

**Cultural Survival, Indigenous Knowledge, and
Relational Sustainability:
A Comparison of Case Studies in Taiwan and Australia**

Hau-Ren Hung
(BA, MA)

This thesis is presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Anthropology
Faculty of Arts
Macquarie University,
Sydney

November 2012

Contents

Contents.....	iii
List of Figures	vii
Statement of Candidate	ix
Acknowledgements	x
Abstract.....	xiii
Introduction.....	1
The problem.....	1
Philosophical orientation	2
Project description	3
Scope.....	4
Methods	7
Ethics.....	7
Taiwan.....	11
Australia	15
Key terms	18
Cultural survival	18
Indigenous knowledge.....	19
Relational sustainability	21
Significance	25
Overview of chapters	26
Part 1: Australasian settler societies: Isla Formosa and Terra Australasia	26
Part 2: The ancient covenant and the heart of the hunter: Tongku Saveq and Kalibuan.....	27
Part 3: Recuperative reconciliation: Gulaga and Gundabooka	27
Part 4: Good stories and Great Givers	28
Part 1: Australasian Settler Societies: Isla Formosa and Terra Australia	29
Chapter 1 Indigenous people, Land and Colonisation in Taiwan.....	31
1.1 Brief overview of colonisation in Taiwan	32
1.2 Naming Indigenous people of Taiwan: stereotyping and binary influences.....	33
1.3 Indigenous people of Taiwan in others' eyes	36

1.4 The value and usage of land: different perspectives between colonisers and Indigenous people.....	47
1.4.1 Colonisers' exploitation of land	47
1.4.2 Indigenous people' sustainable living with the land	48
1.5 The struggle for cultural survival after colonisation	51
Chapter 2 Indigenous People, Land and Colonisation in New South Wales, Australia	54
2.1 The creation of <i>terra nullius</i> by European colonisers	55
2.2 Indigenous people of Australia in the first European settlers' eyes	56
2.3 The usages and ownership of land: different perspectives between colonisers and Indigenous people.....	59
2.4 The meaning and value of land for Indigenous people	63
2.5 Colonial impacts on cultural survival.....	65
Chapter 3 Indigenous people, Land and National Parks	69
3.1 Establishment of national parks in NSW, Australia	69
3.2 Establishment of national parks in Taiwan	73
3.3 Alternative pathways for national parks in Australia and Taiwan.....	76
Part 2: The Ancient Covenant and the Heart of the Hunter: Kalibuan and Tongku Saveq.....	87
Chapter 4 Introduction to Kalibuan and Tongku Saveq.....	90
4.1 The significance of storytelling for Bunun people.....	90
4.1.1 Sun-shooting and its significance: law making and order formation	91
4.1.2 Great Flood and its significance: humans' relations with animals and landscapes.....	93
4.1.3 Stories remember people, places, and things.....	94
4.2 Historical overview of Kalibuan.....	96
4.2.1 Naming, location, and its surroundings.....	98
4.2.2 Historical and social transformation of Kalibuan	100
4.3 My first visit: 'This Mountain is called Tongku Saveq'	105
Chapter 5 Tongku Saveq School: Place-based Education for Bunun Culture and Knowledge	113
5.1 Guide to the Kalibuan community.....	114
5.2 Bean seeds and traditional crops: bio-cultural diversity	116
5.2 Traditional weaving.....	122
5.3 Storytelling and music	125
5.4 Indigenous literature and teaching by camp fire	126

Chapter 6 The Heart of the Hunter.....	128
6.1 Impacts of Yushan National Park on the Bunun people	128
6.1.1 Brief introduction to Yushan National Park	128
6.1.2 National parks established; Indigenous culture degraded	130
6.1.3 Respected hunters; denigrated labourers	133
6.1.4 Nature alive; culture dead?	137
6.2 Hunting and the hunter's philosophy	141
6.3 Sharing: a core value for cultural survival and sustainable living.....	146
 Part 3: Recuperative Reconciliation: Gulaga and	
Gundabooka.....	151
 Chapter 7 Overview: Gulaga and Gundabooka	153
7.1 Introduction.....	153
7.2 Always Dreaming: the significance of creation.....	155
7.3 Overview of Gulaga area	160
7.3.1 Significance to Indigenous people and association with surrounding landscapes	161
7.3.2 History of European settlement and its impacts on Yuin people	163
7.4 Overview of Gundabooka area	166
7.4.1 Significance to Indigenous people and association with surrounding landscapes	167
7.4.2 History of European settlement and its impacts on Indigenous people	168
 Chapter 8 Parks as Teaching Places: Gulaga and	
Gundabooka.....	172
8.1 Joint management.....	172
8.2 Gulaga.....	174
8.2.1 The process of becoming a national park.....	174
8.2.2 Pass on message sticks; pass down Indigenous knowledge: cultural transmission and learning in Gulaga	178
8.3 Gundabooka.....	184
8.3.1 Becoming a national park.....	184
8.3.2 Learning respect in Gundabooka.....	190
 Chapter 9 Core Values for Cultural Survival and	
Sustainable Living in NSW.....	197
9.1 Yuin people's knowledge and core values.....	198
9.1.1 Tradition of cultural survival.....	198
9.1.2 Knowledge learning from nature.....	203
9.1.3 Respect totem and Respect Law: link culture and nature to see the land	206
9.2 Ngiyampaa people's knowledge and core values.....	207

9.2.1 Dreaming connection: Baiame and Wawi.....	207
9.2.2 The truth of fullness: connect culture and nature to see the real person and full country	209
9.3 Relational sustainability and core values	213
Part 4: Good Stories and Great Givers.....	217
Chapter 10 Comparisons and Contrasts: A Hopeful Analysis.....	219
10.1 Impacts of colonisation on indigenous people, land, and culture	219
10.1.1 The influence of Christianity	224
10.2 When culture meets nature: cultural survival and nature conservation in national parks.....	228
10.2.1 Recolonisation or reconciliation?	228
10.2.2 Co-management: a way for reconciliation	230
Chapter 11 The Great Givers.....	234
11.1 Accounts of origins in Indigenous mythology.....	235
11.1.1 Myths make the world and Law	237
11.1.2 Differences in Indigenous myths between Australia and Taiwan	238
11.2 Ideas of relational sustainability.....	240
11.2.1 Gift economy	241
11.2.2 Economy and ecology: a broader view of gift economy	244
11.2.3 Gift philosophy.....	246
Conclusion	255
Meeting and dialogue.....	257
My first meeting with Phil	257
Dialogue between Phil and Neqou.....	258
Review of arguments, analysis, and findings	259
Colonisation, recolonisation, and reconciliation.....	260
Cultural survival, core values, and relational sustainability	262
Gift ecology and relational survival.....	263
Recommendation and vision	264
References	269

List of Figures

Figure 1.1: Map of Formosa.....	32
Figure 1.2: Taiwan Fu (台灣府) is circled in red in the Qing Dynasty map of Taiwan.....	39
Figure 2.1: Map of Terra Australis.....	54
Figure 3.1: Map of the first three designated national parks in Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period.....	73
Figure 4.1: Map of Taiwan in relation to China and Japan.....	96
Figure 4.2: Map of relative locations of Kalibuan (望鄉), Asang-Dengaz (traditional homeland of the Kalibuan people before forced relocation), Tongku Saveq, Hosa (和社), Lolona (羅娜), Maqavun (久美), and Tongpu (東埔).....	98
Figure 4.3: Panorama of Kalibuan community.....	100
Figure 4.4: Front cover of Neqou's first novel <i>Palisia Tongku Saveq</i>	106
Figure 4.5: Neqou introduces Bunun's ethnobiology by storytelling.	108
Figure 4.6: The group of trekkers on the way to the summit of Tongku Saveq.....	108
Figure 4.7: Neqou talks about Bunun culture, colonial history and his personal stories of self-identification on the summit.....	109
Figure 4.8: The poster '這山叫東谷沙飛' ('This mountain is called Tongku Saveq') displayed on the summit.....	110
Figure 5.1: International students of Providence University, who enrolled the course 'Multicultural Interchange and Learning' convened by Hau-Ren Hung, learn Bunun culture and give their feedback at the campfire in Kalibuan community.....	116
Figure 5.2: Encounter with the Elder in her eighties who recommended Tina Ibu to us in order to gain more information and better understanding of Bunun traditional beans.....	117
Figure 5.3: Tina Ibu packs green peppers into boxes in her house.....	118
Figure 5.4: Beans growing on the edges of Tina Ibu's farmland.....	118
Figure 5.5 and Figure 5.6: The bean seeds collected by Tina Ibu.....	119
Figure 5.7: Neqou and his teaching at camp fire.....	126

Figure 6.1: The name of Mt. Morrison on the map.....	129
Figure 6.2: The name of ‘Niitakayama 新高山’ on the map.....	129
Figure 6.3: Encounter with Neqou's uncle You-Shui Fang, a Bunun park ranger in Yushan National Park, on the way to the summit.	135
Figure 6.4 and Figure 6.5: The sections in relation to Indigenous people in Yushan National park shown in the video: <i>The New 7 wonders of Nature: Vote for Yushan now</i>	140
Figure 6.6: Tiang demonstrates how to set a game trap in <i>Manutusan</i> hunter trail.....	145
Figure 7.1: Map shows the location of Yuin Country and Gulaga.....	160
Figure 7.2: Map of Yuin Country and its important places.....	161
Figure 7.3: Map of the Cultural Area of Indigenous people associated with Gundabooka and Mt Grenfell.....	166
Figure 8.1: Uncle Max teaches his two grandchildren how to assist him to undertake a ceremony.....	178
Figure 8.2: Participants engage in the Sunrise ceremony hosted by Uncle Max.....	179
Figure 8.3: Uncle Max talks about the sacred rocks.....	181
Figure 8.4: Rock of Rainbow Serpent.....	181
Figure 8.5: An Indigenous participant sings a traditional chant to Uncle Max.....	183
Figure 8.6: Phil Sullivan talks with participants in front of an entrance of Gundabooka National Park.....	190
Figure 8.7: A scarred tree located in the Park.....	190
Figure 8.8: A signboard of Gundabooka National Park shows that the park is in Stone Country.....	191
Figure 8.9: Phil hosts a ceremony of respect.....	191
Figure 8.10: Walking into the National Park.....	193
Figure 8.11: An Indigenous earth oven located on the walking trail.....	193
Figure 8.12: Phil Sullivan talks with Yih-Ren Lin in front of quinine tree.....	193
Figure 8.13: Phil Sullivan introduces the Indigenous paintings concerning his country and culture in the rock shelter.....	194
Figure 8.14: Dialogue between Phil and participants.....	194

Statement of Candidate

I certify that the work in this thesis entitled “**Cultural Survival, Indigenous Knowledge, and Relational Sustainability: A Comparison of Case Studies in Taiwan and Australia**” has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree to any other university or institution other than Macquarie University.

I also certify that the thesis is an original piece of research and it has been written by me. Any help and assistance that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself have been appropriately acknowledged.

In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

The research presented in this thesis was approved by Macquarie University Ethics Review Committee, reference number: **5201000547(D)** on **28th May 2010**.

Hau-Ren Hung (41726642)

November, 2012

Acknowledgements

In this marathon journey of my PhD degree study and thesis writing, I would love to express my sincere gratitude to many people, places, and things for help of various kinds. Because of them, it became possible for me to touch the finishing line.

Before thanking those who helped, supported, and encouraged me through this process, I especially pay my genuine respect and gratitude to the land and Indigenous people in Taiwan and Australia. It is truly my honour to be accepted into their lives, so that I got opportunities to learn Indigenous Knowledge rooted in the two countries.

I want to express my deepest gratitude to my principal supervisor Professor Deborah Bird Rose. Without her continuous encouragement, advice, patience, support, and optimism, this thesis would hardly have been completed. She has been the strongest and most supportive advisor to me throughout my PhD study, she has always given me great freedom to pursue independent research. Debbie is as a role model in the field of academic research, and a mentor in my life. I learned a lot of good attitudes, insightful thoughts, and precious experiences from her. It is really my honour to have been under her supervision during my doctoral study.

I thank my associate supervisor Dr. Daniel Fisher. I am grateful to him for supporting me through some difficulties and challenges during final stages of the thesis. Two adjunct supervisors Dr. Yih-Ren Lin and Mr. Neqou Soqluman are my best advisors for doing Indigenous studies in Taiwan. Dr. Lin provided me with lots of opportunities and useful suggestions to help me get involved in both academia and Indigenous communities. Neqou, being my fieldwork supervisor and Indigenous research partner, guided me into the Bunun world to learn their culture and knowledge. Their guidance has served me well and I owe them my heartfelt appreciation. My sincere thanks also go to thesis examiners. Their comments from their expertise helped the thesis be more clear and well-rounded.

I would like to acknowledge here the support of Macquarie University, whose research scholarship enabled me to pursue my academic interests and engage in research study in Australia. It is a pleasure for me to work in the Centre for Research on Social Inclusion, which provided me with a nourishing environment with sufficient facilities and intellectual support. Thanks go to the Director Marion Maddox and other colleagues: Armen, Ashley, Liberty, Mersina, Marcus, Banu, Sean, and Sudheesh for the inspiring conversations, spiritual support, and laughter at CRSI. I would like to express my special grateful thanks to Robert,

for his valuable support as both a counsellor and a friend at the final stage of my thesis writing.

Outside CRSI, I want to extend my gratitude to teachers and friends in the Department of Anthropology, Department of Indigenous Studies, Department of Environment and Geography, and Group of 'Ecological Humanities'. Thanks also go to many people I met at: Two Fire Festival, Gulaga Dreaming tour, Southern Cross University, Ecological Literature and Environmental Education Conference in Beijing University, the Frist Asian Conference of Ethnobiology in Providence University, and Keeping the Fire Conference in University of Wollongong.

Yuchi Liu, Evelyn Chang, Sylvia Liu, Charles Lin, Aven Lin, Sophia Huang, Hsin-han Wang, Peter Boyle also deserve my sincerest thanks; their friendship and assistance during my study in Australia has meant more to me than I could ever express.

To my family, I am deeply indebted to Father, Mother, Brother, Sister-in-law, niece, and nephew. Thank them so much for their love, support, understanding and patience. I also wish to thank my mother-in-law. She came to help Yu-Ling and myself by looking after my daughter Ching-Ching when she was becoming a toddler.

I deeply express my greatest gratitude to my dearest ones, my beloved wife Yu-Ling and our lovely daughter Ching-Ching. Thank Yu-Ling for accompanying me, and sharing the best and the worst moments during this doctoral journey. You have been my emotional base while living and studying here in Australia. Your love and tolerance allowed me to finish this journey. To my dearest Ching-Ching, thank you for leading me to rediscover the beauty and wonder of the world and giving me lots of wonders and joy. You grew up so fast and learned things so quickly. You are really a clever and sweet girl. Because you are so good, Daddy completed this PhD thesis when you are nearly two years old. Love you and thank you! :)

To Hau-Ren myself, I am really happy that you made it – you completed this marathon, a wonderful section in your life journey. The end of this one is the beginning of another one. I know you will keep moving on and cherishing every lovely and beautiful moment you can have. Thank you, Hau-Ren! I love you too!!

Last but not at least, although it is not possible to list the names of all the people, who encouraged me, inspired me, supported, and helped me, I would like to say here that all of you are truly in my mind. I am sincerely grateful to you. I wish that I can pass your good spirits, wisdoms, and attitudes to others and onto the next generations as well.

To all of you I dedicate this thesis.

Abstract

This thesis is a comparative study of Indigenous people's cultural survival under impacts of colonisation. The aim is to explore the use of Indigenous knowledge in decolonising relationships of exclusion, and in facilitating social and ecological sustainability in settler societies. The basic premise is that Indigenous knowledge derived from place not only empowers minorities to confront the impacts of social exclusion, but contributes to ways of dealing with social injustice and ecological crisis in this time of rapid social and ecological change.

The thesis starts by inspecting the colonial histories of two settler societies in Australasia: Taiwan and Australia. Settlers' stereotypes of Indigenous people, and the different uses and values of land between settlers and Indigenous people, are respectively reviewed and analysed. In addition, I explore the concepts of national parks and nature conservation. The first national parks created in both countries functioned as another mode of colonisation. The idea of wilderness and policies of nature conservation, excluding Indigenous people and suppressing their livelihood and traditional culture, caused tense situations between national parks and Indigenous people. The development and changes in national parks are briefly overviewed. The first part provides the base upon which the fieldwork chapters are mounted.

There is a strong emphasis in the presentation of the fieldwork data on the value and significance of Indigenous knowledge. I work with three case studies of cultural survival relating to sacred mountains and national parks: Yushan National Park in Taiwan, and Gulaga and Gundabooka National Parks in NSW, Australia. The case studies provide the social and cultural context for investigating Indigenous knowledge, social inclusion, and environmental crisis. A major focus is the Elders' transmission of Indigenous knowledge and core values to Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. Ideas of relational sustainability, involving complex and subtle networks between humans, non-humans, and natural environments, are implicated in systems of Indigenous knowledge. Relational sustainability is an important framework for organising and expressing key values.

In the last part, I examine the similarities and differences between Taiwan and Australia concerning impacts of colonisation of Indigenous people, land, and culture. In terms of cultural survival, I compare and contrast the formation and contents of Indigenous knowledge in relation to myths and laws. The Indigenous philosophy of the gift plays a crucial role in

understanding the relevant values through which Indigenous people shape and practice relational sustainability. My analysis proposes that beyond *gift economy*, relational sustainability entails a *gift ecology*.

The research reveals that both for Indigenous people and national parks, cultural survival and ecological survival are interdependent and reciprocal to an extent that they may best be thought as one and the same thing. The key values discovered in this research, which have been practiced by Indigenous people for thousands years, indicate a sophisticated relational sustainability. A relational gift philosophy helps people to reconcile with each other and the land, thus facilitating social and ecological sustainability in contexts of decolonisation. Through the practice and communication of traditional knowledge by Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, social reconciliation and ecological sustainability may be improved. Finally, my research is intended to open dialogues and build bridges between Taiwan and Australia, East and West, Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, colonisation and decolonisation, localisation and globalisation.

Introduction

The problem

Why weren't we told? is the title of a book written by the eminent Australian historian Henry Reynolds. He devoted himself to discovering many aspects of Australian Indigenous history that were either unknown or distorted. 'Why weren't we told or why didn't we know?' is also a question I have had in my mind for many years since I began to study colonial histories and to learn about Indigenous culture in Taiwan. My education in Taiwanese schools taught me a lot of broad Western and Eastern knowledge, but very little in relation to local and Indigenous knowledge. Why weren't we told and why didn't we know about Taiwan's history, culture and knowledge from Indigenous points of view? What are these points of view? Most significantly for me, what could the values of Indigenous culture and knowledge contribute to wider questions of history, culture and the future?

The question of values matters because Indigenous people¹ have lived on the land for thousands of years; their culture and knowledge should be retained and treated fairly as part of humanity's precious heritage. It is now accepted that Indigenous people must have particular ways of understanding and living with the natural environment that enabled them to live sustainably on the earth for such a long time. Therefore, their ways and knowledge could potentially provide directions for their wider societies as they search for ways of sustainable living and approaches to resolve environmental crises. This potential is set within a further

¹ The terms 'Aboriginal people,' 'Aborigines,' 'Indigenous People,' and 'native people' are regarded as synonyms which denote first inhabitants of lands. Among them, 'Aboriginal people' and 'Indigenous People' are most frequently used in the literature. The name 'Aboriginal (people)' is probably more used and accepted in specific areas of Australia, whereas 'Indigenous (people)' is the preferred English term internationally due to the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Since this thesis is a comparative and cross-cultural study which is situated not only in Australia, but also in Taiwan, I adopt the near universal usage 'Indigenous (people)' to refer to the first inhabitants in my thesis.

Further, I use the capital word 'Indigenous' for three reasons even though there is no official consensus on the capitalization. First, 'Indigenous people' as a group of ethnic people and their associated adjectives (such as Indigenous culture, Indigenous art, and Indigenous art) should be capitalised like other human groups' terms, such as Australian, Asian, European, Arabic, etc. Second, The uppercase 'Indigenous' is used when referring the original inhabitants in accordance with Australian styles. Third, capitalization of 'Indigenous (people)' is an appropriate way to express my respect and acknowledgement to first inhabitants of lands. I also use the capitalization as 'Indigenous Elders' to particularly show my respect to whom they generously passed down their knowledge to me and other participants in the activities of cultural survival.

dilemma — cultural survival. If Indigenous peoples are to bring their values and knowledge into any dialogue with the mainstream, it is essential that those values be transmitted from generation to generation. For people, as well as plants and animals, extinction is forever. Cultural survival is a very real challenge in today's world.

Philosophical orientation

Every research project is situated within a philosophical context, and mine is no exception. My interest in cultural survival was first engaged through my encounters with the Bunun Indigenous people of Taiwan, and other Indigenous people who were regular visitors and participants in the Research Centre for Austronesian Peoples and Department of Ecology at Providence University where I was privileged to work for Professor Yih-Ren Lin². As my awareness of the challenges of cultural survival grew, I became more involved in participatory action research designed to assist Indigenous people in achieving their survival goals. I experienced their generosity first hand, and I began to understand their view that their own cultural survival will best be achieved through including non-Indigenous people in the work of survival.

My philosophical orientation can best be described as an ethics. There is my own commitment to being part of the work of cultural survival, and this includes my commitment to research as a form of learning, to understanding knowledge as a gift, and to seeking to ensure that the research will contribute to cultural survival. I see this contribution not so much as a form of policy development, but rather as a form of analytic translation. Values are examined, discussed, and, in the spirit of the gift, shared. The research philosophy echoes the first precept of gift philosophy – ‘the gift must always move’.³ My aim is to keep the wisdom of Indigenous Elders circulating in a discourse that includes academic research and writing, as well as poetry and story-telling. Through the aspects mentioned above, I try to look forward to finding a hopeful path toward reconciliation and reconnection of relationships.

² Professor Yih-Ren Lin works as Director at Graduate Institute of Humanities in Medicine as well as Director of Centre for language and Culture, Taipei Medical University since June 2013.

³ L. Hyde, *The gift: imagination and the erotic life of property* (New York: Vintage, 1983). 4.

Project description

This research is an interdisciplinary study drawing on Indigenous literature, environmental philosophy, Indigenous knowledge, anthropology, cultural studies, human geography, and ecological humanities. It is a comparative study that aims to explore the role of Indigenous knowledge in decolonising relationships of exclusion and in facilitating social and ecological sustainability in Taiwan and Australia. The basic premise is that local knowledge derived from place not only empowers minorities to confront the impacts of social exclusion, but contributes to ways of dealing with social injustice and ecological crisis in this time of rapid social and ecological change.

The notion of cultural survival pioneered by Harvard Professor David Maybury-Lewis⁴, a well-known ethnologist and anthropologist, is relevant to analysing ongoing cultural movements and programs that are managed by Indigenous people and that involve non-Indigenous people who dedicate themselves to defending the human rights of Indigenous peoples. Indigenous knowledge provides fundamental nutrition to those movements and programs. I work with the idea of relational sustainability, involving complex and subtle networks between humans, non-humans, and cosmic cycles. This idea is implicated in systems of Indigenous knowledge and articulates the values of inter-relationships, giving rise to a profoundly cultural understanding of sustainability.

I work with three case studies of cultural survival relating to sacred mountains and national parks: one in Taiwan and two in Australia. The Australian cases provide good models for Taiwan since in Australia Indigenous people and non-Indigenous people have made strong efforts to protect natural and cultural heritage through joint management. The case studies provide the social and cultural context for investigating Indigenous knowledge and social inclusion. They enable me to ask the questions: What are the main values of traditional knowledge? What are the core values for cultural survival that must be kept alive? What are the main methods for keeping them alive? Why does it matter that both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people learn from the Elders? Can Indigenous knowledge help human beings to respond proactively to contemporary issues of social and ecological justice?

⁴ See Section of Key terms for further details.

The thesis begins by analysing Indigenous people's and settlers' concepts of land. The histories of colonisation of Taiwan and New South Wales in Australia are summarised and compared, and the changing ideologies and policies of national parks in relation to Indigenous people are similarly summarised and compared. This library-based research provides the base upon which the fieldwork chapters are then developed. Interpersonal research was carried out with Indigenous Elders in Australia and Taiwan. In both countries my questions concerned the role of Indigenous knowledge, cross-cultural collaborations, and national parks in ensuring cultural survival in the 21st century. Through in-depth interviews, I investigated key values articulated by the Elders. I learned that ideas of relational sustainability are an important framework for organising and expressing key values. This and other themes enable the possibility of developing a place-based environmental ethics through people's practices of long-term sustainable belonging. The key values investigated in this research have the potential to contribute to social reconciliation and ecological sustainability in Taiwan and Australia.

Scope

I have worked on the Taiwanese case study for approximately four years, as I began learning from the Elders in Kalibuan community well before I began my doctoral studies. In contrast, I began to investigate the two case studies in New South Wales, Australia in 2009. All the cases are related to local movements and projects for cultural survival. They provide both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people with opportunities to learn about Indigenous ecological knowledge and to shape a belonging to place. I believe that such belonging is an important part of developing place-based environmental ethics.

The Taiwanese study builds on two aspects of my research to date. The first is my M.A. thesis, *Transmitting Environmental Philosophy through Storytelling in the Indigenous Literature of Joseph Bruchac and Ahronglong Sakinu*. The second is my recent involvement with the Tongku Saveq Movement initiated by Bunun writer Neqou Soqluman, whose home community is Kalibuan. Neqou is a prize-winning Indigenous writer, who published his first novel, *Palisia Tongku Saveq*, in 2007. The novel is mainly based on Indigenous myths, legends, cosmology, Bunun law, and customary practice. I have been working as a participant in this movement and have been a facilitator in place-based education at the Tongku Saveq School since 2007. In collaboration with the Research Centre for Austronesian Peoples

(ReCAP) and the Kalibuan community, we designed some community-based courses for students. The courses focused on environmental education through cultural and local perspectives. In addition, we have been working on a local knowledge system called ‘Tongku-Saveq-ology,’ which will collect and interpret Bunun people’s Indigenous knowledge and place-based environmental philosophy.

The case studies in Australia are necessarily more limited. They are based on my participation in activities of cultural survival at several sites. I focus on one coastal Indigenous group and one inland Indigenous group, namely the Yuin people in the Gulaga area of the southern coast of NSW, and Ngiyambaa people in Gundabooka in western NSW. I look at historical transformations and their impacts on Indigenous life, the development of national parks, and activities in relation to cultural survival. The cases in Australia are directly comparable to the Kalibuan community and Yushan (Mt. Jade) National Park, where in recent years several groups of Indigenous and non-Indigenous people have devoted themselves to encountering Indigenous knowledge in order to enliven and shape their belonging to place.

The three research sites I chose as my case studies are the Kalibuan (望鄉 Wang-Xiang in Mandarin) community and Yushan National Park in Taiwan; Gulaga (Mt Dromedary) National Park in NSW, Australia; and Gundabooka National Park, also in NSW. The locations of case studies and their cultural significance briefly are:

Kalibuan is a community of Bunun people in Nantou County, who were forced to relocate to the lower hills during the Japanese colonial period. Their traditional territory is in the area of Tongku Saveq, the highest mountain in Taiwan, known as Yushan (玉山 Mt. Jade), and it is currently part of Yushan National Park. The mountain is sacred to the Bunun and Zhou people.⁵ Moreover, tangible and intangible cultural heritage is alive and well. Indigenous people are in regular negotiations over the role of their people in the Park. Yushan National Park is currently being put forward for world heritage listing as one of the world’s new seven wonders of nature.⁶ The vision of eco-cultural conservation and co-management between Indigenous people and conservationists is both desired and contentious.

⁵ The term ‘Zhou’ is also spelled ‘Cou’.

⁶ For more details, see Section 6.1.4

Gulaga is in the country of the Yuin people. The mountain is situated close to the villages of Central Tilba and Tilba Tilba, about 350 kilometres south from Sydney, and dominates the landscape around the neighbouring communities between Narooma and Bermagui in the far south coast of New South Wales. The mountain, geologically an extinct volcano, is not only a habitat for a diverse range of native plant and animal species, but also one of the most significant sites for Yuin people, particularly for the Umbarra people (people of the black duck clan) of nearby Wallaga Lake. In Yuin creation or Dreaming stories, Gulaga is the place of ancestral origin, as well as an embodiment of a Dreaming woman. It is a sacred site and provides a basis for both spiritual and social identity. In recent years, a group of local Indigenous and non-Indigenous people launched a movement to save Gulaga from logging. Gulaga National Park was established in 2001.

Gundabooka⁷ is located approximately 70 kilometres south-west of Bourke and about 800 kilometres west of Sydney. Gundabooka, on the south bank of the Darling River, spans both the rocky Gunterbooka Range and a large expanse of lower lying semi-arid bushland. The range rises to a height of 500 metres at Mount Gunterbooka, from which there are extensive views of wide-open plains, magnificent rust-coloured cliffs, gorges and hills that are over 385 million years old. The Gundabooka region has significance for members of two Indigenous language groups, Ngiyambaa and Paakantji. Ngiyambaa people lived at the ranges across the east of Darling River, while Paakantji mostly dwelled along the river and visited the range regularly. To Ngiyambaa people, the range is a feature along the ancient path walked by the creation figure, Biaime. Paakantji people tell stories about the rainbow serpent Ngatji that links the Darling River to Gunterbooka Range. Lying within a geographically and culturally dynamic landscape, Gundabooka Range has a profound traditional association with these two Indigenous groups. Gundabooka is both an Indigenous traditional homeland and a site along a major Dreaming track in the region. Indigenous people's physical and spiritual reconnection with the area is a particular concern both for Indigenous people and for Gundabooka National Park management. Accordingly, ever since the development of the national park in 1996, park rangers have worked with traditional Indigenous owners to figure out appropriate ways of land management.

⁷ There are two main spellings of Gundabooka, and I use them interchangeably as both are present in the literature on which I draw. Generally, they are Gunterbooka Range or Mount Gunterbooka, whereas Gundabooka is for the National Park and the local leasehold.

In the process of establishing national parks in Gulaga and Gundabooka, conservationists and local people all contributed their efforts to reach their respective goals. The two cases in Australia could be considered to be good examples for Taiwan, since Indigenous people and non-Indigenous people have made efforts to jointly protect natural and cultural heritage and to facilitate co-management and cultural survival.

Methods

The research rests on three main methods, in addition to historical review and textual analysis. In Taiwan, the main methods are participatory action research⁸ and in-depth interviews. In Australia, the main methods are participant observation⁹ and in-depth interviews. I am not aiming to offer a statistically representative sample of Indigenous cultural values. Rather, this qualitative research focuses on in-depth conversations with a few key Elders, as well as on participation in cultural events. A close reading of relevant literature confirms that the values I learned about from a small number of Elders are consistent across other Indigenous cultures and groups. While my specific experiences are highly individualistic and the Elders I interacted with are specific to the areas I visited, the literature research establishes that the cultural values they transmitted are representative of the broader experience of Indigenous people in these two countries.

Ethics

I am keenly aware of the significance of considering ethical issues in the research relevant to Indigenous culture and knowledge as I have worked with Indigenous people and carried out some research prior to my PhD study. The research on which this thesis relies has complied with the requirements of Human Research Ethics Committee¹⁰ at Macquarie University and was given formal ethical approval by the committee.

⁸ See further explanation in the section of Taiwan in Methods.

⁹ See further explanation in the section of Australia in Methods.

¹⁰ The research ethics application includes the forms of Human Ethics Application, Information and Consent, Appendix A: Research involving Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island, Appendix B: Research to be undertaken outside Australia. See the website below for further information:

http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/human_research_ethics

Gaining access is regarded the first step to undertake the proposed research work.¹¹ In order to obtain access to a field site and gain consent to conduct the research, initial contact and further communication with Indigenous research participants and informants are necessary. In terms of the issues of gate-keeping role (gatekeeper) concerned in research ethics¹², there is no overriding or primary group, council or organisation performing an agreed gate keeping role in my cases. There are multiple organizations in the Indigenous communities to be worked with. I believed that there would be problems in seeking to determine which organization or body might be thought to be a representative or gate-keeper for a community. My method, therefore, was to approach Elders and seek their participation. I did not ask them to speak on behalf of others, as this could well be inappropriate. The research participants were selected on the basis of their status as knowledgeable Elders and their willingness to consent to conversations and interviews.

The methods of identification of participants and contact with them were not the same in Taiwan and Australia. In Taiwan, I had been carrying out action research with my key collaborator Neqou Soqluman, an Indigenous author and scholar, for several years. In the course of the research, I had already become acquainted with the Elders in Kalibuan community where I did the research. Neqou Soqluman was the liaison person between me and the Elders. I initially approached Elders through him, and the Elders who participated in this research were people with whom I had been collaborating for a number of years in our action research.

In Australia, the research participants and informants were people who were publicly active and could be understood in advance to have knowledge of dealing with requests. All of them were are publicly recognised as authorities: (i) authors who have published on Indigenous knowledge and cultural survival; (ii) Indigenous Elders and teachers who were actively involved in cultural revitalisation projects such as cultural centres, national parks heritage units and other public organisations. They were involved in teaching Indigenous and non-Indigenous people about the values of Indigenous culture. I am privileged to know and approach them by recommendation of my supervisor Professor Deborah Bird Rose, who is

¹¹ Martyn Hammersley and Paul Atkinson, *Ethnography, principles in practice* (London ; New York: Tavistock, 1983).

¹² Melanie L. Mauthner et al., *Ethics in Qualitative Research* (Lodon: SAGE Publications, 2002).

acquainted with the knowledgeable Elders in Australia. In the initial fact-to-face contact I advised Australian Elders of my research interest prior to joining in the culture camp or tour, in order to give them the opportunity to understand my research goals and thus to be able to give informed voluntary consent to my project. My research design was to conduct conversations and interviews with the Elders. I participated in the tours and culture camps to gain an understanding of the cultural context for asking questions and understanding answers, and in order to understand the cross-cultural context of cultural survival, as well as the local contexts.

In both Taiwan and Australian, I explained the aims and purpose of my comparative research project to the participants and informants and asked if they were willing to be interviewed, audio recorded, and photographed. They understood and agreed with my collaborative research work with Indigenous people. Also, they understood that the research work could be important and helpful for Indigenous cultural survival and relational sustainability. The potential benefits of the research, including collaborative work, presentations, and publications, are to contribute to wider and more respectful understandings of Indigenous culture and the significance of Indigenous values. They consented to conversations and interviews; I asked Elders to discuss the values they treasure, the reasons for the teaching that they do, and their hopes and dreams for facilitating social and ecological sustainability in the wider society.

In both Australia and Taiwan, interviews were tailored to the specific place and person. The main questions guiding my research were: What are the key values that must be kept alive? What are the main methods for keeping them alive? Is cultural survival a cross-cultural project? Can Indigenous knowledge help human beings to resolve contemporary issues of social and ecological justice?

With regard to the ethical issues of privacy, confidentiality, and protection, I did not undertake research activities which conflict with Indigenous belief or customary laws. Neither did I seek any information that is secret and not suitable for dissemination in public. At all times I respect and acknowledge that Indigenous peoples, traditional societies, and local communities have prior, proprietary rights and rights to self-determination. The Indigenous participants have the right to make decisions in this research project that directly affect them.

In order to protect the participants' rights, prior to the onset of participation and carrying out research activities, mutual communication and understanding of interests and rights were undertaken. A thorough effort was made in good faith to observe their protocols and enhance such understandings through ongoing communication and active participation throughout the duration of the research process. In the process, I was privileged to be guided by Indigenous Elders and friends so that I could learn customary and local laws and comply with them in order to prevent any possible conflicts.

I also recognize that Indigenous peoples have the right to have kept confidential information concerning their spiritual beliefs and secret knowledge. The steps taken to protect intellectual property rights are determined by the Indigenous participants. It is entirely their decision about what to share, and what further restrictions they put on my use of information they choose to share. Both participants and I were aware of the responsibility of complying with local systems for knowledge management. The Elders I conducted conversations and interviews with were all experienced teachers, well accustomed to discussing the past and other matters with people like myself who are seeking to learn. They exercised their own judgement so that the knowledge and core values they conveyed were publicly transmissible. It was not my role to make those judgements, and I could not help but worry about asking the wrong questions. That is one reason why my research questions were extremely open-ended.

In regards to confidentiality and protection of audio or video recording, the recordings were taken only with the prior consent of the participants. The research did not involve the secretive use of photography, video recording, audio recording or any other recording method. The purpose for recording was to ensure the accuracy of detailed interview and data. The recordings were used for the purposes of publication of the research findings. The recordings were first transcribed, and selections served as qualitative data for research reference and analysis. The original recordings and any other relevant data were saved and protected securely from unauthorized access (kept under password protection in computers), thus the integrity and confidentiality of data are ensured. After the project is completed, the data will be moved away and retained securely at similarly protected sites in my next place of employment. Some of the collected information and data will be published with due reference and acknowledgement of the Elders.

Anonymity is another ethical concern relevant to confidentiality and protection. Although the ethics form that Macquarie University required seems to presume that anonymity or

pseudonymity is the preferred option for participants, I was aware that in reporting on intellectual property that belongs to others (Indigenous knowledge, in particular) participants may hold the view that it would be unethical to report on that knowledge without identifying the owners fully and properly. The participants I conduct conversations and interviews with were in public positions of the work for cultural survival. Instead of treating them as anonymous informants, I followed their choice and identified them by their real names.

As the research project was designed to work cross-culturally, one methodological concern that I always kept in the forefront of my mind was the potential for misunderstanding. In order to minimise that, in Taiwan my colleague Neqou Soqluman assist in translating the Bunun words (the native language of the Elders) into Mandarin when the Elders explained their Indigenous Knowledge and ideas in Bunun. In Australia, the participants are renowned Elders who are fluent and literate in English. Thus, I could communicate with them in English. Also, they have been interviewed by several Australian scholars, and the relevant articles and books have been published. Therefore, I could refer to some of them and assure myself of understanding the knowledge and core values they transmitted. In addition, the audio and video recordings helped me to ensure that I would not make mistakes in what I heard the research participants saying, as I could listen to them again to be sure that I had understood properly.

At all times the research participants knew that they could contact me, my supervisors, and Macquarie University if they had any queries or complaints.

Taiwan

As stated, the research in Taiwan built on my long-term participatory action research with Neqou Soqluman and the Bunun Elders of Kalibuan community. Neqou is a prize-winning Indigenous writer and a mountain guide as well as a coordinator of community development, and founder of the Mountain Guide Alliance of Bunun People's Culture and Ecology. He agreed to assist me in this case study. The Tongku Saveq Movement and the Tongku Saveq School were initiated by Neqou, myself, and members of the Research Centre of Austronesian Peoples directed by Dr. Yih-Ren Lin. This action research grew out of a commitment I made to Neqou, Tongku Saveq (the mountain), and the Kalibuan Elders. It pre-dates my PhD research, and is ongoing. During the Taiwanese segment of the PhD research I was guided in the first instance by Neqou's views on what action steps we needed to be taking.

Participatory action research (PAR) was chosen as a major research method applied in Taiwan case, as the qualities of PAR correspond with what I have been done in Tongku Saveq Movement and the Tongku Saveq School. PAR is defined as a collaborative process of research, education, and action oriented towards social transformation or change.¹³ 'Defined most simply, PAR involves researchers and participants working together to examine a problematic situation or action to change it for the better'.¹⁴

Furthermore, PAR is not just regarded as a method but also an epistemology challenging to Western positivist science and mainstream research tradition which emphasized neutrality and objectivity.¹⁵ As Cammarota and Fine, the differences between PAR and the mainstream tradition are significant:

PAR is, however, a radical *epistemological challenge* to the traditions of social science, most critically on the topic of where knowledge resides. ...PAR further assumes that those who have been *most* systematically excluded, oppressed, or denied carry specifically revealing wisdom about the history, structure, consequences, and the fracture points in unjust social arrangements.¹⁶

¹³ Budd L. Hall, "Participatory Research, Popular Knowledge and Power: A Personal Reflection," *Convergence: An International Journal of Adult Education* 14, no. 3 (1981).

Robin McTaggart, *Participatory action research : international contexts and consequences* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997).

Sara Louise Kindon, Rachel Pain, and Mike Kesby, *Participatory action research approaches and methods : connecting people, participation and place*, Routledge studies in human geography (London: Routledge, 2007). 9.

¹⁴ Yoland Wadsworth, "What is Participatory Action Research? ," *Action Research International, Paper 2.*(1998), http://www.uq.net.au/action_research/ari/p-ywadsworth98.html, accessed 19 May 2013.

Kindon, Pain, and Kesby, *Participatory action research approaches and methods : connecting people, participation and place*: 1.

¹⁵ B. Hall, "From margins to center? The development and purpose of participatory research.," *American Sociologist* 23(1992).

S. Kemmis and R. McTaggart, "Participatory action research," in *The handbook of qualitative research*, ed. N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2000), 567-605.

Mike Evans et al., "Common Insights, Differing Methodologies: Toward a Fusion of Indigenous Methodologies, Participatory Action Research, and White Studies in an Urban Aboriginal Research Agenda," *Qualitative Inquiry* 15, no. 5 (2009).

¹⁶ Julio Cammarota and Michelle Fine, *Revolutionizing education : youth participatory action research in motion* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2008). 215.

It is a counter-hegemonic approach to knowledge production to ‘break the monopoly on who holds knowledge and for whom social research should be undertaken’.¹⁷ PAR represents ‘a plurality of knowledge in a variety of institutions and locations’.¹⁸ It seeks emancipation¹⁹ of knowledge and power by involving participants and researchers to examine societal problems and work collaboratively and reflectively to change them for the better:

A primary purpose of action research is to produce practical knowledge that is useful to people in the everyday conduct of their lives. A wider purpose of action research is to contribute through this practical knowledge to the increased well-being - economic, political, psychological, spiritual - of human persons and communities, and to a more equitable and sustainable relationship with the wider ecology of the planet of which we are an intrinsic part.²⁰

Employing PAR in the Taiwan case was a perfect fit, as the purposes of PAR was nearly identical to the goals for Tongku Saveq Movement and Tongku Saveq School.

PAR covers a variety of participatory approaches. As its name suggests, PAR integrates the three basic aspects: participation, action, and research.²¹ I carried out these three tasks in Taiwan. In the first instance, I was merely a participant who took part in an activity of climbing to the summit of the mountain Tongku Saveq. Gradually, I became more and more involved in the work of cultural survival, and played various roles in the Tongku Saveq movement and Tongku Saveq School. I came to understand myself as participant, learner, facilitator, collaborator, activist, and researcher. The roles and tasks I have taken also mesh with PAR:

Essentially participatory action research is research which involves all relevant parties in actively examining together current action (which they experience as problematic) in order to

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Kindon, Pain, and Kesby, *Participatory action research approaches and methods : connecting people, participation and place*: 9.

¹⁹ Patti Lather, *Getting smart : feminist research and pedagogy with/in the postmodern*, Critical social thought (New York: Routledge, 1991).

²⁰ Peter Reason and Hilary Bradbury, *The Sage handbook of action research : participative inquiry and practice*, 2nd ed. (Los Angeles ; London: SAGE, 2008). 4.

²¹ J.M. Chevalier and D.J. Buckles, *Participatory Action Research: Theory and Methods for Engaged Inquiry* (UK: Routledge, 2013).

change and improve it. They do this by critically reflecting on the historical, political, cultural, economic, geographic and other contexts which make sense of it.²²

As Yoland Wadsworth discusses for PAR, in the Tongku Saveq Movement and Tongku Saveq School Indigenous Elders, Neqou, myself, and other participants became involved in the work and research of cultural survival. In the process of the action research, I gained a stronger sense that the knowledge we non-Indigenous people had received in education and daily life was very limited. The knowledge was socially constructed and manipulated by mainstream society. Place-based knowledge, including Indigenous knowledge, has been neglected by settlers' society and has become marginalized under colonization and modernization. In order to emancipate knowledge and power, I embraced the practice of PAR, and asserted the importance of accepting Indigenous knowledge as one of 'alternative and multiple ways of knowing'²³, which could offer different understandings of the world. I am aware that the epistemological system of Indigenous knowledge is different from the knowledge circulated in official education. In contrast to methods of scientific research, I understood that involving relevant Indigenous participants and community members would be necessary to enhance the depth of the research by involving their placed-based knowledge and experience in the process of implementing PAR:

Participatory action research is an applied research method that developed in contrast to the "professional expert model." Traditionally, the researcher enters the community or organization, gathers data, interprets the results, and later recommends the proposed action. In PAR, some of the members of the community under study are actively engaged in the quest for information, and their ideas influence future actions.²⁴

The main activities of the action research were the eco-cultural guides in Yushan National Park, and the teaching and learning of Indigenous knowledge at Tongku Saveq School. I contributed to these activities under the direction of Mr Soqluman and other Elders in Kalibuan community. Via cyclical process²⁵ of PAR which includes approaches of

²² Wadsworth, "What is Participatory Action Research? ".

²³ Evans et al., "Common Insights, Differing Methodologies: Toward a Fusion of Indigenous Methodologies, Participatory Action Research, and White Studies in an Urban Aboriginal Research Agenda," 896.

²⁴ Lynnell Simonson and Virginia Bushaw, "Participatory action research: Easier said than done," *The American Sociologist* 24, no. 1 (1993): 27-28.

²⁵ William Foote Whyte, *Participatory action research* (Newbury Park, Calif: Sage Publications, 1990).

participation, question, fieldwork, plan, action, reflection and so on, participants, Indigenous Elders, and researchers could contribute their experience, ideas, and knowledge to the work and research for cultural survival, and to reflect upon these matters together. My commitment to the research work of cultural survival thus fits the three key features of PAR:

First, a commitment to social transformation; second, a commitment to honoring the lived experience and knowledge of the participants and community involved; and, third, a commitment to collaboration and power sharing in the research.²⁶

I employed PAR to attempt to make contributions to emancipating knowledge and power, and improving social and environmental justice.

Australia

I focused on two areas in NSW in order to gain sufficient data for comparison. My methods were similar to those I used in my Kalibuan case study, but were achieved over a shorter period of time, and thus with fewer participants. The main difference methodologically between the Australian and Taiwan case studies is that the Taiwanese study builds on a much longer period of association. It was not possible for me to take such an in-depth approach because of numerous factors of time, the need to establish rapport, and my need to gain an understanding of Australian spoken vernacular language. Nevertheless, under the guidance and supervision of Professor Deborah Bird Rose, I began to locate some Australian Indigenous leaders and story-tellers, and investigated their efforts to preserve and promote their own local knowledge. I focussed on areas where there are sacred sites, national parks, and Indigenous cultural tours or camps. As stated, the two main areas in which I conducted research were: Gulaga (Mt Dromedary) and Gundabooka National Park (Bourke). As I had done in Taiwan, I placed myself under the primary guidance of several key Elders. The primary teachers were Phil Sullivan (Ngiyambaa Elder and Indigenous cultural heritage officer for Gundabooka and other parks in the Bourke region), and Uncle Max Harrison (Yuin

Patricia Maguire and University of Massachusetts at Amherst. Center for International Education., *Doing participatory research : a feminist approach* (Amherst, Mass.: Center for International Education, School of Education, University of Massachusetts, 1987).

²⁶ Peter Reason, "Three approaches to participative inquiry," in *Handbook of qualitative research*, ed. N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994).

Evans et al., "Common Insights, Differing Methodologies: Toward a Fusion of Indigenous Methodologies, Participatory Action Research, and White Studies in an Urban Aboriginal Research Agenda."

Elder, traditional custodian of Gulaga and Biamanga National Parks, author). These people were fluent in English, and were currently involved in managing Indigenous knowledge in relation to sacred sites and national parks.

In Australia, the field research I conducted was short term, involving participation in culture camps and tours as a researcher who was both participating and observing. Participating and observing are two components of the research method **participant observation**.²⁷ This method is well established in numerous disciplines that involve qualitative research with human beings. Unlike observing people, interactions, and events in daily life:

Participant observation in a research setting ... [requires] that the researcher carefully, systematically experiences and consciously records in detail the many aspects of a situation. Moreover, a participant observer must constantly analyse his or her observations for meaning (What is going on here?), and for evidence of personal bias (Am I seeing what I hoped to see and nothing else? Am I being judgemental and evaluative?) Finally, a participant observer does all of this because it is instrumental to the research goals, which is to say that the observer is present somewhere for particular reasons.²⁸

Through participating in the activities of cultural survival guided by the Indigenous Elders, I could directly immerse myself in the activities not only to observe but also to experience the whole process of cultural teaching and learning. 'Participant Observation is an active way of observation methods, which research not just watch and record, but also get involved in the group behaviour'.²⁹ As a participant in the Indigenous cultural camps and tours, I experienced and learned how and what Indigenous Elders transmitted to the participants. Significantly, participants included Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, all of whom were being taught by the Elders. This meant that a key aspect to the complexity of the research was that I was able to endeavour 'to see the world from the perspectives of various 'insiders.'"³⁰

After gaining the access to, and taking part in, the activities, I was able to engage with a variety of views. Further, I could promote intersubjective understandings between Indigenous

²⁷ Richard Phillips and Jennifer Johns, *Fieldwork for human geography* (London: SAGE, 2012). 167.

²⁸ Corrine Glesne, *Becoming qualitative researchers : an introduction*, 4th ed. (Boston, Mass.: Pearson, 2011). 67-68.

²⁹ Peter Marshall, *Research methods : how to design and conduct a successful project* (Plymouth: How To Books, 1997). 42.

³⁰ Phillips and Johns, *Fieldwork for human geography*: 167.

Elders, participants, and myself by becoming involving in the activities and then reflecting on the interactions. The research became truly intersubjective, as experts in the field explain:

Like many other writers, we argue that to talk about participant observation should not be to separate its 'subjective' and 'objective' components, but to talk about it as a means of developing *intersubjective* understandings between researcher and researched (Crapanzano 1986; Dwyer 1977; Spencer 1989; Tedlock 1991).³¹

Participant observation was an applicable and feasible method for me to use in Australia, as I had not previously been involved in the collaborative work with Indigenous people in Australia.

I am aware that I use the term participant observation in a way that differs from the long-term methods of ethnographic research. As Crang and Crook explain:

In its basic form it (participant observation) can be described as a three-stage process in which the researcher somehow, first, gains access to a particular community, second, lives and/or works among the people under study in order to grasp their world views and ways of life and, third, travels back to the academy to makes sense of this through writing up an account of that community's 'culture'.³²

I do not regard my research as ethnographic in the classic manner. Rather, I was seeking to learn about Indigenous people's knowledge in relation to cultural survival, national parks, and sustainability. The studies I conducted, while short term and ethnographically thin, were set in contexts that had already been designed by the Indigenous people to address exactly the questions I wished to investigate. They were extremely data-rich contexts.

A further aspect to the Australian studies is that my supervisor, Professor Rose, obtained funding for Neqou Soqluman to visit Australia. We took him to Bourke to visit Phil Sullivan, to see several Indigenous sacred sites and national parks, and to have dialogues about cultural survival with other Elders, including Uncle Max and Uncle Dootch Kennedy. I was present during many fantastic conversations, and did follow-up interviews with the participants. In this way, ideas from both countries were brought together not only in my research but also in

³¹ Mike Crang and Ian Cook, *Doing ethnographies* (London: SAGE, 2007). 37-38.

³² *Ibid.*, 37.

the hearts and minds of several gifted and impassioned Indigenous people. In the end, therefore, I was able to include an action research aspect to my research in Australia precisely through the inter-cultural dialogue brought about by Mr Soqluman's visit.

Key terms

I will introduce and define several key terms that explicate the main themes of this thesis, as I want to ensure that they are clear at the outset.

Cultural survival

Cultural survival can be understood from two perspectives. Literally, cultural survival means that some cultures from a time point in the past survive into the present, and are expected to survive on into the future, even though they have been disrupted and threatened (in context, usually by invasive forces). This idea was chosen to work with in my thesis because I wanted to investigate the tenacious vitality of Indigenous cultures and their resilience after severe external impacts from colonisation, natural resource exploitation and conservation, capitalism, etc. Because of Indigenous people's commitment to their own cultural survival, much of their precious knowledge and values have thus far been retained.

Cultural survival is increasingly regarded as collaborative work implemented by Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in order to sustain Indigenous cultures which are continuously threatened in modern societies following colonisation. Cultural survival is part of a wider movement to resist social and environmental injustice. The work and organisation for cultural survival lay stress on partnerships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, as well as on Indigenous empowerment, and Indigenous self-determination and autonomy. In 1972, Harvard University anthropologist Professor David Maybury-Lewis and his wife Pia founded *Cultural Survival*, a non-governmental organisation, which is dedicated to defending and promoting the rights, visions, voices and lives of Indigenous people:

We partner with Indigenous Peoples to protect their lands, languages, and cultures; educate their communities about their rights; and fight against their marginalization, discrimination, exploitation, and abuse.³³

Since then, the organisation has worked with Indigenous communities in America, Asia, Africa, and Australia to facilitate ‘mutual-understanding and problem-solving dialogues among indigenous groups and non-indigenous interests’.³⁴ In addition, *Cultural Survival* provides a comprehensive source of information concerning Indigenous Peoples and their issues from around the world. The renowned and award-winning magazine, *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, has been published for nearly 40 years. Authors are Indigenous people and professionals who do collaborative research or work closely with indigenous peoples.

In my research I discuss many of the problems caused by colonisation and its impacts on cultural survival, but my focus primarily is the kinds of impacts and the positive responses people struggle to achieve. Such responses include teaching and learning, hence my participation in relevant activities. The works and activities reveal how, why, and in what form Indigenous Elders struggle to pass on their cultural knowledge and values to both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people.

Indigenous knowledge

Indigenous knowledge is viewed as a distinctive set of knowledge systems developed and practiced by Indigenous people through generations. It is often contrasted with Western knowledge and scientific knowledge as these knowledge sets are known and used in settler and other societies. Based on definitions by a range of scholars,³⁵ the term Indigenous

³³ "What we do," Cultural Survival, <http://www.culturalsurvival.org/what-we-do>.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ D.M. Warren, L.J. Slikkerveer, and D. Brokensha, eds., *The cultural dimension of development: Indigenous knowledge systems* (London: Intermediate Technology Publications, 1995).

D.A. Posey, *Indigenous Knowledge and Ethics: A Darrell Posey Reader* (Taylor & Francis, 2004).

Ellen Roy, Peter Parkes, and Alan Bicker, eds., Ellen Roy, Peter Parkes, and Alan Bicker, eds., *Indigenous Environmental Knowledge and its Transformations: Critical Anthropological Perspectives* (London: Routledge: Taylor & Francis, 2000).

George J. Sefa Dei, Budd L. Hall, and Dorothy Goldin Rosenberg, eds., George J. Sefa Dei, Budd L. Hall, and Dorothy Goldin Rosenberg, eds., *Indigenous Knowledges in Global Contexts: Multiple Readings of Our World* (Canada: University of Toronto Press, 2000).

knowledge can be broadly defined as the local knowledge rooted, or embedded, in a particular place and a given (Indigenous) culture or society. Further, this knowledge has been sustained by Indigenous peoples over generations, and continuously developed to adapt to the requirements of changing conditions.

In addition to Indigenous knowledge, a number of other terms are generally accepted and used interchangeably to refer to the concept: such as traditional knowledge (TK), traditional ecological knowledge (TEK), Indigenous environmental knowledge (IEK), local knowledge (LK), Indigenous knowledge system (IKS).³⁶ These terms overlap, and are associated with different scholars who have developed and used them for certain reasons and in certain contexts. Among them, the applied ecologist Fikret Berkes's definition for TEK coincides well with the understanding of Indigenous knowledge that I developed as I was learning from Indigenous Elders. Berkes defined TEK as:

a cumulative body of knowledge, practice, and belief, evolving by adaptive processes and handed down through generations by cultural transmission, about the relationship of living beings (including humans) with one another and with their environment.³⁷

In the light of this definition, the unique knowledge system possessed by Indigenous people is very wide in its scope, including matters of human and non-human significance and value.

In the thesis I use the term Indigenous knowledge for several reasons. On one hand, the interchangeable terms which include either traditional or ecological are ambiguous and debatable. The word 'Tradition(al)' may seem to refer to something that happened and existed in the past. Traditional knowledge may be considered by outsiders as a form of static and unchanging knowledge which is no longer useful and valuable. Thus, some scholars such as D.M. Warren avoid using the term traditional and adopt the term Indigenous instead.³⁸ Similarly, the word ecological could be narrowly understood to correlate with an area of

³⁶ Roy, Parkes, and Bicker, *Indigenous Environmental Knowledge and its Transformations: Critical Anthropological Perspectives*, 2. Fikret Berkes, *Sacred Ecology: Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Resource Management* (Philadelphia: Taylor and Francis, 1999). 5-8. Christine Eriksen and Michael Adams, "Indigenous Environmental Knowledge," in *Encyclopedia of Geography*, ed. B. Warf (Sage Publications, 2010).

³⁷ Berkes, *Sacred Ecology: Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Resource Management* 5.

³⁸ Ibid.

Western science.³⁹ Biologists and scientists regard traditional ecological knowledge as a traditional science and focus on traditional skills and technology used by Indigenous people in natural resource management.⁴⁰

On the other hand, the term Indigenous knowledge can be understood broadly to contain traditional knowledge, traditional ecological knowledge, local knowledge owned and practiced by Indigenous people; while at the same time it further indicates that the knowledge endures through adaptations to local conditions and places, and is still known and relevant today.

In this thesis I focus on the Indigenous knowledge which is transmitted via the work and activities of cultural survival.

Relational sustainability

The concept of relational sustainability is relevant to the Elders in both Taiwan and Australia, and in all three case studies. Relational sustainability differs from the more general notion of sustainability as it is encountered in sustainable development, sustainable community and society, sustainable business and economics, sustainable agriculture, etc. Those ideas of sustainability focus on the capacity to endure and maintain something in a certain domain and from a single perspective. Each of these ways of focussing sustainability is narrow, and the inter-relatedness with others from various dimensions on the broader issues of sustainability are often neglected.

Within a world view of relational sustainability, persons (human and nonhuman) are relational creatures (beings). This is to say that beings are always in relationship – from before birth until after death, and throughout the whole of life. This world view contrasts markedly with the western vision of civil society in which selfhood is confined to humans, and the autonomous individual exists prior to social relations. Although this thesis does not aim to focus on theories of selfhood, it is worth noting that there is a large and compelling literature in the areas of social theory and gender studies that discuss the conceptualization of

³⁹ Ibid., 6. Also see M. Wohling, "The problem of scale in indigenous knowledge: a perspective from northern Australia," *Ecology and Society* 14, no. 1 (2009). <http://www.ecologyandsociety.org/vol14/iss1/art1/>.

⁴⁰ Berkes, *Sacred Ecology: Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Resource Management* 9-10.

self as 'relational self.' There is, for example, the literature on psychological theories of moral development which was sparked by Carol Gilligan's seminal study of gender and moral reasoning⁴¹, and which conjoin into an on-going research agenda. The arguments of relational self centre on that self is organized and developed through a person's relationships with others. In addition to relational self emphasising the entanglement with others, the notion of 'relational autonomy' spans the relationships between self and society:

The term 'relational autonomy' ... does not refer to a single unified conception of autonomy but is rather an umbrella term, designating a range of related perspectives. These perspectives are premised on a shared conviction, the conviction that persons are socially embedded and that agents' identities are formed within the context of social relationships and shaped by a complex of intersecting social determinants, such as race, class, gender and ethnicity. Thus the focus of relational approaches is to analyze the implications of intersubjective and social dimensions of selfhood and identity for conceptions of individual autonomy and moral and political agency.⁴²

There is also the literature on social theory that works with relational theories of society. The outstanding work of Seyla Benhabib, for example, also feminist in orientation, argues for a theory of self that is both enmeshed in relationships and capable of autonomous action.⁴³

The Indigenous worldviews that I have discussed in this thesis offer relationality as more than an approach to psychology and society. Rather, relationality is the way of the world, the way of life. It is part of all life, not simply human life. A number of scholars are using the term 'relational ontology' to capture the fullness of relationality in Indigenous societies. For instance, Suchet-Pearson, et al⁴⁴ explore the relational ontology indicated in the process of *miyapunu mapu* (turtle eggs) gathering and sharing through a journey to Bawaka Country⁴⁵, in

⁴¹ Carol Gilligan, *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development* (Cambridge, USA: Harvard University Press, 1982).

⁴² C. Mackenzie and N. Stoljar, *Relational Autonomy: Feminist Perspectives on Autonomy, Agency and the Social Self*, ed. C. Mackenzie and N. Stoljar (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). 4.

⁴³ Seyla Benhabib, *Situating the Self: Gender, Community and Postmodernism in Contemporary Ethics* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1992).

⁴⁴ S. Suchet-Pearson et al., "Caring as Country: Towards multi-directional, more-than-human engagements in natural resource management " *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* (in press).

⁴⁵ Country in Aboriginal English, as Suchet-Pearson, et al describe, it 'encompasses not just the territorial, land based notion of a home *land*, but all the diverse relationships and beings (including human beings as well as waters, seas and all that is tangible and non-tangible) which interconnect together in a mutually caring and multidirectional manner to create and nurture a *homeland*.'

North East Arnhem Land, Australia. As the foundational concept *Wetj* (simply translated as sharing), which underpins Yolŋu relational ontology, is circulated by Yolŋu people and taught to the authors, the relational ontology is understood in this way:

Firstly, all humans and non-humans, actors, actants, everything material, affective, all processes and relationships, are not *things*, they are *beings*, creative and vital. Such beings are not static but are always in the process of becoming. Secondly, the nature of this *being* is relational. The only way beings can become, can exist, is through relationships.⁴⁶

The Yolŋu relational ontology implies that all diverse beings in the world come into 'existence through relationships'.⁴⁷ All beings, including human beings, link with each other and relationally exist in the web of connectedness. Thus, differing from Western ontology of separation⁴⁸, the Indigenous people's relational ontology tells that:

There isn't an easy distinction between human and nature... Humans are not the focal point of Country. In place of a language of separation, human-centeredness and control, there is a language of mutuality, of connectedness, of being-together, diversely, respectfully in the world.⁴⁹

Suchet-Pearson, et al suggest that for sustainable futures the Indigenous people's ways of 'knowing and being the more-than-human relationality of the world should be taken seriously by 'not merely Caring *for* Country, but Caring *as* Country.'⁵⁰

Similarly, relationality can also be analysed under the term 'connectivity', as Jessica Weir has done in a recent article concerning Indigenous people's embodied experience along the Murray River in south-east Australia. 'Connectivity is a way of being in the world as described to me by traditional owners they refer to it as connectedness or being

⁴⁶ Suchet-Pearson et al., "Caring as Country: Towards multi-directional, more-than-human engagements in natural resource management".

⁴⁷ Ibid. Suchet-Pearson, et al also draw the inspiration from what Deborah Rose conceptualises as 'a self-organising system' and Tim Ingold as a 'domain of entanglement'.

⁴⁸ Va Plumwood's work, being part of a broader eco-feminist critique (see for example, Carolyn Merchant's *The Death of Nature*), identifies and argues the problematic ideology of dualisms. The binary of human and nature emerges from an ontology of separation, and therefore contrasts strongly with the Aboriginal concept of country, which emerges from an ontology of relatedness (or relationality).

⁴⁹ Suchet-Pearson et al., "Caring as Country: Towards multi-directional, more-than-human engagements in natural resource management".

⁵⁰ Ibid.

connected.⁵¹ The term ‘connectivity’ is also used in the academic literature of ecology and environmental philosophy to emphasise the interconnected relationships among all species and with their environment.⁵² Nevertheless, as discussed by Weir, humans are often neglected and excluded in the thinking of ecological connectivity.⁵³ Weir considers that ‘an expanded connectivity is needed to (re)position humans *within* a web of life sustaining relationships.’⁵⁴ We could gain a deep and better understanding of the expanded connectivity through learning Indigenous Knowledge. As Weir points out, ‘the traditional owners speak of a connectivity that encompasses, and goes beyond, food web dependencies to include stories, histories, feelings, shared responsibilities and respect.’⁵⁵ Thus, Indigenous Knowledge offer alternative ways to (re-)connect nature and culture that are hyper-separated by the Western ideology of dualism. ‘Seeing the world as connectivity addresses the separation of culture and nature because connectivity places people (and their culture) *within* relationships with the environment (or natural world).’⁵⁶ Indigenous people’s understanding of the world implies that human beings and other beings in the natural world are interconnected with each other. They affect and sustain each other. Hence, maintaining the connectivity with more-than-human world is the key for survival.

Indigenous people’s holistic philosophy and knowledge always expresses, implicitly or explicitly, that all is inter-related and inter-connected. One must rely on the other. One could survive only if others survive; therefore one’s sustainability has to be dependent on others’ sustainability as well. Anthropologist Steve J. Langdon proposed a term ‘relational sustainability’ to define what he observed and understood as a set of concepts and practices developed by the Tlingit people through their sustainable interactions with salmon and other

⁵¹ J. K. Weir, "Connectivity," *Australian Humanities Review (online journal)*, no. 45 (<http://www.australianhumanitiesreview.org/archive/Issue-November-2008/weir.html>) (2008): 153.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid., 154.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 155.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 159.

reciprocal relationships between humans, non-human beings, and cosmic cycles.⁵⁷ In his words, 'This practice of relational sustainability is premised on shared sociality and engagement'.⁵⁸

Using the term relational sustainability, I find that three aspects of its meaning are central to the thesis: 1) that ecologies function relationally, and those relationships must be sustained if country is to be sustained; 2) that human societies work relationally, and those relationships must be sustained as an essential process of cultural survival; 3) that in a relational world there are no firm and fast boundaries – Indigenous cultural survival is sustained in relationship with non-Indigenous people.

The philosophical and practical system of relational sustainability constructed by Indigenous people maintains a subtle and complex network of inter-relationships among humans and the natural world, and has become a key for sustainable living. I further explore the concept of relational sustainability in my case studies. The relational sustainability conveyed and practiced by Indigenous Elders is an approach to sustaining life that seeks to ensure that gifts given by the Great Beings⁵⁹ will continue and endure to be given and received.

Significance

In this thesis, I analyse core values transmitted through works and activities of cultural survival. In line with the concept of relational sustainability, I work with the proposition that Indigenous knowledge is not merely like something collected and conserved in books, but rather is a living thing for Indigenous people. Core values reveal the intertwined and intimate relationship between human and non-human beings, and are based on the premise that people are shaped through their practices of belonging. Shaping belonging to a place through the

⁵⁷ Steve J. Langdon, "Relational Sustainability: Indigenous Northern North American Logic of Engagement," in *the 102nd meeting of the American Anthropological Association* (Chicago, IL Nov, 2003). Steve J Langdon, "Ish: Exploring a Tlingit Relational Concept and Practices with Salmon. ," in *Society for Applied Anthropology Annual Meeting* (Vancouver, British Columbia March, 2006). Steve J Langdon, "Traditional Knowledge and Harvesting of Salmon by Huna and Hinyaa Tlingit," in *Fisheries Resource Monitoring Program, Final Report (Project No. 02-104)*, (Anchorage, Alaska.: U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, Office of Subsistence Management, 2006). <http://alaska.fws.gov/asm/pdf/fisheries/reports/02-104final.pdf>.

⁵⁸ Langdon, "Traditional Knowledge and Harvesting of Salmon by Huna and Hinyaa Tlingit," 164.

⁵⁹ For further analysis, see Chapter 11.

revival, practice and communication of Indigenous knowledge may be a key to improving social inclusion and reconciliation. I have been thinking that if knowledge is power and Indigenous knowledge is wisdom, the power of Indigenous knowledge derived from place should not only empower Indigenous people to confront the impacts of social exclusion, but could equally contribute to the search for the ways to deal with looming ecological crises. The key values discovered in this research, which have been practiced by Indigenous people over generations, surely indicate a sophisticated relational sustainability.

Finally, my research is intended to open dialogues and build bridges between Taiwan and Australia, East and West, Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, and depolarise concepts of colonisation and decolonisation, localisation and globalisation, etc. The research thus seeks to integrate environmental philosophy and social justice, and to approach sustainable co-existence between cultural survival and the survival of nature. Through the practice and communication of Indigenous knowledge by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, social reconciliation and ecological sustainability may be improved. The dialogue started in the course of my research will contribute, I hope, to ongoing conversations.

Overview of chapters

In addition to the Introduction and Conclusion, the thesis consists of 11 chapters organised into four main parts.

Part 1: Australasian settler societies: Isla Formosa and Terra Australasia

In Chapter 1 and 2, I inspect the historical and social background of Taiwan and Australia as two settler societies in Australasia. Settlers' stereotypes of Indigenous people, and the different usages and values of land between settlers and Indigenous people are respectively reviewed and discussed through analysing earlier colonial histories and relevant literature. Further, I evaluate how the critical impacts of colonisation influenced cultural survival in a changing and challenging society and environment. In Chapter 3, I explore the concepts of national parks and nature conservation. Functioning as another mode of colonisation, the problematic system of Yellowstone National Park, the first national park in the world, was copied and embedded in both Taiwan and Australia. The ideas and policies of nature conservation oppressed Indigenous livelihood and traditional culture, and caused tense

situations between national parks and Indigenous people when the parks were established. The development and changes in national parks are briefly overviewed.

Part 2: The ancient covenant and the heart of the hunter: Tongku Saveq and Kalibuan

The tradition of storytelling amongst Bunun people and the transformation of the Kalibuan village after forced relocation are discussed in Chapter 4 to show how the villagers constantly struggled to find a balance between economic and cultural survival. After making an ascent of the mountain Tongku Saveq guided by Neqou Soqluman, a group of us experienced the significance and sacredness of the highest mountain in Taiwan, and learned more about its meaning to Bunun people. Since the end of 2007, Tongku Saveq School based in Kalibuan village has become a place-based educational opportunity for cultural survival. In Chapter 5, I scrutinise the Indigenous knowledge embedded in the ancient stories and practiced in daily life by the Elders, and show that the knowledge is being represented and passed down via the works and activities of cultural survival.

