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**Wounded Land and Wounded Peoples**

Attitudes of Paiwan People and Tao People toward Nuclear Waste

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**Abstract**

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In 2008 and 2010, Taiwan Power Company (TPC) consecutively selected two Paiwan villages as candidates of the nuclear waste repository site. Surprisingly, Paiwanese villages are willing to accept storing nuclear waste on their homeland for the hope of local development with TPC's monetary compensation. Compared to Paiwanese villagers' positive attitude, Tao islanders have been demonstrating a contrasting manner towards nuclear waste since they found the state-owned "fish can factory" is actually a nuclear waste repository. The overarching question I would like to ask is why there are different attitudes from different people on the issue of nuclear waste. Drawn from previous literature on nuclear relevant issues, three theoretical perspectives including environmental justice, sense of place and tourism are used to interpret why the two indigenous communities hold different attitudes toward nuclear waste. Based on my fieldwork at Nantian Village and Lanyu Island, I confirm that the fluid relationship between people and land is affected by the contextual factors such as the economic system, colonial history, religions, and etc. More importantly, I found the concept of environmental autonomy is very helpful to predict the indigenous people's attitude towards the nuclear waste. Actually, environmental autonomy is deeply influenced by the fluid relationship between land and human. Simply put, the fluid relationship between people and land goes first and subsequently shapes the indigenous people's environmental autonomy and the environmental autonomy finally influences the attitude toward nuclear waste. Environmental autonomy plays a bridge role that connects the fluid relationship between people and land to the indigenous people's attitude toward nuclear waste.

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# Introduction

## Motives and Purpose of Study

Two days before an alarm for an upcoming typhoon, the Nantian Village head brought reporters and me from a public TV station to the coast of Nantian Village. He pointed out the wasted, empty, and shaky houses half of whose foundations had been washed away by sea waves (Figure 1), as well as the old military fort, half covered by sand, which would be eaten by the sea in the near future. In an anxious tone, he told us,

*There are only 100 meters from the coast to the village. Even if the tsunami would not attack us, there is still a huge threat to the village due to the erosion by the strong sea waves at high tide, especially when a typhoon is approaching. I don't know how severe a typhoon would bring the damage and destruction to us. It's real. Our village is in a very dangerous situation. If the government doesn't provide any assistance to us, I think the only way for Nantian villagers and other residents in the county to commute among villages is using life preserver...The candidate site for the nuclear waste repository chosen by the Ministry of Economic Affairs is located at the top of a mountain at Nantian. Taiwan Power Company (TPC) plans to adopt the tunnel approach to store nuclear waste in a mountain with 40 hectares. TPC will build a dedicated harbor in front of the tunnel to deliver nuclear waste...Of course, there are voices supporting and rejecting the plan. Those who reject the plan are Paiwan elders. They have a kind of love or adherence to the ancestor spirits and homeland. With this feeling of homeland protection, chieftains and elders think they are obligated to protect this piece of land. But, there are some practical aspects that we have to face and consider. We are so remote, our fields are not very fertile, and there are not many job opportunities for us. Most economic pillars of the households are forced to work in outside cities to support their families. When they notice that nuclear waste would be possibly stored at*

*Nantian village accompanied by a huge compensation fund, it (the repository) turns out to be a hope... The biggest worry of Nantian Village is the issue of erosion, while the government has not shown any concern about it. So, what we can do is switch our focus to TPC's compensation, which may help us protect our properties and lives, and provide a better welfare system and more job opportunities. Outside people who are against nuclear waste don't understand our predicament, and ideally talk about the issue of environmental sustainability.*



Figure 1 The rising sea level and the shaky house foundations show the villagers' anxiety and the crisis of survival.

“Not in My Backyard, or NIMBY” is a common response when people face the prospect of waste disposal facilities around their neighborhood. Many leading voices in the environmental justice movement believe that minority communities or people of color populations are

disproportionately victims of NIMBY (<sup>1</sup>Bullard, Mohai, & Saha, 2008; <sup>2</sup>Gerrar, 1993:p.495). No matter whether minority people accept or refuse nuclear waste, the dichotomous voices of economic developmentalists and environmentalists have debated the issue hotly. It is noteworthy that, facing the nuclear waste, behind the attitude either yes or no, the temporal, spatial, political, economic, and cultural contexts of minority communities are easy to neglect and should be understood.

In 2008 and 2010, Taiwan Power Company (TPC) consecutively selected two Paiwan aboriginal villages, Xuhai Village in Mudan Township and Nantian Village in Daren Township, both in southeastern Taiwan, as the candidate sites for a nuclear waste repository. Under the global trend of environmental protection and sustainable development, it seems surprising that these two Paiwan villages are willing to accept storing nuclear waste on their homeland merely in the hope that TPC's monetary compensation will aid aspects of local development such as improved medical care and educational levels. This inexplicable behavior leads to the first question of this research: Why are Nantian villagers willing to accept the offer to store the nuclear waste in their hometown?

Compared to Paiwan villagers' positive attitude toward nuclear waste, the residents of nearby Lanyu Island, my second field site, have demonstrated a starkly contrasting attitude toward nuclear waste ever since they discovered, in 1980, that the state-owned "can factory" built on their land was actually a nuclear waste repository. Although the Taiwan government

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<sup>1</sup> Bullard, R., Mohai, P., Saha, R., & Wright, B. (2008). Toxic Wastes and Race at Twenty: Why Race Still Matters After All of These Years. *Environmental Law- Atlanta Then Portland*, 38(2), 371–412.

<sup>2</sup> Gerrar, M. B. (1993). The Victims of NIMBY. *Fordham Urban Law Journal*, 21(3), 495-522.

has announced that it will keep compensating Lanyu islanders, mostly Tao people, for storing nuclear waste, and further asked for extending the deadline of moving the nuclear waste out from Lanyu Island, Lanyu islanders have firmly rejected this extension offer and have been devoting themselves to the anti-nuclear waste movement for over three decades. Aside from the furious response to the central government's vicious nuclear waste plan, my second question of this research is: Why are Lanyu islanders unwilling to accept the proposal of nuclear waste repository?

I will use three theoretical dimensions including environmental justice, the sense of place and the anthropology of tourism, to answer my research questions. The first dimension, environmental justice, helps us understand how the local people in the two sites, Nantian Village and Lanyu Island, interpret environmental justice, especially from the perspective of land-based people. The second dimension, the sense of place, helps us know how the local people in the two sites sense their places and how their place-making practices reflect their attitudes toward the nuclear waste issue. Last, instead of obtaining compensation from accepting nuclear waste, developing eco-tourism or ethnic tourism may improve the development of the local economy, which provides another rationale for local people to reject nuclear waste.

## Theoretical Framework

Few field studies of anthropology have been concerned with how indigenous people deal with nuclear related issues. To the best of my knowledge, there are three pioneering studies,

including the nuclear tests by France in Tahiti from 1966 to 1996 (<sup>3</sup>Kahn, 2011), the US nuclear testing program in the Marshall Islands from 1946 to 1958 (<sup>4</sup>Johnston & Barker, 2008), and uranium mining on the Navajo Reservation from the late 1940s to the 1970s (<sup>5</sup>Dawson, 1992). Based on the above-mentioned studies, the current research extracts three core theoretical constructs, environmental justice, the sense of place, and anthropology of tourism, to represent the contexts of indigenous people's attitudes toward nuclear waste.

### Environmental Justice: Beyond the Monetary Compensation

Environmental justice as a field deals with environmental *injustice* experienced by disadvantaged communities, whether they are indigenous, immigrant, or simply poor (<sup>6</sup>Brulle and Pellow 2006 p110). But what are the particular questions in environmental justice that apply specifically to indigenous communities? In answering this question, I will review Western and Chinese views of nature in order to contrast both of them with that of indigenous people.

The Western view of nature has undergone an evolutionary change. It started from a single and take-for-granted view arguing if humans do not interfere with nature then nature would not be damaged, as well as regarding nature as a stable and holistic existence to a profound view describing the natural world is far more dynamic, far more changeable, and far more entangled with human history. Nature is not natural as it seems. Instead, it is a profoundly human

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<sup>3</sup> Kahn, M. (2011). *Tahiti beyond the postcard : power, place, and everyday life*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

<sup>4</sup> Johnston, B.R. & Barker, H.M. (2008). *Consequential Damages of Nuclear War*. California: Left Coast Press.

<sup>5</sup> Dawson, S.E. (1992). Navajo Uranium Workers and the Effects of Occupational Illnesses: A Case Study. *Human Organization*, 51(4), 389-397.

<sup>6</sup> Brulle, Robert J., and David N. Pellow. "Environmental Justice: Human Health and Environmental Inequalities." *Annual Review of Public Health*, 27, no. 1 (2006): 103–24. doi:10.1146/annurev.publhealth.27.021405.102124.

construction (<sup>7</sup>Cronon 1995 p23-56). The concept of nature has turned into an arguable existence. The thrust for federal environmental protection in the United States dates to the 1890s, when the advocates of Natural Resource Conservation, led by Gifford Pinchot, and of Wilderness preservation, led by John Muir, started a heated debate for soul of ecology in America. The attitude of Nature Resource Conservation, especially prevalent among the USFS (United States Forest Service) tirelessly promoted the efficient management of natural resources by trained professionals for the long-term economic benefit of society (<sup>8</sup>Smith 2017 p.757). By contrast, wildness preservation posited that nature had its own intrinsic value independent of the value that humans placed on its use. The principal value of wilderness to humans was not material but spiritual and aesthetic' (<sup>9</sup>Peña, 2005:p.111-123). Surprisingly, both mainstream perspectives mentioned above have neglected reconciling the indigenous view on the environment that has already existed over thousands years.

Regarding the Chinese view of nature, through the lens of historical context, <sup>10</sup>Weller (2006) compared environmental perspectives between modern China and Taiwan. These two regions not only have a common traditional culture, but also have been influenced by the Western environmental movements. The anthropocosmic resonance view and Buddhism are two important philosophies that affect Chinese people's treatment of nature. Through the wave of globalization, the Western environmental protection discourses are introduced to modern Taiwan,

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<sup>7</sup> Cronon, W. (1995). Introduction: In Search of Nature. In *Uncommon Ground*. New York, London: W. W. Norton & Co.

<sup>8</sup> Smith, M. B. (1996). The Value of a Tree: Public Debateds of John Muir and Gifford Pinchot. *The Historian*, 60(4), 757-778.

<sup>9</sup> Peña, D. G. (2005). *Mexican Americans and the environment : tierra y vida*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

<sup>10</sup> Weller, R. P. (2006). *Discovering nature : globalization and environmental culture in China and Taiwan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

while the belief “Man must conquer nature!” inherited from ancient China has lasted till now. Under the Han people’s philosophy, nature can be controlled and manipulated for pursuing economic development. In contrast, Taiwanese indigenous people’s life style and the respectful relationship with nature appear uncultivated and laggard in the eyes of Taiwan’s government.

The Western view on nature tends to neglect the place-based wisdom owned by indigenous people; the Chinese view on nature is closer to that of indigenous people, because they both recognize that nature is animated. But, they are not exactly the same, because the Chinese view regards the status of humans as higher than that of nature, while the native view treats nature more equally as a family. Given the special relationship between indigenous people and land, in the environmental justice studies that apply specifically to indigenous communities, scholars should be more aware of the epistemological differences of perspectives from non-indigenous and indigenous people. On the basis of literature review and discussion of the above concerns on environmental justice, in the current study I will try to understand the differences between perspectives from Han people (Taiwanese) and indigenous people (Paiwan and Tao people), and further, how these different perspectives influence the attitudes toward nuclear waste.

### The Sense of Place: Multivocality and Multilocality

Before the mid-1980s, anthropologists regarded place as a construct of stability and permanence. Place was thought to be ‘a kind of “skin” that wrapped itself around every physical thing, but which is shed when the thing moves’ (<sup>11</sup>Janz, 2005: p.87). When the 85<sup>th</sup> annual

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<sup>11</sup> Janz, B. (2005). Walls and Borders: The Range of Place. *City & Community*, 4(1), 87–94.

meeting of the American Anthropological Association was held in Philadelphia, several anthropological scholars started rethinking the relationship between place and voice, criticizing traditional place research where anthropologists tended to write and represent place as a monologic imagination (<sup>12</sup>Appadurai 1988; <sup>13</sup>Marcus 1988; <sup>14</sup>Rosaldo, 1988). <sup>15</sup>Rodman (1992) subsequently extended Appadurai's proposition, arguing that place is not merely a container which assumes an isomorphism of place and culture constituting a landscape for an epistemological discourse, but an analytic construct which is fluid, debatable, and competitive as well as a construct as complex as voice. Later, Rodman enlarged the construct of place by emphasizing the importance of multivocality and multilocality. The new interpretive angle of recognizing "others," adopted in subsequent research, has elevated place as a crucial issue of an anthropological subfield. Here, by summarizing discussions and the accompanying changes of methodology derived from the change of epistemology in place research, I highlight that anthropologists, no longer limited to a territorialization approach, have made a breakthrough in place studies, transferring the analytical micro-macro perspective into a multi-locale ethnography perspective to produce holistic research content.

After the discussion on the evolution of place research, I will review the development of anthropological approach of place, particularly the emphasis of multilocality and multivocality of place. Traditional anthropological studies conducted by Western scholars

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<sup>12</sup> Appadurai, A. (1988). Introduction: Place and Voice in Anthropological Theory. *Cultural Anthropology*, 3(1), 16–20

<sup>13</sup> Marcus, G. E. (1988). Parody and the Parodie in Polynesian Cultural History. *Cultural Anthropology*, 3(1), 68–76.

<sup>14</sup> Rosaldo, R. (1988). Ideology, Place, and People without Culture. *Cultural Anthropology*, 3(1), 77–87.

<sup>15</sup> Rodman, M. C. (1992). Empowering place: Multilocality and multivocality. *American Anthropologist*, 94(3): 640–56.

put more emphasis on precisely when events happened in “historical” time, while some studies reveal Native cultures more often emphasize and focus their concern on where an event took place (<sup>16</sup>Ball 2002:p.465). It has been a long neglected incongruence in anthropological studies that anthropologists and the subjects actually care about different things in the same field, which becomes a substantial threat to the validity of anthropological studies. Some Native studies showing Native people have more emphasis of place rather than emphasis of time are introduced to illustrate the very difference between anthropologists and subjects.

In the place study of Hawaiians, Louis (<sup>17</sup>2011) found that in addition to the basic function of identification tags for the features and /or phenomena of the physical world, Hawaiian’s place names are also powerful cognitive mechanisms that demonstrate the richness of the Hawaiian cultural landscape, revealing as much about Hawaiians perceptions of the metaphysical world (their beliefs about their gods, their interactions with nature, and their cultural practices) as their daily practice about the places and times to which they refer (<sup>17</sup>Louis 2011:p.168). Western-educated people usually obtain their spatial knowledge from archival documents such as maps, while Polynesian-educated navigators secure their spatial knowledge from the rhythm and direction of ocean movements reflecting the sensual, intimate, and multidimensional relationships Hawaiians

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<sup>16</sup> Ball, M. W. (2002). “People speaking silently to themselves”: an examination of Keith Basso’s philosophical speculations on “sense of place” in Apache cultures. *The American Indian Quarterly*, 26(3), 460–478.

<sup>17</sup> Louis, Renee Pualani. (2011). Hawaiian Storied Place Names: Re-placing Cultural Meaning. In *Landscape in Language: Transdisciplinary Perspectives*, Mark, David M., et. al. (eds.). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co. Pp. 167-186.

developed with their natural and spiritual environment (p.170- 174). Contrary to popular knowledge, the sensual participation of Hawaiian place names is not “supernatural” or “extra-ordinary”, but a naturally conditioned response to “tuning in” to natural world (p.170). Similarly, in Australia, wherever you go Mak Mak country, there are many stories contained in place and signs, unfolding histories of violence and damage, of determination and struggle, along with care and nurturance (<sup>18</sup>Rose 2011: p.99). Mak Mak even bring it into people being by using the term *mirr* to denote a relationship of consubstantiality between the person and place, and species from which their being comes forth (p.30).

Basso’s (<sup>19</sup>1996) study of Western Apache place making provides another example to highlight the intimate relationship between Native and place. Western Apache is one of the American tribes incorporating “spatial conceptions of history” into their places and their name. Every place in Western Apache country has its own story and most of them contain the rich descriptive imagery of Western Apache place-making (<sup>19</sup>Basso 1996:p.23). The Western Apache’s greater awareness of the social construction of meaning in the landscape helps us understand the experience of places that live in ways different from our own (<sup>15</sup>Rodman 1992:p.651). To some extent, Western Apache’s place names are very similar to those famous fables we have read in our childhood. The commemorative place-names, accompanied by their stories, continue to accumulate, each one marking the site of some sad or tragic event from which valuable lessons can be readily drawn and taken fast to heart. Like their more descriptive

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<sup>18</sup> Rose, Deborah Bird. (2011). *Country of the Heart*. Acton, ACT: Aboriginal Studies Press.

<sup>19</sup> Basso, K. H. (1996). *Wisdom sits in places : landscape and language among the Western Apache*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

counterparts, Western Apache's place names also have poetry of their own, a song they sing, haunting and provocative, in a voice as old as Apaches on the land (<sup>19</sup>Basso 1996:p.30). I was very impressed by one of Western Apache's place named by "Shades of Shit", which tells the story that you should have shared your foods (resources) with others as soon as you know you had more than enough.

As Rodman (<sup>15</sup>1992) argued, the physical, emotional, and experiential realities places hold for their inhabitants at particular times need to be understood apart from their creation as the locales of ethnography. In the case of Western Apache, Basso concluded that 'Western Apache place-making becomes a form of narrative art, a type of historical theater in which the "pastness" of the past is summarily stripped away and long-elapsed events are made to unfold as if before one's eyes' (<sup>19</sup>Basso 1996:p.33). The social landscape is both context and content, enacted and material, which is the lived world in physical form. Indeed, I believe it can be completely emic-the social landscapes Native people (collectively or individually) define through their location-bounded experiences or interests (<sup>15</sup>Rodman 1992:p.650). Regarding the facet of epistemology, on the basis of Rodman (1992) I will place more concern on how the local residents identify their place through daily practices and how the indigenous people from different areas use multivocality and multilocality to empower their place, both of which affect the attitude toward the nuclear waste.

Another important issue of place concerns who is supposed to have the right to interpret place, which may be involved with the power issue. While anthropologists, normally outsiders, are the ones who indeed create places in ethnography, they do not have the exclusive right on

place making (<sup>15</sup>Rodman 1992: p.641), which means different people may use different angles to perceive and interpret the same place.

As an insider, Ball had no doubt about the ethnography written by of Basso (<sup>19</sup>1996), whereas he strongly questioned Basso's subjective conclusive interpretation (<sup>16</sup>Ball, 2002). The conclusion of Basso (<sup>19</sup>1996) is as follows.

*Through a vigorous conflation of attentive subject and geographical object, places come to generate their own fields of meaning. So, too, they give rise to their own aesthetic immediacies, their shifting moods and relevancies, their character and spirit. Even in total stillness, place may seem to speak. But as Sartre makes clear, such voices as places possess should not be mistaken for their own. Animated by the thoughts and feelings of persons who attend to them, places express only what their animators enable them to say...Human constructions par excellence, place consist in what gets made of them- in anything and everything they are taken to be- and their disembodied voices, immanent though inaudible, are merely those of people speaking silently to themselves (<sup>19</sup>Basso 1996:p108-109).*

Ball (<sup>16</sup>2002) asserted that Basso's conclusion of Western Apache's place making is contradictory to that of the Native, indicating Basso adopts the "constructed" perspective that all human meanings are "constructed" and therefore potentially not really "real" in a purely objective sense, while Native people are actually inclined to environmental determinism that humans are determined by objective outside forces, much as one might describe the movement of a projectile in space as collection of forces, friction, momentum, and location (<sup>16</sup>Ball 2002:p.466). He then offered another approach to the sense of place of Western Apache people, especially about Native American conceptions and experiences of their sacred lands and

spiritual geographies. He argued for the people of Western Apache, ‘the world is filled with spiritual power that can manifest itself in any variety of ways, both within an individual’s perceptual world as well as within the world of the geographical landscape. This is not the world of inanimate geographical objects as described by Basso. Rather, it is a world of spiritually charged places that possess their own agency and power’ (p.464-465). As an insider like Ball, the Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith found the Native, Pacific Islanders, have more profound understanding of the land, which is conflict with and have been long overwhelmed by that of Western conception (<sup>20</sup>Kahn 2011:p.12).

As Appadurai (<sup>12</sup>1988) said, there is the power involved in representing the voices of others (“speaking for”), since ethnography is by its nature both description and representation (p.20). This is linked to the matter of the power involved in the institutional diversification of anthropology. In the case of Western Apache, there are two different ways to obtain the sense making of place, showing the importance of incorporating multiple voices from stakeholders on the place, and indicating through the contemporary anthropological approach of place the sense making of place can be debatable, conflicted, and dynamic.

On the aspect of methodology, in order to stay true to anthropology’s holistic approach, Marcus described the “new” ethnography as having to follow the people, the thing, the metaphor, the story, the life or conflict (<sup>21</sup>Marcus, 1998:p.90-94, cited as Teaiwa, 2005:p.183).

When we pay attention to mobile things, it will usefully expand our epistemological and

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<sup>20</sup> Kahn, M. (2011). *Tahiti beyond the postcard : power, place, and everyday life*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

<sup>21</sup> Teaiwa, Katerina Martina. (2005). Our Sea of Phosphate: The Diaspora of Ocean Island. In *Indigenous Diasporas and Dislocations*. H. Graham and C. Thompson, eds. Pp.169-91.

methodological toolbox (Teaiwa, 2005: p.183). As an indigenous scholar, I was deeply inspired by Teaiwa's work (2005), which led me to apply the multi-locale ethnography approach to represent the transformation of the people-land relationship, especially for Paiwan and Tao peoples, through which I try to uncover how the people make sense of their places (two villages) and how these place sense makings relate to the attitude toward nuclear waste.

### Tourism: Is It a Double-Edged Sword for Cultural Preservation?

There exist two contrasting discourses about the positive or negative role of tourism in preserving local culture. Actually, tourism never has an entirely positive or negative impact, yet much of this literature looks at tourism from mainly one or the other perspective. Those who focus more on the negative aspects have highlighted how indigenous people become pawns in the tourism industry. They describe people "selling themselves" or "prostituting themselves" to the industry and losing their sense of cultural identity in the process (<sup>22</sup>Adams, 1984; <sup>23</sup>Bruner, 2001; <sup>24</sup>Greenwood, 1977; <sup>25</sup>Linnekin, 1982; <sup>26</sup>MacCannell, 1976). However, other perspectives, especially those of some indigenous scholars, have emphasized the positive aspects of tourism. They discuss examples where tourism is taken into the hands of the local inhabitants,

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<sup>22</sup> Adams, K. M. (1984). Come to Tana Toraja, "land of the heavenly kings": Travel agents as brokers in ethnicity. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 11(3), 469–485.

<sup>23</sup> Bruner, E. M. (2001). The Maasai and the Lion King: authenticity, nationalism, and globalization in African tourism. *American Ethnologist*, 28(4), 881–908.

<sup>24</sup> Greenwood, D. J. (1977). Culture by the Pound: an Anthropological Perspective on Tourism as Cultural Commoditization. In V. L. Smith (Ed.), *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism* (pp. 129–138). Philadelphia: Blackwell Publishers.

<sup>25</sup> Linnekin, J. (1982). Selling Hawaiian Culture. *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, 6(3), 29.

<sup>26</sup> MacCannell, D. (1976). Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings. *American Journal of Sociology*, 79(3), 589–603.

enhancing economic self-sufficiency, cultural survival, and indigenous identity (<sup>27</sup>Adams, 1995, 1997; <sup>28</sup>Bunten, 2008; <sup>29</sup>Cohen, 1988; <sup>30</sup>Grunewald, 2002).

When we look at more recent scholarship, we will see that anthropologists are focusing more on the complexities of tourism and entangled interactions between tourists and locals. In *Making the Modern Primitive, about tourism in the Trobriand Islands of Papua New Guinea*, MacCarthy (<sup>31</sup>2016) turns the focus on how tourists and locals can get the win-win solution in developing indigenous tourism. To Trobriand Islander, tourism is not only motivated by the incentive to earn money, it also provides an interesting break from the routine of household and garden work. It is a chance to establish new relationships that might not only provide help in terms of money or material goods today, but if negotiated skillfully, potentially in the future as well (p.134). In addition, tourism emphasizes their identity and hospitality. Indeed, Trobriand Islanders very much enjoy seeing visitors to learn “Trobriand culture”, something almost as meaningful to many Trobrianders as to the tourists (p.129). To the tourists, they are able to experience a different kind of lifestyle and worldview. Although tourism does bring varying degrees of influences to Indigenous locals- especially the influence of money on indigenous societies-MacCarthy skillfully points out that money can only be exchanged for things that can be consumed. Even though cash is an important supplement to traditional valuables at significant

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<sup>27</sup> Adams, K. M. (1995). Making-up the Toraja? The Appropriation of Tourism, Anthropology, and Museums for Politics in Upland Sulawesi, Indonesia. *Ethnology*, 34(2), 143–153.

<sup>28</sup> Bunten A.C. (2008). Sharing culture or selling out? Developing the commodified persona in the heritage industry. *Am. Ethnol. American Ethnologist*, 35(3), 380–395.

<sup>29</sup> Cohen, E. (1988). Authenticity and commoditization in tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 15(3), 371–386.

<sup>30</sup> Grunewald, R. de A. (2002). Tourism and cultural revival. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 29(4), 1004–1021.

<sup>31</sup> MacCarthy, M. (2016). *Making the Modern Primitive: Cultural Tourism in the Trobriand Islands*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

distributions like mortuary exchanges, it still cannot replace yams, clay pots, such that Trobriand Islanders recognize money as inherently less important than items of traditional wealth (p.200). Therefore, before we judge the negative side of monetary influence on Indigenous culture, we need to understand how money can have different values in various cultures.

The literature that regards tourism as having negative impacts on the host societies is mainly based on the concern of authenticity. Previous tourism literature has been led by Boorstin's (1964) concepts of "pseudo-event" and "environmental bubble" and MacCannell's (1976) concept of "staged authenticity" (<sup>29</sup>Cohen, 1988; <sup>32</sup>Kahn, 2011; <sup>33</sup>Urry, 2002). Through proposing the concern of "pseudo-event", Boorstin argues that contemporary Americans cannot experience "reality" directly but thrive on "pseudo-events". Within the familiar American-style hotel, which is named by Boorstin an "environmental bubble" in host societies, tourists are actually insulated from the strangeness of the host environment (<sup>33</sup>Urry 2002: p.7). By contrast with Boorstin, MacCannell argues that "pseudo-event" results from the social relations of tourism and not from an individualistic search for the inauthentic. Instead, MacCannell uses the term "staged authenticity" to explain why tourists still cannot experience the real local culture (<sup>33</sup>Urry 2002:p.9). In fact, "staged authenticity" creates a room for various levels of manipulation (<sup>32</sup>Kahn 2011: p.128).

In pondering these many terms, Kahn (<sup>32</sup>2011) proposes a different word- "cocoon"- to refer to this type of intentionally constructed space. She argues the word "bubble", while also evoking

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<sup>32</sup> Kahn, M. (2011). *Tahiti beyond the postcard : power, place, and everyday life*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

<sup>33</sup> Urry, J. (2002). *The Tourist Gaze* (Second.). California: SAGE Publications Ltd.

an image of an artificial space, seems less apt because it conveys the idea of a space that is sealed off and intact, even able to expand, burst, or disappear (p.129). Related to but different from the concepts of environmental bubble and staged authenticity, Kahn uses the term “cocoon” to convey ‘the sense of place whose construction is a meditated activity and ongoing process the aim of which is to create a space that is intricate, comforting, and relatively opaque’. It’s a metaphor that highlights the fact that constructed tourist spaces are always in the process of being spun (<sup>32</sup>Kahn, 2011:p.129). In my research, I will try to extend the concept of cocoon by proposing that if the local communities can play a major role in spinning the cocoon by deciding what the tourists should see from their authentic lives, it is more likely that tourists can experience the real lives of exotic culture, especially through participating in the production process.

Besides, MacCarthy (<sup>31</sup>2016) points out that most previous studies in the anthropology of cultural tourism take as their starting point something set apart from “life as it is really lived”. Very few studies have taken as their subject a situation in which the boundary between the stuff done for tourism and the stuff of real life is so blurred and examined the ways in which this very fuzziness plays a part in creating people’s idea about authenticity (p. 34-35). My study would help fill the research gap when the line between performance and real life is blurred by the very absence of well-defined tourism infrastructure through discussing the interaction experiences and authentic meanings in back-stage tourism.

In sum, local culture is always reinterpreted rather than destroyed by tourism. Notably, tourism has its dark sides such as the damage to culture and environment, labor exploitation of

locals, and marginalized and colonized imagery of minority groups. How to obtain the balance between tradition preservation and economic development is still a critical issue in the tourism field.

This ethnographic research will advance current theoretical approaches about the land-people relationships and local people's attitudes toward nuclear waste, especially focused on the concept of environmental justice, the sense of place and tourism.

## Research Methods

### Research Timeline

I conducted my fieldwork in six phases

**January-March 2013:** I conducted archival data collection and analysis. I collected existing data from multiple sources on nuclear policies, tourist policies, and environmental issues related to Lanyu Island and Nantian Village:

- Republic of China on Taiwan (R.O.C.) Central government agencies, including the Bureau of Energy, the Ministry of Economic Affairs, the Tourism Bureau, and the Environmental Protection Administration of the Executive Yuan.
- Local Governments including the Daren Township Office and the Lanyu Township Office;
- NGOs, including Green Citizens' Action Alliance, Lanyu Youth Action Alliance, Taiwan Association for Human Rights, and the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan.

**April 2013-July 2013:** I conducted fieldwork at Nantian Village for 4 months.

**August 2013-November, 2013:** I conducted fieldwork in Lanyu Island for 4 months.

During these two phases, Participation, observation, and interviewing were my primary methods of data collection.

1. I did extensive participant observation to understand features of the sites, and took notes on many topics relevant to my research, including how the villagers (indigenous people, indigenous clans, and Han people), interest groups (e.g., political parties, NGOs, enterprises), and religions (indigenous culture, Protestant Christianity, Catholicism) together empower their places, which ultimately influence the attitudes toward nuclear waste. I also observed and participated in local tours and local tourist business operations, and observed the interaction between local people (especially indigenous tour guides) and outsiders (tourists)
2. I conducted 40 open-ended interviews to explore the relationship between land and people: Investigating ways that local people conceptualize state nuclear development, environmental justice, and tourism development. I tape-recorded and transcribed all these interviews.
3. I also video-recorded public events and public festivals.

**June 2014-August, 2014:** I conducted further short-term fieldwork in the two sites, using the same research methods.

**July, 2015-June, 2017:** I planned to finish the writing of my dissertation at this time interval

## On Ethnographic Positionality

### Where Am I From?

*“Hello, my name is Hsiwen Chang.”*

*“Wow! Your name sounds sweet! “*

*“Thanks! It’s because Hsiwen Chang is one of the editors of the official elementary Mandarin textbook, so my dad, a teacher at an elementary school in Taitung, gave me this name. Besides, because a famous ancient litteratus Fan Chungyen, styled himself as “Hsiwen”, my dad chose this name for me and wished that I could have his scholastic characteristics.”*

The above-mentioned conversation happened often before I went to college. In fact, I am from a Paiwan noble family in eastern Taiwan and have a Paiwan name that was once almost forgotten by myself and the outside world. My father was one of few intellectual elites of the village, and taught at an elementary school. He was highly respected by the villagers; at home, he was the eldest son with the responsibility and obligation of inheriting houses and family land in the Paiwan traditional system. But, he died accidentally when I was five years old. My father’s sudden death forced the family to face a dilemma that the land inheritance should follow the Paiwan traditional custom, disputing whether only the eldest child and grandchild have the privilege to inherit the land ownership or the state’s land law claiming every child has an equal

right to share the inheritance.

In the spatiotemporal transition of the collapse of traditional structure and the emergence of a new state, people with authority possess the ability to manipulate the law. My mother, also educated and trained as a nurse, was not able to secure the land ownership that my brother was supposed to inherit from my father, so she chose to leave and went back to my grandparents' house (her parents' home) for support. Thus, I left my father's noble family and grew up in my grandparents' family, a commoner one. My grandfather was an indigenous missionary of a Taiwan Presbyterian church. Although a Paiwan commoner, he was a major leader in the village because he was cultivated by the Christian church and was assigned to manage the relief supplies by the church. Nantian Village was one of the villages where he dedicated himself to spreading the gospel and aimed to build a church.

For better education for her children, my mother remarried to a doctor from Mainland China. So, my whole family moved to Taichung, a large city on the other side of Taiwan's Central Mountains. Having left my Paiwan homeland, I was also far from the village life and the familiar language, and started my urban indigenous life. In the city, although I spoke standard Mandarin and fluent Taiwanese, yet my looks, my big round eyes in particular, revealed the difference between Han people and me. People always carefully asked me, "Are you... a mountain person?" They seemed to feel impolite after asking this question. "Yes, I am." I just can tell them the truth. Normally, this answer would instantly turn the casual atmosphere into an embarrassing one, because in the eye of Han people mountain people are barbarian, out-of-date and uncultivated people. Usually, the inquirer would try to alleviate the embarrassing situation by providing more

information about Taiwanese indigenous people and then said, “You are different from typical mountain people! Your skin is whiter.” However, their explanations in order to relieve their embarrassment always confused my self-recognition and made me feel more embarrassed, since it seemed I did not belong to Paiwan with dark skin color and do not belong to Han people with light skin color, either.

During the university period, I went to an even more urbanized city, Taipei. Among my classmates at the nursing department of nursing school, there was a Paiwan classmate from Pingtung County. It’s the first time I met a Paiwan compatriot at the same school. In my self-introduction, I said,

*“Hello, I am Lengmengman from the Rovaniyaw family in Taitung.”*

*“Wow, you are a noble!”*

*“How do you know that I am a noble?”*

*“Lengmengman is a name of noble and Rovaniyaw family is a very powerful family!”*

Her words attracted the attention of the surrounding classmates, started to call me princess. This classmate, calling herself a commoner, always treated me very politely. Before that, I had never felt the difference of social status because of my lineage. I instantly realized that I was not purely representing myself, but the position in the Paiwan social system and the glorious history that my family had always made. Lengmengman is not a new and unique name, but in fact it’s

inherited from one *vuvu* (elder) in my family. Through my name, I am closely connected to Paiwan land and my ancestors, *vuvu*, again. Ironically, I have been isolated from Paiwan culture and language for a long time, and the noble status in the Paiwan social system for me is a new status that felt somewhat familiar but also somewhat strange, just like when a person who has long lost his/her memory suddenly remembers who he/she is and faces a chaotic and disorderly situation.

### From Nursing to Anthropology

My professional major was psychiatric nursing and I was the first indigenous student enrolled in the Graduate School of Nursing in National Taiwan University. Nursing emphasizes and follows the main stream of modern Western science, while in Taiwan there is a lack of skilled teachers who can effectively integrate the indigenous culture into the nursing expertise. After accumulating three years of working experience, I went back to eastern Taiwan and became a nursing teacher. The school where I taught is a key school for indigenous students, which enrolls a class of about 50 indigenous freshmen students every year and grants them subsidies for tuition and living expenses. However, the drop-out rate of indigenous students is still high. I thought that as an indigenous teacher I could be a model for indigenous students to enhance their motivation for learning. They can feel more confident of finishing their studies, just like what I have achieved. I remembered that one indigenous student in my class was always absent because she needed to have a part-time job to support her family. When I was consulting with her, she told me that, *“Teacher Hsiwen, you are different from us. You have a well-off family*

*to afford to pay the tuition fee. You have parents who have high expectations of you. Although we are all indigenous people, yet we are in different worlds!*” Her words recalled my sense of reality. At the moment, I was excluded from the indigenous society. Even though I am an indigenous person, I did not have much understanding of indigenous culture. How could I persuade myself and my indigenous students that I did understand them?

One afternoon, I was in the library of National Donghwa University and found some anthropology books by chance. The anthropologists’ Paiwan studies strongly provoked my nostalgic longing. When reading the studies about research on the Rovaniyaw family house and the Paiwan special naming system, I was deeply touched and my eyes streamed tears. I was shocked by those anthropologists who were dedicated to studying and recording our culture, and eventually came to know what expertise I should pursue as an indigenous scholar. Anthropology was like a light in front of my house to show me the way to go home.

There are some excellent Taiwanese (Han) anthropologists studying Paiwan traditional culture such as <sup>34</sup>Dr. Chiang Bien studying the Paiwan house society; <sup>35</sup>Dr Hu Tai-Li, a visual anthropologist, studying the culture of Paiwan nose flute; and <sup>36</sup>Dr Ku Kun-Hui studying the Paiwan naming system. Coincidentally, all three are Han people. There is no doubt that they have

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<sup>34</sup> Chiang, B. (1998). *House Burial and Inherited Name: Two memory mechanisms of Paiwan people*. Taipei: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica.

(蔣斌 1988 墓葬與襲名：排灣族的兩個記憶機制。台北：中央研究院民族學研究所。)

Chiang, B. (1995). The Space Construction and Meaning of Northern Paiwan House. In Huang, Ying-Kuei (Ed.) *Space, Power, and Society* (pp.167-212). Taipei: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica.

(蔣斌 1995 北部排灣族家屋的空間結構與意義。In 黃應貴 (Ed.), *空間、力、與社會* (pp. 167–212). 台北：中央研究院民族學研究所。)

<sup>35</sup> Hu, T.-L. (2000). *Sounds of Love and Sorrow*.

<sup>36</sup> Ku, Kun-Hui. (2016). Naming Relationship and Construction Hierarchy: Names, Values, and Hierarchy among the Austronesian Paiwan. *Pacific Studies*, 39(1-2), 74–100.

made huge contributions in recording Paiwan culture, yet there should be more scholars dedicated to making efforts about the contemporary social sufferings of Taiwanese indigenous peoples, especially through the lens of indigenous people. To fill the theoretical gap and untangle the complicated contextual factors that have resulted in the predicament of contemporary Taiwanese indigenous peoples, I purposely decided to study cultural anthropology.

Thus, I started to set foot on the road from nursing to anthropology. Firstly, I expanded the issue of my master's thesis on the emotional quotient of nurses. With the research project sponsored by Academia Sinica and the research assistance of the host researcher, Professor Hsu Mu-Zhu, I had the chance to be an indigenous visiting researcher and conducted a study of the emotional quotient of indigenous nursing students, which further motivated me to pursue the studying of methodology and knowledge in the field of anthropology. Therefore, I made up mind to pursue the Ph.D. degree in anthropology and studied in the doctoral program of anthropology at Tsing Hua University for one year before I came to the United States. In the field of anthropology, I and the people surrounding me don't feel strange or embarrassed about each other. Although it's a whole new field to me, I have an unexplainable sense of familiarity and the perception of warmth.

When I secured the governmental scholarship of studying abroad and the encouragement from the faculties at the Institute of Anthropology at National Tsing Hua University, I came to the United States to continue my studies, the research topic of my dissertation was naturally focused on the contemporary issues of my homeland compatriots. Like other indigenous anthropologists, I have a sense of obligation that I must help other people witness and understand

the contemporary predicament or value of indigenous peoples. Like Darren J Ranco, who is a native anthropologist, I have always asked myself,

*What would be seen as an interesting or important work from the perspective of other Penobscots (other native Americans), and how could I make this a good anthropological story? What topic would truly help my community?*

However, since contemporary indigenous people have many kinds of sufferings such as alcohol addition, grand parenting phenomena (children are raised by grandparents), low enrollment rate at university and high suicide rate, it's difficult to me to decide which issue I should start to explore. In the summer of 2012, for the first time I ate a tomato planted by myself in the backyard. At the moment, I clearly sensed the beauty and purity from crops, which were outcomes of intimate interaction between humans and land. I began to pay attention to the people who directly interact with their land and how the environment and climate influence people's eating.

In Professor Stevan Harrell's course- Growing Stuff: The Ecology, Economy, and Politics of Resource-Extraction Ecosystems, I had the chance to visit forest, seafood and dairy farming industries in Washington State. During the field trips, I directly perceived how the environment significantly influences our food and daily life. The environment can be sustainable only when human can respect and get along with the environment. Although I am an indigenous person, I have been living in urban cities and working for hospitals and schools. Because I can buy food with money to satisfy my eating needs, I don't have the chance to directly interact with land.

That's why I didn't know how the indigenous movement of Retuning Our Land was so important

to indigenous people. I gradually understood that indigenous people without land would lose their basic dignity of survival, and land without the care from indigenous people would be severely exploited by humans' endless demands. Considering the spatiotemporal changes, I decided to focus on the fluid relationship between humans and land and aim to use it to interpret why the social sufferings of contemporary indigenous people may have.

### Nuclear Waste Shows Me the Way Home

Why am I interested in the issue of nuclear waste in Taiwan? Simply put, I have found that the Taiwan government has dumped and has been attempting to dump more nuclear waste on indigenous land. As an indigenous anthropology scholar, my motives of choosing research topics may be different from those of other anthropologists. My training in anthropology not only teaches me how to discover worlds and new exotic cultures, but also helps me gain more understandings about ourselves (indigenous culture), deliver our plight to others, and play a bridge role to facilitate the mutual respect and tolerance across ethnic groups. Among many important social issues, nuclear waste is not just a research topic of my dissertation, but indeed a mirror by which I can elaborate how the contextual forces change the original intimate relationship between indigenous people and land, and how the newly remote relationship eventually results in the contemporary social sufferings of indigenous people.

In Taiwan, there are three nuclear power plants. They began operations in 1978, 1981, and 1984 respectively, indicating Taiwan was formally stepping toward the nuclear generation. However, the plan to build the fourth nuclear power plant has been severely debated among

different interest groups for decades. Like any kind of energy industry, waste storage is an unavoidable issue. But, where is the proper repository of nuclear waste in Taiwan? Lanyu (Orchid) Island was the first site chosen to store nuclear waste in Taiwan. Residents of Lanyu Island are Tao people, relying on fishing and farming to make a living. In 2008 and 2010, Nantian Village, my hometown and located in Paiwan territory, was twice selected as one of the candidates for the second nuclear waste site. The site selection of nuclear waste repository reflects Han people's hegemony over Taiwanese indigenous peoples. For the purpose of the current study on nuclear waste, Nantian Village becomes my first field site and Lanyu Island is my second field site.

## The Way Back Home

It's time to go back home. Since leaving my hometown, every year the reason I go back is not for the Paiwan Five-Year Festival or Harvest Festival, and not for Han people's Lunar New Year or Moon Festival, but for their Tomb Sweeping Day. I always drive hurriedly to the place of my father's tomb and meet some relatives, and then drive back to the city I am living in. I don't even stay one night in my hometown.

In the summer of 2012, I was nervous but looked forward to conducting my pilot study at Nantian Village. The first difficult decision I had to make is at which relative's house I should stay. Many years ago, my mother could not protect our family land and was forced to leave her hometown, because there was a conflict of land ownership among my mother and my father's relatives. According to the Paiwan culture, the eldest child has the right to inherit the family's

land. However, the power of land registration on the basis of the state law takes precedence over the Paiwan custom. The biggest challenge for me was to avoid the resentment caused by the conflict of land ownership involved with my study. In addition, as my family in the hometown possesses substantial political power, it is unavoidable to discuss the role of my family in the nuclear waste issue. In order to lessen the influences on my field data collection because of my family's positive standpoint toward the nuclear waste repository plan, I purposely chose to stay with one relative, who is the heir of a chieftainship at Nantian Village, but does not have much substantial political power. Through her daily life, I can hear the real voices from non-intellectual residents and hence I can have the opportunity to discover the true stories happening between Paiwan people and land.

*“Wen (It is my nickname when I was a girl)! You are back from the United States! You are studying in a doctoral program.*

*Your father was one of my teachers at the elementary school. When he went to school, it was me who put you on my back and took care of you.”*

*“My daughter is going to study at Tzuchi Nursing School. You used to be a teacher at Tzuchi. She regards you as an idol. Please tell my daughter what she needs to prepare for.”*

*“You are studying in the United States and you should have a better understanding about whether nuclear waste would hurt us or not. What's your viewpoint? Do you support the plan for nuclear waste to be stored here?”*

*“Wen, can you help to make a decision? Your elder relatives forcibly occupied the water resource of our land. You need to help me fight against them. We all know that they treated your family very badly before.”*

The above questions to me are the problems that I have to deal with. Villagers are my family

members, my relatives or friends. On the one hand, they treated me as a family member most of the time, so I cannot act as an outsider and kept out of the family affairs. On the other hand, they knew I am doing the nuclear waste research and were glad to share their opinions and relevant information about the nuclear waste repository plan after meals.

*“Wen, tonight the Taiwan Power Company workers will come to hold a seminar! You have to listen to it! They have held the seminar many times, but no one paid attention to their presentation. They would not directly give us the compensation money and their talk is very vague.”*

*“Wen, Taiwan Power Company provides sponsorship to the BBQ of our county sports meeting. You have to come and eat. It’s free. Why not take it?”*

*“Wen, this elder of our family used to support nuclear power, but now he changed his political standpoint and started to reject nuclear power. Whatever, we have to cherish the current time when he rejects nuclear power, since he is an important politician with a certain power in our hometown...”*

*“Wen, tomorrow a reporter will come to investigate the nuclear issue. Do you want to come and listen? They may have some information you need.”*

Either by allowing me to participate in the discussion of family affairs or helping me enter the informal and/or formal forums of the nuclear waste repository plan, Nantian villagers treated me as their child belonging to this hometown. Of course, some of them interacted with me very carefully and even purposely hid their real opinions. I wondered if it resulted from the previous conflicts and resentments between my family and other families due to different political standing points. Villagers who guess that my opinion toward nuclear waste would be the same as that of my family are not willing to tell me what they really think about nuclear waste. In the beginning of my field study, villagers often probed my attitude toward nuclear waste. I kept

remaining alert on their concerns and expressed that the study was been conducting and as a researcher I needed to be neutral to the issue of nuclear waste repository plan. In fact, where I stayed is far from the power center of my family and largely reduced the influence of my family's political standpoint on my field study.

### Entering Lanyu Island

The first time I went to Lanyu conducting my pilot study is the summer of 2012. Before that, I have never been to this tiny island. Besides, the only Tao person I have known is a classmate when I studied in the doctoral program of anthropology at Tsing Hua University, who pursued her master's degree and later becomes the CEO of Tao Culture Foundation. She suggested me to take airplane to Lanyu because it only takes 20 minutes from the Taitung airport in Taiwan to Lanyu. But, it's very difficult to book a flight ticket because there are only 18 seats in the small airplane and very limited flights, about 6-8 round-trips a day. Furthermore, the airline company often cancels flights when adverse weather conditions are announced. Most Tao people go to the airport and put themselves on the waiting list. The passengers on the waiting list cannot leave the airport or they will miss the chance to fill in the vacant seats. Hence, Tao people are always uncertain about their trip schedules. Taking boat that makes the trip more predicable is the alternative way. There are only about three roundtrip sailings between Taiwan and Lanyu in one day. The biggest passenger capacity of a ship is about 250 persons. If the weather is too bad, the sailing would be canceled. The drawbacks of taking boat are longer traveling time around 2 hours as well as a feeling of nausea due to great sea waves.

I started to plan the schedule of the pilot study two months earlier and was lucky to reserve a flight. In the day of heading Lanyu, there were not many passengers and half of them are Tao people and were chatting in Tao language and Mandarin with a Tao accent, which sounds very different from Mandarin with a Paiwan accent. I felt excited and interested. I took a seat in the first row right behind the pilot and I can clearly see everything in the pilot's cabin because there are not any windows or compartments between us.

When the pilot started the propellers and the plane was taking off shakily with the huge noises, I felt very nervous and my hands became sweaty. Usually, I don't feel nervous when taking airliners. When the airplane was reaching to a certain height, I can see the Pacific Ocean below. Just for a while there came out white smoke in the cabin and I thought if the airplane was on fire. I instantly asked the Tao passengers beside me what the white smoke is and they calmly answered me, "It is cloud! Hahaha". I was scared during the twenty-minute flight and finally the airplane was ready to land on Lanyu. It was a real white-knuckle flight especially the loud voices of screech and swing the airplane made when landing.

No sooner had I got off the airplane and taken my baggage than I was seeing my classmate waiting at the exit. She drove for me by a used minivan without a license plate. She said that Lanyu people don't need license plates, and they all drive scrap cars from Taiwan. Since cars on the tiny island are easily corroded, it's not necessary to buy a new car. You just drive the scrap car as long as you can and the police officials would not give drivers a ticket regarding the "irregular traffic rules" on the island. She arranged for me to stay in a room on the second floor with her parents of a two-story concrete house. There is a living room, a kitchen, a dining room,

a bathroom and a one-bed room on the first floor. The bathroom and kitchen are equipped with modern appliances such as a refrigerator, a TV set and air conditioners. Her old parents are used to sleeping on the floor with the assembling rubber mat. Elders are sleeping, chatting with guests and eating meals on the rubber mat. In fact, this assembling rubber mat is their living room, dining room and bedroom. Elders were kind to the guest, me, from Taiwan, while they were a little shy. Being afraid of treating me with neglect, the elders spoke to me in Tao language and my classmate instantly translated what they said to me.

After I put down my baggage, my classmate rashly gave me a round-the-island drive. She introduced me to her Tao friends as “she is my classmate when I was studying in Taiwan. She is a Taiwanese indigenous people and she is a Paiwan at Daren County in Taitung.” It’s the first time I was introduced by the above description. I was surprised that Tao people do not have an ideology of “pan-indigenous peoples” and do not regard us as all Taiwanese indigenous people. It seems the Pacific Ocean rips apart the recognition of Taiwan mainland and Lanyu Island. She jokingly explained to me, “We are not mountain people, and we are ocean people.”

When we arrived at the Ivalino Village with most <sup>37</sup>Tao underground houses, my classmate stopped her car and we walked on the narrow trails around the underground houses. Among several kiosks, we chose one kiosk with three Tao elder women and took off our shoes to enter and sit inside of it. Three elder Tao women chatted with my classmate in Tao language and my classmate translated their conversation to me. Although it’s the first time we met each other, yet

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<sup>37</sup> Tao traditional living environment includes four spaces, *vahay* (main house, which is underground), *magarang* (ground building for working), *takakal* (kiosk) and *inawururd* (front yard). Each space has its specific purpose and function. *Takakal* is a place that Tao people manage their daily activities including sleeping, eating, observing the sea surface condition to decide if go fishing or not, and socializing during summer time.

we kept chatting the whole afternoon and talked about many issues, even the jokes about female bodies. One elder said she seems to meet me before. She said, “I have met you in my dream. You are a fairy who goes down from a ladder from the sky to the seashore of Lanyu Island.” I did not know if her words were true or not, but I indeed felt warm and had a kind feeling of being welcomed and accepted. From the kiosk you can see the horizontal line between the blue sky and the Pacific Ocean and tourists wandering on the round-the-island road. Almost every group of tourists would stop by this underground house area and take photos. When I was taking photos of those tourists who were taking photos of underground houses, three elders were all laughing simultaneously. They and the underground houses have long been the photo-shoot target(s) of tourists. They felt interested that it’s the first time they saw the tourists were shot by the people living in the underground houses. The power relationship between the observers and the observed people is hence overturned, which made the Tao elders extremely happy.

The second time I visited Lanyu is the real beginning of my field study at Lanyu in 2013. I originally hoped that I could find a homestay house to have the chance of close observation just following the approach traditional anthropologist conducting their field studies. However, Lanyu has been a place with the development of tourism, which is quite open to the outside people. For the purpose of participant observation of the phenomenon associated with the tourism development and local culture, I chose a guesthouse with four bedrooms owned by a Tao history and literacy worker (文史工作者). Not only can I have more understanding about the structure and relationship of the modern Tao family, but also I can secure more narrative information relevant to the local history and culture through the passionate owner and his family members.

More importantly, I stayed with Tao people and other short-term researchers and tourists at this guest house, where I can access to two perspectives from the local people and the outside people toward the nuclear waste.

Because I have two kids, in the beginning the common issues I talked to the owner couple of the guesthouse and their daughter is not about the nuclear waste, but the family issues such as food, health and child's education. I had a close relationship with the female owner because I am a good cook I think. Every day I and the female owner prepared the cooking materials for three meals and shared the meals we cooked. The food preparation became the most natural way to help me enter the field and adopt the participant observation approach. The female owner is a traditional Tao woman with undergraduate degree, who helps manage the guesthouse and works in the taro and rice fields. When she had free time, she would invite me and other Tao women to pick sea food in the intertidal zones and wild vegetables in the mountains. Through food, I have the advantage to connect to the local women and the environment; I can initiate a anthropologic approach on the basis of women's interaction-the participant observation through finding cooking materials and understanding the environment among mountains and sea, cooking and chatting in the kitchen and talking to the whole family and/or other guests in the dining table.

However, being a female researcher does bring some research disadvantages. For example, I was generally a listener in the conversation between me and Tao male people. Furthermore, as a female anthropologist, I cannot overlook the cultural taboo that Tao female people are not allowed to make the canoes and go fishing. Thus, I don't have the participant observation experience of going fishing with Tao male people. I know it's an unavoidable research limit to

me and for respecting Tao culture I relied on literature review and interviews to obtain necessary information relevant to my field study.

## Between an Insider and an Outsider

I am not the first anthropologic insider going back to her hometown to conduct research. Anthropologists have been discussing issues such as ethnographic construction, authority, and representation (<sup>38</sup>Clifford 1988; <sup>39</sup>Clifford and Marcus 1986; <sup>40</sup>Marcus and Fischer 1986), but these studies have a common lack of interpreting culture from the lens of “native/ indigenous” anthropologist (<sup>41</sup>Abu-Lughod 1991 p137; <sup>42</sup>Limon, 1991 p115). “*The native anthropologist in his or her attempt ethnographically to represent ethnic worlds riven with cultural contradiction in this postmodern moment, while responding critically to a history of flattening stereotypical representation of these worlds (p.116)*” Limon said. Abu-Lughod thinks perhaps they are not yet numerous enough or sufficiently self-defined as a group.

Anthropology is a discipline rooted in a strong colonial color and is established on the basis of the distinction between western self and non-western others. The dominant power in the field of anthropology is owned by Westerners. Nowadays, there have been more others colonized by the Western entering the field of anthropology and attempting to write their own culture through

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<sup>38</sup> Clifford, J. (1988). *The predicament of culture: twentieth-century ethnography, literature and art*. Harvard University Press.

<sup>39</sup> Clifford, J., & Marcus, G. E. (1986). *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. University of California Press.

<sup>40</sup> Marcus, G. E., & Fischer, M. M. J. (1986). *Anthropology as Cultural Critique: An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences*. University of Chicago Press.

<sup>41</sup> Abu-Lughod, L. (1991). Wring Against Culture. In *Recapturing anthropology: working in the present*. Santa Fe, N.M.: School of American Research Press : Distributed by the University of Washington Press.

<sup>42</sup> Limon, J. E. (1991). Representation, Ethnicity, and the Precursory Ethnography- Note of a Native Anthropologist. In *Recapturing anthropology: working in the present*. Santa Fe, N.M.: School of American Research Press: Distributed by the University of Washington Press.

the native point of view, which has been long neglected by the non-native anthropologists. Two important questions about native anthropologists should be discussed before I describe the experience of my field studies. Firstly, is the term “native” appropriate? Is it accepted by the native anthropologists? Secondly, are “native anthropologists” more accurate than “non-native anthropologists” in representing and describing their communities from the native point of view?

Regarding the first terminology question about native anthropologists, <sup>43</sup>Kuwayama (2004) found that non-Western anthropologists are always tagged as native anthropologists; Western anthropologists call their studies on their own culture insider research. Kuwayama also argued that anthropologists use the term “native” in a pejorative sense. In the field of anthropology, the unequal relationship between the colonizer/civilized and the colonized primitive is usually inscribed in the word *native* (p2-3). Therefore, in this study I will use the terms “insider” and “outsider” anthropologists, which do not have the implication of hierarchical power relationship, instead of using “native” and “non-native” anthropologists. In Taiwan, more and more indigenous people are starting to write their own culture. Among them, there are some insiders without any academic training, often called “amateur or folk anthropologists (素人人類學家)” or “culture and history workers (文史工作者),” such as Don Manu from Lanyu, who records Tao lyrics and Don Senjung, who writes the Tao legends and the colonial history of the island. These insiders write and publish their own culture in Mandarin, and the readers are people interested in indigenous culture in the Han society.

The relationship between researchers and others has begun to change. Considering their

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<sup>43</sup> Kuwayama, T. (2004). *Native anthropology: The Japanese challenge to Western academic hegemony* (Japanese society series). Rosanna, Vic.: Trans Pacific Press.

origin or birth, there are at least three types of anthropologists- *outsiders* who are from foreign or western backgrounds and research others, *insiders* (native) who are native and study their own cultures, and *halfie/hybrid* who were born locally, grown up and received education in other places and travelled back to their hometowns to study their ancestors' culture (<sup>44</sup>Abu-Lughod, 1991 p.137). Among them, *native* is regarded as the one with very apparent colonial color. Kuwayama (2004) points out that native is a relational concept like insider and outsider, and the category of people defined by this term is not fixed. Rather, it shifts according to the situation in which researchers find themselves (p.4). Compared to foreign researchers, although researchers born in Japan proceeding to study Japanese country culture cannot be categorized as native researchers, yet they are much closer to the local point of view (p.21).

Having left my hometown since childhood, I have grown up and received non-indigenous education including Han education and Western education. At last, I went back to my hometown and Tao villages to conduct my field study. According to my life experience, I am appropriate to be categorized as a halfie or hybrid anthropologic researcher in the two indigenous field sites, Nantian and Lanyu.

The high academic contribution of the halfie status raises the second question: Can insider anthropologists more accurately represent and describe their communities from the native point of view? In a nutshell, it's a two-edged knife for an insider. On the bright side, compared to insiders it is very difficult for outsiders to appreciate the "native's" point of view. It requires a complete familiarity with the local language, as well as the willingness to engage in emotional

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<sup>44</sup> Abu-Lughod, L. (1939). *Wring Against Culture*. In *Recapturing anthropology: working in the present*. Santa Fe, N.M: School of American Research Press : Distributed by the University of Washington Press.

sharing with natives, to explore the native mind. Insiders do not have problems of communication and can easily build rapport with the subjects. Moreover, insiders can comprehensively obtain the native point of view because of common destiny with the subjects. On the dark side, it's the concern about cultural perceptivity. Insiders may pay less attention to some things which outsiders are especially interested in, because they are taken for granted (<sup>45</sup>Kuwayama, 2004 p.20). Hence, insiders may lose the opportunity to have thick description of some parts of their culture.

My hometown is at Nantian Village, and I do not have the problems of communication and rapport building. Although my Paiwan language ability is about the kindergarten level, most villagers including elders can communicate in Mandarin and a few daily-used Paiwan vocabularies that I can understand. When I was interviewing Paiwnese elders, I preferred to have them speak Paiwan and asked my mother to translate their responses. Meanwhile, my mother can also take the chance to meet our relatives and friends. I seemed to be familiar with everyone and everything, while I always can find something novel and interesting to me. Relative to pure insiders, halfie researchers without close ties with the field sites would not easily overlook things they feel somewhat strange. It may be just the advantage of being a halfie, especially for a researcher who has left his/her hometown for a long time and gone back to conduct the field study.

In Lanyu Island, I am a Taiwanese indigenous researcher, but I do not belong to the Tao community. When I first went there, I felt strange to everything on the island, and what I knew

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<sup>45</sup> Kuwayama, T. (2004). *Native anthropology: The Japanese challenge to Western academic hegemony* (Japanese society series). Rosanna, Vic.: Trans Pacific Press.

and imagined about Lanyu was based on the previous literature such as the book “Mountain Tourism” written by <sup>46</sup>Hsieh, Shih-Chung (1994) and the ethnographic film “Voice of Orchid Island” by <sup>47</sup>Hu, Tai-Li (1993) describing how Tao people were used and disregarded by non-Tao people in the history of tourism development. Thus, before entering Lanyu, I pessimistically supposed that Tao people would not welcome tourists and researchers. On the other side, I optimistically expected that Tao people would be more likely to accept me relative to Han tourists and researchers because I and/or my ancestors have the same colonial experience as Tao people. In the beginning, with the development of tourism industry I found that Tao people are very friendly to outside people. In the first two weeks, I was indeed treated as a tourist, but after the third week, I was regarded as a familiar person living on the island. Because most Tao people finished their high school education in Taitung County of Taiwan, a place of many Paiwan people, they are familiar with Paiwan culture and naturally treat me as an insider from the Paiwan village. Tao friends always introduce me to the outsiders with the sentence like that “she and we are all indigenous people, but she is from Taiwan, a Taiwanese indigenous people.” Thus, for Tao people I am really a halfie.

However, the concept of halfie or hybrid cannot further clearly reveal the degree of my involvement in these two field sites. Roughly speaking, I have 70% insider characteristics and 30% outsider characteristics in my Paiwan hometown, but 70% outsider characteristics and 30%

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<sup>46</sup>Hsieh, Shih-Chung (1994). The Tourism Mode among Aboriginal Area: The Mode in Lanyu. In *Aboriginal Tourism: The Anthropologic Interpretation of Local Native Culture Exhibition*. (1st ed., p. 29). Taipei: Independent Evening Post.

(謝世忠. (1994). 生活區的山胞觀光：蘭嶼模式. In 山胞觀光：當地山地文化展現的人類學詮釋 (1st ed., p. 29). 台北：自立晚報社.)

<sup>47</sup>Hu, Tai-Li & Lee, Dao-Ming (1993). *Voices of Orchid Island* (CD). Taipei: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica. (胡台麗 & 李道明. (1993). 蘭嶼觀點[CD]. 中央研究院民族學研究所.)

insider characteristics in Tao communities. No matter what the exact degree of an insider/outsider is, the status of halfie can sometimes keep distance from the subjects and sometimes get involved with the subjects, which helps the researcher maintain cultural perceptivity to describe his/her community from the native point of view. Another argument on the advantage of being a halfie researcher is that the halfie or hybrid is endowed with the most valuable and unique perspective because there are disagreements not only between the groups, but more importantly within groups, as to whose practice of anthropology is more valuable (<sup>48</sup>Köchümkulova, 2007 p.2).

In this study, the researcher in a role of halfie conducted the comparative field studies. Pure insiders can quickly build the relationship with the subjects and obtain necessary information, but they may lack objectivity and miss important information because of taking familiar things for granted. In contrast, pure outsiders have difficulties in building the relationship with the subjects, but they can obtain more objective information. A halfie is located somewhere in the spectrum between an outsider and an insider, which helps him or her reduce the insider's subjectivity threat and shorten the outsider's time to build relationship with the local people. At Nantian, my 70% insider role helped me quickly enter the local interpersonal networks, while ironically the tight personal ties made me spend more time clarifying what I have heard and seen from my families and friends. I kept making an effort to separate myself from them not only for reserving an independent space to think and criticize, but also for reducing the subjective bias from the rest of villagers' prejudice about me. Another challenge for me is how much

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<sup>48</sup> Elmira M. Kuchumkulova. (2007). *Kyrgyz nomadic customs and the impact of re-Islamization after independence*. University of Washington.

information I should present to answer my research questions. Some information from inside network is really too sensitive to be presented to the public.

At Lanyu, my 30% insider status caused me to encounter some difficulties entering the field. Thus, I needed to make extra efforts to build my interpersonal network. As a married female, I created an image that I am a good cook and a mother with two kids to establish my local network, which helped me increase the 30% commonality of indigenous peoples to 70% commonality with Lanyu married women.

Is a halfie better to conduct the fieldwork when he or she has more weight of an insider? According to my experience, halfies with 30%-50% of insider may be the best to conduct field studies. The main reason is that the researchers cannot easily separate themselves from an existing network, even when the researchers have already known that would cause research bias from the observers and the subjects being observed. Although a halfie with a 30% insider status needs to spend more time building the local relationships in the beginning of the field study, yet the halfie can make more efforts on increasing the commonality with the local people and hence the researcher would have the chance to establish the ties with important local contacts. Specifically, halfies with a 30%-50% insider role have the advantage of conducting field studies with a certain degree of cultural difference. For example, east Paiwan halfies can conduct field studies at south Paiwan villages or Paiwan halfies can conduct field studies at Rukai villages or Tao halfies can conduct field studies at Badang Island belonging to the Philippines. Regarding culture with huge differences, compared to halfies, outsiders should be more patient to build

commonality with the local people especially when studying sensitive issues.

