tries to decentralise its nationalism while Greece tries to recentralise its nationalism. Kavalan and Messogitic cases therefore demonstrate that the ideas or ways of reinventing traditions could be similar for ethnic groups, their significance is different as they function within different historical, social and political frameworks.

IV. Conclusion

To summarise, the Kavalan have been trying to use various devices in order to construct their ethnic image and highlight their distinctive culture in the past twelve years. They have recreated or restored their ethnic history, ethnic symbols, language, and traditions successfully. They have also referred to publications and other media forms to lend the authenticity to their revived traditions. Their efforts have proved the prediction wrong that claimed the invention of Kavalan tradition as a passing fad in the early 1990s. These activities have not only become a means for them to pursue their political rights, but have also created a clearer ethnic identity for the diasporic Kavalan who were scattered all over Taiwan after their exile from Ilan in the last century.

This chapter has described the disputed and shifting nature of reinvented traditions. I have no intention of proving or disproving the authenticity of these inventions, as the most important issue is to understand its significance and implications. In addition, the process of invention involves not only the re-invention of traditions but also the creation of new traditions. These new traditions are not necessarily the same as the old traditions they originate from for they are produced for certain reasons and specific purposes. Their significance thus lies in their symbolic implications rather than in the form or manner in which they are practiced. We should not confuse or compare the case of Kavalan with the groups which already possess evolved traditions and culture, as the Kavalan are going through the crucial phase of rediscovering and adapting their traditions to their environment. One of the major obstacles in their way has been to bridge the gap between the past and the present, the gap left by the disruption of their tradition. Even if they manage to discover authentic sources, their erstwhile traditions and culture cannot be reproduced in an uncorrupted form in a completely different social and political reality. Therefore, tradition should be viewed, for proper understanding, in a wider sense, as a continuous, dynamic and interactive process of human creation rather than as cut and dried rigid practices.

Chapter Six

Feeding the Ancestors: transformation of the Kavalan belief

Kavalan traditional rituals and their distinctive language are the two things which they, as well as the outsiders, consider to be the most authentic elements of Kavalan culture. Among these, the former is regarded as a powerful reinforcement of their Kavalanness, which distinguishes the Kavalan from their closely interacted groups, the Amis and the Holo. For the Kavalan, these traditional rituals and ceremonies are different from those reinvented traditions (as discussed in the previous chapter) in the sense that these religious activities are the only sacred mediums to communicate with their gods and their ancestors. In this chapter, I follow the Kavalan in using the word “traditional” to describe these rituals and ceremonies. The emphasis on “traditional” implies that these activities are a continuation from the earlier periods or earlier generations. Nonetheless, the continuation of Kavalan traditional practices and the reinvention of Kavalan traditions are equally important, as they evoke links with their past.

Many contemporary researchers have adopted the rich records of Kavalan traditional rituals from Shimizu’s book and blended them with their historical research in order to represent, in their opinion, Kavalan authentic beliefs or original cosmology. Since these rituals are not the centre of Kavalan life anymore and they no longer know the significance of a particular custom, what it means, why it follows different taboos, or why a thing should be done in a certain way. It is dangerous to re-construct their ritual and customs without considering the facts that the Kavalan have also been influenced by other ethnic cultures over the last two centuries or so.

My own interest in the study of the Kavalan traditional belief system lies in the transformation of traditional belief over a period of time as well as the implications of revived rituals in relation to contemporary Taiwanese society. I do not intend to reconstruct what Kavalan original belief is, rather, while bearing in mind the idea that rituals are one aspect of social life, I wish to present the importance of those rituals in the construction of their contemporary identity. This analysis, by deconstructing various elements of their traditional belief, will not only allow us to understand the perception

of the Kavalan of their existence, but also explore the struggle of a marginalised group in the wider politics of ethnicity in Taiwan. This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section describes Kavalan traditional rituals and rites in detail. The second section discusses the implications of these rituals and rites for the Kavalan and Taiwanese society. The final section concludes this discussion.

I. Kavalan Traditional Belief and Practice¹

I will discuss the existing Kavalan traditional rituals and rites in this section. By examining the rituals and the related issues like the significance of utensils, the food, the time, and the place, in comparison with the historical records, I aim to link them to important elements of Kavalan social life.

The Kavalan have been influenced by the Holo and the Amis in many significant ways and aspects of life. However, the Kavalan claim that there are several things that have remained “pure” Kavalan essence, especially their traditional belief system. Although their rituals and rites have been shortened or modified, the Kavalan insist that they would not add elements which do not belong to pure Kavalan tradition. For the Kavalan, their “original” ritual or rites are sacred and the only medium through which they can communicate with their ancestors. Because of this belief, these rituals and rites are believed to have remained the most “unpolluted” Kavalan elements in their culture and have been constantly regarded as the authentic representation of Kavalan culture.

What is important here is that the Kavalan rituals like *palilin*, *patohokan*, and *pagalavi* have been performed persistently and regularly in recent years, whereas in earlier times they either skipped these rituals and rites when they were busy or they simply forgot to

¹ Before the discussion, it is important to define the terms which are related to Kavalan belief and practice and are used frequently in this and the previous chapter. Here I define rites, rituals, and ritual-like activities according to different forms of Kavalan belief and practice. By “rites”, I refer to acts or customs which consist of simple actions or words and have religious connotations. I use the term “rituals” to describe religious ceremonies and functions that involve a series of actions or rites for a certain purpose and performed in a particular order. The term “ritual-like activities” which are like a ceremony, I use to describe public activities and religious practices. The distinction among these terms is based on their function in private or public domain. Rites and rituals are used in the private domain and have spiritual significance, whereas ritual-like activities are public performances. To some extent, rites and rituals are a continuity from tradition while ceremonies tend to be less traditional but are considered more important by the contemporary Kavalan, as they try to make sense of their distinctive culture in the modern Taiwanese society.

do them. However, as Kavalan consciousness rose, all these rituals and rites were revived according to the tradition of their ancestors. I witnessed that in some cases young people even asked their parents to revive the *palilin* in order to feed their ancestors at the end of the year, in the way they had seen their grandparents or parents do when they were very young. However, some of them are not very enthusiastic about some other rituals or rites like *patohokan* and *pagalavi* about which they have little knowledge.

The significance of these rituals and rites is that, as many Kavalan believe, it is the only way their ancestors can eat or receive the offerings given by their descendants. Therefore, even though they may have performed Chinese or Christian ceremonies for the dead, the Kavalan still hold other typical Kavalanese rituals privately for themselves. Some Christian Kavalan, like Di-nas and Wu-mus, confess their “superstitious” behaviour to the priests after performing their traditional rituals at home.

The key concept in Kavalan traditional belief is that they need to “feed” their ancestors on certain important occasions. For example, *pa-lilin* is to feed ancestors at the end of the year, *pa-tohokan* is to feed the dead after the funeral, and *pa-sbau* is to offer wine to ancestors before the Kavalan begin to do something, when they want to communicate with ancestors, or simply before drinking. Here, the word “*pa-*” is used like the English prefix “en-”, a word beginning with the implication of e.g. “to make”, “to give”, “to let”, or “to do”². *Lilin* refers to the ritual which involves feeding ancestors before the Lunar New Year³. *Kan* means to eat and *sbau* refers to the act of offering wine to

² I discussed the meaning and usage of “*pa*” with a member of the Kavalan elite, Bauki, who strongly believes that “*pa*” is like a prefix. In our own separate experiences, we found out that many Kavalan who are unable to use their mother tongue in Ilan and Taitung only remember a few words used in traditional rituals like *lilin* and *sbau*. They tend to skip the Kavalan prefix because they use Holo or Mandarin verbs instead. For instance, they say “*tso* (do) *lilin*” in Mandarin.

³ The reason why the timing for *palilin* is related to the Chinese Lunar Calendar is not known. When I discussed this with Chiu, a Kavalan expert, he suggested that the ritual could have originally taken place after the rice harvest at the end of the winter and the Kavalan later shifted it to the period before the Chinese New Year for the sake of convenience. There are some reasons to believe that Chiu’s theory could be correct. For example, Chinese Lunar Calendar is available in every household in Hsinshue. As Chinese New Year is the biggest festival in Taiwan and has a few days of national holidays, many Kavalan who work in cities have a chance at that time to come back home and perform *palilin*. In addition, the whole media advertise the New Year which seems to be an obvious reminder for the Kavalan to do *palilin*.

ancestors.

The traditional Kavalan rituals and rites which are still being performed in Hsinshe today can be divided into two categories, public and private or domestic. Some are re-invented ritual-like activities, such as harvest festival and sea worship. Some are revived traditional Kavalan rituals and rites, like *palilin*, *patohokan*, *pagalavi*, *pasbau*, and so on. The salient characteristic of these rituals and rites is that the public ones are related to or led by men, whereas most of the private rituals that belong to original Kavalan belief are exclusively led or performed by female shamans, *metiyu*. Ritual-like activities are considered to be a performance, whereas traditional ones are believed to be spiritually powerful and meaningful. Nevertheless, the Kavalan regard such activities with respect and discretion.

Before the discussion of Kavalan traditional rituals and rites, it is important to know the people who are in charge of the rituals and the gods they believe in. *Metiyu* are Kavalan shamans⁴ who are predominantly women and lead important rituals, healing and funeral, for the Kavalan. Only those women who have been initiated by the ritual of *kisaiiz* can become *metiyu*. However, to be a qualified *metiyu*, one needs to learn to master the songs, procedures, functions, methods, and techniques of Kavalan rituals. She also has to memorise the names of gods and goddess so that she can invite them to heal the living and lead the dead to join their ancestors. There are three active *metiyu* in Hsinshe, they are A-bi, I-bai, and A-yuk. A-bi is the most senior *metiyu* and has a better knowledge of the duty of *metiyu* and procedures of rituals. I-bai is also familiar with Kavalan rituals; however, she also knows a great deal of Amis witchcraft, as one of her aunts who was a famous Amis shaman had taught her some Amis witchery. A-yuk is the junior *metiyu* in terms of her knowledge of Kavalan rituals. Apart from them, there are more than ten other *metiyu* in the village. Because most of them are Catholics, they feel reluctant to participate in the rituals. However, if they are needed to support those three *metiyu* or they need to perform rituals for themselves or their family, they take part in the rituals. They are not as skilful as those three *metiyu* in ritual performance.

⁴ I define *metiyu* as shamans in this thesis. As there are many controversies over the definition of shamans (Barfield 1997: 424) and the term involves various contexts (Bowie 2000: 190), I take a broad view: *metiyu* refers to ritual specialists who are “chosen” to be shamans; according to Kavalan people, they possess magical powers; they can communicate with or be incarnated by gods, spirits, ancestors, and the dead; they can predict things and heal people; and they also act as consultants to ordinary people.

According to A-bi, the Kavalan believe that there are many *zianan* (gods), *tazusa* (spirits), and *kuit*⁵ (ghosts) in the universe. The ultimate god and goddess are *siangaw zianan* and *salamay zianan*, whose names also appear in one of the *kisaiiz* songs, *pa-kan tu bagi* (feeding the gods). There are other names of *zianan*, *metiyu*, and ancestors in *kisaiiz* songs, such as *risuzai zianan* (name of a goddess), *baqiay ziyusay* (senior god), *bayay dungiyay* (senior goddess)⁶, *rumus u pinariris iyo* (a female priest name), *zaunayu nukayu* (a male priest name), *baqiay* (male ancestor) (Li and Wu 1998). As the *metiyu* do not have a clear knowledge of those gods, they tend to generalise them as female or male *zianan* and *tazusa*.

Patohokan

Patohokan is the most sophisticated ritual in the existing form of Kavalan traditional belief. It is a funerary ritual which aims to separate the dead from the living and introduce the newly dead to the ancestors who later take them to the world of spirits⁷. The Kavalan often describe their *patohokan* as “*huan-a sai-kung*” in Holo which means the “aboriginal version of Chinese funeral”. From Chinese historical records, we know that aborigines in Ilan plain had a custom of inviting a priest to perform the funerary ritual for people who had died in a violent death, like being killed or drowned (Chen 1963). Ino mentioned “*patoang*” and wrote a brief description of it in the Japanese period (Yang 1984). Juan also recorded a Kavalan ritual for the dead which was called “*patokan*” (Juan 1966). Although the above accounts do not have the details of the ritual, they give historical evidence of the existence of *patohokan* ritual.

Traditionally, *patohokan* took place one or two days after burying the dead. Since, from the 1950s onwards, most of the Kavalan in Hsinshe have been converted to Christianity,

⁵ *Kuit* is a word borrowed from the Holo. The original Kavalan word for ghosts is unknown.

⁶ *Baqiay* means grandfather and *bayay* means grandmother.

⁷ The Kavalan do not normally perform *patohokan* for dead babies and young children. The Christians, however, hold a private religious ceremony for dead children before their burial. In the early summer of 1997, a little girl who was about one year old died in the neighbourhood. My host A-niao went to condole the family. But he suggested that I do not come along since I was neither a member of the family nor a close relative. A-niao told me that the Kavalan normally do not hold a funeral for young children. He said, “if young children do not want to live with us in this world, we just let them go without showing our sorrow”. Perhaps, the Kavalan willingly believe in it because it helps them to overcome their sorrow.

they rarely performed the ritual until it was revived in mid-1980s. However, there were very few households which still performed the ritual for the dead secretly⁸. From mid-1990s, the Kavalan have come to accept the ritual gradually. More and more people perform *patohokan* in private after a public Chinese or Christian style funeral.

During my stay in Hsinshe, I attended five funerals in 1997. Four of the funerals were in Catholic style and only one was in the Chinese tradition. One out of five had *patohokan* right after the funeral. The funerals in the village used to be monopolised by Holo funeral undertakers in the past ten to twenty years ago. But in the last five years or so the villagers have started to rely on a Kavalan undertaker, A-tsai⁹, who lives in Lite to run his funeral business. However, A-tsai still follows Chinese funerary customs during rituals. Even in a Christian funeral, he deals with all sort of preparatory work, from washing and dressing the dead body to arranging a coffin, offerings, settings, procedures and so on in the Chinese way, except for the Christian mass which is normally led by a priest and lasts for nearly two hours.

However, the fear that the dead may not be able to join the other dead members of the family and relatives in the next world has haunted many Kavalan people. The fear seemed to be magnified when Shimizu came to conduct her fieldwork in Hsinshe around late 1980s. She went around the village and asked the elderly people about their traditional rituals. Her inquiry about funerals seemed to awaken the Kavalan and some people started to revive *patohokan* around that time. And the villagers could hardly recall any *patohokan* which had been performed before Shimizu's fieldwork.

⁸ As the family of the dead did not want many people to know that they still performed *patohokan*. They chose to do it a few months after dead were buried in order to avoid people's attention. Because people kept it a secret, not many villagers knew who still performed *patohokan*.

⁹ A-tsai used to be a bus driver for County Bus Company. He drove mainly on the coastal road route from Hualien city to Fengpin *hsiang* or sometimes to Taitung. About ten years ago, he moved into the funeral undertaking business. Because of his experience as a bus driver, he knows lots of people along the bus route. He started to feel proud of being a Kavalan and when the Kavalan came to public attention through the media in the early 1990s he became friendly with the Kavalan people in Hsinshe. Because he cannot speak Kavalan well, he uses Holo to communicate with Hsinshe Kavalan. He comes to Hsinshe and drinks with the villagers almost everyday when he is not engaged in his business. Today, most of the Kavalan along the coastal road ask him to undertake funerals. Because of his inability to speak Kavalan, A-tsai has asked his son and two daughters to learn Kavalan. However, his children speak Amis better than Kavalan, as their mother is an Amis and they live in an Amis-dominated village. Still, the mother can speak a little bit of Kavalan. She learned it from her parents-in-law when she had just married into the family.

Patohokan is led by two or more *metiyu*¹⁰. They need to *mamet*¹¹ (fast) from that morning. The ritual usually goes on for the whole day. *Patohokan* involves preparation, followed by several procedures like searching for the dead, inviting ancestors to come, feeding the dead and ancestors, delivering all of them to another world, and clarifying (or cleansing) of all of the participants in the ritual. *Patohokan* is supposed to be exclusively for the family and relatives and should not be seen by outsiders who may bring bad luck to the living. However, for the purpose of promoting Kavalan traditions and culture, the family who holds *patohokan* does not ask researchers to leave, nor voluntarily invite outsiders to participate the ritual¹².

According to A-bi, *patohokan* should be performed after burying the dead. However, there are no fixed days for the ritual. Normally, the Kavalan negotiate with *metiyu* to see which period is convenient to both parties. They never have a fixed date and always decide spontaneously to perform rituals one or two or three days before. Generally, *metiyu* prefer the days before new moon appears¹³, for they need to continue fasting if the moon appears. They also prefer to perform a couple of rituals together so that they do not have to fast for a longer period¹⁴. The 3rd and the 4th of September in 1997 were the 2nd and the 3rd of August according to Chinese lunar calendar, and the sky

¹⁰ *Patohokan* involves looking for the dead person who is wandering in another world after leaving his or her body. This means that the *metiyu* could be in danger when they meet evil in the other world. Hence, this ritual should be performed by at least two *metiyu* who can support each other when in danger. In addition, most rituals are led by two *metiyus* who symbolise their god and goddess or male ancestor and female ancestor.

¹¹ *Metiyu* observe strict rules of fasting. Generally speaking, they are prohibited from eating non-Kavalan and “unclean” food, such as the meat of all domestic animals, some game meat, fish and the vegetable with strong smell. Nor can they sleep with men. The food they can eat includes seashells, seaweed, ginger, and some wild vegetables. The idea of the strict fasting is to purify themselves; otherwise, they will not be able to see gods and ancestors or they will fall ill.

¹² I was told not to ask for permission to participate in *patohokan* and just go directly to the ritual, for people do not want to invite bad luck to their household by inviting people. The Kavalan just pretend that the presence of researchers has nothing to do with them, as it is considered to be rude to ask whoever comes pay tribute to the dead to leave.

¹³ It does not mean that they have to perform rituals before the new moon. On the contrary, they can perform ritual on any day they like. However, the moon tends to be invisible in the beginning of the moon cycle, that is why they favour early days of the moon cycle.

¹⁴ *Metiyu* A-bi mentioned that they have once fasted for almost a month, when they forgot to notice the cycle of the month. She complained about not being able to eat pork and chicken for such a long time. However, I observed that A-bi and the other two *metiyu* rarely eat much meat. They simply do not like the idea of fasting for a long time, for they want to get rid of their responsibility quickly.

happened to be very cloudy, the *metiyu* therefore decided to perform *pagalavi* for Di-nas and *patohokan* for Wu-mus' son together.

Even the eldest *metiyu* A-bi could not remember why the fasting of *metiyu* is related to the moon. A description about the customs of the aborigines in Ilan plain of a Chinese official record which was published in the middle of the 19th century attempts to answer the question:

During mourning period, fan (aborigines) women did not wear any jewellery and leave their hair in disarray. However, they believe when the new moon rises, the soul of the dead would disappear. (Chen 1963)

Metiyu may not know or remember the meanings of the rites or activities but they insist on following what they have been taught or seen. They believe if they do not obey their customs, they would, as a punishment, fall ill. Interestingly enough, the rules of rituals vary each time, as the *metiyu* sometimes cannot remember or simply forget the exact procedures.

In the morning around 8 AM on the 4th of September 1997, the *metiyu*, A-bi, I-bai, and A-yuk, went to Wu-mus' home at Kuei-an to perform *patohokan* for her son who died more than a year ago in a car accident. Wu-mus' families are Catholics which explains the reason why they did not do *patohokan* right after her son's funeral. During the year which followed her son death, Wu-mus and her husband often fell ill, especially Wu-mus who often dreamt about her son. They were told by Amis and Holo shamans that her son was alone and felt hungry in the other world. Therefore, when she came know that Di-nas and other *metiyu* had decided to do *pagalavi* to feed Di-nas' ancestors, she asked them to perform *patohokan* for her son the next day.

Kavalan *metiyu* A-bi, I-bai, and A-yuk who were in charge of Wu-mus' son's *patohokan* started to fast from the morning, other participants were also asked to fast for that day. Being the youngest *metiyu*, A-yuk was responsible for the preparation. She started to prepare most of the materials for the ritual with the help of her husband, Wu-dai, a day or two before. Although some Kavalan traditional rituals are supposed to be exclusively for women, men are not allowed to touch the materials for the rituals or sleep with the *metiyu* before the ritual, as they are considered to be unclean and would

pollute the rituals. Today, the *metiyu* no longer minds if men help them to find some materials. As A-yuk put it, “those materials are just ordinary objects before the rituals. They only become powerful when they are ritualised.”

The following were the items which A-yuk had prepared for the ritual:

1. *biaque na mulu* (a branch of kaffir lime leaves): 1 piece
2. *mulu* (kaffir lime leaves): a few
3. *baraden* (a kind of plant with a long stalk): a few
4. *haiisayan*¹⁵ (the base of making the warps for weaving): 1 piece
5. *lawa* (white cloth): 3 white towels and a couple of square clothes
6. *kanasna* (dried bamboo calyx): a few
7. *awa*¹⁶ (cup): 3
8. *svada* (taro): cut into dice and put in a bag
9. *deves* (sugarcane): cut into dice and put in a bag

The function and symbolic meanings of the above items is significant in understanding *patohokan*. The most important thing in the ritual is cleanness. Ritual utensils are not necessarily new but they should be clean. Therefore, when *metiyu* arrange the place for *patohokan*, they always sweep the place first and cover the ground with *lawa*, including their sitting place, *haiisayan*. *Biaque na mulu* which is put into a washbasin with water is said to be the resting place for ancestors and the dead during the whole ceremony. *Mulu* is a very important item and *metiyu* put one on each side of their head and feet. According to I-bai, *mulu* is a symbol to indicate Kavalan ancestors and the dead that Kavalan *metiyu* is inviting them to come. In other word, Kavalan ancestors and the dead will not come to the ceremony if the *metiyu* does not wear *mulu*.

I-bai described *baraden* as the act of beating drums and striking gongs in Chinese ceremony. However, the *metiyu* use it to chase ancestors and the dead during the ceremony. *Svada* and *deves* are the only two items which are used to symbolise pork and chicken respectively. As to other food and wine, the Kavalan use the real things. When food has been offered to the ancestors and the dead, they would be put into

¹⁵ The *haiisayan* they use has a long history. It belonged to A-yuk's grandmother. It is also one of the remaining traditional objects in the village. Its main function is to make the warps for weaving. However, it is often used as the sitting place for the *metiyu*, especially for *patohokan*.

¹⁶ They used cups, bowls, and other items which were available to them before. Nowadays, they used hand-made bamboo cups, dried bamboo calyx, etc. in order to give it a more “traditional” feelings.

kanasna which is folded into several containers.