In addition, the case of Yushan National Park and the issue of Indigenous hunting are raised and discussed in Chapter 6. The creation of the national park resulted in cultural loss and degradation. In fact, the Indigenous knowledge and philosophy held by Bunun hunters and Elders are precious for both nature and cultural survival. Sharing, the core value transmitted by them is analysed to explore how Bunun people maintained good relationships with their people, non-human beings and natural environment to sustain their livelihood.

Part 3: Recuperative reconciliation: Gulaga and Gundabooka

In Chapter 7, I first discuss the specific histories of colonisation in Gulaga and Gundabooka in NSW, and then look at the establishment of national parks and the implementation of joint management for reconciliation in these two areas. My main questions concern the development of national parks and their activities in relation to cultural survival. Moreover, in Chapter 8 I draw on my experience of participation in cultural survival activities to illuminate the work of Indigenous Elders in passing down their culture and knowledge to participants. The main elements of Indigenous knowledge such as Dreaming and the core values such as connectedness and respect transmitted by Indigenous Elders in Gulaga and Gundabooka are discussed and analysed in Chapter 9.

Part 4: Good stories and Great Givers

In Chapter 10, I examine the similarities and differences between Taiwan and Australia concerning impacts of colonisation of Indigenous people, land, and culture. Colonisers in both nations developed stereotypical concepts of the natives and land, and exploited them in aggressive ways. There are also differences: the varied policies of colonisation and national parks in my case studies resulted in different impacts in Taiwan and Australia on cultural and natural survival.

In Chapter 11, I compare and contrast the formation and contents of Indigenous Knowledge in relation to myths and laws. The ideas of Relational Sustainability conveyed in creation stories, traditional law, gift economy, and core values are analysed. I argue that Indigenous gift-economy, as a broader view of gift economy, should be viewed and understood from not only their material practice but also their beliefs and philosophy relating to Supreme powers, the Great Givers. The Indigenous philosophy of the gift plays a crucial role in understanding the relevant values through which Indigenous people shape and practice relational sustainability. My analysis proposes that beyond gift economy, relational sustainability entails what might be called a 'gift ecology'. This analysis reveals that ecological and cultural survival are interdependent and reciprocal to an extent that they may best be thought as one and the same thing. The mediating relationship is the gift.

Part 1:

Australasian Settler Societies: Isla Formosa and Terra Australia

Chapter 1

Indigenous people, Land and Colonisation in Taiwan

by Hau-Ren Hung

誰迫使原住民離開原本的家
使這片土地失去美麗的顏色

They forced the Aborigines out of their homelands
And stripped the island of its luminous green colour, its
beautiful shimmer.

誰掩蓋這片土地既有的故事
使島上住民忘記古老的靈魂

They took the land's stories and buried them deep
To make the people forget its ancient spirit.

曾經以為每個人都是炎黃子孫
曾經以為原住民都是野蠻無知
後來了解
文明的暴力才是真正的野蠻

Once they said
Everyone has the Yellow Emperor as ancestor.*
Once they said
To be Aboriginal is to be an unrefined savage.
Now we can see
Civilisation's violence is true savagery.

誰來述說那些沒有被述說的故事啊
讓人們知道這片土地與土地上的萬物為何是現在這樣
讓人們可以思索過去的錯誤傷痛如何修復不再重蹈覆轍
讓人們知道未來可以如何善待彼此

It's time the old stories were told:
How all beings found their own way of being on
earth,
How past errors and wounds must be set straight
To get us off the old disaster highway.
How respecting each other we walk together.

回顧過往
不同故事交織出這片土地的真相
我們知道這裡的人們從哪裡來 走向何處
我們可以找到文化的價值
親近人們的善
親吻到土地的芬芳

If we look back from here
Earth's history was always an interweaving of stories,
A trying to answer where from and where now.
To touch the core of a culture's value
Is to bring goodness closer,
To receive the fragrance of earth as a kiss.
So we can kiss the fragrance of the earth.

* 'Descendants of Yan Emperor and Yellow Emperor (炎黃子孫)' is an ancient Chinese term to refer to the Han Chinese. After the KMT (Chinese Nationalist Party 國民黨) government moved to Taiwan, all the people living in Taiwan including the Indigenous people were deliberately educated to recognise themselves as the descendants of the Han Chinese. The term Han (漢族) generally refers to those people whose ancestors migrated to Taiwan from mainland China.

1.1 Brief overview of colonisation in Taiwan

Taiwan is the homeland for Indigenous people who have been living there for at least 6,000 years. Far from being isolated, it is now viewed as an important transit centre for trading networks in East Asia. Earlier Europeans knew the name of the island as *Formosa*, which means beautiful island in Portuguese. This name was given by Portuguese explorers in the early 1540s when they encountered Taiwan on a voyage and were thrilled by the beauty of the hills of the island.⁶⁰

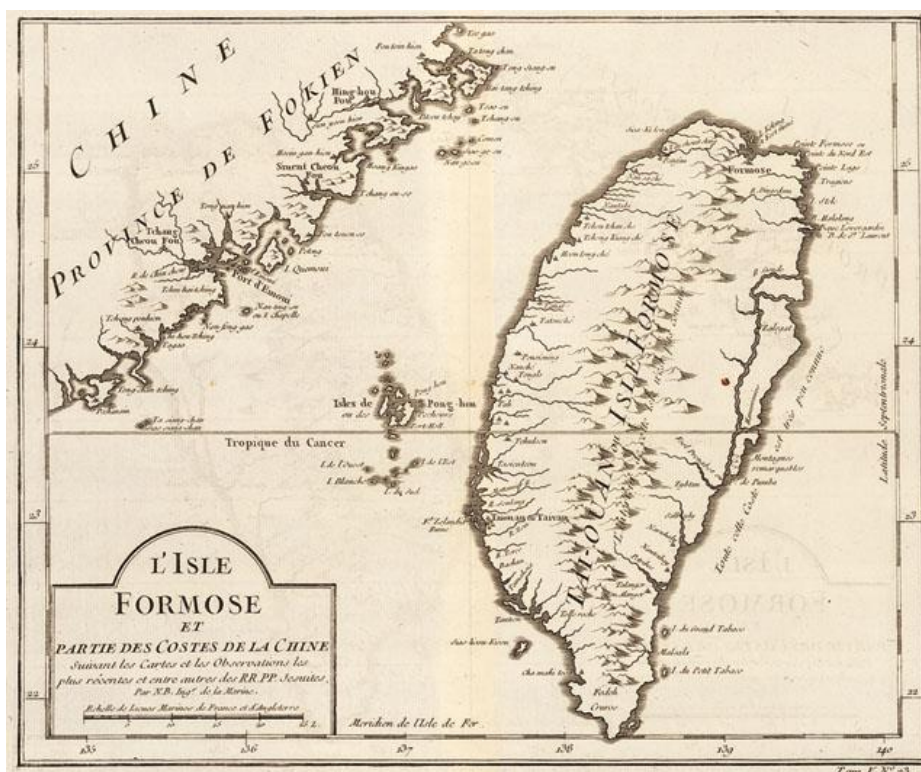


Figure 1.1: Map of Formosa⁶¹

⁶⁰ Wen-hsiung Hsu, "From aboriginal island to Chinese frontier : the development of Taiwan before 1683," in *China's island frontier : studies in the historical geography of Taiwan*, ed. Ronald G. Knapp (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii : Research Corp. of the University of Hawaii, 1980), 10-11.

⁶¹ Nicolas Bellin, "L'Isle de Formose et parties des costes de la Chine," (Taiwan: Taiwan National Repository of Cultural Heritage, 1763).

(http://nrch.cca.gov.tw/metadataserverDevp/DOFiles/jpg/00/02/72/34/cca100006-pm-thm2002_6_60-0001-i.jpg)

Since the 17th century, many countries have shown interest in the island and sought to occupy and possess it. The Dutch in 1624 turned the first page of colonial history in Taiwan. Afterwards colonial governments from different countries successively came to Taiwan and took over the island. In 1626, the Spanish arrived and occupied northern Taiwan, but they did not stay long and were expelled by the Dutch in 1642. In 1661, the remaining Ming Dynasty (明朝) defenders under the command of Zheng Chenggong⁶² (鄭成功) defeated and expelled the Dutch, so the Dutch dominance was ended and Chinese colonisation began.⁶³ In 1683, the Qing (清朝) Government overthrew Ming Dynasty defenders and descendants in Taiwan and took over the island. In 1895, the Qing Government in China was forced to sign the Treaty of Shimonoseki⁶⁴ (馬關條約) and ceded Taiwan and other islands to Japan. Taiwan remained a Japanese colony until Japan surrendered Taiwan in 1945 at the end of WWII. In 1947, the Kuomintang (KMT) led by Chiang Kai-shek (蔣中正) was defeated by the communists in China and retreated to Taiwan where the party established itself as a one-party authoritarian state, only allowing reforms on a gradual basis. In all, the complex colonial history of Taiwan can be generally divided into the following periods: Spanish era (1626–1642), Dutch era (1624–1662), Ming era (1662–1683), Qing era (1683–1895), Japanese era (1895–1945), and KMT era (1945–present). The approximately 400 years of colonisation and the diversity of the colonisers has immensely influenced Taiwan and its inhabitants in all aspects.

1.2 Naming Indigenous people of Taiwan: stereotyping and binary influences

People who do not know the history of Taiwan may think the native inhabitants are Chinese people. Such a mistaken idea was also embedded in the minds of most people in Taiwan, even including Indigenous people, who were educated during the period of the KMT government

⁶² Zheng Chenggong, also named Koxinga (國姓爺), was the first Han Chinese leader to hold political power in Taiwan. Local people built the Shrine of Koxinga (延平郡王祠) in Tainan (台南) to worship him as national hero.

⁶³ Macabe Keliher and Yonghe Yu, *Out of China or Yu Yonghe's tale of Formosa : a history of seventeenth-century Taiwan* (Taipei: SMC pub., 2003). 8.

⁶⁴ Treaty of Shimonoseki, ending the First Sino-Japanese War, was signed between the Empire of Japan and the Qing Dynasty of China. This event had a huge impact on Taiwan, as it marked the end of approximately 200 years of Qing control in Taiwan.

to believe that their ancestors too had arrived recently from mainland China. Nevertheless, the facts are that Taiwan:

... is an island once exclusively inhabited by aborigines who for the most part spoke Malayo-Polynesian tongues and showed strong cultural affinities with peoples in the Philippines, Indonesian, and Malaysia. Whatever links they may have had with the people on the China mainland, they were certainly decisively different from the Han Chinese.⁶⁵

Prior to Chinese invasion, the native inhabitants of the island of Taiwan were unrelated to those who lived in mainland China. Based on anthropological and linguistic studies, they are members of the Austronesian language family,⁶⁶ the most widely extended language family in the world. Taiwanese Indigenous languages are ancestral to all the members of the family known as Malayo-Polynesian, or extra-Formosan.⁶⁷ And of course, Taiwan's Indigenous people had been sighted and documented since the early 17th century by foreigners from China, Holland, Spain, America, England, Japan, and elsewhere. In early Chinese writings, Taiwanese Indigenous people were generally called 'fang 番' (savages), 'man-yi 蠻夷' (barbarians), while in European writings they were usually called 'savages'.

Traditional Chinese geography allocated a position to the 'southern dwarves' and another position to the 'northern barbarians'. Indigenous people in Taiwan were named 'eastern savages' (*dong fang* 東番), and were regarded as wild people living on the island to the east of mainland China. The foreigners who went to Taiwan were surprised by their 'uncivilised'⁶⁸ lifestyle. From their 'civilised' eyes, Taiwanese Indigenous people were usually regarded as wild, innocent, uncivilised people. The civilisation-savagery binary thus groups Taiwan's

⁶⁵ I-shou Wang, "Cultural contact and the migration of Taiwan's aborigines : a historical perspective," in *China's island frontier : studies in the historical geography of Taiwan*, ed. Ronald G. Knapp (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii : Research Corp. of the University of Hawaii, 1980), 31.

⁶⁶ The Austronesian-speaking peoples are various populations in Southeast Asia and Oceania that speak languages of the Austronesian family, extending from Taiwan to New Zealand, from Madagascar to Hawaii and Easter Island. The territories populated by Austronesian-speaking peoples are known collectively as Austronesia.

⁶⁷ David Blundell, *Austronesian Taiwan : linguistics, history, ethnology, and prehistory* (Taipei, Taiwan: SMC Pub., 2001). Also, Jen-kuei Li (李壬癸), *Austronesian Peoples of Taiwan and thier Migrations (臺灣南島民族的族群與遷徙)* (Taipie: Chang-Min Culture, 1997).

⁶⁸ For most of the foreign colonisers and settlers, the Aboriginal people apparently seemed to lack the appearances that met their ideas of 'civilization', such as house, clothes, writing, the food, and their agriculture. According to the Oxford dictionary, 'uncivilized' is used to refer to the stage of human social development and organization which is not socially, culturally, or morally advanced. It is a controversial term which devalues the Aboriginal society, as they do have a deliberate organization and knowledge of their sustainable living style.

Indigenous people together, and differentiates them from Han Chinese. Furthermore, a second binary was also adopted and roughly applied to categorise Taiwan's Indigenous people into two groups. In the early colonial time of the Qing Dynasty period they were known as 'native savages' (土番) and 'wild savages' (野番). In the later colonial period of the Qing Dynasty, they were known as 'cooked savages' (熟番 *shu-fang*) and 'raw savages' (生番 *shen-fang*). Later, during Japanese colonisation, they became known as 'plains tribes'⁶⁹ (*pinpuzu* 平埔族) and 'high mountain tribes' (*gaoshanzu* 高山族). Subsequently, during the KMT's government, they were known as 'plains tribes' and 'mountain compatriots' (*shandi tongbao* 山地同胞).⁷⁰ Not until 1994 were the native people in Taiwan given a respectful form of address as 'Indigenous people,' (*yuan zhu min* 原住民); they were still divided into two groups 'plains Aborigines' (平地原住民) and 'mountain Aborigines' (山地原住民) especially for status recognition of census registration and election in administrative management.⁷¹

In *Taiwan's Imagined Geography*, Emma Teng pointed out that the geographical binary that divided 'the Taiwan indigenes into two distinct groups would have lasting influence on the ethnological classification of the Formosans'.⁷² Furthermore, the binary created by invaders had a significant effect on colonisers and their understandings of landscape, as well as on the Indigenous people's cultural survival. For example, the term 'cooked savages' refers to the Indigenous people living on the plains along the western coast of the island. Most of them were conquered, civilised and even assimilated by invaders. By contrast, 'raw savages' were the Indigenous people who were wild, untamed, uncivilised and living in the mountains. Later, the dualistic idea of 'cooked' and 'raw' was applied to colonisers' land policies beginning in the time of the Qing Dynasty:

⁶⁹ I am aware that the term 'tribe' is adopted by traditional anthropologists to classify Indigenous peoples. It could be offensive to some Indigenous people and needs to be used carefully. Instead of using the word 'tribe,' in the thesis, I use 'people' when I refer to a group of Indigenous people who share same language and culture, such as Bunun people, Yuin people, etc. I also adopt the contemporary usage of 'nation' instead of 'tribe' in the thesis. However, I maintain the usage of 'tribe' (while it is mentioned) in the historical context.

⁷⁰ Emma Teng, *Taiwan's imagined geography: Chinese colonial travel writing and pictures, 1683-1895*, Harvard East Asian monographs (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center: Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2004). 122.

⁷¹ "Status Act For Indigenous Peoples," Laws & Regulations of Database of Republic of China, <http://law.moj.gov.tw/Eng/LawClass/LawAll.aspx?PCode=D0130001>.

⁷² Teng, *Taiwan's imagined geography: Chinese colonial travel writing and pictures, 1683-1895*: 122.

Since the terrain that fell outside the ‘raw savage’ boundary did not come under Qing administrative control, this area soon became known not only as ‘beyond the boundary’ (*jiewai*) but also as ‘beyond the pale’. Taiwan was thereby effectively divided down the middle, split between ‘cooked territory’ (*shujing*) and ‘raw territory’ (*shengjing*). The distinction between raw and cooked territory was not only a distinction between unploughed (*shengdi*) and ploughed land but also a distinction between a domain of savagery and the domain of civilized, or semi-civilized peoples, ... the 1722 boundary policy made official the role of the Central Mountain Range as a barrier.⁷³

Geographically, ‘the only line that separates the “raw” from the “cooked” is where the hills begins and the plains end’.⁷⁴ The boundary not only distinguished the hostile groups from the amenable groups of Indigenous people, but classified the land into the undeveloped and developed terrain. Chinese colonisation was focussed on the ‘cooked’ or plains country. As a result, Mountain Aborigines’ traditional cultures were not greatly disturbed or threatened until Japanese invasion.

1.3 Indigenous people of Taiwan in others’ eyes

In the early writings on Taiwan and its inhabitants, Indigenous people were often viewed as inferior and aggressive. The authors’ stereotyped and even imaginary descriptions of Taiwan’s Indigenous people reflect their negative thoughts and attitudes to native people, and later affected colonisers’ impressions and misunderstandings of Indigenous people. In the following section, I will take some examples of the descriptions written by foreign authors from the early 17th century to the 20th century to analyse the formation of impressions and stereotypes of Indigenous people in Taiwan.

Indigenous people of Taiwan from Chinese writers’ perspectives

Records of the Eastern Savages (東番記 *Dongfan ji*), composed by a Ming dynasty Chinese writer Chen Di (陳第) (1540–1617), is recognised as the earliest extant record of Taiwan’s Indigenous people. In 1603 he accompanied the Ming Navy led by Admiral Shen, Yourong

⁷³ Ibid., 140.

⁷⁴ Keliher and Yu, *Out of China or Yu Yonghe's tale of Formosa : a history of seventeenth-century Taiwan*: 109.

(沈有容) on a punitive expedition against Japanese pirates. He was the first to name Taiwan's Indigenous people 'Eastern Savages'.⁷⁵ At the beginning of his account, he wrote: 'No way to know the origin of Eastern Savages... various tribes divided into communities. ...bold and combative by nature...' ⁷⁶ Then he described the Eastern Savages practice of headhunting: 'taking off flesh and leaving skulls hanging high on the door of their house, and the one who had more skulls hanging on the door would be called a warrior'.⁷⁷ The first paragraph of the account reveals that the Chinese people in Ming Dynasty knew very little about Taiwan's Indigenous people. As Teng explains:

During his twenty-two-day stay on the island, Chen Di covered the terrain from Tainan along the southeast coast to Kaohsiung.... Although Taiwan was inhabited at this time by several different groups, Chen Di was not fully cognizant of this diversity and thus spoke of the indigenes generically as 'Eastern Savages'.⁷⁸

In his short visit to Taiwan, the native people he saw and referred to were some of plains Indigenes only. He had not learned that there were other Indigenous peoples living in the mountains and east coast of the island. In addition to headhunting, Indigenous people's appearance, clothing, agriculture, hunting and gathering, marriage, funeral, and other customs are briefly portrayed in the following paragraphs of *Records of Eastern Savages*. Their cultures and lifestyles differed from those of the Chinese, surprising Chen Di and making him wonder about Taiwan's Indigenous people:

Strange indeed, these Eastern Savages! The island is so close ... Yet here there are still people who do not have a calendar, who do not have officials and superiors, who go about naked, and who use a knotted string for calculations. Is that not strange?"⁷⁹

In Chen Di's eye, and under his pen, they were strange, uncivilised, and innocent people.⁸⁰ The crudeness and primitiveness of Taiwan's Indigenous people were thus represented, in Teng's words:⁸¹

⁷⁵ Ibid., 8. Also Teng, *Taiwan's imagined geography : Chinese colonial travel writing and pictures, 1683-1895*: 62.

⁷⁶ Di Chen (陳第), "Record of the Eastern Savages (東番記)," in *Words of Praise from the Taiwan Sea (閩海贈言)* (Taipei: Taiwan Yin-Hang, 1959), 24.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 25.

⁷⁸ Teng, *Taiwan's imagined geography : Chinese colonial travel writing and pictures, 1683-1895*: 63.

⁷⁹ Chen, "Record of the Eastern Savages (東番記)." The original texts are in Chinese. I use the English translation in Teng's book. Teng, *Taiwan's imagined geography : Chinese colonial travel writing and pictures, 1683-1895*: 60.

Chen Di's account exemplifies how the rhetoric of privation and primitivism expressed Chinese ambivalence toward the Taiwan indigenes. ... Chen underscored the indigenes' cultural inferiority in relation to the Chinese.⁸²

Chen suggested that the Eastern Savages should be educated to acquire a calendar and writing system in order to make them more like the Chinese. This proposal of homogenisation aimed to eliminate cultural differences. Chen's account thus expresses the ideology of one emperor and unification (統一) in Chinese expansionism, an ideology that Dr. Emma Teng argued is similar to the Europeans' idea of imperialism and colonialism.⁸³

After the Qing government defeated Ming Dynasty defenders and occupied Taiwan, Lin Qiang-guan (林謙光), the first instructor of Confucian school in Taiwanfu⁸⁴ (Tainan), wrote *Brief Notes on Taiwan* (Taiwan Jilue 台灣記略 1690). In his notes, cultural inferiority of plains Aborigines was briefly portrayed.

The native savages (tufan) ... are a stupid people. They have no family names, no ancestral worship, and apart from their own father and mother, they do not recognize [kin such as] paternal or maternal uncles. They are unfamiliar with calendar. Moreover, they do not know their own ages. By nature they like to kill people.”⁸⁵

Lin's description reveals the fact that Chinese people were unfamiliar with Taiwan's Indigenous people, and that their ignorance of cultural differences led to inevitable misunderstandings and consequent discrimination. In fact, Indigenous people have their naming systems, spiritual beliefs and rites, and strong recognition of kinship. They do not regard killing people as an interest or a pastime. Instead, Indigenous people have strict laws, customs, and knowledge systems by which to maintain social order and sustain their lives.

⁸⁰ Later on other foreign writers described the Aboriginal people as more hostile, wild and even beast-like.

⁸¹ Teng, *Taiwan's imagined geography : Chinese colonial travel writing and pictures, 1683-1895*: 61.

⁸² Ibid., 63.

⁸³ Ibid., 7-15.

⁸⁴ Located in Tainan, Taiwan Fu (臺灣府, Taiwan prefecture) was the highest level of administrative authority in Taiwan during 1684–1885 of the Qing Dynasty. Tainan was the oldest capital city where the early settlers of Han Chinese first arrived and settled.

⁸⁵ Qian-Quang Lin (林謙光), *Brief notes on Taiwan* (台灣紀略), vol. 104 (Taipei: Taiwan yinhang, 1966). 61. Here, I use Teng's English translation in her book. Teng, *Taiwan's imagined geography : Chinese colonial travel writing and pictures, 1683-1895*: 68.

The most well-known survey of the island and Indigenous people during the Qing occupation is *Pihai Jiyou* (埤海紀遊 *Small Sea Travel Diaries*) (1696) written by a Chinese writer Yu Yong-he (郁永河). In the winter of 1696, imperial gunpowder stores in Fuzhou (福州), a south-east coastal city in mainland China, exploded. Seeking to make up for what they had lost, officials of the Qing Dynasty heard that abundant sulphur was found around Beitou (北投) along Tamsui River (淡水河) in northern Taiwan, so Yu made his voyage to Taiwanfu.



Figure 1.2: Taiwan Fu (台灣府) is circled in red in the Qing Dynasty map of Taiwan⁸⁶

The Dutch and the Spanish were also eager to get into the market. After his arrival in Tainan, Yu Yong-he rode in oxcarts up to Taipei to investigate if any sulphur existed. He also recorded what he observed and encountered during his travels ‘to inform Chinese officials and literati

⁸⁶ Chong-Zhi Mo (莫崇志), "Map of Taiwan (臺灣全圖)," (China: Guang-Xu Hui-Dian (光緒會典), 1899). (<http://unlimitedtainan.blogspot.tw/2009/03/1107.html#links>)

about a land and a people they had no contact with and hardly knew'.⁸⁷ He was aware of different Indigenous peoples:

Yu differentiated various groups of natives by selectively employing the privation and primitivism. During the course of his journey up the western coast of the island, Yu encountered a wide range of indigenous peoples, some of whom he regarded as vile and uncouth, and others whom he found fairly civilized. He also noted that whereas the indigenes dwelling close to the Chinese settlements on the plains were generally accommodating to the Chinese, those dwelling in the mountains were often hostile. To account for these differences, Yu constructed two categories: the 'native savages' (tufan) and the 'wild savages' (yefan).⁸⁸

Yu classified various indigenous peoples into two groups according to a binary opposition indicating that native savages who lived close to Chinese were more civilised and tamed than the wild savages:

The wild savages live in nests in holes in the ground and they drink blood and eat hair. There are many types. They can climb very steep grades and move quickly through the weeds. They chase monkeys and catch horrible wild animals. The plains savages fear them and do not dare enter their territory. The wild savages are especially fierce and strong; they often come out to burn houses and kill people ... When they kill, they take the head, and when they return they cook it ... they have no understanding of civilization. They are real animals! Like a tiger or leopard, if you run into one it will eat you up; or a snake that will bite if you try to catch it. But if you leave them in their nests they will not have poisonous thoughts. So leave them to live and frolic in the wind and fog.⁸⁹

This contempt for 'wild savages' which constructed them as a non-human race was degrading and distorting. Yu suggested Chinese people should stay away from 'wild savages'. That viewpoint subsequently became the basis of the Qing Government's decision to set a barrier between cooked savages and raw savages. Government control was not extended beyond the boundary.

In addition to the depiction of native and wild savages, Yu described Zheng and Dutch brutality and massacres. He met some native people and from them he heard violent stories of former colonisers:

⁸⁷ Yonghe Yu (郁永河), *Small sea travel diaries : Yu Yonghe's records of Taiwan (裨海紀遊)*, trans. Macabe Keliher (Taipei: SMC Publishing, 2004). xiii.

⁸⁸ Teng, *Taiwan's imagined geography : Chinese colonial travel writing and pictures, 1683-1895*: 72.

⁸⁹ Yu, *Small sea travel diaries : Yu Yonghe's records of Taiwan (裨海紀遊)*: 104.

Originally, [the Taiwan Aborigines] knew no superiors. Then, in the period of the Red Hair Barbarians [the Dutch], the plains savages were repressed and forced to labour and pay taxes and did not dare disobey. If they broke the law and murdered, then their nests would be extinguished so that even their larvae would not be left. When the Zhengs took over, the laws were also unusually severe, putting to death the savages, leaving not even their babies, and burning their fields and houses to ash.⁹⁰

These brutal massacres had forced rebellious tribes either to surrender or to migrate. Otherwise, whole communities would have been exterminated.⁹¹ For example, groups of resisting plains Aborigines in Taichung⁹² (台中) refused to pay heavy taxes and to go along with the Zheng rule of carrying documents and supplies over great distances. In 1670, Zheng sent a force from the south to Taichung to punish those tribes:

They 'killed until almost no one was left,' Yu says the inhabitants recall... They fled to the coast to hide while the surrounding tribes who heard of the massacre moved far inland. Order was maintained and obedience instilled. The rest of the village dared not to rebel.⁹³

Through Yu's interviews with Indigenous people it has been possible to gain a glimpse of the ruthlessness of the Dutch and the Zheng colonisers.

Image of Indigenous people of Taiwan from European perspectives in the 19th century

In the nineteenth century, English merchants, sailors, consuls, custom officials, missionaries, doctors, explorers, and travellers came from China to Taiwan; some of them, including Robert Swinhoe, Francis William, William Campbell, William A. Pickering, John Dodd, etc., left accounts of Indigenous people. Meanwhile, the Qing Government's policy of immigrations attracted an influx of Chinese (most of them male) to Taiwan. During that period, more plains Indigenous people were brought into contact with Chinese people and came under the rule of the Qing Government. More female Indigenous people intermarried with Chinese men, and were assimilated into Chinese culture, gradually losing their own language and culture.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 114.

⁹¹ Using language to represent people as insects or vermin is a widespread practice used to justify genocide. See P. Sloterdijk, "Airquakes," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 27, no. 1 (2009): 41-57.

⁹² Taichung is located in the central part of western coastal plain in Taiwan.

⁹³ Keliher and Yu, *Out of China or Yu Yonghe's tale of Formosa : a history of seventeenth-century Taiwan*: 133-34.

Western observers developed their own stereotypes, describing Chinese people as sinister and sly, while Indigenous people were said to be simple, mild, and honest. Robert Swinhoe was the consul in Formosa and a naturalist. His reports on Formosa in the 19th century were the first written in English. In 1860, far away from Taiwanfu (Tainan) he observed some plains Aborigines who had not been thoroughly absorbed by Chinese:

Some of these natives were nearly pure-blood with proper eyes, but others were more or less Chinese. They all conversed in the native language, though most of the males had their heads shaved, with tail appendage, and looked very Chinese-like.⁹⁴

Though some of plains Aborigines were still recognisable from their looks and language, the plains Aborigines living in the interior of island away from the western coast also had been considerably assimilated to Chinese ways.

In 1868, Francis White, a Commissioner of Customs, visited La-Ku-Li (六龜里), situated at the boundary line between the plains and mountain Aborigines in the interior of southern Taiwan. For the first time, White encountered plains Aborigines of the interior:

I think we were disappointed at finding them so much like the Chinese. They were certainly finer men, with a certain air of frankness and good nature which a Celestial seldom possesses, but the mixture of races was very evident, and if not critically examined they would have passed as Chinese.⁹⁵

White's account indicated that by that time even the Indigenous people living in the interior far from the western coast of the island were apparently assimilated by the Chinese both culturally and genetically, although one would always be wary of this kind of racial-typing. In addition, White noted the tension both between the Indigenous savages and the Hakka people⁹⁶ (客家人), and the 'cooked' and 'raw' savages:

⁹⁴ R. Swinhoe, "Additional Notes on Formosa," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 10, no. 3 (1865 - 1866): 123.

⁹⁵ Francis White, "A visit to the interior of south Formosa," *The Cycle: A Political and Literary Review* 17(1870): 198.

⁹⁶ Hakka people are regarded as one group of Han Chinese who speak the Hakka language. The majority of Taiwanese Hakkas are the descendants of Hakka People who started to migrate from the coastal areas of southeast China during the rule of the Qing Dynasty.

We remarked that everyone here was well armed with matchlock, knife and hatchet, as a protection, we were told, against any sudden raids by an unfriendly Sheng Fan or the treacherous Hakka, and the men working in the fields all had their arms within reach.⁹⁷

On the way to hunting, accompanied by some cooked savages, he witnessed how Indigenous people hunt prey, and eventually he found that he and his companies had already trespassed the territory of raw savages:

The remainder with the dogs then ascended the hill side and commenced driving the game. One fine stag soon broke cover, and immediately fell victim to a well directed matchlock ball. We down below had only the satisfaction of hearing the shot and seeing the animal rolling stone dead down the hill... We afterwards learnt that we had been hunting on hostile ground, and that it was only by a display of numbers headed by two Europeans, that we ourselves had not been in turn hunted by the savages, who in that part are unfriendly to the La-ku-li people.⁹⁸

White was fortunate that he was not attacked by raw savages, but he definitely became aware of the serious nature of trespass.

William A. Pickering, a 19th century British adventurer and officer of Chinese customs in the English colony, is well known as an informative Western foreigner who knew Taiwan's Indigenous people well.⁹⁹ In *Pioneering in Formosa: Recollections of Adventures among Mandarins, Wreckers, & Head-hunting Savages*, he wrote notes on Taiwan's history, culture, religion, his trips and adventures in Formosa, and his contacts with Indigenous peoples of the interior. He believed that the Taiwan's Indigenous peoples belonged to Malay-Polynesian people and pointed out that:

These tribes spoke many different dialects, but all seem to have had an affinity with that Malay-Polynesian form of speech which, in its multitudinous varieties, is spoken in Luzon, Celebes, Borneo, Java, and indeed everywhere from Madagascar to New Zealand.¹⁰⁰

He observed that semi-civilised plains Aborigines 'practically adopt the Chinese dress and tonsure, but their features distinctly show that they were originally of the Malayo- Polynesian

⁹⁷ White, "A visit to the interior of south Formosa," 198.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 199.

⁹⁹ Douglas L. Fix (費德廉) and Charlotte (羅效德) Lo, *Curious Investigations: 19th-century American and European impressions of Taiwan (看見十九世紀台灣: 十四位西方旅行者的福爾摩沙)* (Taipei: Ru-guo, 2006). 200.

¹⁰⁰ W.A. Pickering, *Pioneering in Formosa: Recollections of Adventures Among Mandarins, Wreckers, & Head-hunting Savages* (Hurst and Blackett, 1898). 64.

stock'.¹⁰¹ On the influence of colonisation, he mentioned that Dutch missionaries had tried to preach Christianity to plains Aborigines and to teach them the Roman writing system in order to 'improve both the mental and spiritual condition of the natives'.¹⁰² Some groups of plains Aborigines near Taiwanfu (Tainan) eventually accepted Christianity and started to learn to write in Roman letters. However, the Chinese drove out the Dutch after their 39-year occupation of Taiwan. Indigenous people were forced to change their religion and culture again:

The tribes who refused to renounce Christianity were slaughtered. The remainder either submitted (and now shave their heads) or returned to the hills, and some even crossed over to the east coast ... Those who submitted to the Chinese rule adopted the language, dress, and religious customs of their conquerors.¹⁰³

According to Pickering, plains Aborigines were simple while Chinese were tricky:

They seldom make an unprovoked attack, being a simple-minded and quiet people, and the Chinese do not scruple to possess themselves of their lands, under pretence of renting them; the complaints for redress to the officials being too often unattended to, it being utterly incomprehensible to a Chinese that 'barbarians' have any rights at all.¹⁰⁴

Chinese carried off Indigenous lands by means of cheating them. Some plains Aborigines who had lost their lands could not but move to the interior to find new land to live on. Pickering also referred to the Hakka people who migrated from mainland China after the Hoklos (河洛):¹⁰⁵

In the villages between the lower ranges of the mountains and at the South Cape, indeed everywhere on the borders of the savage territory, we find another and totally distinct race, called the Hak-kas, or 'strangers' in their own language, and termed by the Hok-los, 'Kheh-lang'. These people are a peculiar race, speaking a dialect of the mandarin or court Chinese ...

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 65.

¹⁰² Ibid., 64.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 65-66.

¹⁰⁵ The Hoklo people are regarded as Han Chinese people whose ancestral homes are in southern Fujian Province of China. In Taiwan, most Hoklos trace their paternal ancestry to male settlers who migrated to Taiwan from Fujian in the 17th and 18th centuries. Because the Hoklos are the largest linguistic and sub-cultural group (about 70% of the population in Taiwan are Hoklos), Taiwanese is often used interchangeably with Hoklos.

These passed through the country of the Hok-los, penetrated into the lower ranges of hills, and either squatted in the unoccupied valleys or drove the savages further into the mountains.¹⁰⁶

In an early stage of Qing's occupation of Taiwan, both Hoklo and Hakka settlers invaded traditional territories of the plains Aborigines. The invasion diminished their territory and even forced them to leave their homelands.

The situation of Indigenous people in the mountains in the 19th century was different, for Chinese people seldom contacted them.

These people remained untouched by the semi-civilisation of the Chinese occupiers, and they had never been visited in their haunts until 1865, when I succeeded in gaining access to those near Mount Morrison.¹⁰⁷

Mount Morrison, the highest mountain in Taiwan, is known as Yushan (Jade Mountain) by Chinese people. The mountain Aborigines that Pickering met were probably the Bunun (布農) or Tsou (鄒), since the area around the mountain was the traditional territory of these peoples. After visiting mountain Aborigines, Pickering corrected some of the erroneous images constructed by the Chinese:

The Chinese of the west coast seriously believed that these men had tails, that they were little better than monkeys, and that they were cannibals. I need scarcely say that the belief as to their dorsal appendages is incorrect; as to their cannibalism, it is a fact that they are enthusiastic head-hunters, esteeming it a praiseworthy feat for a warrior to bring home the head of his enemy.¹⁰⁸

Pickering denied that the raw savages were cannibals, stating that:

they are, with a few exceptions, friendly to foreigners ... They have the greatest antipathy to the Chinese, but the exceptional occasions when they have been hostile to Europeans have generally been due to some indiscretion upon the part of their visitors.¹⁰⁹

Pickering added, 'I have always found the Formosan savages modest and kind'.¹¹⁰ William Campbell, a Scottish missionary lived in Taiwan for 47 years, originally thought Indigenous

¹⁰⁶ Pickering, *Pioneering in Formosa: Recollections of Adventures Among Mandarins, Wreckers, & Head-hunting Savages*: 66-67.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 68.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 69.

inhabitants were barbarous and savage. Later, Campbell developed impressions on Indigenous people similar to those of Pickering. In his words:

On the whole, the people of Formosa are very friendly, faithful and good-natured. They are also very hospitable to foreigners, offering them food and drink in their kindest manner and according to their means.¹¹¹

Image of ‘Raw Savages’ from Japanese Anthropologists’ perspectives

Before Japanese colonisation, few outsiders had ever been in contact with Indigenous people in the mountains. In their efforts to explore and exploit natural resources in mountains, the Japanese Government planned to civilise and educate all peoples in Taiwan. In the early period of Japanese occupation, several anthropologists such as Ino Kanori (伊能嘉矩, 1867–1925), Torii Ryuzo (鳥居龍藏, 1870–1953), Mori Ushinosuke (森丑之助, 1877–1926), and Kano Tadao (鹿野忠雄, 1906–1945) were assigned to survey Indigenous peoples and their cultures in mountains. Working with Indigenous guides and carriers, Japanese anthropologists went into deep mountain regions to investigate Indigenous peoples and their cultures. The reports by Japanese anthropologists are far more reliable than earlier travel writings.

In 1896, anthropologist Torii Ryuzo came to Taiwan and investigated matters concerning mountain Aborigines. He corrected some of the existing stereotypes and misunderstandings of ‘raw savages’:

Oftentimes when we think of headhunting natives, we associate them with ferocious faces. However, when I saw their faces, I found they are quite modest and no ferocious looks at all. If so, how was savages’ custom of headhunting in Taiwan started? Did they hate Han Chinese the moment they saw them so they hunted the heads of the Han? Not the case. It was absolutely not because of the contact with Han Chinese made them have the first rise of the idea of headhunting. They have had such a headhunting tradition long ago ... The main motivations are

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 74-75.

¹¹¹ William Campbell, *Formosa under the Dutch: Described from Contemporary Records* (Lodon: Kegan Paul, 1903). 10.

that people from the other side have violated the territory of this side or that someone of this side was killed, so they would hunt heads of that community people for revenge.¹¹²

Torii Ryuzo provided an unbiased and reasonable explanation of Taiwan Indigenous peoples' traditional activity of headhunting. In addition to surveying mountain Aborigines' social structure, lifestyles, religion, and other matters, Japanese anthropologists noted the significance of myths. In 1900, Torii Ryuzo ascended New High Mountain (Jade Mountain; Yushan)¹¹³:

The reason of climbing New High Mountains on the way of investigation this time is to confirm the distribution of Stone Age ruins and relics in the mountain areas, and also to ascertain the relative position of New High Mountain and every savage communities. Another reason is that the ancient mythology of Tsou savages around Ali Mountain and Bunun savages around Zuo-Shui River are so associated to New High Mountain ...¹¹⁴

Because of these anthropological surveys, the Japanese knew more about mountain Aborigines than any previous observers. The anthropological surveys were not without colonising purpose, however. They were undertaken in order to provide information about peoples and natural resources for the Japanese colonial project. The government would decide how to dominate Indigenous people and how to manage natural resources on the basis of these exploratory reports.

1.4 The value and usage of land: different perspectives between colonisers and Indigenous people

1.4.1 Colonisers' exploitation of land

For most Asian and European colonisers, Taiwan was a place for gaining commercial benefits rather than a homeland to look after. They were chiefly concerned with natural resources such as animal skins, gold, sulphur, camphor, timbers, and so on. William Campbell described 19th

¹¹² Nakazono Eisuke (中蘭英助), *Torii Ryuzo: an Anthropological Pioneer across Taiwan and Eastern Asia* (鳥居龍藏: 縱橫臺灣與東亞的人類學先趨), trans. Nan-Chun (楊南郡) Yang (Taichung, Taiwan: Chen-Xin, 1998). 55.

¹¹³ The Japanese gave Yushan the name *Niitakayama* (新高山), literally 'New High Mountain', because it was higher than Mount Fuji, the highest mountain in Japan.

¹¹⁴ Torii Ryūzō (鳥居龍藏), *Exploring Taiwan: Torii Ryuzo's Anthropological Journey in Taiwan* (探險台灣: 鳥居龍藏的台灣人類學之旅), trans. Nan-Chun Yang (楊南郡) (Yuan-Liou Publishing, 1996). 319. The Bunun myth in relation to "'New High Mountain' and its importance to Bunun people will be discussed in Chapter 4.

century Taiwan as a beautiful island with beautiful landscapes filled with abundant fauna and flora. Then, he pointed out several natural resources of economic value:

The country is intersected by many beautiful rivers, containing abundance of fish, and is full of deer, wild swan, wild goats, hares and rabbits, with woodcocks, partridges, doves, and other kinds of fowl. Also the island contains also animals of the larger kinds, such as cows and horses ... The flesh of these animals is considered very delicious. ... There are also tigers, and other beasts of prey called tinney,¹¹⁵ which are of the same form as the bear, but somewhat larger, and whose skins are much valued. ... The land is exceedingly rich and fertile, though very little cultivated. The trees generally grow wild, some producing fruit of which the natives are very fond, but Europeans would not touch. ... Moreover, it is said that the land contains gold and silver mines.¹¹⁶

Like Campbell, the colonisers were interested in valuable natural resources in order to exploit them. An example concerns deer:

The Zhengs collected an average of 60,000 deer skins a year from the aborigines in taxes. Before them, the Dutch cashed in on the Japanese market, which had a great demand for leather used in soldiers' uniforms. The best year for the Dutch saw exports in excess of 150,000 skins.¹¹⁷

Long-standing slaughter of the wild Formosan sika deer (*Cervus nippon taiouanus*) resulted in their extinction in the 20th century. In addition to species extinction, 'decades of logging and mining under Han and Japanese rule has also led to severe problems with erosion and flooding across the island (Arrigo, 2002).'¹¹⁸ The exploitation of natural resources caused great changes in vegetation and ecological systems, and brought about unanticipated catastrophes.

1.4.2 Indigenous people' sustainable living with the land

Prior to being named by Qing Dynasty Chinese people, Taiwan Island was classified as wilderness (荒服 *huangfu*), meaning the farthest zone from the imperial centre (帝都):

¹¹⁵ The animal could be the moon bear, see <http://nature.hc.edu.tw/vbb/showpost.php?p=206147&postcount=158>

¹¹⁶ Campbell, *Formosa under the Dutch: Described from Contemporary Records*: 9.

¹¹⁷ Keliher and Yu, *Out of China or Yu Yonghe's tale of Formosa : a history of seventeenth-century Taiwan*: 134-35.

¹¹⁸ William T. Hipwell, "An asset-based approach to indigenous development in Taiwan," *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 20, no. 3 (2009): 296.

Huangfu is a domain of uncultivated land and cultureless savagery, utterly beyond of Chinese civilization. The term *huangfu* evokes images of barrenness, starkness, untamed growth, and waste, for the word *huang* (meaning ‘wild’ or ‘uncultivated’). When used in various combinations, [it] refers to fallow fields, desert, jungle, or wild forest.¹¹⁹

The designation *huangfu* reflected Han culture, and recognised only Han cultivation and Han culture. Other cultivation and other cultures were either inferior, or simply not recognised. Taiwan was unquestionably misunderstood in the matter of agriculture. In *Records of Eastern Savages* (1602), the cultivation was described: ‘No paddy rice field. Slash and burn for farming, and then plough by the bloom of mountain flowers’. (‘無水田，治畚種禾，山花開則耕’) The main crop that the Indigenous people grew was probably millet, and the description above demonstrated Indigenous methods and knowledge of planting millet. As will be discussed further in Chapters 4 and 5, they continue to observe the interrelations between flowering species and seasons, and are thereby able to determine the appropriate time for sowing millet. William Campbell portrayed plains Aborigines’ cultivation in the nineteenth century:

The people occupy themselves principally in cultivating their field and sowing rice; but, though they possess such abundance of excellent and fertile land that those seven villages could easily support an additional hundred thousand souls, they do not cultivate any more than is absolutely necessary; indeed the yearly produce is sometimes barely sufficient for their wants.¹²⁰

It seems that instead of producing more crops, they only cultivated what they really needed, thus avoiding the problem of exhausting soil fertility. The slash and burn farming they practiced makes extensive use of land, only a portion of which is under cultivation at any time.

Shifting (slash and burn) agriculture in mountain regions was observed by Kano Tadao, the Japanese anthropologist who entered the area around New High Mountain (Jade Mountain) to investigate Bunun culture. He determined that the major means of livelihood for Bunun people was agriculture, not hunting:

From appearance, it seems that Bunun has the most prevailing hunting culture among all the tribes in Taiwan, and their prey are particular plentiful. Nevertheless, hunting is but for

¹¹⁹ Teng, *Taiwan's imagined geography : Chinese colonial travel writing and pictures, 1683-1895*: 43.

¹²⁰ Campbell, *Formosa under the Dutch: Described from Contemporary Records*: 10.

ceremonies, a means of providing hunted animals for rituals. Through close observation of their ceremonies, it is not difficult to find that only Ear-shooting ceremony¹²¹ belongs to hunting ritual. They have many ceremonies throughout the year, but it is unexpected that these ceremonies are all associated with agriculture. They hold ceremonies to pray for good harvest of millet and other crops.¹²²

Kano Tadao emphasised that Indigenous people did not go hunting all the time; on the contrary, they spent most of time on cultivation. He expressed his approval of Bunun people's diligence in agriculture, praising them as a hard-working tribe that always had sufficient food.¹²³ He also observed the Bunun's traditional manner of cultivation:

Bunun originally did not know what paddy rice was. They mainly do slash-and-burn farming, that is, setting fire to native forest, then on a ploughed field cultivating millet, upland rice, sweet potatoes, taro, etc. When the land was no longer fertile, they would do slash-and-burn on the other land, and plant alder (赤楊) on the original land in order to increase soil fertility. After a few years they went back to the original land to do slash-and-burn again; it is shifting cultivation.¹²⁴

The traditional method of shifting cultivation with plantings of alder was sustained by traditional ecological knowledge, and appears to have been sustainable. As will be discussed further in Chapter 6, Bunun people assert that they do not hunt carelessly or excessively. Before cultural dislocations caused by colonisation, in addition to doing seasonal hunting, Indigenous people have strict prohibitions and complex rituals which keep hunters' attitudes and behaviours under control in hunting so as to ensure sustainable hunting.¹²⁵ Through their Indigenous knowledge and self-restraint, Taiwan's Indigenous people sustained their lives on the land. It is ironic that colonisers criticised them for their stupidity and savagery, while actually the colonisers themselves displayed the ignorance and violence they attributed to

¹²¹ Among a series of major ceremonies held by Bunun people throughout the year, Ear-shooting is the only ceremony which is related to hunting. It is a hunting initiation for males. The elders carry out several rites to pray for game in the coming year, train youths to hunt in mountains, and teach little children hunting skills by accompanying them to shoot prey's ears.

¹²² Kano Tadao (鹿野忠雄), *Mountains, Clouds, and Savages: Notes on High Mountains in Taiwan* (山, 雲與蕃人: 台灣高山紀行), trans. Nan-Chun Yang (楊南郡) (Yushan, 2000). 270.

¹²³ Ibid., 270-71.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 270.; Alder trees (*Alnus formosana*) fix nitrogen in the soil and thus replenish it. The relevant knowledge is further discussed in Chapter 5.

¹²⁵ The Bunun's hunting culture and philosophy will be discussed in Chapter 6.

savages. It was colonisers who did not take care of land and destroyed the environment through excessive exploitation, as the sika deer example indicates.¹²⁶

1.5 The struggle for cultural survival after colonisation

Due to recurrent intrusions and disturbances by different colonisers over a period of approximately 400 years, many of Taiwan's Indigenous people lost their land, their lives, their languages, and their culture.¹²⁷ Their traditional territories were increasingly occupied and taken over by successive colonisers. Many Indigenous people were killed because of their refusal to yield, and many fought against invaders. Some survivors, especially plains Aborigines, were absorbed and assimilated by colonisers, while others moved to the interior of the island. In the period of Japanese dominance, Japanisation (*kōminka* 皇民化) was carried out in Taiwan based on Japanese educational policy. The policy of 'Group Relocation' (集團移住) forced Indigenous peoples in the mountains to leave their homelands and relocate to lower regions so as to be more easily controlled by the Japanese. After the KMT took over from Japanese rule, Indigenous people again had no choice but to comply with different policies of land management. Under this regime Indigenous people lost even more land because most of their traditional territories were turned into 'national/state-own property' (國有地) and 'Indigenous Reserve Land' (原住民保留地).¹²⁸ Their traditional livelihood activities including hunting, gathering, and slash-and-burn agriculture have been forcibly confined.¹²⁹ Moreover, after 50 years of Japanese colonial education during which Indigenous people had learned the Japanese language (many had become literate in Japanese), they had next to conform to Chinese education, and learn yet another coloniser's language. These ever

¹²⁶ The relevant issue will be discussed in Chapter 6 and Chapter 10.

¹²⁷ Hipwell, "An asset-based approach to indigenous development in Taiwan," 294-96.

¹²⁸ Scott Simon, "The Underside of a Miracle: Industrialization, Land, and Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples" *Cultural Survival* 26, no. 2 (2002).

Wan-Yao Chou (周婉窈), *Illustration of Taiwan History: from Prehistory to 1945* (台灣歷史圖說史前至一九四五年) (Taipei: Linking Publishing, 1998).

¹²⁹ Simon, "The Underside of a Miracle: Industrialization, Land, and Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples".

changing policies progressively impacted on the transmission of Indigenous culture from generation to generation, and seriously disrupted the people's sense of identity and dignity.¹³⁰

After autocrat Chiang Kai-shek (蔣介石) died in 1975, his son Chiang Ching-kuo (蔣經國) inherited the position of president. In 1986, while Taiwan was still subjected to the KMT's one-party authoritarian rule, the first opposition party (Democratic Progressive Party 民主進步黨) was founded. In 1987, President Chiang Ching-Kuo formally lifted martial law which had been enforced for about 38 years and which had prohibited other political parties. After that, Taiwan eventually entered era of postcolonization.¹³¹ Four years later 'Temporary Provisions Effective During the Period of Communist Rebellion' (動員戡亂時期條款) were abolished during the presidency of Lee Teng-hui (李登輝). Finally, people in Taiwan began to have freedom of speech, press, assembly, and association.¹³²

With a succession of resistance movements aiming to overthrow autocracy and pursue democracy and justice, Indigenous people began to articulate their own autonomy. There have been three major Indigenous land movements called 'Return My Land' (還我土地). The first one was launched by Indigenous groups in 1988. Thousands of people from various nations gathered in Taipei to protest against social injustice and to claim their traditional territories. Land that had become national property had been occupied by various government organisations (including the Forestry Bureau), as well as the Taiwan Sugar Corporation, Taiwan Power Company, the cement industry, and national parks.¹³³ Numerous non-Indigenous groups, including academic communities, joined these movements in support of Indigenous people, pointing out unjust policies and treatment implemented by former colonial and current governments. Although traditional lands have not been returned to Indigenous people, the movement of Indigenous rights and cultural survival had been aroused, and

¹³⁰ For more details in relation to colonial impacts on Taiwanese Aborigines, see Chapter 4.2.2 for discussion of the transformation of Kalibuan community in the historical and social context.

¹³¹ Ping-Hui Liao, "Postcolonial studies in Taiwan: Issues in critical debates," *Postcolonial Studies* 2, no. 2 (1999).

¹³² Yu-Xiu Chen (陳郁秀), *Diamond Taiwan: Muti-histories (鑽石台灣: 多元歷史篇)* (Taipei: Yu-shan, 2010).

¹³³ Zhe-Yi Tian (田哲益), *Social Movement of Taiwan Indigenes (台灣原住民社會運動)* (Taipei: Taiwan Bookstore, 2010). 109-25. Also, Icyang Parod (夷將·拔路兒), "Primary Survey for Routes of Indigenous Peoples' Movement in Taiwan (台灣原住民族運動發展路線之初步探討)," *Mountain-Sea Culture* 4(1994): 22-38.

successive governments have been more attentive to issues relating to Indigenous people. In 1994, the KMT government officially adopted the term ‘原住民’ (*yuan-zhu-min*, Indigenous people) to replace ‘mountain compatriots’ (山胞),¹³⁴ an inappropriate name for first inhabitants that had been created by the KMT. In 1996, the Council of Indigenous Peoples, a ministry-level body, was established. In 2005, *Indigenous Peoples Basic Law* (原住民族基本法) was enacted with the goals of ‘safeguarding Indigenous people’s basic rights, facilitating the development and subsistence for Indigenous peoples, and establishing coexistence and co-prosperity relationships among ethnic groups’.¹³⁵ The Act became the legal basis for pursuing Indigenous rights and protecting Indigenous culture. In recent years, various projects for cultural survival have been encouraged and promoted in Indigenous communities, and more and more people have learned to value Indigenous culture and knowledge. After long-term colonial oppression and cultural suppression, Indigenous culture has begun openly to thrive again.

¹³⁴ The KMT government professed that Aboriginal peoples in Taiwan originated from China and are one group of Chinese People (中華民族). In fact, Aborigines have their own unique cultures which are unrelated to Chinese culture.

¹³⁵ Office of the President Taiwan, "Native Peoples Basic Law," The Gazette of the Office of the President, <http://www.glin.gov/view.action?glinID=146740>.

Chapter 2

Indigenous People, Land and Colonisation in New South Wales, Australia

The invasion of Australia by Britain in 1788 is usually seen as either the beginning of the story of settler progress or the end of the story of Aboriginal civilisation.¹³⁶

After 26 January 1788 the colony of New South Wales was established, and thereafter other parts of Australia were declared colonies, eventually six in all.¹³⁷



Figure 2.1: Map of Terra Australis¹³⁸

¹³⁶ Heather Goodall, *Invasion to embassy : land in Aboriginal politics in New South Wales, 1770-1972* (St. Leonards, N.S.W.: Allen & Unwin in association with Black Books, 1996). 1.

¹³⁷ Rachel Perkins, Marcia Langton, and Wayne Atkinson, *First Australians : an illustrated history*, Miegunyah volumes second series (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Publishing, 2008). XXVI.

¹³⁸ Matthew Flinders, "General Chart of Terra Australis or Australia: showing the parts explored between 1798 and 1803 by M. Flinders Commr. of H.M.S. Investigator.," (London : Published according to Act of Parliament by Capt. Hurd R. N. Hydrographer to the Admiralty, 1814 Jan. 1st. (corrected to 1822). 1814). Also available in an electronic version via the Internet at <http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-t1494>

2.1 The creation of *terra nullius* by European colonisers

According to archaeological evidence, Indigenous people have inhabited the land of Australia for approximately 50,000 years. The first European settlers arrived just over 200 years ago; they had no knowledge of Indigenous antiquity, but they did know that the land was occupied by other people. What sort of doctrine did European settlers use to claim the whole of Australia as the property of the king of England?

Terra nullius is a critical concept in the European colonial culture. It is a Latin legal term, meaning literally, “land of no one”. The term can refer to a lack of land tenure, or a lack of law or recognised sovereignty, or both’.¹³⁹ Jurists applied the legal concept of *terra nullius* to claim that the land in the colony of Australia was the property of the Crown.¹⁴⁰ It was also a belief that European settlers held. ‘Behind the settlement of Australia by Europeans was the usually unspoken belief that the Indigenous people did not “own” the land.’¹⁴¹ That assumption underscored the invasive attitude of European settlers. For those settlers, Australia was a wild land before 1788:

The doctrine underlying the traditional view of settlement was that before 1788 Australia was *terra nullius*, a land belonging to no-one. We need to ask what this obscure Latin concept actually means and if it was legitimately applied to Australia in the late eighteenth century. Confusion has abounded because *terra nullius* has two different meanings, usually conflated. It means both a country without a sovereign recognized by European authorities and a territory where nobody owns any land at all, where no tenure of any sort existed.¹⁴²

The concept of *terra nullius* gave European colonisers a seemingly rational and legitimate basis for occupying Australian lands. It also reflected the attitudes of those colonisers who were eager to expand territory that could be defined as the land of no one. ‘European powers adopted the view that countries without political organisation, recognisable systems of authority or legal codes could legitimately be annexed. It was a case of supplying sovereignty

¹³⁹ Malcolm D. Prentis, *A concise companion to Aboriginal history* (Dural Delivery Centre, N.S.W.: Rosenberg Publishing, 2008). 204.

¹⁴⁰ Crown land, a designated area, is owned by the sovereign in Commonwealth realms. In Australia, from the perspective of European colonisers, public lands and vacant lands, including land for nature conservation, are regarded as belonging to the Crown.

¹⁴¹ Malcolm D. Prentis, *A study in black and white : the Aborigines in Australian history*, 2nd ed. (Wentworth Falls, N.S.W.: Social Science Press, 1988). 18.

¹⁴² Henry Reynolds, *The law of the land*, 3rd ed. (Camberwell, Vic.: Penguin, 2003). 15.

where none existed'.¹⁴³ It was, of course, an ideal tool for colonisation. The British 'discovered' their new territory in eastern Australia, and claimed sovereignty over it between 1788 and 1829:

The British claimed not only *sovereignty* over New South Wales – then comprising the whole eastern half of Australia – but also the *ownership* of all the 400 million hectares contained therein ... Justice Blackburn declared that 'on the foundation of New South Wales ... and of South Australia, every square inch of territory in the colony become the property of the Crown'.¹⁴⁴

Thereafter, the whole Australian territory was legitimately and 'recognisably' possessed by the British government. One problem of the doctrine of *terra nullius* is that the British governors, settlers, and jurists defined the concepts of land tenure, law, sovereignty, lordship, ownership, possession in their own interest. They justified those ideas in their own way to suit themselves and to get most benefits from the land. The Indigenous people's traditional ownership of land was not acknowledged by government until 1992, when, in the Mabo case, the High Court recognised the existence of pre-existing 'native title' to land and rejected the assumption of *terra nullius*.¹⁴⁵

2.2 Indigenous people of Australia in the first European settlers' eyes

Colonisation in Australia began on 26 January 1788 when governor Arthur Philip arrived at Port Jackson (so named by Lieutenant James Cook in 1770) with the First Fleet. Did the first European settlers encounter 'no one' when they approached and landed on the 'new land,' which is the area where Sydney now exists? What did they see? The facts can be traced through reading the documents written by the Europeans settlers themselves. Within a couple of days of their arrival, on 28 and 29 January 1788 Captain Hunter, Lieutenant Bradley, and others commenced a detailed survey of the harbour around Port Jackson, North Harbour near Manly, Warringah and Pittwater.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 9.

¹⁴⁵ It is a landmark legal case in Australia that Eddy Mabo and four other Torres Strait Islanders sued the government in pursuance of Aborigines' land rights. It took 10 years to win the case, and it is the first time that the High Court decided to recognise native title. For further details, see Josephine Flood, *The original Australians: story of the Aboriginal people* (Crows Nest, N.S.W.: Allen & Unwin, 2006). 245. Also, Prentis, *A concise companion to Aboriginal history*: 122-23 and 28.

Lieutenant Bradley gave an account of the first contact with the Indigenous people on Monday 28th:

On a point of land in the lower part of the Harbour, between Middle Head and Bradley Point we saw several of the Natives on the upper part of the rocks who made a great noise and waved to us to come on shore, there being a great surf we could not land at the Point as we wished, which they observing, pointed to the best place to land and came down unarmed to meet us, we of course landed unarmed, taking care that arms were ready for us at a moment's notice ... we made a fire on shore & dined in the Boats, while our people were cooking the dinner, the Natives were amongst them playing, looking at the Boat, and the manner of cooking.¹⁴⁶

The record reveals that the first European settlers did encounter 'someone' on the first day of their survey. They called the people of the Sydney region 'Natives,' which indicates the people who originally lived in a place before others. The Natives were seemingly pleased to see the newcomers. They directed the Europeans to the best landing place, and delightedly came to welcome them without weapons. Also, Lieutenant Bradley and his fellows recorded that the Indigenous people did not show hostility to them, but rather offered hospitality. That may have been their first encounter with such a foreign culture. According to the record, it seems that both parties had a pleasant experience. The Indigenous people would not be aware that those people were actually colonisers coming to survey them and that they would later take over their lands with unprecedented violence.

On the second day, the boats of settlers came into the harbour. They met several canoes with one man in each of them. The natives approached alongside of the boats. Bradley wrote,

we had here an opportunity of examining their Canoes & Weapons, the Canoe is made of the bark taken off a large Tree of the length they want to make the Canoe, which is gather'd up at each end & secured by a lashing of strong Vine which runs amongst the underbrush...¹⁴⁷

The settlers got a good chance to examine canoes, lances, and some of their tools for their livelihoods. The things they observed were directly made of natural resources surrounding them, such as bark, vine, bone, gum, and shell. They had also witnessed how the coastal Indigenous people sustained a living by fishing.

¹⁴⁶ J. Egan, *Buried Alive: Eyewitness accounts of the making of a nation* (Allen & Unwin, 1999). 15-16.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 17.

Since the first day of their survey, the settlers had noticed that women stayed at a distance and would not come closer. In addition, the settlers noticed that women were protected by men who held lances and spears. One day, Hunter was on shore in another part of the harbour. He saw a party of approximately 90 natives; each were armed with a lance and a throwing-stick. Many of them had shields.

The men, thus armed and painted, drew themselves up in a line on the beach ... their disposition was as regular as any well-disciplined troops could have been; and this party, I apprehend, was entirely for the defence of the women, if any insult had been offered them.¹⁴⁸

The armed men described by Hunter were disciplined like any army and troops in the Western tradition. They were supposed to protect not only women, but all of their people. This organised and well-disciplined group was understood as evidence that the Indigenous people also had their own authority and political organisation, that they could reach agreements and remain united in order to deal with communal affairs or to fight against threats from the outside. The settlers sensed that they could not prevail on the Indigenous men to allow women to come out from the woods. In order to approach and survey the women, the British offered some token presents and asked permission to give those presents to women in person. The Indigenous people were curious about the things they used and possessed, so the scheme succeeded. Although the British eventually could get closer to the Indigenous women, the women were still protected under the surveillance of a party of armed men holding spears and standing by the women.

On the 29th, the fourth day of their arrival, settlers met native people again and counted 72 people excluding women and children. They had not seen such a number of people before. Accordingly, they got a good opportunity to observe the Indigenous people's appearances:

They were all entirely naked old & young: ... Most of these Men had lost one of the fore teeth & their skins are much scar'd not like those commonly seen from wounds, this as well as the loss of a particular tooth is a Custom observed amongst them, that we cannot yet learn the reason for ...¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ Shelagh Champion and George Champion, "Manly, Warringah Pittwater: First Fleet Records of Events, 1788-1790," in *Survey of the Lower Part of the Harbour by Hunter and Bradley: 28 and 29 January 1788* (2005), 6.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 4.

In addition to seeing their particular customs of bodily adornment, the settlers also saw residences: ‘We saw 2 Huts a little from one part of the beach, but their residence we find chiefly under the shelving rocks.’¹⁵⁰

On 5 February, 1788, Bradley made comments about the Indigenous people when the initial survey of the whole of the harbour was finished:

We saw them chiefly in small parties & to appearance have not any fixed habitation, moving about the Harbor as they find will afford them the best means of subsistence. In the North Arm, I suppose them to be a people inhabiting that part of the Harbour, this, I judge from the number of Women & Children that were with them & the appearance of their being governed by a chief from the attention they paid to the Old Man at our interview with the Women, the party of Arm’d Men being selected & painted on the foreheads and breast & their being with the Women when they first appear’d shows that they were for their protection & favors my opinion.¹⁵¹

Through the survey, it was surely obvious that ‘someone, not no one’ inhabited these lands. The first settlers tried to build a good relationship with Indigenous people in order to observe them and learn about the Natives and their culture. However, the first settlers drew their conclusions in a very short time. The earliest experience they had was merely their first impressions of the coastal people and their partial observation of Indigenous lifestyles in the area of Sydney Harbour. The Indigenous people’s livelihood and culture which the first European settlers observed actually was only the tip of the iceberg. A much larger picture of Indigenous culture both locally and across the continent remained to be discovered.

2.3 The usages and ownership of land: different perspectives between colonisers and Indigenous people

In early colonisation, the terms for Indigenous people, such as ‘nomad,’ ‘savage,’ ‘wanderer,’ and ‘hunter and gatherer’, were shaped by the assumptions of the contrast between settlement and mobility. When settlers first contacted Indigenous people in the early years of colonisation, they saw the lifestyle along the coast. Not everything the first settlers observed at the beginning of settlement could be applied to other inland places that they later invaded. Nevertheless, for those colonisers, the stereotype of Indigenous lifestyle had been distilled.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 6.

In its simplest form the British justification was that the Aborigines had never actually been in possession of the land. They ranged over it rather than resided on it. The Europeans, therefore, acquired (within their own terms) the unassailable legal position of being the first occupants.¹⁵²

Consequently, the distorted and misinterpreted impressions of Indigenous lifestyle and customary practices had already had a negative impact to some degree on the recognition and understanding of all Indigenous peoples. The colonisers could not exactly see that Indigenous people literally ‘used’ the land.

After all, they did not sow or reap, graze sheep or plant vegetables. In fact, of course, all human groups depend on the land, in different ways and to varying degrees. This was also true of the Aborigines; however, the unusual nature of their dependence made it difficult for the Europeans to recognize it.¹⁵³

Their initial perception of land usage was mainly based on their own system of usage, although it is curious that the insistence that mobility does not lead to ownership was being made by people who were themselves migrants.

In contrast to earlier colonisers,

for Aboriginal people, the south-east coast was certainly well populated, but it was the inland rivers which carried the largest communities and which were the homes of technologically innovative societies as well as the most active traders of material goods and intellectual property.¹⁵⁴

In very early colonisation, the colonisers had no contact and no ideas about the inland, so the diversity of Indigenous people’s modes of inhabitation was unknown to them.

A common British misperception was that because there was no agriculture, Indigenous people were merely ‘parasites on nature’.¹⁵⁵ For Indigenous people, hunting and gathering were not the only activities to maintain their subsistence, and nor were they passively taking from the land. People did actually have different technologies, most of which were not apparent to British settlers. Heather Goodall states, ‘No Aboriginal societies were wholly

¹⁵² Reynolds, *The law of the land*: 13.

¹⁵³ Prentis, *A study in black and white : the Aborigines in Australian history*: 18.

¹⁵⁴ Goodall, *Invasion to embassy : land in Aboriginal politics in New South Wales, 1770-1972*: 11.

¹⁵⁵ A.P. Elkin, *The Australian aborigines : how to understand them* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1938). 15.

dependent on “nature”’,¹⁵⁶ demonstrating the fact that in order to increase the carrying capacity of lands, each Indigenous society had developed its own strategies and technologies. She further explains the marked differences in Indigenous lifestyle between regions:

The grasslands people of the central areas, such as the Kamilarray, Wiradjuri, Ngiyampaa and Paakantji, used firestick farming extensively to enhance the grass-seed crop, thereby increasing both the game which fed on the grass shoots and the grain which was harvested and stored for later use.¹⁵⁷

White farmers, in contrast, considered most of the seemingly unused lands to be unproductive. From their point of view, the lands in Australia were ‘waste land’.¹⁵⁸

‘Firestick farming, as it is now called, is a purposeful strategy for intensifying the availability of edible food, and is an essential feature of caring for country.’¹⁵⁹ Indigenous writer Bruce Pascoe explains that Aboriginal people managed their land to promote the regrowth of some plants and encourage grazing of some animals. Kangaroos, for instance, like to eat the new growth of grass, and the new growth is more nutritious than old growth. Besides, being modified by this regular burning in favour of some species like certain yam and speed-producing plants, much of the land would recover quickly because it was burnt at the appropriate time, and with the skill and knowledge to produce specific landscapes.

In the greater Sydney region, along the Hawkesbury river ‘the Dharuk landowners cultivated yams in its rich soils, and it [the river] formed an essential element of their economy’.¹⁶⁰ In contrast, white farmers suffered from losing their crops in the poor sandstone soils of the coast during the early period of settlement. They were urgently looking for fertile land in order to feed the starving colony. The Hawkesbury river region was so productive that the Whites wished to use it in much the same way as the Dharuk, but using their own crops.¹⁶¹ Settler invasion of the Hawksbury region produced an uneasy tension between Indigenous people and the European settlers. While the settlers took over the fertile land for agriculture to

¹⁵⁶ Goodall, *Invasion to embassy : land in Aboriginal politics in New South Wales, 1770-1972.*, 11.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 11.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 36-37.

¹⁵⁹ Bruce Pascoe and Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, *The little red yellow black book : an introduction to indigenous Australia*, 2nd ed. (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2008). 18-19.

¹⁶⁰ Goodall, *Invasion to embassy : land in Aboriginal politics in New South Wales, 1770-1972*: 27.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

meet their survival needs, the Dharuk people were forced into armed resistance to try to defend their country and thus their own survival.