## Research Ethics

Halfie's research ethics is an important issue in the field work. As Abu-Lughod (<sup>49</sup>1991) points out, the ethical issues faced by halfie researchers are complex when they have to answer to multiple communities. This part addresses the ethical concerns of ethnography related to people/communities the scholars are studying at and whether they have paid attention to the interests and risks of the study objects which are directly affected. As said before, I played a halfie role with mixed and different weighted levels of being an insider and an outsider into two field communities.

I am more like an insider at Nantian Village. Even having no difficulties to approach local people, I still let them know beforehand my new role as a researcher. During the field study, I stayed at my relative's house at Nantian Village. By immersing myself into the local community and joining village activities, I was able to conduct participatory observation and interviews there.

When conducting the field study in Lanyu Island, I stayed at my key contact's guest house. With the introduction and language translation from my key contact who is Tao indigenous woman, I successfully interviewed several local people at Lanyu.

In both sites, I declared clearly my new role as a researcher and the research ethics to the local residents, so it may help them to accept my halfie role. As indigenous people prefer two-way

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<sup>49</sup> Abu-Lughod, L. (1991). *Writing Against Culture*. In *Recapturing anthropology: working in the present*. Santa Fe, N.M: School of American Research Press : Distributed by the University of Washington Press.

communication, I directly talked to the participants about the basic information of my research. Provided information includes the identity, affiliation, contact information of the researcher (my business card), a clear description of the purpose and the procedure of this research, and a statement stating that participation is voluntary, refusal to participate will involve no penalty. The subjects who engage in the research will be informed of the above procedures before talking to me and participating in my interview.

To a halfie, home is the same as the research territory, and the family and friends are also my research subjects. It is essential that I needed to establish my new role crystal clearly as a researcher and guaranteed that the research conclusions would not hurt them. In the field work, there is no personal private identifiable information which will be recorded such as names, medical record numbers, or any other “code” that permits data to be linked to individually identifiable living individuals. Instead, fake names, approximate age, job categories, time and place of the interview will be used in my research data.

In some instances, participants may waive anonymity when s/he wished to be identified for their contributions to my study or her/his community. I obtained the oral consents from these participants, and the negotiated agreements with them that specify how they may be identified or recognized for their contributions. Where an individual participant waived anonymity but other members of the participant group objected because identification may cause harm to the group, I maintained anonymity for all members of the participant group.

The unavoidable truth is that the foreseeable risk to subjects of this study may cause mild stress and discomfort when they are being audiotaped in the private interview and observed as well

in videos recorded in public place. Surprisingly, I was instead met with gratitude when recording and sharing my videos publicly. They told me that “Thank you so much for recording us! It is wonderful that you have the newer cameras and phones, so our meaningful efforts can be preserved”.

The nuclear waste issues at two field sites of this study, Nantian Village and Lanyu Island, have been surveyed and reported by reporters, researchers, and governments. Regarding the news of local people’s acceptance or rejection of nuclear waste repository, reporters were inclined to make an over-simplified conclusion that poor villagers are merely being bought off by the government’s generous compensation proposal, which even stigmatizes local aboriginal residents. Poverty is the major factor to explain why those villagers are willing to accept the proposal of nuclear waste repository from the lens of the mainstream society. Through the current study, it can help mainstream groups avoid misunderstandings about indigenous’ decisions on nuclear waste issues. Outsiders can have the chance to holistically understand indigenous’ decisions through contextual factors of the history, geography, and economy. Different types of environmental justice will be discussed in this study, which facilitates effective communication among different ethnic groups.

The research ethics of halfie researchers are different from those of outsider researchers. The biggest difference of research ethics between halfie researchers and outside researchers is that the researched community is their (halfies’) own. So, the research ethics of halfie researchers includes the protection of the researched community as well as the researcher. Starting from here, the first idea I will discuss is about the ethics of speaking about myself. Western-educated

researchers are rarely trained to talk about themselves in the fieldwork, and self-other binaries are reinforced because of the researchers' inability or unwillingness to share their backgrounds and viewpoints (<sup>50</sup>Subedi, 2006 p.582-583). At Nantian, I have a bigger part of the insider role, which makes me unable to avoid being brought into my family's complex political and religious history. To protect myself against this threat, I chose to take space between where the conflict is the greatest, and chose to stay at the house of a relative with the least connection to the conflict to maintain the objectivity of my work. In the end, when interpreting my findings, I was writing from a stance of a researcher, not as a complete insider, and put focus on the events related to nuclear wastes rather than scattered described people.

Not merely a scholastic work, my dissertation is also the one about the destiny of my hometown and Tao indigenous people. They are my family and my friends. After graduation, I will go back to Taiwan and use the languages of my "research subjects" to report the results of my study.

## Structure of Dissertation and Organization of Chapters

In order to comprehend the difference of the issue of nuclear waste storage among different indigenous communities, in the beginning, I adopt a macro perspective to discuss it. First, Chapter One is to map the Taiwanese nuclear issues in a global terrain. In the first half of chapter one, I reveal the fact that there have been highly contested issues over nuclear power in Taiwan, including disputes over waste storage in native lands, hence I discuss Taiwan's nuclear

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<sup>50</sup> Subedi, Binaya. (2006). Theorizing a "Halfie" Researcher's Identity in Transnational Fieldwork. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education (QSE)*, 19(5), 573-593.

development through the lens of the world context. The second half of Chapter One discusses how the nuclear waste issue relates to environmental protection and environmental justice. I first elaborate how the development of Taiwan's nuclear power industry and the environmental movements interact reciprocally with the international situations, especially that of the United States. Secondly, with the mutual influence of international trends, different societies developed different concepts of environmental justice and practices from others. This study points out that the nature view from indigenous people is entirely different from the Western view and eastern (Chinese) view. As the field sites are located in two indigenous villages, it should be appropriate for me to adopt the nature view to interpret the subjects' perceptions of environmental justice.

Since the main concerns of nuclear waste between indigenous people and the main stream (Western view and the Han people's view) society may be quite different, we are able to understand that indigenous people may place more concerns on the dimensions of cultural values and the living conditions. From the perspective of environmental justice, Chapter Two focuses on the nuclear waste in the native land. I will first discuss the special relationship between indigenous people and land, what are the particular questions in environmental justice that apply specifically to indigenous communities, and how are environmental justice concerns different for indigenous and non-indigenous communities. Second, I will discuss why the Taiwanese government chose to store toxic and radioactive nuclear waste on the indigenous land and how the nuclear science aiming for national economic development caused the injustice on the living space of Taiwanese indigenous peoples.

Based on previous literature review, in Chapter Three I will narrow down the literature

review and discuss the fluid relationship between Taiwanese indigenous people and their Land. The purpose of Chapter Three is to compare indigenous ideas about the relationship between people and land in the two cultures, along with the changes that have happened since the state effectively took over administration of land, the influences of Christian religion, and the impacts of capitalism.

Chapter Four and Five are the thick descriptions of two field sites respectively. In chapter four, I attempt to answer the first research question posed at the beginning of this introduction: why do Nantian people agree to store nuclear waste in their homeland, or are at least willing to accept it in return for money? The participant observation and in-depth interviews help me see the invisible land suffering and the historical trauma of Paiwan indigenous people. Starting from the comparison of a media report and the major locals' concern on accepting nuclear waste, the former places the focus on the monetary incentive and the latter points out the survival crisis due to the rising sea levels caused by climate change. Two points of view show two different ways to sense this place. Next, I will continue to illustrate the two opposing local senses of place by analyzing the standpoints of accepting nuclear waste from the dimensions of the history of colonization, the influences of local political bureaucracy, the roles of religions, the economic marginalization and the colonized welfare. At last, villagers wish to remake the place they are living in by the outside sponsorship- Taipower's feedback money from accepting the nuclear waste repository, which is a biased concept of sponsorship relating to the Paiwan traditional one.

Chapter Five is centered on my second field site- Lanyu Island. My field work reveals that the particular geographic location, cultural integrity, indigenous-tourism economy and the

tolerance among different religions are critical factors that help Tao people maintain the intimate relationship between humans and land, and between humans and ocean, which further consolidates Tao people's sense of place for their island. Strong environmental sense empowers Tao people to consistently insist on rejecting nuclear waste, but it also challenges Tao people to find the balance point of place making between economic development and environmental sustainability in the future.

The last chapter is the conclusions. The goal of this chapter is to show my findings and insights that resulted from this study. After comparing two indigenous communities, I found the concept of environmental autonomy is very helpful to predict the indigenous people's attitude toward the nuclear waste and hope that indigenous people should follow the principle of intersubjectivity between people and land to make their place and culture more sustainable.

## Chapter One:

### Mapping the Taiwanese Nuclear Issues in a Global Terrain

This chapter analyzes the disputes over nuclear power in Taiwan, including the disputes over waste storage in native lands, hence we will discuss Taiwan's nuclear development through the lens of the world context.

#### Nuclear World

##### Background of Nuclear Power

The use of atomic bombs against the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945 ushered in a new historical epoch, breathlessly labeled in countless news reports, magazine articles, films, and radio broadcasts as the “atomic age”<sup>(51)</sup>Walker & Wellock 2010: p.1).

After World War II, the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) took over the complex of facilities developed by Manhattan Project. In the U.S. Congress, the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy had exclusive, largely secret, oversight of the AEC’s budget and activities. The AEC’s mandate was broader than weapons production- it was to promote other applications of nuclear power, both for defense and in the civilian sectors; the latter were formalized under president Dwight D. Eisenhower’s designation, “Atoms for propulsion, Deterrence, and Peace”<sup>(52)</sup>Power 2008: p.4).

The Manhattan project was aimed to win the World War II by the gigantic destructive

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<sup>51</sup> Walker, J. Samuel, Thomas Raymond Wellock, and U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission. *A Short History of Nuclear Regulation, 1946-2009*. [Washington, D.C.]: U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission, 2010. <http://purl.fdlp.gov/GPO/gpo9518>.

<sup>52</sup>Power, Max S. *America’s Nuclear Wasteland : Politics, Accountability, and Cleanup*. Washington: Washington State University Press, 2008.

power through nuclear fission. Since Germany first surrendered in May of 1945, the atomic bombs were eventually used to bomb Nagasaki and Hiroshima in Japan and ended World War II. Every country in the world did witness the power of atomic bombs (<sup>53</sup>Fan 2008: p.36).

The U.S. government detonated atomic and thermonuclear weapons with the aim of achieving world peace through a deterrence policy (<sup>54</sup>Johnston & Barker 2008: p.43). Cohn (1997) calls the language “techno-strategic” to reflect and shape the American nuclear strategic project... “Clean bombs”, “Peacekeeper”, or “damage limitation weapon” may provide the perfect metaphor for the language of defense analysis and arms controllers (<sup>55</sup>p.125-130). That is why you hear this kind of languages from the arms controllers longer, the more conversations you participated in, the less you will be frightened of nuclear war.

## From Weapon to Electricity

Nuclear power not only brings the hope of peace, but also the dawn of the crisis era due to energy shortage and global warming (<sup>56</sup>Walker & Wellock 2010: p.1). In the early 1950s, projections of future energy requirements predicted that atomic power would eventually play an important role in the US’s energy supplies, but these projections did not suggest an immediate need for the construction of atomic power reactors (p.2). Nevertheless, the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 did offer utility companies an opportunity to take part in nuclear development and secure experience in a technology that promised to help meet long-term

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<sup>53</sup> Fang, Shuo-Ming. “*The Study of External Strategy of Social Movement in Taiwan’s Democratization.*” National Cheng-Chi University, 2007.

<sup>54</sup> Johnston, Barbara Rose, and Holly M Barker. *Consequential Damages of Nuclear War : The Rongelap Report.* Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2008.

<sup>55</sup> Cohn, Carol. “Nuclear Language and How We Learned to Pat the Bomb.” In *Counterbalance: Gendered Perspectives on Writing and Language.* 124–35. Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview Press, n.d.

<sup>56</sup> Walker, J. Samuel, Thomas Raymond Wellock, and U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission. *A Short History of Nuclear Regulation, 1946-2009.* [Washington, D.C.]: U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission, 2010. <http://purl.fdlp.gov/GPO/gpo9518>.

energy demands. Aside from the utilities companies, suppliers of reactor components admired the prospects of expanding their markets in the United States as well as in foreign countries where the need for new energy sources was more immediate. Since the macro environmental conditions turned out to be advantageous for companies to develop nuclear power, many countries including Taiwan started to commit to developing nuclear power.

### What is “Acceptable Nuclear Risk?”

The basic proposition behind risk calculation is this: There is no risk-free activity. Everything one does entail some risk. Therefore, society must find ways to determine what levels of risk it will accept (<sup>57</sup>Power 2008: p.29).

### USA Context

In the context of the Cold War, nuclear bomb production mission was deemed essential to the nation’s defense. During the late 1950s and early 1960s, the use of nuclear power to generate electricity was a novel and developing technology. During the later 1960s, the Nation’s utilities rapidly increased their orders for nuclear power stations, while the public started to debate over safety of the technology. A major controversy that arose over the effects of low-level radiation from the routine operation of nuclear plants also fed fears about the expanding use of the technology (<sup>58</sup>Sanger 1995: p.41).

During the early years of the 21st century, however, the outlook for nuclear power brightened considerably. One important reason was the increasing need for power. During the

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<sup>57</sup> Power, Max S. *America’s Nuclear Wasteland : Politics, Accountability, and Cleanup*. Washington: Washington State University Press, 2008.

<sup>58</sup> Sanger, S. L. *Working on the Bomb- An Oral History of WW II Hanford*. Portland State University: Continuing Education Press, 1995.

1990s, energy consumption in the United States grew by about 23 percent while production expanded by less than 3 percent. It seemed apparent that many new plants would have to be built to generate enough power to meet America's energy demands. Coal was plentiful but exceptionally dirty. Natural gas had been the fuel source of choice during the 1990s, but there were acute concerns about the adequacy of supplies and cost. In that context, nuclear power began to look attractive or at least worthy of consideration (<sup>59</sup>Walker, J. & Wellock 2010: p.94-95).

## Japan Context

Japan has the world's most sophisticated earthquake early-warning system, a combination of high-tech know-how and necessity. In the cities, swaddled in technology and the crooning reassurances of government and industry, urbanities can believe that they are safe from natural disaster (<sup>60</sup>Birmingham & McNeill 2012: p.VIII). However, in March 2011, one of the most powerful earthquakes in history struck off the north-eastern coast of Japan, unleashing a tsunami onto the densely populated coast. Despite vigilant earthquake preparation, Japan was not prepared for a disaster of this magnitude: the powerful wall of water traveled miles inland, drowning houses and engulfing whole communities and towns, and leaving over 19,000 people dead or missing. Additionally, the quake and tsunami triggered the world's worst nuclear crisis since Chernobyl, the consequences of which Japan will deal with for decades (Birmingham & McNeill 2012).

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<sup>59</sup> Walker, J. Samuel, Thomas Raymond Wellock, and U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission. *A Short History of Nuclear Regulation, 1946-2009*. [Washington, D.C.]: U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission, 2010. <http://purl.fdlp.gov/GPO/gpo9518>.

<sup>60</sup> Lucy Birmingham, and David McNeill. *Strong in the Rain: Surviving Japan's Earthquake, Tsunami, and Fukushima Nuclear Disaster*. NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

## Taiwan Context

The following table compares the different political, economic, and geographic factors in the contexts of the United States, Japan and Taiwan to highlight the specificities of developing nuclear power in Taiwan.

Table 1 The different factors in the context of three countries.

	<b>USA</b>	<b>Japan</b>	<b>Taiwan</b>
<b>Political factor</b>	International police	A defeated nation without a motivation to develop weapons	Once trying to use nuclear power to recover mainland China
<b>Economic factor</b>	The engine of world economic development	Trying to recover national prestige by economic development, but suffering from the lack of natural resources	The endowment of natural resources for economic development is worse than those of Japan
<b>Social factor</b>	High democratic literacy	High democratic literacy	<sup>61</sup> High democratic literacy after 1987.
<b>Geographic factor</b>	Low risk of natural disaster	High risk of natural disaster	Higher risk of natural disaster than that of Japan

Table 1 indicates that Taiwan bears the highest risk of nuclear power, since the incentive of developing nuclear weapons to fight against Chinese Communist Party vanishes and the energy demand for economic development is not as strong as before (Taiwan was a production economy but has become an innovation economy). In addition, Taiwan's ability to bear the risk of nuclear power is weakest due to immature democratic literacy and vulnerable geographic conditions.

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<sup>61</sup> During the period from 1949 to 1987, Taiwan was governed under the martial law enacted by the Kuomintang regime.

## Taiwan Nuclear History

### Taiwan as Developmental State

The development paradigm demonstrates global competition among the multiple ideologies and models of modernity in the twentieth century. Development was synonymous with modernization, economic growth, and globalization (<sup>62</sup>Liu 2011: p.15). Certainly development and globalization are connected, but development is much older. Globalization is a later phase of development.

In fact, over the past decade there has been extensive articulation of critical theory around the reimagining of anthropology in general and the discursive analysis of development in particular. Contrary to the development paradigm intending to homogenize (<sup>63</sup>Gates 1996: p.575), Escobar (<sup>64</sup>1995), an anthropologist, published his book entitled *Encountering Development- The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*, which started to give a voice to those marginalized people who are poor or minority groups to challenge the taken-for-granted ideology of development.

*The treatment of poverty allowed society to conquer new domains. More perhaps than on industrial and technological might, the nascent order of capitalism and modernity relied on a politics of poverty, the aim of which was not only to create consumers but transform society by turning the poor into objects of knowledge and management (<sup>64</sup>Kindle version: location 340-344 of 4478. 7%).*

The ideology of developmentalism promises a solution to all the world's ills

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<sup>62</sup> Liu, Shao-Hua. *Passage to Manhood: Youth Migration, Heroin, and AIDS in Southwest China*. Stanford, Cali: Stanford University Press, 2010.

<sup>63</sup> Gates, Marilyn. (1996). Anthropology and the Development Encounter. *Current Anthropology*, 37(3). pp.575-577

<sup>64</sup> Escobar, Arturo. *Encountering Development : The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995.

(<sup>65</sup>Easterly 2007: p.31). Escobar regards development as a discourse of implementation. The ideology of development defines the game rules, which decide who are allowed to discourse, from which perspective to discourse, and on which basis of expertise to discourse. Taiwan was a typical Capitalist Developmental State beginning in the 1960s (<sup>66</sup>Wu 2007: p.977). At the time, Taiwan was in accordance with the constituent factors of Capitalist Developmental State (CDS): state autonomy from society, elite consensus on developmentalism, bureaucratic penetration into society, and world market-conforming industrial policy. All four are necessary conditions for a CDS to function (Wu 2007: p.980). The discourse of Taiwan's development is decided, guided, and implemented by the state. During the transitional process of stepping toward single value proposed by the development discourse, traditional cultural attitudes and values, existing ethnic groups, religions, geography, population factors are deemed obsolete (<sup>67</sup>Cheng & Chang 2009: p.6).

Remarkably, anthropologist, Robert P. Weller, attempted to explore the relationship between the ideology of pursuing economic development and the sense of environmental protection through the lens of profound Chinese culture. He argues that Taiwan's ideology of pursuing economic development is led by the globalized value of modernity, while the sense of environmental protection is the reaction toward the modernity.

*The rapid changes in Taiwan thus appear to be facets of changes that have swept the entire world. We can understand some aspects of the global spread of environmental concerns as responses to the prior spread of modernity, and to the exploitative environmental thinking that went with*

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<sup>65</sup> Easterly, William (2007). The Ideology of Development. Foreign Policy, From <https://ceaemgmt.colorado.edu/ceae/images/File/mcedc/Ideology%20of%20Development.pdf>

<sup>66</sup> Wu, Yu-Shan (2007). Taiwan's Developmental State: After the Economic and Political Turmoil. *Asian Survey*, 47(6), pp.977-1001.

<sup>67</sup> Chen, Yi-Feng & Chang, Wei-Qi (2009). *From Colonization to Development*. First Year Development Annual Conference at National Chengchi University.

*early industrialization* (<sup>68</sup>Weller 2006: p.5).

Modernity is reflected by the pursuit of production efficiency, rationality, the expansion of bureaucratic units, and the capitalization of social values. However, the globalized value of modernity also produces two wholly different reactions toward environmental protection.

*Some embraced the power and progress that modernity promised. Both socialist states (China) and capitalist states (Taiwan) reveled in their new control over nature, trumpeting every new and more technologically sophisticated dam, canal, and railroad line as another victory for humanity...Others, however, were far less content with the new world of modernity. Some looked for an untamed contrast to the artificial world of the city, the wilderness ideal that had attracted the Romantics and helped encourage the national park movement. Others developed nostalgia for an imagined, but now lost rural world of bucolic peasants (Weller 2006: p.5).*

The concept of modernity is highly accepted by Taiwan's rulers and intellectuals in that scientific efficiency stressed by the perspective of modernity is very important to Taiwan, a place without abundant natural resources. High efficiency means that one uses a small input to produce a large output. Thus, Taiwan's rulers and intellectuals are inclined to accept the ideology of economic development through industrialization, which is the same as the other three of the "Asian Tigers", The Republic of Korea, Hong Kong, and Singapore, all of which experienced so-called economic miracles. In contrast, China, endowed by abundant natural resources, adopts the notion that a powerful country can be built by an efficient and scientific control over nature, which is related to the ethnic stigma caused by the imperialism of westerner countries in the end of Qing Dynasty. Through modern scientific management of natural resources, China has been trying to develop the

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<sup>68</sup> Weller, Robert P. *Discovering Nature : Globalization and Environmental Culture in China and Taiwan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

forces of both economy and military to confront the threats posed by the developed western countries.

## History of Energy in Taiwan

The history during the period from Qing dynasty, Japanese colony to Kuomintang's governance is the most important one for energy development in Taiwan. This section attempts to illuminate the transformed background of Taiwan's energy development through the lens of historical context. Moreover, I will first discuss what role Taiwanese indigenous people played in this period of history, so that we can understand the relation associating modern Taiwan's energy policies with Taiwanese indigenous people and only doing so would there be a possibility that the governors can dialogue with indigenous people.

### Brief Energy History of Taiwan (from Qing Dynasty to Kuomintang's Governance)

The history of Taiwan electricity can date from the unequal treaties signed with Russia, America, England and France in Tianjin (天津), 1858, which was right after the second opium war and formed serious infringement upon Qing Dynasty's sovereignty of territorial waters. Of those treaties, the Tianjin Treaty initiated the harbor trade between Tamsui Harbor (淡水港) in northern Taiwan and Tainan Harbor (台南港) in southern Taiwan. Thus, the demand for coal-burning ships drastically increased. The Qing Dynasty began to place emphasis on Taiwan's coal mines, and formally established an official unit for exploring coal mines in 1876 (<sup>69</sup>Liao 2014: p.11). In 1888, The first provincial governor of Taiwan, Liu

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<sup>69</sup>Liao, Feng-Fan. "State and Energy: The Role of Taiwan Government in the Development of the Energy Industry after the Second World War (1945-1973)." Department of History, National Tsing Hua University, Taiwan, 2014.

Ming-Chuan, set up the Entrepreneur Corporation (興市公司) to provide low-voltage electricity for illumination with small coal-fired steam generators. Although it only lasted about one month, it was a milestone in the history of Taiwan's self-created electricity (<sup>70</sup>Taiwan Power Company, "About Taiwan Power Taiwan: History and Development").

In 1895, as a result of defeat the Qing government was forced to sign the treaty of Shimonoseki ceding Taiwan to Japan. During the colonization period, Japan built the first hydropower plant at Kueishan Township (龜山鎮) in 1904 and subsequently in 1919 established the Taiwan Power Company, starting the construction both of hydropower plant at Sun-Moon Lake and the north-to-south transmission line in the west coast of Taiwan. In 1944, the total electricity capacity was 321 MW (<sup>71</sup>Taiwan Power Company, "About Taiwan Power Taiwan: History and Development").

Compared to hydropower, thermal power will not be influenced by the amounts of water nature provided in the seasonal climate transitions. Coal mining in Taiwan has a long history, but there was no large-scale production plan until the beginning of the First World War (<sup>72</sup>Chen 2003). The demand for Taiwan's coal was largely increased due to Japan's industrial and commercial development stimulated by the First World War and the Southern Plan of the Japanese Army as well. The Japanese government proceeded to investigate Taiwan's natural resources and systematically exploited Taiwan's coal mines after governing Taiwan, while it limited Taiwanese people's right of coal mining (<sup>73</sup>Liao 2014: p.11-12). After the First World

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<sup>70</sup> Taiwan Power Company. "About Taiwan Power Company: the History and Development." Webpage. Taiwan Power Company, October 25, 2012. (台灣電力股份有限公司. 電關於台電：歷史與發展.於台網頁. 台灣電力股份有限公司, October 25, 2012. ) <http://www.taipower.com.tw/content/about/about01.aspx?AType=1>.

<sup>72</sup> Tsu-Yu Chen, "Coal Mine Accidents in North Taiwan during the Japanese Colonial Occupation", National Chengchi University, Taiwan 20 (2003).

<sup>73</sup>Liao, Feng-Fan. "State and Energy: The Role of Taiwan Government in the Development of the Energy Industry after the Second World War (1945-1973).Department of History, National Tsinghua University, Taiwan, 2014.

War, there was a huge coal price drop because of Japan's domestic economic recession. In 1930s, in order to develop the military industries Taiwan's coal mines were again emphasized and managed for systematic exploitation. In 1941, the Japanese government established the Taiwan Coal Company (台灣石炭株式會社) (Liao 2014: P.11-13).

After the Second World War, the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party) took over Taiwan from Japan in 1945 and continued the energy policy set by the Japanese government unchanged. According to the official history of Taiwan power Company (TPC), Table 2 shows that the energy development in Taiwan by the Taiwanese government led by the Kuomintang and can be divided into seven periods.

Table 2 The energy development in Taiwan<sup>74</sup>

<b>Periods</b>	<b>Energy policy</b>	<b>Background history</b>
The period of taking over (from 1945 to 1953):	Hydropower primary.	In 1946, TPC Company was established. In 1953, the total electricity capacity was 363 MW consisting of 93.7% hydropower and 6.3 % thermal power.
The period of initial expansion (from 1954 to 1965)	Equal importance of hydro and thermal power	Since 1962, the capacity of thermal power surpassed that of hydropower, turning the electricity system from one single energy source, hydropower, into two equally important energy sources, hydropower and thermal power.
The period of rapid development of thermal power (from 1966 to 1974)	Thermal power primary and hydropower secondary	After the middle of the 1960s, the electricity usage was hugely increased because of the rapid industrial development in Taiwan. TPC started to develop thermal power with high efficiency and capacity. The electricity system moved from the period of equal importance of hydro and thermal power into the one of thermal primary and hydropower secondary.
The period of nuclear power development (from 1975 to 1985)	Diversified energy sources	To respond to the situation after the oil crisis, the Taiwan government adjusted its energy policy to diversify the sources of energy. On the one hand, Taiwan started to develop nuclear power and had built three nuclear power plants with a total capacity of 5144 kilowatts in 1985. On the other hand, Taiwan kept constructing thermal power plants with high efficiency and capacity. With the addition of nuclear power plants, the electricity system entered the period of diversified energy sources.
The period of facilitating the balance of electricity supply and demand (from 1986 to 1993)	The management of demand side	During the period of year 1986 to 1990, the reserve margin was insufficient. Thus, the Taiwan government not only kept building large thermal and hydropower plants, but also actively promoted energy saving policies such as time of use rates (TOU), interruptible power, energy saving, and encouragement of combined heat and power to pursue the balance of electricity supply and demand. The electricity system entered the period of demand side management.
The period of the opening of private power plants (from 1994 to 2006)	Allowing private-owned power companies	Since 1990s, electricity privatization has been a global trend. Because of the rapid growth of electricity demand and the difficulty of developing due to Taiwan as a small and highly populated island, the Taiwan government conformed to the trend of the times to allow the establishment of private power plants for facilitating the development of electricity sources. The electricity system of Taiwan entered the period of the opening of private power plants.
The period of energy saving and coal reduction (since 2007)		Since 2006, the huge rise of international oil prices severely impacted the environment of electricity industries. Having no self-sufficient energy production, Taiwan, on the supply side, develops low-coal electricity and on the demand side implements the electricity saving policies and enhances the efficiency of electricity usage, both of which ensure the sustainable development of electricity industries. Up to now, Taiwan enters the period of energy saving and coal reduction

<sup>74</sup> "Taiwan Power Company, "About Taiwan Power: History and Development." Webpage. Taiwan Power Company, October 25, 2012. <http://www.taipower.com.tw/content/about/about01.aspx?AType=1>.

In 1970s, the growth demand of electricity for Taiwan's fast economic development was mainly supported by the high-polluting thermal power generation (<sup>75</sup>Fang 2007: p.39). The carbon dioxide emission from coal and oil burning reached a peak of 0.25 million tons in 2008, which is three times larger than the average carbon dioxide emission per person in the world (<sup>76</sup>Wu 2011: p.126).

According to the recent statistics of the Bureau of Energy of the Ministry of Economic Affairs, Taiwan heavily relies on imported energy during the period from 1999 to 2014. Figure 2 shows that more than 97% of Taiwan's energy supplies were imported and Table 3 further indicates that the indigenous energy sources including biomass and waste, conventional hydropower, solar photovoltaic and wind power and solar thermal account for less than 3% of Taiwan's energy supply. Thermal power generated by crude oil and petroleum products, coal and coal products, and natural gas has been the primary energy source, which contributes more than 86% of the total energy supply for Taiwan.

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<sup>75</sup> Fang, Shuo-Ming. (2007). *The Study of External Strategy of Social Movement in Taiwan's Democratization*. National Cheng-Chi University.

<sup>76</sup>Wu, Wen-Teng (2011). "The profile of energy industry in Taiwan" *Science Development*, 457:124-26. (吳文騰 "台灣的能源概況". 科學發展, no. 457 (2011): 124-26.)  
<http://nccur.lib.nccu.edu.tw/bitstream/140.119/34419/6/002106.pdf>

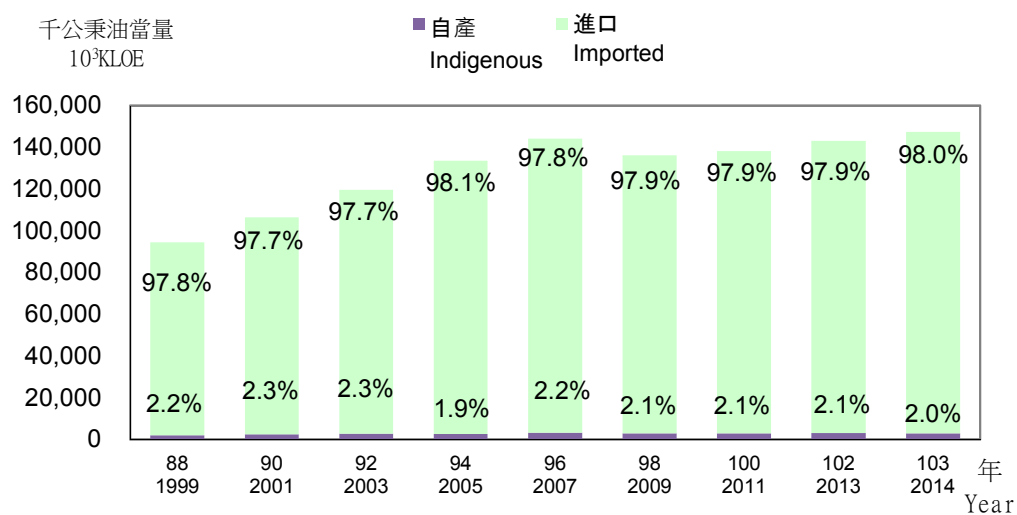


Figure 2 Energy Supply (by Indigenous & Imported) in Taiwan<sup>77</sup>

Table 3 Energy Supply (by Energy Form)<sup>78</sup>

	1999	2004	2009	2014
<b>Coal &amp; Coal Products</b>	28.7	30.2	28.1	29.2
<b>Crude Oil &amp; Petrol. Products</b>	51.9	52.4	52.5	48.5
<b>Natural Gas</b>	6.3	7.4	8.7	12.2
<b>Biomass and Waste</b>	0.7	1.2	1.5	1.2
<b>Conventional Hydro Power</b>	0.5	0.2	0.3	0.3
<b>Nuclear Power</b>	11.8	8.6	8.8	8.3
<b>Solar Photovoltaic and Wind Power</b>	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1
<b>Solar Thermal</b>	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

<sup>77</sup> Energy Statistical annual Reports by Bureau of Energy, Ministry of Economic Affairs. [http://web3.moeaboe.gov.tw/ECW/english/content/ContentLink.aspx?menu\\_id=1540](http://web3.moeaboe.gov.tw/ECW/english/content/ContentLink.aspx?menu_id=1540)

<sup>78</sup> Energy Statistical annual Reports by Bureau of Energy, Ministry of Economic Affairs. [http://web3.moeaboe.gov.tw/ECW/english/content/ContentLink.aspx?menu\\_id=1540](http://web3.moeaboe.gov.tw/ECW/english/content/ContentLink.aspx?menu_id=1540)

Because the Kuomintang strongly promoted and implemented its industrialization policies, the environmental protection movement had not gathered momentum to develop, even though there was very serious air pollution caused by thermal power generation. To ensure the stability of electricity generation, TPC chose thermal power to replace hydropower after 1961 (Liao 2014: p.57).

Oil is the primary energy supply and accounts for 50% of it, coal for 30%, and natural gas for 10%, which are not self-owned energy sources. Furthermore, 98% of the energy sources including oil and coal are imported from the politically unstable Middle East (<sup>79</sup>Liu & Hsu 2012). Because of the complicated political relationships among nations, money cannot guarantee that Taiwan can source oil from the international market. Therefore, Taiwan's energy policy needs to consider the aspects of national security and the reality of international politics.

In 2014, gross power generation reached 260,026.7 GWh. Of this total, thermal power 78.70%, nuclear power 16.30%, pumped-storage hydropower contributed 1.20%, and conventional hydropower, geothermal, solar and wind power 3.80%<sup>80</sup>. It's difficult to develop self-owned energy, such as hydropower, solar power, wind power, biomass power, and waste power in Taiwan. Hence, development of nuclear power is regarded as a chance to reduce the dependence of imported energy sources. Although nuclear power only accounts for 16.30% of total electricity generation, its importance cannot be simply interpreted by responding to the economic issues. The following discussion will first describe the track of the nuclear power policy under Taiwan's particular geographical, political and economic

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<sup>79</sup>Liu, Ming-Te & Hsu, Yu-Chen 2012. The Urgent Needs of Forward-looking Policies to Develop Renewable Energy in Taiwan- the Enlightenment from Germany , *Journal of Public Administration*, 43 (2012 / 09 / 01): P127 / 09

<sup>80</sup> [http://web3.moeaboe.gov.tw/ECW/english/content/ContentLink.aspx?menu\\_id=1540](http://web3.moeaboe.gov.tw/ECW/english/content/ContentLink.aspx?menu_id=1540)

context, by which we can understand that the rationale behind the nuclear policy as it intertwines complicated relationships between the considerations of national security and international diplomacy.

## Stepping Toward the Nuclear Generation

The history of Taiwan's nuclear power can be divided into three stages.

### The Stage of Nuclear Weapons

Exploring the origin of Taiwan's nuclear policy should look back upon the political economy established by the Kuomintang (Nationalist) party, which was defeated by the Chinese Communist Party and retreated from Mainland China. In August of 1945, the United States ended World War II by the atomic bombing of the cities of Nagasaki and Hiroshima in Japan. Through that attack, all the countries witnessed the power of nuclear bomb.

In 1949, the Kuomintang lost the civil war and retreated from Mainland China to Taiwan. During the period from 1949 to 1987, Taiwan was governed under the martial law enacted by the Kuomintang regime. The success of China's nuclear bomb test in 1964 definitely posted a great threat to Taiwan. The first president of Taiwan, Chiang Kai-shek, felt threatened and asked the United States to provide nuclear weapons for Taiwan's security, but the United States rejected this proposal (<sup>81</sup>Fan 2007).

As a result of the first Chinese atomic test in 1964 and doubts about US security assurances, Taiwan embarked on a clandestine nuclear weapons program. In 1979, the US

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<sup>81</sup> Fan, Shuo-Ming 2007 Master thesis, *The Study of External Strategy of Social Movement in Taiwan's Democratization*, National Cheng-Chi University. <http://nccur.lib.nccu.edu.tw/bitstream/140.119/34419/6/002106.pdf> Fan, Shuo-Ming 2007 Master thesis, *The Study of External Strategy of Social Movement in Taiwan's Democratization*, National Chengchi University. <http://nccur.lib.nccu.edu.tw/bitstream/140.119/34419/6/002106.pdf>

Central Intelligence Agency concluded that

*“Taipei conducts its small nuclear program with a weapon option clearly in mind, and it will be in a position to fabricate a nuclear device after five years or so.” Even after the International Atomic Energy Agency discovered a program to produce plutonium during the 1970s, the effort continued through to the late 1980s, until US pressure finally saw it dismantled (82Philippens 2011: p.88).*

Taiwan entered the stage of equal importance of nuclear weapon and nuclear power after Chiang Ching-Kuo, the son of Chiang Kai-Shek, took the presidential position from 1978 to 1988. Under the surveillance of the United States, it seemed Taiwan did not have a substantial outcome of the nuclear weapon development. In a public talk, the former president, Lee Teng-hui (served 1988-2000), confirmed that there once was a secret plan for nuclear weapons.

*In July 1995 right after China test-fired missiles into nearby waters, President Lee Teng-hui told the national assembly “We should restudy the question (of nuclear weapons) from a long-term point of view. He added, “Everyone knows we had had the plan before.” But a few days later, Lee turned down the heat, saying that Taiwan “has the ability to develop nuclear weapons, but will definitely not” develop them.” (83Albright & Gay 1998: p.54).*

Taiwan now has no nuclear weapons. It has no intention to acquire them and has a long history of co-operation with International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) inspections (84Philippens 2011: p.89-90). In 1976, Premier Chiang Ching-Kuo promised Taiwan would not acquire its own reprocessing facilities or engage in any activities related to reprocessing

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<sup>82</sup> Philippens, Henry. “A Nuclear-Free Taiwan by 2025? An Unlikely Target.” *Global Asia* 6, no. 4 (2011): 88–94.

<sup>83</sup> Albright, David, and Corey Gay. “Taiwan: Nuclear Nightmare Averted.” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 54, no. 1 (February 1, 1998): 54.

<sup>84</sup> Philippens, H. (2011). A Nuclear-Free Taiwan by 2025? An Unlikely Target. *Global Asia*, 6(4), 88–94.

(<sup>85</sup>Wang 2008: p.412).

Due to the expulsion from the United Nations in 1971 and the break-off of diplomatic relationship with the United States in 1978, Taiwan became a place of exception in the world. The only way for the Kuomintang to secure the safety of Taiwan is to seek for closer military cooperation with the United States<sup>86</sup>. The United States abrogated the 1954 defense treaty with Taiwan. U.S. Congress enacted the Taiwan Relations Act (TRA 1979) to shore up Taiwan's security (<sup>87</sup>American Institute in Taiwan, "Taiwan Relations Act."). The content of TRA reveals that the United States keeps an alert status both with China and Taiwan at the same and the United States does not guarantee the Taiwan's security.

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<sup>85</sup> Wang, V. W.-C. (2008). Taiwan: Conventional Deterrence, Soft Power, and Nuclear Option. In *The Long Shadow: Nuclear Weapons and Security in 21st Century Asia* (pp. 404–428). Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press.

<sup>86</sup> The "American factor" in Taiwan's nuclear policy: The American's interests should not become Taiwan's nightmare (台灣核能政策的「美國因素」：美國的利益不該成為台灣的夢魘). <http://blog.chinatide.net/fangyuan/?p=46>

<sup>87</sup> American Institute in Taiwan. "Taiwan Relations Act." <http://www.ait.org.tw/zh/taiwan-relations-act.html>, October 8, 2013. <http://www.ait.org.tw/zh/taiwan-relations-act.html>.

## The Stage of Nuclear Power Development

Since it has not been allowed to develop the hard power such as weapons of mass destruction, Taiwan turned to constructing the soft power mainly in the form of export-led economic development to secure its position and safety among the international realities. Taiwan's importance in global trade and production become a key pillar of its security (<sup>86</sup>Wang 2008: p.407). Under the circumstances, nuclear power became an important alternative to overcome the external crisis as well as to implement the plan for national economic development (<sup>88</sup>Fang 2007: p.36-7).

In 1970s, Taiwan began to build the soft power in terms of economic development relying on the expansion of highly polluting thermal power plants. After the oil crisis, Taiwan immediately committed to developing high-risk nuclear power. Strategically importantly, it also reduces Taiwan's need for imported energy after its coal mines were basically exhausted in the 1970s. (<sup>89</sup>Wu 2007: p. 993). At the time of the martial law enacted by the Kuomintang regime, the first nuclear plant, Chin Shan, the second nuclear plant, Kuo Sheng, and the third nuclear plant, Maan Shan, opened in 1978, 1981, and 1984 respectively, indicating Taiwan was formally stepping toward the nuclear generation (<sup>90</sup>Chen 1995). The map below shows the location of Taiwan's nuclear power plants. There were no protests against the construction of these nuclear power plants, indicating the authoritarian personality behind the energy policy dominated by the state.

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<sup>88</sup> Fan, Shuo-Ming 2007 Master thesis, *The Study of External Strategy of Social Movement in Taiwan's Democratization*, National Cheng-Chi University.

<http://nccur.lib.nccu.edu.tw/bitstream/140.119/34419/6/002106.pdf>

<sup>89</sup> Wu, Yu-Shan (2007). Taiwan's Developmental State: After the Economic and Political Turmoil. *Asian Survey*, 47(6), pp.977-1001.

<sup>90</sup> Chen, Chao-Chen (1995). The Science developmental way in Taiwan. From <http://210.60.224.4/ct/content/1995/00050305/0003.htm>



Figure 3 Power Development and Power Grid Map<sup>91</sup>

<sup>91</sup> [http://www.taipower.com.tw/e\\_content/content/about/about01-1.aspx?sid=4](http://www.taipower.com.tw/e_content/content/about/about01-1.aspx?sid=4)

## The Stage of the Debate for the Fourth Nuclear Power Plant

Taiwan's miracle in terms of economic soft power did not alleviate Taiwan people's sense of insecurity, but instead it leads Taiwan to situate in a state of long-term anxiety. Taiwan people's sense of insecurity or uncertainty are often represented as the fear of Taiwan's economic development behind other countries, the hope of being a country like the United States, and the vexation about Taiwan still not being a country (<sup>92</sup>Harrell 2006: p.7-13). Notably, the sense of uncertainty possessed by Taiwan people is also demonstrated in the debate over nuclear power.

Taiwan tried to develop nuclear power in search of excellence on economic achievement to respond to the anxiety of sustainable economic development and not being recognized as an independent country. To pursue the conformity with the United States, the first, second and third nuclear power plants all replicated ones operated in the United States through importing all the construction materials and techniques from it. The mimetic behavior may also suggest that Taiwan aims to remain an ally or more like a stable master-subordinate relationship with the United States or may reflect that Taiwan hopes to become a powerful country as the United States.

The debate of the fourth nuclear power plant continues Taiwan people's sense of anxiety over environmental protection, economic development and political instability. In order to soothe this unexplainable sense, the ruling party and the opposition parties have been oscillating between supporting and halting the construction of the fourth nuclear power plant, depending on the changes of domestic and international circumstances. Before and after the

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<sup>92</sup> Harrell, Stevan (2010). "What Can the World Learn from Taiwan?" *Reflexion*, no. 17: 1–22. (郝瑞。"世界能從台灣學到什麼?" 思想 17(2010):1-22.)

Fukushima Nuclear Disaster, the Kuomintang has maintained the consistent standpoint to support the nuclear energy development. However, the Democratic Progressive Party has changed its attitude from the tacit approval to termination of nuclear energy development, and then proceeds to advocate abolishing it immediately. “Referendum for abolishing the fourth nuclear power plant” becomes the Democratic Progressive Party’s basic appeal to the anti-nuclear movement.

The ex-vice president, Lu Hsiu-lien, is the most active major politician to promote this appeal (<sup>93</sup>Hsu 2013: p.20). She told me her opinions on the fourth nuclear power plant through an interview at the University of Washington in 2014.

*“Taiwan’s nuclear plants were bought from the United States and the techniques were also from the United States. I think that the first priority of dealing with the nuclear waste is to stop the operation of the nuclear power plants; the other means is through the diplomatic way to ask the United States to cope with the subsequent issues of nuclear waste, because the United States sold the nuclear power plants and raw materials to us.”*

Her response points out that the nuclear power is not only an issue relevant to the domestic economics and environment but also relevant to the aspect of national diplomacy. As Taiwan’s membership in the United Nations was replaced by Mainland China in 1971, Taiwan has been in the state of exception in the international context since then. In order to obtain more international political space, president Chiang Kai-Shek did not break off with the United States but instead kept a close relationship with the United States. Although the

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<sup>93</sup> Hsu 2013 Master Thesis, *Strategic Marketing of Environment Non-Profit Organizations: A Case of Taiwan Environmental Protection Union (TEPU) Executed Anti-nuclear Movement*. National Dong Hwa University

Chiang Kai-shek's dictatorship was over and Taiwan has experienced twice party alternation, the construction of nuclear power plants has been always under the shadow of imperialism and neocolonialism. Taiwan's wavering nuclear policy somehow reflects the complicated relationships among Taiwan, China and the United States.

The construction plan of the fourth nuclear power plant was proposed in 1980, started to build the plant in 1999, and has now spanned nine terms of presidency including Chiang Ching-Kuo, Lee Teng-Hui, Chen Shui-Bien and Ma Ying-Jeou, and Tsai Ing-Wen and is the longest unfinished public investment case in the history of Taiwan. The fourth nuclear power plant encountered public opposition and a host of delays, and in April 2014 the government decided to suspend construction. In response to the public concerns about atomic energy, Tsai Ing-wen of the Democratic Progressive Party was elected Taiwanese president in 2016 on a platform that included a vow to build a nuclear-free society as a key plank and stated policies that included phasing out nuclear power generation<sup>94</sup>.

A few years before and after the Kuomintang government proposed the Lungmen nuclear plant, Taiwan was right in the period of abolishing the martial law. The environmental protection and anti-nuclear movements had the proactive intention to challenge the dictatorship and state authority (<sup>95</sup>Fang 2007: p.39; <sup>96</sup>Liu & Hsu 2012: p.13-14).

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<sup>94</sup> <http://www.asahi.com/ajw/articles/AJ201610310023.html>

<sup>95</sup>Fan, Shuo-Ming 2007 Master thesis, *The Study of External Strategy of Social Movement in Taiwan's Democratization*, National Cheng-Chi University.  
<http://nccur.lib.nccu.edu.tw/bitstream/140.119/34419/6/002106.pdf> Fan, Shuo ming 2007 Master thesis, *The Study of External Strategy of Social Movement in Taiwan's Democratization*, National Cheng-Chi University.  
<http://nccur.lib.nccu.edu.tw/bitstream/140.119/34419/6/002106.pdf>

<sup>96</sup> Hsu 2013 Master Thesis, *Strategic Marketing of Environment Non-Profit Organizations: A Case of Taiwan Environmental Protection Union (TEPU) Executed Anti-nuclear Movement*. National Dong Hwa University.

## The Neglected History of Taiwanese Indigenous people and Energy Development

According to the abundant literature on the history of energy development in Taiwan, it is rare to find a discourse mentioning the roles of Taiwanese indigenous people at different stages of energy development. The past history of nuclear power development is indeed written with a perspective from non-indigenous people. Nuclear power is regarded as a kind of high technology that can enhance the living standard of Taiwanese people. However, few people have been really concerned about what advantage or disadvantage nuclear power would bring to Taiwanese indigenous peoples. Taiwan government and scholars have always treated Taiwanese indigenous peoples as a group of people who can be neglected.

There are a handful of anthropological studies from other parts of the world which are indigenous peoples-centered and shed some light on the understanding of how indigenous people perceive and evaluate the consequences of nuclear technology on them, such as the influences of US army's nuclear bomb test on Marshallese (<sup>97</sup>Barker 2004; <sup>98</sup> Johnston & Barker 2008), the harm to Navajo indigenous people caused by Uranium mining (<sup>99</sup>Dawson 1992), and the impacts of France's nuclear bomb tests on Tahiti islanders (<sup>100</sup>Kahn 2011). In order to understand contemporary indigenous people's attitudes toward nuclear power and/or nuclear waste, the only way is from the perspective of indigenous people to interpret the history of the evolution of nuclear power development. The bridge of mutual understanding between indigenous people and non-indigenous people cannot be built up until the history is

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<sup>97</sup> Barker, Holly M. *Bravo for the Marshallese : Regaining Control in a Post-Nuclear, Post-Colonial World*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomson, 2004.

<sup>98</sup> Johnston, Barbara Rose, and Holly M Barker. *Consequential Damages of Nuclear War : The Rongelap Report*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2008.

<sup>99</sup> Dawson, S. E. "Navajo Uranium Workers and the Effects of Occupational Illnesses: A Case Study." *Human Organization*, 51, no. 4 (1992): 389.

<sup>100</sup> Kahn, Miriam. *Tahiti beyond the Postcard : Power, Place, and Everyday Life*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011.

interpreted with justice.

Few previous studies mentioning Taiwanese indigenous peoples and the energy development indicate that when the Japanese occupied Taiwan they channeled water from the upper Zhuoshui River into the lake for hydropower generation. This transformed Sun Moon Lake from the homeland of the Thao into a hydroelectric powerhouse and forced Thao indigenous people to move away. The roads built by the Japanese to facilitate hydroelectric construction made travel to the area much more convenient, stimulating tourism at Sun Moon Lake and the development of the surrounding area. After Taiwan was restored to China, the construction or renovation of Xuanguang Temple, Xuanzang Temple, Wenwu Temple, and Ci'en Pagoda attracted even more tourists. It further makes Thao become the earliest touristed Taiwanese indigenous group<sup>101</sup>.

In the 1950s, based on the central-planning economic development model, the Taiwan government started to build the Shihmen Reservoir (石門水庫) at the Fuxing (復興) Township of Tao-Yuan County for the purposes of downstream irrigation, flood prevention, and power generation. Tayal communities were originally located in the watershed of Shihmen Reservoir. The Shih-Men Reservoir was completed in the 1960s. Indigenous people living in the Tayal Msbtunux group (群), Kara village (社) was forced to move from Shihmen Reservoir area to DaXi (大溪) Township and because the new immigrant houses were destroyed by one typhoon and then they again moved to Guanyin (觀音) District, Tao-Yuan County. Unfortunately, at the time many residents in Guanyin District were dead because factories there sent out poisonous wastewater which caused cadmium pollution.

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<sup>101</sup> Huang, Zheng. “*The historical evolutionary change of the indigenous peoples in the area of Shui-Sha-Lai.*” Taiwan Indigenous Peoples Resources Center. Accessed August 17, 2015. [http://www.tiprc.org.tw/blog\\_wp/?p=10101](http://www.tiprc.org.tw/blog_wp/?p=10101). (黃政 水沙連地區原住民族群的歷史變遷 台灣原住民族圖書資訊中心)

After three moves, Tayal indigenous people were fragmentally separated from their tribal people. Although some Tayal indigenous people were still living in the catchment area, their living space was largely limited due to the water supply for residents living in cities (<sup>102</sup>Kuan 2014; <sup>103</sup>Kuan 2015). The construction of Shihmen Reservoir destroyed the homeland of Tayal indigenous people and changed their lifestyle.

During the period of postwar economic development dependent on coal-fired power generation, there was a shortage of mining labor, coal companies started to persuade and recruit indigenous workers from Taitung County. Indigenous people were willing to be mining workers mainly because of two reasons. First, Taiwan had begun industrialization from 1960, Han people could easily find new jobs with good salary in new established industrial parks, so they quit the risky mining jobs. Second, the living quality of indigenous people was poor. The salary of being a mining worker was much higher than jobs found in their home areas (<sup>104</sup>Chou 2007: p163). In June of 1984, the Hai-San Coal Mine tragedy happened. There were 500 indigenous workers among the 800 mining workers. Among the 74 mining workers who were buried alive, 38 indigenous workers, more than the half of victims, were mostly Amis indigenous people. In the period of the martial law, the focus of the media was not on the death of many indigenous workers and the predicament of indigenous workers, but on one Han worker named Chou Chung-Lu, who dared to drink urine and eat dead bodies. In addition, the media reported that dead bodies were well treated

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<sup>102</sup> Kuan, D. (2014). Spatial Order, Geographical Representation and Political Ecology: A Geo-historical Review of the Resource Exploitation / Conservation in the Mountain Indigenous Area of Taiwan. *Taiwan Journal of Indigenous Studies*, 7(1), 159–197.

<sup>103</sup> Kuan, D. (2015). Indigenous Ecological Knowledge and Contemporary Disaster Management a Case Study on the Tayal Communities' Experience in the Watershed of Shih-Men Reservoir. *Journal of Geographical Scienc*, (76), 97–132.

<sup>104</sup> Chou Yao-Yu (2007). *Tucheng's Coal Mining Development and Society (1897~1989)*. National Central University., 2007. [http://ir.lib.ncu.edu.tw:88/thesis/view\\_etd.asp?URN=92135004](http://ir.lib.ncu.edu.tw:88/thesis/view_etd.asp?URN=92135004).

and buried, and their families obtained bounteous compensation<sup>105</sup> .

The Hai-San Coal Mine tragedy pushed a group of young indigenous people to establish the Association of Promoting Taiwanese Indigenous Peoples' Rights in December of 1984. The founder of the association, Hu Der-Fu, was a rescuer for Hai-San Coal Mine Tragedy and a pioneer of indigenous movements. Hu is also a singer. He delivered his observation of Taiwanese indigenous peoples' predicament by the song "Why".

*Why? Why did so many people leave the open fields and the free ocean ?*

*Why? Why did so many people leave the open fields and chose the highest scaffolding?*

*Flourish, Thrive, and Prosper!*

*When did the embers of the blooming flame morph into us in the corner of darkness?*

*Why?! Why did people push against one another into the eternal darkness of mines, only breathing sweat and tainted air?*

*Boom! Suddenly, all possible exits are blocked.*

*Roaring waves of natural gas filled the Amis's proud chest to the brim.*

*Why! Why! Why can't I turn back to the route that I once walked on?*

*Why can't I find the road back home?*

*Why? Why so many people left the open fields and instead chose to linger at the cliff of the city?*

*Why! Why! Why can't I turn back to the route that I once walked on?*

*Why can't I find the road back home?*

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<sup>105</sup> "Shangkuan Luan: The media distortion and the local movement in the authoritarian period." Chiangwailou (上官乱：台湾威权时代矿难带来的民间运动和媒体裂变。 墙外楼). Accessed August 17, 2015. [https://commondatastorage.googleapis.com/letscorp\\_archive/archives/93587](https://commondatastorage.googleapis.com/letscorp_archive/archives/93587).

This song points out that Taiwanese indigenous peoples have been marginalized through several waves of energy development. After 1960s, the Taiwan government deregulated the rule of governmental investment and the private business' investment on the indigenous peoples' reserved land, which caused indigenous peoples to gradually lose their homeland and not be able to make a living. The difficulty of living in the indigenous area has forced many indigenous people to move to urban areas to find jobs and make a living. Because of their lower educational level, the job status of indigenous people is normally lower than Han people. Taiwanese indigenous people' jobs are mostly labor-intensive, unskilled, high risk, high mobile and easily replaceable. Ocean (far ocean fishing industry), scaffold (construction industry), and mine (mining industry) are the most popular places where Taiwanese indigenous people are more likely to find jobs (<sup>106</sup>Chen 2014: p205).

Hu Der-Fu witnessed the Hai-San Coal Mine tragedy 31 years ago and desperately cried out: Why? After 31 years, Taiwan has encountered three stages of energy development. This study aims to understand if the energy policies change Taiwanese indigenous peoples' traditional lifestyle and even their basic values. In the earlier period, hydropower development directly forced indigenous people to move away from their homeland and became a group of homeless people. Thermal power development indirectly pushed Taiwanese indigenous peoples to abandon their homeland by the land requisition law or the regulation of indigenous land, both of which forced indigenous people to move to urban area to make a living. The construction and operation of nuclear power plants has nothing to do with Taiwanese indigenous peoples. In fact, Taiwanese indigenous peoples are the groups of people who consume far less electricity compared with Han people. However, Han people

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<sup>106</sup> Chen, Meei-Shia. (2014). "The Making of the Health Problem of Indigenous Peoples: Constructing New Critical Discourse." *A Radical Quarterly in Social Studies*, (97), 203-208.

secretly and silently dumped the nuclear waste on the indigenous land (Lanyu Island). This study not only concerns the influences of nuclear waste on the welfare of Taiwanese indigenous peoples, but also concerns how the energy policies change Taiwanese indigenous peoples' basic values such as the relationship between land and people in this study.

## Environmental Movements as Reactions to Development

Up to now, there have been three waves of environmental movements in United States. The first wave was in the 1890s when the advocates of Natural Resource Conservation (Gifford Pinchot) and Wilderness preservation (John Muir) started a heated debate for soul of ecology in America. The emergence of the <sup>107</sup>G10 signaled an important shift in American environmentalism toward increasing professionalization and bureaucratization. The second wave is after the 1960s, Rachel Carson championed a new approach to environmentalism that bridged the gap between scientists and the public. A third wave of environmentalism, which emerged during the 1980s, encompassed different strands of radical ecology, which includes schools of deep ecology, social ecology, ecofeminism, ecosocialism, bioregionalism, anti-toxics, and environmental justice (Peña 2005.). The environmental justice movement began as one of the third wave environmental movements in the 1980s (<sup>108</sup>Peña 2005: p.122-123).

Regarding the evolution of the environmental movements, in the beginning the target the initiators focused on is the “natural environment” including the wild animals and the ecological conservation rather than the justice issue between people or people and the nature. (<sup>109</sup>Huang & Huang 2009: p.109-110). The second wave of environmental movement started to pay attention to the health of the public. The third wave further placed more concern on the intertwined relationship among the natural environment, politics and the society. The

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<sup>107</sup> In 1970s, the mainstream environmental organizations formed the “Group of Ten” (G-10), which included the CEOs of the ten largest environmental organizations. G10 is a financially well-endowed and highly professional environmentalism group. Membership in the G10 was predominantly urban, white, and middle class. The G10 relied on professional scientists, lawyers, and lobbyists and complete engagement with the federal environmental policy system.

<sup>108</sup> Peña, Devon Gerardo. *Mexican Americans and the Environment : Tierra Y Vida*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2005.

<sup>109</sup> Huang, Chih-Tung, and Huang, Ruey-Chyi. (2009). The Adoption of Environmental Justice: Are Americans and Taiwanese Talking About the Same Environmental Justice? *Journal of National Development Studies*, 9(1), 85-143.

environmental justice movement (EJM) provides the linking of environmental, economic, and social justice issues in a new paradigm that offers a critique and alternative to mainstream environmentalism. The EJM has deep roots but effectively began in the early 1980s with protest against environmental racism (Peña 2005: p.139).

## Western View on Nature

Since World War II, the Western societies have been developing the concept of environmental protection.

*The environment are premised on the conviction that nature is stable, holistic, homeostatic community capable of preserving its natural balance more or less indefinitely if only humans can avoid “disturbing” it...The Judeo-Christian tradition nonetheless has one core myth that is deeply embedded in Western thought that it corps up almost anytime people speak of nature ... The habit of appealing to nature for moral authority is in large measure a product of the European Enlightenment. Indeed, it would have been far more common in the past for people in Western tradition to cite God as the authority for their beliefs. The fact that so many now cite Nature instead suggested the extent to which Nature has become a secular deity in the post-romantic age. The Judeo-Christin tradition nonetheless has one core myth that is so deeply embedded in Western thought. (<sup>110</sup>Cronon 1995: p 24-36).*

This single and take-for-granted belief believes that nature won't be damaged if humans do nothing to it. Recent western scholars have clearly demonstrated that the natural world is far more dynamic, far more changeable, and far more entangled with human history. Nature is not natural as it seems. Instead, it is a profoundly human construction (Cronon 1995:

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<sup>110</sup> Cronon, W. (1995). Introduction: In Search of Nature. In *Uncommon Ground*. New York, London: W. W. Norton & Co.

p23-56). They question the creed to nature in the past.

Indeed, as Cronon said, nature is contested terrain; the nature of view is arguable. In fact, Americans have two different views of nature. The thrust for federal environmental protection in the United States dates to the 1890s when the advocates of Natural Resource Conservation (Gifford Pinchot) and Wilderness preservation (John Muir) started a heated debate for soul of ecology in America (<sup>111</sup>Peña, 2005: p.111). The attitude of Nature Resource Conservation especially prevalent among the USFS (United States Forest Service) (Peña, 2005: p.123) asserts ‘nature as natural resource that should be scientifically managed and conserved for the benefit of present and future generations. Nature is similar to a resource of economic use to humans and hence it had utilitarian value (Peña, 2005: p.113). On the contrary, wildness preservation posits that ‘nature as wilderness, as place separate from the permanent presence or effects of humanity and civilization. Nature had its own intrinsic value independent of the value that human placed on its use. The principal value of wilderness to humans was not material but spiritual and aesthetic’ (Peña, 2005: p.116). Intellectuals both in China or in Taiwan popularly accept the first mentioned concept of nature and believe that the modern science is the only way to save the country (Weller 2006: p.48-49).

#### Eastern (Taiwan and China) View on Nature: Taiwan

Weller especially emphasizes that although the direction of Taiwan’s economic development and environmental policies are affected by the globalized value of modernity, Taiwan’s notion of natural environment has also been reshaped through corresponding to and

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<sup>111</sup> Peña, Devon Gerardo. *Mexican Americans and the Environment: Tierra Y Vida*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2005.

incorporating the globalized environmental notions (<sup>112</sup>Weller 2006).

There exists no single Chinese character or combination of characters which can accurately translate the English word “nature.” Tian (天) may be the closest, although in the 20th century, Nature was often translated as *ziran*(自然) and understood by the academicians and public in Japan and China. Through the lens of historical context, Weller (2006) made a comparison of environmental perspectives from modern China and Taiwan. These two regions not only have common traditional culture, but also have been influenced by the Western environmental movements.

### Confucianism: Anthropocosmic Resonance

Confucianism is a dominant tradition of China, Korea, and Japan for the past several thousand years (<sup>113</sup>Tucker & Berthrong 1998: p. 43). ‘It is a fundamentally humanist view, comfortable with human use of natural world and its energies, but one whose ultimate concerns are the establishment of a mutual relationship between humanity and the cosmic order of heaven, in which each of the parts resonates sympathetically with all the others’ (Weller 2006: p.23). Through the ancient Chinese’s description of their surrounding world, we can detect how Han people dealt with the relationship between humans and nature. Chinese emphasize that a sustainable balance can be reached by the harmony among three major roles in the universe: heaven, earth, and mankind. Tian (天) is a concept close to the concept of nature, although tian is often equated with God. “Philosophical texts often expressed an ideal of “the unity of heaven/nature and mankind” (tian ren he yi 天人合一)”

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<sup>112</sup> Weller, Robert P. *Discovering Nature : Globalization and Environmental Culture in China and Taiwan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

<sup>113</sup> Tucker, Mary Evelyn, and John H. Berthrong. (1998). *Confucianism and Ecology: The Interrelation of Heaven, Earth, and Humans. Religions of the World and Ecology*. Cambridge, Mass: Distributed by Harvard University Press for the Harvard University Center for the Study of World Religions.

(Weller 2006:p.21), which implies the relationship between human and nature is inseparable.

Another concept relevant to environment is qi(氣). - Qi 氣, sometimes translated as “cosmic energy,” runs through both humans and the environment. From this are derived the ideas fengshui 風水, which relates to the beneficial geotemporal placement of buildings and tombs (Weller 2006: p.22). Through changing fengshui, Chinese believe it will improve the flow of qi and eventually change their fortune (e.g., marriage, business, life expectancy).

According to the above discussion, the anthropocosmic Resonance perspective and the idea of cosmic energy- qi 氣 imply that humans are able to dominate nature. The Confucian philosophy China emphasizes the spirit of “人為貴” (ren wei gui), indicating humans are the most superior beings on the earth and arguing that humans’ status is higher than that of nature, both of which lead Chinese environmental philosophy to become a distinctly human-centered one. For example, Confucius suggests that 「釣而不綱，弋而不射宿」(《論語·述而 26》), which means that people should go fishing with one fishing pole rather than a net with many fishing hooks; people shoot the flying birds rather the ones in the nest.

Another Chinese philosopher 孟子 Mencius also suggests 「不違農時，穀不可勝食也；數罟不入洿池，魚鱉不可勝食也；斧斤以時入山林，林木不可勝用也。」(《孟子·梁惠王上》), which means that following the agricultural seasons, we will always have enough crops to eat; never use the fishing net, we will always have enough sea (river) foods to eat; following to the lifecycle of tree, we will have enough wood to use.

