

Weaving and Identity of the Atayal in Wulai, Taiwan

By

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ABSTRACT

Using a feminist approach in a postcolonial setting, the interactions between weaving, identity, gender, tourism development, and post-colonial history are explored. This ethnographic research is focused on the indigenous female weavers in Wulai, Taiwan who have experienced both colonialism and tourism development. During Japan's occupation, the Atayal – one of twelve indigenous groups in Taiwan – were forced to abandon their most important socio-cultural activities: facial tattooing, headhunting, and weaving. The Atayal lost most of their original textiles because many of them were taken to Japan. Today, these textiles are preserved in a few Japanese museums. Meanwhile, in Taiwan, the Atayal's textiles are now reconstructed by the hands of some indigenous women in Wulai who weave primarily for museums. Others, on the other hand, weave for domestic tourists although they have little success in competition with less expensive Han Chinese' factory-made woven products. The reintroduction of weaving not only required the Atayal weavers to retrace their weaving history and to reconstruct and revive lost skills but also opened up a new opportunity to create new motifs with imported looms.

The reintroduction of weaving has had multiple effects on the Atayal community. The meaning of weaving has changed from the representation of the Atayal women's gender identity alone to the representation of the Atayal's collective ethnic identity as a whole. Now the Atayal proudly claim their weaving culture as a part of their ethnic identity. It has become an ethnic symbol and a tourism product. However, the indigenous residents of Wulai are now barely involved directly with tourism business although symbols of their identity are used to promote tourism.

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CHAPTER 1

CONTEXT, RATIONALE AND SCOPE

1.1 Introduction

How have the Wulai Atayal female weavers' multiple identities been shifted through the experiences of the post colonial history of Taiwan and the cotemporary history of tourism development? This is the research question that will be addressed in this thesis. The Atayal are an indigenous tribe that live, in part, in Wulai, which is located in the north of Taiwan, a short distance from the capital city, Taipei. Focusing on the weaving – work that the Atayal is now famous for – the interactions between weaving, identity, gender, tourism development, and post-colonial history will be explored.

I am Japanese. Until I became involved in this research project, I knew very little about my country's involvement with Taiwan. Japan colonized Taiwan from 1895 to 1945. However, I had never studied the colonial history of Taiwan in my history classes in Japan. According to the board of education in my hometown, because the government of Japan does not recognise Taiwan as a nation-state, even today no primary or secondary history book in Japan mentions the colonial history of Taiwan. Through this research, I made my first visit to Taiwan in May 2006. Collecting indigenous elders' voices was difficult, simply because those who still remember their experience with Japan's colonization were already in their late 70s or older and there were not many of them. Listening to their colonial experience was a daunting task. Sometimes I felt guilty for not knowing anything about my country's wrongdoing until now. Other time, I was confused with positive comments that my respondents made regarding Japan's colonialism.

Until I was introduced to this project by my supervisor, I had never deeply thought about what "becoming Japanese" meant to the colonized people, particularly to the indigenous people in Taiwan. After I spent three and a half month with indigenous people in Wulai,

Taiwan, I was determined that as a member of the postwar generation of Japanese, it was my mission to document the postcolonial experiences of the indigenous people of Taiwan in English because, in the English-speaking academy, the image of colonialism and the colonial discourse belong exclusively to the “West” (Ching, 2001). By documenting the postcolonial history of Taiwan as well as the legacy of the Japan’s colonialism in today’s indigenous society in Taiwan, my work will provide an Asian case and contribute to the better understanding of the lives of the indigenous peoples of Taiwan in the English-speaking academy.

This chapter consists of four sections. The first section considers the research context. In this section, research focus and scope is presented. The second section provides a rationale that justifies the importance of the research. In this section, three research objectives pertaining to the research question are introduced. The third section presents the structure of the thesis. Finally, the fourth section is an important note to readers concerning the presentation of certain information in the thesis.

1.2 Research Context

This research is focused on the indigenous female weavers in Wulai, Taiwan who have experienced both colonialism and tourism development. During Japan’s occupation, the Atayal – one of twelve indigenous groups in Taiwan – were forced into village settlements (Hitchcock, 2003). Moreover, the Atayal were required to abandon their most important socio-cultural activities – facial tattooing, headhunting, and weaving. The Atayal lost most of their original textiles because, during the Japanese colonial period, many of them were taken to Japan.

Today, these textiles are preserved in a few Japanese museums. Most of the textiles are stored on shelves, and they can only be seen when special exhibitions are held by the museums. Meanwhile, in Taiwan, the Atayal’s textiles are now reconstructed by the hands of some indigenous women in Wulai who weave primarily for museums. They use a handful of remaining traditional clothes as well as Japanese books that describe the textiles and very detailed pictures of the originals to reconstruct replicas as well as new

works based on those that were lost. Others, on the other hand, weave for domestic tourists although they have little success in competition with less expensive Han Chinese' factory-made woven products.

Since the mid-1960 when tourists started visiting their village, the indigenous residents of Wulai have generated most of their income through international tourism development (Hitchcock, 2003). However, after the outbreak of Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) in 2003, the number of international tourists declined, and Wulai's indigenous residents had to leave their tourism jobs. Today, Wulai is a popular tourist destination for domestic tourists primarily from Taipei and Sindhian. However, the indigenous residents are now barely involved directly with tourism business although symbols of their identity are used to promote tourism. From the mid-1960s to the early 1990s, the Atayal and other indigenous groups in Wulai generated most of their incomes through tourism. However, since the late 1990s, the indigenous residents of Wulai have gradually relinquished their tourism jobs. Some of them left for Taipei or Sindhian to search for a new job. Others stayed in Wulai and tried to make ends meet.

When the golden era of international tourism in Wulai was about to end in 1997, some indigenous women who had left their jobs in the tourism started to engage in revitalization of the Atayal weaving culture. The reintroduction of weaving not only required the Atayal weavers to retrace their weaving history and to reconstruct and revive lost skills but also opened up a new opportunity to create new motifs with the western looms imported from Sweden and New Zealand and to earn some incomes through weaving.

The reintroduction of weaving has had multiple effects on the Atayal community. The meaning of weaving has changed from the representation of the Atayal women's gender identity alone to the representation of the Atayal's collective ethnic identity as a whole. Now the Atayal proudly claim their weaving culture as a part of their ethnic identity. It has also become an ethnic symbol and a tourism product. Their traditional weaving culture was once banned by the colonial Japanese in the mid-1930s and was not revived

until 1997. After sixty two years of inactivity, why did the Atayal decided to weave again? What does weaving mean to them now? How has weaving contributed to their identity formation? What are the relationships among weaving, colonial history and tourism development? Many such questions arose during my fieldwork in Wulai, Taiwan from May to August 2006.

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, my research question concerned the Wulai Atayal female weavers' multiple identities and how they shifted through the experiences of the post colonial history of Taiwan and the cotemporary history of tourism development in Wulai. To answer my research question, three objectives will be pursued:

1. To identify the determinants and components of the Atayal's identity
2. To examine how the Wulai Atayal's multiple identities have been reconstituted though their post-colonial struggles and tourism development
3. To investigate how the indigenous female weavers in Wulai have reconstructed their multiple identities through weaving

1.3 Rationale

To fulfill my research objectives, I examine the indigenous residents of Wulai, particularly female weavers' perspectives on weaving, gender, identity, and their postcolonial history as well as tourism development. These topics are important for several reasons. First, there is a need to study people's experiences with non-Western colonialisation. In English speaking academy, the relationship between (post)colonizer and (post) colonized is primarily seen in the context of the interactions between European nations and the regions and societies they colonized (Hall & Tucker, 2004). More over, much attention in cultural geography has focused on European colonialism in the nineteenth and the early twentieth century and its legacy today (Blunt & McEwan, 2002). Thus, Blunt and McEwan (2002, p.6) called for the importance of study on Asian colonialism as follows:

Much work needs to be done that investigates not only the geographies of premodern colonialisms, but also studies the exercise of colonial power by other empires located within Asia.

Yet, relatively few studies have examined the postcolonial experiences of the indigenous peoples in Asia.

Second, this study is intended not only to offer insights into the study of non-Western colonialism but also to break the binary perspective that has dominated the Eurocentric ideas of the English-speaking academy. In 1978, Edward Said's influential book, *Orientalism* offered a new way to conceptualize the history of relations between what we might call the West and the East, or the Occident and Orient (Lewis, 1996). Since then, scholars in the English-speaking academy have accepted the basic distinction between "East and West" (Hall & Tucker, 2004). However, how do we explain the case of Taiwan and its relationship to imperial Japan? Is Japan East or West? Is Japan the Orient or the Occident? This binary distinction does not apply to the case of Taiwan and imperial Japan.

Third, there is a need to study the touristic experiences of the colonized people within the field of tourism studies. Hall and Tucker (2004) argued that:

It is remarkable that recent key texts in the postcolonial field (e.g. Loomba 1998; Young 2001; Goldberg and Wuayson 2002) have failed to acknowledge the potential contribution that tourism studies can make to understanding the postcolonial experience (Edensor 1998), despite the centrality of tourism to the processes of transnational nobilities and migrations, and globalization.

Craik (1994) also noted that tourism has an intimate relationship to post-colonialism in that ex-colonies in the Pacific Rim, Asia, Africa, and South America have increased in popularity as favoured destinations for tourists. Ex-colonies' "exotic peoples" and customs, artefacts, arts and crafts, indigenous and colonial lifestyles, heritage and histories are now transformed into tourist sights (Hall & Tucker, 2004). Tourism therefore both reinforces and is embedded in postcolonial relationships (Hall & Tucker, 2004). For the development of a "more theoretically informed tourism studies," Hall and Tucker (2004, p.18) argued that "an appreciation of postcolonialism will likely be a

significant part.” Yet, there is a relatively paucity of research on the interface between postcolonialism and tourism (Hoolinshead, 2004). Thus it is important to examine the experience of the colonized people in relation to postcolonialism and tourism.

Fourth, there is a need to study tourism in relation to gender. Over the last decade, many scholars have addressed gender issues as an important theoretical approach to understanding tourism development (Swain 1995, Kinnaird & Hall, 1996; Wall, 1997; Dann, 1999; Kinnaird & Hall, 2000; Wall & Norris, 2002; Swain, 2002, Hall et al., 2003). A gender perspective is a powerful tool that can assist in understanding the relationships between tourism development and social processes (Kinnaird & Hall, 2000). Tourism has been critiqued as “the world’s most sex-segregated service sector or the world’s most sex-role stereotyped industry” (Aitchison, 2001, p.133). Thus, it is evident that tourism needs to be understood in relation to gender. Yet, the importance of gender studies in tourism has not been fully explored, and there is a need to understand how gender relations in tourism are constructed.

Fifth, in the field of cultural geography, identity formation has been an important subject to study. Scholars such as Crang (1998) and Gombay (2005) argued that issues of identities are highly complex and not easy but vital to understand. Crang (1998, pp.60-61) noted the importance of such studies as follows:

The mapping of identity onto geography exposes the unequal relationships of being named, being the subject or the object of this process... Categorising people is a political process, where the stakes are often to define taken for-granted natural, unquestionable categories.

In other words, understanding one’ identity is to understand the politics that have shaped the identity. Hubbard et al. (2002, p.89) also supported Crang’s view as follows:

Human identity is endlessly complex and fluid, and the placing of people into particular pigeon-holes or categories is dependent on the discursive regimes (and power relations) that dominate at any one moment.

Gombay (2005) also pointed out that the composition of identity reflects social experiences, historical context and origins. By understanding the elements that constitute

identity, the socio-cultural and political-economic processes that have affected people can be better understood.

Sixth, not only cultural geographers but also tourism professionals such as Hall and Tucker (2004) emphasised the importance of issues of identity formation that:

Issues of identity, contestation and representation are increasingly recognised as central to the nature of tourism, particularly given recent reflection on the ethical bases of tourism and tourism studies.

Exploration of multiple identities in relation to postcolonialism, tourism, and gender enhances understanding of colonial discourses, representations, power struggles and the resistance of the indigenous peoples against the colonial regimes. In addition to that, indigenous peoples have been often disadvantaged relative to their non-indigenous counterparts (Mcneish & Eversole, 2005). These are important issue in a multi-cultural world.

Finally, the geography of tourism has been criticised for its lack of a strong conceptual and theoretical base (Hall & Page, 2006). To offer a more complex but comprehensive approach towards the analysis of the cultural relations that form the gendered relations of contemporary cultural tourism, Aitchison (2001) called for the fusion of tourism, gender and cultural theory as necessary. Thus, this study which examines indigenous peoples' identity formation in relation to postcolonialism, tourism, gender makes an important contribution not only to the field of cultural geography but also to tourism, postcolonial study, and feminist scholarship.

1.4 Structure of Thesis

This research is organized into eight chapters. The organization is partly topical and partly chronological. Chapter 2 reviews previous scholarly work that discusses identity, colonialism, tourism and gender in relation to indigenous peoples around the globe. It explains how different cultures inhabited different areas creating distinctive cultural landscapes. Chapter 3 discusses the methodology that guides this research. In this chapter, I introduce my ontology, epistemological beliefs, theoretical perspectives as well as

methods of data collection and data analysis to explain why I privileged a qualitative research approach. This section takes a form of narratives for discussion. Following this, Chapter 4 provides background information about the society, politics and economy of Taiwan. The focus of this chapter is on the indigenous peoples and the colonial history of Taiwan. Chapter 5 explores the impacts of Japan's colonialism on the identity formation of the Atayal people. This chapter focuses on the experiences of an ethnic group - the Atayal. Examination of their facial tattooing, head-hunting, and weaving activities enables me to demonstrate how the Atayal were forced to reconstruct their multiple identities under Japan's colonial regime. Chapter 6 shifts focus from the whole group of Atayal to a sub-group, the Wulai Atayal. Focusing on their involvement with international tourism development, this chapter explores how the Wulai Atayal reconstituted their multiple identities under the influence of Nationalist China's colonialism. Chapter 7 examines the experiences of individuals - nine indigenous female weavers in Wulai, Taiwan. In this chapter, I examine the revival of the Atayal weaving culture in Wulai in relation to the political economy occurring at local, national, and international scales. Finally, conclusions and implications are provided in Chapter 8.

1.5 Important Note to Readers

I have used pseudonyms, not real names, for almost all the informants discussed here, and I do not indicate which names are real. Readers should assume that unless specify, all names are pseudonyms. In addition, many of the passages quoted from interviews were originally recorded in English or Japanese, or were translated into English from Mandarin or into Japanese from Mandarin while I was in the field.

CHAPTER 2

(POST)COLONIALISM, TOURISM, AND GENDER: INDIGENOUS PEOPLES' IDENTITY FORMATION

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I review previous scholarly work from cultural geography, tourism studies, postcolonial study, and feminism scholarship. The first section discusses the difference between colonialism and imperialism. In the next section, I provide a definition of discourse and examine how Edward Said's work led to development of colonial discourse analysis. Said's work on *Orientalism* has been so influential in colonial study that many scholars have critiqued his work. After examining both Said's ideas and other scholars' criticisms, I offer my definition of postcolonialism which will be applied in this study. In the third section, I explore the literatures among tourism, postcolonialism, and gender. In the fourth section, I discuss identity politics as addressed in cultural geography. In this section, I define identity in terms of differences. By providing definitions of five different aspects of identity - race, ethnicity, culture, gender, and place - I also discuss how identity is situational and multidimensional. In the final section, I narrow down my focus to indigenous peoples' identity formation. The brief examination of the indigenous peoples' identity formation in relation to postcolonialism and tourism as well as gender, culture, and place will assist in the configuration of the final two sections: gap in the literature and conceptual framework. In those sections, I recap the gap in the literature and offer my analytical framework that will be used to guide my research.

2.2 Colonialism and Imperialism

Since the early 1980s, the issues of colonialism and imperialism have come to the forefront of thinking in a wider range of disciplines including geography. Yet, colonialism and imperialism are elusive terms. In fact, colonialism and imperialism are frequently used interchangeably (Loomba, 2005). In one sense, colonialism and

imperialism are the same in that both took the form of subjugating one group of people by another. However, the meanings of the two terms are “nothing if not heterogeneous, often contradictory, practices” (Young, 2001, p.15). If the terms should not be used as synonyms, then how are the terms to be defined and what are the differences between colonialism and imperialism?

2.2.1 Defining Colonialism and Imperialism

For Young (2001, p.16), colonialism is defined as an “activity on the periphery, economically driven; from the home government’s perspective” whereas imperialism is defined as an operation from the metropolis as a “policy of state, driven by the grandiose projects of power.” According to Ogborn (2003, p.9), power is defined in terms of “one set of people exerting power over another set of people, over space, or nature, or the landscape in order to control them and their meaning in various ways. Said (1993, p.8) also argued that colonialism is “a specific articulation of imperialism associated with territorial invasions and settlements.” On the other hand, imperialism is “the practice, the theory and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan centre ruling a distant territory” (Said, 1993, p.8). For them, colonialism is a practice that the colonizers implemented in colonies on the basis of imperial ideology and imperialism is a concept that the colonizers developed for ruling colonies. Loomba (2005, p.12) also suggested that imperialism is a “phenomenon that originates in the metropolis, the process which leads to domination and control” and “its result or what happens in the colonies as a consequence of imperial domination is colonialism.” Thus the imperial country is the “metropole” from which power flows, and the colony is the place which it penetrates and controls (Loomba, 2005, p.12). Imperialism can function without colonialism but colonialism can not function without imperialism (Loomba, 2005).

2.3 Colonial Discourse and Postcolonialism

2.3.1 Definition of Discourse

Discourse is defined as “a way of thinking about the relationship between power, knowledge and language” (Ogborn, 2003, p.11). It is a concept derived from the work of

the French theorist Michael Foucault (1980) who understood discourses as the frameworks that define the possibilities for knowledge (Ashcroft et al., 2000). Foucault (1981b) described discourse as the “particular kind of language to which specialized knowledge has to conform in order to be regarded as true” (Young, 2001, p.385). For Foucault, discourse exists as a set of “rules” that determine the kinds of statements that can be made, and what the criteria for truth are, what sorts of things can be talked about, and what sorts of things can be said about them (Ogborn, 2003, p.11). In other words, the idea of discourse suggests that our knowledge and language create the truth in a context of power (Blunt et al., 2003).

In the field of cultural geography, discourse has been an important subject to study. For example, Kneale (2003) noted that:

Cultural geographers have studied representation in a wide range of forms, particularly in terms of writing and visual images. An important theme in this work has been a concern with the politics of representation. Rather than view texts or images as detached from wider discourses and power relations, cultural geographers have explored the ways in which texts and images are part of wider discursive formations that are themselves inseparable from the exercise of power.

Especially for those who focused on postcolonial study (Blunt, 1994a, 1994b; Sidaway, 2000; Yeoh, 2001; Lester, 2002; Nash, 2002; Gregory, 2004; Sharp & Briggs, 2006), Edward Said’s *Orientalism* (1978) has been very influential.

2.3.2 Edward Said’s Orientalism

Using Foucault’s idea that all forms of knowledge are products of power, Said (1978) evaluated the implications of the Western construction of the Orient as a subject of knowledge during the period of colonial expansion (Lewis, 1996). In his work, Said (1978) analysed the “imaginative geographies” of Egypt and Palestine produced by travel writings, scholarly accounts, and novels written by Western scholars and travellers over the last two centuries (Holloway & Hubbard, 2001). By demonstrating how knowledges about colonized people and place were produced as “other,” inferior and irrational in contrast to a powerful, rational, western “self” (Lewis, 1996), Said (1978) argued that representations of the “Orient” in Western literary texts, travelogues and other writings

contributed to the creation of a dichotomy between Europe and its “others”(Loomba, 2005). Furthermore, Said (1978) argued that the dichotomy was critical to the creation of European culture as well as to the perpetuation and expansion of European hegemony over other lands (Loomba, 2005). Rather than accepting the term as taken for granted or natural, Said (1978) argued that Orientalism was and is a discourse in which the West’s knowledges about the Orient are inseparably bound up with its dominance over it (Lewis, 1996). By refuting the idea that production of knowledge and representation of the Orient were innocent, Said (1978) also revealed that the classification of the East as different and inferior legitimised Western intervention and rule (Lewis, 1996). For Said, representations of the Orient produced by Orientalism were never simple reflections of truth, but mixed images which came to define the nature of the Orient and the Oriental as different and always inferior to the West (Lewis, 1996). In short, Said’s influential work demonstrated the interplay of power, knowledge and representation through written and visual depictions of an “exotic” East (Holloway & Hubbard, 2001). Said’s idea of Orientalism as a discourse came to be known as colonial discourse theory (Ashcroft et al., 2000).

2.3.3 Colonial Discourse

Colonial discourse has currently become central to critical theory and postcolonial criticism, especially after Said’s use of it in *Orientalism* (Loomba, 2005, p.37). Ashcroft et al. (2000 p.42) defined colonial discourse as follows:

A system of statements that can be made about colonies and colonial peoples, about colonising powers and about the relationship between these two. It is the system of knowledge and beliefs about the world within which acts of colonization take place.

Young (2001, p.385) argued that colonial discourse is not directly concerned with language as such but rather with a “discursive regime of knowledge.” On the other hand, Loomba (2005, p.40) argued that colonial discourse examines language as a “tool of domination and as a means of constructing identity.”

Colonial discourse favours a particular form of language. In particular, colonial discourse articulates notions of race that began to emerge at the very beginning of European imperialism (Ashcroft et al., 2000). Colonial discourse represents the colonized, whatever the nature of their social structures and cultural histories, as inferior, primitive races and the colonizers as a superior, civilized race. Colonial discourse tends to exclude statements about the exploitation of the resources of the colonized and the importance of domestic politics in the development of an empire that may be compelling reasons for maintaining colonial ties. Instead, colonial discourse talks about the colonizer's "duty" to reproduce itself in the colonial society to advance the civilization of the colony through trade, administration, and cultural and moral improvement. By assuming that the colonizer's culture, history, language, political structures, and social codes are superior to the colonized's culture, history, language, political structures and social codes, colonial discourse asserts the need for the colonized to be "raised up" through colonial contact. Statements that contradict the discourse cannot be made either without bearing punishment, or without making the individuals who make those statements appear "eccentric and abnormal" (Ashcroft et al., 2000, p.43).

2.3.4 Critique for Orientalism

Said's work allowed academics to analyse colonialism more generally as an ideological production across different kinds of texts produced historically from a wide range of different institutions, disciplines and geographical areas (Young, 2001). At the same time, Said's use of the notion of a discourse triggered criticism among academics (Young, 2001). For instance, using the concept of mimicry, Homi K. Bhabha (1994) challenged Said's essentialist idea to divide the world into two sides: West/Occident and East/Orient. Bhabha (1994) argued that it was misleading to imply that power, including the power of representation entirely depended on the colonizer. Instead, power is a bilateral process. When colonial discourse encourages the colonized to "mimic" the colonizer by adopting the colonizer's cultural habits, assumptions, institutions and values, the result is never a simple reproduction of those traits (Ashcroft et al., 2000, p.138). This is because the colonized never entirely mimic the colonizers' behaviours (Bhabha, 1994). The relationships between the colonizers and the colonized are always ambivalent so that the

colonized subject is reproduced as “almost the same, but not quite” (Bhabha, 1994). For Bhabha, all cultural statements and systems are constructed in the “third space” where “cultural identity always emerges in the contradictory and ambivalent space” (Ashcroft et al., 2000, p.118). Bhabha emphasised the importance of the specificities of particular cultural situations and called for the investigation of colonialism and imperialism in specific temporal, spatial, geographical and linguistic contexts (Ashcroft et al., 2000).

On the other hand, feminist scholars such as Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1987), Ashcroft et al. (1989) and Reina Lewis (1996) criticized Said’s relative paucity of information on the gendered and sexualized experiences, practices and representations of Orientalist travellers, artists and writers in Orientalism. Spivak (1987) argued that women in many societies have been relegated to the position of “Other,” or double colonized by men in the domestic sphere and the colonial power in the public sphere (Young, 1995). Lewis (1996, p.16) also argued as follows:

Not only do these Orientalist stereotypes ‘misrepresent’ the Orient, they also misrepresent the Occident – obscuring in their flattering vision of European superiority the tensions along the lines of gender, class and ethnicity that ruptured the domestic scene.

Although Said (1993) recognised a gendered discourse in his subsequent work, *Culture and Imperialism*, Said only described gender as a metaphor for the negative characterization of the Orientalised Other as “feminine or in a single reference to a woman writer”(Lewis, 1996). As McClintock (1995, p.6) pointed out, “men and women did not experience imperialism in the same way.” Yet, Said never questioned women's apparent absence as producers of Orientalist discourse or as agents within the colonial power structure (Lewis, 1996).

Young (1995) noted that Said, Bhabha, and Spivak constitute the Holy Trinity of colonial-discourse analysis and should be acknowledged as central to the field. Said’s work and the criticisms that came from Bhabha and Spivak all suggest that colonial-discourse can examine the wide variety of texts of colonialism as “something more than mere documentation or “evidence” (Young, 1995, p.163). Young (1995, p.163) further

argued that “a major task of postcolonialism must be the production of a ‘critical ethnography of the West’, analyzing the story of a West haunted by the excess of its own history.”

2.3.5 Definition of Postcolonialism

Following the discussion of colonialism, it is appropriate to address the nature of postcolonialism. As Ashcroft et al. (2000, p.1) noted, the term “post-colonial” has itself been the subject of considerable debate, and is still used in a variety of ways within a single discipline, and between and across disciplines. Thus, postcolonialism is a term that should be used with caution (Loomba, 2005). Postcolonial study has three implications. First, postcolonialism questions the origins of the Western terms and theories that label certain parts of the world as “less developed,” and that cultivated western colonial power and knowledge as taken-for-granted and natural (Blunt & Wills, 2000). Second, postcolonial theory recognises the complex processes of colonialism and tries to theorise the ambivalent space, including gendered space, that the legacy of colonialism has brought to the present. Third, rather than generalizing about colonial power and knowledge, postcolonial critiques reveal the historical and geographical diversity of colonialism and the need to ground such critiques in material and specific contexts (Blunt & Wills, 2000).

2.4 Postcolonialism, Tourism, and Gender

2.4.1 Definition of Tourism

Tourism is often cited as being “the world’s largest industry” or the world’s fastest growing industry” (Aitchison, 2001; Hall & Page, 2006). Drawing upon the work of Chadwick (1994), Hall and Page (2006, p.75) noted that tourism is often described in from three perspectives: 1) the movement of people, 2) as a sector of the economy or an industry, and 3) a broad system of interacting relationship of people including their need to travel outside their communities and the services that attempt to respond to these needs by supplying products. However, this definition does not acknowledge the gendered aspects of tourism. According to Aitchison (2001, p.133), tourism has only recently

begun to be critiqued as the “world’s most sex-segregated service sector” or the “the world’s most sex-role stereotyped industry.”

Moreover, the above definitions do not view tourism in terms of differences. Swain (2002, p.1) defined tourism as “an industry of travel, desires, and inequalities.” For Swain, tourism is an industry “selling differences and fun.” Indeed, differences are important in understanding and organizing society (Swain, 2002). Power is based on difference (Swain, 2002). To understand power relationships among people who are involved in tourism business, it is important to acknowledge how differences lead to the creation of desires for tourists to travel. As Aitchison (2001, p.134) argued: “tourism needs to be considered not just as a type of business or industry, but as a powerful cultural arena and process that both shapes and is shaped by gendered (re)presentations of places, people, nations and cultures.” Adapting Swain's definition, therefore, I define tourism as a service industry of travel, desires, and inequalities that sells differences between the Self and the Other as commodities for tourist consumption. This definition takes gender into consideration because gender considers the binary notion of the Self/ Masculinity and the Other/Femininity.

2.4.2 Postcolonialism and Tourism

Although research on postcolonialism and tourism still remain relatively unexplored, some scholars explored the themes through the book, *Tourism and Postcolonialism* edited by Michael Hall and Hazel Tucker in 2004. In this book, Duval (2004) looked at the Carib's involvement with cultural tourism in St Vincent in the Eastern Caribbean. By examining the linkages between ethnicity, traditional and cultural/ethnic tourism, Duval analysed how Carib identity was presented in postcolonial tourism environments. On the other hand, Marschall (2004) examined post-apartheid monuments and cultural tourism in South Africa. Using an example of Nelson Mandela as tourist attraction, Marschall discussed the challenges in commodifying heritage for economic development in postcolonial setting. For another case in Africa, Akama (2004) studied wildlife safari tourism in Kenya. Akama traced the origins of wildlife safari tourism in Kenya from the colonial period to the present. By demonstrated how tourism development excluded the

local residents' (the colonized) participation and favoured the foreign ownership (the colonizer), Akama argued that the legacy of colonialism still continue in the form of tourism development in Kenya. Meanwhile, in the case of countries in Asia, Du Cros (2004) conducted her research in Hong Kong which has survived the challenge of the 1997 Handover from British to mainland Chinese. By looking at how Hong Kong has been marketed as a cultural tourism destination, Du Cros discussed the importance of construction of Chinese identity in the context of tourism development. On the other hand, Henderson (2004) focused the case of Malaysia and Singapore in relation to British colonial heritage and highlighted the relationship between heritage and tourism in former colonies.

2.4.3 Definition of Gender

In western society, gender is conceptualised by comparison. Each individual was born either male or female. The categories are mutually exclusive and defined in relation to each other (Charles, 1996). Gender is conceptualised as an essentialist attribute (Charles, 1996). Gender is socially constructed rather than innate (Charles, 1996).

2.4.4 Tourism and Gender

Since the 1990s, gender has been studied in the contexts of tourism. However, the studies have largely focused on two areas: 1) the economic relationships that document gender-specific employment in the tourism industry (Swain, 1993; Cukier & Wall, 1995; Wilkinson & Pratiwi, 1995; Purcell, 1997, Phillimore, 1998; Apostolopoulos & Sonmez, 2001; Harris & Ateljevic, 2003), and 2) the romantic and sexual relationships that illustrate the emotional and sexual needs of tourists (Hall, 1992; 1994; Meisch, 1995, 2002, Pruitt & LaFont, 1995; Muroi & Sasaki, 1997; Taylor, 2000, Jeffreys, 2003, Liechty, 2005). Although gender-oriented research has been undertaken in relation to race, ethnicity, class, and aging to some extent (Ireland, 1993; Meisch, 1995; Li, 2003; Small, 2003), there remains much more to explore and document.

2.4.5 Tourism, Gender, and Postcolonialism

In discussion of tourism and gender, some scholars incorporated postcolonial themes into their subjects of research (Hall, 1992; 1994, Blunt, 1994a; 1994b, Mills, 1994; Garcia-Ramon & Albet i Mas, 2002). For instance, Blunt (1994a; 1994b) examined the travelogues written by a British woman, Mary Kingsley who travelled to West Africa in 1898. By analysing hundred of letters and photographs, Blunt examined the roles played by white women in imperialism and in British colony of West Africa. On the other hand, Garcia-Ramon and Albet i Mas (2002) focused on two Spanish women, Aurora Bertrana who visited Morocco and Isabelle Eberhardt who travelled to Tunisia and Algeria. By focusing on two female writers and their travel experience in colonies, Garcia-Ramon and Albet i Mas demonstrated how gender could make differences in their colonial experiences. Their focus was on colonizers' experiences with imperialism and colonialism.

On the other hand, the postcolonial reading of gender issues and the representation of colonized women tend to be found in the study of tourism and gender issues, particularly in terms of the sexual exploitation of colonized women and their representation in tourism advertising and promotion. For instance, Hall (1992; 1994) examined the role of non-Eurocentric colonialism with respect to the role of the Japanese in south-east Asia prior to and during the Second World War and the subsequent development of sex tourism for the Japanese male market. Others (Enloe 1989, Bishop & Robinson 1998) explored such as the colonial and neocolonial dimensions of sex tourism in relation to the role of militarisation and the development of new international divisions of labour in which postcolonial relations are implicated. However, a significant theme within much of the research focused on either individual white woman's experiences with colonized people or colonized "women" as a whole. The colonized indigenous women's voices still remain silent in the discussion of gender, tourism, and postcolonialism.

2.5 Identity Politics in Cultural Geography

Much recent work in cultural geography has been on the constitution of identities (Crang, 1998). According to Blunt (2003), within geography, identity has become a central part of cultural geography particularly in terms of race, class, gender, and sexuality since the

early 1980s. In the discussion of identity politics, Blunt (2003) suggested two important ways of thinking about identity. The first considers identity in essentialist terms, suggesting a core and common identity shared by different groups of people (Blunt, 2003). In identity politics, these ideas have been strategically important to campaigns on behalf of particular groups who share the same identity (Blunt, 2003). On the other hand, the second considers identity in terms of difference (Blunt, 2003). This approach draws attention to the multiple axes of identity and their interplay at different times and places (Blunt, 2003). This approach explores identity as socially constructed, rather than seeing identity as pre-given and fixed (Blunt, 2003). In this section, I examine the nature of identity politics by taking Blunt's second approach – identity as multi-faceted, fluid, and changeable.

2.5.1 Defining Identity

In recent years the notion of identity, and with it identity politics, has become relevant within a variety of social sciences discourses (Holloway et al., 2003). But what is identity? There are three ways to understand identities. First, identities are understood by comparing and contrasting the Self with the Other. The construction of the Other is characterised by dualisms or binary opposites (Aitchison, 2000; 2001). Gregson et al. (1997, pp.84-85) defined a dualism as follows:

A dualism is a particular structure of meaning in which one element is defined only in relation to another or others. Dualisms thus usually involve pairs, binaries and dichotomies, but not all pairs, binaries and dichotomies are dualisms. What makes dualisms distinctive is that one of the terms provides a 'core', and it is in contrast to the core that the other term or terms are defined. Thus dualisms structure meaning as a relation between a core term A and a subordinate term(s) not – A.

By defining cores and peripheries, norms and deviants, centres and margins, the powerful and the powerless, the process of Othering defines the Self as possessing greater power and status than Other (Aitchison, 2000). In other words, the idea of Othering suggests that our sense of who we are is not based on a wholly internal process but relies on an external reflection of power relationships between us and them (Crang, 1998). Holloway and Hubbard (2001, p.77) also asserted that:

Your identity - the way you think about yourself and the ways others think about you is defined not just by what you are but also what you are not.

Indeed, we make sense of ourselves by identifying differences between ourselves and others. Adams (1996) suggested that all identity is constructed across difference. Identity politics are rooted on the politics of difference (Adams, 1996). Differences are important to understanding society (Swain, 2002). Thus, the concept of the Other and the process of Othering is important to understand the phenomenon of identity formation.

Second, our identities are not static but relational. As Katz (2000, p.249) pointed out, the Self and the Other are produced through social relations of identification and difference. Hubbard et al. (2002, p.89) supported Katz's view as follows:

Human identity is endlessly complex and fluid, and that the placing of people into particular pigeon-holes or categories is dependent on the discursive regimes (and power relations) that dominate at any one moment.

Our identities are socially constructed and changeable over time. Holloway et al. (2003, p.252) also argued that all societies are relational in that "they are always constructed and understood in terms of their sameness to, and difference from, others." Thus, difference is a relational concept that we always experienced in terms of "political discrimination, inequalities of power and forms of domination (Moore, 1994, p.24). In other words, identity formation stresses differences between others and self-consistency over time.

Third, our identities are not also singular but multiple. Drawing upon the work of Ewing (1990), Gombay (2005) argued that our identities are not singular but multidimensional, and these multiple, inconsistent selves are context dependent and can shift rapidly.

Gombay (2005, p.425) further argued that:

Identity exists at many levels. It exists in private and in public. It is attached both to individuals and to collectives. It varies according to context and scale...The composition of identity reflects such things as people's history, social experiences, and development.

Gombay (2005) called this concept as “multiple identities.” Using Gombay’s concept of multiple identities, the next section explores five components that contribute to and constitute one’s multiple identities: Race, ethnicity, culture, gender, and place.

2.5.2 Racial Identity

Race is a cultural rather than a biological phenomenon and not the product of genetically determined physical differences but of historical processes (Ashcroft et al., 2000).

However, in the colonial context, the notion of race assumed that humanity was divided into unchanging natural types and recognizable by physical traits that were transmitted “through the blood” (Ashcroft et al., 2000, p.198). The term implied that the “mental and moral behaviour of human beings, as well as individual personality, ideas and capacities, can be related to racial origin, and that knowledge of that origin provides a satisfactory account of the behaviour” (Ashcroft et al., 2000, p.198). Although race was not specifically an invention of imperialism, the concept of race became important for European imperial powers to establish dominance over subject peoples and to justify their conquest (Ashcroft et al., 2000). By assuming that the white-skinned is superior to people of other skin colours, race thinking encouraged the European imperial powers to take up the “white man’s burden” and to attempt to raise the condition of inferior races such as the black and the yellow (Ashcroft et al., 2000, p.201). This race thinking became popular after the French anatomist Cuvier developed the race theory that assumed the existence of three major races: the white, the yellow, and the black in 1805 (Ashcroft et al., 2000). Cuvier’s simple and simplistic categorization of human variation based on skin colour was overridden by the implication of Darwin’s *The Origin of Species* (1859), and the resulting idea was called Social Darwinism (Ashcroft et al., 2000). Integrating Darwinian ideas such as adaptation and natural selection to human race, Social Darwinism favoured an idea that the strongest should survive and flourish in society whereas the weak should be allowed to die. Social Darwinism assumed that extinction of inferior races was not only an inevitable but also a desirable unfolding of natural law (Ashcroft et al., 2000, p.201).

The hierarchical categorisation of human types was necessary for the imperial mission: dominance and enlightenment (Ashcroft et al., 2000). By the late 1890s, many popular works began to appear, illustrating with considerable detail the nature and diversity of human races and the implicit superiority of the white Anglo-Saxon races and civilization (Ashcroft et al., 2000, p.203). In the early decades of the twentieth century, race continued to acquire a legitimacy through the scientific study of racial variation (Ashcroft et al., 2000). However, the horror of the Second World War and the slaughter of millions of Jews, Slavs, Poles and gypsies on racial grounds led UNESCO to declare the Statement of the Nature of Race and Racial Difference in 1951 (Ashcroft et al., 2000, p.204). After the Civil Rights movement in the second half of the twentieth century, race and ethnicity finally came to be understood as social rather than biological phenomena (Hughey, 1998) although such an understanding has yet to permeate fully all sectors of society. Nevertheless, this situation has helped to create opportunities for racial and ethnic leaders to cultivate power and privilege by appealing to group loyalties and reinforcing group boundaries, this has also resulted in the further racialization of society (Hughey, 1998).

The hierarchical categorisation of human types was necessary for the imperial mission: dominance and enlightenment. The Enlightenment was the creation of a new framework of ideas and secure “truths” about the relationship between humanity, society, nature which advocated “the primacy of reason/rationalism, a belief in empiricism, the concept of universal science and reason, the idea of progress, the championing of new freedoms” (Power, 2002, pp.65-66). By the late 1890s, many popular works began to appear, illustrating with considerable detail the nature and diversity of human races and the implicit superiority of the white Anglo-Saxon races and civilization. In the early decades of the twentieth century, race continued to acquire a legitimacy through the scientific study of racial variation (Ashcroft et al., 2000). After the Civil Rights movement in the second half of the twentieth century, race and ethnicity finally came to be understood as social rather than biological phenomena (Hughey, 1998) although such an understanding has yet to permeate fully all sectors of society. Nevertheless, this situation has helped to create opportunities for racial and ethnic leaders to cultivate power and privilege by

appealing to group loyalties and reinforcing group boundaries, this has also resulted in the further racialization of society (Hughey, 1998).

2.5.3 Ethnicity Identity

According to Ashcroft et al. (2000, p.80), the term ethnicity has been used increasingly since the 1960s to explain human variation in terms of culture, tradition, language, social patterns and ancestry, in preference to the discredited generalizations of race with its assumption of a humanity divided into fixed, genetically determined biological types. Unlike race, ethnicity is an elusive concept to define (Hitchcock, 1999; Dwyer, 2002). For instance, Isajaw (1974) showed that of twenty-seven definitions of ethnicity, one included immigrant group; twelve included common national or geographical origin; eleven included same culture or customs; ten included religion; and nine included race or physical characteristics (cited in Ashcroft et al., 2000, p.82). This was possible because whereas race emerged as a way of establishing a hierarchical division between Europe and its “others,” identifying people according to fixed genetic criteria, ethnicity is usually used as “an expression of a positive self-perception that offers certain advantages to its members” (Ashcroft et al., 2000, p.80).

The great variation in the use of the term suggests that ethnicity is a fluid concept and it is contextual, situational and rational (Dwyer, 2002). Even among the scholars who took a situational approach in defining the term, they placed different emphases on their definitions of ethnicity. For instance, Schermerhorn (1974, p.2) described ethnicity as the “fusion of many traits that belong to the nature of any ethnic group: a composite of shared values, beliefs, norms, tastes, behaviours, experiences, consciousness of kind, memories and royalties.” In a similar vein, Nagel (1998, p.237) also noted that ethnicity is constructed out of the material of language, religion, culture, appearance, ancestry, or regionality. Meanwhile, Hitchcock (1999, p.21) defined ethnicity as a “set of social relationships and processes by which cultural differences are communicated.” Like Hitchcock, Dwyer (2002) also associated ethnicity with the idea of distinctiveness – a self and other dichotomy – frequently on a claimed basis of shared origins, a common culture and/or other communal characteristics. Dwyer (2002, p.459) further argued: “If there are

no distinctions between insiders and outsiders, there can be no ethnicity.” So what is ethnic identity then? For this research, I adopt Nagel’s (1998) concept of ethnic identity. According to Nagel (1998), ethnic identity is most closely connected with the issue of “boundaries” (Nagel, 1998, p.239). Ethnic boundaries determine “who is a member and who is not and designate which ethnic categories are available for individual identification at a particular time and place.” Ethnic boundaries function to determine identity options, membership composition and size, and form of ethnic organization. Thus, boundaries answer the question of who we are (Nagel, 1998). Ethnic boundaries, and thus identities, are constituted by both the individual and group as well as by outside agents and organizations. Ethnic identity, then, is the result of a “dialectical process involving internal and external opinions and processes, as well as the individual’s self-identification and outsiders’ ethnic designations – that is what *you* think your ethnicity is, versus what *they* think your ethnicity is” (Nagel, 1998, p.240).

2.5.4 Cultural Identity

Culture is central to identity politics (Charles, 1996). As Charles (1996, p.4) noted, “Identity formation is bound up with culture, different cultures or sub-cultures being associated with different identities.” For instance, in discussion of ethnicity, culture can not be left out because identity and culture are fundamental to the central projects of ethnicity: the construction of boundaries and the production of meaning (Nagel, 1998, p.238). According to Nagel (1998), culture and history are the substance of ethnicity. Culture dictates the “appropriate and inappropriate content of a particular ethnicity and designates the language, religion, belief system, art, music, dress, traditions, and lifeways that constitute an authentic ethnicity” (Nagel, 1998, p.250). The construction of ethnic boundaries is very much a “saga of structure and external forces shaping ethnic options” whereas the construction of culture is more a “tale of human agency and internal group processes of cultural preservation, renewal, and innovation” (Nagel, 1998, p.250).

Culture is constructed in much the same way as ethnic boundaries are built, by the actions of individuals and groups and their interactions with the larger society. Culture provides the content and meaning of ethnicity; it activates and authenticates ethnic boundaries by

providing a “history, ideology, symbolic universe, and system of meaning” (Nagel, 1998, p.251). In other words, culture answers the question of what we are (Nagel, 1998).

Cultural construction and reconstruction are ongoing group tasks in which new and renovated cultural symbols, activities, and materials are continually being added to and removed from existing cultural repertoires (Nagel, 1998). According to Nagel (1998), cultural revival and restorations occur when lost or forgotten cultural forms or practices are uncovered and reintroduced, or when buried or occasional cultural forms or practices are renovated and reintegrated into contemporary culture. For example, in the United States, the Native Americans have created cultural centres, tribal museums, and education programs to preserve and revive tribal cultural traditions (Nagel, 1998). Similarly in Canada, the Inuit of Nunavik in Québec have had Inuktitut-language instruction in their schools for many years (Patrick, 2005).

Cultural constructions assist in the construction of community when they act to define the boundaries of collective identity, establish membership criteria, generate a shared *symbolic* vocabulary, and define a common purpose (Nagel, 1998, 253). Drawing upon the work of Hobsbawm (1983), Nagel (1998, p.253) referred to the symbolic work as “the invention of tradition”, that is “the construction or reconstruction of rituals, practices, beliefs, customs, and other cultural apparatus.” According to Hobsbawm (1983, p.9), the invention of tradition occurs for three purposes: 1) to form or symbolize social cohesion or group membership, 2) to organize or legitimise institutions, status, and authority relations, or 3) to socialize or educate beliefs, values, or behaviours.

Cultural construction is also a “method for revitalizing ethnic boundaries and redefining the meaning of ethnicity in existing ethnic populations” (Nagel, 1998, 255). Cultural construction is especially important to pan-ethnic groups, as they are often composed of subgroups with histories of conflict and animosity (Nagel, 1998, 254). One strategy used by polyethnic groups to overcome such differences and build a more unified pan-ethnic community is to blend together cultural material from many component group traditions (Nagel, 1998, 255). For instance, urban Indians from a variety of tribal backgrounds in

the United States organized the Red Power movement for American Indian rights during the 1960s and 1970s (Nagel, 1998). The movement created a unified pan-Indian cultural front by borrowing cultural forms from many native communities such as the teepee, eagle feathers, the war dance, and the drum (Nagel, 1998). By transforming the material of the past in innovative ways, in the service of new political agendas, the ethnic movements fabricated their own culture and history and reinvent themselves (Nagel, 1998). According to Nagel (1998), ethnic movements often challenge negative hegemonic ethnic images and institutions by redefining the meaning of ethnicity in appealing ways or by using cultural symbols to dramatize grievances and demands effectively. This is an example to show the interplay between pre-existing cultural forms and the new uses to which they are put in ethnic movements (Nagel, 1998). Cultural claims, icons, and imagery are used by activists in the mobilization processes; cultural symbols and meanings are also produced and transformed as ethnic movements emerge and grow (Nagel, 1998, 256).

2.5.5 Gender Identity

Gender is also one of our identities. Swain (2002, p.2) defined gender identity as “a system of culturally constructed identities, expressed in ideologies of masculinity and femininity, interacting with socially structured relationships in divisions of labor and leisure, sexuality, and power between women and men.” Indeed, gender is socially constructed with other identities such as race, ethnicity, religion and sexuality (Cope, 2002). Holloway et al. (2003) also argued that we are all multiply positioned in the world and simultaneously classed, raced, gendered, and have sexuality. Thus, gender should not be described without considering other factors such as race, class, religion, sexuality, and age (Cope, 2002). Gender is also about differences between the self and the other. Gender influences how we think about ourselves, about other people, and about our relationships with other people (Blunt & Wills, 2000). Gender is a relational concept. Blunt and Wills (2000, p.91) advocated Gombay’s idea of multiple identities as follows:

Gender identities are not fixed, static and singular. Rather, gender identities vary over time and space and for different people in different contexts. Gender identities may be contested, resisted, transgressed and subverted.

Gender opens up the many and varied ways to analyse how our identities are constructed.

2.5.6 Place Identity

A sense of place is important for individual and group identity (Holloway & Hubbard, 2001). Place can be seen as the articulation of a specific set of relations at a given time (McCabe & Stokoe, 2004). We do not simply locate ourselves but we define ourselves through a sense of place (Cragg, 1998). Place is not a static or objective phenomenon but is ongoing and dynamically constructed (Lefebvre, 1991). Place is fundamental to cultural identity constructions through the creation of distinctions between “insider” and “outsider” (Relph, 1976). Holloway and Hubbard (2001, p.76) argued that the concept of home is essential to an “authentic sense of place.” Home is a place where people feel a sense of “belonging.” Place is of vital importance for individuals to feel a sense of belonging (Cragg, 1998).

2.6 Indigenous Peoples’ Identity Formation

How do indigenous peoples make sense of themselves? If identities are relational and the construction of identity stresses differences between others and self over time, what elements constitute indigenous peoples’ multiple identities? And how do their selves change? As Eriksen (2002) pointed out, since the 1970s, indigenous peoples such as Inuits, Sami, Native Americans and Australian Aborigines have organized themselves politically to demand their indigenous rights, such as recognition of their ethnic identities and territorial entitlements by the state. Questions of identity formation facilitate understanding of how indigenous peoples construct their fluid, relational, and multiple identities to fight against the dominant powers. In the next section, I offer some of the elements that describe multiple identities and indigenous peoples’ ways of constructing their multiple identities. Before I begin to discuss indigenous peoples’ identity formation, first I define who is considered to be indigenous and aboriginal.