It is now well understood that the Indigenous people not only used the land, but also owned the lands. In *A Study in Black and White*, the historian Malcolm Prentice explained that Indigenous groups had definite ties with particular pieces of land, saying ‘they were not complete nomads, but rather semi-nomadic: that is, they camped at different temporary campsites within their own identifiable territory’.¹⁶² He noted that ‘though the tie with the territory was not obvious to the Europeans eye, it was in fact stronger than the same tie in Western society’.¹⁶³ There are other documents that demonstrate that lands settled by the British were originally owned by different groups of Indigenous peoples. In *First Australians*, Indigenous authors explain that in the Sydney region:

The British searched for a place to settle: the Eora [people] of the Weagal, Gadigal, Gameygal, Wangal and Wallumedegal and other clans, and inland the ‘wood-land’ Dharug, Gandangarra, Dharawal and Darkinyung language groups, and many others, each owned a territory, bounded by a stream, mountain, ridge or headland. One by one, their lands were taken over. Within a few years, the colonisers would be pitted against them in a bloody struggle.¹⁶⁴

In addition, Heather Goodall strongly states the point that the early colonisers quickly came to understand Indigenous people’s relations to land in NSW:

Central to the first colonisers’ thinking was the assumption that Aboriginal people had developed no attachment to any particular land, whether by ownership or habit, because as ‘nomads’ they were subject to the whims of nature, and were forced to wander wherever their endless search for food might take them. It became clear to the earliest white observers that these assumptions were wrong. These early writings, as Henry Reynolds has documented repeatedly comment that Aboriginal people were linked to quite specific areas of land, both economically in their harvesting rights, and emotionally in their sense of security within their own boundaries and their desire to maintain contact with their own country.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶² Prentis, *A study in black and white : the Aborigines in Australian history*: 24.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 25.

¹⁶⁴ Perkins, Langton, and Atkinson, *First Australians : an illustrated history*: 7.

¹⁶⁵ Goodall, *Invasion to embassy : land in Aboriginal politics in New South Wales, 1770-1972*: 13-14.

After analysing the documents concerning early colonisation and Indigenous inhabitation of land in Australia, the Indigenous' use and ownership of land are so clear that it becomes impossible to accept the concept of *terra nullius*, either in the past or today.

2.4 The meaning and value of land for Indigenous people

Traditionally, we were both mobile and very strongly connected culturally, in multiple and complex ways, to particular sites and country that comprised our 'tribal' homeland. We have obligations and responsibilities for particular areas of land. We often use the English word 'country', and it is fundamental element of our culture and identity.¹⁶⁶

The Indigenous relation to land is complex. As stated, for Indigenous people land was not 'wild' or 'waste':

No Aboriginal society, however, was passive in harvesting this resource; there were many techniques used to regularise and increase the numbers and growth of game and plants. These were allocated in particular ways according to religious and kinship practices, and harvesting them enabled the economic independence and autonomy of the land's custodians.¹⁶⁷

Most significantly for the Indigenous people' sense of place, land not only had its physical value, but also invisible values that connect Indigenous people and land intimately.

The significance of land to Indigenous people is often expressed in ways which focus on its religious meanings, the power of the spiritual values it holds. While this spiritual dimension is central, there are additional, complementary dimensions to Indigenous relations to land. These include the role land plays in social relations, political relations, and in the cultural construction and transmission of knowledge.¹⁶⁸

As will be discussed further in Chapter 7, the elusive and yet central concept of the Dreaming was and is for Indigenous people in Australia a unique formulation of creation and ongoing spiritual and ecological significance of land. Each band or clan had its own territory and each territory had its own Dreaming stories. The young learned all the stories and Law from the

¹⁶⁶ Pascoe and Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, *The little red yellow black book : an introduction to indigenous Australia*.

¹⁶⁷ Goodall, *Invasion to embassy : land in Aboriginal politics in New South Wales, 1770-1972*: 2.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 1.

older men and women so they could become full adults.¹⁶⁹ Thus, the stories and knowledge about the land could be passed down from generation to generation. Dreaming stories link them all inextricably by articulating the connections between groups of people, other species, and the land. Indigenous people thereby shaped their particular belonging to their country and to particular sites. They perceived the associations with people and things on the land.

In Aboriginal societies, people are closely identified with their lands and the animals and plant species on them. Aboriginal philosophies do not have a deep dichotomy between 'man' and 'nature' or 'culture' and 'nature' as European traditions do. Association with land must therefore mean associations with other people and with other, non-human, living species.¹⁷⁰

In addition to intimate relations to land, Indigenous elders transmitted the environmental knowledge to their descendants via Dreaming stories:

The knowledge in Dreaming journey stories is intimately related to the particular land which forms its framework. It has long been known that the oral tradition carried information about the environment, the climate and the habits of game and edible plants. A song may have many references to ecological relationships between species, indicating seasonal times for harvesting ...¹⁷¹

Through Dreaming, Indigenous knowledge is embodied in land, and kin relations were inscribed onto land. All are connected to the land. Because of that, Indigenous people regard themselves as custodians who not only use and own the land, but have duties to care for the land, their country.

In sum, land is central to Indigenous self-identification on many levels because land determines both physical and spiritual values for Indigenous people. On this basis one is related to one's society and to subsistence resources. Moreover, one is also related to belief, knowledge and practice, and related to one's kin and wider society. Land bonds Indigenous life and culture together:

There are strong grounds then for arguing that for Aboriginal people in south-eastern Australia before the invasion, land was the physical and symbolic basis for almost every aspect of life. Social relations were expressed, managed and negotiated through relation to lands; political standing was legitimated and authority grounded in landholding. Knowledge was structured by

¹⁶⁹ Prentis, *A study in black and white : the Aborigines in Australian history*: 26.

¹⁷⁰ Goodall, *Invasion to embassy : land in Aboriginal politics in New South Wales, 1770-1972*: 7.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 4.

its relation to place, and it was taught, held in memory and performed according to this organisational framework.¹⁷²

European invasion threatened Indigenous life and culture in multiple ways, and the centrality of land meant that loss of land implied the loss of life and culture. The British took over the land bit by bit. The more land they took, and the more they sought to prevent Indigenous people from having access to the land, the more Indigenous people lost access not only to livelihood, but to home, spirituality, knowledge and culture.

2.5 Colonial impacts on cultural survival

The invasion and policies of the past two hundred years have changed and challenged Indigenous life in every respect. Since 1788, however, there has been a great variety of interactions and reactions between settlers and Indigenous peoples. The story is not homogeneous. At the beginning of first settlement, many Europeans intended to make friends with the Indigenous people. Under some conditions, people built reciprocal relations. For instance, Indigenous people got the benefits of the Europeans' material technology, and conversely settlers often got the benefit of Indigenous knowledge. Explorers, in particular were greatly assisted by Indigenous people. 'Where contact was occasional or settlement sparse and the Aborigines did not feel particularly threatened, contact was tentative or guarded and reasonably friendly.'¹⁷³ However, relations changed. The more settlement activities that Europeans undertook, the more threats and conflicts Indigenous people encountered. The Europeans' guns, horses and diseases overwhelmed the Indigenous people's defence of their homelands.

According to *The Study in Black and White: Aborigine in Australian History*, the policies directed toward Indigenous people can be divided chronologically into four periods: Policy and Practice in the Colonial Period (1788–1855), the Protection Era (1855–1937), the Assimilation Era (1937–1960s), the Rise of Self-Determination (1960s–1990s). In the period of early European settlement, diseases like smallpox were introduced into Australia. As more contacts and conflicts developed in the mid-19th century, hostilities escalated. Introduced

¹⁷² Ibid., 17.

¹⁷³ Prentis, *A study in black and white : the Aborigines in Australian history*: 47.

disease, massacre, and violence took a huge toll on life, including the lives of knowledgeable Elders who were also authority figures. Of those Indigenous people who survived, many were taken from their homeland to native institutions, stations, churches, or white families. Some of them were just little children when they were taken from their families. Known as the 'stolen generations',¹⁷⁴ policies of child removal were implemented from approximately 1870 to 1970. Children were brutally uprooted from their family, community and culture in order to be 'civilised' by Western education. The expectation was that these children would never return home, that they would assimilate into 'white' society. These traumatic policies involved federal and state (and territory) governments and Christian missions.

Indigenous responses to Christianity varied. Many may have been uninterested in it, or unwilling to accept it. However, Christianity also offered protection; Indigenous people under threat of colonisers could seek refuge with missions. And it may be that Christianity offered a spiritual message that Indigenous people could incorporate into their traditional beliefs from the latter part of 19th century:

Some Aboriginal Christian missionaries testified that Christianity filled the spiritual void left by the collapse of traditional values and culture. Alternatively, Christianity was seen by tribal Aborigines as an extension of traditional beliefs, and they could incorporate the best of old beliefs, practices, values, worship forms and art in their new faith.¹⁷⁵

Besides the impacts on the Indigenous people's spirituality, the settlers' economic developments had different impacts. Some, such as sheep and wool production, could be incorporated into Indigenous people's lives as they sought to adapt to the inevitable. However, others were less amenable to co-existence. 'Some activities were perceived as greater threats than others and the clans reacted accordingly: farming and gold-mining were very destructive of the environment.'¹⁷⁶ Economic development and exploitation forced Indigenous people to change their ways of life, and in many areas they were forced to relocate to other places so as to make space for settlers.

¹⁷⁴ Peter Read and New South Wales Dept. of Aboriginal Affairs, *The stolen generations : the removal of aboriginal children in New South Wales, 1883 to 1969* (Sydney: NSW Department of Aboriginal Affairs, 1998).

¹⁷⁵ Prentis, *A study in black and white : the Aborigines in Australian history*: 63.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 47.

The self-determination era began in 1967 (approximately), when a referendum was held that finally granted citizenship to all Indigenous people. Unfairly treated for almost 200 years, ‘Aboriginal people had been classed along with the flora and fauna’.¹⁷⁷ Since gaining citizenship, other rights too have been achieved. Land rights is the most basic, since it has enabled many Indigenous people to revitalise their relationships with their home countries. Indigenous rights to land have made possible the joint management agreements that have been negotiated with National Parks and are the focus of Chapter 8.

Accordingly, Indigenous societies and environment in Australia have been changed and challenged by colonisation and incorporation into what became the nation of Australia. People had to relocate themselves and adapt to unfamiliar new lives. And yet, in spite of the enormous changes in Indigenous society, ‘Aboriginal people were not wiped out, and they drew on their cultural, social and economic knowledge to negotiate the directions for their varied future’.¹⁷⁸ Heather Goodall points out that in spite of great loss:

The Aboriginal people who survived carried with them a cultural experience of seeing land as the central organising principle of their society. They know to which lands they belonged, even if they did no longer have access to all the details of its stories. They expected to identify themselves by and with the land, to continue to be responsible for it, and to authorise their political standing with reference to it.¹⁷⁹

Elders still today remember some of the stories of land and the knowledge imbedded in them:

All of us are connected to the land through our Dreaming. Although the forces of colonisation destroyed much of that connection as the settler frontier spread through the continent, many communities are working hard to re-establish the links that underpinned identity and provided a sense of security and pride in belonging, and caring for, country.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁷ Minister for the Environment. Merrinmans and Wagonga Local Aboriginal Land Councils, *Aboriginal Owned Gulaga National Park Lease to the Minister for the Environment* (2005). 8.

¹⁷⁸ Goodall, *Invasion to embassy : land in Aboriginal politics in New South Wales, 1770-1972*: 2.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 18.

¹⁸⁰ Pascoe and Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, *The little red yellow black book : an introduction to indigenous Australia*: 14.

In sum, even though the impacts of European colonisation on Indigenous people in Australia are tremendous, people have struggled to retain their Indigenous knowledge and values, and the Elders continue the teachings for cultural survival.¹⁸¹

¹⁸¹ See Chapter 8 and Chapter 9 in detail.

Chapter 3

Indigenous people, Land and National Parks

Old-style protected areas are a serious danger to the world's surviving indigenous people and their cultures. Historically, the establishment of national parks and other protected areas has been a major threat to the sovereignty and cultural survival of indigenous peoples.¹⁸²

Since colonisers invaded and occupied land in their colonised countries, natural resource exploitation, urbanisation, and industrialisation have resulted in numerous environmental problems. These problems had threatened the environment so extensively that colonisers were forced to think about values of undamaged nature. After the 1870s, national parks were successively established around the world for a range of purposes which principally included recreation and nature conservation.¹⁸³ It seems that the objectives in creating national parks were reasonable and persuasive for most people. Nevertheless, traditional owners of the land were not considered in the making of the parks, and they were excluded in the early decades. In actuality, Indigenous people's rights for living and cultural survival were carelessly ignored. In establishing national parks, governments continued the colonisation process by taking the land that had not been exploited for commercial purposes, turning it into national property and for many decades excluding Indigenous people. In both Australia and Taiwan, the establishment of national parks meant more loss for Indigenous people, impacting on their use of traditional territory and their opportunity to gain their livelihood. Such problems occurred worldwide during the process of creating national parks: the national parks in Australia and Taiwan initially were copied from the system of Yellowstone National park of the United States of America.

3.1 Establishment of national parks in NSW, Australia

The main purpose of establishing national parks in NSW, Australia in the early days does not fit with the contemporary idea of national parks. Now the focus is on ecological conservation. Then, recreational use was a major objective; a national park was considered a large area of

¹⁸² Stan Stevens, *Conservation Through Cultural Survival: Indigenous Peoples And Protected Areas*, ed. Stevens Stan (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 1997). 4.

¹⁸³ Michael Adams, "Negotiating Nature: Collaboration and Conflict Between Aboriginal and Conservation Interests in New South Wales, Australia," *Australian Journal of Environmental Education* 20, no. 1 (2004): 3.

land kept in its natural state for public enjoyment.¹⁸⁴ In the 1870s, more and more city people were eager to escape from the crowded and often unhealthy city life to seek pleasure in the wonder of nature.¹⁸⁵ The initial proposals emphasised health and social wellbeing:

The policy of providing public parks and places of recreation in the vicinity of all thickly-populated centres in New South Wales, by means of government reservations, received a good deal of attention. Resolutions were submitted to the Legislative Assembly affirming that the health of the people should be the primary consideration of all good governments.¹⁸⁶

In 1879, the NSW Government selected an area of fifty square miles just to the south of Sydney, less than twenty miles from central business district of Sydney. 'The National Park' was the first national park in Australia, and the second national park to be declared in the world¹⁸⁷. It was renamed Royal National Park in 1955 after Queen Elizabeth II visited during her tour of Australia.¹⁸⁸ The land was selected for its scenic, scientific, recreational, and educational values.¹⁸⁹ Thus, in the earlier phase of the park, 'people, rather than native plants and animals, were the first priority'.¹⁹⁰ The people referred to here were the European residents in Sydney, not Indigenous inhabitants of the local area. The national park was chiefly created for recreation for the residents of Sydney to enjoy the beautiful environment. 'It was used more as a place where residents of Sydney could come to relax and amuse themselves than for the conservation and study of native wildlife.'¹⁹¹

In order to please the tourists and develop areas of entertainment in the national park:

¹⁸⁴ Wendy Goldstein and New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service, *Royal National Park* (Sydney: The Service, 1976). 5.

¹⁸⁵ Thomas D. Elwell and New South Wales National Park Trust, *Official guide to the national park of New South Wales* (Sydney: Gullick, Government printer, 1915). 13.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Yellowstone National Park in the U.S.A. being the first in 1872.

¹⁸⁸ Michael Morcombe, *Australia's national parks*, 2nd rev. ed. (Dee Why West, N.S.W.: Landsdowne, 1977). 20.

¹⁸⁹ Goldstein and New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service, *Royal National Park*: 5.

¹⁹⁰ New South Wales Government, "Royal National Park: History since colonisation," Office of Environment & Heritage, <http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/NationalParks/parkHistory.aspx?id=N0030>.

¹⁹¹ Australian Government, "National Parks," Australian Government, (<http://australia.gov.au/about-australia/australian-story/national-parks>).

Mudflats and mangroves were replaced with grassed parklands, and some 3700 ornamental trees were planted. Buildings, roads and exotic landscaped gardens were all installed. Areas were set aside for the 'acclimatisation' of exotic animals for farming in Australia. Native trees were extensively logged. ... deer, rabbits and foxes were introduced for sport.¹⁹²

In short, there was nothing about it that would make sense in today's vision of conservation in Australia. In the 1940s, large areas of land were cleared and turned into lawn, and a rail line was set up between Loftus and Audley within the park.¹⁹³ Because the Royal National Park was subject to visitors' use primarily for recreation purposes, the land in the park was exploited, rather than protected for its natural state.

Owing to over-exploitation both inside and outside the park, and a growing environmental awareness among the wider public, Sydneysiders started to criticise logging and other development activities in the park. After thirty years of effort in lobbying the state government to set up a National Parks Authority, the National Parks and Wildlife Service (NPWS) was established and took over the management of the park in 1967.¹⁹⁴ The NPWS introduced principles of conservation and attempted to develop public appreciation of the values of natural areas.¹⁹⁵ The NPWS began to advocate for the importance of nature conservation rather than the function of recreation in the park.

At this time, there are 880 national parks and reserves in New South Wales.¹⁹⁶ Their mission is clear: 'National Parks are reserved under the *National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974* and ... The management of a national park aims at minimising disturbance to the natural and cultural heritage.'¹⁹⁷ As the first national park in Australia, Royal National Park, played a key role in the history of developing national parks. It stimulated Australians to think about problems

¹⁹² New South Wales Government, "Royal National Park: History since colonisation", accessed 23 February 2012.

¹⁹³ Australian Government, "National Parks", accessed 23 February 2012.

¹⁹⁴ New South Wales Government, "Royal National Park: History since colonisation", accessed 23 February 2012.

¹⁹⁵ New South Wales. National Parks and Wildlife Service, *Royal National Park plan of management* (Sydney: National Parks and Wildlife Service (N.S.W.), 1975). 25.

¹⁹⁶ National Parks and Wildlife Service, "Welcome to NSW National Parks," Office of Environment & Heritage (NSW), <http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/NationalParks/default.aspx/parkcontent/n0009?opendocument&par>.

¹⁹⁷ New South Wales. National Parks and Wildlife Service, *Royal National Park, Heathcote National Park and Garawarra State Recreation Area plan of management* (Sydney: NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, 2000). 2.

caused first by unchecked urbanisation and later by the initial concepts and policies that went into creating the park. It brought about later arguments and discussions of cultural and natural conservation in national parks. In more recent years, the division of culture and nature has become a critical issue for the management of national parks. In fact, cultural heritage has been less significant than the protection of natural heritage. The NPWS Statement of Reconciliation, produced in 2000, marked a significant point at which the national park authority began to take new steps in acknowledging the living significance of cultural heritage and the intangible elements of Indigenous culture and knowledge, which are closely attached to the land and thus are integral to culturally sensitive parks management.

The goals of the National Parks and Wildlife Service in NSW are diverse and complex. According to the establishment plan of 2008:

The NSW State Plan recognises the important role of parks and reserves in achieving the Government's natural resource targets to conserve native flora, fauna and wetlands, increase opportunities for nature-based and cultural tourism and recreation, and improve community wellbeing.

DECC's [Department of Environment and Climate Change, NSW] parks and reserves protect a diversity of native flora and fauna and water catchment areas. They are vital in tackling the decline of biodiversity, mitigating the effects of climate change on our natural environment and protecting the health of whole landscapes. Indeed, a securely protected and well-managed public reserve system is an essential component of the infrastructure needed by societies to ensure their long-term sustainability.

The DECC reserve system also conserves many significant Aboriginal cultural heritage sites and artefacts, historic buildings, scenic landscapes and geological heritage.¹⁹⁸

In sum, national parks in Australia, and in NSW in particular, have moved from a focus on the health and vitality of urban people to a much wider and more inclusive mission to accomplish environmental goals (including biodiversity and resilience goals) as well social and cultural goals concerning heritage preservation. In the process of making these shifts, and pressed on by their own Statement of Reconciliation, NPWS (NSW) has become far more socially inclusive, as well as more inclusive of both 'nature' and 'culture'.

¹⁹⁸ New South Wales. Dept. of Environment and Climate Change, *New South Wales National Parks establishment plan 2008 : directions for building a diverse and resilient system of parks and reserves under the National Parks and Wildlife Act* (Sydney: Dept. of Environment and Climate Change, 2008). (<http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/resources/protectedareas/0852npestplan.pdf>)

3.2 Establishment of national parks in Taiwan

臺灣國立公園概要

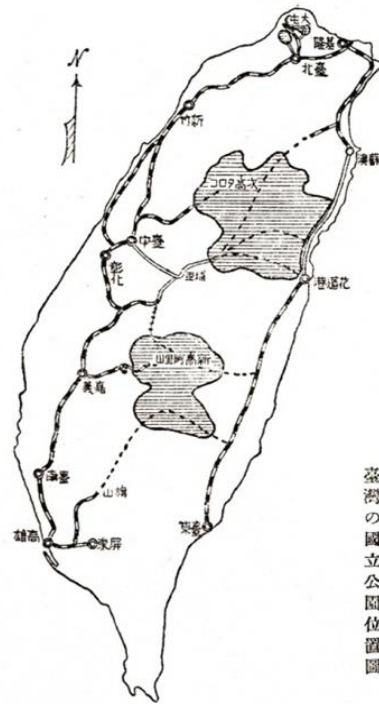


Figure 3.1: Map of the first three designated national parks in Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period.¹⁹⁹

The beginnings of national parks in Taiwan took place under two of colonial governments. The first was Japan; the other was the KMT. In 1895, the Japanese began to exploit natural

¹⁹⁹ Taiwan National Parks Association, *Portrait of Taiwan National Parks* (臺灣国立公園寫真集) (Tapei: Taiwan National Parks Association, 1939).

The shaded areas from top to down are: Daiton National Park (大屯国立公園, now Yangmingshan National Park), Shintaka (New Highest) Arisan National Park (新高阿里山国立公園 now Yushan National Park and Alishan scenic area), and Tsugitaka (Second Highest) Taroko National Park (次高タロコ国立公園, now Taroko National Park and Shei-Pa National Park)

resources in Taiwan as a means to supplementing shortages in Japan. Many forests were cut down. During the 1930s, the worldwide trend in the establishment of national parks included Japan. The Japanese government declared the *National Park Act* (國立公園法) in 1931. Two years later the survey committee for national parks was founded in Taiwan to investigate the distribution of Taiwan's natural resources (including unique fauna and flora) and scenic areas, to designate areas of proposed national parks, and to formulate criteria for establishing national parks. In 1937, Governor-General of Taiwan Kobayashi Seizo (小林躋造) officially designated the first three national parks in Taiwan. They are Daiton National Park (大屯國立公園, now Yangmingshan National Park), Shintaka (New Highest) Arisan National Park (新高阿里山國立公園 now Yushan National Park and Alishan scenic area), and Tsugitaka (Second Highest) Taroko National Park (次高タロコ國立公園, now Taroko National Park and Shei-Pa National Park).²⁰⁰ However, eight years after the designation of these three national parks, their administration was thrown into doubt as Japan withdrew from Taiwan in 1945.²⁰¹

In the early phase of KMT rule in Taiwan, the government did not consider establishing national parks. It was not until 1961 that the Ministry of the Interior (內政部) referred to national park policies and regulations in America and Japan, and sketched out a draft of the National Park Act. However, this draft did not pass into law; the government considered that infrastructure in Taiwan was still underdeveloped and that a National Park Act would further restrict development on the island. In 1966, Harold J. Coolidge, chairman of the International Commission on National Parks of IUCN²⁰², visited Taiwan and suggested that the government facilitate the national park legislation as soon as possible. On the 13th of June 1972, the National Park Act of the Republic of China (now known as Taiwan) was passed and announced. Owing to the lack of awareness of environmental conservation and delayed

²⁰⁰ See Figure 3.1.

²⁰¹ Republic of China (Taiwan), "National Parks of Taiwan: History (發展史)," Construction and Planning Agency, Ministry of the Interior, R.O.C. (Taiwan)
http://np.cpami.gov.tw/chinese/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=26&Itemid=22&gp=1.

²⁰² IUCN: International Union for Conservation of Nature.

recognition from governmental authorities, national parks were not established straight away.²⁰³ In 1984, Kenting National Park, the first national park under KMT rule was established after the former president Chiang Ching-Kuo²⁰⁴ visited the southmost area of Taiwan Island in 1977 and decided the government should protect the beautiful scenery and natural resources in that area. Over the following five years, Yushan National Park, Yangmingshan National Park, and Taroko National Park, which had been designated and developed by the Japanese, were sequentially founded. As of 2012, there are eight national parks in Taiwan. The national parks are administered by the Construction and Planning Agency, Ministry of the Interior.

Because the first national parks in Taiwan were created in the late twentieth century, the standards and principles of environmental conservation set by the IUCN have been taken into consideration. According to the National Park Act, national parks in Taiwan are established ‘for the purpose of preserving the nation’s unique natural scenery, wild fauna and flora and historic sites and providing public recreation and areas for scientific research’.²⁰⁵ In article 6, the criteria for the selection of national parks are as follows:

- 1) Areas representing the natural heritage of the nation, including unique natural scenery, landscapes, landform, fossils, living fossils, and fauna and flora in naturally evolving communities;
- 2) Areas of educational significance for the perception of nature and important prehistoric and historic sites and their surroundings which require long-term preservation by the nation;
- 3) Areas possessing outdoor recreation resources and unique scenery, which are easily accessible for public use.²⁰⁶

Thus, it is apparent that the aims and functions of national parks have been ‘to protect the natural environment; to preserve species and genes; to provide public recreation while

²⁰³ R.O.C.(Taiwan) Ministry of the Interior Construction and Planning Agency (內政部營建署), "History of National Parks Development (國家公園發展史)," http://np.cpami.gov.tw/chinese/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=26&Itemid=22&gp=1.

²⁰⁴ Son of Chiang Kai-shek.

²⁰⁵ Yushan National Park Headquarters, "National Park Law," <http://www.ysnp.gov.tw/en/aboutus/parklaw.aspx>.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

developing the local economy; to promote academic research and environmental education'.²⁰⁷ Conservation of living cultures had not been a priority under any colonising regime. The government took over the land as national property to protect natural resources rather than people; thus only prehistorical and historical relics were protected under the National Park Law. The rights of Indigenous people had not been mentioned in the *National Park Act (1972)*; on the contrary, people's traditional hunting, gathering, and other activities were prohibited within national parks. Ironically, large-scale activities such as cement and mineral mining, land clearing, and hot springs usage could be engaged in after obtaining permission from the national park headquarters. In the early days of national parks, some industries accessed national parks to exploit natural resources and develop tourist sites. Both activities not only destroyed the natural environment but also influenced Indigenous livelihood and economics.²⁰⁸ In recent years, issues concerning Indigenous people's rights, Indigenous knowledge, and culture survival in national parks have been raised and discussed, and the National Park Act was amended in 2010. In addition to the objectives and functions mentioned in the earlier National Park Act (1972), preserving cultural diversity was added as a significant concern and task in national parks.²⁰⁹

3.3 Alternative pathways for national parks in Australia and Taiwan

The main difference between national parks in Australia and Taiwan is that Australia has moved to co-management of national parks in a number of states and territories, including New South Wales. The issue of co-management in NSW emerged after Indigenous people claimed ownership of their traditional country under a major piece of decolonising legislation: the *Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1983* (NSW). In December 1996, the *National Parks and*

²⁰⁷ Republic of China (Taiwan), "National Parks of Taiwan: Introduction," Construction and Planning Agency, Ministry of the Interior, R.O.C.(Taiwan), http://np.cpami.gov.tw/english/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=56&Itemid=146.

²⁰⁸ Chun-Cheih Chi (紀駿傑) and Chin-Shou Wang (王俊秀), "Environmental Justice: An Analysis of the Collision Between the Aborigines and the National Parks (環境正義：原住民與國家公園衝突的分析)" (paper presented at the Review and Prospect of the Sociological Study in Taiwan (台灣社會學研究的回顧與展望學術研討會論文專刊), Taichung, Taiwan 1996).

²⁰⁹ Long-Shen Chen, "Yushan National Park," ed. Yushan National Park Headquarters (Natou County: Yushan National Park Headquarters, 2009).

Wildlife Amendment (Aboriginal Ownership) Act was passed by NSW government. The Act has as its purpose:

to amend the *National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974* to provide for Aboriginal ownership of land of Aboriginal cultural significance reserved or dedicated under that Act; to amend the *Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1983* to provide for the grant of certain land claims subject to lease, and reservation or dedication ...²¹⁰

The Act provides legislation to return traditional lands to Indigenous people through leases between Aboriginal Land Councils and the Minister for the Environment. Also, provisions for joint management are set out in Part 4A of the *National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974* (NSW).²¹¹ The long-term endeavours of conservationists, Indigenous people, and national park staff, came to legal fruition with Indigenous ownership and joint management of national parks in NSW in 1997. Currently, the NSW Government has handed back several lands to Indigenous owners.²¹² The two case studies discussed in Chapters 8 offer detailed examination of the joint management process.

Whilst the international generic term 'co-management' has been used to refer to cooperative and collaborative management of national parks and protected areas, the equivalent term 'joint management' was originated and officially adopted in Australia.²¹³ 'Co-management' had been used by the Office of Environment and Heritage (OEH) in NSW for several years, but many Indigenous people consider 'joint management' to be more appropriate. The term joint

²¹⁰ New South Wales Government, "National Parks and Wildlife Amendment (Aboriginal Ownership) Act 1996," ed. New South Wales (1996). Available at <http://www.legislation.nsw.gov.au/sessionalview/sessional/act/1996-142.pdf>

²¹¹ New South Wales Government, "Register of Aboriginal Owners," Office of the Registrar, Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1983 (NSW), <http://www.oralra.nsw.gov.au/registerjmntp.html>.

²¹² Aboriginal owners are those people whose names are listed in the Register of Aboriginal Owners by the Registrar, Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1983 (NSW). For further information, see New South Wales Government, "Register of Aboriginal Owners and Joint Management of National Parks," Office of Communities, Aboriginal Affairs NSW Government, <http://www.daa.nsw.gov.au/landandculture/natparks.html>.

²¹³ H. Ross et al., "Co-management and Indigenous protected areas in Australia: achievements and ways forward," *Australasian Journal of Environmental Management* 16, no. 4 (2009).

management now is recognised by OEH and is adopted in the legislation of NSW.²¹⁴ Joint management:

means the establishment of a legal partnership and management structure that reflects the rights, interests, and obligations of Aboriginal owners of the park, as well as those of the relevant government, acting on behalf of wider community.²¹⁵

However, the terms 'joint management' and 'co-management' are still used interchangeably in Australia as they have shared characteristics and development history in national park management.

Co-management has emerged not only as a great opportunity to enhance relationships among stakeholders, but also as a substantial challenge to national parks which followed the classic Yellowstone model.²¹⁶ Australia is at the international forefront in the area of co-management between government agencies and Indigenous people.²¹⁷ Co-management in Australia initially developed in the mid-1970s²¹⁸ so as to reduce significant conflicts among stakeholders over the establishment of protected areas.²¹⁹ The earliest and best known models of co-management in national parks in Australia are Gurig National Park (1981), by Kakadu National Park (1984), and Uluru National Park (1985).²²⁰ From then on, these models of joint

²¹⁴ ABC News Online, "Traditional owners get say at Gundabooka management gathering," ABC News Online, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2008-06-11/traditional-owners-get-say-at-gundabooka/2467474>. Also Deborah Bird Rose, *Sharing Kinship with Nature: How Reconciliation is Transforming the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service*, Cultural Heritage Totemic Landscapes Project (NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, 2003). 46.

²¹⁵ Dermot Smyth, "Joint management of national parks," in *Working on Country: Contemporary Indigenous Management of Australia's Lands and Coastal Regions*, ed. E.A. Young, J. Davies, and R.M. Baker (Oxford University Press, 2001), 75.

²¹⁶ Marcus B. Lane, "Affirming New Directions in Planning Theory: Comanagement of Protected Areas," *Society & Natural Resources: An International Journal* 14, no. 8 (2001): 663.

²¹⁷ Anne Ross et al., *Indigenous peoples and the collaborative stewardship of nature : knowledge binds and institutional conflicts* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2011). 193.

Ross et al., "Co-management and Indigenous protected areas in Australia: achievements and ways forward," 242.

²¹⁸ Melanie Zurba et al., "Building Co-Management as a Process: Problem Solving Through Partnerships in Aboriginal Country, Australia," *Environmental Management* 49(2012): 1130.

²¹⁹ P. Toyne and R. Johnson., "Reconciliation, or the new dispossession?: Aboriginal land rights and nature conservation.," *Habitat Australia* 19, no. 3 (1991): 8-10.

²²⁰ T. Press et al., *Kakadu: Natural and cultural heritage management* (Darwin: Australian Nature Conservation Agency and North Australia Research Unit, Australian National University., 1995).

management have been 'applied to new lands as they were added to the park by way of indigenous claim of lands.'²²¹

The applications of co-management in national parks did not become locally and globally widespread until the 1990s.²²² After that,

arrangements in each state and territory have continued to evolve, in line with an international trend (partly fostered by the IUCN and backed by international conventions) towards greater inclusiveness of Indigenous and local peoples in protected area management.²²³

There is no single universally accepted definition.²²⁴ Regarded as a broad concept, co-management spans 'a variety of ways by which two or more relevant social actors develop and implement a management partnership.'²²⁵ In national parks, it can be understood 'as a set of institutional arrangements for park management that facilitate the development of an effective partnership between local stakeholders and conservation planners.'²²⁶ Therefore, co-management deals not only with the management of natural resources but also of social relationships.²²⁷ It is specifically regarded as the sharing of power and responsibility for protected areas management between the state/government and traditional owners.²²⁸ Through

T. De Lacy, "The evolution of a truly Australian national park " in *Aboriginal involvement in parks and protected areas*, ed. J. Birkhead, T. De Lacey, and L. Smith (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 1992).

T. De Lacy, "The Uluru/Kakadu model—Anangu Tjukurrpa. 50,000 Years of Aboriginal law and land management changing the concept of national parks in Australia. ," *Society Nat. Resources* 7, no. 5 (1994).

²²¹ Lane, "Affirming New Directions in Planning Theory: Comanagement of Protected Areas," 664.

²²² Borrini-Feyerabend G. et al., *Sharing power: Learning-by-doing in co-management of natural resources throughout the world* (Cenesta: IIED and IUCN/CEESP, 2004).

Zurba et al., "Building Co-Management as a Process: Problem Solving Through Partnerships in Aboriginal Country, Australia," 1131.

²²³ Ross et al., "Co-management and Indigenous protected areas in Australia: achievements and ways forward," 244.

²²⁴ D. Armitage, F. Berkes, and N. Doubleday, *Adaptive Co-Management: Collaboration, Learning, and Multi-level Governance* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2007).

²²⁵ Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend et al., *Sharing power: A Global Guide to Collaborative Management of Natural Resources* (London: Earthscan, 2007). 69.

²²⁶ Lane, "Affirming New Directions in Planning Theory: Comanagement of Protected Areas," 665.

²²⁷ D.C. Natcher, S. Davis, and C.G. Hickey, "Co-management: managing relationships, not resources.," *Human Organization* 64(2005).

²²⁸ E. Pinkerton, "Co-management Efforts as Social Movements. ," *Alternatives* 19, no. 3 (1993).

C. Notzke, "A New Perspective in Aboriginal Natural Resource Management: Co-management," *Geoforum* 26, no. 2 (1995).

Indigenous people's participation, co-management provides a mechanism for collaborations between Indigenous knowledge and western science.²²⁹ Co-management and joint management enable Indigenous people who were initially excluded from the national parks 'to have recognised (and partially funded) roles complementary to their customary responsibilities for managing Country, and ensure that there are rich and varied roles for Indigenous contribution to the national conservation estate.'²³⁰

Although co-management in national parks around the world shared similar features, the joint management in Australia is very specific. In Australia, the joint management has been historically bound with Indigenous land rights and land claims. 'As such, it has followed the classic "written agreement" model whereby formal provisions are negotiated and recorded for joint management.'²³¹

In Australia, 'joint management' differs from 'co-management'. Co-management in Australia is a formal agreement between Indigenous people and land/resource managers, whereas joint management is a legal principle, enshrined in legislation, that recognized the rights, interests, and obligations of both traditional owners and relevant government agencies acting on behalf of the population (Smyth 2001:75) Joint management is, therefore, a *legal* arrangement for knowledge sharing, power-sharing, and co-operative management outcomes. Joint management aims to combine Western approaches to conservation with Indigenous knowledge approaches to management (Craig 1992: 135)²³²

According to Dermot Smyth, joint management in Australia has been traditionally viewed as a set of trade-offs, which are negotiated agreements between Indigenous people and parks.²³³ 'Usually the trade-offs are land for jobs: Indigenous people give up control of land and in exchange get jobs and other economic benefits.'²³⁴ His view reflects the fact that the establishment of a jointly managed national park depends on just such mutual trade-offs:

²²⁹ Lane, "Affirming New Directions in Planning Theory: Comanagement of Protected Areas," 665.

²³⁰ Ross et al., "Co-management and Indigenous protected areas in Australia: achievements and ways forward," 244.

²³¹ Zurba et al., "Building Co-Management as a Process: Problem Solving Through Partnerships in Aboriginal Country, Australia," 1131.

²³² Ross et al., *Indigenous peoples and the collaborative stewardship of nature : knowledge binds and institutional conflicts*: 198.

²³³ Smyth, "Joint management of national parks," 75.

²³⁴ Professor Deborah Bird Rose's Lecture "Co-management and Decolonisation" at Department of Ecology, Providence University, Taiwan on 14th November, 2005.

government agrees to transfer ownership to Indigenous people if they agree to lease the land back to government for the continuation of national parks.²³⁵ There was a financial side to the trade-off, for the NSW Minister of Environment paid annual rents to certain Indigenous Land Councils. Varied Indigenous values, experiences, and interests in relation to their land/country were not learned. Nevertheless, 'there appears to be a real chance that the small steps achieved during the 1990s can be built upon'.²³⁶

The staff of NSW NPWS took a significant step toward a more meaningful form of joint management in May 2000 with their Statement of Reconciliation. The statement was endorsed by the Director-General and Executive of the NPWS, and included a commitment to 'invite greater involvement of Aboriginal communities in the management'.²³⁷ This commitment opened the way to transform joint management from the trade-off model to 'deep co-management', as Deborah Rose calls it.²³⁸ 'The emphasis is on synergy rather than trade-offs.'²³⁹ In the Statement of Reconciliation, the NPWS acknowledges that Indigenous peoples are the original custodians of the lands and waters, animals and plants of New South Wales and its many and varied landscapes, and also acknowledges 'the suffering and injustice that resulted from colonisation and that this continues today for many Aboriginal people'.²⁴⁰ The NPWS recognised that Indigenous knowledge would facilitate environmental assessments and land management which formerly relied entirely on Western scientific knowledge.

Under an Aboriginal joint management arrangement, the government and local Aboriginal people share responsibility for a park's management. The aim is to ensure that Aboriginal people have the opportunity to participate in planning and decision making for the park.²⁴¹

²³⁵ Smyth, "Joint management of national parks," 76.

²³⁶ Michael Adams and Anthony English, "'Biodiversity is a whitefella word': changing relationships between Aboriginal people and the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service.," in *The Power of Knowledge, The Resonance of Tradition*, ed. L. Taylor, et al. (Canberra.: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2005), 95.

²³⁷ See "Statement of Reconciliation" (16th May 2000) from staff of the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service. (<http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/NPWS/StatementOfReconciliation.htm>)

²³⁸ The concept is mentioned by Prof. Deborah Rose in the lecture of "Co-management and Decolonisation."

²³⁹ Rose, *Sharing Kinship with Nature: How Reconciliation is Transforming the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service*: 47.

²⁴⁰ New South Wales Government, "Statement of reconciliation," The Office of Environment and Heritage, <http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/NPWS/StatementOfReconciliation.htm>.

²⁴¹ New South Wales Government, "Aboriginal joint management of parks," The Office of Environment and Heritage, <http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/jointmanagement/index.htm>.

Thus, joint management creates a partnership between Indigenous people and the parks, and increases people's involvement in managing land of cultural significance and high conservation value.²⁴²

Despite good intentions and commitments, conflicting problems and inevitable challenges have arisen in Australia as well as in other countries:

Collaborative management is not easy to implement in situations in which there is a mix of resource users, appropriateness of management mechanisms are perceived differently by mainstream and indigenous cultures, and there exist multiple centers of authority (Andersson and Ostrom 2008).²⁴³

Consequently, the policies and arrangements of co-management in national parks have foundered. 'The incompatibility of competing interests and power relationships among parties'²⁴⁴ is one of major issues in co-management which need to be addressed. Also, combining different kinds of knowledge systems (western science and Indigenous knowledge) has become a difficult process.²⁴⁵

In addition to the challenge of incompatibility, another issue in co-management of national parks is that of inequalities 'that keep scientific knowledge and Indigenous knowledge relatively separate and unequal'.²⁴⁶ There is a strong need to find inter-connections for achieving reciprocal benefits. One of example of inequality is that training in national parks has emphasized that Indigenous rangers need to learn western scientific approaches to management.²⁴⁷ This is not detrimental in and of itself; rather, there has not been

²⁴² New South Wales Government, "Register of Aboriginal Owners and Joint Management of National Parks", accessed 23 August 2011.

²⁴³ Zurba et al., "Building Co-Management as a Process: Problem Solving Through Partnerships in Aboriginal Country, Australia," 1130.

²⁴⁴ Ibid., 1140-41.

²⁴⁵ H. Moller et al., "Combining science and traditional ecological knowledge: monitoring populations for co-management," *Ecology and Society* 9, no. 3 (2004).

W.V. Reid et al., *Bridging Scales and Knowledge Systems: Linking Global Science and Local Knowledge in Assessments*, ed. W.V. Reid, et al. (Washington DC.: Millennium Ecosystem Assessment and Island Press, 2006).

²⁴⁶ Ross et al., *Indigenous peoples and the collaborative stewardship of nature : knowledge binds and institutional conflicts*: 193.

²⁴⁷ J. Willis, "Two laws, one lease: accounting for traditional Aboriginal Law in the lease for Uluru National Park," in *Aboriginal involvement in parks and protected areas*, ed. Jim Birkhead, Terry De Lacy, and Laurajane Smith (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 1992).

reciprocity whereby non-Indigenous rangers learn Indigenous approaches to management. More critically, most outcomes of co-management implement privilege Western nature conservation and Western bureaucratic structures.²⁴⁸ The goals and visions of co-management are mostly set by state, thus most of protections are still based in Western bureaucratic systems.²⁴⁹ Even though Indigenous rights are described and protected by law, a lease-back agreement, and a Plan of Management²⁵⁰, the fact is that:

Aboriginal rights in the area limited in several ways. The most significant imposition is that Aboriginal rights to access resources will always be secondary to the rights of scientists and managers to protect biodiversity and species conservation in accordance with legislation, lease agreement, or plans of management²⁵¹

On the surface, Indigenous representatives are involved in the co-management board, and they would seem to have opportunities to make their voices heard in claiming their rights. Nevertheless, it is clear that 'authority for decision making in the park rests ultimately with Director....In short, primacy in decision making rests in the legislative provisions and bureaucratic structures of the arrangement.'²⁵² Government ministers can reject decisions made by co-management board. In consequence, 'in some respects Aboriginal owners are effectively marginal to decision making and they form a minor and peripheral element of the park's work force (Lawrence 1995).'²⁵³

In order to negotiate with the authority (Western knowledge and Western bureaucratic structures) and engage with the state to obtain benefits, Indigenous people cannot but concede to accept and adopt the language, assumptions, procedures, and objectives of Western nature conservation and environmental resource management.²⁵⁴

²⁴⁸ Ross et al., *Indigenous peoples and the collaborative stewardship of nature : knowledge binds and institutional conflicts*: 207.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., 204 and 16.

²⁵⁰ Smyth, "Joint management of national parks."

²⁵¹ Ross et al., *Indigenous peoples and the collaborative stewardship of nature : knowledge binds and institutional conflicts*: 206.

²⁵² Ibid., 199.

²⁵³ Lane, "Affirming New Directions in Planning Theory: Comanagement of Protected Areas," 664.

²⁵⁴ Marc G. Stevenson, "The Possibility of Difference: Rethinking Co-management," *Human Organization* 65, no. 2 (2006): 171.

‘More problematically, the terms and conditions upon which Aboriginal peoples must participate and integrate their values, understandings and knowledge in co-management are invariably set by the conservation bureaucracy.’²⁵⁵ Indigenous values, knowledge, and opinions would be adopted and put into action only when they fit in with the rules and goals set by Western bureaucracy. Therefore, Indigenous participants are forced to think, speak and act towards land and non-human beings in different and unfamiliar ways.²⁵⁶ In the process of co-management participation, Indigenous people have been compelled to ‘acquire professional, technical and organizational capacity, skills and acumen in the “Whiteman’s way” (Nadasdy 2003).’²⁵⁷ The issues and situations of co-management in national park discussed above have not only existed in Australia, but also in other countries.²⁵⁸

Co-management has been evolving through practice:

The early literature depicted co-management as a class of relatively simple partnership arrangements, for example, in the implementation of indigenous land and resource claims (e.g. Berkes et al., 1991). However, the wide range of international experience accumulating since the 1980s indicates that co-management has become more complex and dynamic than might be concluded from this earlier literature and evolved in diverse directions (Plummer and Armitage, 2007a,b).²⁵⁹

Various aspects of co-management have come out. A greater emphasis on process and learning has replaced the earliest interest in the legal aspects of co-management arrangements.²⁶⁰ Now, at its best, co-management is regarded as power sharing, institution building, trust building, and governance; more recently co-management has been understood

²⁵⁵ Ibid., 169.

²⁵⁶ Ibid., 171.

²⁵⁷ Ibid., 172.

²⁵⁸ Ross et al., *Indigenous peoples and the collaborative stewardship of nature : knowledge binds and institutional conflicts*: 216.

²⁵⁹ Fikret Berkes, "Evolution of co-management: Role of knowledge generation, bridging organizations and social learning," *Journal of Environmental Management* 90, no. 5 (2009): 1693.

²⁶⁰ L. Carlsson and F. Berkes, "Co-management: concepts and methodological implications," *Journal of Environmental Management* 75, no. 1 (2005).

as ‘a process involving social learning and problem solving, leading to co-management-as-governance.’²⁶¹

Based on establishing partnerships and collaborative problem solving, the on-going co-management in national parks is taken as an evolutionary learning-by-doing approach²⁶² and a constantly negotiated process between government agencies and Indigenous parties with shared and equitable responsibility for management.²⁶³

In order to bring Indigenous knowledge together with western scientific knowledge and to function equitably, co-management needs to involve evolution of mutual respect and trust, negotiation of a common objective and vision, skill and capacity building²⁶⁴, and empowerment of decision making to all parties²⁶⁵ (especially to Indigenous people) through learning-by-doing approach, or so called ‘adaptive co-management’.²⁶⁶ The successful collaborative management requires a process of learning and problem solving and a period of development²⁶⁷ to find a proper and effective way. Dealing with conflicting concerns and interests of different social factors²⁶⁸, Australia is an international pioneer of co-management but it still has a long way to go.

In sum, Indigenous livelihood and traditional culture were not taken into consideration by colonial governments either in Australia or Taiwan when national parks were established. As a result, after the tremendous impacts of colonisation, Indigenous people confronted another

²⁶¹ Berkes, "Evolution of co-management: Role of knowledge generation, bridging organizations and social learning," 1693-94.

²⁶² The term ‘adaptive co-management’ is used to emphasize the learning-by-doing approach.

Armitage D, Berkes F, and Doubleday N, *Adaptive comanagement.*, ed. Armitage D, Berkes F, and Doubleday N (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2007).

²⁶³ Ross et al., *Indigenous peoples and the collaborative stewardship of nature : knowledge binds and institutional conflicts*: 207.

²⁶⁴ Zurba et al., "Building Co-Management as a Process: Problem Solving Through Partnerships in Aboriginal Country, Australia," 1130.

²⁶⁵ Ross et al., "Co-management and Indigenous protected areas in Australia: achievements and ways forward," 247.

²⁶⁶ Berkes, "Evolution of co-management: Role of knowledge generation, bridging organizations and social learning," 1692.

²⁶⁷ Zurba et al., "Building Co-Management as a Process: Problem Solving Through Partnerships in Aboriginal Country, Australia," 1130.

²⁶⁸ Borrini-Feyerabend et al., *Sharing power: A Global Guide to Collaborative Management of Natural Resources* 64.

wave of threat and another challenge to cultural survival caused by the creation of national parks. Their struggle for cultural survival will be discussed in the following chapters. Case studies from Taiwan and Australia show two alternative pathways for national parks. The first, in Australia, enables a national park to become a site of cultural revitalisation and hope. The second, in Taiwan, continues the earlier tradition in which a national park is a tool of dispossession, and thus remains a site of contestation and culture loss.

Part 2:

The Ancient Covenant and the Heart of the Hunter:

Kalibuan and Tongku Saveq

人們忘記了嗎？

從前有兩個太陽造成乾旱
祖先射下一個 變成月亮
人們忘記了嗎？

月亮饒恕人們
教導我們儀式及農作
人們忘記了嗎？

月亮訂定了律法
從此自然與人和諧相處
人們忘記了嗎？

從前有一條蟒蛇堵住河流造成洪水
祖先逃到東谷沙飛避難
人們忘記了嗎？

古魯巴與凱畢斯捨命取火
帶來希望與救贖
人們忘記了嗎？

故事記得
老人家還在說啊
為何故事變成神話 變成傳說？

服飾上的圖騰
是記憶編織著人與蛇的契約
人們忘記了嗎？

種植作物要輪耕
按時節要舉行祭典
人們忘記了嗎？

狩獵要尊重
食物要分享
人們忘記了嗎？

故事記得
老人家還在說還在實踐啊
為何傳統 Samu 變成過去 變成迷信？

如果故事還在說 知識仍在實踐
文化續存的價值就存在其中
等待被發現 等待再被繼續傳遞下去

Have people forgotten?

by Hau-Ren Hung (June 2011)

Once upon a time two suns
shone in the sky and brought drought.
Our ancestor shot one down and it became the moon.
Have people forgotten?

The moon forgave humans,
and taught us rituals and agriculture.
Have people forgotten?

The moon made a law:
Humans and nature to get along in harmony.
Have people forgotten?

Once upon a time there was a python
That blocked a river and caused a flood
Our ancestors fled to Tongku Saveq for refuge
Have people forgotten?

Kulupa and Qepis risked their lives to get fire
Hopes and salvation were in that fire.
Have people forgotten?

Stories remember;
The Elders still tell them.
The stories are now myths and legends.

Totem on a shirt
is a memory weaving
the treaty between humans and snakes.
Have people forgotten?

Crop rotation should be followed
Rituals based on seasons should be maintained.
Have people forgotten?

Hunting requires respect
Food should be shared
Have people forgotten?

Stories remember;
Elders are telling and practicing.
Is Samu only the past or superstition?

If stories are told, knowledge is alive,
Carrying values for cultural survival
Awaiting to be unfolded
Awaiting to be passed down

Chapter 4

Introduction to Kalibuan and Tongku Saveq

As will be discussed shortly, the survival of Indigenous culture and knowledge in Taiwan has been threatened and undermined through numerous colonising encounters. Foreign governments have removed Indigenous peoples from their traditional territories, changed their lifestyle, forced them to acquire a foreign education, and in other ways sought to assimilate them. As a result, some groups have become functionally extinct, and others are under severe stress. Nonetheless, many Indigenous people continue to manifest a tenacious vitality.

In *Ways of Knowing*, anthropologist Jean-Guy A. Goulet illustrated his experiences and gave insight into Indigenous epistemology as he learned from the Indigenous Dene Tha people of Canada. When he persisted in asking questions that he considered had not been answered, a Dene Tha woman reminded him that ‘we tell you these stories for you to think with, as they were given to me for me to think with’.²⁶⁹ Goulet therefore learned that:

answers were to be found in the careful consideration of ‘stories’. ... first from personal experience, second by observation of people who know how to do things, and third ‘informally by hearing mystical, historical, or personal narratives’. (Rushforth 1992, 488)²⁷⁰

In this chapter, I take the approach articulated by Goulet and his Dene Tha teachers, in order to engage actively with Bunun storytelling.

4.1 The significance of storytelling for Bunun people

During the period when I facilitated the work of cultural revitalisation through the Tongku Saveq Movement,²⁷¹ I heard some myths, legends, and personal stories²⁷² repeatedly told by

²⁶⁹ Jean-Guy A. Goulet, *Ways of Knowing: Experience, Knowledge, and Power among the Dene Tha* (U of Nebraska Press, 1998). xxxiii.

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

Neqou Soqluman and the Elders in Kalibuan. At the beginning of my participatory learning, I did not really comprehend the significance of those stories for the Bunun. After hearing those stories again and again, I began to realise that they are vital parts of Bunun culture and daily life, and have been passed down for generations. The stories construct particular ways to understand the world, including the relations among human beings and non-human beings. Furthermore, they articulate laws for Bunun people to obey.

The two stories I heard most regularly were ‘Sun-shooting’ (*Manaq Vali*) and ‘Great Flood’ (*La`ningav`an dengaz*). Along with Bunun people, many other Indigenous peoples in Taiwan have similar versions of these two stories. Nevertheless, the Bunun’s versions of ‘Sun-shooting’ and ‘Great Flood’ have unique aspects as well, and therefore convey a uniquely Bunun sensibility.

4.1.1 Sun-shooting and its significance: law making and order formation

In the old days, stories were just as important as shelter building, hunting, and ceremonies. They taught people about every aspect of the world and also showed the right ways to behave.²⁷³

The Bunun sun-shooting story starts in the time known as *Minpakaliva*.²⁷⁴ This term means ‘an incredible and miraculous era’. People and animals could communicate. Extra-ordinary things occurred. After the events of the great flood and sun-shooting, the world began to have the order we experience today. Bunun people have *Samu* (law) and ceremonies to obey and

²⁷¹ The Tongku Saveq Movement is an ongoing and long-term cultural movement, which was initiated by Bunun writer Neqou Soqluman and some members of ReCAP in December 2007. After the ascent and the proclamation “This mountain is called Tongku Saveq,” (see Chapter 4.3), we members have been thinking that Indigenous culture and knowledge like that of the Bunun should be retained and transmitted in multi-cultural societies. The works and projects (such as mountain climbing, workshops, study groups, field research, interviews, lectures, place-based environmental and cultural education, conferences, and publications.) for cultural survival have been undertaken under the name of the Tongku Saveq Movement. Meanwhile, Tongku Saveq School (see Chapter 5) was founded in Kalibuan village and became a major work of the Tongku Saveq Movement.

²⁷² The Bunun stories in relation to the past and ancient time are called *pali qabasan*. *Pali* denotes ‘talk about.’ *Qabasan* refers to something relating the past and the ancient.

²⁷³ J. Bruchac, *Our Stories Remember: American Indian History, Culture, and Values through Storytelling* (Fulcrum Publishing, 2003). 37.

²⁷⁴ Neqou Soqluman (乜寇・索克魯曼), “Bunun's Home Nature: A Native's Point of View (Bunun 的家園自然：一個在地人的觀點)” (Providence University, Taiwan, 2010), 46.

practice.²⁷⁵ According to the story, there were two suns and at night there were no moon and stars. These two suns took turns shining onto the earth, so millet could not grow well due to the constantly high temperature. The drought caused great misery. One baby died and turned into a lizard because of the scorching heat of these two suns. The baby's father determined to bring his eldest son with him and so set out to shoot the suns. He hung millet seeds on his earlobes to preserve food, and planted citrus trees on the way to the suns so that he could find the way back home. After a long journey, he and his son reached the place where it was very close to the suns. He shot one of the suns and hurt the sun's eye. This injured sun then turned into a moon, and the blood splashing from its injured eye formed stars. The injured sun (becoming the moon later) was very angry with the man but was still wondering about his intention of shooting. There was some dialogue between the moon and the man. At last, both of them realised that there were some misunderstandings. The moon decided to teach Bunun people how to do agriculture, but they were required to do ceremonies in accordance with the moon's waxing and waning. The Bunun and their offspring learned that they have to obey the covenant, otherwise catastrophes will occur.²⁷⁶

Every time Neqou or an Elder related the story of sun-shooting, at the end of storytelling they emphasised that the moon, which was the injured sun, taught Bunun people the knowledge of agriculture and ceremonies. After sun-shooting, the harmonious relationship between the moon and Bunun people was built. Life therefore gained its order. For this reason, Bunun Elders would remind their people that rituals need to be conducted according to changes of the moon. Corresponding to the story of sun-shooting, the Bunun developed and conducted a series of complicated and long rituals and ceremonies for agriculture in accordance with the changes of the moon. As a result, Bunun are recognised as having most rituals and ceremonies of any people in Taiwan.

Besides rituals and agriculture, the moon also taught the Bunun about *Samu*. This is the knowledge which guides Bunun people concerning what they can and cannot do in various

²⁷⁵ *Samu* is the Bunun traditional law.

²⁷⁶ Interviews with Tama Bali, Tama Balan, and Neqou Soqluman.

Manglavan Alang (杜石鑾), *Rendezvous with the moon: stories from the Bunun tribe (與月亮的約定)*, trans. R.J. Winkler (Taipei: Third Nature Publishing, 2003). Also, Dashiwula Bima (達西烏拉彎・畢馬), *Mythology and Legend of Bunun Tribe (布農族神話與傳說)* (Taichung: Xing-Chen, 2003).

aspects of daily life. In consequence, the story of sun-shooting had profound meanings to the Bunun, relating, as it does, to subsistence, ceremony, and law. The moon made law and taught Bunun people ceremonies and knowledge so that Bunun people could survive and have harmonious relations with nature.

4.1.2 Great Flood and its significance: humans' relations with animals and landscapes

Stories and legends are part of culture and indigenous knowledge because they signify meaning. Such meaning and values are rooted in the land and are closely related to a 'sense of place'.²⁷⁷

It is said that once a huge python blocked the rivers from flowing. This action led to a great flood that almost submerged the whole earth. In order to preserve millet from the flood, people bore holes in their earlobes from which they hung millet sprays. The great mountain Tongku Saveq became a sanctuary for humans and animals because of its height. However, on the mountain people were without food and fire; they were constantly feeling cold and hungry, as if the end of the world was approaching. In despair, someone saw smoke curling upward from the northern Mount Qas. Unable to cross over the massive water, humans resorted to animals for help. A frog jumped into the water and swam to the other mountain to get fire, but it did not succeed. It burned itself and was transformed into a toad. Next, Qepis, the beautiful bird, flew to the other mountain to get fire for the people. The fire burst into flame on Qepis' way back to Tongku Saveq and as a consequence the flames burned Qepis' beak and feet red, and scorched its body black. Qepis never gave up holding the fire with its beak in order to bring light and hope to human beings. The beautiful bird Qepis, became the black bulbul (*Hypsipetes leucocephalus*) after getting burned.²⁷⁸

The flood legend, like many other Bunun myths, draws attention to the close relationship between humans and animals. Although humans had escaped to the highest mountain, without animals' timely and unselfish help they could not have survived the disaster. In this story, toad

²⁷⁷ Berkes, *Sacred Ecology: Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Resource Management* 6.

²⁷⁸ Interviews with Tama Bali, Tama Balan, and Neqou. See also, Neqou Soqluman (乜寇・索克魯曼), *Palisia Tongku Saveq (東谷沙飛傳奇)* (Taipei: INK, 2008). 59-72.

and Qepis voluntarily sacrifice to offer help, so Bunun pay their respect and gratitude to them by regarding them as sacred animals. They are prohibited from killing them. The story also shows that humans and animals are reciprocally interdependent, and only when such a reciprocity has been preserved can human beings continue to exist in the world.

This Bunun story explains Bunun's naming of the mountain *Tongku Saveq*, a mountain covered with snow at its great altitude, which once protected Bunun people from a great flood. Since then, the Bunun have regarded it as a sacred mountain and therefore they have an old teaching: that the Bunun shall never go away from the sight of Tongku Saveq. Representing salvation, the mountain accordingly has shaped the Bunun's sense of place and belonging, and their attachment to their homeland.

Neqou mentioned that some versions of the flood legend say that Taiwan was a great plain and that until the great flood there appeared to be no high mountains. The story is thus the Bunun version of orogeny in Taiwan.²⁷⁹ The river blocked by Great Python is believed to be Zhuoshui River (濁水溪), the longest river in Taiwan. The source is in Lamongan, Bunun ancestors' homeland (in Nantou County). In the old times, Zhuoshui River used to change its course and cause floods. The flood legend not only illustrates the close relationship between humans and animals, but also portrays Bunun's perceptions of the geophysical environment. The story tells how the land was shaped, as well as shaping Bunun's sense of place to their storied and changing land.

4.1.3 Stories remember people, places, and things

Stories have always been at the heart of all our Native cultures ... They are alive. Alive as breath and the wind that touches every corner of this land. Alive as memory, memory that shapes and explains a universe, alive, aware, and filled with power. Our stories open our eyes and hearts to a world of animals and plants, of earth and water and sky. They take us under the skin and into the heartbeat of Creation. They remind us of the true meaning of all that lives. Our stories remember when people forget.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁹ Ibid., 12.

²⁸⁰ Bruchac, *Our Stories Remember: American Indian History, Culture, and Values through Storytelling*: 35.

Through the centuries storytelling has played an indispensable part in Indigenous cultures. Storytelling is a vehicle to carry ancestors' knowledge, beliefs and attitudes. Indigenous people learn to comprehend and respect the natural world by listening to, remembering, and telling stories. The Bunun stories of sun-shooting and the great flood draw a picture of the ancient era *Minpakaliva*. There are other stories describing how human beings turned into animals, and human beings and animals could converse. These stories show the original relationality of nature, and thus influence how the Bunun understand and conceptualise the world as a web of relationships. Wisdom taught through stories enabled people to protect themselves from disasters. They admonished their offspring against departing from laws that are authorised by events related in stories. These stories also deliver ecological thinking,²⁸¹ particularly in connection with relationships with nature and norms of behaviours expressed in *Samu* and ceremony.

Undoubtedly some Bunun traditions and knowledge have been lost due to colonisation and modernisation, and yet these foundational stories endure. They are stories articulating the principles of balance with nature and rules for human life. Stories keep Bunun's traditional culture and knowledge alive.

²⁸¹ Bima, *Mythology and Legend of Bunun Tribe* (布農族神話與傳說): 18.

4.2 Historical overview of Kalibuan

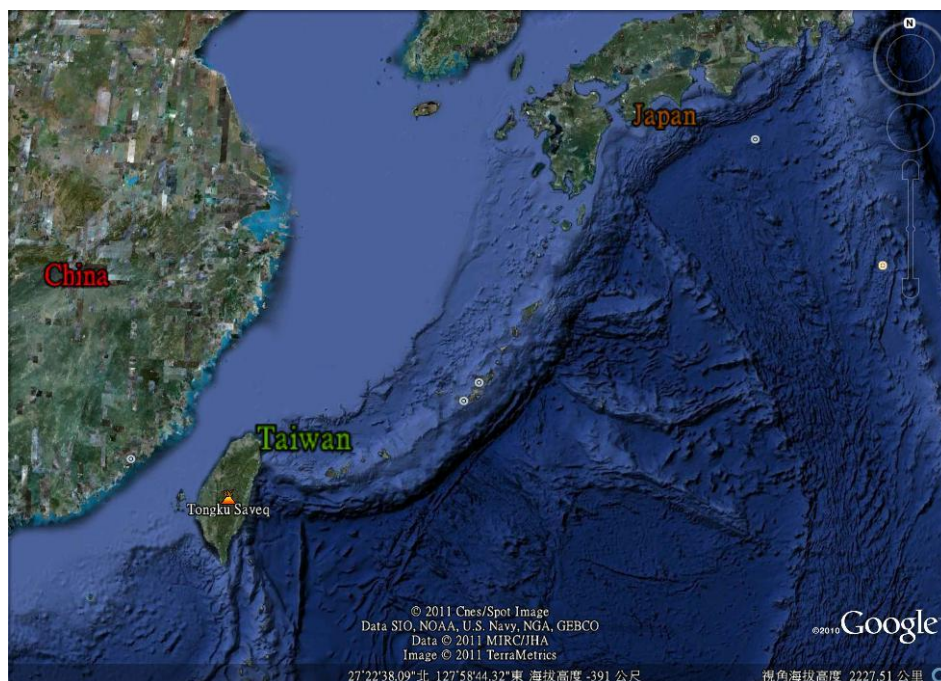


Figure 4.1: Map of Taiwan in relation to China and Japan²⁸²

In this brief overview, I will outline the known history of Kalibuan from the period of Japanese occupation up to the present. It will become clear that the people of Kalibuan village have experienced one disruption and disaster after another, along with a multitude of cultural encounters some of which have been welcomed, and some of which have simply been endured. Colonisation has not been a single wave, but rather has consisted of multiple waves of impact. Many of the impacts have been exacerbated by other factors, including the fluctuations of the global market, and natural disasters such as earthquakes²⁸³.

When the Japanese took over the reins of government from the Qing Dynasty in 1895, they began to implement the Policy of ‘The Cultivation of Mountain and Barbarians’ (理蕃政

²⁸² Made by Hau-Ren Hung through Google Earth Software.

²⁸³ Yi-Fong Chen, "The Impacts of the September 21st Earthquake on Indigenous Peoples' Land Rights and the Reconstruction of Place Identity in Taiwan," *Journal of Geographical Science* 31(2002).

策).²⁸⁴ This policy included: adopting Barbarian Land as National Property (蕃地劃歸國有), the Japanisation Movement (*kōminka* 皇民化運動), and the Group Relocation Policy (集團移住政策), among others. The Japanese Government forced Indigenous peoples living in the mountains to relocate to lower places in order to dominate them collectively. Subsequently, they used the enormous natural resources in the mountains for economic exploitation.²⁸⁵ Many groups of Indigenous peoples defended their traditional homeland in opposition to the cruel policy of 'The Cultivation of Mountain and Barbarians'. The Indigenous people's resistance against Japanese invasion and policy caused miserable battles and massacres. Innumerable Indigenous people died from ruthless Japanese acts.

The village of Kalibuan has its origins in this Japanese policy. A group of Bunun²⁸⁶ people belonging to the Tak Banuaz clan (饒社) lived in their homeland in the Central Mountain Range (*Me-asang*²⁸⁷) close to, and within sight of, their sacred mountain Tongku Saveq. This is the mountain known as Jade Mountain and Yu-Shan. When the Japanese told them they must relocate to a lower altitude, they insisted on remaining where they were at least until their chief Nas-Paiyan Dengaz passed away. Before he died, the old chief told his people: 'mai pana isakisak amu`a, asa nitu longulongu sikuav Tongku Saveq!'²⁸⁸ This translates as: 'No matter where you are going, never lose sight of Tongku Saveq'. In 1937, the Japanese Government reached a compromise with the people. After the death of the old chief, the

²⁸⁴ For more details, see Shi-Yi Cheng (程士毅), *Indigenous Peoples and Taiwan History* (原住民族與台灣史) (Nan-Tou, Taiwan: Taiwan Taritsi Cultural Association, 2006). Also Haisul (海樹兒・戈刺拉菲) Palalavi, *Bunun Tribe: History of Origin and Migration* (布農族: 部落起源及部落遷移史) (Taipei: Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan, 2006). 189-216.

²⁸⁵ Chia-Ning Yeh (葉家寧), *The History of Formosan Aborigines: Bunun* (台灣原住民族史: 布農族史篇) (Nantou: Taiwan Historica, 2002). 155.

²⁸⁶ The Bunun are divided into six ethno-linguistic groups: Taki banuaz (饒社群), Taki bakha (卡社群), Taki tudu (卓社群), Taki vatan (丹社群), Isbukun(郡社群), Tapukul(蘭社群) after relocating to Central Mountain Range. Before that, Lamungan is the earliest name of a place that Bunun Elders remember and discuss occasionally. Noted in historical documents and Bunun oral stories, Lamongan is regarded as the oldest homeland of the Bunun. It is a broad area covering some current administrative sections, including Nantou City, Mingjian Township, Jushan Township, Jiji Township, Douliou City, etc.

Palalavi, *Bunun Tribe: History of Origin and Migration* (布農族: 部落起源及部落遷移史): 6.

Yeh, *The History of Formosan Aborigines: Bunun* (台灣原住民族史: 布農族史篇): 34.

²⁸⁷ Bunun people called their homeland in Qatungulan (饒大山) of the Central Mountain Range (中央山脈) *Asang-Dengaz*.

²⁸⁸ Neqou Soqluman (乜寇・索克魯曼), "Everlasting Soul of Yushan (永遠的玉山魂)," *Ink Literary Monthly* 4, no. 6 (2008): 127.

people spent three years relocating to an area called Kalibuan. In this place they were able to satisfy the requirements of the Japanese administration, and still see their sacred mountain Tongku Saveq. The Japanese built modern houses and assisted the Bunun people to establish a water supply system. In this and other ways, the Japanese administration considered that it was looking after Bunun people. However, from the Bunun point of view, after they were forced to move away from their homeland, their lives changed enormously. The site of the new village was not in Bunun territory; in fact they were relocated into territory of the Tsou people (鄒族). In addition, they were in a different ecological region to which their traditional crops were not well suited, and they were under the control of an administration that imposed upon them a foreign government, foreign education, foreign religion, and new forms of agriculture and economy. Their traditional culture and knowledge was forced to confront a large range of new threats and challenges.