## A Daoist View

Early Daoist texts are mostly “counterculture” narratives, in that they reject the grand narrative of the Confucian view. Constructing a different cultural identity, they emphasis

close relations between humans and nature (<sup>114</sup>Girardot, Miller, Xiaogan 2001: p.26).

Daoism disagrees with the human-centered discourse. In his essay *Tianxia* (天下, meaning universe), Zhungzi (莊子) mentioned that humans are not the only species in the world and humans are indeed a part of the environment. Humans should respect other species as humans respect themselves.<sup>115</sup>。

Daoism argues that Confucians in effect reject the “compatibility” assumption and transform the “social” into a narrow range of experience, specifically only that of human beings (<sup>116</sup>Girardot, Miller, Xiaogan 2001: p.27). Daoism attempts to establish a nondestructive human relationship with the surrounding environment. As we can see in Dao De Jing (道德經)

*The highest good is like that of water. The goodness of water is that it benefits the ten thousand creatures ; yet itself does not scramble , but is content with the places that all men disdain. It is this that makes water so near to the Way. (上善若水，水善利萬物而不爭，處眾人之所惡)<sup>117</sup>*  
*Translated with Notes by Arthur Waley, 1997.)*

Daoism argues that humans should behave on the basis of heaven (natural) law and should follow the natural rules on making judgments, setting behavioral norms, and treating every species kindly. As long as humans can get along well with nature and humans can learn from the every species in the nature, humans would have a healthy development. Compared with Confucianism, Daoism is favorable to the environment.

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<sup>114</sup> N. J. Girardot, James Miller, and Xiaogan Liu. *Daoism and Ecology : Ways within a Cosmic Landscape. Religions of the World and Ecology*. Cambridge, Mass: Center for the Study of World Religions, Harvard Divinity School, 2001.

<sup>115</sup>Jen, Hsing-Chih (任興之). *Daoist Monk Describes His Ecological Awakening*. Daoist Ecology Centre. July. <http://www.arcworld.org/projects.asp?projectID=288>.

<sup>116</sup> N. J. Girardot, Miller, J., & Liu, X. (2001). *Daoism and ecology : ways within a cosmic landscape*. Cambridge, Mass: Center for the Study of World Religions, Harvard Divinity School.

<sup>117</sup> Laozi. *Tao Te Ching*. Wordsworth Editions, 1997.

In sum, Daoism disagrees with imposing the concept of social class on nature and disagrees with the humans' manipulations of nature. It seems that Daoism is passive and does nothing to the human societies aggressively pursuing civilization. When the harsh environment starts to threaten the survival of humans due to the standpoints of humans and nature increasingly developing in opposite directions, Daoism's discourse indeed opens a window for humans to rethink and criticize themselves and hence humans would try to seek for a harmonious relationship between humans and nature.

### A Buddhist View

Two millennia ago, Buddhism entered into China and has played an enormous role in shaping Chinese people's attitude toward nature. Basically, Buddhism believes that "All living things are the same and humanity has no special privileges; the world as a place of dust and illusion, and life as a constant grasping after falsehood." Notably, its spirit is not the same as Western biocentrism, as Buddhism argues "humans have by far the best chance of attaining nirvana- gods are far too comfortable and the other beings are far too miserable. Given an irresolvable conflict between human interests and those of other beings, the humans have priority (Weller 2006: p.31)".

Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism are three important philosophies that affect Chinese people's treatment of nature. Through the wave of globalization, the Western environmental protection discourses are introduced to modern Taiwan, while the belief "Man must conquer nature!" inherited from the natural view of Chinese culture (Figure 4), especially the view of Confucianism, still lasts till now.



Figure 4 The monument with the inscription “Man must conquer nature!” at the tourist site in Hualien County, Taiwan<sup>118</sup>.

Strongly influenced by Confucianism, Han people think that nature can be controlled and manipulated for pursuing economic development. The earlier economic development initiated by KMT after 1949 in Taiwan is a strong evidence to support this argument. Although there is a lack of natural resources, Taiwan created a so-called “economic miracle” by embarking on a course of rapid industrialization with far more powerful political control and much stronger financial base than they had on the Mainland China. However, the economic miracle has also brought environmental disasters to Taiwan (Weller 2006: p.50) and stimulates the initiation of environmental movement to against the developmentalism advocated by the ruling government.

### Environmental Movements on Nuclear Issues

Environmental movements in Taiwan began in the democratization era of the 1980s. Under such a circumstance, the environmentalists built a close cooperative relation with the political opposition (the Democratic Progressive Party) in the earlier period of environmental

<sup>118</sup> <https://www.renminbao.com/rmb/articles/2015/8/8/61847pb.html>

movements. After 1990, the allies of the environmental protection groups and the Democratic Progressive Party pushed the KMT regime to make the laws relevant to environmental protection. In 2000, DPP won the presidential election and took power in Taiwan. In power, the DPP devoted itself to pursuing the goal of economic development and started to grow apart from the environmental protection groups (<sup>119</sup>Chi 2008: p.133). Ho (2011) delineates the evolution of environmental movements by the milestones of the political transformation in Taiwan.

*Environmentalism came into being during the so-called soft authoritarianism period (1980–1986), as grassroots, intellectuals, and political opposition began to notice the severity of environmental degradation. The 1987 lifting of martial law ushered in the period of liberalization (1987–1992) when environmentalism was rapidly radicalized with more disruptive tactics and more overt alliance with the DPP. In the democratization period (1993–1999) environmentalism, using both protests and newly opened institutional venues, became institutionalized as a vital component of political life. After the 2000 power transfer, environmentalists were incorporated into the regime as a junior partner, though still critical of the DPP's conservative turn. (<sup>120</sup>Ho 2011).*

Of Taiwan's environmental movements, the anti-nuclear movements are the ones relying on DPP's resources the most. Although there was a voice to object the construction of the third nuclear power plant in Taiwan, the environmental movements actually began from the controversial construction of the fourth nuclear power plant (<sup>121</sup>Hsu 2013: p.13). The construction plan of the fourth nuclear power plant initiated a variety of debates among different political parties and interest groups. In particular, the local religious groups play an important role in the anti-nuclear movement, which is quite different from the experiences of

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<sup>119</sup> Chi, Chun-Chieh (2008). Seeing Both Action and Structure: Book Review Ming-Sho Ho's Green Democracy: A Study on Taiwan's Environmental Movement" *Taiwanese Journal of Sociology*, 40,p131-139.

<sup>120</sup> Ho, Ming-Sho 2011, "Environmental Movement in Democratizing Taiwan (1980-2004): A Political Opportunity Structure Perspective," in *East Asian Social Movements*, eds. by Jeffrey Broadbent and Vickie Brockman, pp. 283-314. New York: Springer.

<sup>121</sup> Hsu, Wei-Hong. "Strategic Marketing of Environmental Non-Profit Organizations: A Case Study of Taiwan Environmental Protection Union (TEPU) Executed Anti-Nuclear Movement." Master Thesis, National Dong Hwa University, 2013.

other countries where NGOs dominate the anti-nuclear movements. Because of Taiwan's difficult diplomatic position recognized by only a few small countries, Taiwan government has encouraged NGOs in Taiwan to speak a global discourse, rather than to develop more indigenously rooted ideas. What efforts have been made by Taiwanese NGOs are very different from similar ones in most non-Western countries (<sup>122</sup>Weller 2006: p.124).

*Formal associations like environmental NGOs had no real place under martial law, but the social capital for Taiwan's future civil society was already developing out of local community ties. The environmental and other movements began to mobilize that social capital in interaction with the state well before martial law was lifted, and they prepared the ground for Taiwan's booming civil world in the 1990s (<sup>123</sup>Weller 1999: p.125).*

Aside from the argument of Taiwanese NGOs' political mission, Weller further explains why the local organizations play a pivotal role on the environmental protests in Taiwan. He observed that the environmental protests in Taiwan are particularly focused on the benefits and welfare of local people, while the elites of Taiwanese NGOs devote much attention to the universal values or global concerns, such as ozone depletion, the risk to biodiversity, forest disappearance, and ocean pollution. Since Taiwanese NGOs' goals are quite different from those of local people, there is no strong linkage between them. Taiwan's environmental movements actually relied on local forms of social organization- temples, township-based factions, even neighborhood gangsters. These forms receive support from the cultural emphasis on personal connections, kinship, and local religious practice (<sup>122</sup>Weller 2006:

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<sup>122</sup> Weller, R. P. (2006). *Discovering nature : globalization and environmental culture in China and Taiwan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>123</sup> Weller, R. P. (1999). *Alternate Civilities : Democracy and Culture in China and Taiwan*. Boulder, Col: Westview Press.

p.113). In fact, the movement of anti-4<sup>th</sup> nuclear power plant has been changed from a party-dependent movement to a party-independent one (<sup>124</sup>Shih 2012).

It is noteworthy to mention that “Religion is not always important in Taiwanese environmental protest, but as one of the few kinds of ties that could unite a community, it has a powerful organizing potential (<sup>122</sup>Weller 2006: p.106).” In anti-nuclear movements, local temples are an important piece of the puzzle. Taking the site of the fourth nuclear power plant, Gongliao, as an example, the local anti-nuclear protesters cooperated with the DPP on requiring the Kuomintang to abolish the construction plan of the fourth nuclear power plant. However, the DPP changed its attitude toward the fourth nuclear power plant after it became the ruling party, which made the local anti-nuclear people reconsolidate the local forces through the most important focus of local religious belief, the goddess, Mazu. They cleverly used the term “the anti-nuclear power goddess Mazu (反核媽祖)” to connect believers from other Mazu temples in Taiwan to abolish the fourth nuclear power plant (<sup>75</sup>Shih 2012). Taiwan’s anti-nuclear movement has been far away from the party politics and now relies on the local power strengthened by the religion.

The 2011 Fukushima incident sped up the integration of local anti-nuclear groups. On the one hand, these anti-nuclear groups forced many previously indifferent citizens to be confronted with the risk the country would face, in the case of a nuclear catastrophe. Notably, the term “anti-nuclear” cannot include all the people’s attitudes toward nuclear power. The anti-nuclear protesters in Taiwan are not a homogenous group of people. Some of them reject both nuclear power and the fourth nuclear power plant, some of them just reject the construction of the fourth nuclear plant but accept nuclear power, and few of them put their

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<sup>124</sup> Shih, Fang-Long (2012). Generating power in Taiwan: Nuclear, political and religious power. *Culture and Religion*, 13(3), 295–313. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14755610.2012.706229>

concern on the injustice of dumping nuclear waste on the indigenous land<sup>125</sup>.; on the other hand, they ignited strong social protests and concerns, which the Guomindang government could no longer ignore (<sup>126</sup>Grano 2015: p.88 ). Thus, the proposal that putting Taiwan's fourth nuclear power plant into storage has been approved by the Atomic Energy Council, meaning that the plant will be mothballed for three years from July 1, 2015<sup>127</sup>. Furthermore, after the fierce debate surrounding the issue of the fourth nuclear power facility, any government, blue (Kuomintang) or green (DPP), will not propose a fifth facility easily (<sup>80</sup>Grano 2015: p.88).

## Environmental Justice

Beginning in the late 1970s and early 1980s, a national movement for environmental justice took shape. White (1995) thinks that mainstream environmentalists overlook the profound knowledge embedded in both the living and the survival by labor in the natural environment. For example, the contribution and the accumulated knowledge that the American indigenous peoples have made and developed has long been neglected by the mainstream environmental discourse (<sup>128</sup>p.171-175). In the past, the philosophical tenet of the environmental movement initiators separated nature and culture, and divided the nonhuman world from non-natural human communities, which is a colonial discourse in the mainstream community. However, mainstream environmentalism should not separate nature and humans by bipolar categorization. Environmental justice activists' discussions of nature are balanced,

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<sup>125</sup> A former employee of Nuclear Plant 4: I don't reject nuclear, but Nuclear Power Plant 4”(前核四員工：「我不反核，但我反核四」 - 焦點 - 自由時報電子報。) Accessed March 11, 2015.

<http://news.ltn.com.tw/news/focus/paper/774410>.

<sup>126</sup> Grano, Simona A. *Environmental Governance in Taiwan: A New Generation of Activists and Stakeholders*. Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge, 2015.

<sup>127</sup>“Taiwan's 4th Nuclear Power Plant to Be Mothballed in July | WCT.” Accessed September 30, 2015. <http://www.wantchinatimes.com/news-subclass-cnt.aspx?id=20150204000044&cid=1201>.

<sup>128</sup> White, R. (1995). "Are You an Environmentalist or do you Work for a Living? Work and Nature. In *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature*. New York, London: W. W. Norton & Co.

with an analysis of the impossibility of separating it from “life”, from cultural histories, and from socially and ecologically destructive colonial and neocolonial experiences (<sup>129</sup>Chino 1995: p. 317).

## World Movement

Reacting to the loose definitions of justice, Folger (<sup>130</sup>1996) first summarized previous literature on justice, reexamined the categories of procedural justice and distributive justice and the association between them, and further proposed interactional justice as the third dimension of justice (p.416). Later, in the cross-cultural model, Syme, Kals, Nancarrow and Montada (<sup>131</sup>2006) discussed how communities assess the ecological risks through the perceptions of fairness and justice, borrowing from Folger’s definitions of justice.

1. *Distributive justice that includes the overall distribution of the four key concepts- ecological resources, benefits, risk, and burdens- and that can be implemented by a specific policy- appeals, subsidies, taxes, and prohibitive laws.*
2. *Procedural justice that belongs to the question of what process is appropriate for deciding on distribution.*
3. *Interactional justice, a level of appraisal introduced by Folger (1996) that is most specific, and related to the satisfactory implementation of procedural justice within a group of people or between groups of people* (<sup>86</sup>Syme, Kals, Nancarrow and Montada 2006: p.109).

What, then, is environmental justice or environmental injustice?

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<sup>129</sup> Chiro, G. D. (1995). Nature as Community: The Convergence of Environment and Social Justice. In *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature* (pp. 298–320). New York, London: W. W. Norton & Co.

<sup>130</sup> Folger, Robert (1996). Distributive and Procedural Justice: Multifaceted Meanings and Interrelations. *Social Justice Research*, 9(4), pp.395-416.

<sup>131</sup> Syme, Geoffrey J., Kals, Elisabeth, Nancarrow, Blair E., and Montada, Leo (2006). Ecological Risks and Community Perceptions of Fairness and Justice: A Cross-Cultural Model. *Human and Ecological Risk Assessment*, 12 (1), pp.102-119.

A number of groups organized around environmental justice concerns emerged from within communities of color and poor and working-class white communities throughout the United States (<sup>132</sup>Brulle and Pellow 2006: p.110). After summarizing discourses of environmental justice from Bullard (<sup>133</sup>1990), Weinberg (<sup>134</sup>1998), Brulle and Pellow (<sup>136</sup>2006) indicate that the concept of environmental justice is created by the fact that people are exposed to a range of toxic and hazardous pollution and other environmental harms.

Tragically, some social groups, such as the poor and racial minority groups, bear the brunt of this exposure.. To tell the truth, these groups face a substantial health risk so that others of us can selfishly enjoy increases in our standard of living. Simply put, three statements can exemplify how this egalitarianism is applied to all justice dimensions:

1. “Everyone has equal rights to use the environment” (*distributive justice*);
2. “Everyone should have equal opportunity to have a say in the decision-making process” (*procedural justice*); and
3. “The decision making-process should be conducted in a timely fashion for all people involved” (*interactional justice*) (<sup>135</sup>Syme, Kals, Nancarrow and Montada 2006: p.110).

Since 1980s, environmental sociologists have documented forms of environmental justice (<sup>136</sup>Weinberg 1998: p.25), and in fact, in the past several decades anthropological

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<sup>132</sup> Brulle, Robert J., and David N. Pellow. “Environmental Justice: Human Health and Environmental Inequalities.” *Annual Review of Public Health* 27, no. 1 (2006): 103–24. doi:10.1146/annurev.publhealth.27.021405.102124.

<sup>133</sup> Bullard, Robert D. *Dumping in Dixie: Race, Class, and Environmental Quality*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1990.

<sup>134</sup> Weinberg, Adam. “The Environmental Justice Debate: A Commentary on Methodological Issues and Practical Concerns.” *Sociological Forum* 13, no. 1 (1998): 25–32. doi:10.1023/A:1022151813591.

<sup>135</sup> Syme, Geoffreyj, Elisabeth Kals, Blaire Nancarrow, and Leo Montada. “Ecological Risks and Community Perceptions of Fairness and Justice: A Cross-Cultural Model.” *Human and Ecological Risk Assessment: An International Journal* 12, no. 1 (2006): 102–19. doi:10.1080/10807030500430443.

<sup>136</sup> Weinberg, Adam S. (1998). The Environmental Justice Debate: A Commentary on Methodological Issues and Practical Concerns. *Sociological Forum*, 12(1), pp.25-32.

research on environmental issues has already been part of a broad public sphere that has witnessed a sharp increase in environmental concerns and activism throughout the world (<sup>137</sup>Little 1999: p.254). Within the First World countries, particularly the United States, movements for environmental justice have emerged among the poor and people of color (<sup>93</sup>Little 1999: p.266). Harvey (1996: p.368), an anthropologist, pinpoints one of the socio—environmental sources of these movements when he notes that “one of the best predictors of location of toxic waste dumps in the United States is a geographic concentration of people of low income and color.” (<sup>93</sup>as cited in Little 1999: p.266).

The spatial and social distributions of the harmful effects of nuclear science present a key example of environmental injustice. Nuclear science is the valuable outcome of many scientists for generations, while nuclear fission was once used to end the World War II, casting a shadow over the peaceful usage of nuclear power; in addition to several serious nuclear disasters, nuclear security has been highly doubted by people. Further, radioactive nuclear waste has also become an unsolvable problem (<sup>138</sup>Chang 2008).

During the period from 1946 to 1958, the US nuclear testing program was conducted in the Marshall Islands. Under the arrangement from the foreign political power, Marshallese, a vulnerable population, were powerless to stop the expected disaster. However, with more transparent information about the nuclear testing program, the local residents living next to pollution sites started fighting for environmental injustice. Similarly, what residents in Lanyu Island of the southeast coast of Taiwan, have experienced is similar to that of the Marshallese

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<sup>137</sup> Little, Paul E. (1999). Environments and Environmentalisms in Anthropological Research: Facing a New Millennium. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 28, pp.253-284.

<sup>138</sup> Chang, Tai-Lee (2008). *The study of Nuclear Waste Management*. Master Thesis, National Chengchi University, Taiwan.

(<sup>139</sup>Johnston & Barker 2008). That is, the local residents didn't know what was going on their homeland, and were naively witnessing their own land being polluted, but could not change their destiny instantly.

## Nuclear Power in Taiwan as Environmental Justice Issues

Since the concept of environmental justice was proposed from the environmental movements and legislation in the United States, most countries including Taiwan regard the development of environmental justice in the United States as a blue print to discuss the issues of environmental justice in their countries. Referring to the Taiwanese version of environment justice, scholars and the groups of environmental protection all argue that the implementation of environmental justice is an indispensable link in the chain in the environmental movements. The case of nuclear waste on Lanyu Island has been the representative indicator of environmental injustice in Taiwan (<sup>140</sup>Huang & Huang 2009: p.102-3).

From the perspective of substantial environmental justice, asking Tao indigenous people to take the risk of nuclear waste is thought to be a distributive injustice, because Tao people's living condition is much worse than that of people living in the main island of Taiwan and Tao people do not obtain the equivalent benefits from forcibly accepted nuclear waste. In addition, from the perspective of procedural justice, TPC did not notify Tao indigenous people about the construction plan of the nuclear waste, which can be regarded as a procedural injustice. The local environmental movements as the ones in the United States are

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<sup>139</sup> Johnston, Barbara Rose & Barker, Holly M. (2008). *Consequential Damages of Nuclear War*. California: Walnut Creek.

<sup>140</sup> Huang, Chih-Tung & Huang, Ruey-Chyi. (2009). "The Adoption of Environmental Justice: Are Americans and Taiwanese Talking About the Same Environmental Justice?" *Journal of National Development Studies*, 9(1), 85-143.

reduced to the issue of the specific ethnic groups. More importantly, even though the groups of environmental protection think that environmental justice is helpful for the implementation of universal social justice as well as the important issues on Taiwanese indigenous peoples, Taiwanese indigenous peoples themselves do not think environmental injustice is the entire issue regarding nuclear waste on Lanyu. .

*Our anti-nuclear (movement) is not simply as an issue of environmental justice, but an issue of the survival of the whole minority ethnic groups and the mistakes and absurdness of Taiwan government's minority policies. Thus, it's unidirectional and fragmental to think why we need to refuse nuclear merely based on environmental justice. (<sup>141</sup>telephone interview with Lanyu islander. Cited by Huang & Huang 2009: p.111)*

Therefore, the main concerns of nuclear waste between indigenous peoples and the main stream (western view and the Han people's view) society may be quite different. Indigenous people may place more concerns on the dimensions of cultural values and the living conditions. From the perspective of environmental justice, the next chapter concerns the nuclear waste in the native land. I will first discuss the special relationship between indigenous peoples and land, what are the particular questions in environmental justice that apply specifically to indigenous communities, and how are environmental justice concerns different for indigenous and non-indigenous communities. Second, I will discuss why the Taiwanese government chose to store toxic and radioactive nuclear waste on the indigenous land and how the nuclear science aiming for national economic development caused the injustice on the living space of Taiwanese indigenous peoples.

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<sup>141</sup> Huang, Chih-Tung & Huang, Ruey-Chyi. (2009). "The Adoption of Environmental Justice: Are Americans and Taiwanese Talking About the Same Environmental Justice?" *National Development Studies*, 9(1), 85-143.

## Chapter 2: The Nuclear Waste in Indigenous Land

As in any kind of energy industry, waste storage, of course, is an unavoidable issue to the nuclear industry. But, where is the proper repository of nuclear waste in Taiwan?

Orchid Island or Lanyu (蘭嶼), a remote and tiny island southeast of Taiwan, was the first site chosen to store nuclear waste. Residents in Lanyu Island are Tao people, who rely on fishing and farming to make a living. In the 1970s, when the repository of nuclear waste was being built, Tao people were curious about what was being built and what on earth the construction was for. The answer provided from the construction team to the Tao people was that the harbor was being built for military purposes, and the repository was a can factory<sup>142</sup> (the documentary film of the remote territory: 1997). Even though Tao people were notified about the construction plan, few of them could really understand what nuclear waste was. A retired minister told me as below.

When they started to build the construction in 1979, we totally didn't know that it was for nuclear waste storage. In 1980, I went to attend a clergyman seminar held by Taiwanese Government. At the time, I saw a story in a small corner of the Central Daily News mentioning that nuclear waste will be stored in Lanyu Island. But, we had no idea about nuclear waste.<sup>143</sup>

In May of 1982, Lanyu received the first batch of 10,008 barrels of nuclear waste. Since then, six containers with 228 barrels of nuclear waste from Taiwan were delivered to Lanyu

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<sup>142</sup> Taiwan Power Company asserted that there was a sign providing the information relevant to “The Construction Plan of Lanyu Predetermined Harbor and Breakwater”, and “Atomic Energy Council” when the nuclear waste repository was constructing. The story about the “can factory” may be resulted from Tao people’s misunderstanding due to construction workers’ unclear explanation. Probably Tao people were less attentive to the sign at the time. In fact, the construction plan entitled by “National Lanyu Repository for Radioactive Materials Being Processed” was not a secret among the governmental units, while the local residents absolutely did not know anything about it. Up to now, outsiders can only see “Lanyu Repository” in the entrance of the nuclear waste repository, but cannot see the key words mentioning about “nuclear waste”.

<sup>143</sup> An interview of retired missionary on October 22, 2013.

once a week. Taiwan Power Company (hereafter TPC) had stored 97,672 barrels of low-level radioactive nuclear waste in Lanyu Island during the period from 1982 to 1996.

In 1987, Tao intellectuals initiated the first protest against the Taiwanese government's nuclear waste policy, but to little avail. In fact, since the first nuclear plant started operating in 1978, the Taiwanese government has been continuously struggling and searching for sites to replace Lanyu Island to store nuclear waste, because the site is supposed to be a temporary one. Remarkably, a notorious event about the Taiwanese government's storage plan of nuclear waste happened in 1996. At the time, TPC signed a contract for nuclear waste storage with the North Korean government, which seemed to bring hope for the departure of nuclear waste to Tao residents in Lanyu Island. But, due to obstruction from South Korea, Japan, the United States, and Greenpeace, TPC and North Korea were forced to end the contract in 1997 (Guan 2007). Even as the plan to dump nuclear waste in North Korea failed, the Taiwanese government still tried to approach other countries such as Russia, Mainland China and the Marshall Islands to deal with the storage issue of nuclear waste. Although the Taiwanese government had difficulty finding another site to replace Lanyu, it still promised to relocate the nuclear waste from Lanyu by the end of 2002. To date, it is apparent that the Taiwanese government has broken the promise.

Thirty years after Tao people were deceived by the state and hence accommodated the repository of nuclear waste in Lanyu, Nantian, Daren Township, a small village in southeastern Taiwan, was twice selected as a candidate for the new nuclear waste site, in 2008 and 2011 respectively. Notably, two of three candidate sites for nuclear waste in 2008, Nantian Village and Xuhai Village of Mudan Township, belong to Paiwan<sup>144</sup> indigenous

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<sup>144</sup> The Paiwan people is one of the sixteen officially recognized indigenous peoples in Taiwan. Paiwan people

territory. What kind of imagination of place or/and space of indigenous land does the state have? The purpose of this chapter is to understand why Nantian was selected and why this is an injustice.

## Barren Land and Poverty: The Basis of the Decision

In the past, indigenous people had no difficulties supporting themselves, while after the penetration of capitalism and the governance of the modern state they are now marginalized and have become an economically disadvantaged minority group. The ideology of development specifies the boundaries and divides the developed area from the undeveloped or developing area in space and place. From the perspective of environmental justice, I will discuss why the Taiwanese government chose to store toxic and radioactive nuclear waste in indigenous land and how the nuclear science aiming for national economic development caused the injustice on the living space of Taiwanese indigenous peoples.

## The selection criteria followed in Taiwan

In Taiwan, the first nuclear plant, Chinshan, the second nuclear plant, Kuosheng, and the third nuclear plant, Maanshan, opened in 1978, 1981 and 1984 respectively, indicating that Taiwan was formally entering the era of nuclear power (figure 5) (<sup>145</sup>Chen 1995). However, the building plan for the fourth nuclear plant (The Lungmen Nuclear Power Plant, formerly Gongliao Nuclear Power Plant) has been being debated among different interest groups

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are close to 96,052 in population. The chief of the noble class in each village is at the same time the leader in politics, military affairs, and even in religion. Each clan is an independent and autonomous unit. (The website of the Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan)

<sup>145</sup> Chen, Chao-Chen (1995). The Science developmental way in Taiwan. From <http://210.60.224.4/ct/content/1995/00050305/0003.htm>

(<sup>146</sup>Fang 2002).

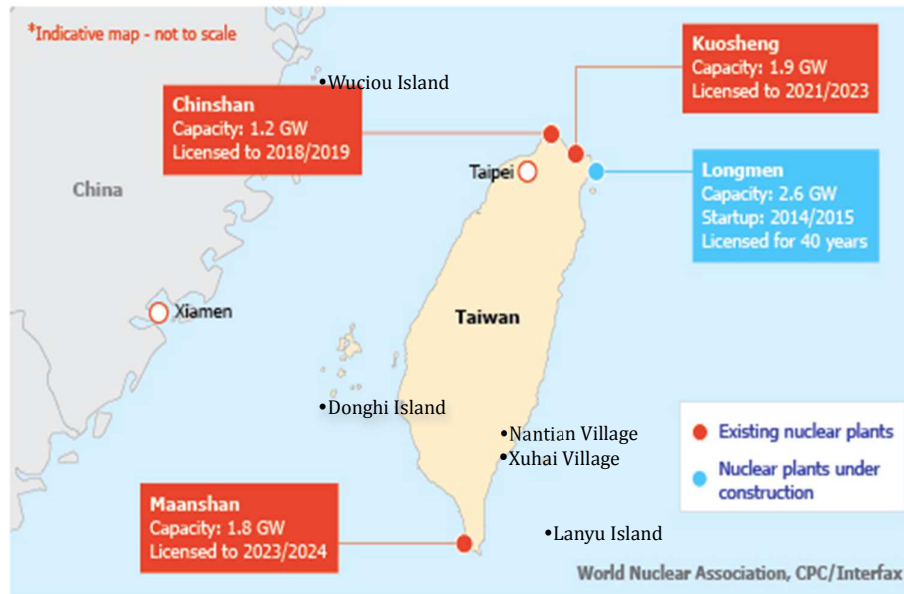


Figure 5 Taiwan nuclear power map<sup>147</sup>

If the service life for the first, second, third and fourth nuclear plants of Taiwan Power Company (TPC) is set for forty years, the nuclear waste of those plants, smaller amounts from the Institute of Nuclear Energy Research and low-level radioactive waste from other industries till 2049 (the planned shut-down time point of the fourth nuclear plant) would amount to a total of about nine hundred seventy thousand barrels of used waste and recycled waste, including nine hundred thousand barrels from nuclear plants as well as seventy thousand barrels from other units, a total of ten times more than what is stored in Lanyu

<sup>146</sup> Fang, Ying-Zhu (2002). *The Decision Making Strategy of fourth Nuclear Plant Building Plan*. Master Thesis: National Chengchi University, Taiwan.

<sup>147</sup> Nuclear Power in Taiwan. (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://www.museumofthecity.org/project/nuclear-power-in-taiwan/>

Island now. (The website of Atomic Energy Council, Taiwan).

Under pressure from the public outcry of environmental protection groups and local people, the Atomic Energy Council in 2006 promulgated the “Act on Sites for Establishment of Final Disposal Facilities for Low-Level Radioactive Waste” (Site Establishment Act). According to Article 4 of Act on Sites for Establishment of Final Disposal Facilities for Low-Level Radioactive Waste, a site of disposal facility must not be located in any of the following areas.

- 1. Areas where active faulting or geological conditions could endanger the safety of the disposal facility,*
- 2. Areas where the geochemical conditions are unfavorable for effectively suppressing the diffusion of radioactive nuclides, and are likely to endanger the safety of the disposal facility,*
- 3. Areas where the hydrologic conditions of surface water or ground water are likely to endanger the safety of the disposal facility,*
- 4. Areas of high population density, and*
- 5. Areas that cannot be developed according to the law (Website of AEC, Taiwan).*

From the perspective of most states, economic development and the benefit of the majority of people are more important than the rights and demands of minority groups. Why was Nantian selected as the candidate site of nuclear waste repository? It is no wonder that, Nantian Village, according to the above criteria, is a “perfect” site for nuclear waste repository because of the safety of its geological characteristics, no disturbance to the majority of the national population and no influence on economic development.

What I have found is quite similar to the wasteland discourse proposed by Kuletz (1998), a colonial explanatory framework that justifies the militarization and environmental destruction of entire desert regions by virtue of their perceived agricultural unproductivity and the misrepresentation of desert landscapes as also deserted, and that they are therefore highly peripheral and isolated from the US's population centers (as cited in Voyles, 2010: p.8). There came to be over 1,100 uranium mines and mill sites in Navajo land in the southwest of North America, what Voyles (2010) call the "uranium landscape". The U.S. government has seen the area as "worthless" for agriculture and ecologically barren, both desert and deserted, erasing and eliding the realities of life here and indigenous presence (Voyles, 2010: p.8).

In sum, the history of economic development, no matter whether the orientation is colonialism, socialism or capitalism, indicates the state always employs several powerful, both violent and non-violent means such as using weapons, providing economic incentives, or "education" to persuade indigenous people to surrender rights to decide about their land. (Cheng & Chang 2009: p.5).

### The philosophical background of the criteria

Why is indigenous land for the indigenous people's life seen as barren land in the eye of the state? Given the special relationship between indigenous people and land, I think anthropological scholars should be more aware of the epistemological differences of perspectives from non-indigenous and indigenous people. In particular, in order to understand the perceived differences of environmental justice between indigenous people living in small islands and communities (a community on a larger island that might as well as be a continent), we must examine the philosophical ideas about small barren islands.

Among Euro-American perspectives on environmental conservation, neither the natural resource conservation perspective identified with Gifford Pinchot nor the wilderness preservation perspective identified with John Muir, is able to reconcile with the indigenous view on the environment that has already existed over thousands of years. First, what the Natural Resource Conservation overlooks is the value of place-based ecological knowledge (<sup>148</sup>Peña, 2005: p.115). For example, Australian indigenous people have developed the “cultural fires” knowledge, indicating ‘a proper burning regime requires detailed knowledge of terrain and of a range of local factors such as prevailing winds, plant communities and the fire history of particular places’ (<sup>149</sup>Rose 2011: p.18). Through the expert use of fire, Australian indigenous people consciously manage their country (Rose 2011: p.17). They say “If we don’t burn our country every year, we are not looking after our country (Rose 2011: p19)”; “It is a part of our responsibility in looking after our country. If you don’t look after country, country won’t look after you. (Rose 2011: p.20).” The essence of cultural fire knowledge is that the indigenous people treat their land as their family who take care of each other.

Similarly, it is hard to find a discourse relevant to the intimate relationship between indigenous people and land from the Wilderness preservation perspective. In fact, in some indigenous communities, the relationship between people and land is even more important than people’s kinship. In the study of Banaban of Pacific Islands, Teaiwa (<sup>150</sup>2005) indicates the relationship between the land and Oceanians as follows.

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<sup>148</sup> Peña, Devon Gerardo. *Mexican Americans and the Environment: Tierra Y Vida*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2005.

<sup>149</sup> Rose, Deborah Bird, and Sharon D’Amico. *Country of the Heart : An Indigenous Australian Homeland*. Acton, A.C.T.: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2011.

<sup>150</sup> Teaiwa, Katerina Martina. (2005). Our Sea of Phosphate: The Diaspora of Ocean Island. In *Indigenous Diasporas and Dislocations*. H. Graham and C. Thompson, eds. pp. 169-91.

*The whole reason for Banaban displacement is colonial agriculture. I like to say: agriculture is not in our blood, but our blood is in agriculture". In his study of Banaban culture, Martin Silverman found that Banabans equated blood and land and that kinship was constructed not simply on blood or biological relations, but on the exchange of land which signified adoption. These social relations then were no less meaningful and sometimes more meaningful than biological kinship. If Banabans think of blood and land as one at the same, it follows then that in losing their land, they lost their blood. In losing their phosphate to agriculture, they have spilled their blood in different lands. Their essential roots on Ocean Island are now essentially routes to other places, including New Zealand, Australia, and Fiji (p.179-180).*

For non-indigenous people, phosphate is a resource for economic or agricultural use, while for Banaban indigenous people, phosphate is just like the blood of the land. Extracting phosphate out of land is the same as extracting their blood out of their bodies. The people's kinship-like relationship between Banabans and land is inseparable.

Another example is in Australia, wherever you go in Mak Mak country, there are many stories contained in place and signs, unfolding histories of violence and damage, of determination and struggle, along with care and nurturance (<sup>151</sup>Rose 2011: p.99). Mak Mak even bring its people into being by using the term mirr<sup>152</sup> to denote a relationship of

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<sup>151</sup> Rose, Deborah Bird, and Sharon D'Amico. *Country of the Heart : An Indigenous Australian Homeland*. Acton, A.C.T.: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2011.

<sup>152</sup> Country brings its people into being. The Mak Mak term for this is mirr. It denotes a relationship of consubstantiality or shared substance between the person and place, and the species from which there comes forth.

consubstantiality between the person and the place, and species from which there comes forth (Rose 2011: p.30).

Taken together, nature was indivisible from society, an intimate and intricately interconnected part of it. For land-based people, wilderness was inhabited, a wild but familiar place. It was their home (<sup>153</sup>Peña, 2005: p.117).

The tendency of neglecting the intimate native-land relationship has been challenged since the early 1990s. In 1991, The First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit was probably the most important event in the movement's history (<sup>154</sup>Bull, Saha, & Wright 2008: p.376). Summit delegates announced and adopted seventeen Principles of Environmental Justice, which were developed as a guide for organizing, networking, and relating to government and NGOs (Bull, Saha, & Wright 2008: p.377). At the time, Western scholars have started to develop the third wave of environmental justice theories, some of which indeed place more emphasis on the native's view on nature and have been supported by some indigenous grass-root groups. For example, the concepts of ecosocialism and bioregionalism. The former observes a shift from working-class struggles in capitalist production to struggles by marginalized social groups in new ecological movement (Peña, 2005: p.135), and the latter indicates any given local area of the biosphere is defined by the natural boundaries of watersheds and landforms.

Similarly the Chinese Anthropocosmic resonance view<sup>155</sup> and the Buddhist view both support the idea that nature can be controlled and manipulated in the pursuit of economic development. Thus, Taiwanese indigenous peoples' intimate and awed relationship with

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<sup>153</sup> Peña, Devon Gerardo. *Mexican Americans and the Environment : Tierra Y Vida*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2005.

<sup>154</sup> Bullard, R.D, Mohai, P., Saha, R., & Wright, B. (2008). Toxic Wastes and Race at Twenty: Why Race Still Matters After All of These Years. *Environmental Law- Atlanta then Portland*, 38(2), 371–412.

<sup>155</sup> Confucianist and Daoists

nature apparently manifest as “uncultivated” and “laggard” in the eye of the Taiwanese government.

There is a common point shared by the anthropocosmic resonance perspective and the indigenous view, that is, both of them regard nature as animate and highlight the importance of maintaining the harmony between humans and nature. However, the anthropocosmic resonance perspective thinks that humans are able to dominate nature.

The Buddhist view also shares some of the perspective of the indigenous view, in believing all things are animate and are connected to each other by the process of transmigration. However, being humans in the process of transmigration is always the top priority for all things, which is contradictory to indigenous people’s belief that the status of non-human beings is equal to or even higher than that of humans.

Table 4 shows the comparison of Euro-American and Chinese perspectives on nature. Through the comparison, I found there are substantial differences between perspectives from non-indigenous and indigenous people. In a nutshell, the Western view on nature tends to neglect the place-based wisdom owned by indigenous people; the Chinese view on nature is closer to that of indigenous people, because they both recognize that nature is animated. But, they are not exactly the same because the Chinese view regards the status of humans is higher than that of nature, while the indigenous view treats nature more equally as a family.

Given the special relationship between indigenous people and land, in the environmental justice studies that apply specifically to indigenous communities, it’s noteworthy that researchers need to be more sensitive to the epistemological differences of perspectives from non-indigenous and indigenous people.

Table 4 Comparison of Western view and Chinese views of nature

	Western (Euro-American) View		Chinese View	
	Natural Resource Conservation	Wilderness preservation	Anthropocosmic resonance:	Buddhism
<b>Led by</b>	Gifford Pinchot	John Muir	Confucians and Daoists	
<b>Definition of nature</b>	Nature as natural resource that should be scientifically managed and conserved for the benefit of present and future generations. Nature had utilitarian value as a resource of economic use to humans (Peña, 2005:p.113). This attitude was especially prevalent within the USFS (United States Forest Service) and resulted in sharp, ever escalating conflicts between government bureaucrats and land-based communities ( Peña, 2005:p.123).	Nature as wilderness, as place separate from the permanent presence or effects of humanity and civilization. Nature had its own intrinsic value independent of the value that human placed on its use. The principal value of wilderness to humans was not material but spiritual and aesthetic (Peña, 2005:p.116).	It is a fundamentally humanist view, comfortable with human use of natural world and its energies, but one whose ultimate concerns are the establishment of a mutual relationship between humanity and the cosmic order of heaven, in which each of the parts resonates sympathetically with all the others ( Weller 2006:p.23). Daoist embracing of the Way of the world. Confucian concern with the proper ordering of society.	The world as a place of dust and illusion, and life as a constant grasping after falsehood. All living things are the same and humanity has no special privileges (Weller 2006:p.31).
<b>Ideology of nature</b>	Anthropocentric (human-centered) ( Peña, 2005:p.122)	Biocentric (life centered) Ecocentric (ecosystem centered) ( Peña, 2005:p.122)	Anthropocosmic resonance human-centered) ( Weller 2006:p.122)	Differ from biocentrism, humans have by far the best chance of attaining nirvana- gods are far too comfortable and the other beings are far too miserable. Given an irresolvable conflict between human interests and those of other beings, the humans have priority ( Weller 2006:p.31)

## The Philosophical Ideas about Small Barren Islands

Summarizing the environmental justice discourses of the West and China, the perspective from indigenous people has not been fully considered by the existing discourses developed by non-indigenous people. No matter where the indigenous people are living, on continents (e.g., American or Australian) or islands, (e.g. Pacific islands), there is always an intimate, inseparable, mutually-dependent and intersubjective relationship between them and nature. Because of their intrinsic characteristics, small islands are often seen as prey of predators such as colonials and capitalists. Those predators first manipulate their power to stigmatize small islands as places that are remote, isolated and barren, namely wastelands. Then, predators take whatever they want to take (e.g., mines), dump whatever they what to dump (e.g., nuclear waste), and do whatever they what to do (e.g., force displacement).

Taking the Marshall Islands as an example, Barker (<sup>156</sup>2004) tries to use its geographic isolation and differing views about the hospitality of the land to illustrate why power politics the U.S. government chose there as the test site for nuclear weapons.

### Geographic Isolation

The far distance from the tiny Marshall Islands to the power center, the United States, may reduce the unpredictable risk of nuclear weapon tests as well as diminishing the visibility to mass media. In the eye of the government of the United States, it is a harsh and seemingly desolate environment, while a “perfect” place for nuclear weapon tests. Barker (2004) describes the Marshall Islands as follows.

*I realize that one of the reasons that outsiders feel so disoriented in the*

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<sup>156</sup> Barker, Holly M. *Bravo for the Marshallese: Regaining Control in a Post-Nuclear, Post-Colonial World*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomson, 2004.

*Marshall Islands is because there is so little land in a vast ocean. The Marshall Islands consist of just 70 square miles of land. This land extends across 750,000 square miles of ocean, a distance roughly the equivalent of the landmass of Mexico. Almost all of the islands are clustered in 29 coral atolls and five large, stand-alone coral islands that began to evolve approximately 70 million years ago (157Barker 2004:p.6).*

According to the Marshallese, it does not matter what other people think about you. The only thing that matters is what you think about yourself and be happy with who you are. The islanders never think they are confined to a limited place. In fact, trade between islands has flourished for a long time. These tiny islands are connected to each other by the sea routes and should be regarded as a whole rather than a bunch of isolated island nations. Hau'ofa (1581994) also mentioned aspects of how s the Pacific islanders see themselves.

*If we look at myths, legends, and oral traditions, and the cosmologies of the people of Oceania, it becomes evident that they did not conceive of their world in such microscopic proportions. Their universe comprised not only land surfaces, but the surrounding ocean as far as they could traverse and exploit it, the underworld with its fire-controlling and earth-shaking denizens, and the heavens above with their hierarchies of powerful gods and named stars and constellations that people could count on to guide their ways across the seas (Hau'ofa 1994: p.152).*

Compared to outsiders, Oceanians are more positive and open-minded to see their places. They are not incarcerated on isolated islands. Ocean is their real living space. 'Nineteenth-century imperialism erected boundaries that led to the contraction of Oceania, transforming a once boundaryless world into the Pacific Island states and

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<sup>157</sup> Barker, Holly. (2004). *M. Bravo for the Marshallese : Regaining Control in a Post-Nuclear, Post-Colonial World*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomson.

<sup>158</sup> Hau'ofa, Epele. (1994). "Our Sea of Islands." *The Contemporary Pacific* 6(1), 148–61.

territories that we know today' (Hau'ofa 1994: p.155). The outsiders' colonization may weaken the connections that already existed between islands and hence led these islands to become isolated and poor.

### Different views about the hospitality of land.

Some anthropologists who came to the Marshall Islands mentioned that the Marshall Islands presents the greatest challenge to human occupancy. This is the view adopted by the U.S. government when it decided to test its weapons on land that no one is supposedly cares about (<sup>159</sup>Barker 2004: p.8). However, the residents in Pacific Islands do not think where they are living is a barren place. 'For the Marshallese, their nation was not a barren collection of sandbars that scarcely support human life. Instead, the diverse array of aquatic and terrestrial resources available to the Marshallese enables them to live sustainably in their environment' (Barker 2004: p.9).

Not knowing or perhaps intentionally dismissing the indigenous view on Marshall Islands, the hegemonic outsiders use their power to decide the islanders' destiny. The environmental injustice the islanders face comes from the outsiders' unrealistic assumptions that islands are isolated and barren.

### Scientific Prejudice

Following previous discussion about how different views on nature of the Western, Eastern (Chinese) and Indigenous Peoples, and people's different perceptions would influence the way people interact with nature, this section I will point out that the state's

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<sup>159</sup> Barker, Holly M. (2004). *Bravo for the Marshallese: Regaining Control in a Post-Nuclear, Post-Colonial World*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomson.

prejudice about traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) of indigenous peoples may also affect its decision-making in choosing candidate sites of the nuclear waste repository.

Anthropologist Lévi-Strauss thinks the worlds of the shaman of prior societies and the scientists of modern societies are two parallel modes of acquiring knowledge about the universe.

*Neolithic, or early historical, man was therefore the heir of a long scientific tradition. However, had he, as well as all his predecessors, been inspired by exactly the same spirit as that of our own time, it would be impossible to understand how he could have come to a halt and how several thousand years of stagnation have intervened between the neolithic revolution and modern science like a level plain between ascents. There is only one solution to the paradox, namely, that there are two distinct modes of scientific thought. These are certainly not a function of different stages of development of the human mind but rather of two strategic levels at which nature is accessible to scientific enquiry: one roughly adapted to that of perception and the imagination: the other at a remove from it. It is as if the necessary connections which are the object of all science, neolithic or modern, could be arrived at by two different routes, one very close to, and the other more remote from, sensible intuition (Lévi-Strauss 1968: p.10).*

The traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) of prior societies<sup>160</sup> was secured ten thousand years earlier and still remains at the basis of our own civilization, whereas it has long been downgraded by the Western societies (Lévi-Strauss 1968: 11). Even though the TEK owned by land-based people is different from and is not inferior to the science developed by modern states, yet in many cases, indigenous knowledge has been indeed ignored or dismissed (Berkes 2012: p.282).

In fact, there is no clear delineation between traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) and science, and the recognition of traditional knowledge as a legitimate kind of knowledge is not in doubt (<sup>161</sup>Davidson-Hunt & Berkes 2001: p.81). Some people may

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<sup>160</sup> He preferred using prior to primitive societies.

<sup>161</sup> Davidson-Hunt, I, and F Berkes. "Changing Resource Management Paradigms, Traditional Ecological Knowledge, and Non-Timber Forest Products." *United States Department of Agriculture Forest Service General Technical Report NC*, no. 217 (2001): 78–92.

consider the term “traditional” to denote knowledge and practice that is old and unchanging, while Berkes argued that TEK is “ a cumulative body of knowledge, practice, and belief, evolving by adaptive processes and handed down through generations by cultural transmission, about the relationship of living beings (including humans) with one another and their environments”. Simply put, tradition definitely can be changed, albeit at a very slow pace.

Scott (<sup>162</sup>1998) argues that terms as "indigenous technical knowledge" and "folk wisdom" seem to confine these kinds of knowledge to "traditional" or "backward", even some tried to replace them with "local knowledge" and "practical knowledge", but both of them still seem too circumscribed and static to capture the constantly changing natural and human environment. Hence, he borrowed the term “metis” from Greek mythology to describe TEK’s characteristics: localized, self-practiced, difficult to learn by words, highly flexible. It is because these characteristics, thus the state cannot fully understand and manipulate metis.

Once we have seen how the modern state neglects TEK or metis and how simplification, legibility, and manipulation operate in ecosystem management, we can then explore how the modern state applies a similar lens to urban planning, rural settlement, land administration, and agriculture (Scott 1998: p.11).

*Certain forms of knowledge and control require a narrowing of vision...This very simplification, in turn, makes the phenomenon at the center of the field of vision more legible and hence more susceptible to careful measurement and calculation. Combined with similar observations, an overall, aggregate, synoptic view of a selective reality is achieved,*

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<sup>162</sup> Scott, James C. (1998). *Seeing like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

*making possible a high degree of schematic knowledge, control, and manipulation (163Scott 1998: p.11).*

The above discourse grants modern states the legitimacy to degrade traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) or metis and further obtain the right, from top to bottom, to control the ecological environment. The emergence of industrialization and the economic theories of both capitalism and communism are crucial to the development of science. Through the technological domination of the earth, scientists and economists promised to deliver a more fair, rational, efficient, and productive life for everyone, themselves above all (<sup>164</sup>Berkes 2012: p.277).

Both TEK and metis need to be simplified in the eye of the state, so that the state can grasp what it can manipulate and screen out what it doesn't need to know or is not interested in about TEK and metis. Scott used the scientific forest technology developed by the state as an example to illustrate the kind of abstracting and utilitarian logic that the state, through its officials, applied to the forest is thus not entirely distinctive. Through the language usage, we can see the nature view from the lens of the modern state.

*In fact, utilitarian discourse replaces the term “nature” with the term “natural resources,” focusing on those aspects of nature that can be appropriated for human use. A comparable logic extracts from a more generalized natural world those flora or fauna that are of utilitarian value (usually marketable commodities) and, in turn, reclassifies those species that compete with, prey on, or otherwise diminish the yields of the valued species. Thus, plants that are valued become “crops”, the species that compete with them are stigmatized as “weeds”, and the insects that ingest*

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<sup>163</sup> Scott, James C. (1998). *Seeing like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

<sup>164</sup> Berkes, Fikret. (2012). *Sacred Ecology*. Hoboken: Taylor & Francis.  
<http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=957004>.

*them are stigmatized as “pests”. Thus, trees that are valued become “timber”, while species that compete with them become “trash” trees or “under- brush”. The same logic applies to fauna. Highly valued animals become “game” or “livestock”, while those animals that compete with or prey upon them become “predators” or “varmints” (Scott 1998: p.13).*

If the state adopts the ecosystem view mentioned above, together with similar models from economics, it would suggest that resources could be broken down into discrete categories such as timber, water, and soil. Each discrete category, such as timber, could then be managed independently of the others, using maximum sustained yield and maximum economic yield models, and constructing supply-demand curves for each component of the ecosystem (Davidson-Hunt & Berkes 2001: p. 80). However, many resource managers know that this is not a good assumption, and there are many resource management disaster stories to prove it (<sup>165</sup>Gunderson et al 1995).

In fact, the modern scientific knowledge and traditional ecological knowledge are not parallel, but complementary with each other. Combining the essence of these two kinds of knowledge can help us have more comprehensive understanding to the ecological system. Taking the case of Arctic area encountering the threat of climate change as an example, Inuit’s TEK in northern communities can complement western, science-based understandings of climate change in the Arctic.

*For example, the scientific evidence regarding the freshening of Arctic Ocean is inconclusive. However, some Sachs Harbor hunters have noticed that seals are sinking to deeper water level at the floe edge, a phenomenon attributed to a lower fat content and/or the greater freshening of the ocean water from melting sea ice. In late winter, seals tend to be relatively low in fat and spring melt results in low-density surface water, hence seals are less*

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<sup>165</sup> Gunderson, Lance H, C. S Holling, and Stephen S Light. (1995). *Barriers and Bridges to the Renewal of Ecosystems and Institutions*. New York: Columbia University Press.

*buoyant and tend to sink deeper. The fact that seals in recent years are sinking deeper may be local evidence that the low-salinity surface layer has become thicker (166Berkes 2001: p.317).*

Neither Western science nor traditional knowledge is sufficient in isolation to address all the complexities of global climate change. For understanding a change, the wise approach is one that takes a pluralistic view (Riedlinger & Berkes 2001: p.326).

Another example is in the northern sierra of Oaxaca, Mexico, Rincón Zapotec farming is an attempt to stretch the conventional boundaries; specifically, González (1672001) has argued that the divisions between local and cosmopolitan sciences, or an imagined “West” and “the rest,” are inadequate for thinking about agriculture today. The Zapotec case study demonstrates that Zapotec science is inseparable from cosmopolitan science and vice versa.

Berkes (2012) has discussed the relationship between TEK and Western scientific knowledge as follows.

*Perhaps the most useful way to think about indigenous knowledge is that it is complementary to Western scientific knowledge, and not a replacement for it. Rooted in different worldviews and unequal in power, Western and traditional knowledge are not easy to combine. It may never be possible or desirable to meld the two, even if Western knowledge is represented by one of the holistic traditions. Each is legitimate in its own right, within its own context; each has its own strengths. The two kinds of knowledge may be pursued separately but in parallel, enriching one another as needed (Berkes 2012: p.282-283).*

Although nuclear waste is only a byproduct of nuclear technology aiming to provide

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<sup>166</sup> Riedlinger, Dyanna & Fikret, Berkes. (2001). “Contributions of Traditional Knowledge to Understanding Climate Change in the Canadian Arctic.” *Polar Record Polar Record* 37(203).

<sup>167</sup> González, Roberto J. Zapotec (2001). *Science: Farming and Food in the Northern Sierra of Oaxaca*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

human beings a “better” life, especially from the viewpoint of non-indigenous people, how to deal with it has been a huge challenge to some countries. Actually, nuclear waste issue is situated in a context of politics, economics, history, geography, culture, science and ecology. In order to search for the best or most adequate alternative to manage the nuclear waste, we have to apply multiple sources of knowledge including modern science and TEK from local indigenous communities.

### The Injustice of the Decision

Under pressure from the public outcry of environmental protection groups and local people, the Atomic Energy Council in 2006 promulgated the “Act on Sites for Establishment of Final Disposal Facilities for Low-Level Radioactive Waste” (Site Establishment Act), whereby the Taiwanese government aims to deal with the issue of nuclear waste sites in accordance with the procedural, distributive and interactional justice. On the aspect of procedural justice, regarding the regulation of the Site Establishment Act, TPC is required to perform the following tasks in order in the first 5 years: the announcement of site alternatives 5 years in advance, on-site investigation, referendum, and environmental impact assessment. In the second period of 5 years, TPC starts to procure land and build the repository. TPC planned to open the new permanent repository in 2016. The detailed procedure of site selection of nuclear waste is as follows based on the Site Establishment.

#### *Selection process*

##### *1. Announcement of proposed sites*

*A. Three proposed sites: each granted USD 320,000.*

*B. County government of proposed sites: each granted USD 320,000.*

2. *Announcement of one candidate site*
3. *Referendum of the county population*
4. *Announcement of a presumptive site*
5. *Two-phase environmental assessment*
6. *Ratification of the site in 2011*

*County government and township office each granted USD 160 million*

7. *Site becomes operational in 2016 (168Ahni Sep 27, 2008)*

By following the above mentioned procedure, the Taiwanese government has attempted to try its best to alleviate the anxiety of environmental groups and people, demonstrating procedural justice with regard to the people's welfare. On the aspect of distributive justice, TPC proposed a compensation package to provide social benefits, to enhance the local economic development, and to upgrade the social welfare plan for locals. With respect to interactional justice, TPC used mass media as well as face-to-face communication to disseminate the information of nuclear waste site selection and procedure. For the site alternative selection, TPC established multiple communication channels such as seeking local opinion leaders' support, holding discussion forums in the local communities and relevant organizations and visiting household by household to explain the plan. Before the referendum, TPC tried to create a favorable atmosphere to obtain the agreement of the majority.

According to TPC's semiannual "Review Report on Implementation of the Final Disposal Plan for Low-Level Radioactive Waste by Taiwan Power Company", I summarize the major steps and events of nuclear waste site selection procedure in the last decade as follows (Table 5).

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<sup>168</sup> Ahni (2008, Sep 27). *Nuclear Waste Dump Site Proposed in Taiwan*.  
<http://intercontinentalcry.org/nuclear-waste-dump-site-proposed-in-taiwan/>

Table 5 Timetable for site selection

Time	Agenda
2004 July	“Site Selecting Team” formally established
2006 May	Act on Sites for Establishment of Final Disposal Facility for Low-Level Radioactive waste (Site Establishment Act) promulgated
2008 August	Site Selecting Team nominated three proposed candidate sites <sup>169</sup> as follows. 1. Donghi Island, Wangan Township. 2. Xuhai Village, Mudan Township 3. Nantian Village, Daren Township
2009 February	After the on-site investigation by Site Selecting Team, Nantian Village, Daren Township and Donghi Island, Wangan Township became the Candidate sites <sup>170</sup> .
2009 September	Penghu County Government designated Donghi Island, Wangan Township as the Penghu South Sea <b>Basalt Nature Reserve Area</b> . According to the Cultural Heritage Conservation Law, it is not allowed to change or cause damage in a reserve area. Daren Township was the only remaining candidate for site selection, violating Site Establishment Act, which requires at least two candidates for site selection. Thus, TPC restarted the procedure of searching for potential site alternatives.
2010 September	Site Selecting Team reselected Nantian Village, Daren Township and Wuciou Township, Kinmen County as candidates for nuclear waste site.
2010 January -2011 April	Taiwan Power Company interviewed households in Daren Township for two rounds and employed a telephone poll, indicating the supporting rates were 38%, 40%, and 41.3% respectively.
2011 March	Fukushima nuclear disaster happened in Japan.
2011 March	TPC announced via Internet that Nantian Village, Daren Township and Wuciou Township, Kinmen County were selected as potential sites for the second nuclear waste repository. Meanwhile, TPC responded to questions from the public.
2012 July	The Ministry of Economic Affairs announced that Daren Township of Taitung County and Wuciou Township of Kinmen County are two proposed candidate sites for nuclear waste disposal, where there will be a referendum in each county. According to TPC’s schedule, if the residents of the candidate site pass the referendum, and the site will be scheduled to finish the environment evaluation in 2016 and start the operation of the final disposal repository in 2021 <sup>171</sup> . Since Taitung County and Kinmen County refused to hold the referendum <sup>172</sup> , the subsequent plans were not finished on schedule.

<sup>169</sup> A potential site selected according to the site selection plan or voluntarily recommended by a county (city), that has passed the review and has been determined and publicized by the implementing authority. At least two sites shall be selected as recommended candidate sites (Website of AEC, Taiwan).

<sup>170</sup> A recommended candidate site agreed by the citizens in the local referendum (Website of AEC, Taiwan).

<sup>171</sup> The project reports on “The current storage conditions of the used nuclear fuel of Nuclear Power Plant 1, 2 and 3”, “The planning and implementation of dry storage and the final treatment”, “The implementation of the final treatment of the nuclear waste in Lanyu” and “The current conditions of the purchase and the storage of nuclear fuel at Longmen Power Plant (Nuclear Power Plant 4)”, the Education and Culture Committee in the third meeting of the eighth session of Legislation Yuan, 2013. (「核一、核二、核三廠用過核子燃料之貯存現況、乾式貯存與最終處置之規劃與執行情形，以及蘭嶼核廢料之最終處置執行情形」及「龍門電廠(核四)核子燃料購入及貯存現況」專案報告 2013 立法院第 8 屆第 3 會期教育及文化委員會。行政院原子能委員會報告。) [http://www.aec.gov.tw/webpage/policy/results/files/results\\_01\\_102-6.pdf](http://www.aec.gov.tw/webpage/policy/results/files/results_01_102-6.pdf)

<sup>172</sup> “The proposed referendums on the storage of nuclear waste in Chinmen and Taitung: The central government provokes the local governments (公投核廢料放金門、台東 地方怒嗆中央 | NOWnews 今日新聞,”) 2013. <http://www.nownews.com/n/2013/03/05/315614>.

Although public voices were polarized on the issue of nuclear waste storage, Nantian Village was selected as candidate for nuclear waste site in 2008 and 2010 respectively. Suddenly, this unknown village became the focus of the mass media.

*Taiwan Nuclear Waste Stored By a Poor Village for Government Money*

*NANTIAN VILLAGE, Taiwan -- They tried sending it to North Korea. They tried sending it to China. Now, they're trying to send it to this remote seaside village in southeast Taiwan.*

*Like nuclear energy-using countries worldwide, Taiwan is struggling to find a final resting place for its radioactive nuclear waste. Strange to say, many villagers here are willing to accept the toxic duty. The reasons, according to village chief Chang Chih-hsin, and other residents: Money and development.*

*"Some people nearby are protesting, but here in the village, most people support it," said Chang, in an interview at the village office.*

*Critics of the plan say this poor village is merely being bought off by the government's generous compensation proposal, and is low-balling the health risks (The Huff Post World 2009).*

Nantian Village (南田村) is located next to my hometown, Ansuo Village (安朔村); both of them belong to Daren Township, which is in southeast Taiwan. The population of Daren Township (達仁鄉) is 4,196, including 21% under the age of 19, 33% between the age of 20 and 39, 33% between the age of 40 and 59, and 13% under the age of 60. The major groups are the ones in the prime of their life. The Paiwan people (排灣族)<sup>173</sup> are the largest ethnic group in this area.

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<sup>173</sup> The Paiwan people is one of the fourteen officially recognized indigenous peoples in Taiwan. Paiwan people are close to 86,000 in population. The chief of the noble class in each village is at the same time the leader in

Due to the lack of commercial activities, most of the residents at Nantian Village are either farmers or part-time workers for specific projects. This remote village only covers approximately three hundred and six square kilometers and contains about one hundred and sixty-seven households with four hundred and forty-five residents (the webpage of Daren Township Office, 2012).

Table 5 indicates the poll before Fukushima nuclear disaster of Japan in 2011, revealing that about 40% of Daren residents agreed with the proposal of nuclear waste site. Although there is not an updated poll after the Japanese nuclear disaster, yet we could tell Nantian villagers are feeling more anxiety after the event.

*Nantian Village Head Gao Fu-Yuan said that TPC has held three information meetings in recent years to communicate with local residents about the security of the nuclear waste repository. The last meeting was held before the Fukushima nuclear disaster, while Gao questioned whether TPC proactively communicated with the local residents who now have more concerns about the nuclear power after the event (174Taiwan Li Post 2012, Feb 19).*

Aside from Daren Township, the other candidate site for nuclear waste in 2011 is Wuciou, Kinmen County, a small, even miniature township. Based on its geographic relationship, Wuciou Township on granite and basalt is composed of two villages with a total area of 1.2 square kilometers in Daciou Island & Siaociou Island, respectively. Owing to ocean around these islands, high-quality laver produced here is the best-known special product, and various aquatic products from the important fishing ground around the islands

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politics, military affairs, and even in religion. Each clan is an independent and autonomous unit. (The website of the Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan)

<sup>174</sup> Taiwan Li Post (2012, Feb 19). *Seventy Percent of Nantian Villagers accept Nuclear Waste*. From <http://www.coolloud.org.tw/node/66659>

like red moss, yellow croaker, lobster, and shellfish are very rich (<sup>175</sup>Website of Wuciou Township Office).

Wuciou Township, an area under military governance since it is located near Mainland China, has 500 registered permanent residents. Except for more residents who come back to Wuciou in winter to harvest laver, zicai (紫菜) in Chinese, a kind of edible seaweed with high content of dietary minerals, particularly iodine and iron, the number of regular residents is about 40. After interviewing each permanent resident in Wuciou between May 24 and June 3, 2011, TPC stated in its 2011 Report that few permanent residents would be strongly against the proposal for a nuclear waste site. What the residents were really concerned about was their hopes that they would receive substantial compensation, worrying that nuclear waste would contaminate ocean and laver, and asking for a comprehensive policy package for any nuclear waste site (2011 TPC Official Report). But there is a completely opposite voice from the local officials interviewed by the news media.

*Wuciou Township Head Chen Hsin-Ciou and representative Township Council Representative Tsai Fu-Chun expressed their objection to the proposal of a nuclear waste site. To demonstrate determination, they announced that they would sacrifice their lives to protect Wuciou. Chen said that TPC is very careless and unworthy of trust. He thinks the monetary compensation program is just a fake or a blind to cover TPC's plot. Tsai mentioned that the recent nuclear disaster in Japan scared most people and he will do his best to block TPC's dumping of nuclear waste in Wuciou. (176April 03, 2011 Worldjournal.com)*

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<sup>175</sup> Wuciou Township Office website. From [http://www.kinmen.gov.tw/Layout/sub\\_B/AllInOne\\_en\\_Show.aspx?path=6374&guid=52081486-4faa-4916-9ce7-0e7d0d959e38&lang=en-us](http://www.kinmen.gov.tw/Layout/sub_B/AllInOne_en_Show.aspx?path=6374&guid=52081486-4faa-4916-9ce7-0e7d0d959e38&lang=en-us)

<sup>176</sup> Worldjournal.com (2011, April 03). Wuciou Township Head Against, but Villigers expect compensation.

Compared to the obvious violation of environmental justice principles when sending the nuclear waste to Lanyu, now TPC seems to have done its best to fulfill the requirement of environmental justice. However, what I am trying to argue is TPC's effort is still far away from authentic environmental justice.