2.6.1 Definition of Indigenous Peoples and the Aboriginals

The terms, aboriginal and indigenous peoples are sometimes used interchangeably. For Ashcroft et al. (2000, p.4), indigenous peoples are simply defined as “those born in place

or region.” On the other hand, the term “aboriginal” was coined as early as 1667 to describe the indigenous inhabitants of many settler colonies encountered by European explorers, adventurers or seamen (Ashcroft et al., 2000). The terms such as “aboriginal” or “aborigine” are now most frequently used as a shortened form of “Australian Aborigine” to describe the indigenous inhabitants of Australia (Ashcroft et al., 2000, p.4). Others such as Eriksen (2002, p.14) have argued that indigenous peoples is “a blanket term for aboriginal inhabitants of a territory, who are politically relatively powerless and who are only partly integrated into the dominant nation-state.” Indigenous peoples are also associated with a non-industrial mode of production and a stateless political system (Eriksen, 2002). For example, the Basques of the Bay of Biscay and Welsh of Great Britain are not considered indigenous peoples although the Sami of northern Scandinavia or the Jivaro of the Amazon basin are (Eriksen, 2002). For Eriksen (2002, p.14), the concept of the indigenous peoples can not be precisely defined, but is rather “one drawing on broad family resembles and contemporary political issues.” Butler and Hinch (1996, p.9) suggested that indigenous people is the “umbrella term” for Indian, aboriginal, native, indigenous, and first nations. In the literature to describe the indigenous peoples of Taiwan, scholars use aboriginal and indigenous interchangeably. Using Eriksen’s definition, this research adopts the term, “indigenous peoples” to refer to the people who are native to lands in Taiwan and are politically powerless and only partly integrated into the Han Chinese dominant society.

2.6.2 Postcolonialism and Indigenous Identity

In the discussions of shifting indigenous identities, postcolonialism is also an important issue because it is difficult to recover the voices of the colonized people (Blunt & Wills, 2000). Postcolonialism focuses on “colonial identities” of the colonized people and examines how they have reconstructed their identities through struggle against and resistance from postcolonial powers. Postcolonialism is also concerned with the formation of identities, the role played by colonial powers, and the reproduction of culture in formerly colonized countries (Norton, 2006). For instance, in the context of U.S. colonialism, Perez (2005) explored dimensions of indigenous identity among

Chamorros in Guam and Lynes (2002) investigated the “deep-seated divisions” that exist between the North American Aboriginals and leaders in North America.

2.6.3 Tourism and Indigenous Identity

To understand the processes of the reconstruction of indigenous identity, some scholars have examined the roles of tourism development (De Burlo, 1996; Medina, 2003; Xie, 2003). For example, Wherry (2006) investigated the roles of international tourism and global markets in the economic development of indigenous communities that produce traditional “authentic” Chorotega handicrafts in Costa Rica. Meanwhile, Cone (1995) documented how two Mayan craft artists in Chiapas, Mexico shifted their gender identity through tourism development. Cone (1995) found out that tourism led these two women to step outside the traditional subordinate place of women in Mayan culture and enabled them to negotiate an unusual degree of equality between tourists and themselves.

2.6.4 Place Identity and Indigenous Peoples

For the constructions of indigenous identities, some scholars have argued that “place” provides an important context for indigenous people (Lynes; 2002, Moran, 2002; Perreault, 2003; Usher, 2003; Rossiter and Wood, 2005; Stocks, 2005). For instance, Ramsay (2003, p.111) conducted in-depth interviews with the descendents of an Aboriginal woman in Queensland, Australia and concluded that “land lies at the heart of Aboriginal spirituality; it is the life source for all that is connected to a place.” Perreault (2001, p.384), who examined the case of the Quechua in the Amazon, Ecuador, also agreed with Ramsay’s statement by stating that the “place identity” of indigenous peoples is more important than for other populations.

2.6.5 Gender Identity and Indigenous Peoples

Despite Cope’s suggestion to examine gender in multiple dimensions in discussions of what constitutes indigenous peoples’ identities, the multidimensionality of gender issues has not been well addressed in relation to the study of indigenous identity formation. For instance, Olivera (2005) examined the significant shifts in gender identity that have occurred among indigenous women in Chiapas, Mexico. However, she did not integrate

other elements such as race, sexuality, class, and ethnicity in her discussion. On the other hand, Elmhirst (2000) explored the case of the Javanese in Indonesia and found that gender was crucial to the definition of their indigenous identity but the researcher focused solely on gender issues.

2.6.6 Cultural and Gender Identity and Indigenous Peoples

Other researchers have emphasized that “the getting of food” is an important part of indigenous peoples’ identities (Deur, 2002; Perreault, 2005). Using the case of Inuit settlement in Northern Quebec in Canada, Gombay (2005) described how getting country food affected Inuit constructions of identities. Somewhat similarly, Bowman and Robinson (2002) examined the relationships between buffalo meat and the Aboriginal in the Northern Territory of Australia and pointed out that the hunting activity was important for the Aboriginal men to construct their identities. According to Bowman and Robinson (2002, p.201), “Aboriginal men relish buffalo hunting and earn considerable prestige because they are killing big and potentially dangerous animals.”

2.7 Gap in the Literature

It is clear from the literature review that indigenous peoples’ identities have shifted through events such as colonialism and tourism development. Moreover, the notion of place is important for indigenous people to determine who they were. Gender and culture are other important elements to examine in relation to identity formation. The literature review also highlighted the importance of interactions between indigenous people, multiple identities, and gender. Swain (2002) argued that analyses along gender, ethnicity, race, nationality, age, sexuality, and other axes of difference allow us to move on to more nuanced, complex understandings of tourism enjoyment/fun in distinct places and with different peoples. As Gombay (2005, p.428) argued, in the discussion of relational construction of identity, it is important to look at “not so much whether an identity is invented or adopted by individuals or groups, but why this is done.” It is essential to explore the identity formation in relation to the events that have affected indigenous people’s lives.

Aitchison (2001) further argued that with a few exceptions, the links between tourism, gender and cultural theory remain implicit rather than explicit within the field of tourism studies, gender studies and wider cultural studies. Drawing upon the work of ManClintock (1995), Hall and Tucker (2004) also argued that “it is significant to note that ManClintock regarded a focus on race or gender as insufficient as singly defining categories for a sense of self. Instead, she argued that gender is always racial and classed in the same way that race is always a gendered and classed category.” Indeed, McClintock (1995, p.5) noted that we should analyse gender, class or race as interrelated and superimposed categories:

Distinct realms of experience, existing in splendid isolation from each other; they [cannot] be simply yoked together retrospectively like armature of Lego. Rather, they come into existence in and through relation to each other – if in contradictory and conflictual ways (McClintock 1995:5).

This is an observation that is only recently beginning to be incorporated into tourism studies (Aitchison 2001; Tucker, 2003). The literature review showed that indigenous peoples’ identity formation has been considered in relation to tourism and gender. Yet, little study has shown the connection between postcolonialism and tourism or postcolonialism and gender in terms of indigenous peoples’ identity formation (Figure 2-1). Thus, it is important to conduct research into the indigenous peoples’ identity formation which integrates postcolonial thought with tourism and gender, particularly in the context of Taiwan in Asia.

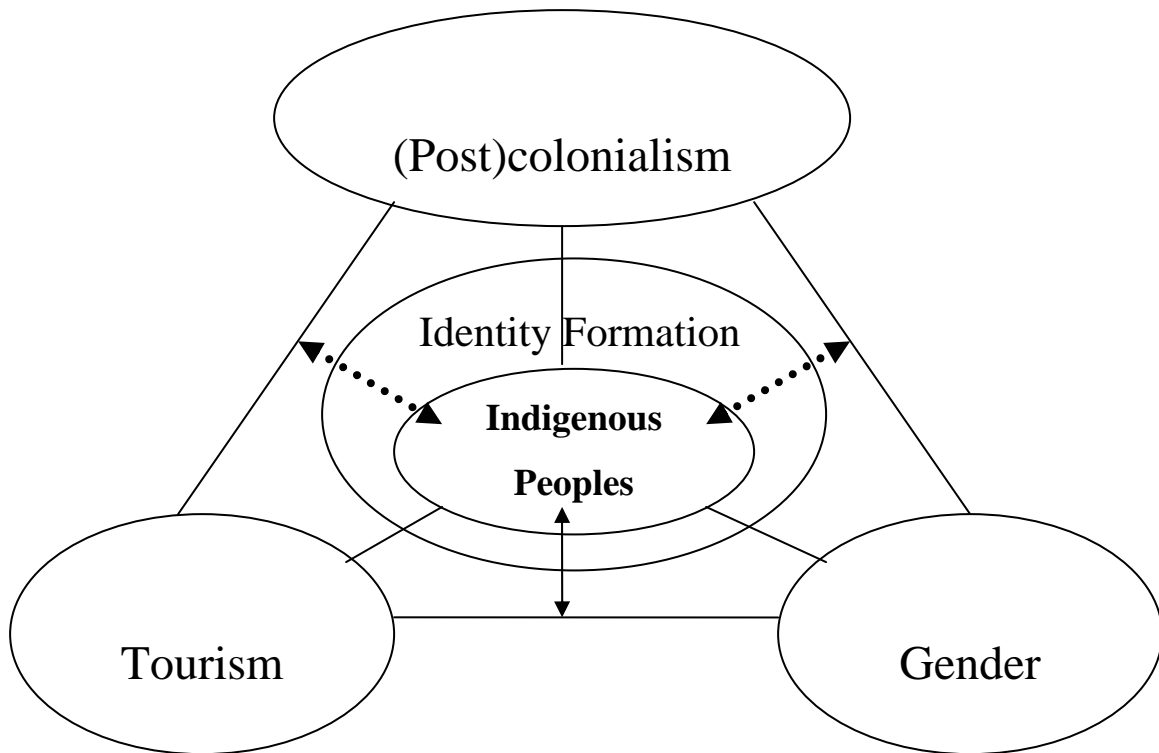


Figure 2-1: Gap in the Literature

In the case of the Atayal in Taiwan; to my knowledge only a couple of scholars (Hsieh, 1994a; Hitchcock, 2003) have documented in English the impacts of a non-western colonialism on the reconstructions of the indigenous identities, and no scholarly work has documented the issues of identify formation from the perspectives of the Atayal weavers. Therefore, an understanding of the experiences of the Wulai Atayal weavers can contribute to postcolonial, tourism, and gender studies. Moreover, in the case of Taiwan, many of the indigenous peoples were displaced to the eastern side of mountains during the Qing colonial rule and later forced to move to village settlements by the Japanese colonial state. How has this change affected the Atayal's place identity now?

Given the fact that relatively few studies in English have examined the experiences of the indigenous people in Asia, including Taiwan, it is worthwhile to examine how tourism development was brought into this community, and how this initiative has affected identity formation of the Atayal, particularly weavers in Wulai, Taiwan. By focusing on weaving as an entry point to examine their multiple identities, my overarching aim is to

demonstrate how the indigenous female weavers' multiple identities have been shifted through the post-colonial as well as tourism development experiences.

2.8 Conceptual Framework

To fulfill my three research objectives, I developed a conceptual framework. My approach is fourfold: 1) Japanese Orientalism, 2) Representation of the Other, 3) Shifts in multiple identity formation, and 4) Multiple Identities.

2.8.1 Japanese Orientalism

In the discussions of Said's Orientalism, Western scholars consistently refer to Said's construction of Orientalism under the assumption that the production of knowledge only belonged to the "West." For instance, Blunt et al. (2003, p.11) argued that:

Since discourses define the ways things are understood, even whether things can be understood to exist or not, then part of any struggle for power is a struggle over language and knowledge, over discourse. So Said directly connects the discourse of Orientalism to the power relations of colonialism and imperialism which it justified and which forged the relationships between entities created in the discourse of Orientalism as either 'West' (the colonizers) or 'East (the colonized) [*italics added*].'

Scholars like Aitchison (2001) who attempted to break the binary notion of the Other, also assume that Orientalism belongs only to western scholarship. For example, Aitchison (2001, p.137) noted:

The people within these landscapes are frequently portrayed as passive but grateful recipients of white [*italics added*] explorers from urbanized and industrialized countries searching for their authentic origins.

In my study, I challenge Said's binary notion of West/East by looking at Japan and China's colonization in Taiwan. By doing so, I demonstrate how Imperial Japan as well as Nationalist China are situated in the ambivalent space where they do not belong to either West (the colonizers) or East (the colonized) (Figure 2-2).

As noted in Section 1.3, scholars in the English-speaking academy have accepted the basic distinction between "East and West" (Hall & Tucker, 2004). However, how do we

explain the case of Taiwan and its relationship to imperial Japan? Is Japan East or West? Is Japan the Orient or the Occident? This binary distinction does not apply to the case of Taiwan and imperial Japan.

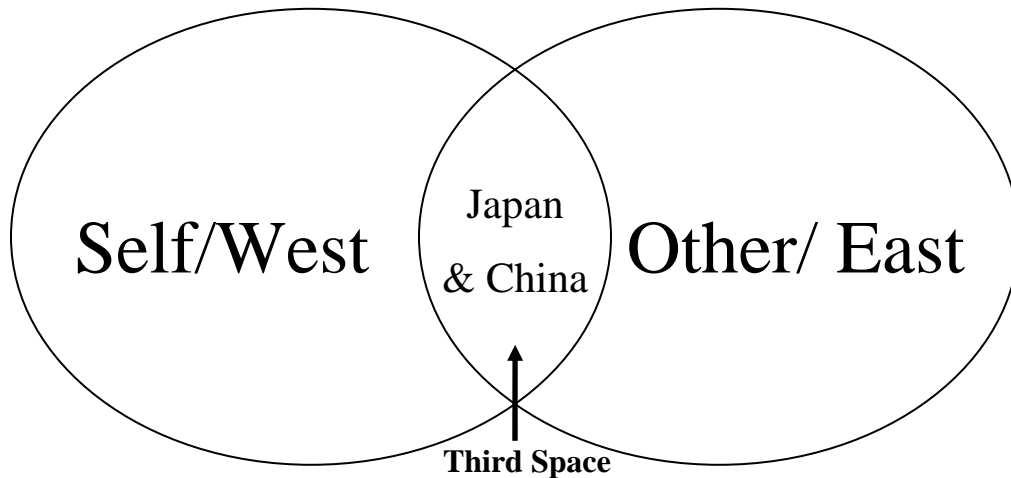


Figure 2-2: Positions of Japanese Empire and China's Colonial Power

2.8.2 Representation of the Other

Second, this conceptual framework also questions a number of dichotomies (Table 2-1). Aitchison (2001) argued that the concept of the Other provides a useful vehicle for examining power relationship among people at different places and times. Through this research, I examine various forms of dichotomy: civilized/savages, colonizer/colonized, guest/host, and masculinity/femininity. First, I explore how the dichotomies between civilised and savages as well as colonizer and colonized were constructed by the colonial state of Japan. Then, by examining how the gendered Other is constructed as subaltern in and through tourism, I focus on how host destinations and indigenous peoples are Othered by the tourist industry and former colonizer. Following Bhabha's suggestion (1994), I examine relations between people, places and power as immutable and explore their spaces of in-betweenness to understand processes of cultural transformation and hybridity.

Field of Study	Dichotomy	
	Self	Other
Postcolonial Study	Civilized	Savages
	Colonizer	Colonized
Tourism	Guest	Host
Feminism	Masculinity	Femininity

Table 2-1 : Representation of the Self and the Other

2.8.3 Shifts in Identity Formation

Third, to understand how the Atayal's multiple identities have been shifted, I created the "shifts in multiple identities diagram" (Figure 2-3). The dark blue centre of the diagram shows the elements to constitute the group's multiple identities (e.g. cultural, ethnic, racial, gendered, and place). On the other hand, the outside of the diagram outlines what symbols represent each identity. Symbols are important identity markers (Schermerhorn, 1974 cited in Ashcroft et al., 2000). Therefore, a loss or replacement of the symbols affects the construction of the multiple identities and, thus, leads to shifts in identity formation. I use this diagram at multiple scales to highlight how the indigenous peoples' multiple identities have shifted through their experiences with postcolonialism and tourism development at both individual and group levels.

Shifts in Multiple Identities Diagram

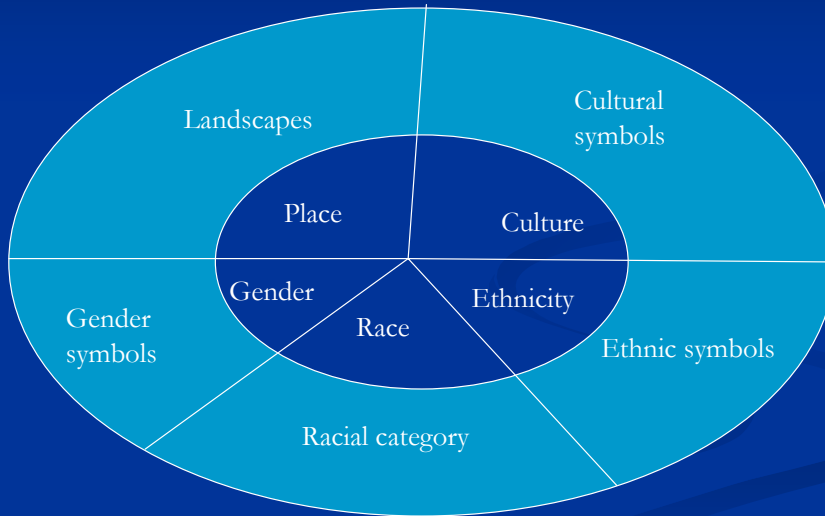


Figure 2-3: Shifts in Multiple Identities Diagram

2.8.4 Multiple Identities Diagram

To understand weavers' multiple identities, I developed the following diagram called Multiple Identities Diagram (Figure 2-4). The centre bubble shows the name of a weaver. Each bubble shows what constitutes a weaver's multiple identities. The size of a bubble represents the significance of each identity for each weaver. I determined the size of the bubble based on the quantities of the themes emerged from each weaver's account. The pink colour shows what I saw in the individual weaver's weaving. The bubbles that overlap with each other mean that those identities overlap with one another.

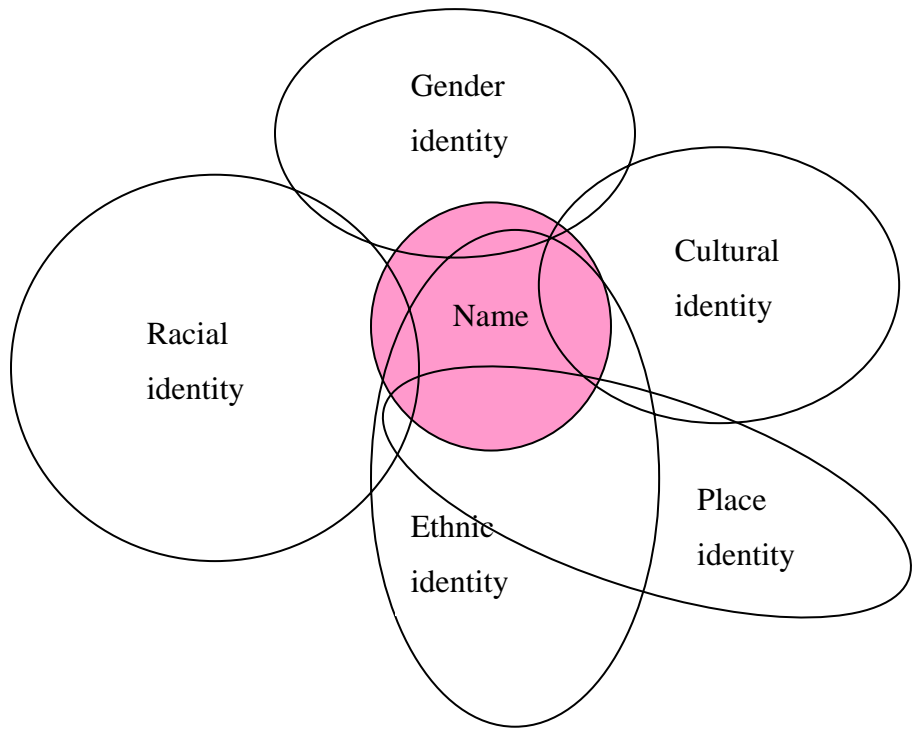


Figure 2-4: Multiple Identities Diagram

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Drawing upon the work of Harding (1987), Moss (2002, p.2) defined method as “techniques used in gathering evidence” and methodology as a “theory and analysis of how research should proceed”, and epistemology as a “theory of knowledge.” This chapter will start by presenting my philosophical standpoint including ontology, epistemology, paradigm, and theoretical perspectives. After that, the data collection methods will be discussed. This section takes a narrative form – my personal journey through research. I wanted to write about some of the interactions I had experienced with my respondents and the ways in which they have influenced my thinking about my research. The fourth section will document the data analysis process and suggest how a diagram can be used to aid understanding of shifts in multiple identities.

3.2 Ontology and Epistemology

According to Holloway and Hubbard (2001, p.238), ontology is defined as the “ideas about what actually exist in the world.” Meanwhile, epistemology is defined as “the ideas about what we can know and how we come to know it” (Holloway & Hubbard, 2001, p.238). There are many epistemologies possible in research process (Cope, 2002). Anti-realism is a philosophical belief that multiple realities exist in the minds of individuals (Flowerdew & Martin, 2005). Realism, on the other hand, is a belief maintained by positivists that there is one single “truth” out there, waiting to be discovered, that is independent from our existence (Patton, 2002).

Cope (2002) argued that researcher’s individual perspectives will inevitably influence their privileging of different types of knowledge. My research takes ontological position

of anti-realism as opposed to realism. My ontological and epistemological beliefs are embedded in the notions of subjectivism and interpretivism. Ontologically, I believe that multiple realities exist in the thoughts and perceptions of individuals. Epistemologically, I believe that there are many ways to interpret how the world works and our interpretations vary depending on our own personal, cultural, social and political background. Therefore, my research is shaped by the perspectives of subjectivism and interpretivism. It is influenced by my personal attributes which are described later in this chapter.

3.3 Paradigm

My research adopts a critical paradigm. A Hubbard et al. (2002, p.63) mentioned, in the discipline of geography, critical geography is concerned with “human diversity and differences by emphasizing not just how differences are expressed in space, but how social inequalities are spatially constructed.” For instance, human geographers such as Gombay (2005) have explored geographies of power by examining the issues of ‘specialized politics of identities’ as they relate to individuals and groups of people. Moreover, focusing on an identity politics of place (Hubbard et al., 2003), other human geographers such as Perreault (2001; 2003; 2005) have examined the geographies of power that operate in particular spatial arenas.

Critical geography is also concerned with the power of knowledge production. Drawing upon the work of Foucault (1981a), Hubbard et al. (2002, p.62) argued that critical geography that focuses on the production of a system of knowledge and power exposes the ‘socio-spatial processes that (re)produce inequalities between people and places.’ As Said (1978) noted, knowledge represents a form of power. Power is something that is exercised by everyone (Hubbard et al., 2002). Power is also based on difference (Swain, 2002). In other words, focusing on power relationships from various angles -from people who exercise power over others to people who produce knowledge *FOR* the represented will allow us to understand the unequal social relationships experienced by the marginalized people including the indigenous peoples. My research intends to reveal how the marginalized negotiate their multiple identities under unequal power relationships and

to demonstrate how the knowledge was produced through the eyes of the colonizers. By doing so, I aim to raise our awareness that production of knowledge is socially constructed and influenced by the dominant power of the society. Thus, we must be able to critically assess how our differences are created for what purpose.

3.4 Theoretical Perspective: Postcolonial and Feminist Approach

Using a postcolonial theory and a feminist approach as my theoretical frameworks, this research is intended to fulfill my proposed three objectives that were indicated in Chapter 1. Central to my project was the question of how the identity of the Atayal in Wulai was constructed and how these identities have been shifted through their experiences with colonial encounters. The two theoretical approaches are essential to guide me to explore the ways in which societies, identities and power constitute, are constituted within and reconstitute space and place. The next section explains how I articulated the two philosophies to conduct my research: Postcolonialism and feminism.

3.4.1 Postcolonial Theory

A postcolonial theory was essential to guide this research for three reasons. First of all, as Young (2001) mentioned, a postcolonial theory involves a political analysis of the cultural history of colonialism and investigates its *contemporary effects* in indigenous cultures around the globe, making connections between the past and the politics of the present. This theory argues that present inequalities in the world have not only been produced by a colonial legacy but also persist today because of neo-colonial power relations that continue to exploit the colonized and the colonizers for the material benefit of their wealthier counterparts (Blunt & Wills, 2000). Young (2001, p.4) also mentioned that:

Postcolonial cultural critique involves the reconsideration of history, particularly from the perspectives of those who suffered its effects, together with the defining of its contemporary social and cultural impact. This is why postcolonial theory always intermingles the past with the present, why it is directed towards the active transformations of the present out of the clutches of the past (Sardar, Nandy, Wyn Davies 1993).

Focusing on the Atayal's weaving culture, my research will examine the past and the present impacts of imperial Japan's and Nationalist China's colonization on the indigenous people of Taiwan, particularly the Atayal. This theory that focuses on the effects of colonization both in the past and in the present will be the most appropriate to be used.

Second, recognizing the persistence of neo-colonial domination, a postcolonial theory also highlights the postcolonial *struggle* against dominant relations of *power and knowledge* and challenges power relations that both result in and depend upon neo-colonial inequalities (Bhabha, 1994). By examining the basis of colonial power and the associated production of colonial knowledge, postcolonial perspectives emphasize the importance of representing people and places across different cultures, traditions and contexts and also recognise the difficulties of such endeavors (Hubbard et al., 2002). At the same time, postcolonial critiques stress the need to destabilize what might be considered as natural or taken for granted and assumed in our own cultures, traditions and contexts (Blunt & Wills, 2000). In my research, I will demonstrate the significance of facial tattooing, headhunting, and weaving cultures for the Atayal people. By doing so, I aim to reveal how the colonizers had undermined the Atayal's traditional cultural values, resulting in the production of a particular knowledge – the indigenous peoples as Colonial Other. This production of colonial knowledge has influenced the way in which the Atayal had to reconstruct their multiple identities.

Lastly, the postcolonial theory allows us to examine how the colonized attempted to *resist* the colonial powers. As Young (2001, p.4) pointed out, the postcolonial does not privilege the colonial:

It is concerned with colonial history only to the extent that that history has determined the configurations and power structures of the present, to the extent that much of the world still lives in the violent disruptions of its wake, and to the extent that the anti-colonial liberation movements remain the source and inspiration of its politics.

If colonial history, particularly in the nineteenth century was the history of the imperial appropriation of the world, the history of the twentieth century has witnessed the peoples

of the world taking power and control back for themselves (Young, 2001). In Chapter 6, I will highlight how the Atayal had used their image as colonial other or exotic other to attempt to manipulate the needs of their colonizers, the Japanese. In Chapter 7, I discuss how the Atayal manipulate the Atayal women's weaving as a way to construct their ethnicity identity in the efforts to promote their indigenous right movement. As Young (2001) argued, postcolonial theory is itself a product of that dialectical process. Thus, this theoretical approach was essential to guide my research.

3.4.2 Feminism Approach

In addition to postcolonial approach, I also took feminism approach to conduct this research. According to Swain (2002, p.2), there are five important aspects to a feminism approach:

1. A feminist worldview is nonandrocentric.
2. It explains phenomena in terms of both women's and men's experience.
3. It is political when asking how to promote equity among women and men, based in understandings of the socio cultural and political economic positions of women and their subordination in relationship to men.
4. Feminist thought encompasses a spectrum of epistemological positions from scientific positivism searching for measurable truths to a more humanities-based constructivism focused on particular conditions as interpreted by the observer and observed.
5. A critical approach, closely identified with feminism, seeks to apply research findings to transform social conditions.

Indeed, feminism is a political movement that seeks to overturn gender inequalities between men and women (Blunt & Wills, 2000). Feminism challenges and resists the gender roles and relations that position men and women in different and unequal ways in society (Blunt & Wills, 2000). In other words, gender relations are relations of power (Charles, 1996, p.13). Feminism is concerned with the power relations that influence not only how individuals relate to each other, but how all spheres of life are gendered in

particular ways (Blunt & Wills, 2000). In short, a feminist theory seeks to undercut the *gender imbalance of power* that exists both within and beyond societies.

Feminism also challenges *essentialist ideas about gender*, which focuses on women as a singular category and seeks to examine the complex and material interplay between gender, race, class, and sexuality (Blunt & Wills, 2000). Every woman's experience is different according to their age, class, ethnicity, birthplace and marital status. Rather than being singular, fixed, exhaustible, and universal, knowledge and truth claims, feminist approach tries to destabilize the category "women" and to conceptualize as being multiple, fluid, incomplete, and contingent (Moss, 2002).

To take Swain's approach further, the feminism approach also considers racism, heterosexism, and oppression based on disability, religion, age, culture, class and other forms of difference (Cope, 2002). As Cope (2002) argued, "fighting oppression on one axis makes little sense when there are multiple forces at work and the effects of each are impossible to separate." Indeed, our gender identity is deeply intertwined with other factors such as race, class, religion, sexuality and age.

In the discipline of geography, feminist geographers are particularly interested in working with discipline specific topics such as specializing the constitution of identities, contextualizing meanings of places in relation to gender, and demonstrating how gender as a social construction intersects with other socially constructed categories within particular spatialities (Moss, 2002, p.3). Swain (2002, p.3) also argued that "feminism is an important, needed perspective in tourism inquiry." By focusing on the indigenous women's (post) colonial and tourism experiences, my research aims to look beyond oppressions based on dichotomous notions of gender such as feminine and masculine toward a complexity that values difference and diversity.

Ideas about identity are also important in methodological terms, particularly in the attempt to produce knowledge that is situated, reflexive and embodied because researchers and the researched negotiate different identities (Blunt, 2003). Drawing upon

the work of Anderson (1995), Cope (2002) noted that there are two aspects to a feminism epistemology: 1) it involves not only hearing “women’s voices” but also to think about how gender as a set of social relations influence both men’s and women’s responses might affect the data, and how research results are presented to academic audiences and the public, and 2) it thinks about how socially constructed gender roles, norms, and relations affect the production of knowledge. Taking feminist approach means to understand how gender, power, and knowledge are brought into focus within which research takes place (Moss, 2002). Moss (2002, p.9) also described the feminist work as follows:

Paying close attention to how ideas about feminism, power, knowledge, and context play out when undertaking the research itself and engaging particular research methods are part and parcel to doing feminist research.

Power and production of knowledge are a central theme in discussing how to approach feminist research. Gender influences the ways that we experience the world, interact with each other, and what opportunities or privileges are open or closed to us (Cope, 2002). To acknowledge own identity and position, I integrated the following two concepts into my research method: reflexivity and positionality.

3.5 Data Collection Method

3.5.1 Reflexivity

Swain (2004) and Valentine (2005) pointed out the dangers of appropriating the voices of others and representing oneself as an expert on their lives. Moss (2002, p.16) also argued that:

What feminists decide to discuss about research stems directly from the meeting point of intellectual moments, such as the focus on self, subjectivity, identity, and difference as well as power and knowledge, and their values, ethics, and politics, such as social justice, equity, anti-oppression, and experience.

I agree with those scholars’ point of views. It is important to acknowledge that the researcher’s own embodiment affects research questions and results. My research results

are influenced by my ontological and epistemological beliefs as well as my own subjectivity that I have developed over the course of my thirty years of life experience.

To reflect on who I am and how my own identity would shape the interactions that I would have with my informants in the community, I drew my own identity diagram before I entered the field (Figure 3-1). If I reveal who I am as Swain (2004) did in her work, I describe myself as follows: I am a woman, single, straight, graduate student and in my early-30s. My educational background comes from both Japan and Western countries including the U.S and Canada. When I am outside of Japan, I see myself as Japanese or Asian. When I am in Japan, I claim myself as a *Kanto* Japanese, which refers to the central region of Japan which consists of eight prefectures including Tokyo and Kanagawa where I am from. This identity overlaps with my place identity as my hometown is a place where I belong.

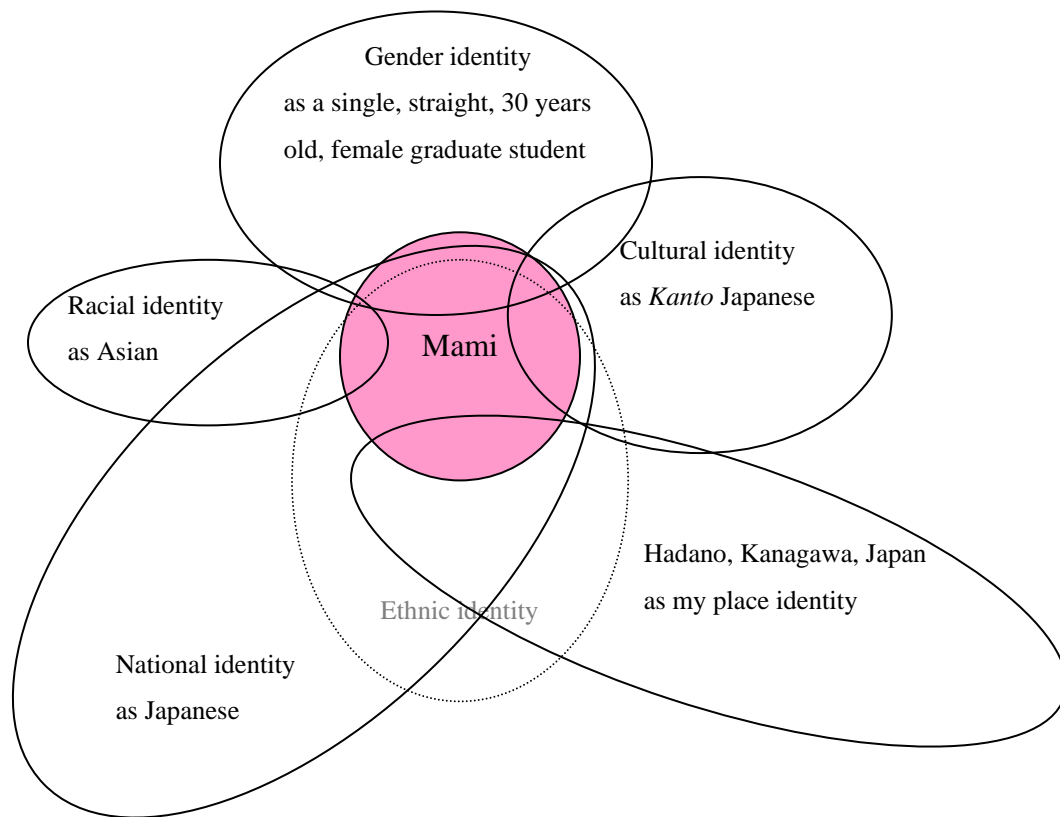


Figure 3-1: The Author's Multiple Identities

After analysing myself, I realised that ethnic identity is absent from my personal identity. Ethnically, I could see myself as the *Wajin* as opposed to the Ainu, the indigenous people of Japan; however, it was not a part of who I am. Instead, my national identity as Japanese was a big part of who I am. The diagram made me realise that I come from the mainstream of Japanese society. As examined in Chapter 2, ethnicity suggests “groups that are not the mainstream, groups that are not traditionally identified with the dominant national mythology” (Ashcroft et al. 2000, p.82). I realised that I am in a privileged position in that I was not even aware of what it means to be a member of a minority.

Kim England (1994) called this activity as “reflexivity.” According to England, reflexivity is often misunderstood as “a confession to salacious indiscretions,” “mere navel gazing,” and even “narcissistic and egoistic,” the implication being that the researcher let the veil of objectivist neutrality slip (Okely, 1992, cited in England, 1994). However, reflexivity is “self-critical sympathetic introspection and the self conscious analytical scrutiny of the self as a researcher” (1994, p.82).

3.5.2 Positionality

Valentine (2005) noted that it is important to recognise the different power relationships that exist between the researcher and the informants. This recognition is called positionality. Questions of gender, class, and race, nationality, politics, history and experience shape our research and our interpretations of the way we perceive the world. Therefore, it is important not to deny the factors that influence our research but to know them and learn from them (Skelton, 2001).

In my case, I was particularly concerned about the creation of difficulties in conducting my fieldwork. Our history – the colonizer and the colonized – might hinder my opportunities to carry out interviews with the Atayal. As Ching (2001, p.12) criticised, Japanese avoided “the agonizing procedures of decolonization, both politically and culturally.” Our fifty years of occupation is an undeniable fact. Yet, as I mentioned in Chapter 1, no school children in Japan officially learn of their country’s involvement with Taiwan’s colonial history. Taiwan is politically invisible to Japan. This history book

problem is one of many problems that the Japanese have not yet confronted. How do people in Taiwan feel about this? Do the Atayal in my study area know about this fact? If so, will the Atayal be willing to talk about their colonial experience with me at all? And how do I react to their responses? This issue made me think of Japan's political stance over Taiwan today and I was uncertain how my nationality would affect my fieldwork. Because I approached my research through the lens of postcolonialism and feminism, it was important to pay great attention to my nationality and gender and how that would affect how I understood the Atayal weavers' experiences with their colonial history.

This methodology allowed me to understand how people experience a phenomenon. Because I was specifically interested in understanding the postcolonial experiences of the Wulai Atayal female weavers, the postcolonial and feminist approach was the most appropriate method to answer my research question. The feminist research method favors in-depth interviews and participatory observation to collect data. This is because qualitative interviewing is based on the notion that the perspective of others is meaningful, knowable, and able to be made explicit (Patton, 2002). To ascertain the perception of the Atayal female weavers and to gather their stories, qualitative interviewing, using open-ended questions was the most appropriate technique for gathering data. Furthermore, the feminist method advocates reflexivity and positionality to collect data. For qualitative researchers, it is important to reflect on who we are and how our own identity will affect the ways we interact with others as researchers. Thus, it was appropriate to take a feminist approach.

3.5.3 Participant Observation

Cook (2005, p.167) defined participant observation as “a method which involves living and/or working within particular communities in order to understand how they work ‘from the inside.’” To understand the world-views and ways of life of actual people from the ‘inside’, in the contexts of their everyday, lived experiences, researchers have often used the method of participant observation (Cook, 2005). This method requires two activities: participating in a community and observing a community. For the one, you deliberately immerse yourself into its everyday rhythms and routines, develop

relationships with people who can show and tell the experiences you are interested in understanding and write what you have learned from them. For the other, you sit back, watch activities, and record impressions of these activities in field notes, drawings, photographs and other forms of material evidence (Cook, 2005). The participant observation takes a three-stage process: First, somehow you gain access to a particular community, then live and/or work among people to understand their ways of life and finally go back to the academy from the field to write up findings and the implications of the findings (Cook, 2005).

Stage 1: Gaining access to the Atayal community in Wulai, Taiwan

Prior to my departure to Taiwan, I knew that I would be living with an Atayal family in Wulai village. The arrangement was made through a Han Chinese professor whose former student was from the village. My supervisor had also met the family and the former head of the Wulai Township as he and the Han Chinese professor visited them once back in 2005.

Because of that connection, although I had never been to Taiwan until this fieldwork opportunity brought me, I felt safe enough going to the field by myself. However, I still had personal anxieties to engage in such complex questions in a cross-cultural research setting. First of all, I did not speak enough Mandarin. I knew that my three months of Mandarin language training in my university in Canada would not be enough to carry out interviews with my key informants in Mandarin by myself. How am I going to interact with locals? What if no one from the local area is available to assist me? Can I speak to them in English or Japanese? The lack of language ability suddenly made me anxious to go to the field by myself. However, later I learned that my Atayal host mother speaks some Japanese. Although I was still not sure how well she speaks Japanese, I felt somewhat relieved that at least I had someone to communicate with me.

I was also informed that a few graduate students from a university in Taipei might be able to help me out during their summer break between mid-June and late-August.

Considering the fact that I also speak English as a second language, double translation

could severely damage the quality of interview data. However, I was optimistic that I could always hire a professional translator from Taipei. Of course, at that time, I was not aware of the fact that I would not be allowed to bring in interpreters from outside of the community.

Stage 2: Living with an Atayal Family

To conduct my fieldwork, I stayed in Taiwan from May 8 to July 31, 2006 and from August 14 to August 31, 2006. On May 8 2006, I arrived at the Chiang Kai-shek International Airport in Taipei, Taiwan. I met one of Dr. Chang's graduate students, Sally at the airport, and she told me that she had parked her car outside. It was already 9 o'clock at night but still 34 degrees outside. I could feel the heavy humidity in the air, and a minute after we walked to the parking lot, I felt sweat on my back. It also stuck on my jeans uncomfortably, and I regretted that I had not worn something lighter. This humidity lasted during my entire stay in Taiwan and later made me realise why the Atayal preferred to weave their clothes with ramie. On my way to the hotel, Sally drove me around Taipei. It was close to midnight, but there were still a crowd of people and mopeds as well as street vendors everywhere in downtown Taipei. I was amazed to see how lively the Taipei night could be.

The next morning, I met Dr. Chang and another graduate student of hers, and Sally drove us to Wulai. It was about an hour's drive to Wulai from Taipei. On our way to Wulai, Dr. Chang explained that Wulai has been a popular destination for Taipei citizens to spend their weekends. Because of the proximity to Taipei, people come to Wulai to enjoy its fresh air and beautiful scenery. She also told me that Wulai is one of a few places where people enjoy bird-watching. Sally used to work at one of the resort hotels in Wulai. She reminded me that there were no stores except a few convenience stores in Wulai, so I would probably need to go to Sindian, the closest city to Wulai. From their accounts, Wulai sounded a very quiet nature based community, which was totally opposite from what I saw in Taipei.

Indeed, after we passed Sindian, the scenery suddenly changed. We were surrounded by towering mountains. While driving through deep green mountains, I saw tranquil, dazzling rivers along the side of the roads. Deep green was refreshing on my eyes. Looking from the car window, I realised why people want to get away from air-polluted Taipei and come to Wulai to appreciate the beauty of nature.

After having arrived at Wulai, we drove to Ms. Zhou's home where I stayed for three and a half months. Dr. Chang briefly introduced me to her in Mandarin, and I greeted her in Japanese. She was one of the Atayal weavers I had hoped to work with and, later, she became my gatekeeper to conduct fieldwork. We also met Ms. Zhou's daughter, Tiu Yun who would helped me greatly later to get in touch with some Atayal outside of the Wulai community. She told me in English that she made a short visit to Wulai with her husband and her two-year old daughter from the Hsinchu County where she got married. Ms. Zhou also had a son who spent a year in New Zealand, and a daughter-in-law as well as two small grandchildren living with her.

After lunch, Dr. Chang and her students left Ms. Zhou's home, and I was on my own. Ms. Zhou's Japanese was much better than I had expected. With a little bit of written communication in Chinese, we could manage in Japanese. I appreciated my Japanese background only this time because I was at least literate in Mandarin. During conversations; however, I noticed that Ms. Zhou's Japanese was a mixture of pre-war Japanese and contemporary Japanese. I was curious to find out how she had acquired her Japanese. She told me that she used to hear her parents and her twenty-year older sister speaking in Japanese but mostly learned her Japanese when she was serving for Japanese tourists in her 20s to 40s. Ms. Zhou preferred her indigenous name, Temu to her Chinese family name, Ms. Zhou, so I decided to call her by her indigenous name, Temu.

The balcony of Temu's home offered a spectacular view of the mountains and rivers in front (Figure 3-2). Temu explained to me that Wulai or "*Ulay*" means "hot spring" in the Atayal language, and along the river, there was a natural hot spring that people come to enjoy. Across the river, there were many three-story buildings crammed together and I

was told that it was the busiest tourist area in Wulai. Temu also told me that in a walking distance, there is the tallest waterfall in Taiwan (Figure 3-3).



Figure 3-2: Lower Hill of Wulai



Figure 3-3: The Wulai Waterfall

In the living room, I saw two big looms, and Temu told me that, with her weaving instructor's assistance, she had imported them from Sweden and New Zealand (Figure 3-4). Some of her weaving pieces were nicely displayed on the wall, and colourful diamond shapes in her art work caught my eyes (Figure 3-5). I also noticed a posted sign, "The Jesus is the Head of the House" on the wall, which I would find in every Atayal household later. In addition to facial tattooing, those symbols -mountains, rivers, hot

spring, waterfalls, tourists, weaving, diamond shapes, and Christianity -were the core symbols of what determines the Wulai Atayal identity which will be discussed later in the findings section.



Figure 3-4: Imported Western Looms from Sweden and New Zealand



Figure 3-5: Atayal's Diamond Shapes

During my stay with Temu's family, Temu's family and I cooked, prayed and had three meals together almost everyday. We often sipped millet wine and other liquors at night and this was one of the best times to engage in a variety of conversations from weaving to the Atayal's way of life. In the middle of the afternoon, we often had company visiting Temu's home so we often had tea together. We also spent every Sunday morning and many other days in the Wulai Church. When they found out that I now live in Ontario, Canada, they got excited as George Leslie Mackay from Ontario, Canada was the missionary who brought Christianity to them sixty-one years ago. We also occasionally went shopping, swimming, visiting museums and took a few short trips to other cities and counties. After the family felt comfortable enough to ask me for a favour, they occasionally asked me to look after their children at home. I also spent time observing weaving activities at a various places in Wulai.

Not only did I observe weaving but also I learned to weave from Temu. I wove two pieces of weaving with Temu's smallest loom. Weaving was a lot more difficult and more time consuming than I originally anticipated. Weaving also required concentration. This experience helped me to realise the large amount of effort Temu and other weavers needed to put in to revive their weaving culture. I also noticed that my relationships with the weavers had changed. When I asked Temu to teach me how to weave, she said, "*Oh, I did not know that you wanted to learn to weave. I thought you are here just to document us.*" That moment, I realised that a close rapport can not be established just by observation. Participation is the key to developing a good rapport with respondents.

I also met other Atayal locals through a variety of weaving and church-related activities at the Wulai Church, the Wulai Junior High school, the Wulai Township Hall, the Wulai Atayal Museum and souvenir shops in the Main street of Wulai. From June to July, the Atayal were busy preparing their biggest annual festival, the Wulai Atayal's Ancestors' Festival. I also participated in the festival by making millet wine with Temu, preparing indigenous foods such as grilled wild boar and indigenous pepper lime juice with the Atayal women. I also observed a number of festival-related meetings and activities at the Wulai Church, the households of other Atayal locals and the Wulai Township Hall. To meet a few Han locals, I also made frequent visits to the hot spring facility in the Nan Shih River.

Although my time was fully occupied in Wulai, I occasionally traveled outside of Wulai to Sindian and Taipei in Taipei County; I also travelled once to each of Miaoli and Taichung County and a few times to Hsinchu County. As Sally mentioned on our way to Wulai, Temu's family travelled frequently to Sindian and occasionally to Taipei for shopping. To understand the Wulai Atayal's daily life, I accompanied Temu and/or her family members for those occasions. I also visited the Taipei City Hall to attend the weaving award ceremony with a couple of my key informants. This experience allowed me to understand their passions to weave as well as their families' perspectives on their weaving activities.

Meanwhile, my trip to Miaoli County with the Atayal youth church group further contributed to my understanding of the significance of Christianity for some Wulai Atayal weavers. A few trips to Hsinchu County with my gatekeeper and her family also exposed me to the different lifestyles the Wulai Atayal and the Atayal in other places. This experience helped me to understand the challenges the Wulai Atayal had to constantly face from the external influences of Japanese and Han-Taiwanese, which will be highlighted in Chapter 6. Lastly, when I accompanied the weavers' instructor to Taichung County, I learned much from her about her important contributions to the Wulai Atayal's weaving project initiated in 1997. All those opportunities were made available through the assistance of my gatekeeper and her family members.

By living with Temu's family, I learned much about how the Wulai Atayal interact with each other. All observations and conversations I made with Temu, Temu's families, relatives and friends as well as other members in her community greatly shaped my understanding of the relationships among community members in Wulai and also the colonial history of the Atayal weaving culture and tourism development.

3.5.4 In-depth Interviews

According to Valentine (2005), unlike a questionnaire survey, the interview method is sensitive and people-oriented, allowing people to speak their experiences in a fluid form. By allowing interviewees to describe their experiences with their own words, both the researcher and interviewees will have a better chance to engage in a wider variety of discussions. Additionally, this method allows interviewees to raise issues that the researcher may not be aware of (Valentine, 2005). Unlike the questionnaire, the purpose of an interview is not to obtain a representative voice of interview participants but to understand each individual person's life experience (Valentine, 2005). Because I was interested in understanding each of the twelve Atayal female weavers' experiences with weaving, colonialism and tourism development, it was an appropriate method to use.

Positivists criticize that interviews produce biased data (Valentine, 2005). However, as I indicated in my ontological and epistemological section, I take a stance that no data can

be produced without bias. Instead, to examine each interviewee's account from many different perspectives, I incorporate a variety of data-gathering methods such as participant observation and content/text analysis. This research strategy is called "triangulation" (Patton, 2002). As Patton (2002, p.560) pointed out, "triangulation of data sources within qualitative methods may not lead to a single, totally consistent picture. The point is to study and understand when and why these differences appear." This is exactly what I intended to do for my research.