4.2.1 Naming, location, and its surroundings

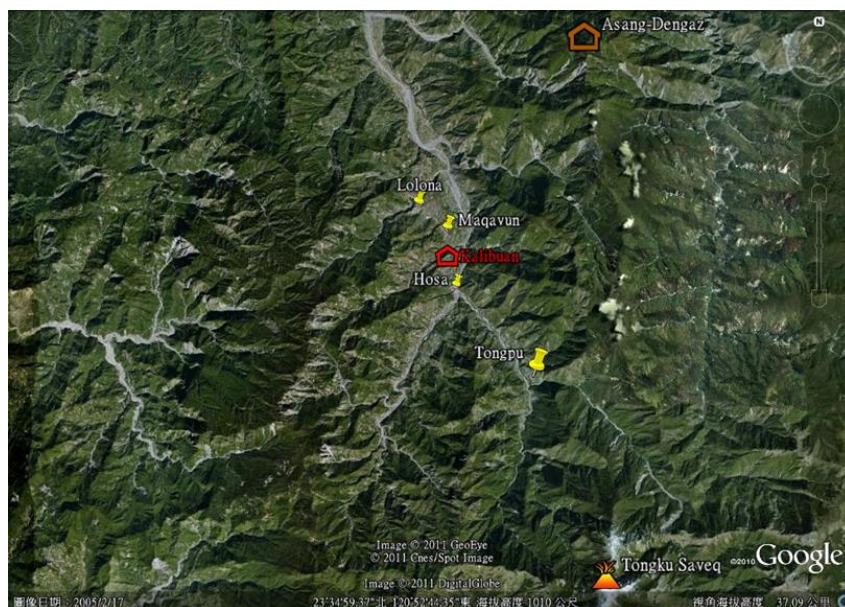


Figure 4.2: Map of relative locations of Kalibuan (望鄉), Asang-Dengaz (traditional homeland of the Kalubuan people before forced relocation), Tongku Saveq, Hosa (和社), Lolona (羅娜), Maqavun (久美), and Tongpu (東埔).²⁸⁹

²⁸⁹ Made by Hau-Ren Hung through Google Earth Software.

One version of the meaning of the name Kalibuan is that it signifies a place of plentiful waxberry (bayberry).²⁹⁰ Another version is that Kalibuan might be a Tsou (鄒) name, since the area used to be Tsou traditional territory. During the Japanese period, it was named *Bukiu*, which means ‘overlooking home country’.²⁹¹ After the KMT took over from Japan, Kalibuan was renamed *Wang-Xiang* (望鄉), which is translated directly from the Japanese *Bukiu*.

In terms of administrative division, the Kalibuan community (*Wang-Xiang* 望鄉 in Chinese) is located in Wang-Mei Village (望美村), Xin-yi Township (信義鄉), Nantou County (南投鄉). In terms of geographical environment, Kalibuan is in the middle of Taiwan. It is located northwest of the sacred mountain Tongku Saveq²⁹², and southwest of Qatungulan (巒大山), their traditional homeland.²⁹³ Kalibuan is surrounded by the Central Mountain Range (中央山脈) and Alishan Mountain Range (阿里山山脈), and is located on a river terrace, at the junction of Chenyulan River (陳有蘭溪) and Qalipusung’an River (阿里不動溪). Across the Qalipusung’an River, there are two other Bunun communities, Maqavun (久美) and Lolona (羅納), inhabited by Bunun groups of the Taki-Tudo (卓社) clan and the Is-Bukun (郡社) clan. There are some Tsou people living with Bunun people. Further down the river terrace from Kalibuan there is a district is known as Hosa²⁹⁴ (和社), populated by Han people. To the southeast of Kalibuan, there is an old Bunun community called Tongpu Dengaz²⁹⁵ (東埔). Now, according to the administrative division it is demarcated to be the first neighbourhood of Tongpu Village, and is within the domain of Yushan National Park. The area of Tongpu is popular for its hot springs. There are tensions between the community development aspirations of Bunun people in Tongpu and the national park mandate to conserve nature.

²⁹⁰ In Bunun language, *Kalibu* refers to waxberry. *An* means place.

²⁹¹ Yohani Isqaqavut (尤哈尼·伊斯卡卡夫 及 台灣原住民族部落永續發展協會), *Cultural and Historical Survey of Kalibuan Village of Bunun Tribe* (布農族 Kalibuan 望鄉部落文史調查資料) (Nantou County: Taiwan Indigenous Community Sustainable Development Association, 2007). 3.

²⁹² The highest mountain in Taiwan, known as Yushan (玉山; Mt. Jade).

²⁹³ The Kalibuan people’s *Asang-Dengaz* (homeland) before the forced relocation by Japanese.

²⁹⁴ ‘Hosa’ was named by Tsou people. Now, it is Tong-fu (同富) village according to the administrative division.

²⁹⁵ *Tongpu* in Bunun language means hatchet. It was a mining area where Indigenous people used to collect stone materials.

4.2.2 Historical and social transformation of Kalibuan



Figure 4.3: Panorama of Kalibuan community

In 1938, 32 households and 368 people in total migrated from Me-asang, their homeland, to Kalibuan. During the first years in the new settlement, the Japanese divided and allocated lands, and assembled all the villagers in work groups to open up roads, cultivate paddy fields, and build houses. For the first time in their history, they had to practice sedentary agriculture instead of traditional shifting cultivation. The Japanese introduced wet (paddy) rice, and taught the Bunun people modern agricultural techniques.²⁹⁶ Rice replaced millet as the staple food for Bunun people. Because so much of their ritual life concerned millet, the changeover to rice meant that fewer and fewer traditional rituals were carried out. Along with the massive changes in subsistence life, children were sent to school to receive an education founded in 'Japanisation' (also called 'Tennoisation' 皇民化). Hence, it is no wonder that the Elders in Kalibuan at present are still able to speak Japanese and sing Japanese songs. In addition to

²⁹⁶ Isqaqavut, *Cultural and Historical Survey of Kalibuan Village of Bunun Tribe* (布農族 Kalibuan 望鄉部落文史調查資料): 40. Also Soqluman, "Bunun's Home Nature: A Native's Point of View (Bunun 的家園自然：一個在地人的觀點)," 15.

Japanese education, the administration also built shrines in the community and forced them to worship the Japanese Mikado (Japanese emperor 天皇).²⁹⁷ Through those policies, the Kalibuan people gradually adapted to a new way of life that was shaped toward a Japanese national identity.

This was just the first wave of trauma for the villagers. In 1949, the National Party (KMT) from China took control of Taiwan, replacing the Japanese. The KMT Government developed severe, ruthless policies of assimilation in order to obliterate people's Indigenous and Japanese identities. The government prohibited the practice of their traditional Indigenous activities and customs. People were forced to speak Mandarin, to use a nonsensical Chinese name, and to receive 'civil education' (國民教育). Through this education, Indigenous people were effectively brainwashed: they were taught believe that they, too, were Chinese. Those policies of assimilation, like the Japanese ones, were deeply disturbing, and in some senses confusing, for the Kalibuan people.²⁹⁸

In addition to the Chinese impacts, there were also Christian impacts. Beginning in 1949, pastors and missionaries started coming to Kalibuan to preach Christianity. In a very short time, most villagers converted to Christianity, and the Presbyterian Church was established in 1951.²⁹⁹ Traditionally Bunun people worshiped the moon, and believed in an invisible supreme power (spirit) called *Deqanin*. Both *Tama*³⁰⁰ *Deqanin* and the Almighty (God) refer to a transcendent power, therefore the Bunun pastors and local missionaries equated God with *Tama Deqanin*. Their idea was that *Tama Deqanin* is to Bunun people as God is to Christians. They also drew a parallel between the Bunun flood legend and the story of Noah's ark. In these and other ways, Bunun traditional beliefs were linked to Christian beliefs, resulting in a blended religion that enabled people to retain some aspects of traditional belief, gain the support of Christians, and differentiate themselves from Han people.

²⁹⁷ Tama Balan, (Kalibuan, Nantou Couty, Taiwan: 2010), Interveiw.

²⁹⁸ Neqou Soqluman (乜寇・索克魯曼), (Kalibuan, Nantou County, Taiwan: 2010), Interview.

²⁹⁹ Isqaqavut, *Cultural and Historial Survey of Kalibuan Village of Bunun Tribe* (布農族 Kalibuan 望鄉部落文史調查資料): 35.

³⁰⁰ *Tama* is a respectful form of address for father and male elder. Bunun reverentially address *Deqanin* as *Tama Deqanin*.

During the chaotic period between the end of Japanese rule and the beginning of KMT rule, the church played a key supportive role both spiritually and materially, offering comfort, knowledge, and medical services.³⁰¹ The church took the stand of conserving Bunun culture. Church services were conducted in Bunun language, and a few Bunun traditions such as the infant ceremonies, naming customs, ancient chants were retained. Nonetheless, most of the traditional Bunun ceremonies and customs were not practiced in church. Instead, people carried out ceremonies such as marriages and funerals in a Christian manner, and adopted new festivals such as Easter and Christmas.³⁰²

Throughout the decades from the 1950s to the 1990s, the KMT government implemented various different policies of land use, agricultural objectives, and economic strategies.³⁰³ Those policies changed the people's livelihood again and again. One of the major shifts was the requirement to convert to a cash economy, and to grow cash crops. Rather than being subsistence farmers, they were encouraged, or forced, to grow cash crops and to comply with national agriculture policies. The Kalibuan villagers started to grow great quantities of rice, bananas (1950s), pears (1960s), corn (1970s), plums (1980s), and other crops in order to sustain their cash income.³⁰⁴ In addition to agriculture, the KMT government promoted a forestation policy which focussed on logging trees of high economic value, such as cypress and juniper. These policies, it must be noted, came after decades during which Japan had already deforested vast stretches of Taiwan.³⁰⁵ The KMT hired Indigenous people as temporary labourers on Forest Bureau lands (林班地). In the period 1950–1990, many

³⁰¹ Soqluman, "Bunun's Home Nature: A Native's Point of View (Bunun 的家園自然：一個在地人的觀點)," 40. Also Neqou Soqluman (乜寇·索克魯曼), "Kalibuan: A Bunun Village Overlooking Taiwan's Highest Peak (眺望台灣第一絕頂的布農族望鄉部落)" (paper presented at the First Asian Conference of Ethnobiology, International Society of Ethnobiology: The Position of Indigenous Peoples, Sacred Places and Participatory Methodology in Cultural and Biological Diversity Conservation, Taichung, Taiwan, 24-25 October 2009), 329-30.

³⁰² Yin-Kuei Huang (黃應貴), *Bunun Tribe (布農族)* (Taipei: Sanmin, 2006). 83-87.

For more details, see Yin-Kuei Huang, "Conversion and Religious Change among the Bunun of Taiwan" (University of London, 1988). Also Ying-Chuan Hung (洪膺詮), "From Deqanin to God: the Study of the Mass Conversion of Kalibuan Bunun to Christianity in 1950's (從天神到上帝：1950年代布農族望鄉部落集體改宗之研究)" (Tunghau University, 2009).

³⁰³ Huang, *Bunun Tribe (布農族)*: 4-5.

³⁰⁴ Isqaqavut, *Cultural and Historical Survey of Kalibuan Village of Bunun Tribe (布農族 Kalibuan 望鄉部落文史調查資料)*: 45-46.

³⁰⁵ Yu-Fong Chen (陳玉峰), "The biggest lie of Taiwan Forest in the fifty years: Afforestation (台灣山林五十年最大謊言：造林)," in *Taiwan's Ecology and Transformation (台灣生態與變態)* (Taipei: Qian-wei, 2004).

Kalibuan people left the village to work in the forests, going back and forth between village and forest in order to earn a living.³⁰⁶

The need to earn a living outside the village was caused by the uncertainties and fluctuations in the global market. For example, in the 1980s the price of plums declined dramatically because China and Thailand were exporting plums at a much lower price than Taiwan. In the article *Father and Land*, Kalibuan author Neqou Soqluman wrote:

Later, the value of village crops declined. For example, plums sold for at least around thirty yuan per *jin* [kilo]. It was the most substantial and most reliable income every year. Every family made quite a bit at harvest time. ... But in recent years the price has fallen to around five yuan a kilo. Not only that, but in order to sell them they all have to [be] picked by hand, be at least two centimetres in diameter, and be unblemished. A lot of villagers have trees laden with fruit they can't sell. It's enough to make a person cry and harden their heart to chop down their trees so as to try growing something else.³⁰⁷

To replace the plums, they also planted short-term, lower-cost crops such as tomatoes, snap beans, and green peppers. With the fluctuating price of crops, and the uncertainties of their livelihoods, people worked the soil harder and harder. Soil fertility was declining, and along with global market issues, 'natural' disasters were taking a toll. Landslides, floods, typhoons, and earthquakes all struck Kalibuan, and their impacts may have been made worse by the overuse of the land. Water supplies and roads were broken, and farmlands were washed out. Even worse, people were forced to mortgage or sell their land when they encountered serious financial difficulties or accidents. Dispossession was altering the social nature of Kalibuan. Taken together, these multiple factors escalated into more disasters. In the 1990s, many people planted high-cost/high-return crops such as grapes, persimmon, wax (bell) apple. Their reasoning was that with less land they needed more income, and because the village is situated in a 900 metre high terrace of rich soil and is close to Yushan Mountains, where the cold front blows along the longitudinal valley of Chenyulan River, the large diurnal temperature variation is suitable for high value crops. Then, on 21st of September, 1999, a

³⁰⁶ Balan.

³⁰⁷ Neqou Sokluman, "Father and the Land," in *Indigenous Writers of Taiwan: An Anthology of Stories, Essays, and Poems*

ed. John Balcom and Yingtsih Balcome (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 150-51.

massive earthquake hit the area, collapsing buildings and houses in Kalibuan and ruining the new crops.

In 2000, a new wave of changes began, this time including changes toward recognition and empowerment of Indigenous people. The Democratic Progress Party won the presidential direct election, terminating more than fifty years of KMT rule of Taiwan. Taiwanese people were finally liberated from the long-term dominance of KMT. This liberation enabled Taiwanese people to rethink their identity, and to revitalise older cultural practices. There was also an effect on policy-making: due to this more open form of democracy, more local voices could be involved in policy making.

In the same year, Yohani Isqaqavut, a Bunun pastor in Kalibuan, became the Minister of Taiwan's Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan.³⁰⁸ He devoted himself to promoting the revival of the mother tongues, revitalisation of Indigenous identities, initiation of recognition of traditional land rights, and implementation of Indigenous law. Meanwhile, the Kalibuan villagers, stimulated and encouraged by Yohani, decided to try a new form of community development. In 2002, the Taiwan Indigenous Community Sustainable Development Association (台灣原住民族部落永續發展協會) was founded with the aims of activating community grassroots awareness, autonomous management, and sustainable development.³⁰⁹ At Yohani's suggestion, the villagers began a self-directed community development program aimed at increasing local employment. Their projects received financial support from Council of Labour Affairs (行政院勞工委員會) and Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan (行政院台灣原住民族委員會).

One initiative was directed toward tourism. Some villagers were trained to be mountain guides, tour guides, and cultural performers. In 2003 and 2004 two groups were organised: Wang-Xiang High Mountains Guides (望鄉部落高山嚮導團隊) and Wang-Xiang Bunun Cultural Performance (望鄉部落布農文化藝術團 2004). Another aspect of this community initiative was to start up ecotourism. This initiative involved assistance in opening up the *Manutusan* hunter trail, an old trail that was redeveloped in an area that had formerly been

³⁰⁸ Executive Yuan is the highest administrative institution in Taiwan.

³⁰⁹ From 2003 to 2005, Yohani was the chair and Neqou was a project manager.

Bunun hunting territory, and now is the Experimental Forest of National Taiwan University (台大實驗林).³¹⁰ At that time, some of the villagers invested building bed and breakfast (B&B) accommodation. Although the association made efforts to create opportunities and provide vision for the whole community, only a few families gained profits and could continue to make a living by the cultural industry and tourism. Most villagers still have to rely on agriculture, or if cash is still insufficient, find jobs in cities.

In sum, the varied colonial administrative policies respectively implemented by the Japanese and KMT Governments seriously impacted Bunun people over a period of sixty or seventy years, changing their way of life and traditional culture in most aspects of governance, economy, social institutions, and education. The Christian religion seems to have played a complicated role in that it has had both positive and negative effects on the Bunun culture in Kalibuan. In the face of all this external control, Bunun people were forced to adjust themselves to an ever changing life. During these years, Taiwan has been moving toward to a democratic society, and Indigenous people's situation — their loss of land and culture — has become a focus of concern to the wider society. Indigenous people of Taiwan themselves have begun to think of how to stand up for their own dignity, their land rights, and their right to autonomous governance. Nevertheless, within this regime of a settler society and a market economy, the villagers constantly struggle to find a balance between economic and cultural survival.

4.3 My first visit: 'This Mountain is called Tongku Saveq'

I first visited Kalibuan in early 2005. At that time, a group of Canadians had been invited by Dr. Yih-Ren Lin, of Providence University (Taichung) to visit several Taiwan Indigenous communities. The group included Mr. Ovid Mercredi, the former Grand Chief of First Nations, and some scholars from the University of Victoria (BC). I was working as an assistant for Dr. Lin at that time, and was connected with the Research Centre for Austronesian Peoples.³¹¹ We organised a series of cultural interchanges titled 'The making of Taiwan's Indigenous peoples' subjectivity: Experience sharing between Taiwan and Canada's

³¹⁰ *Manutusan* refers to nose for the shape of the mountain looks like nose.

³¹¹ Research Centre for Austronesian Peoples was founded by Dr. Yih-Ren Lin at Providence University. (<http://recap.pu.edu.tw/>) I worked there during 2005 and early 2009.

Indigenous peoples'.³¹² Fortuitously, we saw that several B & B and holiday lodges were being built in Kalibuan, and learned that the villagers were making efforts to reconstruct their community through developing ecological tourism. As part of this cross-cultural exchange, I had the good fortune to meet Neqou Soqluman, a Bunun writer. From him I learned about the Bunun Flood Legend³¹³ as it relates to Tongku Saveq, the highest mountain of Taiwan.



Figure 4.4: Front cover of Neqou's first novel *Palisia Tongku Saveq*

My understanding of the strong connection between Bunun people and Jade Mountain (Tongku Saveq) grew enormously when, in the winter of 2007, I joined a group making the ascent to the summit. At that time, Neqou's first novel *Palisia Tongku Saveq*³¹⁴ was being published. Some members of the Research Centre for Austronesian People thought it would be a perfect time to make an ascent of the mountain guided by Neqou, who was also working in the Research Centre. It was the first ascent of Yushan for all the members of the group, except Neqou who had guided groups up to the peak more than seventy times. All of us were excited about the ascent of the highest mountain in Taiwan and northeast Asia, for in recent

³¹² Hau-Ren Hung (洪浩仁), "Notes on Interchange Activity between Taiwan and Canada: The former grand chief of Canada's First Nations visits (台灣、加拿大交流活動紀行(下)——加拿大原住民前任總頭目來訪)" Lipao, <http://www.lihpao.com/?action-viewnews-itemid-77849>.

³¹³ The Bunun story of Flood Legend is discussed in Section 4.1.2.

³¹⁴ The novel *Palisia Tongku Saveq* is based on Indigenous knowledge deriving from Bunun myths, legends, songs, prohibitions, ceremonies, etc. Containing Bunun cosmology, law, and ethnobiological knowledge, this novel builds up a spatial knowledge and imagination of the highest mountain of Taiwan.

years Taiwanese people had been struck with what was called ‘Yushan Fever’ (玉山熱).³¹⁵ In addition to my eagerness to make my first ascent, I was also wondering how Neqou, an Indigenous writer and mountain guide, would introduce the mountain to us.

The trip took two days and two nights. On the first night before mountain trekking, we stayed in Kalibuan. We sat in front of Neqou’s B&B lodge and he lit a camp fire, inviting everyone to sit side by side around the fire under the star-filled black sky. We chatted to one another at first, but then Neqou started to tell us Bunun stories, including a flood legend that related to the mountain that we were going to climb the next day. Neqou told us that Bunun people have lived in the region for generations, and that the mountain was the last sanctuary for all beings during the ancient time of flood. Accordingly, the mountain was considered to be the centre of Bunun mythology.³¹⁶ On that night in Kalibuan, while excited about the upcoming first ascent of the mountain, we were also worried about our physical condition in high mountains. Neqou comforted us by saying that we did not have to think too much about the difficulties of mountain climbing, as he would guide all of us to the peak and no one would be left behind. Before going to bed, some of us discussed making a poster to be displayed on the summit in order to celebrate and memorialise this great ‘moment of a lifetime’. Since we could not determine which words would be most appropriate, we asked for Neqou’s suggestion. Without hesitation Neqou said, ‘let’s write down this: 這山叫做東谷沙飛 (This mountain is called Tongku Saveq)’. Everyone agreed that this was a succinct and marvellous sentence, and so it was written. ‘And thereby this poster gives meaning to the way. We are not getting into Yushan (Jade Mountain), but rather into a mysterious hidden world — Tongku Saveq’ said Neqou.³¹⁷

Next morning (9 December, 2009) before the sun rose, we drove to Tataka Visitor Centre (塔加遊客中心), at the entrance of Yushan National Park. The centre is at an elevation of

³¹⁵ A phenomenon in Taiwan shaped by a promotion of national identity that everyone living in Taiwan should ascend Yushan at least once during the lifetime. Thus, Yushan has become the most popular site for Taiwanese climbers in recent years. For more details, see Zoe Cheng, "National Identity: Taiwan Looks for Its Roots," *Taiwan Review* 57, no. 3 (2007): 35-41.

³¹⁶ June Tsai, "Bunun heritage comes alive on trails of sacred mountain," *Taiwan Journal*, 1 April, 2008.

³¹⁷ Neqou Soqluman (乜寇·索克魯曼), "Literary notes at camp fire: The first and second 'This mountain is called Tongku Saveq' movement (爐火邊的文學記事 - 寫一、二次「這山叫做東谷沙飛」運動)," <http://www.wretch.cc/blog/tongkusaveq/12764413>.

2,610 metres, and is the starting point for trekkers entering Yushan National Park and hiking to the summit. Neqou addressed us as we gathered at this place, telling us that the origin of the sacredness of the mountain Tongku Saveq is traced back to an ancient time when a huge serpent lay across the Zhuoshui River and blocked the water from flowing through. The result was an enormous flood, and only those people who fled to the summit survived. Neqou solemnly stressed the sacredness of the mountain, holding a cup of millet wine to carry out a traditional blessing ceremony. He sprinkled some drops of wine and said prayers to the spirits of the mountain, 'May the sky (Deqanin) bless our footsteps. May our ancestors accept our project and may the spirits accompany us on our journey.' After the blessing ceremony, I became aware that the place I was entering was not just a national park, but was Bunun traditional territory and a sacred place. Before our group set out, Neqou reminded us that we should go with a humble and respectful attitude. He said:

for many Taiwanese people, it is a dream to climb to the top of Yushan at least once in their lifetimes, yet [the real goal] of our tour today is to surmount (or go beyond) ourselves.³¹⁸



Figure 4.5: Neqou introduces Bunun's ethnobiology by storytelling.



Figure 4.6: The group of trekkers on the way to the summit of Tongku Saveq

As we hiked, Neqou introduced various plants, animals and landscape features. He also pointed out several Bunun ruins and remains. In addition, he told Bunun myths and legends about Taiwan red pine, muntjac,³¹⁹ moon bear, and hawk, among others. The stories closely

³¹⁸ Tsai, "Bunun heritage comes alive on trails of sacred mountain."

³¹⁹ *Muntiacus reevesi micrurus*, also known as 'barking deer'.

associated things in the mountains with Bunun people, and clearly manifested the intimate relations between non-human beings and Bunun people.³²⁰ As the trail climbed higher and higher, some members of the group, including me, began to suffer from symptoms of altitude sickness, such as dizziness, headache, palpitation, and nausea. I had a serious headache and felt listless before reaching Paiyun Lodge (排雲山莊).³²¹ In spite of my physical illness, I felt spiritually comforted because of having Neqou and other friends' supportive company. During the whole journey, Neqou guided us and kept the group moving forward steadily. Lahwy Icyh, a young Atayal assistant guide, walked behind all of us to make sure everyone's physical condition was adequate, and gave support as needed. At times the two men spontaneously and responsively sang Indigenous chants, and their voices relieved our body and soul from tiredness. When we felt exhausted again from breathing difficulty or lack of stamina, they cheered everyone up through Indigenous calls and chants. Thanks to their help we were able to pull ourselves together throughout the journey.

After approximately eight hours of tiring hiking, we arrived at Paiyun Lodge where we would spend the night before starting the final trek to the summit early next morning. I was unable to fall asleep because of altitude sickness and chilly weather. I got up to drink hot tea in the middle of the night, and met Neqou in the kitchen. We had a chat about his forthcoming novel, which was based on Bunun myths and legend. I felt honoured to listen to his innovative writing ideas right there on the mountain which was one of main story places in his novel, and to share that moment with him under thousands of beautiful stars twinkling in the sky. I once thought that owing to altitude sickness I could never be able to complete the final 2.4 kilometre trek to the summit. Thanks to Neqou's encouragement, and in response to the



Figure 4.7: Neqou talks about Bunun culture, colonial history and his personal stories of self-identification on the summit.

³²⁰ Some of the stories are mentioned in Section 4.1 and Chapter 5.

³²¹ Paiyun Lodge is 8.5 kilometres away from the entrance of Yushan is at an altitude of 3,402 metres. It is the only accommodation for trekkers on the trail, where trekkers spend the night before reaching summit in the early morning.

spirituality of the sacred mountain, I set free my physical burden, adjusted my breathing and state of mind, and walked step by step in time with Nature. At last, we all reached the summit at the crack of dawn. It was unforgettable. I then overcame my physical and spiritual weakness, and stood on the top of the highest mountain in Taiwan to look down over the land where I was born and raised. Neqou pointed to the location of Kalibuan, his hometown, and he told us the history of the relocation in 1930s that had been forced upon them by the Japanese. He said that it was lamentable that he had not even known the Bunun name of the mountain, Tongku Saveq, until his first climb to the summit with Bunun Elders when he was 28 years old. He said now few people know the name, and even many Bunun people called it Yushan rather than Tongku Saveq. We stayed on the summit for a while to take pictures. Then, we gathered at a stone plaque and displayed the poster ‘這山叫東谷沙飛 This mountain is called Tongku Saveq’ in front of the plaque, upon which was inscribed the words ‘玉山主峰 Main peak of Jade Mountain’.



Figure 4.8: The poster ‘這山叫東谷沙飛’ (‘This mountain is called Tongku Saveq’) displayed on the summit

After the exhausting but impressive climb, we went back to Kalibuan in the evening. Sitting around Neqou's campfire again, we had sincere conversations sharing our experiences of the ascent with each other. I felt a profound understanding grow as I perceived the meaning of 'to surmount (go beyond) ourselves'. Neqou had told us this before the ascent. Now I came to understand that I did not conquer the mountain; I conquered nothing but myself. I overcame physical obstacles and made successful ascent of the mountain against all odds. Spiritually, I transcended my self-limitation. I went beyond my limited imagination, knowledge, understanding, and ideology of place. Through Neqou's guidance, not only did I physically see the varied landscapes in different altitudes, but I also perceived Bunun complex spirituality in relation to nature. I realised that Jade Mountain was not just the mountain that most people knew or most trekkers experienced in Taiwan. The fact is that the mountain has existed for millions of years, so it contains memories, varied stories, knowledges, histories, cultures, and affections. However, much of this complexity had been forgotten, neglected or hidden instead of being told from generation to generation. I was inspired with the idea that we as human beings could go beyond our limited knowledge, restricted identities, and narrow ideology of place to achieve integral understandings of multi-faceted, multi-cultural nature.

I was deeply moved and impressed by the journey. To me the mountain-hiking tour of 'This mountain is called Tongku Saveq' was like an initiation ceremony which led me to become involved in learning more about Bunun culture. The initiation started at the campfire in Neqou's B&B lodge in Kalibuan where we gathered; the final ritual was our return to the same campfire, and sharing the feelings and experiences of our ascent. Although the 'initiation' ended, the changes that I (and others) experienced were profound, and still continue. We have formally launched a cultural movement. I made a commitment to facilitate it. After the ascent and the proclamation of 'This mountain is called Tongku Saveq,' I began to collaborate with Neqou and other members in ReCAP (Research Centre for Austronesian Peoples) in the work of cultural survival. We called our loose organisation, the 'Tongku Saveq Movement. (東谷沙飛運動)'

啟程吧! 東谷沙飛運動

啟程吧! 東谷沙飛運動

向 Lamongan 祖先的土地致敬

進入 Bunun 的家

是誰有聲音

是誰有權力

是誰有權利

述說這片土地的歷史呢?

有些誤解 需要被解釋

有些錯置 需要被導正

而真實

被掩蓋 隱藏 遺忘 而消失

它在等待被還原 它在等待被澄清

誰記得這片土地的故事啊?

我們在 Kalibuan

實踐對傳統的學習、認知與體悟

我們在 Tongku Saveq 頂上

宣示珍惜並捍衛 Bunun 的文化

讓更多人看見

讓更多人聽見

讓更多人感動

祖先對土地的知識 記憶 與情感

會延續著

Bon Voyage! Tongku Saveq Movement by Hau-Ren Hung

Bon Voyage! Tongku Saveq Movement

Salute! To Lamongan, ancestors' land

Let's go to Bunun's homeland

Who has the voice

Who has the authority

Who has the right

To tell the history of the land?

Some misunderstanding awaits being understood

Some displacement awaits being replaced

And the fact

Covered, hidden, forgotten, and lost

is waiting to be restored and unfolded

Who still remembers the story of the land?

In Kalibuan,

we learned, conceived, and internalised the tradition

On the peak of Tongku Saveq,

we announce, cherish, and defend Bunun culture

Let it be seen

Let it be heard

Let it be recognised

The ancestors' knowledge, memory, and affection for the land

will remain

Chapter 5

Tongku Saveq School: Place-based Education for Bunun Culture and Knowledge

The Tongku Saveq School, based in the Kalibuan community, is one of the major works of the Tongku Saveq Movement. The School promotes place-based education for cultural survival. In order to enliven traditional culture and transmit knowledge and values which have been ignored and submerged in mainstream society, Neqou and I, along with other members of ReCAP share the view that a school could be a positive and sustainable way to work for cultural survival. The initial concept of Tongku Saveq School is:

a school situated in an Indigenous community where it produces knowledge and offers learning opportunities; that is, the community itself is a school, and Elders, hunters and related cultural workers are teachers of the school in various courses for they are all possessed with rich local knowledge, and the fantastic *Palisia Tongku Saveq* is the first textbook in this school. In other words, once you get into the context of community life, you have situated yourself in the curriculums of Tongku Saveq School. Being viewed as a school, the Indigenous community will no longer be a passive research object or just an object for sightseeing or to be interpreted; instead, the community will take the initiative to manifest its active vitality as a body of knowledge to learners. I believe this concept of a school can not only help a community establish confidence in local lives, and stimulate place-based production and development, but also help the non-Indigenous to establish a vision with knowledge from the space of an Indigenous community to perceive or imagine the world. It is also a positive manifestation of Taiwan as a multicultural society.³²²

Through Kalibuan people's long-term efforts for community development and the collaboration between Kalibuan community and ReCAP of Providence University, Tongku Saveq School has held numerous teaching and learning activities for children, university students, and adults from outside of the Kalibuan community, enabling them to experience Bunun culture and knowledge. As a facilitator, I have continually collaborated with Neqou

³²² Neqou (乜寇·索克魯曼) Soqluman and Hau-Ren (洪浩仁) Hung, "Revitalizing Local Knowledge in an Indigneous Community: Action Plan of making Tongku Saveq School by Youths (活化部落在地知識 - 青年打造「東谷沙飛學校」行動計畫)," in *2008 Final Report of Youth Action Plan for Community Participation (2008 青年社區參與行動計劃成果專刊)* ed. National Youth Commision (Taipei: National Youth Commision, 2008), 150. Also, Soqluman, "Bunun's Home Nature: A Native's Point of View (Bunun 的家園自然：一個在地人的觀點)," 20-21.

and frequently discussed the teaching and learning activities carried out in the past to keep improving and enriching the content and communication of the curriculum.

On average, participants spend two days and one night in Kalibuan (for each learning session) during weekends or holidays. They experience community life and learn Bunun culture and knowledge.

5.1 Guide to the Kalibuan community

The teaching and learning tour usually began with a ‘ceremony of initiation’ held by Neqou when participants arrived at the entrance of Kalibuan. Neqou would remind them that now they were in an Indigenous village so they should learn some Bunun conventions and basic greetings.³²³ At the entrance of Kalibuan, there is a huge gate of ‘Entrance Image of Village’, built as part of a community development project. Two wood carving sculptures were mounted on two sides of the gate. One is a woman husking millet with a pestle; the other is a man holding a hunting rifle and a knife. Next to the gate, there were several big wall paintings, which illustrate Bunun’s Great Flood legend, migration and other important historical events. Neqou would interpret the things on the gate and wall paintings to participants, and teach them some Bunun greetings such as *Uninang* and *Miqomisang*³²⁴ and advise them of some customs, including the fact that farting in front of Elders or during gatherings and activities was forbidden.³²⁵

Next, Neqou would guide the participants on a walk through the community. When they met villagers, participants would try to greet them in Bunun language. Neqou would also introduce some Elders and teach participants how to address them properly according to their age and gender. Therefore, participants learned how to properly greet and show respect to the

³²³ In Kalibuan, most villagers speak their native language Bunun and use it for daily communication.

³²⁴ Both *Uninang* and *Miqomisang* generally have the same meaning, ‘Thank you’ or ‘bless you.’ However, their literal meaning is, ‘may you be living well’, or ‘may you be still breathing.’ While *Miqomisang* is used for the elder to bless the younger, *Uninang* is for the younger to greet the elder. (This word can be understood in three parts, including *Mi* denotes ‘continue,’ *qomis* implies ‘alive,’ and *sang* indicates the present progressive tense.)

³²⁵ Farting is a traditional prohibition for Bunun people, especially during the period of hunting and significant events and ceremonies. Soqluman, "Bunun's Home Nature: A Native's Point of View (Bunun 的家園自然：一個在地人的觀點)," 95.

villagers, and through these exchanges would start build their first relationships with Kalibuan people.

Along the main street Kalibuan villagers have made signboards and notices which provide information about Bunun's traditional culture and each family's specialty. Neqou would illustrate some of them in detail so that participants could know more about what they meant. Also, Neqou would point at some sites which are story places in his novel *Palisia Tongku Saveq*, and tell how those interesting stories and his creative inspiration originated from Bunun myths and legends.

Besides learning Bunun culture and stories via the guided tour, participants had opportunities to learn about the Bunun people's current living situation. This included seeing the historical transformations that took place through the evidence of Japanese wooden cottages and modern concrete houses. After the community tour, Neqou would bring students to some Elders' homes or workplaces. These were the actual 'classrooms' of Tongku Saveq School. Here participants learned about Bunun's culture and knowledge concerning weaving, agriculture, hunting, storytelling, music, etc. The second day usually involved mountain hiking to learn about hunting and the hunter's philosophy on *Manutusan* hunter trail.³²⁶ Alternatively, participants would partake of a religious experience in the Presbyterian Church.

In the following sections I discuss each of the main Bunun Elders who were teachers in the Tongku Saveq School, with the exception of Tiang Soqluman, the hunting teacher. The discussion of hunting will be deferred to the next chapter.

³²⁶ See 4.2.2



Figure 5.1: International students of Providence University, who enrolled the course 'Multicultural Interchange and Learning' convened by Hau-Ren Hung, learn Bunun culture and give their feedback at the campfire in Kalibuan community.

5.2 Bean seeds and traditional crops: bio-cultural diversity

Tina Ibu, has been persistent in her practice of bean planting and seed saving. She is the keeper of Bunun traditional beans. Neqou and I began to understand the significance of seed diversity when we attended the 11th International Congress of Ethnobiology in Peru in 2008. We were inspired by the potato diversity in Peru,³²⁷ and by the theme of the conference, 'Local Livelihood and Collective Biocultural Heritage',³²⁸ and began to think about biocultural diversity and its practice in the Kalibuan community.

Once I asked Neqou if there were any crops or plants that demonstrated the precious bio-cultural diversity in Kalibuan the way potatoes do in Peru. He knew that millet, Bunun's

³²⁷ Peru is the origin of the potato. There are more than 3,000 varieties of native potatoes conserved in Peru.

³²⁸ See <http://www.icecusco.net/index.php>

traditional major crop, has various species, but rice has replaced millet as a staple food, as discussed in Chapter 4, and very few Bunun people grow millet now. However, Neqou remembered that he had seen and eaten many different kinds of beans in his childhood. Even though now fewer and fewer varieties of beans could be seen, it is still common for Bunun people to cook soup with beans. Neqou suggested that we probably could still find some information about beans from some elder women in the community because he had seen some women grow and exchange beans. And so we set out on a journey of bean discovery. We encountered an Elder in her eighties, and she told us that in the past people ate beans every day; now few women grow beans but she knew there was still one woman doing it. She suggested we go to Tina Ibu.



Figure 5.2: Encounter with the Elder in her eighties who recommended Tina Ibu to us in order to gain more information and better understanding of Bunun traditional beans.

We went to Tina Ibu in the hope of seeing beans, but instead we saw heaps of green peppers that she was packing into boxes.³²⁹ However, Tina Ibu told us that she planted some beans in her farmland. Over there, again, we saw only green peppers.

³²⁹ Today Kalibuan people planted peas, green peppers, cabbages, tomatoes, grapes and other economic crops, which supply the needs of the plains markets. Most Bunun people in the Kalibuan Community make their living through some involvement in agriculture.



Figure 5.3: Tina Ibu packs green peppers into boxes in her house. (Left)

Figure 5.4: Beans growing on the edges of Tina Ibu's farmland. (Right)

On second glance, Neqou found a small patch of beans growing on the edges of her field. We asked Tina Ibu how many kinds of beans she grew. She answered, ‘Three. They are *Qalidang* (tree beans) with different colours. That’s all’. We felt rather frustrated at this disappointing answer. With the feeling that there must be something more, I asked the question in another way: ‘Do you know if there are other kinds of bean grown in other places?’ She replied, ‘Yes, I store some in my lodge.’ When she came out of the cottage, we were surprised to see that she had collected various colourful beans in bottles and cans. There were at least fifteen different kinds of beans she had collected.

After documenting these beans and learning more about them from Tina Ibu and other Elders, we were able to compile a list. The bean seeds collected by Tina Ibu included:

- *Benu tongqo* (翹翹豆 literally ‘warp-warp bean’)
- *Benu qalsam* (硬硬豆 hard-hard bean)
- *Benu silup* (腸子豆 intestine bean)
- *Benu Litang* (紅豆 red bean)
- *Laiyan* (綠豆 green bean)
- *Pulavaz simal* (肥肉豆 fat bean)
- *Pulavaz patas* (賺錢豆; 花豆 money-earning bean; flower bean)
- *Pulavaz dian* (肚子豆 tummy bean)
- *Benus tanaul* (鄒豆 Tsou bean)
- *Benu malang*

- *Pulavaz sila* (旁邊豆 side bean)
- *Qalidang* (樹豆 tree bean)



Figure 5.5 and Figure 5.6: The bean seeds collected by Tina Ibu (Left and Right)

Each bean was named for its shape, function, or origin. For example, *benu silup* (intestine bean) indicates its shape. *Pulavaz sus* (money-earning bean) implies that Bunun people earn a living by selling this bean. *Benus tanaul* (Tsou bean) probably came from Tsou people. Some of those beans could be used as remedies for illness, such as helping lower blood pressure or curing a stomach ache.

In Bunun language, there are three names for beans, *benu*, *pulavaz*, and *taki simuk*. *Benu* is both the general (collective) term for beans and also specifically refers to the beans with a round pod. *Pulavaz* refers to beans with a flat pod. *Taki simuk* is an interesting and meaningful name especially for traditional beans. *Taki* means ‘poop’, *simuk* refers to waste land. *Taki simuk* refers to crops ‘pooped’ on waste agriculture land. In the past, Bunun grew millet and other traditional crops on farmland. After the millet harvest, the land would become useless and wasted. However, after a couple of months some beans would grow naturally without human planting. The reason is that some animals like quail, gem-faced civet, and vole (field mouse) would eat a few crops which were left there. Because beans are not easy to digest, those beans eaten by these animals would be pooped and be returned to the land to grow naturally. As a result, such beans were traditionally called *taki simuk*.³³⁰ The naming of

³³⁰ Neqou Soqluman (乜寇·索克魯曼), "Story of Mother Bean: Part I (豆類媽媽的故事 (上))," Lihpao, <http://www.lihpao.com/?action-viewnews-itemid-105324>.

traditional beans also indicates that Bunun people observed the way beans survive through animals. These beans are regarded as the grace of nature from Bunun ancestors.

We also learned from Tina Ibu that Bunun people traditionally planted millet in the middle of farmland and planted beans (with taro and potato) on the sides of the farmland. Thus, despite the fact that Bunun people had to plant rice instead of their traditional millet after Japanese colonisation, and then had to plant cash crops for a living after KMT occupation, the knowledge and practice of bean planting was kept alive by some Elders.

There is a human connection in these bean stories. When Neqou and I interviewed Tina Ibu concerning beans, she always mentioned her childhood. She told us that her mother taught her to plant crops from the time she was six years old, and cured her stomach ache by cooking a soup of *benus tanaul* for her. Tina Ibu said: 'I don't want to see them (beans) vanishing [disappearing]. When I saw them, I would think of my mom. ... If we don't have vegetables, we can cook beans'. Further, her mother told her that those who do not grow crops are lazy women. By continuing to plant beans, Tina Ibu keeps alive her memory of the past and her strong attachment to her mother. Beans, as a medium, connect Tina Ibu's present and her past, and her own life with that of her mother:

Ma sak mai tini tini ka pisbababaq sak tangis, masmuav nak'a isang idip mililiskin tina....., Ma sak mai tini tini sadu ki sinsuaz'a, liskin sak tu...o...dau tina masnava tu mopa masuaz'a, mai hezang al manaskal sadu ki sinsuaz maviske. Matin mopata sakin masalpu ki di minmadin naka sisuaz las'a...mai hezan tina al manaskal nai sadu tu 'Ai! Mavusqe su'a sinsuz'i!'

If I am alone, I will cry, as I still miss my mother. If I am planting alone, I will think of ... oh ... My mother taught me how to plant like that, and if she was still here she would be very happy to see the great harvest here. I am sad when I see such fruits from what I planted ... if mom was still here, she would be very happy and say, 'Ah! You have such a great harvest!'³³¹

Because of her deep attachment to her mother, she has made sure that various seeds of beans continue to exist. Tina Ibu said her relatives and friends usually ask for bean seeds and take some of them away when they visit her. Thus, varieties of beans had gone to other Bunun

³³¹ Neqou Soqluman (乜寇·索克魯曼), "Story of Mother Bean: Part 2 (豆類媽媽的故事 (下))," Lihpao, <http://www.lihpao.com/?action-viewnews-itemid-105537>.

communities, including communities in Taitung (台東).³³² Tina Ibu also taught her married daughter living in another Bunun village how to plant beans. Of course, she gave her daughter beans, and her daughter shares those beans with others as well. Tina Ibu added that beans could grow easily and they are healthy and organic, free from pesticide or chemicals. Once, knowing that Tina Ibu planted a variety of beans, a person who suffered from a serious disease caused by high blood pressure came to Kalibuan and asked for beans because the doctor had suggested them as an alternative to commercial medication. The patient thoroughly recovered after eating beans for a period of time, so this case delighted Tina Ibu. Through sharing seeds, personal affection and love as well as Bunun culture and knowledge continue to survive and expand. The Bunun were forced to relocate away from traditional territories by the Japanese Government, and were forced to grow rice instead of traditional crops like millet and sweet potato. In consequence, some traditional knowledge and some crops have not been handed down from the past generation. Luckily for Kalibuan, traditional knowledge of bean diversity has been maintained thanks to Tina Ibu's continuous efforts and love.

After Neqou and I found that 'bean seed-diversity' and knowledge of traditional crops was maintained by Tina Ibu, we started to collaborate with her and her husband Tama Balan to develop a course on bean diversity, traditional crops, and food. We took students to Tina Ibu's working lodge and farmland. In the working lodge, students could see various bean seeds collected in bottles stored by Tina Ibu and Tama Balan. Tina Ibu would pour a small number of beans out of each bottle or can and point at each pile of beans placed on the floor, telling us their traditional Bunun names, sowing and harvest season, and other stories about their origin and classification.

Once, a participant in the Tongku Saveq School who was a teacher of environmental education was so touched by Tina Ibu that he voluntarily explained the benefit of planting beans in front of other participants. He described how beans, in symbiotic relationship, grow with soil bacteria inside root nodules of the legumes called rhizobia that fix nitrogen. Biological nitrogen fixation adds atmospheric nitrogen to the soil, that is it is a natural fertiliser and nutrient supply for further crops. Therefore, by planting beans, there is no need

³³² Taitung is situated in the east of Taiwan. Several Bunun clans relocated to Taitung after Japanese colonisation.

to use artificial fertilisers (and there may even be less need for pesticides as the plants grow healthily and strongly) that are expensive and can cause severe environmental concerns. Beans and the land are reciprocally beneficial to each other.

Tina Ibu and Tama Bali also know a lot about other traditional crops. They told students about crops the Bunun used to grow in Me-asang, developing an agricultural history that connected their homeland with their current lives in Kalibuan. They also explained that agricultural rituals and *Samu* were taught by the moon after the Sun-shooting, and in the old days these ceremonies used to centre on millet.

Along with our efforts to demonstrate Bunun knowledge of agricultural diversity, an ‘experimental farmland for traditional crops’ was planted in February 2011. We planted a variety of traditional crops, such as millets, *kaoliang* (sorghum 高粱), *monascus anka* (red Chinese rice 紅麴), beans, and pearl barley (job’s tears 薏仁), among other crops. When students came to Kalibuan, they would be able to observe those crops directly and participate directly in agricultural work. Furthermore, some traditional ceremonies regarding planting would be carried out accordingly at the appropriate seasons, including the planting millet ritual, seeding millet ritual, weeding ritual, harvest ritual, and grain storage ritual. Through these practices and rituals, cultural knowledge could be maintained and people could experience the values that connect the old ways with the new.

5.2 Traditional weaving

Tina Langus, an Elder in her sixties, is an accomplished weaver. She told us that as a child she had learned traditional weaving by observing her mother, but she did not take weaving seriously until she got married when she was eighteen years old. When the community development initiatives were being explored in Kalibuan, Tina Langus built up a weaving workshop next to her house. She designs and makes traditional clothes and personal ornaments and displays them in her workshop. Her years of weaving, teaching, and revitalising this traditional practice with its aesthetic, storytelling, and functional aspects, enabled her to become a valued teacher of traditional weaving at the Tongku Saveq School.

In Bunun tradition, women had to learn to weave so that their husbands and children would have beautiful clothes to wear. Tina Langus recalled that her husband once told her ‘I am

happy when I saw you doing weaving ... No other women are so good at weaving like you'. Tina Langus usually mentioned Bunun stories about lazy women. In past Bunun life, according to stories, a pot of rice could be made with only one grain of rice and timbers of Taiwan red pine would voluntarily come to people's houses. However, because of lazy women, this grace given to people by *Tama Deqanin* disappeared.

In the old days, while men went to the mountains to do hard work such as clearing the ground, gathering and hunting, women stayed home to cook and weave. Tina Langus explained that a lazy woman could be thought to be a woman who does not sincerely love her husband and family. 'If you don't learn and do weaving,' Tina Langus said, 'it implies you are not really earnest toward your husband.' In addition to weaving clothes, Bunun women made necklaces for their husbands with boar teeth, muntjac antlers, or bones of animals that their husbands had hunted. During ceremonies and other significant activities, Bunun men put on their traditional clothes and wore necklaces to show their achievements and abilities. A lazy woman has no art and ability to enable her husband to wear ornaments and decorate himself as others do, and he would therefore lose face in front of others.

In the past, Bunun women wove with *ramie* (苧麻) and beaded with pearl barley. Tina Langus explained that pearl barley has different types, each with a different colour. She said that Bunun people used to use natural materials to make ornaments, but now they use modern materials like plastic and acrylics. These days, however, few Bunun women weave or make handicrafts, and no one grows ramie and pearl barley. Artificial materials, with their cheap and easy-access features, now replace natural materials. As I was thinking about the disconnected relation between Bunun culture and natural resources, Tina Langus gave me an artless smile: 'If I was like a lazy woman, nothing would be left'. She meant that her determination to keep on weaving and making handicrafts is keeping knowledge alive, and is keeping alive an exemplary way of being a Bunun woman.

When Neqou and I brought students to visit her and to learn about traditional weaving, we would ask her to introduce her work to the students. Tina Langus taught students to make traditional bracelets and necklaces using roots of a plant called *ngang* (石菖蒲 *calamus*/ flag leave). These ornaments were traditional amulets for the Bunun people. Her main teaching, though, concerned weaving.

Tina Langus always mentioned the significance of weaving for Bunun women. When she introduced weaving tools, she stressed that in the past weaving tools were to women as hunting rifles were to men. Their most significant, and gender-defined tools were prohibited to each other: men could not touch women's loom and other weaving tools, and women could not touch rifles and other hunting tools. Tina Langus usually told a couple of 'lazy woman' stories to indicate that Bunun women should be diligent in their work and cherish their weaving tools.

Weaving is not just cloth-making, though. It is also a form of story-telling. Tina Langus always mentioned the story of the 'hundred-pace snake' and pointed to the story-design on Bunun traditional clothing. Neqou would then tell the whole story to students. It goes like this: One day, Qabus, a Bunun woman, borrowed a baby snake from the mother hundred-pace snake to learn the pattern while weaving clothes for her husband. Other women saw the beautiful pattern and sequentially borrowed the baby snake from Qabus. Unfortunately, the baby snake died before the due date of return. Mother snake was terribly sad over the death and angry about the women's carelessness and untrustworthiness. Hundreds of hundred-pace snakes got into Bunun village and bit everyone they found. The Bunun people suffered the wrath of the hundred-pace snakes and took revenge by killing snakes they saw for many years until both sides came to a pact for peace.³³³ Hundred-pace snakes agreed to let Bunun people weave the pattern of the snake into their clothing. Whenever Bunun people met hundred-pace snakes, they would show a red cloth and say '*kaviat ata* (we are friends.)' Each of them (human and snake) would then give way to the other, respecting each other because they had made peace and would not injure each other. In Bunun language, the hundred-pace snake is called, *kavit* or *kaviaz*. *Kavit* means 'pact' or 'covenant' and *Kaviaz* means 'friends'.³³⁴ It is *samu* (prohibited) to kill or eat hundred-pace snakes. If people were to do so, the snake will take revenge just as the story tells.

The significance of this story lies in the ancient covenant between Bunun and the hundred-pace snake. In making an agreement to maintain a mutually beneficial relationship, they established a model of human-non-human relations. This is the same model that is expressed

³³³ Alang, *Rendezvous with the moon: stories from the Bunun tribe* (與月亮的約定): 67-82.

³³⁴ Soqluman, *Palisia Tongku Saveq* (東谷沙飛傳奇): 262.

in the flood story. There the animals tried to bring fire so as to assist people. Here, the snake and the people agree to respect each other. As a reminder to Bunun people forever, the diamond-shaped pattern of the snake's markings is woven into Bunun clothing.

5.3 Storytelling and music

Tama Bali, 88 years old year old, is an extremely knowledgeable Elder. He lived in Me-asang until he was 15 years old, and therefore was a young adult at the time of the forced relocation to Kalibuan. He experienced the social and cultural transformations from the life in Me-asang to the life in Kalibuan under Japanese colonisation and then KMT rule. He is a storehouse of knowledge, including a repertoire of stories and songs. For public performances he is always invited to host ceremonies, sing Bunun songs, and play *qonqon* (口簧琴), a jaw harp made of bamboo and strings. Neqou considered him to be a 'professor' and a 'walking encyclopaedia'. When participants in the Tongku Saveq School visited his house, Tama Bali would generously tell histories, myths and legends, and enthusiastically sing Bunun songs and play *qonqon*.

Once I brought a group of international students to Kalibuan, and Tama Bali spoke Japanese to the students from Japan and sang some Japanese children songs. The students were surprised and touched. After they heard about the history of Japanese colonisation, the Japanese students realised the enormous impacts of Japanese colonisation in Taiwan and they felt sorry. Besides histories, Tama Bali usually told some interesting and meaningful stories, such as sun-shooting, great flood, humans and hundred-pace snakes, among others.³³⁵

Often Tama Bali would also show some precious objects which related to the stories. For example, when he told the story of a moon bear and a clouded leopard, he would show us his old Bible covered by fur of clouded leopard. Sadly, the clouded leopard is now extinct owing to the deforestation of camphor trees during Japanese and KMT colonisation. When Tama Bali told the story of hundred-pace snakes, he showed us the pattern of the snake on his traditional clothing made of *ramie* fabric which he had kept for more than fifty years. Also he would demonstrate what *ramie* looks like by bringing us to find wild *ramie* around village.

³³⁵ Other stories included tales of moon bear and a clouded leopard, a girl and hawk, a beautiful Adal and *qonqon*.

During the teaching and learning class in Tama Bali's house, Neqou would encourage students to seize the opportunity to ask Tama Bali questions. After visiting Tama Bali, Neqou and I would also hold further discussions with students, stimulating them to think about the impacts of colonisation, Indigenous hunting and colonising exploitation, and the work that goes into keeping the old knowledge alive.

5.4 Indigenous literature and teaching by camp fire



Figure 5.7: Neqou and his teaching at camp fire

At night, Neqou would build a camp fire in front of his B&B lodge and invite all the participants to sit around it. Sometimes Neqou would put some sweet potatoes into the fire and let them cook while he told stories. He explained that the fire was not just for cooking food and keeping ourselves warm; where there is a campfire there is a place for sharing experiences and transmitting knowledge. In the past, Bunun people would gather around the fire at night, sharing their experiences and listening to stories told by the Elders. Neqou often spoke of his belief that the fire place is where literature originates. He related this belief to the flood story. It will be recalled that Qepis (a bulbul bird) brought a firebrand to help Bunun people survive. The fire, Neqou explained, may also symbolise hope. Similarly, in the story of sun-shooting, one of two suns was shot down by a Bunun man, and the injured sun turned into the moon. In consequence, the world was divided into day and night. By listening to Bunun myths and legends by the fire at night in the village, participants would feel the presence and relevance of those stories.

Neqou also sang songs and told personal stories, inviting participants to learn a song and sing with him. Those songs and stories, many of them relating to various contemporary situations of Bunun people, made it easier for participants to empathise with Bunun people in their joys and in their sufferings. Sitting around the campfire, Neqou would explain that there are two definitions of the concept of ‘family’ in Bunun tradition. One is *Tastu lumaq*, which denotes a group of people who have the same blood. The other is *Tastu Qabu*, referring to a group of people who share the same fire. Both *Tastu lumaq* and *Tastu Qabu* mean family in Bunun culture. The night everyone spent around the campfire became a time for them to become closer to each other and united in their hearts. They became family.

At the end of the two-day cultural learning activity in Kalibuan, Neqou led a discussion in which people talked about what they had perceived, learned, and felt during their time in Kalibuan. Most participants were impressed by the opportunity to stay in an Indigenous community and experience local culture and knowledge directly. After each School session, Neqou and I discussed the participants’ responses and reflections; our aim was to keep enhancing the School’s capacity to offer participants life-changing experiences.³³⁶

³³⁶ The School is an ongoing project. In addition, we extended the School to include other places of significance to Bunun people including: Lamongan, Tongku Saveq, Tongpu village, collapsed Long-Hua primary school³³⁶ and The Winery of Sinyi Township Farmer’s Association. We also took participants to those ‘event sites’ which are related to the issues that had been discussed and criticised in the developing and ongoing Tongku Saveq movement, such as cultural representation, tourist development, national parks, conservation, natural and human-made catastrophes, etc.

Chapter 6

The Heart of the Hunter

One of the significant ways in which core values are revealed is through conflict and confrontation in which people are forced to express those values because they are being denigrated. The case of Yushan National Park and the issue of Indigenous hunting is exactly this kind of conflict which forces people to articulate their deep values, and enables others to gain an understanding of what is at stake.

6.1 Impacts of Yushan National Park on the Bunun people

After climbing Tongku Saveq, I became more aware of, and concerned about, critical issues and tensions between Yushan National Park and Bunun people. The national parks prescribed aim is to protect and conserve natural resources and they are undoubtedly achieving many of their objectives. However, these park policies overlooked Indigenous people and in consequence they have had enormous impacts on Bunun people's livelihood, traditional culture, and dignity.

6.1.1 Brief introduction to Yushan National Park

The name *Yu-Shan* (玉山) in Chinese literally means Jade Mountain. It is the highest mountain (3,952 m) in Taiwan and Northeast Asia. Qing Dynasty records (1683–1895) called it Yushan for 'it is said that this mountain is composed of the most beautiful jade'.³³⁷ In the 19th century, it was called 'Mt. Morrison' by the Western expatriates, mostly missionaries. Under Japanese colonisation (1895–1945), it was named '*Niitakayama* 新高山' (literally New High Mountain) because Japanese scientists discovered that it was higher than Mt. Fuji. The KMT government (since 1945) changed the name back to Yushan. In 1985, the KMT government established a national Park centred on the mountain, so the park was named Yushan National Park (hereafter YNP).

³³⁷ Yu, *Small sea travel diaries : Yu Yonghe's records of Taiwan* (裨海紀遊).

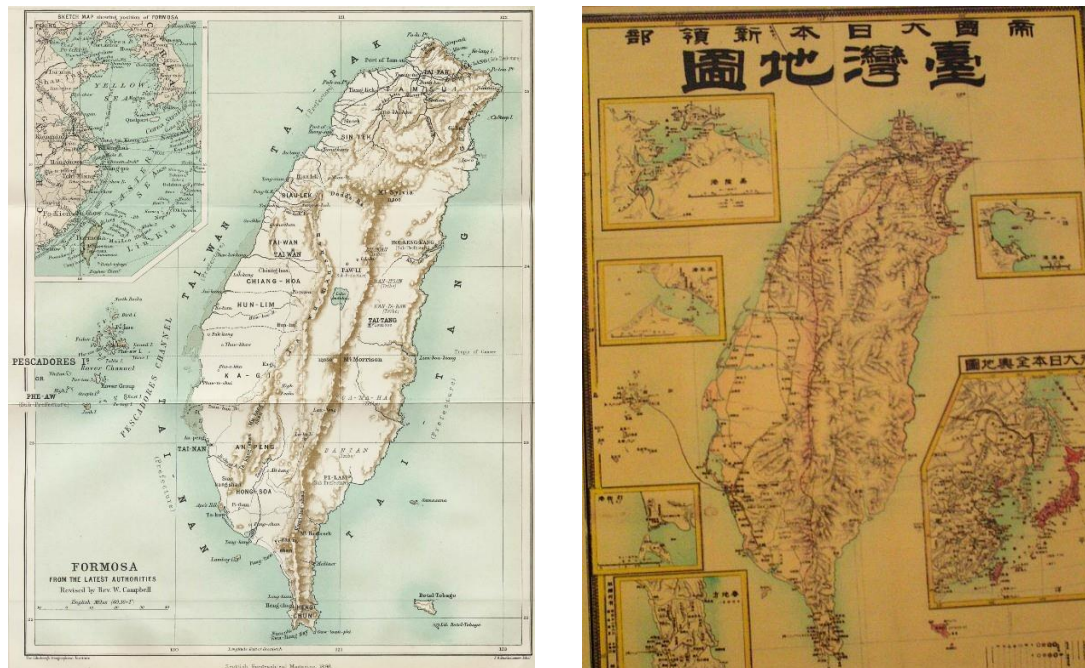


Figure 6.1: The name of Mt. Morrison on the map³³⁸ (Left)

Figure 6.2: The name of 'Niitakayama 新高山' on the map (Right)

However, before the settlers arrived the region of YNP was the traditional territory of Tsou and Bunun people. The Tsou named the mountain *Patungkuan*, which means a quartz mountain. The Bunun called it *Tongku Saveq*, *Tongku* refers to a mountain and *Saveq* means 'covered with snow'. The mountain is sacred for both peoples. Both have a similar flood legend, namely that the mountain served as the last sanctuary for all beings at the time of great flood.

Yushan National Park was established on 10 April, 1985 and is located in the Central Mountain Range of Taiwan. It covers an area of over 105,000 hectares, including sections of four counties (Nantou 南投, Chiayi 嘉義, Kaohsiung 高雄 and Hualien 花蓮). It is the largest of the eight national parks of Taiwan. Ranging from an elevation of 300 metres to the 3,952 metre summit, Yushan includes luxuriant forests that vary with altitude from the subtropical

³³⁸ The Map of Formosa was edited by Reverend William Campbell. It was published in the Scottish Geographical Magazine (Volume XII 1896) by edited by James Geikie and W.A. Taylor, the Royal Scottish Geographical Society.

zone, to temperate zone and frigid zone.³³⁹ Accordingly, its distinctive eco-systems allow diverse fauna and flora to flourish.

Moreover, YNP is used as an icon representing Taiwan's natural beauty. It has been chosen to be one of the potential 'World Heritage' sites in Taiwan, and was voted by the Taiwanese to be one of the most fitting images to represent Taiwan.³⁴⁰ Its centrality in Taiwan imagery and identity co-exists with the fact that its cultural significance to Indigenous people is almost totally neglected.

6.1.2 National parks established; Indigenous culture degraded

YNP was founded in 1985 without any communication with the Bunun people. Their traditional territories included most of the region, and their land was taken legally (according to national law) and turned into national property. All of a sudden, Bunun territory shrank enormously. In Article One of the National Park Law, it says,

Be it enacted for the purpose of preserving the nation's unique natural scenery, wild fauna and flora and historic sites and providing public recreation and areas for scientific research, that is hereby created the National Park Law.³⁴¹

The first article thus identifies the major missions of establishing national parks and identifies what parks protect. Clearly, Indigenous rights are not taken into consideration by the National Park law. Although two Bunun villages, Tongpu (東埔) and Meishan (梅山), were included in the region of YNP, the rights of their inhabitants were not protected. On the contrary, people's activities such as building private structures, clearing land, farming, fishing, livestock grazing, use of hot springs, and hunting were all restricted.³⁴² The restrictions seriously interfered with and limited both their existing livelihood and their prospects for further development.

Moreover, in the whole region of YNP there were prohibitions on a range of activities that

³³⁹ Chen, "Yushan National Park."

³⁴⁰ Council for Cultural Affairs (文建會), *Introduction to Potential World Heritage Sites in Taiwan (台灣世界遺產潛力點簡介)* (Taipei: Council for Cultural Affairs, 2003). The Government Information Office (新聞局) held a "Looking For Taiwan Image (尋找台灣意象)" vote in 2005.

³⁴¹ Yushan National Park Headquarters, "National Park Law", accessed 24 February 2012.

³⁴² See the Article 14 of National Park Law.

included setting fires to clear land, hunting animals, and catching fish.³⁴³ The prohibitions had direct impact on not only the Bunun people living in YNP but the those people who lived outside the park boundaries, as Bunun people from other communities also used territory within the YNP boundary.

Even after Bunun people had been forced to move away from their homeland during Japanese colonisation, they still went back to their traditional territory for hunting. Bunun people are subsistence hunters. Unfortunately, they are sometimes stigmatised and declared guilty of acting as ‘killers of wild animals’.³⁴⁴ At the end of October 2009, I participated in, and helped facilitate, a post-conference trip to Kalibuan village after attending the First Asian Conference of Ethnobiology (FACE) held in Taiwan.³⁴⁵ We participants visited YNP Headquarters before arriving in Kalibuan. The Park Director Chen Long-Shen and the head of the Recreation and Service Section Baglakall Haivanggang each presented a brief introduction to the Park. The briefings were followed by a couple of videos, and then there was a Q & A session. One question in my mind concerned ecosystem changes: had there been any noticeable changes after the hunting prohibition came into effect? What happened to ecological relationships when human hunters were no longer part of the system?

I knew the issue of prohibition of Indigenous hunting was a sensitive one in the YNP. Instead of asking it directly, I asked the director, ‘Are there any changes of numbers of certain animals now that you have implemented a conservation policy?’ The director answered, ‘Yes.’ He said that the headquarters observed that the water deer were increasing and actually were becoming too numerous.³⁴⁶ Now, he said, they were thinking about how to solve the new problem. Although the policies of natural conservation had been made with good intentions, the dramatically increasing numbers of certain animals in the park had become an unexpected problem for YNP management. I think that the prohibition of Indigenous hunting in the

³⁴³ See the Article 13 of National Park Law.

³⁴⁴ Yih-Ren Lin (林益仁), "Can Indigenous Hunting Culture and Animal Liberation Movement Be Allied? A Viewpoint from the Land Ethic (原住民狩獵文化與動物解放運動可能結盟嗎? 一個土地倫理學的觀點)," *Chung-Wai Literary Monthly* 32, no. 2 (July 2003).

³⁴⁵ The official website of FACE: <http://www.ise-asia.org/>.

³⁴⁶ When I interviewed Tiang, a Bunun hunter, he talked about the problem of the increasing population of deer due to the policy of nature conservation implemented by YNP. He pointed out that because of hunting prohibition in the park more deer rubbed their antlers against trees and thus were the cause of lots of trees dying. The problems of hunting prohibition is discussed later in this chapter.

mountains could possibly be one of the reasons for the problem. That is certainly the view of the Indigenous hunters.

The conservation predicament reveals some of the problematics of conservation in the national parks and indicates another area where Indigenous people could play a role if the parks were willing. Indigenous hunters could be good 'keepers of ecological balance' since they had been members of the mountain ecosystems for generations.³⁴⁷ Lamentably, owing to YNP policies, the Bunun people lost the right to carry out traditional activities on their traditional territory. As a result, the hunting culture and other activities in the area of YNP gradually disappeared. The Elders could not directly pass down Bunun ecological knowledge in their traditional territory. Their activities are restricted to certain settled areas, which are away from their homeland.

³⁴⁷ Hau-Ren Hung (洪浩仁), "Transmitting Environmental Philosophy Through Storytelling in the Indigenous Literature of Joseph Bruchac and Ahronglong Sakinu" (Master Degree Thesis, Providence University, 2006).

6.1.3 Respected hunters; denigrated labourers

Where art thou, Bunun?

by Hau-Ren Hung (June, 2011)

昔日的布農啊! 你在哪裡?
是不是已黯然離開了 Me-asang*
到了一個陌生的環境 重新立命

Ah, Bunun of the old days, where are you now?
You've been forced to leave Me-asang
And live in a strange sad space.

昔日的獵人啊! 你在哪裡?
是不是已遠離了祖先傳統的獵場
躲在一個安靜的角落 獨自黯然啜泣

Ah, where are the old hunters?
Now you're so far away from
Where the ancestors used to hunt, forced to hide in quiet
places,
Weeping inside yourself.

你說山的那一頭是你們的家園
你說山的那一頭是你們家族的傳統獵場
山是你們的生命
然而 為何一夕之間變成別人的土地
變成國家的公園?

You said that side of the mountain
is your home.
You said that side of the mountain
is your family's traditional hunting territory.
The mountain is your life.
So why was it suddenly taken,
renamed someone else's land,
called a national park?

山在哪裡
文化就在那裡啊
知識也就在那裡啊
誰也奪不走 除非逝去

On the mountain,
is culture and knowledge.
No one can take it away

同為大地子民的我們呀
如何可以讓 Bunun 重返祖居地
再次踏上昔日獵場 重返榮耀
再次高喊著 Ho! Hoho!
讚頌祖先的智慧與精神
讓 Bunun 持續唱著 Pislahi**
不要失去

We are the children of Mother Earth.
How to let the Bunun return
to their ancestral home?
How to restore former glory
to their hunting ground?
Let the Bunun raise their shout 'Ho! Hoho!'
Let the Bunun praise their ancestors' wisdom,
Let the Bunun keep singing Pislahi.
Do not lose it.

*: Bunun's ancestral home

** : song for hunting ritual

Due to the establishment of YNP, Bunun hunters could not go hunting in their own territories. They were excluded, and gradually disappeared in the region of YNP. Instead, officials who passed national examinations and obtained full-time jobs in the park replaced those Bunun hunters in the mountains. Most of the officials are non-Indigenous people, so even though they are qualified in the science of nature conservation, they do not have the deep understandings and intimate relationships with the mountain such as Bunun hunters possess. YNP policies of nature conservation were directly copied from Western countries, and were implemented without consideration of Indigenous culture and knowledge. YNP excluded Indigenous people, but these people were still needed because Park personnel were not familiar with the mountain. In order to get into the deep mountains, the officials and researchers in YNP hired Bunun people as porters and assistants. In this way they could lighten their loads and ensure their security while at work. Such work was not unfamiliar to Bunun people as they had done the same for Japanese anthropologists and administrators in earlier decades. The Bunun people were skilled at serving as guides, carrying heavy gear and cooking meals for people. With their assistance, much difficult work and numerous surveys had been successfully completed. Some Bunun people also took labouring work when the NYP constructed amenities such as bridges, toilets, rest decks, and lodges in the high mountains. Neqou pointed out that most materials of those facilities, including timber, steel, concrete, and even the stone plaque on the summit, were all carried up the high mountains by Bunun people.³⁴⁸ They had mighty stamina and used traditional head straps to carry heavy objects. Because of the hard labour of Bunun people, tourists and trekkers could enjoy a risk-free environment and basic amenities while mountain trekking.

Besides that labour, Bunun people have also been hired as park (mountain) rangers. One of the greatest services Bunun people perform is to serve as emergency rescue teams. Ostensibly, it seems that YNP is beneficial — many jobs have been made available to Bunun people. In addition to facilities maintenance, removal of hunting traps, and rescue missions, the most common task for them is waste cleaning. They usually appear on the trail to Yushan summit going back and forth to pick up garbage thrown out by inconsiderate tourists and trekkers. It is

³⁴⁸ Interview with Neqou.

ironic and sad that the Bunun park rangers have to clean the waste and garbage for the national park in the region of their sacred mountain. Even though the Bunun park rangers have played crucial roles in YNP, providing safety and rescue in risky environments, they have not been given the respect they deserve.³⁴⁹ In a sense, YNP has made Bunun traditional territory into a park for entertainment (like most national parks in Taiwan), ignoring the fact that it is a sacred place for Indigenous people and should be respected by all who visit.



Figure 6.3: Encounter with Neqou's uncle You-Shui Fang, a Bunun park ranger in Yushan National Park, on the way to the summit.