When the *metiyu* came to Wu-mus' house around 8AM in the morning, Wu-mus had just finished making *nuzun* and was steaming *mai* in a traditional wooden steamer. The *metiyu* went around the house and checked if the rest of items were ready; which were:

10. *nuzun* (traditional cake made of glutinous rice): plenty
11. *mai* (rice): put in one of soup bowls
12. *insun* (washbasin): 1
13. *kaisin* (bowl): 3 rice bowls and 2 soup bowls
14. *lalas* (betel nut): plenty
15. *bila* (betel leaves): plenty
16. *hak* (wine): a few bottles
17. *tabaco* (cigarette): a few packages
18. *zana ya qulos* (used clothes and stuff which belong to the dead)

After chatting and smoking for a while, the *metiyu* started to make the last two items.

19. *zimen* (raw glutinous rice ball): 7 pieces
20. *isi*¹⁷ (mix *zimen* with water): put in one of soup bowls

They ground raw glutinous rice and added in water from time to time till it could be kneaded into oval shape. A-bi put one rice ball into a bowl with water which symbolises their traditional wine, *isi*. Because it is easy to buy *isi* nowadays, the Kavalan rarely make their own *isi* anymore. However, since *patohokan* is a sacred ceremony, they make instant *isi* instead.

I-bai who led this *patohokan* decided to add one extra rite, *yawuti*, before the main ceremony, as Wu-mus' son died in a terrible car accident one year ago. Normally, the *metiyu* believe if the dead passed away long time ago and, more seriously, died an abnormal death, their soul is difficult to call back. Therefore, the *metiyu* have to perform *yawuti* outdoors. However, *yawuti* is considered as a difficult and dangerous rite to perform, the *metiyu* are supposed to help each other out when they cannot bear it.

¹⁷ *Isi* was an important wine in Kavalan rituals before. It is made from glutinous rice after the harvest and takes one or two months to ferment. It tastes very sour when young and becomes sweet and fragrant when mature. *Isi* is also a common wine for the Amis who have started to make this wine for sale. Today, it is very easy to buy it in the markets all over the Hualien County.

Yawuti is like a drama in which the *metiyu* make a great effort to travel to another world to look for the dead. At first, I-bai set a bamboo pole with leaves and a branch of kaffir lime leaves stuck on the top in the middle of front yard. Then, after the *metiyu*, I-bai, A-bi, and A-yuk put *mulu* and a white towel on their heads, they started to gesture towards the four directions: north, south, east and west, and at the same time pleaded with the ancestors and the dead to come. They held the bamboo pole on one hand and started to circle it clockwise or anti-clockwise directions. As a leading *metiyu* in this *patohokan*, I-bai beat the other two *metiyu* with a small twig of *mulu* in order to supervise them to run faster and search harder. She also squirted wine from her mouth at the other two from time to time to keep up their spirit. If one of the *metiyu* fainted, I-bai or the other one would keep sprinkling wine at her face till she woke up. They continued till I-bai saw the dead had come to the leaves. Then, I-bai took the bunch of bamboo and kaffir lime leaves down with care and put it into the washbasin in the place where the *patohokan* took place. The whole rite lasted about half an hour.

Following the traditional custom, the *patohokan* for Wu-mus' son took place in the living room, where the coffin had been placed. The *metiyu* covered the statue of Jesus with white cloth before the ceremony started. According to A-bi, because they are performing Kavalan traditional ritual, there should not be other gods such as Jesus or Chinese gods in the room, or their ancestors would feel scared to come, as most of their ancestors were not Christians or nor believers in Chinese religion.

The whole ceremony of a normal *patohokan* can be divided into four main stages: inviting the ancestors and the dead, feeding them, sending them to another world, and finally purifying the participants. After arranging the needed stuff and placing most of the above mentioned items for *patohokan* in front of the seat of *metiyu*, the *metiyu* prepared themselves by putting *mulu* on each side of head and feet and covering their heads with a white towel again. Around 9:45AM, they sat down on *haiisayan* and prepared themselves for the ritual. They first breathed over the *baraden*, then pointed from down to up to three sides, right, middle and left, three times each, followed by beating the ground in the same rhythm. The act of beating the ground meant that the *metiyu* were running to another world and searching for the ancestors and the dead.

They also kept a close look at the washbasin which had water and *biaque na mulu* in it in order to see if the souls of the ancestors and the dead had come. If the *metiyu* were tired, they could rest for a while or beat slowly. This act continued till I-bai saw that the dead had joined the ancestors sitting around the edge of basin. At this point, the *metiyu* stopped beating and started to cry. The family of the dead realised that the dead had finally come and started to cry as well.

Then, the ceremony moved on to the second stage, feeding the ancestors and the dead. The *metiyu* fed them in the way that ordinary people have their meal, which meant to offer them wine three times first, then offer the main course (symbolising chicken and pork) with rice three times as well, followed by cigarettes and betel nuts. Wu-mus and other family members and relatives came to feed them after the *metiyu*. The offered wine was poured into the basin from the edge with care, or it would give the ancestors and the dead a scare. Other offerings like food and betel nuts had been piled up into various containers. Because there were many ancestors, the *metiyu* and the family had to feed them continuously. This act lasted till three o'clock in the afternoon, before the *metiyu* started the third stage of *patohokan*.

Like other rituals, the amount of each offering is very small and everyone has to give three times in each offering. Notably, the *metiyu* and the family and relatives of the dead breathe over the offering items before they *sbau* and eat and drink a bit before they put offerings into containers or basin. This act has diverse explanations to many people. Some say that it tells the ancestors and the dead who has given the offerings to them. Some think that it means sharing food with the ancestors and the dead. Some regard it as an invitation to the ancestors and the dead to come to eat the food. Nevertheless, whenever the *metiyu* and the family and relatives give their offerings, they have to say that "it is chicken (or other food), please come to eat it."

During the whole ceremony, the *metiyu* were not allowed to leave their position except for going to toilet, as their seat should not be left empty. They even had their lunch at their seat, whereas other participants ate the lunch Wu-mus prepared in the kitchen. The

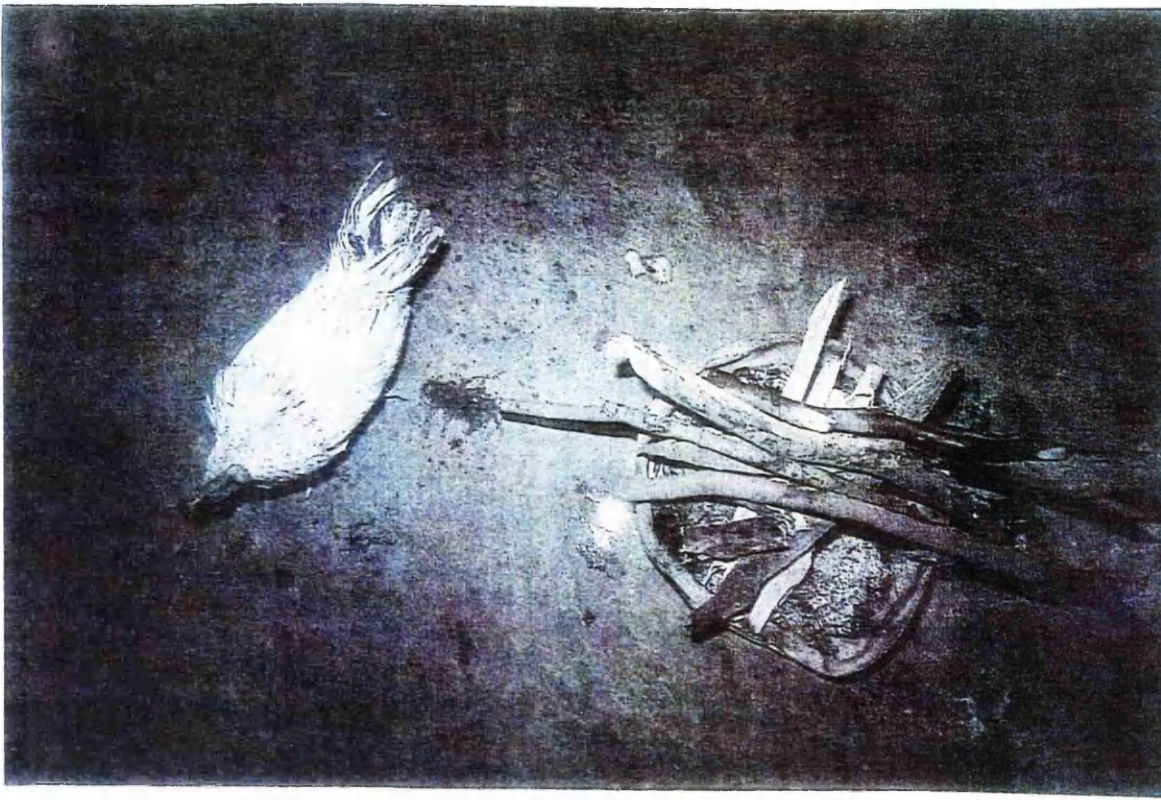
food of the *metiyu* was restricted, they only had some small shellfish¹⁸, seaweed, and rice. The ideas of not eating together are that the *metiyu* are not in the same world as the participants are and the *metiyu* have to observe their fasting strictly.

Because the duration of the second stage was long, the *metiyu* started to teach us¹⁹ the names of the items they used in the ceremony in the Kavalan language. They joked, sang songs, or told stories in order to pass time. In the meantime, the *metiyu* and the family members of the dead kept feeding the ancestors and the dead. They also had to pay attention to kids, dogs or cats, for they did not want them to disturb the ancestors and the dead, or it would be difficult to call them back.

When the *metiyu* made sure that the ancestors and the dead had finished their meal, they moved to the third stage of the ceremony. They checked themselves again to see if they had *mulu* in their head and feet, a towel covering their head, and so on, and sat properly on *haiisayan*. Then they repeated the first rite at the first stage of the ceremony by using *baraden* pointing three sides three times, followed by beating the ground in the same rhythm. Notably, their *baraden* touched the water in the basin before they pointed it up. This act symbolised sending the ancestors and the dead to the other world. The rhythm of *baraden* beating symbolised the sound of the ancestors and the dead walking away. After some time, the *metiyu* and the family and relatives started to cry, as it was the time the ancestors and the dead started to leave. It was said that the dead person was the last to go because he or she could not bear to part with the living. At this point, Wu-mus cried dramatically, especially when I-bai used *baraden* to beat at her and spurted the rice wine from her mouth to the items Wu-mus had prepared for her son which act symbolised asking the dead to take those things with him. At the same time, A-yuk put the offerings given to the dead and ancestors into a bamboo basket and gave it to her husband to hang at the back of the house.

¹⁸ Only tiny shellfish like clams are considered sea vegetables. Other bigger shellfish like lobsters, prawns, big snails, are non-vegetarian and thus not fit for eating during this ritual.

¹⁹ Apart from me, there was an Amis lecturer from a college in Hualien City recording the whole ceremony. Her main interest is Amis folk music and rituals. The recording of Kavalan ritual was useful for the comparison between Kavalan and Amis rituals and songs. One of her research assistant is a half Kavalan from Lite. The *metiyu* encouraged her to learn more about the Kavalan.



Trobuwan (A-yuk's) *palilin*.
(Courtesy of Bauki Anao)



A-gnao and his son performed Kavalan *palilin*.



A-bi, I-bai, and A-yuk performed
patohokan for Wu-mus' son.



A-bi, I-bai, and other *metiyu spau*
for Di-nas' *pagalavi*.



A-yuk was preparing *muzun* for
pagalavi.

The *metiyu* had to make sure that the ancestors and the dead had left, or it would cause illness or bad luck to the *metiyu* as well as the family. They also kept an eye on kids, dogs or cats to prevent them from getting too close to the basin, if they rushed into it they would be taken away by the ancestors. I-bai took the branch of kaffir lime leaves with bamboo leaves from the basin and examined carefully if the ancestors and the dead had all gone. She kept shaking the branch and putting into and taking out of basin, at the same time, she kept pleading the ancestors and the dead to leave, as they live in different worlds.

Once she was sure that the ancestors and the dead had all gone, A-yuk's husband, Wu-dai, took the basin to the front yard and poured out the water carefully. As a hunter, he was very concerned about the things which were left in the bottom of basin. He and other elderly hunters believed that sometimes the ancestors left red or black hairs for them. Here, black hair symbolised the hair of wild boar, whereas red hair symbolised the hair of *chiang*²⁰. If hunters found those hairs in the basin, it meant that they would definitely catch those game next time when they went hunting.

After *patohokan*, the *metiyu* would perform the last rite, purifying rite, for themselves as well as the participants, in case the ancestors and the dead had left bad luck for them. They at first packed the items which had been used in the ceremony, like *baraden*, *mulu*, etc., and took those items to the river. But before everyone left the house, he or she needed to jump away from where he or she was. I-bai took a small twig of *mulu* sweeping up and down on everyone's body and spurted wine from her mouth to everyone. She also went around the house and did the same act. When everyone gathered at the river washing face and limbs, I-bai and other *metiyu* distributed *mulu* and still kept using *mulu* for brushing everyone. Before leaving the river, everyone had to throw water and *mulu* behind which still symbolised getting rid of bad luck. When everyone entered the house again, he or she had to jump over a fire. When the ritual finished, the *metiyu* and the participants gathered in the living room chatting and joking,

²⁰ Chiang is an animal which belongs to deer family. It looks like dogs and also barks like dogs. It moves fast and cautiously in forests in mountainous areas around early morning and evening. It lives on the leaves of wild plants and grass (The Chinese Dictionary of the Ministry of Education 2000).

I-bai took a bunch of sweet potatoes' leaves²¹ and asked everyone to breathe into it in order to shake off remaining bad luck.

The Kavalan believe that everyone has a *tazusa* (spirit or soul). If the *tazusa* leaves the body, the person dies. If the *tazusa* cannot join the ancestors in another world after the body is dead, it will wander around and may cause the living illness or bad luck. It is the reason why the Kavalan tend to connect the dead to illness and bad luck. In addition, if a wandering *tazusa* cannot join the rest of ancestors, he will never be a part of the ancestors and will never receive the offerings from his descendants. The Kavalan also believe that their ancestors and the dead are living together in a village in another world. They live just like we live in this world.

For the Kavalan, the division between the living and the dead world is clear, that is, the living and the dead are supposed live in their own worlds. Interaction between these two worlds will only cause confrontation and even illness among the living. A story which was told by A-niao clearly illustrates their conception of the division of two worlds. He said:

There was a little boy who lived with his grandmother after his parents' death. He missed his parents so much that he was often wandering around in order to find his parents. Once he found the way which led to the underworld and met his parents there. From then on, he travelled to visit his parents everyday. His parents sometimes gave him some food for his grandmother and him, as they were poor people in the real world. He sometimes brought some *bais* (a kind of small seashell) to the underworld for his parents as they missed this delicacy. Strange thing happened to the food items he carried through the two worlds: the great amount of *bais* he brought to the underworld became very little, whereas the food his parents asked him to take to real world increased so much that he could barely carry it. Although his grandmother was happy with the great amount of food he took back home, she could not stop wondering where those things came from. The little boy said nothing as he had promised his parents not to reveal a word. As the time went by, he spent more and more time in the underworld, he became weaker and listless. The grandmother decided to examine him and finally found out what he had been up to. She consulted the *metiyu* who decided to perform a ritual to separate the boy from his dead parents. After the ritual, the boy forgot the way to the underworld. He cried for a while and eventually decided to carry on with his life in this world.

²¹ Some Kavalan think that this rite does not belong to the Kavalan and should be an Amis rite.

This story was told to A-niao by his grandmother who was the most respected *metiyu* at Kaliawan in the northern plain of Hualien County. He could still recall the situations in which his grandmother prepared ritual utensils or performed rituals for villagers in 1930s when he was six or seven. He remembered to see his grandmother performing *patohokan* for the dead. However, his grandmother was called more frequently for curing patients, especially children with illnesses.

The Kavalan believe that the living should be separated from the dead and their ancestors. Only if they live in their own worlds, will the living have a happy and prosperous life. Therefore, the living should help the dead to join their dead ancestors and relatives in the other world and feed the dead regularly. Because of this belief, the Kavalan used to have some extra rites to separate the dead from the living, such as “divorce”²², the division of family property, and so on. However, these rites have already become extinct.

Palilin

Palilin is probably the only ritual that the Kavalan have performed continuously over a long period of time. As many Kavalan have said, they would rather confess their superstitious behaviour to the priests after feeling guilty to have observed *palilin* at home. After having come to national attention the Kavalan feel more confident about their traditions. They have developed a new interpretation according to which *palilin* is a way of commemorating their ancestors but not worshipping the gods according to their traditional belief. In this sense, they do not regard *palilin* as a superstition anymore. Therefore, they feel that they do not need to feel sorry or guilty about it.

The Kavalan refer to *palilin* as the Kavalan New Year ritual. It is a private ritual that is held in the kitchen of Kavalan households two to four nights before the lunar Chinese New Year. There are two kinds of *palilin* in Hsinshe, one is Kavalan *palilin* and the other is Trobuwan *palilin*. Kavalan *palilin* is a simple ritual which only requires one

²² The rite of divorce is to separate the dead from the living. If they do not perform this rite, the Kavalan believe, the dead will not leave his or her partner and family to join other ancestors in the other world and will haunt the living. They might also cause illness to the living.

bottle of rice wine, one bottle of red colour wine, and a small amount of Chinese rice cake, and it takes a couple of minutes to finish it. Trobuwan *palilin* is a complicated ritual which involves some taboos and is exclusively for the members from the same family, that is, the descendants of the Trobuwan. It is said to have had its own name in Trobuwan language; however, it has been replaced by a Kavalan name, Trobuwan *palilin*, since the language became extinct in the village. Nonetheless, Trobuwan *palilin* often serves as a marker to draw the boundaries between the Kavalan and the Trobuwan.

Kavalan *palilin*

When the Kavalan decide which night to do *palilin*, the whole family go to bed first to pretend to sleep for a while. Then they get up and gather together in the kitchen as the place where they keep offerings is next to the stove, no matter whether it is a traditional brick or modern gas cooker. Notably, some just perform *palilin* directly without pretending to sleep. The ritual takes place anytime between ten to twelve o'clock before roosters start to crow. The Kavalan believe that there is no point to continue the ritual, because their ancestors will leave after hearing roosters crowing which signifies the beginning of the day. Normally, the elderly members of the household start to perform *palilin* first, followed by younger members. It is said that it used to be led by the elderly female members and was limited to the people who shared the same cooking range which symbolised the same family. However, those rules are not important anymore, as men have become the head of household in private and public domains, and the extended families can come back to their parents' place to have a joint *palilin* if they prefer to.

In 1998, many Kavalan finished their *palilin* around 27th or 28th of December in the Chinese Lunar Calendar. For example, old Village Head did theirs with three generations on 27th. Du-dai also performed *palilin* with me on 27th after her husband, A-niao, died the previous year. A-bi did it a bit earlier on 26th because she woke up in the middle of night and could not sleep anymore.

Trobuwan *palilin*

When Di-nas, our neighbour, came to my host family to select a black rooster in the morning of the lunar 28th of December in 1997, she told me that it was for the Trobuwan *palilin*. While we were discussing which roosters with all black feathers were healthier and crowed loudly, she complained about the taboos of their New Year ritual. Suddenly, she remembered my position as a researcher there and stopped talking about their *palilin*, as she did not know how to decline my request if I asked to see the ritual. She felt greatly relieved when I told her that I understood their taboos and would not like to force her to let me observe their ritual. Actually, my host family had already warned me the previous evening that I should not go to visit Di-nas's home. In the village, almost every one knows which households will be doing Trobuwan *palilin* before noon of the lunar 28th of December. Villagers avoid visiting those families, when they see that the houses of those families are shut. Moreover, they will stop anyone who tries to call on the Trobuwan families during their ritual.

The next day Di-nas invited me to her house and showed me where and how they did the ritual. Di-nas, a seventy-four-year-old lady, is the only daughter of a Trobuwan father and Kavalan mother. She and her husband, an Amis who married into her household, have six children. Since her husband died in 1993, she has lived alone in the village²³. Her eldest daughter A-jung who lives in the near-by comes to take care of Di-nas everyday. Although Di-nas' family is Catholic, and Di-nas often regards their traditional belief as superstition, she still follows the customs the way her parents did. Di-nas used to act as a *metiyu* before. Since she has converted to Catholicism, she rarely participates in *metiyu* activities nowadays. However, since she constantly fell ill, she called the *metiyu* to perform *patohokan*, seven months after her husband had died in 1993. Since her condition did not improve even after the ritual she asked the *metiyu*

²³ Sometimes her son's family comes to live with her when the son gets a temporary job in the nearby area. Or, when the kindergarten is closed for holidays, she goes to take care of her three-year-old grandson in Hualien City, when her son and daughter-in-law go out to work. She used to take care of that grandson when he was very small. After the boy left, her daughter A-jung sends her grandson to have dinner with Di-nas every evening in order to keep her company. Di-nas goes to A-jung's house for breakfast everyday.

again to perform *pagalavi* for her in 1997²⁴.

Like other Trobuwan descendents, Di-nas leads her family to perform Trobuwan and Kavalan *palilin* every year. Di-nas first discusses the date with her son, as his time depends on his job in Hualien City. Normally, they do the Kavalan *palilin* first on the lunar 27th of December, followed by the Trobuwan ritual the next day. Once they decide the date, they fast from the previous night to the next night. They close their windows and doors and do not go out to chat with neighbours. During the ritual of Kavalan *palilin*, all the family members, Di-nas and her son's family, gathered near the stove in the kitchen, where two glasses or cups were kept on top of a small square board, and made their offerings in turn. They first used an extra glass to pour one kind of wine first then poured the wine into the glass kept on the board three times. And while they were inviting their ancestors to come to eat the offerings and pleading protection and blessing from them, they drank the remaining wine. They repeated the same action with other kinds of wine and glutinous rice cake.

Their Trobuwan ritual started around ten o'clock in the morning of the 28th. Di-nas' son struck a black rooster against the back of the door three times, then took off the feathers of the rooster once it was roughly roasted in fire. They put the roasted rooster on a square cement board, which her son had made especially for this function, and cut open its breast and took out its heart, liver, and gizzard. At the same time, the family started to prepare the offerings: these three organs had to be sliced equally into the numbers of participants, *hahak* (cooked *peng-lai* rice) and glutinous rice cakes were also kneaded into small balls according to the number of the participants, white rice wine and red wine and two glasses to put them separately and a bamboo cup for transferring wine to those two glasses were also arranged. Once the preparation work was done, the family could start to *sbau*.