Identifying Key Informants

For this research, I adopted "purposeful sampling" as my sampling strategy. Purposeful sampling focuses on specific samples that provide necessary information in depth (Patton, 2002). Because I was specifically interested in the postcolonial experiences of the Atayal female weavers in relation to weaving and tourism development, this procedure was the most appropriate for my sampling. Therefore, I purposefully chose my key informants to be the twelve Atayal female weavers except two. One weaver was not Atayal but Tsuo. Another one was Taroko. However, they were two of the twelve weavers who initially revived the Atayal weaving culture in Wulai; therefore, I concluded that their insights were important to be included.

Steps to Recruit Key Informants

During the three and a half months of my stay in Taiwan, I spent most of my time in the village of Wulai, closely working with my gatekeeper. Gatekeepers are defined as "those individuals in an organization that have the power to grant or withhold access to people or situations for the purposes of research" (Valentine, 2005, p.116). My gatekeeper was considered to be the best weaver in her community, and she was one of the twelve weavers whom I had identified as my key informants. Because of her relatively close relationship with the other eleven weavers, I concluded that gaining access to those key informants through my gatekeeper would be the most appropriate approach to take. Therefore, I relied on her for an introduction to the community members in Wulai and accompanied her on every occasion that I could meet those individuals.

As Valentine (2005) pointed out, when you as a researcher try to gain access to the key informants through a gatekeeper, it is very important to make sure that the gatekeeper is not trying to direct you to a narrow selection of people or to prevent you from talking to some individuals because this restriction will limit the type of research information you can collect and ultimately will affect how you understand the situation you are investigating. Thus, the gatekeeper must be managed appropriately so that you will not damage your relationship with him or her. You also need to make sure that the gatekeeper will not damage relationships with others in their community because of your research.

As a researcher, I was keen on gaining access to the twelve weavers and their surroundings in Wulai. However, from an ethical standpoint, I was also trying to be sensitive to the community dynamics. Hsieh (1994a), who had conducted his fieldwork in Wulai, mentioned that the Atayal community tie in Wulai was very strong. This tradition had not changed since Hsieh's study in 1994. According to 2004 census data, Wulai had 767 households and 2192 residents including 851 aboriginals and 1341 Han Chinese (Wulai Township Office, 2004). Temu told me that she knew all aboriginal residents in Wulai although she did not really know many Han Chinese residents. To emphasize the closeness of the Atayal in the Wulai community, Temu told me that "*everyone knows everyone!*"

After spending two weeks in Wulai, I gradually understood what she had meant. I began to notice that news spread very quickly among the Atayal in Wulai. I was sometimes surprised by some Atayal whom I was not familiar with because when I briefly talked to them, they already knew who I was, including my age, marital status, education level, nationality, birthplace, and even my plan upon completion of fieldwork. I realised that it was essential for me to work with the gatekeeper not only for her close ties with other weavers but also for the strong community ties. I was determined that it was essential to let my gatekeeper decide what I could observe or participate in and whom I could talk to with whose assistance in her community so that I would not disturb any community or cultural codes. This decision significantly limited my access to some people, locations and events that I had hoped to examine and ultimately affected how I understood the

issues I was investigating. However, given the circumstances, I felt it was the most appropriate choice to make.

Due to the decision I had made, I relied on my gatekeeper to recruit interviewees. As Valentine (2005) suggested, I explained the nature of my research to my gatekeeper and clearly expressed my interests in talking to all twelve weavers including herself. She agreed that she would try her best to put me in contact with those weavers. However, I was reminded that everyone was busy with the election campaign in May and the festival preparation in June and July so I would need to wait until the festival was over at the end of July. She also reminded me that she was also one of the twelve weavers who revived the Atayal weaving culture. She was also considered to be the best weaver in her community. As I was living with her, she was the best source of information I could obtain.

Challenges to Recruit Key Informants

Through my gatekeeper's assistance, I gained access to the first three weavers relatively easily. However, with regards to another eight key weavers, I faced many challenges to set up interview appointments. Through my gatekeeper's involvement with church activities, community gatherings and meetings as well as occasional suppers and tea times, I frequently met another four weavers and carried out informal conversations with them. They happily engaged in informal conversation with me, and I thought that I had established enough rapport to ask for in-depth interviews.

In late July after the festival was over, I felt that it was time for me to ask for in-depth interviews with eight weavers except one. I found out that one weaver had been suffering from health problems. Given such a circumstance, I concluded that it was not appropriate to ask her for interviews. However, I asked my gatekeeper to put me in contact with another seven weavers for interviews. Those weavers did not speak enough Japanese or English; therefore, I mentioned that I would like to bring an interpreter with me; however, she was reluctant to ask them as she knew that they were not comfortable talking to "outsiders."

This incident taught me two important points: First, despite the fact that I interacted with those weavers on many occasions, I was still an “outsider.” As Skelton (2001) mentioned, it is important to allow the space and the time to make a decision whether or not people would like to talk about things the researcher is interested in knowing about. If they decide not to talk to the researcher, it is also important to respect their decisions. Second, the gatekeeper’s power relationships with other weavers might have affected who I could talk to. During my fieldwork, I noticed that some of the weavers were closer to my gatekeeper than others. She did not originate in Wulai; however, she seemed to be well positioned in her community as she was the widow of the son whose father was the former chief of Wulai Township. The power dynamics among the community members could hinder any opportunity the researcher could get for in-depth interviews. However, Fontana and Frey (2005) pointed out that in-depth interviews and participant observation go hand in hand. In fact, participant observation from informal interviewing in the field could generate valuable interview data (Fontana & Frey, 2005). Therefore, I followed Fontana and Frey’s suggestion (2005) and collected interview data from four out of the eight weavers by informally engaging in conversations with those weavers at various weaving and festival-related meetings and gatherings (Table 3-1).

Key Informants (n=4)				
Indigenous People	Ethnicity		Sex	
			Female	Male
	Atayal	4	4	0
Total		4	4	0

Table 3-1: Key Informants Engaged in Informal Conversations

Fontana and Frey (2005) noted that a close rapport with respondents opens the doors to more informed research. In the context of the Wulai Atayal, the Wulai Church provided the most important place to establish a good rapport with my respondents. All interviewees were highly dedicated Christians, and their denomination was Presbyterian. Among eight weavers I asked for in-depth interviews, three went to another Presbyterian

church in Wulai village. In Wulai, there were two Presbyterian churches: the Wulai Church and the Nangou Church in the Main Street of Wulai. The Wulai Church was located in an upper part of Wulai village and dominated by the Atayal. Meanwhile, the Nangou Church was located in a lower part of Wulai village or the Main Street of Wulai is where tourism businesses were operated. This church was used by both the Han Chinese and the Atayal locals. According to my gatekeeper, the Nangou Church was established during the golden era of international tourism development to correspond to the need of the busy Atayal who had scarce time to go to the Wulai Church because of their involvement with tourism business in the Main street of Wulai. One weaver was Catholic, and another went to the Presbyterian Church in a different village. Because I did not establish a close relationship with those seven weavers, I was not able to gain access to the Presbyterian Church in the main street of Wulai and the Catholic Church.

I gained no access to one weaver who was believed to be an atheist. However, I did not further ask my gatekeeper to put me in touch with her because of her religious background as well as her ethnicity being a mixture of Han and Atayal. Throughout my entire work in Wulai, the Atayal often expressed the tensions between the Han and the Atayal. The gatekeeper never mentioned her reason why I did not get a chance to see her; however, I did not further question her. The situation in Wulai seemed to be highly complicated as power, ethnicity, religion, class, and trust were all intertwined.

In summary, the recruitment of interviewees needed to be done in an ethical manner; however, this ethical consideration led to the situation where I could not gain access to the key informants as had originally been anticipated. I needed to be well aware of my own positionality as well as the power dynamics that existed in the community and to document how those power relationships had influenced the recruiting process.

Conducting In-depth Interviews with Key Informants

Eventually, I conducted in-depth interviews with five out of the twelve weavers (Table 3-2). In addition to my gatekeeper, first, I managed to conduct multiple in-depth interviews with two out of the twelve key informants. As all three respondents spoke

fluent Japanese, I was able to conduct in-depth interviewing in Japanese by myself. Interviews were often held at their homes, workplace or the Wulai Church. The length of interview time varied from a half hour to three hours. Given the fact that the Atayal value their oral tradition, I concluded that tape recording of interviews was not appropriate; therefore, I took notes instead.

Key Informants (n=5)				
Indigenous People	Ethnicity		Sex	
			Female	Male
	Atayal	3	3	0
	Taroko	1	1	0
	Thao	1	1	0
Total		5	5	0

Table 3-2: Key Informants Engaged in In-depth Interviews

Through my gatekeeper’s assistance, I also conducted a one-hour interview with another weaver who did not speak Japanese. For one interview, I asked my gatekeeper to become my interpreter and she translated from Mandarin to Japanese. I prepared a set of questions in Japanese and the gatekeeper asked those questions to the respondent one by one in Mandarin (Appendix A). Every time after the respondent answered the questions, the gatekeeper translated the respondent’s comments for me in Japanese, and I took my notes in Japanese. This respondent played a major role in the Wulai Church. Therefore, a number of the church activities held by the Wulai Church allowed me to observe her roles in her community.

For another weaver, I conducted a two-hour interview through the assistance of two Han Chinese graduate students from Taipei. This interview opportunity arose rather accidentally. I was not planning to bring anyone from the outside to conduct my interviews; however, due to some miscommunication, those two students and the respondent arrived at the same time at my gatekeeper’s place where I planned to hold an in-depth interview through my gatekeeper’s assistance. With my gatekeeper’s permission,

however, the interview was conducted through the assistance of those graduate students in English and Mandarin. During the interview, the graduate students sat next to me and asked a set of questions to the respondent in Mandarin for me. While one student asked a question to the respondent, another student took notes in Mandarin. After the interview was over, they translated the respondent's comments from Mandarin to English for me. After the interview was over, however, I was asked not to bring interpreters from the outside again. The gatekeeper expressed her discomfort in not being able to understand our conversations in English. This incident reminded me that the researcher needs to be especially sensitive to what language is to be used in interviews.

Unstructured and Semi-Structured Interviewing

The goal of unstructured interviewing is to attempt to understand the situation from respondents' viewpoints (Fontana & Frey, 2005). Except for two weavers, I adopted unstructured interviewing as my interview strategy. Fontana and Frey (2005, p.706) described unstructured interviewing as "attempts to understand the complex behaviour of members of society without imposing any a priori categorization that may limit the field of inquiry." I agree with Fontana and Frey. Although unstructured interviewing took a longer time to get specific kinds of information that I was looking for, I found this method was useful to explore my informants' thoughts in-depth: the informants often provided me with valuable information that I was not even previously aware of.

Their comments often helped me to regenerate a type of questions to ask. Therefore, to get better insights of the respondents, I attempted to discuss freely anything with the respondents. Sometimes they also asked me questions about my personal life in Canada and in Japan. Even though some of the conversations were not directly linked to themes that I was exploring, every conversation was meaningful to understand what they value in their life. When I realised that their talk might be related to the issue of identities, colonialism, tourism development, and weaving, then I asked them if I could take a few notes. With the respondents' permission, I sometimes took pictures as well so that I could remember their comments. Otherwise, I waited to take notes until I was alone.

In terms of two weavers whose availability was limited, I conducted one to two hours of semi-structured interviewing. This method worked the best to get as much as information as possible in a short amount of time. By asking a set of open-ended questions, I attempted to leave a room for the respondents to answer. However, as I was controlling the pace of the interview, I noticed that my informants limited their thoughts only to the questions I asked them. The questionnaires are included in the Appendix A.

Challenges to Conduct In-depth Interviews through Interpreters

In conducting an in-depth interview through my gatekeeper's assistance, I faced another challenge to have her as my interpreter. First, the gatekeeper sometimes answered my question without asking the question to the weaver I was interested in getting information from. Because the interpreter was considered to be the master of weaving in Wulai, some respondents seemed to hesitate to express their opinions in front of the gatekeeper. Second, to get various opinions, I tried to ask the same question that I had already asked to my gatekeeper. However, the gatekeeper was offended as she felt that I did not trust what she said. She interpreted that I was asking the same question to the other weaver because I did not think that her answer was correct.

Due to the lack of my ability in speaking Mandarin, I relied on my gatekeeper's help to talk to the weavers who did not speak Japanese. This experience taught me two important lessons. First of all, the power relationships among community members could affect a type of questions to be asked and answers to be produced. Therefore, when the interview results are analysed, the researcher needs to pay great attention to the circumstance in which interview results are produced. Second, when an in-depth interview is held through a non-academic person's assistance, the researcher needs to consider the experience of the person and guide him or her properly. In this case, not only had I no experience in interviewing through interpreters but also my gatekeeper had no experience in assisting the researcher before. Through this experience, I learned that the intention and purpose of the interviews needs to be well explained to the assisting person beforehand.

Conducting Interviews with Other Informants

To get wider perspectives on weaving, colonialism and tourism development in Wulai, I also collected interview data from twenty five individuals from the Wulai community, including twenty one Atayal, one Amis, one Taroko and two Han Chinese (Table 3-3). I also talked to eight individuals from outside of the community, including five Atayal, one Bunun, and two Han Chinese (Table 3-4). The respondents from outside of the Wulai community were somehow related to the community members as relatives, friends or former pastors. Through introduction of my gatekeeper or her daughter, I made an initial contact with some of the respondents. Using a snowballing strategy, I made another contact with the rest of the informants. Their ages, jobs, and religions all varied.

Interviewees in Wulai (n=25)				
Indigenous People	Ethnicity		Sex	
			Female	Male
	Atayal	21	11	10
	Amis	1	1	0
	Taroko	1	1	0
Han Chinese		2	1	1
Total		25	14	11

Table 3-3: Interviewees in Wulai by Sex

Interviewees outside of Wulai (n=8)				
Indigenous People	Ethnicity		Sex	
			Female	Male
	Atayal	5	1	4
	Bunun	1	1	0
Han Chinese		2	2	0
Total		8	4	4

Table 3-4: Interviewees outside of Wulai by Sex

In terms of interview method, I took a casual approach -I usually initiated casual conversations first and then asked one or two questions related to weaving, colonialism and tourism development. All interviews were conducted either in Japanese or in English. Among the twenty-one Atayal locals, I conducted two in-depth interviews with an Atayal female respondent (I) and one in-depth interview with an Atayal male, respondent (H). Respondent I worked for the Wulai Atayal Museum. Her insights helped me to understand how the Atayal culture was represented in the museum. On the other hand, respondent H provided an important account regarding the Wulai Atayal's colonial history.

Within the eight respondents from the outside of the community, I conducted multiple in-depth interviews with two indigenous and one Han Chinese respondents. Respondent M was an Atayal weaver and provided a useful insight regarding Japan's colonialism and its impacts on the Atayal weaving culture. Her account was based on her experiences in Nanau, the east coast of Taiwan, and it therefore helped me to compare and contrast with the experiences of the weavers in Wulai. Respondent A was a Bunun indigenous activist who opened up many new opportunities for the weavers in Wulai. Her insights helped me to look at how the Wulai Atayal's weaving work relates to the indigenous rights movement in Taiwan. Lastly, respondent W was the instructor who taught western weaving to the Wulai Atayal. Her account helped me to understand the contemporary weaving history in Wulai. In addition to the nine weavers, all accounts from the fifty individuals complemented the data collection process.

3.5.5 Document and Visual Image Collection

To triangulate data collection methods, I also collected secondary data from various documentary sources including newspapers, colonial reports, development plans, brochures, booklets, and guidebooks both in Mandarin and Japanese. I also collected various maps, posters, and weaving products in Wulai. To constantly reflect my own subjectivity as well as the power relations, I also kept a "research diary." According to Dowling (2005), the contents of a research diary include my reflexive observations of my thoughts and ideas about the research process, its social context and my role in it. In

addition to that, academic journals and books were also collected both in Taiwan and in Japan. Personal communications I made with three scholars in Taiwan and seven scholars in Japan also helped me to better understand the colonial history as well as the current situations of the indigenous people of Taiwan.

Challenges to Collecting Census Data

Collecting census data turned out to be one of the most difficult tasks. When I asked the Atayal where I might be able to get official documents such as census data and tourism policies as well as weaving-related documents, they gave me some 'rough' figures or ideas orally. When I asked them for written documents, they initially seemed to be puzzled as they had already told me what I needed to know. I explained to them that my professors in Canada would like to see the written documents as proof; therefore, I needed to collect written documents to show them. Eventually, I was able to gain access to the Wulai Township Hall to review some of the documents related to weaving activities stored in their office cabinets. However, except for the number of the households in Wulai, I did not obtain the latest census data.

3.5.6 Ethics

Drawing upon the work of O'Connell-Davidson and Layder (1994, p.55), Dowling (2005, p.19), discussing research ethics, stated that "conduct of researchers and their responsibilities and obligations to those involved in the research, including sponsors, the general public and most importantly, the subjects of the research, constitute an issue that must be dealt with in your research." I prepared the following documents to address ethical aspects of the research: 1) Application for ethics review of research involving human participants; 2) Consent Form; 3) Focus group information letter; 4) Sample questions for open-ended interviews; 5) Focus group questions; and 6) Research proposal. The University of Waterloo ethics committees approved my research before I started my fieldwork in May 2006.

In her discussion of ethical guidelines, Dowling (2005, p.22) noted that "what is appropriate in one situation will be inappropriate in another." In my case, instead of

distributing consent forms, I took informal oral consent before research participants participated as interviewees. I conducted interviews in a casual manner as I found that the participants were not comfortable being interviewed in a formal setting. During interviews, I asked them if I could take notes about what they said. As discussed in Section 3.5.3, I deliberately informed people of my purpose of stay in Wulai village. When I had my gatekeeper with me, she explained to her community members that I came to Wulai to understand the Atayal's weaving history in Wulai. When I interacted with the community members who did not speak Japanese, I depended on my gatekeeper to introduce me. The language barrier sometimes prevented me from fully engaging in conversations with my informants to ensure that they knew exactly what I intended to do in my research. Towards the end of my stay in Wulai, due to miscommunication, I faced a difficult situation with some of my key informants and I learned a great deal from the experience. Unintentionally, I made some of my research participants feel threatened and they felt that my research might harm them.

Lesson Learned

From mid-July 2006, four weavers worked for the Atayal's traditional costume revival project. This project was funded through the Wulai Atayal Museum and their work needed to be kept confidential. I asked one of the weavers (Weaver A) if I could accompany them. Weaver A told me in Japanese that the other three weavers had agreed to have me around. She also asked me to photograph their project as they needed to keep records of their progress. As requested, I took their pictures whenever I visited their project office. I did not ask for permission from each of the weavers as I assumed that my role (taking pictures for them) was understood by them.

One day, Weaver A told me that other three weavers were now concerned about my presence in their office. They were afraid that I might share the pictures with other weavers or any other third party who might be interested in stealing their analytical technique. Those three weavers were not comfortable asking me directly not to take their pictures; therefore, Weaver A, the one who brought me to their office, was advised to talk to me in person. Weaver A told me that I could write briefly about their work; however,

no pictures should be shared with anyone else. Because the "rights" were reserved by the Wulai Atayal Museum, they were afraid that they might get into trouble by letting me take their pictures. I explained to Weaver A very explicitly in Japanese that all of their information would be kept in confidence and I had no intention whatsoever to jeopardize their work. Weaver A had explained to me that for a long time, the indigenous peoples in Taiwan had lost their rights in many ways so they were also afraid about losing their "right" to work with the Wulai Atayal Museum. Weaver A needed to prove that I would keep my promise that all information would be kept in confidence. My supervisor immediately wrote a letter in English, had it translated into Mandarin and sent it to me via email. I printed out the letter and gave it to Weaver A.

Weaver A suggested that I had better not come to their project office for a while. I never got a chance to go back to their project office although I met those three weavers at occasional tea times on later occasions. I felt that I had lost the trust of those three weavers. However, on August 30, 2006 the night before I left Wulai, all three weavers showed up for my farewell dinner party. We never really talked about what had happened in July. Surprisingly, however, they told me to come back to Wulai after I had finished my Master's work. I talked to Weaver A about the change. She told me that they finally understood that I was not there to harm them. When I reflected on what had happened, I realised that the two incidents might have helped the weavers to understand my work.

In late July and the days the followed, I learned how to weave from one of the weavers. After I started to weave by myself, I realised the complexity of their weaving work. When I had only observed their weaving work, I had not realised how difficult it is to make vertical straight lines. Without a proper amount of tension in the warp, beautiful vertical straight lines could not be made. Through trying to do it myself, I had a better idea of what these women do, even though I had not gone through the painstaking task of reconstructing lost techniques. More importantly, my willingness to show interest in what these women were actually doing gained their respect and distinguished me from other researchers who had come and gone briefly and had not made the commitment of spending time with them, let alone learning how to weave. Furthermore, I took a short

trip back to Japan to visit the Tenri Art Museum in August 2006. The museum stores a large collection of the Atayal's original textiles. Due to the weavers' requests, I photographed the Atayal's original textiles and enlarged the photographs so that the weavers could read and reconstruct the number of threads used in weaving clothes. After two weeks in Japan, I returned to Wulai to spend another two weeks meet the weavers. I gave all the four weavers a copy of the CDs that contained all the pictures I took in the Tenri Art Museum. They were pleased to get the enlarged photos.

Through these experiences, I learned a great deal about the importance and difficulty of conducting my research in an ethical manner. Despite serious attention been paid to research ethics prior to my entering the research area, challenges still arose in the field.

3.6 Procedures for Data Analysis

3.6.1 Procedures to Analyse Interview Data

In terms of interview data, as I felt that it was not culturally appropriate to tape-record my interviewees' accounts, all my interview data were written down in my field notes. After each interview was over, I quickly jotted down comments from my interviewees. Upon completion of note taking, I carefully read my interview notes to identify key words. To analyse data, I particularly focused on gender differences in social, political, and economic inequalities for both women and men. As Cope (2002) suggested, I tried to consider differences as part of a larger system of gender relations that are deeply embedded in social, cultural, political, and economic processes. Reading through the interview notes line by line, I circled the five key words: 1) weaving, 2) tourism, 3) colonialism, 4) identity, and 5) gender. Then, I read through the interview data once more and highlighted any comments that contained the essences of identities such as culture, ethnicity, gender, place, race, and religion. After that, I examined if any words were relevant to my research objectives. Then, I further categorised the words into the eleven themes: 1) weaving, 2) international tourism, 3) domestic tourism, 4) Japanese colonialism, 5) Han Chinese colonialism, 6) cultural identity, 7) ethnic identity, 8) gendered identity, 9) racial identity, 10) place identity, and 11) religious identity. By

comparing the themes with photos taken during and after the interviews, I determined key themes. Then, I identified both general and unique themes from the interview data. To capture the essences of both unique and common themes, I used the identity diagram and illustrated what elements constitute a weaver's multiple identities. In the case of the Atayal, five identities were initially identified: culture, ethnicity, gender, race, place, and religion. The diagram will be used in Chapters 5, 6, and 7 to summarize the discussion of how Wulai Atayal's multiple identities have been shifted through their experiences with postcolonialism as well as tourism development.

3.6.2 Textual Data and Discourse Analyses

To analyse my textual data, I applied colonial discourse analysis as a method. Colonial discourse refers to "the apparatus of power that legitimates colonial rule over people and places at distance" (Blunt & Wills, 2000, p.181). As Loomba (2005, p.42) noted, "knowledge is not innocent but profoundly connected with the operations of power."

Johnston (2003, p.133) defined discourse analysis as "a specific form of text analysis which usually has set patterns. Specific linguistic features may be the focus, for example, vocabulary, grammar, punctuation, turn-taking, types of speech acts, direct and indirect expression." Discourse analysis helps to identify social and ideological elements rather than semantic or linguistic elements (Johnston, 2003). As noted in Section. 2.3.3, colonial discourse is a way to analyse the wide variety of texts of colonialism as "something more than mere documentation or 'evidence'" (Young, 1995, p.163).

Regarding the usefulness of colonial discourse as a way to analyse data, Loomba (2005, p45) argued that:

Discourse analysis makes it possible to trace connections between the visible and the hidden, the dominant and the marginalized, ideas and institutions. It allows us to see how power works through language, literature, culture and the institutions which regulate our daily lives

In other words, colonial discourse analysis allows us to understand colonial ideas, knowledge and power. Using colonial reports produced by the colonial government of Japan, I have examined how the colonizers had produced the knowledge of the

indigenous peoples as colonial Other. In analysis of colonial reports, Obergorn (2003, p.10) suggested that “one important way of interpreting the production of statements is the state’s need for legitimating, for processes of state formation to be acceptable to people outside the state apparatus.”

In my research, I specifically focused on the use of the binary notions of civilized/savages, colonizers/colonized/, self/other, and masculine/feminine to understand how the colonial state of Japan attempted to legitimate its occupation in Taiwan and to identify any third place produced between the colonizers and colonized. In addition, I also analysed tourism brochures and books written by Han Chinese. By paying particular attention to the role of language and discourse in creating and sustaining power relations, I have analysed how power and knowledge were constructed by Nationalist China.

3.6.3 Translation of the Data

As Smith (2003) pointed out, when working in different cultures and languages, translation of interview data requires great care. While collecting data, I made notes either in Japanese or English depending on the language used by the research participants. I analysed the interviews in Japanese or in English, making notes how the research participants used particular ideas or words in Japanese. I only translated the participants' wording from Japanese to English in the final version of the thesis to be presented in English. This approach allowed me to examine the participants' exact words and to explore their intended meaning. Meanwhile, I analysed two interview data that were translated from Mandarin to English or from Mandarin to Japanese by my translators. Smith (2003) revealed her experience that a translator or an interpreter often had to summarise roughly the meaning of what the interviewees said in order to let the interview proceed. To prevent this situation, I asked my translators to take notes in their first language, Mandarin during the interviews. After each interviews were over, we discussed the contents of the interviews in English or in Japanese. During the discussions, they translated their memos from Mandarin to English or from Mandarin to Japanese for me, and I made notes in English or Japanese depending on the language used in the discussion. While analysing data, I examined the notes written in English or Japanese. In

writing up my research findings, I kept the wording the same as the notes recorded in the discussions.

3.7 Summary of the Chapter

Graham (2005, p.8) noted that “any piece of geographical research is based on philosophical assumptions or choices.” My ontological and epistemological beliefs are embedded in the notions of subjectivity and interpretivism. As my overarching research paradigm, I used a critical paradigm. Drawing upon the work of Memmi (1967) and Said (1978), Aichison (2000) argued that postcolonial feminist approach is useful to examine historical constructions of women as Other and simultaneously provide a critique of the gendered legacy of colonialism which is manifest in the everyday structures and processes of contemporary society. Through the lens of postcolonialism and feminism, my research is intended to reveal the power struggles and resistances the Atayal have experienced over the past 100 years under the two colonial regimes and how the colonial powers have affected the way the Atayal have negotiated their multiple identities. Using postcolonial and feminist theory as my research approach, I attempted to capture the lived experiences of the nine indigenous weavers in Wulai, Taiwan. I also collected oral histories and memories from the elder Atayal who had experienced the Japan’s colonization. In doing so, I constantly reflected who I am and how my positionality affected the way I understood their experiences.

For data collection, I used participant observations and in-depth interviews as my main methods. During the three and a half months of my fieldwork in Wulai, I lived with an Atayal family. By emerging myself into their everyday life, I tried to learn the way the Atayal family lives. By observing various church, weaving, and festival related activities that happened in Wulai and elsewhere, I attempted to learn how the Atayal interact with each other.

In terms of in-depth interviews, I heavily depended on my gatekeeper to recruit my key informants. This decision significantly limited my accessibility to some of the identified key informants; therefore, potentially distorted my understanding of the issues I was

researching. A language barrier also became another obstacle to conducting this research. As I was not competent in Mandarin, I used Japanese or English to conduct in-depth interviews with my key informants. I mostly conducted unstructured in-depth interviews with the respondents by myself in Japanese. However, on a few occasions, I conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews in Mandarin through the assistance of interpreters. In those cases, I acknowledge that all extracted information was filtered by the third person's interpretations. To compensate for a lack of some of the key information, I also collected participant observation as well as interviews with another thirty two individuals from the community as well as outside of the community. To triangulate data, I also collected visual and textual data both in Mandarin and Japanese.

For data analysis, I analysed interview data by focusing on unique as well as common essences of the lived experiences of the nine indigenous weavers in Wulai. After identifying key themes, I drew an identity diagram for each weaver to highlight what elements constitute each weaver's multiple identities. The "shifts in multiple identities diagram" also helped me to visualize how the Wulai Atayal have reconstructed their multiple identities through their experiences with Japan's and China's colonization as well as tourism development. In addition to that, I adopted an idea of colonial discourse to analyse colonial reports. By focusing on particular texts that the colonizers had used to describe the indigenous peoples of Taiwan, particularly the Atayal, I tried to identify social and ideological elements that had constituted the particular knowledge.

CHAPTER 4

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

4.1 Introduction

To better understand the discussions of Japanese and Chinese colonization of Taiwan in relation to the indigenous people, it is essential to provide some background information about Taiwan. In this chapter, I briefly describe the physical geography, people and society of Taiwan, and Taiwan's colonial history, as well as political economy. The first section explains the physical geography of Taiwan, specifically focusing on mountains as the main physical features of Taiwan. My aim here is to highlight the importance of mountains for the indigenous peoples of Taiwan, particularly the Atayal, to construct their place identity.

In the second and third sections, I examine the ethnic composition of Taiwan. In my research, I focus on the viewpoints of the indigenous peoples of Taiwan, particularly the Atayal people. To understand how the indigenous peoples are situated in Taiwan, it is necessary to understand the complexity of the ethnic composition of Taiwan. In the third section, I highlight Christianity as one of unique attributes attached to the indigenous peoples. This information will help in understanding the identity formation of nine indigenous female weavers in Wulai which will be discussed in Chapter 7. In the fourth section, I provide a brief overview of the colonial history of Taiwan. For the past four hundred years, Taiwan has been colonized by both Western and Asian nations including Portugal, Holland, Spain, Japan, and China. It is not within the scope of this thesis to review all of the colonial practices that have happened in Taiwan; however, my intention here is to highlight the significance of Taiwan as a colony for resource extraction, as well as the connection between the Dutch's colonization and Chinese immigration to Taiwan. As the number of Chinese immigrants increased, the indigenous peoples were pushed to the east side of Taiwan. The Chinese have been long involved in shaping the life of the

indigenous peoples; therefore, it is worth noting this historical linkage. In the fifth section, I explain the political economy of Taiwan in relation to China, Japan and the United States. With several exceptions such as the World Tourism Organization (WTO), Taiwan has been excluded from membership and participation in international organizations such as the United Nations. This section will provide background information necessary to understand why the Atayal have revived their weaving culture through the aid of Taiwan's government which will be further noted in Chapter 7.

4.2 Geography of Taiwan

Taiwan is a mountainous country. Shaped like a tobacco leaf, Taiwan is located 100 miles off the southeast coast of China (Munsterhjelm, 2002) (Figure 4-1). It is a small island that is 377 kilometers long and 142 kilometers wide (Cauquelin, 2004). With the Tropic of Cancer running through the middle of it, Taiwan is divided in a half by the Central Mountain Range, with some peaks over 3500 meters high (Cauquelin, 2004). More than two-thirds of Taiwan's surface is covered by mountains (Copper, 2003) and this is where the majority of indigenous people now live.



Figure 4-1: A Map of Taiwan

Taiwan has subtropical climate. From April or May to September or October are hot humid summers. From December to February, Taiwan offers short and mild winter (Copper, 2003). The late summer and early fall is Taiwan's typhoon season, sometimes causing severe damages to buildings and crops as well as flooding (Copper, 2003). With plentiful rainfall and good soil compositions, Taiwan's forests have survived extensive cutting for many years and still cover half the island's land surface (Copper, 2003).

4.3 People in Taiwan

In terms of population, there are close to twenty three million people in Taiwan (Copper, 2003). Although there is disagreement about whether the term “ethnic” accurately describes different social groups in Taiwan, Taiwan’s people are generally described as being in four major groups: the indigenous peoples, two groups of Taiwanese (Fukienese or Hoklo and Hakka), and mainland Chinese (Copper, 2003, p.68). The indigenous peoples are usually seen as being ethnically distinct from the other three groups, and they have been broadly defined into two groups: the lowland and mountain indigenous peoples (Copper, 2003). In this research, the indigenous peoples that are referred to are those in the mountains. Many lowland indigenous peoples were either killed or assimilated by the Chinese and it is, thus, difficult to trace their indigenous identity. On the other hand, mountain indigenous peoples still maintain their distinct indigenous identity although their identity has been considerably modified through the influences from their colonial encounters.

The other three groups all originated in mainland China although their provincial origins and the time they arrived in Taiwan were different (Copper, 2003). “Taiwanese” are generally described as those who had arrived in Taiwan before 1945 whereas “mainland Chinese” are those who settled down in Taiwan after 1945 when Chiang Kai-shek took over the country (Copper, 2003, p.12). While the Fukien Taiwanese came mostly from the southern part of Fukien (or Fujian) Province in China, Hakka mostly came from Kwangtung although some also came from southern Fukien (Copper, 2003). Although scholars such as Allio (1998) and Arrigo et al. (2002) have pointed out that the number of the indigenous peoples recorded by the census might be an underestimate of the reality, it is believed that there are roughly about 400,000 indigenous people who constitute only 2 percent of the total population of Taiwan (Munsterhjelm, 2002). Taiwan is mainly populated by the Chinese: Hakkas (10 percent), the Fukien Taiwanese (75 percent), and the Mainlanders (13 percent) (Copper, 2003).

4.4 Indigenous Peoples in Taiwan

As of January 2007, thirteen indigenous groups are officially recognised: the Atayal, the Taroko, the Saisiyat, the Thao, the Bunun, the Kavalan, the Amis, the Tsou, the Rukai, the Puyuma, the Paiwan, the Yami and the Sakizaya (The China Post, 2007) (Figure 4-2). As will be discussed in Chapter 5, these official classifications were originally developed by Japanese anthropologists (Munsterhjelm, 2002; Hitchcock, 2003). In early twentieth century, the indigenous peoples were classified into nine groups by those anthropologists as a part of colonization efforts. In recent years, some indigenous people such as the Taroko challenged the government of Taiwan who had continued to use the original schemes developed by the Japanese (Munsterhjelm, 2002). The result is that the official classification has changed accordingly and is still under debate.



Figure 4-2: Distribution of the Indigenous Peoples of Taiwan

Except for the Yami tribe who live on Orchid Island off the southeast of Taiwan, most indigenous peoples dwell in the Central Mountain Range and some on the east coastal plains (Copper, 2003). Although there has been considerable debate whether the indigenous peoples of Taiwan originated in Southeast Asia/South China or north China and/or Japan (Stainton, 1999; Copper, 2003), many scholars have advocated that Taiwan's indigenous peoples originated in the Austronesian linguistic family (Hsieh, 1994a; Arrigo et al., 2002; Hitchcock, 2003; Cauquelin, 2004; Simon, 2004), whose area of distribution is the "world's largest after that of the Indo-European languages" (Allio, 1998, p.1), extending from Madagascar to Easter Island and Hawaii, and from Taiwan to New Zealand. It is believed that indigenous peoples have lived in Taiwan for 6,000 years (Simon, 2002).

As a minority of Taiwan's society, indigenous peoples face many challenges although they have gained some successes since the lifting of martial law in 1987. First, the indigenous population has a lower socio-economic status than the Han Chinese (Copper, 2003). For instance, household incomes of the indigenous peoples in Taiwan are less than forty percent of the national average (Munsterhjelm, 2002). Widespread social discrimination is another issue that the indigenous peoples continuously have to face. According to a survey conducted by a sociologist from the Institute of ethnology of Academia Sinica, Taiwan's largest research institute, only 45 percent of Chinese would allow inter-marriage with the indigenous peoples whereas 70 to 80 percent would let their children get married to Chinese (Munsterhjelm, 2002). In addition to names and official designations, high unemployment rates and social discrimination, other issues include indigenous land rights (see the Taroko's case in Simon, 2002).

4.4.1 Christianity and the Indigenous People

Of the 400,000 indigenous people in Taiwan, just over 64 per cent identified themselves as being Christian (Stainton, 2002). According to Stainton (2002), the percentage varies from group to group, with 25 percent of the Saisiat, 26 per cent of the Puyuma, 84 per cent of the Atayal/Taroko, 86 per cent of the Bunnun, 88 percent of the Rukai, and 91

percent of the Tao (Stainton, 2002, p.63) claiming this religion. These percentages make one-quarter of Taiwan's Christians (Stainton, 2002). Considering the fact that only three percent of the total population of Taiwan is Christian (Stainton, 2002), Christianity stands out as one a unique indigenous attributes. According to Hitchcock (2003, p.77), Christianity is one emblem of non-Han Chinese identity, which the indigenous people appropriated in the struggle to cope with the impact of "Han civilization."

The history of the Presbyterian Church and the indigenous people begins with Canadian and British Presbyterian missionary work in the 1860s and 1870s (Rubinstein, 2001). George Leslie MacKay from Ontario, Canada was the most famous missionary who worked with the indigenous peoples during this period (Rubinstein, 2001). In terms of the denomination, Catholics and Presbyterians are the two largest groups in indigenous Taiwan, each claiming about a third of the population (Stainton, 2002). One interesting and significant difference between those two denominations is that indigenous ministers serve all 513 indigenous Presbyterian churches whereas foreign priests tend to serve in indigenous Catholic parishes (Stainton, 2002). Presbyterian organization thus supports the indigenous identity, including promotion of the use of indigenous languages not only in worship but also in presbytery meetings and events (Stainton, 2002). The Atayal in Wulai are no exception in this sense in that Presbyterian churches provided an important space for the Atayal and other tribes living in Wulai to constitute their religious identity (see Chapter 7).

4.5 The Atayal

The Atayal is the second largest indigenous group in Taiwan (Hsieh, 1994a). They mostly live the following eight counties in the northern part of Taiwan: Taipei, Tao-yuan, Hsinchu, Miaoli, Taichung, Nantou, Hualien, and Ilan (Hsieh, 1994a). The Atayal's are distributed across two-third of the mountainous areas of Taiwan, or two-ninths of the island, is the widest among the aboriginal tribes (Wulai Atayal Museum, 2006). Based on linguistic differences, the Atayal people are further categorised into three sub-groups: Atayal proper, Tseole, and Sedeq (Hsieh, 1994a). The Atayal are a diverse group that is distributed over eight counties. Although scholars such as (Hsieh, 1994a) argue that

common cultural features exist among the Atayal, there are also regional differences among the Atayal. In my research, I focus on the Atayal in Wulai which belongs to Taipei County. To further clarify the structure of this research, Chapter 5 discusses the Atayal's experience as a whole. In Chapter 6, I narrow my focus to a smaller region – the Wulai Atayal who live in Taipei County. In Chapter 7, I further focus on specific individuals – nine indigenous female weavers who live in Wulai.

4.5.1 The Wulai Atayal

A Brief History of Wulai

According to Chang (2004), the Wulai Atayal's original ancestor Yavipuna migrated from the Papawaka area, or the present day Ren-ai Township of Nantou County. During the Japan's occupation, the Japanese relocated the Atayal to the five villages to consolidate administration of the Atayal (Wulai Township Office, 2004). There are thirty rural townships, classified by the nationalist Chinese government as "mountain townships" whose magistrates are required to be the indigenous peoples (Allio, 1998, Hsieh, 1994a). The township of Wulai belongs to one of the mountain townships and the only one in Taipei County (Hsieh, 1994a). Wulai is located 27 kilometers south of Taipei city (Hsieh, 1994a). The indigenous people of Wulai are considered to be one of the sub-groups of Atayal proper. The Township of Wulai consists of five villages: Jhongjih, Wulai, Sinsian, Siaoyi and Fushan (Figure 4-3). Except Wulai or "*Ulay*" which means hot spring in Atayal language, other villages hold the Chinese name given by the government (Hsieh, 1994a). The 2004 census data showed that Wulai had 767 households and 2192 residents including 851 aboriginals and 1341 Han Chinese (Wulai Township Office, 2004).

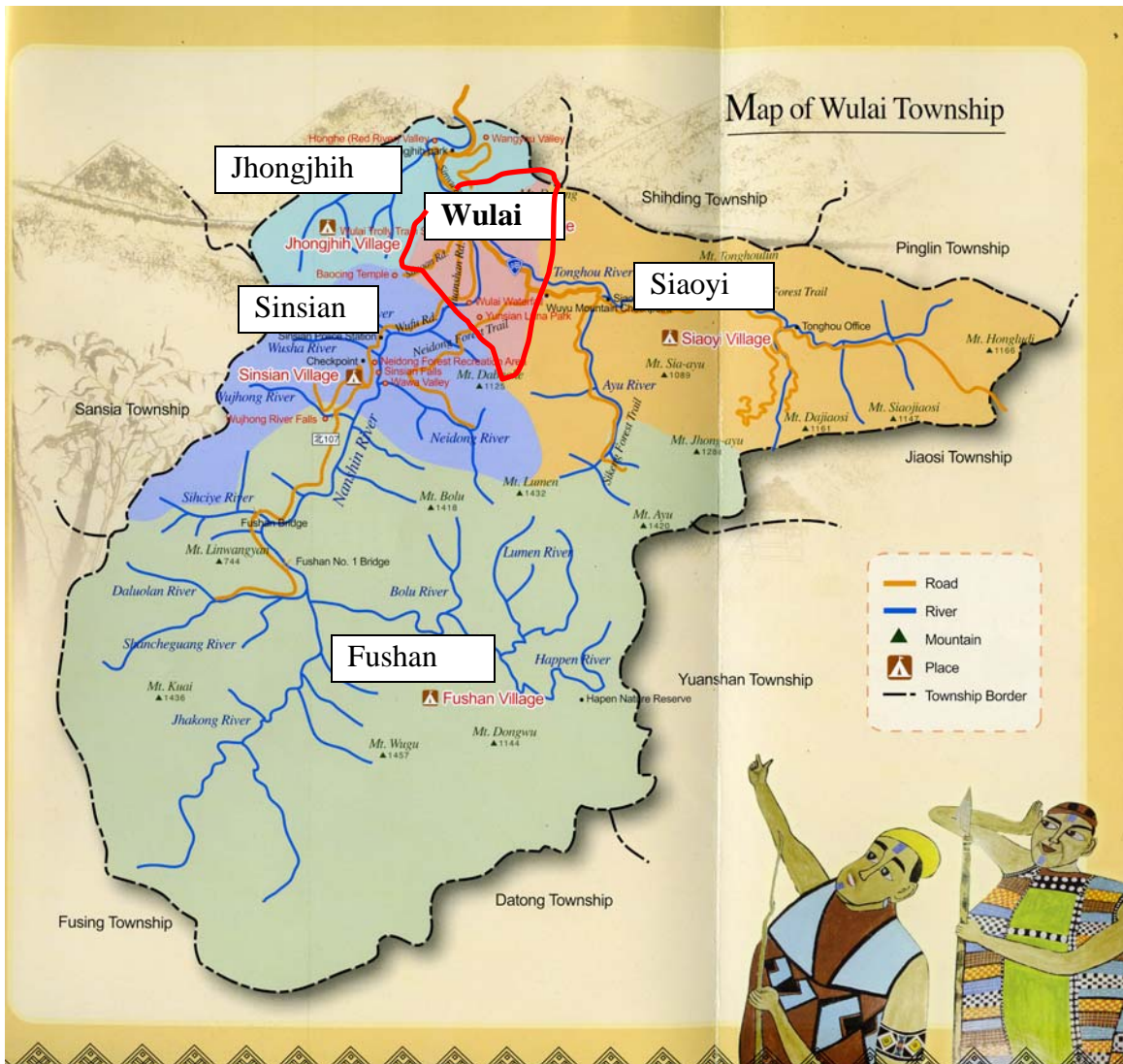


Figure 4-3: Map of Wulai Township from Tourism Brochure

Physical Landscape of Wulai

The main ridges and mountains of Wulai include Mount Syue, Chatian Mountains, Lumen Mountains and Luohong Mountains. Among them, three mountain peaks are higher than 2000 meters and 22 higher than 1000 meters. The highest peak is 2130 meters of Mount Taman. On the other hand, Wulai Waterfall lies on the left bank of Nan Shih River and is 100 meters in height. Hot springs in Wulai lies on the Nan Shih River and Tonghou River. According to the book, two or three hundred years ago, the Atayal in Wulai had applied hot spring water from Nan Shih River as their natural bath. Later, the

Japanese built a “Police Club” on the east bank of Nan Shih River and a public bath for the indigenous people on the west bank.

4.6 Brief Colonial History of Taiwan

To better understand Taiwan’s colonial history for the past 100 years, it is necessary to understand what had happened prior to Japan’s colonization in 1895. This section begins with the “discovery” of Taiwan by the West 400 years ago. Taiwan was first introduced to the West as *Ilha Formosa*, ‘the Beautiful Island’, by Portuguese who were struck by the great beauty of its green mountains (Cauquelin, 2004). Following a brief settlement of Portuguese in northern Taiwan, the Dutch East Indian Company colonized the southwestern part of Taiwan from 1624 to 1662 (Cauquelin, 2004). At the beginning of the Dutch colonization, the Chinese population was relatively small compared to that of the indigenous population (Copper, 2003). However, after the Dutch recruited Chinese labour from the mainland for rice and sugar production, Chinese immigration increased (Ka, 1995; Copper, 2003).

With Chinese labourers, the Dutch fostered its lucrative trade in sugar with southern China and Japan (Ka, 1995). Some 10,640,000 pounds of sugar was sent to Japan in a single year, and Taiwan became the biggest sugar exporter of the Dutch colonies in the 1650s (Ka, 1995). The Dutch governor described Taiwan as an “excellent trading port, enabling 100 percent to be made on all goods” (Cauquelin, 2004, p.6), and Taiwan was considered to be the most important colony for resource extraction by the Dutch. While the Dutch set up a trading post in southern Taiwan, the northern part of Taiwan was controlled by the Spanish. The Spanish took control of the north-eastern cape of the island in 1626 (Cauquelin, 2004). However, the Spanish were then driven out in 1642 when a native rebellion in the Philippines threatened them (Cauquelin, 2004). On the other hand, the number of Chinese immigrants started to increase in 1644 after the fall of the Ming Dynasty in China (Cauquelin, 2004).

In 1661, the Dutch were expelled by Koxinga (Chen Ch’eng-kung) who retreated to Taiwan with his Fukienese soldiers to escape the conquering China’s Qing government

(Ka, 1995). His rule was the first Chinese government on Taiwan and resulted in massive immigration and settlement of Chinese in Taiwan (Munsterhjelm, 2002). In 1683, the Qing government placed Taiwan under the administration of the province of Fukien (Cauquelin, 2004). During the Qing dynasty (1644-1911), Chinese immigrants from Fukien and Canton created rice and sugarcane fields in Taiwan, further encroaching on the indigenous people's traditional hunting grounds (Ka, 1995; Arrigo et al., 2002). By 1684, Taiwan's Chinese population was about 100,000 – nearly equal to the size of the indigenous population (Munsterhjelm, 2002).

In late 1800s, the Qing administration expanded the camphor trade as a “means of weapons acquisitions, coastal defenses and modernization projects” (Munsterhjelm, 2002, p.53). Camphor was needed for the production of celluloid, smokeless gunpowder and many medicines (Munsterhjelm, 2002). This resource extraction caused friction between Chinese immigrants and the indigenous peoples. The Atayal, particularly, resisted the Qing government's camphor-related incursions (Munsterhjelm, 2002). The Qing government produced almost seven million pounds of camphor annually to sustain Qing's military power (Munsterhjelm, 2002). Taiwan remained under the control of the Qing dynasty for about two decades until Japan defeated the Qing in the first Sino-Japanese War in 1895 (Liao, 2006).

From 1895 to 1945, Taiwan was colonized by the Japanese for fifty years. Japan was the first country to control and rule the whole island of Taiwan (Lin & Keating, 2005). After its defeat from the World War II in 1945, Japan withdrew from Taiwan. Since 1949, Taiwan has been ruled first by Chiang Kai-shek and his Nationalist Party who had fled from mainland China to Taiwan in 1949 and, later, Taiwanese who had migrated from mainland China to Taiwan before 1945. As Chiu (1999) pointed out, this transition of ruling power from the Japanese to Han Chinese was not de-colonization but re-colonization of Taiwan for the indigenous peoples of Taiwan who had inhabited Taiwan for more than six thousand years.

As indicated above, the Dutch was the first colonizer that encouraged Chinese to migrate to Taiwan (Arrigo et al., 2002) although the number of Chinese immigrants remained relatively small. During the Dutch occupation, indigenous people were still the majority of the total population in Taiwan. After the Qing administration placed Taiwan under its rule, a massive number of Chinese started to migrate to Taiwan. By the time Japan occupied Taiwan, the number of indigenous people was much smaller than that of Chinese – only 1.64 percent of the total population (Hsieh, 1994b). Afterwards, further demographic change in the island occurred when Chiang Kai-shek brought another two million Chinese with him from mainland China to Taiwan. Taiwan is now largely populated with descendants of immigrants from mainland China. This complicates Taiwan's politics today and it is to these concerns that we now turn.