During my first ascent, we met a Bunun park ranger while we were taking a short break. His Chinese name is You-Shui Fang (方有水), and he is Neqou's uncle. Neqou introduced him to us, and told us that his strongly-built uncle has rescued many people, saving many lives in the park. Because of his great strength and endurance, he has also been involved in other mountain climbing teams and has assisted other climbers to ascend Mount Everest. He once rescued a climber who had lost body temperature in a blizzard on Mt Everest, carried him

³⁴⁹ Taiwan Academy of Ecology (台灣生態學會), *The Oral Account Investigation of Park Rangers at Yushan National Park* (玉山國家公園巡查員口訪計畫) (Nantou county, Taiwan: Yushan National Park Headquarters, 2009).
http://np.cpami.gov.tw/campaign2009/filesys/dl/type1/31/1935_00aaa93b11aa74b030c8ce5b6c29f6c8.pdf.

down the mountain in a sling on his back, and at the same time retained all the equipment that had been entrusted to him. He should be regarded as a hero for his valour in overcoming difficult climate and terrain and achieving successful rescues on Yushan and Mt Everest.³⁵⁰

While we were talking with him about important tasks, one group of trekkers passed by us, and one of them dropped a disdainful sentence on him: 'If we don't throw garbage, you wouldn't have a job.' At that time, we members were surprised at the trekker's words. Mr. Fang talked to Neqou with anger in Bunun language, '*Mais at hetlian nik, nik siluan tu, al tabalak saicia bantas`a o, kaz samataula daingaz Bunun.*' (If I were wearing a sword, no kidding, I would cut off his legs. Too contemptuous toward Bunun.)³⁵¹ I found it difficult to believe that the trekker said those provocatively mean words to the Bunun park ranger. This chance event gave us a glimpse of the common problem of discrimination that Indigenous people face. A flawed ideology apparently continues to exist in Taiwan's multi-ethnic society, and many people still live with and act upon racist stereotypes. This prejudice against Indigenous people has resulted in many problems including recurring conflicts between non-Indigenous and Indigenous people.

As part of the post-conference trip of FACE, Neqou invited his relative Lini Takis-Linian (Mr. Liang-Chi Fang 方良吉), a Bunun hunter and park ranger to lead a workshop on 'Sons of Taiwan's Yushan – the Bunun.' He spoke from his thirty-year experiences of being an YNP ranger and described his observations on ecological changes in YNP. Over the years, he rescued many trekkers from dangers, as did Mr. Fang. Mr Lini said, 'A ranger must have compassion. I see those endangered trekkers all as my own family, so I feel that I must go help them'.³⁵² He demonstrated the use of the headband carrier, showing how he carried people down from the high mountains in the traditional Bunun way. In addition to rescue missions, Mr Lini talked about the dilemma of being a Bunun hunter and a park ranger at the same time, and his worries about the future of Bunun ecological knowledge. He said:

³⁵⁰ Zoe Cheng, "This Mountain is Called... (這山叫做...)," <http://blog.udn.com/tongkusaveq/1520167>.

³⁵¹ Soqluman, "Literary notes at camp fire: The first and second 'This mountain is called Tongku Saveq' movement (爐火邊的文學記事 - 寫一、二次「這山叫做東谷沙飛」運動)," accessed April 21 2011.

³⁵² Neqou (乜寇・索克魯曼) Soqluman, "When Nature Meets Culture — A Note on Tour in Yushan (當自然遇到文化 — 玉山地方行程側記)," *ISE Newsletter* 2, no. 1 (2010): 8-9. (<http://ethnobiology.net/docs/ISE%20Newsletter%20Issue%20August%202010.pdf>)

Sometimes, it is very difficult to adjust myself to the job because I am a hunter. Even though I have a salary as a park ranger, I cannot be myself, and I am worried that I will not be able to pass down my knowledge as a hunter to the next generation,' Mr. Lini considered it was a great loss for nature conservation to exclude Bunun hunters and their knowledge from the YNP.³⁵³

Indeed, the current situation for Bunun people working in YNP appears, from a Bunun point of view, to be that Bunun people are not treated with dignity in their traditional territory, even though some of them have contributed a lot to YNP. Equally, it appears that the YNP offers Bunun people jobs and seeks to cooperate with them; however, as the situation now stands, there are few jobs, and most of them are temporary with correspondingly low salary. Under employment policies that demand standardised qualifications rather than life experience and knowledge, it is difficult for Bunun people even to get positions like official mountain guides or other permanent jobs.³⁵⁴ In consequence, most Bunun people do not work in their traditional land. Many continue the cash-crop agriculture that they have struggled with for decades, and many have to leave their village to find odd jobs in cities.

In sum, the policies of YNP have the effect of restricting Bunun development. People feel that they have lost the dignity and respect they deserve on their own traditional land as did the ancestral hunters. They do not participate in policy making and park management, and there is no way for their ecological knowledge of the mountains to become part of park policy and management. On the one hand, Bunun men feel that they are not respected as hunters, as were their ancestors, and on the other hand, many knowledgeable men, such as Lini Takis-Linian, fear that their hunting culture and ecological knowledge are fading away. Respected hunters are banned in their traditional territory; they have become denigrated labourers.

6.1.4 Nature alive; culture dead?

Since the YNP headquarters began implementing national park law and conservation policies, ecological conservation within the park has been planned in a restricted way. On the one hand, the natural environment has been protected from exploitation. Endangered animals have been protected from extinction. The natural environment seems to have flourished under the

³⁵³ Ibid.

³⁵⁴ Basuya Boyijernu (浦忠成), "Aborigines and National Parks (原住民與國家公園)," in *Thinking Aborigines (思考原住民)*, ed. Basuya Boyijernu (浦忠成) (Taipei: Qiang-Wei, 2002), 16.

conservation policies of YNP. However, on the other hand, the YNP administration has neglected the significance of Indigenous culture and knowledge, and the conservation policies accelerated the process by which Bunun culture was becoming 'endangered'. According to national park law, the YNP ironically laid stress on protecting 'dead' historic sites, rather than 'living' people and their culture. The only living beings who are being protected are non-human fauna and flora. The YNP policies make Bunun people feel that they are of less value than animals.³⁵⁵ Although the YNP administration professes to cooperate with Indigenous people, they appear not to be taking their words seriously enough. Both in the context of crucial events and in the context of policy making, Bunun people's voices are not being included, and there had been no thoughtful engagement with Bunun culture. In fact, as I will show, Bunun people are treated as if they were an extinct people in the region of park.

At the beginning of the establishment of YNP, the YNP administration authorised the Institute of Ethnology in the Academia Sinica (中央研究院民族研究所) to make a survey of Bunun history, territoriality and habitation, migration, and oral literature.³⁵⁶ Afterward, the administration collected Bunun stories, music, songs, and relics. Furthermore, a museum of Bunun cultural relics (布農族文物展示館) has been established next to the YNP Meishan Tourist Centre in Taitung. YNP administration organised some research that concerns dead things that have been recorded in books and displayed in museums. The administration did not cooperate with Bunun people to document their living culture or to help keep Bunun culture as alive as the animals and plants in the park. Rather, Bunun culture is treated more like the historic sites which are left in the park. If the YNP administration had realised the significance and urgency of assisting with the survival of Bunun culture and knowledge, they could have worked with Bunun people to address some of the critical ecological problems and to reconcile relationships between YNP and the Bunun. The static surveys seem to have

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

³⁵⁶ Institute of Ethnology (中央研究院民族學研究所) Academia Sinica, "Anthropological Study of Bunun in Yushan National Park: Research Report (1) (玉山國家公園布農族人類學研究-研究報告(一))," (Nantou County: Yushan National Park Headquarters, 1988).

constituted the most that the YNP administration was prepared to do, and since then they have deliberately ignored the current problems that Bunun people encounter because of the park.³⁵⁷

One such issue regards naming. In YNP literature on the names of the mountain, the Bunun are neglected.³⁵⁸ The mountain's varied names are listed and include *Patungkuanu* (八通關), the Tsou name, but the Bunun name Tongku Saveq has not been clearly stated, nor has its sacredness for both Tsou and Bunun people been discussed.

In 2009, Taiwan became involved in promoting Yushan National Park as a contestant in the New Seven Wonders of Nature (2007–2011) initiative. This private initiative was started in 2007 with the goal of creating a list of seven natural wonders as chosen by people globally. Using large-scale advertising and extensive promotion via media YNP administration was able to stimulate a Taiwan-wide craze for the poll. Many Taiwanese people went online and voted for Yushan; it had become a public affair for all citizens. In terms of the internet poll, Yushan ranked first place for a while, and was elected one of 28 finalists in the New Seven Wonders of Nature voting campaign on July 21, 2009. According to the official New Seven Wonders of Nature panel of experts,³⁵⁹ the criteria for determining a wonder of nature include: unique beauty, diversity and distribution, geo-location, ecological significance, and the historical legacy that indigenous populations have with the site. Even though the criteria included Indigenous people, the YNP administration did not refer to contemporary Bunun people and their culture in the media material that was produced to introduce Yushan to the world.

In October 2009, when the participants in FACE visited YNP Headquarters, they were shown two short videos: *The New 7 wonders of Nature: Vote for Yushan now* and *Pilgrim's Progress to Yushan*.

³⁵⁷ Chi and Wang, "Environmental Justice: An Analysis of the Collision Between the Aborigines and the National Parks (環境正義：原住民與國家公園衝突的分析)."

³⁵⁸ Chen, "Yushan National Park."

³⁵⁹ <http://www.vote7.com/n7w/official-new7wonders-nature-panel-experts> (accessed on 5 January 2010).



Figure 6.4 and Figure 6.5: The sections in relation to Indigenous people in Yushan National park shown in the video: *The New 7 wonders of Nature: Vote for Yushan now*³⁶⁰

The purpose of making the videos was to encourage people to vote for Yushan's nomination as one of the New Seven Wonders of Nature. Most of the content of these two videos focused on the beauty of nature and the richness of natural resources. At the end of each video, there was an exhortation to 'Vote for Yushan'.

The most surprising thing for the audience was a short video section regarding Indigenous people in the park. Before the Indigenous section, the scenes were bright, colourful and cheerful with delightful music in the background. Suddenly, the music and the colour faded out and at the same time Indigenous images were shown. The whole Indigenous section was shot in black and white without any subtitles or voice-over.³⁶¹ The footage was clearly historical, and deliberately took us into a sense of the distant past when, to judge by the imagery, Indigenous people lived in the park, hunted, grew millet, had ceremonies, and wore their native clothing. Most participants felt uncomfortable viewing this section, and one of them raised a question about why the film only showed Indigenous people as fading historical figures. The use of historical footage, and the fade into black and white, and the silence all seemed to declare that Bunun people were extinct and that Bunun culture was dead. Director Chen appeared embarrassed and replied that they actually had another version of the video

³⁶⁰ Yushan National Park Headquarters, "The New 7 Wonders of Nature — Vote for Yushan Now," Yushan National Park Headquarters, http://np.cpami.gov.tw/english/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2626&Itemid=99.

³⁶¹ Ibid.

and would give it to us as a gift. We wondered why did the headquarters make the video like that and why they chose to show it to international scholars and Indigenous friends. At the very least, it seemed to offer evidence of the troubled relationship between the YNP administration and Bunun people. Or at the very least a clear lack of respect.

6.2 Hunting and the hunter's philosophy

Tiang Soqluman is a Bunun hunter in Kalibuan. He has practiced Bunun hunting traditions for forty years. These are traditions he learned from his grandfather and father. He has been raising his children to go hunting in the mountains and is passing down to them the ancestors' knowledge. Now, he has been invited to be a teacher at Tongku Saveq School; his specialty is teaching Bunun hunting culture and ecological knowledge. Tiang said he began to accompany his grandfather on hunting trips and learning hunting knowledge when he was ten years old. His family had been well known for hunting when Bunun people lived in their old hometown Me-asang in Central Mountain Range.

Sima tisbung baav³⁶²

Sima tisbung baav?

Tiang ahna dau

maah panaahun?

ahnvang ahna dau

minahuakahuuk?

minahungahung

tupai Ahaisur

mabazua tilas

na dasun ahnup

masi kaisah abnup?

masisaupa ludun

maptapuzu taki ahnvang

Who is shooting in the mountains?

Who is shooting in the mountains?

Oh~ It is Tiang.

What is he shooting?

Oh~ It is a deer.

What does it look like?

It has grown the antlers.

Tell Ahaisure

to pound the millet.

I'll go hunting with it.

To which way to hunt?

To the inside of the mountains.

Deer's droppings are one pile after another.

³⁶² For further information about Bunun's traditional songs, see <http://www.sight-native.taipei.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=1001711&CtNode=17288&mp=cb01> accessed 8 November 2011.

While he was introducing his (Bunun) name Tiang to me, he sang the above Bunun song *Sima tisbung baav?* (Who is shooting in the mountains?)³⁶³ This song does not only relate that Tiang is a person who is shooting in the mountains, but also narrates Bunun's hunting knowledge. Bunun hunters only hunt mature animals and they find the location of the prey by looking for its tracks or faeces (best translated from Bunun language as 'poop').³⁶⁴ Tiang stressed that Indigenous hunting is definitely not slaughter, as is a common and mistaken view held by many non-Indigenous people. He dislikes seeing the Bunun being romantically stereotyped as 'a hunting tribe' that makes a living by hunting only, or denigrated as slaughterers who kill many animals at random. In fact, Bunun people take hunting as a serious subsistence activity. They have serious prohibitions and complicated ceremonies before, during, and after hunting. They were never only hunters, but rather practiced hunting as a highly significant activity set within a wider context of subsistence production.

Tiang said that 'Bunun people, whose livelihoods rely on natural resources in mountains, definitely do not kill all animals and cut all plants'.³⁶⁵ Further, Tiang stressed that he regards things in the home territory as 'assets'.³⁶⁶ Each family has their own traditional hunting territory and they only take what they need. For example, Bunun hunters do not hunt female and juvenile animals especially from December to April because female animals are normally pregnant and the young animals are still small during this period.³⁶⁷ 'We let animals continue to exist. We don't hunt at will because losing them is equal to losing our assets.' He added that Bunun people do not cut 'good trees',³⁶⁸ (Tiang refers to the trees with economic values such as cypress 扁柏 and juniper 檜木) in view of the fact that they knew the good trees with strong and long roots prevent dangers such as landslides. Furthermore, Tiang pointed out that it is not only population decline that is a problem. An excess of some animals can also harm

³⁶³ Bunun name their son after their grandfather's name, and this naming tradition is called *Ala*. Tiang's highlighting on the song implies that his family has been known for being good at hunting.

³⁶⁴ In subsequent discussions of Bunun ecological knowledge, I use vernacular terms such as 'poop' and 'fart' because they more accurately convey the earthiness of Bunun knowledge.

³⁶⁵ Interview with Tiang.

³⁶⁶ Ibid.

³⁶⁷ When I asked how to distinguish female and male animals, Tiang answered a hunter requires good eyesight that can tell the gender at night with only dim headlight. For instance, female deer have light yellow eyes while the male ones have green eyes.

³⁶⁸ Interview with Tiang.

the forest. For example, trees may die back due to some animals' behaviours — flying squirrels bite the bark of some trees and muntjac rub their antlers on the trees. Hence, appropriate hunting protects trees and helps maintain an ecological balance. Bunun hunters understand what natural resources they can take or not in order to maintain sustainable resources (assets).

Tiang stressed that a hunter needs to develop many capabilities and knowledge, including knowing how to observe changes of nature, how to survive in the mountains, and how prey animals behave. Moreover, Bunun hunters obey traditional hunting restrictions and practice ceremonies to ensure the safety of their own lives. Bunun hunters go hunting in the mountains at night because it is not easy for animals to become aware of human beings through their sense of smell when the wind blows uphill at night. Before setting out to hunt, they observe certain natural phenomena such as clouds, moon, stars, insects and plants in order to foresee weather, the risk of hunting, and even hunting results. Tiang said it would rain one week later if the colour of the sky is a little bit red around five o'clock in the morning. Also, Bunun people could predict a typhoon according to one plant called '*salsvsazan* (*salav-savaz*) typhoon grass 颱風草'. This knowledge has preserved the Bunun from many dangers.³⁶⁹ Bunun hunters find their prey's habitat by observing tracks, droppings, and the plants they like to eat. For example, monkeys and goats like to eat the sprouts of bird nest fern, so hunters learn that they can find their prey near bird nest ferns. Bunun ancestors also found a particular relationship between Taiwanese red pine (*Pinus taiwanensis* 二葉松) and deer. The length of sprouts indicates the length of antlers, so hunters would observe the sprouting in April or so and then they could anticipate when deer would be mature enough to be hunted.³⁷⁰

Furthermore, some experiential knowledge of hunting has been transmitted through prohibitions. Hunters would not go hunting when there was one star next to the moon. If on the way out on a hunting trip they saw a bird *qasqas*³⁷¹ flying from the right to left singing with short and rapid sounds, the implication would be that dangers would occur, so the

³⁶⁹ Tiang has observed that in recent years they could not accurately predict typhoons with the plant, and they could no longer distinguish poison mushrooms by their appearance. He thinks it may possibly relate to climate change which has resulted in a great change to plants.

³⁷⁰ The song *Sima tisbung baav* also indicates that a hunter can only hunt a grown-up deer with large antlers.

³⁷¹ The bird is known as Japanese white-eye (綠繡眼 *Zosterops japonicus*).

hunters should stop and return home immediately. On the other hand, it is a good sign to see a mantis, a blow fly, or a grasshopper because any of those signs mean that the hunter will find prey. In addition, Bunun hunters pay particular attention to their dreams before hunting, and discuss their dreams as part of the decision to go hunting or not.

I wondered how Bunun could predict hunting situations and results by observing climate, animals, insects, and plants, so I asked Tiang. He answered: 'humans and nature are an integral whole that interact to each other. Animals and plants can tell you those things that could not be learned from books'.³⁷² Tiang's hunter philosophy shows that some Indigenous people know a great deal about the relational interactions among human beings, non-human beings such as deer and Taiwanese red pine, typhoon grass and typhoons, insects or *qasqas* bird. Hunting practice based on this philosophy aims to fit hunting into nature's balance in a positive and proactive way.

Tiang believes that the concept of *min'tas'a* manifests Bunun's holistic view of nature. *Tas'a* means one or individual, *min* means becoming, *min'tas'a* denotes becoming one entity (oneness), which indicates that all in one, becoming one with Nature (與自然成為一體). He added that *tas'a* could refer to the universe, sky, sea, human being, animal, and plant, indeed, every 'one', all that is. Tiang said:

We regard Nature as a unity. [我們把自然當做是一體的] We live in Nature and Nature protects us, so we have a complementary relation. We will not cut natural things at random or at will. We would get things like wood or animals according to our needs in seasons or ceremonies. It is impossible for us to cut down trees or kill without a reason of necessity, so we maintain a close relationship with nature.

Tiang said that good Bunun hunters continue to obey traditional hunting customs and practice hunting rituals. For instance, at the beginning of hunting, they hold a ritual *pislahi* to pray for the game to come before the hunting rifle. During the hunting, farting is *samu* (prohibited). 'If a hunter farted carelessly, it indicates that the hunter does not take his job seriously.' After hunters killed their prey, they would pierce the best parts of the meat, including liver, sirloin, and thigh, onto a stick and leave them on the tree for *Tama Deqalin* (Supreme Being) and *maliantangs* (ancestors). This was to show respect and gratitude. Because they believe their

³⁷² Interview with Tiang.

prey are given by *Tama Deqalin*, they appreciate the knowledge and wisdom passed down from their forebears. In spite of the statement that the forest contains assets, respect for the gifts of *Tama Deqalin* indicates that traditional hunting does not work on presumptions of entitlement. The rest of the meat is shared with anyone they encounter on their way home, and after arriving at the village, hunters share with their families and other villagers. In sum, the Bunun hunter's knowledge and philosophy as conveyed by Tiang expresses an ecological knowledge that is holistic and relational.

For the hunting class in the Tongku Saveq School, Neqou would invite Tiang and other Bunun hunters to be guides and teachers. Their role was to introduce hunting culture and the hunter's environmental philosophy to participants through a hiking tour on *Manutusan* hunter trail. Before starting out, Tiang would point out that the hike is an easy one because it is for learners, but in fact hunting is challenging, complicated, and risky. Being a good hunter requires specific capacities and attitudes, including wisdom, bravery, respect, and gratitude. At the beginning of the class (hiking tour), Tiang showed his hunting tools and other necessities, including hunting rifle, knives, and carry bag for prey. These items had all been made by his grandfather and father and had been given to him. Tiang said that giving hunting tools from one generation to the next is a Bunun tradition that indicates a blessing and transmission of knowledge.



Figure 6.6: Tiang demonstrates how to set a game trap in *Manutusan* hunter trail.

Before setting out, the hunters would gather to do a hunting ceremony called *pislahi* — they placed their hunting tools in the centre of the ritual circle and prayed for hunting safety, success, and harvest. In the hunting class, the teachers prayed that the tour would be safe, and that the students would learn the ancestors' wisdom and gain much local knowledge. The hunting teachers also demonstrated how to use sliver grass (or sword grass) and stones to mark directions or leave other signs. This is one of the ways in which hunters ensured they would not get lost in the deep mountains, and at the same time would know where their partners were. Such signs served to demarcate hunting territories. Tiang the hunter reminded us that nature is not only beautiful, but also at times dangerous. Hunters have to have regard for their own safety. After teaching us how to make and read signs for directions, they demonstrated how to distinguish animals and their traces by their footprints and droppings. By reading these signs hunters would decide where to set traps, and what size traps to set so as to get the prey that was in the area. Tiang and another hunter Umas also taught participants how to make traps and hide them so that animals would not observe them. They told Bunun stories of fauna and flora and taught us how to gather wild vegetables and fruits, and distinguish which ones were edible and which ones have medical uses such as stopping bleeding. At noon, the teachers taught us how to build a fire, and they cooked food.

During the tour along the hunter's old trail, participants learned that Indigenous hunting is not really as easy as one might have imagined. Moreover, we learned that hunting is a way to cultivate a person's integral capacities and knowledge, fostering an understanding of nature, relationships and sustainability. All these valuable lessons were taught in an open classroom situated in the mountains.

6.3 Sharing: a core value for cultural survival and sustainable living

Once the Tongku Saveq movement was begun, I was able to participate in the work of cultural survival. I had been learning Bunun culture and knowledge from Neqou and from the Elders in Kalibuan. Through my own learning I have acquired a great respect for storytelling and for life practice as modes of transmission of culture and knowledge. In the face of chronic, ongoing threats to cultural survival, what Indigenous knowledge and wisdom do Bunun

people still keep? Are there values that are central to cultural survival? Can people in today's world benefit from learning from Bunun people?

My research with the Kalibuan people, both in the context of the School and in later in-depth interviews with Elders, reveals that sharing is a core value. It involves relationships between and among humans, and equally includes relationships with non-humans, including animals, plants, ancestors and the supreme powers. In the interviews, the concepts people referred to most frequently were sharing, respect and gratitude. Sharing lies at the heart of both respect and gratitude, since it implies both giving and receiving, both respect and gratitude.

Food is a key context of sharing, both in the past and today. Bunun Elders explained that food was given and distributed by *Tama Deqanin*. For that reason, people should be grateful for what they have, and share their food with other people. Tina Ibu explained:

Ni sak asa matakunav itu madengaz`an tu sinkaka`un. Nanu ko epun tu sini saiv`i Deqanin Tama tu na pimita Bunun tu kakonun`i (I don't want to lose ancestors' food because it is by nature the food distributed by Tama Deqanin, Supreme Spirit for Bunun).³⁷³

'Game is given by *Tama Deqanin*, not something we can get on our own, so sharing and expressing gratitude are indispensable.' said Tiang.³⁷⁴ For the reason that things were given by *Tama Deqanin*, Bunun people seek to ensure proper distribution. Hunting territories are an example: each clan should have its own hunting territories. Hunting itself enables further distribution; hunters share game with members of their family, extended family or village.

There is a circularity to the sharing that speaks directly to reciprocity — giving and receiving can be seen to contribute to relationships of mutuality that are meant to be ongoing. The Bunun tradition of mutual labour is expressed through two main terms. *Puk`opa* means offering labour to others; *pana`hiav* means asking others to offer their labour.³⁷⁵ During the agricultural seasons, people take turns going to each others' fields to help. In this way, farmwork can be done so as to successfully harvest a crop, and people's livelihoods are sustained. When others come to assist with farmwork, the farm owner provides food to

³⁷³ Interview with Tian Ibu by Neqou Soqluman. Also, Neqou Soqluman (乜寇·索克魯曼), *Bean story of Tina Ibu* (奶奶伊布的豆子故事) (Nan-Tou, Taiwan: Tongku Saveq School, 2011). 2.

³⁷⁴ Interview with Tiang.

³⁷⁵ Soqluman, "Bunun's Home Nature: A Native's Point of View (Bunun 的家園自然：一個在地人的觀點)," 99.

express thanks. In order to show the sincerity of their gratitude, farm owners would also go hunting and share the meat with the helpers along with agricultural foods such as beans, potato and taro. Bunun people continue the traditions of helping others and giving to others to show gratitude.

The example of labour exchange demonstrates networks of sharing, and is predicated on the idea that 'what goes around comes around'. For example, Tina Ibu said that the Bunun must give seeds of crops such as millet and beans to others after the harvest. 'If we did not do so, we will have no seeds someday. If we give seeds to others, someday others will return seeds or give what they have to us.'³⁷⁶ For this reason, Bunun people share their seeds with others, and this commitment to sharing underlies Tina Ibu's life history of sharing beans with others.

That is, people expect that when they need help they will receive help because they have contributed their share within the networks of exchange. Not all exchanges imply such immediate reciprocity. The division of labour by gender also expresses the idea of sharing in Bunun tradition. Hunting is a job for men only, while weaving is only for women. In relation to agricultural work, men are responsible for the work of opening the land for farming and harvest, while women are responsible for the work of sowing, storing crops, agricultural food management and distribution.³⁷⁷ Men and women, according to their ability and specialty, are complementary to each other in sustaining the livelihood of the family, as a Bunun song explains:

Ku-isa Tama Laug?³⁷⁸

Ku-isa tama Laug? Siza tu tagavaz
Azah si-sizaun? Hus-hus tu busul
Azah hu-hus husav? Panah tu sakut
Azah pa-panahav? Hul tu cina Puni
Azah pahu-hulav? Cindun tu habag

³⁷⁶ Interview with Tina Ibu.

³⁷⁷ Soqluman, "Bunun's Home Nature: A Native's Point of View (Bunun 的家園自然：一個在地人的觀點)," 100.

³⁷⁸ *Ku-isa tama Laug?* is a Bunun traditional chant sung in a call-response form (responsorium). For further information, see <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3OJLiDxYRfg> for music, and see http://www.tudou.com/programs/view/ToBgZwU_PCc/ for another version sung by Hualien Taiping Elementary Chorus.

Azah ci-cindunav? Painuk tu uvaz
Azah pa-painukav? Si-sit tu uvaz

Where is Laug going? ³⁷⁹

Where is Laug going? He's going to gather leeks.
Why is he going to gather leeks? He's going to use them to clean the rifle.
Why is he going to clean the rifle? He's going to shoot a muntjac.
Why is he going to shoot a muntjac? He's going to give it to Puni to eat.
Why is he going to give it to Puni to eat? Because she is a hard-working weaver.
Why is she weaving? She's making clothing for the children.
Why is she making clothing for the children? Because it is very cold.

In the midst of sharing, there is also restraint. Restraint itself can be understood as a form of sharing — that is, one does not take too much, or take beyond one's entitlement. Restraint implies having a regard for the future, it can be understood as gratitude, and is given formal expression through *Samu* — the laws of prohibition that equally express relationships between humans and nature, and articulate moral norms and prohibitions.³⁸⁰ *Samu* is particularly important in contexts of rituals, life passages such as marriage, agriculture, and hunting. In consequence, restraint as a mode of relationship pertains both to inter-human relationship and ethics, and also to the relationships between humans and non-humans. Consequences for failing to respect *Samu* include a range of serious problems, even disasters caused by ruptured relationships. In Kalibuan many *Samu* regulations are obeyed and practiced in daily life and in rituals.

Loss of sustainability is one type of disaster, clearly linked to the failure to carry on traditions. 'Bean planting is part of Bunun culture. If people do not plant bean, they will disappear. This was how millet disappeared.' said Tina Ibu.³⁸¹ Losses are much greater than might be implied if one was thinking only of subsistence. Sharing includes the memories, the transmission of knowledge, the connections between the past and present, ancestors and living people, the

³⁷⁹ The English translation of the *Ku-isa tama Laug?* is from <http://www.iodalliance.com/album/mudanin-kata/118243> accessed (21 June 2011).

³⁸⁰ Soqluman, "Bunun's Home Nature: A Native's Point of View (Bunun 的家園自然：一個在地人的觀點)," 28.

³⁸¹ Interview with Tina Ibu.

great spiritual power and life on earth. Through inheritance of traditional specialties in different families, knowledge from and cultural connectivity with the ancestors can be, and should be, passed down to future generations.

Sharing, the core value of Bunun, practiced in various ways in their daily life, has sustained their livelihood and culture for generations. My use of the phrase ‘the heart of the hunter’ addresses the way in which traditional activities situate people within sharing relationships that connect them to the supreme powers, living non-human beings, territory, and social relations within village, clan and family. As Neqou always wanted to demonstrate, this position itself can be shared. At nights in Kalibuan Village after learning and teaching activities, Neqou or other Elders would light up a campfire and we sat around the fire side by side, sharing food, conversation and song in a relaxing way. Within the circle of the fire, Neqou usually said to participants: ‘In Bunun tradition, a group of people who share the same campfire are family’. In this way, relatedness is sustained by sharing — sharing sustains relatedness. The position of being enmeshed in relationships of giving and taking, restraint and respect is offered beyond the village, clan and ‘tribe’.

Part 3:

Recuperative Reconciliation: Gulaga and Gundabooka

Chapter 7

Overview: Gulaga and Gundabooka

7.1 Introduction

In early 2009, I came to Australia to study Indigenous cultural values. At that time, I knew that Indigenous Australians had inhabited the continent for about sixty thousand years, and this fact inspired me to learn about their culture. However, in my first few months I rarely saw Indigenous people in Sydney.³⁸² I guessed that the proportion of the Indigenous population in Australian cities was similar to that in most Taiwanese cities. That is, the numbers of Indigenous people in cities are very small. The first Indigenous people I saw were performers at Circular Quay near the Opera House. They played didgeridoo and clap sticks, and performed dances relating to native animals, such as emu and kangaroo. The few Indigenous Elders I 'met' were the ones whose photos and words were on display at the Exhibition Gallery of Indigenous Australians in the Australian Museum. There, visitors can look at the photos and press buttons repeatedly to listen to their words.

One day I took a train and got off at Redfern station,³⁸³ and there I encountered an Indigenous person. She was quite openly injecting a needle into her leg. These first encounters were so true, and so depressing. At the same time I became motivated to think about these problems in this settler society, and I hoped to learn more. My next effort at encountering Indigenous people was through a trip. I drove north along the coast of New South Wales to Coffs Harbour, Lismore, Mount Warning, and Byron Bay. As I travelled I saw a few relics such as a midden and some Bora rings (ceremonial grounds) that testified to the past existence of Indigenous people and their culture. I visited several national parks, sacred sites and other places identified as being significant to Indigenous people. These sites seemed to have literally become ruins, giving the appearance of long abandonment. On my way home, I participated in a protest in Bulahdelah (Alum Mountain). The state Roads and Traffic Authority was planning to put a new section of highway through the mountain, which is a

³⁸² I later realized that it may be difficult to recognize an Aborigine visually. Some people have lighter skin because of their part-European ancestry.

³⁸³ Redfern is a residential area with a large population of urban Aborigines near the CBD of Sydney.

sacred place belonging to the local Indigenous people. During the three days during which I participated, I was struck by the fact that most of the protestors were non-Indigenous people who came to support the two Elders who were leading the action.

As I learned more about the violent impacts of European colonisation (discussed in succinct form in Chapter 2), I became more attentive to the possibilities for physical and mental anguish caused by European incursion, and the related pain and suffering. In recent years, these terrible histories have gradually come to light and been publicly admitted, and the Australian Government has attempted to change its relationship with Indigenous people. While there are still many controversial issues and policies, joint management of land, shared between the National Parks and Wildlife Service, and Indigenous people, has made progress toward the goal of reconciliation. In addition, more and more collaborations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous have been achieved. Festivals such as the Two Fires Festival in Braidwood³⁸⁴ and the Guringai Festival in the Northern Sydney region are designed to enhance cross-cultural sharing. In addition, Indigenous knowledge is being shared in a variety of Indigenous-controlled events such as the Sacred Mountain Camp in Narooma and Gulaga, and Indigenous tours in Gundabooka National Park. I decided to focus my research on collaborative knowledge-sharing events as I believed they would help me understand how people come through such a history. Through participating in these events, I had opportunities to visit some Indigenous significant sites under the leadership and guidance of gifted and knowledgeable Elders like Uncle Max Harrison and Phil Sullivan. These Elders were teaching Indigenous culture and knowledge to both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, with the intention that more and more people would come to understand the value of Indigenous culture.

Australia is a vast continent with diverse groups of people. Even in New South Wales there are numerous Indigenous groups. In this chapter I will focus on one coastal Indigenous and one inland Indigenous group, namely Yuin people in the area of Gulaga National Park and

³⁸⁴ Two Fire Festival is the first event relating to Aborigines I participated in Australia where I met Uncle Max, Archie Roach, Warren Forster. In this event I made my first contact with Indigenous Australians.

Ngiyampaa people³⁸⁵ in the area of Gundabooka National Park. My main questions concern the development of national parks and their activities in relation to cultural survival. I will discuss the specific histories of colonisation, and then look at the establishment of national parks and the implementation of joint management. Finally, I will draw on my experience of participating in cultural survival activities to illuminate the work of Indigenous Elders in transmitting their culture and knowledge to participants.

Before any discussion of the case studies, however I must introduce the term *the Dreaming*.

7.2 Always Dreaming: the significance of creation

White people ask us all the time, what is Dreaming? This is a hard question because Dreaming is a really big thing for Aboriginal people. In our language, Yanyuwa, we call the Dreaming *Yijan*. The Dreamings made our Law or *narnu-Yuwa*. This Law is the way we live, our rules. This Law is our ceremonies, our songs, our stories; all of these things came from the Dreaming. One thing that I can tell you though is that our Law is not like European Law which is always changing - new government, new laws; but our Law cannot change, we did not make it. The Law was made by the Dreamings many, many years ago and given to our ancestors and they gave it to us. The Dreamings are our ancestors, no matter if they are fish, birds, men, women, animals, wind or rain. It was these Dreamings that made our Law. All things in our country have Law, they have ceremony and song, and they have people who are related to them ... That is the most important thing, we have to keep up the country, the Dreamings, our Law, our people, it can't change. Our Law has been handed on from generation to generation and it is our job to keep it going, to keep it safe.³⁸⁶

‘Dreaming’ is the key concept in understanding Indigenous culture in Australia.

³⁸⁵ Another spelling, Ngemba, is used by some early writers especially in the north. “It recognises that some speakers especially in the north tend to run the sound sequence *iya* together so that it sounds like English ‘e’. It also recognises that the same people usually pronounce the p/b sound so that English speakers hear it as more like English ‘b’ than like English ‘p’. For further details, see Jeremy Beckett and New South Wales Office of the Registrar, *Yapapunakirri : let's track back : the Aboriginal world around Mount Grenfell* (Sydney: Office of the Registrar, Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1983, 2003). 12.

³⁸⁶ Mussolini Harvey, quoted in J. Bradley, *Yanyuwa Country: The Yanyuwa People of Borroloola Tell the History of Their Land* (Greenhouse, 1988). ix-xi. Also, Deborah Bird Rose, *Nourishing Terrains: Australian Aboriginal Views of Landscape and Wilderness* (Australian Heritage Commission, 1996).

The Central feature of Aboriginal cosmology and epistemology that reiterated throughout the vast continent of Australia, in spite of regional variations, is the Dreaming and its integral link between human beings, land, and everything that inhabits the land.³⁸⁷

The term 'Dreaming' is used interchangeably with 'Dreamtime', and both terms indicate the difficulties of the term. Indigenous scholars point out that the 'Aboriginal creative epoch cannot be understood with a Western framework of linear time'.³⁸⁸ The key essay *The Dreaming* (1953) by W. E. H. Stanner has led many scholars to prefer that term. Stanner tried to clarify the idea of the Dreaming:

The [Australian Aborigine's] outlook on the universe and man is shaped by a remarkable conception, which Spencer and Gillen immortalised as the 'dream time' or *alcheringa* of the Arunta or Aranda tribe. Some anthropologists have called it the 'Eternal Dream Time'. I prefer to call it what the blacks call it in English — 'The Dreaming,' or just 'Dreaming'.

A central meaning of the Dreaming *is* that of a sacred, heroic time long, long ago when man and nature came to be as they are; but neither *time* nor *history* as we understand them is involved in this meaning. I have never been able to discover any Aboriginal word for *time* as an abstract concept. And the sense of *history* is wholly alien here.

Clearly, the Dreaming is many things in one. Among them, a kind of narrative of things that once happened; a kind of charter of things that still happen; and a kind of *logos* or principle of order transcending everything significant for Aboriginal man.³⁸⁹

In spite of enormous scholarly attention, the Dreaming is still untranslatable.³⁹⁰ Commonly used to describe the Indigenous creative epoch, each Indigenous group had its own distinct terms to refer to this period of time and everything associated with it. Though the term Dreaming is related to one or more words corresponding to it in some Indigenous languages, it does not exactly apply to all of them.

The use of the English word Dreaming should not suggest that it refers to some vague reflection of the real world. Rather, Aboriginal people see the word of The Dreaming as the fundamental

³⁸⁷ Lynne Hume, *Ancestral power: the dreaming, consciousness, and Aboriginal Australians* (Melbourne University Press, 2002). 24.

³⁸⁸ Colin Bourke, Eleanor Bourke, and W. H. Edwards, *Aboriginal Australia : an introductory reader in Aboriginal studies*, 2nd ed. (St Lucia, Qld.: University of Queensland Press, 1998). 79.

³⁸⁹ W.E.H. Stanner, "My Dreaming," in *White man got no dreaming: essays, 1938-1973* (Australian National University Press, 1979), 23-24.

³⁹⁰ Hume, *Ancestral power: the dreaming, consciousness, and Aboriginal Australians*: 35.

reality. The indigenous terms have a meaning of story and they refer to each group's stories which enshrine their understandings about their origins.³⁹¹

Dreaming is a complex network of knowledge that derives from stories of creation. It embodies people's faith and practices, and dominates spiritual and physical aspects of Indigenous life. Indigenous people also use the English terms 'Law' or 'Power' to express this central concept.

There are several aspects to the Dreaming. First, the Dreaming is known through the creation stories of Ancestral Beings, and can be drawn on to explain the time when the world, human beings, animals and plants were created. The Dreaming tells of actions and journeys of those creators who created the world.

The Dreaming are the Creative Beings who brought the world into existence. Dreaming brought the landscape and all life into being and their presence in the presence of spirit in the world.³⁹²

The landforms, the animals, and plants were all created during the Dreamtime, so the stories tell how ancestral spirits moved through the land to make all things. The Dreaming stories identify places where ancestral beings travelled, and where they came to rest.

As they paused at certain locations and left traces of the essence of themselves, they endowed the country with immanent significance.³⁹³

The significance of the land is contained within the sites, and is communicated through these stories.

Second, Dreaming concerns spiritual relationships of interconnection between country (land) and Indigenous people.

The spiritual relationship between people and country was created by the Dreaming Beings and is sustained both by the living presence of those Beings in country and by the knowledgeable activities (educational and ritual) of the people who belong to that country.³⁹⁴

³⁹¹ Bourke, Bourke, and Edwards, *Aboriginal Australia : an introductory reader in Aboriginal studies*: 79.

³⁹² Deborah Bird Rose, *Gulaga : a report on the cultural significance of Mt Dromedary to Aboriginal people, presented to the Forestry Commission of New South Wales and the New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service* ([Sydney]: The Service, 1990). 15.

³⁹³ Hume, *Ancestral power: the dreaming, consciousness, and Aboriginal Australians*: 25.

Ancestral beings changed into rocks, trees, rivers, sands, stars or other forms, once they had created the world. These geographical forms of Dreaming are sacred places in Indigenous culture. The Dreaming linking the past and the present, and is infinite and never-ending. Moreover, Dreaming enlivens the relationships between groups and individuals and sustains links to the land, the animals and other people throughout Australia.³⁹⁵ Dreaming is a cultural identity for Indigenous people, linking individuals, groups, communities and countries. It forms the body of Indigenous knowledge and the code for the Law that guides Indigenous Australians from the past to the present and into the future.

Dreaming stories pass on important knowledge, cultural values and belief systems to later generations. Through song, dance, painting and storytelling which express the dreaming stories, Aborigines have maintained a link with the Dreaming from ancient times to today.³⁹⁶

In order to maintain the life of the land, Dreamings established the structures of society, the rules of social behaviours, and the ceremonies. Some stories direct the proper way for people to live and behave, and some tell about punishment.³⁹⁷ Thus, Dreaming provides Indigenous people a particular system of knowledge and Law in order to sustain life and maintain good relationships with others in their country:

The Dreaming, expressed through myth, ceremony, and song cycles, demonstrates that the cosmos is a living system that reproduces itself by each part of the system maintaining a balanced relationship with all other parts. Balance is achieved by each part being aware of the other parts and acting morally toward one another. Debbie Bird Rose explains this as a 'reflexive' moral relationship of care' between all things, both sentient and non-sentient: human beings, animals, sun, earth, wind, rain – in sum, all that is, is included in this system.³⁹⁸

Within this worldview, all things created from the land began with the Dreaming, so Indigenous people are part of the land. Regarding Dreaming as Indigenous knowledge and Law, Indigenous people have duties to respect and care for their country.

³⁹⁴ Rose, *Gulaga : a report on the cultural significance of Mt Dromedary to Aboriginal people, presented to the Forestry Commission of New South Wales and the New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service*: 16.

³⁹⁵ Australian Government, "The Dreaming," Australian Government, <http://australia.gov.au/about-australia/australian-story/dreaming>.

³⁹⁶ Ibid.

³⁹⁷ Indigenous Australia, "The Dreaming - An Introduction," Indigenous Australia, <http://www.indigenoustralia.info/the-dreaming.html>.

³⁹⁸ Hume, *Ancestral power: the dreaming, consciousness, and Aboriginal Australians*: 26.

Importantly, Dreaming knowledge has been passed down from generation to generation, and therefore the Indigenous knowledge, Law, beliefs and values have remained alive despite the fact of colonisation. 'The Dreaming did not end with the arrival of Europeans but simply entered a new phase. It is a powerful living force that must be maintained and cared for.'³⁹⁹ It provides an immeasurable force for cultural and natural resilience. The places where Dreaming Beings acted in the past and still exist at present are regarded as sacred sites:

Creative Beings lived on the earth as they created it, and once their creation was brought into being they remained on earth, their life-giving power now centred in particular places. Gulaga is one such place – a sacred mountain. It is sacred because the Creative Beings were there in the past and because they are there still. To engage with the mountain is to engage with spirit.⁴⁰⁰

Some sacred sites are now teaching and learning places for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. In the tours guided by Indigenous Elders that I joined in Gulaga and later in Gundabooka, Dreaming stories were told and explained as the essence of Indigenous culture. Gulaga and Gundabooka each has its own Dreamings.

³⁹⁹ Australian Museum, "Spirituality " Australian Museum, <http://australianmuseum.net.au/Indigenous-Australia-Spirituality>.

⁴⁰⁰ Rose, *Gulaga : a report on the cultural significance of Mt Dromedary to Aboriginal people, presented to the Forestry Commission of New South Wales and the New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service*: 17.

7.3 Overview of Gulaga area



Figure 7.1: Map shows the location of Yuin Country and Gulaga⁴⁰¹

Gulaga Mountain is also known as Mount Dromedary, having been named by Captain James Cook⁴⁰² in 1770 on account of his perception that it was shaped like a camel hump. It was officially renamed with its Indigenous name *Gulaga* in 2006. The mountain is situated close to the villages of Central Tilba and Tilba Tilba, about 350 kilometres drive south from Sydney, and it dominates the landscape around the neighbouring communities between Narooma and Bermagui in the far south coast of New South Wales.

⁴⁰¹ This map is from the Living Knowledge website:
http://livingknowledge.anu.edu.au/learningsites/kooricoast/05_map.htm.

⁴⁰² "Captain Cook was the first recorded European person in the region who on 22 April 1770 saw a sign of habitation, smoke, in the vicinity of Gulaga." Minister for the Environment. Merrinmans and Wagonga Local Aboriginal Land Councils, *Aboriginal Owned Gulaga National Park Lease to the Minister for the Environment 7*. This document (accessed on 02 Aug 2011) is available on the website:
<http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/resources/parks/gulagaLease.pdf>.

7.3.1 Significance to Indigenous people and association with surrounding landscapes

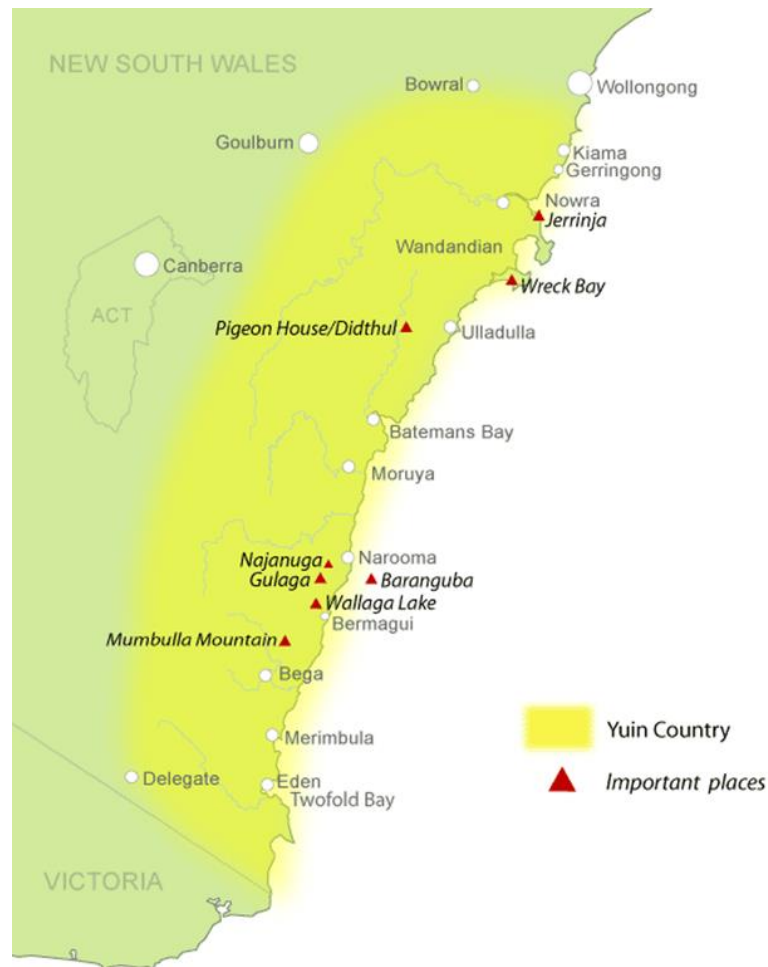


Figure 7.2: Map of Yuin Country and its important places⁴⁰³

The mountain, geologically an extinct volcano, is not only a habitat for a diverse range of native plant and animal species, but also one of most significant sites for Yuin people,⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰³ Source: the Living Knowledge website,
http://livingknowledge.anu.edu.au/learningsites/kooricoast/05_map.htm.

particularly for the Umbarra people (people of the black duck 'skin' or clan) of nearby Wallaga Lake. Gulaga in Yuin creation Dreaming is the place of ancestral origin as well as the body of a Dreaming woman; it is a sacred site that provides a basis for spiritual identity.⁴⁰⁵ The significance of the place has been analysed along several dimensions:

As the place of origin for local Aboriginal people; As a living presence which is reciprocally related to the Yuin people; As the abode of local ancestors; As a teaching site for women; As a repository of women's secret information and other matters; As a teaching site for men; As the home of a variety of living beings which Europeans generally class as 'supernatural' and which require the particular type of undisturbed habitat the mountain provides; As part of a social and cultural complex which includes Merriman's Island (*Wambara*), Little Dromedary (*Najanuka*), Montague Island, and is related to Mumbulla Mountain (*Biamanga*) and Pigeon House Mountain (*Balgan*); As the source of a variety of items which are used by Wallaga Lake people and which have sacred and secret significance; as a source of water for the area; and, As a historic site, being an essential part of growing up at Wallaga Lake and nearby communities.⁴⁰⁶

Cultural Association with other surrounding landscapes

Concerning the spiritual significance of Gulaga, it is important to draw attention to its connection with surrounding landscapes, including Little Dromedary Mountain, Montague Island and Merriman Island. Gulaga is an extinct volcano, and that geology links it to Little Dromedary and Montague Island.⁴⁰⁷ 'From the perspective of the Umbarra people, Gulaga is a Dreaming woman and she is linked to her two sons.'⁴⁰⁸ To the Yuin people, Montague Island is known as Barranguba and Little Dromedary Mountain as Najanuga, and both of them are

⁴⁰⁴ The Yuin, which means 'human beings,' are the traditional owners of the land and water in the South Coast of NSW. Their country is from the Shoalhaven River in the south of Wollongong to Cape Howe at the boundary between NSW and Victoria. A.W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia* (Macmillan and Co., limited, 1904). 81-82.

Rose, *Gulaga : a report on the cultural significance of Mt Dromedary to Aboriginal people, presented to the Forestry Commission of New South Wales and the New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service*: 9-10.

Max Dulumunmun Harrison and Peter McConchie, *My people's dreaming : an Aboriginal elder speaks on life, land, spirit and forgiveness* (Warriewood, N.S.W.: Finch Publishing, 2009). 15.

⁴⁰⁵ See <http://www.narooma.org.au/gulaga.html>.

⁴⁰⁶ Rose, *Gulaga : a report on the cultural significance of Mt Dromedary to Aboriginal people, presented to the Forestry Commission of New South Wales and the New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service*: 1-2.

⁴⁰⁷ Deborah Bird Rose, *Reports from a wild country : ethics for decolonisation* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2004). 194.

⁴⁰⁸ Brian Egloff et al., *Biamanga and Gulaga : Aboriginal cultural association with the Biamanga and Gulaga National Parks* (Surry Hills, N.S.W.: Office of the Registrar, Aboriginal Land Rights Acts 1983 (NSW), 2005). 5.

regarded as the sons of Gulaga. Barranguba, being the oldest son, was allowed to go out to sea, whereas Najanuga had to stay close to his mother.

Merriman Island was given its English name for King Merriman, the leader of the Yuin who died in 1904, and whose Indigenous name was Umbarra, meaning ‘black duck’. This is a sacred place for the Yuin people: ‘Umbarra's Island (Merriman Island) is said to be in the shape of the Black Duck, an important local totem for Wallaga Lake’.⁴⁰⁹ In 1977 Merriman Island became the first place in NSW to be declared an Aboriginal Heritage site by the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service (hereafter NSW NPWS). Another nearby site, Mumbulla Mountain, is also a place of significance to the Yuin People — a sacred site.

7.3.2 History of European settlement and its impacts on Yuin people

After Europeans invaded the far south coast of NSW in the 1820s, the Yuin people’s life and country was massively impacted. The people have gone through great changes resulting from disease epidemics, dispossession, massacres, policies of confinement and assimilation, and wage-labour work in the dairy, timber logging, cattle and sheep, and gold mining industries. People had to struggle to survive and adapt themselves to changing livelihoods and changing policies under European colonisation.

Before Europeans settled in the region around Gulaga in the 1830s, introduced epidemics most likely had already hit the Yuin because they did not have acquired immunity. The small pox epidemic (1789) occurred before they had encountered many Europeans, and in later decades there were venereal diseases transmitted by the whalers. Both took a high toll, perhaps killing as many as two-thirds of the local people.⁴¹⁰ The sharp decline of population affected many aspects of social organisation among Yuin people.⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁴¹⁰ Denis Byrne, New South Wales Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs, and New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service, *The mountains call me back : a history of the Aborigines and the forests of the far south coast of New South Wales* ([Sydney]: NSW Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs, 1984). 23.

Rose, *Gulaga : a report on the cultural significance of Mt Dromedary to Aboriginal people, presented to the Forestry Commission of New South Wales and the New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service*: 36.

⁴¹¹ Rose, *Gulaga : a report on the cultural significance of Mt Dromedary to Aboriginal people, presented to the Forestry Commission of New South Wales and the New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service*: 37.

The first European squatters were stockmen, arriving in the Gulaga area in the early 1830s. Since then, cattle and sheep gradually displaced emus and kangaroos. In the 1860s, another influx of Europeans brought a more intensive set of land use practices. The settlers used wire fences to enclose their farms and the Indigenous people were fenced out of their land and then were highly restricted in their hunting and travelling.⁴¹² Hunting, gathering and other ceremonial, as well as subsistence activities, became more difficult.

In the early 1870s, goldminers flocked to Gulaga. The mountain was intensively mined between 1877 and 1910, and much of rainforest was destroyed.⁴¹³ When the gold had nearly given out, settlers took up dairying. Farmers cleared up the slopes of the mountain, as well as grazing cattle on the flats. The dairy industry in this area flourished during the period 1880 to 1970. In addition to mining and dairy, other settlers' activities also impacted on the mountain, for example, the use of fires to clear the land, and the timber industry.⁴¹⁴

In addition to settlers' exploitation of land and resources, severe policies for administering the lives of Indigenous people also made a great impact on the Yuin people's lives. Under the policy of concentrating Indigenous people on reserves, adopted by the Aborigines Protection Board, the Wallaga Lake Reserve was established in 1891. The Yuin people were fenced in and the European managers tried to stop them hunting and gathering wild foods on the reserve. Moreover, many children were taken away to white families.⁴¹⁵ Many Indigenous families suffered psychological trauma. Nevertheless, these small groups of Yuin people, living at the edges of settler society, were excluded from British society:

They continued to believe in the spirit world and the traditions were kept alive through stories and songs. The bush became a refuge. People often walked through the forest from Wallaga to

⁴¹² Byrne, New South Wales Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs, and New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service, *The mountains call me back : a history of the Aborigines and the forests of the far south coast of New South Wales*: 18.

⁴¹³ Deborah Bird Rose, *Love and reconciliation in the forest : a study in decolonisation*, Hawke Institute working paper series, (Magill, S. Aust.: Hawke Institute, University of South Australia, 2002). 4.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid.

⁴¹⁵ Byrne, New South Wales Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs, and New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service, *The mountains call me back : a history of the Aborigines and the forests of the far south coast of New South Wales*: 19.

Bega – old people pointed out to the young the sacred places in the hills, the habits of the animals, the plants for eating and medicine.⁴¹⁶

After 1891, everything cost money.

As they (the Aborigines) became poorer, the cash value of their former lands increased. The Aborigines were virtual prisoners on reserves and they watched as the Europeans turned in a profit from the farms, the ocean and the oyster beds.⁴¹⁷

The Yuin people were forced to learn and adapt to the European economic system and livelihood. For both European settlers and Indigenous people in the area, farming and fishing had become the two main activities which contributed to the cash economy.⁴¹⁸ During this period Yuin people developed an ‘adaptive coexistence’. They were allocated a school so that they could gain a British-style education, and until the early 20th century they maintained their full initiation ceremonies.⁴¹⁹

In 1940 the Aborigines Welfare Board was established to assimilate Indigenous people into the European society. Within a decade, much of the former reserve land was sold off; many Indigenous people were forced to move to ‘white’ society.⁴²⁰ Since then there has been a continuous tension between the need to adapt to Anglo-Australian society and policy in order to survive economically, and the need to sustain their own cultural identity in order to survive culturally. The history after 1960 in relation to activities of Gulaga Mountain protection and its impact on Indigenous people are described at the beginning of Section 8.2.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid., 23-24.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid., 19.

⁴¹⁸ Rose, *Love and reconciliation in the forest : a study in decolonisation*: 5.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid.

⁴²⁰ Bourke and District Historical Society and W. J. Cameron, *Bourke, a history of local government* (Surry Hills, N.S.W.: Wentworth Books for the Bourke and District Historical Society, 1978).

7.4 Overview of Gundabooka area

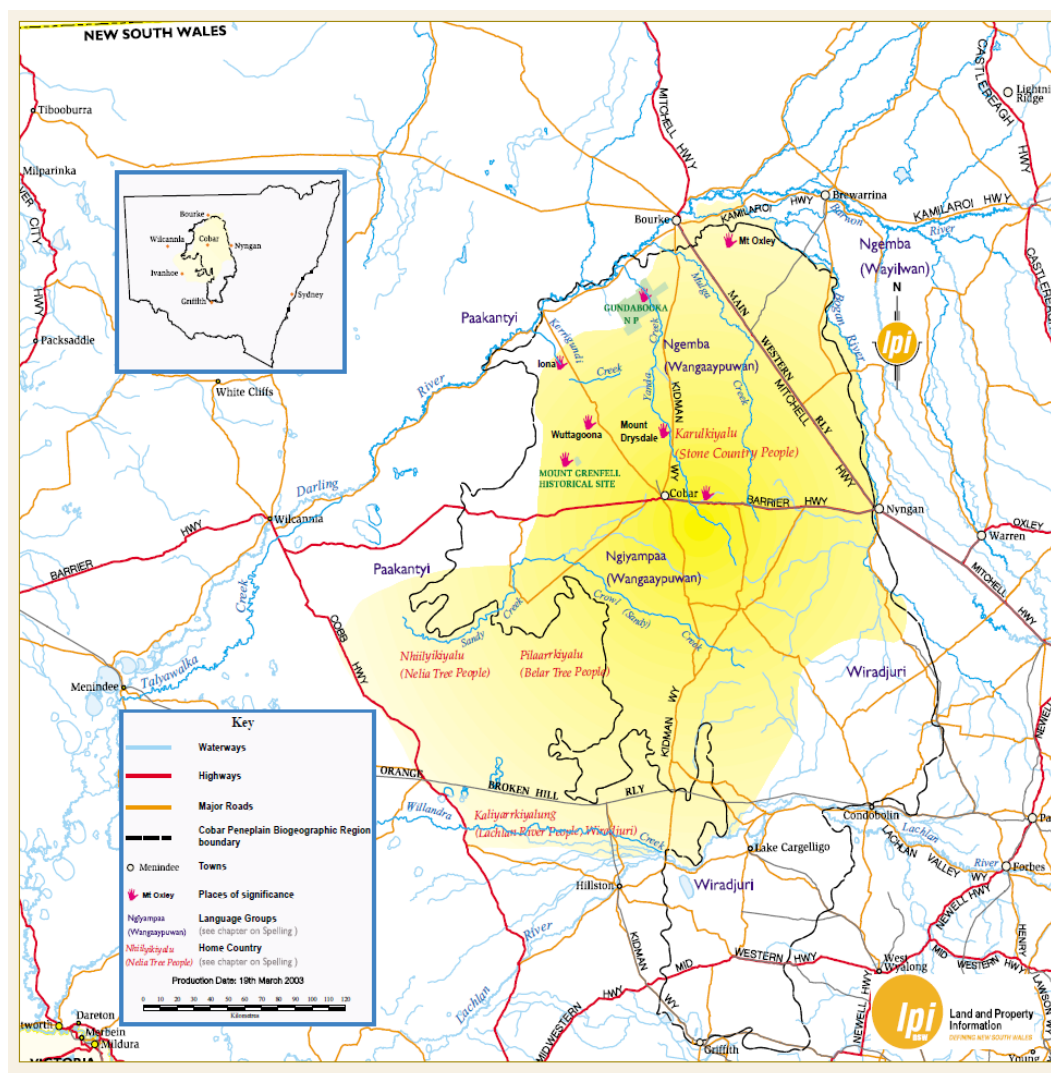


Figure 7.3: Map of the Cultural Area of Indigenous people associated with Gundabooka and Mt Grenfell⁴²¹

Located in the vicinity of Bourke in north-western New South Wales, about 800 kilometres west of Sydney, Gundabooka National Park spans the rocky Gundabooka Range and a large expanse of low-lying semi-arid bushland region. The range rises to a height of 500 metres at

⁴²¹ Beckett and New South Wales Office of the Registrar, *Yapapunakirri : let's track back : the Aboriginal world around Mount Grenfell*: 7.

Mount Gundabooka, from which there are extensive views of wide-open plains, magnificent rust coloured cliffs, and gorges and hills that are over 385 million years old.⁴²²

7.4.1 Significance to Indigenous people and association with surrounding landscapes

Gundabooka has a complex Indigenous history involving members of two Indigenous language groups, the Ngiyampaa and the Paakantji.⁴²³ It features notably in the consciousness of Indigenous people today, particularly for the people of Bourke and Brewarrina.⁴²⁴ Ngiyampaa people⁴²⁵ lived in the range on the east of the Darling River, while Paakantji mostly dwelled along the river and visited the range regularly.

To Ngiyambaa people, the range is a feature along the ancient path walked by Baiame, a creation figure. Paakantji people tell stories about Ngatji, the rainbow serpent, that link the Darling River to Gundabooka Range.⁴²⁶

Lying within a geographically and culturally dynamic landscape, Gundabooka Range has a profound traditional association with these two groups.

Gundabooka includes within its boundaries a number of rock art sites. The paintings show many aspects of Ngiyampaa culture, such as dancers, animals and intricate fish trap designs. The natural vegetation of rocky ranges provides essential habitat for local animals like wallaroo, wedge-tailed eagle and peregrine falcon, and its lower plains are home to the western grey, eastern grey, and red kangaroos, along with emus, all of which are traditional

⁴²² National Parks and Wildlife Service, "Gundabooka National Park and Gundabooka State Conservation Area: Plan of Management," ed. Office of Environment & Heritage (NSW) (2005).

⁴²³ George Main, *Gunderbooka : a 'stone country' story* (Kingston, A.C.T.: Resource Policy & Management, 2000). 8.

⁴²⁴ National Parks and Wildlife Service, "Gundabooka National Park and Gundabooka State Conservation Area: Plan of Management," 4. See also J Erskine, "Gundabooka National Park: A report on the Aboriginal cultural significance," (NPWS Cultural Heritage Services Division 1998).

⁴²⁵ Ngiyampaa people group themselves in accordance with their home country: Karulkiyalu (Stone Country People), the Pilaarrkiyalu (Belah Tree People), and Nhiilyikiyalu (Nelia Tree People), They 'occupy different areas of the Ngiyampaa language group within and around the bioregion'. New South Wales Government, "Cobar Peneplain - regional history," The Office of Environment and Heritage, <http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/bioregions/CobarPeneplain-RegionalHistory.htm>.

⁴²⁶ Main, *Gunderbooka : a 'stone country' story*: 8.

foods.⁴²⁷ In the range there were significant Indigenous burial sites, and certain places were used as venues for ceremonial gatherings.

Mount Gundabooka is also of spiritual importance to the local Indigenous Community. It is one of the major Dreaming sites in the region, being a significant part of the Baiame Dreaming track. According to Ngiyampaa stories, Baiame travelled through the area from Byrock through Mt Drysdale and Cobar to Wittagoona, Gundabooka, and back to Brewarrina. In his travels he left his mark on the landscape.⁴²⁸ As explained by Paul Gordon, a Ngiyampaa Elder, Baiame assembled all the animals after the work of creation in Wittagoona. 'Emu, kangaroo and porcupine failed to return, and became features of the landscape. The emu became Mt Grenfell, an animal of particular importance in Ngiyampaa practice and belief.'⁴²⁹ Gundabooka and nearby Yanda Creek combine to create an extensive set of connections that link the mountain with other waterholes, creeks and the Darling River.

The land and waterways, and the plants and animals that live in them, feature in all facets of Aboriginal culture - including recreational, ceremonial, spiritual and as a main source of food and medicine. They are associated with Dreaming stories and cultural learning that is still passed on today.⁴³⁰

7.4.2 History of European settlement and its impacts on Indigenous people

Similar to Gulaga and other areas of New South Wales, smallpox epidemics swept through the western plains of NSW before the settlers' actual incursion. European settlement around the Gundabooka region began in the 1830s, and before that the introduced disease surely had not only caused a sharp population decline, but also influenced the human interaction with environment. Due to fewer hunters, populations of certain animals may have increased.⁴³¹ In addition to fatal epidemics, Indigenous people were massacred in the early years of settlement

⁴²⁷ Vivien Clayphan-Dunne, "Gundabooka National Park," *National Parks Journal* 43, no. 1 (February 1999).

⁴²⁸ R.H Mathews, "Notes on Some Aboriginal Tribes," *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales* 41(1907): 67-87.

⁴²⁹ Beckett and New South Wales Office of the Registrar, *Yapapunakirri : let's track back : the Aboriginal world around Mount Grenfell*: 20.

⁴³⁰ See <http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/NationalParks/parkCulture.aspx?id=N0100#MulgowanAboriginalheritagesite>.

⁴³¹ Main, *Gunderbooka : a 'stone country' story*: 26.

when European settlers were moving into the Gundabooka area. The survivors fled to the Gundabooka Range which provided shelter and sustenance.⁴³²

In late 1850s,

pastoralists drew resources from the riverboat trade to effect a rapid invasion of the Darling River frontages. Over the following decades, dingo control, fence construction and tank sinking allowed sheep to graze the 'back country' beyond the Darling. Most properties covered wide areas.⁴³³

During this period, there were violent conflicts between pastoralists and traditional owners who were being dispossessed. By 1860 pastoralists had established Gundabooka, Yanda and Curraweena Stations along the Darling River close to the Gundabooka Range.⁴³⁴ Cattle and sheep grazed the grassy plains, gullies and slopes of the range. Pastoralism had begun to transform the vegetation patterns and other aspects of the ecosystem. Besides pastoralism, gold was discovered in the range in 1872. The lode was exhausted soon after hundreds of miners came to the range.⁴³⁵ The further settlement in the interior of Gundabooka Range added more disruptions to Indigenous life.

In order to survive, Indigenous people looked for jobs in stations around Gundabooka. People developed expertise at stock work and found employment. In the mid- to late-19th century,

pastoralists generated much wealth ... despite some disastrous droughts. Paakantji and Ngiyambaa survivors of violence and disease worked to establish these pastoral stations in exchange for a right to live on their traditional land.⁴³⁶

The large stations maintained Indigenous camps; in these camps Indigenous people sustained a reserve of cheap labour, and in return the stations provided basic rations, along with blankets subsidised by the government. Poor diet, along with other factors, impacted on

⁴³² Ibid., 28.

⁴³³ Ibid., 9.

⁴³⁴ Ibid., 29.

⁴³⁵ Beckett and New South Wales Office of the Registrar, *Yapapunakirri : let's track back : the Aboriginal world around Mount Grenfell*: 23.

⁴³⁶ Main, *Gunderbooka : a 'stone country' story*: 31.

Indigenous populations, giving rise to ‘an expectation that Aborigines were dying out’.⁴³⁷ As land and resources in the bush had been taken over by pastoralists, in some cases altered forever, large numbers of Indigenous people relocated to places where rations were provided.⁴³⁸

An economic downturn occurred in the late 19th century, coupled with disastrous droughts, and other environmental impacts. At around that time, the Aborigines Protection Board began to force Indigenous people to move into town camps, missions, and reserves where they were often far from their homelands. The Aborigines Protection Board devised various brutal strategies to relocate Indigenous people who were unwilling to go.

Aborigines living in town camps in the Gunderbooka area, free to travel across their traditional country to work, visit relatives and attend ceremonies, demonstrated reluctance to be confined on reserves and stations.

...

The Board decided to discontinue the provision of rations to Aborigines at Byrock if they refused to move.⁴³⁹

In 1888, a few Indigenous people resided in Brewarrina Mission:

Later that year Reverend J. B. Gribble gathered Aborigines from Bourke and along the route to Brewarrina to the Mission. Some stone country people moved to Carowra Tank, about 200 kilometres southwest of Gundgabooka Range, where an Aboriginal reserve was designated within traditional Ngiyampaa country in 1908.⁴⁴⁰

Two Ngiyampaa women, Mrs. Edith Edwards and Mrs Lorna Dixon, told the story of how large trucks arrived in Bourke. Indigenous people were given only two hours to collect their belongings and were then taken to a mission station close to Brewarrina. ‘No warning; just told to pack up a few belongings and get on the trucks. Worse than animals we got treated.’⁴⁴¹ Also, they recalled that many people, including members of their own families, died in

⁴³⁷ Beckett and New South Wales Office of the Registrar, *Yapapunakirri : let's track back : the Aboriginal world around Mount Grenfell*: 23.

⁴³⁸ Main, *Gunderbooka : a 'stone country' story*: 31.

⁴³⁹ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁴⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴¹ Max Kamien and Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies Canberra, *The dark people of Bourke : a study of planned social change*, AIAS new series (Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1978). 16.

the first months of residence on the new station.⁴⁴² In the next decade, the colonial government implemented different policies, such as the policy of Closer Settlement (1930s), Reserve closing (1950s to 1960s) and Indigenous Family Resettlement Scheme (1972).⁴⁴³ Again and again Indigenous people were moved about and forced to live according to decisions made by others.

⁴⁴² Ibid.

⁴⁴³ For further details, see Peter Read, *Settlement : a history of Australian indigenous housing* (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2000).

Chapter 8

Parks as Teaching Places: Gulaga and Gundabooka

In December 2009 and July 2010, respectively, I visited the Gulaga area and the Gundabooka area. I was guided into the two sacred mountains, Mount Gulaga and Gundabooka Range, by Indigenous Elders. I regard these two visits, one led by Uncle Max Dulumunmun Harrison and one by Phil Sullivan, as my initiation into learning about Indigenous culture in Australia. Through their teachings, I was privileged to learn about Indigenous culture and knowledge associated with their traditional lands, and their strong attachment to their countries which are now partly within the boundaries of national parks. I was also able to gain a greater appreciation of the role a park can play in both cultural survival and cultural sharing.