Although the contents of the offerings are different, the ritual of *sbau* in Trobuwan *palilin* is just like the *sbau* of Kavalan *palilin*. They also need to invite their ancestors first, then take the offerings one by one and offer them to the ancestors three times, and

²⁴ Di-nas has tried many doctors in Hualien City and Taipei. But her health still did not improve. She has suffered from cataract, migraine, and rheumatism for many years. She thinks the spirit of her husband troubles her and causes illness, as they used to have quarrels when her husband was alive.

finally drink or eat the remaining offerings. Unlike the invitation of the Kavalan *palilin*, they have to address their grandparents and parents by their names and ask them to bring the previous generations along as well to the household. During the procedure, they also ask for protection or blessing from the ancestors.

Di-nas' teenage grandson also described to me their Trobuwan ritual. He said that all the members of the family squatted around the board, every one has to give his or her offerings towards the main door in turn, starting from the eldest to younger generation. When his turn came, he first took the bamboo cup and poured one of the wine in it. While pouring a very small amount of the wine from the bamboo cup into the cup three times, he needed to recite the invitation to the ancestors at the same time, and drunk the remaining wine in the bamboo cup. Then, he repeated the same ritual with different offerings (another kind of wine, rooster's heart, liver, and gizzard, *hahak* and glutinous rice cake), while asking for protection and blessing from his ancestors at the same time. He said that he always asks for the protection so that he can pass all the examinations at school. Every member of the family has to do the same action, even babies or small children whose parents perform on their behalf. If one of the family members cannot come back to do the ritual in person, the other members of the family can perform it on his or her behalf.

The whole ritual should be finished by noon, after which they cook the chicken for lunch. The board with the offerings on it was put back on a flat surface on the roof of the bathroom next to the kitchen and was not cleaned until the next year before its use. Although the offerings left on the board are supposed to be for the consumption of ancestors, they are generally eaten by rats. The unused material from which the offerings are made cannot be given away to others, unless those people are from the same family root. As a result, they normally throw the remaining materials away.

Once I asked Di-nas why she has not abandoned those "superstitions", since she has always been cynical about their traditions, for instance, she always says that the offerings they give to ancestors are actually given to the mice. She answered me that her ancestors were barbarians and believed in superstition, therefore, she has to give them

the offerings in their ways. If the ancestors do not receive the offerings, they will trouble their descendants by cursing them or making them ill. For the fear of offending the ancestors, Di-nas had to hold a *patohokan* for her husband a few months after his funeral in 1994. In 1997, she had also asked other *metiyu* to perform *pagalavi* in order to get rid of her illness²⁵. She might forget to do Kavalan *palilin*, but she has never forgotten to perform the Trobuwan ritual.

From my interviews about the Trobuwan *palilin* in different households²⁶, I found that each household has slightly different taboos, manner of offerings and procedures. This could be because they strictly follow what they had been told or taught by their parents and receive very little influence from outside. Actually, those Trobuwan know better the differences between each other's *palilin* than the Kavalan. For instance, they know which family uses different methods²⁷ to kill the rooster, eat raw or cooked chicken organs, eat three or four kinds of chicken organs²⁸, follow different ways of fasting²⁹, use certain utensils, performing the ritual in the living room or kitchen, etc. However, the salient difference among them is still, as a Taiwanese folklorist Chang (1998: 201) has also noticed, the way of eating rooster's organs, raw or cooked. This distinction has become the means for them to distinguish their family line from others. For example, Di-nas and her elder daughter's family eat raw chicken organs, whereas A-yuk and her relatives, Chen Zen-ai's family, from her father's side cook those organs before eating. No matter the differences between each other's *palilin*, they do not know the reasons behind their actions. They simply follow the traditions.

²⁵ Di-nas has always been in bad shape for years. Her leg which she had broken before aches quite often. She has also been suffering from migraine and cataract for years. Although she has gone to see specialists, her health has not improved much. She always thinks that her illness is caused by her ancestors who love to trouble her since she was small.

²⁶ The Trobuwan normally do not like to talk about their *palilin*. They talked to me because I was close to Di-nas and A-yuk. Other people like Chen zen-ai and Li A-mei tended to avoid discussing it with me as well as the villagers.

²⁷ According to A-yuk, there are three ways to kill the rooster, by knocking it hard against the door or by an axe, or roasting it directly while it is still alive.

²⁸ Apart from three kinds of rooster's organs, Chen Zen-ai's family also include kidney in their offerings.

²⁹ Some Trobuwan say that they can eat pork or shellfish, whereas some prohibit themselves from eating those things while fasting.

The differences between Kavalan and Trobuwan *palilin* are in their exclusiveness, offerings, and taboos. Trobuwan *palilin* is strictly for the members from the same household and cannot be seen by others, as the Trobuwan descendants believe that strangers will bring devastation to their household and they will have bad luck for three years. Trobuwan *palilin* uses the viscera of a black rooster as the main offering to their ancestors, whereas Kavalan *palilin* simply uses wine and Chinese glutinous rice cake. The Trobuwan have to fast for the whole day and cannot keep any guest at home while the Kavalan have no such taboos at all. During the fasting day, the Trobuwan cannot eat pork, fish, seafood, spring onion or garlic. Today, there are around 5 or 6 families who are still doing Trobuwan *palilin* in Hsinshe. The restrictions on fasting vary from family to family. The offerings and procedures are also slightly different from each other.

Because of growing Kavalan consciousness, many young people have shown their interest in *palilin* and are willing to come back home from cities to participate in the ritual, while they had disregarded it before as a backward or barbarian behaviour. Some even ask parents to restore or reinforce it if their family had terminated the ritual. This kind of examples happens more often outside Kavalan communities, in Kavalan families which live alone in cities. Like the case of Bauki, a member of the Kavalan elite whose home is in Hualien city, when he and his siblings confirmed their Kavalan identity with their father, they decided to restore *palilin* in 1996. From then on, they take turn to perform the ritual at one of the sibling's household. They also educate their children about their family as well as their ethnic history.

Pagalavi and Kisaiiz

Pagalavi is a renewal ritual for the *metiyu* after their initiation, the ritual of *kisaiiz*, of being a *metiyu*. In other words, Kavalan women are initiated by *kisaiiz* to be a *metiyu* who have to perform *pagalavi* when they fall ill or simply when they have not done it for a long time. These two curing rituals are exclusively for women and cannot apply to men³⁰. The Kavalan believe if the goddess of *metiyu* has chosen a girl to be a *metiyu*,

³⁰ A-bi thought that there were some healing rituals for men before. However, she could not remember any. Nowadays, *metiyu* only perform *pa-kan* to heal sick men who ask for help. *Pa-kan* is a simple ritual to feed the ancestors of sick men, as the Kavalan believe that illness is a signal from their ancestors who ask for offerings.

she will make her fall ill, an illness which no medicine can cure. Once the leading *metiyu* is sure about the signs through *pasanu*³¹, the rite of divine, she will gather other *metiyu*, experienced and new, to participate in the ritual. As Shimizu has noticed (1990), the *kisaiiz* and *pagalavi* are also sort of training rituals for the new *metiyu* to learn the knowledge to perform the rituals from the senior *metiyu*. In this sense, *pagalavi* is like a reminder which reminds the *metiyu* not to forget to make offerings to the goddess of *metiyu* and also to review their skills from time to time.

Nowadays, the ritual of *kisaiiz* is not performed anymore, as medical care and general knowledge about illnesses have improved. In Hsinshe, the youngest *metiyu* who is the elder daughter of Di-nas, and who had been initiated by *kisaiiz* when she was around ten years old, is fifty-five this year. This means that *kisaiiz* had terminated around 1960s. However, the ritual of *pagalavi* used to be carried out intermittently, it is now regularly performed once a year since 1995³² onwards.

Kisaiiz

According to A-bi, *kisaiiz* used to be performed for five days. She recalled that she had seen a group of *metiyu* climbing up to the main roof³³ of the house of the patient singing, jumping and waving in order to invite the goddess and ancestors to come. Many villagers came to watch everyday and had wine and food which were offered by the family of the patient. It was like a big and cheerful festival for the public. However, it was a serious event for the *metiyu*, as they had to strictly follow the fasting rules and

³¹ Ming, Liu, and Lin (1995: 12-24) have written an article about religious rite of the Kavalan. They use the term *subuli* to describe this rite. When I confirmed with A-bi, who was their main informant, in 1997, she said that *subuli* is an Amis term, it should be called *pasanu* in Kavalan. The reason that she told them the wrong term was that she did not think carefully and told them whatever came to her mind. This actually shows the confusion of the Kavalan towards some actions or terms in their daily life, which result from the long-term interaction with Amis.

³² In 1996, a *pagalavi* took place at Wu-mus' house (see Chang 1998: 146-152). The one I have attended was for Di-nas in 1997. A-yuk had asked the *metiyu* to perform one *pagalavi* for him in 1998 (information provided by Bauki Anao). This shows that *pagalavi* has been performed regularly in the recent years.

³³ A-niao who was an expert in house-building told me that they used to pay great attention to the wood for the main roof of the house. They went to search in the mountains and tried to find a kind of hard wood for the roof. While building a house, they had to jump on the roof to test if it was solid enough for its potential use by the *metiyu* in future.

show their obedience to the gods, goddess and ancestors.

A-bi is from the most respected *metiyu* family in the village. Her mother and grandmother were the most powerful *metiyu* in their times. Born in 1927 in Hsinshe, A-bi is an adopted daughter of Wu-mus, who was the sister-in-law of A-bi's natural mother. She was sent to her aunt in Kaliawan to enroll in the local primary school when she was eight. Compared with other children, A-bi was weak and always fell ill or got injured. For example, she broke her leg when she fell off a buffalo when she went to graze the cattle after school. Two or three years later, she got a sudden illness and fell into coma. She had a high fever, and in her delirium she saw lots of beautiful children dressed in white flying around her. Her mother did *pasanu* to diagnose A-bi's situation. She was sure that A-bi had been chosen by the goddess of *metiyu*. The mother thus decided to perform *kisaiiz* to cure her. She could not quite remember how her *kisaiiz* was like, as she was in the state of delirium. She only remembered strict fasting³⁴ rules for her, separation from her family, and new eating utensils for use. She particularly remembered that she was carried around by one of the *metiyu*, as she was not supposed to touch the ground during the whole ritual. She learned the trade and became a *metiyu* ever since.

The situation of other *metiyu* in the village was similar to that of A-bi. They fell ill and were diagnosed by experienced *metiyu* that they had been chosen to be one of the *metiyu*. They formed a group and were led by the most respected *metiyu*. They acted as shamans and consultants to the villagers and performed rituals, like *patohokan* or the rituals for expelling evil spirits, for the villagers.

We know, from historical records, that the Kavalan had experienced dramatic social changes from the mid 18th century when they encountered a large number of Chinese immigrants and were incorporated into the system of nation-state. In almost two

³⁴ The fasting rules for *kisaiiz* are the strictest ones. The girls and women who are about to be initiated by *kisaiiz* need to fast with the *metiyu*, and their fast last longer for a period than the *metiyu*'s. The rules for the food they can and cannot eat are similar to the fasting rules for *patohokan*. Shimizu (1998: 39-40), in her investigation, discovered other restrictions such as the initiants can only drink the water which is with rice washed. They cannot eat salt in any form, apart from the sea water. In addition, they cannot share the same hearth with others. Shimizu (1998: 40) interprets all these limitations as a symbolic act which separates initiants from the normal world.

hundred years of political suppression and forced assimilation, their traditional lifestyle broke down, their village structure collapsed, and they slowly lost their distinctive features.

Take the life of A-bi as an example, she grew up during the Japanese period when the colonisers wanted aborigines to abandon what they called barbarian customs, believe in Shintoism and pay regular visits to the Shinto temple at Tung-hsing. When A-bi was around fifteen or sixteen years old, she and Di-nas were selected to serve the Japanese officials and learned some of the sophisticated Japanese manners. When she reached seventeen, her mother decided to send her to learn tailoring at her relative's tailoring shop at Kuang-fu so that she could develop a skill for living. She ran back home a couple of times because she could not cope with the demanding work and the new life away from home. When she was eighteen, her parents found her a man who was working as a temporary worker in the region. She was once anxious about the marriage and wanted to run away to Hualien City or go to her aunt at Kaliawan. Although A-bi did not have a good relationship with her husband³⁵, they still raised four children. However, as Chang, her husband, was away from home most of the time, A-bi busied herself in taking care of the household, children and paddy fields with her mother.

What we can see from A-bi's life is that, even though she was initiated as a *metiyu*, she had not been taught how to become a *metiyu*, as there was no systematic way to train them. Moreover, because of the tight control of the Japanese and difficult time at home, A-bi had no time to learn the skills of *metiyu*. Nevertheless, she stood a better chance than other *metiyu*, as her mother and aunts were all respected *metiyu* who used to practice some rituals at home. Nowadays, the restored Kavalan traditions are mainly based on A-bi's memory, including *patohokan*, *pagalavi*, and so on.

Since it is not compulsory for the qualified *metiyu* to become an active *metiyu*, many

³⁵ When her husband was still alive, he used to address her “*o huan*” which means “black savage” in Holo language. A-bi still feels hurt and angry whenever she mentions this to me. She said, she had not done anything wrong so why did he address her as “*o huan*”? “Why did he say it in great disgust, as if I was a real savage.” She once cried with tears and advised me to choose a good husband, or I would regret for the whole of my life. A-bi's husband Chang was a sinicized plains aborigine from southern Taiwan, yet he regarded A-bi as inferior person. A-bi as well as most of the villagers in Hsinshe were regarded by many other groups as primitive people then.

women kept quiet about their initiation and did not participate at *metiyu*'s activities owing to their later conversion to Christianity. This is the reason why there are only three active *metiyu* in Hsinshe, though there are actually more than ten qualified *metiyu*. Because Kavalan traditions have received a great deal of attention from the 1990s, some *metiyu* have gradually started coming to participate in *metiyu* activities.

When I asked A-bi and other *metiyu* the reason why they did not restore *kisaiiz*, they said that *kisaiiz* is the supreme and the most sacred ritual which can not be performed casually. Besides, most of them could not remember how to do it anymore. Therefore, they did not want to try it for the fear that they might offend the goddess of *metiyu*. Although A-bi did diagnose once that an Amis young woman³⁶ needed to be cured by *kisaiiz*, she and other *metiyu* only performed *pagalavi* for her after careful consideration in 1996³⁷.

Pagalavi

On the 3rd of September 1997, I attended a *pagalavi* for Di-nas at her home. The ritual normally takes place in the autumn after the first rice harvest when people are free before the second season of rice cultivation starts. As said earlier, the fasting rules of *pagalavi* relate to the moon, the *metiyu* carefully chose the day which was before the new moon appeared.

From about 3:30PM, Di-nas started to make *nuzun* with help from neighbours, after cleaning the living room where the ritual took place. An hour later, every participant was asked to *sbau* in the kitchen, as Di-nas insisted that we should acknowledge her

³⁶ The patient was a twenty-three-year-old girl who suffered from an unknown disease from time to time since she was very young. She had seen many doctors in various hospitals but still there was no improvement in her condition. In frustration, her parents sent her to see Chinese and Amis shamans several times. When her parents came to know that Kavalan *metiyu* have special powers, they pleaded with A-bi to cure their daughter. A-bi told me that at first she turned down the parents' request, considering that the girl was an Amis, and A-bi and other *metiyu* were not confident about *kisaiiz*. But when the parents insisted, the *metiyu* decided to do *pagalavi* for her. The interesting point here is that *pagalavi* was transformed into a ritual to cure a non-*metiyu* patient.

³⁷ Chang (1998), a reportage writer, has written a detailed record on this particular *pagalavi*. Although he notices that this ritual is performed for a non-*metiyu* woman, he (1998: 156-159) still asserts that *pagalavi* has transformed into a ritual for healing ordinary people. It will be too arbitrary to assume so, as it was only a one-off event to perform for a non-Kavalan and non-*metiyu* woman.

ancestors. While we were all helping to make *nuzun*, A-bi and A-yuk came to discuss the details³⁸ of the ritual with Di-nas. After a while, they went back home to bathe and change clothes.

Like other rituals, the family that holds the rituals always prepares meals for the *metiyu* and other people who come to participate or watch the rituals. Unlike *patohokan*, there is no restriction for the *metiyu* on having meals with other people in *pagalavi*. However, everyone has to follow the fasting rules as the *metiyu* do. About thirty minutes after the dinner, A-bi put two kinds of wine (one white and one red) in two small bowls on the floor, she also rolled a *mulu* leaf as a wine cup and put two wine separately in it, then she used *baraden* to dip into the *mulu* wine cup to *sbau* towards the north and the south three times each and drank the remaining wine. Other *metiyu* also did their own *sbau* and prepared themselves for the ritual.

The procedure of *pagalavi* can be seen as the following stages: inviting gods, expelling evils and curing patients, giving offerings, and celebrating the success of the ritual, followed by the usual rite of purifying the *metiyu* and participants.

There were six *metiyu* who participated in Di-nas' *pagalavi*. They separated into two lines in a V shape with the leading *metiyu*, A-bi and I-bai, at the head. They represented female and male ancestors. All of the *metiyu* held *baraden* in both hands and sang and danced slowly as if they were walking forward to the world of *zianan* in order to invite gods, while patting Di-nas' body from head to legs with *baraden* and breathing a sound of "pu-tsu" to her at the same time. The content of songs was about pleading with the gods to come, naming gods' name, the purpose of performing the ritual, their obedience to the gods, their apology for not knowing the whole of songs of the ritual, and so on. All of the *metiyu* were connected by *salay*, an invisible thread which was supposed to lead them towards the world of *zianan*. A-bi told me that the thread was so thin that she could not see it but only felt vaguely where it was. Only I-bai could see it and *tazusa*. However, other *metiyu* and villagers said that what I-bai could see was Amis' thread or

³⁸ They discussed the preparation and precautions for the ritual, such as how many big *nuzun* Di-nas should prepare, she should keep a clean shirt ready, keep pets away, and so on. More importantly, they reminded her to cover the images of Jesus and Mary. In the case the families have the idols of Taiwanese popular religion, they will ask them to cover those idols. This, again, illustrates that the Kavalan regard rituals as sacred and private which should be performed only in a pure Kavalan environment.

spirits. Nevertheless, it has become I-bai's job to put the thread around the *metiyu* in *pagalavi* or check the *tazusa* in *patohokan* or other rituals.

A-bi kept urging other *metiyu* to run faster in order to chase the gods. Actually, they were making motions of running without actually moving forward. They ran faster and faster till they felt that they got entangled with the thread. They embraced and pushed Di-nas back and forth till they staggered and finally fell down. A-bi and A-yuk held each of Di-nas' arms and spun together till they fainted on the floor. After a while, A-bi and A-yuk got up and sat next to Di-nas who still lying down on the floor. After these dramatic actions, the gods had arrived and possessed the *metiyu*. The ritual thus moved to the second stage.

When the *metiyu* patted Di-nas in the first stage, they were actually pointing out to the god that she was the patient. The *metiyu* who were possessed by the gods covered Di-nas' eyes with two *mulu* leaves, A-yuk put Di-nas' head on her lap and other gathered around Di-nas holding her limbs in order to comfort her. They started to sing songs while sweeping Di-nas' body with *baraden*. This rite symbolized that they were expelling evil spirits from her. The content of songs was similar to that of the songs in the previous stage but in different rhythm.

It seems that the *metiyu* played two roles at the same time, the roles of gods and *metiyu*. As the *metiyu*, they cried when they saw their ancestors coming down. As gods, they expelled evil spirits and comforted the patient. The doubling of two roles could also be seen in their songs and actions, that is, the *metiyu* sing songs to plead with the gods, and then act as gods to cure the patient. This kind of doubling happens throughout the whole ceremony.

The *metiyu* kept saying the names of the gods and ancestors in Di-nas' ears, it is said that this could cure the *metiyu*'s illness. After a while, the *metiyu* repeated the act of running as in the previous stage. I-bai and A-bi came to pat Di-nas' face and helped her to stand up and jump, while every *metiyu* breathed "*pu-tsu*" again to her. Di-nas woke up after jumping. At this point, the second stage of ritual finished and the *metiyu* cleared

the scene. The ceremony had a ten-minute interval.

The third stage of ritual started with the rite of *sbau* which appeared during the first stage of ritual. Then they arranged many small *nuzun* on a shirt belonging to Di-nas, holding it in upside-down U shape³⁹, with an opening towards the lower hem of the shirt, where the *metiyu* put the money⁴⁰ for the ancestors. They also put a small bowl of white rice wine in the middle of the shirt, with a *nuzun* and some coins wrapped in a plastic bag under it. The other bowl of red wine was put above the collar of the shirt, next to another bigger *nuzun*, both on top of *mulu* leaves. Notably, those small *nuzun* were offered to their ancestors while the big *nuzun* was for gods. As this juncture, A-bi from Hsin-chuang became the leading *metiyu* in the ritual, she held a *nuzun* with a *mulu* leaf underneath it at her right hand and a bowl of wine in the other, when A-bi sang songs⁴¹ to invite gods and ancestors to come to eat the offerings. Other *metiyu* held a *nuzun* and *mulu* and followed her actions which corresponded to A-bi's songs. When A-bi sang the songs to invite their ancestors to come to eat, at this stage the *metiyu* started to cry. The audience cried as well when they heard the names of their ancestors. After making sure that they called all the names of ancestors they knew, the *metiyu* ate a bit of the *nuzun* they held in their hands then picked some and threw to four sides, east, west, south and north, three times each. The *metiyu* did not know the reason why they arranged the offerings in this way, they just followed what they had seen and been taught before. However, the shirt with *nuzun* on it symbolised that the offerings were given by the owner of the shirt.

After resting for a while, A-bi and Di-nas *sbau* again, so did other *metiyu*. They started the last stage of the ritual which was to celebrate the successful end of the ritual. They sang and danced in a circle while holding each other's hands. After some time, they invited the audience to join them. The atmosphere became a cheerful celebration. If they

³⁹ None of the *metiyu* knew why they had to make a U shape. Although A-bi guessed that it might imply the universe, she was not certain about it. Nonetheless, they said that they simply followed what their mothers and grandmother did.

⁴⁰ Some villagers who came to watch the ritual also put the money there. A-bi said that if anyone wanted their ancestors to be called to eat they could put money there.

⁴¹ At this point, A-bi found out that she led the ritual with a wrong song. She apologised to the gods and started with a new song. Actually, singing wrong songs or forgetting songs is quite common in this kind of situation, as the *metiyu* have forgotten how to perform the complete ritual.

were tired, they would rest for a while then start again. After half an hour, A-bi used *baraden* to sweep Di-nas from the head to toes and recited that “we had fed you, please leave now”. In response, Di-nas jumped out of where she stood. Other *metiyu* also performed similar rites to the audience who were also asked to jump away from where they stood. This ritual is said to leave bad things behind. If all the spirits did not leave after the ritual, they stayed behind to haunt people.

At the end of the ritual, A-bi divided the big *nuzun* and the money⁴² which was given by Di-nas and other audience into six equal portions. Each *metiyu* got one portion. The family of Di-nas also distributed some small *nuzun* to the audience. The whole ceremony lasted for more than three hours.