To be specific, I regret to indicate that the procedural, distributive, and interactional justice on the site selection of nuclear waste were not realized by the Taiwanese government. First, regarding procedural justice, one should be concerned about what groups are supposed to have the right to decide the agenda of nuclear waste site selection. In Taiwan, the agenda was solely made by the state. If the state really respected the land rights of Taiwanese indigenous peoples, it should have invited the indigenous representatives to serve on the original committee that administered the process of site selection. In fact, the Ministry of Economic Affairs, the Taiwan Power Company, and the ministerial level Atomic Energy Council (AEC) virtually formed a coalition for advancing nuclear power use. Although the AEC is the country's nuclear watchdog, in charge of monitoring radiation and regulating radioactive waste management, its mission has effectively bound the agency to nuclear power. The termination of nuclear energy use in Taiwan would amount to the abolition of the AEC itself (<sup>177</sup>Wu 2007: p.993). Ironically, TPC is acting as both player and referee on the issue of nuclear waste sites.

Second, distributive justice on the issue of nuclear waste site did not exist. Although Wuciou Island and Donghi Island are occupied by Han people, indigenous populations are

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From  
<http://www.worldjournal.com/pages/aTaiwannews/push?article-%E7%83%8F%E5%9D%B5%E9%84%89%E9%95%B7%E8%AA%93%E6%AD%BB%E5%8F%8D%E5%B0%8D+%E4%B9%9F%E6%9C%89%E9%84%89%E6%B0%91%E7%9B%BC%E5%9B%9E%E9%A5%8B%20&id=12608806>

<sup>177</sup> Wu, Yu-Shan (2007). Taiwan's Developmental State: After the Economic and Political Turmoil. *Asian Survey*, 47(6), 977-1001.

2% of Taiwan's total population, three of the six candidate sites have been in indigenous communities. Furthermore, in view of a cruel and sad colonization history, the Taiwanese government seems not to deserve the right to discuss distributional justice with Taiwanese indigenous peoples. As Lipsitz (1782007) mentioned, in “the racialization of space” and the “spatialization of race,” race serves as a key variable in shaping differential exposure to polluted air, water, food, and land. Opportunities in this society are both spatialized and racialized. He further stressed that these interconnections among race, place, and power in the United States have long history (p.12). Voyles (1792010) extended what Lipsitz states about the spatial ethnic history as follows.

*“that is, the notion that distribution of colonialism is merely a toe on the foot of the much larger monster of colonialism, racism, and industrialized resource extraction. Simply put, the disproportionate distribution of environmental “bad” in and near communities of color does not account for the ways in which racial colonialism in all its forms (forced migration, forced displacement, rape and forced reproduction, degraded labor conditions, unsustainable resource extraction- whether that resource is “natural” or the resource of human labor-, forced exposure to illness and toxics, etc.) has always been conducted on and through the degradation of human environs and human health (Voyles 2010: p.26).*

Hence, when talking about distributional justice, we cannot merely use the present inferior economic status of Taiwanese indigenous peoples as the basis of compensation, but in the eye of historical context to retrospect that Taiwanese indigenous peoples were deprived of their land, marginalized by the Han culture, and stigmatized in the Han society.

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<sup>178</sup> Lipsitz, George (2007). *The racialization of space and the spatialization of race. How Racism Takes Place*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

<sup>179</sup> Voyles, Traci Brynne (2010). *Decolonizing Cartographies: Territoriality, and Meaning in the Uranium Landscape*. University of California, San Diego. PHD Dissertation.

Considering the huge tangible and intangible damage born by Taiwanese indigenous peoples in the colonial history, it is not unreasonable to argue that selecting nuclear waste sites in indigenous areas has nothing to do with environmental justice, but is simply one kind of environmental racialism. Actually, indigenous land bears deep colonized pain, which is not the same as the one owned by poor people. Just as the description of the “<sup>180</sup>historical trauma” of Native Americans by Dr. Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart, one should look at indigenous people’s poverty through a longitudinal view, since they have suffered cumulative emotional and psychological wounding over the lifespan and across generations, emanating from massive group trauma (<sup>181</sup>Brave Heart 1998: p.288). The greatest source of historical trauma, rooted in systemic genocidal violence, may be the displacement of people from their homeland territories. The loss of one’s connection to landscape, to place, has been verified as strongly associated with poor health outcome. Place-breaking makes heart-breaking possible (<sup>182</sup>Peña 2011: p.208-209).

Lastly, with respect to interactive justice, it is a fact that most indigenous people in Daren Township apparently are less educated than residents in other areas of Taiwan. What indigenous villagers can understand about the nuclear knowledge and the risk of nuclear waste is definitely insufficient to have effective communication with TPC’s modern nuclear scientists. Under such circumstances, the substantial knowledge gap between Han and

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<sup>180</sup> Historical trauma is a concept that was first developed and used by researchers studying the intergenerational health problems of Holocaust survivors and their families. More recently, Native American research scholars have developed studies that focus on the intergenerational trauma experienced by native cultures and communities that have been subjected to centuries of colonial domination in the aftermath of conquest. (Quoted from Peña, Devon G. (2011). “Structural Violence, Historical Trauma, and Public Health: The Environmental Justice Critique of Contemporary Risk Science and Practice.” *Communities, Neighborhoods, and Health, Social Disparities in Health and Health Care* 1(3), 203–18. doi:10.1007/978-1-4419-7482-2\_11.).

<sup>181</sup> Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart Ph.D. (1998). *The return to the sacred path: Healing the historical trauma and historical unresolved grief response among the lakota through a psychoeducational group intervention*, *Smith College Studies in Social Work*, 68(3), pp.287-305.

<sup>182</sup> Peña, Devon G. (2011). “Structural Violence, Historical Trauma, and Public Health: The Environmental Justice Critique of Contemporary Risk Science and Practice.” *Communities, Neighborhoods, and Health, Social Disparities in Health and Health Care* 1(3), 203–18. doi:10.1007/978-1-4419-7482-2\_11.

Non-Han groups predestines the failure of achieving interactional justice.

After the above discussion of the three criteria of environmental justice, we need to ask ourselves a more basic question: is the environmental justice from the perspective of the state equal to that of indigenous people? What if it is not and we may be wondering what on earth the environmental justice from the perspective of indigenous people is. Simply put, the only situation where there is no difference of the concept of environmental justice between the state and indigenous people is when they see the people-land relationship as exactly the same one<sup>183</sup>.

Conceptually, it's obvious that the concept of environmental justice viewed from the state and indigenous people is different after the discussion of two philosophies on nature of Western and Chinese respectively, both of which neglect the existence of indigenous people in nature. Practically, the implementation of the three dimensions of environmental justice including procedural justice, distributive justice is defined almost exclusively by the state, not by indigenous people. Regarding procedural justice, the traditional decision making modes of indigenous villages were not considered when the ACT was drafted. Regarding distributive justice, the state treats native land as tradable goods, so the compensation offered to indigenous people is thought to be fair. But, the value of native land is hard to be estimated from the state or in monetary terms.

In sum, though the TPC has tried to fulfill the procedural, distributive, and interactional justice for Taiwanese indigenous peoples, from the outcome of the nuclear waste site selection, I can reasonably infer that the state's adherence to principles of environmental justice is superficial, and the procedure and outcome are unjust in the dimensions of place

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<sup>183</sup> Or that indigenous people effectively control the state, which is not true in the Marshall Islands or French Polynesia, but would be true, for example, in island countries such as Kiribati or Tuvalu.

and space. Because the state applies the criteria of justice through the lenses of developmental science and state legal procedure only, neglecting the perspective of traditional knowledge, the indigenous territory is generally regarded as wasteland, and the state actors believe they have acted justly in selecting the sites. The Taiwanese government is applying developmentalism and modern nuclear colonialism to Taiwanese indigenous communities, and neither the procedure nor the outcome is environmentally just.

## Chapter 3

# The Fluid Relationship between Taiwanese Indigenous People and Their Land

The purpose of this chapter is to compare indigenous ideas about the relationship between people and land in Paiwan and Tao cultures, along with the changes that have happened since the state effectively took over administration of land, the influences of Christian religion, and the impacts of capitalism.

### Land Ownership

#### Paiwan People

In one of his reports in 1910 in French, Ryuzo Torii (鳥居龍藏) referred to Kanori Ino (伊能嘉矩)'s statement that Paiwan people describe themselves as “sepaiwan na men” and thus gave a name “Paiwan”, indicating that those people's ancestors were from Paiwan (<sup>184</sup>Yeh 2002: p.26; <sup>185</sup>Chang 2013: p. 30). Nantian is a village in the Paiwan traditional area and most residents are Paiwan people.

Traditionally, Paiwan people is an ethnic group with strict social classes and a hereditary system of chieftanship, which reflects that the *mazangiljan* (chieftain) is the core of the political power of the traditional social structure, whose family members also acquire the chieftain's diffusing power with descending weight as the kinship distance from the chief increases (<sup>186</sup>Hsieh 2007). But, how did Paiwan people define their land ownership before the

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<sup>184</sup> Yeh, Shen-Pao. (2002). *Exploring the community migration and ethnic relationship of Paiwan Caqovoqovolj people*. (排灣族 caqovoqovolj (內文) 社群遷徙與族群關係的探討) (Master Thesis). National Dong-Hwa University, Taiwan.

<sup>185</sup> Chang, Chin-Sheng (2013). *A Study of the Change and the Development of the Institution of Mamazangiljan in Paiwan Society* (Ph. D. Thesis). National Chengchi University, Taiwan.

<sup>186</sup> Hsieh, Cheng-Tao. (2007). A Study of Paiwan Traditional Social Structure. *Humanities and Social Science*, 1(1), 123–143.

colonizing regimes came?

In order to answer the question about determinants of the land ownership in Paiwan's society, firstly we have to understand that the relationship between Paiwan people and land is closely related to both the original production system and the strict social hierarchical system with four ranks, namely chieftain, noble, warrior and common people. The title of the *mazangiljan* (chieftain) is inherited by the eldest child (either boy or girl), from generation to generation (ascribed status), and marriage and achievement can help promote their ranks. However, a *pualu* (warrior) is not necessarily from a warrior's family; as long as a man has passed all hunting tests, he can become part of the warrior class (achieved status). A *mazangiljan* of the highest rank takes charge of all resources, including land, forests, rivers and hunting grounds. The common people are only permitted to plow and sow in the chieftain's land and should hand over the *saja* (farm tax) to the chieftain during the sowing season. Usually Paiwan people have to pay *vadis* (tribute) when catching large hunted animals on the *mazangiljan's* land or fish in the *mazangiljan's* rivers, or when killing pigs for festivals. Correspondingly, *mazangiljan* has responsibility for his or her subordinates, including protecting commoners' property and lives, arbitrating the conflicts among villages, providing social welfare such as care for orphans, elders, poor people and patients, etc.

(<sup>187</sup>Tan 2007: p.44-45).

Since *zangi*, one of the roots of *mazangiljan*, means dependency and care, *mazangiljan* is thought to be a person who is reliable and cares about others. Although Chinese scholars have used different words to translate *mazangiljan*, such as *chang-lao* (長老) "elder," or *chiou-chang* (酋長) "chieftain of a village" during the Dutch colonial period; *tu-mu* (土目), "the eyes of indigenous people" or *tou-mu* (頭目), "head of indigenous people," during the Qing Dynasty; *tou-ren* (頭人) or *chung-chu-tou-mu* (宗主頭目), "the head of a

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<sup>187</sup> Tan, Chang-Kwo (2007). *Paiwan People*. Taipei: San Min Book Co.

village” during the period of Japanese colonial rule; or tuan-chang(團長), “the head of a group,” or chun-wang (君王), “the king of a territory” during the early years of Republic of China rule, the Chinese translation of *mazazangiljan* cannot completely correspond to the meaning of it in the Paiwan culture (<sup>188</sup>Chang 2013). A traditional Paiwan chieftain owns the following rights including *vadis* (the right to receive tributes), *kazelju* (the right to share tributes), *paqeladje* (the right to distribute *mazazangiljan*’s power to siblings), *papuvaljau* (the right to permit marriages), *vengtsikan* (the right to use totems), *kralingan* (the right to confer the title of a priestess), *venudivudilje* (the right to confer the status of nobility), *semaqinaljang* (the right to allow noble family to create new village), *qemizing* (the right to expand the territory), *penenetje-ta-sipalisijaqadau* (the right to worship), *iqetsi* (the right to declare war), *iqalja* (the right to hunt heads due to defense), *masauwas* (the right to negotiate with outsiders for peace), *veseng* (the right to close the creeks and mountains), *ipuqali* (the right to create new diplomatic relationships), *sema-a-udanag* (the right to make laws), *penenetje* (the right to make judgment), and *tjemaumalje* (the right to permit remarriages) ( <sup>189</sup>Chang 2010: p.67).

Before the Japanese colonial period in Taiwan, the Paiwan traditional social system locating near the piedmont had not encountered many changes. Based on the Paiwan view of land and territory, the Paiwan society is like a small nation with a comprehensive administrative and juridical system (<sup>190</sup>Kui 2012: p.22-24). The viewpoints of Paiwan power relevant to land can be discussed from two following aspects. First, regarding the relationship between humans and the land, *mazazangiljan* leads the Paiwan people not only to protect

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<sup>188</sup> Chang, Chin-Sheng (2013). *A Study of the Change and the Development of the Institution of Mamazangiljan in Paiwan Society* (Ph. D. Thesis). National Chengchi University, Taiwan.

<sup>189</sup> Chang, Chin-Sheng. (2010). 排灣族 mamazangiljang 系譜與部落權力核心變遷之探討 (論文章節報告書). National Chengchi University Taipei. Retrieved from <http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:YoLx1EkrxKqJ:www.ethnos.nccu.edu.tw/doc/9802presentation/09.pdf+&cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us>

<sup>190</sup>Kui, Chun-Tsai. (2012). The Change and Development of Paiwan Social Organizations: The Approach of Voluntary/non-Voluntary Organizations. *Taiwan Journal of Indigenous Studies*, 5(3), 19–

both the sovereign right and integrity over territory, but also to obey the faith that land is seen as life. Second, in terms of the right and obligation of land utilization, *mazazangiljan* won't interfere with or limit the land size the common people need. The land system in the traditional cultural system does not endow the noble with the privileges and benefits of land use. Instead, the people with greater plowing capabilities are allowed to own larger amounts of land. People with greater capabilities can inherit ancestors' land and keep using it. In addition, they can endeavor to secure the land for themselves and their family without any interference (<sup>191</sup>Chang 2013: p. 402). In other words, the Paiwan land rights are village-centered, placing more concern on the value of utilization rather than the value of possession. However, the distribution of land rights in the current indigenous land policy adopts the registration and private-ownership system. Under such a system, the landowner has the absolute power to make use of land, which contradicts the Paiwan traditional concept of land ownership (<sup>192</sup>Yang 2011: p.75).

The biggest difference in land ownership is that states regard land as a belonging to themselves or their subjects, while indigenous people believe that humans belong to land. All the successive states that had ruled Taiwan were committed modernists. Unlike Han people, in the view of indigenous people they deem nature as a subject, and humans should properly respond to the traits of landscape to live on the land. Humans have only the right to use land, but not to own it.

## Tao People

In contrast to the Paiwan social hierarchical system, there is no apparent social class system in Tao society, indicating it is more like a society with equal rights. According to

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<sup>191</sup> Chang, Chin-Sheng (2013). *A Study of the Change and the Development of the Institution of Mamazangiljan in Paiwan Society* (Ph. D. Thesis). National Chengchi University, Taiwan.

<sup>192</sup>Yang, Chuan-Ying. (2011). *Traditional custom, state law and land right: the case of Paiwan and Tao peoples* 傳統習慣、國家法與土地權：以排灣族與雅美族為例. National Donghua University, Taiwan.

different events or functionalities, Tao social authority designates temporary leaders such as *makayokod* (virtuous and respectful persons), *mabsoy* (persons with great fortune), *mangangamo* (persons with the right to initiate wars)<sup>193</sup>, and so on, most of whom are male. Unlike the Paiwan noble heredity system, the leader designation is a rotation system, in which leaders do not have prior social status (<sup>194</sup>Yang 2006: p.58-59). Tao leaders' power vanished after specific events. There are six independent villages in Lanyu Island, where there is no cross-village authority mechanism (<sup>195</sup>Yang 2012: p.43). Each of these villages has its own territory, forests, rivers, seashores, and fishing areas, keeping them from invading each other.

The concept of Tao land rights covers two types of properties, village properties and private properties. Undeveloped utilizable resources such as forests, spring water, belonged to the village, are named by the directions, and used to define the boundaries of land (<sup>10</sup>Yang 2011: p.59). The right to exploit sea resources for a village is limited by the sea boundary, which is extended from its land boundary to the farthest distance a Tao canoe can be reached by the crews' stamina. By defining the sea boundaries among villages, Tao people living in a certain village would not exploit the sea resources belonging to other villages. However, in the flying fish season, the boundaries among villages will disappear because Tao people believe that the flying fish is the gift from God, which belongs to all villagers in Lanyu Island (<sup>10</sup>Yang 2011: p.65-66).

Basically, the ownership of Tao house and land is for the whole clan. The father owns the house built on ground, which cannot be divided and inherited. After the death of a father, the house will be torn down and the building materials recovered from the demolished house

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<sup>193</sup> [http://www.pct.org.tw/rnd/tao/Tao3\\_1.htm](http://www.pct.org.tw/rnd/tao/Tao3_1.htm)

<sup>194</sup> Yang, Chuan-Ying. (2011). *Customary law, state law, and land right: the cases of Paiwan and Tao socialites*. (傳統習慣、國家法與土地權：以排灣族與雅美族為例). National Dong Hwa University, Taiwan.

<sup>195</sup> Yang, Cheng-Hsien. *The ethnic group between islands and nations-The contemporary imagination of the relationship history of Taiwan Lanyu's Tao and Philippine Batan's Ivatan 島、國之間的「族群」- 台灣蘭嶼 Tao 與菲律賓巴丹島 Ivatan 關係史的當代想像*. Hualien, Taiwan: National Dong Hwa University, 2012.

will be shared with brothers. Forests, fruit trees, and thatch fields also belong to the clan (Yang, 2011: p.66).

Syaman Rapogan, a Tao author and also one of few middle-age men who can build Tao canoes, had mentioned the intimate relationship between trees and Tao people in his anthropological master's thesis.

*A house is a place where humans are living and souls can anchor. Through rituals, houses and canoes support and secure lives and souls. Hence, that's why trees are personalized in Tao ritual culture. From the concept of man, Tao people give the meanings of alag and ngilin to houses and canoes. The former is a ritual place for population reproduction, and the latter is a tool for survival and the medium for connecting sea and land. As a result, houses and canoes made by trees with endowed meanings contain the concept of life and soul. Accordingly, wooded land, which can be inherited, has become a concept of property...In order to meet the need of building houses and canoes in the future, Tao men following their fathers have started to identify and learned to take care of their family-owned trees since their childhood... Some important trees are named mangagaz so kaya, indicating those trees were possessed previously and actually grow on other people's fields. Trees are regarded as private property and are as important as human's life...*

*By their fathers' teaching, traditional Tao men have begun to learn their clan-owned forests and to identify the specific marks made by other fishing clans on trees (Figure 6)... Since it takes twenty to thirty years for a tree to reach maturity, the feeling of taking care of a tree is exactly the same as the one of taking care of a baby...The frequency of visiting mountains (mikakahasan), the behavior of taking care of little trees and building clan fields, the number of prior possession marks made on trees, and the knowing of the history about the clan trees are the solid evidences to establish a Tao man's social status (Syaman Rapogan 2003: p.68-69).*

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<sup>196</sup>Syaman, Rapongan. (2003). *The fertile indigenous island-Tao ocean knowledge and culture* (原初豐腴的島嶼- 達悟民族的海洋知識與文化) (Master Thesis). National Tsinghua University, Hsinchu City.

Constructing houses and canoes is a very hard job. It would take three years and at least one hundred trees to build a simple main house with three doors. Constructing a main house with four doors needs more than two hundred trees. Building a small Lanyu canoe needs twenty-five trees and fifty-five trees for a large one. As Tao people need many trees in their daily life, forests and Tao people are a unity of eternity. Tao people believe that a single tree and/or a field has its own soul, so they won't exploit the forest resources and/or fields at random. "If the trees used to construct houses and canoes did not have souls, Tao people would not feel guilty about unlawful and/or wanton tree cuttings. We have to hold the ceremony when building houses and canoes, so that the souls of houses and canoes can be anchored and hence the history of humans can be complete", said Syaman Rapogan (12Syaman Rapogan 2003: p.65).



Figure 6 A tree mark of a clan from Ivalino Village

In Tao custom, the irrigation canal systems, hills, forests, thatch fields, and pastures belong to certain clans. Because Tao main agricultural product is water taro, for watering the fields Tao people utilize natural creeks to build irrigation systems with male labors from one or several clans. Those who contributed to the irrigation systems have the right to use the irrigation systems (Figure 7). The number of the fields of water taro indicates the outcome of the clan's hard work, and becomes a criterion to judge the social status of a clan. Tao men are responsible for building the fields of water taro and Tao women need to take care of it in daily life. The relationship between Tao women and the fields of water taro is similar to the relationship between Tao men and the sea. Hills where the irrigation system cannot reach are

arid land belonging to the clan. Tao people rotate their crops such as yam and millet (<sup>10</sup>Yang 2011: p.66-67).



Figure 7 The boundary of the right to use irrigation system in *Ivalino*(野銀) Village

## The Impact of the State

### Paiwan People

The first contact of Paiwan people with empires started from the colonial periods of the Netherlands and Spain, but the two empires did not attempt to influence the life style of Paiwan people. After that, the Qing Dynasty, Japanese Empire, and the Kuomintang government successively ruled the Paiwan society. Among different ruling regimes, the Japanese Empire and the Kuomintang government have had the deepest influences on the Paiwan society (<sup>6</sup>Chang 2010: p.7).

During the Qing Dynasty, most Han immigrants from China were farmers and hence desperately needed cultivated land, which was mostly owned by Taiwanese indigenous peoples. Since then, Han people secured land both by force and peaceful means. According to the study entitled “The question of how Han people secured Taiwan’s cultivated land in the Qing Dynasty” (197Wu, 1993), there were eight ways, including exchanging items of small value for large pieces of land and making contracts with illiterate indigenous people to steal land (p.190-193).

During the period of Japan’s colonization, the Japanese government plundered Taiwan’s properties of forest, aquaculture and mines through military suppression (198Hsia 2010: p.32). In addition, the colonial officials adopted a policy of destruction rather than protection toward Taiwanese indigenous culture. On the one hand, for the purpose of destroying the self-confidence of Taiwanese indigenous peoples the colonial government sent indigenous chieftains to Japan or Taipei to witness and learn from modernization. The ultimate purpose was to push Taiwanese indigenous peoples to abandon their culture and accept modernization. On the other hand, the colonial government showed off its governance performance by treating those Taiwanese indigenous peoples who had accepted modernization as tourism demonstrations (199Cheng & Chang 2009: p.8).

After 1901, Japan enforced the police policy of training indigenous elites to be Japanese policemen, who became the emerging force in the villages and even had higher social status than the traditional *mazangilang*. Professor Tan Chang Kwo called them “the police chieftain” (200Chang 2010: p.13). The traditional Paiwan organization and system was radically destroyed in the Japanese colonial period. The *mazangiljan* lost the right of land

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<sup>197</sup> Wu, T.-Q. (1993). *The History of Agriculture in Taiwan*. Taiwan: Independence Evening Post.

<sup>198</sup> Hsia, Hsiao-Chuan (2010). The De-Spirited Drink: Exploring the Capitalization Process of Indigenous Societies in Taiwan. *Taiwan: A Radical Quarterly in Social Studies*, 77, 5-58.

<sup>199</sup> Cheng, Yi-Feng & Chang, Wei-Qi (2009). From Colonization to Development. First Year Development Annual Conference at National Chengchi University.

management and distribution, replaced by the Japanese policemen or the heads of rotating savings and credit associations (<sup>6</sup>Chang 2013 p403).

After World War II, the defeated Japanese Empire retreated from Taiwan. The succeeding Kuomintang (Chinese Nationalist) government continued using the former colonial government's land and culture policies toward Taiwanese indigenous peoples and proactively initiated the movement of "highland aborigines lowlandization" (山地平地化), aiming to eliminate Taiwanese indigenous culture by way of injecting Chinese culture and modernization. (<sup>15</sup>Cheng & Chang 2009: p.8). Both Japanese (1895-1945) and Chinese (1945-1995) regimes saw "protecting" and "improving", "educating" and "civilizing" their "mountain compatriots" (高山同胞 as their duty (<sup>201</sup>Stainton 1995: p.23).

In 1990, the Kuomintang government issued an executive order, the "Regulations on the Development of Mountain Reserve Land," to protect the rights and benefits of Taiwanese indigenous peoples and to attain the goal of facilitating the administrative tasks in the indigenous areas (<sup>9</sup>Yang 2011: p.53). Mountain Reserve Land is state land held in reserve for the use of indigenous people and cannot be sold or mortgaged except among indigenous people. Nevertheless, all the regulations of Mountain Reserve Land are affected by factional politics and corruption at the local level (<sup>17</sup>Stainton 1995: p.119-122). Because of the slackening of law enforcement in local areas, a lot of pieces of reserve land were illegally subleased or sold to non-indigenous people, resulting in great loss of reserve land. Moreover, most indigenous reserve land is on the sensitive zones of vulnerable earth's crust, which is normally prohibited from development, causing indigenous peoples to be unable to improve their status of economic disadvantage through making effective use of land (<sup>9</sup>Yang 2011: p.53).

Sasala (2006) refers to Scott's (1998) perspective of "seeing like a state" to illustrate that

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<sup>201</sup> Stainton, M. S. (1995). *Return our land counterhegemonic Presbyterian aboriginality in Taiwan*. York University, Ottawa.

how the hunting culture of Rukai (魯凱) indigenous people has been manipulated and distorted by the state hegemony and hence the relationship between humans and land is not close as before, which causes the traditional culture to gradually vanish.

*In the 1980s, the conservation laws and regulations that had been announced by the government, such as the Wildlife Conservation Act, the Forestry Act, and the Statute for Controlling Firearms, Ammunition, and Weapons, had significantly limited the practices of the traditional activities of production such as hunting and gathering. When the hunting activities of the indigenous people were not allowed under the state laws, the authorities would not recognize the traditional concept that land ownership belongs to the chieftain. Because of the legal prohibitions, the hunting activities were no longer a path to glory for the male members of the villages. Once hunting is no longer a symbol of prestige, the hunters become more reluctant to bring out their prey and share with the rest of the village. Therefore, the concept of sharing from the past gradually lost its meaning. The selfish individualism has replaced the common well-being of the village and the culture of sharing has slowly disappeared into time (202Sasala 2006: p.165).*

Indigenous land was remeasured and redistributed on the basis of modern “science”. The hegemony represented on indigenous land is through the measurement from the nation’s angle. The lines on the simplified map made by the nation neglect the complicated indigenous social structure and abundant indigenous cultural assets. No matter whether indigenous land is nationalized or privatized, the bureaucrat working for the nation, rather than the *mazangiljan* (chieftain), has become the person to decide how the current map is drawn and how the land is distributed.

## Tao People

Anthropologist Yu Kuang-Hung and Tao Presbyterian minister Dung Sen Yung categorized the Tao’s association with outside regimes into four stages: Philippine Ivatan Island, the Qing Dynasty, Japanese colonial period in Taiwan, and Kuomintang Party’s ruling

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<sup>202</sup>Taiban, S. (2006). *The lost lily : state, sociocultural change and the decline of hunting culture in Kaochapogan, Taiwan*. University of Washington, Washington.

period in Taiwan (<sup>203</sup>Yu & Tunl 1998).

Lanyu Island is geographically close to the Philippines. Tao people in Lanyu Island belong to Taiwan, and Ivatan indigenous peoples on Batanes Islands belong to the Philippines, but both have similar languages and cultural traits. As Batanes Islands are often mentioned in the ancient legends of the Tao people, linguistic, archaeological and anthropological scholars think there has long existed an intimate relationship between Tao and Ivatan indigenous peoples (Yang 2012: p.27). Although Tao people and other Taiwanese indigenous peoples are all citizens of Taiwan, Republic of China, Tao people, in fact, are closer to Ivatan peoples in terms of geographic and cultural distance. When the Kuomintang government was found to dump the nuclear waste in Lanyu Island and did not provide enough information about the nuclear waste repository to Tao people, it is not difficult to imagine why Tao people with weak national identification strongly resist the “garbage” imported from an external cultural group.

Since the Japanese colonial period in Taiwan, Lanyu Island has been administered by the “nation.” In 1895, the Qing Dynasty and the Empire of Japan signed the Treaty of Shimonoseki, in which China ceded to Japan in perpetuity and full sovereignty islands of the Pescadores (Penghu) group and Formosa (Taiwan) including Lanyu Island. At the time, the Empire of Japan regarded Lanyu as a particularly valuable site for anthropology scholars to study kin relationships, culture, ancient geography, and ancient biology among Taiwan, Ryukyu, and Southeast Asia, and thus officially set up a research area for preserving the living style of local residents and prohibiting any immigrants and development from outside. Over fifty years of colonized governance insulated from the outside, the idiosyncratic Tao culture was still remained (<sup>11</sup>Yang 2012: p.42-43).

As a territorial part of Republic of China, Lanyu has been governed by the nation since

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<sup>203</sup> Yu, Guang-Hong, and Chen-Yunl Tunl. (1998). *The History of Formosan Aborigines: Yami*. Nantau City, Taiwan: Taiwan Historica.

1946. Lanyu was designated a “mountain township.” with four administrative villages, while in fact there are six independent villages on Lanyu Island. The head of the township and the leaders of the four administrative villages are selected by the islanders. However, they only have nominal leadership, which means villagers still solve the conflicts among villages in traditional Tao way, reflecting that Tao people seldom go to the township office and police stations.

During the period of the Empire of Japan, the usage of Tao indigenous land was not interfered with, while after the Kuomintang’s governance Tao people need to register to plow the ancestors’ land, which is regarded as state-owned land. Since 1963, the Kuomintang government has required Tao people to register their land, but most Tao people are not willing to obey the regulation. Some of them were afraid of paying more tax, so they registered less land than they really owned; some of them not only registered their own land, but also other people’s land, which further complicated the problems associated private land and common land, and more conflicts have been happening among Tao people (Yu & Tunl 1998: p.161).

Around 1956, the Kuomintang government sent the political criminals with “inaccurate political thoughts” to Lanyu Island to provide labor service to soldiers such as cooking, farming, and feeding pigs and chickens. In 1958, the Team of Control and Training (TCT, 管訓隊) was established, and the Kuomintang government started to send felons to Lanyu Island to serve a sentence. Due to the army’s slackening in prison governance, some teammates (felons) of TCC escaped, stole Tao’s belongings, and raped Tao women, all of which severely threatened the security of Tao life (Yu & Tunl 1998).

“When the political criminals came to Lanyu, a lot of infrastructures were constructed by the TCT including the airport runway, the Kai Yuan Harbor, and the round-the-island road. As Tao underground houses were thought to be barbaric, the Kuomintang government required people to destroy those houses and constructed concrete houses to replace traditional Tao’s houses”, said Minister Dung. Starting from 1966, after the investigation done by the

Chinese Women's Anti-Communism Association, the first lady Chiang Soong Mei-Ling thought people cannot live under ground in the Chinese nation, and hence suggested the Taiwan provincial government should improve the living conditions of the underground houses in Lanyu. Later, the government actively implemented the Residential Houses Project for Lanyu islanders. The government demolished most traditional Tao underground houses and granted financial support to build 556 units of public housing. Each unit has about eight hundred square feet, but they were poorly constructed, and after five years of residence the government houses became dangerous, showing the problems of concrete spalling, exposure and corrosion of reinforcing bars. In 1994, it was confirmed that the units of Lanyu public housing were constructed with sea sand. Each household of Tao people was compensated with NT\$ 450,000 (around US\$ 15,000, NT\$30= US\$1) to rebuild their own houses on site (<sup>204</sup>Tsai 2007: p.37).

As mentioned above, being capable of constructing houses and canoes is a criterion to evaluate the reputation of a Tao man. Thus, Tao men need to take good care of trees labeled by them in the private owned and public forests. However, the construction of public housing did not require trees, but cash to buy building materials. The compensation of NT\$ four hundred and fifty thousands of dollars was not enough to build a house, because all the building materials imported from Taiwan caused high transportation cost, forcing Tao young men to try to find a temporary job in Taiwan to make money and build their houses periodically.

The most unacceptable thing that Tao people cannot tolerate that the Kuomintang government has done in Lanyu is the cheating about the construction of nuclear waste repository. In 1974, the Atomic Energy Council of the Executive Yuan initiated the Lanyu

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<sup>204</sup> Tsai, Y.-Y. (2007). Migration, Mental Frustration, and Modernity: The Social Origins of the Mental Disorders of the Tao Aboriginal People on Taiwan's Orchid Island. *Taiwanese Sociology*, 13, 1-69.

Project and secretly decided the destiny of Tao land for many generations (<sup>205</sup>Kuan 2007: p.96). First the Kuomintang government, in the name of the Ministry of National Defense, expropriated the original land for the nuclear waste repository, which was a piece of public land and was owned by three villages. At the time, Minister Dung, the chairperson of the villager representative council and the minister of the Presbyterian church in Iratay Village (漁人村), recalled the Kuomintang's cheating of the construction of the nuclear waste repository in the interview.

*Once one provincial councilor came to visit Lanyu, some staffs of the township office staffs and I accompanied the councilor to go around the island. When we were approaching the site of the nuclear waste repository, she wanted me to pay particular attention to the site purposely for the nuclear waste repository. In 1979, when the government started to build the nuclear waste repository, no islander could understand the technical terms such as nuclear power and nuclear waste. In 1980, I went as a minister to attend the activities held by the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan and I started asking about nuclear waste. At the time, I understood the seriousness of the nuclear waste issue. I asked the Paiwan Kuomintang province councilor, Shie Quei, to raise a question on the issue of the nuclear waste repository when attending the future meetings of the provincial council. One month later, the councilor received the response from the Atomic Energy Council, which explained that it's free from any danger putting nuclear waste in Lanyu Island. I copied the response and forwarded it to the representatives, church staffs, and teachers in Lanyu Island. Tao people did not know the truth about the nuclear waste until receiving the response. At the time, the staffs of Kuomintang Party placed much pressure on me such as inviting me to "drink a cup of coffee" many times, doing my background check, and warning me, to stop interfering with the construction plan for the nuclear waste repository.*

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<sup>205</sup>Kuan, Hsiao-Jung. (2007). *The Report of Lanyu 1987-2007* (蘭嶼報告 1987-2007). Taipei: Jen-Chien Press(人間出版社).

Minister Dung is an intellectual, who is a Kuomintang member as well as a minister of an international Christian church. Because of Minister Dung's status, he can directly or indirectly know the secrets of nuclear waste hidden by the state. Most Tao people did not know anything about the construction plan of the nuclear waste repository even when they were watching the construction. Even the town head did not know Mandarin. A few Tao people heard that the ongoing construction was for a can factory, and that the harbor was for the military purposes instead of the transportation of the nuclear waste (<sup>21</sup>Kuan 2007: p.98). Nowadays, the young intellectuals not only make more efforts on knowing the issues of nuclear power, but also deliver Lanyu indigenous people's anger and dilemma through media. Regarding nuclear waste as an evil, they try to stimulate Tao people's awareness of self-salvation. It's been over thirty years since the first wave of anti-nuclear strike initiated by the Tao young men living in Taiwan and the Presbyterian churches generation. However, the nuclear waste is still "safely" stored and has not been sent out yet.

After the "benevolent policies" including land nationalization, prison shift of political criminals and felonies, the history of public housing with low quality constructed with sea sand, and the establishments of the nuclear waste repository were implemented, the plan of Lanyu National Park was subsequently proposed. According to the traumatic experiences in the past decades, Tao people hold a highly suspicious and resistant manner against the plan for Lanyu National Park, and eventually the plan was forced to stop.

Anyway, the nation still keeps placing concerns on Lanyu. The new version of The Specialized Zone Project for Lanyu refers to the conclusion of the conference held by the Council for Economic Planning and Development in 2012, declaring that "There is a lack of holistic plan for Lanyu, resulting in the difficulty of launching an orderly development of infrastructure construction. In order to lead Lanyu's development to the right track as soon as possible ...". From the angle of urban planning, the nation would incorporate 4500 hectares of land into the special district and 300 more hectares of villages, adjacent agricultural land,

and round-the-island road as the prior scopes to plan and develop.

The subproject of soil and water conservation in the whole project has been implemented. In one year, ten more creeks were dug on a large scale for constructing concrete riverbeds and banks, forming three-faced straight river channels. It results in severe ecological destruction in creeks. Moreover, the earth dug from the creeks was washed out to sea through heavy rain, covering the valuable coral reef (<sup>206</sup>Kuo 2013). Now, Tao people have been paying much attention to this project, because they do not want to hurt their land and hear the crying of the sea.

Through the high modernist viewpoint of the nation, land is one kind of capital or resource, which can be divided for effective management not by the practical intelligence of indigenous people but by scientific knowledge for the purpose of creating its maximal value (<sup>207</sup>Scott 1998). However, for Paiwan or Tao people, land is a field not only to provide the economic support for living, but also as an important medium for social connection and community solidarity. The close relationship between Paiwan people and land can be represented and reflected by the meanings of life, history, legends, religious rituals, social culture, politics, self-esteem and self recognition of an ethnic group. Simply regarding indigenous land as a commodity or a type of capital to make development, the nation would neglect the meaning of land to indigenous peoples and the indigenous peoples' capabilities of caring for land. The over exploitation of natural resources not only has impacts indigenous peoples, but also causes ecological damages to the environment. By doing so, the nation eventually would have huge loss of "national resources".

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<sup>206</sup> Kuo, Chih-Jung. (2013). *What! The specific economic zone in Lanyu is coming!* (什麼！蘭嶼經濟特區來了). Retrieved December 16, 2015, from <http://www.appledaily.com.tw/realtimenews/article/new/20131016/275783/>

<sup>207</sup> Scott, J. C. (1998). *Seeing like a state: how certain schemes to improve the human condition have failed*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

## The Impact of the Christian Church

This section first summarizes the influences of Christian religion on Taiwanese indigenous peoples, and Chapter 4 and 5 will have more in-depth discussions about the influences of Christian religion brought on Paiwan and Tao people respectively.

Living in mountains and islands, the Taiwanese indigenous peoples have developed many mythologies, which gradually become the core of their culture and beliefs (<sup>208</sup>Wu 2011). From the beginning of its ruling, the government (the Kuomintang) headed by President Chiang Kai-Shek, who was himself a Protestant, permitted Christian missions in indigenous areas of Taiwan (<sup>209</sup>Lardinois, Zhan, & Sun 2005: p.75-76).

Compared to Han people, Taiwanese indigenous peoples without written language have a difficulty to exactly pass the traditional beliefs and conventions on their descendants. Within a decade of the introduction of Christianity into indigenous society, the Western religions with strong passion, orderly institutions, deep understanding of theology, and bodily bible have mostly replaced the Taiwanese indigenous peoples' traditional beliefs (<sup>210</sup>Chang 2011: p.139; <sup>211</sup>Chen, Wu, and Hsiao 2012: p.93).

## The Role of Christianity in the Relationship between Taiwanese Indigenous People and Land

How has the Christianization of Taiwanese indigenous peoples affected communities'

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<sup>208</sup> Wu, Mong-Jen. (2011, January 1). *The Meaning of the Tao's Beliefs and their Modifications in Syman Rapongan's Literary Works* (Master Thesis). National Chung Hsin University, Taichung City, Taiwan. Retrieved from <http://www.airitilibrary.com/searchdetail.aspx?DocIDs=U0005-0507201110362400>

<sup>209</sup> Lardinois, O., Zhan, C., & Sun, D. (2005). *The Catholic Church among the Aboriginal People of Taiwan: Past, Present and Future*. (Research Center for Taiwan Aboriginal Theology at the Faculty of Theology of Fujen University, Ed.). Taipei: Kuangchi Cultural Group.

<sup>210</sup> Chang, Hsiao-Hui. (2011). The First Contact of Protestants and Siraya: On Arminianist's Missionary Work in Formosa between 1627 and 1643. *A Journal of Cultural Studies*, (13), 129–162.

<sup>211</sup> Chen S.-F., Wu M.-C., & Hsiao J.-S. (2012). The Tribe Religion of Truku V.S. the Substitution of Re-interpretation of Christian Doctrines. *Journal of Chien-Hsin University*, 32(4), 91–104.

relationships with their land? I will use the following sections to illustrate the three major influences on the aborigine-land relationship: enhancement of ethnic confidence, inculturation, and medication and education brought by Christianity.

Enhancement of ethnic confidence: a positive influence on the indigenous peoples-land relationship

Why did Taiwanese indigenous peoples accept Christianity so easily? It is commonly believed that the social context and colonial history are two critical facilitating factors. During the colonization by the Japanese Empire, the colonial regime's indigenous policies had changed and/or destroyed the ecosystem, reproductive system and social system of Taiwanese indigenous peoples, which subsequently weakened the influence of traditional beliefs. After the transition to KMT rule, the ruling party implemented the policy called "plainize the mountains" (amalgamate indigenous people and Han people) to try to assimilate indigenous peoples (<sup>212</sup>Hsieh 1987). For Taiwan indigenous peoples, it undoubtedly was a situation that added frost to snow (<sup>28</sup>Chen, Wu, and Hsiao 2012: p.93). The context of historical crisis and threats seems to have been the underlying motive in causing indigenous peoples to adopt Christianity in a mass. It is rather as if they felt that the Christian religion was the only ideological and social structure then available which would allow them to preserve, at least in part, their own identity as a distinct community (<sup>26</sup>Lardinois, Zhan, & Sun 2004: p.114-115). As God's People 2 Peter 2: 9-10 in Christian bible mentions,

*But you are a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, God's own people, in order that you may proclaim the mighty acts of him who called you out of darkness into his marvelous light. Once you were not a people, but now you are God's people; once you had not received mercy, but now you have received mercy.*

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<sup>212</sup> Hsieh, Shih-Chung. (1987). *Stigmatized Identity: The Ethnic Change of Taiwanese Aborigines*. Taipei: Zili Evening Newspaper Company.

For indigenous peoples, the identification as God's people is a reversal of their devaluation in daily experience, and the beginning of a counter-hegemonic consciousness (<sup>17</sup>Stainton 1995: p.194-196).

Taking Bunun as an example, Yang (2001) points out Bunun is similar to other tribal societies in many Southeast Asian countries, which seek to maintain an identity apart from the dominant culture by converting to Christianity. On the one hand, "Christianity helps Bunun strengthen their identity and maintain the boundary between themselves and the Han-Chinese majority who follow predominantly Han-Chinese popular religion and Buddhism" (<sup>213</sup>Yang 2001: p.191). On the other hand, many Taiwanese indigenous elites acknowledge the undeniable contribution of the Christian churches in maintaining their native cultures and languages and in the emergence and formation to define the rights of the first inhabitants of the island, which up to then had been disregarded (<sup>26</sup>Lardinois, Zhan, & Sun 2004: p.115). In a nutshell, Christianity enhances the ethnic identity and establishes the groundwork of political and economic rights related to land issues to Taiwanese indigenous peoples.

Inculturation: a negative influence on indigenous people-land relationship.

Taiwan indigenous peoples believed that their surroundings possess spirits and powers. People should hold nature in awe. The concept of *tsemas* among Paiwan people is an example. *Tsemas* refers to supernatural beings such as land spirits, mountain spirits, river spirits, ancestor spirits and so on. Among them, *naqemati* is the creator, who creates all things on the earth. *Tjagarhaus* is the spirit taking care of the growth of millet and charging thunder and lightning (<sup>4</sup>Tang 2007: p.61-63). Among the varied *tsemas*, *vuvu* is the most intimate spirit to Paiwan people. Up to now, the ritual that Paiwan people will sprinkle some drops of wine on

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<sup>213</sup> Yang, Shu-Yuan. (2001). *Coping with marginality: the Bunun in contemporary Taiwan*. University of London, UK.

the ground or in the direction of their houses before drinking is still practiced. The ritual conveys the respect of Paiwan people to *vuvu* who were buried directly under their houses (Tang 2007: p.64).

Through applying the “inculturation” strategy, missionaries introduced Christianity to the Taiwan indigenous communities. According to the Oxford Dictionaries, inculturation is a concept describing the adaptation of Christian liturgy to a non-Christian cultural background. At the time of conversion after the KMT’s takeover, the traditional indigenous beliefs continued to function, yet most Taiwan indigenous peoples started showing their acceptance of Christianity. This kind of hybrid cultural phenomenon is commonly seen in most of the indigenous villages nowadays (Wu 2011). Because God has been transformed to ancestral spirits, the indigenous peoples are willing to enter God’s garden with some of their cultural traits (Chen, Wu, and Hsiao 2012: p.92). The examples shown below demonstrate the highest deity of indigenous peoples is transformed into the Christian God. Hence, all spirits in the hierarchy of deities become insignificant and even disappear in the indigenous societies. The Christian God is the only deity in their world.

Table 6 summarizes the substitution or re-interpretation of Christian doctrines based on tribal original cultural context.

Table 6 The substitution or re-interpretation of Christian doctrines based on Taiwanese indigenous cultural context

Taiwanese indigenous peoples	Traditional belief system	Traditional belief transformed to Christian belief
Bunun ( <sup>214</sup> Yang 2001: p.194-195)	<i>dehanin</i> is commonly regarded as the supervisor of morality by Bunun.	<i>dehanin</i> actually is the Christian God.
Siraya ( <sup>215</sup> Chang 2011: p.138-9).	Those who do good works can go to the <i>Campum Eliseum</i> (ancestor house)	<i>Campum Eliseum</i> is heavenly home
Atayal ( <sup>28</sup> Chen, Wu, and Hsiao 2012: p.92; <sup>216</sup> Zhu 2007: p.55)	<i>Utux</i> is the supernatural force; <i>tminun</i> is the creator of the world.	<i>Utux</i> or <i>tminun</i> is God.
Tsou ( <sup>28</sup> Chen, Wu, and Hsiao 2012: p.102)	<i>Nivnu</i> (She is a creator in Tsou mythology)	<i>Nivnu</i> is Jesus' mother-Miriam.
Paiwan ( <sup>4</sup> Tang 2007: p.61-63 )	<i>Naqemati</i> is a creator, who creates all things on the earth.	<i>Naqemati</i> is God.
Tao ( <sup>217</sup> Chen 1995: p.138)	The highest spirit is <i>Si-Omim</i>	<i>Si-Omim</i> is God.

In the Taiwan indigenous societies, traditional beliefs and Christianity are not regarded as contradictory or incompatible beliefs. They converted to Christianity because “it is the same as traditional beliefs” (<sup>30</sup>Yang 2001: p.191).

Under a monotheistic belief system, pantheism does not exist. “For Christian indigenous peoples, land is theirs, through historical accident but as an inheritance and responsibility

<sup>214</sup> Yang, Shu-Yuan. (2001). *Coping with marginality: the Bunun in contemporary Taiwan*. University of London, UK.

<sup>215</sup> Chang, Hsiao-Hui. (2011). The First Contact of Protestants and Siraya: On Arminianist's Missionary Work in Formosa between 1627 and 1643. *A Journal of Cultural Studies*, (13), 129–162.

<sup>216</sup> Zhu, M.-Z. (2007). A Probe into the Religious Belief of Atayal People in Taiwan. *Journal of Kunming University of Science and Technology*, 7(2), 55–59.

<sup>217</sup> Chen, Yu-Mei. (1995). Couple, house, and tribe: Lanyu Tao people's concept of space 夫妻、家屋與聚落：蘭嶼雅美族的空間觀念. In Huang, Ying-Guei 黃應貴 (Ed.), *Space, Power, and Society* (pp. 133–166). Taipei: Academia Sinica.

given by God to their ancestors- not just to this generation of God's chosen people”

(<sup>17</sup>Stainton 1995: p.200-201).

Christian missionaries wholeheartedly hope that Taiwan indigenous peoples can eradicate idolatrous mythology, heretical and evil ideas, and accept the Christian God (Chang 2011: p.142). In the Christian belief system, there is only one God in this world, and people cannot offer sacrifice to rocks or other objects (p.149). So, the pantheism was shifted to monotheism and there is no agent, no power, and no spirit in the land and natural substances. Land has been changed from a subject to an object.

### Modern education and medicine: the negative influences on indigenous people-land relationship

One Bunun indigenous person mentioned that the Catholic and the Presbyterian Churches use relief goods and healing as their evangelizing strategies respectively. Indeed, healing and/or the medical services provided by the missionaries played a very significant role in the conversion process. (<sup>32</sup>Yang 2001: p.193-194). The Roman Catholic and Presbyterian churches give the same answer to the question of “Why were Taiwan indigenous peoples willing to accept Western Christianity?” The common answer is that the dedication of missionaries, the influence of the elders on family clans, social and educative works, and respect for local culture and great welcome shown to the poor indigenous families caused Christianity's popularity in Taiwan indigenous communities (<sup>218</sup>Hsu 1984; Lardinois, Zhan, & Sun 2004).

Western Christianity came to indigenous communities with modern medical knowledge

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<sup>218</sup> Hsu, C. H. (Ed.). (1984). *A Centennial History of the Presbyterian Church of Formosa 1865-1965* (second edition). Taipei: Presbyterian Church of Formosa.

and solid theological educational content, which weakened Taiwan indigenous peoples' dependence on traditional shamans who were the only ones that could communicate with different spirits and were very familiar with bio-medical knowledge. Subsequently, indigenous people no longer showed their respect to shamans and natural forces. Christian theological education also changes the human relations. "Taiwan indigenous peoples have learned to deploy the missionaries' rhetoric that conversion to Christianity freed them from the "bondage of taboos and superstitions" enforced by their traditional religion" (Yang 2001: p.194-195). Tao people in Lanyu, for example, Tao were not particularly afraid of varied spirits. The deepest influence to Tao's daily life is *anito*, which is the spirit of dead people. There is a conversation between a missionary and a Tao native. A missionary told a Tao native that "you should go to church to cleanse your "original sin". The Tao native answered "If you say that, I will use ocean water to clean my sin." The missionary responded "You know that, the ocean is made by God!" (Wu 2011: p.67). The above conversation not only devalues the sacredness of Tao's ocean spirit, but also the missionary tries to highlight that God is the only way to get rid of the original sin. However, there is no concept of original sin in the Tao communities, but fear of *anito*. *Anito* will come to Tao people who offend the taboos related to the morals of human relationships and human-land relationships. Therefore, Tao people have long maintained the harmony of human relations and human-land relation with humble attitude.

Moreover, as Christianity came to Tao communities, the local authority structure was changed as well. In traditional Tao society, people secured their social reputation based on personal ability, which is directly connected to the experiences such as how long has a man has been exposed under the hot sun or how wide a channel the man has swum across,

which implies the importance of experience. That is why elders were respected because of their abundant experience and skills to handle the harmonious relationship between people and natural forces. However, some indigenous people chosen by missionaries as native missionaries or translators obtained higher social standing. Hence, Christianity first depreciated the value of natural forces and the respectful attitude to nature, and eventually changed the human relations and the social structure of Taiwan indigenous peoples.

### The Role of Christianity in Contemporary Indigenous Social Problems

Based on the above discussion, I find there has been epistemological change in human-land relationship since the Western Christianity came into Taiwan indigenous communities. In Taiwan, both the Roman Catholic and Presbyterian churches have been actively struggling for indigenous rights, while two of them adopt different perspectives and produce different degrees of influences on indigenous peoples' ability to deal with contemporary social problems. Briefly, Taiwan indigenous peoples' abilities to deal with the social problems closely relate to the doctrine of Christianity and their resources, namely churches.

Basically, the Catholic Church respects traditional indigenous culture as well as emphasizing the consideration and implementation of inculturation. Protestant catechesis demanded a complete relinquishment of the past ritual life: not only prohibition of shamanism, but even the sacrificial offerings to ancestors and the various annual festivals (such as liturgy of sowing and harvest festivals), while most Catholic missionaries followed the principle of respect for Taiwanese indigenous cultures. In other words, the Catholic missionaries presented Christianity as complementary to traditional religious practices (Lardinois, Zhan, & Sun: p.95-96). Therefore, to some extent the Catholic Church allows

Taiwan indigenous peoples to preserve more traditional daily practices of human-land relationship than Presbyterian churches.

By contrast, with respect to attitudes toward preserving traditional culture and languages, the Presbyterian Church is apparently more aggressive than the Catholic Church, which in fact also influences Taiwan indigenous peoples' abilities to engage in contemporary social problems subsequently.

Unlike most of the intellectuals who came from a Presbyterian background and who were often very demanding and radical, Catholic intellectuals have shown themselves to be more conciliatory and realistic. Catholic intellectuals set themselves to promote a less-forceful renaissance of indigenous culture that would share in the building up of a multicultural Taiwanese society in which the various ethnic groups would enrich each other with their own particular specialties (Lardinois, Zhan, & Sun 2004: p.109).

Undeniably, the Catholic Church contributes to maintaining some degree of native cultures and languages, but it is not very enthusiastic to lead Catholic Taiwan indigenous peoples to engage in the indigenous social movements. By contrast, Presbyterian Church plays a more active role in directing and providing substantial resources to Taiwan Presbyterian indigenous peoples' social movements, but is less tolerant of native religious practices. Most of the indigenous leaders of the movement for political rights are active members of the Presbyterian Church, which itself is closely bound to the Taiwan democratic movement which had given birth to the DPP. It was not until 1996 that the government, then still in the hands of the Kuomintang, finally agreed to the creation of a Commission for indigenous affairs (<sup>26</sup>Lardinois, Zhan, & Sun 2004: p.108).

The Presbyterian Church was the first institution that comprehensively concerned itself

with Taiwan indigenous issues. Social movements inspired by the Presbyterian Church in recent years, such as environmental issues, protection of children and women, or labor rights all started from the consideration of the impacts on Taiwanese indigenous peoples (<sup>219</sup>Shen 2010: p.67). Compared to other political actors, the Presbyterian Church's standpoints of anti-nuclear and indigenous autonomy have been firm from the beginning to now (<sup>36</sup>Shen 2010: p.65). Although its original purpose is evangelization, the Presbyterian Church indeed not only has offered both physical and psychological supports for Taiwan indigenous peoples, but also created a room for indigenous people to speak out their voices in the Han people's society.

The support of the Presbyterian Church began very early. 1946 was an important milestone for Taiwan indigenous peoples. The establishment of Yu-Shan Theological College and Seminary (YSTCS) by Presbyterian Church has aimed at training indigenous Christians to serve the church and community as a pastor, a social worker, a musician, or an educator. According to Hsieh (1987), 32 percent of members of the Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines (ATA), the initiator of Taiwan indigenous movements, come from YSTCS (p.83). Aside from the influence of the doctrine of Christianity, the indigenous human resources nurtured by YSTCS laid the foundation for the indigenous social movements. An interview of Rev. Yang in 1994, reveals that YSTCS encouraged Taiwan indigenous students more aggressively fight for their own rights.

*Before the members of ATA initiated the indigenous movement, we*

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<sup>219</sup> Shen, Y.-Z. (2010). *The Analysis of Political Discourses from Taiwan Church News and the New Messenger of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan* (Ph. D. Thesis). National Taiwan University, Taipei. Retrieved from <http://www.airitilibrary.com/searchdetail.aspx?DocIDs=U0001-2912201021373300>

*could only do some instructional things- Indigenous people are created by God, are God's people shouldn't be used as tools by others, to be proud of yourselves as Indigenous people...this kind of basic education. There was no way then to push this into action (17Stainton 1995: p.273).*

The first indigenous movement initiated by the Presbyterian Church was in 1987 as follows.

*In January 1987 a demonstration was held in Taipei's Snake Alley brothel district, to protest the slave trade in indigenous girls. The Mountain Worker Committee of the Presbyterian Church was one of the sponsors of this successful demonstration, in which a large number of Taipei indigenous people participated. The mobilization was joint effort of many church, women's and indigenous groups, organized by the capable head of the Presbyterian Church' Rainbow Project, Ingrid Liao. This was the first major demonstration in Taiwan on the social issues affecting indigenous people, and the first that the Mountain Worker Committee had been officially involved in (17Stainton 1995: p.253-254).*

Although the Presbyterian Church prohibits Taiwanese indigenous peoples' worship and rituals (pantheism and shamanism), it helps Taiwanese indigenous peoples manage their homeland and fight for the right of it because land is a gift from God. In the case of Smangus in Hsin-Chu County, the Atayal people have successfully developed eco-tourism through a tribal-level cooperative system. This is perhaps the best example to illustrate how the Presbyterian Church enhances the Taiwan indigenous peoples' abilities to deal with issues of economics, politics, and justice.

Through assimilating the concepts of *tnunan*, an Atayal traditional system of sharing,

and *gaga*, a moral norm, the Presbyterian Church plays a critical role in the tribal eco-tourism development. In the eyes of Smangus villagers, the concept of *gaga* is similar to the church norms and *utux*, the supernatural force, is God. Another favorable factor for developing tribal eco-tourism is all the 120 Smangus villagers are Taiwanese Presbyterian indigenous peoples. Eventually, the development of eco-tourism industry and Presbyterian Church in Smangus is inseparable (<sup>220</sup>Kristen 2009; <sup>221</sup>Tsai 2005: p.32-33).

Smangus is also a good example to show how the Presbyterian Church helps Taiwanese indigenous peoples cope with political and judicial issues. The “beech event” of Smangus happened in 2005 when Three Smangus men who had been convicted of stealing government property when they picked a fallen beech by a typhoon in their traditional territory. During the four-year lawsuit, Presbyterian Church mobilized all Smangus villagers, some NGOs concerned with human rights and indigenous issues, domestic and international scholars, street protest activities, and built up an Internet website to force the Taiwan government to have a dialogue with Smangus. The highest court made a final decision that Smangus villagers were guiltless in 2009. In this case, we can understand Presbyterian Church’s mobilization ability can help indigenous peoples fight for their political rights on land and autonomy (<sup>222</sup>Yen & Chen 2011).

In sum, the inculturation of indigenous beliefs, theological indigenous human resources, and the Presbyterian Church’s mobilization ability are three major factors to enhance Taiwan

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<sup>220</sup> Kristen, M. &. (2009, September 19). Smangus. Retrieved from <http://wandering-taiwan.blogspot.com/2009/09/smangus.html>

<sup>221</sup> Tsai, X.-J. (2005). *Research of the Cooperative system of the village Smangus* (Master Thesis). Providence University, Taichung City, Taiwan. Retrieved from <http://www.airitilibrary.com/searchdetail.aspx?DocIDs=U0024-2301200813435146>

<sup>222</sup> Yen, Ai-Ching., & Chen, Ting-Yi. (2011). The Study on Co-management of Indigenous Traditional Territory. *Journal of Geographical Science*, 61, 1–30.

indigenous peoples' abilities to deal with the social issues in Taiwan society. One should note that the Smangus case is a rather perfect one, in which the Presbyterian Church does play an important role in tribal affairs since there were no complex power relations (only one Presbyterian Church and small number of indigenous people in a single village). Nevertheless, we should make more efforts to understand the long-term influences of Christianity on Taiwan indigenous peoples' abilities to deal with contemporary social issues.

### The Impact of Economy

Wine as a medium can be used to illustrate the qualitative change of the relationship between Paiwan people and land. The alcohol-drinking behavioral change indicates how the logics of the nation and capitalism transform Paiwan people's land into wasteland, and how the autarky economy becomes a marginalized group with economic disadvantage; the qualitative change of the relationship between Tao people and land can adopt the lens of tourism to explain how tourism impacts the traditional values of Tao people.

### Paiwan People

Wine is an important medium and indicator to understand how the state and capitalism enter the Paiwan communities, how the state decomposed the tribal culture, and how it resulted in the poverty and poor health of indigenous people.

Hsia (2010) analyzed the changing meaning of "drink" in Taiwan indigenous society. She explored the capitalization process in indigenous societies and the crucial roles the state has played in such process.

*“Alcoholism” has become one of the primary frames of meaning for outsiders to understand indigenous people, as well as for indigenous people to construct their own identities. Historically, alcoholic drinks were the crucial medium in the life world of indigenous people to communicate with the spirits and to strengthen the solidarity within and between the communities. However, from the Japanese colonization to the KMT rule, the indigenous societies had been forced to transform their mode of production. In addition, KMT started prohibiting Taiwanese indigenous peoples from brewing wine by themselves, and the system of wine monopoly was implemented in 1957. Consequently, alcoholic drinks had been transformed from the public sphere to the private sphere, that is, from being the medium of communication in rituals and communities to being the commodity that could be bought easily (Hsia 2010: p.6).*

The revenue from the alcohol monopoly became a major source of the fiscal budget for national development (Hsia 2010; p.27) and the regulation of the alcohol monopoly is a further justification to control the tribal groups. The original purpose of drinking wine has turned from worship to secular usage. According to the statistics of Taiwan Tobacco and Liquor Corporation, <sup>223</sup>Chen and Wang (1993) have found in 1988 that the average amount of alcohol consumption in Daren Township, 16.4 liters per person, ranked first in the entire country, and was 4 times larger than the average value in Taiwan. Another statistic from the Council of Indigenous Peoples indicates the life expectancy of Taiwan indigenous peoples is 62 years for male indigenous people and 72 years for female indigenous people; both are lower than the ages of the whole population, 72 and 78. The difference is even greater for males. The higher rates of liver diseases and accidents contributing to the shorter life

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<sup>223</sup>Wang, Ming-Hui, & Chen, Hsien-Ming. (1993). The liquor consumption and the drinking problems at indigenous counties (臺灣山地鄉的酒類消費與飲酒問題). *Geographical Research*, 20, 57–100.

expectancy of Taiwan indigenous peoples indeed result from the change of Taiwanese indigenous culture of drinking wine.

An artwork created by a Taiwanese Amis indigenous carver Dafong is called “twisted”, trying to deliver the concept of breakdown of community through the metaphor of alcohol containers (Figure 8). The left part is the pottery wine jug, an important appliance of traditional ceremonies in the tribal meetings, where wine was a medium of social cohesion. Due to the process of social change brought by Han people, indigenous life indeed got twisted and tangled. The right part, in contrast to the left part of the artwork is a hand of a falling-down drunk individual clutching the cheap “rice wine” “beloved of Taiwan winos of all ethnicities.” (224Harrell and Lin, 2006: p.13).



Figure 8 “Twisted” by Dafong. Photo by Stevan Harrell, 2006

In the name of development, the living style, language, and the leadership structure of

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<sup>224</sup> Harrell, Stevan & Lin, Yu-Shih (2006). *Aesthetics and Politics in Taiwan's Aboriginal Contemporary Art*. NASA Annual Conference, University of California, Santa Cruz.

Taiwan indigenous peoples were decomposed by the state step by step, while Taiwan indigenous peoples did not really enjoy the fruits of national development and modernization at all, but poverty and threats to their health instead. Now, the state is attempting to leave the nuclear waste, a byproduct of national development, in the indigenous land. Honestly, since 1957 the alcohol toxicant derived from the regulation of the wine monopoly has invaded Taiwan indigenous bodies and has never left. Now, the state would like to poison Taiwan indigenous peoples with nuclear waste.

From the perspective of the state, it would place more weight on the potential for economic development and the benefit of the majority of people rather than those minority groups whose rights or voices can be overlooked. Indigenous people's lands are the "perfect" site for nuclear waste because of the safety of their geological characteristics, no disturbance to the majority of the national population, and no influence on economic development. What I have found is quite similar to the "wasteland discourse" proposed by Kuletz (1998), a colonial explanatory framework that justified the militarization and environmental destruction of entire desert regions by virtue of their perceived agricultural unproductivity and the misrepresentation of desert landscapes as also deserted, and that they are therefore highly peripheral and isolated from the US's population centers (<sup>225</sup>as cited in Voyles, 2010: p.8).

The perspective of national development always uses a discourse that the state is trying to rescue Taiwan indigenous peoples from poverty, morbid drinking style, and the lag behind Han people. But, saying is one thing and doing another. Taiwanese indigenous peoples have found that the state keeps fooling the Taiwan indigenous peoples. As Escobar (1995)

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<sup>225</sup> Voyles, T. B. (2010). *Decolonizing cartographies: Sovereignty, territoriality, and maps of meaning in the uranium landscape* (PHD Dissertation.). University of California, San Diego.

mentions,

*The forms of power that have appeared to act not so much by repression but by normalization; not by ignorance but by control of knowledge; not by humanitarian concern but by the bureaucratization of social action, As the conditions became more pressing, it could only increase its hold, refine its methods, and extend its reach even further (226Kindle version: location 810-815 of 4478. 18%).*

In the past indigenous people had no difficulties supporting themselves, while after the penetration of capitalism into villages they are now marginalized and have become an economically disadvantaged minority group. The ideology of development specifies the boundaries and divides the developed area from the undeveloped or developing area in space and place.