8.1 Joint management

In Gulaga and Gundabooka, both conservationists and local Indigenous people contributed to the process of creating the national parks in order to achieve their respective purposes.

Conservationists stressed protecting endangered flora and fauna, while Indigenous people endeavoured to claim their traditional country to reconnect with their cultural roots, although flora and fauna also mattered to them since the homeland had always included landforms, flora and fauna. In a consensus view of protecting the environment from destruction, the concept of co-management, or joint management, in national parks emerged. Both locally and globally, co-management provided a way for conservationists and local Indigenous people to achieve their shared goals as well as their differing (but not necessarily contradictory) goals. The implementation of joint management in national parks was an important milestone for reconciliation and cultural survival.

The NSW NPWS Statement of Reconciliation acknowledges that Indigenous people do not separate culture from nature. It recognises Indigenous people's attachment to land and their traditional knowledge of and care for the land. NSW NPWS makes the commitment to 'endeavour to ensure that lands in our care are available to Aboriginal people for the nurturing of their culture'. The staff of the NPWS are committed to respecting Aboriginal culture and learning Indigenous knowledge. In hiring Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Officers, they recognise that Indigenous people have the right to interpret Aboriginal heritage to non-Indigenous people and to educate them about Indigenous care of the land. Thus, the NPWS

now works with Indigenous people to ‘improve local Aboriginal people’s access to parks for cultural activities; involve local Aboriginal people in guided Discovery tour programs; improve employment, education or training opportunities for local Aboriginal people’.⁴⁴⁴

The potential benefits of joint management organised and analysed by Dermot Smyth are as follows:⁴⁴⁵

For Aboriginal people with a cultural association with a park:

- recognition of cultural association with the land or traditional ownership
- opportunity to sustain spiritual and cultural activities
- participation in park management decision making
- protection of cultural sites and heritage
- opportunity to educate people about Aboriginal culture and contribute to reconciliation
- training and employment opportunities.

For the NPWS:

- opportunity to protect and interpret cultural heritage and recognise cultural and historic dimensions to conservation
- opportunity to access and apply Aboriginal knowledge in land management and the conservation of cultural and natural values
- contribution to reconciliation.

For biodiversity conservation:

- recognition of the cultural values associated with the park's biodiversity
- improved protection and management of biodiversity values through application of Aboriginal knowledge and practices.

For park visitors:

- appreciation of the cultural values of the park
- opportunity to communicate with Aboriginal owners and/or employees
- participation in the process of reconciliation.

⁴⁴⁴ Deborah Bird Rose et al., *Indigenous Kinship with the Natural World in New South Wales* (NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, 2003).

⁴⁴⁵ Smyth, "Joint management of national parks," 87.

In light of these many benefits, it would seem clear that joint management is a win-win outcome in the lives of the park, the traditional Aboriginal owners, the biodiversity and the visitors. But what is it like in practice?

8.2 Gulaga

8.2.1 The process of becoming a national park

After the Europeans settled in the area around Gulaga, the lives of Yuin people were drastically changed.

The pastoral and whaling industries developed and the colonial government imposed protectionist policies, dispossessing Aboriginal people of their traditional lands and suppressing their traditional way of life. Unprecedented impacts included marginalisation, violence, disease and death.⁴⁴⁶

Regardless, the Yuin descendants inherited their Elders' knowledge and have been continuously striving to maintain contact with their country and their culture. In order to survive, they worked for the settlers and contributed to settlement in return for rations.⁴⁴⁷ In the 1940s and 1950s, the Yuin people worked seasonally in the bean and pea fields. After World War II, logging began on a large scale, and a few Yuin people worked in logging teams and in sawmills. However, the Yuin were still at the very bottom of the economic ladder.⁴⁴⁸ Since the 1967 referendum and the granting of citizenship to all Indigenous people, the Yuin people at long last had opportunities to shift their lives, claim their rights and renew their culture in their ancestral country. One of the main focal points for them was Gulaga.

The history of the status of the land now comprising Gulaga National Park goes through several phases. In the 1960s, some local non-Indigenous people began seeking to protect Mount Gulaga from logging. At that time, part of the mountain was incorporated into Bodalla State Forest. Although forestry operations had made an impact, many Indigenous people were

⁴⁴⁶ Minister for the Environment. Merrinmans and Wagonga Local Aboriginal Land Councils, *Aboriginal Owned Gulaga National Park Lease to the Minister for the Environment* 7.

⁴⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁴⁴⁸ Byrne, New South Wales Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs, and New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service, *The mountains call me back : a history of the Aborigines and the forests of the far south coast of New South Wales*: 19.

employed in the logging industry, and the industry claimed to see itself friends with Indigenous people at a time when it was difficult for Indigenous people to find work.⁴⁴⁹ Compared to other casual jobs, working for forestry had been one of the better livelihoods in that difficult time. Thus, the issue of logging for Yuin people posed a dilemma between financial needs and cultural values.

In 1966 the eastern side of the mountain and the summit were proclaimed Mount Dromedary Flora Reserve under the Forestry Act in recognition of the unique concentration of different plant communities.⁴⁵⁰ In the same year, Goura Nature Reserve, lying on the lower southern slopes of Gulaga (between Wallaga Lake National Park and the Mount Dromedary), was announced. The aim was to protect the habitat and populations of the endangered long-nosed potoroo, a medium sized ground dwelling marsupial. The (two) reserves were managed by the State Forests of NSW and were later included on the Register of the National Estate by the Australian Heritage Commission.⁴⁵¹ At that time, the cultural significance of the mountain had not been raised as an issue.

In the 1970s, extensive logging continued to destroy lands and threaten Indigenous sacred sites in the far south coast of NSW. In 1977, Gubbo Ted Thomas (1909–2002), one of the great Yuin Elders of the late 20th century, led other Yuin Elders and their people in a land rights campaign to ban logging on Mumbulla Mountain and to regain control of sacred sites in that area.⁴⁵² The campaign heightened the awareness of Yuin people about their capacity to protect their sacred sites and claim their rights in country. Since then, greater numbers of Indigenous people have begun collaborating with the conservationists who had themselves become involved in protests against social and environmental injustice.

⁴⁴⁹ Sue Feary, "Social Justice in the Forest: Aboriginal Engagement with Australia's Forest Industries," *Transforming Cultures eJournal* 3, no. 1 (2008), <http://epress.lib.uts.edu.au/journals/index.php/TfC/article/view/683>, accessed 28 August 2011.

⁴⁵⁰ Rose, *Love and reconciliation in the forest : a study in decolonisation*: 5.

⁴⁵¹ Egloff et al., *Biamanga and Gulaga : Aboriginal cultural association with the Biamanga and Gulaga National Parks*: 4. Also New South Wales. National Parks and Wildlife Service., *Wallaga Lake National Park, Goura Nature Reserve, Bermagui Nature Reserve : draft plan of management* ([Hurstville, N.S.W.]: The Service, 1997). 3.

⁴⁵² Laurel-Lee Roderick, "National Parks Return To Traditional Owners," *Illawarra Mercury* (8 May 2006), <http://www.lionel.com.au/lionel-articles/2006/5/8/national-parks-return-to-traditional-owners/>, accessed 10 October 2011.

In 1989, a timber removal project on the west side of the mountain was launched by the Forestry Commission of NSW, and most local people, settler-descended and Indigenous people, strongly opposed this Forestry operation. Many of them knew by now that Mount Gulaga was sacred to the Yuin, especially Umbarra people, and some of the settler locals who had lived there for decades felt that the mountain was also sacred to them. Action groups were formed to halt the logging, and the Umbarra women and their relatives came forward to Forestry and to the NSW NPWS to declare that the mountain had particular significance to women. In response to these claims, Forestry decided to launch an investigation into the matter and agreed to stop logging for the moment.⁴⁵³ In 1990, Professor Deborah Bird Rose was invited to conduct research into the cultural significance of Gulaga, and to prepare a report:

The basis of the women's action was that the mountain is a sacred place, one of a series of sacred mountains along the south coast. Gulaga is a Dreaming woman; the mountain is her body. There are portions of the mountain where men can go, and portions where only women can go. The main division is into two sides, east and west, and the west side—the side that was being logged—is exclusively for women.⁴⁵⁴

As a result of this effort, Forestry agreed not to log the mountain. The collaboration between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people for the protection of sacred land had laid a vital foundation for the future development of national parks.

The cultural significance of the Gulaga area was eventually given formal recognition in the 1999 management plan for Wallaga Lake National Park, Goura Nature Reserve and Bermagui Nature Reserve by the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service. The management plan 'recognizes the right of Aboriginal people to continue to carry out appropriate cultural activities in the park and reserves'.⁴⁵⁵ In March 2001 Gulaga National Park was established, incorporating the former Wallaga National Park, Goura Nature Reserve, Mount Dromedary Flora Reserve, and lands to the west and north of the Flora Reserve. In 2006 the government

⁴⁵³ Rose, *Love and reconciliation in the forest : a study in decolonisation*: 6.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁵ Egloff et al., *Biamanga and Gulaga : Aboriginal cultural association with the Biamanga and Gulaga National Parks*: 4.

officially handed back the land to the Yuin traditional owners of the land⁴⁵⁶, after a lease for Gulaga and Biamanga National park had been negotiated with the Yuin to allow for the national parks to be jointly managed with the NSW government.⁴⁵⁷ The Office of the Registrar of the Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1983 began the process of identifying traditional owners, preparatory to electing members for a Board of Management that could work with the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service to manage the parks. The Board of Management was established in 2007.⁴⁵⁸

The board was composed of representatives of the Indigenous owners, NPWS staff, local government, conservation groups and park neighbours. The board holds regular meetings and is in the process of developing policies to write a 'plan of management' which will become a legal document for national park management.⁴⁵⁹ Further, the board has considered the importance of setting up traineeships for young Indigenous people. For example, 'the Gulaga and Biamanga National Parks Boards of Management have jointly funded the Aboriginal Administration Trainee position based at Narooma'.⁴⁶⁰ Non-Indigenous people will have opportunities to learn more about Indigenous culture and knowledge through 'cultural awareness training'. Besides the function of the Management Boards in joint management policies, the local Yuin operate their own Umbarra Cultural Centre and successfully run guided tours to sacred sites within the park and surrounding area. The cultural centre therefore helps to raise people's cultural awareness and to facilitate the economic regeneration of Indigenous people.

⁴⁵⁶ Minister for the Environment. Merrinmans and Wagonga Local Aboriginal Land Councils, *Aboriginal Owned Gulaga National Park Lease to the Minister for the Environment* 8.

⁴⁵⁷ W.R. Johnston, Central Land Council, and National Rangeland Management Working Group, *Still Our Country: Aboriginal Perspectives on Rangelands Management : Submission to the National Rangeland Management Working Group for the National Strategy for Rangeland Management and Action Plan* (Central Land Council, 1994). Also Minister for the Environment. Merrinmans and Wagonga Local Aboriginal Land Councils, *Aboriginal Owned Gulaga National Park Lease to the Minister for the Environment* 8.

⁴⁵⁸ The Living Knowledge Project, "Working together through joint management-Gulaga and Biamanga National Parks " The Living Knowledge Project: Koori Coast, http://livingknowledge.anu.edu.au/learningsites/kooricoast/08_handback.htm.

⁴⁵⁹ New South Wales Government, "Minister's Visit & Nuala Trindall," *Coastal Custodians Newsletters* 3(2008): 1.

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.

8.2.2 Pass on message sticks; pass down Indigenous knowledge: cultural transmission and learning in Gulaga



Figure 8.1: Uncle Max teaches his two grandchildren how to assist him to undertake a ceremony.

Initiation

The rhythmic sounds of clapsticks guided participants into a meeting room. The person who beat the clapsticks was an Indigenous teenager, who I learned later was Uncle Max's grandchild. The beating sound opened up the first formal meeting of the Sacred Dreamtime Gulaga Mountain activity that I participated in during 18–20 December, 2010. The event was held in Narooma, a town close to Gulaga, the sacred mountain. In the first meeting, Uncle Max gave an brief introduction to Gulaga and reminded participants to be aware of manners while visiting the Yuin people's sacred mountain on the next day. He prohibited people talking and photo-taking on the way to the summit because he hoped all participants would be calm

so that they could appreciate the experience of hiking in Gulaga and ‘let the land talk to you’.⁴⁶¹

Thank the Grandfather Sun: sunrise ceremony at a local beach in Narooma



Figure 8.2: Participants engage in the Sunrise ceremony hosted by Uncle Max. (The group and Montague Island can be seen on the right of the photo.)

On the early morning of the second day, we participants were awakened by the beating sounds of clapsticks. Before sunrise we gathered on a local beach where we are able to see Barranguba (Montague Island), the eldest son of Gulaga. We faced the direction of the sunrise, waiting to get the first ray of sunlight and its warmth. Uncle Max asked participants one by one to say greeting and gratitude words to the Grandfather Sun. Everyone heard each other's sincere words to the sun. While we saw the sun rise, we sensed that the sun gave energy to all the plants and the animals so all the life on earth gets warmth to renew a day

⁴⁶¹ ABC Online Indigenous, "Uncle Max: The More I Give the More I Keep," Message Stick: ABC Television, 2010, <http://www.abc.net.au/tv/messagestick/video/2010/March2010.htm>. See video available online at <http://www.abc.net.au/tv/messagestick/video/2010/March2010.htm>.

from coldness. ‘What you call fire I call Grandfather Sun’⁴⁶², said Uncle Max. I think he chose to say Grandfather Sun instead of fire in order to remind people that the energy we received has an origin that cannot be reduced to physics. He added that trees are part of Grandfather Sun and charcoal is part of Grandfather Sun.⁴⁶³ According to Uncle Max, the energy we (humans) gain is from the sun as well. That is why we should thank Grandfather Sun for the heat. I felt physically and mentally warm on that morning.

Ceremony on the ridge of Gulaga

After having a sunrise ceremony and breakfast, all participants set forth to Gulaga. On the way to the ridge of Gulaga, we participants hiked quietly to feel every moment. Although I saw lots of burned trees on the way and felt bad about that, soon I observed quite a few of ferns growing new leaves indicating that the life in the mountain was regenerating. On the summit of Gulaga, Uncle Max gathered his grandchildren and Indigenous friends together, and instructed them how to assist him to conduct the ceremony. Participants were required to put on a red headband before receiving the ceremony to show respect for the land and the spirits. Uncle Max daubed participants in turn with ochre on forehead, temples and chin. As we came to understand, participation meant more than simply being there. The intention was that we would be transformed through the experience. I began to realise the depth of the gift while Uncle Max painted white mud on my face and said some blessing words to me; it was then that I could not help but shed tears. At that moment, I felt I was accepted by an Elder of the Aboriginal Australians and was included in the big family of Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in Australia.

⁴⁶² Harrison and McConchie, *My people's dreaming : an Aboriginal elder speaks on life, land, spirit and forgiveness*: 43.

⁴⁶³ Ibid.

Dreaming storytelling in an area of sacred rocks



Figure 8.3: Uncle Max talks about the sacred rocks. (Right)

Figure 8.4: Rock of Rainbow Serpent (Left)

Now that we were properly prepared, we entered an area of tors. Uncle Max introduced each particular rock to participants. The Dreaming story began with the first rock of connectedness, the Creation Rock, which is full of energy. Uncle Max said that Daramah, the Great Being, created the heavens, the earth and all nature before he created a woman and a man. The rocks of a woman and a man are respectively on the sides of the Creation Rocks. Then, Daramah gave these two people two gifts, a rock and a tree, which symbolise the need for human's survival. After the introduction to those rocks, Uncle Max continued storytelling and guided us to see other rocks, such as the Pregnant Woman Rock, the Birthing Rock, the Rainbow Serpent Rock, the Whale Rocks, the Shark Rock, the Dugong Rock, etc. I was stunned by those spectacular rocks situated on the ridge of Gulaga since they really looked like what they are named. More importantly, animal-shaped rocks have symbolic meanings to Yuin people. Signifying Indigenous lore to people, these animals are totems for Indigenous people of Australia. Many of them, such as the Rainbow Serpent, are of widespread significance across Australia. In the Dreamtime, the Rainbow Serpent created rivers, valleys, creeks, waterholes,

and other water forms. The rocks on Gulaga hold the stories of creation and of the connection between humans and non-humans. The Dreaming stories tell how the landscape was formed by ancestral beings and shape the Law for Indigenous Australians. Serving as sources of strong sense of belonging to their culture, these stories not only give them an important sense of kinship with the land, but also reinforce their responsibility to the land. Gulaga is a place to tell the creation stories, connecting to others, the Dreaming, and Aboriginal spirituality. Before the end of this sacred rocks journey, every participant was asked to take a handful of dirt and offer it back to Mother Earth. Uncle Max's grandchild stood in front of us and beat the sticks to count the number of people walking by to confirm that all participants were leaving safely.

Reflection

In this activity of cultural survival, I was impressed by the fact that although I could not remember every detail of what Uncle Max had told us, I retained a strong understanding of the values of the spiritual knowledge he transmitted: appreciation, respect, caring, sharing, and responsibility. The sacredness of things and places could not be learned merely via seeing and listening, but required an empathetic experience of the inter-relational connections of all things. In Gulaga, I experienced how nature and culture taught me in their own ways. Nature tells me of the truth; culture reminds me the truth.⁴⁶⁴ On the way to the ridge of Gulaga, I was in nature to see, listen, and feel carefully what messages nature brings to people. As Uncle Max said, 'nature is the greatest teacher of all. So, that's something that people have got to look at and try and connect with.'⁴⁶⁵ When we are calm enough to perceive nature, we learn some truths of life from nature. On the ridge of Gulaga, the relational connection between human and non-human beings is conceived and expressed in Indigenous cultural way. Ceremony and Dreaming stories keep those values alive. They link from one to another, from person to person, from nature to culture, culture to culture. and then connect all together.

At the the end of the Gulaga Dreamtime activity, Uncle Max hosted an overall feedback workshop. Everyone talked and shared their experiences and reflections on this two-day

⁴⁶⁴ The word 'truth' in the text is based on the 'truth' used by Indigenous Elders. It centres on the interconnectedness/ relationability / inseparability/ fullness/ oneness between culture (human) and nature (other non-human beings). I discussed and analysed it in detail in Part 2, Part 3, and Part 4 of the thesis.

⁴⁶⁵ ABC Online Indigenous, "Uncle Max: The More I Give the More I Keep", accessed 26 March 2011.

activity. Most of participants not only appreciated Uncle Max but also his grandchildren. They had given their hands to participants and encouraged us while some of us felt uneasy or exhausted during the mountain hiking. In addition to teaching his family members, Uncle Max assigned some tasks to his grandchildren prior to every program of this activity. They took on the duties of looking after participants, and learned how to be responsible members of their family. This Gulaga activity is a cultural transmission and learning for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. All participants witnessed and participated in cultural survival. While I think of Gulaga, I still clearly remember people and things in the mountain. I can still hear the clapsticks beating. The sounds are clear and melodious. I know the values are alive, and are moving from generation to generation. Nature is a great teacher, and so are Elders like Uncle Max.



Figure 8.5: An Indigenous participant sings a traditional chant to Uncle Max and participants.

8.3 Gundabooka

8.3.1 Becoming a national park

The process of establishing Gundabooka National Park was quite different from Gulaga. Since closer settlement intensified pastoralism on the western plains of NSW after World War I (1920s), Indigenous people were forced to leave the Gundabooka area and relocate to other places. Afterwards, many local people could not freely access the Gundabooka Range, and hence lost their physical connection with their homeland and sacred sites. Because the Gundabooka area was so important to them, many people had been eager to visit the area and re-establish traditional ties to their sacred sites again as soon as they had the opportunity.⁴⁶⁶ Nevertheless, it took several decades for their yearning for home to come true. Gundabooka National Park was created in 1996.

During the 1960s, the public had become concerned about kangaroo conservation on the western plains of NSW. A pet food industry relying on killing kangaroos had emerged as an alternative to the uncertainties of the pastoral industry. The result was a serious decline in the kangaroo population.⁴⁶⁷ The state Fauna Protection Panel, a forerunner of the National Parks and Wildlife Service, lobbied the Government of NSW, suggesting that expiring station leaseholds around Gundabooka be converted to a nature reserve.⁴⁶⁸ The proposal, however, was not supported by the Western Lands Commission (another branch of government).

After the achievement of citizenship in the late 1960s, Indigenous groups in NSW became active in claiming land rights. In the late 1970s and early 1980s a number of groups around Gundabooka area began to demand that the NSW Government transfer pastoral leases to Indigenous people. In 1980, the Widjeri Aboriginal Housing Co-operative in Bourke claimed the leasehold of Mulgowan Station, which comprises Mount Gunderbooka. The co-operative asked the state government to investigate the lease because it contained sites of cultural

⁴⁶⁶ National Parks and Wildlife Service, "Gundabooka National Park and Gundabooka State Conservation Area: Plan of Management," 20.

⁴⁶⁷ Main, *Gunderbooka : a 'stone country' story*: 67-68.

⁴⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 72.

significance to the Indigenous people of Bourke.⁴⁶⁹ The director of Widjeri, Dawn Smith, expressed the hope that the art sites of Gunderbooka Range could be jointly protected by the co-operative and the National Parks and Wildlife Service. Further, the co-operative proposed to train local Indigenous people as guides and rangers.⁴⁷⁰ At that time the government was still refusing to consider the land claims, and did not officially recognise the existence of Indigenous sacred sites. Although these proposals were not successful, Indigenous people's actions had challenged the structures of land use dominated by pastoralists and government. In 1983, *the Aboriginal Land Rights Act* (NSW) was passed. Afterward, Indigenous people obtained greater opportunity to reclaim formal ownership of their traditional lands.⁴⁷¹

During 1980s, conservationists put pressure on the officials to change the lease tenure and the land management structure in western NSW for environmental reasons. In 1985, the NSW Government considered adopting 'wilderness' protection programs and launched a survey of potential wilderness areas. Gundabooka Range was identified as one of thirty-seven areas to have 'wilderness values'.⁴⁷² An organised system of national parks was recommended, and in the late 1980s, the NPWS developed procedures to acquire lands for conservation. As a result, the value of pastoral leases around the Gundabooka Range declined and local pastoralists feared the possibility of losing their leaseholds through compulsory acquisition. They formed several action groups to oppose wilderness conservation and to lobby for their rights over land. The proposed legislation for wilderness conservation in 1988 was unsuccessful.⁴⁷³

While neither the conservation movement nor the Aboriginal land claims movement had been successful in changing pastoral leases to other forms of land tenure, the NPWS learned of the cultural significance of Gundabooka through interactions with local Indigenous communities. Gavin Andrews, an Aboriginal heritage policy officer with the Service, captured the attention of state Minister for the Environment Chris Hartcher when he suggested that 'to the people of north-west New South Wales the significance of Gunderbooka Range matched that of

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid., 69-70.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid., 70.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid., 71.

⁴⁷² Ibid.

⁴⁷³ Ibid., 72.

Uluru'.⁴⁷⁴ This was a strong and meaningful statement because Uluru, formerly known as Ayer's Rock, is massive sacred site that is known to all Australians; it is part of a national park and is listed as a World Heritage Site. The comparison between Uluru and Gundabooka thus explained why government should seriously consider including Aboriginal cultural heritages in the management plan of the proposed Gundabooka National Park. In the 1990s Indigenous representatives from communities of western NSW gathered to discuss issues of rangelands management. With the assistance of the Central Land Council of the Northern Territory, the group identified the significance for Indigenous people of reconnecting with their traditional country:

to recognise traditional ties and spiritual beliefs; to support cultural survival; for living areas and homelands; to regenerate the country; to feel equal with non-Aboriginal neighbours; to feel a sense of 'home'; to support local control; to make an income; to locate a variety of community social needs; the freedom to hunt, fish, gather food and camp, to ensure a share in the 'new' such as tourism and bush foods; to have something that is always there.⁴⁷⁵

In the early 1990s 'woody weeds' had come to dominate the leasehold lands around Gundabooka area, undermining the land's viability for pastoralism. In addition, declining prices of wool caused economic losses such that the pastoralists were going ever more deeply into debt.⁴⁷⁶ The NPWS took advantage of this opportune moment to negotiate with several leaseholders and convince them to sell their lands. After brief negotiation, the state government purchased two pastoral leaseholds, Belah and Ben Lomond, between Bourke and Cobar. In April 1996, the government gazetted the two leaseholds and established the Gundabooka National Park. In 2000, another lease was added to the national park.⁴⁷⁷ The establishment of Gundabooka National Park aimed to provide valuable habitat for a diverse range of flora and fauna. Preliminary surveys discovered ten species listed in the *Threatened*

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid., 73.

⁴⁷⁵ Johnston, Central Land Council, and National Rangeland Management Working Group, *Still Our Country: Aboriginal Perspectives on Rangelands Management : Submission to the National Rangeland Management Working Group for the National Strategy for Rangeland Management and Action Plan*: 53.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid., 73.

⁴⁷⁷ National Parks and Wildlife Service, "Gundabooka National Park and Gundabooka State Conservation Area: Plan of Management," 2. See also George Main, "Gundabooka National Park," *National Parks Journal* 45, no. 1 (2001).

Species Conservation Act 1995.⁴⁷⁸ In addition to conserving biodiversity in the Gundabooka area, the park protects cultural heritage, including both Aboriginal and settler sites of significance.

The park contains impressive natural features, significant Aboriginal sites, historic features and habitat for threatened plants and animals. Each of these elements (natural, cultural and historical) overlap in the landscape creating a rich tapestry that reveals profound relationships between people and land through time.⁴⁷⁹

Because Gundabooka is not only an Indigenous traditional homeland but also a major Dreaming track in the region, the Indigenous people's physical and spiritual connection with the area is a particular concern for local Indigenous people and for the park. Accordingly, ever since the development of Gundabooka National Park, park rangers have worked with traditional Indigenous owners, especially Ngiyampaa and Paakantji people, to develop appropriate forms of land management.

Collaborative management between national park and Indigenous people

Before the establishment of Gundabooka National Park, the environment in the region had been damaged and transformed by pastoral activities. Since 1996, NPWS has worked with several Indigenous communities and groups, such as the Gunda-Ah-Myro Aboriginal Corporation and Gundabooka Aboriginal Management Committee, to develop a formal agreement in relation to natural and cultural resilience and renewal.⁴⁸⁰ The Gundabooka Aboriginal Management Committee, whose members were mainly from the towns of Bourke and Brewarrina, were involved in general decision-making matters of park management. The Gundabooka National Park oral history project was begun in 1996 to help the NPWS understand the cultural significance of the Gundabooka area. The park staff, in the meantime, were gaining valuable experience from working with local Indigenous people.⁴⁸¹ The park also continued to support local Indigenous people in the identification, protection and

⁴⁷⁸ National Parks and Wildlife Service, "Gundabooka National Park and Gundabooka State Conservation Area: Plan of Management," 2.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid., Forward.

⁴⁸⁰ Main, *Gunderbooka : a 'stone country' story*: 74. Also National Parks and Wildlife Service, "Gundabooka National Park and Gundabooka State Conservation Area: Plan of Management," 20.

⁴⁸¹ Noel Plumb, "Western NSW at the Frontline " *The National Parks Journal* 42, no. 6 (1998).

management of cultural heritage such as rock art sites and Dreamtime landscapes. Furthermore, in order to promote and interpret cultural significance, the involvement of local Indigenous people was encouraged and supported. To prepare a 'Site Management and Interpretation Plan' for the Mulgowan Cultural Site which is within the park, a team of consultants including local Indigenous people was appointed by the NPWS in early 2003. Through the plan, several interpretive panels have been developed. They:

...have been well received by the Aboriginal people associated with Mulgowan Cultural Site, the NPWS, and other stakeholders. ... Of wider significance, the project has been welcomed as a further successful step along the path of cooperative management by both the NPWS and the park's Aboriginal Custodians.⁴⁸²

Not all sites are open access. Joint management has allowed Indigenous people to define the level of access that is appropriate for visitors, and restricted access has been put in place for several culturally significant sites such as the rock art shelter in Mulgowan beside Mulareenya Creek, which is only accessible to visitors by prior arrangement or on guided Discovery Tours.⁴⁸³ Vivien Clayphan-Dunne, a member of the National Parks Association of New South Wales Executive said,

Local Aboriginal guides provided invaluable information about the cultural significance of these sites and the surrounding area including significant Aboriginal burial sites and fish trap middens along the Darling River.⁴⁸⁴

Although ownership of Gundabooka has not officially been returned to Indigenous people, the NPWS has actively pursued a cooperative approach to the management and development of park.⁴⁸⁵ Gundabooka joint management gatherings have been held in recent years with a large attendance of local Indigenous people. Of one such gathering, Bruce Turnbull, the coordinator, stated: 'It provided an opportunity for the land's traditional owners, and those who have a connection with it, to come back and have their say on how the park is

⁴⁸² Cath Renwick and Alan Ginns, "Interpreting Together: a Collaborative Project at Mulgowan Aboriginal Cultural Site, Gundabooka National Park," *Parks and Leisure Australasian* 4-6(2003): 6.

⁴⁸³ Ibid., 4.

⁴⁸⁴ Clayphan-Dunne, "Gundabooka National Park."

⁴⁸⁵ Plumb, "Western NSW at the Frontline " 3-5.

managed.’⁴⁸⁶ Ideas suggested during the gathering could be carried out through forming an interim co-management committee of local Indigenous people.

Now, since 2008, the issues and information on matters relating to joint management in Gundabooka, Gulaga, and other 18 national parks in NSW can be known and discussed through the ‘Joint Management Custodians of NSW’. The chairs of the Aboriginal joint management boards and committees have regular meetings every year. They exchange information and counsel the Minister for Environment and the Chief Executive of OEH (Office of Environment and Heritage). In that way, a broader network of Indigenous communities can be involved in joint management arrangements.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸⁶ ABC News Online, "Traditional owners get say at Gundabooka management gathering", accessed 5 October 2011.

⁴⁸⁷ New South Wales Government, "National Parks and Wildlife Amendment (Aboriginal Ownership) Act 1996."

8.3.2 Learning respect in Gundabooka

聽 - 無聲的尊重



Figure 8.6: Phil Sullivan talks with participants in front of an entrance of Gundabooka National Park.

聽
無聲
靜靜地聽

當我安靜無聲
我就聽到他人的聲音
當我安靜無聲
我就聽到土地的聲音

當我安靜無聲 我就聽到
Phil 的故事
行走的 Emu
奔跑的山羊
歌唱的鳥
翱翔的鳶
跳躍的袋鼠
被沖走的爐灶
被剝皮的樹
洞穴裡的畫
及古老石頭國度裡風吹和水流的聲音

聽
當我安靜無聲 我就可以聽到
土地正慢慢地從傷口中癒合
重新找尋當下存在可擁有的和諧

Listen, a Silent Respect by Hau-Ren Hung (Winter 2010)



Figure 8.7: A scarred tree located in the Park.

Listen
Be silent
And listen quietly.

When I remained silence,
I heard voices of others.
When I remained silence,
I heard voices of the land.

When I remained silence, I heard
stories told by Phil.
walking emus,
running goats,
singing birds,
hovering kites,
jumping kangaroos,
the swept-away stoves(ovens),
the scarred trees,
the ochre paintings in caves,
and the voices in the blowing wind and flowing water
in the Old Stone Country.

Listen.
When I remained silence, I heard
The land has been recovering from
its wounds
and looking for a harmony at
this moment.

無聲安靜後
荒野不再只是荒野
它有祖先們留下的足跡
它有墾殖者留下的痕跡
它有動植物留下的蹤跡
它有神話傳說流傳下的點點滴滴

它告訴我
我應該在這片土地上
珍惜什麼 尊重誰
這裡的人們這樣說 土地這樣說

當我安靜下來
無聲時 我就可以聽到

After silence,
the wilderness is no longer wild(erness)
It has footprints of ancestors.
It has vestige of settlers.
It has traces of animals and plants.
It has stories (truth) passed down through myth and legend
(Dreaming)

It tells me
who and what on this land
I should cherish and pay respect.
The people here say so; the land here says so.

When I am silent and quiet.
I can hear.
Be silent is to show respect.

The tour begins: ceremony of respect

Respect is the key term that I heard from Phil Sullivan, a traditional owner of Gundabooka and an Aboriginal Heritage Conservation Officer of the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service. On 29th of July 2010, during my first trip to Gundabooka, Phil guided a group of people including Deborah Bird Rose, Thom van Dooren, Yih-Ren Lin, Neqou Soqluman, Grace Xiao, and myself to Gundabooka National Park. He used the word respect frequently while he demonstrated to us the connectedness between people and places, people and their elders, and the past and the present.



Figure 8.8: A signboard of Gundabooka National Park shows that the park is in Stone Country. (Left)

Figure 8.9: Phil hosts a ceremony of respect. (Right)

Before we walked into the park, Phil asked us to close our eyes and think of a person who gave us the opportunity to be who we are and whom we thus respect. The people we thought of were: father, mother, teacher, wife, and so on. After everyone talked about their most important and respected person, Phil said,

Today is about things we see are important to us ... You see your wife. (Phil looked at Neqou and said it). Very important to you. And I just heard that. But the things we don't see are the most important things about who we are. ... So, you are not gonna learn about Aboriginal cultures today. We'll gonna learn a little bit about self. ... a little bit about [what] you don't see – the spirits. ... Even though you see her (Neqou's wife), the way you (Neqou) see her, you see her spirit, a little bit about love. ... That's what we are all about today.⁴⁸⁸

Phil stated that the things and persons were important to us not because of the visible parts but because of the invisible ones which are spiritual. For instance, the reasons why Neqou thought of his wife were that she loves him and always accompanies him to overcome difficulties, which proved that the most important things to us are not the physical but the spiritual ones. As Phil said:

What we don't see are most important. That's the tour about today ... Forget what happened back there. Today is a new day. We think about today. Whether we are Taiwanese, Chinese, Aboriginals, or Maori, it doesn't matter. Today is a new day.⁴⁸⁹

He repeated that today is new, and emphasised we should forget the identity we have. Therefore, we could see something new and see something important to us. Through 'seeing' we would learn to show our respect to the things and people.

I regard this activity guided by Phil at the beginning of the tour as a spiritual ceremony to recognise who we really are and what we really have. Through this ceremony, we are able to calm down for a while and see the invisible things that have spiritual values we should explore and know about. People, places, and things are composed of visible and invisible parts. If we are able to recognise the invisible things, we can realise what the truth is. Because of 'seeing' the invisible things, the past, the present, and the future would be consequently connected so that we could recognise the fullness and truth of life.

⁴⁸⁸ Recording of the Gundabooka tour guided by Phil.

⁴⁸⁹ Recording of the Gundabooka tour guided by Phil.

Visible parts and invisible parts



Figure 8.10: Walking into the National Park. (left)

Figure 8.11: An Indigenous earth oven located on the walking trail. (Right)

After the ‘ceremony of respect,’ we walked into the national park. On the walking trail, various tracks of animals, such as emu and goat, were easily seen, and we saw some of the animals themselves, as well. Despite the pastoralists’ invasion in the region, Indigenous heritage sites, such as scarred trees, earth ovens, petroglyphs, rocks and caves, burial sites, and gathering sites were still there in the country. Phil showed us oven sites, canoe trees, bush medicines and other aspects of the country.



Figure 8.12: Phil Sullivan talks with Yih-Ren Lin in front of quinine tree.

Phil mentioned two layers of culture in the region of Gundabooka National Park. One is the white (European) culture; the other is the black (Aboriginal) culture. Now, the NPWS invites Indigenous people to joint meetings to discuss how to manage the park. Further, they employ Indigenous people who have the traditional knowledge to be heritage officers. Because the Indigenous people have been involved in the collaborative management of Gundabooka, the Indigenous culture and traditional ways to look after land have been incorporated to some degree. The land has been recuperating gradually from past misuse. Phil mentioned the use of ‘cultural fires’ as a traditional way to look after the land. Dr. Yih-Ren Lin asked him, ‘What will it happen if people didn’t burn the bush?’ Phil replied that the bush would be dangerous and thick, and then there would be no animals. After setting fire, new bush grows up so that animals come to eat and people get food as well. Thus, burning is a means to initiate new rounds of regeneration. In addition to Indigenous usage and management of natural resources, Phil introduced us to the Ngiyampaa people’s knowledge and Law associated with respect.⁴⁹⁰

The connection of the visible and the invisible



Figure 8.13: Phil Sullivan introduces the Indigenous paintings concerning his country and culture in the rock shelter. (Left)

Figure 8.14: Dialogue between Phil and participants. (Right)

⁴⁹⁰ The detailed discussion is in Section 10.2.

After we crossed Mulareenya Creek we came to a rock shelter that has been fenced in order to protect *yapa*, Indigenous rock paintings in pipe clay and ochre. A sign in front of the cave read: 'Painting Country – Connecting Generation. ... You will see many layers of artworks connecting people through time. ... Our ancestors made these *yapa* – paintings – and we treasure them.' Phil was conscious of not knowing as much as he would like to about the meaning of these paintings, and he said that he would not make up stories about paintings because to do so would be to lie. His respect of Law included utter truthfulness in relation to his culture and his ancestors' works. Although no one knows every story of every painting, the rock paintings are an important connection between people today and their ancestors' daily life and practice. The paintings reveal tools, bush foods, fish traps, and ceremonial dance. Phil pointed to the paintings of fish and fish traps, and said that his totem is fish, making a clear connection between himself and the art. He told us, as well, that the fish traps depict the actual traps located in the Barwon River (a tributary of the Darling) at the town of Brewarrina, about 100 kilometres further upstream.

Through Phil's guidance and stories, I learned about totems and kinship in a very close and personal way. Phil's totem is yellowbelly fish⁴⁹¹ (golden perch). In order to care for fish, he said he also has to protect streams and rivers in his country. Such knowledge indicates how the valuable idea of relational sustainability has been passed down. As Phil spoke to us at the rock art site, he made connections between the paintings, people, totems, and the natural world, and connecting the present and the past. The visible and the invisible came together in Phil, in the rock art, and in the stories. We who were guests and who were being taught had the beautiful opportunity of participating in these connections.

Reflection

Phil demonstrated how to 'see' the invisible things and to connect the visible and invisible things in order to perceive their fullness. On the signs in the park for tourists, I saw logos of Gunda-an-Myro Aboriginal Corporation and NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service. They cooperate to provide information and stories, sharing local Indigenous culture for visitors. The practice of respect in a national park enables the recuperation of the land and reconciliation

⁴⁹¹ *kuya* in Ngiyampaa language. See

http://www.western.cma.nsw.gov.au/Publications/2010_River2_AboriginalLife_FactSheet_Ir.pdf

among peoples. Respect is a driving power in cultural, social, and ecological recuperative reconciliation.

Chapter 9

Core Values for Cultural Survival and Sustainable Living in NSW

Let Dreaming guide us

by Hau-Ren Hung (November 2011)

讓 Dreaming 帶領我們
走過認識這片土地
從創始起源的過去
到錯綜複雜的現在

彩虹蛇來回奔流於地上與地底間
鑽出地泉
鑿出山川河谷與溪流
跨越並串連每個地方所在

Darama 來到 Gulaga 山頂
創造 Yuin 人類
萬物也相繼誕生

Baime 走過 Ngiyampaa Country
在 Gundabooka 山上休息
留下他的足跡
持續延伸了 Dreaming 的蹤跡

兩百年外來的侵略與破壞
使這片土地失去許多許多
有什麼還留在(原住民)人們的心中?
或許就是存在幾萬年的 Dreaming!

它不是個虛幻的夢想；也不只是個神話
而是人們的歸屬
而是地方的知識
而是家園的律法
一個永續生活實踐的體現

讓它告訴我們
這個世界是什麼 該如何對待

讓文化與自然一同復甦
讓萬物被理解與包容

Let Dreaming guide us
to walk through and learn about the land
from the past when the creation began
to the present when perplexity exists.

Back and forth Rainbow Serpent goes,
on and under the ground it flows,
breaking through the waterholes,
shaping gorges and rivers
linking places across country

To the ridge of Gulaga Mountain Darama came,
so Yuin people were created,
so all things came into being
one after another.

Through Ngiyampaa Country Baime walked,
rested on the Gundabooka Range and
left his footprints;
step by step Dreaming tracks extend.

The 200 years of invasion and devastation
has caused great lost on the land.
What has still been kept
in the minds of (Indigenous) people?
The Dreaming that has existed
for tens of thousands of years perhaps.

Neither an illusionary dream nor a myth,
it is people's belonging,
it is local knowledge,
it is country's law,
an embodiment of life practice for sustainability.

Let it tell us
what the world is and how to treat it.

Let cultural and ecological resilience
get back at the same time.
Let all beings be considered and included.

In recent decades, Indigenous people's knowledge, culture, and search for social and ecological justice have gained public recognition in contexts such as land claims, and joint management of national parks. Further, Indigenous Elders have begun to pass down their profound understanding of land and values for cultural survival not only to their own people but also to non-Indigenous people. What are the main elements of traditional knowledge, and what are the core values for cultural survival? Why does it matter that both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people learn from the Elders? In this chapter, Indigenous knowledge and core values transmitted by Indigenous elders in Gulaga and Gundabooka in NSW will be discussed and analysed.

9.1 Yuin people's knowledge and core values

9.1.1 Tradition of cultural survival

Indigenous Australians have been working for 'cultural survival' for the whole period of colonisation, not through fossilising their culture but by adaptively transmitting the core values from generation to generation. In recent decades they have started publicly to share their culture and knowledge with other groups of Indigenous people and non-Indigenous people. Uncle Max Harrison, in particular, has published a book, and participated in radio and video shows through which he shares his insights as widely as possible. Although the use of mass media is new, Indigenous people have long shared their knowledge with other people from different groups, and since colonisation, with a few non-Indigenous people. R. H. Matthews, a surveyor and anthropologist, was granted the privilege of joining initiation ceremonies by more than ten tribes in south east Australia.⁴⁹² He had numerous opportunities to join in key cultural activities. Not all indigenous knowledge is completely 'open': there are gender, age and initiation status restrictions. While some knowledge constitutes men's

⁴⁹² Martin Edward Thomas, *The many worlds of R. H. Mathews : in search of an Australian anthropologist* (Crows Nest, N.S.W.: Allen & Unwin, 2011).

business, and some constitutes women's business, the knowledge I discuss in the following sections is public and the permitted teachings that I learned from Indigenous Elders.

At Wallaga Lake Reserve there is an Umbarra Aboriginal Cultural Centre, established in 1981, which is run by local Yuin people. Guided tours led by Elders are open to Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, and they take participants to several sacred sites in the south coast region of New South Wales. Activities at the centre itself add to the experience and give visitors an opportunity to learn about the traditions and skills of the local Yuin people. Such Aboriginal cultural tours can be traced back to the late 20th century when Guboo Ted Thomas (1909–2002) started to include non-Indigenous participants in his Dreaming camps. What Uncle Max is doing is the same as what Guboo did before. In these cultural tours and activities, we can see that Yuin Elders are determined to ensure that Indigenous ceremonies and tradition are remembered and practiced.

As a spiritual leader of Yuin people, chosen and given special knowledge by Yuin Elders, Guboo led other Yuin people to launch a protest against logging around sacred sites and claimed the significance of sites for Indigenous people. After having participated in several political demonstrations, he saw 'a great need to spread the message that Love can bring everyone together'. In his words, 'Only Love can save us from destruction. The trouble is that we lost our humanity and our affinity for Mother Earth'.⁴⁹³ In 1980, Guboo, proclaimed the starting of his renewing of the Dreaming and the awakening of the ancient Law.⁴⁹⁴

People have lost their ties with nature. We poison Mother Earth for the sake of the mighty dollar because we cannot see the significance of 'God's creations' to our own lives. We prefer instead to worship man-made monuments. We must learn to strengthen our spiritual ties with the living Earth. The message I preach is togetherness, oneness with nature and ourselves.⁴⁹⁵

Guboo's dream was to restore people's unity with land. He wanted to pass down the cultural heritage not only to Yuin people but also to non-Indigenous people. 'He believed that all of us, black and white, could share the Dreaming once we truly respected the land and began to

⁴⁹³ Guboo Ted Thomas, *Renewing Dreaming* (Unpublished work). 4-5.

⁴⁹⁴ Guboo Ted Thomas, *The best is yet to come* (Unpublished work). 1. It is "a little collection of Guboo's sayings and parts of the messages he has for many years passed on to others. The little book has been created for the celebration of Guboo's 90th year and those who became touched by his heart and spirit.", 2.

⁴⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 7.

open our hearts to her mysterious teachings.⁴⁹⁶ His actions of togetherness and spirit, his belief of oneness, have reached out to the wider Australian society.

What uncle Max has been doing is very similar to what Guboo Ted Thomas had done before. They both lay great stress on the importance of knowing the interconnection with the natural world, and they held Dreaming camps and guided participants into learning through activities around Yuin sacred sites. The ways Uncle Max conducted ceremonies and conveyed ideas were similar to the ways that Guboo did before. In this regard, the Yuin tradition and culture through these Elders' practices and teachings have been kept alive with awareness.

In the Dreaming camp, participants were asked to wear a red headband in the ceremonies so as to show respect for the land and spirits. This was what Uncle Ted Thomas taught:

I wear the red band for respect of Mother Earth. Why? When I die, I am going back to Mother Earth. When you die you're going back too, we all go there. Don't forget to love the Earth because it is your mother and we've got to learn about our mother. Understand that! We've got to start from the grass root again and learn how to walk with Mother Earth and respect her.⁴⁹⁷

Also, the clap sticks were used, ochre was put on participants' foreheads, sunrise and other ceremonies were held during the Dreaming camp. Uncle Max explained:

We use ochre when we go on Gulaga. When we first go up, we count how many people are going up, and we stop and clap the sticks for each person to warn the spirits that we are coming. We also clap to warn to make sure that there's a safe passage, that nobody falls over or break their legs, or injure themselves. And nobody has done it yet. We come with respect; we wear the red headband and we put the three bits of ochre on our foreheads.

As Uncle Max was marking spots on a participant's face, he said:

The middle dot lets us see what we're talking about. The other two dots are opening up your minds, your two minds. There's a saying in English: 'You were in two minds'. These are your thinking mind and your coordinating mind. So you're going to need a coordinating mind to walk in sometimes and make decisions. There's a dot on the chin for the silence. Silence is for respect for the Elders that have left us the stories that I call legacies.⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹⁶ Thomas, *Renewing Dreaming*.

⁴⁹⁷ Thomas, *The best is yet to come*: 13.

⁴⁹⁸ Harrison and McConchie, *My people's dreaming : an Aboriginal elder speaks on life, land, spirit and forgiveness*: 127.

By means of ceremonies, ochre, dances, and clap sticks, people could thereby communicate with land and build a link with the land. Furthermore, the spiritual knowledge could be conveyed and learned via cultural experience and activities including listening stories, visiting sacred sites, and participating in traditional ceremonies.

All of teaching come from creation (Dreaming)

I consider that ‘knowledge of Aboriginal spirituality’ is a vital knowledge that both Guboo and Uncle Max centred on. Both of them call attention to the importance of seeing and knowing the spiritual connection with nature/land, holding that everyone, including Indigenous and the non-Indigenous peoples, should learn and understand it as a fundamental truth.

Yuin people trace back to the origin of the world through their Creation Dreaming, remembering the interconnection of all things. ‘At the beginning, before Daramah, the Great Spirit, created Tunku and Ngardi, there was only oneness,’ said Uncle Max Harrison.⁴⁹⁹ Daramah created everything. The first woman Ngardi and the first man Tunku created by Daramah came to Gulaga (the earth) from the stars. The creator gave Ngardi and Tunku two gifts — rocks and trees. They observed these two things everyday and then eventually learned what they could do with these gifts for living in their daily life. According to Uncle Max’s teaching, rocks could be used to hold water or make tools such as knives, axes, for example. Trees also have numerous functions for daily living:

The old system of connecting back to these two gifts is one part of that rock. The next part is the tree, which helps with the structure of giving your shelter. It also gives you medicines and oxygen, and foods. ... And then they found out that they could get warmth and light from the tree, and also from the rocks by using the flint, or rubbing the two sticks together and creating the fires. They can use all the materials from a tree for their shelter. Making the bark humpies out of the trees. They could use medicines within the barks and the leaves. That’s why Daramah gave only those two gifts to Ngardi and Tunku.⁵⁰⁰

On the ridge of Gulaga Mountain, Uncle Max spoke about the Yuin Dreaming of creation and explained to participants how Yuin people feel kinship with rocks and plants. The Yuin Elder

⁴⁹⁹ Umbarra Cultural Centre, *Umbarra Cultural Tours: Journey to the Dreamtime*, (Bermagui, NSW: 1996), Video.

⁵⁰⁰ Harrison and McConchie, *My people's dreaming : an Aboriginal elder speaks on life, land, spirit and forgiveness*: 22.

Ann Thomas also expanded her view on the Yuin connections to things on the earth, which began with the creator Daramah, and the first people:

They [Ngardi and Tunku, the first people] became this, this earth. They became part of the stones, the rocks, the clay. They became part of the trees and the mountains itself, and the ocean. And they developed from the earth. All our energies and everything else that we are, are part of the rocks at Gulaga and every other teaching place. And so we became part of this earth. We never professed to own the land. This land owns us. And so we are an ancient race of people still living in this country.⁵⁰¹

‘This land owns us.’ Ann Thomas’s conceptualisation gives a vivid picture of Yuin worldview. Human beings are no different from or superior to other beings on the earth because we are of the earth. The Yuin knowledge of Dreaming shows how people spiritually and physically live together with all things. Warren Foster, a Yuin youth, also pointed out the Yuin spiritual connection with trees and other things. ‘We look on trees as our old people. That’s why we don’t like people cutting into plants ... Everything living has spirit ...’⁵⁰² It is not possible to comprehend Yuin culture without the knowledge of its close connection with nature since culture is inseparable from nature. According to another Elder, Mervyn Penrith:

The culture is in the trees, in the bush, in the waters, mountains, the animals and the birds. It’s all there for the teaching. How can it be gone when all these things, all this oneness, all this creation is still around us? For thousands and thousands of years our elders have brought our people through and taught us the lessons of life ... Daramah’s creation is all our relations ... Tunku and Ngardi were first here on Gulaga. All of the teachings come from there.⁵⁰³

The Yuin believe that all of the teachings come from the creation on Gulaga. Yuin culture was thereby shaped by means of remembering and practicing all the teachings. In other words, their culture is in nature since all things in the natural world are related to them. In order to let the importance of Creation Dreaming be known by as many people as possible, Uncle Max and other Yuin elders have guided many people up to Gulaga to allow them to have practical contact with nature and observation of Yuin people’s cultural link and spiritual link to nature.

When we walk onto Gulaga Mountain we walk into sacredness. Every time I go there it gives me a spiritual uplift and I learned more about how our people were created. I realize how

⁵⁰¹ Umbarra Cultural Centre, *Umbarra Cultural Tours: Journey to the Dreamtime*.

⁵⁰² Rose et al., *Indigenous Kinship with the Natural World in New South Wales*: 49.

⁵⁰³ Umbarra Cultural Centre, *Umbarra Cultural Tours: Journey to the Dreamtime*.

important it is that I show Gulaga to as many different people as I can and explain our Creation Story so our heritage is not ignored.⁵⁰⁴

9.1.2 Knowledge learning from nature

Because Yuin people deem humans to be part of nature and recognise that culture grows in nature, observing the environment and appreciating the natural world have become important lessons for them as they seek to learn the truth of Indigenous knowledge from nature. Uncle Max learned the lessons of silence, patience, concentration, discipline and respect in his childhood.⁵⁰⁵ He requested participants in the Dreaming camp to do the same throughout the activities, especially when they were on the way to the ridge. ‘Let’s watch the land talk to us’, said Uncle Max.⁵⁰⁶

Furthermore, Uncle Max emphasised the significance of earth, sky, sun, and moon and people’s close connections with them. The Yuin regard them as their respectful relatives:

Mother Earth births everything for us. Father Sky carries the water and oxygen for us to breathe. Grandfather Sun warms the planets, warms our body, gives us light so we can see, raises the food that the Mother births and raises most of our relations, all our plants and trees. Grandmother Moon moves the water and gives us the woman time and our birthing.⁵⁰⁷

Mother Earth, Father Sky, Grandfather Sun, and Grandmother Moon provide essentials for living and nourish us, and so they are like elders in the family who support our living constantly. Uncle Max further took water, for example, to show how things are interconnected with each other (to others):

Grandmother Moon she comes up and shines down her light upon us. She pulls the tides of the sea. She has that much strength she can pull water up into the sky and hold it, until it’s time to water her garden, Mother Earth. Mother Earth, Father Sky, Grandmother Moon and Grandfather Sun have the major roles to play in all life. Water is connected to Mother Earth and to Father Sky. Water is also connected to Grandmother Moon, as she can lift the water and drop it down through Father Sky. Mother Earth then takes the water and she distributes it through her rivers,

⁵⁰⁴ Harrison and McConchie, *My people's dreaming : an Aboriginal elder speaks on life, land, spirit and forgiveness*: 21.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid., 73-77.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid., 7. Also, I describe my learning experience regarding this in my first Gulaga tour guided by Uncle Max in Section 8.2.1.

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid., 9.

streams and lakes. Father Sky holds many stories; through time he has led the way for us to navigate over water and land. He's there for us, he helps us find our way.⁵⁰⁸

In the activities of the Dreaming camp, there are ceremonies that show the interconnectedness between earth, sky, sun, and moon:

What you call fire I call Grandfather Sun. ... 'These coals are still part of Grandfather Sun, and you thought that tree was dead. That tree is part of Grandfather Sun, that bit of black charcoal is holding Grandfather Sun.' There is wonderful connectedness from way up there in the sky and here on Mother Earth. In between are Grandmother Moon and Father Sky. Every day when Grandfather Sun comes up all these little plants and flowers open up to greet him and they welcome him. And we that's what we do too, greet Grandfather and pay our respects. We thank Grandfather for the light and warmth and for the food that we will eat. He's put his rays upon the earth and risen that food up.⁵⁰⁹

Grandfather Sun exists in varied forms in our lives: in fire, charcoal, trees, and many other things. We are all related to the natural world, like a family with Grandfather Sun, Grandmother Moon, Father Sky and Mother Earth. Uncle Max put emphasis on people's closeness to the sun, differentiating his view from scientific views:

Grandfather Sun is such a powerful being. Scientists see Grandfather Sun as a planet, so many miles or kilometres away, but Grandfather is here on earth, everywhere, in every bit of coal and wood. I can hold him in my hand and build a fire with him and be close to him. ... He gives us lights and warmth. But how far away is he, really? We are more connected than we really know; and yet distance and time alter thought and distort the truth.⁵¹⁰

Scientists regard natural things as objects so as to study them and provide objective knowledge, and this may also be how many people look at all living and non-living things in the natural world. However, based on Yuin traditional knowledge, Uncle Max regarded natural things like sun, moon, sky, earth both as subjects (as opposed to objects) and as kin. He profoundly valued the truth that all things in this natural world are much closer and more connected to us than what we have ever learned. The forces of the natural world are everywhere around us and constantly influencing and sustaining our living.

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid., 10.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid., 43.

⁵¹⁰ Ibid., 68.

Through long-term observation of nature and from living within nature, Yuin people learned to read the land and ‘see’ the interconnections:

We knew what fish would be travelling the coast because of what blossoms we saw and other natural signals that were given on land. We saw the connectedness between sea and the land. We had our own calendars in nature to let us know the migration of what was in the sea. We could read Grandmother Moon and know when shellfish and other creatures were moving into shallows to replenish what we had taken from our gathering areas. From up in the high country there were sources of information, such as the colour of bark on the trees or the colour of the leaves at certain time of a season, that would tell us to venture down the mountains and into the grasslands. Nature has a beautiful way to guiding us and showing us, and explaining to us what was becoming available. We were reading the sacred text of the land.⁵¹¹

Nature tells people of the truth and people should learn from it and remember it. Indigenous culture helps people learn and remember nature. The Yuin own this precious knowledge, and pass it down generation to generation, and sharing it, as well, in order to give generously of the knowledge of the sacredness of nature.

Learning is essential to reading the ‘sacred text of the land’. Uncle Max said he witnessed his uncles and father communicating and getting in touch with dolphins. By ‘getting into water and slapping the surface of the sea with their sticks,’ Uncle Max continued, ‘this was a message that went out to the dolphins so they would herd in the fish’. Rather than training the dolphins to do this, as Uncle Max put it, ‘they did this through connection of spirit, telepathically’. We are all creatures of the earth, humans on land and dolphins in the sea, so ‘there is a shared connectedness between us’. It is not ‘magic,’ Uncle Max added, ‘the power is within us, not in the material objects around us,’ as long as people remember the importance of the connection so as to remember how great they can be.⁵¹² His distinction between communication and magic is significant: it indicates the quality of subjectivity within webs of relationality. Unlike magic, that in his terms involves the manipulation of objects, communication involves participation within a relational world.

⁵¹¹ Ibid., 53.

⁵¹² Ibid. Also, the power of “interspecies communication” is described in Rose et al., *Indigenous Kinship with the Natural World in New South Wales*: 48-49.

9.1.3 Respect totem and Respect Law: link culture and nature to see the land

Respect is a concept that Uncle Max repeatedly emphasised. It is not a simple idea, but a core value in Yuin traditional knowledge and Yuin Law, known as Respect Law. It is worth spending time to learn and practice, because only with respect will human beings be able to sustainably live within nature.

The knowledge of respect could be learned in the context of totems and their connection with the natural world:

The Law tells us how to live together and treat one another with respect. It tells us about our links with the Land, our Mother, from whom we are born and to whom we return. It is the Law of our sacred places and of what happened in the Dreamtime.⁵¹³

The Yuin Elder Mervyn Penrith stated:

Darama's creation is all our relations. What we're going through is the Respect Law: respect to the Elders. Respect to the trees, to the rocks, to the water, to all sacred and significant sites that we have.⁵¹⁴

Taking Ngardi in the Creation Dreaming, for example, to explain why people should respect women, Uncle Max said, 'Why was Ngardi the first creation of the human race? Simple. Because Ngardi was the one that could give birth. I've never seen a man give birth to a child. That is the basis of the Respect Law for the woman.'⁵¹⁵

Respect Law includes totems:

Each mob has a collection of totems that represent special areas or animals to their community. It's a way of preserving the ecology. Mobs can't or won't eat those particular totems because if they ate everything they found there would be nothing left for other mobs to eat. As an extra protection, each person within the mob has their own personal totem as well. If I ate one of my grandkids' personal totems I could be in big trouble.⁵¹⁶

⁵¹³ Quoted from the information sheet "The Law Comes from the Mountain" by Rose et al., *Indigenous Kinship with the Natural World in New South Wales*: 50.

⁵¹⁴ Umbarra Cultural Centre, *Umbarra Cultural Tours: Journey to the Dreamtime*.

⁵¹⁵ Harrison and McConchie, *My people's dreaming : an Aboriginal elder speaks on life, land, spirit and forgiveness*: 22.

⁵¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 87.

The particular totemic systems made by Indigenous Australians contribute to sustainability; humans were able to have adequate food resources over the course of 50,000 years. Yuin people protect their own totems and respect those of others. Uncle Max pointed out:

Our laws apply to our totem. We don't eat our totems; they are held in high regard and respected. ... all of our people don't eat umbarra [black duck], one of our most significant totems. ... However, an outsider with permission may come into our country and eat umbarra.⁵¹⁷

This system of mutual caring is a form of relational sustainability. Moreover, the respect Law guides people in how to treat things with the proper behaviour and attitude:

Everything we take from the land and sea – plant, berries, animals, fish – we ask these things permission or thank them as they are giving up their life for us to eat. This is another respect Law, asking for permission to eat is the right thing to do as we are being given a gift that nourishes us. We must always practise the Laws of respect in everything we do.⁵¹⁸

The Yuin know the significance of practicing respect Law for sustainable living. Everything is connected and interdependent. 'We are never alone out there on the land, our relatives of nature – the trees, grasslands, rocks, animals – they are our family; we treat them respectfully.'⁵¹⁹

By practicing traditional activities such as telling Dreaming stories, dancing, painting, using ochres, doing initiations and ceremonies, the Yuin are aware of their closeness to the land and remember that they are part of the earth.

9.2 Ngiyampaa people's knowledge and core values

9.2.1 Dreaming connection: Baiame and Wawi

Baiame is the great creator in the western regions of NSW. Ngiyampaa and Paakantji people believe that Baiame, with the help of animal Dreamings, created the landscape and its flora and fauna. Baiame walked to many places across the country, and those ancient paths are

⁵¹⁷ Ibid., 88.

⁵¹⁸ Ibid.

⁵¹⁹ Ibid., 77.

Dreaming tracks.⁵²⁰ Along the track Baiame left his footprints and tools at a number of sites, and these sites then developed to be important places for food and water resources in this semi-arid environment.⁵²¹ Accordingly, Dreaming tracks are materially fundamental and spiritually sacred for both Ngiyambaa and Paakantji people. In Dreaming stories, Baiame travelled 'through the area from Brock through Mt Dry dale and Cobra to Wittagoona, Gundabooka and back to Bewaring, leaving his marks on the landscape'.⁵²² The interconnection of people, things, and landforms is comprehended through Dreaming stories:

Baiame created the fish trap and that story relates to a lot of the communities, a lot of the different groups of people, because Baiame not only created the fish traps in Brewarrina, he also created Mount Gundabooka and a waterhole in Byrock here he did his carvings ... and then he went to Brewarrina and created the fish traps as stepping stones back into the heavens. That's how all the tribes are interconnected because the one creator created the different – so Gundabooka, which is the mountain, is between Cobar and Bourke, and then you've got Byrock coming' towards Brewarrina, so he travels sort of in a circle.⁵²³

Besides creating things and shaping landscapes, Baiame gave lore and customs to Indigenous people.⁵²⁴ And so the Indigenous people learned and followed the Law given by the creator, holding ceremonies to link themselves with the creator's spirit and the natural world at sacred sites.

Baiame connected all things on the land; in complementary fashion, the Rainbow Serpent is associated with water. Rainbow Serpent, known as *Wawi* by Ngiyampaa people or *Ngatji* by Paakantji, travels through Ngiyampaa and Paakantji countries, linking the Darling River to the Gundabooka Range and other places.⁵²⁵

⁵²⁰ Main, *Gunderbooka : a 'stone country' story*: 12.

⁵²¹ Cameron Muir, Deborah Rose, and Phillip Sullivan, "From the other side of the knowledge frontier: Indigenous knowledge, social–ecological relationships and new perspectives," *The Rangeland Journal* 32(2010): 261. See also J. K. Weir, "Murray River Country: An Ecological Dialogue with Traditional Owners," *Aboriginal Studies Press: Canberra* (2009).

⁵²² Beckett and New South Wales Office of the Registrar, *Yapapunakirri : let's track back : the Aboriginal world around Mount Grenfell*: 20. The original information is in Mathews, "Notes on Some Aboriginal Tribes," 39.

⁵²³ M. Somerville et al., "Flows and intensities: travelling water stories in inland Australia," in *Beyond the black stump : histories of outback Australia*, ed. Alan Mayne (Kent Town, S. Aust.: Wakefield Press, 2008), 319.

⁵²⁴ Craig Woodfield, *Traditional Aboriginal Uses of the Barwon River Wetlands* (Newtown, NSW: Inland Rivers Network, 2000). 12.

⁵²⁵ Main, *Gunderbooka : a 'stone country' story*: 24-25.

Wawi created rivers and underground waters (and thus is integral to all life, indigenous and non-indigenous, human, animal and plant); *Wawa* connects landscapes, landforms and waterways as well as connecting peoples (thus going right across and through territorial divides).⁵²⁶

Wawi is still in the country, as explained by Steve Meredith:

The Rainbow Serpent came up through the springs, he came from Nakabo springs, Ngilyitri country. Wherever he travelled he left ochre to show where he had been. The springs were entry and exit points. He came out of the earth, travelled along its surface, and then went back to the earth. *Wawi* travels, and is still there. We know he's still there.⁵²⁷

The association between springs and ochre opens out into wider fields of knowledge, but at this basic level, ochre deposits are visible traces of the underground travels of water, articulate by Ngiyampaa people through the Rainbow Serpent Dreaming:

Stories about *Ngatji* (Paakantji) or *Wawi* (Ngemba) are Rainbow Serpent stories that expand on the creation of the river, lagoons and waterholes, how these are connected to each other and to the different species that inhabit them, and how they function according to seasonal conditions. Importantly, they also link the different people along the river and show how mutual life-giving, connectivity and respect in the existing world of change are 'entangled with Dreaming and totem stories'.⁵²⁸

Baiaame and *Wawi* provide the knowledge of interconnections in the country. Phil Sullivan explained: 'connection is a form of knowledge. You have to learn it'.⁵²⁹

9.2.2 The truth of fullness: connect culture and nature to see the real person and full country

In the tour of Gundabooka, Phil talked about 'totems'⁵³⁰ while we were in the rock shelter with the paintings. The paintings, made with ochre which itself is associated with the Rainbow Serpent, show interconnection between Dreaming stories, Ngiyampaa people and

⁵²⁶ Rose et al., *Indigenous Kinship with the Natural World in New South Wales*: 69.

⁵²⁷ D.B. Rose et al., *Indigenous Kinship with the Natural World in New South Wales* (NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, 2003). 62.

⁵²⁸ Muir, Rose, and Sullivan, "From the other side of the knowledge frontier: Indigenous knowledge, social-ecological relationships and new perspectives," 261.

⁵²⁹ Rose et al., *Indigenous Kinship with the Natural World in New South Wales*: 62.

⁵³⁰ 'Totem' for Ngiyampaa however is a foreign and unsatisfying word to identify their particular kinship with other living things. See *ibid*.

water places. Drawing attention to connection and responsibility, Phil illustrated the importance of totem. *Tingah* is the Ngiyampaa's word for totem, and the term *tingah* also equally refers to meat or flesh.⁵³¹ Phil discussed his *tingah*, yellowbelly, to exemplify how Ngiyampaa people connect with natural world and take on responsibilities of care.

Having a 'totem' is much deeper: it's about looking after everything. Everything that's associated with the animal, like the yellowbelly, I have to look after the fish, the water, the reeds — everything to do with that fish.⁵³²

Through the networks of *tingah*, people shaped a sense of interconnectedness to other beings and places. Importantly, they held responsibilities for the non-human species and natural environment:

This dimension of totemism encompasses the connectivities between humans and other parts of the living world. It encompasses the sacred sites, the 'natural' systems such as waterways (Rainbow Serpents and other water beings, as well as habitats for totems, and subsistence sites). It is founded in a fundamental ontology of mutual life-giving, and asserts that respect for self and other is integral to the unfolding of life in relationships of mutual care. Respect, in this system of philosophy and action, is as pervasive as are the connectivities, and 'other' refers to all parts of the living world.⁵³³

The tradition of *tingah* has been a way for people to start reconnecting themselves with natural world.

Learning about one's *tingah* is therefore not a matter of seeking to recreate the past. It is a form of recovery that will enable people to engage in the work of reconnecting and looking after in the contemporary world. Not only a living tradition, *tingah* relationships are a contemporary guide to action.⁵³⁴

Ngiyampaa people like Phil learned the powerful form of knowledge from tradition that guided them in how to behave appropriately in order to remain in harmony with other peoples and non-human beings living on the same land.

⁵³¹ Rose et al., *Indigenous Kinship with the Natural World in New South Wales*: 58. Brad Steadman explained that 'tingah' means meat in three senses: the animal while it's alive, the meat being cooked, and the meat you're related to.

⁵³² Ibid., 59.

⁵³³ Ibid., 74.

⁵³⁴ Ibid., 59.

As discussed above, Ngiyampaa people's life is intertwined with the Dreaming stories about the actions of Baiame and Wawi. Their knowledge and values lead to an understanding of connectivity, complexity, continuity, mutual life-giving, and respect.⁵³⁵ These are values Phil communicated to visitors, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous.

In contrast to non-Indigenous people, who view water in a river system as a material resource to be divided among various consumers (including the environment) and stakeholders ...
Aboriginal people see water and its ecology as a gift.⁵³⁶

While it is fair to note that many non-Indigenous people have views about water that are more complex than a purely instrumental view might suggest, the point here is that connection, Ngiyampaa people have closely spiritual tie with water that understands water itself as part of creation and as a gift. As Phil phrased it:

Water to me is the essence of life. And I've got to respect life, and I've got to honour life. If I don't honour it and look after it, then it's going to take my life away from me. It's going to take the very essence of who I am away from me. So that's why I honour the river, the water, and give respect to it. Because in the end if I don't look after that ... then me and my family and my tribe and the gift that's been given to us is going to be whittled away. I got to give honour and I got to give respect to that, first and foremost. And then everything else will fall into place. It's like a bit of a foundation.⁵³⁷

Phil hoped participants in his tours would learn the fullness of the truth so that their old values could be changed and maybe alter some of their one-dimensional perspectives. Phil said,

I want them to understand who I am. If they go away understanding a little bit more about my country and who I am, then I've done my job. I want to touch their emotions, so when they go away their values change.⁵³⁸

Some truths and values in Indigenous culture have been hidden and ignored for too long, so what he has been doing is valuable for non-Indigenous people too. *Tingah* is an example:

⁵³⁵ Ibid., 69.

⁵³⁶ Muir, Rose, and Sullivan, "From the other side of the knowledge frontier: Indigenous knowledge, social-ecological relationships and new perspectives," 261.

⁵³⁷ From Deborah Rose's interview with Phillip Sullivan on 24 July 2008 in Bourke, NSW.

⁵³⁸ Rose, *Sharing Kinship with Nature: How Reconciliation is Transforming the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service*.