Even though *pagalavi* has been performed regularly from 1995, the *metiyu* are still not familiar with the procedure and songs of the ritual. They often make mistakes like bumping into each other, singing wrong songs, or forgetting the names of the gods. Each ceremony has difficult procedures. Even the elderly *metiyu* A-bi is not sure about the complete version of *pagalavi*. When they meet this kind of situation, A-bi would just lead them to repeat the names of the gods she remembers. More interestingly, A-bi said that the ritual of *pagalavi* is actually a brief version of *kisaiiz*, for she and other *metiyu* have long forgotten about *pagalavi* which has far more complicated procedure and songs. One may ask why they restored *pagalavi* instead of *kisaiiz*. The answer is a simple one, as no woman wants to be initiated by *kisaiiz* when she is really ill owing to improved medical care, Christianity, and education.

The regular performance of *pagalavi* also implies the need of the elderly people to reassure themselves when they realise that many of their family, relatives, and friends have already passed away and their children and grandchildren have all moved to cities. These elderly people have started to think about their own existence when they do not have a huge pressure to earn a living for the whole household anymore. They feel guilty about having forgotten their gods or ancestors earlier. Therefore, they explain their chronic diseases as the punishment from gods and wish to amend their behaviour by

⁴² The use of money as a reward for the *metiyu* seems to be influenced by the Chinese custom. Many Kavalan recalled that the *metiyu* got only *nuzun* as reward of their work in early days.

performing Kavalan rituals in order to communicate with the gods. More importantly, whenever they perform Kavalan traditional rituals, there are always some researchers or journalists who come to interview or report them which makes them feel important. The appearance of the researchers and reporters, in a sense, has consolidated their willingness to restore their traditional rituals.

Pasbau

Pasbau or *sbau* is a ritual which involves sharing food and wine (mainly wine these days) with ancestors, feeding ancestors when the living think their ancestors are hungry, or praying for blessings from ancestors before doing rituals or work.

In my observation, I noticed that the Kavalan, except those who are Protestants, *pasbau* naturally before their first drink. They do it without thinking and casually, though they are supposed to say, silently or in a whisper, something like, “I am offering wine to you (ancestors) now, I will never forget my offerings to you, etc”. However, they *pasbau* in a serious manner when they start to do some important things, such as building a house or raft, and so on. The *metiyu pasbau* more often than the ordinary people. For instance, they *pasbau* for every occasion, including private and public ones, like doing *pasbau* before the villagers travel together on a hired bus. They also *pasbau* when they finish or complete some work or come back from a journey. It is interesting to note that they *pasbau* especially before doing some traditional kinds of work, such as preparing banana fibres for weaving.

The oldest *metiyu* A-bi is unable to tell why the *metiyu* have to *pasbau* on behalf of other people. She just remembers that was the way her *metiyu* mother and aunts did before. The explanation of Wu-dai, the vice chief, could answer the question, he says that *metiyu* have more power than ordinary people so that it is easier for them to communicate with gods and ancestors, therefore, the Kavalan will do work successfully and travel safely.

If we look at Kavalan traditional rituals carefully, we will find that many rituals are a

combination of a series of *sbau*. In other word, *sbau* is the most basic rite of every ritual. The reason why they do three times in a *sbau* is unknown. However, it helps the *metiyu* or other Kavalan to explain their rites and rituals more easily, as people who believe in Christianity or Chinese popular religion also have to worship three times in a rite.

Other Rites and Rituals

There are some rituals which are rarely performed nowadays, such as *pasanu*, the ritual of hunting, the rites related to rice cultivation, and so on. These rituals are variations of *sbau* in terms of their forms, except that the purposes are different. Some elderly people still perform some of these rituals, while younger generations do not pay much attention to them.

The reasons that these rituals have gradually disappeared or been replaced closely relate to the improvement in modern technology or simply that people no longer remember how those rites are performed. For instance, the rite of divining for sick people has been replaced by the doctors' diagnosis. Even the *metiyu* consider doctors' diagnosis as professional and more accurate. Moreover, they rely emotionally upon the doctors for their treatment. Only if their health does not improve or the illness persists and they feel that doctors cannot cure the disease, they then consider other causes of the disease, such as the anger from gods or ancestors, and carry out relevant rituals to cure it.

The introduction and use of machinery and fertilisers in agriculture has reduced the fear of the Kavalan about the failure of crops. As a consequence, the Kavalan started skipping or ignoring the rites related to agriculture, such as the rite of transplanting rice shoots in paddy fields, the rite of mowing ripe rice plants, the rite of storing rice, the rite of eating new rice, and so on. In addition, the conversion to Christianity has exhorted them to regard those rites as superstitions. From the 1960s onwards, many Kavalan stopped performing the rituals.

It is an interesting phenomenon that the Kavalan have restored some of the rituals in the last 7-8 years. Even a Catholic evangelist A-gnao (Pan Chin-jung) who used to preach to people to abandon their traditional practices has started to restore some traditional

rites himself at home. At variance from what he thought before, he now views the revival of the rituals as a sign of gratitude to his ancestors, which is a kind of thanksgiving in Christian sense. Because A-gnao is an influential person in the church and is the present village head from 1998, his newly liberal attitude towards Kavalan traditional rituals and rites has eased the fear of the Kavalan who practise traditional rituals at home. Moreover, his new attitude, to a large extent, has made the villagers feel more confident about their traditional belief system.

This kind of syncretism, which Shimizu calls “co-existing”, can be seen in the everyday life of the Kavalan. More significantly, it has become a social norm to them. For example, *sa-tsu-buz* in Hsinshe and *laligi* in Chang-yuan include Christian and Chinese ritual practices. Many Kavalan perform *pasbau* after Christian or Chinese rituals before building houses⁴³ or before undertaking a long journey. Some Kavalan prefer to do Kavalan funeral, *patohokan*, for the dead after a Christian or Taiwanese funeral. Many Kavalan perform Chinese and Kavalan rituals together to remember their dead ancestors at the time of the three major Chinese Festivals, namely, the New Year, the Tomb Sweeping Day, and the Harvest Festival. Notably, Kavalan rituals and rites are generally performed in private or at home. It was because that the Kavalan used to consider it a taboo to talk about their practice of traditional rituals and rites.

This syncretism illustrates the flexibility of the Kavalan. At the analytical level, it can be said that the Kavalan see their traditional rituals as a part of private domain, whereas the Chinese customs and Christian religious practices they have already followed for years belong to public domain⁴⁴. This is their strategy which allows them to insert the newly revived Kavalan rituals back into their social life. Moreover, Kavalan interpret their traditional rituals as the only means to communicate with their ancestors, and as a sacred property which cannot be shared with others. Rituals of worshipping ancestors are no longer “superstitions”; rather, they become rituals of “gratitude” and

⁴³ When many Kavalan rebuilt their house in the aftermath of road expansion, they performed *pa-sbau* in order to seek blessing from their ancestors. For example, Hsieh Family did *pa-sbau* after praying to Holy Mother. A-wen made offerings to Kavalan ancestors and the gods of Taiwanese popular religion after praying to Holy Mother. Chieh did *sbau* as well as recited from the Bible.

⁴⁴ By the private domain, I refer to the elements (e.g. *patohokan*, *palilin*, etc.) which the Kavalan think are a mode of communication between them and their ancestors. By public domain I refer to the elements or codes (celebrating Chinese festivals, funerals, etc.) which the Kavalan share with other ethnic groups.

“thanksgiving” to their ancestors. In this sense, practicing Kavalan rituals does not affect their Christian belief and can co-exist with Taiwanese popular religious practices.

II. Implications of the Kavalan Movement for Taiwanese Society

Can the revival of Kavalan practices in Taiwanese society be seen as a result of the development of an industrialised society, as Bremen (1995:4) perceived in the case of the Japanese society? Bremen sees modern Japanese cultural practices as the outcome of industrialisation. He abandons the arbitrary distinction which divided religious practices into the sacred and secular domains and suggests that rites are an aspect of social ties that actually reflect the society itself. Therefore, some traditional religious practices reappear in new forms which are deeply affected by the industrialisation in the Japanese society. Those new forms of practices have also become more secularised. For instance, the promotion project which designs rituals for tourists and convenient transportation access have made rituals and religious institutions (like temples) more secularised and popular.

My main concern is to study the implication of the relationship between the transformation of Kavalan traditional belief and its significance in the historical as well as present development of Taiwanese society. We can see from contemporary ritual practices that the Kavalan are trying to reconstruct their ethnic identity through the revival of what they claim to be their authentic rituals in order to approximate the idea of Kavalanness described in academic writings and historic records. This quest for historical-aboriginal authenticity, though it has explicit political dimensions, is seen a necessary pre-condition to claim their legitimate aboriginal status. It is as if, at the moment, in the government's view, they are not aboriginal enough and thus not a distinct group yet. From this perspective, the significance of revived Kavalan traditional belief involves more than re-communicating themselves with their ancestors, it can also be seen as their wish to take control of their own destiny in Taiwanese society. Therefore, even though some rituals traditionally excluded outsiders from watching, researchers and reporters are now invited to witness the rituals, for their writings not only help the Kavalan to gain public recognition but also help consolidate the Kavalan in Hsinshu and all over Taiwan. As for the rituals, most of them have been transformed from public to private ones and are showing tendency towards standardisation. In brief,

what I try to illustrate in this chapter is that the contemporary Kavalan practices have much to contribute to our understanding of the dynamics of social order, the context in which it exists, and the very process of constituting itself.

Influenced by other cultures

From a historical perspective, we can see that the decline and revival of Kavalan practices have been deeply influenced by the increasing contact with other ethnic groups (such as the Chinese, the Japanese, the Amis, and others) and modernisation and industrialisation. From the mid-19th century, Kavalan religious practices have been gradually replaced by Chinese popular religion and Christianity. These phenomena actually corresponded to the changes in the social reality of the Kavalan when massive numbers of Chinese immigrants displaced them and occupied their land and the eagerness of the missionaries to convert them to Christianity. These influences fragmented and dissolved the Kavalan discursive traditional beliefs and cultural life and resulted in interruptions of their traditional ritual practices.

Amongst those influences, Chinese religion and culture and Christianity made a fundamental impact upon many aspects of the life of the Kavalan on various levels. For instance, Chinese superiority and Christian teachings made the Kavalan feel ashamed of their tribal traditions and customs. They were coaxed into giving up what were considered superstitious or barbarian behaviour and belief and to replace them with Chinese culture or Christianity. These two forces have always competed with each other since last century in Ilan, Kaliawan plains, and Hsinshe. In the early 19th century, despite the short-lived Dutch mission, the Kavalan, when they converted to Christianity, had to give up Chinese religion and customs (MacKay 1991), and vice versa. Chen (1994) suggests that the conversion to Christianity was an act of rebellion against Chinese domination on the part of the Kavalan people in Ilan plain around the end of 19th century. However, when MacKay's mission faded away in Ilan, Kaliawan plain, and other Kavalan communities during the Japanese period, many Kavalan who had converted to Christianity changed their religious belief back to Chinese popular religion. In case of Hsinshe, many Kavalan continued to follow the churches as their parents or grandparents did after the Japanese colonisers had left in the 1950s, as the American

churches supplied them with some necessities in order to attract their attention. Nowadays, the majority of the Kavalan are either Catholics or Protestants.

There were other factors behind the success of the Chinese culture and Christianity which spelled such dramatic changes in the social as well as religious life of the Kavalan. Liu and Lin suggest (1997: 33) that material supplies had attracted the Kavalan to become Christians which in return formed a new value system and power structure in the village, for instance, new religious leaders, who were mostly men, replaced *metiyu* to become the leaders for the villagers. However, the decline of the *metiyu* system is not only because of the arrival of the new religious leaders, it has a far more complicated history which can be dated back to the Ching Dynasty when the Ching government tried to set up a hierarchical system amongst aboriginal villages. The Ching government selected some *tu mu* (the leaders of natives' villages) who were responsible for delivering and supervising Ching policies or regulations. These leaders were mostly men. Although this system was an imposition by the Ching, it still survives in most of the aboriginal villages, including Hsinshe. The empowerment of *tu mu* had gradually replaced the power of the *metiyu* in the sphere of public activities and left the *metiyu* to do religious and curing practices. When men started to get involved in the religious domain and missionaries brought modern medical care and knowledge to the village, the status of the *metiyu* further declined. In addition, missionaries encouraged the Kavalan to abandon their traditional belief and to believe only in Jesus. Then, the standardisation and popularisation of modern education also compelled the Kavalan to give up what was viewed as superstition by others. Consequently, Kavalan traditional belief and practices were gradually neglected from the middle of the 20th century.

Chinese culture penetrated deep into the life of the Kavalan ever since they encountered it in the end of 18th century. The major reason that the Kavalan easily adopted Chinese customs is because of the similar belief in ancestor worship. Nowadays, even Kavalan Christians follow and observe major Chinese festivals all year round. For example, they

follow Chinese New Year, Tomb Sweeping Day, Chung-yuan Festival⁴⁵, Dragon Boat Festival, Moon Festival, to a greater extent than their neighbouring aboriginal groups⁴⁶. The Kavalan have also adopted the Chinese patrilineal system. The Kavalan descent system has transformed from matrilineal to a patrilineal one. Children take surname from their father's family. The system of inheritance has also become male-oriented. As a consequence of this reversal, women have lost their traditional power in the Kavalan community. They have become subordinate to their husbands and have little control over their property⁴⁷.

In the past, the Kavalan faced a constant dilemma about practicing their traditional rituals. On the one hand, the perception from the dominant groups or more sophisticated cultures used to make the Kavalan feel stigmatised about their own traditions; on the other hand, they felt scared that they would be punished by their ancestors if they abandoned them. Therefore, they made a compromise: to follow what others considered to be norms in public and to do what belonged to their own beliefs at home. This was the period when Taiwan was controlled by the Japanese colonisers in the first half of the 20th century and later during the KMT hegemony when Taiwan accepted material help⁴⁸ from American missionaries after the Second World War. Under the strict rule of the Japanese and later the KMT, the Kavalan, like other ethnic groups, had little control of their life. In addition, Christianity and its practical help lured them to abandon their traditional belief. Under these circumstances, even when the Kavalan practiced their traditional rituals in the privacy of their homes, they could not talk about it in public for the fear of offending the authorities or priests who, as a result, would stop giving them

⁴⁵ Chung-yuan Festival is held in the seventh month of the lunar calendar. It is observed for the commemoration of the dead.

⁴⁶ The Kavalan feel superior to other aboriginal groups, particularly the Amis, because they follow Chinese customs. For example, they always make fun of the Amis who come to transplant rice seedlings on the second day of the Chinese New Year. They implied that the Amis did not know the significance of the New Year and the special days after the festival which are considered as auspicious to start work.

⁴⁷ I found out that many women were abused by their husbands at home. Some were occasionally beaten brutally by their drunken husbands. Elderly Kavalan women said that it was not the case before when women had the power at home. However, they said that taking care of household and children are their duties and they should be obedient to their husband.

⁴⁸ American missionaries had provided their followers with milk powder, sugar and flour. As most of the families were poor, many of them went to churches in order to get milk powder for their children. A-niao suggested that the Taiwanese habit of drinking powder milk could have come from this period.

the supply of necessities. As a result, the lack of presentation of their traditions and their relegation to the private domain contributed to the factors which made scholars suggest that their traditions had already diminished.

Growing confidence with Kavalan traditional belief

From the end of the 1980s, the Kavalan have stood at the crossroads, witnessing other ethnic groups striving for their rights as Taiwan is becoming a more democratic country. Notably, it was the time when the Kavalan started to attract national attention. After several informal discussions among the Kavalan, some Kavalan decided to follow what other ethnic groups have done in order to pursue their ethnic recognition and minority rights. Exotic religious practices which have often been written about by researchers or journalists for them have become the means to highlight their distinctive features, such practices were not only the most valuable markers which could differentiate the Kavalan from the Amis but also presented the authenticity of Kavalan culture which has been proved by scholars.

However, like many aborigines in Taiwan as well as other parts of the world, the Kavalan have no practical objects which relate to their traditional belief. They neither have specific places for worship (such as temples) nor the statues of gods. They, apart from the *metiyu*, do not even know the names of their gods and goddesses. In cases, when they decided to display the distinctiveness of Kavalan culture, they adopted the strategy which has been used by the Amis to perform Kavalan traditional rituals. They put the emphasis on the power and functions of the rituals. Naturally, the *metiyu* who lead the ritual performance have become the symbols of Kavalan revived culture.

When the Kavalan felt more and more confident with their traditional belief, they performed their rituals more regularly and persistently. They also felt freer to talk about the rituals in public. Through numerous debates among themselves, they reached some sort of agreement about how, what and when to perform their rituals. As a result, they managed to transform their rituals from a confusing initial stage to a more standardised practice.

The role of *metiyu*

Nowadays, the *metiyu* group has become the salient feature of the Kavalan in Hsinshe. It has reinforced the important status of Hsinshe among Kavalan communities which no longer have a *metiyu*. However, whether the *metiyu* and the rituals they perform can represent the authenticity of Kavalan culture is doubtful. As Chang has found out (1998: 65) the term *metiyu* was borrowed from the Amis who live in the Chi-lai plain at Hualien, and a group of the Amis in the plain still uses “*metiwu*” to describe their shamans, despite the fact that the rest of the Amis in the region use the term “*jikawasai*”. He also suggests that the term *kubae* which appears in a Japanese researcher’s account in 1897 is the original Kavalan term for shaman. There is no direct evidence from historical records to show whether these terms had been used in the Ilan plain. As to the rituals, most of them are actually reconstructed out of their fading memories which lead to some confusions each time they are performed. Nevertheless, this fact does not bother the Kavalan, as they know from some historical accounts that there were female shamans who acted as healers or mediums among those people in the Kaliawan plain in the last century. Most importantly, this has also been proved by some elderly Kavalan in Kaliawan plain as well as Hsinshe. Therefore, there is no doubt that the *metiyu* and the rituals they perform are the authentic representations of Kavalan traditions, which prove that the Kavalan still exist and are not completely sinicized.

In traditional Kavalan society, feeding the ancestors was the central domain of the *metiyu*. With the Chinese funerary and burial rites dominating Kavalan funerals, modern medicine replacing Kavalan healing rituals, and Christianity and Taiwanese popular religion having made inroads into Kavalan religious life, the role and the function of the *metiyu* has gradually diminished in their social life. However, the Kavalan have a new interpretation of their “traditional” ritual practices, that is, these rituals, especially those ones led by the *metiyu*, are the only means to communicate with their gods and ancestors. In other words, practising these rituals not only connects them with their ancestral religion but also confirms their authentic ethnic identity. This may explain why more and more Kavalan are reviving their traditional practices. Today, the *metiyu* are not the shamans for Hsinshe Kavalan alone, they are also invited to perform rituals elsewhere for the Kavalan. These rituals include doing *patohokan* for the dead, expelling bad luck or evil for people, and so on. They also act as consultants in the reconstruction of Kavalan traditions. In short, the *metiyu* have been transformed from a

mere religious medium to a symbolic role which can validate and empower Kavalan identity.

Gender reconsidered

Gender, a symbolic construct of social and political order, is also implicated in the revival of Kavalan traditional rituals. According to Kavalan traditional belief, men and women had their own appropriate domains and were appointed to perform certain social practices. As mentioned earlier, over times Kavalan men, influenced mostly by the Chinese, have crossed the gender boundary and overtaken women's religious and domestic domains⁴⁹. The revival of Kavalan traditional rituals, which empower women *metiyu*, and the media attention they get provide a chance to women to regain some of their lost territory. However, as men are already deeply entrenched in the social and political order, it seems impossible for women to transcend the gender hierarchies.

Since the Kavalan locate their revived traditional rituals into the private domain, the power of *metiyu* and women are still confined to this limited domain. The gender boundaries thus remain the same, which is men/public while women/private. However, media attention seems to interfere in this division, as *metiyu* and women attract more attention from researchers and reporters for the activities they engage in, like rituals, food-gathering, dress, songs and dances, etc., and their historical image. In particular, media's romanticisation of Kavalan women makes them well-known to the public. Some men worry about losing their importance, as they are not represented in media coverage, they often show their faces in the rituals and other performances in order to get the attention from the researchers and reporters. In brief, this awareness about gender roles and the attempt to redefine it are also a part of the process of revival of Kavalan identity.

III. Conclusion

⁴⁹ The disappearance of Kavalan women is also closely related to the scant representation of them. As Falk (1985: xvii) points out, the people who are in power and control the writing of history often pay very little attention to the powerless, especially women. The women in Taiwan received less attention in the past.

Roosens may criticise this new Kavalan culture, as it is, in some ways, similar to neo-Huron culture (Roosens 1989). However, it is arbitrary to say that people change their ethnic identity for the profit they can benefit from it (ibid: 13). Ethnic identification is not a clear-cut notion; rather, it is a dynamic human creation. From the case of the revival of Kavalan traditional belief and practices, we can see that that Kavalan culture has constantly changed according to the environment they found themselves in and the peoples they interact with. Obviously, Kavalan belief system experienced severe setbacks especially when they were integrated into a unified Chinese political, economic and cultural system, especially during the Ching rule. From then on, the Kavalan came under the influence of the Chinese migrant majority and began to follow their practices, both consciously and unconsciously. Later, when missionaries brought more advanced and effective medical care and the supply of modern necessities to them, the Kavalan, weakened by Chinese cultural onslaught, were attracted to Christianity in large numbers. Then, as Taiwan began to develop democratic institutions in the late 1980s, the Kavalan, stimulated by other ethnic groups, started to revive their ethnic identity and demand their minority rights. In short, the transformation of Kavalan traditional culture actually demonstrates a dynamic process of ethnic realisation that has shifted according to the status of ethnicity within the same economical, political and cultural environment.

Many Taiwanese scholars interpret the revival of the Kavalan as an outcome of academic research and media coverage (e.g. Chan 1996). The research accounts of scholars and reports in newspapers and television have undoubtedly made a great contribution to the development of Kavalan consciousness. Because of such accounts, the Kavalan, their *metiyu* as well as their rituals have become well known to the public since the late 1980s. However, it would be an arbitrary assumption if we see academic research as the only reason behind this redefinition of the Kavalan. The idea of Kavalanness is not a simple matter and cannot be attributed to one reason alone, it involves ethnic realisation and self-ascription, ethnicity, historical incidents, academic research, and a special socio-cultural and political climate. The revival of the Kavalan can be seen as a modern phenomenon that largely involves modern technology in the diffusion of the idea of its ethnic distinctiveness. The notions of civil and democratic society that have swept Taiwan in the recent past inspire and give impetus to this movement for revival.