In sum, the history of economic development, no matter whether the orientation is colonialism, socialism or capitalism, indicates the state always employs several powerful and violent means such as using weapons, providing economic incentives, or “education” to persuade indigenous people to surrender (<sup>227</sup>Cheng & Chang 2009: p.5).

## Tao People

During the period 1895-1945 of the Japanese Empire’s colonization, Japanese regarded Lanyu Island as a barren place and treated it as a garden for Japanese anthropologists.

Compared to other Taiwan indigenous peoples living on Taiwan Island, the closed-door

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<sup>226</sup> Escobar, A. (1995). *Encountering development: the making and unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

<sup>227</sup> Chen, Yi-Feng & Chang, Wei-Qi (2009). *From Colonization to Development*. First Year Development Annual Conference at National Chengchi University.

policy to Lanyu Island maintained the traditional life style of Tao people. After the Kuomintang took charge of Lanyu Island, Tao people have continued to make a living mainly by land- and sea-based economic activities such as fishing and agriculture till now. On the contrary, other Taiwan indigenous peoples living on Taiwan Island having encountered two periods of colonization by Japan Empire and Kuomintang regime have been forced to change their traditional life style and hence gradually lost their intimate relationship with land.

According to the statistics in 1993, the degrees of self-sufficiency were 84-91 % for Paiwan people living at a village and 99.19% for Lanyu indigenous people at a village respectively (<sup>20</sup>Tsai 2007: p.18). As living in the Taiwan society with Han people, Taiwanese indigenous peoples have decreasingly relied on their traditional production system over the years. By contrast, Tao people make the most use of their land and ocean resources to maintain an autarkic economy. Therefore, the extent that Taiwanese indigenous peoples living on Taiwan Island rely on Han people's market system has been gradually larger than that of Tao people living in Lanyu Island, which leads to different strengths of people-land relationship existing between Paiwan and Tao people.

Under Tao traditional production system, the outcome is not very stable due to the influences of land productivity, labor supply and natural disasters. Thus, Tao must work hard and moderate consumption for sustaining the lifeline of the ethnic group. Since 1971, the tourism development has resulted in the radical changes on the Tao land-based and ocean-based economy, social relationships and the value system. The conspicuous consumption behavior brought by the tourism industry and the governmental educational policy of sinicization have made Tao people move away from the traditional land-based lifestyle (<sup>21</sup>Kuan 2007: p.212).

Since 1972, there have been regular flights and sailings between Lanyu and Taiwan, which facilitates the outside investment entering Lanyu to develop the tourism industry and increases the degree of commodification through the introduction of capitalism. However, the convenient transportation results in huge outflow of young Tao people to Taiwan and further makes Lanyu become a marginalized area within the monetary system of Taiwan. According to Taiwan's prior experience on tourism, Tao people have firmly manifested the anti-tourism feeling because all the tourist activities such as hostels and group package tours are totally dominated by outsiders, namely Han people (<sup>228</sup>Hsieh, 1994).

Previous literature indicates tourism may bring negative or positive impacts on local culture. On the positive side, tourism can raise revenue for communities and nations, create more job and investment opportunities through cultural diversity, improve the economic status of marginalized groups, revive the local culture, and enhance the ethnic identification. In sum, local culture is always reinterpreted rather than destroyed by tourism. On the contrary, tourism has its dark side such as the damage on culture and environment, labor exploitation of locals, and marginalized and colonized imagery on minor groups. How to obtain the balance between tradition preservation and economic development is still a critical issue in the tourism field.

Peña draws from the work of Vandana Shiva, a philosopher of science and ecofeminist activist from India. He proposed that

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<sup>228</sup>Hsieh, Shih-Chung (1994). The Tourism Mode among Aboriginal Area: The Mode in Lanyu. In *Aboriginal Tourism: The Anthropologic Interpretation of Local Native Culture Exhibition*. (1st ed., p. 29). Taipei: Independent Evening Post.

(謝世忠. (1994). 生活區的山胞觀光：蘭嶼模式. In 山胞觀光：當地山地文化展現的人類學詮釋 (1st ed., p. 29). 台北：自立晚報社.)

*There are two kinds of poverty: the first is the poverty of a right livelihood or subsistence way of life. This is not real poverty...The Second type of poverty is the poverty of deprivation and this is real poverty in the sense of loss of independent sources of livelihoods that plunge one into a persistent state of physical, biological, cultural, and economic hardship. When you are deprived of land, water, and other usually communal resources that sustain your livelihood, you become poor (<sup>229</sup>Peña 2011: p.206-7).*

I think the marginalized societies should emphasize and more actively deal with the negative impacts brought by promoting tourism, by which the local governments may have the chance to create a positive net social welfare, especially for indigenous communities. The indigenous people's real poverty lies not in the substance shortage, but on the lack of subjectivity. In order to improve the economic situation of indigenous people, the only way is to recover their subjectivity.

But, how do we recover the subjectivity of indigenous people through promoting tourism? The cocoon concept proposed by <sup>230</sup>Kahn (2011) may be the key factor to answer this question. "Cocoon" was originally used to describe the constructed tourist sites in an ongoing process of being spun. Based on the touristic attitudes and the structure of social relations on tourism, cocoon reflects the fact tourists barely approach the realities of the local society. However, I try to extend the cocoon concept to argue the existence of cocoon is

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<sup>229</sup> Peña, D. G. (2011). Structural Violence, Historical Trauma, and Public Health: The Environmental Justice Critique of Contemporary Risk Science and Practice. *Communities, Neighborhoods, and Health, Social Disparities in Health and Health Care*, 1(3), 203–218. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4419-7482-2\\_11](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4419-7482-2_11)

<sup>230</sup> Kahn, M. (2011). Illusion and reality in Tahiti's tourist cocoons. *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, 9(3), 201–216.

indeed in favor of local culture resurrection, given the local community is granted the right to spin the cocoon.

In the past, cocoon as isolated space from strangeness created by local government or travel agencies deprives the native people's subjectivity to represent the local authenticity. Hence, if the local communities rather than the government or travel agencies secure the right to spin the cocoon, it may bring the chance to recover the local culture in the ongoing process of spinning.

## Conclusion

This chapter narrows down the literature review and discusses the fluid relationship between Paiwan people, Tao people and their land respectively. To compare indigenous ideas about the relationship between people and land in the two cultures, I address the changes that have happened since the state effectively took over administration of land, the influences of Christian religion, and the impacts of capitalism.

The time Paiwan people was colonized is earlier than that of Tao people, which causes a fairly early loosening of the relationship between Paiwan people and land. Because of Japanese anthropologists' research interest, Tao society preserved the intimate relationship between Tao people and land, and between Tao people and the ocean. Since Kuomintang's governance, Lanyu has started experiencing the environmental changes and the unprecedented survival threats. Although Paiwan people and Tao people have different colonized experiences, they both are facing the same challenge of accepting nuclear waste. The issue of nuclear waste not only helps represent indigenous peoples' contemporary social sufferings resulted from the traumatic colonized experiences, but also helps indigenous

peoples figure out how to be resilient from the predicament.

In addition to the impact of the colonization policy, Christianity also plays a critical role in affecting the relationship between indigenous people and land. This chapter discusses how Christianity could utilize the following approaches- inculturation of indigenous beliefs, theological indigenous human resources, and the Presbyterian Church's mobilization ability, to enhance Taiwan indigenous peoples' abilities to deal with the contemporary social issues in Taiwan society. In the next chapter, I will have a more detailed discussion about the role of Christianity in the Paiwan and Tao societies.

Last, the livelihood changes of the two indigenous peoples directly corresponds to the substantial changes of the people-land relationship. The alcohol-drinking phenomena in Paiwan society is the mirror reflecting how Paiwan people have become an economically marginalized ethnic group, while the development of the tourism industry at Lanyu reveals the relationship changes between Tao people and land, and Tao people and the ocean. In the following chapters, I will present the thick descriptions of these two field sites respectively.

## Chapter Four

### A Field of Disaster- Nantian Village

#### *Taiwan Aboriginal Village Targeted for Nuclear Waste Disposal*

*Taiwan has tried and failed to sell its nuclear waste to North Korea and China. Now, the government is seeking a burial place at home. The top choice is a poor aboriginal community. When it comes to nuclear waste, most people say, "not in my back yard." But most residents of Nantian village in southeastern Taiwan's Taitung County favor building a low-level nuclear waste dump five kilometers away...Aboriginals have fewer educational opportunities, and suffer greater unemployment than Han Chinese. Critics say the nuclear waste disposal plans are just the latest form of discrimination against them. But the villagers have a different idea; about 60 percent of them favor the dump, because it will bring jobs and money ..Taipower says the \$155 million it is a land use fee, and not connected with any potential health risks associated with nuclear waste (<sup>231</sup> VOA News 2009).*

The above news report I read was published before I went back to Nantian Village. Like many people outside the village, I was very surprised and had many misunderstandings about the report. Although I have now finished my fieldwork and come back to Seattle to write my dissertation, the loud and agitated words that the village head of Nantian Village said to me are still around my ears and never disappear.

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<sup>231</sup> Taiwan Aboriginal Village Targeted for Nuclear Waste Disposal. (2009, November 9). Retrieved from <http://www.voanews.com/a/a-13-2009-09-30-voa44/415164.html>

*Once there were six military coastal sentry boxes built in World War II on the seashore. But there is only one left (shown as Figure 9) and the rest of them are submerged into the sea now...The major anxiety of Nantian is the issue of land loss due to seawater washout. We all are living near the seashore. If the upper levels (governmental officials) do not care about our concerns, we will surely switch to look forward to Taiwan Power Company's (TPC) response. Because TPC offers huge compensation as well as lots of welfare packages, we can only expect that TPC would protect our villagers' properties and lives...The outsiders cry out for environmental sustainability and anti-nuclear, but they don't know our lives have been experiencing this kind of threat...*



Figure

Figure 9 The only remaining military coastal sentry box built in World War II on the seashore of Nantian Village.

In this chapter I attempt to answer the following question: why do Nantian people agree to store nuclear waste in their homeland, or are at least willing to accept it in return for

money? In terms of anthropological thinking, the above question may turn out to be: why and when do indigenous people need money (compensation)? In other words, why don't indigenous people need productive land any more, and when did indigenous people become unable to make a living from their ancestors' land?

Both previous literature and my own growth experience bring me to the notion that the relationship between Paiwan indigenous people and land is deeply embedded in a strict hierarchical social structure. When the solid structure was loosened or even destroyed by the colonial regimes, the characteristics of land ownership were changed as the land ownership was redistributed. The land supposed to be governed by the chieftains was seized by the state or was redistributed due to the governmental privatization policy. Although there were a number of waves of indigenous movements of cultural renaissance after 1980s in Taiwan, chieftains cannot have the chance to recover their substantial authority. Ironically, chieftains become a symbolic sign at the festivals.

Nantian Village is a place where I have been familiar with since childhood, but at the time I came back to do my field work I was surprised to realize that it is, in fact, an immigrant village. Moreover, I was surprised that the Paiwan pantheist perspective had not been totally destroyed by the Western religions, which contradicts my understandings and the memories I had in my childhood. Nantian Village gives me a kind of feeling that it seems familiar but actually intrinsically strange to me.

This chapter begins with the power loss of the chieftains of Nantian Village, and proceeds to the discussion of how the relationship between the villagers and land was largely weakened, the illustration of Nantian as an immigrant village consisting of different lineages,

and finally to the power from the outside world, all to explore how these contextual factors influence the villagers' attitudes toward nuclear waste. Among the above-mentioned factors, the power from the state produces the deepest and broadest influences on Nantian villagers' daily life. The second most important factor is the influence of capitalism on the traditional economic model based on land. The least important factor is the Western religious beliefs, which have never substantially changed villagers' attitudes toward nuclear waste. Nantian villagers lack a sense of sustainability based on land, so they are willing to exchange land for money. This phenomenon is as stated by Blaikie and Brookfield ( <sup>232</sup>1987 )-desperate ecocide of the poor and the lack of alternatives for indigenous people when dealing with the issue of nuclear waste should be comprehensively understood in its historical, political, economic, and religious aspects. Now, I am going to tell the stories of Nantian Village.

Due to the lack of commercial activities, most of the residents at Nantian Village are either farmers or part-time workers for specific governmental projects. With the help of the reporter's vivid description, I have gradually recovered the scenes of Nantian Village that I used to remember.

*Tucked between vaulting mountains and the pounding Pacific on Taiwan's southeast coast, only pokey local trains bother to stop anywhere nearby. Of the 360 villagers, only some 10 percent have completed high school. Most grow coconuts, betel nuts and melons, in a narrow strip of cultivable land. Three-quarters of them are indigenous people, meaning they hunted, fished and farmed here long before Chinese settlers showed up four centuries ago.*

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<sup>232</sup> Blaikie, P. M. (1987). *Land degradation and society*. London ; New York: Methuen.

*The village consists of a strip of low-slung buildings, a crumbling community center (Shown as Figures 10 and 11), and agitated dogs. There's the occasional totem of the “100-pacer” snake, which the Paiwan tribe worships as a God. (The name is a reference to how far you can walk before dropping dead, after one of the venomous serpents bites you.) (The Huff Post World 2009).*



Figure 10 “A crumbling community center” of Nantian Village, photo taken by Ho Palang, a minister of Nantian Church in 2011.



Figure 11 “A crumbling community center” of Nantian Village by the new Highway 26,

In my memory, Nantian is the place where my grandfather was a minister at a Taiwanese Presbyterian church, which is a tiny church only accommodating about twenty worshippers, and is also the last one established by my grandfather (Shown as Figure 12 and 13). Now, Nantian Village has dramatically turned into a media focus due to the hotly debated issue of the site selection for low-level radioactive waste (LLRW). It has become a battlefield of environmentalists, cultural revivalists, and economic developmentalists. For a person like me who has been gone from Nantian Village for a long time, I was totally unable to expect what had been happening there when I returned.



Figure 12 The church established by my grandfather at Nantian in 1973, photo taken by Ho Palang, a minister of Nantian Church in 2011.



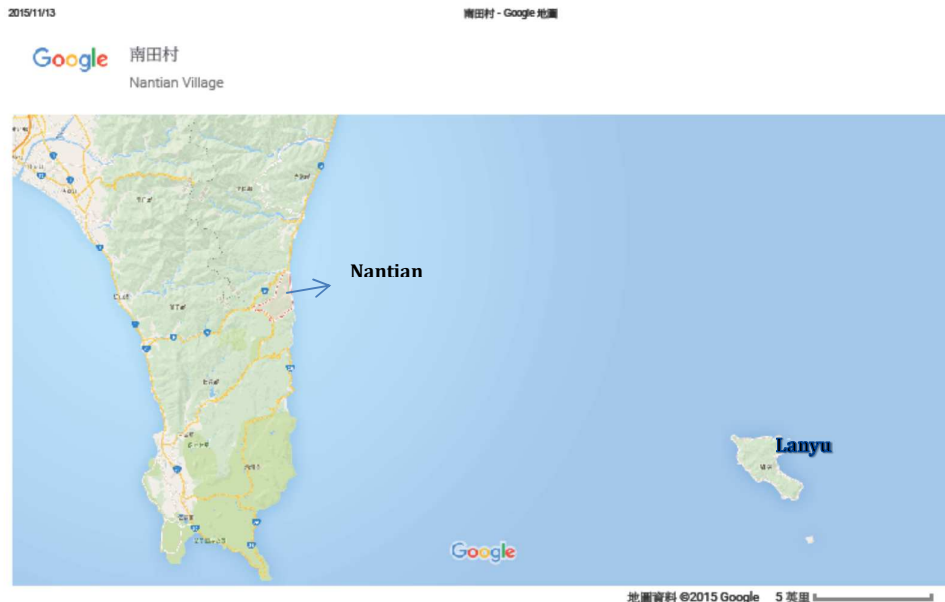
Figure 13 The chieftain (*mazazangiljan*) of Nantian Village (the first from the right), the heir of the chieftain (second from the left) and the first minister of Nantian Village (center, my grandfather), photo taken by Ho Palang, a minister of Nantian Church in 1970.

## A Geo-Historical Sketch of Nantian Village

It is very easy to miss the only entrance to Nantian Village when driving on the Round-the-Island Highway in southern Taiwan. Nantian, located at the southeast coast of Taiwan, facing the Pacific Ocean, and separated from the western cities by the Dawu Mountains, is the only village beside the sea in Daren Township. Daren Township has an area of 306.4454 square kilometers and a population of 3589 people<sup>233</sup>. In other words, the population density is about 8.5 per square kilometer in Daren Township. According to the demographic statistics collected in February, 2008, Nantian Village has an area of 11.22 square kilometers, accounting for 8.9 % of the area of Daren Township. There are 134 households with 330 residents (164 male and 166 female residents), accounting for 9.1% of population of Daren Township. It's about 3.4 villagers per square kilometer. The distances from Nantian to the next city to the north, Taitung, and to the southwestern Taiwan city of Pingtung, are 67.1 and 100 kilometers respectively. 60 kilometers across the water is Lanyu Island (shown as Figure 14), where nuclear waste has been stored for over three decades (see chapter 5).

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<sup>233</sup> <http://www.taitung.gov.tw/statistics/Default.aspx>



<https://www.google.com/maps/place/%E5%9F%B0%E7%B1%A3%E5%B0%B9%E5%B1%94%E4%B8%B1%E5%B4%B9%E5%B0%97%E7%94%B0%E5%B0%91/@22.192497,121.1...> 1/1

Figure 14

Nantian Village and Lanyu Island

Nantian Village is a new immigrant village, one of few Paiwan villages without inherited chieftains and nobles in Taiwan (<sup>234</sup>Taiwan Indigenous Peoples World Wide Web). Nantian used to be named “Fenggang Creek Township” and its residents were either south Paiwan people or east Paiwan people and mainly from Mudan Township of Pingtung County and Dawu, Daren Township of Taitung County. The history of the present Nantian Village or *s-lupech* (its Paiwan name<sup>235</sup>) can date back to a coastal outpost( military coastal sentry boxes ) built and garrisoned by Japanese policemen during the period of Japan’s colonization in Taiwan. Later on, in the 1940s the colonial government implemented the immigrant plan regarding indigenous people, which forced residents of Malipa at Chaozhou Town of

<sup>234</sup> [http://www.tipp.org.tw/tribe\\_detail3.asp?City\\_No=18&TA\\_No=&T\\_ID=50](http://www.tipp.org.tw/tribe_detail3.asp?City_No=18&TA_No=&T_ID=50)

<sup>235</sup>The Paiwan name of Nantian Village has many different spellings, including *s-lupech*, *ljupetijje*, *selihjletije*, etc. I will be using what the locals use now at important events- *s-lupech*.

Pingtung County to move to *s-lupech* (Digital Taiwan<sup>236</sup>). In the 1950s, on a wild night a storm destroyed the hometown, and the chieftain coincidentally died because of sickness, both of which made residents feel frenetic and hurried. As a result, residents called this place “a field of disaster” (Nantian, 難田). After that, some residents moved to Syuhai Village in Mudan Township and Kalapan Village of Dawu Village in Dawu Township. The original village with fifty households was suddenly reduced to only fifteen households. Residents choosing to stay at the village still regarded this place as an inauspicious one. Later on, a policeman, Kao Shihcheng, suggested to villagers that they move to the first site village of Nantian Village (*vili*, lower Nantian). In 1954, Nantian was formally separated from Ansuo Village and became an independent village. At the time, the Daren Township Office thought that Nantian as “a field of disaster”, *nan* as a disaster and *tian* as a field, was not an elegant name and the office thus decided to use another Chinese character, *south* (南), with the same pronunciation as *nan* (難) to replace *nan*(難). Since Nantian Village is right located in the south part of Daren Township, the village name, Nantian, was eventually changed from a **field of disaster** (難田) to a **field of the south** (南田).

Along the seashore, Nantian Village can be divided into two areas, upper Nantian (*navi*, *Northern village*) and lower Nantian (*vili*, *southern village*). The public activities including the Harvest Festival are implemented by the four neighborhoods within the village. One neighborhood is in upper Nantian, and the other three neighborhoods are in lower Nantian (Shown as Figure 15).

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<sup>236</sup> <http://catalog.digitalarchives.tw/item/00/43/4a/d0.html>



Figure 15 Administration map of Nantian Village<sup>237</sup>

## Paiwan People and Land Use

### Land Ownership- The Lost Legitimacy of the Chieftain

In this section, I will first explain why and how the chieftain lost his or her political legitimacy and point out that the administrative staffs in the modern society have replaced the traditional role of the chieftain. Through the participant observation of the heir's daily life, I tried to understand how she has worked hard to play a role in cultural renaissance and coped with the pressure from the modern bureaucratic system with substantial power to control local affairs, as well as the role of the Christian preachers. Under such circumstances, the heir

<sup>237</sup>The photo was taken at Nantian Village Office in August, 2013.

has tried being a bridge to connect past and present as well as the villagers and land. At the end, I will discuss the public issues after the chieftain lost her substantial leadership. If one loses the intimate connection between people and land, the chieftain in the midst of cultural revival is merely a useless decoration.

The legitimacy of the chieftain- who deserves the right to support or reject the nuclear power?

Most residents at Nantian Village belong to the Paiwan tribe. There are two chieftains officially recognized by the township office there. The first chieftain is from *Kachialjavan* lineage at Gnejelen (加津林) Village; the second one is from *Tjuleng* lineage at Kulalau (古樓) Village . The villagers call the former “major chieftain” or “the first chieftain”, and the latter “the second chieftain”. In fact, these two chieftains are the heads of their lineages respectively. Recognized by the township office, they are granted permission to rebuild the disappeared ancestral houses, to recover traditional culture and to promote tourism through holding the Harvest Festival. However, the officially recognized chieftains are not definitely recognized by the indigenous people.

One night in July of 2013, I rode a motorcycle in the cool wind from the heir’s house at Nantian Village to the neighboring village, Anshuo, to buy canned coffee and bread for the next day’s breakfast in a convenience store. On the way, the sea-wind blowing on my face made me feel a little damp, yet it was still cooler than in the daytime. I ran into my cousin, Mr. Pang, who is a teacher at the Anshuo Elementary School, a tour guide of Alangyi Ancient Trail, an owner of a guest house at Anshuo Village, and also an anti-nuclear activist, and his

family. He and his son were enjoying the cool wind from the air conditioner and eating a nighttime snack in the convenience store. He said,

*I need to concentrate on the writing of my master's thesis, because next semester is the final one. Thus, I must stop being a tour guide on the Alangyi Ancient Trail until September. Actually, I am eager to apply for leave without pay and focus on my thesis writing, but I have to take care of my family... On the 13th (of July), two coaches of tourists will visit Chiakalavan ancestral house and pray for blessings. They will also attend the harvest festivals held in other nearby villages, while they won't stay at my guest house. I will only be their tour guide in the daytime... the current chieftain claims that the traditional area at Nantian belongs to her family, but her family can only date back to the past 7 generations. In fact, this area is Tjuleng's territory. Because of some lineage's invasion, they asked for a political asylum from the Rovaniyaw lineage in exchange for their sovereignty. The Chiakalavan lineage came there after this event, so they absolutely cannot claim that the traditional area at Nantian belongs to them. The chieftain of the Chiakalavan lineage even claims that their traditional area ranges from Fu-San to Ping-Tung... How is that possible! At the time, Daniao Village (大鳥村) and Dawang Village (大王村) were the most ferocious tribes. How could Chiakalavan lineage move across (occupy) these two tribes? So, is the area the chieftain of Chiakalavan mentioned they just passed by or did they have substantial sovereignty? I insist that Nantian belongs to Rovaniyaw's traditional area...*

An elder living in Anshuo said that Nantian people are “thieves”... “Basically, I think people rejecting nuclear are those who really love their land. How would an “immigrating” village love this land?”

Another local scholar of Rovaniyaw lineage at Anshuo Village, the former township head, told me,

*“There is actually no controversy! ...Because the history addressed by Luliu Chinhua(吕刘金花), the chieftain of Nantian, can be found in the Japanese literature, their ancestors were living in the area from Dagu (大古) Village to Gnejelen (加津林) Village, and once moved north to Chinlun (金崙) Creek. Since the Rovaniyaw lineage was already there, they then (Chiakavan lineage) went south through A-Lang-Yi Ancient Trail to the harbor (In Pingtung County) and grew bamboo there for boundary marking...In fact, they really always fought with the Rovaniyaw lineage and killed a dog of the Rovaniyaw lineage. They moved to other places because they were afraid of Rovaniyaw’s revenge...So, their lineage indeed went to the area between Nantian and Xuhai (旭海), but they never built a village there. Thus, Nantian Village does not belong to their traditional area...In fact, the chieftain was nominated by me. There was no chieftain there. I know the real history. Now the way they said is acceptable. Just for making a living! Every lineage in Nantian has only few people”*

No matter which lineage has sovereignty over Nantian Village, both teacher Pang and the former township head point out that the land recognition of immigrants is a critical factor to influence the villagers’ attitude toward nuclear waste. Beside the outsiders’ viewpoint that Nantian villagers don't cherish their land, the more important thing is to explore whether Nantian villagers do perceive a sense of commonality and belonging to their homeland.

I remember another night in July that as usual I sat on a small plastic chair and enjoyed the cool breeze in the front yard of the chieftain’s house. Because of the whole-day exposure

to the sunlight, the heat absorbed by the concrete house slowly diffused through the night, which made the house just like an oven. In the night time, villagers like me will stay outside, sit on chairs, chat with neighbors, drink beer, or play guitars and sing, and look at the cars driving by on Highway 26. The villagers enjoying the cool air are listening to the neighbors' conversations about daily life such as mothers or grandmothers standing outside their houses and calling their kids' or grandchildren's names loudly to ask them come home to eat dinner, or saluting the passengers on the motorcycles and cars and asking them "Where are you going? Didn't you stop by someone's house today?" The communication between villagers is very straightforward and they know each other's movements. Villagers do not use social media such as Facebook, Line, or emails to chat with or contact each other. Most young villagers use mobile phones or laptops to play video games. I remember one morning a 20-year-old newsboy came to the heir's house and drank alcohol with my cousin. He said, "Every day I need to deliver eleven newspapers to Nantian. Ten of them are free for the village head, village officers, and neighborhood heads. One household has a paid subscription to a newspaper, *Apple Daily*." Reading newspapers, however, is not the means to obtain outside information. The neighborhood head has never read the free newspaper in detail. She said, "I just look at the pictures in the newspaper. I don't have time to read those words." So, the most important function of newspaper is as a temporary tablemat or the kindling for the BBQ. The major way of communication between villagers is face-to-face conversation. The social movements initiated on the Internet hardly happen at Nantian.

Around 10:00 PM I was sitting on the chair to enjoy the cool air; beside me there was a small plastic table, and three empty glass bottles of beer on the ground. Neighbors were going in and out of the heir's house. Everyone can find and take a plastic chair in front of the door

to sit and chat with other people, and return the chairs to the same place when they were finished chatting and were ready to leave. I saw a female teacher taking a walk on Highway 26. She grew up at Nantian and left Nantian when she graduated from high school. She has been teaching since graduation from the university, and she was married and now is living in Taipei. She came back to Nantian to attend the Harvest Festival. She invited me to take a walk with her. Without light pollution, it seemed there was not enough space to fill in all the stars. Under such a beautiful sky, she slowly told me about her worries about her homeland, Nantian. With deep feelings, she said Nantian villagers couldn't reach a consensus on public affairs because of the characteristics of an immigrant village. Thus, villagers are not willing to strive for the common benefits.

*We Nantian people are an immigrant community without coherence... For instance, we are from Senyung (森永) Village, some from Gnejelen (加津林) Village, some from Xinhua(新化) Village, and some from Anshuo (安朔) Village. Aside from that, many Naitian villagers were married to wai-sheng-ren (外省人 people from Mainland China), because there once used to be an army camp here. Our kids are half wai-sheng-ren and half Paiwan people, who don't have identity of Paiwan ethnic group... Furthermore, many Nantian villagers have moved to other places, and few of them are really living here. Only villagers actually living in Nantian Village are supposed to have the right to vote whether the nuclear waste repository can be built at Nantian Village. Like our family, who moved to outside places, there is not much influence on us whether the nuclear waste is put in Nantian Village or not... Thus, Nantian is a village with the least culture and coherence It's apparent from the fact that there is no township representative selected from Nantian Village because Nantian villagers cast their votes for the candidates from their original villages...*

The tradition that Paiwan people should be loyal to their lineages was clearly represented by an elder. He told to me,

*“Well, I came from Hsinhua to here (navi district) ... So, there are many people from different places, not purely from Nantian Village. There are residents from Senyung Village (森永), Ansuo (安朔) Village, Xinhua (新化) Village, Tuban (土坂) Village, waisheng (外省[mainland China]), Chinfeng (金鋒) Village, Amis (阿美) indigenous people, pailang (白浪, Han people), Nanhsing (南興) Village, Gnejelen (加津林) Village. Only two or three households come from one group. Thus, every time it becomes very Ulusai (a Japanese word means complicated) when we are encountering an election. It's very troublesome. Each group competes and is not willing to cooperate with each other... I represent this place or that place. Consequently, we can never have a township representative from Nantian Village. The representative seat is always taken by Senyung... Like me, although living here, I still try to help the candidate representing Xinhua Village in that people cannot forget where they are from. Even you go to the United States, you are still a Paiwan person! People need to go back to their homeland when dead. Would pailang (Han people) and your good friends take care of you if you are dead? Only your brothers and family would take care of you. Would pailang (Han people) take care of you if you are dead upstairs?”*

Not merely the anxiety about the coherence of the immigrant community mentioned by the two intellectuals, Nantian villagers further point out another factor, the legitimacy of the current chieftain, which influences the villagers' coherence to protect the village land. The heir's son said,

*There are two chieftains at Nantian Village. The villagers tease the second chieftain across the street as a fake (driftwood) chieftain. She is a usurper to be the chieftain because she is the second child. Moreover, she applied for the grant to construct this ancestral house, which is empty and is called a ghost house. Nobody believes what she said...She would be here to take part at the Harvest Festival. But, she did not help to prepare...My grand mom is also a chieftain and she knows ritual. But she puts away the tools of doing ritual because of her [Christian] religious belief. In addition, she told villagers that they don't need to give her crops...But, she is used to saying some words to the tools of doing ritual...Later on, the township officers invited her to be the chieftain and she did not accept the invitation. But, everyone kept asking her, so she agreed to be the chieftain again...*

One of the second chieftain's cousins also questions the legitimacy of the second chieftain.

*The current second chieftain is from Tjuleng lineage, but in fact the chiefly line of Lin Yuenhsiang (the second chieftain's mother) is not the real one. Actually, Tjalinaw lineage (the second chieftain's father) is the real chiefly line, but her father is not the first-born child in his generation of Tjalinaw lineage. My father is the first-born one ...*

The wife of the second chieftain's cousin also said,

*In fact, we Tuban (土坂) villagers used to have our own chieftain. Before the return of Lu-Liu Chin Hua, the first chieftain, we would be back at the Harvest Festival every year...Sister (the second chieftain) wants the*

*title, our lineage (Tjalinaw) also assisted her...Later on, we had asked the shaman from Tuban Village, the second neighborhood head, to do balisi (ritual), but her magic power is not enough to endorse her legitimacy...there is a lack of worship materials in the second chieftain's ancestral house...*

Another Nantian intellectual explained the cultural legitimacy of the first chieftains as follows.

*Nantian's destiny is actually decided by three lineages-Kao (高), Chang (張), and Chou (周). The first chieftain's lineage (Lu, 呂), does not possess substantial authority, especially when they started to believe the missionaries' words and switched to the Christian belief, which caused the loss of cultural heritage. Subsequently, they again started to mention something about chieftains and ancestral spirit because of the persuasion of the former township head.*

When introducing their lineage's traditional luxurious handmade Paiwan costumes to me, a village elder also addressed the legitimacy issue of the traditional chieftain.

*We Nantian Village have two chieftains, two ancestral houses, and they both are fakes. She (the second chieftain) conferred the title on herself. Actually, your uncle, the former township head, conferred it on her.*

The former township head has a different interpretation of the legitimacy of the second chieftain. During an interview over dinner with the former township head, he explained to me how he recognized the historical background of the second chieftain.

*In fact, the first-born child of Tjalinaw lineage is not her (the second chieftain). But, the chieftain I conferred the title on belongs to the chiefly line of her mother, the Tjuleng lineage. It's also unclear to her, so I invited the chieftain of Tjuleng lineage at Shizi Township (獅子鄉) and the one of the chieftain's family members to evaluate her legitimacy when I conferred the title on her...*

Both the authority of the first Nantian chieftain and the second chieftain, as the villagers call them, are questioned due to their lacks of cultural legitimacy. Thus, on behalf of Nantian Village to advocate or reject the nuclear waste repository, they seemed to be powerless because of the lack of legitimacy. In 2014, the chairperson of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), praised Nantian Village for supporting the first chieftain's standing of anti-nuclear waste, and set up a monument to express their objection to nuclear waste at the candidate site for the nuclear waste repository. When announcing the common standing of anti-nuclear with the DPP, the chieftain was crying and even could not speak. Later on, she told me that *"I am old and without any power. No one would follow what I said. Our lineage's kids are not good at studying, and I cannot direct the villagers...I have never thought there are so many people outside the village to support us, so I was too happy to say anything..."*

The legitimacy of Nantian Village's chieftains is indeed controversial in the movements of cultural renaissance. The chieftain's legitimacy at Anshuo Village is less questionable than that of Nantian. But, does the village /township possess greater power of cultural renaissance? Would its attitude toward the nuclear waste put on the traditional fields be different from the one at Nantian? The following section I will try to answer these questions from the

perspective of *Tjaquvaquvulj* Kingdom's chieftain, who does have cultural legitimacy.

*Tjaquvaquvulj* Kingdom: Does the authentic chieftain really have authentic sovereignty after cultural revival?

The indigenous rights movements

Along with 1980s' Taiwan indigenous movements, cultural consciousness arose among the Paiwan intellectuals of Daren Township. Like the “red power” in USA in 1960s, the Pan-Taiwan indigenous movement was initiated by urban indigenous people in Taiwan (<sup>238</sup>Hsieh 1987, p.137; <sup>239</sup>Hsieh 2004, p.69). These urban indigenous people successfully removed the stigma by renaming indigenous peoples from mountain people (*shan-di-ren* 山地人), a term that stigmatizes indigenous peoples as barbarians to indigenous people (*yuan-jhu-min*, 原住民), which was accepted by indigenous intellectuals both in and out of the KMT.

What have been significant accomplishments of the indigenous movements since 1980? In 1996, the first governmental unit for indigenous policy making, the Council of Indigenous Peoples under the Executive Yuan, was established. The second breakthrough for Taiwanese indigenous peoples was to establish the national Taiwan Indigenous Television channel in 2005. At the same time, the third and fourth accomplishments for Taiwanese indigenous peoples were enacting legal guarantees for indigenous people pertaining to indigenous names and languages, and establishing the Indigenous Basic Law, which provides the rights of indigenous autonomy and also demands that government return traditional territory back to indigenous peoples. However, urban indigenous peoples who had contributed to the above

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<sup>238</sup> Hsieh, Shih-Chung (1987). *Stigmatized Identity: A study on Ethnic Change of Taiwan Indigenous Peoples*. Taipei: Independence Evening Post.

<sup>239</sup> Hsieh, Shih-Chung (2004). *Macro Exploration of Ethnic Anthropology*. Taipei: National Taiwan University Press.

accomplishments didn't get much support from people living in the villages. Their candidates failed to win the national legislative elections in 1984 and 1990 respectively. They were shown to be elites far away from the indigenous villages (<sup>240</sup>Hsieh 2004: p.68-71).

Taiban Sasala, the first Taiwanese indigenous anthropologist, was also the first scholar to propose the concept of tribalism (*Pu-lo-chu-yi* 部落主義) in his magazine *Aboriginal Post* in 1992. The article entitled "A practical starting point-fighting in our <sup>241</sup>tribes", points out the flaws of the previous movements and encourages young indigenous people and activists to return to their home villages. He says,

*"We believe that all indigenous organizations and activists should give up unstable city life completely and return to our own tribes (villages). We should keep distances from the neon lights, throw ourselves into mountains and oceans, be ourselves, cultivate our soil, embrace our people, and care about the basic survival problem for our people. This is the only way to enlarge our movement space; furthermore, to fulfill and to reinforce our capability to proceed with the movement (<sup>242</sup>Taiban 2004: p.3-4).*

His argument on tribalism, which was influenced by several paradigms in the mainstream of Taiwan's society, led the indigenous cultural revitalization to new fields, including turning the demand from group package tourism to ecotourism and switching the focus of attention from nationalism to localism. Indigenous localism was also paralleled by

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<sup>240</sup> Hsieh, Shih-Chung (2004). *Macro Exploration of Ethnic Anthropology*. Taipei: National Taiwan University Press.

<sup>241</sup> The contemporary Taiwan indigenous people call their villages as tribes (Pu-Lo, 部落). In this dissertation, I will use "village" to represent "Pu-Lo".

<sup>242</sup> Taiban, Sasala (2004). *Seeking the lost Arrow. The Perspective and Action of Tribalism*. Taipei: Institute for National Development.

other localisms in Han society in Taiwan. Since 1993, the Council for Cultural Affairs has been initiating the movement of community empowerment, centering on localization and communitarianism and aiming at releasing the local culture from Chinese culture (<sup>243</sup>Chen & Chang 2009: p.15).

#### Daren intellectuals and the anti-nuclear waste movement

The trend of localization and communitarianism helps Paiwan people find their lost *Tjaquvaquvulj* Kingdom, the prototype of a nation in the form of an indigenous community in south Taiwan (<sup>244</sup>Ye 1993), which is believed to have been established about 400 years ago during the Dutch colonial period. (Tsai 2009: p.161). There are two chief families in the *Tjaquvaquvulj* Kingdom: *Rovaniyaw* lineage and *Tjuleng* lineage. Both lineages used strategies and diplomatic negotiation to incorporate peripheral lineages and hence expanded their territories, forming a prototype of Kingdom with 23 tribal villages (<sup>245</sup>Tsai 2009, p.161).

The Paiwan villages in Daren Township originally belonged to the *Tjaquvaquvulj* Kingdom (<sup>246</sup>Pang, 2014, p.49-52), as it encountered the colonial governance of The Netherlands, the Qing Dynasty, and the Japanese Empire. Because of the cultural policy aiming at strangling local culture enforced by Han people (i.e. the Kuomintang government), the traditional culture had been withering. However, many leaders from the *Rovaniyaw*

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<sup>243</sup> Chen, Yi-Feng & Chang, Wei-Qi (2009). From Colonization to Development. First Year Development Annual Conference at National Chengchi University.

<sup>244</sup> Ye, Shen-Bao (1993). *The ethnic relationship and the history of Migration of Caqovoqovolj tribe*. Master Thesis: National Dong Hua University, Taiwan.

<sup>245</sup> Tsai, Ti-Ching (2009). The History of Tjaquvuquvulj Chiefdom. *The Journal of Taiwanese indigenous People*, Dec, pp.157-192.

<sup>246</sup> Pan, Chih-Hua. (2014). *Strategies and Actions for the Survival and Development of the Indigenous Peoples: Historical Experience and Contemporary Practices of Aljungic Tribe*. (Master Thesis). National Taitung University, Taiwan.

lineage system played important roles in the governmental organizations such as the army, central and local governments, and educational institutions. They applied the political power to introduce the concept of the *Tjaquvaquvulj* Kingdom and to create favorable conditions for reviving the Paiwan communities. Pang, a Paiwan man in Daren Township, thinks that although the Kingdom had disappeared and the culture is difficult to recover, Paiwan people can stand steadfast if the traditional spirit is still alive (<sup>16</sup>Pang, 2014). He also told me as follows.

*Being the offspring of Paiwan Tjaquvaquvulj Kingdom, we ensure that the area at Nantian Village has long belonged to the A-Lang-Yi village of the Tjaquvaquvulj Kingdom. Before establishing the nuclear waste repository, the state must obtain the permission of people from Nantian Village, the 23 villages of the Paiwan Tjaquvaquvulj Kingdom, and the 12 Paiwan townships. In Paiwan laws, there is no vote regulation that requires the minority should follow the opinion of the majority, but only a collegial system which asks for total agreement.*

The head of Daren Township has proactively held many cultural activities in order to recover the lost traditional culture. Daren Township fortunately has obtained the sponsorship from the Council of Indigenous Peoples and the Council for Cultural Affairs, and assistance from tribal leaders and local staffs. In 2007, the Paiwan five-year-ceremony (*maleveq*) of the *Tjaquvaquvulj* Kingdom was held again in Ansuo Village for the first time in 73 years. During the Japanese colonial period after 1934 the Paiwan five-year-ceremony had been prohibited because the colonial government was afraid that the tribal families would be united against the government. Consequently, the tough *Tjaquvaquvulj* Kingdom gradually

decomposed.

At the scene of teenagers dancing as brave warriors at five-year-ceremony, the staff that hosted the ceremony found that the costumes of the teenagers looked a bit weird, and eventually found that there is a slogan “Reject Nuclear Waste and Protect Paiwan” on their headbands, a protest against TPC’s plan for the permanent nuclear waste repository at Daren Township. Those teenagers were very angry that TPC tried to bribe indigenous people into silence on the nuclear waste plan and thus wanted to show their determination to protect the homeland. But the township office immediately asked those teenagers to take off their headbands because the local officials were afraid of making TPC angry (<sup>16</sup>Pang 2014, p.324).

Pang, as an offspring of the *Tjaquvaquvulj* Kingdom, established the Warrior Group of A-Lang-Yi village in 2009, aiming at uniting the local force by setting up meeting points at Daren Township with the outside force from the offspring of the entire *Tjaquvaquvulj* Kingdom to object to TPC’s nuclear waste plan. In 2009, the announcement by *Rovaniyaw* royalty objecting to nuclear waste at Nantian Village is as follows.

*The bright sun is our father of life;*

*The earth is our mother of life;*

*Everything has its soul.*

*We belong to the natural environment;*

*The natural environment is all in us.*

*Everything in nature is so sacred...*

*You dare to spend 160 million USD buying our beautiful land,  
Just because you can't get rid of the nuclear waste that you produced,  
Just because you want to throw away those harmful materials that ruin  
your health.*

*But, you don't care about us; this is my homeland of Paiwan people, in  
which my ancestors lived.*

*You will exploit and destroy our natural environment for your greedy  
desire;*

*You will use any way to turn our precious nature into money, what you  
think is the most important.*

*Then, using that dirty money to deceive the people of the nature-indigenous  
peoples.*

*...This is my homeland. I will not let you destroy our happiness.*

*You don't have the right to ask why we reject nuclear disaster, because that  
is the right we were born with.*

*That's just like a thief who does not have the right to ask the house owner to  
get out of the house.*

*My ancestor's ancestors have lived here to hunt, fish, and harvest for a  
long time.*

*In the future, my grandsons and granddaughters will still hunt, fish, and  
harvest here.*

*I am Sauljaljuy · Ruvaniyaw, the leader of Tjaquvaquvulj Kingdom.*

*...I and my people will continue to follow our ancestors' ways and always  
use our lives to protect our mother-this piece of our land*

*(<sup>16</sup>Pang 2014: p.357-359).*

What's the result of this effort to rebuild the *Tjaquvaquvulj* Kingdom? In fact, we may find some clues from the outcome of negotiations between TPC and the opinion leaders of the local government and churches, who are also the offspring of the *Tjaquvaquvulj* Kingdom. According to the two rounds of household interviews in Daren Township and the telephone poll in 2010, the percentages who favored accepting the low-radioactive nuclear repository are 38, 40 and 41.3, showing a slight increasing trend in support of TPC's plan. Furthermore, reporters even found that over 70% of local residents supported the nuclear waste plan (<sup>247</sup>Taiwan Li Newspaper, 2012/02/19). Sadly, it seems the force of cultural revitalization cannot have substantial effect on expelling the evil of TPC's nuclear waste plan.

Since most local elites, offspring of the *Tjaquvaquvulj* Kingdom, are closely related to the national political party machine and agree with the rise of the discourse of developmentalism proposed by the state's Plan for Local Prosperity (Atomic Energy Council 2007), the force of rejecting nuclear waste is very difficult to represent. Whether in the large-scale activity like five-year-ceremony within the Pingtung and Taitung counties or small scale activity like millet harvest worship in front of *karuma'an*, the ancestral house, the influence of traditional village heads, chieftains, had faded away through the colonial history. A minister of Nantian Church told me:

*The elders and staff in our church have been also the chieftains of Nantian Village since the Japanese colonial regime. The karuma'an still remains in the backyard of their houses. Every year the township office sponsors aboriginal tribes to hold harvest festivals, in general NT\$50,000 to 100,000 for a festival. Actually, these festivals are all symbolic activities, indicating*

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<sup>247</sup> Taiwan Li Post (2012, Feb 19). *Seventy Percent of Nantian Villagers accept Nuclear Waste*. From <http://www.cooloud.org.tw/node/66659>

*that the village chieftains do not have the power to represent the opinions of the whole village.*

Rovaniyaw offspring Pang anxiously told me his observation as follows. *“Under the long-term colonial regime, the Paiwan people almost lost its own governance capability. The traditional ceremony is supposed to be performed by mamazangiljan, the chieftain, while it now depends on the rough and awkward implementation by the bureaucratic units such as offices of villages or townships”.*

The festival ceremony initiated by the state for the purpose of tourism, without the historically authentic structure and power, just represents a broken and incomplete imaginary entity, which cannot strongly and clearly demonstrate the power of rejecting the nuclear waste. This phenomenon can be represented by an artwork named “wrongful birth” created by a male Paiwan artist, Lei En.

*The plant produces the white lily flowers that adorn the ceremonial headdresses of successful hunters among the Paiwan and Rekai (Taiban, 2006). But the title as Lei En’s description, gives it a more ironic meaning. Tourism promoters have begun to use the white lily, along with other Paiwan and Rekai symbols such as the 100-pace snake and the sun, as symbols of the tribes in general, or even of all aboriginal cultures. Now through “wrongful birth” the white lily has lost its meaning. One who wears it is no longer a renowned hunter who has killed 6 or more male wild boars, but just another generic aborigine (Figure 16) (<sup>248</sup>Harrell & Lin 2006: p.14).*

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<sup>248</sup> Harrell, Stevan & Lin, Yu-Shih (2006). *Aesthetics and Politics in Taiwan’s Aboriginal Contemporary Art*. NASA Annual Conference, University of California, Santa Cruz.

In order to cater to the development of local tourism industries, traditional cultural totems and social structures are given new meanings, which results in losing the legitimacy to use culture renaissance fighting against the nuclear waste. At the same time, tourism may cover or at least blur the truth that the local indigenous people make a poor living and in the real life they are fighting against the nuclear waste.



Figure 16 “Wrongful birth” by Lei En. Photo by Stevan Harrell, 2006.

In addition, the fact that most Paiwan offspring of *Tjaquvaquvulj* Kingdom at Daren

Township are now working for the state also lessens their ability to object to nuclear power. The cultural revitalization of *Tjaquvaquvulj* Kingdom at Daren Township is constrained by the close linkage between indigenous elites and the state bureaucracy, resulting in inability to fight the economic development plan launched by the state. Thus, the movement for cultural renaissance advocated by the Rovaniyaw indigenous elites belonging to the Kuomintang is actually dancing with the state's nuclear policies. Due to the colonial regimes' marginalizing policies, even some Rovaniyaw elites and elders who are against the state's nuclear policies unfortunately no longer have substantial power to stop or alter the state's nuclear policies. Although the chieftain of the Rovaniyaw lineage issued an announcement that he objected to nuclear policies, his representativeness and power may be just like the white lily "wrongful birth", which lost the legitimacy it originally possessed.

In recent years, one Rovaniyaw descendant, Chang Chinshen, who has made efforts toward recovering the culture of *Tjaquvaquvulj* Kingdom of Daren, started to cooperate with the DPP to reject nuclear waste after he left the position of the township office head. In 2013, the Rovaniyaw descendant and the chairperson and some important staff members of the DPP together proposed an announcement of anti-nuclear waste in a press conference held in the DPP headquarters.

*Self-introduction: The offspring of Tjaquvaquvulj Kingdom Rovaniyaw*

*The candidate site for the nuclear waste repository belongs to our traditional area ....The Japanese Empire did not respect the land rights of the Rovaniyaw lineage and intentionally invaded our territory, which caused the sad historical lesson of the Mudan event... We Rovaniyaw lineage signed the "Treaty of South Promontory" with the American consular officer at Hsiamen of China, Charles W. Le Gendre, which is a*

*treaty signed with foreigners in the name of Rovaniyaw lineage...Our land is like a queen's virginity, which cannot be abominated. In particular, the notion that Paiwan indigenous people regard land as our life has never been changed. So, our tribe loathes the nuclear waste that would kill our descendants and leave sufferings to our next generations, and insist on our objection against the nuclear waste...I asked the Daren Township residents if Lanyu Island across the Taiwan Straits is richer because of the existing nuclear waste repository. What has been done by TPC? What has been done by the government? We definitely cannot be cheated by the lies, cannot be the second Lanyu, and cannot be cheated again and again...Let us protect our homeland... (249 Chang, the press of the central office of DPP on 2013/04/16)*

Regarding the cooperation in rejecting nuclear waste between the former township head and DDP, other *Tjaquvaquvulj* Kingdom Rovaniyaw young men are happy to see it. One of them living in Ansuo Village said, *“Whatever, we appreciate his attitude to reject nuclear waste, because he is an important person to promote the recovery of Tjaquvaquvulj Kingdom culture in Daren Township. Without the fetters of governmental bureaucracy, the former township head can fully work with DDP to reject nuclear waste, which is beneficial to strengthen the ally's power to reject nuclear waste”*.

However, if the righteousness of the chieftains and their lineal families have a crucial role in the anti-nuclear waste protest, and they continue to use party-dependent ways to express their anti-nuclear attitude, how far can they go? Because of how complicated the political parties' policies toward nuclear waste, it might have caused the seed of uncertainty in *Tjaquvaquvulji* Kingdom's anti-nuclear waste's attitude. When we discussed the environmental movement on nuclear issues in prior chapter one, I used the local anti-nuclear movement against the fourth nuclear power plant in Gongliu as an example. It shows how,

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<sup>249</sup> I obtained the manuscript of that press from Chang during our interview in summer 2014.

because the local anti-nuclear waste protesters were betrayed by the DPP, they turned to religious power (the anti-nuclear power goddess, Mazu) to continue on with their cause. With that transition, they gave up all hope of alliance with political parties. Based on this example, we can see how cultural revival could be accomplished through with the righteousness of the chieftain. However, in order to become the true owner of the territory and to be approved by the majority as a leader, the chieftain would have to detach himself/herself from the involvement of political parties and to speak up for the injustice of the land.

#### A culture inheritor - the chieftain's heir

The most important cultural rite in Nantian Village is the Harvest Festival, which is implemented thoroughly according to the village head's opinions rather than the chieftain, who follows the village head's instruction. The heir prepared everything for the festival because the chieftain is aged, while the village head determined the procedure of the festival.

In an early morning one month before the upcoming Harvest Festival, I saw my aunt, the heir, was busy working in the backyard quietly when I went downstairs from the second floor to eat my breakfast that I bought the previous night. I took a closer look and realized that she was making mountain wine for all villagers in the Harvest Festival. When her two grandchildren and I were approaching her, she swung her arms to beckon us to leave. During lunchtime, she told me that elders prohibit pregnant or menstruating women from watching the process of making mountain wine. If the above-mentioned requirements are violated, especially if the watchers sneeze, the making of mountain wine won't be successful. Later on, I tried to make millet wine according to a recipe from the Internet, which emphasizes the prevention of bacterial contamination, and eventually I realized why the Paiwan indigenous

people have the winemaking taboo.

I was excited that my aunt still followed the ancient recipe to make millet wine. She steamed sticky rice by burning wood instead of using the gas stove. I asked her *“Did you teach my sister-in-law to make millet wine? Otherwise no one would know how to make millet wine in the future.”* She said, *“Anyway, if no one wants to drink millet wine, I don’t have to make it any more. Young generations can directly buy wine made by the Taiwan Tobacco and Liquor Corporation (TTL).”* I asked her again, *“Where did you buy the wine yeast? Can you make the wine yeast by yourself?”* She answered, *“The wine yeast was bought in Ping-Tung County. Making the wine yeast requires a lot of materials and no one is allowed to watch the process. So, I also don’t know how to make the wine yeast and just buy it from others at the price of 60 NT dollars (about \$2.00 US dollars) per piece.”* I kept asking, *“Who made the millet wine yeast for the Nantian Village in the past?”* She said, *“It’s a person living in Inner Nantian. She also did not allow us to watch the yeast-making process. So, it would be faster to buy the yeast from her.”* There are a lot of secrets and taboos contained in the traditional knowledge, which makes the traditional knowledge controlled by few people and hence results in the difficulty of inheritance. Nowadays, I can buy the wine yeast from the Internet, but I don’t know the difference between the one I bought and the Paiwan traditional one in that I have never drunk the millet wine made by the Paiwan traditional wine yeast.

The heir, my aunt, got busier as the days got closer to the Harvest Festival. She had been pulling weeds, watering the flowers in front of the ancient spirit house, and organizing harvested crops such as bananas, pineapples, pumpkins, sugar cane, and yams before I got up around 5:30 AM in the dawn. In the afternoon, she normally goes to the mountains to take care of her crops. Aunt heir said the continuous preparing work had made her almost out of

breath. She complained,

*“I am too busy! My mom (the chieftain) gave me too much work such as asking me to deal with the church affairs, to take care of the ancient spirit house and the crops in the mountains. I am really too busy with The Harvest Festival coming, cash gifts for relatives’ marriage and death. I cannot find enough time or money...July 14th is the date of the Harvest Festival for our family and Nantian Village, 12th is the date of the Harvest Festival for the other chieftain’s family across the street (the second chieftain). We also need to attend his Harvest Festival. We need to help each other, or they won’t help us.*

Every morning when I got up, I always saw the heir busy working for the Harvest Festival. I was eating my breakfast and asked her if she was going to water the fields in the mountains. She replied,

*“Yesterday it was raining. God has irrigated the fields for me, so I can take a day off. I was thinking what I should do today and asked her if she was going to take off four days to prepare (for the Harvest Festival)... I am going to pick some shall flower leaves (for Paiwan rice dumplings with pork), pick some shall I need to wash the cups, our indigenous sanitary cups. ”*

Later on, she opened the ancient spirit house and took several bamboo cups with the one-hundred-pace snake totem or a facial tattoo, and a big bamboo tube which can be carried on the back for storing and sharing the millet wine. When my aunt was squatting down to wash these cups with spring water, I asked her if I can take a photo of the interior of the

ancient spirit house. She answered, “*Other people cannot, but you can.*”



Figure 17 The ancient spirit house of Nantian Village

It was one night just one week before the Harvest Festival. I passed by the adjacent neighborhood head’s house. There were some villagers with serious facial expressions sitting around a table and holding a meeting. They were discussing issues and drinking beer. The main content that the villagers including the village head, village officers, and four neighborhood heads (two of them are female) were discussing is about the referee meeting for the competition activities in the Harvest Festival. They discussed every detail and criterion of each contest to ensure the fairness of it. One village officer hosted the meeting and took notes very seriously, and he even shouted at me, the heir and other women because of our loud chatting. In the meantime, there were also a group of teenagers talking about the songs and dances that they would perform in the Harvest Festival. It seemed the whole village was all ready for the Harvest Festival. Compared with the heir’s preparations such as busy working in the field, cooking, and house-keeping, the round table meeting with beer drinking is regarded as an action with more formality and substantial authority.

According to the traditional procedure of the Harvest Festival, the first chieftain was supposed to enter the ancestor spirit house and do *balisi* (ritual) in the dawn to inform and invite ancestors to attend the Harvest Festival. But I saw the village head unexpectedly coming visit the first chieftain. He communicated with and asked her in Paiwan language to do *balishi* in the ancestor spirit house one day before the Harvest Festival so the ritual procedure would go more smoothly. The sudden change of procedure caused the heir to have a tighter schedule of preparation. Moreover, because of insufficient labor to make *gavie* (Paiwan rice dumplings with pork) for the Harvest Festival and the heir's inability to change the village's decision, she could not help showing her anxiety and helplessness on her face. In front of her, there were materials for making *gavie*, including a barrel of millet, a barrel of sticky rice, two bags of shall flower leaves (<sup>250</sup>月桃葉), and a barrel of green papaya slices. Women living in the heir's house automatically came to help make *gavie* to soothe the heir's tense emotion. Despite our help, the heir was still a little angry, for the strings to fasten the *gavie* were twisted. My aunt, the younger sister of the heir, and I kept wrapping *gavie*. The oldest sister-in-law stopped looking after her kids and came to help us, and so did the head of the second neighborhood and one young man. Since we didn't know how to make *gavie*, the head of the first neighborhood, the heir's oldest daughter, and the second chieftain's elders came across the street to teach us the skills to make *gavie*. Fortunately, we rookies learned to make *gavie* very quickly and the heir started to show her smile. The younger aunt teased the heir that "Many people are here to help you and you don't need to feel nervous." Being the inheritor of the chieftain lineage and the major elder of the Nantian Christian Church, my aunt heir still needs to prepare everything solely by herself. Under the multiple requirements

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<sup>250</sup> Shall Flower commonly known as *Alpinia zerumbet* or shell ginger, is a perennial species of ginger native to East Asia. Paiwan people use long leaf blades of shall flower for wrapping *gavie* (Paiwan rice dumpling).

from the traditional culture, modern bureaucracy, and external religion, the responsibilities and tasks on the heir's shoulder are much heavier than before.

On the day of the Harvest Festival, except for the pork and drinks such as black tea, green tea, milk tea, mineral water and other canned drinks sponsored by the township office and TPC, all the food and crops on the table were harvested by the heir's hard work in the field. The heir shared her agricultural products with the villagers, and the villagers echoed her efforts by donating cash, where there was a donation book for recoding donators' names and the money they donated. The most important things in the Harvest Festival to the villagers are the prizes for contests and for the raffle. The township office, TPC, administrative bureaucracy, the local restaurants and other for-profit enterprises sponsored these prizes. Since controlling the prize resources, the rules of contests are decided by the administrative bureaucracy rather than any chieftains. The chieftains in the Harvest Festival are nominal leaders to the village, just as those crops in the rites to represent the seeming legitimacy of the Harvest Festival. In fact, the villagers only care about the prizes and monetary awards.

## The Impact of the State

### The Controversy of Nantian's Public Land

In the past, Paiwan residential land was governed and protected by the chieftain (*mazazangiljan*) in the strict hierarchical social system. However, the two contemporary chieftains in Nantian Village now do not have any substantial authority over Paiwan villagers. The leadership of chieftains had been replaced by the policemen in Japan's colonial regime, and the heads of township and village after the national government moved to Taiwan. Land was categorized into public land and indigenous reserves under the state governmental plan.

According to the official statistics of Taitung County townships, the following table compares the differences of population, land area, and the population density among Taitung County, Taitung City, Daren Township and Lanyu County.

Table 7 Area of Land and Population Density in Taitung County (Statistic report from Department of Household Registration, Ministry of Interior, Taiwan, 2011)

<b>Areas</b>	<b>Population</b>	<b>Area of Land (Hectare)</b>	<b>Population Density (People per Square Kilometer)</b>
Taitung County	228,290	3,515.2526	65
Taitung City	108,310	109.7691	987
Daren Township	3,965	306.4454	13
Lanyu Township	4,691	48.3892	97

Table 7 shows that the population density of Lanyu Island is higher than the average one of Taitung County and the one of Daren Township; it is much lower than the one of Taitung City. Nantian Village is located in Daren Township, which is a township with large land area and few residents. The total area of Nantian Village is 1122.603 hectares, of which 1108.845 hectare, 99.87% of the area of Nantian, are aboriginal reserves. There are 807- land parcels registered in the names of villagers, 770 of which are registered by the indigenous people. It seems that villagers are highly willing to obey the regulations of aboriginal reserves registration system. According to the principle of first occupied and first registered, the registered lands are mostly from the first chieftain. The first chieftain said, *“Because we came earlier, that’s why we own more land now.”* Other villagers also know that most of the aboriginal reserve lands are owned by the first chieftain. A second-generation villager with high education from a family of *wai-sheng* (外省)-Paiwan marriage said,

*Our family has owned Nantian's land since the last generation (obtaining the land ownership around fifty years). Nantian's largest landowner is the family of the first chieftain, Lu-Liu Chinhua. They all have lands on the mountains to utilize. We only have a house from my parents in the second chieftain's area, and a house from my husband in the first chieftain's area. So, the time we have owned Nantian's land is less than 30 years... My mother (a Paiwan woman) once lost her aboriginal identity since she was married to a wai-sheng-ren and later on recovered her indigenous identity because of the revised law. So, we can register land and enjoy the benefits for the indigenous people.*

The first chieftain owns more land because of early arrival, while her property has become private, which is different from the land right in the name of the village in the past. The chieftain has lost the right to possess and distribute the village's land, even though she has been recognized by the government and obtained the sponsorship to hold the Harvest Festival, yet the chieftain has become a symbolic one.

There are some controversies over public land in Nantian Village. The earliest controversy relates to Highway 26, the following one relating to the proposed nuclear waste repository, and the recent one relating to the change of indigenous reserves to construction sites for the village-model project last year. Below I will start the discussion from the controversy on the modern development and the ecosystem and culture reservation of the Alangyi Ancient Trail, the local discourse on the 40-hectare candidate site of nuclear waste repository, and the controversy on another wounded land- the change of aboriginal reserves to construction sites for the village-model project. From the perspective of the state, Nantian villagers can be separated from Nantian land and the villagers' demand of the land use has been intentionally neglected.

## The Highway 26- ecosystem and culture reservation of the Alangyi Ancient Trail

The characteristics of modern geography and space are the spatialization of historical process. The appearance of the core and the peripheral represents the spatial differences on the different stages in the evolutionary process of history. The under developed areas are waiting for new revolution. That is to say, the modernization theory indirectly recognizes the unbalanced development in space when modernization occurs. Modernization is a diffusion process of spatial expansion which always proceeds from connecting sites like harbors and colonial administration centers gradually to lower level cities or along with transportation lines (Cheng & Chang 2009: p.3). In the past, Nantian Village was a place or “wasteland” that nobody noticed, while since 2010 it has become famous due to Taiwan’s Round-the-Island Highway Plan. The 11.8-kilometer distance between Nantian Village of Taitung County and Xu-Hai Village of Pingtung County is the only gap along the round-the-island highway, and is also the pathway named the Alangyi Ancient Trail for indigenous people when hunting and migrating (Figure 18).



Figure 18 The Alangyi Ancient Trail. Source from Pingtung Forest District Office.

Alangyi is the ancient name of Anshuo Village, Daren Township, Taitung County. The small village cannot be developed because it is near a military base. Recently, the state planned to implement “The improvement plan for Highway 26 from Anshuo to the Harbor”. The Taitung County government governing one end of the Highway 26 in Nantian Village advocates the developmental plan of the round-the-island highway for the sake of developing the local tourist industry, while the Pingtung County government objects to the construction of the round-the-island Highway and accepts the suggestion from the environmental protection groups.



Figure 19 The old entrance road to Nantian Village. It was the only route to connect Nantian Village to the outside, but it is easily blocked in the typhoon season. This photo was taken by Ho Palang, a minister of Nantian Church in 2012.



Figure 20 The new entrance road, the Highway 26, to Nantian Village. This photo was taken by Ho Palang, a minister of Nantian Church in 2012.

The villagers of Xuhai and Nantian support Taiwan's Round-the-Island Highway Plan, which is thought to be helpful for the local economic development. However, some indigenous elites working for cultural revitalization and groups working for environmental protection are strongly against it, indicating that the Alangyi Ancient Trail is a place with important Paiwan historical and cultural assets and ecological resources, which will be destroyed by inviting the nuclear waste repository and constructing the highway (<sup>16</sup>Pang 2014).

Since Taiban Sasala proposed the concept of tribalism, the emerging indigenous movements have started using information and communication technology (ICT), social network media and public media to connect more indigenous villages to enlarge the scale of protest. This period I would like to call **post-tribalism**, arguing that the main focus of these movements is basically around a local village, but not limited to the local villages. In this stage, Taiwan indigenous intellectuals are stepping on the boundary between indigenous culture and Han culture, which provides the chance to play the bridge role of connecting indigenous villages and mainstream society. They have to find the balance point when touching the earth in the day time and using a computer at night. The indigenous intellectuals not only need to understand how to hunt prey and weave cloth, but also need to be familiar with the knowledge in the main stream society such as medical, legal, and environmental knowledge. That is the spirit of the idiom emphasizing “If you know yourself as well as your enemies, you will win one hundred victories in one hundred battles” (知己知彼、百戰百勝). Utilizing ICT to communicate with and seek resources and support from the outside world of the village is the strategy that has never been used by the first two stages of Taiwanese indigenous movement.