The Ngiyampaa men hold that people and the world are fundamentally connected. The idea that ‘meat’ (*tingah*) is family neatly indicates how inappropriate this divide [between (human) culture and (animal) nature] is from an indigenous perspective.⁵³⁹

The faith in the inseparability of culture and nature has sustained the living of all the Indigenous people since their existence, so wise and profound that non-Indigenous people should also be invited to learn about.

At the beginning of the Gundabooka tour, Phil put emphasis on the significance of the invisible part within a person or thing.⁵⁴⁰ Phil highlighted the significance of seeing a full and real person or thing. Due to the Western concept of the division between nature and culture, Phil pointed out, most people do not see Ngiyampaa people’s intimate connection to rivers, trees, and other things etc. ‘They see the scarred tree and the tools — they don’t see the connections to country.’⁵⁴¹ He was pointing to the archaeological perspective on Indigenous culture, evidenced in stone tools and in trees from with earlier generations of Indigenous people had taken bark for technological and other uses. That perspective on the past was always in danger of excluding living people in any capacity other than custodian of the past. In Phil’s view, many people fail to notice the links between Ngiyampaa people and the land, only seeing the visible part of the person while the invisible part may be carelessly overlooked. And yet, that invisible part is actually all the important matters: connectivity, continuity, and complexity between people and natural world. Phil stated that ‘the full person is shaped not by their socio-economic status but by their morals, values, and dignity’.⁵⁴² He took his learning and teaching experience about his own totem as an example:

Like ... going to the fisheries and finding out all about the river flows, and the weeds, and going to talk to Uncle Roy about all the little fish that used swim in there. I’d be really getting into my totem, the yellowbelly, and finding out about that, you know. And teaching other people about that: how they swim, where they swim, when they come and when they go. It would be awesome, really.⁵⁴³

⁵³⁹ Rose et al., *Indigenous Kinship with the Natural World in New South Wales*: 66.

⁵⁴⁰ Discussed in Section 8.3.2.

⁵⁴¹ Rose, *Sharing Kinship with Nature: How Reconciliation is Transforming the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service*: 84.

⁵⁴² *Ibid.*, 85.

⁵⁴³ *Ibid.*, 86.

Phil learned the knowledge in relation to his totem yellowbelly and became a person who is able to connect the visible and invisible parts of truth, and knows how to pay respect to and look after his totem.

Respect is a value, knowledge, and spiritual practice to see the fullness and the real. It is a core value and a fundamental truth. Significant knowledge consists in understanding connections. Professor Deborah Rose worked with Ngiyampaa people for several years and pointed out:

respect as I came to understand it, is not something that can be defined in any facile way. It is a quality within the person, a knowledge of self and other, and of connection.⁵⁴⁴

Rose further analysed respect for Ngiyampaa people:

The Ngiyampaa men used this term [respect] frequently, and they used it in a variety of contexts. One context ... is between people and place, and people's refusal to speculate about meaning beyond what they have been taught. Another is between people and their elders; another is between people and their 'totemic' species; another is between the past and the present.⁵⁴⁵

Respect is thus a tradition for Ngiyampaa people who learn and practice this knowledge.

Respect, then, is also a matter of knowledge — of knowing the connections so that one knows the many contexts in which respect is due, and knowing how to look after things so that one can fulfil one's role in life.⁵⁴⁶

Thus, Phil considers that respect is a spiritual practice. Through learning and practicing, the real person and full country could be seen.

9.3 Relational sustainability and core values

Through participating in the activities at Gulaga and Gundabooka, and reviewing the knowledge the Indigenous Elders like Uncle Max and Phil Sullivan so generously offered, it is clear that that 'connection' is one of Yuin and Ngiyampaa people's fundamental forms of

⁵⁴⁴ Rose et al., *Indigenous Kinship with the Natural World in New South Wales*: 93.

⁵⁴⁵ Rose et al., *Indigenous Kinship with the Natural World in New South Wales*: 60.

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid.

knowledge. The Elders hope that both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people will learn this. Uncle Max said,

I am trying to raise awareness of Aboriginal spirituality and to explain how we connect to the land. I am trying to capture in words the beauty of the land I see around me. And seeing is so important ... really seeing what the land is telling you. Seeing what the land is offering for you to take.⁵⁴⁷

Seeing the physical and spiritual connection to land is so vital to understand the sacredness of land:

Everyone gets everything from Mother Earth, no matter what. It's born from her, and if you understand that you can have a sacred knowledge, not a secret of knowledge, but a sacred knowledge of the land.⁵⁴⁸

Uncle Max and Phil focussed on the spiritual knowledge of connection which Indigenous people owned through Dreaming, ceremony, totems, and other traditions. They consistently presented the integrity between human and non-human beings, which is distinct from Western concepts.

Conceptual separations between humans and non-humans are not as distinct in Aboriginal culture as they are in Western culture. Other species can be regarded as relatives. Kinship with the nonhuman world includes awareness of non-human sentience.⁵⁴⁹

The particular system of totems strongly links people to animals and their surrounding environment. Totems like black duck (*umbarra*) in Yuin country and yellowbelly (*kuya*) in Ngiyampaa country connect people and natural world. Deborah Rose discussed the concept of complex connection and mutual life-giving in the Ngiyampaa people's mind:

Phil's statement that one needs to know the connections in order to behave respectfully in all the proper contexts hints at the concept of complexity. Our understanding of the Ngiyampaa men is that they are saying that complexity consists of layers of meanings, multiplicities of connections, and a holistic ecology in which living things and their connections keep on

⁵⁴⁷ Harrison and McConchie, *My people's dreaming : an Aboriginal elder speaks on life, land, spirit and forgiveness*: 7.

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid., 111.

⁵⁴⁹ Muir, Rose, and Sullivan, "From the other side of the knowledge frontier: Indigenous knowledge, social-ecological relationships and new perspectives," 263.

sustaining each other. The process of mutual life giving depends on connections that return to each other and that support each other.⁵⁵⁰

Uncle Max also conveyed the same ideas of complex connection, and mutual caring. Both Yuin and Ngiyampaa knowledge of connection works with 'relational sustainability,' by which I mean a focus on reciprocal relations and respect as a way of sustainable living.⁵⁵¹ The idea of seeing both the visible and the invisible in order to see a full and real person or thing is similar to Uncle Max's teachings about 'seeing what the land is telling you and offering for to you take'⁵⁵². Further, respect is the core value most frequently mentioned by many Elders. Respect is a spiritual practice for both Yuin and Ngiyampaa people, and equally is both Law and knowledge:

Thus, respect is founded in law, and lawful behaviour will be respectful. Equally, respect for law is itself lawful action. Wallaga Lake [Yuin] people spoke of respect ... between human beings and country, between humans and other living things, between humans and other humans, between humans and the environments or habitats that support the life of all species, including humans. In addition, respect is enjoined between humans and sacred sites, humans and knowledge, humans and lawful practice. As we understand what people are saying, respect permeates all lawful action, and is itself a necessary element of mutual care.⁵⁵³

In consequence, respect includes knowledge which must be learned and a practice through which Law is put into action.

In sum, Gulaga National Park and Gundabooka National Park are places where Indigenous knowledge and core values for cultural survival and sustainable living are being seen and communicated. Indigenous Elders deeply hope to pass down to both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people the fundamental truth of the inseparability of nature and culture. They actively seek to reconcile peoples, non-human beings, and land. The key value and practice of respect containing knowledge and Law of connection provides a hopeful path toward recuperative reconciliation.

⁵⁵⁰ Rose et al., *Indigenous Kinship with the Natural World in New South Wales*: 94.

⁵⁵¹ 'Relational Sustainability' will further be discussed in Chapter 11 where I compare the Indigenous knowledge between Taiwan and Australia.

⁵⁵² Harrison and McConchie, *My people's dreaming : an Aboriginal elder speaks on life, land, spirit and forgiveness*: 7.

⁵⁵³ Rose et al., *Indigenous Kinship with the Natural World in New South Wales*: 50.

Part 4:

Good Stories and Great Givers

Chapter 10

Comparisons and Contrasts: A Hopeful Analysis

10.1 Impacts of colonisation on indigenous people, land, and culture

After reviewing the colonial histories and comparing the cases of cultural survival in Nantou County, Taiwan and NSW, Australia, it is easier to understand the huge impacts of colonisation on Indigenous people and their lands. In both nations, colonisers developed stereotypical concepts of the natives and land, and exploited them in aggressive ways. There were also differences: the varied policies of colonisation in Taiwan and Australia resulted in different impacts as well.

The early colonisers, both in Taiwan and Australia, were undoubtedly aware of the existence of Indigenous people, yet in a similar way they viewed them as wild ‘others’⁵⁵⁴. There was no thought of traditional ownership. Therefore, colonisers could rationalise their violent incursions by developing laws that excluded the rights of Indigenous peoples and only benefited colonisers themselves. The biased ideas, arrogant attitudes, and violence, were articulated with an ideology of binaries — superior/inferior, civilised/savage, etc. These ideologies seem to have justified severe destruction of Indigenous culture and their land. Similarities in the use of violence include massacres, land dispossession, forced relocation, exploitation of natural resources, place renaming, foreign education, and assimilation.

In both Taiwan and Australia, there were massacres that brought about uncountable deaths, pains, and trauma.⁵⁵⁵ Moreover, these colonisers similarly made their own law without negotiating with traditional owners to ‘legally’ occupy lands. They did not recognise the use of land by the natives, as they could not or would not see the productivity. The European colonisers occupied land in Australia by declaring it was *terra nullius* and distributing it to settlers. Taiwan was categorised in the domain of ‘wilderness (荒服 *huangfu*)’ by Chinese before the Qing Dynasty. In early colonisation, the land in Taiwan was classified by the Qing

⁵⁵⁴ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge K. Paul, 1978).

⁵⁵⁵ Flood, *The original Australians : story of the Aboriginal people*.

Perkins, Langton, and Atkinson, *First Australians : an illustrated history*.

Cheng, *Indigenous Peoples and Taiwan History* (原住民族與台灣史).

Government into ‘savage land’ (番地) and ‘no one’s land (無主地)’.⁵⁵⁶ Chinese settlers could apply to get a legal authority to occupy ‘no one’s land’. In fact, the so-called ‘no one’s land’ was Indigenous people’s traditional territory. By the time of Japanese and KMT rule, much of the land that had not been settled by colonisers, and was still therefore classed as land without ownership, was turned into national property. Little by little, lands were taken up by colonisers so that areas for Indigenous people diminished dramatically with consequent threats to their livelihood.

Policies of forced relocation were implemented in both Australia and Taiwan. Not all people were forced from their homelands, but many Indigenous people in Taiwan and Australia were uprooted, and had no choice but to adapt to whatever government policy was implemented. Settlers in both nations took up exploitative resource extraction aimed to make the colony profitable and some individuals rich. The process continued over decades and centuries, as more and more homelands and sacred places were taken over, and in some cases, destroyed. Pastoralism had enormous impacts in Australia. Mining and logging are prominent large-scale economic activities in both Taiwan and Australia. With destructive practices that changed landforms, waterways, and flora and fauna, the result was ecological degradation. From Indigenous viewpoints, the land was not only degraded, but also desecrated:

It was the loss of the land which was worst ... The all embracing net of life and spirit which had held land, and people, and all things together was in tatters. The sustaining ceremonies could not be held, men and women could not visit their own birthplaces or carry out their duties to the spirits.⁵⁵⁷

As a consequence of the loss of the land, Indigenous people could not freely go back to their homeland; their lives were strongly controlled by colonisers.

In addition to changing Indigenous livelihoods, governments in Taiwan and Australia developed institutions with which to ensure that Indigenous people would learn the settler culture, language, knowledge, and values. Traditional cultural activities such as ceremonies and other customs were prohibited because the colonisers believed that the best way to make

⁵⁵⁶ Chou, *Illustration of Taiwan History: from Prehistory to 1945* (台灣歷史圖說史前至一九四五年): 76.

⁵⁵⁷ J. Wright, *The cry for the dead* (Oxford University Press, 1981). 27.

indigenous people civilised was to coerce them to abandon traditional culture.⁵⁵⁸ Many Indigenous people in Australia tell stories of wrenching loss: loss of language, of culture, ceremony, values, lands, livelihoods, family members, and self-sufficiency.⁵⁵⁹

I heard this lament of loss in Phil Sullivan's words, and at the same time, I heard his strength and his commitment. He reminded people that respect is a key value for people amongst each other, and for relationships with the land:

We may forget our meat, we may lose our language, even the rock art may fade but we will never lose what's inside our hearts – our spiritual connection to country. The outward things may pass but the respect, the thing inside, will last. We respect our animals and our land. That's what I call our last line of defense. The last line of defense is respect, we're moving so far away from how our old people did things.⁵⁶⁰

Similarly, the Bunun elder, Tama Balan once spoke about traditional subsistence, customs, and culture to some of the young Kalibuan people. They were not interested in his talk and scornfully responded 'past is past; present is present'.⁵⁶¹ Clearly, respect is by no means guaranteed.

Another aspect of dispossession was the renaming of places, and the consequent erasing of Indigenous presence and the rewriting of the history of the land.

To live in a place and give it a name is to know it and to claim it as one's own. This was the political practice of the colonisers of Australia; ownership tended to proceed *de facto* through the practice of renaming, of writing over the original names of the country.⁵⁶²

Jade Mountain was and is Tongku Saveq for Bunun people; and Mt. Dromedary was and is Gulaga for Yuin people. New names overwrote the facts of Indigenous inhabitation and cultural relationships with these places. A significant process within the cultural work of survival that I have been addressing has been remembering the names, and a significant

⁵⁵⁸ Cheng, *Indigenous Peoples and Taiwan History* (原住民族與台灣史): 247-49.

⁵⁵⁹ Mudrooroo, *Us mob : history, culture, struggle: an introduction to indigenous Australia* (Pymble, N.S.W.: Angus & Robertson, 1995).

⁵⁶⁰ Rose et al., *Indigenous Kinship with the Natural World in New South Wales*: 64.

⁵⁶¹ Interview with Tama Balan.

⁵⁶² S. Muecke, *Textual spaces: aboriginality and cultural studies* (New South Wales University Press, 1992). 5.

struggle for recognition and reconciliation consists in gaining formal recognition for the indigenous names.

Human rights, too, have been massively abused under colonising regimes in both Taiwan and NSW. Indigenous people of Australia did not have even basic rights and freedoms of citizens until after 1967 referendum, although it was possible for individuals to gain ‘exemption’ from the controlled status of ‘ward of the state’.⁵⁶³ In Taiwan, all the people were restrained by the Martial Law after the KMT Government took over Taiwan in 1949, and Indigenous people were relatively deprived of their civil rights before the abolishment of Martial Law in 1987. For decades it was not possible to speak openly about social and environmental injustice in Taiwan, and this was true for all people, not only Indigenous people.

In both countries, official history was dominated by the colonisers for many years. Only in recent years, as part of the ongoing decolonisation and reconciliation movements in Australia has it been possible to develop strong histories that work with written documents and with Indigenous Elders’ oral histories. The resulting histories have shown the injustice and inhumanity of colonisation, and were actually shocking. By revealing these untold stories and unpublished facts, the wider public started to gain a glimpse of the vast injustices that colonisers imposed on Indigenous people.

Along with so many similarities, there are also differences. Taiwan has a longer history of colonisation, and has experienced more waves of colonisers and more varied cultures of colonisation. Taiwan’s colonial history is thus more complex than Australia’s. Taiwan had been colonised for about 400 years by six different foreign rulers while Australia had been colonised by the English for around 200 years. The lives of Indigenous people in Taiwan have been sequentially impacted since 1624. Before 1895 when the Japanese invaded Taiwan, most of the plains Aborigines had already been assimilated into Chinese settler society. The plains

⁵⁶³ For further details, see Nigel Parbury, Kathryn Lamberton, and New South Wales Dept. of Aboriginal Affairs, *Survival : a history of Aboriginal life in New South Wales*, Rev., expanded and updated ed. (Surry Hills, N.S.W.: NSW Dept. of Aboriginal Affairs, 2005). 117-18. Also, Flood, *The original Australians : story of the Aboriginal people*: 238-39.

Aborigines' culture was nearly extinguished.⁵⁶⁴ On the other hand, the mountain people were fortunately protected from direct impacts of colonisation for centuries, thanks to the terrain. Colonisers rarely crossed over the 'boundary of the cooked savages (plains Aborigines)' (熟界) to enter the mountains of the raw savages.⁵⁶⁵

All that changed in the early twentieth century when the Japanese army penetrated into the mountains, engaged in battles against mountain Aborigines, and caused many people's deaths. In NSW, the smallpox epidemic and other diseases brought about the first wave of mass death. In the early period of colonisation, the European colonisers did not seek to assimilate Indigenous people as their concerns were primarily with control of the land and natural resources. European settlers brought in sheep, cattle, horses, and other foreign animals to Australia to develop pastoral industries, and it was useful to have Indigenous workers, as shepherds and shearers, or stockmen and boundary riders. Indigenous workers also continued to play important roles in harvesting crops, such as beans and peas, for settler farmers. Increasingly, though, Indigenous people were confined to missions and fringe camps.

In Taiwan the colonisers' depredations on natural resource reflected the biotic diversity and richness of the country. Colonisers hunted a large number of deer for trade, and cut down camphor trees to produce camphor balls. Those settlers' economic activities had ecosystem-wide impacts, including affecting the livelihoods of Indigenous people.⁵⁶⁶

Relocation policies show strong similarities between the two countries: governments in both places sought to relocate Indigenous people to places where they could be more readily controlled, and in both countries Indigenous people struggled (often successfully) to remain near their homelands, and within eyesight of prominent sacred sites, if at all possible. In the early 20th century, the Japanese Group Relocation Policy (集團移住政策) forced most mountain Aborigines to relocate to lower elevations, as discussed previously. Though they were compelled to receive Japanese (and later, Chinese) education, mountain Aborigines in

⁵⁶⁴ Jen-Kuei Li (李壬癸), *History and Interaction of the Plain Tribes in Taiwan* (台灣平埔族的歷史與互動) (Taipei: Formosa Folkways Publishing Company, 1998). Also Huan-yueh (劉還月) Liu, *Searching and Visiting the Plain Tribes in Taiwan* (尋訪台灣平埔族) (Taipei: Formosa Folkways Publishing Company, 1998).

⁵⁶⁵ For the detailed description and analysis of the raw savages and the cooked savages, see Section 1.2.

⁵⁶⁶ Mark Munsterhjelm, "The First Nations of Taiwan: A Special Report on Taiwan's indigenous peoples," *Cultural Survival* 26, no. 2 (2002).

Taiwan could still live with their families and clans. In contrast, the policies of protection, segregation and assimilation in NSW separated many Indigenous families as well as separating people from their land. In the Protection Era (1855–1937), people were forcibly moved into reserves, stations, or missions where they lived with dissimilar groups of Indigenous people. Their life was confined under the supervision of European ‘protectors’. During 1930s–1960s, under the Assimilation Policy Indigenous people not of ‘full blood’ were to be assimilated within Australian society.⁵⁶⁷

The idea of assimilation was a shift from the idea of biological absorption – where children of mixed descent were taken away and raised as white, and it was thought that the rest of us would die out.⁵⁶⁸

Many ‘stolen generations’ (or stolen children) never met their parents again, and cultural continuities were wholly disrupted for many people.⁵⁶⁹ Those who were taken away were educated into European culture and language. Under the implementation of the policies of segregation, protection, and assimilation, Indigenous people of Australia experienced the trauma and pain of losing homelands and families, traditions, and languages. In contrast, mountain Aborigines in Taiwan still lived with their families and clans after forcible relocation, and could at least directly learn their native languages and traditional culture from their families and community Elders. For example, in Kalibuan village, most villagers speak their native language Bunun and use it for daily communication.

10.1.1 The influence of Christianity

Besides the government policies of segregation, assimilation and relocation, foreign religions, especially Christianity, also had varied influences on Indigenous people in Australia and Taiwan. According to Steve Hemming, an Indigenous studies scholar who focuses on the south east of Australia, the introduction of Christianity through missionaries was not only a

⁵⁶⁷ Prentis, *A study in black and white : the Aborigines in Australian history*: 143.

⁵⁶⁸ Pascoe and Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, *The little red yellow black book : an introduction to indigenous Australia*: 106.

⁵⁶⁹ Prentis, *A concise companion to Aboriginal history*: 196. Also see Read and New South Wales Dept. of Aboriginal Affairs, *The stolen generations : the removal of aboriginal children in New South Wales, 1883 to 1969*.

physical invasion but also an invasion of mind.⁵⁷⁰ It was actually government policy from 1823 to 1850 in NSW to convert Indigenous people to Christianity in order to make them 'civilised and useful':

At the missions, they [missionaries and reverends] were superintendents of agriculture to teach habits of order, industry and subordination. All the work was done by Aboriginal people. They were told: do not go around naked, do not be dirty, do not work on Sundays, and do not drink, smoke or be promiscuous. Children had to wear uniforms and work, play, learn and pray according to clockwork schedules.⁵⁷¹

Obviously, the European colonisers were not interested in the culture, beliefs, spiritual knowledge, Law, and livelihood which had sustained Indigenous people for so long. This is the power of colonisation, and it shows how binaries such as civilised/savage support assimilation. If it is believed (and it was) that 'civilisation' was superior to 'savagery', it becomes possible to think that all this enforced change really was 'for their own good'.⁵⁷² Indigenous people were in a complicated position. Many people resisted the missionaries' attacks on their religion and culture. At the same time, missionaries expressed goodwill for Indigenous people and offered food and other material supplies that became essential after Indigenous people lost their lands:

While missions in Australia provided a refuge which in many regions enabled Aboriginal groups to survive, the failure on the part of many missionaries to recognise and appreciate the values of Aboriginal societies and the tendency to regard all aspects of these societies as pagan and immoral led to suspicion, antipathy, and despair.⁵⁷³

⁵⁷⁰ S.J. Hemming, "Changing History: New Images of Aboriginal Australia," in *Aboriginal Australia : an introductory reader in Aboriginal studies*, ed. Colin Bourke, Eleanor Bourke, and W. H. Edwards (St Lucia, Qld.: University of Queensland Press, 1998), 30. Also B. Bain Attwood, *The making of the Aborigines* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1989). 1.

⁵⁷¹ Parbury, Lamberton, and New South Wales Dept. of Aboriginal Affairs, *Survival : a history of Aboriginal life in New South Wales*: 47.

⁵⁷² Anna Haebich, *For their own good : Aborigines and government in the south west of Western Australia, 1900-1940* (Nedlands, W.A.: University of Western Australia Press, 1988).

⁵⁷³ Bill Edwards, "Living the Dreaming," in *Aboriginal Australia : an introductory reader in Aboriginal studies*, ed. Colin Bourke, Eleanor Bourke, and W. H. Edwards (St Lucia, Qld.: University of Queensland Press, 1998), 88.

The European missionaries later became ‘far more intrusive and interfering than other Europeans, often seeking to disrupt ceremonies and beliefs that were at the heart of Aboriginal society’.⁵⁷⁴

In comparison with Australia, Christian missionary activities in Taiwan were far more peaceful and respectful, although the introduction of Christianity also resulted in loss of Indigenous traditions. Except during the short period of Dutch rule (1624–1662), Taiwan was not colonised by European colonisers. Converting Indigenous people to Christianity was not a policy of the colonial governments. Thus, there were fewer conflicts about Christianity. In contrast, Indigenous people welcomed missionary activities in Taiwan, and subsequently Christianity became the most popular religion in Indigenous communities because the missionaries provided education, medical services, food, and other material supplies in addition to preaching.

During the Dutch period, many plains Aborigines of Hsin-Kang (新港), Ma-tou (麻豆) and other villages close to Tainan (台南) were converted to Christianity. The missionaries rooted out the traditional ceremonies and exiled shamans, but because of the introduction of Romanised writing, some of the plains Aborigines’ language was recorded and retained in Biblical texts. ‘At least two aboriginal languages were given Romanised forms, and basic Christian instructional materials.’⁵⁷⁵ The Christian missionary activities did not spread very far from Tainan, and influenced only a few groups of plains Aborigines during the Dutch colonisation. Christianity was not introduced to Taiwan again until the 1860s. The 1858 Treaty of Tianjin (天津條約) forced on the Qing Government by Western powers after the Opium Wars, opened ports to Western trade, allowed the preaching of Christianity, and permitted travel.⁵⁷⁶ There were mass conversions in villages of plains Aborigines which:

⁵⁷⁴ Henry Reynolds, *Dispossession: Black Australians and White Invaders* (Allen & Unwin Academic, 1989). 155.

⁵⁷⁵ M.A. Rubinstein, *Taiwan: A New History* (M.E. Sharpe, 1999). 91.

⁵⁷⁶ Cheng, *Indigenous Peoples and Taiwan History* (原住民族與台灣史): 174-75. Also M.J. Brown, *Is Taiwan Chinese?: The Impact of Culture, Power, and Migration on Changing Identities* (University of California Press, 2004). 51.

resulted from Aborigines' desire to ally themselves with foreign powers. These new powers were perceived as stronger than the Han people who, in their view, had only cheated and abused them.⁵⁷⁷

Before KMT rule, mountain Aborigines were not influenced by Christianity, and still practiced their traditional ceremonies and laws. When the Indigenous people were desperately in need of material supplies and spiritual comfort, Christian missionaries went into the mountains to help at just the right time. Frustrated by the incessant domination by different colonial governments, mountain Aborigines quickly accepted Christianity. By the 1950s, many Bunun people had converted to Christianity. Missionaries deemed that Indigenous beliefs such as animism and traditional prohibitions were superstitions, and they told Bunun people to stop believing those 'evil things'.⁵⁷⁸ The Elder Tama Balan had converted to Christianity, and when I asked him about *Samu*⁵⁷⁹ he translated the term into Chinese as '迷信 superstition'.⁵⁸⁰ Christian missionaries not only prohibited practice of traditional ceremonies but also changed Indigenous people's own viewpoints on the values of traditional culture and religion. But there is no simple story here. Christianity helped maintain language, and there were many customs and beliefs that people sustained while still leading Christian lives.

Neqou pointed out that the organisation of the church changed the traditional ethics and social organisation in the community, and pastors and missionaries replaced Elders as leaders. Traditionally, the younger people listened to the Elders' teachings and learned from them. Now the Elders sit in church and listen to the younger pastors and missionaries preach. In sum, Indigenous people gained material and spiritual support from Christianity but it also led to a gradual loss of traditional culture. The influence of Christianity on Indigenous life and beliefs was thus ambivalent.

⁵⁷⁷ Brown, *Is Taiwan Chinese?: The Impact of Culture, Power, and Migration on Changing Identities*: 51-52.

⁵⁷⁸ Isqaqavut, *Cultural and Historical Survey of Kalibuan Village of Bunun Tribe* (布農族 Kalibuan 望鄉部落文史調查資料): 35. Also Yeh, *The History of Formosan Aborigines: Bunun* (台灣原住民史: 布農族史篇): 186-87.

⁵⁷⁹ *Samu* is Bunun's traditional law. For details, refer to Chapters 4 and 5.

⁵⁸⁰ Interview with Tama Balan.

10.2 When culture meets nature: cultural survival and nature conservation in national parks

Policies and practices of nature conservation in protected areas, such as national parks in Indigenous people's traditional territories, has functioned as another mode of colonisation, as we have seen. With time, as awareness of environmental issues and problems grew, both nations have seen the emergence of environmental consciousness. Both governments have had to consider ways of protecting remaining regions or areas which had not been severely damaged, as well as considering ways of restoring areas that had been damaged. Both nations are part of a global change in environmental thought, practice, and policy, and both have made laws and policies for conserving nature. The question that was not publicly asked at the outset, but that now is inescapable, is: at whose cost will nature be conserved? Whose understandings of conservation will prevail? Whose understandings of nature will prevail? What is conservation meant to accomplish? As shown in earlier chapters, until recently these questions were not asked in relation to Indigenous people, and nor was there any thought of co-management, or co-conservation. The similarities and differences between Taiwan and NSW will be discussed in this section.

10.2.1 Recolonisation or reconciliation?

National parks were established in both Taiwan and Australia in response to natural resource exploitation and resulting degradation. The beautiful landscapes, biodiversity and cultural diversity, valued and conserved by current governments, were not given so much attention when mining, logging, hunting, and other extractive industries went unchecked. A great deal of natural and cultural heritage was destroyed. At the same time, Indigenous people participated in these extractive industries. They were hired by sawmills, timber companies, or Forest Bureau (Forestry) to log trees in their traditional territories. In south-eastern NSW during the 1950s and 1960s, 'forestry was a major employer of Aboriginal people'.⁵⁸¹ Forestry took advantage of the fact that Indigenous people needed money to survive, so they hired Indigenous workers with cheaper wages.⁵⁸² The politicising of forestry practice and policy has

⁵⁸¹ Feary, "Social Justice in the Forest: Aboriginal Engagement with Australia's Forest Industries". 269.

⁵⁸² Ibid.

meant that some Indigenous people became scapegoats, charged with the crime of ecological destruction and even condemned as guilty. Those who should take the most responsibilities for environmental destruction, however, were those who made logging policies. As logging labourers, both the Yuin people in Australia and Bunun people in Taiwan were caught in a dilemma, needing to choose between economic survival and traditional values.

Tiang, a Bunun man, who was hired to work for the Forestry Bureau said,

The Japanese and KMT governments viewed trees as property. They logged 'good trees' [such as cypress and juniper] which have high economic values. Logging caused landslides. Our Elders did not cut good trees, they knew that good trees, which are strongly attached to the soil, could prevent landslides.⁵⁸³

With the rising of environmental awareness, the colonial governments were forced to recognise the urgency of environmental issues, and the creation of national parks was one response. It should be remembered, however, that national parks were designed (and are still designed today) to accommodate multiple uses, including nature conservation, entertainment, scientific research, and environmental education. The Yellowstone model, as stated, was aimed at protecting 'wilderness'. Indigenous people whose livelihoods and cultural activities had existed within those so-called wilderness areas for thousands of years were not included in the consideration of national parks policies. National parks have inherited the Western nature/culture binary, and this has had the effect of forcibly separating Indigenous people from 'nature'.

The long established human-nature dualism of the West is the foundation for the concept of protected areas: places where 'nature' is protected by keeping humans out; contrasting with the inclusive epistemologies of many Indigenous cultures, which situate people as part of their ancestral estates.⁵⁸⁴

As we have seen, this radical exclusion, based on a deeply contentious binary, actually is a re-colonisation of Indigenous people.

⁵⁸³ Interview with Tiang.

⁵⁸⁴ Michael Adams, "Beyond Yellowstone? Conservation and Indigenous rights in Australia and Sweden " in *Discourses and Silences: Indigenous Peoples, Risks and Resistance*, ed. G. Cant, A. Goodall, and J. Inn (Christchurch, New Zealand: Department of Geography, University of Canterbury, 2005), 127.

In addition to the impacts on cultural survival, the exclusion of Indigenous people from national parks resulted in more changes in the ecological system. A foreign Western scientific system of natural resource management based on the Western concept of nature conservation has been practiced in both Australia and Taiwan. The precious Indigenous knowledge and Law, shaped through long-standing sustainable understandings of the co-existence between human beings and land, was not included in management plans. The changes resulting from exclusion of Indigenous people is perhaps clearest in Taiwan, where hunting had been practiced sustainably for millennia, and where, suddenly it was banned in order to protect wildlife in the park under a policy of nature conservation.⁵⁸⁵

Indigenous people's critique of the problems caused by the separation of nature and culture can be found in both Australia and Taiwan. As Phil Sullivan, a Cultural Heritage Officer in the NPWS NSW and therefore a beneficiary of national parks as well as a critic, pointed out:

The 'natural' and cultural' heritage of National Parks is not separate. This is an artificial white-fella separation. They are still boxing the whole into sections, we need to integrate management into a holistic view of the landscape.⁵⁸⁶

In recent years, the concept of ecological sustainability, which is centred on inter-relationships, has become well known and is well recognised in national parks. Perhaps less recognised are the links between biodiversity and cultural diversity. Many Indigenous people claim that their former way of life was sustainable, and that biodiversity and cultural diversity are reciprocal and symbiotic. In seeking to restore some justice to the relationship between parks and Indigenous people, issues of cultural survival are becoming more integrated into national parks.

10.2.2 Co-management: a way for reconciliation

The differences in relation to natural and cultural conservation of national parks in my case studies concern motives and processes in the history of parks, and their current practice and policies. Jade Mountain National Park was established in 1985 in Taiwan after the declaration of National Park Law(Act) made by KMT government. That was a top-down policy and

⁵⁸⁵ See the discussion in Chapter 6.

⁵⁸⁶ Rose et al., *Indigenous Kinship with the Natural World in New South Wales*: 66.

lacked community consultation with Indigenous peoples.⁵⁸⁷ In contrast, Gundabooka National Park and Gulaga National Park were respectively created in 1996 and 2001. Following the rising trends of ecological conservation and Indigenous land rights, these two parks were established through consultations with grassroots groups of environmental conservationists and local Indigenous people. Therefore, issues of cultural survival were taken into consideration in the policies of national parks, and the two national parks were given titles using the original place names. Significantly, the state government acknowledged colonisation's harm to Indigenous people and their lands. It acknowledged Indigenous people as the owners of the land who traditionally have duty to look after country, and accepted that Indigenous people's local knowledge could provide ways to improve ecological sustainability.⁵⁸⁸

Today the agency (the NPWS) is in a period of transition and is seeing increasing attention being given to integrating Aboriginal interests and values into broad environmental management strategies and programs.⁵⁸⁹

In contrast to these accomplishments, the Taiwan Government has not yet officially acknowledged the errors of colonisation and recognised the value of Indigenous ecological knowledge. Furthermore in Australia, national parks returned the land ownership to the Indigenous people first and then the Indigenous people leased their land to the national parks for joint-management. Joint management provides a way to reconcile the relationships between European settlers and Indigenous people and creates opportunities for them to collaborate on land management to work out a suitable way for maintaining ecosystem sustainability. In the (Indigenous) national parks such as Gulaga and Gundabooka National Parks, Indigenous people and non-Indigenous people developed a 'complementary management style to overall benefit of the park'.⁵⁹⁰ The board of management, on which Indigenous people are the majority, holds regular meetings and gives advice to NPWS; and

⁵⁸⁷ Chi and Wang, "Environmental Justice: An Analysis of the Collision Between the Aborigines and the National Parks (環境正義：原住民與國家公園衝突的分析)."

⁵⁸⁸ Refer to New South Wales Government, "Statement of reconciliation", accessed 20 September 2011.

⁵⁸⁹ Adams and English, "'Biodiversity is a whitefella word': changing relationships between Aboriginal people and the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service.," 93.

⁵⁹⁰ Terry De Lacy and Bruce Lawson, "The Uluru/Kakadu Model: Joint Management of Aboriginal-Owned National Parks in Australia," in *Conservation Through Cultural Survival: Indigenous Peoples and Protected Areas*, ed. Stevens Stan (Washington D.C.: Island Press, 1997), 157.

Indigenous people's voices have often been respected in policy-making of national parks. For example, tourists are not allowed to access certain sacred sites unless they get permission from traditional owners, or are led there by local Indigenous guides. The NSW NPWS also accepted local Indigenous people's suggestions to implement traditional practices such as the use of fire in land care.

In Taiwan, co-management policies have not been implemented in national parks although the ideas of co-management and Indigenous rights in national parks have been discussed. As discussed in Chapter 6, Jade Mountain National Park Headquarters provided only a few jobs for Indigenous people. Actually, few Indigenous people could pass the qualification exam for government jobs, severely limiting their options. Most jobs for Indigenous people in national parks are casual and/or lower-level positions, such as cleaning and heavy labour in facilities construction. The way that the national parks headquarters in Taiwan has dealt with Indigenous issues barely even resembles a 'trade-off' model.⁵⁹¹ Aside from a few jobs, Indigenous people have no role in the park. They are not involved in management or policy-making. As a gesture toward cultural heritage, Jade Mountain National Park has protected some historical ruins and has established a museum of Bunun cultural relics. Ignoring the living traditional culture and knowledge, and banning traditional activities such as hunting and gathering, the park management has excluded Indigenous ecological knowledge and created enmity where there could have been reconciliation.

In NSW, NPWS has been moving beyond the trade-off model into a form of 'deep co-management'.

The cumulative and amplifying effects of increasing cultural awareness and expanding knowledge base, combine with the ramifying implications of whole-of-landscape approaches, and the increasing involvement of Aboriginal communities in management issues.⁵⁹²

Through joint management 'emphasising synergy rather than trade-offs',⁵⁹³ the NSW NPWS have been trying to build new relationships with Indigenous people and create an environment for reconciliation:

⁵⁹¹ Smyth, "Joint management of national parks," 75-76.

⁵⁹² Rose, *Sharing Kinship with Nature: How Reconciliation is Transforming the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service*: 47.

Joint management has emerged as one successful way of building a partnership between Aboriginal people with their Aboriginal land ethics and modern conservation land management. It recognises the importance of cultural and biological diversity. It can achieve important conservation goals and the same times provide a measure of social justice to Aboriginal people.⁵⁹⁴

Therefore, cultural conservation and nature conservation become integrated, enriching both biodiversity and cultural diversity, and working toward a holistic park management that seeks to achieve the oneness of natural and cultural landscapes. Nevertheless, the process of achieving ideals of joint management between national parks and Indigenous peoples is not complete. Dr. Michael Adams and Dr. Anthony English have carried out collaborative research in NPWS, NSW, and they remind us that:

The agency [the NPWS] and Aboriginal people still have a long way to go if such initiatives are to have a broader effect on environmental and park management programs across NSW. NPWS staff from different professional backgrounds must continue to communicate about integrating natural and cultural heritage management. The agency also needs to work with Aborigines to develop approaches to environmental management that recognise the link between people and landscapes that encompass a holistic view of heritage. This requires new multi-disciplinary programs with high levels of community involvement. It requires a range of issues to be considered that, until now, have rarely affected NPWS's operations.⁵⁹⁵

In sum, the joint management implemented in NSW is mindful of both social and environmental justice, seeing both as essential to reconciliation among peoples and between people and land. It is a good model from which Taiwan and other countries can learn. When nature meets culture, traditional Law and Indigenous knowledge can continue in national parks. Ultimately, human beings may remain part of nature, and nature and culture may be reunited.

⁵⁹³ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁴ De Lacy and Lawson, "The Uluru/Kakadu Model: Joint Management of Aboriginal-Owned National Parks in Australia," 187.

⁵⁹⁵ Adams and English, "'Biodiversity is a whitefella word': changing relationships between Aboriginal people and the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service.," 93.

Chapter 11

The Great Givers

In the activities I participated in, both in Taiwan and in NSW, Indigenous Elders consistently told myths to convey their particular understanding of the world. It was clear that myths for Indigenous people are of vital importance as a method of sharing, and thus teaching, traditional knowledge. Through myths and other modes of storytelling, the Elders passed down their beliefs and key values.

Indigenous people in NSW and Bunun people respectively have their own knowledge systems, and the Elders beliefs and understandings are based on different traditions and individual experiences. ‘Sharing’ is the value that the Bunun Elders mentioned frequently, while the Yuin Elder Uncle Max and the Ngiyambaa Elder Phil Sullivan most frequently pointed to the importance of ‘respect’. The values of sharing, respect, and inter-relatedness (or connectivity) are all integral to a larger ‘way of being part of the world’ that I am referring to as ‘relational sustainability’.⁵⁹⁶ Relational sustainability is the framework through which it is possible to analyse Indigenous knowledge which centres on inter-connected and reciprocal relationships between humans, non-human beings, natural environment, and cosmic cycles.⁵⁹⁷ I further analyse the philosophy of the gift that Elders conveyed in the stories and practiced in daily life. The gift is of central importance in understanding their concepts of relational sustainability: through the lenses of sharing, respect, and the gift, we see a practical philosophy that ensures that gifts given by the Great Beings will continue to exist and to be given and received. I argue that beyond the gift economy, a ‘gift ecology’⁵⁹⁸ is most pertinent to comprehending Indigenous people’s broader views of sustainable living.

⁵⁹⁶ I acknowledged Steve Landon (who is probably the first researcher proposing the term ‘Relational sustainability’) in Key Terms of Introduction. I further analysed and developed the concepts of relational sustainability in my own way based on the knowledge and core values transmitted by Indigenous Elders.

⁵⁹⁷ See the definition of ‘relational sustainability’ in the Introduction and further analysis in the Section 11.2.

⁵⁹⁸ I acknowledged Rauna Kuokkanen’s contribution to Indigenous gift philosophy in Section 11.2.3 Gift philosophy. In regard to the term ‘gift ecology,’ Kuokkanen does not use the term in her writings although she states the similar notion. As the same approach I mentioned above for ‘relational sustainability’, I developed the notion of ‘gift ecology.’ I claim ‘gift ecology’ as my term. After having submitted my thesis in 2012, I became aware that Peter Denton also thought of it and had published a new book *Gift Ecology: Reimagining a Sustainable World*, also dated 2012. I will work with it in future publications, but it has not been possible to include it in my thesis.

11.1 Accounts of origins in Indigenous mythology

Storytelling is a form of conversing with the natural world, part of the way in which things come to be known. It transmits important information about the nature of that world, its beings and processes. Stories are a means of relating knowledge and of correlating behaviour, they show how 'those from the past' are bound to the land, to those from the present, and to those 'yet unborn', and how those from the present should conduct themselves in light of this.⁵⁹⁹

For a people (tribe), mythology is more than a non-written literature expression of the old times, but a distinctive view of the cosmos. To put it in a deeper sense, mythology may be a kind of natural science of a people, for there we find various kinds of knowledge concerning man-man and man-land interaction. Although without modern science, the knowledge still exists and is passed down by practice in daily life. This kind of non-written literature in pre-historical age sufficiently satisfied our ancestors' imagination of the inner world and explained the outer world.⁶⁰⁰

Oral traditions play a key role in knowledge construction and transmission. Mythology is equally significant in Indigenous Australia and Taiwan. The term 'mythology' can be understood in two senses: either as a study of myths or as a collection of myths. 'The first thing that one realises in trying to grasp the semantic implications of myth is that myth can cover an extremely wide field.'⁶⁰¹ In terms of the traditional narratives, the word myth is often ambiguously mixed with two other narratives, legend and folktale. Unlike folktales that are not considered true or sacred by the societies that tell them, myth often relates to the creation stories in the remote past centring on supernatural characters while legends are set in a more recent time featuring humans as main characters.⁶⁰² 'Creation myths generally take place in a primordial age, when the world had not yet achieved its current form.'⁶⁰³ In *Sacred Narrative: Readings in the Theory of Myth*, Alan Dundes defined myth as 'a sacred narrative that

⁵⁹⁹ Dale Jamieson, *A Companion to Environmental Philosophy* (Maldon, Mass.: Blackwell, 2003). 16.

⁶⁰⁰ Soqluman, *Palisia Tongku Saveq* (東谷沙飛傳奇): 13.

⁶⁰¹ Lauri Honko, "The problem of Defining Myth," in *Sacred Narrative: Readings in the Theory of Myth*, ed. Alan Dundes (University of California Press, 1984), 41.

⁶⁰² William Bascom, "The Forms of Folklore: Prose Narratives," in *Sacred Narrative: Readings in the Theory of Myth*, ed. Alan Dundes (University of California Press, 1984).

⁶⁰³ *Ibid.*, 9.

explains how the world and humanity came to be in their present form'.⁶⁰⁴ In this regard, for Indigenous Australian and Taiwanese people, accounts of creation tell of the right ways of being in the world.

However, the word myth, as is often depreciated in its usage, is 'popularly understood to mean idle fancy, fiction or falsehood'.⁶⁰⁵ Mythology may be regarded by many non-Indigenous people as fictional stories about imaginary characters that transmit untrue accounts. Within an Indigenous worldview, however, myths have been transmitted from 'time immemorial' and convey significant truths concerning the enduring meaning, purpose, ethics, and interrelatedness of life and things on Earth and in the universe. The well-known mythologist Joseph Campbell defined myths by providing four basic functions for myths: the mystical function discloses the wonder and awe of the universe; the cosmological function explains the constitution of the universe; the sociological function 'supports and validates a certain social order'; and the pedagogical function tells 'how to live a human lifetime under any circumstances'.⁶⁰⁶ Of course, Campbell aimed to provide a generic understanding of mythology, and as such his framework cannot be expected to fit every actual instance. However, the examination of Indigenous mythology reveals a fifth function: the ecological function which gives an account of right relationships between humans and other living beings within the webs of life. It must be noted, as well, that Indigenous peoples in Australia and Taiwan actually have no word directly referring to mythology, but they have oral forms of creation stories which involve the features and functions of mythology. In Australia, Indigenous mythology can be understood as Dreaming stories.⁶⁰⁷ In Taiwan, mythology for Bunun people would refer to the events happened in the era of *Minpakaliva*.⁶⁰⁸

⁶⁰⁴ Alan Dundes, *Sacred Narrative: Readings in the Theory of Myth* (University of California Press, 1984). 1.

⁶⁰⁵ William Grassie, "Science as Epic? Can the modern evolutionary cosmology be a mythic story for our time?," *Science & Spirit* 9, no. 1 (1998). See also http://www.grassie.net/articles/1999_epic.html.

⁶⁰⁶ J. Campbell and B.D. Moyers, *The power of myth* (Doubleday, 1988). 22-23.

⁶⁰⁷ For the definition and significance of Dreaming, refer to Section 7.2.

⁶⁰⁸ For the definition and significance of *Minpakaliva*, see Section 4.1. The Bunun stories in relation to the past and ancient time are called *pali qabasan* in Bunun language. *Pali* denotes 'talk about'. *Qabasan* refers to something relating to the past and the ancient. The event stories that happened in the *Minpakaliva* era are parts of *pali qabasan*.

11.1.1 Myths make the world and Law

There are similar features of mythology in Indigenous Australia and Taiwan: both portrayed the creation of the world, the changes of environment and climate, and formation of landscapes. Not only do these mythologies outline the nature of the world and human beings' interrelations with the environment, but they also articulate customary laws which people must obey in order to maintain environmental, social and relationships.

The Indigenous myths in Australia and Taiwan are related to many interactions among various beings; they are not only about humans. In the era of creation, all beings could communicate with each other. Along with inter-species communication, there are also stories of metamorphosis: where human and non-human beings could transform into one another. Those stories manifest the intimacy with which Indigenous people perceived the relationships between human, non-humans and the natural environment.

Myths explain landscapes by telling of how they were shaped by creation beings or great spirits. The Serpent is related to water, and shaped landforms defined by water in both the Rainbow Dreaming of Australia and the Flood myth of the Bunun. Moreover, the venues where creation and other significant events took place are regarded as sacred sites.⁶⁰⁹ For example, the footprints of Baiame (NSW) and Moon (the embodiment of *Deqanin*, the Supreme Sprit of Bunun), are located in certain places. Similarly, some places are sacred to more than one group. For example, the Flood myth that relates to the highest mountain in Taiwan is told by both Bunun and Tsou people, and the mountain is sacred to both groups. Similarly, Gundabooka is sacred for both Ngiyampaa and Paakantji people.

The stories concerning sacred sites reveal the close relations between Indigenous people and land, since people, too, are included in creation. In addition, some animals were helping human beings according to myths, and are regarded as sacred animals. For example, the *umbarra* (black duck) for Yuin people in Australia, *qepis* (black bulbul), and *kuluba* (toad) for Bunun people in Taiwan. As the Indigenous people greatly respected these sacred animals, it

⁶⁰⁹ For further discussion, see Kenneth Gelder and J.M. Jacobs, *Uncanny Australia : sacredness and identity in a postcolonial nation* (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1998). Also, Basuya Boyijernu (浦忠成), *Forgotten Sacred Spaces: Restropection of Indigenous Myth, History, and Literature* (被遺忘的聖域:原住民神話、歷史與文學的追溯) (Tapei: Wunan, 2007).

was unconditionally prohibited (for some) to kill and eat them. The landscapes and natural beings which intimately interacted with human beings are not perceived as objects, but rather subjects. They participate in a world of intimacy and affection, and are part of how understandings of the natural world are shaped.

In both case studies, myth is foundational to the framework of customary Law. In south-eastern Australia, Baiame and Daramulum (Daramah) are two Creation Beings who made laws for Indigenous people. For instance, Daramah made laws to tell the Yuin people what to do after they fled to Gulaga Mountain for survival during a great flood.⁶¹⁰ Bunun people tell of the Supreme Being *Deqanin* who embodied itself as the Moon and who then made *Samu*, Bunun Law, teaching people how to behave and to make a living through agriculture. Similarly in both case studies, people would be punished if they violated laws made by creation beings. In Yuin mythology, a man named Toonku was put in the moon by the Great Being Daramah, separated from his wife because he had thrown a spear up to the sky to hit Daramah.⁶¹¹ Paakantji people and Bunun people both have a similar story about a young couple that was punished due to breaking their tribal Law; the two people subsequently became two rocks.⁶¹² In sum, mythology bears Indigenous knowledge and customary Law, clearly stating that to break the Law is to incur punishment.

11.1.2 Differences in Indigenous myths between Australia and Taiwan

Though Indigenous peoples in Australia and Taiwan share many similar characteristics of mythology, as analysed above, there are also differences. It is important to note that Indigenous knowledge does not aim for abstractions, but is located in time and ecosystems. Different groups have stories which relate to the specifics of their time, space, and natural environment.

⁶¹⁰ Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*: 81-82.

Also Rose, *Gulaga : a report on the cultural significance of Mt Dromedary to Aboriginal people, presented to the Forestry Commission of New South Wales and the New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service*: 55.

⁶¹¹ New South Wales Government, "Cobar Penepplain - regional history", accessed October 9 2011.

⁶¹² Main, *Gunderbooka : a 'stone country' story*: 12. And, Soqluman, "Kalibuan: A Bunun Village Overlooking Taiwan's Highest Peak (眺望台灣第一絕頂的布農族望鄉部落)," 325-26.

Through Dreaming, Indigenous people of Australia founded their identity, belonging, and connections with others and the natural world (country). Every group of Indigenous people in Australia has their own totem, many of which are animals. Many people have a personal totem as well. Moreover, Dreaming manifests a kind of timelessness. In the Dreaming, from any particular point in time, the past may be future and the future may be present. Time does not extend back through a series of pasts, but rather is 'a vertical line in which the past underlies and is within the present'; past and present are 'mutually compensative'.⁶¹³ In the words of W.E.H Stanner, Dreaming is an 'everywhen'; others use the term 'eternal present'.⁶¹⁴ Dreaming, thus penetrates time and crosses (over) varied regions of the Australian continent, like the Rainbow Serpent, which is a near-universal Dreaming amongst Indigenous peoples of Australia.⁶¹⁵ The Rainbow Serpent Dreaming links the past to the present and future, and links landforms and regions.

In Taiwan, few myths were shared among Indigenous peoples, and nor do they connect with each other spiritually and culturally as Indigenous people in Australia do through Dreaming. Sun-shooting and Great flood stories, however, are two major creation myths shared by several peoples.⁶¹⁶ The relational links among varied peoples were not expressed through Indigenous myths of Taiwan, rather the focus is on the interactions between human beings and non-human beings. The meaning and significance of totems for Indigenous people in Taiwan differ from that in Australia. In Taiwan, totems for some Indigenous peoples are represented through weaving or carving patterns that are associated with myths. The Bunun totem, 'hundred-paced snake', for instance, holds the story of the pact made between the Bunun and the snake. This is not kinship, but rather a covenant made between unrelated beings.

From a comparative perspective, Indigenous people in Australia seem to have more spiritual inter-connections with non-human beings and the natural environment. The complex system

⁶¹³ W.E.H. Stanner, "Some aspects of Aboriginal religion " in *Religious Business* ed. M. Charlesworth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 18. Also Hume, *Ancestral power: the dreaming, consciousness, and Aboriginal Australians*: 38.

⁶¹⁴ Prentis, *A concise companion to Aboriginal history*: 74.

⁶¹⁵ J. Cowan, *Aborigine Dreaming: An Introduction to the Wisdom and Thought of the Aboriginal Traditions of Australia* (Thorsons, 2002). 18.

⁶¹⁶ Tai-hua Su (蘇泰華), "Comparative Analysis of the Indigenous mythology in Taiwan : Study on the origin of mankind, the mythology of flood and the shooting sun legend (台灣原住民神話之比較分析：以人類起源、洪水及射日神話為例)" (National Taitung University , Taiwan, 2003).

of totems and Dreamings lead to intimate connections with other groups of people, non-human beings, and land. Dreaming complexity thus manifests the unique qualities of Indigenous culture in Australia, and may be related to the fact that this is the oldest continuing culture in the world. Having pointed to these differences, I conclude by reiterating that in both case studies myth is the basis of knowledge and Law.

11.2 Ideas of relational sustainability

In cultural teaching events, the Elders spoke not only of their traditional laws and the origins in myths but also of spiritual knowledge and the core values as expressed in the stories and practiced in daily life. In terms of traditional Law, *Samu* to Bunun people of Taiwan is similar to Dreaming in Australia. The most important thing for the further analysis of core values and the gift economy is that both *Samu* and Dreaming indicate concepts of relational sustainability. *Samu*, as stated, was created initially by *Deqanin*; the aim was to teach the Bunun to revere nature, and to express gratitude for what nature gives. *Samu* was transmitted in storytelling, ceremonies, and other traditional activities. Through *Samu*, Bunun people achieved social order and sustainable inhabitation of their mountain environment. Similarly, the Dreaming system of totems exemplifies the relational sustainability.⁶¹⁷ It provides an understanding of complex ecological inter-relations. Dreaming tells the Indigenous people where they came from, and connects them with others through totems. Prohibitions on killing one's own totem also include the responsibility to care for it. Meanwhile, people could still hunt the totem animals of others', so that survival was assured.

Significantly, the core values stressed by Indigenous Elders in Taiwan and Australia were not just rhetoric, but were also practiced in daily life. While Bunun Elders frequently referred to the significance of sharing, the Elders in NSW of Australia emphasised the value of respect. Those values that the Indigenous Elders have been transmitting reflect the common ground — relational sustainability.⁶¹⁸

⁶¹⁷ See other examples of illustrating the relational sustainability in Chapter 7.

⁶¹⁸ The Indigenous Knowledge and core values transmitted by the Bunun Elders in Taiwan, and the Yuin and Ngiyampaa Elders in NSW of Australia are respectively described in details in Chapters 5, 6, 8 and 9.

11.2.1 Gift economy

The Indigenous philosophy of the gift plays a crucial role in understanding the relevant values through which Indigenous people shape and practice relational sustainability. The idea of the gift came up again and again in the conversations and interviews with Indigenous Elders both in Taiwan and NSW. I have drawn on the theory of gift economy, as it has been developed to analyse modes of economic and exchange behaviour in non-monetary societies, such as Indigenous communities. My analysis shows that beyond gift economy, relational sustainability entails what might be called a gift ecology. According to Gothil,

Goods and services haven't always flowed through market exchanges, and neither do they entirely today. Tribal societies most commonly exchanged value in the form of gifts. Such gifts usually carried obligations to accept and to reciprocate, either directly or indirectly, with the group.⁶¹⁹

Theories of gift economy vary broadly. Sociologists, economists and anthropologists such as Marcel Mauss, Marshall Sahlins, Lewis Hyde, Duran Bell, and others have been influential in developing an understanding of gift economy as an economic form in its own right. They point out, quite rightly, that while it may be characteristic of many non-modern societies, it is also an integral part of contemporary capitalist and socialist economies. In general, however, the gift economy is contrasted with cash economies which rely on exchange of goods or labour through the medium of money. In contrast, gift economies exchange goods and labour through relationships based on giving and sharing. There is no impersonal medium such as money. In a society that operates on a gift economy, valuable goods and services are customarily given without expectation of instant reciprocity. In general, concurrent or recurring giving would serve to circulate and redistribute valuables within the community.⁶²⁰ Summarising the theories of gift economy, there are several characteristics that distinguish it from a market economy:

In gift economies:

- goods and services are exchanged as gifts, not as commodities

⁶¹⁹ Eli Gothil, "The Special Logic of Gift Economies," Webisteme, <http://www.webisteme.com/blog/?p=367>.

⁶²⁰ Langdon, "Ish: Exploring a Tlingit Relational Concept and Practices with Salmon. ." Also Langdon, "Traditional Knowledge and Harvesting of Salmon by Huna and Hinyaa Tlingit."

- the relation between givers and takers is not impersonal, as is characteristically the case between sellers and buyers
- givers do not ask for direct or immediate feedback from recipients
- services and goods cannot be reduced to a single standard
- people expect reciprocity but not immediately, i.e. they work with delayed or generalised reciprocity⁶²¹
- the chains of giving and re-giving form a complex network of reciprocity, which is not reduced to a single transaction (such as selling and buying).⁶²²

Accordingly, in a gift economy people are more aware of social bonds because goods and services are transacted through these bonds. Successful economic action therefore fosters intimate relationships with ongoing further obligations of giving.

The features of classic gift economy discussed above are characteristic of Indigenous societies. In the Bunun case, people would reciprocally give parts of their game or crops to others. Hunters, for example, did not take all the game they caught. Rather, they distributed parts of game as gifts to their extended families and to other villagers. Nor would they ask for an immediate return. Indeed, they might not get anything in return directly, but they would be given crops in the harvest season, for example, potatoes, beans, vegetables or other goods.⁶²³ In the gift economy, through indirect exchange, people reciprocally support each others' survival. And yet, scholars indicate that there is an expectation of reciprocity.

Underlying such patterns of exchange, an informal *quid pro quo* exists. ... The *quid pro quo* enables the exchange of gifts to become a reliable basis for economic survival: hunter-gatherers could survive by gifting the fruits of the hunt, because there was a reasonable expectation of reciprocation from the wider group.⁶²⁴

In the circulation of gift-giving, social bonds/ties in communities could be consequently developed: everyone, as both a giver and a recipient, is aware of symbiotic relations and

⁶²¹ Marshall Sahlins, *Stone age economics* (Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, 1972).

⁶²² Mark B. Jacobs, "Understanding the Gift Economy," Memestream, <http://memestreamblog.wordpress.com/2009/07/09/understanding-the-gift-economy/>.

⁶²³ Interview with Tina Langus.

⁶²⁴ Gothil, "The Special Logic of Gift Economies", accessed 28 May 2012..

obligations in a society. As Lewis Hyde and John Eleman pointed out, unlike an exchange economy, people care for each other in the societies of gift economy.⁶²⁵

When I interviewed Tina Langus and other Elders in Kalibuan regarding the tradition of labour exchange, they said Bunun people help each other especially to overcome labour shortages during the harvest season. They described labour exchanges as happy moments when people gathered together and help each others with the harvest. After their hard work, the field owner would cook food and bean soup to thank the workers. Also, the field owner would give sweet potatoes or meat to the workers to express gratitude for their help. On the one hand, people are not being paid for their time; but at the same time there is a wider reciprocity in that people do expect others to come and help them, just as they go and help others. In the pattern of labour exchange, people support and look after each other, thus developing closer relationships over time.

In the gift economy, there is a generalised rule that social status is accorded to those who give the most to others rather than to those who have the most.⁶²⁶ 'In hunter-gatherer societies the hunter's status was not determined by how much of the kill he ate, but rather by what he brought back for others.'⁶²⁷ People such as hunters who give the most take pride in contributions because they earn respect from their villagers. In Bunun society, hunters received ornaments as gifts from their wives or other villagers. The generalised rule of earning social status and respect in hunter-gatherer societies is applicable for both Australian and Taiwan case studies; even though Bunun people are not fully hunter-gatherers and agriculture is their major subsistence. As a generalisation, it can be stated that in traditional Indigenous societies, people like hunters, healers (shamans), priests, and knowledgeable Elders, who gave the most to others and helped others, would earn higher social status and respect. Contrary to modern society's market economy which is centred on maximising personal gain and accumulation, a gift-giving society like the Bunun is based on values of giving, and thus can maintain a more sustainable way of living. However, as indicated, there

⁶²⁵ John Elemans, "The Gift Economy," in *Contracting law*, ed. A.H. Kastely, et al. (Carolina Academic Press, 2006). Also Hyde, *The gift: imagination and the erotic life of property*.

⁶²⁶ Hyde, *The gift: imagination and the erotic life of property*.

⁶²⁷ Gifford Pinchot, "The Gift Economy," *In Context: A Quarterly of Humane Sustainable Culture*, no. 41: Business on A Small Planet (1995): 49.

is personal gain involved: the gaining of respect and status. As Pinchot pointed out, 'The first step toward a sustainable sense of success is taking pride in the value of our contributions to others rather than taking pride in the value of our possessions.'⁶²⁸ In order to have a sustainable society, Pinchot considered that the gift economy should be promoted so that people will then value their contribution to society, rather than only calculate how much benefit(s) (profit) they get from society.

11.2.2 Economy and ecology: a broader view of gift economy

The concept of gift economy, as it is understood both theoretically, and within communities where this economy is practiced, offers interesting perspectives from which to develop more sustainable economies in societies dominated by cash economies. This is an important point, as it overcomes a possible dichotomy between the two types of economy. In addition, however, my case studies make it clear that Indigenous people's holistic understanding of nature, culture, society, and economy, require that the gift be thought about more widely than the strictly human sphere. Indigenous philosophy and life practice in relation to gift economy indicate a concern not only for sustainability of 'economy', but also a relational sustainability of 'ecology' such that all life is part of a wider moral economy/ecology of the gift.

As is perhaps well known, the terms ecology and economy are inter-related as they share the same root, *eco*. The word *eco* comes from Greek *oikos*, meaning house, household, and home.

Logy is from Greek logos, from *legein*, to gather, count, hence to recount, hence to say or speak. ... Ecology at root means the legend or logic of the dwelling place, the story of where we live. ... Economy is *eco* plus *nomos*. *Nomos* is from another Greek word *nemein*, to distribute. Economy is from Greek *oikonomia*, household management. ... Ecology is the natural traditional and proper context of economy. In a deep and fateful sense economy is an aspect of ecology, an actor, a part in its drama.⁶²⁹

The internationally known environmental activist and scientist David Suzuki also repeatedly referred to the idea of same root of economy and ecology, and the problems of separating economy from ecology:

⁶²⁸ Ibid.

⁶²⁹ Tom Jay, "Ecology and Economy," The Lateral Line, http://www.thelateralline.com/tom_jay/ecology_and_economy.

We often point out that *ecology* and *economy* have the same root, from the Greek *oikos*, meaning 'home'. Ecology is the study of home and economics is its management. But many people still insist on treating them as two separate, often incompatible, processes.

At its most absurd, the argument is that we simply can't afford to protect the environment — that the costs will be so high as to ruin the economy. But if you don't take care of your home, it will eventually become uninhabitable, and where's the economic justification for that?⁶³⁰

Suzuki considers the problem arising in our society from elevating economy over ecology. 'The challenge today is to put the "eco" back into economics and every aspect of our lives.'⁶³¹ In a similar manner, Yui Elder Uncle Max exposed the crucial problem of separating economy from ecology when he asked people where the foods they eat or things they use come from.

These are the harsh realities that there's no concept. So where's the teaching? How do we teach a nation, a whole nation of kids that are growing up in ignorance? How could teachers teach that when some of the teachers probably haven't got that concept? They know that it just comes out of a supermarket. So what's really happening? You know? No one's talking about creation. Nobody's talking about the creation of mother earth. Nobody's talking about the creation that the land can do ... It's all created from land. It's all birthed from the mother.⁶³²

They will talk about industry, but that's as far as it will go. It'll never get back to the base. It never gets back to the mother. They will talk about other thing — never back to the creation part of it.⁶³³

Uncle Max considers it is very crucial to 'try to understand where that comes from — what mother earth is birthing for you'.⁶³⁴

In relation to the idea of *oikos*, home (family) is regarded as one of the big areas where the gift economy operates well. At home,

⁶³⁰ David Suzuki, "Harming the environment is bad for the economy," in *David Suzuki Foundation: Solutions are in Our Nature* (2009).

⁶³¹ David T. Suzuki, A. Mason, and A. McConnell, *The Sacred Balance: Rediscovering Our Place in Nature* (Greystone Books, 2007). 8.

⁶³² Global Oneness Project, "Max Harrison: Complete Interview," Global Oneness Project, <http://www.globalonenessproject.org/videos/maxharrisoncomplete>.

⁶³³ Ibid.

⁶³⁴ Ibid.

goods and services flow between the members of a family, but not according to the logic of the market. Such exchanges are best regarded as gifts: a parent's 'services' to a child can be regarded as largely one-directional gifts with little explicit *quid-pro-quo*.⁶³⁵

Indigenous people like Uncle Max, bring kinship and the family into society, economy and ecology through Mother Earth, who provides all things to members of our earth home. Based on this notion, Indigenous philosophy and their life practice for relational sustainability could be more deeply understood through the principles of Indigenous gift economy, which extends the concerns of sustainability from human beings themselves to all related things including non-human beings and natural environment.

11.2.3 Gift philosophy

When gift economy ideas are applied to the question of how Indigenous people sustain their lives, the analysis most frequently focuses on the mainstream meanings of economy. Such analysis conveys how people interact with each other to maintain their lives sustainably, yet the inter-relations with other beings and the natural environment are often overlooked. This is so in several ways: in that nature is 'backgrounded' as source rather than participant, and that the gift is taken as a wholly human concept and practice. My aim is to show, however, that an Indigenous gift philosophy includes far more than humans, and has been shaped through creation stories, mythologies, worldviews, and life practice.

One of the central scholars working with this idea is Rauna Kuokkanen. She argued that the gift is a central principle of many Indigenous philosophies, and that it exceeds the realms of economic function as proposed by classic theorists:

The gift is a reflection of a particular worldview characterised by a perception of the natural environment as a living entity which gives its gifts and abundance to people if it is treated with respect and gratitude (i.e., if certain responsibilities are observed). Central to this perception is that the world as a whole is constituted of an infinite web of relationships extended to and

⁶³⁵ Gothil, "The Special Logic of Gift Economies", accessed 28 May 2012.

incorporated into the entire social condition of the individual. Social ties apply to everybody and everything, including the land.⁶³⁶

The traditional knowledge and spiritual beliefs of Indigenous people profoundly influence their life practice. The gift philosophy is based on interrelations among human beings, non-human beings, the natural world and the creation beings, and it is central to many aspects of Indigenous life.

Turning now to my case studies, I have shown that *Deqanin*, Baiaame and Daramah are the most powerful creators. Part of their creation was the laws and knowledge given to people. Creation itself is best understood as a form of gift-giving, in which lives and Law, are brought into being for the good of sustainable life. Through creation, Indigenous people are connected with the natural world. Through Law Indigenous people understand what the world is like and how to behave themselves well in order to sustain their life. Creation is a gift, the creators are therefore the Great Givers (or Great Gifters). Being recipients, Indigenous people acknowledge the significance of creation, Law, and knowledge given by the Great Givers. Indigenous people understand that all things are from the Great Givers and have to continuously be given and received in order to make life sustainable. In consequence, respect and gratitude to givers are habitually to be shown.

The Bunun Elders in Kalibuan community pray to *Deqanin* for blessings. They ask that their lives and livelihoods be blessed, using rituals before sowing and hunting, and after harvest, to show their respect and gratitude for the gifts. Tina Ibu said, 'Deqanin gave us everything. Bean is also the gift given by Deqanin.'⁶³⁷ Tina Ibu does not regard the beans she grows as her personal possession and nor does she seek to convert them to cash, but rather she considers that she should share them with others. Meanwhile, the diversity of beans, through the recurring action of sharing (reciprocal giving) between givers and receivers, consequently is retained. Tiang, the Bunun hunter in Kalibuan (discussed previously), pointed out the idea of the great gift in his discussion of hunting. He viewed things in the mountains, particularly game, as gifts given by *Deqanin*. Human beings are not privileged to have all of them because

⁶³⁶ Rauna J. Kuokkanen, "The Logic of the Gift: Reclaiming Indigenous People's Philosophy," in *Re-Ethnicizing the Minds?: Cultural Revival in Contemporary Thought*, ed. Thorsten Botz-Bornstein and Jurgen Hengelbrock (Rodopi, 2006), 258.

⁶³⁷ Interview with Tina Ibu.

they are not given to any individuals, but to all beings on the earth. Thus, one should not take everything away; instead, one should bear in mind that all things are to be shared with others including human and non-human beings. When hunters capture game, they have to leave some meat at the kill-site to show their gratitude for the blessings given from *Deqanin* and their ancestors.⁶³⁸ After they arrive home, they distribute the meat, as discussed. Bunun people appreciate *Deqanin* as the Great Giver, and they believe all things they have are granted by *Deqanin*. They think the crops they harvested and the game they hunted must be shared to keep them moving for they are the gifts of *Deqanin*. Starting with the Great Giver, Bunun people understand livelihood as gift, and further understand that the gift is not to be hoarded, but is to be kept moving within the economy/ecology of giving and receiving. The gifts from *Deqanin*, therefore, become part of wider networks of giving, taking, and re-giving. The value of sharing is constantly practiced and reinforced.

In NSW, Baiame, Daramah, and other Dreaming creators like the Rainbow Serpent can also be understood as Great Givers. They not only created landscapes but also gave particular gifts to different local Indigenous people for survival. In north-western NSW, Ngiyampaa people, like Phil Sullivan, view nature as a gift. They particularly see water and its ecology as a precious gift.⁶³⁹ According to the Dreaming story, Baiame designed fish traps (known as the *Ngunhu*) as a gift for Ngiyampaa people in Brewarrina to support their livelihoods when they faced famine during a big drought. Then, Baiame taught the Ngiyampaa ancestors how to sing and dance in order to call for the rain and bring in the fish. Afterward,

Baiame decreed, while the Ngemba people were to be custodians of the fishery, maintenance and use of the traps should be shared with other tribes in the area including the Morowari, Paakantji, Weilwan, Barabinja, Ualarai and Kamilaroi.⁶⁴⁰

Accordingly, after gift-giving from Baiame, the Ngiyampaa people learned how to use the fish traps to catch fish efficiently, and in the meantime they also learned how to ensure that the river not be overfished by studying the patterns of fish migration and river flows. It is their

⁶³⁸ See the details in Section 7.2.