4.7 Political Economy of Taiwan

In discussing Taiwan's political economy, it is necessary to examine Taiwan's position in the context of today's global context. Ching (2001) argued that Taiwan's politics can not be discussed without reference to China and Japan. I argue that the United States should not be left out from the discussion either as it has played an important role in shaping Taiwan's political economy. Like China and Japan, the United States has also swayed the fate of Taiwan. In the next section, first I discuss how the San Francisco Peace Treaty of 1952 has created the unresolved sovereignty dispute between China and Taiwan. Then, I briefly describe how the Cold War and the roles played by the United States have changed today's Taiwan's political status in international arena. Finally, I explain how aid from the United States boosted Taiwan's rapid economic growth.

4.7.1 San Francisco Peace Treaty and the Unresolved Problem of Taiwan

After its defeat from World War II in 1945, Japan signed a peace treaty with forty-eight countries via the San Francisco Treaty in 1952 (Hara, 2001). In this treaty, Japan gave up its sovereignty over Taiwan and other colonies in Asia Pacific (Hara, 2001; Lin & Keating, 2005). However, as scholars such as Hara (2001; 2006) and Lin and Keating (2005) pointed out, the peace treaty did not state to "whom" the sovereignty of those territories would be given. This meant that although Taiwan was already ruled by Chiang

Kai-shek and his Nationalist Party from mainland China in 1952, the peace treaty did not state that Taiwan's sovereignty was handed over from Japan to China. This issue has remained unresolved even today, making Taiwan's status ambiguous. This ambiguity made Taiwan's future unclear, and the United States was the key player to shape the fate of Taiwan.

4.7.2 The Cold War, the United States, and the Fate of Taiwan

In December 1949, after his defeat from the rising power of Mao Zedong's Communist Party in China, Chiang Kai-shek and his Nationalist Party, the Kuomintang (KMT), invaded Taiwan (Copper, 2003). Hoping to retake mainland China, Chiang Kai-shek set up a new government and declared martial law in Taiwan to prepare for their last stand (Mintz, 1995; Cauquelin, 2004). After Chiang Kai-shek took over Taiwan, the United States initially considered the tension between China and Taiwan as a "civil conflict in China" (Lin & Keating, 2005, p.62). However, the United States quickly changed its attitude in June 1950 when North Korea invaded the southern part of Korea through the aid of the Soviet Union (Lin & Keating, 2005). U.S. President Truman saw this invasion as a "larger communist threat" to the United States (Lin & Keating, 2005). In its efforts to prevent the spread of global communism, Taiwan was valued as a non-communist ally and became part of the Western bloc (Tien, 1989; Lin & Keating, 2005).

In the 1960s, when the Vietnam War broke out, U.S. President Kennedy saw Taiwan as a strategically important place for action in Southeast Asia (Manthorpe, 2005). Taiwan became a base for American bombing raids on North Vietnam as well as a rest and recreation centre for troops (Manthorpe, 2005). This war caused Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist Party to be abandoned by the U.S (Manthorpe, 2005). Behind the scenes, however, the United States became concerned with China's self-imposed isolation (Manthorpe, 2005). For the long-term stabilization of Asia, the United States was to reach an accord with China (Manthorpe, 2005).

In the 1970s, changes in the political relationship between China and the United States put Taiwan into a vulnerable position. In 1971, Taiwan lost its seat to the Republic of

China in the United Nations (Lin & Keating, 2005). After 1972, when U.S. President Nixon made his historic visit to China, Taiwan found itself losing close ties with the Western countries (Rubinstein, 2001). In his visit, Nixon could have insisted that Taiwan's legal position be resolved by the United Nations (Manthrope, 2005). However, Nixon did not challenge Mao's position that "there is but one China and Taiwan is a part of China" (Manthrope, 2005, p.212). The United States still recognised Taiwan as the government of China and kept its embassy there. However, this incident gradually led the majority of nations to recognise the Republic of China as the government of China, including Japan's recognition of that in 1973 (Simon, 2002). Meanwhile, in Taiwan, critics of the regime at home, students and intellectuals saw this situation as reflecting the regime's vulnerability and held a series of demonstrations calling for political reforms (Rubinstein, 2001).

In China, Mao pressed Nixon to move the American embassy from Taipei to Beijing (Manthorpe, 2005). Mao's request was not met during Nixon's presidency. However, in 1979 U.S. President Carter finally shifted the embassy from Taiwan to China (Lin & Keating, 2005). Furthermore, the Carter administration abrogated the mutual defense treaty with Taiwan (Manthorpe, 2005). Meanwhile, both houses in the United States' Congress approved the Taiwan Relations Act that attempted to assure the United States' support for Taiwan's defense and the diplomatic tie with Taiwan at an informal level (Manthorpe, 2005). Despite the approval of the Act, however, Taiwan could no longer hold the status of a nation state. More and more countries recognised the Republic of China, making it difficult for Taiwan to obtain official diplomatic ties with the majority of nations (Lin & Keating, 2005).

Meanwhile internally to Taiwan, Chiang Kai-shek died in 1975. His oldest son, Chiang Ching-kuo succeeded his father's Kuomintang (Lin & Keating, 2005). Although Chiang Ching-kuo welcomed the Taiwan Relations Act, scholars such as Manthorpe (2005) argued that this shift in U.S-China relation convinced Chiang Ching-kuo to promote democracy in Taiwan so that Taiwan could regain a close diplomatic relations with the United States. According to Manthorpe (2005), Chiang Ching-kuo did not wish to make

Taiwan a separate state from China. Chiang Ching-kuo still believed that his father's dream could come true; however, Chiang Ching-kuo also saw that bringing democracy to Taiwan was the only way to secure its security through support from the United States (Manthorpe, 2005). Ironically, this promotion of democracy by Chiang Ching-kuo eventually triggered promotion of Taiwan's independence movement by the opposition party, the Democratic Progressive Party. This political shift was also a key incident that has shifted the life of the indigenous peoples and further details with regards to Taiwan's democracy and politics after 1980s will be discussed in Chapter 7.

4.7.3 Taiwan's Economic Miracle and the Roles of the United States

Not only politics but also the economy of Taiwan was greatly influenced by the United States. As scholars such as Copper (2003) and Manthorpe (2005) argued, in the early 1950s to the mid-1960s, American economic aid played an important role in reviving Taiwan's economy. From 1951 to 1964, by sending Taiwan US 100 million dollars annually that was made up of up to 80 percent in the form of non-repayable grants, the United States helped to frame the land reform program as well as infrastructure developments and industrial policy (Copper, 2003; Manthorpe, 2005). Although the economic aid from the United States ended in 1964, it had stimulated Taiwan's industrial progress enough to sustain growth (Copper, 2003). Later, Taiwan became a model country for developing countries because Taiwan was the only country in the world to experience increasing economic growth even after the termination of American aid assistance (Copper, 2003).

In the mid-1960s, Taiwan established export processing zones or EPZ to attract foreign investments (Copper, 2003). Taxes, interest rates on loans, regulations on the importation of raw materials, and laws regulating foreign investment were also changed (Copper, 2003). This export-led economic growth policy resulted in a marked increase in foreign capital investment in Taiwan: from a total of \$20 million from 1952 to 1959 to more than \$950 million between 1966 and 1973 (Copper, 2003, p.159). The main investors came from the United States, Japan, and overseas Chinese (Copper, 2003).

The leading export industries were mainly those that produced consumer goods including textiles, processed food products, leather goods, wood products, and paper products (Copper, 2003). These industries were almost exclusively labour intensive and accounted for nearly 60 percent of the increase in exports during the early 1960s (Copper, 2003). By the mid-1980s, more than \$500 million in foreign investment was absorbed by Taiwan annually (Copper, 2003). Taiwan's rapid economic development of the 1970s and 1980s is now referred to as the "Taiwanese miracle" (Simon, 2002, p.66). Taiwan's economic miracle, which promoted the development of labour intensive industries, certainly had implications for the indigenous peoples, and this will be elaborated upon through the experience of an Atayal woman in Chapter 6.

4.8 Summary of the Chapter

Within Taiwan, there are diverse ethnic groups including the thirteen tribes of indigenous peoples, two groups of Taiwanese, and mainland Chinese. The total population is dominated by the Taiwanese-Chinese (98 percent), and indigenous people constitute only 2 percent of the total population of Taiwan, most of who live in the mountains. The Atayal is the second largest and the most widely dispersed ethnic group in Taiwan. As a minority of the Taiwan's society, indigenous people still face many challenges, including lower socio-economic status and lack of full rights. Christianity is one of the distinct features which separate the indigenous peoples from the mainstream Taiwanese-Chinese. The two major denominations in Taiwan are Catholic and Presbyterian and they were introduced by missionaries from Great Britain and Canada.

Taiwan's colonial history is complex as it was invaded by many countries including Portugal, the Netherlands, Spain, China, and Japan. The Dutch were the first colonizers who brought significant economic and demographic changes in Taiwan. After the Dutch colonization, Taiwan became an important colony for resource extraction, notably sugar and camphor, and attracted Chinese workers to settle in Taiwan. Massive Chinese immigration into Taiwan occurred after the Qing rule and eliminated the plains indigenous peoples and pushed other indigenous peoples into mountainous eastern side of Taiwan.

There is a considerable debate about whether Taiwan is a province of China or an independent nation state. This unresolved political issue started with the ambiguous San Francisco Peace Treaty made between defeated Japan and forty eight other countries in 1952. After fifty-years of Japan's colonization, Taiwan was invaded in 1945 by Chiang Kai-shek and his nationalist party (Kuomintang) from mainland China. Taiwan was under the rule of the Kuomintang for the next fifty five years. During the Kuomintang's dictatorship, the United States significantly affected Taiwan's national political economy. The power relationship between the United States and China has influenced the way in which Taiwan positions itself as a democratic industrial nation.

CHAPTER 5

JAPAN'S COLONIZATION AND THE ATAYAL'S MULTIPLE IDENTITIES

5.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the experiences of an ethnic group - the Atayal. Unlike other tribes, the Atayal were particularly regarded by the Japanese as being dangerous and they were the main target of suppression by the Japanese colonial government. Focusing on the Atayal's facial tattooing, head-hunting, and weaving activities as a point of departure, I analyse how the Japanese repressed the Atayal under the Japanese colonial regime. By looking at the relationships between Japan's colonialism and its impacts on the Atayal's culture, my aim is to highlight the Atayal's struggles with and resistance to the Japan's colonial power and to demonstrate how the Atayal were forced to reconstruct their multiple identities under the Japan's colonial regime.

The discussion begins with a brief examination of the history of Japan's civilization and modernization during the Meiji period (1868-1912). This section will facilitate understanding of how Japan developed its imperial ideology. In the second section, I analyse how the Japanese colonial government constructed its colonial discourse about the indigenous peoples of Taiwan, particularly the Atayal. In the third section, I discuss how the colonial discourse impacted the ways in which Japan implemented its colonial policy on the indigenous peoples, including the Atayal. In the fourth section, I explain the nature of and relationships between facial tattooing, head-hunting, and weaving. This section will provide an understanding of the significance of facial tattooing, head-hunting, and weaving and their roles in the construction of the Atayal's cultural, place, and gender identities. Based on the preceding evidence, in the final section I argue that the outcome of the implementation of the colonial discourse by the Japanese regime destroyed the

Atayal's traditional culture and, thus, impacted the nature of the Atayal's multiple identities.

5.2 Japan's Imperialism

Loomba (2005) argued that imperialism and colonialism are defined differently depending on their historical contexts. In the case of Japan's colonization in Taiwan, first it is necessary to understand the modernization and civilization processes brought by Western countries to Japan during the Meiji period between 1868 and 1912. Ideology concerns “the underlying social/political reasons or purposes for seeking knowledge” (Hubbard et al., 2002, p.6). This brief introduction to the history of development of modern Japan inform how Japan established its imperial ideology as the first “non-Western” empire and how it pursued its colonial policy in Taiwan from 1895 to 1930 in order to compete with the “West.”

5.2.1 Modernization and Civilization in Japan

In 1854, when Japan finally opened up the country to Western contact, Japan found itself being unable to compete with the West. Japan was labeled as “backward” by the Western nations and Japan had no other choice but to accept the unequal treaties imposed upon it by the West - first with the United States, followed quickly by Britain, France, Russia and the Netherlands (Tipton, 2002). The treaties gave all the Western powers privileges, including low import duties fixed by treaties, opening of ports such as Yokohama to foreign residence and trade, and application of homeland laws of foreign residents who were accused of committing crimes in Japan (Tipton, 2002).

Hoping to revise the unequal treaties and win acceptance as an equal to the West, Japan established a new government called the Meiji in 1868 (Tipton, 2002). Unlike the previous Tokugawa shogunate, the Meiji government did not hesitate to adopt Western models and to use foreign advisers to restructure its political system (Tipton, 2002). Moreover, the Meiji leaders encouraged the adaptation of Western social customs and cultural styles to reach the goal of Western civilization and Enlightenment (Tipton, 2002: Wong, 2004). The Meiji government favoured this western way of thinking. Further, a

strong desire to gain Western approval encouraged the Meiji government to strengthen its economic power and industry. Japan began to industrialize its economy with the production of cotton and silk (Tipton, 2002). In the 1910s and 1920s, Japan became the largest producer of cotton and silk in the world (Tipton, 2002). This economic success was the beginning of the establishment of Japan's empire on the edge of the East.

5.2.2 Competing With the `West': Establishment of Japanese Empire

As Beasley (1987) pointed out, the characteristics of Japan's imperialism were quite different from those of Western nations such as Britain, France, Germany or the United States. Japan's imperialism was initially driven by the motivation to expand its empire as a means to challenge and resist Western imperialism (Beasley, 1987; Tipton, 2002; Narangoa & Cribb, 2003). This motivation was created by the unequal political and economic relationships that Western nations imposed on Japan from the middle of the nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, as discussed in the previous section. After China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese War, Japan officially annexed Taiwan, the Pescadores Islands, and the Liaodong Peninsula via the Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895 (Tipton, 2002). The acquisition of colonies through the military triumph gave the Japanese a sense of national prestige as well as self-confidence and self-respect (Tipton, 2002; Wong, 2004). The small island country could now count itself a “member of the exclusively Western club of colonial empire” (Wong, 2004, p.286). The concern about the Japanese self was crucial at the time when the country was ambitious to transform itself into a modern industrial nation and aspired to gain equal recognition from the West (Wong, 2004). Foreign Minister Inoue Kaoru's speech in 1887 reflects Japan's desire to be accepted by Western nations:

What we have to do is to transform our empire and our people, and make the empire like the countries of Europe and our people like the people of Europe. To put it differently, we have to establish a new, European-style empire on the edge of Asia (Cited in Tsurumi, 1977, p.1).

After the victory in the Sino-Japanese War, Japan attempted to establish its own empire in Asia and the Pacific, hoping to be equally treated with the Western nations. Japan's war victory against China certainly brought Japan into the Western nations'

consciousness as an “Asian imperialist” (Tipton, 2002, p.76). However, despite the recognition from Western nations, Japan was forced to abandon its claim to the Liaodong Peninsula via the Triple Intervention made by the Russian, German and French governments (Tipton, 2002). Although the Japanese government was informed about the intervention beforehand, this intervention was “a blow to their national pride and left a feeling of bitterness and resentment about not being treated as an equal” (Tipton, 2002, p.76).

With this resentful situation, Japan was well aware of its country's position as the first non-Western state to join the ranks of the nineteenth-century colonial powers. Scholars such as Tsurumi (1977) and Lin and Keating (2005) argued that the Meiji government was certain that Japan's colonial practices in Taiwan would be compared to European colonial rule in other parts of the globe; thus, they determined that Taiwan should become a model colony. Taiwan was to become a “well-regulated, economically productive territory, inhabited by a peaceful, industrious population” (Tsurumi, 1977, p.2).

To make Taiwan a model colony, Japan tried to follow in the footsteps of the West and to exercise its colonial power based on the notions of Enlightenment. Colonial government reports clearly show evidence that Japan articulated the idea of civilization into its own imperial ideology and manipulated the image of the indigenous peoples of Taiwan as their colonial Other. Using the idea of colonial discourse, the next two sections will examine Japan's colonial practices as they pertain to the indigenous peoples of Taiwan, including the Atayal.

5.3 Japan's Colonial Practices on the Indigenous Peoples of Taiwan

In this section, focusing on the indigenous peoples of Taiwan, I demonstrate how the Japanese colonial regime produced its colonial discourse. After fifteen years of occupation, *the Report on the Control of the Aborigines in Formosa* was published in English (Bureau of Aborigines Affairs, 1911). Obviously, the target audience for this report was English-speakers. This report highlights the situations that the colonial

government of Japan was dealing with in terms of the conquest of the indigenous peoples of Taiwan. A close examination of the statements allows us to understand how the colonial government exercised its power in an attempt to be accepted by European countries - the West, as well as to shape and to regulate the indigenous people's ways of life and their multiple identities based on the idea of Enlightenment.

5.3.1 Production of the Colonial Other - the Savages

Harrison (2003, p.342) argued that “the Japanese rulers defined the indigenous people not as savages, who were physically outside the realm of Chinese culture, but as a primitive people, who were temporally behind the Japanese and other modern nations.” According to Jahoda (1999, p.7), during the Enlightenment serious philosophical and scientific discussions began concerning the relationship between animals, notably apes, and humans, and the concept of “animality” emerged to describe the characteristics of savages. Europeans viewed savages as less than fully human, more like animals (Jahoda, 1999, p.11).

The colonial report commented on the indigenous peoples that “their intelligence is not low” (Bureau of Aborigines Affairs, 1911, p.3). As Harrison (2003) argued, the Japanese rulers might not have considered them as “ape-like” savages. However, the colonial report repeatedly used the term “savage” to describe the indigenous peoples of Taiwan. On the other hand, the term, “primitive” appeared only once in the text to describe the Yami as a “primitive race” (Bureau of Aborigines Affairs, 1911, p.3). This tendency, I argue, shows the colonial government's intention to emphasize the Enlightenment dichotomy between us (civilized) and them (savages).

As Ashcroft et al. (2000) pointed out, the concept of a savage/civilized dichotomy was important as it was the Western norm, define other peoples as inferior, different, deviant, and subordinate in Eurocentric epistemologies and imperial/colonial ideologies. But why did the Japanese colonial adopt a Western perspective? According to Stainton (1999, p.30), like other colonial empires in the West, the Japanese wanted to show themselves as the “saviors” of the indigenous peoples to legitimise its occupation of Taiwan. The

production of the colonial Other - the indigenous peoples as savages - was essential for the early part of Japan's colonization to show that Japan was leading the savages towards civilization. As will be shown in detail later (Section 5.4.1), indeed, the colonial government eagerly portrayed the Atayal as the “beastly” savages. This creation of an image of savages was first created by the ethnographic work conducted by the Japanese anthropologists who categorised the indigenous peoples into nine tribes of savages.

5.3.2 Creation of the “Formosan Race”: Nine Savage Tribes

At the turn of the last century, when power and progression were justified by race and Darwin's evolutionary theory, Japan used anthropology as the scientific means to contemplate its roots and also to convince the world that the nation was civilized and enlightened (Wong, 2004). By importing a popular Western ideology – social Darwinism that is to claim that hierarchies of wealth, power, status, and even health were not the products of moral or policy issues but the products of natural selection, the Japan developed its racial identity, Japanese as the superior race after the beginning of the Meiji Era (Yonezawa, 2005).

When Japan took over Taiwan in 1895, indigenous peoples numbered 317,936 (Hsieh, 1994b). For the first ten years of Japan's occupation (1895 - 1905), three Japanese anthropologists, Kanori Ino, Ryuzou Tori, and Ushinosuke Mori conducted the first extensive studies on the indigenous peoples of Taiwan (Kasahara, 1998). Using cultural and linguistic differences, the indigenous population was classified into nine tribal groups (Harrison, 2003): the Taiyal (or Atayal), Saisett (or Saisiyat), Bunun, Tsuou, Tsarisen (now Rukai), Paiwan, Piyuma, Ami, and Yami. The Atayal, who had mainly lived in northern part of Taiwan, were further classified as the northern tribe and the other eight tribes as the southern tribes. Meanwhile as a group, the indigenous peoples were given the title of the “Formosan Race” (*Takasago zoku* in Japanese) (Harrison, 2003, p.345).

Loomba (2005) noted that for colonial governments in the West, the gathering of information about its colony and the colonized and classifying them in various ways were used to determine strategies for their control. In the case of colonial Taiwan, the colonial government of Japan gathered information on the indigenous peoples to develop

strategies to control them. Following the initial work conducted by the three anthropologists, the colonial government continued to study the indigenous peoples (Kasahara, 1998). After a close examination of each tribe's livelihood, the concept called “development and suppression” was implemented as a colonial practice to control the indigenous peoples.

5.3.3 Colonial Practice: Development and Suppression

In discussions of Japanese colonial practices and the indigenous peoples, the police had a large role in the colonial administration (Lin & Keating, 2005; Tsai, 2006). The Report on the Colonial of the Aborigines in Formosa discussed the use of police as follows:

With the completion of the entire subjugation of the Formosan rebels in the island in 1902, more drastic measures were adopted towards the control of savages. All matters pertaining to savages and savage territory were transferred to the police authorities (Bureau of Aboriginal Affairs, 1911, p.6).

After the colonial government repressed most of the revolts in the plains in 1902, the colonial government embarked on a massive mobilization effort to control the indigenous peoples (Hsu, 2006). Japanese policemen were in charge of all indigenous affairs, and they had authority to garrison, administrate and educate the indigenous peoples (Tsurumi, 1977; Lin & Keating, 2005).

The concept of development and suppression was implemented to control the indigenous peoples. A report from the Bureau of Aboriginal Affairs (1911, p.4) discussed its intentions as follows:

Generally, there are two methods, namely, gradual development, and suppression. Even in the latter case, after suppression has been used, development must be added, while in the former case, a certain degree of force is necessary. Thus according to circumstances importance is attached to either of the two systems.

For the colonial government, development meant to transform the traditional livelihood of the indigenous people from hunting and gathering to farming and grazing, from a subsistence economy to the introduction of cash economy, and from “independently employed subject” to wage labourer (Ching, 2001, p.145). Education was another

colonial practice taken by the colonial government. As the report noted (Bureau of Aboriginal Affairs, 1911, p.9), the “savage children” were educated in an elementary course of Japanese language and manners at schools specifically designed for savage children.

Meanwhile, suppression was meant to disarm the indigenous peoples and to punish them if they disobeyed the commands of the Japanese authorities (Bureau of Aboriginal Affairs, 1911). By electrifying barbed wire fences, the Japanese kept the indigenous peoples under their special supervision, restricting all communication between the “savage areas” and the rest of Taiwan (Bate, 1952; Stainton, 1999, p.30). By applying the methods of development and suppression alternately, the colonial report noted that “as the circumstance demands or permits it, it is generally believed that they will advance gradually to certain degree of civilization” (Bureau of Aboriginal Affairs, 1911, p.7). Again, the colonial report stressed the importance of the civilization mission, and the acts of development and suppression were interpreted as a necessary process to be taken by the indigenous peoples.

Let me now briefly turn to another aspect of the colonial report, which demonstrates the concept of race. The colonial report described Han Chinese as “common people” and the indigenous peoples as “savages.” According to Hsu (2006), the colonial government segregated the indigenous peoples from the rest of those in Taiwan mainly because the colonial government was afraid that Han Chinese in the plains and the indigenous peoples in mountainous areas might cooperate to rebel against the Japanese colonial government. By separating the subjugated into two different groups, the colonial government's intention was to infuse consciousness of inequality by race. As Ashcroft et al.(2000, p.198) pointed out, race was particularly important to colonialism because drawing a binary distinction between civilized and savages helped colonialist powers to establish a dominance over subject peoples and, hence, to justify the imperial mission. Although race is not specifically an attribute of imperialism, the concept of race was appealing to imperialist nations because race often associated with ideas of superiority and a hierarchy of human types (Ashcroft et al., 2000). In the case of colonial Taiwan, the

hierarchy of human types was threefold: the Japanese on the top, Han Chinese next and the indigenous peoples on the bottom of the hierarchy. The colonial report portrayed the indigenous peoples not only as savages but also as racially inferior to hide the fact of oppression. This is particularly true in the case of the Atayal.

5.4 Japan's Colonial Practice with respect to the Atayal

Ogborn (2003) argued that the production of statements is a crucial part of states' policies and programs which seek to alter people's way of life and their identities. In the case of colonial state of Japan, again the Report on the Control of the Aborigines in Formosa (Bureau of Aboriginal Affairs, 1911) can be a useful document to examine the states' policies and practices on the indigenous people of Taiwan.

5.4.1 Production of Colonial Other: Tattooed Savages - the Atayal

The Report on the Control of the Aborigines in Formosa (Bureau of Aboriginal Affairs, 1911) described most of the indigenous peoples as "peaceful" although the report noted a few exceptions in the Bunun and Rukai groups. On the contrary; however, the Atayal were described as the "most powerful, dangerous, and least advanced savages" in Taiwan. The Japanese were particularly concerned with the Atayal because of their facial tattooing and men's head-hunting practices. The following quotes from the Report on the Control of the Aborigines in Formosa (1911, p.1) highlight how the Japanese perceived the Atayal as the most powerful tattooed savages:

The Tayal (Atayal) tribe tattoo their faces, and for this reason they are known as the tattooed savages...They are fierce by nature and are by far the largest and most powerful tribe of savages [*italics added*] in the island.

The report also described the nature of the Atayal men's head-hunting activity as follows:

The Taiyal (Atayal) savages look upon head-hunting as the head glorious thing in their life; inasmuch as the human head is required on every occasion, whenever they hold any religious rite or ceremony. When a dispute occurs between the members of a tribe, the decision is given in favour of the one who first secures a human head. When a savage had attained his majority, he is not permitted to join a company of adults until he gets a human head. In fact, head-hunting has come to be a custom amongst them which they consider to be an almost

indispensable part of their existence [italics add] (Bureau of Aboriginal Affairs, 1911, p.2).

As the last sentence noted, the report acknowledges that head-hunting was an essential part of the Atayal men's life. However, the report failed to explain why the Atayal men might consider head-hunting as an “indispensable part of their existence.” Rather, the report solely focuses on how head-hunting was practiced by the Atayal men. Here, we can see how seriously the Japanese colonial government considered the Atayal men's head-hunting activity as problematically dangerous for the Japanese:

Headhunting is performed somewhat after the following manner: - several of the tribe equipped with rifles and provisions, approach as near as possible to the frontier and hide themselves in the jungle in proximity to a frequented path. Here, whenever an opportunity arises, they shoot passers by, or emerging out from their hidden place, they make a sudden attack on the labourers who are working near such a spot. They remain in the vicinity for a number of days, and are not satisfied until they get the much coveted trophy. The lives of those engaged in various pursuits in the frontier districts are *consequently exposed to constant danger...* They not only seek the heads of Formosan and members of other tribes, as has always been their custom, but even *Japanese fall under their hands* [italics added] (Bureau of Aboriginal Affairs, 1911, p.2).

By describing how the Atayal betrayed Japanese who brought civilization to them, the following statement emphasized the Atayal's uncivilized behaviour.

Not infrequently, under the influence of wine, after they (the Atayal) were treated hospitably by (Japanese) officers in the station, *they (the Atayal) have killed some of their benefactors (Japanese)* [italics added] and carried back to their tribes the heads of such officers as trophies (Bureau of Aborigines Affairs, 1911, p.5).

The report further continued that the Atayal was the least advanced savage group amongst all the indigenous groups in Taiwan:

In degree of civilization, the other eight tribes are more advanced in condition (Bureau of Aboriginal Affairs, 1911, p.3).

In the colonial report, the Atayal were represented as the most powerful and most dangerous savages, and men's head-hunting activity was used as an example to demonstrate how barbaric the Atayal could be. This report omitted the socio-cultural significance of head-hunting activity for the Atayal men as well as facial tattooing for the

Atayal men and women. This was the way for the Japanese to justify their use of suppression to control the Atayal and the areas they inhabited.

5.4.2 Colonial Practice: Suppression to Control the Atayal

The colonial report from the Bureau of Aboriginal Affairs (1911) noted that at the end of 1897, the Atayal in the Hsinchu and Iran County frequently revolted against the Japanese colonial government. Since then the Japanese administration developed a first line of fortification called the “savage borders” between Han Chinese and indigenous areas in the Hsinchu and Iran Counties (Bureau of Aboriginal Affairs, 1911). Consequently, the colonial government of Japan increased the number of fortification lines between 1899 and 1900 and practically surrounded the territory inhabited by the Atayal.

The following statement highlights how the Japanese treated the Atayal differently from other tribes. Unlike other tribes, the Atayal were particularly treated by force:

As a rule suppression is used in dealing with the northern tribe (the Atayal). While the method of development is adopted in controlling the southern tribe (Bureau of Aborigines Affairs, 1911, pp.4-5).

To justify its use of suppression to control the Atayal as Japan's colonial civilizing mission, the report emphasizes the Atayal's barbarisms as follows:

In the beginning of our occupation, the methods of development and taming were applied likewise to the northern and southern tribes. And for this purpose, a number of the *Bukonshou* (savage station) were established in various important places in the savage districts. But the northern tribe (the Atayal) is a *wild and ferocious* people, and *look upon head-hunting as the highest aim in their life*. Moreover, they take advantage of the natural stronghold of their territory, which prevents an invasion of the outsider, and depending on themselves for their fighting force, have always committed *the most barbarous crimes* [italics added] (Bureau of Aborigines Affairs, 1911, p.5).

The report concluded that because of the frequent incidents of “massacres” by the Atayal, taming was not considered to be a means to control them. According to Tsurumi (1977), “taming” was acknowledged as one of two valid methods of aborigine management. Taming supplemented the other important prong of the aborigine policy that was employed with specific vigor against the Atayal of the north (Tsurumi, 1977).

To control the Atayal, the government of Japan prohibited the use of guns and ammunitions and banned head-hunting (Bureau of Aborigines Affairs, 1911). As part of the effort to prevent of head-hunting, the government of Japan banned facial tattooing (Yamamoto, 1999). The banning of facial tattooing was effective in suppressing the Atayal men's head-hunting activity because those two cultural practices were closely connected to each as will be further discussed in Section 5.6.

5.5 Japan's Total War and the Roles of the Indigenous Peoples in Colonial Taiwan

Scholars such as Ashcroft et al. (1998) and Williems-Braun (1998) have urged recognition that colonialism occurred differently through time and between places. There is no *singular* time and space of colonialism Williems-Braun (1998, p.4). Loomba (2005) also argued that colonial strategies and methods as well as images deployed by European colonialism varied hugely over time and place. In short, as Williems-Braun (1998) argued, colonialism should not be approached as a set of fixed or universal discourses. Only localized theories and historically specific accounts provide useful insight into varied articulations of colonialist and countercolonial representations and practices (Williems-Braun, 1998).

In the case of colonial Taiwan, the diplomatic change in 1930 altered the way in which imperial Japan treated its colonies, including Taiwan. Until 1930 Japan was very much inspired by the West, and its aspiration to become one of the greatest empires in the world allowed the Western countries to intervene in Japan's diplomacy (see Section 5.2). However, after a series of unequal treatments imposed by the West, Japan chose to become isolated from the international order dominated by the West (Tipton, 2002). Instead, Japan chose to fight against the Western powers by force. To justify Japan's Total War in the Pacific, Japan developed a vigour idea of "Pan Asianism," that is to claim that Japan's obligation is to assist "the uplifting of less fortunate Asian peoples" (Tipton, 2002, p.133). As the first successful non-European modernizer, Japan saw themselves as saviors of Asians (Tipton, 2002). To liberate Asia that was under the

influence of Western colonial regimes, Japan declared its 'Holy War' and claimed that Japan's rationale to fight against the West was to bring "Asia for the Asians" (Tipton, 2002, p.137). Moreover, Japan saw the Pacific War as "a race war" (Yonezawa, 2005, p.126). Japan's mission was to lead Asia and regain Asia for the Yellow race, taking it back from the White race, the Westerners (Yonezawa, 2005).

To fuel Japan's total war against the West, Taiwan was much focused upon as a colony for resource extraction, resulting in another change in the Atayal's way of life. Thus, in the next section, how Taiwan became an important colony for resource extractions will first be described. As colonialism took many different forms and practices over the centuries, it is extremely difficult to generalize the practices of colonialism (Young, 2001). However, in historical terms, Young (2001) argued that the practice of colonialism was understood in two major forms: 1) colonies that were mainly developed for the purpose of settlements such as North America, Australia and New Zealand for British and 2) colonies that were predominantly established for resource extractions without any major settlement such as East Indies for the Dutch and Taiwan for Japanese. Finally, I will trace the widening impact of Japan's total war on the Atayal women's weaving culture.

5.5.1 Taiwan's Value as a Colony for Resource Extractions

At the time of the Japanese takeover in 1895, Taiwan was anything but a model colony (Tsurumi, 1977). In fact, for the first three years of Japan's occupation, Taiwan proved to be an expensive burden as Japan had to spend nearly 90 percent of the colonial budget in conquering the island by force (Ka, 1995; Cauquelin, 2004). As Taiwan initially appeared to be an expensive colony for Japan to keep, the Japanese even thought about selling Taiwan to France (Cauquelin, 2004; Lin & Keating, 2005). However, after the establishment of the monopoly bureaus in opium, camphor, and salt from 1897 to 1899, Taiwan became less of a burden for Japan's economy (Ka, 1995). Especially, Taiwan dominated some 75 percent of the world's camphor production in 1895 and this helped to stabilize Taiwan's economy (Lin & Keating, 2005). In 1905 with monopolization of the production and sale of those three commodities, Taiwan finally achieved its financial

independence (Ka, 1995). After 1905 the central government of Japan no longer had to subsidize Taiwan's civil administration (Ka, 1995; Lin & Keating, 2005).

After 1905, like the Dutch in the seventeenth century, Japan considered Taiwan as an important colony for resource extraction. A quote from Yanaihara Tadao (1905), an economics professor at Tokyo University, illustrates the importance of Taiwan for the Japanese as follows:

Taiwan is Japan's most valuable colony as far as finance and economy is concerned (cited in Lin & Keating, 2005, p.43).

As the quote illustrates, Taiwan was regarded as an important colony for economic reasons, and this importance was even more pronounced after 1930 when Japan started organizing its total war in the Asia Pacific. This expansion of the war policy also resulted in a ban on weaving among the Atayal women which will now be explained.

5.5.2 Japan's Total War and the Ban on Weaving

After 1930, Japan intensified its militarism to organize a total war in the Asia Pacific. Taiwan was transformed into a base for southward expansion to meet the needs of Japanese expansionist policy (Cauquelin, 2004; Lin & Keating, 2005). In 1931, after Japan took over Manchuko in northern China, Japan became isolated from the West (Lin & Keating, 2005). In March 1933, Japan withdrew from the League of Nations. By September 1936, Japan's whole empire including Taiwan became involved with wartime preparations (Lin & Keating, 2005). Taiwan was regarded as “the partial rice bowl of Japan” and became a main food supplier for Japan (Bate, 1952, p.88; Cauquelin, 2004).

Meanwhile, the Japanese banned weaving among the Atayal women. According to Yamaji (Personal communication, August 20, 2006) and Kasahara (Personal communication, August 6, 2006) who have conducted extensive studies on the colonial government reports, the colonial government of Japan did not officially ban weaving among the Atayal women. However, some Atayal recalled their memories that the Japanese police officers made the Atayal women stop their weaving around in 1935. When I asked an Atayal the reason for this, Sawako answered me in Japanese that it was

because weaving was a time-consuming activity for the Atayal women. Rather, “Japanese wanted the Atayal women to make their time more useful and productive by cultivating rice and vegetables so that Japanese soldiers could get fed” (Sawako, 2006).

According to Ka (1995), rice production and export increased significantly after 1925 in response to the surging demand for rice in Japan (Ka, 1995). Particularly, Taiwan's rice export to Japan almost doubled from 1,555 million yen in the period between 1930 and 1934 to 3,082 million yen in the period between 1935 and 1939 (Ka, 1995). Ka's figures and Sawako's statement tell us that it was necessarily for the colonial government of Japan to redirect Taiwan's agriculture to alleviate Japan's food problem. Weaving was the most important activity for the Atayal women. However, due to this reason, the Japanese police officers banned weaving among the Atayal women and forced them to work on rice cultivation.

5.5.3 Camphor Plantation and the Ban of Ramie Plantations

As mentioned earlier, camphor was one of the three most important natural resources Japan had extracted from Taiwan. To control the camphor resource, it was essential for the Japanese colonial authority to secure the indigenous regions (Lin & Keating, 2005). Because of that, the northern part of Taiwan where the Atayal lived was considered as particularly important for the colonial government of Japan to conquer. The statement from the Bureau of Aboriginal Affairs (1911, p.4) noted the significance of the area settled by the Atayal as follows:

The land of the Taiyal (Atayal) is distinctly rich in forest products, especially in camphor. There is also bright prospect for the gold mining in this district. Thus the territory of the northern tribe offers prospects of great wealth.

Clearly, the area the Atayal's inhabited was important for the Japanese because it contained the natural resource the Japanese wanted to have.

According to Ching (2001), in the very beginning of colonization, the indigenous peoples were not main concern of the colonial government of Japan. They had been pushed up into the mountainous regions as the result of centuries of invasions by Han Chinese

immigrants. As Han Chinese in the plains were gradually pacified through military force, the indigenous areas which offered rich natural resources became a primary concern of the colonial government (Ching, 2004). On the other hand, Hsu (2006) disagreed with Ching's view that, because the indigenous areas held rich resources, the colonial government of Japan considered the control of the indigenous peoples as an important policy issue from the beginning of the colonization. Although it still remains unclear whether or not the colonial government of Japan focused on indigenous issues from the beginning of the colonization, the point here is that the Japanese were aware of Taiwan's value as a colony for resource extraction.

For the Atayal, ramie was a more important natural resource than camphor as it provided a means to weave. Planting ramie was another important activity for the Atayal women as their yarns were made out of ramie. However, around 1935 when the Japanese policemen banned weaving, they also banned planting ramie among the Atayal women. Instead, the Japanese demanded the Atayal women plant camphor. Sawako, who clearly remembered her experiences with the Japan's occupation, said:

In addition to ban of weaving, the Japanese banned us to plant ramie. Instead, the Japanese told us to plant more camphor because camphor was especially useful for the Japanese to build their houses and shrines.

(Translated from Japanese by the author)

Although I was not able to confirm how the camphor was actually used by the Japanese, Sawako's statement indicates that the importance of camphor led the Japanese to impose another ban on the Atayal which was significant for the Atayal women's way of life. The ban of weaving meant the Atayal women not only lose their traditional looms but also lost their source of threads for weaving. Due to Japan's colonization, the Atayal lost their means to weave as well as the meaning of weave as. But how significant was weaving for the Atayal women? To answer this question, the following section explains the meaning and the relationship among facial tattooing, head-hunting and weaving for the Atayal people.

5.6 Japan's Colonial Impacts on the Atayal's Culture

For the Atayal, Japan's colonialism meant that they had to abandon their traditional facial tattoos, head-hunting and weaving. Japan's colonization was the beginning of their acceptance of a modern way of life; however, that also meant that their gendered identity needed to be changed. In this section, I examine the cultural significance of facial tattooing, head-hunting, and weaving for the Atayal people to define their cultural, place and gender identities. After the Japanese anthropologists completed their initial work on the indigenous peoples of Taiwan, Japan's Governor-General's Office continued to study the indigenous people and published a 400-page report regarding the Atayal's way of life in Japanese in 1915 and 1918 respectively. The two reports acknowledged the significance of each activity for the Atayal people although this recognition did not mean that the Atayal were allowed to keep their cultural practices. Otto Wiedfeldt, a German and a foreign advisor to the colonial government of Japan, also documented the Atayal's way of life and analysed how the Atayal's culture had been undermined by their colonial encounters in 1914 (translated by Kaneko in 2003). A detailed assessment of the relationships among the cultural practices will further examination of how the destruction of the Atayal culture by the Japanese affected the ways in which the Atayal reconstructed their multiple identities.

5.6.1 Atayal's Facial Tattooing

In tradition, the Atayal men and women got their facial tattoos at the age of fifteen to sixteen when they were ready to get married. The Atayal men had their facial tattoos on their foreheads and chins, making two short vertical bold lines separately (Figure 5-1). To get facial tattoos, men were required to become accomplished head-hunters (Wiedfeldt, 1914). Once the men got their facial tattoos, they were eligible to get married (Wiedfeldt, 1914, Yamamoto, 1999; 2000).

Meanwhile, the Atayal women had a bold line on their foreheads and cheeks (Figure 5-2). On their cheeks, the Atayal women had a wide line from one ear, through the lips to the other ear, making a V shape (Wiedfeldt, 1914). To get facial tattoos, women had to be meticulous weavers (Wiedfeldt, 1914). Like the Atayal men who took many heads, the

Atayal women who were recognised as the great weavers were allowed to have tattoos on other parts of their bodies, such as palms and legs as well as special tattoos on their foreheads (Yamamoto, 1999). The timing to get their facial tattoos was determined by oneiromancy (Yamamoto, 1999). Facial tattooing was performed only by female surgeons (Governor-General's Office, 1918; Gau, 1976). The facial tattoo patterns also differed by each communal group called *gaga* (Wiedfeldt, 1914).

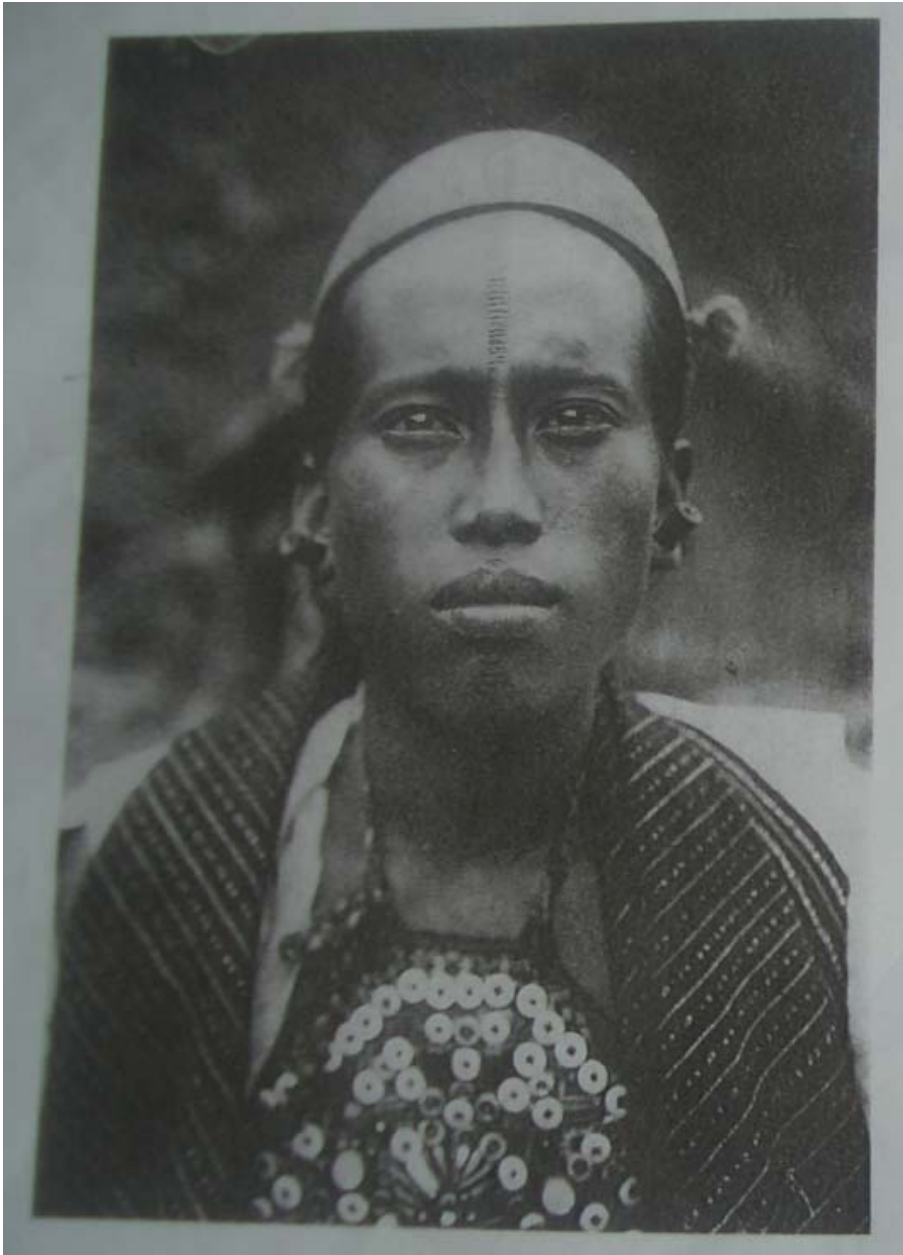


Figure 5-1: An Atayal Man with Facial Tattoo



Figure 5-2: An Atayal Woman with Facial Tattoo

In terms of the operation, it took one to two hours for the Atayal men to get their facial tattoos completed (Yamamoto, 1999). For the Atayal women, it took eight to ten hours to complete the operation (Yamamoto, 1999). Alternatively, women's operations were done at two different times. According to Temu, whose mother only got the forehead tattooing, the Atayal women got their first facial tattoo on their foreheads. Because it was painful to

get foreheads and cheeks tattooed simultaneously, women only had their foreheads tattooed first. Once forehead tattooing was completed, then women had another facial tattooing operation for their cheeks on another date. Temu explained to me that soon after the first operation, the Japanese banned facial tattooing among the Atayal; therefore, her mother never got a chance to get her cheek tattooing.

The Atayal believed that if a woman got married without facial tattoos, the woman would not be able to bear a child (Yamamoto, 1999). Yamamoto (1999) also concluded that different facial tattoo patterns prevented the Atayal men from mistakenly taking heads from their fellows. The Atayal also considered that any adult without facial tattoos could bring death in their village and insulted the adult without facial tattoos as being a child (Yamamoto, 1999). The Atayal also understood that people without facial tattoos would be rejected by the world of ancestral spirits after they die (Yamamoto, 1999). In other words, the Atayal considered facial tattooing as a symbol to signify their maturity to become full adults.

5.6.2 Men's Headhunting Practice

In her study on the practice and the significance of headhunting in Southeast Asia, Hoskins (1996, p.2) defined head-hunting as “an organized, coherent form of violence in which the severed head is given a specific *ritual meaning*” and the act of beheading was “consecrated and commemorated in some form.” This was indeed the case of the Atayal. According to Gau (1976), head-hunting ritual was conducted by the Atayal men for the following reasons: 1) to show their maturity as the male adults, 2) to resolve conflicts, 3) to compete for a potential bride, 4) to prevent bad luck or pestilence, and 5) to show their braveness as the male Atayal. In Atayal society, successful male headhunters were considered to be brave men and their accomplishments were marked by the chin tattoo. Thus, headhunting was a particularly important ritual for the Atayal men to show their adulthood.

According to Yamamoto (1999; 2000) who conducted her research on the Atayal's facial tattooing culture, the qualification to have facial tattooing for men changed over the time.

Originally, only those who succeeded in headhunting were allowed to have a facial tattoo on their chin (Yamamoto, 1999; 2000). Later, regardless of success in head-taking, Atayal men were allowed to have facial tattoos if they touched the head of a nobleman taken by their father or siblings (Yamamoto, 1999; 2000). At any rate, head-hunting was a symbolic activity for Atayal men and required to obtain facial tattooing, and the relationship between facial tattooing and headhunting were inseparable for the Atayal to define their gendered identity as Atayal men.

As Hoskins (1996, p.18) pointed out, “the ritualized taking of life is seen in many societies as an essential component of masculinity, and headhunting is institutionally linked to initiation or the ability to marry.” The Atayal's case supports Hoskin's argument. The taking of a head as a trophy of combat and proof that a person has killed is a practice in many parts of the world (Hoskins, 1996). Head-hunting should not be confused with cannibalism, yet the colonial government, eager to construct images of the Atayal as “beastly savages”, deliberately discussed the men's head-hunting activity in this way in the Report on the Control of the Aborigines in Formosa (Bureau of Aboriginal Affairs, 1911).

5.6.3 Women's Weaving Work

According to Okamura (1968) who had conducted his extensive study on Taiwan's indigenous peoples' weaving culture, the indigenous people used to make clothes out of tree bark. It is unknown when those indigenous peoples started to make ramie clothing; however, Okamura (1968) speculated that Taiwan's indigenous peoples' weaving culture started to flourish after their frequent contact with Han Chinese. By the time Japan occupied Taiwan, the Atayal women also became familiar with cottons and wools through barter with people in plains (Governor-General's Office, 1918).