In the beginning the local intellectuals in Daren Township, who opposed the Round-the-Island Highway Plan, cooperated with the Pingtung Environmental Protection Union<sup>251</sup> and later connected to other environmental protection groups, aboriginal groups, and churches. They have won the initial battle to stop the construction plan for economic development. On Jan 18, 2012, the Pingtung County government announced that the Alangyi Ancient Trail was formally designated as a nature reserve, stopping the road project intended

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<sup>251</sup> Pingtung Environmental Protection Union is an NGO in Pingtung County. The main aim of this NGO is to promote the organic agriculture in Taiwan.

to fill the gap in the round-the-island highway system. The announcement brought serious complaints from residents living at the two ends of the highway. They thought stopping the construction plan will result in losing the chance to have greater local economic development.

In an interview with Taiban Sasala, he said that the goal of environmental protection groups is to protect nonhuman beings, which sometimes will cause threats to and conflicts with the indigenous people's survival. How to find a win-win solution so that local indigenous people can make a living and the culture and ecological system can be preserved is to challenge the wisdom of both local and central governments. For example, after the Alangyi Ancient Trail was designated as nature reserve, the Pingtung government began proactively training local indigenous people as tour guides to help residents take advantage of the environmental protection policy. It's a win-win strategy. The Alangyi Ancient Trail in Pingtung County is an example of a win-win solution for ecosystem protection and improves local people's living condition by ecotourism development.

Pingtung County at the southern entrance of the Alangyi Ancient Trail has been deliberately trying to find a balance between environment protection and economic development. However, the above-mentioned win-win solution cannot bring any direct benefits to Nantian villagers. Most of locals taking the tour guide training regarding the Alangyi Ancient Trail and succeeding in obtaining the tour guide licenses are Pingtung County residents and only two of them are elites living in Ansuo Village beside Nantian Village. Because most Nantian villagers have less education, the threshold of taking tour guide training or passing the examination is too high to overcome. Moreover, the salary of being a tour guide is less than the wage of being a laborer, 3,000 NT\$ per day. Thus, Nantian

villagers cannot perceive any substantial benefits from the win-win solution. By contrast, Taitung County at the northern entrance of the Alangyi Ancient Trail tends to develop the local economy through building the highway and is reluctant to manage ecological protection policies and the eco-tourism industry. Compared to Pingtung County, Taitung County has a different discourse on the preservation of the Alangyi Ancient Trail and the developmental plan based on the Round-the-Island Highway. Therefore, although busloads of tourists have come to visit Nantian Village, located at the northern entry point, they did not stop their pace to enjoy its beautiful landscapes and spend more time to go shopping there, but brought noise and garbage instead.

In addition, before the Highway 26 brings economic prosperity, Nantian villagers have already experienced the life threat brought by the high-speed cars from other places. One middle-aged villager complaint to me,

*“This highway indeed changes our traffic to the outside. It is more convenient to us to go outside. But, it is also difficult to limit the tourists’ car racing here. My two grandsons were severely hit by a car driven by a tourist last month...In fact, this highway can be directly connected to the Third Nuclear Plant. So, it should be convenient to TPC to send the nuclear waste in here!”*

The owner’s wife of the only grocery store at Nantian Village said,

*“Honestly, there is not so much development at Nantian. The road is wider and it is more convenient...We went to school by walking and we took Nantian’s old trail to Ansuo Elementary School before. After the construction of this highway, there are more cars on the road. But, my business does not become better; it has gotten worse. The outside tourists and the villagers can directly go to the convenience stores in the adjacent*

*village. Now I can only sell some drinks and instant noodles... Once the road was narrow, the tourist bus cannot enter. Tourists visiting the Alangyi Ancient Trail would go to the park outside and pass by my store to buy drinks. Now, the road is wider and the tourist bus can directly enter the entrance of the Alangyi Ancient Trail to pick up tourists...”.*

Although villagers can definitely feel the convenience brought by the highway, there has not been a well-designed economic development in Nantian. On the dark side, the highway brings the traffic danger and the effect of economic marginalization, and even the threat of nuclear waste dumping after the round-island highway project is finished.

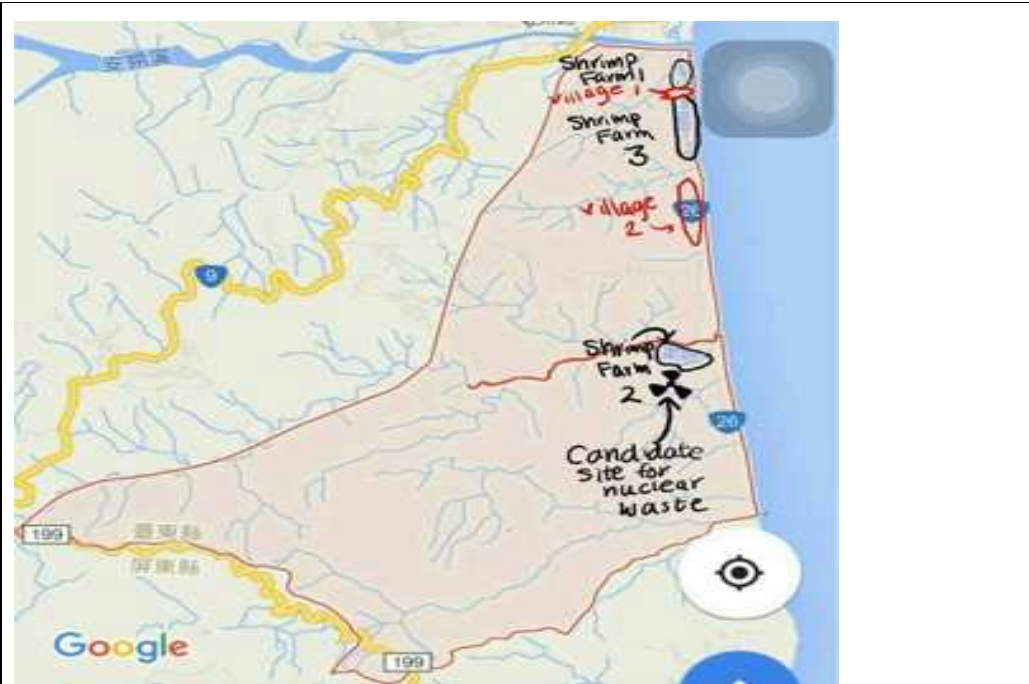
Rooted in the ideology of modernism and developmentalism, the government of Taitung believes that local development depends on either a high degree of road construction or accepting compensation for nuclear waste dumping in indigenous communities. Nowadays, TPC intends to create a single vision for Nantian Village by connecting the compensation derived from the issue of nuclear waste to the local economic development. The ideology of developmentalism places the only focus on economics and the lack of emphasis on cultural preservation resulting in the predicament Nantian Village is facing.

### The candidate site for the nuclear waste repository

The Nantian village head cannot even remember how many times he has taken reporters to the candidate site for the nuclear waste repository and described what he thought of the villagers' voices about the nuclear waste repository. In the early morning, I followed the village head and the reporters and came to the candidate site. The village head said, speaking with a microphone,

*In front of us, it's a tunnel to the 40-hectare nuclear waste repository. In the front seashore, there will be a harbor with docks, and the transportation truck will load the nuclear waste at the dock and enter the tunnel... This area is a 70-hectare public property, and 40 hectares of it are for the nuclear waste repository...Of course, some villagers support the project and some villagers reject the project. We Paiwan people have the sense of mission to protect our land, especially for the elders and chieftains...But we have to face the fact our hometown is remote and has infertile soil, and few job opportunities. Most people who provide the major economic support for their families need to go outside to find jobs. But, they all know that the economic condition is not very good. They have an expectation that they would get a lot of monetary compensation if the nuclear waste is stored at the Nantian Village.*

In addition to the expectation of the villagers, how do the immigrants see the nuclear waste repository? As we can see from the Figure 21 below, there are two major living areas of Nantian Village, village 1 (*navi*) and village 2 (*vili*). The shrimp farms 1 and 2 are the first and second shrimp farms at Nantian Village respectively. The owners of the shrimp farms rent the villagers' private land. The shrimp farm 3, with 9 hectares, is the biggest shrimp farm, located at the center of Nantian Village between *navi* and *vili*. The owner rents the land of the shrimp farm 3 from the township office



Shrimp Farms and the candidate site for nuclear waste repository



Shrimp farm 3 is the largest one in Nantian Village.



Shrimp farm 2 is the nearest to candidate site of nuclear waste repository in Nantian Village.

Figure 21 Shrimp Farms and Candidate site for Nuclear Waste at Nantian Village

The closest shrimp farm to the candidate site of the nuclear waste repository is the second one whose owner is a Han person. One afternoon in August of 2013, the weather was very hot and I was riding a motorcycle to the second shrimp farm to interview the owner couple about the nuclear waste issues. When I approached the farm, three big black dogs were running out and barking at me. No sooner was I shocked and tried to escape, then the owner's wife came out to stop the dogs' barking and pacified them. I switched off the motorcycle's engine and pulled the motorcycle over to the concrete house. The owner's wife welcomed me to enter their house and the owner gave a cup of hot tea. He said, "*Using poison to cure poison. It can quench your heat!*"

*We came here (Nantian Village) in 2003, and left for a while. In 2008, we came back to start the shrimp-raising business. We have been here about eight years...In the beginning, around 2003, the TPC employees asked for our help to investigate this mountain. My dogs also brought the lunch boxes and acted as a road guide when we were climbing the mountain...We would cooperate with them. At the time, the reporters of Taiwan Indigenous Television (TITV) also came interview me...It's been a long time and nothing happened. I thought it would not be put here...Taiwan is so tiny. We need to select a site with smallest population and most infertile soil to store the nuclear waste. We cannot grow any crops such as the bell fruit and rice in western Taiwan. It's very difficult to grow crops here...The nuclear waste indeed will influence us. Of course, shrimps cannot be raised here. My shrimp farm must be contaminated by the nuclear waste...The government needs to give me compensation and then I can do another business with the compensation or I can go another place to raise shrimps...The township has never given me an explanation. I have rented the land from the Lin chieftain of the first village...It is not sure yet? Will the nuclear waste come here? In 2008, many outsiders pulled the white cloth bands (for protest) from Shengyuan to here. But, up to now nothing*

*happened. In fact, we Nantian residents hope to store the nuclear waste, so that we can get the compensation and find another job to do...*

Although they have raised shrimp at Nantian for 18 years, they regard Nantian land as a tool for making money. They come to work at Nantian in the daytime and go back to the modern city at night. Over the past 18 years, whenever the rent contract is expired, they can go to another place to raise shrimp. They don't need to interact with and build relationships with Nantian villagers. Since without any interaction in living, culture, or work, the Han owner can quickly leave Nantian without any consideration when the nuclear waste comes. It is not surprising that the way the shrimp farm owner interprets Nantian villagers' motive of accepting the monetary compensation because they have regarded each other as strangers. The shrimp farmer has never paid much attention to the land and people at Nantian.

However, another outside owner of shrimp farm holds a different attitude toward nuclear waste. Every day I rode my motorcycle to *navi* and *vili* and had to pass through the biggest shrimp farm. At noon, I always smelled the bad odor from the shrimps when I was passing the farm. There is a house in the center of the shrimp farm. As I was approaching the farm, no doubt two big dogs were also barking at me, which shows it's well protected from strangers including villagers living in Nantian. I once almost gave up interviewing the owner. After a while, a Han person with casual clothes came out and invited me to enter his house after knowing my intention. Another Han man sitting inside the house is the owner of the shrimp farm. The man inviting me to come in is the owner's partner. The owner asked me to have a seat and gave me a cup of tea. At Nantian, the two owners of shrimp farms are the only people who would give me a cup of tea rather than giving me a cup of wine. When

mentioning about the nuclear issue, he stated his objection in an impassioned tone.

*We moved here in the early period of this year. It's already 8 months...I rent this public property from the township office. It's about 9 hectares including a three-foot width of land in the Chingshui Park, which is located at the center of Nantian. That part now is regarded as a piece of public land that I need to take care of. I would like to change my residence registration to Nantian, so that I can vote in the referendum... In fact, if it's put here (Nantian Village), the Alangyi Ancient Trail, the last clean land will be gone... If it's really put here, and I don't even think to raise shrimps here...If the nuclear waste can only be stored in Taiwan, then Taiwan will be sinking. It is very sad to destroy the tiny Taiwan...The point is that the time needed to store the nuclear waste is too long... I heard a fact from a doctor that the cheapest energy is gas power. In fact, nuclear power is most expensive. I think it should be appropriate to develop wind power in Taitung, and solar energy, too. I think nuclear can be developed only when it (nuclear waste) can be dealt with. Low-level radioactivity would also cause contamination, wouldn't it...If the nuclear waste is really stored here, it's finished here... There should be a desert island in Taiwan. It can be stored on the desert island...We cannot only care about compensation, and should have a longer view...Our government was cheated by the United States several decades ago, and now (the government) would like to cheat Taiwanese people by this story (nuclear power). In Taitung, the air is great, and the landscape is beautiful. I don't really figure out why the government wanted to develop nuclear power rather than wind power and solar power. The government wanted to kill Taiwan...The time to store nuclear waste is too long. The government (or TPC) should make a lot of improvement of the existing energy equipment...If I have a longer stay here, I will talk to the village head and suggest using the alternative energy to raise shrimps. We can build a scientific park supported by alternative energy. We can do it step by step. That's the way to love this place. How can they throw things that nobody wants out here? It's really bad. It's not a thing that people who love Taiwan will do. Why don't they try another way? It's very controversial*

*and it can be the issue for holding a referendum. But, that would cause Taiwan's death. Referendum is useless...The point of what I said is that those issues good for Taiwan can be used for referendum. But, those bad issues that would cause Taiwan's death cannot be used for referendum.*

This fresh worker from outside Nantian reflects the main argument of anti-nuclear power in the metropolitan cities, mentioning the possible vision that Taiwan can simultaneously pursue the sustainability of economic development as well as the sustainability of environment. However, he still has not the chance to figure out the interconnected meaning between the local Paiwan culture and land.

In fact, the villagers are not able to consider a long-term issue, such as the whole Taiwan's environmental sustainability because they not only need to face the economic pressure, but also the living threat, however neglected by the government, from the rising level of sea water.

The heir said, *"Once the wind-shield forest becomes the shrimp farms, sea water will directly come to our houses. It's very dangerous. Don't those "upper people" understand our predicament and sympathize?"* The village head said, *"...If the upper level (the government) does not care about it, and we surely switch to TPC because of the larger compensation funding and a variety of welfare packages. We can only expect TPC would protect the villagers' properties and lives...The outside people cry for the so-called environmental sustainability and anti-nuclear, but they don't even know our lives have been threatened by this kind of adversity."* While both the heir and the village head are worried about the cavitation problem, they don't think that the government would emphasize this Nantian villagers' urgent demand, and hence what they can do is accept the nuclear waste form TPC

for the Nantian villager's economic security.

The anti-nuclear voices are from the villagers working for the government. One middle-aged villager actively told me about his experience with TPC.

*I am a backhoe operator. Today, I am off...TPC came here several times before. They asked me, "Is a lion or radiation more dangerous?" I blew him off. I said, "Of course radiation is more dangerous, because radiation is an invisible enemy and a lion is a visible one that we can fight it with knives and guns. We don't even know how we are poisoned to death...I have attended TPC's seminars three times. TPC gave the township office a very clear explanation, but it gave the villagers an unclear one.... Talking about the issue of compensation, TPC cannot clearly answer that compensation base is for an individual, a household, or the township office. TPC cannot respond to the most important and sensitive issue. It is no need to hold a seminar...Regarding the construction of the nuclear waste repository, TPC said it's very safe in the first seminar. However, one week later a nuclear plant event happened in Japan...They took Japan as an example, while Japan first had an accidental event <sup>252</sup>"*

The heir once told me feelingly in broken Mandarin about her opinions toward nuclear waste while working in the peanut field.

*I don't want nuclear waste. Why don't they put it in front of the presidential office in Taipei city if it is good stuff? They want to put it here...TPC held a conference before, claiming that we would have a life like in the paradise if the nuclear waste is put here...I have never been to the paradise, and I don't know how good it is ...In the village meeting, I objected to nuclear waste in a loud voice and stated that come kill all the Nantian villagers if the nuclear waste is put here...But, Nantian villagers*

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<sup>252</sup> An interview at 4:30 PM on 2013/07/09.

*are very lazy. They don't want to work and just want to get the money (compensation)...When this new road was being constructed, all the workers were from other villages. Our young men were all drinking alcohol...Now, I learned that someone said the reason I object to nuclear waste is I have land in Nantian...I just have a small piece of land. How would I object nuclear waste for a small piece of land...The real reason that I object nuclear waste is for all (future?) vuvu at Nantian. For us, it is a right thing to protect this place...Your uncle turned out to support nuclear waste, so, we did not cast our votes to support him.....<sup>253</sup>*

These two persons are not working at the governmental units and have not received higher education. However, the way they interpret the threat of nuclear waste to humans and land is the most direct and logical. I can see a couple of important administrative staffers walking around the village every day and had often been invited to join their chatting when they were drinking alcohol. But, the Nantian villagers, no matter elders or young generations, never talk about the nuclear issue in public except during the private interviews.

One morning in July of 2012, I woke up and checked the information on Facebook. The teachers of the Ansuo Elementary School, the anti-nuclear groups on the Internet, and the aboriginal movement proactive participants were intensively discussing the news announced on the third of July by the Ministry of Economics about Nantian as a candidate site of nuclear waste repository. Strangely, Nantian villagers were indifferent to this news. I brought my breakfast and walked to the front yard of the heir's house. I saw four young men who were drinking beer and chatting in the front yard...some villagers were enjoying the cool air in their front yards and were staring at the highway right in front of their houses. After eating my breakfast, I rode my motorcycle to *vili* (inner Nantian) and saw two houses with villagers

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<sup>253</sup> An interview at 10:00 AM on 2012/07/19.

were also enjoying the cool air and were drinking beer in their front yards...As usual, two small trucks loaded with vegetables came to Nantian Village. They were playing loud music and broadcasting to remind villagers to come out and buy vegetables...Till night, Nantian Village became silent. I wondered if the villagers got together and were discussing how to deal with the nuclear waste issues in the village meeting. I got the answer when I met the eldest sister-in-law. Since today is the only day in a week that vendors will do business in the night market of Dawu Township, Nantian villagers had already been to the night market to go shopping. The eldest sister-in-law drove her car and gave a ride to me, her youngest daughter, and the aunt heir. We took 15 minutes to Dawu Township. The eldest sister-in-law bought some fashion clothes; I bought everyone an ice cream cone; aunt bought slippers and underwear. The youngest daughter of the eldest sister-in-law brought a toy for thirty NT dollars and a balloon with a Mickey Mouse picture, which was sent from a friend of the eldest sister-in-law. This almost drunk person even bought each of us except the little girl a cup of draft beer (NT\$70 per cup), along with three plates of fried-lamb noodles. Before we left the night market, we met another friend of the second eldest aunt, who actively bought us a plate of fried lamb's stomach. After finishing our dinner, the eldest sister-in-law bought a steak for her eldest son and a bowl of noodles for her husband. On the way to the heir's house, the eldest sister-in-law stopped by a vendor of betel nut and bought two packs of betel for her husband. It seemed that nothing special had happened on the day that the Ministry of Economics just cast a bomb (or maybe the villagers think it's a gift) to the Nantian Village. There was no villager mentioning about any nuclear waste issues on the day.

Nantian villagers do not like to express their opinions on public issues. One middle-aged woman said, "*Nantian villagers are people who always follow the crowds. Everyone is not*

*well educated. They don't have their own opinions, and just reiterate what they have heard from others. They don't have a strong standpoint...I miss the social-stability status in the period of powerful government.*” Another Nantian governmental official said, *“There has never been a formal poll to investigate villagers' attitudes toward nuclear waste. I believe that it absolutely won't be 100% of villagers who agree with accepting nuclear waste. I guess it would be a half of villagers agree and the other half disagree...We Nantian residents are not interested in and not enthusiastic about the public issues. For instance, the village head called a meeting to discuss the issues of Highway 26. According to what I saw, there were more policemen guarding the meeting than residents attending it.”*<sup>254</sup> One director of the community development association who is closest to the teenagers expressed his opinion about how the teenagers look at nuclear waste.

*“I've discussed the nuclear waste issue with teenagers. Only two of them are relatively aggressive, and ask me to express my attitude...If I didn't express my attitude, they would be mad at me...The young generation has their own thoughts. At least, they know what nuclear waste is and what nuclear energy is. Just now I stressed the differences between nuclear waste and nuclear energy to cause damages. They said they don't understand. In fact, they quite understand the differences...I don't have to force them accept my thoughts and I hope that they can figure it out by themselves. They are just students.”*

Although Nantian villagers are indifferent to the discussion of public issues, they are much concerned about a variety of sport contests unrelated to politics and show their strong cohesion and motivation.

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<sup>254</sup> An interview at 1:30 PM on 2013/8/13.

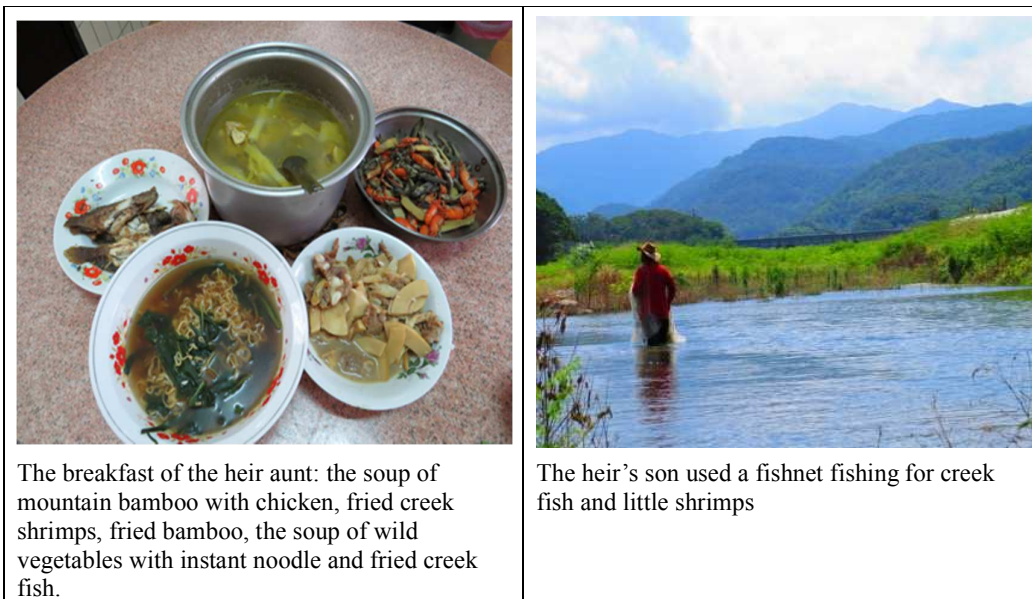
They may not know what date the Ministry of Economics announced the news about Nantian was selected as a candidate of nuclear waste repository, but they are very clear that when the Daren Township Sport Tournament will be held, how many competition events are in the tournament, who will register in multiple events, and even the records of every contests made last year, such as how many seconds the best sprinter spent. The candidacy of nuclear waste site is more serious and complicated to Nantian villagers. Some media even stigmatize them by using terms using such as poor, greedy, and so on to describe them. Nantian villagers are not able to change the situation they face. However, different from the frustration in the disadvantages in the facets of economics, education, and politics, the sport contest is the only place where the villagers can have the chance to feel honored and get awards, where it is worthwhile for the whole village to make common efforts.

The village officials, the former and the current CEO of the community development, the Nantian policemen, and school principals, hold the similar attitudes toward nuclear waste, regarding the nuclear waste issue as one directly relating to residents' living, economic development, and medical treatment.

## The Impact of Economy

In June of 2013, when I formally stepped into Nantian Village to start my field work, I rented one room in the Nanitan heir's house. She is living with her son (my cousin), daughter-in-law (my eldest sister-in-law) and one four-year-old granddaughter. Her youngest son and two daughters have moved to outside Nantian for work. Because of the worse health condition of the heir, her eldest son was forced to quit the job of a construction worker in the urban city and came back to Nantian to take care of her. However, my cousin cannot find a

stable job. Sometimes the subcontractors of local public construction projects would ask him to help at the wage of NT\$3,000 per day, but the offers are very limited. He normally is notified to work the next day. He goes out to work before sunrise and comes back after sunset. My cousin has three kids, one university student, one high school student and one still raised at home. Before considering the expenses of education, medical care and living, that the heir's family surrounded the dining table resolutely rejects nuclear waste vividly reflects the intimate relationship between people and land.



The breakfast of the heir aunt: the soup of mountain bamboo with chicken, fried creek shrimps, fried bamboo, the soup of wild vegetables with instant noodle and fried creek fish.

The heir's son used a fishnet fishing for creek fish and little shrimps

Figure 22 The chieftain heir's family meal

When eating meals at the heir aunt's house, I always found some little eels, creek fishes and little shrimps caught by my cousin with the electric shocking method or by using a fishnet, the chicken they raise, and vegetables from mountains such as bamboos, wild herbs and sweet potatoes. The instant noodle and pork shown on the above Figure 22 are the only foods bought from outside, and most foods can be obtained by farm work, which are the gifts of the land. That's the way Paiwan elders feed their next generations with land, while the next

generations may not accept it. When staying at the heir's house, the eldest sister-in-law would go to the breakfast restaurants or the convenience stores in the Ansuo Village to buy sandwiches, milk tea, bread or milk for her husband and her youngest daughter. One afternoon I saw my cousin brought a black rabbit on his hands, which was caught by the trap he set in the field. He said, "I will go check the trap every day. This wild rabbit can be sold to the wild-animal restaurants for NT\$ 600. Sometimes the trap can get a boar, but not often." When talking to me, he stripped away the skin of the rabbit and took out the organs inside the rabbit's body, and then wrapped the rabbit up and put it into the refrigerator. Whenever my cousin is available, he can bring the frozen rabbit in exchange for cash. There are a certain group of customers who like to eat wild animals, and most of them going to the wild-animal restaurants are Han people. The meal differences not only reflect the differences of the degree of closeness with land between the two generations, but also the differences of the cash demand.

## Welfare Office

In the past, the Paiwan chieftain was responsible for resource allocation and played a role of taking care of vulnerable people. Now, the eldest daughter of the first chieftain of Nantain Village or the heir ready to inherit the position of the chieftain is regarded as the most diligent person in growing agricultural crops by hand, while most villagers choose to go out to work. The heir thinks that the young generations make less effort, which causes them to be reluctant to do field work, while other elders feel guilty in that they cannot offer economic assistance to the young generations. Thinking that Nantian land is too infertile to do field work, the young villagers tend to leave home for work. However, the job market is

very tight, and most villagers have to rely on social welfare offered by the national government.

A middle-aged villager, one of a few governmental officials, told me,

*Our elders feel kind of guilt toward the next generations, because they cannot behave as Han people do, to leave properties to the following generations for helping them. In reality, most of our indigenous elders rely on the social relief system. Furthermore, our agricultural land policies are also questionable. Since we cannot freely trade our land, there has never been an increase in land value. Besides, the indigenous reserve land cannot be used to apply for entrepreneurship loans for young people. Because of the consideration of environmental protection, the exploitation of most indigenous land is quite limited. There is no difference if we have land or not. Accordingly, the elders feel guilty to the next generations. That's why the elders usually support their young people to seek for resources outside. Now, almost every Nantian young person accepts the construction plan of the nuclear waste repository. We don't enter the hell, and who wants to enter it? Moreover, where is the electricity for those who reject nuclear waste? And where is the electricity for them to use computers? Don't they need to use electricity when using devices to deliver their blame to those who supports nuclear power? In fact, a lot of stable electricity we need is provided by the nuclear power. Keeping developing nuclear power can help us reduce the reliability on coal and petroleum that would cause air pollution. Now, if we can ensure the security of nuclear power and there is no after-effect, I believe that we can start from Nantian and be a model. We will be appreciated by the whole of Taiwan and can further be a model for the whole world to learn. This is a miracle created by a small country...*

There is only one community employment station, which is a cowhide workshop run by a governmental employment project. Five female villagers are working there. The

employer and also the project implementer has told me with anxiety,

*There are around fifty households, half of which are showing a fake marriage status-spouses are living together while divorced already. It's because the social welfare regulation destroys both the indigenous people's abilities to survive and the family relationship. In order to be qualified as low-income households, many aboriginal spouses decide to divorce and maintain a fake marriage... They are divorced legally, while the behavior has a negative impact on children...First, it is the role of parents. On the children's household registry, their parents are divorced. Second, the parents act as a wrong model that people could get money without making efforts...I know it's a kindness of others (Han people) to compensate indigenous people. But, to satisfy their desire to give kindness results in radically destroying the society of the indigenous people...We distort other people's love to us. We just utilize other people's love to us. It's a real self-destruction. Many villagers cannot come here to work because a salaried job will influence their social welfare....<sup>255</sup>*

Another female villager working for the cowhide workshop also said, 'My daughter just graduated from the elementary school and asked me "Why don't you apply to qualify as a low-income household, by which you can get a lot of money and you don't have to work very hard!" I was very surprised that my daughter feels envious of people with low income. It's really a value distortion.'

The village official responsible for the social welfare affairs said,

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<sup>255</sup> An interview during 1:30-5:30pm on 8/13/2013.

*Most people here don't want to do farming, except the heir who is a typical female farm worker, and some villagers who occasionally grow peanuts and corn... Excluding the households with governmental officials, most households around 80% of the total are low-income family...In here (Nantian) you cannot find any job and you cannot grow any plants. Since it's windy (sea wind) here, any plant cannot grow well...Shrimp farming is a bigger industry here. They are all outsiders and rent the township's public property for raising shrimps. Shrimp raising needs a lot of funds, but sadly Nantian villagers don't have any. Most Nantian villagers rely on the social welfare system...In order to develop tourism in Nantian, the critical factor is definitely the infrastructure of transportation. Taiwan Highway 26 is stuck at Nantian because the Pingtung government aims to keep the tourists in its county, considering if the highway is connected between the two counties, Pingtung and Taitung, it will lead the tourists visiting Kending National Park to stay in Taitung. We villagers all know that transportation is the mother of construction. No transportation, no tourism. It's very difficult to attract companies to invest here. It's impossible for tourists to stay at the guesthouse here purposely. If the highway is connected, it becomes complete...Many environmental groups object to the connection of Taiwan Highway 26 because they think this section is the last one that remains unpolluted. These environmentalists enjoy using air conditioners in the urban area and talk about enjoying pure environment, while we are suffering here...Environmental protection is very important, but our living condition is also important.*

The current situation that Nantian Village solely relies on the social welfare system naturally makes the villagers to expect that their living standard could be improved by the monetary compensation from the compensation system of nuclear waste. The village official in his fifties thinks that Lanyu islanders and Nantian villagers now become resource competitors with each other because both of them are facing the temptation of monetary compensation.

*“In Lanyu, most islanders rejecting nuclear waste are elders. The major concern of the young generations is the employment condition in Lanyu. My wife is also a Tao indigenous person from Lanyu...The concern of Nantian young generations may be the same as that of Lanyu. People living in my wife’s homeland can obtain NT\$ 90,000 of compensation money every two years...Things and the environment have changed. I think that Lanyu islanders have conflicting emotions that on the hand they are against nuclear waste, and on the other hand it (compensation) is the only source of their income. They cannot make a living only relying on fishing, and the young generations cannot find jobs there...Now the voice to reject nuclear waste is not as loud as before<sup>256</sup>...Now that Nantian becomes a candidate site for the nuclear waste repository means the nuclear waste in Lanyu will be transferred to Nantian, that is to say the whole compensation money will be transferred to Nantian, too<sup>257</sup>.*

There is an employment service counter named “The Employment Services Counter in Daren Township of the Employment Services Station in Taitung County belonged to KaoPingPengTung (高屏澎東) Area Employment Services under the Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training, Council of Labor Affairs, Executive Yuan” (hereafter Daren Services Counter). The head is coincidentally a Nantian villager. She graduated from college. According to the experience over the past years, she thinks Nantian’s young generations with a better ability of information processing can try to find jobs through the Internet by themselves. Most of family elders hope that they (young generations) don’t go out to work. Elders only look for temporary jobs. Villagers who try their best to find jobs range from 35-45. Taking year 2012 as

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<sup>256</sup>The saying that the voice of anti-nuclear in Lanyu is getting weaker is very different from what I have really experienced in Lanyu. Tao people are determined to reject nuclear (waste) not only by their daily-life practices, but also via substantial negotiations with TPC and the central government. This does not have much exposure because Tao people no longer initiate drastic anti-nuclear movements in Lanyu.

<sup>257</sup>An interview at 10AM on 2013/07/11.

an example, there were 270 registered people looking for jobs, and 140 of them succeeded to find jobs. 130 of them failed to find jobs because of unmatched skills and ages”, she said.

*The employment in elders' impression is temporary and closed to the village such as street cleaning in within the village. Elders don't know to do documentary work. Sometimes young generations also give elders some money. Some elders living in the mountains can support themselves, and they don't need it (the money given by young generations) because they still can receive elder compensation...They will come to the Employment Services Counter to look for temporary jobs. If yes, they take them. If no, they don't feel worried... Regarding young generations, I think they are quite passive...actually they can quickly retrieve employment information because they can surf the Internet...the indigenous people in Daren Township are too "proud", since they don't want jobs with low salary and even don't want stable long-term jobs. The reason is the salary of short-term jobs is higher...Usually I need to make a few follow-up phone calls to make sure if they go to work. The more cases of successful employment, the better of my job performance becomes. The local people are more interested in the social welfare unit than the employment unit. They clearly know and apply the specific kinds of social welfare they are qualified for...anyway, indigenous people aged 55 or older can receive the elder compensation of NT\$3,000 per month. (Non-indigenous people need to be aged 65 or older)*

Shrimp farming is the biggest commercial activity in Nantian Village, which occupies large land area of Nantian Village. But, how many local employment rates increased are from the shrimp farming industry in Nantian Village? The employment services worker said.

... one year ago, the largest shrimp farm was sold to a new boss and I haven't seen him yet. I feel that they don't need to hire employees. They do everything by themselves and never hire temporary workers...they hired temporary workers one year ago because shrimps needed to be fed three to four times a day and the lawn needs to be mowed. Now, the farm doesn't have temporary workers because the employer and the potential employees cannot reach an agreement on the level of salary. The wage rate of a temporary worker is NT\$ 1,000 per day. The temporary workers cannot leave the farm without reporting to the boss. Some villagers used to be temporary workers for the shrimp farm. They helped to do shrimp fishing with a wage rate- NT\$1,000 per day. Aside from that, there were also two cases, but they felt the working hours were too long and the wage did not meet their expectation...Now I am not familiar with the new boss. His dog is very unfriendly...the former boss used to invite villagers to get shrimps for free, but some villagers "incidentally" brought something back such as mullets. This shrimp farm raised shrimps and mullets in a pond, and they didn't allow people to do mullet fishing because the market price of mullet is very high. After that event, the former boss didn't invite villagers to get shrimps...Shrimp farm 1 is the one closest to Nantian Village. My mom used to work there when I was an elementary student. He also has a shrimp farm in the neighboring village. He will invite those who he has known to get shrimps for free. Or you can tell if you see people bringing buckets and nets, and you can follow them to get there. That's the life style in the country...In the whole Daren Township, you can only find the shrimp industry at Nantian Village which is near the seashore and farmers can use seawater to raise shrimps...Shrimp Farm 3 whose boss is from Touyuan is near the candidate site of nuclear waste repository. They are living in downtown Taitung City. The boss doesn't hire any local people to help his business. They do all things by themselves. The size of the shrimp farm is not very big...<sup>258</sup>

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<sup>258</sup>An interview at 14:31pm on 2013.08.16.

The most important living space in terms of legal construction land at Nantian Village has been long rented to Han people for shrimp farming. Not only have Nantian villagers obtained benefits from renting precious land to outside people, but also they need to tolerate the stinky smell from the ponds of the shrimp farms. One day at high noon I was enjoying the cool air under a tree and was ready to listen to the story delivered by the heir. One outside businessman, a Taiwanese, took two cans of beer and two plastic cups to the heir for sending his wishes for the heir's grandson's recovering from the car accident. In the meantime, he also notified us that we could go to the shrimp farm to get the shrimps for free. In order to carry on the disinfection, the shrimp farm would normally let the water out of the shrimp pond. Before letting water out of the pond, the farm would first lower the water to a certain level and notify some known villagers, in general the landlord of the shrimp farm, to get shrimps for free. Otherwise, the shrimps left in the pond would die and spread stinky smells because of the exposure to the strong sunlight. It would be better to invite villagers to get the free shrimps rather than to clean the pond by himself. After that, the farm will put shrimp larvae into the pond, raise them for four months, and eventually get them out of the pond to sell. Because not all villagers were notified, only two or three households came to the shrimp farm. The heir decided to go and got the free shrimps by herself. At the moment, three female villagers and I decided to go the farm, too. When we went to the farm, two villagers were about to leave. They said, "Not so many shrimps, and only two villagers are still there to get shrimps." The owner's wife said, "Some villagers come here around five o'clock in the morning to get free shrimps." A group of women with empty buckets felt the sense of loss when looking at the pond with few shrimps and decided to leave.

Nantian villagers do not obtain the direct employment opportunities by the shrimp

industry, but occasional giving (shrimp picking). This kind of interaction does not improve the economic living standard, and not mention provide a basis of mutual equivalence and respect.

## Health Care

Even though there is a clinic building at Nantian Village, no doctor or nurse wants to work there. Nantian people, who by rights ought to have a local clinic, are forced into a situation in which they either need to support the destruction plan of their cultural heritage, the Alangyi Ancient Trail, or accept nuclear waste dumping in their homeland in exchange for medical care. Consequently, many local residents are in favor of accepting the proposal for the nuclear waste repository.

In 2012, the first time I came back to Nantian Village after not visiting for a long time, I ran into the former township head at a wedding. As learned that my research topic is associated with nuclear waste, he told me,

*The Ministry of Economic Affairs has already announced that there would be a referendum, while the local office is dealing with it as low key as possible... a group of citizens with scientific background, it's very ridiculous...I retrieved the health report related to cancer in Daren Township...Any Lanyu islander's cancer would be attributed to the nuclear waste...In fact, low radioactive nuclear waste would not have the risk of explosion, but it can create some employment opportunities.*

He pointed out the possible relationship between nuclear waste and health, which is also a main discourse proposed by those who support nuclear power. Because there is no

medical report proving that low-level radioactive nuclear waste would cause damages to human bodies, Lanyu islanders have already abandoned using concerns about threats to health threat to argue with and the state and TPC to reject nuclear waste, but instead have emphasized the ethnic dignity and procedural justice to express their basic standing of rejecting nuclear waste.

### Access to Medical Care

No matter whether Nantian decides to accept nuclear waste or not, the medical resources shared by the villagers are far inferior to the rest of Taiwanese society. The average life expectancy of the citizens of Taitung County is 74.24 years, which is 8.6 years less than that of the citizens of Taipei City; the crude death rate of the citizens of Taitung County is 0.015, which is almost double that of the citizens of Taipei City-0.00607 The insufficiency of medical resources may well contribute to the worst performance of both the life expectancy and death rate of Taitung County. Taitung County has only 7 hospitals and is the area with the lowest density rate of hospitals in Taiwan. The average area that a hospital in Taitung County serves 22.25 square kilometers, which is 13 times larger than the average of the whole Taiwan-1.71 square kilometers (<sup>259</sup>Wu 2014). The situation of insufficient medical resources in Taitung County is the most serious in mainland Taiwan. The only five hospitals of Taitung County are all located at Taitung City and there is no hospital in any other area of Taitung County. A doctor serves 62 residents in Taipei, while 4,141, most of them are

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<sup>259</sup>Wu, Hong-Shen.(2014). "People living in Taitung has a shorter life expectancy of 8.8 years than people living in Taipei." Keng Sheng Daily News. September 16.  
<http://www.ksnews.com.tw/index.php/news/detail/0000650331>.

indigenous people, in Daren Township of Taitung. (<sup>260</sup>South-Link Foundation). Furthermore, it is very inconvenient to utilize medical resources across counties due to the geographical factor (high transportation cost and longer time). It is no wonder that Taitung County is the place with the least medical resources.

The national health insurance has the characteristics of mutual assistance within the society, hence every citizen joining the insurance system pays the insurance fee according to the assessment base. It is very difficult for some areas to secure the medical resources, while other areas can easily obtain them. This original inequality violates the spirit of the equality principle of the constitution. That is to say, why can't citizens paying the insurance fee and living in Taitung County have the same quality medical resources?

Doctor Hsu Chaupin is a Paiwan doctor in Daren Township of Taitung County. As Taitung County is the place with the least medical resources, where Daren Township does not have any medical resources in the night time or weekends, he tries to alleviate this predicament and has made huge efforts on building the South-Link Hospital through establishing a foundation to raise funds. When the health center of Daren Township is closed, residents with emergent illness need to spend around NT\$ 1,000 on transportation to see a doctor in Taitung City, and the distance traveled usually takes more than one hour, putting even more physical and mental suffering on the patients and their family members (<sup>261</sup>Hsu p138). One of the heir's relatives living in Nantian Village is a home care provider of a hospital in Taitung City, who is responsible for the area of Daren Township. Her services also include doing housework. By applying for project grants sponsored by the county

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<sup>260</sup> <http://www.arksunshine.org/index.php/southlink-hospital/403-4141>

<sup>261</sup> Hsu, Chao-Pin. Taking Care of 4,141 Heartbeats. Taipei: Baoping Culture. (徐超斌. 守護 4141 個心跳. 台北: 寶瓶文化, 2009.)

government, the hospitals can provide free services such as taking care of elders living alone and those with disabilities. Half of Nantian villagers receive home health care services... The heir's relative is around 40 years old and often visited the heir to chat. She said,

*My husband is an ambulance driver. It was my husband who drove the ambulance to take the heir's grandson who had a car accident and was hit by a car to the hospital. Fortunately, he drove very fast, at the speed of 120 kilometers per hour. It just took 50 minutes to arrive at the Mackay Memorial Hospital in the Taitung City. His nerve functions were luckily not impaired because of the comminuted fracture, or the situation would have become worse. But, my husband would get a traffic ticket if he drives over the speed limit and his unit even needs to hold a review meeting... Since our ambulance cars are not allowed to transport patients across counties, we cannot send patients to Pingtung County. However, Pingtung is also far from here... If this road (Tai 26 Round-The-Island Highway) is completed, it would save at least 30 minutes for the emergent cases traveling to the hospital in Pingtung County... The current situation is Pingtung government doesn't agree to complete the road, but who knows it might be completed in the future...*

Undeniably, the predicament of Nantian Village's insufficient medical resources is one of the reasons forcing them to accept the proposal of the nuclear waste repository. One Nantian female villager said,

*I would go to all the public seminars TPC holds. Go to get rice, cooking oil, and meal boxes. You need to listen to it and after the seminar you can get those things. You cannot get that free stuff unless you have registered and finished listening. Because they want to know how many meal boxes they need to prepare for audience... they (TPC) will let us watch*

*films and explain to us about their Nantian plan. TPC said they have already had a well-designed plan including the construction of public parks, free electricity, free medical care...They said it would not influence your body. They explained that nothing happened in Lanyu (the current nuclear waste repository).*

The chairperson of the Community Development Association of Nantian Village said,

*TPC came here and gave us a quite clear explanation...The most important one is the medical resources TPC mentioned. It proposed that it would build a general hospital with medical services, elders' leisure facility, movie theaters etc. on the public property the near shrimp farms...In the future, regarding individual welfare villagers would have emergency financial aid, subsidized medical expenses, and even subsidized funeral expenses. There is a comprehensive mechanism...Although there is no hospital at Lanyu, the health center has continued to purchase new medical equipment and machines. Regarding our side, TPC has mentioned that it would build a general building...*

The South-Link Hospital is a dream hard to be realized for Nantian villagers because it is difficult to collect enough funds for the project. Most Nantian villagers believe the vision TPC delineated that villagers would have sufficient medical resources to secure their health and life just like citizens living in other area in Taiwan.

### **The Impact of the Christian Church**

In the last chapter I have shown how the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan not only has demonstrated concerns for the indigenous people's social sufferings in the modern society,

but also has educated some indigenous people as ministers to deliver the gospel in indigenous languages. In addition, they have been crying for the rights of indigenous people such as participation in the anti-nuclear movement through integrating resources and efforts among the local branches of the Presbyterian Church. In this section, I attempt to discuss why the Presbyterian Church was not able to play an important anti-nuclear role at Nantian Village, and even allowed TPC to spread the “gospel” that the peripheral area around the nuclear waste repository would be a place like paradise. Secondly, in this section I further explore how the Christian religion subtly integrates Nantian’s animism to reach a common goal of protecting land for both groups, although the local quasi- Presbyterian Churches did not cooperate with the formal Presbyterian Church system in supporting anti-nuclear movements.

## The Gospel of TPC-The Paradise-Like Life around the Nuclear Waste Repository

There are two small Christian churches at Nantian. *navi* has the first church, Dongnan Church, established around 1970. After that, *vili* has Nantian Church. There is no Catholic Church at Nantian, but some Catholics do exist. These Catholics go to Mass at the Catholic churches at neighboring villages. The incumbent preacher of Nantian Church, Ho Minghui, said, “The two Presbyterian churches at Nantian Village have not formally joined the association system of Christian Presbyterian Church, because they would have to pay the membership fee<sup>262</sup> after becoming members. However, two Christian churches of Nantian established their system like the mode of Presbyterian Church. Thus, the churches at Nantian can be seen as independent Presbyterian Church, which not formally affiliated with the national Presbyterian Church, and it’s difficult for Presbyterian Church in Taiwan to manipulate its ability to mobilize the anti-nuclear movement at Nantian.

In 2012, it was the first time when I did the pilot study at Nantian Village. No sooner had the first chieftain seen me than she recalled the memory that she and my grandfather worked together to establish the first church at Nantian.

*The minister, Ho Chinmi, established our church. In the beginning, it was constructed with steel plates. Later on, we rebuilt the church with cement and Ho Chinmi was becoming an old man. At the time, I had a lot of sickness. I was getting better when I followed minister Ho’s advice that I should announce the gospel to the people...We tried very hard to deposit*

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<sup>262</sup> The staff of Indigenous Ministry Committee of the General Assembly of Presbyterian Church in Taiwan said that we won’t use the term “membership fee”, but “shared expenses” instead. According to the annual amount of donation, the local churches turn a portion of it to the presbyteries. Then the presbyteries turn a certain amount of donation to the general assembly depending on the number of churches they manage. The shared expenses are for promoting church affairs. There is a supporting system supports its member churches. It is similar to the concept of member countries. In general, the general assembly or the presbyteries will provide more grants to the small churches than their shared expenses. A phone interview at 5 PM on 2016/3/15.

*money, and donated a tenth of it, about one hundred thousand NT dollars, to the deacon. We planned to build a church. And then, my son-in-law and some Han people constructed the church. Here came a lot of brethren, so the church was full of brethren. But, a pestilence suddenly came here and seven people were dead in one day during that time. Fewer and fewer people were living here...*

In 2013, I was back to do my fieldwork at Nantian Village for the second time. My aunt the heir told me in an angry way in her broken Mandarin about how the TPC workers have successfully used the Christian religion to deliver the “gospel of nuclear waste”,

Through using paradise as a metaphor to describe the surrounding life of the nuclear waste repository and analogizing its role as a minister to deliver gospel, TPC has given the hope of revival to villagers’ sufferings from horrible living conditions. I was very lucky to witness the scene of paradise that TPC would prepare for Nantian villagers. The following TPC seminar slides were presented in the night BBQ of the harvest festival.

As shown by the TPC’s blueprint of Nantian paradise, life becomes much easier. It provides free nutritious breakfast and lunch, meals for people receiving care, establishment of a community leisure center and a caretaking service stand, projects for basic living care (e.g., regular health examination, subsidized national health insurance expenses, elders’ pension expenses, kids’ caretaking expenses, students’ scholarships, a pick-up and drop-off transportation service, subsidized dormitory expenses, etc.), the maintenance of distinctive tribal features, and the ecotourism cultural village under the project of Nantian comprehensive community development.

Every project comes with a promise of a definite number of new jobs. For example, the caretaking service stand would hire 20 social workers, 10 car drivers, and 10 emergency

care workers. The community leisure center would hire 12 teachers for different courses, 12 cleaning staff and 12 managers. This version of paradise blueprint was not the first presented in front of the Nantian villagers. Most of villagers did not listen to it and the presenter finished it quickly (1-2 seconds per slide).

In fact, most of the construction plans proposed by TPC's paradise blueprint would not necessarily be completed by TPC, but would be the responsibility of the township office or the Indigenous People's Council. Besides, Nantian villagers are only able to be cleaning staff. Nantian villagers are not qualified to do those jobs with expertise (e.g., emergency rescuers and teachers). Furthermore, it's also questionable whether Nantian villagers are willing to work in the tourism industry. As I described earlier, Nantian villagers tend to find temporary jobs with higher wages, which are usually labor-intensive ones. To earn the revenue and profit from tourism, villagers need to make investments and should be equipped with management knowledge and skills. Villagers think starting up the business in the tourism industry is over-ambitious and impractical.

### Joining Forces to Protect the Land: God and Ancestor Spirits

Although the substantial authority of the chieftain has been replaced by the state's administrative bureaucratic power and the animist belief has been partly replaced by the western Christian monotheism, yet I will use the Nantian Village's ancestor spirit stone to illustrate how the ritualist's occult power of land administration still influences the villagers' daily practices. Whenever the administrative bureaucratic system violates this occult power, Nantian villagers would clearly sense the power of the ancestor spirit and hence respect the ancestor spirit in awe. Through the case of the chieftain's house, I found out how the Christian religion has learned from the conflicts to integrate Paiwan animism and eventually

and naturally found a way that the two religious traditions could become compatible. Both beliefs are aimed to protect land and head to the goal of rejecting nuclear waste.

During my first pilot study at Nantian Village in 2013, I stayed at my aunt heir's house. Even in the hot summer, aunt rides a motorcycle every day to the fields in the valley (old Nantian) to irrigate crops with spring water or to pull weeds. The air was full of the smell of areca flowers the first time I went to her dry rice field. There is a steel tank at the peak of the field, which was built by my cousin (her eldest son). The tank containing cool spring water can be used to irrigate her crops. After switching the tank on, the parallel pipes along the rice field started to splash water. My aunt collected some wild vegetables near the rice field and brought me into a small steel-plate house, her working hut. It's very stifling, just like I was walking into a sauna room. My aunt turned on the water splashing equipment on the roof to cool down the working hut. Before the temperature went down, she quickly poured a cup of rice wine, splashed a few of drops of rice wine with her fingers, and said some words to the ancestors in the Paiwan language. I was asking her about what she said to the ancestors. She said to me,

*“R-wen (my nickname when I was a little girl) is back. She is studying in the United States and she is concerned about the issues related to land. Please help R-wen to protect our land.”*

At the time, I finally felt I was really back to my hometown. Not only are some of my relatives I have never met, but also many ancestors here welcome me to be back. 15 minutes later, the *tapau* (block-house) became cooler. My aunt used some dry wood to make a fire

and cooked instant noodles with picked wild vegetables as our lunch. Before eating, my aunt held my hands tight and prayed that

*“Oh my lord, thank you for giving us a perfect morning and thank you for having Lenglengman back here with us to protect our land. We know the land is the gift you have given us and we will cherish it. And please lead R-wen to do her fieldwork smoothly. Oh my lord, thank you for giving us a bountiful lunch. Before eating, in the name of Jesus Christ I pray. Amen!”*

As I have discussed in earlier chapters, many previous studies have described how the Western religions, especially Christianity, have destroyed the beliefs of indigenous people. In fact, the Christian religion has brought both good and bad influences on the Nantian Village. Enhancement of ethnic confidence has been a positive influence on the indigenous people-land relationship; while both inculturation and modern education and medicine have been negative influences on the indigenous-land relationship.

When the Christian religion was first introduced to Nantian Village, the absolute monotheism made the *pulingau* (priestess), a mediator connecting ancestor spirits and the secular world, feel very confused. She did not know if she could be released from the heavy responsibilities, because traditionally Paiwan *pulingau* plays a role of conserving place history and genealogical knowledge, curing ill village people and being responsible for continuing to pray for welfare to the land and people from the ancestor spirit. Around 1951, as western religions entered into Paiwan communities (Chang 2013 p413), the cultivated indigenous clergy treated traditional Paiwan beliefs as an evil, which should be abandoned.

For example, the first chieftain of Nantian Village was once selected as a trainee to

become a *pulingau*. After she switched to Christianity, she kept the ritual implements and did not attempt to use them until the wave of cultural renaissance came to Nantian Village. She felt confused again and did not know if she should do *balisi* (ritual) for the village people. The former chairperson, Mr. Lin, of the community development association of Nantian Village said,

*At the time when I persuaded the older chieftain to come out, she was still worried that she would be violating the law, maybe caught by the police and was afraid to be impolite to God...I invited minister Dai, another Presbyterian minister in the Paiwan village, to visit her, then she was motivated to recover the status of a *pulingau* and traditional chieftain as well.*

Another Nantian elder recalled what the economic incentive to the recovery of the status of the chieftain would be.

*The older chieftain did own a Kanobich (the bag of ritual implements) and knew how to do balishi (ritual). However, she decided to quit being the chieftain after believing in God. The chieftain is a fake. She doesn't want to apply balisi anymore and just goes to church. After that, there was a news spreading that every chieftain would obtain monthly sponsorship for NT\$ 40,000. That's why she was back to being the chieftain. But, later on there was not a sponsorship for each chieftain. It's just a rumor.*

Villagers may have different judgments about which chieftain is the real one, while they all deeply believe the magic power that the *pulingau* owns. Villagers know and spread

the taboo that villagers cannot approach the place where the first chieftain has already set a *balishi* stone at Nantian. The second chieftain's family were cursed to death because they moved the stone which has been *balishi* without permission. The first chieftain said,

*She, the second chieftain, would not be blessed because her self-nomination was not authorized. Since a dozen families came to Guluo Village, a chieftain was needed to lead them...without my permission, they went to the balisian (priestess crafted) place, took a stone, and put it in their ancestor spirit house. The second chieftain wanted to learn balingan, but her master was dead...they took our stone and put it in the ancestor spirit house. They were all dead, one by one. Some of them were dead right after 2 or 3 days and one has been sick for a long time...*

The wife of the second chieftain's cousin said,

*My father-in-law and the second chieftain's dad are brothers. The second chieftain's dad took one of stones that protect the village to his house. Later on, those who moved the stone including the second chieftain's dad and her sons died due to accidents. Furthermore, their deaths are all caused by stones hitting the back of their heads. So, this kind of thing is very mystical... even my father-in-law was dead...*

Another Nantian villager also said,

*That one in vili is not the ancestor spirit house, but balisian (a place where rituals were done)-a stone was put there. Balisian is a place where people cannot do whatever they want to do, and it's a place where people cannot change. Or you would be sick and die...The first chieftain's family knows a lot about the story of the stone. Some people said the current*

*village head or someone moved a stone at a balisian. It made something wrong, so the bad luck came to the first chieftain's house. Because that thing is associated with the first chieftain, that's why she said somebody made the stone dysfunctional and hence brought bad luck to her family. At the time, the chieftain's two sons were dead one by one within three years right after the stone was moved. That's what they said...so, the chieftain should well protect those things vuvu (ancestors) used to perform balishi and cannot make them dysfunctional.*

Because the stone was moved to the second chieftain's ancestor spirit house, the villagers' description made me not dare to come near the second chieftain's ancestor house, not to mention enter it to take a look or take photos. The power of ancestor spirits has been hidden in the villagers' feeling and consciousness, so no one dares to come close to the stone set by the first chieftain. They also believe that the stone in the second chieftain's ancestor spirit house would bring misfortune. Strangely, why can this mystical power not be used to reject nuclear waste? One of the reasons may be that the potential nuclear waste repository is not located at a *balisian* place. Second, the first chieftain possessing the substantial resources and power would represent villagers to communicate with ancestor spirits to obtain their forgiveness and understanding when she is feeling pressure from the governmental officials.

Accidentally, I saw the cultural creativity from the interaction between God and animism, such as the aunt heir first talking to the ancestor spirit in the underground and then leading me to pray God before eating dinner. The apparent conflicts happen repeatedly and harmonically in many scenes of the villagers' daily practices.

The only conflict between the two religious traditions that I have experienced is the schedule conflict between the harvest festival and the church worship. Both schedules were

on Sunday morning. The heir is the elder and deacon, who needs to prepare breakfast for the minister, clean the inside and outside of the church, and prepare fresh flowers for the church. At the same time, taking on the main role of the harvest festival, the heir needs to prepare all the traditional things by herself. Thus, in the last church worship before the harvest festival the aunt heir reported to minister Ho and believers,

*“Next Sunday it is also our village’s harvest festival, hence we cannot hold the worship on schedule. That we indigenous people hold the worship to the ancestor spirit is also one thing that God requires us to do. So, God will forgive us to skip the worship next week. And we welcome minister Ho to join the harvest festival and give us blessing.”*

## Conclusion

Nantian is the researcher’s hometown. Through the field work, this chapter tries to answer the following questions: Why could Nantian villagers not oppose the plan of the nuclear waste repository effectively? And why are most of Nantian villagers not willing to reject the plan of the nuclear waste repository? Starting from a comparison between a media report that argues Nantian villagers accept nuclear waste simply for money and a perception of survival crisis that the local Paiwan people face the threat from the raising sea level due to climate changes, I continued to discuss how the colonial experiences, the fracture between the local political bureaucracy and the religions, the marginalized economic system and colonized social welfare have changed the original intimate relationship between Paiwan people and land, which eventually influences Paiwan people’s attitude toward nuclear waste.

## The history of colonization

Paiwan governance depended on a system of chiefship through which hereditary chiefs had prestige and political power to assign subsistence rights (to land and sometimes water) to their followers. This system broke down under colonial rule, as communal rights and chiefly adjudication were replaced by private land rights and government regulation. Because of this breakdown of the intimate connections between people and land (which has political, economic, and religious dimensions), Nantian people have not been able to mount effective opposition to the nuclear waste repository. There are several contributing factors. First, under these colonial reforms, chiefs lost all but symbolic and ritual authority, and even the latter was severely undermined by the churches who saw native ritual as superstition. This is a history that Nantian shares with all Paiwan, Rukai, and other aboriginal groups.

Second, Nantian was settled by a collection of immigrants from many different places, none of whom had the traditional connection to land through chiefship and kinship, which makes the legitimacy of the two officially recognized chieftains be questioned. In the past, *mazazangiljan* (the chieftain) played a role on defending sovereignty in the traditional Paiwan social system. When the legitimacy of the chieftain has been questioned, who deserves the right to support or reject the nuclear power? As a result, the chieftains in place at Nantian could not even exercise the weak residual authority they had after the bureaucratization of land and politics. No one at Nantian had previously had the kind of relationship to land that other, non-immigrant communities had. The connection between chiefs, people, and land had previously been a sacred as well as a political one. But in an immigrant community, this connection had never been there, and any cultural revivalist

efforts to re-create this connection were doomed by the political and bureaucratic structures that now controlled both land and development.

The fracture of the local bureaucracy and the religions

Given that the chieftains had no authority to actually organize resistance, the task of rejecting nuclear waste would fall to the bureaucratic and church leaders. However, they both had their limiting factors to deal with the threat of nuclear waste. Officials were not united either, as many of them actually supported nuclear waste in return for economic development. And they were attached to particular political parties and factions; Church authorities were united in opposition to nuclear waste, but because of their religious beliefs they could only mobilize secular opposition or invoke Biblical stories as support; they could not mobilize on the basis of the traditional sacred or spiritual connections to the land.

The marginalized economic system and colonized social welfare

When capitalism entered the disordered society without authentic chieftains, Nantian Village's land with economic value is mostly owned by the state or the county office, while the indigenous reserve areas in the mountains are less valuable in terms of economic development. The only opportunity of developing the tourism industry by the Alangyi-Ancient-Trail is controlled by the Pingtung County government. Furthermore, Nantian villagers lack the proactive motive of developing the tourism industry. Thus, Nantian villagers are forced to leave their hometown to find jobs or stay in their hometown relying on the subsidies to make a living. Because of pervasive poverty and lack of education, Nantian people were fairly united in favor of schemes of economic and social welfare development.

TPC offered these things, which were desirable in themselves, but the price was nuclear waste disposal in the community. Nantian villagers are pushed to accept nuclear waste stored on their homeland in exchange for the TPC's compensation money, this is what Blaikie and Brookfield (1987) refer to as poverty-driven "desperate ecocide" (263p.240).

The fieldwork at Nantian reveals that the geographic closeness of Han people resulted in Nantian villagers' higher degree of sinicization. Han people's values about land have changed Paiwan traditional values about land and further brought huge impacts on the relationship between Paiwan people and land. Aside from the geographic factor, there exist other contextual factors influencing the relationship between Paiwan people and land. In the cultural aspect, Nantian Village is an immigrant village without great village identity. In the political aspect, the bureaucracy has replaced the leadership of village's chieftains. In the economic aspect, villagers missed the opportunity of developing the local tourism industry and villagers possess less land with economic value. In the religious aspect, different religions cannot have a mutual accommodation of their beliefs. These above-mentioned aspects all cause Paiwan people's low environmental autonomy and a distant relationship between Paiwan people and land. Low environmental autonomy not only weakens Paiwan people's determination to reject nuclear waste, but also lessens the chance that Paiwan people may utilize both modern scientific knowledge and traditional ecological knowledge to pursue the goal of environmental sustainability.

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<sup>263</sup> Blaikie, Piers M. (1987). *Land Degradation and Society. Development Studies*. London; New York: Methuen.

## Chapter 5

### The Fluid relationship between Land and People at Lanyu Island

#### A Geo-Historical Sketch of *Pongso No Tao* (Lanyu Island)

##### - Identification of Island, Ethnic Groups and the State

Traditionally, People living in Lanyu call their island as *Pongso no tao*, which means human's island, and call themselves as Tao, Tao do Ponso, meaning people on the land. However, outsiders gave a variety of names to Lanyu Island. In 1785, the Western European labeled Lanyu as Vetel or Tabaco on the atlas of the ocean. In the Song Dynasty, Lanyu was called "red bean island" and later was called "red head island" in the Qing Dynasty because of its geology and landscapes. Till 1947, Lan-yu (Lan was translated by orchid's pronunciation in Mandarin and yu means island) or orchid island was named because Taiwan administrative officials found lot of orchids growing there. Since 1897, a Japanese anthropologist Ryuzo Torii gave a name of people living in Lanyu Island as Yami people, which has been used in official documents and academic journals. In the 1990s, followed by the anti-nuclear movements, Tao elites started advocating the name rectification for Tao people, which indeed is a movement of the reconstruction of ethnic self-identification. Although there is not a clear conclusion, yet the term "Tao people" has been extensively used in their daily life and the activities of culture promotion to outside (<sup>264</sup>Lanyu Township Office; <sup>265</sup>Yang 2012: p.38-42).

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<sup>264</sup> <http://lanyu.taitung.gov.tw/tour1-2.html>

<sup>265</sup> Yang, Cheng-Hsien. "Ethnic Group" Existed betwixt and between Islands and States: On Oral Histories among the Tao from Orchid Island, Taiwan and the Ivatan from Batanes Islands, the Philippines (島、國之間的

No matter what different names the outsiders have given to the island and the people, Tao people have their own names for the island and themselves. Besides, they have their own legends to enhance their self-recognition and have never thought that they are Chinese offspring.

*A long time ago, there was a big island that combined Taiwan, Green Island, Lanyu and Little Lanyu. Because Taiwanese and Philippines bullied and killed Lanyu people, God felt sorry for Lanyu people and separated them through an earthquake. Lanyu people felt safe since Lanyu became an independent island and islands were all isolated by ocean (<sup>266</sup>Yu & Tun 1998 p.15).*

Regarding the origin of Tao people, although each family has its own legend, the main theme of most legends is very similar, which is the need to be very careful about the external disasters and keep a distance from them. Tao people and the island are a community for common destiny. Regarding the external relationship, legends clearly point out that Lanyu has had a particularly intimate relationship with Batan islanders such as the legend about the origin of Ivalino's ancestors.

*Our ancestor was from Hongtou Village and moved to Langdao Village.  
(His) Daughter was married back to Hongtou Village and remarried to and*

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「族群」- 台灣蘭嶼 Tao 與菲律賓巴丹島 Ivatan 關係史的當代想像. Hualien, Taiwan: National Donghua University, 2012.)