Chapter Seven

The Politics of Representation: Ethnic Images

As discussed in the previous chapters, the notion of ethnicity relates to a consciousness of differentiating one from another after prolonged contact. Hence, making identity or presenting authenticity become crucial issues in the making of ethnicity. As a result, the questions, such as “who has the right to decide one’s group identity and authenticity”, “do ethnographers or researchers have the authority to represent ethnic people”, “can an ethnic group speak for itself”, and so on, have been constantly contested in academia. For example, Clifford (1988) sees a predicament in the discourse of Western ethnographic authority, after witnessing a court case in which Mushpee Indians needed to go to court to testify about the authenticity of their Indian identity. Apart from the problem in cross-cultural translation in academic writings, some scholars, like Brown (1998), address another serious issue: whether or not copyrights and patents should include indigenous knowledge, as many indigenous intellectuals around the world have begun to challenge the representation of them by anthropologists, scholars and media. These issues, again, illustrate the complexity of ethnicity in the modern world and prove that the study of ethnicity must take both analysts’ and actors’ perspectives into account.

This chapter deals with the representations of ethnic revival in Taiwan by scholars, media, and the actors themselves; it also highlights how these representations operate and the interactions and negotiations that take place between them. As mentioned in the previous chapters, the scholars and media played a crucial role in “discovering” and introducing the Kavalan to the public. And the Kavalan themselves in turn have borrowed many ideas, facts and figures from various accounts in print and other media in order to construct their ethnic distinctiveness and authenticity. This two-way influence within a particular environment during a particular period reveals the situational and contingent character of ethnicity. Kavalan revival has stimulated other unacknowledged ethnic groups which results in the demand for a new social order in the society. Its significance therefore needs to be examined carefully in order to understand the reconstruction of Kavalan identity in relation to the larger development

of Taiwanese culture and society. This discussion will also foreground the complex and often contradictory relationship between “academic”, “popular”, and “local” representations of plains aborigines.

As the Kavalan movement is closely related to the pan-plains aboriginal movement in Taiwan, one needs to take into account the wider movement among plains aborigines. Therefore, this chapter will look at plains aborigines in general while looking closely at the Kavalan case.

I. The Politics of Ethnic Representation

According to Chan (1996:46-7), plains aborigines were regarded as hidden people who have only existed in history and in scholarly research¹; however, they were brought to notice by the new trend in Taiwan when the public was eager to know its local cultures and wished to underscore the multi-ethnic characteristics of Taiwanese society from the early-1990s. Since then, plains aborigines have gradually become popular icons and have figured in many writings. As a result, many people have come forward to reveal their plains aborigine origins. Several local governments have promoted plains aborigines by sponsoring and conducting research or publishing books on them and re-naming streets and bridges after them. For Chan, the appearance of the descendents of plains aborigines in the Taiwanese society raises a question about the authenticity of history (1996: 47-48), and it also challenges the classification of ethnic groups (1996: 50). The new image of plains aborigines is constructed by historical imagination, variously imagined by researchers, the descendents of plains aborigines, and the mass media (1996: 51).

Chan is right in pointing out the three important dimensions of the revival of plains aborigines. However, she neglects the transformation of the wider environment, the whole of the Taiwanese society, and the interactions among officially recognised aborigines, plains aborigines, and other Chinese groups which I have already discussed in previous chapters. Here, I will follow the three dimensions Chan uses to argue the

¹ For example, Pan Ing-hai (1989: 1) describes the Siraya as “a historical people”. Chan Su-chuan (1996) often addresses modern Kavalan as “the descendants of the Kavalan”.

point that the revival of plains aborigines is not merely a historical imagination, it is also a process for an ethnic group to figure out its relations with other ethnic groups and interpret its existence in a wider social environment.

Scholarly Representations

I aim to review the work which has been done by scholars on plains aborigines for the purpose of analysing how these aborigines are represented in the scholarly writings. Scholarly work refers to the work and research done by academics from various disciplines, like anthropology, archeology, history, religion, linguistics, geography, ethnomusicology, politics, and so on.

Scholarly work on plains aborigines in contemporary Taiwan can be divided into four main categories, namely, the history of their incorporation into the Chinese society in Taiwan, the ethnography of their traditional belief and practice, the discussion of clearer ethnic classification, and linguistic studies. Apart from the first category that has long dominated the study of the relationship between plains aborigines and Chinese immigrants, research in other categories increased when the plains aborigines started to appear in the media. However, the fundamental problem in scholarly research is that most of them regard plains aborigines as the people who only existed in the past. Hence, they tend to look at historical aspects of these aborigines. As a result, their work suffers from many limitations and cannot fully explain the significance of the revival of these people in postwar Taiwan. In recent years, some of this scholarly work has been questioned by plains aborigines. They openly show their displeasure about such instances of denial of their existence (e.g. Wang 1999, C Pan 1999, etc.).

Taiwanese scholars, not only historians, tend to locate plains aborigines in the Ching period. Take the research group, the *Ping pu yen chiu hui*, as an example, most papers presented in its group meetings or conferences are about historical reconstruction of plains aborigines². Most Taiwanese scholars rely heavily Chinese official records and documents in order to represent the “authentic” ethnic image of plains aborigines

² The *Ping pu yen chiu hui* have organised three conferences in 1994, 1996, and 1998 and it has published two symposiums, *Ping pu tsu* symposium in 1994 and the Symposium of the area studies of *ping pu tsu* in 1998.

before they were “fully” assimilated into Chinese society. They enthusiastically translate and interpret Chinese materials in order to discuss and restore their lifestyle, social organisation, traditions, customs, religion, migration, classification, transformation, sinicization, land transfer to the Chinese, and how they were placed in Chinese community. They particularly rely on the materials which were original produced by Chen Ti’s *Tung fan chi* (1959) in 1603, Huang Shu-ching’s *Fan shu lu kau* (1957) in 1722, and Liu Shih Chi’s illustrated *fan she tsai feng tu kau* (1961) in 1744-6. These are considered as the first and most detailed documents on plains aborigines. In scholarly writings, plains aborigines are portrayed as autonomous people who lived in the plains all over the island before modern contact. They lived their “traditional” lifestyle: practicing hunting and gathering, wearing no proper clothes but deer-skin, leaves or bark of trees, eating mostly raw food, making their own crude rice wine, and using simple implements for cultivating yam and maize. They had a matrilineal descent structure and married uxorilocally. Their exotic funeral rites were also mentioned. Notably, most Chinese classical materials were written by the Chinese, and thus, assume a superior point of view. Hence, the image of plains aborigines is represented as “barbaric” and “primitive” peoples, which, ironically, is considered by scholars as “organic” and “authentic”. Interestingly, the reinvented and revived traditions of plains aborigines in contemporary Taiwan are seen by such scholars as “inauthentic”.

In reality, however, the descriptions of plains aborigines in Chinese official history, records, and documents are not always accurate. As Chan (1988: 2-8) discovers, many later materials about these people were copied from earlier works, for example, Kao’s description (1960) about plains aborigines appeared in Chou’s (1960), Fan’s (1961), Yu’s (1957), and Wang’s (1957) works, and these were, in turn, adapted by many later writers. This unquestioning adaptation of previous materials about plains aborigines gives a wrong perception that these people have not changed much for more than one century, even during the period when they were besieged by waves of Chinese migrants. In addition, classical Chinese materials were written in short and condensed language which only provided a general picture of plains aborigines. Nonetheless, most contemporary scholars follow those materials without doubting their veracity. Although some scholars notice the danger of trusting these classical Chinese materials,

they still proclaim that the earliest materials were detailed and accurate (such as Chan 1988: 7, and many others). This kind of attitude neglects many alarming problems, such as the background of the persons who collected the information, their criteria, the neglect of cultural dynamics in the aftermath of ethnic interaction and migration, ignorance of ethnic grouping, fragmentation, and regrouping. This is the reason why a few contemporary scholars (e.g. Li, Pan) have discovered that some historical materials contradict one another or differ from the findings of their field research. Such scholars try to figure out the history of ethnic makeup from a variety of possible resources.

Materials about plains aborigines in Chinese records are also contradictory compared to the research in the Japanese period, which is considered to be more “systematic” and “scientific”. For example, Li Kuo-min (1994) has published his problematic findings about classifications of southern plains aborigines. As Japanese colonial classification still dominates the categorisation of aborigines, including plains aborigines in Taiwan, most contemporary scholars follow the system without questioning. However, when Li carried out a historical research on the Makatao, he found that the term is highly problematic. He points out that the term was invented by a Japanese scholar, Ino, and it was neither used by his contemporaries, nor by Ching officials or scholars. Moreover, he uses his empirical data and various historical documents to prove that those so-called Makatao were actually of a complicated ethnic make-up and they were not the sub-group of Siraya, the biggest ethnic group in the south, as many scholars presume. For example, these people practiced and still practice different sets of religious beliefs. They used to speak different languages and had different social systems. Nonetheless, Li does not pay much attention to an important modern phenomenon that more and more so-called Makatao descendants have defined themselves as Makatao since the early 1990s, despite the fact that the term might be a wrong categorisation and they might have come from various ethnic origins.

Nonetheless, scholars’ fascination with the unpolluted past of plains aborigines creates a huge gap between their historical image and their current conditions. As scholarly work seems to suggest that plains aborigines are archaic tribal people who no longer exist in modern Taiwan, they regard the revival of plains aborigines as a fad stirred up by media and non-academic writers. This conservative attitude of scholars may stem from two factors: one is that the discussion of “Taiwan” issue was a taboo in the early

stage of the KMT regime, hence, Taiwanese scholars tended not to touch sensitive topics, such as re-introducing long-lost tribal people; the other is that contemporary scholars doubt the authentic ethnic identity of these self-proclaimed descendants of plains aborigines. The former factor is gradually becoming irrelevant as a result of liberal political environment which encourages scholars to conduct research on Taiwanese local cultures. However, the latter factor amounts to a serious setback to the studies of plains aborigines. Most of the scholars agree that these people existed as aborigines in the Ching period; however, they doubt if they still qualify as aborigines in the present day, as these people have lost their ethnic features in comparison to those in the Ching period. Because scholars are reluctant to acknowledge plains aborigines as living ethnic groups, the government refuses to give official recognition to these people³.

In the last ten years or so, scholars have started to pay more attention to contemporary plains aborigines. Most of these are linguists who attempt to record the dying languages of plains aborigines, analyse their relationship with each other, and investigate their connection with wider environments, such as Taiwan and the Southeast Asia. However, their work prove scholarly assertions that plains aborigines are nearly extinct, as most of them have forgotten their languages, apart from some diasporic Kavalan communities in the east coast who use their mother tongue as their daily language. Because of the pressures of modernisation and sinicization, scholars (e.g. Chang 1994: 99) are pessimistic about whether the Kavalan language can survive for long.

As mentioned, Shimizu's monograph (1991) on Hsinshe Kavalan is one of the few ethnographies which describe the contemporary condition of plains aborigines. During her fieldwork at Hsinshe in the second half of 1980s, she witnessed the Kavalan in the process of transformation as they were struggling to adapt themselves to modern Taiwan. She noticed the Kavalan gradually abandoning their traditions and accepting Chinese elements into their life, which diminished their ethnic characteristics. In the conclusion of her monograph, she points out some factors which contribute to the

³ I found that many plains aboriginal elites felt let down by the scholars who were reluctant to support their claims. They think that the scholars should "pay" them back for "taking" so much from them.

transformation of the Kavalan, namely, intermarriage and the changing political, economic, and social environment of Taiwan. She particularly singles out intermarriage as the major factor that changes the perception of the Kavalan towards their identity. In her analysis, because the Kavalan have increasingly mixed with other ethnic groups after the Second World War, their identity was fragmented; thus, their traditional value system changed, and their social structure collapsed. In short, Shimizu presents the Kavalan as a group of people who are unaware of the decline of their ethnic continuity. This over-emphasis on intermarriage is a fundamental problem in her work, as she considers “blood tie” as the determinant factor in one’s ethnic identification.

Not only Shimizu, but most other scholars seem to posit the same idea. As plains aborigines have experienced colonisation, intermarriage, and sinicization that have transformed them over time, scholars hesitate to admit that plains aborigines possess a modern ethnic identity. This seems to suggest that these academic experts have a problematic notion of culture and identity, as they treat them as static, rigid, and undisturbed elements. This perception, therefore, prevents them from understanding the cultural revival of plains aborigines in its true essence.

Mass Media⁴ Representation and Public Imagination

Both Chan and Pan stress the importance of media in the revival of the plains aborigines. Chan states that media attention has stimulated public interest in plains aborigines. Pan (1999) spells out directly that it is the media that helps the public to understand the reconstruction of the plains aborigine’s ethnic consciousness. Indeed, the media has not only publicised the plains aborigines but also supported their claims. Plains aborigines therefore are known, accepted, and supported by the vast majority. Media coverage has helped the plains aborigines to build their ethnic confidence which encourages many of their descendants to stand up and to proclaim their ethnic identity which they had kept secret for many generations.

Chan singles out a writer, Liu Yuan-yeh, and reviews his influence on the movement

⁴ The term mass media I use in this chapter refers to all forms of media which are non-academic. These forms include television, radio, newspapers, magazines, literature, music recordings, documentary films, and so on.

for the revival of plains aborigines. Liu is famous in the field of reportage literature. He not only records faithfully his experiences, but also cites, criticises, and challenges historical materials and scholarly research in order to justify his own findings. His writing style, first-hand pictures of rare rituals and activities, and sympathetic remarks have won him many awards in literary competitions since 1988. Because most of his award-winning prose is about various groups of plains aborigines all over Taiwan, he is viewed as the authority in the field of plains aborigines in the non-academic world. He also uses his publishing companies and related associations⁵ to promote the ideas of doing fieldwork and studying plains aborigines. Liu has helped to make these two ideas fashionable (Chan 1996: 58), as more and more people, especially university students and school teachers, have joined the research on plains aborigines from the late 1980s. In addition, he conducts surveys and organises activities on plains aborigines which are often sponsored by county governments or local authorities⁶. He also offers classes on the introduction of local and ethnic cultures and the techniques of conducting fieldwork. Moreover, in 1998, he founded an association of plains aborigines which unites all the plains aborigines and their supporters in Taiwan. He hopes that this association can help to highlight the contributions of plains aborigines in the history of Taiwan, and set up a database of all plains aborigines which will help them to find their relatives who were separated by Chinese occupation in the past⁷.

Although Chan does not openly criticise the way in which Liu represents the reconstruction of the history and culture of the plains aboriginal groups, she points out that Liu tend to direct some plains aboriginal groups, like Siraya and Makatao, on how to reconstruct or interpret their culture (Chan 1996: 58). Nonetheless, she regards this as part of a development of ethnic construction which is worth observing (ibid.).

⁵ Liu first managed a publishing company, Tai-yuan, with the financial support from Dr Lin from 1989 to 1995. He has been running his own publishing company since 1995. Both the publishing companies only publish books on Taiwan. He particularly likes to publish books written by local researchers or insiders. He is also responsible for some associations which promote local traditions and cultures.

⁶ Liu has collaborated with Tainan and Pingtung county governments and produced four books on the distribution, current conditions and culture of plains aborigines in those two counties (1994a, 1994b, 1994c, 1996). Vivid description and rich ethnographic details make his books popular.

⁷ Also see the aim of Taiwan *Ping pu tsu* Hsueh Hui, 1998.

However, from Liu's point of view, his involvement with plains aborigines aims to make them better understood and to make their voice heard by the public. He criticises scholars for being unable to help plains aborigines to restore their official aboriginal recognition and deliver what plains aborigines need. He hopes that his writings present the current conditions of plains aborigines and explore their transformation through time. The activities he organises or is involved in are aimed at presenting these plains aborigines and their culture in a more attractive manner⁸ in order to attract public attention. In 1998, following a long-term involvement with plains aborigines, he decided to establish the *Taiwan Ping Pu Tsu Hsueh Hui* in order to unite various plains aboriginal groups all over Taiwan and to press for their legitimate claims. Most of the committee members are plains aborigines and they meet regularly to discuss the direction of the organisation. So far, they have organised an exhibition of their culture and traditions and published books on plains aborigines⁹. The articles in one of their books, *Tsai Chien Tzu Tung Hua Kai*, which is about the rights and history of plains aborigines, are mostly written by plains aborigines themselves, which makes the book a counter-ethnography to scholarly work. *Wo shih bu shih ping pu jen DIY* is a guide book to teach readers how to check if they are or have mixed with plains aborigines. This book also records how some plains aborigines discovered the ethnic origins of their family, such as Bauki Anao, Wang Wen-tsi, and others.

As mentioned in the previous section, non-academic writers began to write about plains aborigines long ago. Some novelists and free-lance researchers had started to write about plains aborigines in the Japanese period. Novelists like Wang I-gang (1957, 1958abc) and Wu Hsin-jung (1953, 1954, 1978) have referred to the culture of the Ketagalan and Siraya; non-academic folklorists Chiang Chia-chin (1955, 1956, 1958), Chen Chun-mu (1982, 1998) and Chen Han-kuang (1961, 1963) have written about the condition of various plains aboriginal groups during the 1950s to 1970s. Although they did not have academic training and did not use systematic methods, as most of them

⁸ From interviews with Liu. Because of his experience as a journalist and the editor-in-chief of several newspapers and magazines, he knows how to represent plains aborigines to the public via various media forms. He has won the trust of the plains aboriginal groups because of his continuous contact with them since 1987. Therefore, the activities he organises are always successful.

⁹ Among these books, *Tsai Chien Tzu Tung Hua Kai* (To See Tzu Tung Flower Blossom Again, 1999) and *Chu yu ping pu tsu chu* (First encounter of plains aboriginal groups) and *Wo shih bu shih ping pu jen DIY* (What if I am a plains aborigine: DIY, 2000) have special significance.

were locals and conducted long-term research in their nearby areas, their ethnographic-style work has faithfully recorded the traditional rituals and practices of those plains aborigines. Notably, most of these writers were influenced by the Japanese who had conducted numerous researches on Taiwanese aborigines. Nonetheless, the impact of these writers may not be as significant as that of Liu; however, their work is valuable in the sense that it bridged the gap between previous Japanese records and postwar scholarly research.

In the last two decades, more and more non-academic researchers have joined the studies of plains aborigines. They use various media forms to represent plains aborigines. Most of them still prefer to use reportage literature as a literary form to describe plains aborigines. For example, some novelists, like Yeh Shih-tao, Wang Chia-hsiang, Li Tung, and others, reconstruct the history of these peoples by writing fiction about them. Among them, Li Tung's *Kavalan Lad* (1992)¹⁰ has caught much public attention. Others choose forms such as photography, paintings, documentaries, and so on. Recording companies produce CDs and cassettes of the folksongs or ritual songs of these people. The number of exhibitions on plains aborigines has also increased. Private companies and non-profit organisations also offer guided tours and classes to introduce the aborigines and their culture.

Most of media representation focus on the diasporic experience and surviving traditional culture of the plain aborigines. Generally speaking, journalists, folklorists, and television producers are interested in the exotic traditional rituals of these people. Their representation of the traditional rituals has caught popular imagination, arousing interest in many people who come to watch each year¹¹. Particularly, they feel

¹⁰ *Kavalan Lad* describes how a teenage boy travelled back to experience his ancestors' life around a hundred and fifty years ago. By living with his ancestors, he came to realise what his ancestors had been through when the Chinese immigrants occupied their land. The successful novel was later made into an animated film in 1999. However, the film does not follow the storyline of the novel, neither does it acknowledge the Kavalan in the reproduction, apart from a couple of Kavalan songs. Some Kavalan were invited to the premier and press conference. However, they felt disappointed by the cartoons, especially when they discovered that it had cost NT\$ 40,000,000 to produce the film.

¹¹ Take the plains aborigines of Tou-she as an example, there were hundreds of people watching their annual ritual of *A-li-tsu* worship. When Pan Ing-hai first came to do research at Tou-she in 1985, there were several television companies filming the ritual, reporters and journalists of national and local newspapers, magazines and radio stations were also there (Pan 1999). In 1998, the villagers organised their annual night ritual and made special arrangements to accommodate increasing number of media persons and visitors. They created several areas for different purposes, such as for the ceremony,

sympathetic about the fact that these people had been forced to take in Chinese influences which made them forget their tradition and language and confused their ethnic identity. In these reports, publications, and television programmes, the plains aborigines are portrayed as marginalised, hidden, and forgotten people in the Taiwanese society. Such media representation often argues that the fate of plains aborigines needs to be redressed. These representations have, thus, won plains aborigines public sympathy.

Although the Kavalan are not the first aboriginal people who caught the attention of media¹², they still figured prominently in national media from 1991 onwards. The reasons are complicated. However, there are three major factors which cannot be overlooked; the first crucial factor is that the Kavalan can still speak their mother tongue and still have a relatively strong sense of being Kavalan; the second is that they receive strong support from the Ilan County Government; the third is that they were re-discovered at a time when the people in Taiwan began to question and redefine their national identity and culture. Therefore, the Kavalan provide the public with a vivid, and to an extent, romantic image, of how a group of people had been exiled and forgotten during the development of Chinese society in Taiwan.

Because of their unique experience, the Ilan Kavalan have lost their ethnic features except their collective memory about their ethnic origin, whereas the diasporic Kavalan at Hualien and Taitung still maintain their tradition and language. They are presented in two different ways. Ilan Kavalan are portrayed as a group of people who have been

refreshment, resting, theatre, photography, gallery, and information centre. They also had a commentator to introduce the ritual and tour guides to explain their traditional culture during daytime. When the ritual took place at midnight, there was a big screen showing the whole ritual (Pan 1999). In 1999, the villagers expanded the scope of the ritual and cooperated with the local council and the Association of Agriculture to promote local products (avocados are the main promotion this year). Surprisingly, the Commission of Aboriginal Affairs also provided some funding for the event. Apart from the scope of the ritual in 1998, the villagers focused more on the revival of their traditions. For example, they constructed an exhibition hall modelled on their traditional bamboo houses to display some historical pictures and traditional implements, and they laid a garden dedicated to the plants which had close relationship with plains aborigines in the past. They also followed the traditions to get the sacred water for the ritual from Tseng Wen River, an act they used to skip (information given by Bauki Anao). The sense of being Siraya has become stronger and clearer than ever in this village.

¹² The Siraya, a group of plains aborigines in the southern Taiwan, and their annual *A-li-tsu* worship have always been reported in local and national newspapers and magazines since the 1970s. Their exotic rituals and their confusion about being Chinese or aborigines have often been at the centre of reports.

sinicized and are searching for their cultural roots, while the diasporic Kavalan are described as a marginalised people who strive to maintain their traditions under the impact of sinicization and modernisation.

Nonetheless, in most of the non-academic writings about the Kavalan, there is a poem that has been cited very frequently. It is called, *shou fan ko*, or the song of “cooked” aborigines, which normally referred to plains aborigines. Although it was written by a Chinese, Ke Pei-yuan, in 1835, many writers think that it still reflects the current position of the Kavalan about the denial of their original identity, before their ethnic revival in the last decade of the 20th century. The frequency with which *shou fan ko* has been cited gives a general idea how the Kavalan are represented by the media.