Weaving required much time and physical work for women. More than preparing foods, weaving involved an immense amount of time and effort to make clothes (Wiedfeldt, 1914). Despite the hard work required, however, the Atayal women considered weaving as their most important work in their life.

Traditionally, the Atayal women used backstrap looms to weave. The weaver sat on the floor, straightened their legs, put a strap on their back to keep the tension of the warp threads, and then wove a piece of cloth by running the weft into the warp (Figure 5-3). According to my key informants, it was not the most comfortable posture to maintain for a long time (Personal communication, 2006).



Figure 5-3: An Atayal Woman with Traditional Loom

In terms of colours, white and dark orange were the Atayal's two most traditional colours for weaving (Figure 5-4). The Atayal women used vegetables and woods to dye threads naturally. For instance, the Atayal women used ash for white colour and *kamach* or yam roots for dark orange. In the case of Wulai, the Wulai Atayal used indigo blue because of the wide spread of indigo plant in the region (Personal communication, 2006). My Atayal key informants also told me that black was one of their traditional colours as well (Personal communication, 2006). To make black colour, the Atayal women soaked their threads into soils which contained iron (Personal communication, 2006). Okamura (1968,

p.32) who documented the dying methods taken by the Atayal in Wulai also supported my key informants' comments. After Japan's occupation, the Japanese women who accompanied their husbands to Taiwan introduced chemical dye methods to the Atayal women to make other colours such as yellow, green, blue, purples, and red, and red particularly become a popular colour among the Atayal women (Personal communication, 2006).



Figure 5-4: Atayal's Traditional Clothes

With regards to weaving motifs, the Atayal women mainly wove plain and twill. The former weaving technique allowed the Atayal women to make stripe line motifs. The latter allowed the Atayal women to engage in more complicated motifs such as rhombus patterns. The rhombus patterns were the most popular motif woven by the Atayal women. The rhombus patterns had regional characteristics as well. For instance, the Atayal women in Nanau preferred to weave a bigger rhombus shape. On the other hand, the Atayal women in Nantou tended to weave rhombus patterns in a very complicated

manner. Depending on the complexity of motifs, it took the Atayal women three to seven days or sometimes even a couple of months or longer to make a piece of woven cloth.

The Atayal women spent much time in preparatory work for weaving: thread-making, spinning, and warping. Although Harrison (2003, p.334) mentioned that the Atayal used “hemp” to make clothing, Okamura (1968) pointed out that except Yami all indigenous tribes including the Atayal have been using ramie instead of hemp to make their threads. To make the threads, the Atayal women planted *noka* or ramie, cut the ramie plant, peeled it, and separated the bark into pure fibres with toothed bamboo tools (Okamura, 1968, p.31). To splice the short fibres into long threads for weaving, the Atayal women twisted the fibres on the spindle. After the spinning process, the Atayal dyed threads by pounding sliced yam roots, boiling the threads with the yam juices, washing them with water, and drying them out. Then, the Atayal women warped yarns for colour arrangement (Shih, 1964). After warping, the Atayal women were finally able to weave.

Such preparatory work for weaving was a very time consuming and required a lot of work for the Atayal women. The following quote from the English book, the *Atayal Weaving Culture* (n.d.) also gives some indication of the hard work that weaving required for the Atayal women:

In the olden days, when a girl reached the age of seven or eight years, she began to learn how to weave. She learned how to weave by following her parents going to the fields up to the mountains to plant ramie. Later, when the ramie has grown up, the girl learned to cut the ramie plant, and to peel it as well.

Then, the girl stands behind her mother weaving her weave. The mother is very severe when she teaches her child to weave. The girl is not given threads, she collects by herself the short threads which were cut off and discarded by her mother. She tied together the thread which she had collected and used them by herself to learn to weave.

While the maiden was learning to weave, she made a mistake, her mother would carelessly pull out the weaving tool and threw it on the floor. The maiden did not say a single word, she just stood up and went to pick up again the tool thrown down by her mother. Later again, the maiden was afraid of being scolded by her mother, so she so she went secretly to learn weaving from her relatives. This is what it was like for

a sediq (one of the Atayal's sub-group) girl to learn weaving in the olden days.

Weaving was a physically tiring and time consuming activity for the Atayal women. Yet, the Atayal women did not stop weaving until the Japanese banned their activity. Because the social and cultural meanings of weaving were so significant, the Atayal men and women could not define themselves without weaving.

Meaning of Weaving

Being a great weaver was crucial for the Atayal woman as it promised her a successful marriage with a strong, skillful Atayal man. Because a woman's weaving skills were directly related to their time to get a facial tattoo and then to get married, the Atayal mothers passed down their weaving skills only to their daughters (Personal communication, 2006). If someone came to their house when the Atayal women were weaving, they hid their looms and any materials related to weaving, including yarns and weaving pieces from the guest (Personal communication, 2006). It was important for the Atayal women to keep their skills within their family. To illustrate how strict it was for the Atayal women to keep their tradition within their family, Temu shared the story of her mother with me in Japanese as follows:

My mom had such a difficult time when she was young. She lost her mother at the age of five, and my grandmother never got a chance to teach her how to weave... So my mom needed to find a way to learn weaving by herself. She ended up going to her neighbour's house. She climbed up to the neighbour's window and secretly observed their weaving. Through her observations from the window, she practiced weaving by herself, and that was how she taught herself... (A pause for a few seconds). When I think of my mom's experience, I always cry.

(Translated from Japanese by the author)

I noticed Temu's red eyes and then tears eventually rolled down her cheeks. Temu's story shows that weaving and facial tattooing were so closely connected to each other that the Atayal women constituted their gender and cultural identities based on weaving. Weaving was a gender symbol for the Atayal women to show their femininity as well as the maturity to be recognised as an adult.

Once the Atayal women got their facial tattoos and married, weaving provided another important meaning for the Atayal women: weaving as a means to prepare for their daughters' marriage. For instance, when Sawako got married, she took many clothes, blankets, and table clothes woven by her mother. Sawako's mother-in-law was able to determine Sawako's weaving skills just by looking at the quality and the quantity of the weavings she brought with her for her marriage. Except her time in farming, cooking, and taking care of her children, Sawako's mother spent most of her time - day and night - weaving.

After Japan's occupation was over, just like her mother, Sawako also wove as much as she could so that her three daughters would have felt proud of themselves when they got married. To emphasize her accomplishment as an Atayal mother, Sawako proudly told me that for her oldest daughter, Sawako wove forty-three pieces of weaving and made three 180 x 180 cm blankets and four table clothes. For her second daughter, Sawako wove another forty pieces plus three 180 x 180 cm blankets and three table clothes. For her third daughter, again, Sawako wove another thirty eight pieces of weaving and gave her daughter three 180 x 180 cm blankets as well as thirteen table clothes. This means that for about fifty years, Sawako kept weaving and produced 121 pieces of weaving, nine 180 x 180 cm blankets, and twenty table clothes for her three daughters. Sawako's story indicates that weaving not only served as a symbol for the Atayal women to show their maturity and eligibility for married but also served as a marriage gift from mother to daughter. The description from the book, *Atayal Weaving Culture* (n.d.) also supports Sawako's account:

When the girl has learned to weave, the young man and her elderly parents are all pleased with her. The girl is happy too. From the time she knows how to weave, the girl never stops weaving, she weaves in advance many woven materials which she will bring with her when she gets married. When the girl who is going to get married, has many textiles and clothing to weave, her mother will help her to weave as well. When their daughter gets married, the girl brings a lot of clothes and bedding, and the husband and the husband's parents are all pleased.

According to Sawako, a mother's loom was traditionally passed down to the oldest daughter. Being the oldest daughter, Sawako received her mother's loom when she got

married. Sawako was the fourth generation to use the loom, and it was 220 years old by the time she got the loom from her mother. Her story illustrates the significance of weaving as an important identity marker for the Atayal women as a daughter and a mother.

Moreover, weaving provided an important meaning for the Atayal men as well. As Cauquelin (2004) mentioned in the case of the Puyuma, an Atayal's loom was made out of one tree trunk by the Atayal men. Once the loom was handed over to an Atayal woman, however, the Atayal men were forbidden to touch the woman's loom. The Atayal believed that if the Atayal men ever touched the Atayal women's looms, the men would not succeed in their hunting activities (Okamura, 1968). During the Atayal men's head-hunting expedition, the Atayal women never touched ramie nor wove (Okamura, 1968). In other words, weaving was not only positioned as being strictly a woman's task but was also closely related to the men's head-hunting activity as well.

Lukus Rumoan - the Atayal warriors' ceremonial clothes – can be used to further elaborate the relationship between weaving and head-hunting. The *Lukus Rumoan* was a symbol of status and wealth for the Atayal men, and only those who were recognised as accomplished headhunters could wear the *Lukus Rumoan* at the ceremonies held to welcome heads (Figure 5-5). This upper garment was composed of pieces of ramie cloth decorated with as many as 120,000 tiny shell beads made out of *tridacna* and weighting up to six or seven kilograms (Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines, 2006).



Figure 5-5: Atayal's Shell Clothes

Until the Japanese introduced the cash economy, the Atayal's value system was based on shells. Because the sea-shells were not easily obtained in their mountain area, the Atayal valued the sea-shells as the most precious material. To obtain the sea shells, the Atayal exchanged men's animal skins and women's weaving products with traders from other tribes and Han Chinese from the plain. The more sea-shell beads that were woven into his ramie cloth, the richer and the stronger the Atayal man was considered to be. For the Atayal men, wearing the *Lukus Ramoan* was another important way to show their masculinity as a brave, strong, and rich Atayal man. Therefore, it was crucial for the Atayal men and women to obtain the sea shells so that the Atayal women could make the

warriors' clothes for the Atayal men. Okamura documented his interview experiences with the elder Atayal men as follows:

When the elder saw those ceremonial clothes, their eyes sharply brightened perhaps because those who are in their seventy to eighty-year old Atayal still remember their experience with head-hunting ceremony (Okamura, 1968, p.41).

(Translated from Japanese by the author)

When I showed the picture of the ceremonial clothe to the elder Atayal man in Musha, his eye uncannily brightened. Then, he said, 'nowadays young Atayal men don't know how to take people's heads off'...I still vividly remember that moment. It was a hot, muggy day, and I was sweating like a pig. But at that moment, I felt goose bumps and couldn't help touching my neck (Okamura, n.d., p.95).

(Translated from Japanese by the author)

Okamura's interview experiences not only reveal Okamura's fear about the Atayal men's head-hunting ritual but also highlight the importance of the ceremonial clothes for the Atayal men to prove their masculinity as male.

Weaving also determined the Atayal women's life after death. According to the Atayal's legend, only accomplished weavers could cross the rainbow that led them to life after death (Kaneko, 1999). When an Atayal woman died, her spindle was also buried with her (Wiedfeldt, 1914). After burial, her loom was left at *Hanu'ai* where the deceased person's remaining soil from the grave and bed were kept (Kaneko, 1999).

The Atayal women were born to be meticulous weavers and died with their looms. Those stories show that weaving played a central role for the Atayal women's entire life. Through weaving, an Atayal woman had to prove herself as an Atayal adult to get her facial tattoos. Once the Atayal woman got facial tattooed and married, weaving became a means to support her family including her daughters, sons, and husband for the rest of her life.

Weaving provided a significant meaning not only for the Atayal women to define their cultural and gender identities but also for the Atayal men to define their gender identity

as well. However, Japan's colonialism cut the links between facial tattooing, headhunting, and weaving, and the Atayal's struggles and resistance against the Japanese were remembered by some Atayal.

The Atayal's Memories of the Ban of Weaving

Although Japanese police authorities banned weaving among the Atayal women, some Atayal women secretly kept weaving at their safe place - their huts in the fields where Japanese did not come for inspection. Sawako proudly shared her mother's secret weaving activity with me as follows:

At night, my dad and mom went to their huts so that my mom could secretly weave. To shut out light, they pulled the curtains together, and my dad held a bit of light for my mom while she was weaving. To prevent weaving noise, my mom puts wood chips in her loom. My mom tried to weave as quietly as possible so that she would not be caught by the Japanese. That's how my mom wove for us.

(Translated from Japanese by the author)

Even after the Japanese banned weaving among the Atayal women, Sawako's mother in Nantou County never gave up weaving. On the other hand, others quit weaving as they were too afraid to get punished by Japanese. Watan, originated in Wulai, Taipei County shared her story about how her mother burned her loom because of her fear of being punished by the Japanese.

One night, Temu also shared a story of the Atayal weaver who, during Japan's occupation, cut her loom in half and turned it into a feeder box for pigs. On many nights, Temu described to me in Japanese how important it was for the Atayal women to be able to weave. It was a symbol for the Atayal women to show their maturity to get married. However, Japan forced the Atayal women to either burn their looms or turn them into something useful. Like Watan's mother, many Atayal women in Wulai also gave up weaving and their skills never got passed down to their daughters. The Atayal women in Wulai eventually lost their skills to be able to weaving their traditional rhombus patterns with traditional looms. I also learned from Temu that while the traditional weaving skills

were lost, some of the best examples of Atayal weaving were taken back to Japan and displayed in museums where they have remained.

I tried to hide my emotions; however, that particular night, when Temu shared the story with me, I could not help feeling guilty, and unexpectedly tears moistened my eyes. How could we, the Japanese, possibly force the Atayal women to abandon or destroy their important looms by their own hands? Weaving symbolised the Atayal women's gender identity. It was the night of May 30, 2006 - three weeks after I arrived at Wulai, Taiwan. It was at that moment that I finally realised that we, the Japanese, were the ones who had made considerable changes in the Atayal's way of life, affecting their identity formation.

5.7 Impacts of Japan's Colonialism on the Atayal's Multiple Identities

5.7.1 Imposed Racial Tribal Identity as the “Formosan Race” and the “Atayal”

During Japan's occupation, racial tribal identity was newly imposed on the Atayal people: Formosan Race and the Atayal. According to the Atayal I interviewed, “Atayal” only meant “human being” in Atayal language (Personal communication, 2006). Until the Japanese classified the indigenous peoples into nine groups, the Atayal did not consider themselves as the “Atayal tribe” (Kasahara, personal communication, August 6, 2006). In other words, the Japanese were the ones who imposed the idea of tribal identity as the “Atayal” to those indigenous people (Hsieh, 1994a).

Moreover, the categorisation between Han Chinese and the indigenous peoples, and the segregation of living places between those two groups promoted an idea of place racial identity. As demonstrated earlier, the Japanese classified Han Chinese as common people and the indigenous peoples as savages. The indigenous areas were segregated by fortification lines and the indigenous peoples were required to have minimum contact with the outside world. Ashcroft et al. (2000, p.26) noted that “perhaps one of the most catastrophic binary systems perpetuated by imperialism is the invention of the concept of race.” By ignoring cultural specificity of the indigenous peoples of Taiwan including the

Atayal, Japan's imperialism indeed drew the concept of race into a simple binary that reflected its own logic of power.

5.7.2 Redefining Cultural and Gender Identity: Atayal Language

As noted in Section 5.3.3., during the Japan's colonial period, some indigenous children were educated in Japanese. This colonial education created a fusion of Atayal language and Japanese. For instance, time, measurements, and some names of fish were incorporated into Atayal language (Personal communication, 2006). As some concepts such as time and measurements did not exist prior to the Japan's occupation, the Atayal borrowed some words from Japanese (Personal communication, 2006). Furthermore, my informants indicated that the influence of the Japanese language on their Atayal language had varied according to regions. For example, the Atayal in Nanau County was heavily influenced in Japanese that Japanese vocabularies consisted of eighty percent of their Atayal language (Personal communication, 2006). According to my informants, the Atayal language had regional characteristics: In Miaoli County, some gendered differences were found in specific terms between the Atayal men and women (Personal communication, 2006). On the other hand, in Taipei County where Wulai was a part of, there were no such gender differences in the use of vocabularies (Personal communication, 2006). Although I was not able to confirm if the Japanese colonialism made any impacts on the Atayal's gendered words, this information at least indicates that the Atayal were able to determine their regional difference among the Atayal depending on the types of words being used and degree of Japanese incorporated into their Atayal language, redefining their cultural gendered identity which stands for their regional differences within the Atayal.

5.7.3 Buried Cultural and Gender Identity: Ban of Facial Tattooing

For the Atayal, facial tattooing had two important meanings. First, facial tattooing symbolized the Atayal's maturity to get married. Having facial tattoos meant that men were recognised as accomplished head-hunters and women as meticulous weavers, which constituted their gendered identity. Second, facial tattoo patterns also allowed the Atayal to distinguish themselves from other Atayal. Kishigami (2004) offered the useful

distinction between cultural identity and ethnic identity, ethnic identity being a politicised version of cultural identity. In the case of the Atayal, the idea of ethnic identity was imposed by the Japanese to control the indigenous peoples, including the Atayal. On the other hand, cultural identity was constituted by the Atayal themselves on the basis of their facial tattoo patterns. Facial tattoo patterns functioned as the Atayal's identity markers to distinguish who belonged to the same communal group. Through facial tattooing, the Atayal defined their cultural and gendered identities. However, Japan's colonization undermined the significance of the Atayal's facial tattooing culture, burying their cultural and gendered identities.

5.7.4 Buried Men's Place Gender Identity: Ban of Headhunting

As discussed in Section 5.6.2 , for the Atayal men, head-hunting activity was important to prove their masculinity. The purpose of the head-hunting was to show their braveness so that they could get facial tattoos to get married. Thus, the Atayal men defined their gendered identity as males through head-hunting. Yet, Japan's colonial discourse constituted the image of the Atayal men as savages. The loss of cultural (facial tattooing) and gender symbols (head-hunting) led to loss of cultural gender identity of the Atayal men.

As Cauquelin (2004) pointed out, prohibition of head-hunting by the colonial government of Japan not only led to loss of gender symbols for men but also destabilized the gender relationship between men and women. Farming was a space for the Atayal women. The Atayal men defined their space in the mountains where they engaged in (head)-hunting activity. However, men were also required by the Japanese to engage in farming whereas it was previously a space for women. Once men's masculinity was defined based on achievements in combat. However, the end of head-hunting displaced this and accorded greater importance to the management of agriculture which was the responsibility of women.

5.7.5 Buried Women's Gender Identity: Ban of Weaving and Ramie Plantation

Weaving and ramie plantation were the two most important activities for the Atayal women to define their femininity and to construct their gender identity (see Section 5.6.3). The Atayal women's gender identity was defined by their weaving skills. Their gendered identity was closely linked to their cultural identity through facial tattooing. However, Japan's colonialism undermined the significance of Atayal weaving culture for women and cut the links between facial tattooing, marriage, and weaving. Japanese colonization buried the Atayal women's gender identity.

5.7.6 Redefining Religious Identity

During Japan's occupation, Japanese made the indigenous people to build Shinto shrines and made them practice only Shintonism (Personal communication, 2006). Until the Meiji period, Shintonism had no comprehensive organizational structure or doctrines in Japan (Tipton, 2002). However, the Meiji leaders who believed that Shinto rituals and symbols could be used to legitimise their rule and "unite the people with a common creed" established a Department of Divinity to conduct rites of state, organising all shrines into a hierarchy under the Ise Shrines (Tipton, 2002, p.67). After the Sino-Japanese War, Shinto was called State Shinto, referring to government support of Shinto shrines and rites and encompassing education in Shinto mythology and persecution of other religious groups considered to be disrespectful of Shinto ideology (Tipton, 2002). In colonial Taiwan, this idea was also supported and Shintonism was taught as the state religion. Until Japan's occupation, the Atayal practiced animism called *gaga*. However, the Japan's colonization forced the Atayal to practice Shintonism, destroying own religious belief.

5.8 Summary of the Chapter

Hoskins (1996, p.3) noted that "the study of any cultural practice must always recognise its changing historical circumstances." In this chapter, I traced Japan's history from 1854 to 1930 to examine how Japan's changing imperial ideology resulted in the banning of the Atayal's cultural practices, namely facial tattooing, men's head-hunting, and women's weaving. Focusing on those cultural practices, I also demonstrated how Japan's colonial

practices affected the ways in which the Atayal constructed their multiple identities. In the first section, I examined how the Japanese had developed their imperial ideology. After Japan finally opened up its country to the West in 1854, Japan underwent unequal diplomatic relationships with the Western nations. This lack of equal treatment by the West heightened Japan's desire to be accepted by the West. To win approval from the West, Japan used Taiwan as a place where Japan could prove its imperialist abilities and power. As the only non-Western imperial power, Japan was eager to make Taiwan a model colony. The Japanese government knew that the eyes of the West were upon them (Tsurumi, 1977). Due to this imperial ideology, Japan paid great attention to the indigenous people of Taiwan who became the subject of Japan's civilization and modernization missions which Japan had learned from the West. This mission was also convenient for Japan to legitimise its occupation of Taiwan.

In the second and third sections, I examined how the indigenous peoples were represented as the colonial Other. By articulating the Western concepts of race and colonialism, the Japanese produced an image of the indigenous peoples as the savages. The Atayal were particularly called “facial tattoo savages” because of their tattoo practices. Those savages were also classified into nine ethnic groups for the purposes of control. To lead the savages to civilization, Japan implemented the colonial practices called development and suppression on the indigenous peoples of Taiwan. For the Atayal, suppression was the main colonial practice, including the banning of three most important cultural practices for the Atayal - facial tattooing, head-hunting, and weaving. To illustrate the significance of each cultural practice, the fourth section explained the nature of and the relationships among facial tattooing, head-hunting, and weaving. For the Atayal, facial tattooing symbolized their maturity to get married. To get their facial tattoos, the Atayal men were required to become accomplished head-hunters and the Atayal women meticulous weavers. Head-hunting and weaving provided the Atayal men and women with means to define their masculinity and femininity. Facial tattooing also functioned as an important identity marker to distinguish themselves from other Atayal belonging to different communal groups. Thus, all three cultural practices were essential

for the Atayal to obtain their identity markers as Atayal men and women, and members of a particular group of Atayal.

In the final section, I demonstrated how Japan's colonial practices impacted the way in which the Atayal constituted their multiple identities. First, Japan's colonialism imposed the idea of ethnic identity among the indigenous people in Taiwan. Second, by dividing Han Chinese and the indigenous peoples into the common people and the savages, the Japanese imbued the idea of racial identity among the colonized in Taiwan. Third, Japan's colonial practices buried the Atayal's cultural gendered identity by banning of facial tattooing practice. Fourth, the Atayal men's place gendered identities were also buried. Until the banning of head-hunting, the Atayal men defined their masculinity in the mountains where they practiced their head-hunting activity. However, the Japanese forced the Atayal men to abandon their cultural hunting practice and to engage in farming which was formerly women's space. Fifth, the women's weaving work was banned after Japan organized the total war against the Western nations. As Taiwan became an important colony for resource extraction, the Atayal women were forced to abandon their weaving work and to work in the rice fields and to plant camphor. Weaving had provided significant social and cultural meanings for the Atayal. However, the Atayal women's gendered identity was buried as weaving was banned by the Japanese. Finally, Japan's colonization forced the Atayal to redefine their religious identity.

In sum, the production of a colonial Other performed an important service in Japanese imperial ideologies. Under the names of civilization and later a total war mission, the Japanese colonial regime forcibly shifted the Atayal's way of life, and this shift considerably affected the construction of the Atayal's multiple identities.

CHAPTER 6

NATIONALIST CHINA'S COLONIZATION AND WULAI ATAYAL'S MULTIPLE IDENTITIES

6.1 Introduction

This chapter shifts focus from the whole group of Atayal to a “sub-group” - the “Wulai Atayal.” Unlike other Atayal, the Atayal in Wulai engaged in international tourism development from the 1960s to the 1980s before the wave of democracy began to mobilize Taiwan. Focusing on the Wulai Atayal's involvement with international tourism development, I analyse how the Han Chinese represented the Atayal, and how the Wulai Atayal represented themselves to attract Japanese tourists. De Boeck (1996, p.94) argued that “the key binary categories in postcolonial theorization, such as hegemony and resistance, must be complemented with aspects of localised strategies of adaptation, accommodation and collaboration” (Cited in Hall & Tucker (2004). By examining the relationships between international tourism and the Atayal's weaving culture, the Atayal's struggles and resistances over the (post)colonial powers will be portrayed. Also, the ways in which the Wulai Atayal reconstituted their multiple identities under the influence of Nationalist China's colonialism will be addressed as well as the developments which brought back the Japanese as tourists.

In the first section, I briefly describe how Chiang Kai-shek took over Taiwan after Japan's defeat in World War II. Then, I highlight the Nationalist Chinese government's policy to promote Mandarin as the national language in Taiwan. Using an example of an Atayal woman, I demonstrate how the national language policy led the Atayal to bury their cultural identity. In the third section, I focus on the development of tourism in Taiwan. By looking at both tourism development policy in Taiwan and the liberalization policy of oversea travel in Japan, I discuss how Chiang's new colonial regime brought back the Japanese - the former colonizers - to Taiwan. The fourth section examines

Taiwan's tourism development at a local level. Using a case study of the Wulai Atayal, I examine how the Atayal were represented as noble savages in a tourism context and how such representation affected the way in which the Atayal engaged in the development of ethnic tourism in Wulai from the 1960s to the 1980s. Finally, I offer interpretations about how the Wulai Atayal's multiple identity shifted through their experiences with Nationalist China's colonization and international tourism development in Wulai.

6.2 Nationalist China as a New Colonial Ruling Power

In October 25, 1945 after its defeat in the Second World War, Japan withdrew from Taiwan (Cauquelin, 2004). With the Cairo Declaration, Taiwan was placed under the rule of mainland China (Cauquelin, 2004). When the Second World War ended, there were some 480,000 Japanese, including military and civilians, in Taiwan (Lin & Keating, 2005). However, all Japanese except 28,000 technical personnel were ordered to leave Taiwan before April 1946 (Lin & Keating, 2005). Meanwhile, in October 1945, an initial twelve thousand military personnel and two hundred officials landed on Taiwan from mainland China (Lin & Keating, 2005).

By 1949, Taiwan was flooded with another two million Chinese who fled with Chiang Kai-shek (Lin & Keating, 2005). According to scholars such as Cheng (1994) and Manthorpe (2005), Chiang Kai-shek and his Nationalist Party, the Kuomintang (KMT), saw their retreat to Taiwan as a temporary setback until they could return to mainland China. Thus, it was important for the KMT to govern Taiwan as if it was mainland China (Manthorpe, 2005). This mentality led to the sinicisation of Taiwan. To redefine people's identity and ideology in Taiwan, Chiang Kai-shek's central government rigorously implemented an entire "re-sinicisation policy" (Cauquelin, 2004). As a part of the re-sinicisation policy, teaching Mandarin in schools and using Mandarin in media were made compulsory (Cauquelin, 2004). For the indigenous people of Taiwan, including the Atayal, this transition meant becoming more Chinese, and their multiple identities needed to be shifted again.

6.3 Nationalist China's Colonial Policy on Indigenous People

Under the assumption that Taiwan was a province of mainland China, the KMT promoted the use of Mandarin in Taiwan (Cheng, 1994). To survive as the legitimate government of mainland China, it was necessarily for the KMT to maintain Mandarin as the national language in Taiwan (Cheng, 1994). However, when Chiang Kai-shek's KMT took over Taiwan, only a small number of the indigenous people spoke Mandarin; thus, the KMT rigorously implemented its language policy (Cheng, 1994). Hsieh (1994b) argued that although the KMT regime did not use the term “assimilation,” it was in fact trying to assimilate the indigenous peoples. Children entering school were to be taught in Mandarin no matter what language or dialect was used at home (Rubinstein, 2001). To illustrate how harsh the KMT's language policy was, one of my key informants shared her story with me which will be revealed in the next section.

6.3.1 An Atayal's Memory of the Ban on Indigenous Language

While Temu was at her primary school in Nanau County from 1961 to 1967, she was not allowed to speak her own indigenous language, Atayal. If she spoke Atayal, she was punished by her school teacher (Personal communication, 2006). She understood Atayal; however, when her parents spoke to her in Atayal, she answered them in Mandarin. Because of the Atayal's oral speech tradition, Temu and other Atayal children had nothing to read or to write in the Atayal language. Their memories were the only space in which the Atayal language could exist. Being educated in Mandarin for six years, Temu eventually felt it was easier to speak Mandarin. She understood Atayal by listening but gradually lost her ability to speak Atayal. Mandarin-educated Atayal quickly lost their ability to speak Atayal. Temu's story indicates that the ban on speaking the Atayal language discouraged the Atayal from maintaining their indigenous language. Several of my Atayal informants told me that language is a part of who they are as the Atayal (Personal communication, 2006). Yet, this language policy forced the Atayal to give up speaking their indigenous language, burying their cultural identity as the Atayal.

6.4 Nationalist China's Tourism Policy and Postcolonial Impact of Japan

While the KMT regime pursued Mandarin as the only national language to be spoken in Taiwan, the government also started to restructure Taiwan's economy. As discussed in Section 4.7.3, through the assistance of the United States, the KMT began to industrialize Taiwan's economy after 1951. To earn foreign exchange income, Chiang Kai-shek also implemented a tourism development policy in Taiwan. Meanwhile in Japan, overseas travel was liberalized in 1964 and Taiwan became the most popular international tourist destination for Japanese in the 1960s.

6.4.1 Beginning of Tourism Development in Taiwan

In many Asian countries, the state manipulates patterns of tourism, thus playing an important role in structuring tourism industry for a particular cultural or ethnic group (Hsieh, 1999). Although there is considerable debate whether or not Taiwan is a nation state (see Section 4.7.1), in the case of Taiwan, tourism development dates from 1956 when Chiang Kai-shek established a new tourism policy. Until then, due to the conflict with mainland China, the government was not keen on developing tourism (Copper, 2003). Chiang Kai-shek was concerned about the security problems that tourism would create (Copper, 2003). After 1956, the growth rate of the tourism industry exceeded more than 23 percent annually for the two decades. For instance, there were only 14,974 tourists visiting Taiwan in 1956. In 1976, more than one million tourists visited Taiwan (Copper, 2003). The tourism industry soon became a major source of foreign exchange, incomes and provided significant employment opportunities including Wulai. This will be further discussed in Section 6.5.2.

6.4.2 Postcolonial Impact of Japan: Japanese as Tourists

Since 1964, when overseas travel was liberalized in Japan, many package tours have been organized to popularize overseas trips among Japanese (Muroi & Sasaki, 1999, p.180). Until then, only a few rich people could afford to travel abroad from Japan. However, from 1964 to 1970, tourism was promoted in the form of package tours, and overseas travel quadrupled (Muroi & Sasaki, 1999). During the 1960s, Taiwan became the most

popular tourism destination for Japanese tourists (Muroi & Sasaki, 1999). For example, in 1964 only 5,225 Japanese visited Taiwan (Muroi & Sasaki, 1999). In 1967, the number of Japanese travelling to Taiwan was 40,357 - nearly eight times higher than in 1964 (Muroi & Sasaki, 1999). As Muroi and Sasaki (1999) pointed out, many packages tours were marketed exclusively to men. In fact, until the 1980s, travel abroad was dominated by males from Japan (Muroi & Sasaki, 1999). In the case of Taiwan, Japanese tourists who visited Taiwan numbered 618,538 in 1979 (Muroi & Sasaki, 1999). Of these, 91.4 per cent were male (Muroi & Sasaki, 1999).

6.5 Introduction of Global Capitalism and Production of the “Other”

In this section, focusing on the Atayal in Wulai, Taiwan, I demonstrate how the Han Chinese produced the image of the indigenous peoples of Wulai and how both Han Chinese and indigenous residents in Wulai manipulated that image in the course of ethnic tourism development. This enables us to think about how behaviours are marked as relationship of power, desire and, in the case of the Wulai Atayal, the seduction of the colonizers by the colonized. However, that there are very few scholarly documents available in English which discussed tourism development in Wulai. To my knowledge, Hsieh (1994a) is the only one who has documented the early stage of tourism development in Wulai in English. Comparing my key informants' accounts with Hsieh's findings, as well as a travelogue written by Kichiemon Okamura (1968), a Japanese scholar who had examined the Taiwan's indigenous people's weaving cultures including the Wulai Atayal from 1967 to 1968, I demonstrate the way in which production of otherness and the introduction of tourism as a form of global capitalism affected the identity formation of the Wulai Atayal.

6.5.1 Production of Noble Savage

Using a Japanese book written by Yuan-Yuan Gau (1976), a Han Chinese resident of Wulai, and a Mandarin-English tourism brochure, *Wulai and Its People* (n.d.), this section examines how the tourism development in Wulai produced the image of the indigenous people of Wulai as “noble savages.” According to Ashcroft et al. (2000, p.210), the concept of the “noble savages” arose in the eighteenth century as “a European

nostalgia for a simple, pure, idyllic state of the natural, posed against rising industrialism and the notion of overcomplications and sophistication of European urban society.” This nostalgia creates an image of the savage that serves predominantly to re-define the European (Ashcroft et al., 2000). In the case of Wulai, this nostalgic image was created to serve for the Japanese tourists, former colonizers who have achieved industrial base high economic growth from the late 1950s to the early 1970s (Tipton, 2002).

The Indigenous People as the Savages Continues

Gau was born in Wulai in 1920. He was the fourth generation of Han Chinese who had settled in Wulai. His grandfather was the mayor of Sindian, the nearest town to Wulai. Since his grandfather's first trip to Wulai in 1907, Gau's family had lived in Wulai for three generations. Gau (1976, p.2) claimed his grandfather as the “pioneer” of the development of Wulai. Although Gau himself did not spend much time in Wulai during his childhood, Gau came back to Wulai as the first school principle of the Wulai Primary School after the end of the Second World War. Using his own experiences with the indigenous peoples in Wulai as well as colonial reports from Japan's colonialism, Gau published a 153 page book in 1976 that explained the Atayal's traditional way of life, including facial tattooing, head-hunting, and weaving activities. In his book, Gau (1976, p.6) mentioned that his intended audiences were “Japanese tourists” and anyone who might be interested in knowing about the “mountain people.” Although it is not clear how widely his book was read by Japanese tourists, as the grandson of the powerful Han Chinese politician in Wulai, Gau's messages are worth examining to understand how the new colonizers, the Han Chinese, represented the indigenous people, particularly the Atayal.

Gau's book begins with his fun memories with the indigenous children in Wulai during his summer vacation. Throughout the entire book, however, Gau (1976) refers to the indigenous people of Taiwan only as the “savages” or mountain people. Furthermore, the Atayal are described as “one of the three tribes whose nature is not good” (Gau, 1976, p.8). By providing examples of the Atayal's oral tradition or belief systems, Gau (1976) insists that the indigenous peoples are not “sophisticated enough.” Yet, with a great

amount of time and education, Gau (1976, p.18) speculates that the indigenous people should be civilized at the level close to the Han Chinese or “people in the plains.” The following statement somewhat contradicts the above statements but, in his concluding remarks, again Gau presented an idea of civilization in relation to the indigenous peoples as follows:

Taiwan's mountain people are loving people. After the Second World War, they became civilized with the guidance of the Nationalist Chinese government. Just like the civilized people, they now enjoy enriched lives (Gau, 1976, p.153).

(Translated from Japanese by the author)

Using the binary notion of civilization and savages, Gau represents the indigenous peoples as savages and reinforces the idea that those indigenous peoples need to be civilized. Gau's descriptions of the indigenous peoples reveal the fact that even after the end of Japan's colonialism, the indigenous peoples were also portrayed as “savages” by their new colonial power. Furthermore, the indigenous people of Wulai were portrayed not only as savages but also as “noble savages” because of their involvement with tourism development.

Indigenous Peoples of Wulai as the Noble Savages

The tourism brochure, *Wulai and Its People* (p.13), clearly illustrates the indigenous peoples as noble savages as follows:

Aboriginal dances: It usually reflects the early days of the agricultural society of the human race. Since they are unsophisticated, and their love is simple and undefined, they express themselves in *simple, wild, healthy, passionate* [italics added]....They are just like the high mountains and forests in which they live.

According to Jahoda (1999, p.11), during the Enlightenment period, the idealized noble savage represented a state of closeness to “nature, simplicity, freedom and robust health as a counterpoint to what were felt by some to be the evils of a corrupt civilization and lack of liberty.” Using words such as “simple,” “unsophisticated” and “wild,” this brochure describes the Atayal and other indigenous people in Wulai as the noble savages.

During the Japanese colonialism, the indigenous people were portrayed as uncivilized, barbaric savages. They were represented as colonial Others who were the subject of Japan's civilization and modernization mission. The indigenous peoples were idealized as noble savages who were closer to nature. Those images were created to manipulate the desire of the Japanese tourists who were in search of exotic Others. For the vast majority of people, otherness is what makes a destination worthy of consumption (Hall & Tucker, 2004). In other words, tourism was the driving force to produce the particular image of the indigenous peoples in Wulai, and this image of noble savages was created by the former colonized, Han Chinese and the indigenous people themselves to seduce their former colonizers, the Japanese, to return as tourists. The next section demonstrates how tourism development encouraged not only Han Chinese entrepreneurs but also the Atayal themselves to manipulate the Japanese tourists' desires to consume exotic Otherness.

6.5.2 Ethnic Tourism for International Tourists in Wulai

This section documents the development of international tourism in Wulai. It begins with the following statement which contains the five important elements that framed the early stage of international tourism development in Wulai:

Owing to the development of Wulai's booming *tourism* industry, many *Japanese* tourists and American soldiers came visit for its heterogeneous cultures. This had changed Atayal economy and the traditional *sexual division of labor*. Apart from the tourism industry, *Chinese* nationalist political system, education system and *western religions* [italics added] all influenced Wulai area a lot (Wulai Atayal Museum, 2006).

As emphasized in italics, the following five terms well illustrate the development of the Wulai village after the 1960s: 1) development of the tourism industry, 2) presence of Japanese tourists, 3) presence of Han Chinese entrepreneurs, 4) changes in the Atayal's economy and their traditional gendered division of labour, and 5) introduction of western religions. Swain (2002) argued that gender analysis is a powerful tool to understand how tourism images, experiences, demands, and work patterns are shaped differently among women and men at specific sites, globally, transnationally, and locally. By focusing on these topics, I will demonstrate how gender, race, ethnicity, culture, age, religions, and

the postcolonial past are all intertwined to constitute the identity of the Wulai Atayal during Nationalist China's colonization.

Development of Ethnic Tourism in Wulai

Hsieh (1999, p.89) defined ethnic tourism as follows:

The process of visiting an ‘other-community’ or a tourist site whose inhabitants or performers differ from visitors in terms of race, culture, language or customs. Besides enjoying natural scenery at a tourist site, tourists are given opportunities to observe the ‘staged’ lifestyle or culture of particular ethnic groups.

According to Hsieh (1994a, p.185), most cases of ethnic tourism are “tourism of inferior aborigines,” involving interactions between the hosts (the indigenous people), guests (tourists), and middlemen (travel agents and state representatives). Indeed, ethnic tourism is characterized as the pleasure activity to “search for the other” (van den Berghe, 1994, p.8). Ethnic tourism transforms culture or “tradition” into a “set of ‘things’ which are at once symbolic of Western pursuit of the exotic ‘Other’, and the commodities of modernization” (de Burlo, 1996, p.255), and this was indeed the case of Wulai.

Guests in Wulai: Japanese, Koreans and Americans

In 1964, the Administrative Office of the Wulai Scenic Area in Wulai was founded (Hsieh, 1994a). Wulai, one of the five villages in the Township of Wulai, is just one hour drive from Taipei and offers beautiful landscapes, including waterfalls and hot springs that the Japanese are fond of. According to key informants who have lived in Wulai for more than fifty years, Wulai used to be crowded with Japanese and Korean tourists as well as some Americans:

In the beginning of tourism development in Wulai, we had quite a few Americans visiting us. But after that, many Japanese and Koreans started to come to Wulai as group tourists. They were always in groups, accompanied by a tour-guide, and spent little time in each place because of their tight schedules.

(Translated from Japanese by the author)

The number of tourists coming to Wulai was estimated to average about 3,000 tourists per day from the mid-1960s to the early 1990s (Hsieh, 1994a). Among those three nationalities, the Japanese were the largest number of visitors to Wulai (Personal communication, 2006). Those Japanese who visited Wulai were usually in groups. Hsieh (1994a, p.188) documented the typical itinerary taken by the Japanese group tourists as follows:

Every Wulai resident knows clearly the routes arranged by the tour guides. In the morning, a couple of tour buses arrive at a parking lot in the Wulai resort. A tour guide with a flag brings a horde of Koreans or Japanese onto the main street of Wulai and passes over a bridge across the Nan Shih River. Some of the tourists take photographs. They then take a minitrain, which is a well-known traffic tool in Wulai, to the *p'upuch'u* or the waterfall...Tourists are then taken to the larger shopping stores to buy souvenirs and to have their pictures taken for no extra charge with young indigenous women who serve as clerks. The next step is to climb a slope up to Wulai Shan-ti Wen-hua Ts'un (WSTWHT) or the Wulai Aboriginal Culture Village (WACV) to view performances of aboriginal dancing. Finally, the group has lunch at a restaurant in order to taste native food products, after which they go back to Taipei.

The entire tour lasted about three hours (Hsieh, 1994a). During this period, the Atayal and other indigenous tribes had to maximize their opportunities to earn money from the international tourists (Hsieh, 1994a).

Host Community in Wulai: Han Chinese and the Indigenous People

From 1964 to 1990 when tourism was booming in Wulai, there were about 3000 residents living in Wulai, and the indigenous people consisted of forty to fifty percent of all residents of Wulai (Wen & Xiao, 1997). Compared to the small population size of 466 indigenous residents of Wulai in 1918 (Chang, 2004), the number of indigenous residents in Wulai grew at four times larger than that of 1915. During the period, tourists' revenues became the most important economic resource for the residents in Wulai (Hsieh, 1994a). Although Hsieh (1994a) did not provide a clear reason, the scholar noted that the Nationalist government actively encouraged the Wulai Atayal to engage in farming (e.g. planting fir and mushrooms), but the great majority of the indigenous peoples, especially the women, depended on the tourist industry to earn incomes. One of my Atayal key informant supported Hsieh's comments (1994a) that "every four out of five" Atayal gave

up their farming jobs and became dependent on tourism (Personal communication, 2006). Even some Atayal children did not go to school but worked for tourism business (Personal communication, 2006).

Because all the scenic places and entertainment centres were in the vicinity of Wulai village, both Atayal from other villages in the Township of Wulai and many Han Chinese moved to Wulai to start tourism businesses (Hsieh, 1994a). Mr. Yang, a Han Taiwanese who was in his 60s and used to work as a photographer for the Japanese group tourists, recalled his memory:

I initially came to Wulai with my parents to work for a Japanese logging company. At that time, we were one of a few Han Chinese who had settled in Wulai. When I was working for a logging company, it was tough because logging was a labour-intensive job. But after tourism was developed in Wulai, my brother and I started to work as photographers for the Japanese group tourists. Phototaking was a much easier job than a logging job. You know the mini-train running to the Wulai Waterfall? That train used to be a logging tram. Because the logging tram was not automated, we needed to use our manpower to push the tram up the hill. With it full of passengers, it was not easy to keep pushing the tram though. The tram got too heavy to push up so sometimes Japanese tourists got off the tram, and they helped us to push the tram forward (Laugh). They must have felt bad for us.

(Translated from Japanese by the author)

According to Wen and Xiao (1997), a Japanese company Mitsui was licensed to develop timber operations in Wulai in 1921. Mitsui was one of the biggest cooperation in Japan called *zaibatsu* which monopolized natural resources mainly in Southeast Asia during the expansion of the Japan's empire (Tipton, 2002). During the Japan's colonial period, Mr. Yang and his family moved to Siaoyi, one of the five villages in the Township of Wulai to work for Mitsui. Siaoyi was situated at the Tonghou River Valley where an important timber producing area attracted loggers and wood workers from outside regions (Chang, 2004). Because of the colonial history, unlike other villages in Wulai, all of the residents in Siaoyi are Han Chinese (Chang, 2004).

Tourism business in Wulai not only attracted the Wulai Atayal but also other Atayal from outside of the Township of Wulai. Temu, an Atayal woman who was in her early 50s and used to work for a factory in Taipei, described her reason to move to Wulai as follows:

I am originally from Nanau County. I came to Wulai because my elder sister who got married in Wulai told me that I would be able to earn more income here (Wulai) than in Taipei. I was working as a factory girl in Taipei at that time. Factory work required long shifts, and it was very tiring so my sister told me to come to Wulai. Because the Japanese tourists were rich, they gave lots of tips to the girls after their dance show. My sister wanted me to work as a dancer so that I could earn a lot of money. But I was too shy to dance in front of people. So I took a job as a sales clerk at a ticket counter for a cable car ride. I didn't get paid much, compared to those girls who worked for the dance show but I was still happy with my job. Because when no tourists came to ride a cable car, I just sat down and read books, and I still got paid for doing nothing!

(Translated from Japanese by the author)

According to Hsieh (1994a), Han businessmen established a huge entertainment centre, the Yun Hsien Le Yuan or “Mystical Paradise,” on top of a hill across from the Wulai Aboriginal Cultural Village (WACV). A cable car was the only form of transportation to get to the entertainment centre (Hsieh, 1994a). After the cable car ride operation started in 1966 (Wen & Xiao, 1997), it became one of the most popular tourist attractions in Wulai (Hsieh, 1994a). As Temu's story indicated, some indigenous residents were hired by the company as employees. Yet, none of the profits were really enjoyed by the indigenous Wulai residents (Hsieh, 1994a).

Aboriginal Dancing for the Japanese Tourists

For the indigenous residents in Wulai, the WACV and the Chief Restaurant were the only two places where the indigenous people could tap into the tourism industry in Wulai (Hsieh, 1994a). Particularly, the WACV provided an important employment opportunity for the Atayal women. Although the Atayal's “authentic” aboriginal dancing was one of the main entertainments for Japanese tourists in Wulai, some of my Atayal informants said that dancing was not a main part of their traditional culture:

We (the Atayal) are not famous for dancing but the Amis is. They (The Amis) like dancing!

(Translated from Japanese by the author)

Nevertheless, young female Atayal wore costumes and danced for Japanese tourists because it was easier for them to earn income than to weave (Personal communication, 2006). According to my key informants, dancing jobs also attracted other tribes such as the Amis women and Yami men. Because the Atayal men were not attracted to the dancing job, the Han Chinese business owner hired indigenous male dancers from another tribe (Personal communication, 2006).

The dance performance was “staged” to meet the needs of tourists who wanted to consume the “authenticity” of culture. Drawing upon the work of MacCannell (1976), De Burlo (1996, p.256) called this situation “staged authenticity.” According to Xie (2003), creation of authenticity is important to tourism, and dance performance has been considered as an important tourism resource to provide tourists with authentic experiences. Wang (2000, pp.143-144) also asserted that “Others or the exotic are often different from the perceptions that local have about themselves. What travelers find interesting and exotic may be seen by locals as far from true representations of themselves.” Indeed, the Atayal women knew that dancing was not a true cultural symbol to represent who they were. However, the Atayal strategically manipulated their former colonizers', Japanese tourists', desires to search for the exotic. For the Atayal women, it was easier to perform the staged authenticity than to weave and to engage in farming. In short, dancing was never a core element of the Atayal's cultural identity but it was introduced and commoditized as part of the Atayal's ethnic identity. To correspond to the Japanese tourists' desire to seek the exotic other, the Atayal appropriated dancing as part of their ethnic identity in Wulai.

The Japanese demanded that the Atayal become culturally exotic and different from them. To remain distinctively Atayal, the Wulai Atayal chose to possess the qualities of admirable exoticism that were different from their own traditional culture. As Xie (2003) pointed out, tourism development has long been seen as a driving force for change in indigenous cultural performances. In the case of the Wulai Atayal, the emphasis was

placed more upon the performing arts such as dancing than the material culture such as weaving. Dancing became a new form of cultural expression of the Wulai Atayal.

Photographing for the Japanese Tourists

While young Atayal women earned their incomes by performing “authentic” aboriginal dance for the Japanese tourists, the elder Atayal women earned their incomes by commoditizing their body. Those women with facial tattoos dressed up, posed for Japanese tourists and earned their incomes from tips. Because of their exotic V-shape tattooed faces, the Atayal elder women managed to manipulate Japanese desires to “capture” exotic Others on film (Figure 6-1). One Atayal respondent who used to see those older Atayal in tourist areas recalled her memory as follows:

They (the older Atayal) did not need to do anything extra. They just stood at the tourist sites. When Japanese tourists came to see them and took pictures of them, they (the elder Atayal) asked for tips. Weaving takes more time and effort to make money than posing for pictures.