<sup>266</sup> Yu, Guang-Hong, and Chen-Yunl Tunl. *The History of Formosan Indigenous peoples: Yami*. Nantau City, Taiwan: The Provincial Documents Committee of Taiwan, 1988 (台灣原住民史；雅美族史篇，台灣省文獻委員會，1988).

*moved to Batan Island when she became a widow. Finally, she returned back to Ivalino Village (Yu & Tun 1998 p.39)*

Iratay (Fisherman) Village is only village among the six villages where people make four cuts on the back of the flying fish. A legend mentioned that one man from Fisherman Village was rowing a boat and ran into another man from Batan Island, who said he just kept rowing a boat toward the north and met the man from Iratay Village. These two men shared with their fishing experience and family lives. The Ivatan man from Batan Island asked, “How many kids do you have?” The Tao aborigine answered, “Four!” And the Ivatan man asked again, “How many cuts do you cut on the flying fish in your family?” The Tao man said, “Four.” And the Ivatan man kept asking, “Won't kids have quarrels?” The Tao man answered, “There will be a quarrels and complaints when distributing things.” The Ivatan man said, “They won't have quarrels if you follow my suggestion and just do four cuts on the back of the flying fish. Hereafter, only Iratay Village has dried flying fish with three cuts and four cuts, and other villages have only dried flying fish with three cuts (Yu & Tun 1998 p.35-37).

Including Lanyu and Batan Island, there is a cross-border area or ethnic group with an intimate cultural relationship. The ethnic group is named “Tao” at Lanyu, and “Ivatan” at Batan Island (Figure 23) (Yang 2012 p.2).

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<sup>267</sup> Yang, Cheng-Hsien. (2012). “Ethnic Group” Existed betwixt and between Islands and States: On Oral Histories among the Tao from Orchid Island, Taiwan and the Ivatan from Batanes Islands, the Philippines (島、國之間的「族群」- 台灣蘭嶼 Tao 與菲律賓巴丹島 Ivatan 關係史的當代想像. Hualien, Taiwan: National Donghua University.)

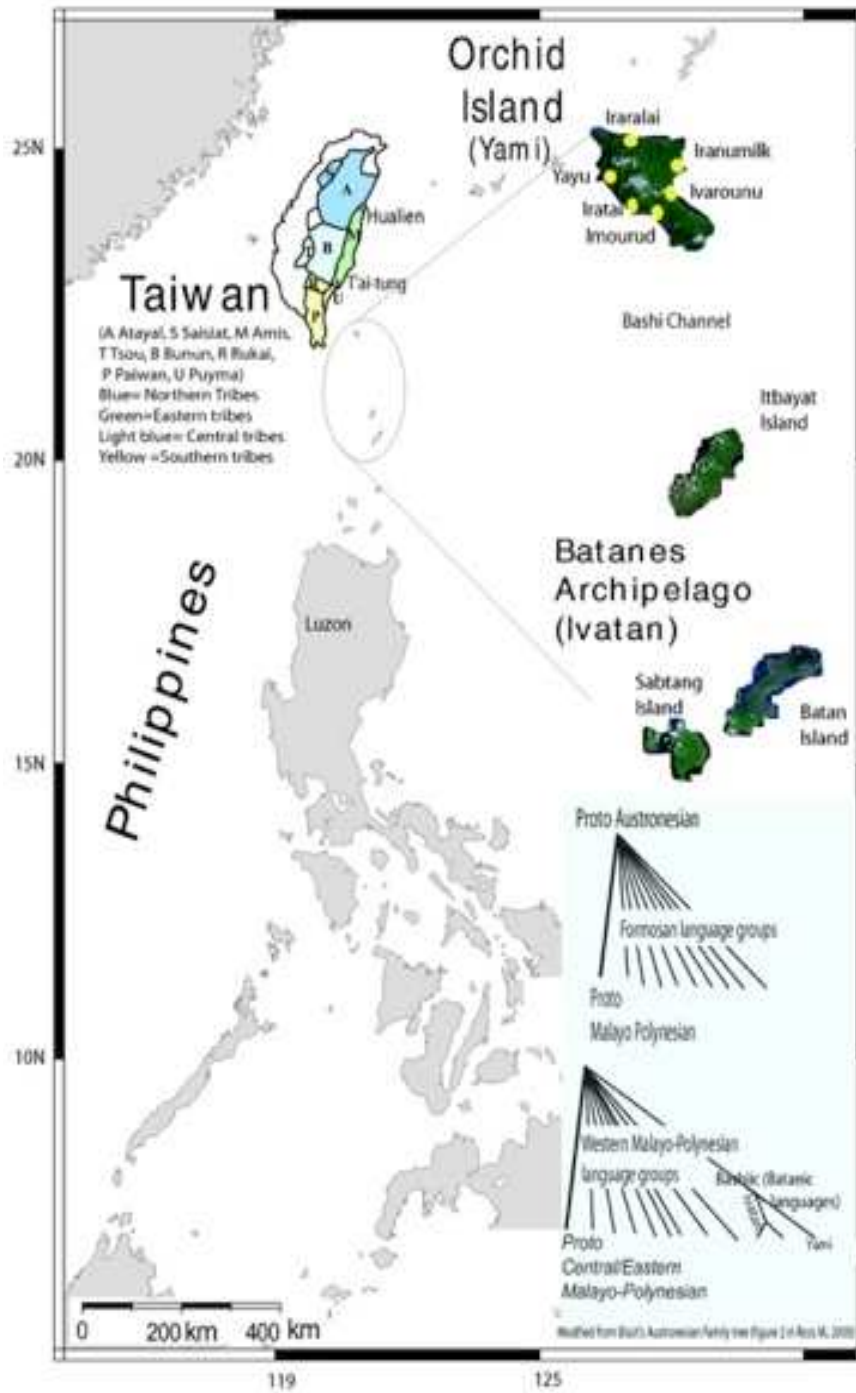


Figure 23 The locations of Lanyu (Orchid) Island and Batan Island<sup>268</sup>

Archeologists also confirm there is a close relationship between these two islands

<sup>268</sup> <http://bmegenet.biomedcentral.com/articles/10.1186/1471-2156-12-21>

belonging to two different countries.

*Like the other indigenous peoples of Taiwan, the Yami people (Tao people) speak an Austronesian language. Based on the linguistic similarities and their own legends it is believed that the Yami people reached Lanyu by way of the Batanes Island, which lies in the Bashi Channel midway between southern Taiwan and the northern Philippine island of Luzon. But current archaeological data have shown that this point of view presumably needs to be reconsidered. (<sup>269</sup>Tsang 2005).*

However, according to Tsang (2005) there is still room for discussing the relationship between Tao and Batanes according to the similar archeological materials such as jar burials, pottery and eolith. Tsang surmises that the ancestors of Lanyu and Batan may have been the people from the eastern coast of Taiwan 3,000 years ago.

No matter how the discipline (physical anthropology, archeology, linguistics, cultural anthropology) defines or judges the ethnic relationship between Tao and Ivatan, these two groups, nowadays, have initiated many times of cultural exchange by non-official organizations. Since 1998, the formal activity of “Ethnic Cultural Exchange” has been held six times by Lan An Cultural and Educational Foundation. The mutual visits between these two “islands” or “states” are very intensive. With the similar origin and the mobility of the two ethnic cultures, there is a phenomenon that Tao and Ivatan have become a common unit and are within a relationship net (<sup>270</sup>Yang). Tao is regarded as one of the sixteen Taiwanese aboriginal groups, so I certainly thought that “we” are all Taiwanese indigenous peoples

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<sup>269</sup>Tsang, Cheng-Hua. (2005). On the Origin of the Yami People of Lanyu as Viewed from Archaeological Data. *Journal of Austronesian Studies*, 1(1), 135–151.

<sup>270</sup>Yang Cheng-Hsieng. “The intercommunication between the Ivatan people and Tao people. (蘭巴交流).” The Historical, Cultural, and Linguistic Dictionary of Taiwan Indigenous People. Ministry of Education, Council of Indigenous peoples. Accessed April 5, 2016. [http://210.240.125.35/citing/citing\\_content.asp?id=3483&keyword=%A4%DA%A4%A6%AEq](http://210.240.125.35/citing/citing_content.asp?id=3483&keyword=%A4%DA%A4%A6%AEq).

when I came to Lanyu for my field work in the summer of 2012. However, every time my good friend and my contact (Tao translator) was introducing me to her aboriginal friends, and she always said, “Her name is Lengmengman, my graduate classmate. She is a Taiwan indigenous people belonging to the Paiwan tribe from Taitung.” Although Tao people and other Taiwan indigenous peoples are all citizens of Taiwan, Republic of China, Tao people, in fact, are closer to Ivatan people in terms of geographic and cultural distance.

## Tao People and Their Land and Ocean

### Land Ownership

Tao people still follow the traditional rules to govern land ownership, water rights, and fishing boundaries. Ownership of a specific piece of land depends on the degree of the familiarity with it, and also needs approval from witnesses. During the period of my fieldwork at Lanyu, if there was no specific activity, I would ride my motorcycle along the round-the-island road to take a round-trip of the island starting from Iratay (Fisherman’s Village), where I stayed or just a half round-trip by taking the cross-mountain road that connects the east and west side of Lanyu, from Imowrod (Hongtou Village) to Ivalino Village (Figure 24).



Figure 24 The map of tourism and transportation at Lanyu <sup>271</sup>

One afternoon in 2013, as usual I rode my 50cc motorcycle wandering around the island. I stopped by and bought a cup of drinks at a tea stall in front of a guest house at Ivalino Village. The stall's boss is a young woman who is also the owner of the guest house. She invited me to enter the *takakal* (a kiosk) of the guest house. *Takakal* is a very amazing place where you can be relaxed and share your own stories and learn from others'. The traditional living environment includes four spaces, *vahay* (main house, which is underground), *magarang* (ground building for working), *takakal* (kiosk) and *inawururd* (front yard). Each space has its specific purpose and function. *Takakal* is a place where Tao people

<sup>271</sup> Lanyu Township Office <http://lanyu.taitung.gov.tw/tour7.html>

manage their daily activities including sleeping, eating, observing the sea surface condition to decide whether to go fishing or not, and socializing during summer time (Figure 25). Every time when I took off my shoes and sat down in a *takakal*, it was also a time I was listening to stories.



The kiosk in front of Tao traditional underground house



The kiosk in the taro field



The kiosk in front of the village's supermarket



The public kiosk in front of national chain convenience store



The kiosk of a modern guesthouse without a sea view



Tao elders sitting inside the kiosk in front of the underground house



The kiosk in front of a modern concrete house



The public kiosk on the roadside at a tourism site

Figure 25 A variety of *takakal* (kiosk)

The female owner of the guest house told me that she had argued with her father-in-law about the issue of land registration when she married into Ivalino Village. Her father-in-law said that land is surely owned by those who deserve, and he even has witnesses. But, she thought that land registered legally is more assured in the future. If the elders are all dead, no one can prove who has ever owned this piece of land. Another female friend from Imowrod Village also said to me, “Our land ownership is inherited by generations. Villagers all know the land boundaries. There is some privately-owned and some publicly-owned land. If there is an ownership dispute over a specific parcel of privately-owned land, the person who is the most familiar with the history of the specific land would be recognized by all villagers and hence has the right of owning the land. One middle-aged woman working for the township office once told me that “we this generation need to go out to work and do farming after getting off work... A lot of weeds will grow if I don’t go to the field. Other people will invade and occupy your field because you don’t care about it and don’t want it any more...”

In an interview, the official who governs land administration at the township office mentioned the longstanding implementation difficulties of the regulation of land-ownership

registration at Lanyu.

*It's very difficult to implement the regulation of land registration, because there is a lack of the concept of law at Lanyu. Lanyu people don't know they can trade land if every piece of land has its ownership... They have their indigenous culture of land use. The boundaries are very clear. Besides, Lanyu elders are concerned that they may need to pay land tax when their land is registered. In fact, outlying islands can be exempted from land tax. As you can say, it's Lanyu people's distrust of the government... Many people always share the usage of a specific piece of land at Lanyu, resulting in the difficulty of land registration... Leaving Lanyu and going to work in cities, the young generations are not clear about the land boundaries. Furthermore, the elders who originally own the land are dead one by one, causing the land ownership to be hard to recognize... In 1995, because the archival- data storage room of the township office at Lanyu was destroyed by a typhoon, the database of land registration was totally damaged. Till 2007, the township office started to reconstruct the database of land registration. But, there were many disputes of land reregistration because of insufficient supporting evidence. For example, the utility and sewer bills can be the supporting evidence. At the time, Lanyu people, however, could only use mountain spring water before tap water was provided. So, they didn't have the receipts of utilities and sewer. Taiwan's law has been legislated mainly from the perspective of the main island Taiwan. But, there exist specific features of the geographic position and land use at Lanyu, hence the law legislated in Taiwan cannot be applied to Lanyu easily.*

Governmental officials think that Tao people don't have the concept of law, while Tao people think that governmental officials don't know the rules and regulations that Tao people have followed over thousands of years. Those rules and regulations directing the order of Tao people' daily life and responding to the particular natural environment at Lanyu have been

repeatedly tested over the years. Thus, obeying governmental law may be violating the Tao people' traditional rules and regulations, and vice versa.

There are a lot of land disputes because of the obscurity of land registration when encountering land division at Lanyu. These disputes are not merely caused by the inner problems of the family lineage, but the land policies made solely by the state are most likely the source of these land disputes. For example, I learned about a few land disputes when I chatted with some Tao women in a *takakal*.

*In front of us, Family A and Family B are now fighting their land case in court. Family B's father is the former township head living in this guest house, which used to be a dormitory for governmental officials. After stepping down from the position of the township head, he did not move out from the dormitory and continued to live there. The government drew lots to decide on Family A as one of the families qualified to buy a public house near the guest house. In reality, around 1/2 or 1/4 land of Family B's guest house belongs to Family A. Thus, Family A filed a lawsuit and gained the upper hand because they have the certificate for that piece of land...Family B eventually lost the lawsuit and was asked to tear down the guest house as well as to pay NT\$20,000 per month for the land rent...In fact, Family A should have sued the government, instead of Family B. At the time, the land where the government constructed the public houses was not where it tore down the underground houses. The government drew lots to decide which families were qualified to buy the public houses. However, some families were allotted houses with larger areas of land than they owned before, while other families were allotted houses with smaller areas of land than they owned before. As a result, there was a huge mess relating to the ownership of private land. Some elders used goats or pigs or another piece of land to compensate or to trade each other's land. There are still some elder witnesses who can prove how land ownership was transferred. If the new generation of Tao people don't recognize those trades among elders, it*

*will produce a lot of land disputes.*

Lanyu is an island with beautiful landscapes and particular indigenous culture, which attracts many visitors and researchers. Thus, many outsiders are eager to buy a piece of land for constructing a house as a villa or for the purpose of investment. One noon in October, I cooked a pot of dough-balls with some not so fresh but expensive vegetables bought from the supermarket of the peasant association in the morning and shared it with the owner of the guesthouse in its *takakal*. At that day, an alumnus of the University of Washington came to stay here. He, an American white man, and his friends had a sightseeing trip for three days and two nights at Lanyu. He walked out of his room and joined our chat. He said, *“I have been working for ten years as a software engineer for a Taiwanese computer company and I have never thought that Taiwan has a so beautiful place like Lanyu...May I buy a piece of land for building a house?”* I translated his question into Mandarin to the owner of the guest house and translated the owner’s answer into English to the alumnus. She said, *“Our Lanyu land cannot be traded with outsiders. The private land here belongs to the indigenous reserves.”* The American guest felt disappointed about the answer. After the American guest left the kiosk, the female owner and I cleaned the table and then entered the guesthouse. At the time, she told to me, *“Actually, a viable way to obtain land ownership at Lanyu is to marry a Tao person.”* Therefore, Lanyu’s limited land cannot be sold to non-islanders, including Taiwanese indigenous peoples. The only way to obtain land ownership at Lanyu is to marry a Tao person.

Aside from the public land, all the private land at Lanyu belongs to indigenous reserves. The indigenous reserves cannot be traded between indigenous people and non-indigenous

people. The land-administration official of the township office said, “*a few Lanyu indigenous people rent their land out to the non-indigenous merchants that run tourism-related businesses such as hotels, guest houses, motorcycle rental or scuba diving. If those Lanyu indigenous people want to get back their rental land, the outsiders can ask for monetary compensation according to the property loss on the rental land. Because of the lack of cash, some Tao people lost their land.*” The land dispute within Lanyu has been encountering a variety of challenges in the modern environment. Moreover, the land dispute is even more complicated because of the outsiders’ involvement.

### Tao People’s Sense of Place

Tao people’s unique ecological knowledge produced by the interaction with nature could provide a clue to interpret how Tao people sense their place. For example, the particular way of sorting fishes, wind directions, tide, star signs, and planting technique for the water taro, is still inseparable from their daily life and annual rituals today.

Syaman Rapongan is a middle-aged Tao indigenous elite and was also an important young intellectual participating in the first wave of the anti-nuclear waste movement. In his master’s thesis and several publications of ocean literature, he mentioned that he has learned Tao traditional ecological knowledge from the mountains and oceans since childhood. His father argued, “*A man who is capable of building a tatala (a canoe) is regarded as a mature man in Tao land.*” The construction of a *tatala* requires a lot of lumber from the mountains. In order to be recognized as a mature man, Tao men have started learning how to plant trees, select trees, raise tress and chop down trees since their childhood. The *tatala* is the bridge connecting the forest and ocean resources and is also a symbol indicating the intimacy

between Tao people and natural resources (Figure 26). If Tao people don't take care of their forest, and then they cannot build *tatala* to go out on the ocean to catch flying fish. Therefore, Tao people and their surrounding environment together form a community of shared life.

*There is a life for each tree that needs to be respected. Cutting down the tree without permission is a most serious behavior. In the ceremony of cutting down a tree, Tao people will first talk to the tree and bless the souls of both the tree and the person who is cutting the tree in order for the *tatala* and humans to integrate as a unit and be protected by the ancestral spirits when sailing on the ocean (272 Syaman Rapongan 2003 p65).*



Figure 26 The canoes, *Tatala*, built by Tao men

Syaman Rapongan has experienced how to build a *tatala* with carvings and *Mata* (a totem on the bow of the *tatala*), to get along with the ocean, and to learn from the ocean. As a dual role of an outsider (researcher) and an insider (subject), he eventually finished the first master's thesis on maritime anthropology to be completed in Taiwan... He attempts to

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<sup>272</sup> Syaman, Rapongan. (2003). *The fertile indigenous island-Tao ocean knowledge and culture* (原初豐腴的島嶼- 達悟民族的海洋知識與文化) (Master Thesis). National Tsinghua University, Hsinchu City.

transfer his Tao tacit maritime ecological knowledge into explicit words such as sailing, going fishing or not according to the indicators of stars, winds, and tides.

*Mata no angit is what Tao people call “the eyes of sky”. They transfer the known stars as the signal of fishing flying fishes such as the tail of Scorpio. If there are a lot of shining stars around Scorpio and a lot of seaweed drifting through sea waves to the beach, it would mean a lot of flying fishes that will be caught this coming year..*

*...Knowledge about the directions of Nagaran no arvis (tide) is also a traditional ecological one that helps Tao people judge when they can dive in the ocean or go fishing with boats in the near sea without life threatening danger.*

*...According to the direction of the tide, each tide has its own name. Isak, a current from left to right along the seashore, is an oceanic current at low tide. Amteng, a current from right to left along the seashore, is an oceanic current at high tide. Powaben, a current from the seashore to open sea, is an oceanic current at low tide; paseden, a current from open sea to the seashore, is an oceanic current at high tide; vateng no aris is an oceanic current happening when isak meets amteng in the open sea. This kind of oceanic current would be changed because of seafloor topography. It mostly happens at the subtidal zone, which is the area below the low tide water line (the depth is around 30 or 40 meters in the ocean). In the case of flat seafloor, there are normally two types of oceanic current: the direction from left to right like the shape of an oval or the direction from right to left. In the case of complicated seafloor on the open sea, the meeting of tides with different directions will form vateng no aris and result in a vortex when it is in the period between the high tide and the low tide. When the tidal level keeps rising, this type of vortex will naturally disappear, and the sea surface and the oceanic current in the seafloor will become stable (Syaman Rapongan 2003 p10-19) ...*

The traditional ecological knowledge that Syaman Raпонgan recorded is a kind of oceanic scientific knowledge according to Tao indigenous' experience. As with the metis described by Scott (<sup>8</sup>1988), you cannot really understand and master the oceanic knowledge he wrote about only through diligent studying; you need to practice and experience it. The Tao people' oceanic ecological knowledge is localized, self-practiced, difficult to learn by words and highly flexible. It is because of these characteristics that the state cannot fully understand and manipulate metis.

If forest and ocean are the hunting grounds for Tao men, then the ones for Tao women are the intertidal zone and taro fields. Although there are a number of records and studies done by non-Tao researchers, yet there does not exist a Tao female researcher like Syaman Raпонgan as an insider trying to systematically organize the Tao women's traditional ecological knowledge in the form of words for the purpose of conservation and diffusion, but just in the form of daily practices.

When staying at Lanyu, the scenario I always can see is the backs of Tao women, who bowed their heads and wandered around intertidal areas (Figure 27). They bent their waists to search for and pick crabs or other sea animals for their families. In the daytime, Tao women normally go to intertidal areas alone, while in the night time they go to intertidal areas together. The other scenario is Tao women bending their waists to walk through taro fields. The owner's mother of the guest house told me that there is a ceremony for crabs at the end of the year, *minganangana*, which is a holiday when wives pamper their husbands for their hard work of fishing. On this holiday, Tao women prepare taro cakes and crabs for their husbands.



Figure 27 The gatherings in the intertidal areas in the daytime is a part of Tao women's daily life

In the summer of 2014, I joined a few gatherings initiated by Tao women in intertidal areas at night. In order to take part in those activities, I prepared rubber shoes to avoid cutting my feet on the coral reef flats, long sleeve clothes to block the sea wind blowing, a flash light (they used to use torches made of silver grass) to stun the crabs with light, a knitted and well ventilated bag to collect the sea animals and plants and a *laladang* or *nanaw* (a steel hook) to get hidden sea animals out of their shells . We, around eight women, met at a public kiosk at the seashore of Iratay Village. Then, these eight women in front of me were moving quickly in the intertidal area and the light from their flashlights was also spreading out. Some of them were walking far away from me. One hour later, they went back to the kiosk one by one and took out their gatherings, including a variety of shells, crabs and octopuses. They shared their gatherings and taught me how to recognize these sea animals. From the perspective of Tao women, crabs have multiple functions. Tao women can easily find where the crabs hide. They

may watch crabs walking across the road (Figure 28) or pick them up as a dish on the dining table or use them as a kids' toy and let them go after the kids are done playing with them. It's a very important part of Tao indigenous' childhood. Sadly, many crabs are meaninglessly killed by tourists who always ride motorcycles at very fast speed on the only round-the-island road.



Figure 28 A Tao woman was talking to a crab on the round-the-island road

In fact, the sea animals in intertidal areas have their specific Tao names (Liu and Huang, 1999).

*...The naming of nine species of crabs at Fisherman Village are according to crabs' appearance, three species related to their behaviors, five species related to symbolic meanings such as orthodox, long life, finding a good wife in a marriage, curse and circumvention, and eight species only with names and without meanings. The caught crabs are mainly for food. Of 25*

*species of crabs, 19 species are edible. There are some taboos or eating-order regulations relating to age, gender, pregnancy and postpartum time. It is particularly worthy to note the beliefs about the pregnant women who are eating crabs. If there are a variety of crabs put in the same plate, the pregnant women should follow the eating sequence by species, such as Grapsus longitarsis, Plagusia tuberculata, Grapsus albolineatus, Grapsus tenuicrustatus and avoid eating broken crabs...Regarding the crab names, gathering and utilization at Fisherman's Village, crabs do play an important role in Tao culture. We also think Tao crab culture is a sophisticated one. Even though researchers cannot distinguish the difference between Plagusia sp. and Liomera sp. by the available guide books, these two species of crabs have their Tao names and meanings. In addition, there are eating-order regulations to pregnant women when many kinds of crabs are put in a plate, and regulations of edible crabs to children, pregnant women, parturient women, feeding women, men and elders, both of which show the delicacy of Tao culture (<sup>273</sup>Liu & Huang 1999 p 207).*

...Aside from the gathering knowledge and skills, Tao women also make use of the allelopathy principle in managing their taro fields.

*In the early period of water field reclamation, there are mostly high-stem grasses such as panicum repens and glutene rice grass or cyperaceae (single-leave plants) such as Kyllinga brevifolia and Mariscus umbellatus, growing in various ridges in the fields. Tao people would not move all non-crop weeds away. They categorize weeds into good weeds and bad weeds. For example, acanthaceae (爵床), Oxalis (酢醬草) and Centella asiatica (雷公根) are good weeds, which should be reserved; 小毛蕨 (Christella parasitica ),*

*Ficus vaccinioides hemsl (越橘葉蔓榕) are also good weeds, which can be retained between the stones for strengthening the stone wall; Zoysia grasses(馬尼拉芝) and rose moss (松葉牡丹) are the good weeds after*

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<sup>273</sup> Chung-Shi Liu, and Chung-Ling Huang. "Investigation of Intertidal Crabs Culture of Iratay Village, a Yami Tribe in Botel Tobago Island, Taiwan." NTTU Educational Research Journal, no. 10 (1999): 202–11.

evolution. Besides, there are some good weeds such curled sorrel (皺葉酸模), *Typha orientalis presl* (水蠟燭) in the water fields and other living beings including *Turritella terebra*(錐螺), *Cipangopaludina chinensis* (石螺), terrestrial crab (陸蟹), white-breasted waterhen (白腹秧雞), common moorhen (紅冠水雞), channeled applesnail (福壽螺)等生物 (Cheng, 2000). Bad weeds in the water field include *Lanyu Orchidaceae* (蘭嶼蘭) and Taiwan toadlily (油點草)etc., which should be removed (<sup>274</sup>Liu 2007).

The above-mentioned green ecological knowledge is the traditional ecological knowledge of Tao women from the families using taro as their main food. In addition to relying on the traditional ecological knowledge, Tao women need to diligently take care of the water fields where the only plant in the flooded area is taro. According to the traditional ecological knowledge, *Ficus vaccinioides hemsl*(越橘葉蔓榕) and *Christella parasitica* (小毛蕨) are allowed to grow in the ridges of the field to avoid weeds invading. When Tao women are going to work in the fields, they can give kids some edible plants such as *Ficus vaccinioides hemsl* and *Begonia fenicis* (蘭嶼秋海棠) as snacks. Moreover, these plants can consolidate the soil to help strengthen the ridges of the fields (<sup>275</sup>Wang 2004: p.75).

A lot of ecological knowledge has been accumulated by the continued interaction between Tao people (men and women) and nature every day. That's also the way Tao people sense their place. Following Tao people's steps, you can clearly feel how they interact with nature.

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<sup>274</sup> Liu, Hsiang-Chun. *We go to take the meal: The observation of Lanyu Yami women and the daily life in the taro field.* (劉香君. 我們去拿飯: 蘭嶼雅美女性與芋田的生活觀察. 們去電子報.) Taiwan environmental information center, October 2, 2007. <http://e-info.org.tw/node/26906>.

<sup>275</sup> Wen-Ming Wang. (2004). *The Impact to Vegetation by the Yami in Lanyu* (Master Thesis). National Tainan University. <http://ndltd.ncl.edu.tw/cgi-bin/gs32/gsweb.cgi?o=dnclcdr&s=id=%22092NTNTC147002%22.&searchmode=basic&extralimit=asc=%22%E5%9C%8B%E7%AB%8B%E8%87%BA%E5%8D%97%E5%A4%A7%E5%AD%B8%22&extralimitunit=%E5%9C%8B%E7%AB%8B%E8%87%BA%E5%8D%97%E5%A4%A7%E5%AD%B8#XXX>.

## The Impact of the State

### A Garden for Japanese Anthropologists

A Tao Presbyterian minister, Dung Senyung, recorded the detailed features of the period of the Japanese colonization at Lanyu, such as the establishment of modern medical facilities, construction of elementary schools to provide Japanese education, advanced industrial machineries and daily necessities brought through the conference of supply and marketing, the requirement to pay taxes in terms of labor, the plunder from Tao people and the interaction between Japanese scholars and Tao people. He honestly described the history about the interaction between Tao people and Japanese by what he had ever seen or heard from others.

Since Japan started cultivating Tao people with modern education, it has turned out to have profound influences on the subsequent emerging anti-nuclear movement at Lanyu. Native Children's School (番童教育所) was established at Imowrod Village by Japan colonial government in 1923 (<sup>276</sup>Kuan 2007: p.157). In the beginning, there were only 7 or 8 students from Imowrod Village, around 9 to 14 years old. The enrollment number was restricted due to the insufficient accommodation capacity. Later on, Japan began to force Tao children to go to school after the accommodation capacity had increased. Japanese policemen concurrently acted as the teachers at the Japanese schools. Few of the teachers were Japanese and most of them were Taiwanese and Taiwan indigenous people who had received Japanese education. The curriculum included Japanese, mathematics, social study, science, arts, and physical education, and the duration of learning was four years (<sup>277</sup>Yu & Tunl 1998

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<sup>276</sup> Kuan, Hsiao-Jung. (2007). *The Report of Lanyu 1987-2007 (蘭嶼報告 1987-2007)*. Taipei: Jen-Chien Press(人間出版社).

<sup>277</sup> Yu, Guang-Hong & Tunl, Chen-Yunl (1998). *The History of Formosan Indigenous peoples: Yami (台灣原*

p123-124). Requiring Tao people to receive Japanese education at Japanese schools resulted in the huge convenience to Japanese researchers. Minister Dung said, “Since having received Japanese education and learned to speak Japanese, Tao people provided a lot of assistance to Japanese scholars when they were doing fieldwork at Lanyu” (p.136).

When World War II was exploding, in 1943 Japanese started to enroll soldiers at Lanyu and forced young men to join the military. Lanyu Island was also bombed by the Allies. When Japan was defeated and left Lanyu, Tao people burned all the documents and books Japan left, and destroyed the schools, dormitories, and a community health center built by Japan (Yu & Tunl 1998 p109-150). When I was chatting with minister Dung, he said to me, “*Although Japan gave us a struggling living condition, yet compared to the Nationalist government, Japan did not prohibit us from speaking Tao language, did not change our culture, did not rob our land, and the most important thing is they did not marry our women*”<sup>278</sup>.

### Receiving another regime’s governance- Nationalist government

When the Nationalist government came to Taiwan, a lot of military soldiers landed on Lanyu, chose Imowroad Village as their base and assigned the former non-military personnel to be governmental administrators. Later on, governmental units such as the Military Headquarters at Lanyu, Lanyu Health Center, Lanyu Post Office, Lanyu Elementary School were consecutively established at Imowroad Village. Among these official units, the establishment of elementary schools is another extension of colonized education. There were

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住民史：雅美族史篇). Nantau City, Taiwan: Taiwan Historica 台灣省文獻委員會.

<sup>278</sup>The last point is addressing about the contemporary predicament due to gender imbalance, which results from more Tao women married to Taiwan compared to Taiwanese women married to Lanyu. It’s difficult for Tao men to find wives and eventually causes a low marriage rate.

four elementary schools and all the school-age students had access to education. The education at Lanyu is exactly the same as that of Taiwan, including speaking Mandarin and prohibition of speaking aboriginal languages, and shouting the slogans such as to recover Mainland China, long live the Three Principles of the People, long live President Chiang, and long live the Republic of China.

Before 1962, the school teachers did not commit to teaching, spent little time in class, and asked students to go outside to find food or interesting things for them. One of my Tao friends said, “*Once I was a student, I had to go to the seashore to catch fish for teachers... We also needed to protect some teachers from Taiwan, who were afraid of Lanyu’s “dirt people” (indigenous people) and bought things for them...*”

In 1969, with the assistance of the minister from Taitung Presbyterian Church, Lanyu Middle School was established. All students, even now, are required to remain in residence during the school term, which can help students save the transportation time. Most of the students graduated from Lanyu Middle school would go to Taiwan to pursue higher education and become Tao intellectuals. In 2014, the number of residents who are older than 15 years old is 4,160, accounting for 83.6% of the total population. 26.66% of those who are older than 15 years old graduated from college, 39.14 % graduated from high school or vocational school, 19.02% graduated from middle school, 14.88% graduated from elementary school, and 0.3% are illiterate (<sup>16</sup>Lanyu Township Office, the Statistical Yearbook of Lanyu in 2014).



Figure 29 The statue of Chiang Kai-Shek standing at Imorowed Village, representing the authoritarian history at Lanyu during the martial law period of Kuomintang's government

When the Nationalist government came to Lanyu, it was during the period of national mobilization in suppression of Communist rebellion and the army owned the absolute power (Figure 29). In the beginning, the Nationalist government encroached on a large piece of land of Imowroad Village for constructing jails, ranches, farms, fish ponds, playgrounds, military camps for coastal defense, harbors and the nuclear waste repository (<sup>12</sup>Yu & Tunl 1998 p151). The management of land and the space of Lanyu that the national government has done over the past decades is shown in the following table made by Tung En-Tzu (Syaman Lamuran), the first Tao Ph.D., which clearly reveals the important environmental issues after the national power entered Lanyu (<sup>279</sup>Syaman Lamuran, Hsiao, & Tsai, 2015).

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<sup>279</sup> Lamuran, S., Hsiao, S.-H., & Tasi, H. (2015). Tao People's Response to Modern Environmental Governance and the Development of the Sustainable Environmental Governance. *Journal of Taiwan Indigenous Studies Association*, 5(3), 44.

Table 8 The environmental issues at Lanyu

<b>Events</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Site</b>	<b>The environmental consequence</b>
Encroaching tribal land for building the weather forecast station, Native Children's Schools police stations, the airport, the power plant, and the harbor.	From the period of Japanese colonization to 1980's	Hongtou Village and Fishermen's Village	Collapse due to the hilltop digging The space comprehensiveness of the traditional tribes was divided (the loss of spatial culture) The environmental change of the tribal landscape The shrinkage of tribal hinterland and the pollution issue of the power plant Unbalanced distribution of tribal space
The plunder of Tao native land by the Taiwan Garrison Command and the Veterans Affairs Council plundered	After World War II	Whole island	The adaptation conflicts and the sense of environmental oppression due to a number of Han immigrants The habitat disappearance of specific species due to the import of one thousand cattle The drastic short supply of arable land
Modern model house and the construction of public houses, the reconstruction of the sea-sand houses	1960's~1970's 1990's	Whole island	The drastic change and disorder of environmental landscape The loss of tribal culture and the weakening of spatial function The collapse of the anti-disaster function of the tribal community and houses The disputes of land ownership due to the reconstruction policy of the sea-sand houses
The planting of coast oak by the Forestry Bureau	1970's~1980's	South central mountains	
Illegal storage of nuclear waste	1980's ~ now	The area near Dragon's Head Rock	The destruction of local primitive forest and the intertidal areas for certain species. The replacement of landscape by cold buildings Several events of radiation leakage The polluted intertidal areas by the illegal discharge of waste water
The ill-planned public construction on the island	The reconstruction from 1980s to 2013's Typhoon Libra	Whole island	The damage to natural creeks. The damage to the natural landscape, especially the concrete pavement for ships in front of the tribal beach. The extensive damage to the habitat of living beings.
The introduction of the regulation of land registration	1960 until-now	Whole island	Land disputes and conflicts among tribal people.
The bombing implemented by the air force on Little Lanyu	1990s	Little Lanyu	The damage to the landscape due to craters. The explosion risk through touching unexploded bombs the debris of bombs all over the island
Over catching migratory and benthic fishes by the fishing boats outside	1970s-2000s	Open sea at Lanyu	A significant reduction of flying fish, migratory fish, and benthic fish. The extinction of many seabed living beings due to the usage of drive-in nets and bottomed nets. the damage to the surrounding ocean

			resources due to bombing.
The impacts from the tourism development	2000-now	Whole island	The treatment issues of huge garbage recovery and polluted water. The damage to natural environment due to land fights and overbuilding. The disaster of ecological environment due to the lack of a long-term plan for island tourism.

The above table indicates that the top-down oppression that the national government has put on the environmental autonomy of Tao people, resulting in Tao people' distrust of the national government and disagreement with the governmental policies.

For example, although the head of the township and the leaders of the four administrative villages are selected by the residents, they don't have substantial leadership in that villagers still deal with their conflicts in Tao traditional way. Another example is the government requires Tao people to register their land, but many Tao people are not willing to obey the regulation. Some of them think they don't need to register their land, because every islander clearly knows who owns each specific land. Some of them are afraid of paying more tax, so they register less land than they really own; some of them not only register their own land, but also other people's land, which further complicates the problems associated private land and common land, and more conflicts have been happening among Tao people.

The state's laws are unfitted to Lanyu Island due to the difficulties to carry out governmental policies and the lack of cultural understanding of the island. So, the state always fails to formulate appropriate policies for Lanyu's environment. One middle-aged woman chatted with me at the kiosk of her family after her farming work in the yam field.

*The legitimization of the guest houses, in fact, depends on whether or not the local officials or representatives are willing to adapt the law to Lanyu. For example, as my husband was the representative, he made a special law with flexibility to help Lanyu people access tap water and public electricity,*

*given that there is an address number... We Lanyu people cannot be framed by the laws made by the Taiwan government. Lanyu has the unique status of self-administration and sophisticated social norms. We don't need to follow Taiwan's laws to do everything*<sup>280</sup>.

She expressed her opinions about how to resolve the conflicts between Tao people's life style and the state law. For example, since both the traditional underground houses and modern self-built concrete guest houses don't have construction licenses, these houses cannot use tap water or public electricity. Another middle-aged Tao man also expressed his feeling about the governance under different colonizing regimes. He said,

*"You (the government) must meet an expectation (from Lanyu indigenous people) and I think Lanyu has its particular ethnicity. It's a place separated from Taiwan by the Pacific Ocean, so they are mutually independent just like Taiwan and Mainland China, which are two different places. Therefore, the Republic of China just temporally governs Lanyu, just like Japan used to govern Lanyu."*

Expressions of opposition and resistance: passive-aggressive and aggressive

Collective passive aggressive expression

In psychological terms, "passive-aggressive" is the indirect expression of hostility, such as through procrastination, stubbornness, sullen behavior, or deliberate or repeated failure to accomplish requested tasks for which one is (often explicitly) responsible. <sup>281</sup>The

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<sup>280</sup> An interview in October, 2013.

<sup>281</sup> Kantor, M. (2002). *Passive-Aggression: A Guide for the Therapist, the Patient and the Victim*. Greenwood Publishing Group.

disobedience to the governmental policies and laws can range from daily practices (passive aggressive expression) to the large-scale demonstrations (aggressive expression).

With regard to passive aggressive expression, the disobediences of the daily practices to the governmental policies can be regarded as a kind of passive aggressive expression, such as the death registration reflecting the fact of one country with two “legal” systems. Tao people believe that the dead people should be buried on the day they died (in the past Tao people wrapped up the dead bodies in cloth, and now they put the bodies into wooden coffins.), so that it can reduce the bother to the living people from the evil souls. However, this custom violates the law made by the Republic of China that requires the family in mourning cannot bury the dead person until they obtain a death certificate signed by a forensic doctor.

There once was a case where the officials asked to dig up a grave to do an autopsy of a dead person. It caused a very huge controversy because it seriously violated Tao’s taboo concerning evil souls. Nowadays, Tao people still obey the custom that the dead people should be buried at the same day they died. Besides, the land regulations are also unfitted with the custom of Lanyu. 90% of Tao people have not done the land registration.

Tao people won’t buy properties across villages, since it will raise the question “*Are we really not good enough?*” from villagers living in the same village. Moreover, the villagers buying properties across villages will be edged out by the village they are moving into. Hence, even if the villager is rich, he or she won’t buy properties across villages. The few indigenous people that would violate the custom are intellectuals. Another example of one country with two systems is the traffic regulation. There are many cars and motorcycles without plates on the round-the-island road. Even though the requirement of wearing motorcycle helmets has been enacted in Taiwan, Tao people still don't want to wear a helmet

when riding a motorcycle. Moreover, Tao people who are drunk dare to drive cars, since the policemen won't do alcohol tests. Aside from the above mentioned, the construction regulation is also unfitted to Lanyu. One Tao indigenous people told to me, "*Our underground houses have existed over thousands of years, and these houses without construction permission have resisted many challenges from typhoons year by year. It is those houses with construction permission constructed by Han people that cannot resist the threats from typhoons and mudslides.*"

The guesthouses everywhere on the island were not required to apply for the construction permission and even after the construction there is not a governmental health unit responsible for the inspection of those guesthouses. Overall, Tao people would obey the customary law rather than the state law, which can be said is a form reflecting Tao people's anger with the unfitting national governmental policies. It's the best interpretation of collective passive aggressive expression.

### Collective aggressive expression

The event of Land Number 7 at Iranmeylek (Dongchin) Village

Regarding aggressive expression, the event of Land Number 7 at Iranmeylek (Dongchin) Village in June of 2013 is the most apparent example. In addition to the nuclear waste repository, the event of Lot number 7 at Iranmeylek Village is the second time that the state sent the police force to maintain order<sup>22</sup>. The county government selected Lot number 7 as the site for a ready-mixed concrete plant, while the villagers of Iranmeylek Village rejected the project. It was just an affair of Iranmeylek Village, and other villages were not supposed

to get involved with this event according to the principle of independence village in the past. But the county government sent around 60 policemen to suppress the protest of Iranmeylek villagers, which gave Tao people a feeling of being bullied. The county government claimed that the land belongs to the Republic of China, which incurred Tao people's ethnic complex.

Tao people asked the county government "*where was the Republic of China two hundred years ago?*" Around 200 Tao people with weapons from the whole island autonomously went to support Iranmeylek villagers. The event eventually became an issue of land across villages, and along with the anti-nuclear movement it is definitely an obvious anger toward the inappropriate governmental policies--an instance of collective aggressive expression.

#### The anti-nuclear movement

The first and the longest aggression is the anti-nuclear movement that has lasted more than 30 years. In September of 2013, I formally entered Lanyu to do the fieldwork. The first morning in the guesthouse when I was going to buy my breakfast, a research group consisting of 6 undergraduates staying at the same guesthouse told me that the breakfast store on the left side of the guest house was not open and I had to go to the right side of the guesthouse to find another one. I took a walk and saw a few pigs and dogs wandering on my way to the breakfast store. Houses were built along the slope land, and I finally found the store by the enticing smell, although it did not have a store sign. A bunch of people were gathering there. Most of them were tourists, who are from Taiwan (6 young people), Hong Kong (4 people), western countries (6 family members across three generations), and some locals (4 people). There are some anti-nuclear posters on the wall and the breakfast price (NT\$ 60 for a cup of

ice coffee and a Chinese bread with an egg) is similar to that in Taipei. At noon, I ate my meal with a Japanese professor coming to Lanyu for his radioactivity research. Since having learned that I came here to do my nuclear waste research, he came here to meet me from another village (There is no secret because any news will spread out very fast all over this tiny island).

The Japanese professor said, *“The nuclear waste is a political issue associated with the United States, Japan, Taiwan, and China...Most of the top managers of TPC and officials of the Atomic Energy Council have a standard accent in Mandarin, indicating they all belong to the KMT government...”* During our meal, the chairperson of the Fisherman Village Community Development Association also came here to eat lunch. The Japanese professor is his old friend. The chairperson was joking to me, *“I started rejecting nuclear power before I knew you. Hahaha.”* He kept joking in front of other guests in the store loudly. This atmosphere made me, having just finished my fieldwork at Nantian, very surprised that people at Lanyu can publicly and freely express their anti-nuclear attitude(s).

I can see many spray-painted graffiti on the public spaces that directly reflect Tao people's anti-nuclear appeal, when riding motorcycle on the round-the-island road (Figure 30 and 31). Whenever I stopped by a kiosk on the roadside, Tao people would always invite me to have a chat. Anti-nuclear is an issue about which everyone can easily express his or her opinions in public. In the restaurants, airport, and other public places, you can access any news related to nuclear waste on the newspaper published by Lan An Cultural and Educational Foundation. The atmosphere that everyone can freely talk about their positive or negative attitude toward nuclear waste is quite different from that of Nantian Village. The difference may be because nuclear waste issue is not a welcomed public issue at Nantian Village and residents have

difficulties of access to the updated information about nuclear waste. How the atmosphere encouraging the discussion of nuclear waste at Lanyu has formed? I tried to find the answer by directly talking to those who have been participating in the anti-nuclear movements.



Figure 30 Spray print on roadside: no extension for land lease



Figure 31 Spray print: no extension for land lease

Minister Chang, one of the Tao people joining the first wave of the anti-nuclear movement, recalled how they initiated the anti-nuclear movement.

*In 1980, minister Dung, a Tao indigenous people, invited me to attend a meeting of Christians in Taiwan. Minister Dung had already known about the project of the nuclear waste repository at Lanyu. Our suspicion about the nuclear waste repository was confirmed by the provincial councilor. When we came back to Lanyu, we initiated meetings with two preachers from 6 churches. Since the strength of six people was not strong enough, we invited another two church elders and two deacons to discuss how to explain what nuclear waste is to the villagers. In the beginning, we analogized nuclear waste to a type of poison for poisoning fishes or a kind of tree on the mountain. At the time, as Catholic churches had a good relationship with Kuomintang, their believers wouldn't reject nuclear on behalf of Catholics in public. But, they (believers) could still join the anti-nuclear movement through private family connections. And we also invited the village heads and the township head to join the meeting. Although they are governmental officials, yet we successfully persuaded village heads, township heads, and villager representatives because the state would like to kill us. A consensus hence formed that we would choose one day to stand out to reject nuclear waste. If we don't reject nuclear waste, we would have no offspring forever...Once there was an immigrant draft in the Legislature Yuan attempting move all Tao people to the Dawu Township of Taitung County across the ocean...But this message was noticed by our friends in the Legislature Yuan, we succeeded to stop the draft...They said, "You are Tao and that side is Dawu. Both sound exactly the same"<sup>282</sup>...If we go to Dawu Township, how we can catch flying fish? How can we make boats? Because our souls are on the island, we cannot survive if we leave the island. The whole island was angry...<sup>283</sup>*

Sinan Mavivo could be the representative of the intellectuals in the second wave of the anti-nuclear movements. She is at the status of inheriting from the past and carrying in the future, because she did join the first wave of the anti-nuclear movements and directed the

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<sup>282</sup> Dawu and Dao sound similar in Mandarin Chinese ◦

<sup>283</sup> An interview at Lanyu in October,

second wave of the anti-nuclear movements, and supported the third wave of the anti-nuclear movements. She reviewed and concluded the history of the anti-nuclear movements at Lanyu since the 1980s.

*The first wave of the anti-nuclear movements (1987-1995) was very intense and attracted nationwide attention. At the time, the intellectuals of Lanyu cooperated with the Presbyterian Church. Externally, (we) extensively used news, magazines and media and won the support from academia; internally, (we) analogized the inexplicable object of nuclear waste to the traditional belief- anito, and used the emerging Christian doctrine-everyone is equal before God, to build the anti-nuclear strength on the whole island. The young generations did not have academic resources such as support from professors in the second wave of anti-movements (1995-2007). They needed to find resources by themselves, such as radio stations, television stations, political parties etc. They established the Lanyu People's Association of Taiwan and started to discuss the issue of Lanyu's autonomy and the movement of Lanyu's rectification of names. The actors of the third anti-nuclear movements (2007-now) emphasized their economic independence. They don't need to initiate movements through fund raising. They are more confident... We, the second wave of the anti-nuclear movements, didn't have an environment where we could make money. We could not make money from tourism businesses...*

The actors in the first wave of anti-nuclear movement were worried about the insufficiency of the actors in the modern anti-nuclear movement.

*The new generation of anti-nuclear league lacks the ability of proactive planning, isn't sensitive to the politics, doesn't have clear objectives when going public, and doesn't know where they want to lead the*

*crowd. Moreover, they are not willing to consult predecessors...*

One young person in the third wave of the anti-nuclear movements talked to me about their position and plight.

*We this generation undertake the burden from the last generation. The islanders would question me about the purpose of leading the anti-nuclear movements. Do I aim for money or the local election? The islanders always criticized the last generation who regarded the anti-clear movements as a political platform before...Another critique is how you can represent the opinion of Lanyu. However, the latter critique is smaller than the former one, because at least I can represent myself. I am a part of Lanyu and will have kids and live at Lanyu, so that I can represent the voice of Lanyu.*

Another young man of the new generation runs a drink shop around the round-the-island road, which is call the “No Nukes Pub” (Shown as Figure 32) . He said, “*The shop is directly named anti-nuclear bar because my daughter didn’t have the chance to join the previous anti-nuclear movements. So, I start this shop to compensate for this regret and to let her know the mission of this generation is not just to make money but the anti-nuclear job that needs to be done.*”



Figure 32 Tao family runs a drink shop around the round-the-island road, which is call the “No Nukes Pub”.

Although the anti-nuclear movements have been continued by the efforts of three generations, yet there is an issue of inheritance between generations. The actors in the third wave of the anti-clear movements are inclined to mobilize supporters through the Internet and not inclined to protest on the streets. So, every village and Tao indigenous immigrants can have representatives to express their opinions, which can avoid the critique that the anti-nuclear movement turns out to be a platform of a “hero” or “heroine”. They hope they can fight as a unit, instead of gambling on the success or failure of an individual.

## The Impact of Christian Church

### The Historical Background of Christianized Lanyu Island

During the period of Japanese colonization, Japan did not allow outsiders to enter

Lanyu and also did not allow representatives of Christian religions to enter for proselytizing. Japan established Shinto shrines at Lanyu and forced Tao people to worship at them. Under Japan's threat, Tao people ostensibly complied with the request of joining the worship ceremonies (12p126-127). When the Republic of China took over Lanyu, Tao people destroyed all the Shinto shrines. In 1951, a minister of the Taiwan Presbyterian Church first entered Lanyu to propagate the faith. From the presentation of the missionary slides from a minister at Lanyu to the return of two Tao young men who learned the Holy Bible and were trained by a Taiwan Amis church, it took only six months to establish churches at six villages. Most Tao people started to believe in Christianity. In 1954, a Catholic priest also came to Lanyu for proselytizing.

### Tao People's Christian Belief on the Reconstruction of the Sense of Place

#### When dealing with outsiders, we are absolutely united

As mentioned above, in terms of passive expression or aggressive expression Tao people deliver their anger and distrustfulness to the governmental policies. Contrastingly, Christian religions did not prohibit Tao people from speaking Tao language, and further helped Tao people record their language with Romanization spelling. Besides, they gave physical resources, medical and living assistance to Tao people.

In the past, the six villages at Lanyu were mutually independent. But, nuclear waste has made the whole island united to resist the common threat. Through the connection among churches, Tao people fight hand in hand with the nuclear waste from outside. Minister Dung said,

*The common disaster forces us not to separate from each other but to be united, and now there are three joint worship services a week. Although Lanyu has followers belonging to Protestant and Catholic churches, yet the True Jesus church initiated the first joint worship. Later on, the True Jesus church did not keep participating in the joint worship because their untrained catechists were not capable of propagandizing. However, their followers still keep joining the joint worship. We would pray together to fight the common disasters we were facing, and different religious catechists took turns in propagandizing...*

Tao's "Lanyu Joint Christian Lord Praising Evangelism (LJCLP)" is a rare activity where an indigenous community can break the gap resulting from different religions. Through treating all islanders as a life community and gaining strength by arguing the inseparable ethnic sentiments, LJCLP integrates the external different religions into a unit. Minister Dung stated how Christian religion is important to Lanyu.

*If there were no Christian religion, Lanyu would be very poor and would be looked down upon by others. The Christian religion has changed the mindset of Tao people little by little. From the Bible, we know the external governors treated Tao people very unfairly. We were abused and invaded. Did the township representatives, county legislators or the township head speak for Tao people? We church catechists don't receive money from governments and serve by following the truth and justice based on the Bible. We ask the governments to treat us fairly and allow us to live on this island forever, because the Bible tells us we have to love our home, hometown and homeland...*

An anti-nuclear young person of Catholic faith also said,

*Catholics also taught their followers to know what nuclear waste is. Dumping nuclear waste on Lanyu is an affair of injustice, so the Catholic followers should stand out to fight because it violates the doctrine...Standing out is for the common affair on the island, and it doesn't need to differentiate islanders by religions...the connection between islanders is very close, even between human beings and animals. For example, all islanders would know every bad thing done by whose dog...Each of us not only represents ourselves, but also our family, one fleet and one village, so everyone is responsible for his or her own business...even the couples belonging to two different religions must come to help when the other's church needs help, because Tao people highly emphasize family completeness. Otherwise, other people would look down on you.*

Tao people place the concern of getting out of nuclear waste prior to the specific faith. They said, "We are not able to stop the government storing nuclear waste here. The only way is to rely on God to give us hope."

Christian religions unite the whole islanders' will and strength to fight against the interferences from outside. *Ji-kara Reman* (Five Holes Cave) is a tourism site on the roadside of the round-the-island road, which was once fought over by followers of Christian and Han religions. *Ji-kara Reman* is located between Yayo Village and Iraraley Village and it's the place of the Tao's legend of fire. From mouth to mouth, the legend that Tao people switched from eating uncooked food to cooked food started here. Once upon a time, one Tao person ran into a person from another world, and that person gave "fire" to the Tao people, which initiated Tao's era of cooked food. When passing along the round-the-island road, one of my Tao friends told me, "*a long time ago there were some Han people visiting Ji-kara Reman*

*and trying to build a temple here due to its spiritual influence. When the attempt was discovered by the islanders, the followers of the Catholic and Protestant churches immediately came here and put crosses on the land of Ji-kara Reman and circled the scope of the prayer holy land to claim the sovereignty of Christian land.”* (Shown as Figure 33 ).

There is only a temple of Daoist religion (Queen Mother of the West) built at Imowrod Village, which has a few Han followers.



Figure 33 Tao people put crucifixes on the land of Ji-kara Reman and circled the scope of the prayer holy land to claim the sovereignty of Christian land

Thus, Christian pastors gradually became the most powerful persons among villagers. They also tend to reject nuclear waste. In fact, KMT elites have no substantial influence over villagers there. *“It’s we who choose the elected representatives. If they do not take our culture into account, we will not obey their laws!”* A Tao indigenous person said.

Christians do not interfere with annual rituals and only change a part of the traditional belief system. Pastors have substantial authority over public affairs. As playing a role that is of both free of politics and international pastors can be the representatives for islanders to resist the state's inappropriate policies on Lanyu. Minister Dung Senyung of a Presbyterian church is the first Christian clergyman who found out the nuclear waste repository built by the government. He recalled,

*. The main reasons that the government chose Lanyu as the site of the nuclear waste repository are as follows. Firstly, it's not only very convenient to transport the nuclear waste by sea freight, but also it's easy to dump it into marine trenches nearby. Secondly, the villages are five kilometers away from the nuclear waste repository. Thirdly, the population at Lanyu is small. This reason is the biggest one that made Tao people very angry. Do we have to die or sacrifice just because we have few people? I knew these reasons, and the Kuomintang was also very afraid that I would disclose these secrets. Whatever, I just delivered this secret to Lanyu people and then Kuomintang started placing their "concern" on me. Fortunately, I was the chair of the township representatives, a committee of Kuomintang, and the bridge between soldiers and villagers. So, I was regarded as important intelligence personnel who could freely enter and exit the military control zone. I was more than they could handle. The most important point is I am a minister. Because if a minister is under arrest, Christians in the whole world would be very mad. So, I released this news to help Tao young people who were studying in Taipei initiate the anti-nuclear movement there. Then the intellectuals went back to Lanyu, went to the forefront line, and on behalf of the whole island applied for permission to march the streets to protest nuclear energy.*

The Christian Presbyterian churches at Lanyu, especially Lan An Christian Culture

Education Foundation, play a more efficient role in spreading information than the government. In 1976, Lan An Christian Culture Education Foundation (LACCE) was established by some seminary graduates from the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), who came to Lanyu for a service project. In 1979, it started Lan An Kindergarten and has been publishing Lanyu Biweekly since 1985<sup>284</sup>. More importantly, it started the radio station-Lanyu Voice FM 99.5. Since then, Lanyu has its own radio station to spread information including culture inheritance and public affairs in Tao language. Compared to other aboriginal communities in Taiwan, Tao have more comprehensive channels through which they can access both internal and external information. Islanders don't have to rely solely on the unilateral information about nuclear waste provided by Taiwan Power Company (TPC) or the governments.

Aside from the development of information infrastructure, LACCE built the Teenager Recreation Center, which later became an important meeting venue for forming the consensus on specific issues at Lanyu. In 2002, Lanyu Museum was established. It is the first time that Lanyu has its own museum.

When dealing with inner affairs, we surely have different opinions

There is not simply a single voice or standpoint of rejecting nuclear in Lanyu Christian. In an interview, one Tao young person provided supplementary information about the religious evolution of Lanyu and the different standpoints on the anti-nuclear appeal.

*The Presbyterian Church was the first church to enter Lanyu. At the time, it*

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<sup>284</sup> <http://www.lanan.org.tw/>

*attracted Tao people with physical resources and the substantial transformation of Tao's god to the Christian god and the analogy of Anito to Satan...Thee years later, the second one entering Lanyu was Catholic, which brought more resources to attract Tao people to switch to it...Around 1994, the Christian Charismatic Movement entered Lanyu arguing that it was closer to God and the divinity can cure sickness, and some Tao people hence changed their faith and left the Presbyterian Church to establish the Assemblies of God with independence (located at Yayo Village), announcing it is a church organization free from politics and it objecting to the preservation of Tao traditional culture. Although Presbyterian churches at other villages did not establish the Assemblies of God, yet they came closer to Christian Charismatic Movement and started keeping a distance from social movements. Later on, the True Jesus Church also arguing its closeness to God and the isolation from social movements, entered Lanyu...Up to now, there are six Catholic churches, six Presbyterian churches, one Assemblies of God and one Baptist church. Besides, Queen Mother of the West, a Chinese Goddess, and Yiguandao, a Chinese religion, also exists at Lanyu<sup>285</sup>.*

The influences of Christian religions on Tao people are not only delivering the concepts that they need to love their homeland and maintain the justice of land use, but also breaking the taboo against the use of forbidden areas. In the past, land relating to dead people such as the place that buried the belongings of dead people or grave fields were regarded as forbidden areas, where *Anito* would negatively influence living people's health and would bring bad luck. But Christians started to break this myth. First, clergy began to use forbidden areas.

One day I followed the minister to his yam field (dry field). Beside the field there are longan trees, nest fern, chili trees, papaya trees, pineapple plants and banana trees. The field has a trapezoid shape with four layers. Each layer is surrounded by walls made with the local

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<sup>285</sup> An interviewed on September 15, 2014.

stone. There is a kiosk on the highest layer. The minister and his wife took out a big pot and cooked yams with spring water. They also put the fresh nest fern just picked from the plant and the seven-day dried flying fish into the pot. The only sauce is salt (without oil). I felt full after eating two middle-sized yams. The minister told me that

*God treats us so well. It gives us such a good field and much food that we even cannot finish...Once this field was a forbidden area to bury the belongings of the dead people. But, I am not afraid of it since I started believing in God. So, I invited followers who believe in God to help me do the land preparation. Then, I have taken care of this field.*

If the concept of forbidden area is a factor to maintain environmental sustainability or at least biodiversity sustainability, we should pay attention to the influences of the development of forbidden areas on the environment. Regarding the transformation of forbidden area, in addition to the influence of Christianity, the development of tourism at Lanyu indeed has played an increasingly important role in the past two decades.

In next section, I will use the land of Anito to explain how Christianity and tourism have changed the value of the prohibited land.

## The Impact of Economy

### Lanyu's Livelihood

How is the employment condition at Lanyu? In 1970s, also the time the Lanyu Middle School was established, many Tao young people after graduation went to Taiwan to find lower-level jobs that are low-salary, insecure, poor-welfare and highly replaceable. According

to an investigation by the Lanyu Township Office in 1986, there were 719 Lanyu people working in Taiwan, about 1/4 of the total population of Lanyu. Most of Tao people living in Lanyu were elders, unhealthy people and children. However, Tao workers in Taiwan were seldom older than 35 because they had to go back to Lanyu to inherit land and take care of old parents. They became seasonal workers in Taiwan before and after the flying fish season (<sup>286</sup>Kuan 2007: p.170-171).

Based on the report of “1999 Employment Investigation of Taiwanese Indigenous Peoples” published by the Indigenous Peoples Council, up to March of 1993, the number of employed people older than 15-year-old are 2, 046, and 60% of them made a living by farming, fishing and herding. Regarding the monthly income, around 65.59% of Tao people earned less than NT\$ 10,000 dollars or did not have regular income. (<sup>287</sup>Tung 2002)。

In 2015, indigenous people in Taiwan’s labor force numbered 247, 632, and the unemployment rate of indigenous people was 4.13%, which is 0.35% higher than that of the total labor force in Taiwan. 68.70% of unemployed indigenous people cannot find job opportunities during the searching process. The major difficulties for indigenous people to find jobs include insufficient information on job opportunities, no job opportunities where they live, inappropriate skills, age limit and education limit (<sup>288</sup>2015 Indigenous Peoples Employment Survey Results Summary). Tao people may not have the difficulty in obtaining employment information, rather the lack of job opportunities in the living circle and

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<sup>286</sup>Kuan, Hsiao-Jung. (2007). The Report of Lanyu 1987-2007 (蘭嶼報告 1987-2007). Taipei: Jen-Chien Press 人間出版社.

<sup>287</sup>Tung, En-Tzu. “Employment issues in Lanyu (蘭嶼就業問題之探討). Taipei: Research Center, The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, 2002. [http://www.pct.org.tw/rnd/tao/Tao4\\_5.htm](http://www.pct.org.tw/rnd/tao/Tao4_5.htm).

<sup>288</sup> Council of Indigenous Peoples. “Employment Status Survey of Indigenous Peoples, 2015.” Taipei, 2016. 59F0C&filename=A656B8F1D8AB649727FE6D5EF8980F88740B705BD796492858C04D28FF1C4D173B91B9DF71659F0C.

inappropriate skills may be the main reasons that Tao people are unemployed.

According to a survey of Lanyu Township Office in 2014, the low-income households accounted for 13.67% of the total households. The number of low-income people is 853, accounting for 17.14% of the total population. The number with mental and physical disabilities was 249, accounting for 5% of the total population.

In addition to the governmental living subsidies to low-income households and mental and physical disabilities, the compensation money that Lanyu indigenous people obtain from Taiwan Power Company (TPC)'s nuclear waste most attracts the attention of the society.

### The Voices of the Compensation Money

TPC composes the budget of compensation money every three years, which was originally given to the local government to support public construction and a variety of subsidies. In 2003, the township office proposed a plan that aimed at improving the living standard of households, and then TPC started to give compensation money to individuals. Each individual obtained compensation in the amount of NT\$63,000, NT\$50,000 in 2008, and NT\$ 90,000 in 2013. The fourth compensation payment is due in 2016, and the budget is NT\$220,000,000. Initially, the Control Yuan disagreed that TPC should give money directly to Tao people simply according to previous cases. After revision, NT\$170,000,000 can be directly given to Tao people and each individual can at least obtain NT\$40,000 after deducting NT\$3,000,000 for public construction<sup>289</sup>.

Tao people have diversified opinions toward the compensation money.

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<http://udn.com/news/story/7327/1785432-%E8%98%AD%E5%B6%BC%E6%A0%B8%E5%BB%A2%E5%9B%9E%E9%A5%8B%E9%87%91-%E6%AF%8F%E4%BA%BA%E8%90%AC%E5%85%83%E8%B5%B7%E8%B7%B3>

*There are two types of Tao people who receive the compensation money. The first type of Tao people considers the principle of user charge. Taiwan Power Company is obligated to pay the price and the nuclear waste still has to be moved out. The second type of Tao aborigine thinks that the nuclear waste is not harmful and even hopes that the nuclear waste won't be moved out because they are afraid that they won't obtain the compensation any more...So, whether those who receive the compensation money know the true meaning behind the compensation money or not is the most important thing... (One middle-aged Tao owner of a guesthouse )*

*The compensation paid to Lanyu has not been used for good purposes. Now, it is directly sent to each household and each individual. But, Lanyu needs to cultivate intellectuals and should use the feedback money for the education budget of the whole Lanyu for subsidizing students' tuition, transportation expenses and living expenses and later ask them (subsidized students) to do service after graduation or in summer vacation... (a middle-aged Tao woman at a grocery store)*

*The compensation money is in general given to the township office or the community development associations...the officials of the township office directly give the money to individuals for the purpose of winning more votes in the local election. That is illegal. So, the township office has lawsuit issues now... (a middle-aged Tao male boss of a restaurant)*

*Taiwan indigenous peoples are invisibly oppressed by the government now, while we Tao people are visibly oppressed by the government because the nuclear waste was directly stored on our island. Does the government bully us because we just have few people? The government just works half-heartedly by giving us a little money. Furthermore, even if the nuclear waste is moved out, the ocean and land have been polluted. The*

*government really bullies us Tao people... (a middle-aged Tao male worker at the airport)*

Most Tao people object to nuclear waste and think Tao people deserve to receive the compensation money. Only few Tao people have different voices.