*Shou Fan Ko*¹³(Song of “Cooked” Aborigines)

Jen fear “raw” *fan*¹⁴ like they fear a fierce tiger.
Jen bully *shou fan* and treat them like dirt.
They are afraid of the strong but bully the weak.
This is a natural rule of human beings.
Shou fan have sinicized and diligently cultivate the ricefield.
*Tang jen*¹⁵ occupy by force the wastelands which were nearly cleared by *shou fan*.
Tang jen even compete for the only one-*chia*¹⁶ land *shou fan* have in the hill.
Shou fan are left to hunger, to death after *tang jen* take over the remaining land.
Shou fan regret not having been born much earlier.
Shou fan hear that there is *fu mu*¹⁷ in town.
Walk to the *ya men* and bow.
No one understands what *shou fan* says, as he speaks like a bird.
Shou fan therefore tries to use sign language to explain.
Shou fan explains endlessly but the official pretends to be deaf.

¹³ The poem is in classic Chinese. The English version is my own translation. Clearly, the poet Ke, who was a frontier administrator, was sympathetic to the Kavalan people. However, there is no evidence to suggest that he had done anything to solve the problems of plains aborigines.

¹⁴ In Chinese, *jen* means people and it refers to the Chinese people, whereas *fan* means savages or barbarians. The Chinese also categorised *fan* into “*sheng fan*” (“raw” aborigines) and “*shou fan*” (“cooked aborigines”) according to their relationship with them. For example, the Chinese addressed the aborigines whom they had contact with and who were mostly plains dwellers as “*shou fan*”, whereas they called the aborigines who inhabited remote areas as “*sheng fan*”.

¹⁵ *Tang jen* also means the Chinese. All Chinese are supposed to have originated from *tang shan*, a mythical homeland of the Chinese in China.

¹⁶ *Chia* is Chinese measurement of land. One *chia* is equal to 2.40 acre.

¹⁷ *Fu mu* literally means “father and mother” in Chinese. It often refers to the judge who, like parents, deals with the disputes among children.

Shou fan peeps at the official who is making an angry face
 and asking furiously for the stick of punishment.
 After being beaten, *shou fan* lowers his/her head listening to what the judge instructs.
 What else do you *fan* have to say?
 You and *tang jen* are supposed to be simple people.
 But I have never heard that *jen* and *shou fan* can make concessions to each other on
 land or fishing territory¹⁸.
 Alas,
 “Raw” *fan* kill *jen* but *jen* still try to lure them.
 Only *shou fan* are smeared by *tang jen*.
 Parents should worry for the life of their descendants.

Shou fan ko is often cited to emphasise the historical image of the Kavalan¹⁹. More significantly, it is used to imply that the situation remains the same even today. In this poem, the Kavalan are portrayed as the people who suffered from Chinese invasion. It illustrates that the Kavalan were inferior, as they did not speak Mandarin, nor did they understand intricacies of Chinese rule. It also accuses Chinese officials who only favoured the Chinese people and ignored the presence of the Kavalan. Since the Kavalan have not been recognised by the government, nor do they enjoy minority rights, some writers (e.g. Chiu 1991) therefore quote this poem to satirize the ongoing neglect of these people by the government.

The media has not only helped to unify the Kavalan all over Taiwan in their imagination and introduced them to the public, but also helped the Kavalan to reconstruct their ethnic symbols. For example, *ga-sou* as “the tree of Kavalan nostalgia” was created by writers in the late 1980s. When diasporic Kavalan were invited to visit their homeland, Ilan, in 1991, the image of their dancing with the Ilan Kavalan under the *ga-sou* reinforced the symbol. Although there is no concrete evidence about the relationship between the Kavalan and *ga-sou* or between the Kavalan, *ga-sou* and Dr MacKay, they are always related to each other in some writings²⁰. This creation was later reflected back to the Kavalan themselves who also

¹⁸ This is the opinion of the poet. He implied that Chinese immigrants were more sophisticated, whereas plains aborigines were simple-minded. Therefore, plains aborigines lost their land to the Chinese.

¹⁹ In Martin’s (1994: 56-58) interpretation, this poem illustrates how these doubly marginalised farmers were caught between Chinese economical and political power and “fierce” aborigines. Having been incorporated into the Chinese system, these Kavalan people were supposed to have been “sinicized”; however, they were in reality neither fully Chinese nor aborigines.

²⁰ *Ga-sou* is thought to be an indicator of Kavalan settlements, which means wherever *ga-sou* grows, that place is likely to be the site of former Kavalan settlement. *Ga-sou* is also believed to have been brought

regard it as a “tree of the Kavalan”, as they still remember seeing *ga-sou* tree in their villages when they were young before these trees were cut down for building the road. Still, at a certain level, the relationship is arbitrarily assigned. At Hsinshe, many Kavalan have planted *ga-sou* in their gardens. The Kavalan documentary film-maker, Bauki Anao, was invited to plant twelve *ga-sou* at the opening of the Ping Pu Botanic Garden at Tou-she in Tainan County in 1999.

Na-bus, or *tzu tung* in Chinese which is a kind of firmiana tree, is another media reconstruction. It is used by many writers to highlight its relationship with plains aborigines, as it was mentioned in many classical Chinese works²¹ that it was used as a marker of the change of the year because of its distinctive flaming-red flowers blossoming in the spring. Nonetheless, people relate it with Kavalan sea worship rite, *laligi*, as the blossom period indicates the time for the Kavalan to start their fishing period. Many Kavalan have gradually learned about their ethnic characteristics, history, and their relationship with the environment through these media constructions.

The media has also brought some negative impacts. It sometimes leads to friction among people. For example, since 1991 Chieh Wan-lai has been criticised by other villagers, after he became famous due to many reports about him and his persistent search for his Chieh clans all over Taiwan appeared in various media forms, such as newspapers, magazines, and television programmes. Some reporters tended to relate his own search for his relatives to his research for the whole of Kavalan ethnic group (e.g. Huang 04/10/1991), a few villagers felt that their efforts were in vain. An incident particularly reinforced the friction in 1993, when two articles on him and his family appeared in a special issue on the Kavalan in the *I-lan Journal of History* (1993). Some Kavalan felt frustrated that they were not even acknowledged²². A few villagers thought it was unfair to those who have contributed to the activities of Kavalan cultural

by a Canadian missionary, Dr MacKay, from Southeast Asia to Ilan plains (Hsu 1986).

²¹ For example, Liu Shih Chi in his book, *The Illustration of the Customs of Barbarian Villages* (1961), states that aborigines did not have calendar and could not tell the change of seasons, they used the blossom of *tzu tung* to mark the change of a year. When *tzu tung* blossoms in early spring, most of leaves fall leaving red flowers hanging on the tree. It is the most eye-catching sign in the landscape during the period.

²² Some people still complained about this incident when I was conducting my fieldwork from 1996 to 1998.

resurgence. Nonetheless, writers, researchers, and reporters still prefer to interview Chieh when they need to know about the history, customs, and stories about the Kavalan, as he is the most knowledgeable person on those issues at Hsinshe, a fact most of the villagers accept. As a result of this tension, some Kavalan and Kavalan-supported Amis refused to participate in the activities which Chieh organised or was involved in. This hindered the Kavalan movement in the early stages (Chiang 1997: 98-100). Nonetheless, inspired by Chieh, the villagers started to recall their lifestyles, customs, stories, etc., in order to provide visitors information. All of a sudden, everyone wanted to tell his or her side of the story. In this way, many traditions have been retold and revived.

Another incident is worth noting. As mentioned earlier, the Siraya at Tou-she in Tainan County has also been trying to reconstruct their traditional culture for the past five years. They particularly pay attention to the reconstruction of their traditional ritual which focuses on *A-li-tsu* worship. A record company, Wind Records²³, collaborated with a lecturer, Wu Jung-shun, from the National College of Arts, to produce a set of music featuring the folk and ritual songs of the some groups of plains aborigines, including the Kavalan, the Siraya and the Makatao, and the Pazeh (1998). Wind Record and Wu came to Tou-she to collect and record songs of Siraya. However, after the CD set was released in 1998, some villagers became furious, as the company did not consult the villagers and only signed a contract with a few singers and musicians. The villagers claimed that their sacred ritual songs were defiled, as certain ritual songs can only be sung in public after performing a special ritual during the most important ceremony of this village. They also announced, through a shaman, that *A-li-tsu* was outraged and angry because of the betrayal of the villagers. They therefore gathered in front of *kong-kai*, the temple of *A-li-tsu*. Some villagers performed a ritual burning of 200 CDs which were given to them by Wind Records as the reward for recording²⁴. By this act, the villagers made a strong statement that the public should respect their

²³ Wind Records is one of the companies which record local and aboriginal music. It also produces music a detailed leaflet of the description of the songs and the history of plains aborigines along with the CD's and cassettes.

²⁴ Wind Record got the agreement from *A-li-tsu* in other villages. However, it forgot to do the same with Tou-she village. Because Tou-she villagers felt that the company did not respect them, they expressed their anger on behalf of *A-li-tsu*.

traditions during the event²⁵.

These two incidents clearly show the growing awareness of marginalised ethnic groups of their importance in a democratic nation-state. As many academic and non-academic researchers have pointed out, it was difficult in the past to go around villages asking about traditions, customs, etc., as most people suspected that researchers might be spies sent by the KMT. This phenomenon has two implications: one is that these people did not want their stigmatised identity to be known, the other is that they avoided confronting the KMT which tightly controlled the life of people in Taiwan at that time. Since the transformation of Taiwan from an authoritarian to a more democratic society after the lifting of martial law in 1987, many restrictions on media and public speech have been removed, the public has felt freer to express their opinions or concerns. The trend of locating local cultures in the national culture became more popular at that time. Therefore, many local or ethnic cultures have been re-constructed and re-emphasised. Because of the particular conditions of plains aborigines, they have been often portrayed as the victims of Chinese arbitrary expansion, and the government has been urged to provide justice and give them compensation. Hearing this kind of encouraging statements and seeing the Holo, the Hakka, and even the officially-recognised aborigines succeeding in getting their cultural and political rights, these rural people have gradually realised the meaning of a civil society and began to reassert themselves as an ethnic group in order to fight for their own rights.

The incidents also show that these people have come to realise the power of the media. They became known to the public because of reports in the media and they wish to stay in the limelight. Therefore, they produce news to attract media and researchers. However, they are more in control in the diffusion of their news and not just passive spectators as before. For example, they invite reporters and researchers to participate in their activities. They also send press releases to local or national newspapers and magazines. If there is any misunderstanding in the representation of them or their activity, they will stand up to correct it, an action which they did not dare to take before. In this respect, they clearly exhibit their wish to take control of their own destiny.

²⁵ See United Daily News 21/11/1998, and Freedom News 21/11/1998.

Local Self-representation

It has become a common phenomenon for more and more plains aborigines to write about themselves (Chan 1996; Pan 1998). For example, Pan Ta-ho, a Pazeh, has written a book of the history of the Pazeh people (1998). This book attempts to revise the history of the Chinese occupation of Pazeh land and how Chinese officials took Pazeh men to southern China to fight the rebels during the Tai ping tian kuo incident²⁶ in the mid-19th century which contributed to the decrease in Pazeh population. The Pazeh cultural association used this book to appeal to the head of Academia Sinica and hoped that he could verify some historical facts about Pazeh in order to restore justice to them (United Daily News 01/11/1998). One Pazeh clergyman, Pan Tsi-chi, organised a protest against the Taiwan Provincial Museum in order to claim back three hundred pieces of exhibits to his clan (United Daily News 01/11/1999).²⁷ A Taokas, Liu Tseng-jung, has also written several articles about the myths, stories, traditions, and history of Taokas. He is particularly interested in revising academic researchers' mistakes by putting forward the views of insiders. For example, he questions the finding of an article written by Tang Hui-min (1997) about which village was founded first, Tung-she or Hsi-she, in Taokas's Hsin-kang she. In his research, he (1999: 70-74) insists that Hsi-she was built earlier than Tung-she. Bauki Anao, a well-known Kavalan, has produced several documentaries on Kavalan plains aborigines from 1998, and published a photographic collection on the Kavalan in 1999. The book also includes an article about how his family restored the true history of their origin. Notably, Liu Tseng-jung and Bauki Anao are the committee members of Taiwan *Ping pu tsu* Hsueh Hui.

²⁶ Tai ping tian kuo Incident happened in Kuang-hsi, China, from 1850 to 1864. It was led by Hung Hsiu-chuan to fight against the Ching government in the name of Jesus (see *Ming yang encyclopaedia* 1985: 1310, 2995-2996). In an interview (United Daily News 11/11/98), Pan Ta-ho told about his research findings, he said there were 5,666 Pazeh people among the troops which were sent to suppress the event from Taiwan. He also said that most of the soldiers were plains aborigines who were sent to China by force.

²⁷ These three hundred pieces, which include treasures, documents, maps, and photographs, were borrowed from Pan Tsi-chi family by the Japanese colonial government. The goods were taken over by the Taiwan Provincial Museum after the Japanese left Taiwan. Pan wants to get these back and put them in a Pazeh museum in Taichung. However, the curator of the Museum said that there is evidence to prove if these goods were illegally occupied by the Japanese government suggested that it is better to keep them in a national museum (United Daily News, 01/11/1999).



Chieh explained the history of
Hsinshe to visitors.



Bauki Anao filmed Chiu Shui-chin
explaining Kavalan history to visitors.



The establishment and the 1st meeting of
Taiwan Ping pu tsu Hsueh Hui in 1998.

This phenomenon shows that those insiders are not satisfied with the ways they have been represented and they want to present their own views. From the above examples, Pan Ta-ho and Liu Tseng-jung try to overturn the history which was written by the Chinese and try to present a history from insiders' view. This phenomenon could only occur with the opening of Taiwanese society, when the information system popularises, and when public education is standardised. Therefore, insiders have access to books about them and have the courage to criticise the facts which they disagree with.

The case of Kavalan highlights a different aspect of the phenomenon that many indigenous peoples in different parts of the world are fighting for copyrights of their traditions and culture. Inspired by this global trend, many officially recognised aborigines in Taiwan have started to protest strongly in the name of intellectual property rights to protect their rituals and activities. However, the Kavalan, on the other hand, openly and eagerly welcome scholars to study them and the media to report their activities. Presumably, they are at a different stage of their struggle where representation or even misrepresentation in the media only helps them to garner support for their cause. It is difficult to say who exploits whom, as both parties benefit from such reports and studies.

At Hsinshe, Chieh acts as a spokesman for the Kavalan. Chieh started to take care of the affairs of Kavalan publicity after a member of the urban elite, his nephew Chen Chien-chung, died. He also gets help from his Holo son-in-law, Yang Kung-ming, who supports the revival of the Kavalan enthusiastically. There are many reasons why it is he who is involved when increasing numbers of researchers, reporters or visitors come to Hsinshe to get information about the Kavalan from 1991. As he is a well-known Kavalan, he has more experience of dealing with visitors, he runs a grocery shop by the main street at the bus stop, and very few villagers know how to handle these visitors, he naturally becomes a principal informant for many outsiders. Then, because many institutions or organisations in the cities want to invite the Kavalan to perform or participate in activities, Chieh also naturally becomes a coordinator or mediator. All these reasons make him more famous which make more villagers think that he tries to monopolise Kavalan popularity. As a result, few people have spread rumors to visitors in order to question his credibility.

Conflicts between Chieh and villagers are not only over media attention but also over how to present the Kavalan and what kind of activities they should participate in. The most conflicting point at the beginning of the movement of Kavalan cultural resurgence was that a couple of villagers did not wish to attend any activities which were organised by the former opposition DPP and tried to persuade others not to participate, at the time when most of the villagers were conservative and did not wish to offend the ruling party, the KMT. As Chieh always openly supports the DPP and only DPP counties invited the Kavalan to perform in the beginning, Chieh still managed to mobilise villagers to participate in those activities through his network. Fortunately, the villagers do not oppose this issue anymore, after they realised that the DPP gave them more respect and recognition than the KMT.

Chieh also insists on presenting what he considers as authentic Kavalan. It becomes an arguable issue among villagers. As Hsinshe has a considerable number of mixed Kavalan-Amis residents, some of whom cannot distinguish Kavalan from Amis traditions and insist on putting some cheerful elements that happen to be Amis in style into their newly invented traditions. Nonetheless, Chieh is always supported by senior *metiyu* and elderly people, villagers therefore accept his ideas.

Although Chieh does not publish books to present his ideas of the Kavalan, he knows how to deliver his ideas to those who come to visit him, after years of experience of being interviewed by researchers or reporters. What he normally tells visitors is his family history, the rise and fall of some families at Hsinshe, Kavalan traditions, and the history of the foundation of Hsinshe from the early 20th century, things which he learnt from elderly people and scholarly work in the past. He also stresses the hardships they went through as a neglected ethnic group which lived in a remote area. From his point of view, the government does not pay attention to the Kavalan and leave them to decline by themselves. He wishes that the government could recognise their importance and contribution in the development of Taiwanese society. General speaking, reporters and writers write what Chieh has told them (e.g. Li Chung-hsien 1993). In recent years, he has been invited to give speeches and lectures on the Kavalan in various county or city cultural centres and museums. This reinforces even further his idea that the Kavalan are living ethnic people.

When I read his interviews, I noticed that the above mentioned stories are almost identical in every interview and quite similar to what he told me. However, as he promised me, he did tell me many things which he seldom mentioned to other people. For example, he told me a detailed history how Hsinshe was first cultivated by two Kavalan landowners and how they invited many Kavalan to come to work for them. He explained the kin structure of some villagers. He also gave me his views about why Hsinshe has preserved many Kavalan traditions and how they started to lose their ethnic features when more and more youngsters accepted Taiwanese-Chinese culture. In addition, he did not hide from me what he thought of certain villagers and researchers how and some Kavalan evaluated his achievement.

Chieh uses all possible opportunities to promote the Kavalan. For example, he prepares an information sheet about Kavalan history and an introduction to their traditions and distributes it to the audience whenever they are invited to perform their rituals or handicrafts. He also sends press releases to local or regional newspapers when Hsinshe holds their harvest festival. Moreover, he submits protests to the authorities whenever he has the opportunity²⁸. Chiang criticises that these protests are only made by Chieh and his son-in-law and cannot represent what the Kavalan want. However, when I went around the village and asked for their opinions on Chieh's protests, the majority of the Kavalan support Chieh, as they think that Chieh is an intelligent person who knows how to deal with these things. The only thing they feel uneasy about are Chieh's political views, as most people still think that one should not oppose the ruling party, the KMT.

Chieh reads a great deal of material published on the Kavalan. He has been keeping several volumes of articles or news clippings on the Kavalan over time. He is interested in reading these publications and to some extent supervises the content of such publications. He sometimes writes to authors if there are serious mistakes. For example, he once phoned a Japanese linguist Tsuchida to get his confirmation before he wrote to Taiwanese linguist Li Jen-kuei to discuss some linguistic disputes in Li's book. He lodged a complaint about a Masters student, Chiang Meng-fang, and her

²⁸ Chieh has sent his petition to Ilan County Magistrate, Hualien County Magistrate, Taipei Mayor, and former President Lee Tung-hui.

university in order to protest against some misrepresentation of him in her dissertation.

There are some issues or events which Chieh hardly mentions to outsiders. For example, he keeps silent about the fact that he rarely performs Kavalan rituals and rites in his family (apart from *palilin*), even though he passionately promotes the revival of Kavalan traditions. He learned to speak Kavalan language after he came in contact with Tsuchida and other researchers in Hsinshe. He seldom mentions his problematic relationship with the villagers. He also seldom acknowledges the contributions of other villagers in the Kavalan resurgence to interviewers which annoys some Kavalan. A couple of villagers criticize Chieh as a self-important person and refer to his assertions as hypocrisy and lies. The publicity and importance Chieh receives not only makes other villagers jealous but also gives rise to competition among the villagers for attracting visitors' attention. The tension between Chieh and some villagers increases whenever they have to represent themselves to outsiders.

This tension is no longer personal, it has enlarged into a dispute about who represents more authentic Kavalan tradition or who behaves more like authentic Kavalan. For example, one Kavalan pointed out a dish of marinated raw sea urchin to me and said, "This is the most authentic Kavalan dish. Chieh would not like to touch it"! Some criticise Chieh for not performing *sbau* or other rituals at home, while they have been doing those rites and rituals all their life. One or two villagers made a severe comment on Chieh's changing his aboriginal status. Even so, most of the silent crowd in Hsinshe appreciate what Chieh has done and support him²⁹. As for Chieh, he is not bothered by the criticism, unless it is related to the question of Kavalan authenticity which he strongly defends. Generally speaking, most of the accusations are not true in the sense that they are manipulated for opposing Chieh. The villagers who oppose Chieh are mostly those who are Amis or with Amis background³⁰, while Chieh's supporters are

²⁹ Chiang (1997) mentioned that most of the villagers were opposed to Chieh. However, it does not seem to be the truth, as he is still regarded as one of the few people who can mobilise the Kavalan in the village. During my fieldwork, I saw him mobilising the villagers to perform Kavalan rituals in Ilan, Hualien, and Taipei. He was asked to travel to Taipei to persuade urban Kavalan to come back home and vote during the election. What Chiang noticed is a common practice in local politics which happens in most villages.

³⁰ For example, the former village head, Chin-lung, Ga-tsao and Wu-dai, are Amis who married into Kavalan households. The present village head, Pan, is from half-Kavalan, half-Amis background.

mainly Kavalan. Nonetheless, this is a process in which Kavalan tradition is contested then revived in the aftermath of the negotiation between anti- and pro- Chieh groups.

By promoting the Kavalan, Chieh has made a great contribution to the development of the movement of Kavalan revival. He has become the spiritual leader of the movement thanks to the construction of Kavalan in the media. Most significantly, he has also become a figure that many Kavalan identify with and which helps to unify the Kavalan in various villages and cities. Despite some opposition, his role is still influential in the reconfiguration of Kavalan identity.

Kavalan photographer and documentary film-maker Bauki Anao³¹ has made his contribution to the Kavalan movement in the cultural and public domain. Frustrated by scholars who behave like observers and do not admit plains aborigines to have aboriginal status, he started to write articles that appeal to the authorities to recognise plains aborigines. He also participated in making cultural programmes on plains aborigines when he worked for Public Television in Taiwan from 1994 to 1998, as a representative for plains aborigines³². He joined Taiwan *Ping pu tsu* Hsueh Hui as one of the leading committee members. Nowadays, he is acknowledged as a member of the plains aboriginal elite and is invited to various activities of plains aborigines all over Taiwan. He uses these opportunities to film these activities of cultural resurgence. For example, when he was filming the annual *A-li-tsu* worship in Tou-she in 1999, he was invited to plant twelve *ga-sou* as a symbolic act in the plains aboriginal botanic garden. Because of his status as a Kavalan, he is welcomed in various aboriginal villages when he reports or films them.