(Translated from Japanese by the author)



Figure 6-1: Facial Tattooed Atayal Women with Western Clothes

The above informant's account reveals that the image of the exotic Other was also manipulated by the Atayal themselves. The statements suggest that the older Atayal women quickly learned how to make easy money by commoditizing their body. Xie (2003, p.6) further argued that “commodification” is another issue closely tied to authenticity. Hall and Tucker (2004) also pointed out that the preservation of the “traditional” for tourist experience is itself based on a colonial desire to fix the identity of the other in order that it remains distinct from tourist identity. During the Japan’s colonial period, facial tattooing was banned as a barbaric activity, denying the Atayal their cultural identity, but this cultural symbol was appropriated by the former colonizers - the Japanese who came back to Wulai as tourists.

As Adams (1996) described in the case of the Sherpa of Nepal and their encounter with the West, the Atayal were also seduced by a Japanese othering of themselves. However, the Atayal also seduced Japanese by constituting “Atayalness” in ways that “implicitly reflected the need for image production as part of its objective as its profit source and therefore its need to engage in seduction” (Adams, 1996, p.226). The Atayal also emphasized their need and vulnerability to the desires of Japanese tourists. By reflecting Japanese interests and positive image of themselves, the Atayal tried to increase their cash incomes. To remain competitive in the tourism market, the Atayal accommodated Japanese visions of who they were supposed to be.

This manipulation of the image of the exotic colonial Other is indeed an examples of the “ambivalent virtual identity” of the Atayal. This is the “third space” where the needs of both the colonizer (to consume the exotic colonial other) and the colonized (economic gain) matched. The colonized and the colonizers negotiated each other's needs, and a new cultural identity evolved. Li's (2003) work on the identity construction of Dai women through ethnic tourism suggested that rather than being a passive symbol for tourist consumption, Dai women strategically refined their “Dainess” through playing upon stereotyped images and fantasies of Dai women as pure, tender, and beautiful.

Souvenir Selling for the Japanese Tourists

While some worked as dancers or photo subjects, other Atayal women were also employed at souvenir shops owned by Han Chinese business owners. Most of the souvenir shops were owned by Han Chinese residents (Hsieh, 1994a). In Wulai, two main areas attracted the Japanese tourists: the main street of Wulai and the Wulai Waterfall area. The main street of Wulai, which was on the left bank of the Nan Shih River, had about forty restaurants and shops, all selling native game and wildfowl or aboriginal clothing and artifacts (Hsieh, 1994a). Except for one restaurant and one shop, all buildings belonged to the Han Chinese. Those buildings once belonged to the indigenous people (Hsieh, 1994a). However, “the Atayal lost much of their land because they were unfamiliar with modern economic concepts. They were lured by the promise of immediate gain, and consequently feel cheated by the Han” (Hsieh, 1994a, p.190). My

Atayal informants agreed with Hsieh's view (Hsieh, 1994a) that both the Atayal and the Han Chinese residents believed that the Han were much better in business than the Atayal. For instance, when I interviewed an Atayal woman in Wulai, she said:

Han Chinese are clever so they know how to run business, but we (the indigenous people) don't.

(Translated from Japanese by the author)

When a male Han Taiwanese resident who formerly owned a tourism business in Wulai was interviewed, he mentioned that he favoured Atayal employees over the Han Chinese because “Japanese loved the mountain people. With Atayal's assistance, we could sell more souvenirs to the Japanese tourists” (Personal communication, 2006). When I asked the reason why, he answered in Japanese:

You know about the Takasago volunteers who fought for the Japanese army, right? Even if their husbands were still alive, they (the Atayal women) told Japanese tourists that their husband died in the Pacific War. With sympathy, the Japanese usually bought souvenirs from them. The Japanese purchased lots of souvenirs to take home. The Japanese were good for us because they spent lots of money to buy souvenirs.

(Translated from Japanese by the author)

During Japan's Total War in the Pacific, the colonial government of Japan recruited over six thousand Taiwanese volunteers including one thousand eight hundred indigenous people and assigned them to the front from April 1942 to 1944 (Lin & Keating, 2005). The indigenous peoples' volunteer army was called the Takasago Volunteer Army (Ching, 2001). In Wulai, thirteen indigenous men who joined the Takasago Volunteer Army were killed in the Pacific War (Wen & Xiao, 1997). Ashcroft *et al.* (2000) argued that although imperial binary perspective assumed a movement from the colonizer to the colonized, the dynamic of change is not all in one direction. It is in fact “transcultural, with a significant circulation of effects back and forth between the two” (Ashcroft et al., 2000, p.27).

Various Actors in the Host Community

My informants' comments as well as Hsieh's findings (1994a) suggest that various actors in the host community were involved in the international tourism development in Wulai.

Therefore, we should not oversimplify the characteristics of the host community. First of all, within the indigenous host community, a variety of ethnic groups (the Atayal, Amis, and Yami) were involved in tourism business. Second, the “Atayal” hosts were not uniform and included: 1) the Wulai Atayal in the village of Wulai; 2) the Wulai Atayal from other villages in the Township of Wulai; and 3) the Atayal from other counties (e.g. Nanau County). Third, age determined the types of jobs the indigenous hosts could get: aboriginal dancing job for younger indigenous females (the Atayal and the Amis) and males (the Yami). Meanwhile, selling souvenirs, becoming photo subject and demonstrating traditional weaving were jobs for the older Atayal women. Fourth, race distinguished the way in which tourism business operated in Wulai: Han Chinese were owners and the indigenous people were employees. Butler and Hinch (1996, p.11) argued that “indigenous tourism occurs within the context of a global tourism industry that is dominated by non-indigenous actors.” In the case of Wulai, Han Chinese were the main actors who have operated ethnic tourism business in Wulai. In short, the host community in Wulai was a dynamic composition of different ethnicities, cultures, ages and races.

Shifts in Atayal's Economy and Gendered Division of Labour

Hsieh (1994a) noted that while young Atayal women worked as dancers at the WACV or as sales clerks at souvenir shops, young Atayal men served as taxi drivers to take tourists from the WACV to the tour bus parking lot when dance performances finished.

Indigenous adults working for the tourism industry returned to their home at dusk (Hsieh, 1994a). After returning home, women had to prepare supper for the family while men washed vehicles or joined together to play Chinese chess (Hsieh, 1994a). Hsieh's findings suggest that the Atayal women had more domestic burdens than the Atayal men.

However, Wiedfeldt (1914) and Gau (1976) documented that in Atayal's society, men and women were traditionally considered to be equal although there was a clear gendered division of labour between men and women: For men, (head)-hunting and cultivation of lands, and for women, weaving, cooking, and taking care children. By fulfilling their gender-specific responsibilities, the Atayal men and women treated themselves equally (Gau, 1976). However, after the development of tourism, this clear division of labour seemed to collapse in Wulai.

Atayal's Christianity and Shifts in Sunday Service Hour

In Wulai, the majority of the Atayal are Christians, either Presbyterians or Catholics. Beginning in 1946, Western missionaries from various mainline, evangelical, and Holiness/Pentecostal denominations began moving into Taiwan (Rubinstein, 2001, p.76). In the case of Wulai, Presbyterian and Catholic were the two main religious denominations that the Atayal and other indigenous group adopted as their new religious belief. In 1951 a Han Chinese ministry introduced Presbyterianism to the indigenous residents of Wulai and baptized the first fifty people in 1951 and another 90 people in 1952 (Wen & Xiao, 1997). Catholicism was introduced by an Australian priest in Wulai in 1963 (Wen & Xiao, 1997). On Sunday, the Atayal had their Sunday services from 8 a.m. to 9 a.m. The service was originally held between 9 and 10 a.m.; however, because many Atayal worked for tourists from 9 a.m., their service time eventually got changed.

6.6 Impacts of Nationalist China's Colonialism and Tourism

Development on the Wulai Atayal's Multiple Identities

Like the Atayal as a group, as the indigenous people of Wulai renegotiated their multiple identities under the influence of a new colonial regime: Nationalist China. This section offers interpretations of how the Wulai Atayal's multiple identity has been shifted through their experiences with Nationalist China's colonization and international tourism development occurring in Wulai.

6.6.1 Buried Cultural Identity: Atayal Language

As noted in Section 6.3, the Atayal were forbidden to speak their own language by the Nationalist Chinese government. As Temu's story indicated, no other languages other than Mandarin were allowed to be spoken in school. This policy made it difficult for the Atayal to keep their own language. Furthermore, in the case of Wulai Atayal, the rise of tourism development brought many Han Chinese as well as Japanese to their community. The Wulai Atayal needed to communicate with those outsiders using their languages. During my stay in Wulai, I was surprised to meet many middle-aged Atayal residents who spoke relatively good Japanese. Those Atayal told me that they needed to learn

Japanese quickly to communicate with customers from Japan. My Atayal informants expressed that language forms a part of who they are as the Atayal (Personal communication, 2006). However, since the 1960s, the Atayal in Wulai were constantly exposed to outside cultures mainly from Japan and China. With forceful colonial rule and a booming tourism economy, the Wulai Atayal had to choose Mandarin or Japanese over the Atayal language, thus burying their cultural identity.

6.6.2 Commodification of Culture: Redefining Cultural Identity

As Xie (2003, p.13) pointed out in the case of the Li in Hainan, China, some indigenous values were lost in the tourism development process because economic interests received priority by tourism businesses. In the case of the Atayal in Wulai, dance performance was selected as a tourist attraction to entertain the Japanese tourists. Hall and Tucker (2004) argued that the creation of tradition for tourism is just part of ongoing negotiation of multiple identities. The purpose of the creation of tradition changes accordingly to the needs of both the colonizers and colonized (Hall & Tucker, 2004). It is a dialectical process of negotiation of identities (Hall & Tucker, 2004). Because of the economic interests, the Atayal women placed a lower priority on their traditional weaving culture, and dancing was represented as a part of their ethnic identity. This was the situation where the invention of traditions occurred for external consumption that met Japanese, the former colonizer's conceptions of the other.

6.6.3 Redefining Cultural and Gender Identity

Facial Tattooing: Freezing the Past

To abolish the Atayal men's head-hunting activity, facial tattooing was banned by the Japanese during the colonial period. By categorising the Atayal people as “tattooed savages”, the Japanese dismissed the cultural significance of facial tattooing for the Atayal. Despite this, the Japanese appropriated the Atayal's facial tattooing culture again but now through tourist consumption. As Hendry (2005) pointed out in the case of the First Nations in Canada, the Japanese tourists tried to freeze the Atayal at a time in their ancestral past. As if culture were something fixed and unchanging, the older Atayal were

“displayed” as commodities. The development of ethnic tourism changed the nature of facial tattooing from a cultural symbol to show maturity as an Atayal adult to a cultural commodity to generate money. As the value attached to facial tattooing changed, the Atayal also had to refigure the meaning of facial tattooing, thus redefining their culture and identity.

Weaving: Only as a Means to Earn Incomes

For generations, all weaving techniques were passed down by mothers to their daughters orally. Because of the Atayal's oral tradition, no written records were left to instruct how to weave their meticulous diamond shape patterns with their traditional looms. In other words, after the Japanese imposed a ban on weaving, the Atayal women's weaving techniques were never written down for the future reference.

When I asked Temu if any women in Wulai wove again after the Japanese left their village, she told me that none did except her mother who had demonstrated traditional weaving activity for tourists after the 1960s. When I asked why Atayal women in Wulai did not start weaving again after the Japanese left her country in 1945, Temu explained to me that tourism development was the main cause for the Atayal women in Wulai to lose their incentive to revive their weaving tradition. After the introduction of global capitalism to Wulai, the Atayal women were busy working as dancers, sales clerks, and photo subjects for the Japanese tourists. As the Atayal women became breadwinners of the families through tourism, their weaving culture reappeared only the form of touristic consumption. Regarding the aboriginal dance performance in Wulai, Okamura made interesting comments as follows:

In Wulai, the Atayal women show yarn-twisting activity as a part of aboriginal dancing for tourists; however, traditionally such activity has not been a part of the Atayal's traditional dancing. This is an invention (by those dancers) in Wulai (Okamura, 1968, p.41).

(Translated from Japanese by the author)

Recently Wulai became quite a popular tourist destination, and young (indigenous) women with colourful costumes show their aboriginal dancing...Now you can only find plain weaving woven specifically for tourists (Okamura, n.d., p.90).

(Translated from Japanese by the author)

Since the Japanese cut the linkage between facial tattooing and weaving, weaving no longer functioned as an identity marker of the Atayal women to symbolize their maturity and femininity as Atayal adult women. However, as Temu's comment and Okamura's observations indicate, the Atayal women's weaving culture was partially kept but modified into a form of cultural consumption for tourists (e.g. weaving demonstrations and as a part of a dance performance). The purpose of weaving changed from a gendered symbol that defined gender identity to a means to earn incomes.

Invisible Atayal Men in Tourism Development

Although Hsieh (1994a) documented that some young Atayal males were engaged in tourism as taxi drivers, the Atayal men's were almost invisible in the tourism scene. By the time the KMT took over Taiwan, head-hunting was no longer practiced among the Atayal men. The Atayal men's gendered identity was no longer based in head-hunting and facial tattooing. The tourism brochure, *Wulai and Its People* (n.d., p.26) described the Atayal men's lifestyle as follows:

Tribesmen's Living: The aboriginal tribesmen in Wulai make their living by farming, foresting, hunting and fishing. They rise early, some times at midnight, and go out for work in the fields with torches in hand. Most of the fields of Atayals are far away from the village. They usually build a hut to live in or take a rest when they work in the fields, or the hut is in the hunting grounds. Some even stay at the hut up to one month during the busy season.

This statement illustrates hunting as an important part of the Atayal men's life. Due to a lack of information, I was not able to identify how the rise of tourism development had affected the identity formation of the Atayal men in Wulai. Although I was not able to confirm whether or not the Atayal men in Wulai engaged in game hunting during the field study period at least it could be seen that hunting was not commoditized for tourists, thus their hunting culture was not appropriated by the Japanese.

6.6.4 Intensified Place and Racial Identity

As noted in Section 5.3.2, during the colonial period, the Japanese treated the indigenous peoples as an inferior race compared to the Han Chinese. The indigenous people were treated as “savages” whereas the Han Chinese were “common people.” In the case of Wulai, the legacy of Japan's colonialism continued through tourism in that the Han Chinese entrepreneurs invaded the lands of the indigenous peoples. While the Han Chinese took over the lands on the lower hills where the main street of Wulai was located, the indigenous residents remained at the upper hills where tourists barely came.

According to my key informants, the tourists did not even bother to visit their residential area because of the toll fee that the tourists needed to pay. In Wulai, there were two toll booths built by the Administrative Office of the Wulai Scenic Area in Wulai: one across from the Wulai Tourist Bridge where the majority of the indigenous people resided and another across from the Lansheng Bridge where the tourists needed to pass through to the Wulai Waterfall. In short, the indigenous residents were disadvantaged in locations to get interacted with the tourists. Therefore, the segregation of the places between the “two different races” became very clear in Wulai: The Han Chinese in the bottom part of the hill and the indigenous people in the upper part of the hill. Moreover, the Han Chinese commoditized natural resources such as hot springs and waterfalls that were important for the Wulai Atayal's place identity. During the Japan's occupation of Taiwan, hot spring was a symbol of the segregation between the Japanese and the indigenous residents of Wulai. Thus, tourism development intensified the racial segregation of places between the Han Chinese and the indigenous peoples.

6.6.5 Defining a New Religious Identity

During Japan's occupation, Shinto was the only religion that was allowed to be practiced in Taiwan. After Japan's colonialism was over, the indigenous peoples in Taiwan, including the Wulai Atayal, accepted Christianity as their new religion, resulting in a shift in their religious identity. When I asked a senior Atayal male pastor who used to serve for the Wulai Church whether or not the Atayal believe the Jesus Christ as their only God, he said in English:

I think in the bottom of our heart, we still hold our own belief. A long time ago, we believed a God, but there was no name. The God controls all nature and we used to have taboos.

When I asked Lawa, 33 years old Atayal female pastor who speaks the fluent Atayal, why the Atayal accepted the Christianity, she answered in English:

I think because our belief overlaps with Christianity...like respecting and loving people. I think that's why it was easier for us to accept the Christianity.

As religion was beyond a scope of my study, I was not able to investigate this issue in great depth. Temu also told me that soon after Japanese left Taiwan, her country was chaotic – no food, medicines or clothing. The only people who helped the indigenous people were missionaries from the Western countries (Personal communication, 2006). It remains still unclear why the indigenous peoples accepted Christianity as their religion. Yet, it is a deniable and important fact that Christianity became a big part of some indigenous people in Taiwan.

6.7 Summary of the Chapter

For the indigenous people of Taiwan, the end of Japan's colonization in 1945 meant the beginning of another colonization by the Han Chinese from mainland China. Under the assumption that Taiwan was a province of mainland China, the KMT promoted the use of Mandarin in Taiwan and dismissed the significance of their own language for the indigenous people in Taiwan.

With the assistance of the United States which acknowledged Taiwan as a valuable non-communist ally, Taiwan began to mobilize its industrialization process. As Temu's story indicated, young women were hired as factory girls to work for the industries, including textiles. Chiang Kai-shek also saw tourism as an important service sector to bring foreign exchange incomes to Taiwan. Meanwhile in Japan, after defeat in the Second World War, Japan re-engineered its economy through the assistance of the United States. By 1964, Japan was ready to send tourists outside of Japan and Taiwan, a former colony of Japan,

became the most popular tourism destination for the male Japanese tourists who consisted about 90 percent of the travellers to Taiwan.

In Taiwan, Wulai became a place for the Japanese tourists to consume the exotic Other. The Atayal were represented as “beastly savages.” As Gau's book indicated, even after Japan's colonialism was over, the indigenous people were still portrayed as “savages.” However, in the case of Wulai, the image of the indigenous people was promoted as “noble savages.” By producing the image of the Wulai Atayal the noble savages, both Han Chinese and the indigenous residents of Wulai tried to seduce the Japanese tourists who desired to consume the exotic Other in part using the sympathy felt by the former colonizers, the Japanese. The findings also suggested how ethnicity, culture, age, race and gender were all intertwined together to make up the host identity.

In conclusion, tourism development encouraged commodification of culture among the host community, and the Atayal's facial tattooing and weaving cultures were commodified for the tourists to consume. Tourism also encouraged the idea of staged authenticity, leading young Atayal women to focus on dancing rather than weaving. Tourism also affected the gendered division of labour among the Atayal community. Women worked hard as dancers, sales clerks, and photo subjects. On the other hand, Atayal men did not actively participate in the development of tourism, affecting the balance of responsibilities between men and women. The clear division of labour between Han Chinese and the indigenous peoples of Wulai also revealed a legacy of Japan's colonialism. Since the Japanese imposed an idea of ethnicity and race among the colonized, Han Chinese considered themselves as racially superior to the indigenous peoples of Taiwan. As Han Chinese entrepreneurs invaded the Atayal's lands and commodified natural landscapes for the Japanese tourists, the tensions between Han Chinese and the indigenous people became clear, leading the Wulai Atayal to refocus on their place and racial identities. Finally, after Japan's occupation was over, missionary work from the West became active, and the indigenous peoples of Wulai adopted Christianity. As the Wulai Atayal lost their traditional lands to Han Chinese, church became an important place where the Atayal came to define who they were as the Atayal.

CHAPTER 7

REVIVAL OF ATAYAL WEAVING CULTURE AND WULAI ATAYAL'S MULTIPLE IDENTITIES

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I focus on the experiences of 'individuals'- nine indigenous female weavers in Wulai, Taiwan. In 1997 after the decline of international tourism development, twelve indigenous women started to revive the Atayal's traditional weaving culture through the assistance of a Japanese-educated Han Chinese instructor. Focusing on the experiences of nine out of the twelve weavers, I analyse how the indigenous women have reconstructed their multiple identities through weaving. Rankin (2004, p.72) argued that "the geographical concern with multiple scales of influence raises the question of how local cultural economies articulate with political economic processes operating at wider spatial scales." This chapter examines the revival of the Atayal weaving culture in Wulai in relation to the political economy occurring at local, national, and international scales.

The first section provides a brief history of the rise of democracy in Taiwan. In the next section, I examine how the advance of democracy triggered the movement to revitalize the Atayal weaving culture in Wulai. In the third section, the indigenous right movements around the globe will be discussed. By looking at Taiwan's political changes in relation to the indigenous rights movement, I aim to explain how the political shifts influenced the lives of the indigenous people of Taiwan. The fourth section discusses the decline of Wulai's tourism development at multiple scales. The decline of the tourism development was another factor that led some indigenous women to engage in the revitalization of Atayal weaving culture. The fifth section examines the roles of the twelve indigenous female weavers in Wulai. To explain what it means to become a weaver, I also offer nine

weavers' life stories. In the sixth section, I examine how the indigenous residents of Wulai are represented in the context of contemporary tourism development in Wulai. By doing so, I aim to illustrate how the indigenous residents have negotiated the construction of their multiple identities under Han China's colonial power.

7.2 Rise of Democracy in Taiwan

Worrying about his declining health, Chiang Ching-kuo, Chiang Kai-shek's eldest son, decided in 1983 that his heir should be a native Taiwanese who supported Chiang Ching-kuo's ultimate wish to unify Taiwan with China (Manthorpe, 2005). When Lee Teng-hui made a speech to denounce the idea of Taiwan independence, Chiang Ching-kuo was determined that Lee should be his successor (Manthorpe, 2005). Lee was the Taiwan provincial governor and former mayor of Taipei (Manthorpe, 2005). In his speech, Lee clearly stated that that Taiwan should never forget its heritage from China (Manthorpe, 2005). Before his death, Chiang Ching-kuo ordered the lifting of martial law and lifting of the ban on the formation of opposition parties in 1986 and the forty-year ban on visits to mainland China from Taiwan in 1987 (Manthorpe, 2005).

After the death of Chiang Ching-kuo, Lee was selected as interim president and party leader on January 27, 1988 (Manthorpe, 2005). This was the end of the forty years of dictatorship by Chiang's family, and the Lee administration paved the way to democracy in Taiwan. According to Manthorpe (2005), Lee never wanted Taiwan's unification with mainland China. Lee was a Presbyterian – a denomination that has actively supported Taiwanese interests and is pro-independence (Copper, 2003). After the lifting of martial law in 1987, the first opposition party, the Progressive Democratic Party (DPP) was created (Cauquelin 2004). Lee organized Taiwan's first free and fair presidential elections in 1996 (Manthorpe, 2005). Lee's victory in the 1996 democratic election was the sign of the complete transition to democracy in Taiwan (Manthorpe, 2005).

After the advance of democratization, the context in which the indigenous people operated had also changed. For instance, in 1996 a cabinet-level Council of Aboriginal Affairs (CAA) was formed to give indigenous people control of indigenous policies

(Arrigo et al., 2002). In 1997, indigenous people were finally given the right to have other than Chinese names (Arrigo et al., 2002). Furthermore, the right to a name and education in a language other than Mandarin Chinese was recognised (Arrigo et al., 2002). Meanwhile in Wulai, the indigenous female residents were encouraged to revitalise Atayal weaving culture.

7.3 Reviving Atayal Weaving Culture

In 1996, Han Chinese domination continued; however, Lee's administration had shifted its policy and the diversity in cultures was appreciated. Lee's government encouraged the indigenous peoples to get involved with their community project to revitalize their traditional cultures. Townships were funded through the Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs to organize a series of workshops for the indigenous peoples. With the former chief of the Township of Wulai's strong political power and great interests in enhancing community development, weaving was to be promoted, and it was the time for the Atayal women in Wulai to learn how to weave again.

7.3.1 Learning to How to Weave

Although the Wulai Atayal women wanted to revitalize their traditional weaving culture, no women in Wulai knew how to weave, but they found an Atayal woman from Nanao County who could teach them how to weave. About thirty indigenous women in Wulai came to her sessions. However, soon they found it difficult to acquire the Atayal's traditional weaving skills. The woman from Nanao had only one traditional loom for everyone to practice on so none of the participants received enough time to learn properly.

As I will later describe her story in Section 7.6.2, Temu was one of those thirty indigenous women who tried to learn weaving from her. Temu did not get enough opportunity to practice her weaving skill at the workshop; however, she was able to ask her mother to lend her a traditional loom and to teach her how to weave. Temu's mother also originated in Nanao and she was the one who had secretly kept weaving during Japan's occupation. When Temu asked her mother to teach, she was already 82 years old. Temu's mother was no longer able to sit down to weave; however, she sat next to Temu

and taught her how to weave. When Temu was not sure how to use her traditional loom, her twenty-year older sister, Sawako, showed Temu what she needed to do.

Others that originated in Wulai had no such opportunity to acquire weaving skills and needed to wait for another chance to come. In 1998, the township of Wulai found a Japanese-educated female Han Chinese professor in Taipei. She had spent fourteen years in Japan and mastered her weaving skills in Japan. She acquired her weaving skills from a Japanese professor who mastered her weaving techniques in Sweden. This Han Chinese professor introduced western weaving techniques to the indigenous women in Wulai, and their rhombus patterns were, once again, about to be revived, but in a hybrid form.

With assistance of this Han Chinese professor, those women imported modern looms from Taipei that were originally from New Zealand and Sweden. Compared to the Atayal's traditional back-strap loom, the western loom was much easier to handle and more comfortable to weave with as it did not require them to sit down on a floor to weave. The western loom is called a "floor type loom" and it allowed the Atayal women to sit down on a chair to weave (Figure 7-1). In the beginning, it was not easy for the women to get used to the modern loom. The Han Chinese professor understood that it was very difficult for them to learn party because they were not used to taking notes. It was easy for them to forget what they learned from her and the professor needed to repeat what she had already taught them over and over again.

The Han Chinese professor instructed her classes both in Mandarin and Japanese. For the older Atayal who only had received Japanese education, it was easier to learn in Japanese than in Mandarin. The professor used English textbooks from the United States that she had used as textbooks in school in Japan. She not only taught them fundamental skills in western weaving but also introduced several weaving pattern books published in the United States. Within two years, twelve women had completed their training and became the first trained weavers in Wulai in 2000.



Figure 7-1: An Atayal Weaver with Imported Floor Type Loom

7.4 Taiwan's Independence Movement and the Indigenous Rights Movement around the Globe

While the indigenous women were training to become weavers, Taiwan organized the second presidential election in 2000. The presidential candidate of the opposition DPP,

Chen Shui-Bian, broke the KMT's 55-year monopoly on state power in Taiwan on May 2000 (Simon, 2002). During his presidential campaign, Chen had placed indigenous rights at the centre of his platform. His election was clearly a victory for the native Taiwanese majority and for the forces advocating Taiwan independence (Arrigo et al., 2002). For the indigenous people of Taiwan, Chen's victory meant the opportunity to continue to define themselves as the indigenous people of Taiwan.

7.4.1 Taiwan's Independence Movement

To promote a unique Taiwanese identity distinct from the Chinese mainland, scholars such as Simon (2006) argued that the DPP used the indigenous people to ratify the formation of local identity. Arrigo et al. (2002, p.61) also commented on the shifts in treatment of the indigenous people of Taiwan as follows:

Interestingly enough, it is the Austronesian heritage that now serves Taiwanese as a cultural and racial emblem of self-identity to distinguish them from the Chinese mainland – rather like the Maori for New Zealanders. The DPP early on championed indigenous rights.

Allio (1998) argued that the aboriginal cause has been boosted by the island's newly-created democracy; it has also been fed by the global discussion of the rights of indigenous peoples. To better understand how Taiwan's politics was framed, the following section examines the indigenous right movement around the globe in relation to Taiwan's national independence movement. Indeed, the Wulai Atayal's weaving revival project was supported by the indigenous right movements around the globe.

7.4.2 The Rise of Indigenous Right Movement in Taiwan

When I talked to Antok, a former pastor of the Wulai Church, he mentioned that his life became much easier after the 1980s' human rights movement in Taiwan. As Antok's comment suggested, after the mid-1980s, the indigenous rights movement gradually became active and two organizations, the Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines (ATA) and the Presbyterian Churches in Taiwan (PCT) were the main forces of this movement.

With significant Presbyterian participation, financial support, and clergy membership, the ATA was formed in Taipei on December 29, 1984 (Hsieh, 1994b; Stainton, 2002). It was the first social group whose members were mostly indigenous peoples in Taiwan (Hsieh, 1994b). It was also the first pan-ethnic organization that systematically developed indigenous right movements in Taiwan (Hsieh, 1994b). Moreover, the ATA was the first secular aboriginal organization bringing together representatives of each ethnic group (Allio, 1998).

The ATA's greatest accomplishment was to participate as a non-governmental organization in the ninth session of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations (WGIP) held by the United Nations in 1991 (Allio, 1998). The WGIP was set up under the United Nations Economic and Social Council (Allio, 1998). Among other things, the WGIP was responsible for preparing the draft of a UN Universal Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, stressing the collective aspect of such rights in relation to the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man (Allio, 1998). It was the "first time since 1972 that a group originating from Taiwan was welcomed inside United Nations precincts" (Allio, 1998, p.7).

Meanwhile, the PCT was formed in the 1980s. The PCT's greatest achievement was launching the indigenous land rights movement called the "Return our Land" movement from 1981 to 2001 (Stainton, 2002). According to Stainton (2002), this Return our Land movement inspired numerous local land actions, helping to give indigenous people of Taiwan a new and positive identity. Linking with foreign churches and organizations, the PCT has promoted Taiwan's indigenous peoples' participation in world indigenous movements, including the UN Working Group (Stainton, 2002). Moreover, the PCT also got involved with the opposition DPP's election strategies. In 1998 the DPP recruited two Presbyterian ministers to run as DPP candidates for the seats in the legislature reserved for Aborigines (Stainton, 2002, p.65).

After the advance of democratization, the representation of the indigenous people of Taiwan had changed from uncivilized savages to social outcasts to indigenous residents,

the Taiwan aborigines (Wong, 2004). While the rise of democracy and the advance of the indigenous rights movement made a considerable change in the perceptions of the indigenous people of Taiwan, the indigenous residents of Wulai had experienced another big change in their life: the shift in the trend in international tourism.

7.5 Decline of International Tourism in Wulai

In his study conducted in Wulai, Hsieh (1994a, p.188) documented his interviewees' accounts as follows:

At present, the Wulai Atayal depend heavily on tourism. My informants are worried about the decline of tourism in Wulai.... Both civil servants at the *hsiang* level in Wulai and local residents complain that there are fewer and fewer tourists. Some store owners say they could not remain in business without the arrangements they make with travel agents to have tourists brought to their stores. Recently, Wulai residents realised that a large number of the tourists are international visitors.

As Hsieh (1994a) commented, Wulai was crowded with a large number of international tourists, notably from Japan and Korea. However, after the late 1980s, the number of tourists started to decline, forcing the indigenous residents of Wulai to make changes in their lives. This decline of international tourism in Wulai was largely influenced by situation of China.

7.5.1 After the 1980s: Shifts in Tourism Trends in Taiwan

Although the annual growth rate was about 10 percent in the 1980s, Taiwan has experienced a slower growth in tourism since the mid-1980s. According to Copper (2003), one of the main causes of the industry's stagnation can be explained by the opening up of China: Since China's entry into the global tourism market in 1978, China became increasingly competitive as a new tourism destination. The report from the World Tourism Organization (1997, p.31) illustrates the situation of China and its impact on Taiwan as follows:

Since opening its doors to tourism in 1978, China has attracted millions of tourists who are interested in the country's history, heritage, cultural diversity, and natural landscape. While visitors to China from

compatriot destinations – Hong Kong and Taiwan still dominate, Japanese tourists led the way for foreign visitors.

Although the ten-year old report (World Tourism Organization, 1997) did not make a direct link between China's growth and Taiwan's stagnation in the global tourism market, China certainly attracted foreign tourists not only from Taiwan but also from Japan. This was because lifting of the ban on travel to China by Taiwan's citizens in 1987 made it easier for people in Taiwan to travel to China (Copper, 2003). Moreover, China's opening up of its economy made it easier for Japanese tourists to travel China.

Mr. Yang, a former tourism business owner in the Wulai waterfall area, understood that the tourism market trend had changed. He said to the author, "Now Japanese and rich people in Taiwan go to China for their holiday." For Taiwan, Japan has been the main market. In fact, Japan had accounted for more than 47 percent of Taiwan's inbound tourism market from 1988 to 1990 and 34 percent from 2000 to 2002 (World Tourism Organization, 1997; Japan National Tourist Organization, 2007).

7.5.2 After the mid-1990s: Decline of International Tourism in Wulai

Despite the fact that China has continued to attract Japanese tourists as the number one tourist destination in Asia, Taiwan achieved a steady increase in the number of Japanese tourists from 1994 to 2002. However, after the major earthquake in Taiwan on February 21, 1999, the Wulai Atayal started to notice a declining number of the Japanese tourists in Wulai, and many left their jobs in the tourism industry (Personal communication, 2006).

After the outbreak of Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) in March 2003, Taiwan lost its major market share, and again China influenced events in Taiwan. According to Lin and Keating (2005), in 2003 when SARS spread from mainland China throughout Asia and the rest of the world, the Republic of China pressured the World Health Organization (WHO) that inspectors from WHO should not help Taiwan without the consultation of Beijing. The World Tourism Organization (2005) indicated that SARS caused significant damage to tourism in Taiwan, and tourist arrivals in Taiwan declined

by 25 percent or to 2.2 million in 2003. After the SARS incident, the Atayal in Wulai had also lost their main customers, the Japanese. With the advance of democracy and the promotion of the independence movement in Taiwan as well as the decline of international tourism development in Wulai, some indigenous women in Wulai chose to become weavers. They were the “poster children” for the Township of Wulai.

7.6 Today’s Weaving in Wulai

7.6.1 Twelve Weavers as Wulai’s “Poster Children”

Through the funding from the Government of Taipei County, the Township of Wulai trained the first twelve indigenous female weavers in 1997 and 1998. As explained above, they were trained by a Japanese-educated Han Chinese who introduced western weaving techniques to these women. These indigenous female weavers are now licensed, meaning that they not only run their own weaving business but also get offered work by museums and schools. These weavers have been promoted by the Township of Wulai as the most accomplished weavers in Wulai. Their photos, phone numbers and address are all posted on the web site of Wulai Township. When the Cultural Division of the Township of Wulai arranges weaving-related activities, their presence is almost mandatory.

Because these indigenous weavers are highly visible in the website, a couple of the weavers complained that they are now fed up with the number of calls from journalists, academic researchers, buyers and collectors who want to visit their home. One weaver mentioned that because of her work and church activities, she no longer has time to weave for sales. Yet she gets phone calls from buyers every day, and now she does not pick up her phone. A couple of weavers mentioned that they absolutely have no time to weave because they need to take care of their grandchildren. Those weavers who spend less or no time in weaving have no incentives to sell their products as they need to keep some of their weavings in case the Township of Wulai asks them to display their work in exhibitions. If they do not have any work to present, they “get into trouble” (a quote from one weaver).

Among the twelve weavers, four weavers are considered to be “the best four.” Only those four weavers know how to analyse the Atayal's traditional weaving patterns. Other weavers are also able to weave the Atayal's traditional weaving pattern; however, they do not have the skills required to replicate the Atayal's traditional costumes. Such replication work is mostly requested by museums. Even though all twelve weavers are licensed to work with museums, only those four can really take their offers. Within "the best four," the very best weaver has won a number of weaving competition awards, and a few government officials have asked her to weave for themselves. Those four weavers are all family related and work together very closely. The other three are relatives of the best weaver on her husband's side.

Four other weavers are also family related: a mother and three daughter-in-laws. Two weavers are mother and daughter. The other two weavers are "independent". One is Taroko (The Taroko used to be included as a part of the Atayal; however, because of the different language structure, the government of Taiwan recently recognised them as a different tribe.) and living in Jhongjih, the village next to Wulai. The other is not a pure Atayal as her father is from mainland China. She is an exception in that she is an atheist: all the other weavers are Christians. Race, ethnicity, family ties as well as their religious beliefs all mingle together to create the dynamics among the twelve weavers.

7.6.2 Nine Weavers' Stories

Of the twelve weavers, I collected nine narratives from May 2006 to August 2006. All of the stories are not tape-recorded so some narratives are based on copious notes taken during the interviews and immediately transcribed. The narratives of Temu, Watan, and Tamako are based on multiple interviews, and those of Yakaw and Amuy are based on single interviews. Temu's life story is the richest one as I lived with Temu and accompanied her on every possible occasion for three and a half months. Watan's story is based on three 2 to 3 hour interviews at the Wulai Atayal Museum and casual conversations I had with her and her daughter at the Wulai Church and Temu's home. Tamako's life story is the product of one 2 hour interview as well as short conversations we had at the Wulai Church, restaurants and other places.

I conducted in-depth interviews with Temu, Watan, and Tamako in Japanese by myself. Yakaw's interview was translated from Mandarin to Japanese by an Atayal interpreter, and Amuy's interview from Mandarin to English by two Han Chinese interpreters. Finally, I have added another four stories, those of Luwagan, Waka, Ciwas and Lobow in order to provide a broader picture of some of the experiences of the Wulai Atayal weavers. Those narratives are based on casual conversations with the four women and their family members. The names of those nine women and their family members have been changed to maintain anonymity.

Weaver 1: Temu

Temu is now 52 years old and she lives with her son's family. She originated in Nanao, on the east coast of Taiwan. During her early childhood, Temu lived with her older sister in Wulai for three years. After graduating from her primary school in Nanao in 1967, she moved to Taipei to work as a factory girl in the textile industry. At her sister's suggestion, however, Temu returned to Wulai in 1970 to work as a sales person for a tourism company. In 1972, Temu married a son of the chief of Wulai Township who owned an Aboriginal dance show company. Temu bore two children—one son and one daughter. After her marriage, Temu changed her denomination from Catholic to her husband's Presbyterianism. Since then, Temu has been actively involved in her church for thirty five years.

In addition to Mandarin, Temu speaks fluent Atayal and good Japanese. She also understands some Taiwanese. During her primary education, she lost her capability to speak Atayal. However, through assistance from the Wulai Church, Temu mastered her Atayal in her 40s. Because of her mother's and elder siblings' educational backgrounds in Japanese, Temu was familiar with Japanese since her early age. However, Temu acquired most of her Japanese in Wulai when she was serving Japanese tourists at the Wulai waterfall, a popular tourist destination for the Japanese until ten years ago.

In 1997, when the Township of Wulai advertised a weaving workshop for indigenous women, Temu was about to retire from the tourism company she was working for. When she was young, Temu had no interest in learning to weave. However, as she got older, Temu became more interested in her traditional Atayal culture and decided to attend the workshop. In addition to the Han Chinese instructor, her mother and older sister also helped her to learn to weave. Through their assistance, Temu mastered her weaving skills both on Atayal's traditional looms and western looms.

As a widow, weaving is an important means for her to earn income. Temu's husband died thirteen years ago. Temu commented on the importance of weaving as follows:

Without my husband, I can't do farming by myself. Farming requires a lot of physical work outside. Weaving is good because I can work inside by myself. I already have a house to live in, and my son's family prepares most of the meals so I don't really have to worry about making a lot of money.

(Translated from Japanese by the author)

Although weaving is important to her livelihood, Temu also emphasizes her passion for weaving. While she is weaving, she forgets time. Her daughter said that Temu used to spend countless nights weaving although she now barely has time to weave because of other responsibilities she has, including taking care of her two grandchildren. Temu admitted that she now spends more time with her grandchildren as their parents are both working. Temu likes to be innovative in weaving. With her fellow weavers, Temu invited a Han Chinese instructor who knows how to make bags out of hand-made weaving to provide input. Showing her favourite hand-made bag, she explained to me that she had incorporated the Atayal's facial tattooing pattern with Japan's Okinawan traditional motif that she saw at the cultural exchange program with people from Okinawa, Japan (Figure 7-2).

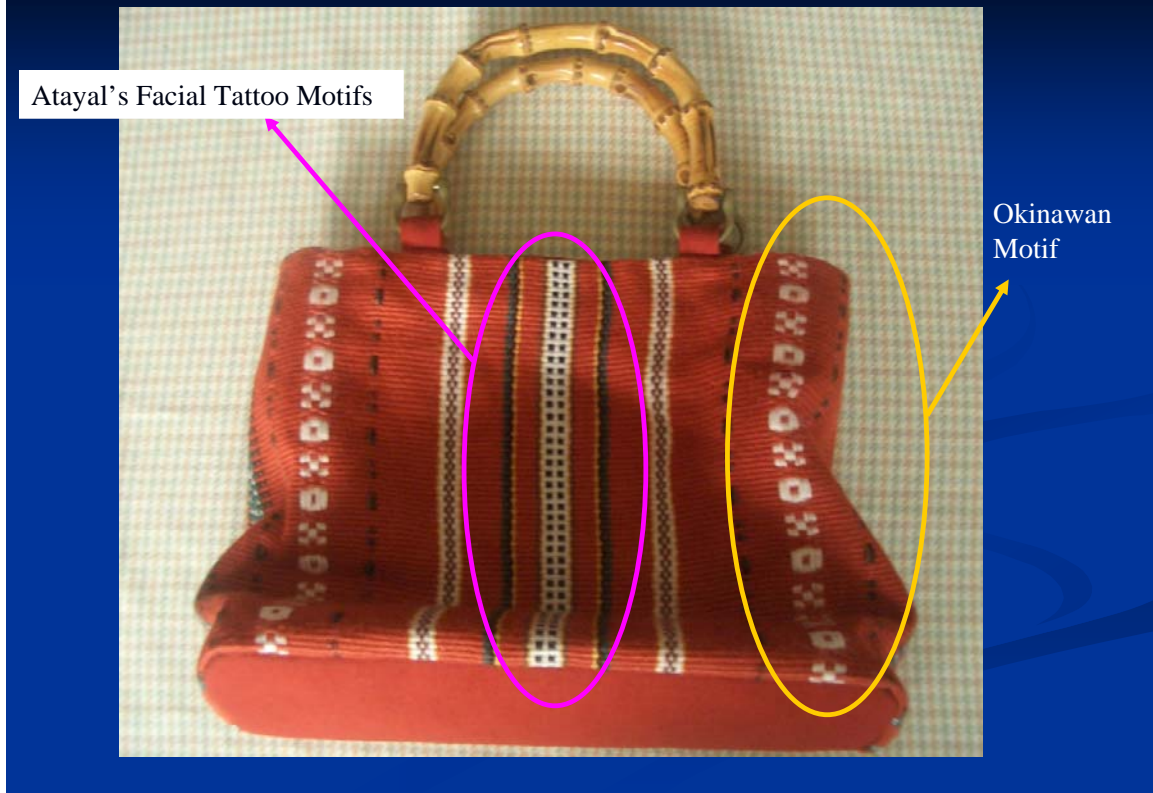


Figure 7-2: Temu's Handmade Weaving Bag

Temu is determined to preserve her Atayal weaving culture. While I was at the Wulai Atayal Museum with her, Temu pointed out the display of a traditional loom and said it was her mother's. Her oldest sister originally inherited the loom from her mother; however, Temu convinced her sister to sell her mother's loom as well as weaving gifts to the museum. Temu said that her mother's loom and weaving pieces would be best kept under the supervision of the museum. For her, keeping her mother's precious weaving work in the best possible condition is more important than keeping them with her at home. Besides, Temu insisted that displaying her mother's meticulous weaving would help non-Atayal to learn about her weaving culture.

Temu also has devoted her time to reviving Atayal's traditional woven costumes. As the best weaver in Wulai who has mastered techniques of analysis to revive traditional Atayal weaving, Temu proudly works with museums that seek replicas of the Taiwan's

indigenous weaving to display. To replicate old Atayal weaving pieces, Temu mainly uses photos in a book published by the Tenri Art Museum in Japan where a large collection of Atayal weaving is still kept. With no opportunity to make a close observation of the original textiles, replication through photo analysis required. Temu is not only able to replicate the techniques, she also has patience to discern the number of threads that were used in the photos. Using a magnifier, Temu analyses how each thread is woven together. This analytical work has affected her vision. Yet, photography was the only means for Temu to gain access to some of the Atayal's original textiles. Because the photos do not show the backs of the clothes, Temu uses her imagination to weave these parts. Because many of their original weavings were taken to Japan, Temu works with museums to revive her ancestors' traditional woven clothes.

Every time when Temu tells her mother's weaving story, she gets emotional. Temu said that purple was her mother's favourite colour. She recalled that her mother used to dye her yarns with chemicals she got from Japanese wives to make her favourite purple colour. During Japan's occupation, Temu's mother learned Japanese and so she spoke fluent Japanese. After Temu's father's death, Temu's mother came to Wulai and worked in the tourism industry by demonstrating her traditional weaving. Temu said that Japanese tourists used to tell her that they were so pleased to hear her speaking such excellent Japanese.

Weaving also gave Temu an opportunity to teach Atayal's traditional culture to the next generation of the Atayal. Temu no longer takes teaching jobs; however, Temu used to teach weaving to both female and male students at the Wulai Junior High School every Wednesday until last year. Weaving used to be strictly a task for women. When I asked Temu how she feels about teaching male students, she responded to me in Japanese as follows:

Yes, weaving used to be a job for (the Atayal) women, but things have changed now. I do not mind teaching boys as long as they are willing to learn. In fact, it might be a good idea for those male students to become professional weavers. That way, more girls will be encouraged to learn weaving. If they had a male teacher, I think that the girls in my class would be more motivated to learn (laugh). We need to pass down our

skills to the next generation, and if we stick to our tradition too much, we will not have enough weavers in the future, and our skills will be eventually diminished. That is something I am afraid will happen. If my grandson wants to learn how to weave, I will be happy to teach him.

(Translated from Japanese by the author)

Temu still sees weaving as an important identity marker for the Atayal women's gender identity. However, for Temu, it is more important to pass down her knowledge to the next generations regardless of their gender.

Weaving allows Temu to express herself. Temu is generally shy. She likes to spend her time at home. However, her passion for weaving led her to enter a number of weaving competitions, resulting in winning a number of awards. Weaving gave her self-confidence as an Atayal. Through weaving, Temu gained new opportunities to display her work at various exhibitions in Wulai, Taipei, and other counties in Taiwan. Despite her deteriorating eye vision, she has not given up weaving because weaving is her passion.

Through weaving, Temu also assists her community in many different ways. Temu has taught weaving not only to young Atayal in junior high schools but also to other Atayal female adults who want to learn how to weave. As an accomplished Atayal weaver, Temu also plays an important role as a cultural ambassador. To attend a cultural exchange program between the indigenous peoples in China and in Taiwan, Temu once traveled to China to meet the indigenous people there. When the Township of Wulai had delegates from Samoa, she and other weavers also hosted the delegates and demonstrated their weaving work.

For Temu, weaving is a way to express her multiple identities. Through weaving, I learned how Temu considers herself a female Wulai Atayal. As the following identity diagram shows, her weaving work represents her cultural, place, ethnic, racial, and gender identities (Figure 7-3).

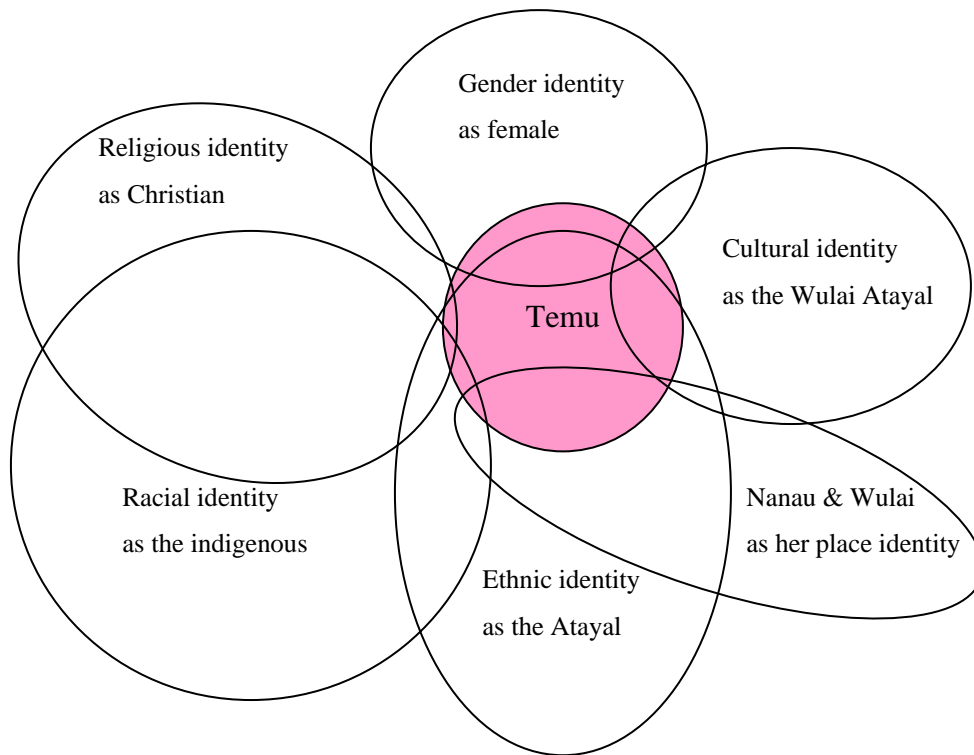


Figure 7-3: Temu's Multiple Identities

Although Temu was not originally from Wulai, she considered herself as Wulai Atayal. For Temu, Nanao, her birthplace, and Wulai where she spent most of her time are the two most important places. By weaving Nanao's big print patterns as well as Wulai's XO pattern, she expresses her place identity through weaving (Figure 7-4).