*Nuclear waste has not any influences on us. As you can see, the fishes we caught and the shells we picked are not deformed. We have more people with cancer because the life style has been changed...If there is no nuclear waste, we will lose many subsidies... (a female poultry vendor)*

When I was interviewing an immigrant Han middle-aged woman, she said that although she has been living with a Tao man at Lanyu over the years and also helps the Lanyu Community Development Association do the administrative affairs she, as an outsider, expressed her opinion about the compensation money for Tao people.

*Lanyu people don't have competitiveness. They can get so many subsidies and the compensation money. They are used to it and they won't push themselves to be more improved...Moreover, you see, is there any child who has a great grade at studying? Lanyu is a place without a government, the residents don't obey the laws...Don't you think that Lanyu people's rejection of nuclear waste is just a fake? How can they give up the benefits on hand? Rejecting nuclear waste is just a show...*

Receiving compensation money does not truly compensate the unjust treatment that Tao people' have undergone, but makes outsiders criticize Tao people because they impose a greedy image on Tao people. In fact, which side is really greedy? Aren't those who evaluate

others (Tao people) reflecting their greed on others? Tao people who are economically independent and continue to have an interaction with ocean and land can speak out that the compensation money is improperly used.

Islanders believe that the relationship between the islanders and the state is equal. They don't expect to obtain aid and support from the state. Most villagers do not trust the state and do not think that sponsorship can improve the quality of their daily life. Thus, they maintain their traditional daily practices and start developing cultural tourism to improve the living standard.

### Nuclear Waste and Eco-tourism/ Cultural Tourism in Lanyu Island

Without the compensation from accepting nuclear waste, the local people may improve their local economic situation by developing eco-tourism or ethnic tourism, which is closely related to their experience of interaction with land/ocean.

### The Dark History of the Tourism Development at Lanyu

Reviewing the history, the government deregulated the restricted mountain area status of Lanyu in 1967 and allowed the development of tourism in 1971. Since 1972, there has been regular sea and air transportation between of Taiwan and Lanyu, which opens the door for the tourism industry at Lanyu (<sup>2</sup>Yang 2012 p61). The tourists coming to Lanyu after the deregulation of tourism are mainly from the "Self-Empowerment Activity" consisting of governmental officials and faculties, public and private enterprises, tours of factory employees, travel groups of retired persons, young students and trips of bourgeois families (<sup>21</sup>Kuan 2007: p.203).

According to the statistics of tourists by the Tourism Bureau<sup>290</sup>, there were most tourists, 195,576, visiting Lanyu in 1987, while the number of tourists started declining after 1988. In 2004, the number even dropped to 46,946, which was less than 1/4 of the number in 1987. In 2013, the year that I conducted my pilot study at Lanyu, the number of tourists rose again to 148,108.

The number of tourists in 2013 had 100% growth relative to that of 2012. Guesthouse owners thought that was because there were several reports from travel magazines including foreign travel websites. They said that there were more tourists from European countries than from American countries, also because of the introduction to Lanyu on European travel websites. In the past three decades, the number of tourists has ranged from 43,933 to 195,576. There is no consistent growth trend of the tourism industry at Lanyu, which implicitly suggests the changes of the contextual result in the unstable development of the tourism industry at Lanyu.

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<sup>290</sup> <http://recreation.tboc.gov.tw/asp1/statistics/year/table27.asp>

Table 9 The number of tourists in Lanyu Island

Year	Number of People	Year	Number of People
1982	50,696	1999	43,933
1983	123,633	2000	47,862
1984	87,133	2001	51,766
1985	99,699	2002	47,746
1986	103,708	2003	44,613
1987	195,576	2004	46,946
1988	103,643	2005	47,513
1989	130,576	2006	57,993
1990	102,864	2007	57,350
1991	65,851	2008	58,588
1992	78,115	2009	58,943
1993	62,152	2010	63,633
1994	65,216	2011	85,694
1995	62,570	2012	76,362
1996	54,575	2013	148,108
1997	61,459	2014	128,899
1998	51,515	2015	106,643

The beginning of the development of tourism at Lanyu was not a very good experience. Hsieh (1994) describes Lanyu's tourism as a back-stage one, where there is no clear platform for indigenous peoples' dancing and singing, but instead of the presence of Tao people' daily life. Tao people initially felt unhappy or were hostile to the tourism development because of the spying on the Tao people or even the tease of the "lagging-behind" life style and the interference and damage to the traditional cultural rites. More importantly, the unhappy experience resulted from the fact that the tourism development of Lanyu was not controlled by Tao people<sup>291</sup>. The introduction, management and planning of Lanyu's tourism were totally controlled by Han people from Taiwan. Under such circumstances, Tao people and their culture were merely an object for tourist consumption and gaze. Hsieh describes the presence of tourism at Lanyu in "Aboriginal Tourism in Taiwan".

*There are two hotels, Lanyu Villa and Lanyu Hotel, both of which belong to the Lanyu Tourism Development Corporation. In other words, the*

*large-scale tourism businesses, in fact, are owned by a single boss...Tao people do not control the tourism resources and make a living without relying on tourism. Furthermore, Tao people cannot get any benefits from tourism, while a lot of tourists surrounding them are searching for strange things in their eyes. Thus, Tao people do not need to welcome these tourists ...*(<sup>292</sup> Hsieh 1994: p.26-82)

## Tourists' Environmental Bubble

As with the concept of environmental bubble proposed by Cohen, tourists always circle themselves in a place within the tourism site that is home-similar, comfortable, modern and safe (<sup>293</sup>Cohen 1998: p.31). Thus, a trip of two days and one night for sightseeing Lanyu is the most popular one. In the daytime, the tour guide leads tourists to go around the whole island on a small bus. They stop by important tourism sites and take photos. In the meantime, the tour guide will describe and explain the Tao original life style and warn the tourists not to take photos of Tao people and their houses or they would be asked to give cash to Tao people. It often happened that some tourists renting motorcycles to travel around the island directly peep at and interfere with Tao people's daily life. In addition to the previous literature (<sup>27</sup>Hsieh, 1994; <sup>19</sup>Kuan, 2007) and the documentary (<sup>294</sup>Hu & Lee 1993), one of my Tao friends also told me that there once were some tourists coming into their houses without obtaining permission and even laughed at the idea that we can be full just by eating yams. This impolite behavior is associated with the stereotype of savage, secret and cave-house

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<sup>292</sup>Hsieh, Shih-Chung (1994). The Tourism Mode among Aboriginal Area: The Mode in Lanyu. In *Aboriginal Tourism: The Anthropologic Interpretation of Local Native Culture Exhibition*. (1st ed., p. 29). Taipei: Independent Evening Post.  
(謝世忠. (1994). 生活區的山胞觀光：蘭嶼模式. In *山胞觀光：當地山地文化展現的人類學詮釋* (1st ed., p. 29). 台北: 自立晚報社.)

<sup>293</sup> Cohen, Erik. "Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research* 15, no. 3 (1988): 371–86. doi:10.1016/0160-7383(88)90028-X.

<sup>294</sup> Hu, Tai-Li & Lee, Dao-Ming. *Voices of Orchid Island*. CD. Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, 1993.

living delivered by the non-Tao tour guides and travel agents (Hsieh 1994).

The relationship between tourists and Tao people has become nervous because on the one hand tourists did not try to understand and did not respect the “exotic” culture, and on the other hand Tao people did not have the experience of being gazed at by a lot of strangers.

After reviewing the relevant literature on Lanyu, I was anxious to go to this tiny island for fieldwork, supposing that I would be treated unfriendly as a stranger or a pure tourist. However, the contemporary relationship between tourists and Tao people is not as tense as before. In September of 2013 I remembered, the high season of sightseeing had passed when the northeast seasonal wind was getting stronger. I, as a visitor, was treated in a very friendly way. When walking on the streets or alleys, villagers would salute me. Elders sitting in front of their houses would smile at me and would talk to me in fluent Mandarin and showed me the direction if I asked them the route to somewhere. After answering my questions, they kept chatting in Tao language. I began to feel calm and relaxed, but I was wondering how the hostile relationship between Tao people and outside people has become a seemingly peaceful one?

### Spinning Cocoons by Tao People and Tourists

The literature that regards tourism as having negative impacts on the host societies is mainly based on the concern of authenticity. Previous tourism literature has been led by Boorstin’s (1964) concepts of “pseudo event” and “environmental bubble” and MacCannell’s (1976) concept of “staged authenticity” (Cohen, 1988; <sup>295</sup>Kahn, 2011; <sup>296</sup>Urry, 2002).

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<sup>295</sup> Kahn, M. (2011). *Tahiti beyond the postcard: power, place, and everyday life*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

<sup>296</sup> Urry, J. (2002). *The Tourist Gaze* (Second Ed.) California: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Related to but different from the concepts of environmental bubble and staged authenticity, Kahn used the term “cocoon” to convey ‘the sense of place whose construction is a meditated activity and ongoing process the aim of which is to create a space that is intricate, comforting, and relatively opaque’. It’s a metaphor that highlights the fact that constructed tourism spaces are always in the process of being spun (Kahn, 2011: p.129). Thus, the forming of cocoons is a dynamic process of constructing space. The new concept of cocoon proposed by Kahn (2011) has an important component--autonomy, which I think is the most critical factor when addressing indigenous tourism issues. As Kahn mentioned, “ideally, they are spaces of total control that are physically managed to replicated an imagined place. Control, of course, is a key element for these spaces (p.131).” That is to say, who controls the rotating direction and speed of the cocoon? And who decides what images and perceptions should provide to tourists?

In August of 2014, I came again to Lanyu. It was still in the hot season of sightseeing. One Saturday morning, I rode a motorcycle out to buy breakfast. The weather was cloudy and the ocean waves were gentle because the northeast seasonal wind was not strong. There were no outsiders on the street, but just a few elders. As usual, the breakfast shop opened before six o’clock in the morning. I bought my breakfast for NT\$75 (about the same price as Taipei). On the way to the guesthouse, I stopped by Kaiyuan Harbor and saw a lot of tourists come out from the passenger ship-Star of Green Island (Figure 34). Led by the tour guide, tourists immediately rented and rode motorcycles on the streets. Suddenly, the peaceful atmosphere was broken, replaced by a turbulent one caused by human noises.



Figure 34 The scenario of tourists getting off the ferry at Kaiyuan Harbor

Anthropologist Yang Cheng-Hsieng has drawn a conclusion about the evolutionary relationship between that the tourists and Tao people.

*The historical experience reveals that there did not exist a friendly interaction between Tao people and tourists. However, with the growth of tourism development at Lanyu, the recent studies found that it seems Tao people have changed their attitude toward the tourism industry. Moreover, we can see Tao people aim to strengthen their ethnic consciousness and even the ethnic identification and cultural construction through the development of the tourism industry...*

In addition, developing tourism industry independently for accumulating physical capital is believed to help attract young islanders back to Lanyu. The newer anti-nuclear generation practically argues that “before participating in anti-nuclear movements, we should be full first!”

A few owners of guesthouses on the island told me,

*On the island 90% of guesthouses are operated by Tao people. (A Tao woman in her forties and running a guest house)*

*I came back here six years ago. Most Tao people go to high school in Taiwan and stay there to work after graduation. They would be back to the island in their thirties. I am almost 40 years old and feel it's time to come back to my hometown. In the beginning, I came to the nuclear waste repository to be a worker for organizing things. I was responsible for recording the numbers of the barrels of nuclear waste, including the numbers of the barrels taken out, the numbers of the barrels that needed reorganizing, and the numbers of the barrels with no need to reorganize. I wanted to quit after two days, because when I was doing the check-and-organization job and there always came some wind to my face. Because the barrels taken out were all rusted, the wind was blowing with the steel rust to my face. At the time, I only wore a regular cloth mask and the steel rust was blowing into my eyes and nose. I had a lot of mucus in my eyes and a stuffed-up nose, and I felt a little fear and thought that this job with radiation is very dangerous. So, I quit the job. Later on, I started a grocery store and I am also a tour guide now. Both I and my wife have gone through the tour guide training provided by the township office...Now, I am building this concrete house for running a guest house... (a 35-year-old Tao man)*

*The revenue of operating an art craftwork shop is most unstable. Tao people had better run a guest house or a restaurant that has a more stable revenue.... (a Tao woman in her forties with an art craftwork shop on the roadside of the round-the-island)*

*About six years ago, I and my husband came back to Lanyu. I am not a Tao aborigine, but my husband is. It's hard to make a living in an urban city after we married and had a baby. Besides, elders need to be taken care of. So, we came back. We have been selling BBQ food since we came back. In*

*the peak season, most of our guests are tourists, while in the slack season most of our guests are locals... (a Han daughter-in-law running a BBQ stall).*

*By the independent operation of guest houses and the tour guide illustrating the ecology and culture of Lanyu, we put ourselves on the status of equality for mutual understanding. I don't need to be obsequious to cater to tourists' demands. I would teach them what they need to be taught... (a thirty-year-old Tao boss of a guest house and a tour guide)*

Certainly, the host has the right to open or close any space of the house to the guests when hosting the party. Lanyu's experience of tourism development represents a type of cocoon with a certain degree of autonomy, which strengthens their own ethnic dignity and identity as well as enhances their capabilities of accumulating physical capital in the modern society.

### The New Meaning of Mobility

The movements across different communities can help explain their different economic statuses. For example, Gogia (<sup>297</sup>2006) discussed the issue of mobility by comparing the movement differences between the migrant laborers with economic disadvantages forced to work for another country and the tourists with the leisure purpose travelling to another country. It concluded that mobility is not a neutral concept, because different forms of mobility refill the inequity of actors' social and

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<sup>297</sup> Gogia, N. (2006). Unpacking corporeal mobilities: the global voyages of labor and leisure. *Environment & Planning A*, 38(2).

cultural ability. Thus, I paid more attention to Tao laborers' movements in the interviews.

*A long time ago, I told myself that if I don't have a big success in Taiwan, then I will be willing to come back Lanyu...Now, I really come back and I am lucky that I can do some business... (a Tao man in his forties with a guest house)*

*The tourism boom has been started perhaps five years ago. Since the Internet was invented, many people have started their business of guest houses and attract tourists by introducing the landscapes and culture via the Internet...Four years ago, I first started an art craftwork shop and then I started a bar. After making some money, I began to build the concrete house for operating a guest house...I think that Nantian villagers can do some small business like us. There are tourists visiting A-Lan-Yi Ancient Trail, so Nantian villagers can sell drinks and art craftwork. After making some money, like us they can build guest houses...(They) cannot wait for Taiwan Power Company's compensation money. The compensation money is not enough to buy food to make you feel full. Besides, the money is not supposed to be given to individual villagers, but should be used for local construction... (a Tao man in his forties and an owner of a guest house)*

According to my interviews, most contemporary Lanyu indigenous people are aware that pursuing economic independency can be only achieved by themselves rather than wandering in Taiwan to do labor-intensive jobs or relying on governmental subsidies. Some Tao people who make money from the tourism business are leaving Lanyu to learn new skills of tourism in the slack season. Some of them go to Taiwan to do temporary jobs or just take a vacation in Taiwan. Of course, there are still some Tao people staying at Lanyu and leading a

traditional life. Just like flying fishes' seasonal visit to Lanyu, Tao people keep moving back and forth between the big island and the small island. Different from before, now the Tao people's "movement" is a kind of autonomous movement and not a forced one.

Tao young generations are not forced to move to Taiwan to do lower-level jobs. Contrastingly, "tourism developed with autonomy" attracts the young generations of Taiwan to move to Lanyu to do service jobs at guest houses and restaurants. The general public calls the above-mentioned work mode "labor holiday", and Lanyu owners of guesthouses and restaurants call the young people "little helpers." Now, there are no official statistics or investigation about the number of little helpers at Lanyu. According to my observation, guesthouses with booming business will recruit young people from Taiwan via the Internet. For example, one Tao guest house posted a recruitment notice as follows.

*Recruiting little helpers in 2016*

*It's correct that we provide free lodging service. But we need your help ...  
(labor in exchange for lodging)*

*Work period: a short period up to 30 days. You can choose the  
hours-accumulation system, which is about two working days for one day  
off.*

*You can get a subsidy of NT\$ 2,000 for a round-trip boat ticket after  
finishing 150 working hours.*

*The average working hours are five per day. The morning shift is from 8:00  
to 14:00 (including one hour lunch time) and the night shift is from 14:00  
to 20:00 (including one hour dinner time). It is easy for two people to trade  
shifts.*

*Job description:*

*Female: Guesthouse cleaning from first floor to third floor. Sweep and mop the floor when there are no guests. Do wiping work when there are guests and assist preparing lunch and dinner. Spend some time helping little Tao students finish their homework.*

*Male: temporary workers for building the guest house. Fix the guest house or clean the shower room for scuba divers. Do in-house work on rainy days and sometimes do pick-up and drop-off service for guests.*

*Payroll: no breakfast. We provide lunch, dinner and lodging when on duty. We provide a subsidy of NT\$2,000 for a round-trip boat ticket after working for one month.*

*Benefits: We provide a motorcycle for a little helper at Lanyu. We provide one night-tour and one snorkeling trip.*

*Thank you for joining our family. Hope that you can have fun and gain a lot<sup>298</sup>.*

The job descriptions of little helpers at Tao guesthouses include housework, pick-up and drop-off service and preparation of meals, and the descriptions at Tao restaurants include guest reception and kitchen cleaning or purchasing of food, both of which are exactly the same as the job requirements that companies and restaurants in Taiwan ask indigenous people to fulfill. The work mode of a little helper created by Tao people not only breaks the myth that only business conglomerates can increase job opportunities by constructing grand hotels, but also it provides a job opportunity for non-indigenous people and helps them have more understanding of Lanyu culture.

With the trend of developing tourism industry autonomously at Lanyu, in the past Tao

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<https://travel.lanyu.info/news/common-news/%E8%98%AD%E5%B6%BC%E6%9C%88%E5%8F%B0%E7%9A%84%E5%AE%B6%E5%BE%B42016%E5%B0%8F%E5%B9%AB%E6%89%8B>

indigenous people were forced to move to Taiwan mainland to work, while now they are travelling to Taiwan to enjoy their vacation or learn relevant skills for developing tourism in the light season of the tourism industry. On the other hand, the autonomous tourism development makes Tao people become the real hosts. Tao people managing their guesthouses have started using the working-holiday mode to hire non-Tao employees from Taiwan. Lanyu's autonomous tourism development actually creates a win-win-win solution for Tao people, tourists and little helpers.

We are not selling our culture, but we are educating others instead.

Aside from the autonomies of economics and movement, the authority of cultural interpretation is also recovered through Tao tour guides. Tao tour guides not only introduce Tao culture, but also demonstrate their determination to protect their environmental autonomy. Table 10, which can be found at many websites of guesthouses or tourism sites, indicates the important reminders at Lanyu that tourists should be aware of. Since most tourists would search for the lodging information via the Internet before visiting Lanyu, these reminders could be internalized as tourists' common sense when visiting Lanyu. Thus, Tao people and tourists can have good cultural exchanges under a circumstance of mutual understanding.

Table 10 The important reminders to tourists made by Tao people

<p><b><u>Mutual respect and peaceful communication</u></b>          Since all villages at Lanyu are connected by the round-the-island road, tourists may not avoid contacting the living area of Tao people. The living culture of Tao people is very different from that of Taiwan. When entering Lanyu, tourists should behave as Tao people do and respect Lanyu customs. Do not intentionally criticize and mutually respect each other, and proceed to friendly communication.</p> <p>Do not enter or loiter at the local residents' houses. Do not peep at or point at the local people.</p> <p>Villagers always eat meals at the kiosk. Tourists do not interfere with their eating or observe and comment on their meals.</p>	<p><b><u>Respect rites and obey taboos</u></b>          Tao people have their own lunar calendar and seasonal rites and a set of taboos, which are the bases of their living norms. Tourists should hold a respectful manner in learning and experiencing Tao customs. When holding a traditional rite, please respect the local custom and taboos and do not intentionally interfere with rites and break the order.</p> <p><b>The flying fish season</b> starts from March to June or July every year. Please be attentive that female tourists are not allowed to touch the boats and do not get on the boat to take photos.</p> <p>If there is a funeral in a village, please do not speak loudly.</p> <p><i>Barringtonia asiatica</i> is regarded as one kind of evil tree by Tao people. Tourists must not bring its branches or leaves to Tao people' houses or intentionally put them on the <i>takakal</i>.</p> <p>Do not bring oranges to the seashore (especially in the flying fish season). Women cannot touch boats.</p>
<p><b><u>Respect privacy and no photos without permission</u></b></p> <p>Tao traditional underground house, <i>takakal</i>, and indigenous people with traditional clothes are the Tao features, which attract tourists' eyes. Do ask for permission from the aborigine(s) before taking photos of them in order to avoid conflicts.</p> <p>Willing asking: Do not arbitrarily take photos of underground houses, <i>takakal</i> and locals in order to avoid conflicts.</p> <p>Communication and coordination: Ask the tour guide to help communicate with locals and taking photos after making the deal.</p>	<p><b><u>Cherish nature and care for the environment</u></b></p> <p>Lanyu has abundant and valuable natural resources. Tao's life style that focuses on using natural resources sustainably maintains the original natural appearance.</p> <p>Do not arbitrarily pick or collect living things, throw garbage or damage the natural environment when entering Lanyu.</p> <p>It is not allowed to collect Lnyu's animals and plants including <i>Troides magellanus</i> (珠光鳳蝶), <i>birgus latro</i> (椰子蟹), <i>podocarpus macrophyllus</i> (羅漢松), <i>diospyros strigose</i> (毛柿), ivorywood (象牙木), <i>phalaenopsis</i> (蝴蝶蘭) and bring out of Lanyu according to the regulation of Taitung County Government Taitung government.</p>

Most tourists obey the reminders of Table 10 and only few of them would violate the requirements and viciously steal particular species of Lanyu plants. In general, it's difficult to catch the thief, because normally the thief has left the "Lanyu Nation"<sup>299</sup> by the time Tao

<sup>299</sup> "Lanyu Nation" is often addressed in Tao people's daily conversation and/or the discussion among the scholars concerning Lanyu's affairs.

people find the theft.

Tao people are proud of their culture and will make any effort to preserve it. They ask and educate tourists to respect Tao culture and to protect the environment of Lanyu Island together. The development of tourism by the locals has brought some beneficial effects, such as positive self-identity and environmental autonomy.

There are two kinds of Tao tour guides currently. One is only trying to make money from the tourism business and keeps a distance from anti-nuclear affairs, and the other aims for tourism profit that can be used to reject nuclear waste. Those Tao tour guides who are committed to the job of tour guide and the anti-nuclear mission never avoid mentioning the history and the current development of the anti-nuclear movement on Lanyu. In their Lanyu tourism map, it's easy to find the location of the nuclear waste repository. Tao people never hide where the nuclear waste repository is located.

Figure 35 is the round-the-island tourism map provided by the website of Tao United Guesthouse (Blue Front Door), on which you can find the nuclear waste repository in the south of Lanyu (Also written in both Chinese and Tao language). This map reflects the mindset of Tao people. In contrast, Figure 36 is provided by the township office, which neglects the location of the nuclear waste repository and represents the perspective of the state. In addition, the place names on the Tao map juxtaposed Chinese and Romanized Tao language, while the names on the township office map are represented by Chinese and its English translation. Tao people look forward to recovering the intimate relationship between humans and land by using original place names. It is more like an announcement that Lanyu is our land and our hometown. We have our own land and names. The map on the website

states as follows<sup>300</sup>.

*On common tourism maps of Lanyu, you can see many famous tourism sites such as Dragon-Head Rock and Tank Rock, which were named by the imaginations of Han tourists who used to visit Lanyu and even by some fake stories created by outsiders. In fact, these names reflect Han people's naïve imagination and unilateral interpretation and are meaningless in the context of Tao traditional culture. For example, on your first visit to New York, you may see a tall female statue, one hand holding a book and the other hand holding a torch high, within the sight of the city's skyline. You may give the statue a name like a gigantic statue simulating the ones from Greece or Rome...But, in fact it is the Statue of Liberty, which is a gift sent by France for the 100th anniversary of the independence of the United States and represents freedom and escape from tyranny. The names of Tao landscapes contain local people's understanding of the nature and the symbolic meanings of Tao society and culture, which is hard for outsiders to understand.*

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<sup>300</sup> <https://travel.lanyu.info/trip-info/map>



Figure 35 The tourism map provided by Tao guesthouses



This symbol on above map points to the nuclear waste repository in the south of Lanyu (Also written in both Chinese and Tao language)



Figure 36 The tourism map provided by Lanyu Township Office

Developing tourism provides a chance to attract Tao young generations to return to the island. The content that a Tao tour guide needs to learn not only includes the knowledge of modern tourism management, but also the history and legends of Tao people. I had a chance to attend a three-day workshop hosted by the Tourism Division of Taitung County and held at Lanyu, which aims at the management practices of guest house including the development modes and real cases of island tourism, room reservation management and the creation of an ecological image. I and a few Tao people engaging in the operation of guest houses went to attend this workshop. After that, I chatted with these guesthouses' employers in a kiosk. They evaluated this state-hosted workshop as follows.

*“Continued to mention hotels, but we Lanyu just have small guesthouses.”*

*“The host unit did not make (special) efforts (on us). The course design neglects our guesthouses’ demand...regarding the reservation deposit, tourists can ask guest houses in Taiwan to refund 40% of reservation deposits 4 to 6 days before the expected lodging date, while we guesthouses at Lanyu do not refund the reservation deposit within seven days of the expected lodging date. Since there are some special management practices applied at remote islands, it’s better to invite speakers from there, who have successful operational experiences of guesthouse”*

Tao guesthouse employers themselves also offer courses for tour guides, which cover important rites and ceremonies in the year, the introduction of the island history and the traditional underground house, Tao traditional botanical and ecological knowledge, explanation of traditional landscape and landscape names, illustration skills and the round-the-island tour-guide practice. The lecturers include Tao elders and important intellectuals of the first and the second generation of anti-nuclear movement<sup>301</sup>. Tao people autonomously attempt to develop an adequate mode of island tourism through tailor-made courses. The tourism mode of what Tao people have been trying to do matches the definition of indigenous tourism, stating that indigenous people are directly involved either through control and/or by having their culture serve as the essence of the attraction.

Developing indigenous tourism seems to be an important choice that helps Tao people recover their environmental autonomy under the oppression from the modern capitalist system and the colonized government. In the past, the weather (inconvenient sea transportation in winter due to strong northeast seasonal wind) is the main factor to alleviate

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<sup>301</sup> <https://travel.lanyu.info/%E9%83%A8%E8%90%BD%E8%A7%A3%E8%AA%AA%E5%93%A1>

the artificial damage brought by tourists. Now, developing indigenous tourism may also cause some damage to the natural environment and even traditional culture. However, indigenous tourism still can bring positive effects such as the enhancement of self -identity and environmental autonomy.

### The Door of Nuclear-Waste Tourism

Most tourists visiting Lanyu did not search tourism information from the state units, but from the websites of Tao guesthouses. More importantly, how do the tourists and young people doing “working holidays” evaluate the influences of nuclear waste on the tourists themselves? Would the tourists be afraid of visiting Lanyu when Tao people point out that there is a nuclear waste repository at Lanyu?

In fact, the Lanyu Nuclear Waste Repository is open to everyone with ID to visit inside. There is a tour guide explaining the repository facilities for the tourists and an introductory movie briefing the establishment of the repository. Before leaving, the repository will give every visitor a small exquisite gift. In the summer of 2014, like a tourist I first came visit the nuclear waste repository. In the afternoon of the day, the temperature was approaching 36 degrees Celsius. It’s wet and hot. Most tourists riding motorcycles directly passed by the nuclear waste repository without seeing the giant trenches for burying nuclear waste inside the repository. I alone entered the repository.



Figure 37 The nuclear waste repository on Lanyu Island. The name on the front entrance only shows “the repository site of Lanyu”, omitting the sensitive vocabulary “nuclear”.

At the entrance of the repository (Shown as Figure 37) there was a Tao guard on duty, who led me into the administrative building in the repository after leaving my ID. Another Tao middle-aged female receptionist and also a tour guide took me to an auditorium to watch a ten-minute film entitled “The advocacy of Lanyu Repository.” The film highlighted that the repository is very safe, and displayed its efforts in maintaining the environmental sustainability of Lanyu. In addition, TPC has been doing its best in playing a role of a good neighbor and will work together with Tao people to develop a better future for Lanyu. After watching the film, I got an exquisite small gift- eco-friendly chopsticks. Later, the tour guide took me to look around the ditches in the repository, where the nuclear waste has been put over three decades. She said,

*You see, our park (the repository) grows vegetables because the freighters won't come when there is a strong wind. So, we TPC repository's employees grow vegetables for ourselves...Therefore, there is absolutely no problem about land pollution...To tell the truth, those anti-nuclear Tao people in fact object for no reason. The nuclear waste is safe and not harmful to us...*

Her statement is very consistent with the position of TPC. The wounds resulting from fighting against the outside enemies are similar to the surgical wounds, which can be seen and dealt with, and can be healed after debridement which is the process of removing the inflamed and damaged tissues to improve healing. However, there is an irreconcilable and nervous relationship between her and her anti-nuclear family members. Rejecting nuclear waste is not only a protesting relationship between Tao people and TPC (the state), but also a source that can tear apart a harmonious family relationship. Like an internal injury, the injured family relationship caused by the nuclear waste stored at Lanyu is difficult to detect and hence be repaired. Furthermore, it is difficult to predict its side-effects and complications.

In my second visit to the nuclear waste repository, I was going with one Tao person and five Han anti-nuclear NGO members. They used anti-nuclear flags to cover their backs except me and registered to enter the repository. When we were coming into the repository, the repository head and two TPC workers reminded us that *"Since your particular identification and standpoint, please do not take a film, photo and record. You are only allowed to look around."* This reminder made the anti-nuclear visitors feel unfairly treated and dissatisfied. The repository head once more reminded us, *"Here is my place, so you should respect my rules and regulations."* This sentence became the trigger point of their subsequent oral fight. The Tao anti-nuclear aborigine argued that TPC illegally plunders Tao's

land and hence TPC does not deserve the right to claim the repository is its place. Finally they separated angrily.

In my third visit to the nuclear waste repository, I went with my American dissertation advisor and one Taiwanese anthropologist. As normal tourists, we could take photos and films. The repository led us to look around the environment of the nuclear waste repository. Like my first visit here, we all got exquisite small gifts and an official introductory film for our reference.

Tourists surely know where the nuclear waste repository is, but due to health concerns they are not willing to expose themselves in front of the nuclear waste. Staying at a guest house operated by a Tao aborigine, I have chances to chat with many tourists. Some of them told me, *“I know where the nuclear waste repository is. It won't hurt since I only stay here for two days.”* When riding my motorcycle and passing by the nuclear waste repository, I always saw many tourists standing at the entrance of the nuclear waste repository, which is near an important tourism site-Dragon Rock. However, tourists just took photos at the entrance of the nuclear waste repository and didn't come to visit it (Shown as Figure 38). I once asked a woman in her twenties the reason why she was unwilling to visit the repository for free. She answered me, *“I know there is a lot of nuclear waste. I am afraid of radiation. I am not married and don't have kids yet.”* Another little helper working for a restaurant told me, *“My mom said that it's fine to work here for one month, but I cannot marry a guy living at Lanyu because Lanyu has nuclear waste.”* Although tourists and temporary workers are not very worried about the radiation threat in the short period, they are still anxious over whether there is a long-term effect of nuclear waste on humans' health. Regarding Tao people who don't want to leave their homeland, it's sad to say that all they can do now is to keep tolerating this

kind of psychological burden and potential threats.



Figure 38 Tourists just took photos at the entrance of the nuclear waste repository and didn't come in to visit it

### A Two-Edged Knife of Tourism Development at Lanyu Island

The most apparent change that developing tourism brings to Lanyu Island is the destruction of external cultural forms such as building cement houses by themselves without proper licenses and no agreements among the islanders (Shown as Figure 39).



Figure 39 *The changes of the external cultural form*

*In recent years, there has been a boom of guest house industry. Tao people begin to earn money. The scale of the guest house is getting bigger and bigger, while the architectural style of guest house has gradually lost the spirit of Tao culture little by little because there does not exist a unit to make a comprehensive construction plan and to regulate those owners of guest houses (a Tao woman in her forties and an owner of a grocery store).*

*Like this guest house in front us, the owner of the guest house did not communicate with us. It was built very high and we cannot see the ocean from our house any more... (a Tao woman in her forties and an owner of a guest house)*

*We Tao people actually don't like owls. We feel like that they are the incarnation of Anito (evil spirits) and dislike their voice. We believe that the bad fortune would be coming soon if an owl came to our house...However,*

*tourists feel that Lanyu's owl (角鼻), only found at Lanyu, is very cute, so the tour guide would arrange a night tour to find owls. Moreover, a lot of guest houses and restaurants decorate their walls by the owl icon and owl decorations. Our elders definitely don't dare to enter these buildings... (a Tao woman in her thirties and an owner of a arts and crafts store)*

Where the contemporary self-directed tourism development impacts Lanyu is in the core value changes. Elders worry about losing the traditional norms since younger islanders are inclined to put money on the top of the priority list in the modern society. I and one Tao woman discussed the social value changes of Tao male people after dinner in a kiosk of her house.

*In the traditional social value, men shouldn't be too proud, they have to be grateful to work for the tribe, have a happy marriage with great skills in fishing and house building, and finally, they should help their wives in taking care of the field of water taro(a Tao woman in her forties and an owner of a guest house)*

Another woman also mentioned that tourism has changed their value on land.

*In the traditional social value, the land that was the farthest and highest was the best because it meant it was closer to the water source and meant the landowner is diligent. However, tourism changed the land value. Now it is the land nearer to the round-island road that is the best (a Tao woman in her forties and a Tao NGO's staff)*

Driven by the monetary incentive of developing the tourism industry, what Tao intellectuals worry about is if Tao people can be untangled from the loathsome historical experience of being observed by tourists and firmly possess the subjectivity and the authority of interpretation of the tourism industry without losing too much of their core values. One Tao intellectual said.

*...We don't have choices. That is our decision. We surely have to make decisions and determine our future by ourselves. But, we Tao people' eagerness for cash has almost destroyed the good spirit of traditional culture. What have we sacrificed for making money and convenience? Before we can make the decision by ourselves, we must have a good sense making of ourselves (A Tao minister in her fifties).*

But, what is the content of self-consciousness? What are we worried about that we would lose again? Another Tao intellectual and also a literature writer seemed to answer this question in my interview.

*Tao young generations don't go to mountains and ocean, but just talk about the least valuable word- "culture" and go to be tour guides. Culture turns out to be "talking", instead of "doing". It (Culture) has not been practiced. Culture should be a kind of life, a kind of action...*

Indeed, Syaman Rapongan's few words point out the biggest potential problem at Lanyu, which is that the relationships between humans and land, and between humans and ocean, have been changed. Nowadays, Tao people interact with the environment just by talking

rather than by doing, reflecting a huge change. In the past, Tao people going to Taiwan to make money was a situation that forced Tao people to be separated from the environment. Now, because of the development of tourism, Tao people could stay and/or return to Lanyu. But, it's actually another way to reconnect human and the environment. No one knows the correct direction where they should go, but at least Tao people can decide which way they want to go ahead...

Another advantage of the development under tourism autonomy is also a disadvantage. There does not exist a comprehensive plan for development under tourism autonomy, resulting in conflicts between the customary laws (taboos) and the state's laws (regulations to tourism guest houses) when managing the tourism industry at Lanyu. According to the database of legal guest houses of the Tourism Bureau in 2016, there are 1,400 guest houses in Taiwan. Among them, there are around 300 in Hualien County and Nantou County, providing sufficient accommodation of lodging. For the sake of safety, the Tourism Bureau suggests tourists should choose the lodging sites after credit check and confirmation through the official website of the Tourism Bureau. I have found that there are 61 registered guest houses and 12 hotels in Taitung County, but none of them at Lanyu<sup>302</sup>.

Since the governmental website cannot offer sufficient information about Lanyu, tourists need to go the websites of guest houses at Lanyu to collect relevant traveling information. The website The Door to Lanyu is operated by the owners of the guest houses at Lanyu, on which you can find much detailed information about lodging service, restaurants, tour guides, labor holiday and articles from the Lanyu local magazines and anthropologists. The Door to Lanyu has gained a high reputation on the Internet. In order to protect Lanyu's autonomy of

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<sup>302</sup> The website for searching for guesthouses provided by the Tourism Bureau. taiwan.net.tw

tourism development, since 2016 it has declined to provide information of the guest houses operated by nonlocal people. That is a way to reject others' attempt to dominate the tourism development of Lanyu.

Now, the tourism development of Lanyu Township is almost completely dominated by Tao people. Tourists choose tourism and lodging services at Lanyu through sharing and word-of-mouth information on the Internet. It's a free market mechanism and nothing to with the tourism policies of the state. Lanyu is now in a situation of one state with two systems, at which tourists are allowed to travel without holding a passport and visa. But, there is a concern that because tourists and the owners of guest houses are beneficial to each other on the basis of mutual trust, they also share the risk of accidental events and conflicts.

## Conclusion

This chapter starts from the discussion of the closer relationship between Lanyu and Batan Island than that between Lanyu and Taiwan. Tao people on Lanyu Island do not identify themselves as one of the Taiwanese aboriginal groups, but strongly recognize the ethnic relationship with Batanes islanders, who have different nationality (Philippine). Under this premise, in Tao people' eyes both the Japanese colonial government and the government of Republic of China are definitely outsiders. The former plundered Tao land by force; the latter by the state laws. Under the threat of the "strangers" with hegemonic power, the relationship between Tao people and land has become closer and so is the relationship among Tao people. Tao people' desire to be autonomous and independent is getting stronger and stronger.

In the past, the relationships between Tao people and land, and Tao people and ocean are self-evident. Both the ownership and the land-use right have a clear relationship associated with the right and obligation. Based on the unit of a village, there are clear private and public land boundaries. There are also boundaries for the rights on the ocean and the right to use water for irrigation and daily life. These boundaries are flexible given the change of interpersonal relationships (gift or punishment) or the change of family relationships (marriage or divorce). However, the state attempts to use the regulation of land registration to replace Tao customary laws. From the standpoint of the state, the regulation of land registration helps the state manage the state land, but it cannot adjust to respond to the flexibility of Tao customary laws regarding land ownership. It's very difficult to implement the regulation of land registration at Lanyu, and the regulation has even created many land disputes. In reality, Tao people do not regard land as a kind of capital that can be owned or traded with money. Tao land can be exchanged, inherited, given and compensated on the basis of their customary laws. Like a family member, Tao people need to take care of the land and develop feelings for the land, so that they can obtain the land ownership.

In the early years of the tourism industry at Lanyu, outsiders rent the aboriginal reserve land from a few Tao people to develop tourism business through utilizing the loopholes in the state laws. Since Tao people were not familiar with the state laws and the game rules of capitalism, they began to lose their land. However, most Tao people still follow the traditional mode of interacting with land and ocean and keep their particular traditional ecological knowledge including Tao men's ocean ecological knowledge and Tao females' field ecological knowledge.

During the Japanese colonization period, the consideration that the colonizing government tried to provide a field for Japanese scholars to study Tao culture helped to preserve the close relationship between Tao people and the land and ocean. After Japan was defeated in World War II, the national government came to Taiwan and started the Han hegemonic cultural invasion of Lanyu. In order to bring Tao people a modernized, cultivated and Sinicized life, the state power collected some Lanyu land for state use including the construction of jails for felons and the nuclear waste repository. The state hegemony has redistributed Lanyu space for land administration and control.

The involvement of the state power is the start of the demonstration of the state's hegemony, which makes Tao people respond to the hegemony through collective passive aggression and/or active aggression such as disobedience to state laws and regulations (collective passive aggression) and the protest against the construction of the nuclear waste repository and the ready-concrete plant on Land Number 7 (collective active aggression).

The anti-nuclear movement has been initiated for over three decades, which covers three Tao generations. In the history of the anti-nuclear movement at Lanyu, the Presbyterian churches indeed play a role of yeast to awaken, facilitate and promote the anti-nuclear movement. Although there are other Christian religions and a few Han religions, yet the Presbyterian churches are the major strength in support of the anti-nuclear movement. Tao people who have different faiths and politics have united to fight with the external threats, because they only have one common faith that there is only one Tao island and it cannot be divided and bullied. The unique cross-religion joint worship meeting exactly represents Lanyu's experience of a fortunate community. The

followers from different Christian religions get together annually to pray for Lanyu Island. Leaders from different Christian religions take turns to preach to the congregation for soothing the historical trauma by colonial injuries and enhancing their strength to fight with the external disturbing forces.

How can the independent villages form a consensus in fighting with the external threats? Why is the will to reject nuclear waste so strong? This strength even made the President of the Republic of China publicly apologize to Tao people on August 1<sup>st</sup>, 2016 for forcing them to accept the nuclear waste.<sup>303</sup> Forming a consensus requires access to diversified and updated information. Compared to other Taiwanese aboriginal ethnic groups, Lanyu has independent media including Lanyu Radio Station and the biweekly local newspaper established by Lan An Cultural and Educational Foundation of the Presbyterian Church, and magazines published by the Tao young generations. The existence of local media is a necessary condition for forming a consensus to reject nuclear waste at Lanyu. Although Taiwan Power Company also publishes the monthly magazine- *Good Neighbors*, its impact is far less significant than the ones created by Tao people.

Religion has both positive and negative effects on Lanyu's land administration. In the present, the forbidden areas can be developed because of the introduction of Christian gospel. On the one hand, Tao people have to protect Lanyu's mountains and ocean since they are God's territory and gifts that need to be taken care of. On the other hand, because Christianity broke the taboo of the use of forbidden areas, more space has been developed and hence less space can be reserved for living things in nature.

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<sup>303</sup> President Tsai apologizes to indigenous peoples on behalf of government  
<http://english.president.gov.tw/Default.aspx?tabid=491&itemid=37801&rmid=2355>

Lanyu's land development is highly associated with its economic development. Since the state's open-door policy was implemented, capitalism has been introduced to Lanyu. Under the logic of capitalism, indicators such as high unemployment rate and high percentage of low-income households reveal Tao people have become marginalized like other Taiwanese indigenous people. Tao people originally did not need cash, and made a living relying on the mountains and the ocean. But, when they went away from the land and the ocean Tao people began to need cash. Tao people migrating to Taiwan are eager to go back to Lanyu because they can only find labor-intensive jobs and always perceive themselves as guests in Taiwan.

The development of tourism is an opportunity to help Tao people be their own bosses, although their experience was not very good in the early development period. The tourism industry was completely controlled by Han people, even though this kind of tourism was called "mountain people (*shanbao* 山胞, imply barbarian) tourism" (<sup>304</sup>Hsieh 1994). During this period, tourism meant others arranging indigenous peoples and aboriginal culture for tourists. Hsieh hoped that someday indigenous peoples could develop "indigenous tourism", which is a type of tourism in which indigenous peoples can decide the representation of their culture by themselves. In the most recent ten years, we may say Tao people have made efforts in developing indigenous tourism. That is to say, Tao people have recovered the autonomy of tourism.

According to Tao people' observation, indigenous tourism has been developed in

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<sup>304</sup> Hsieh, Shih-Chung (1994). The Tourism Mode among Aboriginal Area: The Mode in Lanyu. In *Aboriginal Tourism: The Anthropologic Interpretation of Local Native Culture Exhibition*. (1st ed., p. 29). Taipei: Independent Evening Post.  
(謝世忠. (1994). 生活區的山胞觀光：蘭嶼模式. In *山胞觀光：當地山地文化展現的人類學詮釋* (1st ed., p. 29). 台北：自立晚報社.)

the last seven to ten years. Tao people build their own guest houses and restaurants, train Tao tour guides by themselves and establish an entrance website to provide information on lodging and other services at Lanyu. 90 percent of guest houses on Lanyu are operated by Tao people, even though they are all technically illegal because they cannot meet the requirements of the state laws. Thus, both Tao people and the local government hope that the state can modify (localize/ adapt) the laws to help Lanyu tourism obtain legitimacy.

Several anthropologists have explored the relationship between tourism, cultural survival/revival and identity. Tourism, of course, never has an entirely positive or negative impact, yet much of this literature looks at tourism from mainly one or the other perspective. Those who concentrate more on the negative aspects have highlighted how indigenous people become pawns in the tourism industry. They talk about people “selling themselves” or “prostituting themselves” to the industry and losing their sense of cultural identity in the process. Others, however, and especially some recent indigenous scholars, have emphasized the positive aspects of tourism. They discuss examples where tourism is taken into the hands of the local inhabitants, and then enhances economic self-sufficiency, cultural survival, and indigenous identity. The development of indigenous tourism at Lanyu may be a good case to juxtapose the positive and negative effects discussed above.

Indigenous tourism, the contemporary anti-nuclear movement, environmental protection and economic transformation are simultaneously developing. Modern anti-nuclear protesters propose that Tao people have to pursue economic independence in advance, so that they can initiate anti-nuclear movement. When leading tourists around

Lanyu, the Tao tour guides also advise tourists to protect the environment and get rid of garbage, including the garbage of daily life and the garbage of nuclear power, to avoid polluting the land and ocean. Developing indigenous tourism helps Tao people return to Lanyu to be their own hosts. They can decide what cultural content, such as Tao traditional ecological knowledge, they want to deliver to tourists, which is a process to recover their culture and also a process to strengthen their ethnic identity. Tao people don't think they are selling their culture, but they are teaching tourists how to understand their culture through indigenous tourism. Indigenous tourism even changes the direction of immigrant workers. In the past, Tao people moved to Taiwan to find lower-level jobs, while in present-day Taiwan young generations search for the opportunity of labor holiday working as little helpers for Lanyu guest houses. In addition to filling the gap of the labor demand, the working mode of labor holiday also provides Taiwanese young generations a chance to deeply understand the essence of Tao culture.

Certainly, Tao people are also aware of the disorder brought by the rapid tourism development. The external disorder comes from the lack of a holistic planning for the island design and the lack of cultural content represented in the new buildings. The internal disorder comes from the change of the value system. Tourism development pulls Tao people away from the land and ocean and instead makes them pursue a money-oriented lifestyle. Therefore, the so-called culture is no longer as a kind of authentic culture through practicing, but a fake culture through talking. This worry is noteworthy to Tao people to consider how they can pursue tourism development for supporting the anti-nuclear movement.

In general, my Lanyu field work reveals that the particular geographic location,

cultural integrity, indigenous-tourism economy and the tolerance among different religions are critical factors that help Tao people maintain the intimate relationship between humans and land, and between humans and ocean, which further consolidates Tao people' environmental autonomy. Environmental autonomy empowers Tao people to consistently insist on rejecting nuclear waste, but it also challenges Tao people to find the balance point between economic development and environmental sustainability in the future.

## Conclusions

The overarching question in the current study is why people have different attitudes on the issue of nuclear waste. Compared to Paiwan villagers' mostly positive attitude, almost all Tao islanders have been demonstrating strong opposition toward nuclear waste. Drawing from the previous literature on nuclear power issues, three theoretical perspectives including environmental justice, sense of place and tourism are used to interpret why the focused indigenous communities hold different attitudes toward nuclear waste. Particularly, in order to integrate the multiple sources to explain the formation of the attitude toward nuclear waste, I tried to develop a new concept based on my field work- a fluid relationship between people and land, which reflects the indigenous' view of nature and the spatiotemporal influences from the contextual factors including the geography, economic system, colonized history and religion. The field study reveals that the stronger the relationship between people and land, the more likely people would reject the nuclear waste repository plan on their homeland. More importantly, as a role of bridge, the concept of environmental autonomy is very helpful to predict the indigenous people's attitude toward the nuclear waste.

### One Nuclear Waste, Two Different Voices.

One Nantian elder said, "If nuclear waste is a good thing, why don't they just put it in Taipei?". Basically, old villagers hold a negative attitude toward nuclear waste. However, most Nantian young villagers told me, "Of course, nuclear waste has a little danger. But, our Nantian lands are not fertile and hence we cannot have good development here. Moreover, the village is almost flooded by the raising sea level, while the government does not care

about us. What we can do is to hope Taiwan Power Company's compensation money could help us out of the predicament." The two different voices on nuclear waste at Nantian reflect the old generation's elders' limited understanding of nuclear waste and the young generation's worries about the local economic development and the emerging threat of survival. To counter current adversities, Nantian villagers are forced to exchange their homeland for better living conditions, and hence tend to support the nuclear waste repository plan. Similarly, there are also two contrasting opinions on nuclear waste at Lanyu. The majority of Lanyu indigenous people think storing nuclear waste at Lanyu is a policy of exterminating the whole island because the government did not communicate with them before storing nuclear waste on their homeland. Since then, most Tao people have continued rejecting nuclear power and any interferences or policies from the government trying to change their daily life. Relatively few Lanyu indigenous people choosing to support the nuclear waste repository plan argue there is no evidence that show nuclear waste has a direct detrimental influence on human bodies, while their welfare will be influenced by those who insist on rejecting nuclear waste.

In my fieldwork, I discovered that Nantian Village and Lanyu Island have very different experiences of resettlement. This historical difference also helps to explain the difference stances on storing nuclear waste. Although Nantian Village is my hometown, yet it wasn't until the fieldwork that gave me the opportunity to research the history in detail that I eventually found that Nantian is an immigrant village (or perhaps more accurately a resettlement village) with populations from different villages – an important process that contributed to the current social and political conditions of the local society. This was a common and predominant experience in the indigenous society in Taiwan that took place

during the Japanese colonial period in which villages were merged or consolidated to make them more accessible for political control and enable economic exploitation (timber production, etc.). Unlike Nantian Village, Lanyu Island is a unique case in which indigenous people had remained in place with a stable social structure until recent decades. It is good to be explicit about the important different attitudes toward nuclear waste between Nantian villagers and Lanyu islanders.

In the case of Lanyu, although having remained in place, the villages experienced different degrees of intrusion and influence from outside, particularly between villages in the front and back faces of the mountains. The frontfacing regions include Lanyu's west shore, which faces Mainland Taiwan. This region also includes airports, ports, hotels, and government institutions, revealing that this region as a whole has been influenced more by the outside world compared to the backfacing regions. Although the west (front) and east (back) sides of Lanyu have varying amounts of influence from the outside, in general, Tao people are together when facing forces threatening to divide them. They believe that Tao People and their land should be able to coexist in harmony, no matter the internal differences. This belief that ties them together can be seen when they are able to mend the religious differences in the island. It's remarkable that despite the differences—every village and Christianity branch is autonomous—Tao people of Lanyu are unified for the most part in their opposition against nuclear waste.

Through the support of the root organizations and international Christian organizations and the delivery of clear anti-nuclear statements to the outside, the anti-nuclear movement has turned into a kind of ethnic movement and not just a movement for environmental justice. Neither the concept of environmental justice nor the sufferings from the colonial history can simply explain why the two indigenous communities possess different attitudes toward

nuclear waste. In fact, the most basic reason may be the intersubjective relationship between the natural environment and indigenous peoples. That is to say, we cannot explain the indigenous' view of environmental justice from the environment alone, instead we need to see their relationship with nature as an intersubjective one. The way the indigenous peoples sense a place and the way they make a place are intersubjective. There does not exist a principle that directs the indigenous peoples to manage nature, but a principle that instructs indigenous peoples to beneficially and reciprocally interact with the nature.

### The Sense of Nantian Village and the Sense of Lanyu Island

I have avoided treating the two villages (places) in my study as the proxies for Paiwan and Tao cultures as a whole respectively. Let places themselves reflect the realities on the decision making of nuclear waste repository. It helps me break the stereotype that Paiwan people are so myopic that they can accept a nuclear waste repository in their homeland and that Tao people resist nuclear waste repository just because they found they had been cheated over several decades. Through the participant observation in the two field studies, I tried to delineate how the local people sense their place by observing their behaviors, opinions, sense of time, sense of space, animals, plants and landscape changes. Then, I considered whether different senses of place would result in different attitudes toward nuclear waste.

Indigenous studies showing indigenous people have more emphasis of place rather than emphasis of time is introduced to illustrate the very difference between anthropologists and subjects. This argument has been verified in my two field studies. The local people tend to tell their stories by sites and landmarks and seldom tell stories

in chronological order. At Nantian, the landscape changes such as the rising sea level and the shaky house foundations show the villagers' anxiety and the crisis of survival. In front of the households the wide Tai-26 Highway has connected Nantian to the external communities and cities and hence facilitates the interaction with outside as well as the increased traffic danger. The stinking smell from the shrimp farms delivers the signal that Nantian cannot effectively manage public businesses, the stone in the ancestor spirit house reveals a complicated story intertwined by the traditional culture and the contemporary state bureaucracy. Only a few people can tell huge controversies hidden behind the seemingly peaceful nuclear waste repository candidate site without any apparent landmarks....

At Lanyu as well, every landmark has a story. Even the animals and plants on the island can narrate the principle of how Tao people should interact with nature. These landmarks show truthfully how Tao people can connect the relationship between people and land into economic, social, cultural and environmental practices. The Tao culture appeared to maintain a high degree of integration in terms of their economic, social, cultural and environmental practices. In the island, one can spot numerous plots of Tao Taro field farmed by Tao women; one can spot flocks of Tao canes, *Tatala*, built by Tao men. Many Tao women continue to engage in subsistence farming and Tao men keep fishing. In terms of farming, the cultivation of Taro is not only important to consumption and traditional diet, but also as an indicator of one's wealth and social status. The display and sharing of abundant taros during the completion celebration of a house (itself a symbol of social status) is critical to the owner. In terms of fishing, the allocation of different species based on gender and age reveals an important resource management practice that avoids over- exploitation of particular species. The collective fishing

effort especially catching flying fish also ensures that traditional practices are maintained.

Altogether, the interconnectivity has contributed to a stronger people-environment relationship at Lanyu.

In particular, Tao people's working and living schedules are in accordance with the season of flying fish. These nonverbal local narratives are the presence of how Tao people sense their island. Rodman (1992) points out that 'narratives of places are not just told with words; they can be told and heard with senses of other than speech and hearing' (305p.649). In addition to texts, a variety of things such as landscapes and sensory systems can also help anthropologists represent the reality of place.

More importantly, regarding the anti-nuclear movement in indigenous communities, the voices from the space of social media cannot be neglected when discussing about the information of diffusion and communication of anti-nuclear waste on the research issue relating to place and space. Peoples from these two field sites have very different reliance on the usage of social media to deal with local affairs. Certainly, they also have different perceptions on the usage of social media. According to the Table 11, we can clearly see the differences between these two sites. Compared to Lanyu Island, the abnormal demographic structure of Nantian Village implies residents have limited information extraction ability, which results in the greater reliability on traditional communication channels. Furthermore, it eventually creates a negative cycle.

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305 Rodman, M. C. (1992). Empowering place: Multilocality and multivocality. *American Anthropologist*, 94(3).

Table 11 The voices from the space of social media

	Nantian Village	Lanyu Island
Demographic Structure	Abnormal demographic structure: elders, children, and people with disabilities.	Normal demographic structure
Information extraction ability	Weak	Strong
Communication forms Traditional vs. Contemporary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Face to face conversation</li> <li>● Local public affairs information is diffused by the village head office.</li> <li>● Only one private group on Facebook for public affairs of Nantian Village.</li> <li>● Receiving outside information mainly by national TV channels and newspapers.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Face to face conversation</li> <li>● Different types of local social media:                             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Biweekly since 1985</li> <li>• The radio station- Lanyu Voice FM 99.5</li> <li>• Many self-initiated platforms on Facebook and blogs</li> </ul> </li> </ul>

## Place Remaking- the Presence of Resilience by Ecotourism and Cultural Tourism

Having suffered from the flooding threat to the village, low quality of medical care and education, and less developed local economy, Nantian villagers feel helpless and look forward to dealing with their inferior living conditions by using Taiwan Power Company's nuclear waste compensation fund, since the government has long neglected Nantian villagers' predicament. In contrast, because of the distrust of the government and the geographic isolation from the Taiwan mainland, Tao people at Lanyu do not think they are laggard or need to be changed, and certainly they would not expect that the government or Taiwan Power Company could help them escape from the threat of nuclear waste.

Lanyu people and island are united in their common destiny. Through developing eco-tourism and cultural tourism, Tao people try to build up an economically independent economy, by which Tao people could defend against and prevent governmental interference and protect their unpolluted environment and homeland. Tao people strongly insist that they are the only people who do have the right to decide their destiny and the future of the island.

How could indigenous peoples establish their own survival space? The poverty of indigenous communities has been regarded as part of historical trauma or structural violence (<sup>306</sup>Peña 2011), and the current study further reveals that the most important factor to cause the poverty of indigenous peoples is the fractured and alienated relationship between people and land, which not only reflects the different traumatic experiences on land and the suffering colonial histories at Nantian and Lanyu, but also eventually results in two opposite attitudes toward nuclear waste at the two field sites.

The present study found that reconnecting people and land may be a critical factor to enhance the strength of indigenous resilience. Indigenous peoples cannot forget and overlook the wounds from the history of colonialism, self-pity, and passive discourse that would not help them recover from the existing sufferings. There have been many important studies regarding the indigenous contemporary issues such as committing suicide, alcoholic abuse and poverty. But, more importantly, we should try to find the factors that motivate indigenous peoples to initiate the positive resilient force after oppression (<sup>307</sup>Denham 2008). In the current study, the

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<sup>306</sup> Peña, D. G. (2011). Structural Violence, Historical Trauma, and Public Health: The Environmental Justice Critique of Contemporary Risk Science and Practice. *Communities, Neighborhoods, and Health, Social Disparities in Health and Health Care*, 1(3), 203–218. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4419-7482-2\\_11](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4419-7482-2_11)

<sup>307</sup> Denham, A. R. (2008). Rethinking historical trauma: narratives of resilience. *Transcult Psychiatry*. 2008 Sep;45(3):391-414, 45(3), 391–414.

Lanyu case is a typical example demonstrating strong resilience from the historical and contemporary sufferings. Compared to other indigenous ethnic groups in Taiwan, Tao people keep maintaining the close relationship with land and ocean, which helps them possess stronger anti-nuclear attitude and powerful resilience. When the state tried persuading Tao people to accept the governmental policies for the purpose of management or development, Tao people firmly defended their core value on the basis of intersubjective relationship between people, land and ocean and determinately rejected the state's interferences.

The sovereignty of indigenous people has been always an important issue of indigenous movements, and the returning of land rights is still the most critical issue up to now in Taiwan. Notably, indigenous peoples should not aim only to get back the right of land management, but also to rebuild the relationship between people and land, so that this kind of relationship can be sustainable. Land is not an object, instead it is an existence coexisting with indigenous peoples intersubjectively. If contemporary indigenous peoples misunderstand or overlook the importance of the intersubjectivity between people and land, it would be less effective and/or sustainable to indigenous people who are trying to be resilient to suffering through tourism development and cultural renaissance. That Tao people retain the intersubjective relationship between people and land to develop eco-tourism and cultural tourism is the way that Tao people remake their place. They are seeking the most appropriate economic model for themselves and the environment as well. Tao people are vigilant to the external forces and actively defend their sovereignty of developing tourism. Although Tao people own the right to develop their tourism industry, yet in fact there is no development consensus among the six villages such as the construction norm or standard for the guesthouses and the activity limits during the flying fish season. In a nutshell, we hope that in order for environmental

sustainability indigenous peoples should follow the principle of intersubjectivity between people and land to develop the local tourism industry.

## Dependency and Autonomy

Paiwan society had a strict social hierarchical system, in which the chieftain was responsible for taking care of the underprivileged minority or vulnerable people. However, the colonial governances plundered the land belonging to the chieftain and hence deprived the chieftain of his or her traditional role and legitimacy. Now, the contemporary Paiwan chieftain is only a symbolic figure without substantial authority. Although the Paiwan indigenous people living at Nantian Village have been cultivated by the colonial cultures, yet the Paiwan traditional sponsorship culture, with dominant people looking after the vulnerable, still exists. In daily life, you can easily hear the sentences of “sponsorship” such as “you got your salary today and how about sponsoring a few cans of beer!” In the important village events, wealthy people would actively or passively speak out what they want to sponsor with either money or physical products. Villagers with less financial resources would contribute their labor and time to help those who need help. The community culture of mutual support has been preserved at Nantian Village. As a result, villagers that support or reject the nuclear waste repository plan would not suspect the particular purpose of Taiwan Power Company’s sponsorship to the village events. Paiwan indigenous people also extend the concept of sponsorship to the state’s social welfare policies. Most Nantian households are low-income families and villagers do not think their land has economic value for development. They are an economically marginalized group, who are incapable of developing their economy with limited resources and hence need the sponsorship from the government. There has been developing a dependent relationship between the community without useful land, Nantian Village in current study, and the state.

In contrast, Lanyu tries to reject any sponsorship from the nation such as the national park plan or the special economic zone project. Tao people don't trust and are reluctant to cooperate with the government. The independency and the strong will of Tao people recalled the most impressive memory when I entered Lanyu to conduct the field study, which is a scenario that a lot of goats wander on the round-the-island road (Figure 40 and 41). Those goats look like wild animals, but one Tao friend told me they actually belong to different families. "But, how do they identify those goats belonging to which families? They all look very similar!" I asked. My Tao friend answered me, "Every family can distinguish their own goats from those of other families, because Tao people give their goats a family mark, when they were born, for identification. Goats are popular "landscapes" for tourism photos (Figure 42), but they are also regarded as an indicator of backwardness and the source of insanitation because of the excreta left by the non-captive goats and pigs.



Figure 40 Goats on the round-the-island-road. When they see cars going by, they will automatically stay to the roadsides.



Figure 41 The crowd of goats after sunset at the round-the-island-road 's cliff.



Figure 42 A pig wandering on the round-the-island-road. A tourist stopped in curiosity.

In order to develop the local tourism industry, the Taitung County government has initiated a competition of environmental sanitation and Lanyu Township has come in last place over the past eight years consecutively. Although the Lanyu Township head has kept encouraging Tao people to switch to the farm-raised mode, yet it is not a usual way that Tao people have long interacted with animals. The goats are really a big threat to the agricultural crops, while Tao people don't think penning is a good way to deal with the threat as goats can

easily escape from the pen. In fact, Tao people respond to the goat thereat in a very opposite way: they build up the fences surrounding the fields, preventing the goats from eating the agricultural crops. Hence, goats and Tao people can freely wander on the road. The goats would go to the mountains or cliffs to rest in the evening and they even know when they need to walk to the roadside to let the cars pass them. Perhaps, their existence would only cause the threat to speeding drivers.

It's not appropriate to use the mainstream criteria to evaluate the sanitary level of Lanyu, instead we should take account the local culture and consider using their standards. Furthermore, compared to the nuclear waste sent by the government ironically like a "gift" and the garbage left by the outside tourists, the excreta from goats can be a fertilizer to Lanyu's land. Metaphorically, these freely-moving goats are just like Tao people' struggling between the national system and their traditional customs, try to find their best living style with Tao people. Tao people pursue an autonomous relationship rather than a dependent relationship with the nature and government.

All indigenous nations and peoples have the right to self-determination, by virtue of which they have the right to whatever degree of autonomy. The content of this asserted right to autonomy reflecting the diversity of situations. Some do aspire to complete independence and statehood, while many others demand autonomy only in specific areas of competence (such as full control over land and natural resources) (<sup>308</sup>Hannum 1996: p.95). In my studies, the indigenous peoples in Taiwan have been seeking autonomy in managing their ancestors' land

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<sup>308</sup> Hannum, H. (1996). *Autonomy, sovereignty, and self-determination: The accommodation of conflicting rights* (Rev. ed., Procedural aspects of international law series). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

and not seeking an independent indigenous state. Based on my fieldwork at Nantian Village and Lanyu Island, I confirm that the fluid relationship between people and land is affected by the contextual factors such as the economic system, colonial history, religions, and etc. More importantly, I found the concept of environmental autonomy is very helpful to predict the indigenous people's attitude toward the nuclear waste.

Actually, environmental autonomy is deeply influenced by the fluid relationship between land and human. Simply put, the fluid relationship between people and land goes first and subsequently shapes the indigenous people's environmental autonomy and the environmental autonomy finally influences the attitude toward nuclear waste. Environmental autonomy critically plays a bridge role that connects the fluid relationship between people and land to the indigenous people's attitude toward nuclear waste.

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