The interesting thing about Bauki is that he did not realise his Kavalan background until 1993, when he came to take pictures of the first Kavalan Harvest Festival at Hsinshe. He was shocked to discover that some of his relatives were invited as the

³¹ Bauki, whose Chinese name is Pan Chao-cheng, is forty-four years old. He is considered to be a new member of Kavalan elite.

³² In 1994, Public Television decided to start Aboriginal News Magazine which uses aborigines as its reporters to report aboriginal affairs. Public Television chose reporters from each officially recognised aboriginal group as representatives of that group. It was considered great news when Public Television decided to appoint a plains aboriginal representative. These reporters received training and were sent into the field to gain experience before Public Television officially started to broadcast from 1998.

guests of honour at the festival. After confirming with his father, he then became aware of his ethnic status³³. From then on, he started to focus his work on the Kavalan and other plains aboriginal groups. He went to Hsinshue to learn the language and traditional customs in 1993. He also decided to do a long-term project using the camera to record the Kavalan³⁴. So far, he has photographed more than ten thousands slides on the Kavalan in Ilan, Hualien, Taitung and Taipei. He also produced a documentary on his family history in 1998. In the following year, he selected 45 pictures and published a photographic collection on the Kavalan.

Chan (1999: 4) praises Bauki's collection by pointing out that it is not only about the progress of his personal, family, and artistic search for his existence, but it also bridges the gap between two centuries of Kavalan history. This might be an overstatement; however, the significance of his album lies in the fact that it is a representation that is from a Kavalan perspective. In the album, Bauki tries to capture the picture of diasporic Kavalan in Hualien and Taitung. Most significantly, he shows the secretive ritual of Trobuwan *palilin* to the public for the first time³⁵. Although he focuses more on rituals and ceremonies, he also records ethnic consciousness activities (e.g. protests, language learning, and visiting homeland), group symbol, excursions, etc. In addition to photos, he also included one of his articles about his family history. Perhaps because of the limitation of the book, Bauki is unable to present a detailed picture of the Kavalan. Many aspects of Kavalan everyday activities are missing. Nonetheless, he hopes that his album has proved his two points that the government has long ignored

³³ Bauki told me that most of his relatives in his father's generation did not admit their Kavalan status. They did not speak Kavalan, or perform traditional rituals. However, he and his brothers and sisters dimly recall that when they were young they had heard their grandmother talking to other relatives in a strange language. When he asked his father why he did not admit their Kavalan status, his father answered that he did not want his descendants to know that they had aboriginal ancestors.

³⁴ During my fieldwork, I had followed him several times when he went to film the Kavalan and his relatives in Hualien and Taitung counties. To my surprise, I found that those who live mixed with other ethnic groups tend to have a strong sense of Kavalan identity. Although most of them do not speak their mother tongue, the story of their ethnic identity is passed from generation to generation. Rituals like *spau* and *palilin* are also performed in the households.

³⁵ Trobuwan *palilin* is a private ritual which is only performed among people from the same family. Bauki participated in the ritual and was allowed to take photos because he was "adopted" as a son by that Trobuwan family when he came to stay in Hsinshue in 1993. I asked my hostess, A-yuk, and other Trobuwan about the publication of this ritual. Most of the Trobuwan thought that it is entirely A-yuk's business. As for A-yuk, she thought that it is no use to talk more about this issue, as it has become a fact. But still, she complained about the misfortune her family experienced afterwards. Nonetheless, she seemed to be proud of it after knowing that she appeared in Bauki's film and book.

the survival of the Kavalan and these people still insist on preserving their traditional lifestyle (Anao 1999: 10).

Documentary filmmaking is a new medium for Bauki to record plains aborigines. After leaving the job at Public Television in 1998, he enrolled in an art college at Tainan to do a masters degree in documentary filmmaking. In 1999, he finished two documentaries and has one film still in the making. Among these films, two are related to plains aborigines, one records ka-ma-sua and its ritual medium, the other depicts the process in which a group of plains aborigines re-builds a traditional *kong-kai* for *A-li-tsu*. All of the documentaries he makes have either received awards in competition or are sponsored by the authorities or private cultural foundations. In addition, his films receive much news coverage owing to his close relationship with the press. All this helps to publicise his films.

The experience of Bauki's family which he portrays in his first documentary, *Chiao Ta Chi Ya e Kavalan* (1998)³⁶, is similar to Chieh's own story. As films are a direct medium which enables the audience to comprehend easily the message of the film, the impact is therefore stronger. The main themes of the film are to represent the diasporic experience of his family and the realisation of the family members about the "truth" of their identity. He uses historical accounts to show the dramatic decrease of Kavalan population after Chinese occupation and the tricks the Chinese immigrants used to occupy Kavalan land in order to explain the background of how his Kavalan ancestors were forced to leave their homeland in Ilan when they had no land to live upon anymore. Then, he uses the self-realisation of family members of their original ethnic identity. After confirming the identity of his family, Bauki started to revive their Kavalan tradition which he learnt from Hsinshe Kavalan. He was first to adopt a Kavalan name which he has taken from Kavalan tradition and chose his grandfather's

³⁶ The title of the film, *Chiao Ta Chi Ya e Kavalan* (or the Kavalan who lived at Niao Ta Shih Tzai), is supposed to be pronounced in Holo, the language Bauki's family uses, as he and his siblings were told by their parents that they were Holo. Chiao Ta Chi Ya is the name of a village by the Hualien Port. It was a fishing village with a mixed ethnic makeup, as there were Kavalan, Holo, Hakka, and mainlanders, as well as Okinawan fishermen and the Japanese during the Japanese period. At the end of 1970s, the KMT forced the villagers to leave, as it planned to expand Hualien Port to make it an international port. After more than five years of fruitless protest, villagers and left the village. The name of Chiao Ta Chi Ya came from a rock in the sea off the fishing village. Because lots of seagulls rest on the rock, it was then called the village which had birds sitting on the rock. It was also the birthplace of Bauki.

name as his name in his family. His family also agreed to his suggestion to revive *palilin* before New Year from 1996 to commemorate their Kavalan ancestors. They arranged a special activity for their father's birthday in 1997: they paid a visit to Ilan, where their ancestors came from, and bring the remains of their grandfather and their mother from Hualien to their eternal homeland. The whole family were also guided by a local specialist on Kavalan, Chiu Shui-chin, who explained local history to them when they travelled on two catamarans along the Tung-shan River, a river which their Kavalan ancestors used to live upon. Bauki's search for his family history has had a great impact on members of the family. They now feel proud to be Kavalan and do not hide their ethnic identity as their previous generations did. Because this documentary was selected as one of the best documentaries on local culture by the Council for Cultural Affairs of Executive Yuan, it has been screened in local cultural centres all over Taiwan.

The family experience of Bauki shows that his family has taken on many Chinese influences. To be precise, he and his family use Chinese customs to express their Kavalan sentiment. For instance, taking ashes of the dead ancestors back to the homeland is a Chinese ritual, while the Kavalan did not care much about the dead in the past and only believed that the spirit of ancestors would be with the living in everyday life. This behaviour is similar to what Juan has noticed (1969: 6-7) in Ilan that the Kavalan did not have a clear knowledge of how to worship ancestors and gods and what were the meanings of the rituals they were performing Taiwanese popular religion. Juan regarded this kind of behaviour as the confused stage during the process of sinicization (*ibid.*). These examples illustrate how ethnic boundaries could possibly overlap. Nonetheless, as long as ethnic consciousness rises, ethnic groups will create a new boundary in order to draw the differences between "others" and "us".

The contributions of Chieh and Bauki toward the construction of Kavalan culture are invaluable. Although they use different forms to deliver their messages, their representations are equally powerful. Chieh, though he acts as an informant for researchers and reporters, has successfully caught the public imagination which he exploited to introduce the Kavalan to the Taiwanese society. As for Bauki, he

popularises the stories of the Kavalan and other plains aborigines by a more direct media form, photography. Therefore, the representation of Kavalan is no longer mediated by others, they, in a significant way, provide an unmediated self-representation from an insider's perspective.

II. Politics of Ethnic Identity in Taiwan

As shown in the above section, the Kavalan cultural resurgence as well as the pan-plains aboriginal movement happened around the early 1990s when Taiwan was in the process of transforming itself from an authoritarian to a more civil society. As a result, ethnic groups as well as various interest groups made claims to the government in order to promote their status in the society. As the information network is more liberal and open, media therefore becomes a battlefield for those groups to claim their rights, instead of fighting on the real ground. This may well explain why the ethnic movement in Taiwan has not become a violent battle which might result in civil war, social unrest, or ethnic violence in the society.

Because media has become the most powerful and direct device for ethnic groups to deliver their ethnic image in postwar Taiwan, media representation of a group therefore becomes vital. The emphasis on the media leads ethnic groups to make their newly revived tradition performable so that it can be presented to the public. In this case, the claim of reconstructing authentic traditions becomes doubtful, as the accuracy and practicability of the revived traditions are not crucial factors anymore. Nonetheless, newly invented ethnic traditions actually serve as a symbolic marker in order to highlight ethnic features that can draw the boundary between the self and the other.

The growing phenomenon of many ethnic expressions of different kinds competing for cultural space in the society appears, at least on the surface, to fragment the nation-state. In reality, however, what the leaders of ethnic groups want to do is to prove that ethnic pluralism in the Taiwanese society by admitting cultural diversity within the national culture, and acknowledging ethnic groups as important constituents of the fabric of Taiwanese society. In so doing, they hope to question so-called "Han" Chinese identity, and challenge the Chinese myth of "sinification", and finally establish an independent cultural identity of Taiwan. The re-appearance of the people like the

Kavalan and other plains aboriginal groups therefore not only challenges predominant sinicization theory, but also brings ethnic reclassification in Taiwan.

The revival of plains aborigines also posits some analytical questions. For example, it manifests a contest between the live social memory of the actors and literate forms of knowledge in terms of defining their ethnic status. It also illustrates that the point that not all indigenous people favour copyrighting their culture. Furthermore, it asks whether or not scholars should get involved with the actors and help them to reach their goal. More importantly, it shows how the actors come to represent themselves when they feel frustrated by the failure of scholars in delivering their needs.

The previous section also demonstrates the complex and contradictory relationship between aspects of “academic”, “popular”, and “local” representations of plains aborigines. As scholars do not fully agree with the modern ethnic identity of plains aborigines, these aborigines not only fight with the government but also scholars in order to prove their authentic ethnic identity. Even with help from the media to represent their ethnic distinctive features, plains aborigines fail to convince the government and scholars. This seems to suggest that scholarly representation is more important than the evidence presented by plains aborigines themselves. In other words, scholars have the authority to decide their identity. In this sense, the problem in the case of plains aborigines is similar to what Clifford discovers in the trial of Mushpee Indians, that is, “the written archive had more value than the evidence of oral tradition (Clifford 1988: 339)”. Clifford sees the denial of Mushpee Indian modern identity as a setback, as he argues that Mushpee Indians are in the process of reviving and reinventing their tribal identity within and against the dominant culture and state (ibid.: 336). Indeed, it is absurd to presume that an ethnic group should exist continuously, and this perception will only lead to a dead end in the study of the development of “tribal” identity to ethnic identity.

The demand for the protection of indigenous knowledge by intellectual property rights has increased in the recent years in Taiwan. Scholars and indigenous elites use international laws³⁷ to endorse the protection of indigenous cultural and intellectual

³⁷ Scholars and aboriginal activists use the statements of United Nations which endorse the protection of

property (e.g. Lin Mei-jung 1998: 533-553) and indigenous media representation (e.g. Kung 1998: 513-532), along with other long-standing issues like rights for land, language, religion, education, and so on. As Brown (1998: 194-5) suggests, an ethnic nation or group needs to “possess” some distinctive characteristics of its own in order to differentiate it from others; therefore, an ethnic nation or group often wishes to have total control over this property and make it less accessible to others. However, it does not seem to happen to the Kavalan at the moment. Because they are largely unknown by the public and seen as “archaic people” by scholars, they wish to attract more attention in order to make themselves known and realise their demand for recognition. In other words, they wish scholars and media to “exploit” them as much as possible. Nonetheless, this may add a spark to the debate over cultural property on the issue of what happens if some indigenous people would rather allow themselves to be “exploited”.

Because of the special circumstances of plains aborigines, they put a great deal of faith in scholars and media. For example, Bauki wishes that scholars could help plains aborigines to restore recognition from the government and help them to reconstruct their traditions. However, Bauki feels that most Taiwanese scholars are passive observers during their fieldwork, and they only use the Kavalan to advance their academic career and do not care about their marginalised conditions in society. In comparison, he feels that media is more sympathetic and tends to support their claims. Nonetheless, this situation leads to the old question in anthropology: should anthropologists be involved with the affairs of the actors? To what extent are anthropologists allowed to get involved without losing their objectivity? Especially with the complicated and sensitive nature of the case of the Kavalan, one needs to be careful in presenting their case.

III. Conclusion

As said, many plains aborigines feel let down by the failure of scholars in delivering what they expect from them, that is, a confirmation that these people are distinct ethnic

indigenous cultural and intellectual property rights, such as the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the 1993 Draft Declaration on the rights of the World Indigenous Peoples. They also use other statements, like The

groups who still exist, albeit differently, from their historical representations. As a result and reaction, some indigenous professionals have come out to present their case themselves. They produce books, documentaries, and reports. They attend and deliver papers in seminars and conferences. They protest to the authorities. They also organise activities in order to introduce their villages or rituals to visitors. More importantly, no matter how scholars present plains aborigines, they regard the historical research as a reassurance of their existence. For example, plains aborigines use scholarly work and Chinese historical records to argue that, if their ancestors qualified as aborigines in the Ching period why should they not be entitled to such a status now. They also consider scholars' work on their history as an important source to reconstruct their past and reinvent their tradition. Most of all, they keep a close look on how scholars present them and feel no hesitation to correct their misrepresentation. Therefore, they do not need agents to represent them, they speak for themselves and produce first-hand information themselves. In this sense, they try to take control of their representations which can be seen as an important step towards empowering their ethnic identity.

The politics of representation, mis-representation, and under-representation between scholars, media, writers, and actors themselves reconfirm the complexity of human perception. It also illustrates that so-called authentic and objective representations do not exist, as most of the representations are social constructs with specific or multiple motivations. Moreover, the representations from various agents are often in conflict yet interrelated. This leads us back to our question: who has the right to represent or speak on behalf of others? From the above discussion, we see that media writers romanticise plains aborigines, scholars study them from distanced and authoritative attitude, and plains aborigines strive to present their insider point of view. They all speak for plains aborigines with different perspectives and emphases which further complicate our understanding of these people. Why is academic research regarded as a threat or obstacle to the cause of plains aborigines? If we agree that bridging the gaps between different cultures is one of the goals of anthropologists then what should we do to improve the situation? This debate still continues in academic circles. Nonetheless, one needs to be careful, honest and responsible when interpreting or representing the views of others in order to minimize the risk which is always inherent in such undertakings.

Conclusion

This thesis deals with the making of ethnicity in postwar Taiwan through the specific examination of the construction of Kavalan ethnic identity. Here, I attempt to integrate the arguments and findings from this research. In the first section, I summarise the key research topics, problems and arguments in the thesis. In the following section, I discuss its limitations as well as its contribution to the understanding of Taiwanese ethnicity, and ethnicity as a concept in general. In the last section, I put forward some final points which have emerged from this research.

I. Summary

This thesis has looked at the revival of the Kavalan as an ethnic group and the formation of their identity in a wide historical and social framework. The Kavalan had existed as a distinct ethnic group prior to large-scale Chinese settlement in their area in the 19th century which resulted in their dislocation and dispersal. Under Chinese political, economic and cultural domination, their ethnic characteristics gradually began to fade away and they were considered to have assimilated in Chinese society. Although some isolated ethnographic studies did mention their continuing presence, they were forgotten by the rest of the nation and had ceased to exist in history. More than a century later, they were “re-discovered” by researchers and the media which gave them unexpected recognition. Spurred on by a more favourable political atmosphere, they have engaged in reinventing their tradition and ethnic identity. This thesis has argued that in their decline, rediscovery and revival, one of the most crucial factors had been their representation in history and the media, and, for this reason, the Kavalan now attempt to ensure that they are adequately represented as a guarantee for their survival. Moreover, they rely heavily on their historical and academic representation, both in the past and the present, in the construction of their culture and tradition. In this sense, this has been a unique opportunity to study the process of identity formation and development of ethnic consciousness of group over a period of several years.

Chapter One argues that any single theory from available contemporary approaches and theories of ethnicity cannot fully accommodate the complexity of Kavalan ethnic revival. As the Kavalan, in a classical ethnic manner hark back to a pure past to imagine their traditions on the one hand, and reconstruct them deliberately from memory and scholarly research on the other, they are, in this way, both primordial and constructed. In order to understand its various dimensions, a combination of approaches, a more eclectic theory is needed. Thus this chapter posits that a constructivist approach and constructed primordiality, though not sufficient, are particularly useful in this case, it also tries to situate the Kavalan in a larger backdrop of nation and history.

Chapter Two focuses on the process of construction of Kavalan identity. It looks at the historical development of the term Kavalan and suggests that the Kavalan were never a homogeneous and continuous group as they now claim themselves to be. It presents a survey of history and ethnography of the Kavalan and discusses their dispersal from their homeland in Ilan. Then, it describes in detail their present and past life in Hsinshe village and goes on to analyse how they define themselves and construct their newly-acquired identity. In this process, there have been confusions and debates about the authenticity of their recreated traditions and rituals which they had to negotiate by referring to historical and scholarly accounts. This chapter contends that the Kavalan identity, like most ethnic identities, is not consistent or authentic, rather it is a matter of self-ascription and deliberate construction for the political purpose of gaining legitimacy and recognition from the government.

Chapter Three argues that the revival of Kavalan identity is linked with, and even reflects Taiwan's own search for a national identity. This chapter locates the Kavalan within the larger structure of nation-state whose changing definitions of nationalism had an enormous impact on its ethnic groups. It analyses classification, place and role of ethnic groups in Taiwan over a period of two centuries. The peculiar history of Taiwan and its troubled relations with China determine its definition of nationalism. In its search for authenticity and antiquity, a pre-requisite for a modern nation, Taiwan turns to its aboriginal population which, in turn, demands its rights as the original inhabitants of the country. This chapter further argues that Taiwan and the Kavalan follow similar strategies to gain legitimacy, strategies such as self-determination, historical

authenticity, democratic rights, imagining a past, and distinct ethnic features are methods commonly employed by both albeit at different levels.

In Chapter Four, the relationship of the Kavalan with other ethnic groups is discussed. It shows that though there have been many similarities between the Kavalan and their neighbouring groups, the Kavalan have consciously suppressed these in order to highlight their differences from these groups and to create a distinct identity for themselves. The Kavalan were deeply influenced by the Taiwanese and Amis at all levels of their existence but presently they are trying to appropriate the customs they share with other groups, particularly the Amis, as their own. Thus, they manage to create a boundary between themselves and other groups which is mainly strategic rather than purely ethnic. A comparison between the festivals and customs of the Amis and the Kavalan proves this point. But then, ethnic difference begin to emerge in such situations when groups closely interact with one another to the point of endangering or even losing their characteristics.

Chapter Five describes how Kavalan have been successfully reviving their traditions and customs. They have managed to create elaborate ceremonies for public performance as well as private rituals. Such exhibition of their culture is their most important and authentic proof of their distinct identity, as these performances are widely reported in the media. In addition, they have revived their language, restored their history and reinvented ethnic symbols. Interestingly, these revived traditions, customs and rituals do not follow a fixed pattern, they are constantly altered and modified since they are in a developmental stage. But this does not deter the Kavalan, as performance is more important to them rather than correct interpretation. Their purpose is basically to remain in the limelight as a constant reminder to the government of their presence.

Chapter Six argues that Kavalan religious practices have changed over time in response to the circumstances they have found themselves in. After they were forced to migrate from Ilan their religious practices came under constant pressure from other dominant religions like Christianity and Chinese popular religion. As small communities living scattered, they were easily influenced by other religions. However, when their cultural revival took place in a more democratic atmosphere they soon began to reinvent their

"heathen" practices with the help of shamans and scholarly accounts. These revived rituals may not be the same as they used to practice earlier but they have earned the reputation of being exotic and novel. Encouraged by acceptance from outsiders, the Kavalan have now begun to practice these rituals even at home. Successful revival of such ritualistic practices have given the Kavalan confidence to come out and proclaim their separate ethnic identity. This chapter has also looked at the revival of the role of women in the Kavalan community. With the rise of their cultural resurgence, women have regained their importance in the society, which has led to competition between men and women. However, as the revived traditions are confined mainly to the private domain, women's new found power is more symbolic and metaphoric than practical or actual.

The last chapter deals with the politics of ethnic representation in the revival of the Kavalan and other plains aboriginal groups. The representations of plains aborigines by scholars, historians and the media have played a very crucial role in their history of survival. Earlier, the Kavalan were represented as a people who had ceased to exist owing to their total assimilation in the Chinese society. Then, in the 1980s they were suddenly "rediscovered" by scholars and anthropologists like Shimizu as an actually existing ethnic group and, as a result, the media took tremendous interest in them and played an important role in disseminating information about them. However, the problem is that there is very little contemporary research on them, most scholars still concentrate on their historical aspects and do not try to bridge the gap between the current identity formation of the Kavalan and their supposedly uniform and homogeneous historical identity. The Kavalan, on their part, started by welcoming and encouraging academic research and publicity in the media, even if it contained misrepresentations, since their prime concern was to remain in the public eye which they regarded as the only means of gaining recognition. However, now that they have achieved their primary goal, they have begun to question such representations. They have even started to assert control over their ethnic representation by rewriting their history, producing films, writing in the media and organising their own cultural activities.

II. Contributions and limitations of the research

Studying the formation of an ethnic identity as an ongoing process is not an easy task. One needs to take into consideration the multiple strategies, transactions and negotiations which a group brings into play and which keep unfolding and mutating, sometimes in unpredictable ways. Nonetheless, this research has made a number of significant contributions that will be of use to future studies in ethnicity in general and the study of Taiwanese ethnicity in particular. Firstly, I have presented a comprehensive ethnography of the Kavalan, of their continuity and transformation, predicaments and dynamics, reality and dreams. My research on these and other aspects of Kavalan life is different from Shimizu's work, as I observed the Kavalan through various stages of transformation while she presented a static picture. Secondly, I have closely examined the process of construction and maintenance, compromise and negotiation of Kavalan ethnic identity through historical investigation of their past, comparison between their culture with other ethnic cultures, and de-construction of their ethnic identity formation. Thirdly, I have analysed the relationship between the nation-state and its ethnic foundation. I have also examined how a new Taiwanese nation is in the process of enacting a compromise between its favoured group and other marginalised ethnic groups which suffer inequality and uneven distribution of resources. Interestingly, while the Taiwanese emphasise the diversity and the hybridity of their culture, in reality the result is increasing homogeneity of the national culture, without any substantial benefit accruing to less privileged groups. Also, I have illustrated how an ethnic tradition can be used to authenticate an ethnic identity which is articulated for certain immediate political purposes and survival strategies for continuity by a group, and how such traditions can be recycled as its "new" mode of life.