Figure 7-4: Temu's Wulai's XO Weaving

Through weaving, she also expresses her ethnic identity as Atayal. She often weaves the Atayal's traditional diamond shape patterns as well as facial tattooing patterns. Because those two symbolize the Atayal's unique cultural attributes, Temu said she likes to articulate such cultural symbols in her weaving to emphasise her Atayalness.

Her ethnic identity overlaps with her racial identity as an indigenous person of Taiwan. Although she likes to be creative by combining the Atayal's traditional motifs and new patterns she has created on her own, she prefers to present the Atayal's traditional rhombus patterns at the weaving competitions:

I like to be creative by combining traditional Atayal motifs and something else, but when I know that a weaving competition is going to be for both the indigenous and the Han Chinese, I always submit my diamond shape weaving work for the competition because I would like the Han Chinese to know what the Atayal's culture is about.

(Translated from Japanese by the author)

Through weaving, Temu takes the initiative to promote an awareness of the indigenous people of Taiwan among the Taiwanese society that is dominated by the Han Chinese.

Temu also considers weaving as an important element of her gender identity as a Wulai Atayal woman. Temu showed me her mothers' woven pieces. Looking at purple coloured woven work, Temu again shared her memory with me that her mother used to dye her yarns with chemical she got from Japanese wives. Temu also weaves for her daughter. Although her daughter does not weave very much, Temu hopes that her daughter will inherit her looms to weave. Like the Atayal women 100 years ago, Temu's mother transferred her weaving skills to her daughter, Temu. Temu also hopes to transfer her weaving skills to her own daughter. For Temu, weaving provides her with the chance to reflect on her memories of her mother as well as the Atayal women's tradition.

Weaver 2: Tamako

Tamako is now 65-years old. She was born and raised in Wulai. Tamako lives with her husband. She bore two daughters and five sons. Except for one daughter who got married in Japan, all her children live within the Township of Wulai. Tamako speaks fluent Mandarin, Atayal and Japanese. Because of her grandson in Japan who speaks neither Mandarin nor Atayal, Tamako learned how to speak Japanese. Tamako is experienced in traveling. To visit her daughter and grandson in Japan, she made several trips to Japan. She also flew to the United States to meet her sister once. Tamako holds a strong belief in Christianity. She plays a major role in the Wulai Church so the Wulai Church was the best place to meet her. When I thanked for her time for interviews, Tamako said to me in Japanese:

You don't need to thank me. You thank our God.

(Translated from Japanese by the author)

Unlike Temu, Tamako does not depend on weaving to earn income. Tamako does not sell her weaving. As the Tamako's identity diagram indicates, Tamako's weaving expresses her gender, place, and ethnic identities (Figure 7-5). Although she had not learned how

to weave until she participated in the weaving workshop in 1997, Tamako strongly believes that weaving and knitting represent the femininity of Atayal women. She said:

My mother told me that women must be able to weave and to knit.
Otherwise, you are not a woman.

(Translated from Japanese by the author)

Interestingly, unlike other weavers in Wulai, Tamako considers knitting is also an important part of her gender identity. Tamako says that she weaves for herself. For Tamako, weaving is a personal activity. She sees weaving as an important part of her gender identity; however, she does not see weaving for her daughters as a part of the Atayal women's weaving culture.

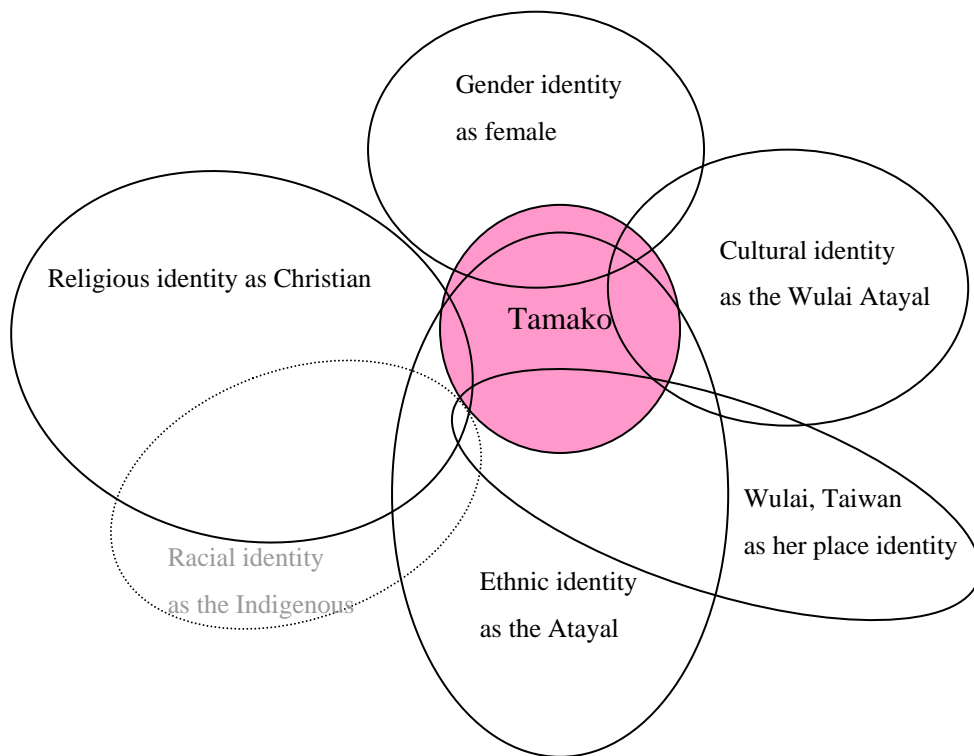


Figure 7-5: Tamako's Multiple Identities

When I asked her to show her favourite weaving work, without any hesitation she picked a recent woven piece and enthusiastically explained her worldview that she attempted to express through weaving (Figure 7-6):

Each line that makes a diamond shape shows the places I feel connected to: the United States where my sister lives, Taiwan where I live, Japan where my daughter and grandson live, and Asia where Taiwan belongs. The diamond shape represents the Atayal's ancestors' eyes. Because of the eyes, we can do our work. To me, the diamond shape also expresses leaves. For the Atayal, mountains and woods are important parts of ourselves. You see, each leaf is connected with each other in this weaving. This is the view that I see through weaving: a network of threads in the world.

(Translated from Japanese by the author)

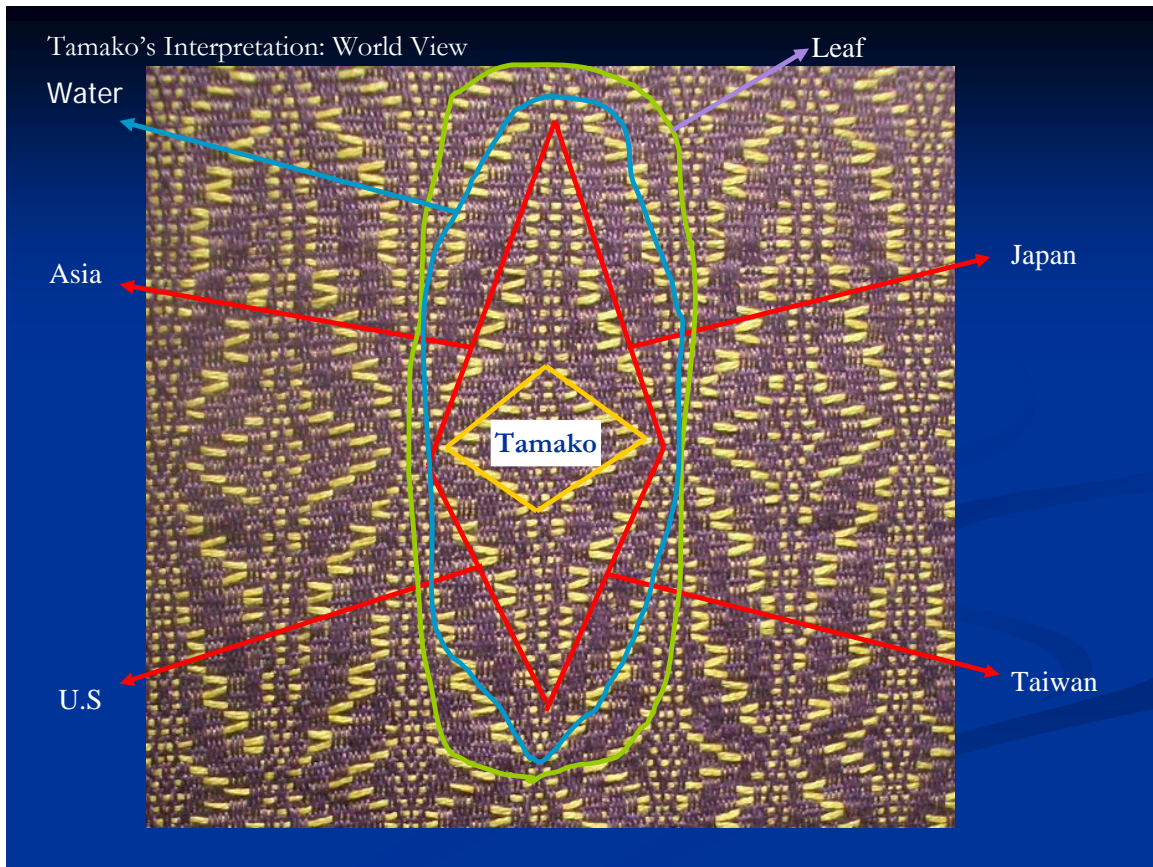


Figure 7-6: Tamako's Weaving

For Tamako, weaving provides a space to express her own understanding of the world. Unique among informants, Tamako's place identity is not solely based on Wulai where she was born, raised, and had lived for sixty five years. Tamako's account also reveals that she also considers mountains as a part of her place identity. As I understood that mountains are more associated with the Atayal men's place gender identity, it was

interesting to find that an Atayal woman also sees mountains as an important part of herself.

Tamako's emphasis on the use of diamond shapes in her weaving work also tells us that Tamako intends to express her ethnic identity as Atayal. For the Atayal, a diamond shape is now believed to be the representation of the Atayal's ancestors' eyes. According to my Atayal informants, the Atayal's ancestors' eyes protect the Atayal from hunger and anything harmful to the Atayal. However, one respondent claimed that such a meaning must be newly attached to the motif because her mother never said such a thing to her when she learned to weave from her. From the interview results, I was not able to determine when and how such meaning was attached to the motif. However, as Tamako indicated, the diamond shape now represents the ancestors' eyes and, like many other Atayal, Tamako considers the diamond shape as the most important motif for the Atayal weaving culture.

Weaver 3: Watan

Watan's story is a case of an Atayal woman with first-hand experiences of Japan's colonialism. Watan is now 77 years old. Like Tamako, she was born and raised in Wulai. Watan was first married in 1949 when she was 19 years old. Since her first marriage, she has not had an easy domestic life. Her first husband died when she was 33 years old. Until she reached 38 years old, she had to support her children alone. Five years later, she remarried but her second husband also died when Watan was 67 years old.

Watan bore nine children including three sons and six daughters. Except for two daughters, all of her children live outside of Wulai. Her oldest daughter, Asun, was one of the twelve weavers that the Township of Wulai trained. Asun used to work for a souvenir shop in the Wulai waterfall area and sold her own woven products. However, due to her health problems, Asun is no longer weaving. On the other hand, Hana, another daughter of Watan, recently came back from Japan. Hana went to Japan to get married to a Japanese man. Her children still live in Japan; however, she came back to Wulai to look after Watan after her husband died.

Watan obtained her primary education in Japanese so she speaks excellent Japanese as well as Atayal. Watan learned some Mandarin fifteen years ago by her own efforts to communicate with her grandchildren. However, Japanese is the easiest language for her to read, to write and to speak. As her identity diagram shows, for Watan, weaving is an important symbol to represent women's gender identity (Figure 7-7):

Unless you are able to weave, to sew and to do anything, you can not get married. Weaving is a symbol for women. My mother used to tell me that if you can not weave, you are not a woman.

(Translated from Japanese by the author)

Watan learned how to weave from her mother at the age of eighteen. However, two years later Japan banned weaving among the Atayal women, and Watan did not get a chance to improve her weaving skills until she became 67 years old. When I asked her why she learned how to weave again, Watan expressed her passion about weaving:

I like weaving. At my age, I don't think I really needed to learn how to weave, but I like weaving. I forgot a lot of things about weaving but now I remember what it was like. I like to weave with traditional looms. It looks much more beautiful than the one woven by western looms.

(Translated from Japanese by the author)

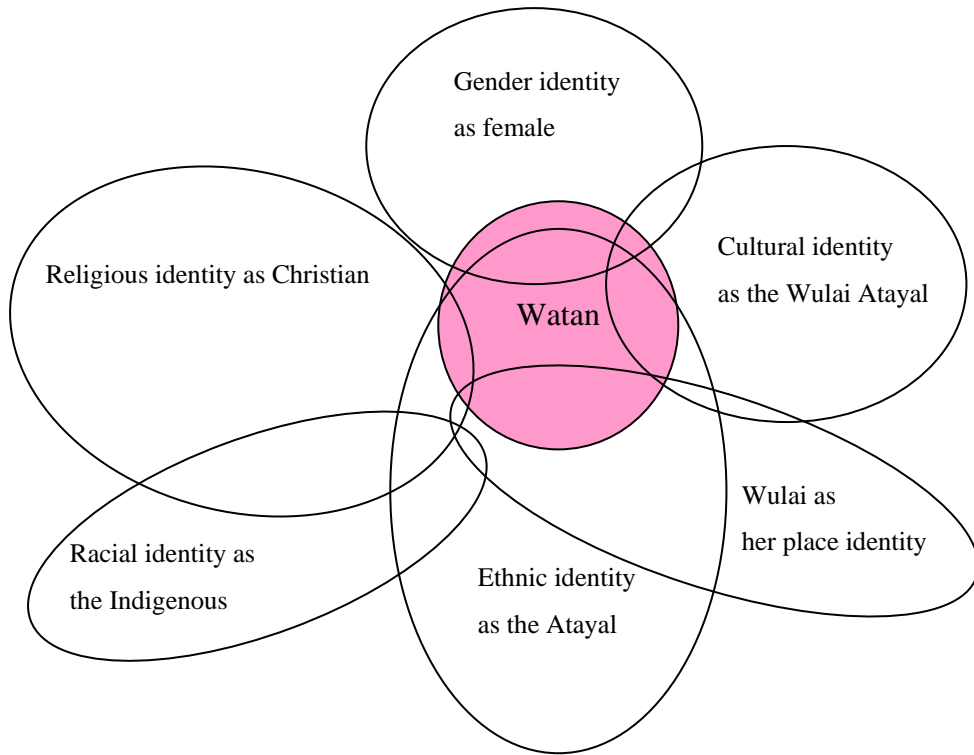


Figure 7-7: Watan's Multiple Identities

Like Temu, as a widow, weaving is her only means to support herself – it is her only source of income. Therefore, weaving is critical for survival. Until Watan learned how to weave, she sustained herself and her family through farming. Since October 2005, Watan has worked for the Wulai Atayal Museum three times a week from Friday to Sunday when most of the domestic tourists come to Wulai. Watan enjoys working for the museum because weaving work is not as demanding as the work she used to do for her private customers. Until she got a job at the museum, Watan wove by commissions. She was always under pressure to weave more. However, the work at the museum does not require her to commit herself to how much she is going to weave per month. Christianity is another important part of Watan's life. Every Sunday, Watan goes to her work after she attends the Sunday service at the Wulai Church. Once a week, Watan travels outside of Wulai for missionary work. When I first met Watan, it was on a Friday when Atayal women organize their bible study session every week.

Weaver 4: Yakaw

Yakaw, 39 years old, is one of the twelve weavers trained by the Han Chinese professor, and she is one of the two weavers who are not Atayal. She is originally from Alishan where the Tsou tribe lives. In 1983, after graduating from her junior high school in Alishan, Yakaw went to Taipei to work. She moved to Wulai in 1991 when she got married to Tamako's oldest son. Now she has two sons and one daughter. While her husband works in Wulai as a bus driver, Yakaw works at the Township of Wulai as a temporary employee.

Yakaw speaks Mandarin, Atayal, and Tsou. In her daily life, she speaks Mandarin with a little bit of Atayal mixed in to communicate with her family and community members. She learned Atayal through daily conversations with her family members and at the Wulai Church where she actively involved. Unless she takes her children to her home town in Alishan, she does not speak to them in the Tsou language. Yet, she sings songs in Tsou for her children. All Yakaw's children actively participate in youth activities in church. Yakaw is in charge of the youth activities at the church so she accompanies her children whenever they have church activities. For Yakaw, providing the best education for her children is the most important mission for her life now.

Like other weavers in Wulai, Yakaw started to weave ten years ago. Using her western looms, she often makes rolls of cloth in plain-weave. Yakaw seldom uses the Atayal's traditional looms to weave. Yakaw mainly weaves at night whenever she has time to weave. Like other weavers, Yakaw has also accomplished a few big projects to display her weaving work at museums in Wulai and in Taipei. She prefers to use a blue colour for her weaving as blue is the most important colour for the Tsou tribe. Through weaving, she expresses her ethnic identity not as Atayal but as the Tsou (Figure 7-8).

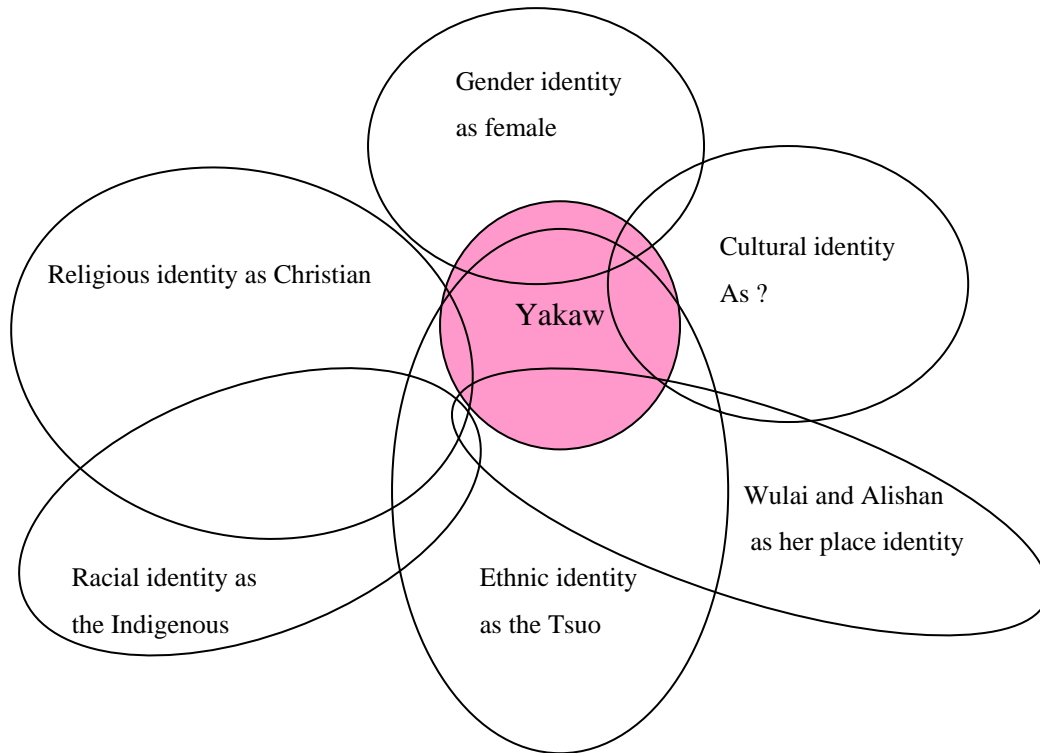


Figure 7-8: Yakaw's Multiple Identities

Weaving provides her extra income to support her family. With her woven pieces, Yakaw makes souvenir gifts such as key-chain dolls. She would like to sell more of her woven products. However, she can sell her woven goods only when she gets requests from the Township of Wulai or the Wulai Museum. Therefore, weaving is not a stable income for Yakaw's family. When Yakaw mentioned that her younger son is more interested in weaving than her daughter is, I asked her if it is alright for her to teach her son weaving. Yakaw expressed her thoughts in Mandarin:

Of course, I will teach my son if he wants to do it! No question about it. He is my kid, you know? As long as my kids want to learn how to weave, I will teach them.

(Translated from Mandarin to Japanese by the interpreter)

For Yakaw, gender seemed not to be a big issue in relation to weaving.

Weaver 5: Amuy

Amuy is 49 years old. She is not Atayal but Taroko. Amuy did not originate in Wulai but in Hualian on the east coast of Taiwan where the Taroko tribe lives. Amuy married an Atayal man and moved to Jhongjih, the village next to Wulai. She has three daughters, 30 years old, 24 years old, and 15 years old. Amuy now speaks fluent Atayal, Taroko and Mandarin.

Amuy started to weave in 1998. Although Amuy's grandmother and mother knew how to weave, Amuy's father did not let his wife teach weaving to Amuy as he wanted her to focus on her farming job. Amuy decided to learn to weave because she did not want the Atayal's weaving culture to be lost. Her favourite weaving colours are black, red, and white. For her weaving material, she liked ramie the best. In terms of motifs, she prefers to weave diamond shapes. She usually wove twice or three times a week or sometimes none depending on her schedule. Although Amuy's oldest daughter was not interested in weaving, her second oldest and the youngest daughter liked to weave so she taught these two daughters how to weave. When Amuy goes back to her hometown in Hualian, her mother teaches her Taroko weaving in the Taroko language. Amuy's second daughter is interested in Taroko weaving; however, because she only knows Mandarin, she can not communicate with her grandmother who mainly speaks Taroko.

Amuy mentioned that weaving changed her life. Through weaving, her circle of friends widened. Not only that, weaving also encouraged her to become creative and innovative in her daily life. Amuy's family, including her husband, is very supportive of her weaving. Through weaving, Amuy enjoys quality time with her fellow weavers as well as her daughters. Amuy said that she weaves for herself. When I asked her opinion about Atayal men's involvement with weaving, Amuy was strongly against men weaving as there was a clear gendered division of labour in the Atayal's traditional society. Amuy was anguished with the factory-made weaving sold in the tourist area. Despite her hard work, some tourists asked her why her hand-made weaving products were much more expensive than the ones sold in tourist areas. Amuy sometimes wondered if it was worthwhile to weave if people could not see the differences in quality. Nevertheless,

Amuy also expressed her wish that she would teach the older Wulai Atayal women how to weave.

For Amuy, weaving is a space to express her ethnic identity as Taroko. Amuy was learning from her mother how to weave traditional Taroko weaving. She said that every time she goes home, her mother shows her Taroko weaving technique. Amuy weaves Atayal's traditional motifs as well. When Amuy attends festivity, however, she wears not her Atayal weaving clothes but Taroko ones. Weaving and her ethnic identity are closely connected to form her multiple identities (Figure 7-9).

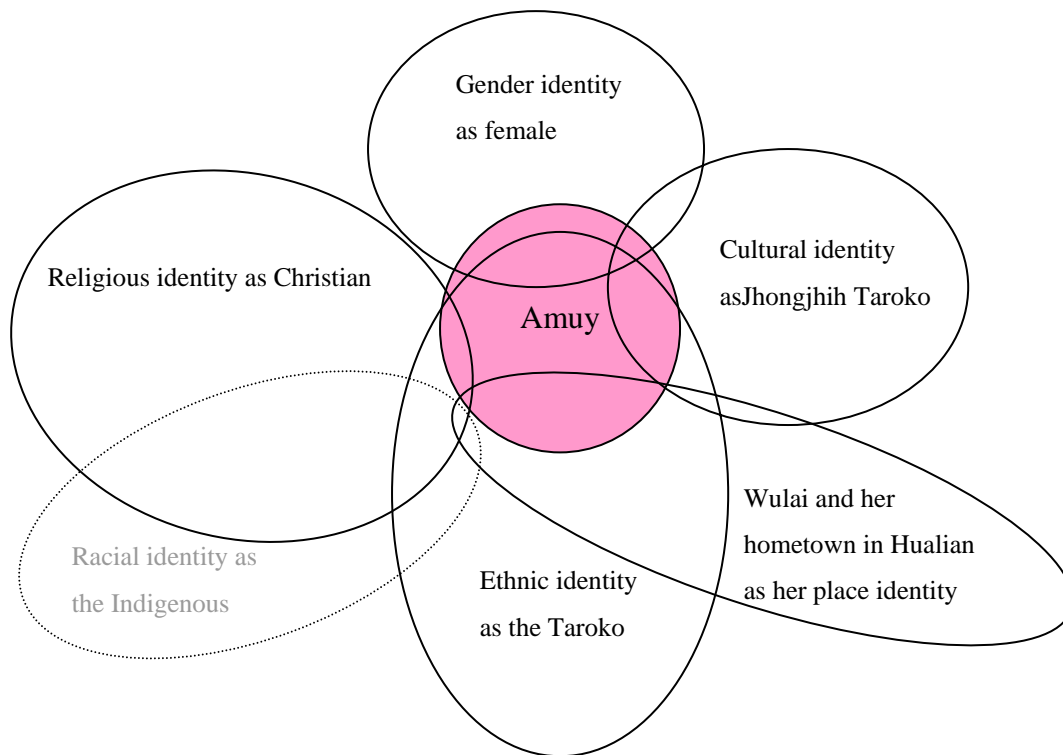


Figure 7-9: Amuy's Multiple Identities

For Amuy, indigo dyeing is another passion that she has. Once a year, Amuy and another weaver, Luwagan, pick indigo leaves to dye. There are natural indigo plants in her backyard. Amuy and other weavers learned how to dye from the Han Chinese instructor who taught western weaving techniques to them. During the indigo dye season, Amuy spends more of her time in dying activity than weaving.

Weaver 6: Luwagan

Luwagan's life story is an example of the Wulai Atayal woman whose life depends on tourism business. Luwagan is now 48 years old. She was born and raised in Wulai. Until she went to high school in Dansui, she spent her time in Wulai. Luwagan is married to a Wulai Atayal husband and has three daughters. Luwagan speaks fluent Atayal and Mandarin. She also understands some Japanese. Luwagan goes to the Nangou Church in the main street of Wulai.

Luwagan still owns her souvenir shop at the Wulai waterfall area although her business is not going as well as it used to. During the early days of international tourism in Wulai, Luwagan worked as a dancer for the Japanese tourists. She did this after graduating from high school.

For Luwagan, weaving is important only because of her daughters. None of her daughters is married yet; however, Luwagan weaves to prepare her daughters' marriage gifts. In fact, Luwagan displays her weaving work at her souvenir shop at the Wulai waterfall; however, she never sells her woven products to tourists (Figure 7-10). Like Amuy, Luwagan also devotes her time to indigo dyeing.

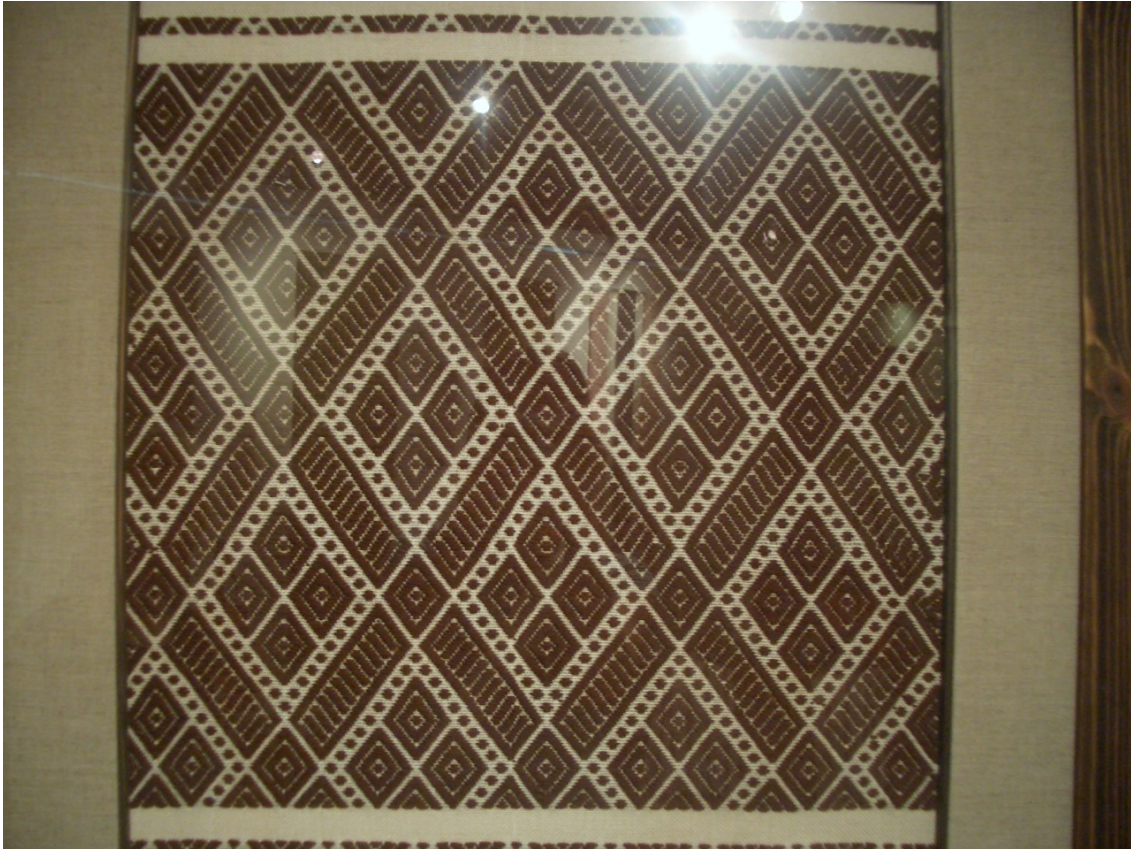


Figure 7-10: Luwagan's Ancestors' Eyes Weaving

Weaver 7: Waka

Waka is now 60 years old. Like most other Atayal weavers, Waka was born and raised in Wulai. Waka speaks fluent Atayal and Mandarin as well as a little bit of Japanese. Until she started to weave ten years ago, she used to sell souvenirs at the Wulai waterfall area. Before then, she worked for the Township of Wulai. Waka lives with a large family: her husband, her son's family, and her daughter's family. Waka's husband runs a family business so except for her daughter who works in Taipei, every one of her family members helps her husband Fumio's business. Therefore, Waka is responsible for taking care of her grandchild like Temu.

Until the grandchild was born a few years ago, Waka was actively involved in weaving. Because of Waka's spacious work space, Waka often provided her place as a workshop space for weavers. Like Luwagan, Waka goes to the Nangou Church at the bottom of Wulai village. Therefore, her workplace was the only place where I could meet her as

well as Luwagan and Ciwas (see later). While I visited her workplace, Waka told me that although her mother does not know how to weave, she remembers her grandmothers' weaving. In addition to weaving, Waka also spends time quilting. Like Temu, Waka's weaving is innovative but in a different way. Using a weaving pattern book she had purchased in Japan, Waka incorporates a piece of quilt in her weaving (Figure 7-11).



Figure 7-11: Waka's Quilt Weaving

Weaver 8: Ciwas

Ciwas is 55 years old. She was born and raised in Wulai. Ciwas speaks fluent Mandarin but barely understands Atayal. She has a son and a daughter. Like Luwagan and Waka, she goes to the Nangou Church. After graduating from high school, she took a job as a sales clerk for the group tourists' photo company. Later, she got a job as a dance instructor and taught aboriginal dancing to young Atayal who worked for a show. While working for the tourism industry, she learned a little bit of Japanese.

Like other weavers, Ciwas had already left her tourism job. Now Ciwas serves as the president of the Weaving Association in Wulai. There are about forty to fifty indigenous members in the association. As a president of the organization, she organizes weaving competitions in Wulai village, attends meetings with museum staff members and works with the Township of Wulai. For instance, Ciwas traveled to China and Canada as a cultural ambassador of the indigenous people of Taiwan. The China trip was led by the Bunun activist, and Ciwas went to China with Temu and members of other indigenous tribes of Taiwan. In terms of her trip to Canada, Ciwas visited Canada with the delegates from the government of Taiwan to meet delegates from the government of Canada as well as the First Nations in Canada.

Ciwas did not speak to me very much about her weaving. She only said to me that she weaves for money. However, when I met her daughter Shini at the weaving award ceremony for Ciwas and Temu, Shini said that although her mother does not speak her mind very much, she must have great passion in weaving. Otherwise, she would not actively participate in weaving competitions and get involved with various weaving projects, including an Atayal traditional weaving revival project.

Weaver 9: Lobow

Lobow is 39 years old. She is originally from Nantou County, but she moved to Wulai when she married Tamako's fourth oldest son. Lobow bore three daughters. Lobow only spoke Mandarin; therefore, my communication with her was considerably limited. Although my conversation with her was minimal, we often met at the Wulai Church on Sunday. As one of the twelve weavers, Lobow started to weave in 1998. As a temporary employee, Lobow worked as a weaver for the Township of Wulai. Her weaving was subsidized by the government seeking to reduce the unemployment rate. Because it was a temporary job, she was not sure how long her weaving job would last. Along with the other eleven indigenous female workers, Lobow worked for the Township of Wulai to earn extra income to support her family through weaving. Lobow also helped the Wulai Atayal Museum which provided a weaving workshop for tourists. There, she taught

domestic tourists how to make key-chain dolls wrapped up with a piece of hand-made weaving.

7.7 Meaning of Weaving and Reconstruction of Multiple Identities

As the nine indigenous women's stories reveal, weaving means different things to different women. Through conversations with those women, I found that weaving provided a space for them to express their multiple identities. Thus, in this section, I demonstrate how weaving contributed to the reconstruction of ethnic, cultural, place, gender, and racial identities of these eight indigenous women of Wulai.

7.7.1 Weaving for a Living

For some indigenous female weavers, weaving provides a means to earn income. For widows like Temu and Watan, weaving is a crucially important income source. Without husbands, it is difficult for them to sustain their lives through farming. On the other hand, for mothers with younger children like Yakaw and Labow, weaving provides extra incomes to contribute to the family's finance. While some weavers like Tamako and Luwagan were not interested in selling their weaving, other weavers like Yakaw and Amuy showed interest in selling their weaving products to tourists. Some weavers sell their small weaving products at the Atayal Museum and a few souvenir shops owned by the Atayal, although their sales have not been successful in attracting the domestic Han Chinese tourists.

7.7.2 Weaving for Gender Identity

All women generally agreed with the idea that weaving is still an important marker for the Atayal woman's construction of their gender identity as Atayal women. However, the meanings attached to weaving were slightly different among them. For instance, as Temu and Luwagan's case demonstrates, some Atayal women carry on the traditional meaning of Atayal weaving to construct their gender identity. For Temu, it is important to transfer her weaving skills to her daughter. Luwagan's determination to weave only for her daughters' marriage gifts also reveal that traditional meaning has been inherited by a contemporary Atayal woman. On the other hand, other weavers like Tamako and Amuy

emphasized that the purpose of weaving was their own personal satisfaction. In relation to weaving and women's gender identity, different opinions among the weavers reveal the challenge the Atayal face today in defining their gender identity.

7.7.3 Weaving for Ethnic, Cultural, and Place Identity

Weaving also provided an opportunity to express ethnic, cultural, and place identities. As Temu's case indicates, weaving not only provides a space to demonstrate her creativity but also provides her with a chance to express her ethnic identity as Atayal. Similarly with Yakaw. For Yakaw, weaving was a space to show her ethnic identity as the Tsao. Through weaving, Tamako also expressed her worldview. In her weaving, Tamako expressed her family ties with Japan and the United States. She also expressed the significance of mountains in her construction of her place identity. Also, through making different patterns, Temu expressed the importance of her home town and Wulai where she spent the majority of her time.

7.7.4 Weaving for Collective Ethnic Identity as the Atayal

Until Japan banned the Atayal from getting facial tattoos, weaving was a symbol of the Atayal women's gender identity. Sixty-two years later, weaving was revitalized. However, the meaning of weaving had changed for some Atayal: weaving now represents the collective ethnic identity of the Atayal. This change was noticed when I first visited a weaving class at the Wulai Junior High School.

In Wulai, all junior high school students are encouraged to learn the Atayal language and to learn traditional Atayal culture (Temu, 2006). For instance, all grade eight and nine students take a course either in weaving or bamboo shoot basket making (Temu, 2006). Traditionally, basket making was considered to be men's job, and weaving was women's work (Temu, 2006). However, students are now free to choose either course regardless of their gender (Temu, 2006). When I visited Temu's weaving class, I met three male students in her class (Figure 7-12). Another weaver, Yakaw provided a similar comment as Temu. However, when I asked Amuy how she thought about having male Atayal

learning to weave, she expressed strongly that weaving should be a job for women (Amuy, 2006).



Figure 7-12: An Atayal Male Student Learning How to Weave

7.8 Representation of Others and Today's Tourism Development in Wulai

7.8.1 Continued Representation of the Indigenous Residents of Wulai as Noble Savages

As noted in Section 6.5.1, the indigenous residents of Wulai were represented as “noble savages” during the golden era of the international ethnic tourism development in Wulai from the mid-1960s to the early 1990s. Today, this image – the indigenous residents of Wulai as noble savages – continues. One example can be drawn upon from an English tourism brochure collected in August 2006. The brochure, *Hometown of Spa: Wulai* described the indigenous residents of Wulai as follows:

6. Aboriginal heritage: The most of the Aboriginal heritage people are Tayal (Atayal) people, and the rest are Ami people. Their culture and customs are also a special feature of Wulai. The *upright, simple and sincere* indigenous people form a tribal society...The living standard has been improved, and all the young can speak Mandarin. Young ladies have white teeth and bright eyes, with *elegant manner*; young men like hunting and fishing. *The young find their mates by singing and dancing* [italics added].

Despite the fact that the indigenous residents of Wulai no longer maintain their traditional lifestyle, the brochure falsely describes young people as looking for their partners “by singing and dancing.” Furthermore, to create a nostalgic image of the indigenous residents of Wulai, terms such as upright, simple, sincere, and elegant are used. By portraying the indigenous residents as “classic people” who do “classic works,” the tourism brochure still constructs the image of the Atayal as noble savages.

This image is further reinforced by the indigenous residents of Wulai themselves. Mr. Chang, a former indigenous chief of the Township of Wulai, published an English booklet, *Colorful Wulai: Introduction to the Wulai Township* to introduce his township to tourists. In this booklet, Mr. Chang (2004) described his fellow indigenous residents as follows:

Most of the aboriginal people living here are of the Atayal tribe, whose members are known for their *bravery, honesty, simplicity*, and ability to live in *harmony with nature* [italics added] (Chang, 2004, p.5).

As will be discussed in the following section, Wulai now advertises itself as “a natural paradise for tourism activities.” Thus, the image of the indigenous residents of Wulai as being close to nature is important because the noble savages are presented as part of the natural landscape that tourists consume.

Meanwhile in Japan, the indigenous people of Wulai are also portrayed in a romanticized manner. A travel magazine writer, Ken Endo described his experience in Wulai as follows:

Wulai is the town of the Atayal, the indigenous people of Taiwan. Wulai was named after the word, Ulay which means hot spring in Atayal language. As the name itself speaks of, Wulai has been well known for the hot spring resort since the Japanese colonial period...Across from the Wulai waterfall, the Atayal women sell souvenirs. They wear beautiful hand-made ramie clothes woven by themselves... Its motifs and colours somehow reminded me of the Ainu (indigenous people in Japan). Everyone speaks fluent Japanese. Taiwan's indigenous people are divided into twelve tribal groups, and each tribe holds distinct cultures and their own language. They have lived in this island for a longer time than anyone else. I spent a wonderful time in Wulai as I felt that I learned some *mountain secret from the Atayal* (Beautiful the World, n.d., pp.24-25)

(Translated from Japanese by the author)

Endo's travelogue is interesting to examine. First, by bringing the historical connection between Japan and Taiwan, Endo attempted to draw the attention of his Japanese readers who may not be aware why the indigenous residents of Wulai are able to speak fluent Japanese. Second, using the image of the indigenous women wearing the traditional handmade clothes, Endo intended to illustrate his experience with the authentic Atayal people. Endo's descriptions of the Atayal women in souvenir shops who wear their handmade ramie clothes are questionable. In fact, during my stay in Wulai, I visited souvenir shops both on the main street of Wulai and at the Wulai waterfall area, but none of the sale clerks' clothes were hand-made with ramie but were factory-made with synthetic yarns. Regardless the validity of the information, Endo articulated the image of the Atayal women to highlight the exotic images of Atayal people. Finally, by describing

his fantasy to learn “mountain secrets” from the Atayal residents, Endo also emphasized the image of the indigenous people as being close to nature. In short, the indigenous residents of Wulai are portrayed as the colonial other as well as noble savages who are exotic and close to nature.

7.8.2 Today’s Tourism Development in Wulai

In his study, Hitchcock (2003, p.74) documented the recent status of the ethnic tourism development in Wulai as follows:

What visitors see today has changed very little since the mid-1960s when tourists started visiting the village. The number of arrivals around 3,000 per day, has changed very little over time and tourist revenues have become the most important economic resource of the indigenous people, the Atayal. Despite the emphasis on indigenous culture, the material culture of the Atayal is overshadowed by that of the Han, who now comprise a majority in the village. The large concrete shops, which are Han owned, sell mass-produced Chinese souvenirs, some with erotic themes, interspersed with the occasional display of indigenous woven fabrics, often made of synthetic yarns.

It might be true that the majority of the souvenir shops are owned by Han Chinese, and those shops still sell factory-made indigenous woven clothes. However, the rest of the statement need to be reexamined as Hitchcock’s arguments oversimplify the drastic changes that indigenous residents of Wulai have experienced for the past ten years. For one, tourism no longer supports the majority of the indigenous people’s lives in Wulai. For another, the nature of the tourism development in Wulai has shifted from international tourism to domestic tourism since the mid-1990s to the present.

After the decline of international tourism development in the early 1990s, the Atayal women who used to work as dancers and sales clerks left their jobs in tourism. As Temu, Luwagan, Ciwas, and Waka’s stories revealed, when tourism businesses stagnated in Wulai, those women were in their early 40s to 50s. Their children were already grown up; therefore, they had no urgent needs to earn incomes to support their families. Regarding the Amis women who came to Wulai as dancers, my informants told me that some left for their home town but others remained in Wulai to get married to Wulai Atayal men. On the other hand, all Yami male dancers left Wulai. In terms of the older

Atayal women who used to be photo subjects for the tourists, all of them had passed away.

Aboriginal dance shows are still a business at the Wulai waterfall area although my informants told me that tourists barely spend their time at the show place (Personal communication, 2006). As the tourism brochures advertised, a cable car ride is still offered. My informants told me that it is still one of the popular attractions in Wulai. However, a popular mini train went out of business. Another change was seen at the two toll booths across from the Wulai Tourist Bridge and Lansheng Bridge. After January 2005, tourists no longer have had to pay to visit the upper hills where the majority of the indigenous residents live. Now Han Chinese businessmen have built some luxury hotels in that area, but tourists barely interact with the indigenous residents (Personal communication, 2006).

Wulai now attracts Han Chinese domestic tourists from Taipei and surrounding areas such as Sindian who spend weekends in Wulai. As a popular weekend destination, the Township of Wulai promotes hot springs, beautiful nature and indigenous cuisine as the main attractions of Wulai. During my stay in Wulai, the main street of Wulai was deserted on week days. However, during the weekend, the main street of Wulai was packed full with domestic tourists. The businesses on the main street of Wulai were still dominated by the Han Chinese, and only two shops were managed by the Atayal. As Hitchcock (2003) pointed out, the Han Chinese-owned souvenir shops sell factory-made indigenous fabrics (Figure 7-13).



Figure 7-13: Factory Made Aboriginal Clothes in the Main Street of Wulai

Like Yakaw, some weavers have attempted to sell their weaving in the souvenir shops owned by the Atayal; however, they have had little success. Meilue, an Atayal woman who owns one of the two souvenir shop on the main street of Wulai and a former weaving student of Temu, said that she could only sell “small weaving products such as a key chain or cell phone straps but nothing big.” Vugar, the Amis woman who was previously in charge of the Cultural Division of the Township of Wulai, expressed her opinion in English:

The tourists say that our (indigenous) weaving products are much more expensive than the ones sold by the Han Chinese. Of course, they are cheap because they are not hand-made. Their stuff is nothing like our Atayal weaving products. But unlike international tourists, domestic tourists do not appreciate our culture so they are not interested in purchasing woven products from us (indigenous peoples).

Drawing upon the work of Graburn (1984), Hsieh (1999) argued that tourists' desire to purchase souvenirs is stimulated by their motivation to retain a memory of having experienced a culture. To keep evidence of contacts with authentic, alien, or other worlds, tourists buy souvenirs which are perceived to represent 'the other' (Hsieh, 1999, p.101). To most of the domestic tourists, the indigenous people of Taiwan are alien people (Hsieh, 1999). Yet, Wulai's indigenous weavers struggle to sell their woven products partly because they have very little space to offer tourists an experience of the Atayal weaving culture. As Lobow and Watan's cases indicate, some weavers demonstrate their traditional Atayal weaving and offer a mini weaving workshop at the Wulai Atayal Museum.

The Wulai Atayal Museum was opened in October 2005. The majority of the employees are Atayal, and this is one of a few places where the Atayal still work in tourism. The museum is a three-story building. The third floor is entirely dedicated to the display of the Atayal's weaving culture. The fee to enter the museum is 50 NT (about 1.60 Canadian dollars) for adults and 25 NT (about 80 Canadian cents) for students. During my stay in Wulai, a weaving workshop was offered for tourists on the first floor at no cost. With instruction from the Wulai indigenous weavers, tourists spent a half hour making a key-chain doll wrapped up with a piece of hand-made weaving woven by the indigenous women in Wulai. On the first floor, there is a souvenir shop in which tourists can purchase their weaving products as well.

Unless tourists pay and come inside the museum, the tourists in Wulai have no chance to learn the history of the Atayal weaving culture or to see an actual demonstration of traditional Atayal weaving although Meilue occasionally demonstrates her weaving outside of her souvenir shop on the main street of Wulai. With minimal contact with tourists, it is challenging for the indigenous female weavers to motivate the Han Chinese tourists to purchase their products as a part of their memory of experiencing Atayal culture. Furthermore, with no chance to explain the lengthy work required in weaving, it is difficult for the indigenous weavers to convince the Han Chinese tourists to buy their weaving products that are more expensive than manufactured fabrics sold by Han

Chinese. Finally, Han Chinese restaurant owners promote indigenous cuisine, such as millet wine and bamboo rice, as a way to experience “Atayalness.” In other words, the Atayal’s material culture is overshadowed by the Han Chinese who promote another aspect of Atayal culture for their marketing purpose.

7.9 Impacts of Democracy, Indigenous Rights Movements and Tourism Development on the Wulai Atayal’s Multiple Identities

7.9.1 Redefining Cultural Identity: Wulai Atayal’s Struggle to Revive Atayal Language

As noted in Section 6.6.1, my Atayal key informants in Wulai commented that language forms a part of who they are as the Atayal. However, during the Nationalist Government’s forceful colonial rule and the international tourism development period in Wulai in the mid-1960s to the early 1990s, the Wulai Atayal had struggled to revive their language as a part of their cultural identity.

Today, the indigenous people are encouraged to maintain their own language, and the older Atayal comfortably speak their Japanised Atayal language. Their Japanised Atayal still maintains regional characteristics. For instance, when I was listening to a group of the Atayal people from Nanau County, oddly, I understood perfectly what they were saying in their Atayal language. As noted in Section 5.7.2, their Atayal was heavily influenced by Japanese, and some Atayal claimed that 80 percent of their Atayal vocabulary originated in Japanese (Personal communication, 2006). On the other hand, when I listened to a group of Atayal from Wulai, Taipei County, I only understood their Atayal when they referred to time, measurement, and some church vocabularies. Thus, the Atayal are still able to distinguish regional differences among themselves, constituting part of their cultural identity.

In the case of the Wulai Atayal, however, it is not easy, especially for younger Wulai Atayal, to revive their own language after it has been buried for fifty-five years. For

instance, one male Wulai Atayal informant, now a university student in Taipei, expressed his concern in English as follows:

Do you know the word, the “Hanization” of the Atayal? This means that we are getting too much influence from the Han Chinese. Because we are so close to Taipei, many Han Chinese come to Wulai, and we are influenced by them too much. I speak Atayal because I live with my grandmother. I needed to force myself to learn Atayal so that I can communicate with her. But young people in general speak only Mandarin, and they do not know how to speak their own language, Atayal. That is my main concern for now. If we lose our language, we lose our identity as the Atayal.

Iwas, a Wulai Atayal woman who was in her 30s and married to an Amis man, also mentioned in English the following:

My husband fluently speaks Amis but I can't. I feel ashamed that I don't speak my own language because I can't teach my kids how to speak Atayal.

Temu also described the Wulai Atayal's challenge to maintain their indigenous language:

In remote areas where not so many people come from outside, even children speak good Atayal, but not here (Wulai). I tried to encourage my kids to learn Atayal through church but they are reluctant to learn Atayal. I told my daughter-in-law that she should learn Atayal so that she can speak to her children in Atayal. The government set up a new policy granting special privileges to indigenous kids who speak fluent indigenous languages. If my grandchildren speak fluent Atayal, they have a better chance to get into secondary school.

(Translated from Japanese by the author)

Those Atayal's accounts tell us that language is a part of Atayal identity. For them, it has been a challenging situation because the younger Wulai Atayal have not been motivated enough to acquire their own language. Although the Wulai Middle School offers an Atayal language course for the students at the school, Temu reflected that a few hours of language lessons per week is not enough to make those children become fluent in Atayal because they only speak Mandarin at home. Their Atayal parents, who are in their 30s or older, only know Mandarin.

When I talked to a few Wulai Atayal who are in their early 30s and do not speak Atayal language, they expressed their opinions in English as follows:

We know it is important to know our own language, but there is not an urgent need to learn our tribal language. It is no use in our everyday life other than for speaking to the older Atayal. We have no time to reflect on our traditions like our parents do. We are busy making ends meet. We have to live.

Those Atayal understood some Atayal vocabulary but they were not by any means fluent in the Atayal language (Personal communication, 2006). They acknowledged the significance of their own language as a part of their traditions, if not as a part of their identity. However, their everyday life has been managed only in Mandarin. When they were under nine-year compulsory education in the mid-1980s to the early 1990s, they were not encouraged to learn their own language. This generation gap makes it difficult for the Wulai Atayal to revive or to maintain the Atayal language among themselves.

7.9.2 Redefining Cultural and Gender Identity

Shifted Meaning: Facial Tattooing for Ethnic Identity as the “Atayal”

Although the facial tattooing ritual is no longer practiced, facial tattooing is still an important part of who the Wulai Atayal are. In Wulai, the tattooed-faced Atayal objects can be found in various artistic forms: murals, totem poles, tapestry, paintings, framed pictures, business cards and, of course, weaving. When I asked Yayut, a Wulai Atayal woman in her early 30s, how she thought about the Atayal’s facial tattooing culture, she responded to me in English as follows:

I think our ancestors’ facial tattoos are beautiful. I wish I could have one on my face but you know our society now does not understand the beauty of the facial tattooing.

For someone like Yayut who greatly admires her ancestors’ facial tattoos, the Wulai Atayal found an alternative way to instantly revive the facial tattooing culture through stickers. The stickers are sold in the Wulai Atayal Museum or souvenir shops on the main street of Wulai. It costs 49 NT (about 1.50 Canadian dollars) for one set of men’s facial tattoos and two sets of women’s V-shaped facial tattoos. The stickers can be easily

dissolved by water. During the festival season in July 2006, I met a number of Wulai Atayal men and women who had decorated their face with the stickers (Figure 7-14).



Figure 7-14: Atayal Women and a Han Chinese Man with Facial Tattoo Stickers

As discussed in the Section 5.6.1, until the Japanese banned facial tattooing among the Atayal, cultural identity was constituted by the Atayal themselves on the basis of their facial tattoo patterns. Facial tattoo patterns functioned as the Atayal's identity markers to distinguish who belonged to the same communal group. However, their facial tattooed cultural identity was buried by the Japanese colonial regime about 100 years ago. After Japan's occupation was over, the Atayal's facial tattooing culture was appreciated as "other culture" only in the context of tourism. Today, the Wulai Atayal proudly speak of their facial tattooing culture. Using removable stickers, the Wulai Atayal temporarily reclaim their culture on special occasions.

Mixed Feelings: Weaving for Atayal's Collective Ethnic Identity

As discussed in Section 7.7.4, some weavers are in favour of the Atayal men's involvement with weaving whereas others are against it. Such mixed reactions were similar among some adult male Atayal as well. When I asked a male Atayal university student what he thinks the Atayal is famous for, he responded to me in English, "It must be weaving. We are famous for our weaving skill." Although he himself does not weave, it was interesting to find that he considered weaving as the ethnic symbol that stands for the Atayal. When I asked the same question to a former male Atayal pastor of the Wulai Church, he also told me in English that "Daiyan (The Atayal) is famous for weaving." However, when I mentioned to another male Atayal that I had met an adult male Atayal who learned to weave in Yin-Lin, Nantou County, he commented scornfully in Japanese:

I bet he is weaving just for living. I am sure he is not doing that job because he wants to do. Weaving for men!? No, I don't think so.

(Translated from Japanese by the author)

When I referred to the young male Atayal who were learning to weave in Wulai, he rolled his eyes, slightly, shook his head to the side, and made no further comments about my observations. His gestures implied to me that he might not be willing to accept the idea that a male Atayal might weave regardless of whether it was for a living or for cultural preservation.

Although there are contrasting opinions concerning the introduction of weaving to the male Atayal, some Atayal did not seem to mind if younger male Atayal weave. At least for those Atayal, weaving means more than just Atayal women's gender identity. Others, on the other hand, expressed their confusion that weaving should remain a task and symbol for women. Ashcroft et al. (2000) argued that although colonial discourse is produced within the society and the cultures of the colonizers, their situated knowledge also becomes how the colonized see themselves. It creates a deep conflict in the minds of the colonized people as it conflicts with other knowledge about the world (Ashcroft et al., 2000). This "weaving for the Atayal's collective ethnic identity as the Atayal" is a good example to highlight the conflict that the colonized people have had in their minds. Once

weaving represented women's gendered identity. Now regardless of gender, weaving has been promoted as an Atayal's "ethnic symbol" by the Han Chinese government. Some Atayal have accepted the changes in the meaning of weaving but others still struggle to accept these changes.

Game-Hunting for Atayal Men's Gendered Identity?

For those Atayal who had expressed difficulty accepting men's involvement with weaving, their gendered identity as male Atayal might be constructed through men's game-hunting activity. I was not able to directly interview any Atayal men who go game-hunting, thus I was not able to confirm contemporary Wulai Atayal men's perspectives on the construction of men's gendered identity. Yet, some evidence from the Wulai Atayal's Ancestors' Spiritual Festival, as well as the Atayal women's conversations suggested that this might be the case.

For the past six years, the Township of Wulai has organized its biggest annual festival called "Wulai Atayal's Ancestors' Spiritual Festival" every July 15 (Personal communication, 2006). One of the main attractions of the festival is men's bamboo spear throwing competition as well as a pig catching competition. The pig catching competition was wild and dynamic as a team of men (4 to 5 people in one team) chased after the pigs released in the open playfield. They were allowed to use only ropes to tie the pigs. The pigs were given to the winning team that successfully captured the pigs. After the competition, the pigs were immediately slaughtered to be served to community members. During the competition, women quietly watched the men from a distance. Only the two activities, spear throwing and pig capturing were specifically designed for male community members.

Another example can be drawn from the Atayal women's perspective on the Atayal men. When I talked to Luwagan, she mentioned that her husband loves game-hunting "...because he is an Atayal man. The Atayal men love hunting." I was, an Atayal woman who was married to an Amis man also described the Atayal men's masculine image in relation to hunting in English as follows:

My kids say that they want to be Atayal because the Atayal men are famous for their hunting skills. The Amis are famous not for hunting but for dancing so my kids told me that they'd rather become Atayal.

These observations implied to me that although head-hunting is no longer practiced, the Atayal men still constitute their gendered identity based on game-hunting, if not head-hunting. It is worth examining how the Atayal men have pursued their gendered identity as male Atayal. However, it is beyond the scope of this study and, therefore, I was not able to investigate it in depth.

7.9.3 Deepened Racial Place Identity

As discussed in Section 6.6.4, the segregation of places between the Han Chinese and indigenous residents is very clear in Wulai. The lower hill was dominated by Han Chinese and the upper hill by the Atayal and a few other indigenous tribes. Today, this segregation of places continues, deepening the place-based racial identity of the Wulai Atayal. We can also find the elements of Japan's colonialism in today's Wulai Atayal's conversations through categorization of places and residents of Wulai.

Legacy of Japan's Colonialism in Wulai

Temu called the upper hills "*Bansha*" in Japanese. When Temu first called her community "*Bansha*," I was shocked to hear such a racially discriminating term because "*Bansha*" means primitive place in Japanese (*Ban* means primitive and *sha* means place in Japanese). Temu told me that because the Japanese considered the Atayal as being primitive and backwards, they called the place as such. Except for Ciwas, Amuy, and another weaver who owns her business on the main street of Wulai, all the weavers live in *Bansha*. Only a few Han Chinese own properties in *Bansha*, and Temu told me that she can almost tell which house belongs to the Han Chinese as their houses tend to be bigger than the Atayal's. In *Bansha*, some Atayal operate restaurants; however, tourists barely stop by this area.

Categorization of the Residents of Wulai

Through the conversations I have had with my informants, I have noticed that the Atayal and the Han Chinese use a very specific word to distinguish each other. Some Han

Chinese locals refer to the Atayal as “*Yamanohito*” (mountain people in Japanese). On the other hand, Temu and other Atayal call themselves “*Daiyan*” or “*Genjumin*” (the aboriginals in Japanese) and the Han Chinese “*Heichijin*” (*Heichi* means plains and *jin* means people in Japanese). Temu told me that they used to call themselves “*Sanchijin*” (another word for “mountain people” in Japanese) because that was how the Japanese described the Atayal in the past. Since the government of Taiwan has recognised the right of the aboriginals, however, Temu and other Atayal have called themselves the “aboriginals.” This story tells us that the race obviously played an important role to categorizing the residents of Wulai.

Comodification of the Natural Landscape

In addition to the main street of Wulai, another racialized use of places can be seen at lower hills, that is the hot spring facility next to the Nan Shih River. From 5 a.m. till evening, about 30 to 60 Han Chinese regularly come to this public facility to enjoy the hot spring, to swim, and to fish. For these people, it is an important gathering place, and some come by every day. Many of them were not local residents but residents of Sindian, the nearest town to Wulai. Every time I visited there, I met no Atayal residents.

When I asked Tamako why she did not go to the facility, she told me that the river is now over-crowded with people and not as clean as it used to be. A few Han Chinese locals also agreed that the river used to be a lot cleaner although it looked acceptable to me as I could see a school of fish swimming along the river. Temu said that the Atayal used to come to the hot spring next to the Nan Shih River until the Township of Wulai built the hot spring facility as a tourist attraction about six years ago. Showing his resentment towards the Han Chinese entrepreneurs, Guanhan, a Wulai Atayal man in his early 30s and fluent in English spoke to me in English as follows:

We indigenous people do not try to make money from our natural resources like the hot spring, river, and mountains but Han Chinese do. They try to maximize their profit by using every opportunity they can get.

Although the decision to construct the hot spring facility was ultimately made by the indigenous chief of the Township of Wulai, interestingly, Guanhan directed his attention to those Han Chinese tourists who use the facility. Guanhan's story is one of numerous small talks I had with the indigenous residents of Wulai, when they expressed their frustration and conflict with, and resentment of the Han Chinese. However, Temu reminded me that there were "good Han Chinese" residents as well in Wulai. As discussed in Section 6.6.4, tourism development intensified the racial separation of places between the Han Chinese and the indigenous residents of Wulai. The above examples suggest us that even after the decline of international tourism, tensions between the Han Chinese and the indigenous residents are still pervasive, deepening the Wulai Atayal's place-based racial identity.

7.9.4 Place, Race, and Religious Identity: The Atayal's Space in Upper Hill

At the upper hill of Wulai, the Wulai Church seemed to be the most important gathering place for some indigenous residents including Temu, Tamako, Watan, Lobow, and Yakaw. The pastor of the Wulai Church told me that as of August 2006, about three hundred Atayal in Wulai were registered in the Wulai Church. About ninety people regularly attended the Sunday service or other church activities (Personal communication, 2006). For those who were religious, their daily life was dictated by church-related activities. For instance, every Wednesday, a bible study session was organized, and people took turns to offer a place to study. The weekly youth group meeting was organized on Thursday, women's meeting on Friday, and the elders' meeting on Saturday. Now, only a small number of the Atayal work in tourism; however, the service time remains the same at 8 a.m.

7.10 Summary of the Chapter

In this chapter, I described how the advance of democratization after 1996 led the indigenous female residents of Wulai to engage in revitalization of the Atayal weaving culture. With the assistance of a Japanese-educated Han Chinese female instructor, Wulai's indigenous women were trained to become weavers. Their weaving work was further supported by the Taiwanese government led by the DPP. The DPP had a clear

mission to promote Taiwan's independence movement and the indigenous people who were believed to have originated in Taiwan became a crucial icon for Taiwan's national identity. With this political motivation and the rise of indigenous rights movements around the globe including Taiwan, the indigenous people redefined their indigenous identity. In the case of the indigenous residents of Wulai, the decline of international tourism development further encouraged them to find an alternative means to live as the indigenous people of Taiwan. Weaving was the answer for some indigenous women in Wulai. The twelve weavers took the role of "poster children" to promote Wulai's indigenusness. Among the twelve weavers, I got known nine of them, and each weaver shared her own story of why she weaves. Every one of them had provided me with a quite different life story. Through the process of learning the weavers' life histories, I also learned that weaving provided significant meaning in their construction of their multiple identities.

Some of the weavers are still engaged in tourism activities; however, today's tourism in Wulai focuses on domestic tourism rather than international tourists. Although today's political environment promotes the indigenous peoples' indigenous images, the representation of the indigenous residents of Wulai has not changed. They are still represented as noble savages in the context of tourism. The rise of democracy and the indigenous rights movement from the mid-1980s and the shifts in tourism all impacted the identity formation of the indigenous residents of Wulai. Throughout the chapter, I highlighted the complexity of the identity formation of individuals and groups. Their multiple identities are intertwined by culture, race, ethnicity, place, gender, and religion and is not easy to understand. The dynamic shifts in their identity formation suggest that their multiple identities will continue to be modified in the future.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

8.1 Introduction

How have the Wulai Atayal female weavers' multiple identities been shifted through the experiences of the post colonial history of Taiwan and the contemporary history of tourism development? This was the research question that was addressed in this thesis. To answer my research question, I pursued the following three objectives:

1. To identify the determinants and components of the Atayal's identity;
2. To examine how the Wulai Atayal's multiple identities have been reconstituted though their post-colonial struggles and tourism development;
3. To investigate how the indigenous female weavers in Wulai have reconstructed their multiple identities through weaving.

These topics are important for several reasons. First, there is a need to study people's experiences with non-Western colonialism. This study not only offers insights into the study of non-Western colonialism but also challenges the dualistic Eurocentric (Europeans and others) idea in the English-speaking academy. Within the field of tourism studies, there is a need to study the touristic experiences of the colonized people in relation to gender. In the field of cultural geography, identity formation has been an important subject of study. Moreover, the geography of tourism has often been criticized for lack of a strong conceptual and theoretical base. Exploration of multiple identities in relation to postcolonialism, tourism, and gender enhances understanding of colonial discourses, representations, power struggles and the resistance of the indigenous peoples against the colonial regimes. Thus, this study examined indigenous peoples' identity formation in relation to postcolonialism and tourism, from a gender perspective, makes

an important contribution not only to the field of cultural geography but also to tourism studies, postcolonial research, and feminist scholarship.

To investigate the issue, I worked at a variety of scales from global to individual. To understand the postcolonial tourism experiences of individuals, I conducted ethnographic research from May to August, 2006. During the three and a half months of my fieldwork in Wulai, Taiwan, I lived with an Atayal family. Using participant observations and in-depth interviews as my main methods, I attempted to capture the lived experiences of the nine indigenous weavers in Wulai, Taiwan. I also collected oral histories and memories from the elder Atayal who had experienced Japan's colonization. To further understand my interviewees' experiences, I collected archival data including colonial reports and tourism brochures. In doing so, I constantly reflected on who I am and how my positionality affected the way I understood their experiences.

With respect to the interpretation of the data, I analysed interview data by focusing on unique as well as common essences of the lived experiences of the nine indigenous weavers in Wulai. In addition, I adopted an idea of colonial discourse to analyse colonial reports and various tourism texts.

This final chapter consists of five sections: In the first three sections, I answer the above three objectives which I proposed in the beginning of the Chapter 1. Using the Shifts in Identity Diagram that was introduced in Chapter 2, I demonstrate how the Atayal's multiple identities have been modified through their experiences with colonialism, postcolonialism and tourism. The diagrams allow readers to understand visually how symbols and labels that represent each identity have been excluded or included and modified in various ways. This diagram is applicable at a variety of scales from the group (e.g. the Atayal) to the sub-group level (e.g. the Wulai Atayal). The fourth section answers my research question i.e. "How have the Wulai Atayal female weavers' multiple identities been shifted through the experiences of the post colonial history of Taiwan and the contemporary history of tourism development?" In the fifth section, I discuss the

implications of my findings. In the final two sections, I discuss the limitations of this research and suggest future research directions.

8.2 The Determinants and Components of The Atayal's Identity

Through the examination of various texts as well as interview data, I initially identified the four determinants and components of the Atayal's identity: religion, culture, gender, and place (Figure 8-1). Prior to Japan's colonization, the Atayal held traditional religious beliefs called *gaga*. The Atayal also spoke their own language, Atayal. Their language and facial tattoo ritual showed regional characteristics; therefore, they were important identity markers for the Atayal to determine who belonged to which group. In terms of gender identity, men had to become accomplished head-hunters and women meticulous weavers. The Atayal's gender identity was closely connected to their cultural identity, facial tattooing. For their place identity, the Atayal saw the mountains in which they lived as an identity marker.

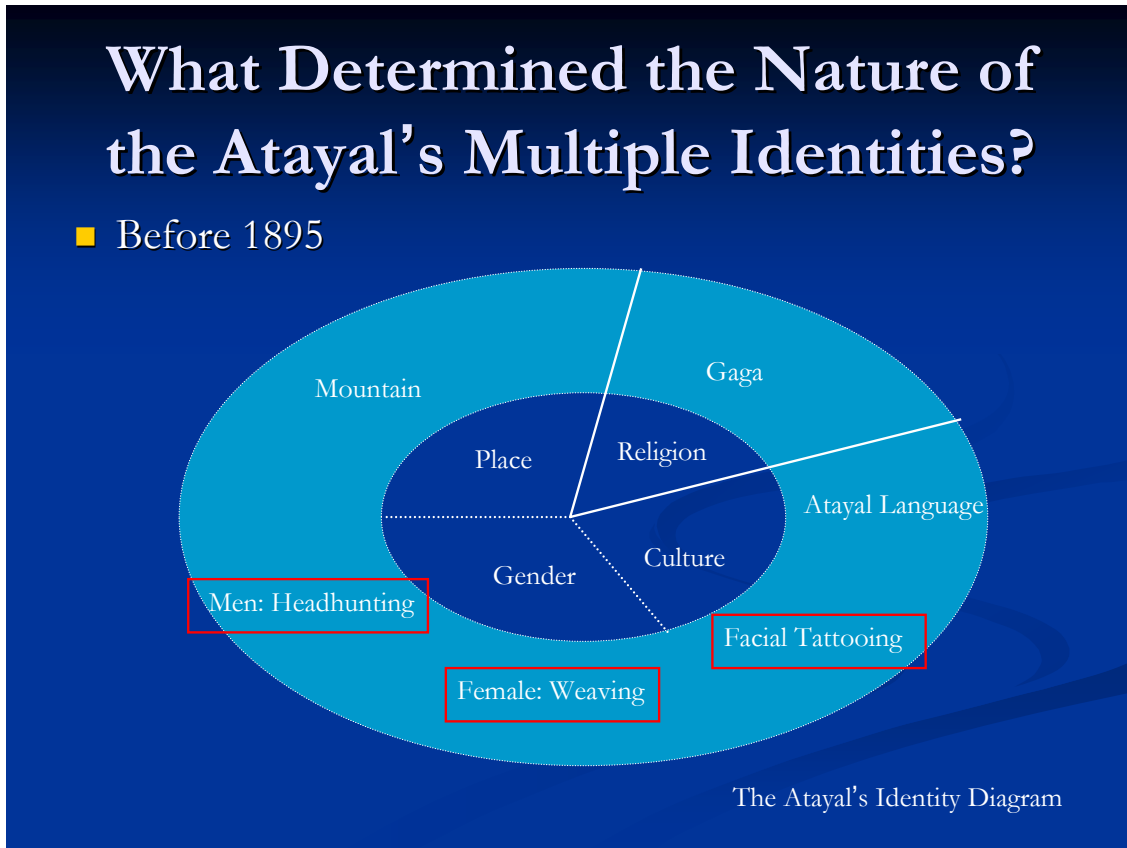


Figure 8-1: The Atayal's Multiple Identities Before 1895

8.3 (Post)colonial Struggles and Tourism Development: Shifts in the Wulai Atayal's Identity Formation

Through my research, I identified the Wulai Atayal's shifts in identity formation at three stages: 1) Japan's colonial period from 1895 to 1945, 2) Nationalist China's colonization and the development of international tourism in Wulai from 1945 to the late 1980s, and 3) the rise of democracy in Taiwan and the decline of international tourism development in Wulai from the early 1990s to the present.

8.3.1 After Japan's Colonization: From 1895 to 1945

After Japan's occupation, the Atayal's multiple identities had to change (Figure 8-2). First, the colonial state of Japan imposed Shintoinism as a state religion on the Atayal.

The Atayal were forbidden to practice their own belief, *gaga*, thus the Atayal's religious identity was shifted. In terms of cultural identity, the Atayal also learned to speak Japanese as the Japanese authorities educated the indigenous children in Japanese. Facial tattooing was banned by the government of Japan. To prevent the Atayal men from engaging in head-hunting, facial tattooing was forbidden to be practiced by the Atayal men. In terms of women's weaving, it was banned after Japan initiated its "Holy War" against the West in the 1930s. Because facial tattooing was closely connected to the construction of the Atayal's gender identity, the ban on facial tattooing cut the links among facial tattooing, marriage, and weaving for women and head-hunting for men, burying the Atayal's cultural gendered identity.

During Japan's occupation, a new identity was also imposed on the Atayal: the Atayal were racially categorised as an inferior "Formosan" race and named the "facial tattooed savages." To legitimise its occupation in Taiwan, Japan saw itself as the civilized whose mission was to lead the savages (indigenous peoples) to civilization. In addition, Japan separated the colonized into two groups, Han Chinese and indigenous peoples, to prevent the colonized from cooperating with each other to fight against the Japanese. Based on the linguistic difference, the indigenous peoples were further categorised into nine tribes and the Atayal were recognised as one of the nine tribes by the colonial government of Japan. Finally, the Japanese colonial government forced the Atayal into village settlements and, thus, the Atayal had to give up their nomadic mountain lifestyle. The colonial government of Japan was particularly interested in the Atayal's area of habitation because of its rich camphor plantations. The ban on head-hunting also forced the Atayal men to engage in farming which was previously the Atayal women's work.

Shifts in Atayal's Multiple Identities

- After Japan's colonization (1895-1945)

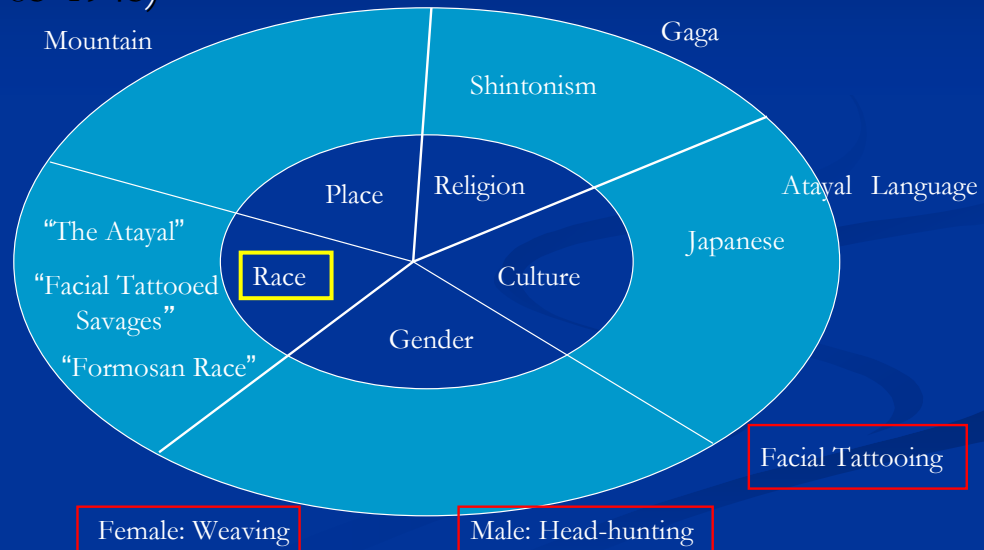


Figure 8-2: Shifts in Atayal's Multiple Identities from 1895 to 1945

8.3.2 After China's Colonization and Development of International Tourism: From 1945 to the 1980s

After the Second World War was over in 1945, Japan's fifty years of occupation also ended. At the same time, Nationalist China's colonization started in 1945. For the Atayal, this transition meant a change from being Japanese to Chinese, and their multiple identities were shifted again. Particularly in the case of the Atayal in Wulai, not only Nationalist China's colonization but also the forces of international tourism development greatly affected the ways in which the Wulai Atayal reconstituted their multiple identities (Figure 8-3).

Shifts in Wulai Atayal's Multiple Identities

- After international tourism development (1945-1980)

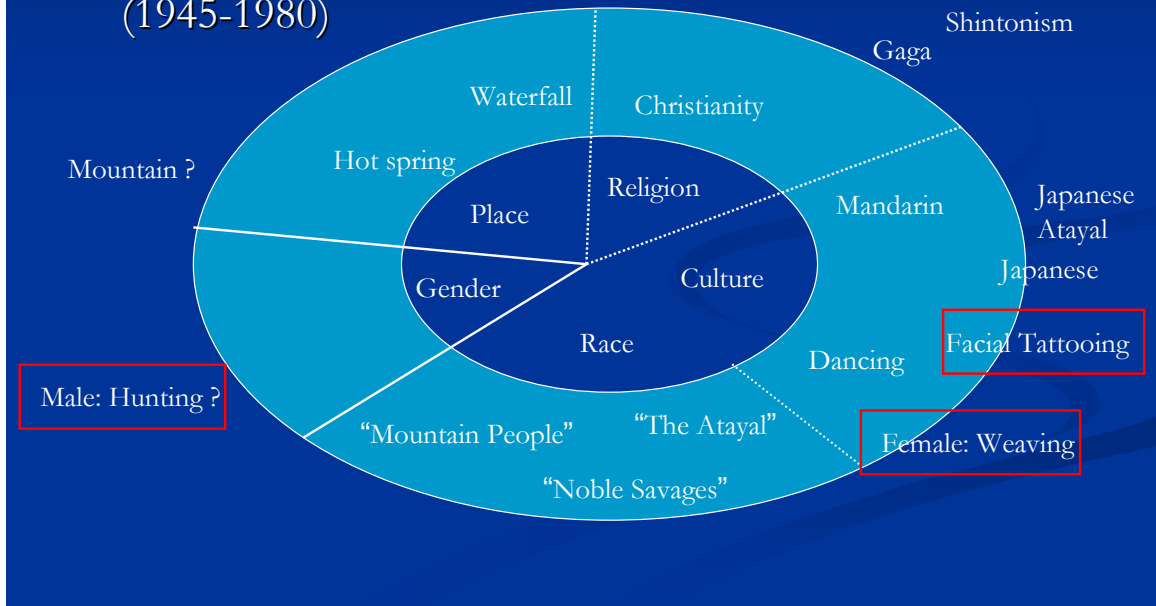


Figure 8-3: Shifts in Wulai Atayal's Multiple Identities from 1954 to 1980

After Japan's occupation was over, Christianity was quickly introduced to the indigenous people of Taiwan, including the Atayal. In the case of the Wulai Atayal, missionaries from Canada rigorously converted the Atayal to Presbyterianism. Later, Australian missionaries also successfully converted the Atayal into Catholicism. After their conversion to Christianity, their own belief (*gaga*) and Shintonism were quickly erased from their religious beliefs. In terms of the Atayal's cultural identity, the Atayal had to learn a third language: Mandarin. By the time Nationalist China occupied Taiwan, the Atayal were fluent in Japanese, and the Atayal had integrated some Japanese words into Atayal. Nationalist China forbade the Atayal to speak their Japanese Atayal language. All instructions in schools were conducted in Mandarin, and the young Atayal eventually lost their ability to speak their own language, Atayal.

In the case of the Wulai Atayal, international tourism development encouraged the speaking of Japanese. The Wulai Atayal no longer attached the traditional meaning to their facial tattooing rituals, head-hunting, and weaving. However, the Atayal reinvented their tradition through tourism development. The Atayal women with facial tattoos became photo subjects for the Japanese who came back to Taiwan not as colonizers but as tourists. Meanwhile, the Atayal women's weaving became part of costumes for "aboriginal dancing" which had never happened before. The Atayal were still racially categorised as the Atayal but their naming had shifted from "facial tattooed savages" to "noble savages" as well as from "Formosan Race" to "Mountain People." After Japan's colonization was over, the Atayal were idealized as the savages who were close to nature. The Wulai Atayal tactically manipulated this image for their economic gain through tourism businesses. At the same time, their racial identity were intensified as the Han Chinese residents took over the Atayal's lands and gained profits through tourism businesses. The Atayal men were absent from the tourism scene, and tourism jobs placed more emphasis on the Atayal women, shifting the gendered division of labour among the Wulai Atayal. The Atayal men are believed to have been engaged in some hunting activities, if not head-hunting; however, I was not able to collect their voices, and thus I cannot confirm this. In terms of their place identity, Wulai's unique landscapes, hot spring and waterfall were commoditised for the Japanese tourists. While the Han Chinese dominated the lower hill of Wulai, the Atayal were displaced to the upper hill of Wulai. After the development of international tourism occurred, the segregation of residential areas between Han Chinese and the indigenous residents became clear.

8.3.3 After the Rise of Democracy in Taiwan and Decline of International Tourism Development in Wulai: From the Early 1990s to the Present

With the advance of democracy and the rise of Taiwan's independence movement as well as the indigenous right movement around the globe since the late 1980s, the indigenous peoples of Taiwan started to experience another big change in their life (Figure 8-4).

Since the Taiwanese-led government placed the indigenous peoples as a crucial icon for Taiwan's national identity, the diversity in cultures has been celebrated and the

indigenous people were encouraged to "reinvent their traditions." In the case of Wulai, the Atayal women's weaving culture was selected as a way to promote their indigenusness. In addition, the indigenous residents have been encouraged to speak their indigenous language. However, because the tourism development favoured Mandarin and Japanese over the Japanised Atayal language, the Wulai Atayal struggle to revitalize their own language.

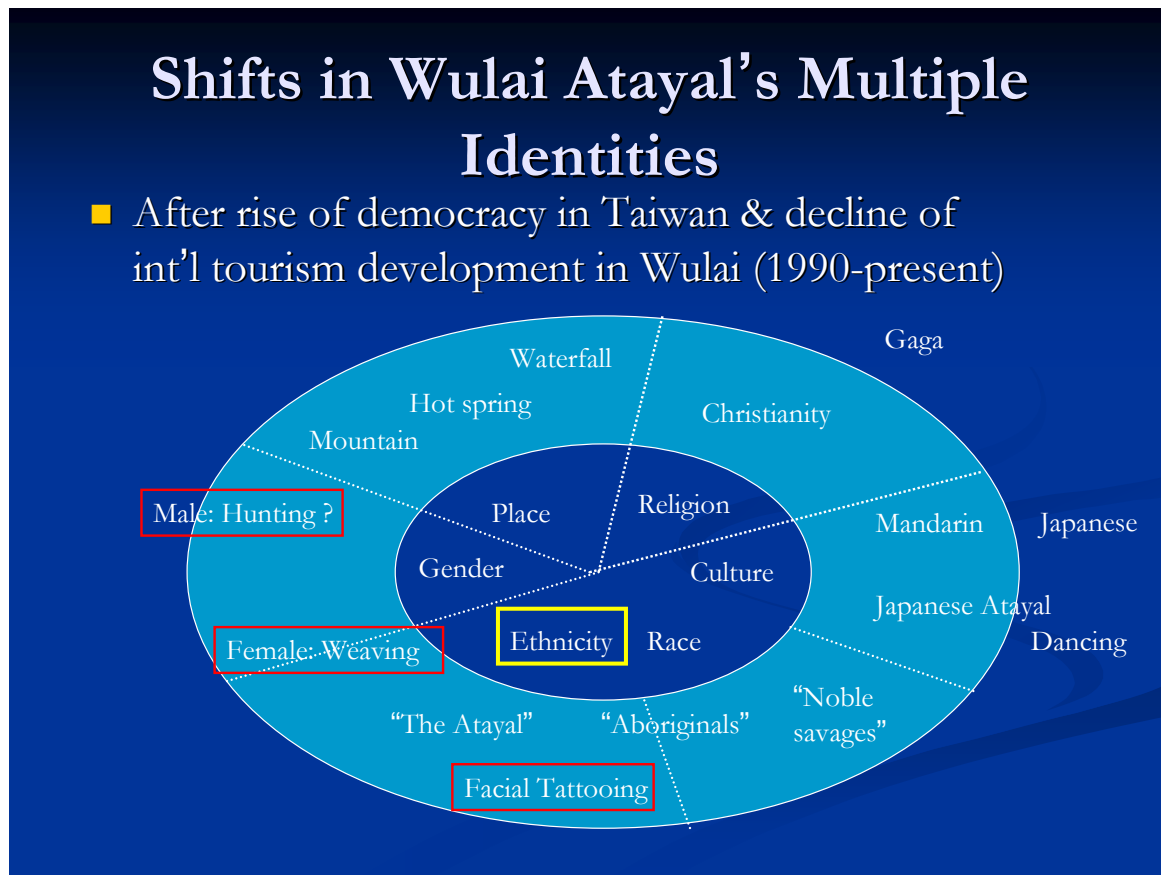


Figure 8-4: Shifts in Wulai Atayal's Multiple Identities from 1990 to the Present

While the indigenous peoples were officially recognised as "Taiwan's aboriginals," since the early 1990s both the Han Chinese and indigenous residents in Wulai started to notice a declining number of international tourists. Due to China's entry into the global tourism market as well as Chiang Kai-shek's lifting of martial law, the market trend favoured China over Taiwan in the late 1980s. With shifts in market trends, some indigenous

female residents in Wulai left their jobs in tourism and started to engage in revitalization of their weaving culture. Meanwhile, the Wulai tourism business changed from an emphasis on international to domestic tourism. Although the majority of the indigenous residents of Wulai are no longer engaged in tourism business, they are still portrayed as "noble savages."

The Atayal now celebrates their facial tattooing as well as weaving as a part of their ethnic identity. Once, facial tattooing and weaving signified their cultural gendered identity. Today, the Wulai Atayal have reconstructed their weaving using western equipment and fake facial tattoo practices as their symbolic work. Although there is some disagreement whether or not the Atayal men should be involved in weaving, the Atayal now use weaving to promote their pan-ethnic movement. As Nagel (1998) mentioned in the case of the Native Americans in the United States, the Atayal also transformed the material of the past in innovative ways to strengthen their political agendas, and their ethnic movement led the Atayal to reinvent themselves. On the other hand, the Atayal men's hunting activity in the mountains seems to be still an important identity marker for their construction of place and gendered identity. However, this needs to be further investigated by collecting the voices of the Atayal men.

The Wulai's hot spring and waterfall are still important landscapes for tourist consumption. Furthermore, the segregation of places between Han Chinese and the indigenous residents has been deepened since the promotion of domestic tourism in Wulai. Some indigenous weavers have attempted to sell their hand-made weaving; however, they have had little success against the factory-made weaving brought by Han Chinese entrepreneurs. At the upper hill of Wulai, the Wulai Church symbolises the Atayal's place and religious identity. The elder Atayal now try to teach *gaga* to the younger Atayal. Yet, their religious belief is still very much influenced by Christianity.

As I noted in Section 2.5.1, all identity is constructed across the recognition of differences. Also, identities are not static and are relational. Identities are socially constructed and change over time. Moreover, our identities are also not singular but

multiple. In discussion of the relational construction of identity, Gombay (2005) argued the importance of examining why an identity was invented or adopted by individuals or groups. In the case of the Wulai Atayal, their indigenous identities were also relational, primarily with respect to the attributes of the colonizers, and made up of multiple components such as place, religion, ethnicity, race, culture, and gender. These have evolved over time in response to colonialism, post-colonialism and tourism.

8.4 Weaving and the Reconstruction of the Wulai Indigenous Female Weavers' Multiple Identities

As the nine indigenous women's stories reveal, weaving means different things to different women. Weaving is a significant activity and component of their identity at individual and group (Atayal) levels. Through conversations with the nine women, I found that weaving provided a space for them to express their multiple identities. For some indigenous female weavers, weaving provides a means to earn income. For widows, weaving is a crucially important income source. For mothers with younger children, weaving provides extra income to contribute to the family's finances.

All women generally agreed with the idea that weaving is still an important marker for the Atayal woman's construction of their gender identity as Atayal women. However, the meanings attached to weaving were slightly different among them. Some Atayal women carry on the traditional meaning of Atayal weaving to construct their gender identity. On the other hand, other weavers emphasize that the purpose of weaving is their own personal satisfaction.

Weaving also provides an opportunity to express ethnic, cultural, and place identities. Sixty-two years after it was banned, weaving was revitalized. However, the meaning of weaving has changed for some Atayal: weaving now represents the collective ethnic identity of the Atayal. In addition, weaving not only provides a space to demonstrate their creativity but also provides them with a chance to express their ethnic, cultural, and place identities. Until Japan banned the Atayal from getting facial tattoos, weaving was a symbol of the Atayal women's gender identity.

8.5 Conclusions

This thesis has explored the Wulai Atayal female weavers' multiple identities and how they have been modified through the experiences of the post colonial history of Taiwan and the contemporary history of tourism development. The Wulai Atayal female weavers' multiple identities – culture, race, ethnicity, gender, place, and religious identities – are intertwined and their reconstruction of multiple identities are an on-going task as their struggles and resistance against the colonial powers continue. However, such an answer to the main research question does not accurately reflect my research findings. When I came up with my research question, I assumed that all weavers in Wulai would be female Atayal. Although the majority of the indigenous residents are in fact Atayal, there are also other indigenous people living in Wulai, including people who are Thao and Taroko.

Each of the nine weavers had a different background: some originated in Wulai, others did not. The age differences among the weavers also resulted in different postcolonial and tourism experiences. While the oldest weaver's identity formation was heavily influenced by her experience with Japan's colonization, the youngest weaver's identity formation was clearly affected by Nationalist China's colonization. Some had been involved with the development of international tourism from the early stage. Others were barely involved in tourism business during the heyday of international tourism development but later engaged in tourism business with newly-acquired weaving skills. Some weavers paid closer attention to the traditional meaning of their weaving culture whereas others attached new meanings to weaving.

In the beginning of the thesis, I challenged Said's binary notion of West and East. As McClintock (1995) pointed out, binaries such as West and East do not adequately address the complexities of colonialism, postcolonialism and imperialism (Similar points could be made about civilized and savages, and male and female). Imperial Japan's motivation to colonize Taiwan was very much different from those motivations emanating from the "West." However, Japan's colonial practices were heavily influenced by those of the

Western imperial powers. Imperial Japan is located in an ambivalent space where Japanese colonizers tried to become similar to Western colonizers but not quite the same, for Japan aimed to establish its empire in Asia. It may be questionable to call present Taiwan's situation a colonial period for the Atayal. However, from the standpoint of the indigenous peoples of Taiwan, they are still colonized until they gain full indigenous rights.

I also examined various other forms of dichotomy through this research: civilized/savages, colonizer/colonized, guest/host, and masculinity/femininity. As my findings suggested, the dichotomy between civilized and savages was strategically used by the colonial state of Japan to legitimise its conquest of Taiwan. The colonized were separated into two groups and labeled in a hierarchy of human types: Han Chinese as common people and the indigenous peoples as savages. My research findings suggested that European racial thinking was actively adopted by the colonial state of Japan to make its control easier. In the context of tourism, "hosts" exhibited a variety of characteristics: elder Atayal women, young indigenous dancers, Atayal female sales clerks, and Han Chinese entrepreneurs, showing dynamic interplays among ethnicity, race, culture, place, and gender. The guest/host relationships also showed the postcolonial relationship between the Japanese (colonizer) and the Han Chinese/indigenous peoples (colonized). Finally, the examination of the dichotomy between masculinity and femininity showed the postcolonial impact on the Atayal people's construction of their gendered identity. For the Atayal, the construction of their masculinity and femininity was originally clear: head-hunting for men and weaving for women. Moreover, men and women were considered to be equal in Atayal society; however, the postcolonial tourism experiences of the Atayal women's accounts revealed women's subordinate position in their society.

In the discussion of the West (the colonizers) versus the East (the colonized), how do we understand the cases of Japan and China's colonization in Taiwan? I argued that Japan and China are neither the West nor the East. Japan and China's colonization can be only understood in an ambivalent space. In the beginning of the establishment of its empire, Japan tried to become the same as the Western empires. However, Japan's motivation was

not quite the same as the Western empires. Neither did the colonial empires in the West treat Japan as one of their allies. The case of Nationalist China's colonization in Taiwan is somewhat similar. Taiwan itself has not been recognised as a nation-state by all major countries in the West. Thus, the notion of the West/East does not well explain the cases of Asian colonialism. Thus, this research which breaks the dualism makes an important contribution to scholarship on Eastern colonialism.

This research also addressed the touristic experiences of the colonized people in relation to gender. In the case of Japanese colonialism, previous scholarly work only focused on the role of the Japanese male tourists in south-east Asia prior to and during the Second World War and the subsequent development of sex tourism for the Japanese market. In this study, the colonized men's and women's involvement with the development of ethnic tourism has been explored. As I noted earlier, the geography of tourism has been criticised for its lack of a strong conceptual and theoretical base. The postcolonial and feminist approach can enhance understanding of the touristic experiences of the colonized people around the globe, contributing to the geography of tourism as well.

Finally, the diagrams used to facilitate the discussion in this thesis can be applied at a variety of scales from the individual to collectivities to visually illustrate how multiple identities have been shifted through particular events. In future research, this diagram could be applied to different groups or individual in the exploration of shifts in identity formation.

8.6 Implications

Today, it is still debated whether Taiwan is a province of mainland China or a nation-state. Moreover, Taiwan's strong economic ties with Japan continue although Japan does not acknowledge Taiwan as a nation-state. In Taiwan, the Democratic Progressive Party holds political power and promotes Taiwan's independence from mainland China. Due to the Taiwanese-led government's recognition of partial indigenous rights, the Atayal and other indigenous people were encouraged to reinvent their traditions. As some weavers' stories demonstrate, the indigenous peoples of Taiwan now play an important role as

Taiwan's multicultural ambassadors. With the advance of Taiwan's independence movement, the favourable political atmosphere may support Taiwan's indigenous peoples' pan-ethnic movement. To enhance their pan-ethnic movement, some indigenous political activists in Taiwan seek international support. Taiwan's indigenous people's reinvented cultures function as symbols for their pan-ethnic movement. The indigenous weavers in Wulai have been placed in this role. The indigenous female weavers in Wulai have been encouraged to expand their weaving activities to support the pan-ethnic movement. Meanwhile, weaving is also considered to be a tool to rebuild tourism development in Wulai. The former chief of the Township of Wulai actively promoted indigenous women's weaving activities as a part of the community development project. However, since the election loss by the former chief of the Township of Wulai in May 2006, the direction of the community development project has been ambiguous. Wulai continues to attract domestic tourists; however, there is a chance that shifts in tourism trends may impact Wulai's economy in the future. Due to their family circumstances, some of the nine weavers are now not as active in weaving as they used to be. Yet, their weaving techniques are being transferred to the younger generations. The issues of race, ethnicity, culture, place, gender, and religion are all intertwined at various scales from international to national, regional, local and individual, affecting the indigenous female weavers' multiple identity formation.

8.7 Limitations of Research

I do not claim that these data are exhaustive or necessarily representative of the Wulai Atayal relationship with colonialism and tourism development in the contemporary or the distant past. Particularly, the nine indigenous weavers I worked with happened to be religious people. Not all indigenous residents in Wulai have strong religious affiliations. In addition, the lack of the voice of a female weaver whose race was mixed between Han Chinese and the Atayal might have limited the result of my data analysis. Moreover, limitations of language skills restricted my opportunities to explore research themes by myself. I was often accompanied by my gatekeeper, and my informants were often related to the gatekeeper in one way or another (e.g. relatives, family or church members). My nationality and gender also significantly affected the ways in which I collected and

analysed data. Nevertheless, these data provide useful points of departure to consider the existing literature on relationships among colonialism, tourism development, gender, and indigenous peoples, and to underpin some future research opportunities.

8.8 Future Research

This research mostly focused on the indigenous women's experiences with tourism and (post)colonialism in Wulai, Taiwan. In future research, focusing on men's hunting activity, it will be worth examining the experiences of the Atayal men in relation to tourism, (post)colonialism, and gender. Moreover, it was not within the scope of this thesis to examine the significance of religion for indigenous people's identity formation. Yet, the research findings indicate the strong connection between religion and identity formation of the indigenous people in Taiwan. It would be interesting to explore the issue in more detail. Finally, it will be worthwhile to compare the colonial experiences of two different indigenous groups in two different countries (the Atayal in Taiwan and the Ainu in Japan), both of whom experienced Japanese colonialism, through analyses of the production and consumption of woven products. The Ainu, the only indigenous group recognised as a minority by the Government of Japan, live in Hokkaido, the northern part of the country. Some of the Ainu villages have been promoted as tourism attractions although some people are not in favour of ethnic tourism development (Hiwasaki, 2000). The Atayal and the Ainu both have woven products; however, their weaving is different in terms of motifs, colours and raw materials. Under Japan's colonialism, the Atayal and the Ainu also took different paths to construct their indigenous identities. The Atayal were greatly influenced not only by the Japanese but also by the Han Chinese who took over Taiwan after the Second World War. Meanwhile, the Ainu continued to be influenced only by the Japanese. How do they understand the legacy of Japan's colonialism and their experiences with contemporary tourism development? Weaving and its meanings can be used as an entry point to addressing such questions.

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Please tell me about your self.
 - (A) Your indigenous name and its meaning
 - (B) Where were you born?
 - (C) How long have you been living in Wulai?
 - (D) What language do you speak?
 - (E) What is your religion?

2. How long have you been weaving?

3. Why did you decide to weave?

4. What kind of colours, materials, and patterns do you like to use?

5. Does your mother or grandmother weave?
 - (A) If so, did she teach you how to weave?
 - (B) If yes, what did you learn from her?
 - (C) If not, why not?
 - (D) If your mother or grandmother does not weave, why do not they weave?
 - (E) After learning how to weave, do you think you life has changed?
 - (F) If so, how?
 - (G) If not, why not?

6. What does weaving mean to you? (Weaving is a time consuming hard work. Why did you choose to do such hard work?)

7. Through weaving, what would you like to accomplish in the future?

8. Please tell me about your family.

- (A) How many children (female/male) do you have?
- (B) How old are they?
- (C) Does anyone in your family weave?
- (D) How many grandchildren do you have?
- (E) How old are you and your husband?

9. How does your family (your husband, children, parents, and grandchildren) feel about your weaving?

- (A) Is any of your family members interested in weaving?
- (B) If so, who is interested in?
- (C) Do you teach him/her how to weave?
- (D) If yes, how often do you teach?
- (E) What do you teach?
- (F) If not, why not?

10. For whom do you weave?

- (A) Do you weave for your family members or do you weave for work? (e.g. museums and Township of Wulai).
- (B) If you weave for work, how many hours per day do you weave?
- (C) How much do you earn from your weaving work?
- (D) Do you have any private customers?
- (E) Is weaving only income you generate?
- (F) If not, do you have other jobs?
- (G) What kind of jobs do you have?
- (H) Why do you have other jobs?

11. If you sell your weaving, whom do you sell?

(A) What do you sell?

12. Weaving used to be women's work. How do you think of men weaving? (Now some junior high school male students are learning how to weave in Wulai.)

13. If your ethnicity is not Atayal, what is your ethnicity?

(A) If you are not ethnically Atayal, do you see any difference between your weaving and other Atayal women's weaving?

14. Some Han Chinese owned souvenir shops sell weaving products in the main street of Wulai. How do you think of their products?

15. Please tell me about your experience with the weaving fashion show/competition held in the Wulai Atayal Ancestors' Spirit Festival.

16. The results from this interview will be presented in my thesis in the University of Waterloo in Canada.

(A) What would you like people in Canada to know about your weaving work?

(B) Do you have anything you would like me to present in my thesis?

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