Lastly, I have suggested that we broaden our view of the study of ethnicity by considering both emic and etic categorisation and by examining ethnicity in a wider environment (e.g. nation-states and societies) which form the crucial background where ethnic interaction takes place under certain predetermined conditions. I have also underlined the importance of the historical context which helps to explain how ethnic identities evolve. If we agree that ethnic identity is an ongoing process of human creation, can we still sustain a rigid perception of it and its related fields (e.g. culture

and tradition)? My ultimate intention, therefore, is to add a more dynamic and complex view to the understanding of ethnicity in order to accommodate its contextual, contingent and interactive yet disputed nature. I also wish to introduce this integrated approach to the study of ethnicity in Taiwan which, I hope, can change the traditional approach which has long been dominated by the concepts of patrilineal ancestry and blood ties. Moreover, I hope that my research has done justice to Taiwanese aborigines who have been excluded from the debate on ethnicity in Taiwan owing to their small population and marginal existence.

Inevitably, this research has also had its limitations. For example, it cannot identify a consistent theory which can fully bear the burden of the complexity of the subject it has undertaken. As shown in this thesis, the Kavalan have passed through different phases of ethnic development. They were assumed to be extinct then suddenly they were found to be alive and thriving. Since then they have been trying to mark and maintain boundaries with others, broaden their membership and reconstructing their tradition from various sources. They are in conflict with the nation-state which refuses to give them official recognition and aboriginal status. Thus, the case of Kavalan involves many elements from different theories and requires a more comprehensive approach to theorise its specific nature. This again demonstrates the contextual, dynamic, and situational nature of ethnic identity and shows that it cannot be conceptualised by one single theory or approach.

In this thesis, I have not discussed the influence of ethnicity on governmental social and cultural policy and vice versa. The reasons for this are that this is a distinct area of research involving topics such as social welfare, housing, employment, and education; trying to cover every aspect of ethnic behaviour and phenomena in a single thesis would cause it to lose its focus.

III. Some final thoughts

The study of Kavalan ethnic identity has stimulated some thoughts which, I hope, can help to further future research in ethnicity. Firstly, from the predicament of Kavalan ethnic identity, one may ask who has the authority to decide one's ethnic or aboriginal

identity? Government, scholars, or the actors themselves? As mentioned earlier, the disappearance of the Kavalan in Taiwanese society is closely related to the manner in which they were represented. Their long absence makes their ethnic revival rather difficult, as they need to challenge the official and popular definitions of aborigines, which are based on Chinese patrilineal ancestry. These two factors are interlinked in Taiwan as the government relies on scholarly opinions on whether the Kavalan can be categorised as an aboriginal group. Most Taiwanese scholars, speaking as scientific experts, assert that the Kavalan have lost their ethnic characteristics and have assimilated into Chinese or Amis ethnic groups in postwar Taiwan. However, from an analytical perspective, the Kavalan can be defined as an ethnic group, as they fulfil both the emic and etic elements of identification. They still need official recognition in order to qualify for certain minority rights in the nation-state. In this case, it is clearly evident that the nation-state does not recognise the dynamic and evolving nature of ethnic identity. Nonetheless, as the Kavalan revival attracts media attention, more and more people come to know them and increasing numbers of researchers study them. All these representations ensure that the Kavalan are making an entry into contemporary history of Taiwan which may help them to get recognition from a more favourably inclined government in the future.

Secondly, the belief in democracy may explain why the ethnic movement in Taiwan has not led to ethnic violence or segregation. The ethnic consciousness movements (including the Kavalan revival) in Taiwan have happened at a time when Taiwan is in the process of democratizing itself and reconfiguring its ethnic order. This gives ethnic groups in Taiwan an opportunity to argue and negotiate their share in the definition of the national identity and culture. They passionately participate in national and local politics in order to make their voice heard. If politics fail to deliver then they organise protests and campaigns and use the mass media to publicise their claims.

Thirdly, considering the ethnic competition in Taiwan, one may ask whether a proper policy of ethnic management could solve the problems of ethnic inequality? The policies of ethnic management in Singapore seem to be a good example. Clammer (1985: 141-142) analyses that economic development, political integration, and the lack of external disputes are the main reasons which prevent Singapore from having serious

ethnic or communal conflict. However, this does not imply that Singapore has no ethnic problems. The Singaporean government follows the four-race model¹ and the government provides all of its citizens with primary identity and governmental support. Therefore, as Clammer (ibid.: 153) points out, ethnic groups in Singapore are not politically mobilised entities, and ethnicity is not for expressing or manipulating power. Clammer (ibid.) also mentions that multiracialism gives Singapore a low level of ethnic conflict, low inter-group prejudice, weak ethnic stereotyping, and a relatively high level of social mobility. Finally, he concludes that ethnicity can exist peacefully within a certain high degree of economic development and political stability; and it can survive under continuous social and cultural transformations.

Like Singapore, Taiwan has various ethnic groups (socially constructed) and it also has a highly developed economy and social stability. However, Taiwan has more serious problems of inequitable distribution of political power and economic wealth which lead to ethnic disputes. Some groups in Taiwan therefore organise themselves as politically mobilised ethnic entities in order to seek the power and influence. For instance, the Holo-Taiwanese claim that they are the majority population in Taiwan and should therefore have the right to decide the political structure of the country. Other aboriginal groups like the Kavalan also manipulate their ethnicity to achieve political rights as minority peoples. Apart from these, ethnic boundaries in Taiwan are blurred and dynamic owing to intermarriage. Nonetheless, the situation in Singapore and Taiwan may be different but the idea of ethnic management which is based on equality of each ethnic group, can still provide Taiwan with an inspiration for the solution of its ethnic political and social problems.

In addition, can people be loyal to dual or multiple ethnic identities at the same time? People interact with others more frequently in this fast changing world. Frequent contact, migration and intermarriage tend to blur ethnic boundaries. Thus, it becomes common for people to have dual or multiple sources of identification. However, most anthropologists focus on one particular ethnic identity, rather than de-constructing a

¹ The Singaporean government officially approves four ethnic identities: Chinese, Malay, Indian, and “other”. Every Singaporean or permanent resident has to register in one of these categories.

multiplicity of ethnic identities². One may argue that the multiplicity is actually another form of new ethnic identity. Nonetheless, it needs to be more conceptualised in order to understand its significance to society.

Finally, this research raises the question of whether China will allow the emergence of a parallel Chinese cultural and political identity outside its territory? When FitzGerald examines (1972) the history of Chinese expansion in the present southern China and in Southeast Asia, he lists the key characteristics of Chinese expansion (*ibid.*: xiii). These are: the expansion by land (such as the expansion to Vietnam and Yunnan), the expansion by political influence (e.g. Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, and Burma), the expansion by economy (mostly in modern times to Malaya and the Indonesian islands). Another important dimension of Chinese culture that has played a crucial role in consolidating this expansion can be added to the above. In these countries, Chinese civilisation followed occupation, political and economic influence to cement its gains. Taiwan can be said to be the best example of Chinese invasion as it has experienced all of the above mentioned patterns of Chinese expansion. It was a historical contingency which made the Chinese immigrants the masters of the island. And now political accidents have provided Taiwan with the chance to develop its own national identity. However, the dispute between the nationalisms of the ROC and the PRC over the legitimate right to represent Chinese nation is not limited only to politics. It also involves ownership of cultural property, the Chinese culture, as the ROC claims that it has preserved the most authentic Chinese culture while the PRC has polluted it with communism. A nation-state needs to have its own culture which can create a feeling of solidarity among its members (Guibernau 1996: 76) and this culture should be distinctive from cultures of other nation-states. In this light, apart from the question of political legitimacy, the question of ownership over cultural property will soon become a major issue in the already problematic relationship between two Chinas.

² Many postmodernists have discussed multiple identity. However, regarding identity as “cut-and-mixed” amalgam and over-emphasising individuals’ freedom seem to simplify the complexity of identity. This does not improve much on our understanding of the formation of ethnic identity.

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Newspapers & other media forms

ABC News

China Times 中國時報

Freedom News 自由時報

United Daily News 聯合報

United Evening News 聯合晚報

Other materials:

1. The identification of aborigines in Taiwan, Clause 2, Order No. 30738, issued by the Provincial Government in 1980 (台省政府“台省山胞身份認定標準”省府民國六十九年四月八日府民四字第 30738 號令第二條).
2. The brochure of the Park of Aboriginal Culture, Taiwan (台灣原住民文化園區).
3. The principle and aims of *Taiwan Ping pu tsu Hsueh Hui* (台灣平埔族學會章程).
4. The cultural programmes of Ilan County (1991, 1996).
5. Kavalan petitions, brochure, and the drafts of press release.

APPENDIX A: Kavalan Glossary¹

awa (cup)

bagalonine (the youngest set of male age-group system)

bais (a kind of small seashell)

baqiay (grandfather)

baqiay ziyusay (senior god)

baraden (a kind of plant with a long stalk)

batohongan (Kavalan name for Hsinshe)

bayay (grandmother)

bayay dungaiy (senior goddess)

biaque na mulu (a branch of Kaffir lime leaves)

bila (pan or betel leaves)

busus (the Holo)

damo (settlement)

deves (sugarcane)

ga-sou (a kind of tree which the Kavalan relate to Dr. MacKay)

gataban (harvest festival)

haiisayan (the base of making the warps)

hak (wine)

insun (washbasin)

isi (fermented rice white wine)

kaisin (bowl)

kanasna (dried bamboo calyx)

kisaiiz (a healing ritual for girls or women)

lageling (the second age set of male age-group system)

lalas (betel nuts)

laligi (used by Chang-yuan Kavalan for sea worship, *sa-tsu-buz*)

lawa (white cloth)

mai (rice)

mamanugaba (the senior set of male age-group system)

mamet (fast)

metiyu (shaman)

mulu (Kaffir lime leaves)

na-bas (*tzu-tung* in Chinese, a kind of tree with red flowers blossom in early spring)

nuzun (traditional cake made of glutinous rice)

¹ This appendix only lists Kavalan glossaries. Other terms, including Chinese, Amis, and others are included in Appendix B.

pa-dai (idiot)
pagalavi (a renewal ritual for *metiyu*)
pahin (the Hakka)
pa-kan (a special rite to feed ancestors)
palilin (a new year ritual for feeding ancestors)
pasanu (a rite of divine)
pa-sbau (a daily or common rite to feed ancestors)
patohokan (funeral ritual)

qulos (clothes)

risuzai zianan (name of a goddess)
rumus u pinariris iyo (a female priest name)

salamay zianan (goddess)
salay (an invisible thread which can lead *metiyu* to the world of *zianan*)
saoh (or “flying fish”)
sa-tsu-buz (sea worship)
sbau (same as *pa-sbau*)
siangaw zianan (ultimate god)
svada (taro)

tabaco (cigarette)
tazusa (spirits)

yawuti (an outdoor rite for calling back the dead who died in a horrible death or died long age)

zana ya qulos (used clothes belonged to the dead)
zaunayu nukayu (a male priest name)
zianan (gods)
zimen (raw glutinous rice ball)

APPENDIX B: General Glossary

The meanings of most entries here are given in English and in standard Mandarin Chinese characters. Entries pronounced in Mandarin Chinese are indicated by (C); entries in Siraya language are indicated by (S); entries in Holo are indicated by (Ho); entries in Hakka are indicated by (Ha); entries in Amis are indicated by (A); and entries in Japanese are indicated by (J).

- a-li-tsu* (C, S) 阿立祖: the Siraya goddess.
Chang-chou (C) 樟州: a place in Fukien.
chen (C) 鎮: modern administrative units of Chinese villages.
Cheng Cheng-kung (Koxinga) (C) 鄭成功 (國姓爺).
chia (C) 甲: Chinese land measurement.
chia liu yu pu (C) 加留餘埔: Ching's policy of reserving special areas for the Kavalan.
chiang (C) 羌: a kind of deer.
Chiao ta chi ya e Kavalan (Ho) 鳥踏石仔的噶瑪蘭.
ching feng nien (C) 慶豐年: harvest festival.
chu (C) 族或民族: ethnic groups in general sense.
Chuan-chou (C) 泉州: a place in Fukien.
chuang (C) 莊: administrative units for Chinese villages in the Ching period.
chun (C) 群: groups.
chung kuo i shih (C) 中國意識: Chinese consciousness.
fan (C) 番: savages.
fei yu (C) 飛魚: refers to *saoh*.
feng nien chi (C) 豐年祭: harvest festival.
feng nien chieh (C) 豐年節: harvest festival.
Fengpin chih yeh (C) 豐濱之夜: the Fengpin Evening.
feng-shui (C) 風水: geomancy.
fu mu (C) 父母, 指法官: father and mother; often used as an address to the judge.
fu tou-mu (C) 副頭目: vice chiefs.
Hakka (Ha, C) 客家: refers to Hakka-speaking Taiwanese.
Hakka jen (C) 客家人: the Hakka.
Holo (C) 河洛或鶴佬: refers to the Fukien-origin Taiwanese.
Holo jen (C) 河洛人或鶴佬人: the Holo.
Holo wei (Ho) 河洛話或鶴佬話: Holo Taiwanese language or Fukienese.
hsiang (C) 鄉: modern administrative units for Chinese villages.
hsiang tu wen hsueh (C) 鄉土文學: nativist literature.
hsien e Hakka jen (Ha) 新的客家人: "new Hakka".
hua fan (C) 化番: sinicized aborigines.
Hualien hsien Kavalan tsu hsien chin hui (C) 花蓮縣噶瑪蘭族協進會: Society for the Promotion of Kavalan People in Hualien County.
huan (Ho) 番: people.
huan wo mu yu (C) 還我母語: "the return of my mother tongue".
huan-a sai-kung (Ho) 喪葬儀禮: refers to *patohokan*.
ilisin (A) 豐年祭: the whole set of harvest ceremony.
jen (C) 人: people.

jikawasai (A) Amis shaman.
Kai lan jih (C) 開蘭日: the anniversary of Ilan development.
kan-jen tree (C) 橄仁樹: refers to *ga-sou*.
Kao shan ching (C) 高山青: the name of a magazine.
kao shan fan (C) 高山番: mountain aborigines with pejorative connotations.
kao shan tsu (C) 高山族: mountain aboriginal groups.
Kavalan chiao shih (C) 噶瑪蘭教室: Kavalan Classroom.
Kavalan mu yu tu pen (C) 噶瑪蘭母語讀本: the Kavalan Language Learning Book.
ke chia jen (C) 客家人: the Hakka.
kilang (A) 客家人: the Hakka.
kiluma'an (A) 在家或團聚, 亦指豐年祭: at home or family gathering, also refers to Harvest Festival.
komoris (A) fishing.
kong-kai (Ho, S) 公廨: temple.
kubae (transcribed in J) refers to Kavalan shaman.
lang (Ho) 人: people.
lao ou-a (Ho) 外省人: mainlanders.
li (C) 里: Chinese land measurement.
Lu pei tung hsiang hui (C) 旅北同鄉會: Association for the Kavalan in Taipei.
luan tang (C) 亂黨: the rebellion party.
mai kuo tsei (C) 賣國賊: people who sell or betray their country.
malaikid (A) 豐年祭: harvest festival.
malikoka (A) 歌舞, 亦指豐年祭: sing and dancing, also refers to harvest festival.
malitapud (A) 迎祖靈祭: the rite of welcoming the ancestors.
mang-ka (transcribed in Chinese) 艋舺: boats.
metiwu (A) Amis shaman.
min jen (C) 閩人: the Fukienese.
min nan jen (C) 閩南人: the Fukienese.
min-chu (C) 民族: ethnic groups in general sense.
ming fu (C) 冥府: underworld.
Pang-tsah (A) 邦查: the Amis.
pao tao wen hsueh (C) 報導文學: reportage literature.
pen sheng jen (C) 本省人: people from Taiwan province.
peng-lai rice (C) 蓬萊米: a kind of rice.
pe-poo (Ho) 平埔: plains aborigines.
pe-pu-huan (Ho) 平埔番: plains aborigines with pejorative connotations.
pihololan (A) 請祖靈祭: the rite of inviting ancestors to eat.
ping pu fan (C) 平埔番: plains aborigines with pejorative connotations.
Ping pu yen chiu hui (C) 平埔研究會.
ping-pu tsu or ping pu tsu (C) 平埔族: plains aborigines.
pipihayan (A) 送祖靈祭: the rite for sending ancestors away.
shan pao (C) 山胞: mountain aborigines with pejorative connotations.
shan ti (C) 山地: mountain.
shan ti tung pao (C) 山地同胞: mountain brethren.
shao shu min tsu wei yuan hui (C) 少數民族委員會: Committee for Minorities.

she (C) 社: administrative units for aboriginal villages in the Ching period.
sheng chi (C) 省籍: groups of different provincial origins.
sheng chi wen ti (C) 省籍問題: problems between groups of different provincial origins.
sheng fan (C) 生番: raw aborigines.
shou fan (C) 熟番: cooked or civilised aborigines.
shou fan ko (C) 熟番歌: the Song of cooked aborigines.
siukakusi (A, J) 收穫祭, 亦指豐年祭: the harvest rite, also refers to harvest festival.
subuli (A) 占卜: refers to *pasanu*.
Taiwan i shih (C) 台灣意識: Taiwanese consciousness.
Taiwan min chu kuo (C) 台灣民主國: Taiwan Republic.
Taiwan ping pu tsu hsueh hui (C) 台灣平埔族學會.
Taiwan shan ti wen hua yuan chu (C) 台灣山地文化園區: the Park of Aboriginal Culture.
Taiwan yuan chu min chuan li wei yuan hui (C) 台灣原住民權利委員會: the Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines (ATA).
Taiwan yuan chu min tsu Kavalan tsu fu min tsu chin hui (C) 台灣原住民族噶瑪蘭族復名促進會: Society for Promoting the Restoration of the Ethnic Name of Kavalan.
Taiwan yuan chu min wen hua yuan chu (C) 台灣原住民文化園區: the Park of Taiwanese Aboriginal Culture.
Takasago (J) 高砂族: mountain aborigines.
Taka-san (J) an aboriginal group which once lived in Takao, the present Kaohsiung.
tang hao (C) 堂號: the origin of family name.
Tang jen (C) 唐人: Chinese.
Tang shan (C) 唐山: a mythical homeland of the Chinese in China.
tang wai pen chi tsuo chia lien i hui (C) 黨外編輯作家聯誼會: Alliance for Opposition Editors and Writers.
The 228 event (C) 二二八事件.
The CNP (C) 新黨: the Chinese New Party.
The DPP (C) 民進黨: the Democratic Progressive Party.
The KMT (C) 國民黨: the Kuomintang.
Tiao Yu Tai (C) 釣魚台: also Senkaku Islands, northwest of Taiwan.
tou mu (C) 頭目: village head
tsu chun (C) 族群: ethnic groups.
tsu chun kuan hsi (C) 族群關係: ethnic relations or ethnicity.
tu mu (C) 土目: aboriginal village head.
tung shih (C) 通事: village interpreter.
tzu-tung (C) 刺桐: refer to *na-bas*.
tzu-tung hwa kai lo (C) 刺桐花開了: the blossom of *na-bas*.
wai sheng jen (C) 外省人: people from outside Taiwan, also means “mainlanders”.
wen-ti (C) 問題: problems.
wo (C, J) 倭: Japanese.
wo nu (C) 倭奴: a pejorative name for Japanese.
ya men (C) 衙門: government office.
yen fan (C) 野番: savage or uncivilised aborigines.
yuan chu min (C) 原住民: aborigines.
zukimisai (A, J) 見月祭, 亦指豐年祭: the full moon rite, also refers to harvest festival.

呼喚神靈之歌
(qumRas tu tazusa)

潘金英 領唱
朱阿比／林阿美 答唱

♩ = 88

(1) a hao ha o o ha o a,
(2) a hao ha o o ha o a,
(3) a hao ha o o ha o a,

(1) hai ya ri-su-zay zi-a nan ya ri-su-zay zia - nan,
(2) hai ya ba-qi-ay zi-yu say ya ba-qi-ay ziyu - say,
(3) hai ya bay-yay du-ngi ay ya bay-yay dungi - ay,

(1) a ha o hei yo a ho wa.
(2) a ha o hei yo a ho wa.
(3) a ha o hei yo a ho wa.

1. *QumRas tu tazusa* (calling for spirits):

A hao... ("A hao" is exclamation which has no meaning.)

(1) Wish *risuzay zianan*, ah *risuzay zianan* (to come).

(2) Wish *baqiay ziyusay*, ah *baqiay ziyusay* (to come).

(3) Wish *bayay dungiay*, ah *bayay dungiay* (to come).

A hao...

Note: This is the first song in *kisaiiz*. *Risuzay zianan* is the name of a goddess. *Baqiay* means grandfather and *bayay* means grandmother. *Ziyusay* is a male god. *Dungiay* is the name of another goddess.

¹ From Li and Wu (1998). Lyrics are translated by me.

咱是噶瑪蘭人

(aita na kebaram)

♩ = 120

阿美族曲調
潘金榮 作詞
潘金榮、朱阿比、林阿美 演唱

ai - ta na ke - ba - ran ma-se-ngat ti ita wan - nay sai - zi

qa - su - su - run pai - ta, qa - da - du na pai - ta na

ke - ba - ran, wan - nay wan - nay sai - zi. D.C.

2. *Aita na kebaran* (We are Kavalan).

We, the Kavalan, stand up, it is the only way (to have a future).

We, the Kavalan, stand up, it is the only way (to have a future).

Together, work hard, we, the Kavalan work hard (for our future).

Work together, yes, let's work hard together (for our future).

Note: This is the most popular Kavalan song. The tune is based on an Amis folk song. Pan Chin-jung recreated the lyric for a performance in their homeland, Ilan.

熟番歌

噶瑪蘭廳誌
卷之八

知縣署廳
歷城 柯培元 易堂

人畏生番猛如虎。人欺熟番賤如土。強者畏之弱者欺。無乃人心太不古。熟番歸化勤躬耕。山田一甲唐人爭。唐人爭去餓且死。翻悔不如從前生。竊聞城中有父母。走向城中崩厥首。啁啾鳥語無人通。言不分明畫以手。訴未終官若聾。竊視堂上有怒容。堂上怒呼杖具。杖畢垂頭聽官諭。嗟爾番汝何言。爾與唐人吾子孫。讓耕讓畔胡弗遵。吁嗟乎。生番殺人漢人誘。熟番翻被唐人醜。爲民父母者慮其後。