⁶³⁹ Muir, Rose, and Sullivan, "From the other side of the knowledge frontier: Indigenous knowledge, social–ecological relationships and new perspectives," 261.

⁶⁴⁰ Australian Government, "Brewarrina Aboriginal Fish Traps (Baiame's Ngunnhu)," Australian Government: Department of Sustainability, Environment, Water, Population and Communities, <http://www.environment.gov.au/heritage/publications/about/pubs/national-heritage-brewarrina.pdf>.

obligation to cherish the fish given by the Great Giver and look after the fish trap venues. Thus, Ngiyampaa people learned to repay the gift with gratitude, to respect both the Great Giver and the gift, and to share the gifts with others in circulating webs of relational sustainability.

For Yuin people, too, the creation beings such as Daramah are Great Givers. Dreaming stories tell of a series of interactions between giving and receiving. 'The great creator created all of nature and the waters, the wind, grandfather sun, Grandmother moon, father sky, (and mother earth)', according to Uncle Max.⁶⁴¹ Yuin people consider that all that Daramah's creation are their relations:

Daramah, the Great Spirit, created the heavens and the earth and all nature. Then Daramah created two people. First he created a woman and he called her Ngardi (pronounced with a soft 'g', as in song). The next creation was a man and his name was Tunku. This is not like the Bible when it was Adam who was the first one created, then Eve next. That's not like our stories. ... Then Daramah, Great Creator, gave Ngardi and Tunku two gifts. And the two gifts were a rock and a tree. The rock and the tree symbolise everything that they would use for their survival. Daramah's words to Ngardi and Tunku were: 'You will take these two gifts and use what you get from them. and they will become sacred to you in your lore that you hand down to the offspring. To the coming generation.'⁶⁴²

Since rock and tree were the first things to be given to the Yuin people by Daramah, the Yuin have their understanding of these gifts and recognise the value of their connections with them. Pointed out by Mervyn Penrith:

From them come shelter, fire, canoes, clubs, axes and much more. The *bundi* (club) and the *mundubar* (axe) are made from particular woods and are special gifts for men at certain levels of knowledge.⁶⁴³

Like the Bunun and the Ngiyampaa, the Yuin people have received not only material gifts but spiritual ones from the Great Giver. The spiritual knowledge of the gift shows the relational connections between human beings and natural world. As Warren Foster said,

⁶⁴¹ Global Oneness Project, "Max Harrison: Complete Interview", accessed 29 April 2012.

⁶⁴² Harrison and McConchie, *My people's dreaming : an Aboriginal elder speaks on life, land, spirit and forgiveness*: 20.

⁶⁴³ Rose et al., *Indigenous Kinship with the Natural World in New South Wales*: 49.

We look on trees as our old people. That's why we don't like people cutting into plants ... Everything living has spirit ... Today many Yuin people refuse to cut live trees, and use fallen trees instead.⁶⁴⁴

Similar to other Indigenous people, Yuin people's worldview holds that since they have received the gifts, they must take responsibility to care for them.

Besides the Dreaming stories of Great Spirits like Daramah, the Yuin Elder Uncle Max stressed the importance of creation given by the Mother Earth. Yuin people know that Mother Earth is a Great Giver and the significance of their connections to her.

That's how our people look at it. That's why the land is so sacred to us. That's why we can see all of these things. We look at it. We feel it.⁶⁴⁵

By connecting with Mother Earth and observing nature, Indigenous people found the gifts that Mother Earth gives for survival. In Uncle Max' words:

The way of life that our people live through, and with ease, with ease I might add. How it was so easy to live on this so-called 'harsh country', You know, where we can find water, and do all the wonderful 'magical' things. It's not magical, it's spiritual connectedness to the land. If you look at the land, and watch the land talk to you boy, you know, you won't starve, you won't go thirsty! You know, it's there to show you. It's talking to you all the time. Every time a blossom blooms, every time the different colorations come on your plants and the trees.⁶⁴⁶

Thus, Uncle Max urged people to start respecting Mother Earth for the fact that she provides everything we need for living. 'We are looking after her cause she is looking after us.'⁶⁴⁷

In addition to the Great Givers such as Deqanin, Baiame, and Mother Earth, other givers are vividly described in myths. The stories remind people to cherish and respect other beings as they are givers and helpers, such as black bulbul, toad, and hundred-pace snake for the Bunun, and some animals such as black duck for the Yuin. Therefore, other beings are also regarded as givers by Indigenous people. They know that human beings rely on other beings for survival as well, and appreciate those non-human beings, treating them as sacred beings or

⁶⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁵ Global Oneness Project, "Max Harrison: Complete Interview", accessed 29 April 2012.

⁶⁴⁶ Global Oneness Project, "Max Harrison: The Land Is There to Show You," Global Oneness Project, <http://www.globalonenessproject.org/videos/maxharrisonclip3>.

⁶⁴⁷ Global Oneness Project, "Max Harrison: Complete Interview", accessed 29 April 2012.

relatives. As a result, the respect law as Uncle Max discussed it, was established to maintain relational sustainability between givers and recipients. Respect law, it must be stressed, implicitly or explicitly emphasises mutuality — that within the webs of earth life, proper behaviour involves both giving and receiving. The Indigenous gift philosophy values both giving and receiving, acknowledging and respecting the fact that every living thing both gives and receives.

Conclusion to Part 4

Kuokkanen demonstrates that the relationships involved in Indigenous gift economy go way beyond the human sphere, and beyond the sphere of activity that is often labelled ‘economy’: ‘In Indigenous worldviews, the gift extends beyond interpersonal relationships to “all my relations.”’⁶⁴⁸ My case studies have enabled me to analyse Indigenous philosophy and practice of the gift, and in the evidence is clear that inter-relationships characterise relationships among all beings and nature on earth, and above earth. As Yuin Elders say, they all are our kin. Put another way, according to these philosophies, giving is an active relationship between human and natural worlds based on a close interaction of sustaining and renewing the balance between them through gifts.⁶⁴⁹ Through genealogies, oral tradition, rituals, and personal and collective experiences at certain places, Indigenous people in gift-based societies sustain close relationships to the natural world.⁶⁵⁰ They understand human beings as a member of nature rather than a separate kind of creature who exists outside nature. This means that survival is a form of mutuality: human beings could not survive if the natural world could not survive. Consequently, their philosophy and life practice appropriately aim toward ecological balance and sustainability:

Like in many other Indigenous worldviews, the land is a physical and spiritual entity which humans are part of. Survival is viewed as dependent on the balance and renewal of the land, the central principles in this understanding are sustainable use of and respect for the natural

⁶⁴⁸ Rauna J. Kuokkanen, *Reshaping the university : responsibility, indigenous epistemes, and the logic of the gift* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007). 23.

⁶⁴⁹ Langdon, "Relational Sustainability: Indigenous Northern North American Logic of Engagement," 72.

⁶⁵⁰ Ibid.

realm. The relationship with the land is maintained by collective and individual rituals in which the gift and giving back are integral.⁶⁵¹

In consequence, the concept of relational sustainability that Indigenous people hold can be understood through their philosophy and practice of the gift. In my case studies, it appears that the gift philosophy has been central in shaping people's sense of responsibility in looking after country, or as Uncle Max puts it, Mother Earth. Rauna Kuokkanen observed the same characteristics in Indigenous gift cosmology more widely:

The gift is the manifestation of reciprocity with the natural environment, reflecting the bond of dependence and respect toward the natural world. From this bond, certain responsibilities emerge. These responsibilities are observed through different ceremonies and verbal and physical gestures of gratitude. In this system, one does not give primarily in order to receive but to ensure the balance of the world on which the wellbeing of the entire social order is contingent. ... their view of the world is marked by a clear sense of responsibility toward other aspects with which the socio-cosmic order is shared and inhabited.⁶⁵²

Furthermore, the core values are those which convey ideas of relational sustainability. Those values also reveal the features of the gift philosophy through which Indigenous people physically and spiritually connect with natural worlds:

The gift represents a system of values different from those of economic exchange, foregrounding the values of interdependence, reciprocity, and responsibility toward others. This is not romanticisation: the relationships indigenous peoples have forged with their environments for centuries are a consequence of the living off the land and the dependency on its abundance. They are a result of relatively straightforward understanding that the well-being of land is also well-being of human beings ...⁶⁵³

The core values of respect and sharing that the Indigenous Elders in Taiwan and NSW transmitted in cultural activities are central to the main processes within relational sustainability, such as connectedness, interdependence and reciprocity. Accordingly, the widespread public perception that a core issue for Indigenous people is cultural survival is not wide enough. From the perspective of the gift philosophy, the core issue is 'relational

⁶⁵¹ Ibid., 73.

⁶⁵² Kuokkanen, "The Logic of the Gift: Reclaiming Indigenous People's Philosophy," 258.

⁶⁵³ Ibid., 258-59. The notion of relational sustainability is similar to David Suzuki's saying "We are the environment. What we do to the environment is what we do to us."

survival', or 'survival of the gift'. Ecological and cultural survival are interdependent and reciprocal to an extent that they may best be thought as one and the same thing.

Conclusion

We may have one worldview and one associated environmental ethic corresponding to the environmental crisis that is worldwide and common. And we may also have a plurality of revived traditional worldviews and associated environmental ethics corresponding to the historical reality that we are many peoples inhabiting many diverse bioregions apprehended through many and diverse cultural lens. But this one and these many are not at odds. Each of the many worldviews and associated environmental ethics can be a facet of an emerging global environmental consciousness, expressed in the vernacular of a particular and local cultural tradition.⁶⁵⁴

⁶⁵⁴ J. Baird Callicott, *Earth's Insights: A Multicultural Survey of Ecological Ethics from the Mediterranean Basin to the Australian Outback* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994). 12.

靈魂的相遇與對話

因緣際會的連結
讓我們彼此相遇
我們在不同的土地上生長
卻共同流著地球母親給予滋養我們千年的血
我們各自擁有對環境萬物獨特的感知；
卻共同保有著可貴的人性和尊嚴

只是不幸
外來野蠻的入侵 重創了原本的生活
只是不幸
無情殘暴的對待 震撼了安定的靈魂

而生命
仍不斷展現它無比的堅韌
不放棄

於是
我在你身上 看到了我
你在我身上 找到了你
堅定了彼此的信念與靈魂
將祖先深層的智慧與永續的價值
傳遞分享

文化因而得以延續
自然因而得以復原
土地因而得以保有原始的生命
重新找到生命可能的契機

Meeting and Dialogue of Spirits

by Hau-Ren Hung

Incident and Coincidence linked us
So we met each other.
Nurtured and brought up in different lands,
yet we shared the same blood from Mother Earth that has
nourished us for thousands of years.
With insightful perceptions of all things and the natural
environment,
we shared precious humanity and dignity in common.

It is a shame:
By the savage invasion of the outsiders
original life was so wounded.
It is a shame:
by the ruthless treatment of the violence
tranquil souls were so shattered.

Yet life
as it has been as usual
goes on with unbeatable persistence
and never gives up

So, I saw me in you,
and so you found yourself in me.
We strengthened each other's faith and spirit.
We swore to pass down the deep wisdom
to make known the value of sustainability.

In so doing,
culture sustains, nature regenerates, and land recuperate its
life.
A promising moment of life
could thereby be rediscovered.

Meeting and dialogue

My first meeting with Phil

In March 2010 Phil Sullivan, the Ngiyampaa man and Heritage Conservation Officer of the NSW NPW, was invited by Professor Deborah Rose to offer a speech in a first-ever interdisciplinary course on Ecological Humanities. After his speech, I had a lunchtime chat with him. I told him about what I have been doing for cultural survival with my Indigenous research partner Neqou Soqluman and members of ReCAP. I gave him a brief introduction to the colonial history, impacts of colonisation, issues of national parks, and the unfavourable situation of Indigenous people in Taiwan. Moreover, I stressed the significance of myths for Bunun people, such as the Great Flood and other stories which demonstrated intimate relationships between people, landscapes, and other beings. When I was talking about these issues, Phil looked at me sincerely with a friendly smile, and responded, by saying ‘the same’ several times. Although Taiwan and Australia are different in many aspects of natural environment, cultural history, economics / subsistence, and social organisations, I think ‘the sameness’ that Phil perceived indicates the fact that there are universals as well for Indigenous peoples across settlers societies.

After the lunch chat, Phil, Debbie, and I walked back to the Centre for Research on Social Inclusion, and there Debbie printed out my poem, 啟程吧! 東谷沙飛運動 *Bon Voyage! Tongku Saveq Movement*⁶⁵⁵ and gave it to Phil. In the meantime, Dr. Cameron Muir, a researcher from the Australian National University collaborating with Debbie and Phil, came to have a meeting with Phil to discuss some issues in a paper “From the Other Side of the Knowledge Frontier: Indigenous Knowledge, Social–Ecological Relationships and New Perspectives.” Phil invited me to join their meeting, and he asked if I could read my poem at the beginning. It appeared that Phil loved the poem, and I could feel that he grasped the essence and aspirations I hoped to express. Afterwards, Phil used several sentences from my poem to respond to Cameron’s questions and their discussion. I was surprised and stimulated by his insightful use of the poem to respond to parallel issues.

⁶⁵⁵ See Chapter 4.3.

My first encounter with Phil was an inspiration for me to explore issues relating to Indigenous culture in two countries. This unintended and coincidental meeting assured me of the value and meaningfulness of making a comparative study between Indigenous people in Taiwan and Australia because there really are significant parallel issues which could be studied and analysed.

Dialogue between Phil and Neqou

At the end of July 2010, Neqou and Dr. Lin Yih-Ren visited Australia. Together we took part in several activities in connection with Indigenous culture and knowledge, including a conference at the University of Wollongong, a workshop at Macquarie University, and cultural tours to Gundabooka National Park and Blue Mountains National Park. We met Uncle Max, Phil Sullivan, and other Indigenous Elders, and we shared ideas and experiences of cultural survival. In the rock shelter near Mulareenya Creek in Gundabooka National Park, Phil and Neqou had a very impressive and stimulating dialogue.

There, Phil told stories of colonisation that happened to his people. He also spent a lot of time showing us the rock paintings which show the interconnection between peoples, non-human beings, and the natural environment, and expressed his attitude of respect to his culture.

Neqou responded to Phil's talk by sharing similar experiences of culture eroded by colonisation, and personal efforts toward cultural survival. To Phil, Neqou related his personal experience saying that Taiwanese students were prohibited to speak their mother tongue at school during the time when he was receiving his primary education. Students would be fined or punished by teachers if they spoke their native language since they were only allowed to speak Mandarin. They learned history and geography in relation to China, and were taught that Indigenous people in Taiwan were also Chinese. As a result, Neqou could not learn his Bunun culture from school. To save himself from personal cultural loss and identity confusion, he decided to keep his diaries in Bunun, his native language. In addition, he went back to his home village during the holidays and listened to stories told by Elders. He recorded those stories and wrote them into his prose and novels. Neqou pointed out that the myths and legends recorded and written by Japanese anthropologists or researchers are very short and rough. Indigenous peoples in Taiwan were classified by the anthropologists during Japanese colonisation, and Indigenous cultures were interpreted by non-Indigenous

researchers afterward. Neqou argued, '[Indigenous] people are alive. If Indigenous people keep on telling their stories, the culture will be keep alive. We should keep telling stories'.

Moreover, Neqou explained that he wrote a novel about Tongku Saveq to tell Bunun stories to both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. He felt as if the mountain was speaking to him and telling the stories while he looked at it. Neqou said, 'we met each other in Australia and had a talk in this cave today. We told the stories. They enriched the story of the cave. We are in the story of cave'. I think Neqou was indicating that stories can be enriched by meetings with other people, and they are always alive to new possibilities. If the stories are told and heard, people and place will endure and will enrich each other.

Despite the fact of cultural loss, Neqou found a broader way to identify himself and his culture through the original meaning of Bunun, which means 'human beings'. Bunun people called themselves 'Bunun', not 'Bunun tribe.' Since we are all human beings, we should share our cultures with other peoples so as to learn from each other. Phil also considered that people have the same fundamental values, so it is possible to explore the common values through listening to other stories and learning about other cultures. If we respect each other, we will learn to appreciate differences and similarities, and learn to see fundamental values. It is because we respect each other that we are able to learn from each other and enrich each other's cultures.

It was such an unpredictable yet inevitable moment: stories met and dialogues began. These dialogues between Phil and Neqou brought forth further conversations of similar predicaments and social issues under colonisation as well as the comparable features of two indigenous cultures, which are also the main concerns of this thesis.

Review of arguments, analysis, and findings

Through reviewing colonial histories, participating in the works and activities of cultural survival, interviewing Indigenous Elders, and making a comparison of the case studies, I have been able to analyse critical issues in relation to the impacts of colonisation, including national parks, on Indigenous people and land. Furthermore, the values and significance of Indigenous Knowledge in decolonising relationships of exclusion and facilitating social justice and ecological sustainability in settler societies can be better understood.

Colonisation, recolonisation, and reconciliation

Colonisation brought about severe destruction to the land and Indigenous peoples, and huge changes to economics and societies. My study of colonial histories in both Taiwan and Australia shows that colonisers shaped their stereotypical concepts of the natives and land based on their biased ideology of binaries — civilised/savage, superior/inferior, cultivated/wild, and so on. Their invasions with biased ideas and arrogant attitudes not only exploited land and natural resources but also in many aggressive ways devastated the Indigenous life and culture that had been embedded within that land for generations. The loss of land for Indigenous people implied the loss of their home, country, subsistence, and culture including their knowledge and spirituality. These critical impacts of colonisation severely threatened cultural survival. That culture and knowledge actually constituted a sustainable way of living with non-human beings and natural environments. People's knowledge of how to maintain enduring relationships with others offers lessons in sustainable ways of living in modern society.

After a long period of severe environmental impacts, both governments have had to consider ways to protect remaining areas and to restore some damaged areas. However, Australia and Taiwan, following the (Western) ideology of the nature/culture binary, both copied a model based on Yellowstone National Park, the first national park in the world, to create their first national parks, which aimed at protecting 'nature' (wilderness) for recreation and nature conservation. Because the management policy derived from the problematic ideology of nature/culture dualism, the establishment of national parks threatened Indigenous people's livelihood and culture. The Indigenous people, after being stigmatised with the classification 'savage' during the period of colonisation, were subsequently stigmatised as 'killers of wildlife'. Taking nature as 'wilderness,' the first national parks ignored the fact that Indigenous people have lived with the so-called wilderness for thousands of years. Their livelihoods and cultural activities were not included in the consideration of national parks policies. Indigenous people were forcibly separated from 'nature', their homeland, country, and sacred sites. The first national parks were all created based on an intention to protect endangered species. The Indigenous situations, including life difficulties and loss of culture after colonisation, in fact are as serious as the situations of endangered species. Ironically, the endangered situations of Indigenous lives and culture were so neglected that they were not even taken into consideration by national or colonial governments when national parks were

established. As a result of ignoring the living culture and Indigenous knowledge, with the addition of banning traditional activities such as hunting and gathering, park management has not only increased enmity between government and Indigenous people, but has also excluded opportunities for making good use of Indigenous ecological knowledge. As a result, after the tremendous impacts of colonisation, Indigenous people confronted another wave of threat and another challenge to cultural survival caused by the establishment of national parks. The radical exclusion of Indigenous people actually functioned as re-colonisation of Indigenous people. The ideas and policies of nature conservation oppressed Indigenous livelihood and traditional culture and caused tense situations between national parks and Indigenous people.

In recent decades, thanks to environmentalists' and Indigenous people's struggles for social and environmental justice, the concept of ecological sustainability, centring on the sustainability of inter-relationships, has become globally recognised. As a result, Indigenous people's cultural survival has been given increasing attention especially by environmentalists:

They (Indigenous people) know the places and the ecosystems. They often have generations of experience with land use practices that are carefully adapted to local conditions. And they tend to care deeply about what becomes of these places and the life in them, not only because they have emotional and spiritual attachments to their homelands and biocentric values that respect a community of life in them, but also because their own ways of life and identities as peoples are often at stake. ... Cultural Survival and cultural diversity are often thus entwined with environmental conservation and biodiversity. The loss of either can cause the loss of both.⁶⁵⁶

Gradually, the inter-relationship between cultural conservation and nature conservation is being recognised by national parks. The policies of national parks in Australia and Taiwan have been shifting their major object from nature conservation to ecological conservation in which human cultures are considered as significant contributors to conservation policies to achieve the goal of ecological sustainability.

In seeking to restore social and environmental justice to the relationship between national parks and Indigenous people, issues of cultural survival are becoming more integrated into national parks. Case studies from Taiwan and Australia show two alternative pathways for national parks. The first way, in Australia, enables a national park to become a site of cultural revitalisation and hope, reconciling relationships among peoples and between people and

⁶⁵⁶ Stevens, *Conservation Through Cultural Survival: Indigenous Peoples And Protected Areas*: 3.

land. The second way, in Taiwan, although recognising the concept of co-management, still continues the earlier tradition in which a national park is a tool of dispossession, and thus of contestation and culture loss.

Cultural survival, core values, and relational sustainability

Under the massive impacts of various modes of colonisation, Indigenous people have been struggling for their survival in settlers' societies. Although suffering pain and trauma, they retain and manifest a tenacious vitality. Through the works and activities of cultural survival, which some Indigenous people and non-Indigenous people collaborate and participate in, Indigenous Elders (in Australia and Taiwan) have begun to transmit their profound knowledge and understanding of land, and to articulate the significance of core values of cultural survival and sustainable living.

In my case studies in Taiwan and Australia, the Indigenous Elders transmit Indigenous knowledge, their beliefs, and key values, which are embedded in the ancient stories and practiced in daily life. The Elders consistently told myths and other modes of storytelling; accordingly, their particular worldviews and laws inherited from creation and long-standing living experiences with natural environment could have been conveyed and learned. Indigenous people in NSW and Bunun people in Taiwan have their own knowledge systems, such as Dreaming for the Indigenous Australians and *Samu* for the Bunun. As the Elders' beliefs and understandings are based on different traditions and individual experiences, I investigated the key values articulated by Elders and found that 'sharing' is the value that Bunun Elders mentioned most frequently, while Yuin Elder Uncle Max and the Ngiyambaa Elder Phil Sullivan lay stress on the significance of 'respect.' Importantly, key values such as sharing, respect, gratitude, and connection (connectedness; connectivity) emphasised by Indigenous Elders in Taiwan and Australia were by no means just rhetoric, but rather their beliefs were practiced in daily life.

Moreover, I discovered that the core values that the Elders have been transmitting and practicing reflect a common ground — 'relational sustainability'. The ideas of relational sustainability, involving complex and subtle networks between humans, non-humans, and cosmic cycles, are actually implicated in both systems of Indigenous knowledge in Taiwan

and NSW. Relational sustainability is the significant framework for organising and expressing those key values.

Gift ecology and relational survival

As my research has been centring on the Indigenous knowledge and core values, which are in connection with the concepts of relational sustainability, the idea of the gift came up time and again in the conversations and interviews with Indigenous Elders both in Taiwan and NSW. I further analysed Indigenous gift economy and explored an Indigenous philosophy of gift that Elders conveyed in the stories and practiced in daily life. I found the philosophy of the gift, embedded in the minds of Indigenous people, is of central importance.

Beyond the theory of gift economy, Indigenous gift ecology should be viewed and understood not only from their material practices but also from their beliefs and philosophy regarding their relations with the Great Givers. For gifts were first given by the Great Givers, and Indigenous people regard life and livelihood as gift; they further understand that the gift is to be kept moving within networks of economy/ecology. The gift, based on the Indigenous people's holistic understanding of nature and culture, must be thought about more widely than simply within the society and economy of human sphere. In relation to gift economy, Indigenous philosophy and life practice truly indicate a concern for a relational sustainability of both economy and ecology. In this sense, all life is part of a wider moral ecology of the gift.

Therefore, the 'gift ecology' is most pertinent to understanding Indigenous people's broader views of sustainable living. The key values such as sharing and respect are constantly practiced and reinforced to ensure that gifts given by the Great Beings will continue to exist and to be given and received. The Indigenous notion of gift can be more deeply understood through the principles of Indigenous gift ecology, which connects the concerns of sustainability from human beings themselves to all related things including non-human beings and the natural environment.

As I discussed in the previous chapters, the issues surrounding cultural survival are not simply of a single concern for Indigenous people. By virtue of their close connection with all other beings in the world, Indigenous people's philosophy of relational sustainability involves interdependent and reciprocal ways of giving and receiving between humans, lands, and all

other beings. From the perspective of the gift philosophy, the core issue for Indigenous people is 'relational survival', or 'survival of the gift'. Therefore, cultural survival and ecological survival are interdependent and reciprocal, and are best thought of as one and the same thing.

Recommendation and vision

Indigenous knowledge is not a dead thing. It is alive and is passed down and practiced by Indigenous Elders. Key values centre on the inseparability of nature and culture, land and people. This research suggests that key values such as respect, sharing, connection and reciprocity should be taken up and put into practice more widely than is now the case. The values sound simple, but in fact they are deep. They have been contemplated and practiced by Indigenous people for thousands of years.

In the processes of cultural survival, the possibilities of collaboration and dialogue between Indigenous people and non-Indigenous people have been crucial. The work of cultural survival provides ways to reconcile relationships between peoples and land, and to rebuild good relationships amongst people. As Uncle Max said:

I'm here to teach people let's reconcile with the Mother, with Mother Earth. If we can reconcile with the Mother, then we can breathe the air and walk together in harmony. Every part of this land is sacred: the teaching is the most important part of our survival. It's our home, we live here together. This is reconciliation, to look each other in eye and know this equally.⁶⁵⁷

Through cultural survival, people from different backgrounds with various understandings and values of land, have opportunities to encounter the truthfulness of inter-connectedness between peoples, non-human beings, and land. In addition to the activities of cultural survival, joint management implemented in several national parks in Australia has attempted to build a new partnership between Indigenous people with their ecological knowledge and land ethics, and national parks with their scientific conservation and land management. Practical reconciliation through joint management is a good model for other settler societies to learn from. 'Co-management has the potential to deepen reconciliation, enabling people to form

⁶⁵⁷ Peter McConchie, *Elders : wisdom from Australia's indigenous leaders* (Cambridge ; Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2003). 2.

connections across social groups, place, and modes of care.’⁶⁵⁸ Thus, cultural survival and nature conservation can become integrated to represent a holistic view of nature and achieve cohesion of cultural and natural landscapes.

This thesis does not focus specifically on policy development of co-management in national parks. I believe that specific policies must be local and attuned to the specific people and institutions through which policy will become action. However, it is possible to consider some of the areas in which the Indigenous knowledge and cultural values analysed in this thesis can fruitfully be brought into co-management policy discourse. My advices/recommendations are:

1. Reconciliation action is advised to be undertaken prior to and during the implement of co-management in national parks. Having been impacted severely by colonization, Indigenous situations can be thought to be as serious as the situations of endangered species. Both situations should be fairly and thoughtfully considered in the national parks. National parks should sincerely acknowledge some mistaken policies made in the past and discuss with Indigenous people how to engage in reconciliation for reconnection between national parks and Indigenous people. The histories regarding the impacts of colonization and exclusion of Indigenous people should be documented and made public so as to enable people to gain greater understanding of the interactions between peoples and land through time.
2. Indigenous knowledge and cultural values should be adopted as crucial components to enhance social justice and ecological sustainability in co-management of national parks. Indigenous people as the original custodians and traditional owners of land have learned ways of sustainable living with non-human beings and natural environment. Indigenous Knowledge especially owned by Indigenous Elders should be given the same respect as scientific knowledge. Elders could therefore offer their profound understanding and experience for better land management in national parks.
3. The work of cultural survival is part of the work of nature conservation for ecological sustainability. Cultural survival and cultural diversity are entwined with nature conservation and biodiversity. The inter-relatedness between culture (cultural conservation) and nature (nature conservation) should be recognised in the co-

⁶⁵⁸ In the lecture of ‘Co-Management and Decolonisation’ given by Professor Deborah Rose on 16th Nov, 2005 at Department of Ecology, Providence University, Taiwan.

management policies of national parks. In order to have a holistic view and understanding of living landscape, co-management needs to further integrate cultural heritage section and natural heritage section, which are separated by national park policy.

4. National Park staffs are strongly recommended to participate in activities of cultural survival guided by Indigenous Elders as cultural awareness training prior to and during co-management. As land management in national parks is based almost entirely on scientific knowledge, the staff needs to learn about Indigenous people's cultural knowledge which centres on interdependence and inseparability of culture and nature, people and land. Through such activities, core values such as respect, sharing, connectivity, and reciprocity could be learned. In turn, national park staff could offer to Indigenous people the benefits of scientific knowledge and technology. The more they learn from each other, the more they understand and respect each other. Therefore, relationships of respect could be built and reinforced by learning and supporting.
5. National parks should ensure that knowledgeable Elders become involved in policy-making. As a matter of social justice, Indigenous people have rights to gain proper positions so as to take part in co-management. Indigenous people's cultural knowledge of lands, waters, plants, animals, and other components (factors) of natural environment could facilitate national parks to have better understanding of land and make more appropriate policies of co-management. National parks, thus, need to share power of management with Indigenous parties. Indigenous people and knowledgeable Elders should be properly employed as educators and interpreters of cultural knowledge in the activities of cultural survival, and as committee/board members, consultants, and policy-makers in the board of co-management. Through Indigenous people's greater involvement, their concepts of relational sustainability and philosophy of gift ecology could be transmitted and further contribute both to the work of co-management and to wider social issues of land management for the future.
6. National parks need to adopt a policy of review and revision of goals and how they incorporate the values of relational sustainability. Reconciliation between people and land is central to co-management. National parks staff, committee/board members, and policy-makers, and other relevant parties involving Indigenous and non-Indigenous people should consider it seriously whilst implementing co-management and making

policies. National parks need to integrate the Indigenous knowledge of land management into a holistic and feasible form co-management, linking cultural survival and nature conservation into unified issues of care and responsibility. The practices of co-management are advised to rest on the core values such as respect, sharing, reciprocity, and inter-connectedness. By drawing on Indigenous knowledge to co-management, Indigenous people's philosophy of gift ecology encompassing the connectivities between humans and other parts of the living world, and knowledge and values concerning relational sustainability could be continuously passed down and put into practice.

Oneness indicates the fundamental truth of the inseparability of nature and culture, land and people. It is stressed by Indigenous Elders:

I think about this oneness and the important thing of what I talked about. We can offer a good knowledge—a good spiritual knowledge to the land, so that people can walk the land together and so that people can unite. So that there is a oneness—there is a true oneness that's all around ... About having all these things. And for us to understand that we walk the one land, we drink the same water, and we breathe the same air, and that's an important lesson that we should all look at. That there is no separation with us. Forget about the colour of our skins and that. Forget about our different lifestyles and our different belief systems, but believe in one thing and believe in Mother Earth. So that we can look after it because she's looking after us.⁶⁵⁹

Having come to understand the truth of oneness and relational survival, I believe that it is crucial for humans to shape a deep belonging to land, and to continue to learn and practice the key values 'sharing' and 'respect' in order to achieve sustainability. Deep belonging to land could be regarded as a unique complex of cognition, attachment, memory, imagination, hope, and love in connection with a place, strongly bonding the human being and the natural world. Fostering a deep belonging to place could develop a place-based environmental ethics which would help us live our values and attitudes. In consequence, deep belonging is a major step toward social inclusion, ecological sustainability, and respect for the gifts of life.

⁶⁵⁹ Global Oneness Project, "Max Harrison: We're Lookin After Her Cause She's Lookin After Us," Global Oneness Project, <http://www.globalonenessproject.org/library/interviews/were-lookin-after-her-cause-shes-lookin-after-us>.

References

- ABC News Online. "Traditional Owners Get Say at Gundabooka Management Gathering." ABC News Online, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2008-06-11/traditional-owners-get-say-at-gundabooka/2467474>, accessed 5 October 2011.
- ABC Online Indigenous. "Uncle Max: The More I Give the More I Keep." Message Stick: ABC Television, 2010, <http://www.abc.net.au/tv/messagestick/video/2010/March2010.htm>, accessed 26 March 2011.
- Academia Sinica, Institute of Ethnology (中央研究院民族學研究所). "Anthropological Study of Bunun in Yushan National Park: Research Report (1) (玉山國家公園布農族人類學研究-研究報告(一))." Nantou County: Yushan National Park Headquarters, 1988.
- Adams, Michael. "Beyond Yellowstone? Conservation and Indigenous Rights in Australia and Sweden". In *Discourses and Silences: Indigenous Peoples, Risks and Resistance*, edited by G. Cant, A. Goodall and J. Inn. 127-38. Christchurch, New Zealand: Department of Geography, University of Canterbury, 2005.
- . "Negotiating Nature: Collaboration and Conflict between Aboriginal and Conservation Interests in New South Wales, Australia." *Australian Journal of Environmental Education* 20, no. 1 (2004): 3-12.
- Adams, Michael, and Anthony English. "'Biodiversity Is a Whitefella Word': Changing Relationships between Aboriginal People and the Nsw National Parks and Wildlife Service. ." In *The Power of Knowledge, the Resonance of Tradition*, edited by L. Taylor, G. Ward, G. Henderson., R. Davis and L.A. Wallis. Canberra.: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2005.
- Alang, Manglavan (杜石鑾). *Rendezvous with the Moon: Stories from the Bunun Tribe (與月亮的約定)*. Translated by R.J. Winkler. Taipei: Third Nature Publishing, 2003.
- Armitage, D., F. Berkes, and N. Doubleday. *Adaptive Co-Management: Collaboration, Learning, and Multi-Level Governance*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2007.
- Association, Taiwan National Parks. *Portrait of Taiwan National Parks (臺灣國立公園寫真集)*. Tapei: Taiwan National Parks Association, 1939.
- Attwood, Bain. *The Making of the Aborigines*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1989.
- Australian Government. "Brewarrina Aboriginal Fish Traps (Baiaime's Ngunnhu)." Australian Government: Department of Sustainability, Environment, Water, Population and Communities, <http://www.environment.gov.au/heritage/publications/about/pubs/national-heritage-brewarrina.pdf>, accessed 29 January 2012.
- . "The Dreaming." Australian Government, <http://australia.gov.au/about-australia/australian-story/dreaming>, accessed 8 December 2011.
- . "National Parks." Australian Government, (<http://australia.gov.au/about-australia/australian-story/national-parks>), accessed 23 February 2012.
- Australian Museum. "Spirituality " Australian Museum, <http://australianmuseum.net.au/Indigenous-Australia-Spirituality>, accessed 9 Dec 2011.
- Balan, Tama. Kalibuan, Nantou Couty, Taiwan, 2010. Interveiwi.
- Bascom, William. "The Forms of Folklore: Prose Narratives." In *Sacred Narrative: Readings in the Theory of Myth*, edited by Alan Dundes. 5-29: University of California Press, 1984.
- Beckett, Jeremy, and New South Wales Office of the Registrar. *Yapapunakirri : Let's Track Back : The Aboriginal World around Mount Grenfell [in English]*. Sydney: Office of the Registrar, Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1983, 2003.
- Bellin, Nicolas. "L'isle De Formose Et Parties Des Costes De La Chine." Taiwan: Taiwan National Repository of Cultural Heritage, 1763.
- Benhabib, Seyla. *Situating the Self: Gender, Community and Postmodernism in Contemporary Ethics*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1992.

- Berkes, Fikret. "Evolution of Co-Management: Role of Knowledge Generation, Bridging Organizations and Social Learning." *Journal of Environmental Management* 90, no. 5 (2009): 1692-702.
- . *Sacred Ecology: Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Resource Management* Philadelphia: Taylor and Francis, 1999.
- Bima, Dashiwula (達西烏拉彎・畢馬) *Mythology and Legend of Bunun Tribe (布農族神話與傳說)*. Taichung: Xing-Chen, 2003.
- Blundell, David. *Austronesian Taiwan : Linguistics, History, Ethnology, and Prehistory*. Taipei, Taiwan: SMC Pub., 2001.
- Borrini-Feyerabend, Grazia, Michel Pimbert, M. Taghi Farvar, Ashish Kothari, and Yves Renard. *Sharing Power: A Global Guide to Collaborative Management of Natural Resources* London: Earthscan, 2007.
- Bourke and District Historical Society, and W. J. Cameron. *Bourke, a History of Local Government*. Surry Hills, N.S.W.: Wentworth Books for the Bourke and District Historical Society, 1978.
- Bourke, Colin, Eleanor Bourke, and W. H. Edwards. *Aboriginal Australia : An Introductory Reader in Aboriginal Studies*. 2nd ed. St Lucia, Qld.: University of Queensland Press, 1998.
- Boyijernu, Basuya (浦忠成). "Aborigines and National Parks (原住民與國家公園)." In *Thinking Aborigines (思考原住民)*, edited by Basuya Boyijernu (浦忠成). Taipei: Qiang-Wei, 2002.
- . *Forgotten Sacred Spaces: Restropection of Indigenous Myth, History, and Literature (被遺忘的聖域:原住民神話、歷史與文學的追溯)*. Tapei: Wunan, 2007.
- Bradley, J. *Yanyuwa Country: The Yanyuwa People of Borrooloola Tell the History of Their Land*. Greenhouse, 1988.
- Brown, M.J. *Is Taiwan Chinese?: The Impact of Culture, Power, and Migration on Changing Identities*. University of California Press, 2004.
- Bruchac, J. *Our Stories Remember: American Indian History, Culture, and Values through Storytelling*. Fulcrum Publishing, 2003.
- Byrne, Denis, New South Wales Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs, and New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service. *The Mountains Call Me Back : A History of the Aborigines and the Forests of the Far South Coast of New South Wales*. [Sydney]: NSW Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs, 1984.
- Callicott, J. Baird. *Earth's Insights: A Multicultural Survey of Ecological Ethics from the Mediterranean Basin to the Australian Outback*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
- Cammarota, Julio, and Michelle Fine. *Revolutionizing Education : Youth Participatory Action Research in Motion*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2008.
- Campbell, J., and B.D. Moyers. *The Power of Myth*. Doubleday, 1988.
- Campbell, William. *Formosa under the Dutch: Described from Contemporary Records*. Lodon: Kegan Paul, 1903.
- Carlsson, L., and F. Berkes. "Co-Management: Concepts and Methodological Implications." *Journal of Environmental Management* 75, no. 1 (2005): 65–76.
- Champion, Shelagh, and George Champion. "Manly, Warringah Pittwater: First Fleet Records of Events, 1788-1790." In *Survey of the Lower Part of the Harbour by Hunter and Bradley: 28 and 29 January 1788*, 2005.
- Chen, Di (陳第). "Record of the Eastern Savages (東番記)." In *Words of Praise from the Taiwan Sea (閩海贈言)*. Taipei: Taiwan Yin-Hang, 1959.
- Chen, Long-Shen. "Yushan National Park." edited by Yushan National Park Headquarters. Natou County: Yushan National Park Headquarters, 2009.
- Chen, Yi-Fong. "The Impacts of the September 21st Earthquake on Indigenous Peoples' Land Rights and the Reconstruction of Place Identity in Taiwan." *Journal of Geographical Science* 31 (2002): 1-15.

- Chen, Yu-Fong (陳玉峰). "The Biggest Lie of Taiwan Forest in the Fifty Years: Afforestation (台灣山林五十年最大謊言: 造林)." In *Taiwan's Ecology and Transformation (台灣生態與變態)*. Taipei: Qian-wei, 2004.
- Chen, Yu-Xiu (陳郁秀) *Diamond Taiwan: Muti-Histories (鑽石台灣: 多元歷史篇)*. Taipei: Yu-shan, 2010.
- Cheng, Shi-Yi (程士毅). *Indigenous Peoples and Taiwan History (原住民族與台灣史)*. Nan-Tou, Taiwan: Taiwan Taritsi Cultural Association, 2006.
- Cheng, Zoe. "National Identity: Taiwan Looks for Its Roots." *Taiwan Review* 57, no. 3 (2007).
- . "This Mountain Is Called... (這山叫做...)." <http://blog.udn.com/tongkusaveq/1520167>, accessed April 21 2010.
- Chevalier, J.M., and D.J. Buckles. *Participatory Action Research: Theory and Methods for Engaged Inquiry*. UK: Routledge, 2013.
- Chi, Chun-Cheih (紀駿傑), and Chin-Shou (王俊秀) Wang. "Environmental Justice: An Analysis of the Collision between the Aborigines and the National Parks (環境正義：原住民與國家公園衝突的分析)." Paper presented at the Review and Prospect of the Sociological Study in Taiwan (台灣社會學研究的回顧與展望學術研討會論文專刊), Taichung, Taiwan 1996.
- Chou, Wan-Yao (周婉筠). *Illustration of Taiwan History: From Prehistory to 1945 (台灣歷史圖說史前至一九四五年)*. Taipei: Linking Publishing, 1998.
- Clayphan-Dunne, Vivien. "Gundabooka National Park." *National Parks Journal* 43, no. 1 (February 1999).
- Council for Cultural Affairs (文建會). *Introduction to Potential World Heritage Sites in Taiwan (台灣世界遺產產潛力點簡介)*. Taipei: Council for Cultural Affair, 2003.
- Cowan, J. *Aborigine Dreaming: An Introduction to the Wisdom and Thought of the Aboriginal Traditions of Australia*. Thorsons, 2002.
- Crang, Mike, and Ian Cook. *Doing Ethnographies*. London: SAGE, 2007.
- D, Armitage, Berkes F, and Doubleday N. *Adaptive Comanagement*. edited by Armitage D, Berkes F and Doubleday N Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2007.
- De Lacy, T. "The Uluru/Kakadu Model—Anangu Tjukurrpa. 50,000 Years of Aboriginal Law and Land Management Changing the Concept of National Parks in Australia. ." *Society Nat. Resources* 7, no. 5 (1994): 479–98.
- De Lacy, T. . "The Evolution of a Truly Australian National Park ". In *Aboriginal Involvement in Parks and Protected Areas*, edited by J. Birkhead, T. De Lacey and L. Smith. 297-306. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 1992.
- De Lacy, Terry, and Bruce Lawson. "The Uluru/Kakadu Model:Joint Management of Aboriginal-Owned National Parks in Australia." In *Conservation through Cultural Survival: Indigenous Peoples and Protected Areas*, edited by Stevens Stan. Washington D.C.: Island Press, 1997.
- Dundes, Alan. *Sacred Narrative: Readings in the Theory of Myth*. University of California Press, 1984.
- Edwards, Bill. "Living the Dreaming." In *Aboriginal Australia : An Introductory Reader in Aboriginal Studies*, edited by Colin Bourke, Eleanor Bourke and W. H. Edwards. St Lucia, Qld.: University of Queensland Press, 1998.
- Egan, J. *Buried Alive: Eyewitness Accounts of the Making of a Nation*. Allen & Unwin, 1999.
- Egloff, Brian, Nicolas Peterson, Sue C. Wesson, and New South Wales Office of the Registrar. *Biamanga and Gulaga : Aboriginal Cultural Association with the Biamanga and Gulaga National Parks*. Surry Hills, N.S.W.: Office of the Registrar, Aboriginal Land Rights Acts 1983 (NSW), 2005.
- Eisuke, Nakazono (中蘭英助). *Torii Ryuzo: An Anthropological Pioneer across Taiwan and Easten Asia (鳥居龍藏: 縱橫臺灣與東亞的人類學先趨)*. Translated by Nan-Chun (楊南郡) Yang. Taichung, Taiwan: Chen-Xin, 1998.
- Elemans, John. "The Gift Economy." In *Contracting Law*, edited by A.H. Kastely, D.W. Post, S.K. Hom and N. Ota. 32: Carolina Academic Press, 2006.

- Elkin, A.P. *The Australian Aborigines : How to Understand Them*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1938.
- Elwell, Thomas D., and New South Wales National Park Trust. *Official Guide to the National Park of New South Wales*. Sydney: Gullick, Government printer, 1915.
- Eriksen, Christine, and Michael Adams. "Indigenous Environmental Knowledge." In *Encyclopedia of Geography*, edited by B. Warf: Sage Publications, 2010.
- Erskine, J. "Gundabooka National Park: A Report on the Aboriginal Cultural Significance." NPWS Cultural Heritage Services Division 1998.
- Evans, Mike, Rachelle Hole, Lawrence D. Berg, Peter Hutchinson, and Dixon Sookraj. "Common Insights, Differing Methodologies: Toward a Fusion of Indigenous Methodologies, Participatory Action Research, and White Studies in an Urban Aboriginal Research Agenda." *Qualitative Inquiry* 15, no. 5 (2009): 893-910.
- Feary, Sue. "Social Justice in the Forest: Aboriginal Engagement with Australia's Forest Industries." In, *Transforming Cultures eJournal* 3, no. 1 (2008).
<http://epress.lib.uts.edu.au/journals/index.php/TfC/article/view/683>, accessed 28 August 2011.
- Fix, Douglas L. (費德廉), and Charlotte (羅效德) Lo. *Curious Investagations: 19th-Century American and European Impressions of Taiwan (看見十九世紀台灣: 十四位西方旅行者的福爾摩沙)*. Taipei: Ru-guo, 2006.
- Flinders, Matthew. "General Chart of Terra Australis or Australia: Showing the Parts Explored between 1798 and 1803 by M. Flinders Commr. Of H.M.S. Investigator.", 1 map : col. ; 62.4 x 93.0 cm.: London : Published according to Act of Parliament by Capt. Hurd R. N. Hydrographer to the Admiralty, 1814 Jan. 1st. (corrected to 1822). 1814.
- Flood, Josephine. *The Original Australians : Story of the Aboriginal People*. Crows Nest, N.S.W.: Allen & Unwin, 2006.
- G., Borrini-Feyerabend, Pimbert M., Farvar M. T., Kothari A., and Renard Y. *Sharing Power: Learning-by-Doing in Co-Management of Natural Resources Throughout the World*. Cenesta: IIED and IUCN/CEESP, 2004.
- Gelder, Kenneth, and J.M. Jacobs. *Uncanny Australia : Sacredness and Identity in a Postcolonial Nation*. Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1998.
- Gilligan, Carol. *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development* Cambridge, USA: Harvard University Press, 1982.
- Glesne, Corrine. *Becoming Qualitative Researchers : An Introduction*. 4th ed. Boston, Mass.: Pearson, 2011.
- Global Oneness Project. "Max Harrison: Complete Interview." Global Oneness Project,
<http://www.globalonenessproject.org/videos/maxharrisoncomplete>, accessed 29 April 2012.
- . "Max Harrison: The Land Is There to Show You." Global Oneness Project,
<http://www.globalonenessproject.org/videos/maxharrisonclip3>, accessed 29 April 2012.
- . "Max Harrison: We're Lookin after Her Cause She's Lookin after Us." Global Oneness Project,
<http://www.globalonenessproject.org/library/interviews/were-lookin-after-her-cause-shes-lookin-after-us>, accessed 3 May 2012.
- Goldstein, Wendy, and New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service. *Royal National Park*. Sydney: The Service, 1976.
- Goodall, Heather. *Invasion to Embassy : Land in Aboriginal Politics in New South Wales, 1770-1972*. St. Leonards, N.S.W.: Allen & Unwin in association with Black Books, 1996.
- Gothil, Eli. "The Special Logic of Gift Economies." Webisteme,
<http://www.webisteme.com/blog/?p=367>, accessed 28 May 2012.
- Goulet, Jean-Guy A. *Ways of Knowing: Experience, Knowledge, and Power among the Dene Tha*. U of Nebraska Presss, 1998.
- Grassie, William. "Science as Epic? Can the Modern Evolutionary Cosmology Be a Mythic Story for Our Time?". *Science & Spirit* 9, no. 1 (1998).

- Haebich, Anna. *For Their Own Good : Aborigines and Government in the South West of Western Australia, 1900-1940*. Nedlands, W.A.: University of Western Australia Press, 1988.
- Hall, B. "From Margins to Center? The Development and Purpose of Participatory Research." *American Sociologist* 23 (1992): 15-29.
- Hall, Budd L. "Participatory Research, Popular Knowledge and Power: A Personal Reflection." *Convergence: An International Journal of Adult Education* 14, no. 3 (1981): 6-19.
- Hammersley, Martyn, and Paul Atkinson. *Ethnography, Principles in Practice*. London ; New York: Tavistock, 1983.
- Harrison, Max Dulumunmun, and Peter McConchie. *My People's Dreaming : An Aboriginal Elder Speaks on Life, Land, Spirit and Forgiveness*. Warriewood, N.S.W.: Finch Publishing, 2009.
- Hemming, S.J. "Changing History: New Images of Aboriginal Australia." In *Aboriginal Australia : An Introductory Reader in Aboriginal Studies*, edited by Colin Bourke, Eleanor Bourke and W. H. Edwards. St Lucia, Qld.: University of Queensland Press, 1998.
- Hipwell, William T. "An Asset-Based Approach to Indigenous Development in Taiwan." *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 20, no. 3 (2009).
- Honko, Lauri. "The Problem of Defining Myth." In *Sacred Narrative: Readings in the Theory of Myth*, edited by Alan Dundes. University of California Press, 1984.
- Howitt, A.W. *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*. Macmillan and Co., limited, 1904.
- Hsu, Wen-hsiung. "From Aboriginal Island to Chinese Frontier : The Development of Taiwan before 1683." In *China's Island Frontier : Studies in the Historical Geography of Taiwan*, edited by Ronald G. Knapp. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii : Research Corp. of the University of Hawaii, 1980.
- Huang, Yin-Kuei. "Conversion and Religious Change among the Bunun of Taiwan." University of London, 1988.
- Huang, Yin-Kuei (黃應貴). *Bunun Tribe (布農族)*. Taipei: Sanmin, 2006.
- Hume, Lynne. *Ancestral Power: The Dreaming, Consciousness, and Aboriginal Australians*. Melbourne University Press, 2002.
- Hung, Hau-Ren (洪浩仁). "Notes on Interchange Activity between Taiwan and Canada: The Former Grand Chief of Canada's First Nations Visits (台灣、加拿大交流活動紀行 (下) —加拿大原住民前任總頭目來訪)" Lipao, <http://www.lihpao.com/?action-viewnews-itemid-77849>, accessed 18 April 2010.
- . "Transmitting Environmental Philosophy through Storytelling in the Indigenous Literature of Joseph Bruchac and Ahronlong Sakinu." Master Degree Thesis, Providence University, 2006.
- Hung, Ying-Chuan (洪膺詮). "From Deqanin to God: The Study of the Mass Conversion of Kalibuan Bunun to Christianity in 1950's (從天神到上帝：1950年代布農族望鄉部落集體改宗之研究)." Tunghau University, 2009.
- Hyde, L. *The Gift: Imagination and the Erotic Life of Property*. New York: Vintage, 1983.
- Indigenous Australia. "The Dreaming - an Introduction." Indigenous Australia, <http://www.indigenoustralia.info/the-dreaming.html>, accessed 8 December 2011.
- Isqaqavut, Yohani (尤哈尼·伊斯卡卡夫 及 台灣原住民族部落永續發展協會). *Cultural and Historical Survey of Kalibuan Village of Bunun Tribe (布農族 kalibuan 望鄉部落文史調查資料)*. Nantou County: Taiwan Indigenous Community Sustainable Development Association, 2007.
- Jacobs, Mark B. "Understanding the Gift Economy." Memestream, <http://memestreamblog.wordpress.com/2009/07/09/understanding-the-gift-economy/>, accessed 17 May 2012.
- Jamieson, Dale. *A Companion to Environmental Philosophy*. Maldon, Mass.: Blackwell, 2003.
- Jay, Tom. "Ecology and Economy." The Lateral Line, http://www.thelateralline.com/tom_jay/ecology_and_economy, accessed 22 May 2012.

- Johnston, W.R., Central Land Council, and National Rangeland Management Working Group. *Still Our Country: Aboriginal Perspectives on Rangelands Management : Submission to the National Rangeland Management Working Group for the National Strategy for Rangeland Management and Action Plan*. Central Land Council, 1994.
- Kamien, Max, and Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies Canberra. *The Dark People of Bourke : A Study of Planned Social Change*. Aias New Series. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1978.
- Keliher, Macabe, and Yonghe Yu. *Out of China or Yu Yonghe's Tale of Formosa : A History of Seventeenth-Century Taiwan*. Taipei: SMC pub., 2003.
- Kemmis, S., and R. McTaggart. "Participatory Action Research." In *The Handbook of Qualitative Research*, edited by N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2000.
- Kindon, Sara Louise, Rachel Pain, and Mike Kesby. *Participatory Action Research Approches and Methods : Connecting People, Participation and Place*. Routledge Studies in Human Geography. London: Routledge, 2007.
- Kuokkanen, Rauna J. "The Logic of the Gift: Reclaiming Indigenous People's Philosophy." In *Re-Ethnicizing the Minds?: Cultural Revival in Contemporary Thought*, edited by Thorsten Botz-Bornstein and Jorgen Hengelbrock. Rodopi, 2006.
- . *Reshaping the University : Responsibility, Indigenous Epistemes, and the Logic of the Gift*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007.
- Lane, Marcus B. "Affirming New Directions in Planning Theory: Comanagement of Protected Areas." *Society & Natural Resources: An International Journal* 14, no. 8 (2001): 657-71.
- Langdon, Steve J. "Ish: Exploring a Tlingit Relational Concept and Practices with Salmon. ." In *Society for Applied Anthropology Annual Meeting*. Vancouver, British Columbia, March, 2006
- . "Traditional Knowledge and Harvesting of Salmon by Huna and Hinyaa Tlingit." In *Fisheries Resource Monitoring Program, Final Report (Project No. 02-104)*, . Anchorage, Alaska.: U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, Office of Subsistence Management, 2006.
- Langdon, Steve J. . "Relational Sustainability: Indigenous Northern North American Logic of Engagement." In *the 102nd meeting of the American Anthropological Association*. Chicago, IL, Nov, 2003.
- Lather, Patti. *Getting Smart : Feminist Research and Pedagogy with/in the Postmodern*. Critical Social Thought. New York: Routledge, 1991.
- Li, Jen-kuei (李壬癸). *Austronesian Peoples of Taiwan and Thier Migrations (臺灣南島民族的族群與遷徙)*. Taipei: Chang-Min Culture, 1997.
- Li, Jen-Kuei (李壬癸). *History and Interaction of the Plain Tribes in Taiwan (台灣平埔族的歷史與互動)*. Taipei: Formosa Folkways Publishing Company, 1998.
- Liao, Ping-Hui. "Postcolonial Studies in Taiwan: Issues in Critical Debates." *Postcolonial Studies* 2, no. 2 (1999): 199-211.
- Lin, Qian-Quang (林謙光). *Brief Notes on Taiwan (台灣紀略)*. Vol. 104, Taipei: Taiwan yinhang, 1966.
- Lin, Yih-Ren (林益仁). "Can Indigenous Hunting Culture and Animal Liberation Movement Be Allied? A Viewpoint from the Land Ethic (原住民狩獵文化與動物解放運動可能結盟嗎? 一個土地倫理學的觀點)." *Chung-Wai Literary Monthly* 32, no. 2 (July 2003).
- Liu, Huan-yueh (劉還月). *Searching and Visiting the Plain Tribes in Taiwan (尋訪台灣平埔族)*. Taipei: Formosa Folkways Publishing Company, 1998.
- Mackenzie, C., and N. Stoljar. *Relational Autonomy: Feminist Perspectives on Autonomy, Agency and the Social Self*. edited by C. Mackenzie and N. Stoljar New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Maguire, Patricia, and University of Massachusetts at Amherst. Center for International Education. *Doing Participatory Research : A Feminist Approach*. Amherst, Mass.: Center for International Education, School of Education, University of Massachusetts, 1987.
- Main, George. "Gundabooka National Park." *National Parks Journal* 45, no. 1 (2001).

- . *Gunderbooka : A 'Stone Country' Story*. Kingston, A.C.T.: Resource Policy & Management, 2000.
- Marshall, Peter. *Research Methods : How to Design and Conduct a Successful Project*. Plymouth: How To Books, 1997.
- Mathews, R.H. "Notes on Some Aboriginal Tribes." *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales* 41 (1907): 67-87.
- Mauthner, Melanie L., Maxine Birch, Julie Jessop, and SAGE Research Methods Online. *Ethics in Qualitative Research*. London: SAGE Publications, 2002.
- McConchie, Peter. *Elders : Wisdom from Australia's Indigenous Leaders*. Cambridge ; Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- McTaggart, Robin. *Participatory Action Research : International Contexts and Consequences*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997.
- Minister for the Environment. Merrinmans and Wagonga Local Aboriginal Land Councils. *Aboriginal Owned Gulaga National Park Lease to the Minister for the Environment* 2005.
- Ministry of the Interior Construction and Planning Agency, R.O.C.(Taiwan) (內政部營建署). "History of National Parks Development (國家公園發展史)." http://np.cpami.gov.tw/chinese/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=26&Itemid=22&gp=1, accessed 24 February 2012 2012.
- Mo, Chong-Zhi (莫崇志). "Map of Taiwan (臺灣全圖)." China: Guang-Xu Hui-Dian (光緒會典), 1899.
- Moller, H. , F. Berkes, P.O. Lyver, and M. Kislalioglu. "Combining Science and Traditional Ecological Knowledge: Monitoring Populations for Co-Management." *Ecology and Society* 9, no. 3 (2004).
- Morcombe, Michael. *Australia's National Parks*. 2nd rev. ed. Dee Why West, N.S.W.: Landsdowne, 1977.
- Mudrooroo. *Us Mob : History, Culture, Struggle: An Introduction to Indigenous Australia*. Pymble, N.S.W.: Angus & Robertson, 1995.
- Muecke, S. *Textual Spaces: Aborignality and Cultural Studies*. New South Wales University Press, 1992.
- Muir, Cameron, Deborah Rose, and Phillip Sullivan. "From the Other Side of the Knowledge Frontier: Indigenous Knowledge, Social–Ecological Relationships and New Perspectives." *The Rangeland Journal* 32 (2010): 259-65.
- Munsterhjelm, Mark. "The First Nations of Taiwan: A Special Report on Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples." *Cultural Survival* 26, no. 2 (2002): 53-55.
- Natcher, D.C., S. Davis, and C.G. Hickey. "Co-Management: Managing Relationships, Not Resources." *Human Organization* 64 (2005): 240-50.
- National Parks and Wildlife Service. "Gundabooka National Park and Gundabooka State Conservation Area: Plan of Management." edited by Office of Environment & Heritage (NSW), 2005.
- . "Welcome to Nsw National Parks." Office of Environment & Heritage (NSW), <http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/NationalParks/default.aspx/parkcontent/n0009?opendocument&par>, accessed 15 September 2012.
- New South Wales Government. "Aboriginal Joint Management of Parks." The Office of Environment and Heritage, <http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/jointmanagement/index.htm>, accessed 21 September 2011.
- . "Cobar Peneplain - Regional History." The Office of Environment and Heritage, <http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/bioregions/CobarPeneplain-RegionalHistory.htm>, accessed October 9 2011.
- . "Minister's Visit & Nuala Trindall." *Coastal Custodians Newsletters* 3 (23 September 2011 2008): 1.
- . "National Parks and Wildlife Amendment (Aboriginal Ownership) Act 1996." edited by New South Wales, 1996.

- . "Register of Aboriginal Owners." Office of the Registrar, Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1983 (NSW), <http://www.oralra.nsw.gov.au/registerjmn.html>, accessed 23 August 2011.
- . "Register of Aboriginal Owners and Joint Management of National Parks." Office of Communities, Aboriginal Affairs NSW Government, <http://www.daa.nsw.gov.au/landandculture/natparks.html>, accessed 23 August 2011.
- . "Royal National Park: History since Colonisation." Office of Environment & Heritage, <http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/NationalParks/parkHistory.aspx?id=N0030>, accessed 23 February 2012.
- . "Statement of Reconciliation." The Office of Environment and Heritage, <http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/NPWS/StatementOfReconciliation.htm>, accessed 20 September 2011.
- New South Wales. Dept. of Environment and Climate Change. *New South Wales National Parks Establishment Plan 2008 : Directions for Building a Diverse and Resilient System of Parks and Reserves under the National Parks and Wildlife Act*. Sydney: Dept. of Environment and Climate Change, 2008.
- New South Wales. National Parks and Wildlife Service. *Royal National Park Plan of Management*. Sydney: National Parks and Wildlife Service (N.S.W.), 1975.
- . *Royal National Park, Heathcote National Park and Garawarra State Recreation Area Plan of Management*. Sydney: NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, 2000.
- New South Wales. National Parks and Wildlife Service. *Wallaga Lake National Park, Goura Nature Reserve, Bermagui Nature Reserve : Draft Plan of Management*. [Hurstville, N.S.W.]: The Service, 1997.
- Notzke, C. "A New Perspective in Aboriginal Natural Resource Management: Co-Management." *Geoforum* 26, no. 2 (1995): 187-209.
- Office of the President Taiwan. "Native Peoples Basic Law." The Gazette of the Office of the President, <http://www.glin.gov/view.action?glinID=146740>, accessed 3 April 2011.
- Palalavi, Haisul (海樹兒 • 爻刺拉菲). *Bunun Tribe: History of Origin and Migration (布農族: 部落起源及部落遷移史)*. Taipei: Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan, 2006.
- Parbury, Nigel, Kathryn Lamberton, and New South Wales Dept. of Aboriginal Affairs. *Survival : A History of Aboriginal Life in New South Wales*. Rev., expanded and updated ed. Surry Hills, N.S.W.: NSW Dept. of Aboriginal Affairs, 2005.
- Parod, Icyang (夷將 • 拔路兒). "Primary Survey for Routes of Indigenous Peoples' Movement in Taiwan (台灣原住民族運動發展路線之初步探討)." *Mountain-Sea Culture* 4 (1994).
- Pascoe, Bruce, and Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies. *The Little Red Yellow Black Book : An Introduction to Indigenous Australia*. 2nd ed. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2008.
- Perkins, Rachel, Marcia Langton, and Wayne Atkinson. *First Australians : An Illustrated History*. Miegunyah Volumes Second Series. Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Publishing, 2008.
- Phillips, Richard, and Jennifer Johns. *Fieldwork for Human Geography*. London: SAGE, 2012.
- Pickering, W.A. *Pioneering in Formosa: Recollections of Adventures among Mandarins, Wreckers, & Head-Hunting Savages*. Hurst and Blackett, 1898.
- Pinchot, Gifford. "The Gift Economy." *In Context: A Quarterly of Humane Sustainable Culture*, no. 41: Business on A Small Planet (1995).
- Pinkerton, E. "Co-Management Efforts as Social Movements. ." *Alternatives* 19, no. 3 (1993): 33-38.
- Plumb, Noel. "Western Nsw at the Frontline ". *The National Parks Journal* 42, no. 6 (1998).
- Posey, D.A. *Indigenous Knowledge and Ethics: A Darrell Posey Reader*. Taylor & Francis, 2004.
- Prentis, Malcolm D. *A Concise Companion to Aboriginal History*. Dural Delivery Centre, N.S.W.: Rosenberg Publishing, 2008.
- . *A Study in Black and White : The Aborigines in Australian History*. 2nd ed. Wentworth Falls, N.S.W.: Social Science Press, 1988.

- Press, T., D. Lea, A. Webb, and A. Graham. *Kakadu: Natural and Cultural Heritage Management*. Darwin: Australian Nature Conservation Agency and North Australia Research Unit, Australian National University., 1995.
- Read, Peter. *Settlement : A History of Australian Indigenous Housing*. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2000.
- Read, Peter, and New South Wales Dept. of Aboriginal Affairs. *The Stolen Generations : The Removal of Aboriginal Children in New South Wales, 1883 to 1969*. Sydney: NSW Department of Aboriginal Affairs, 1998.
- Reason, Peter. "Three Approaches to Participative Inquiry." In *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, edited by N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln. 324-39. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994.
- Reason, Peter, and Hilary Bradbury. *The Sage Handbook of Action Research : Participative Inquiry and Practice*. 2nd ed. Los Angeles ; London: SAGE, 2008.
- Reid, W.V., F. Berkes, T. Wilbanks, and D. Capistrano. *Bridging Scales and Knowledge Systems: Linking Global Science and Local Knowledge in Assessments*. edited by W.V. Reid, F. Berkes, T. Wilbanks and D. Capistrano Washington DC.: Millennium Ecosystem Assessment and Island Press, 2006.
- Renwick, Cath, and Alan Ginns. "Interpreting Together: A Collaborative Project at Mulgowan Aboriginal Cultural Site, Gundabooka National Park." *Parks and Leisure Australasian* 4-6 (2003).
- Republic of China (Taiwan). "National Parks of Taiwan: History (發展史)." Construction and Planning Agency, Ministry of the Interior, R.O.C. (Taiwan)
http://np.cpami.gov.tw/chinese/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=26&Itemid=22&gp=1, accessed 24 February 2012.
- . "National Parks of Taiwan: Introduction." Construction and Planning Agency, Ministry of the Interior, R.O.C.(Taiwan),
http://np.cpami.gov.tw/english/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=56&Itemid=146, accessed 24 February 2012.
- Reynolds, Henry. *Dispossession: Black Australians and White Invaders*. Allen & Unwin Academic, 1989.
- . *The Law of the Land*. 3rd ed. Camberwell, Vic.: Penguin, 2003.
- Roderick, Laurel-Lee. "National Parks Return to Traditional Owners." In, *Illawarra Mercury* (8 May 2006). <http://www.lionel.com.au/lionel-articles/2006/5/8/national-parks-return-to-traditional-owners/>, accessed 10 October 2011.
- Rose, Deborah Bird. *Gulaga : A Report on the Cultural Significance of Mt Dromedary to Aboriginal People, Presented to the Forestry Commission of New South Wales and the New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service*. [Sydney]: The Service, 1990.
- . *Love and Reconciliation in the Forest : A Study in Decolonisation*. Hawke Institute Working Paper Series,. Magill, S. Aust.: Hawke Institute, University of South Australia, 2002.
- . *Nourishing Terrains: Australian Aboriginal Views of Landscape and Wilderness*. Australian Heritage Commission, 1996.
- . *Reports from a Wild Country : Ethics for Decolonisation*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2004.
- . *Sharing Kinship with Nature: How Reconciliation Is Transforming the Nsw National Parks and Wildlife Service*. Cultural Heritage Totemic Landscapes Project. NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, 2003.
- Rose, Deborah Bird, D. James, C. Watson, and NSW National Parks Wildlife Service. *Indigenous Kinship with the Natural World in New South Wales*. NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, 2003.
- Ross, Anne , Kathleen Pickering Sherman, Jeffrey G. Snodgrass, Henry D. Delcore, and Richard Sherman. *Indigenous Peoples and the Collaborative Stewardship of Nature : Knowledge Binds and Institutional Conflicts*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2011.

- Ross, H., C. Grant, C.j. Robinson, A. Izurieta, D. Smyth, and P. Rist. "Co-Management and Indigenous Protected Areas in Australia: Achievements and Ways Forward." *Australasian Journal of Environmental Management* 16, no. 4 (2009): 242-52.
- Roy, Ellen, Peter Parkes, and Alan Bicker, eds. *Indigenous Environmental Knowledge and Its Transformations: Critical Anthropological Perspectives*. London: Routledge: Taylor & Francis, 2000.
- Rubinstein, M.A. *Taiwan: A New History*. M.E. Sharpe, 1999.
- Ryūzō, Torii (鳥居龍藏). *Exploring Taiwan: Torii Ryuzo's Anthropological Journey in Taiwan (探險台灣: 鳥居龍藏的台灣人類學之旅)*. Translated by Nan-Chun (楊南郡) Yang. Yuan-Liou Publishing, 1996.
- Sahlins, Marshall. *Stone Age Economics*. Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, 1972.
- Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. London: Routledge K. Paul, 1978.
- Sefa Dei, George J., Budd L. Hall, and Dorothy Goldin Rosenberg, eds. *Indigenous Knowledges in Global Contexts: Multiple Readings of Our World*. Canada: University of Toronto Press, 2000.
- Simon, Scott. "The Underside of a Miracle: Industrialization, Land, and Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples." *Cultural Survival* 26, no. 2 (2002): 66-69.
- Simonson, Lynnell, and Virginia Bushaw. "Participatory Action Research: Easier Said Than Done." *The American Sociologist* 24, no. 1 (1993): 27-37.
- Sloterdijk, P. "Airquakes." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 27, no. 1 (2009).
- Smyth, Dermot. "Joint Management of National Parks." In *Working on Country: Contemporary Indigenous Management of Australia's Lands and Coastal Regions*, edited by E.A. Young, J. Davies and R.M. Baker. Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Sokluman, Neqou. "Father and the Land." In *Indigenous Writers of Taiwan: An Anthology of Stories, Essays, and Poems*, edited by John Balcom and Yingtsih Balcome. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005.
- Somerville, M., C. Marshall, L. Barker, and B Bates. "Flows and Intensities: Travelling Water Stories in Inland Australia." In *Beyond the Black Stump: Histories of Outback Australia*, edited by Alan Mayne. vii, 358 p. Kent Town, S. Aust.: Wakefield Press, 2008.
- Soqluman, Neqou (乜寇·索克魯曼). Kalibuan, Nantou County, Taiwan, 2010. Interview.
- . *Bean Story of Tina Ibu (奶奶伊布的豆子故事)*. Nan-Tou, Taiwan: Tongku Saveq School, 2011.
- . "Bunun's Home Nature: A Native's Point of View (Bunun 的家園自然：一個在地人的觀點)." Providence University, Taiwan, 2010.
- . "Everlasting Soul of Yushan (永遠的玉山魂)." *Ink Literary Monthly* 4, no. 6 (2008).
- . "Kalibuan: A Bunun Village Overlooking Taiwan's Highest Peak (眺望台灣第一絕頂的布農族望鄉部落)." Paper presented at the First Asian Conference of Ethnobiology, International Society of Ethnobiology: The Position of Indigenous Peoples, Sacred Places and Participatory Methodology in Cultural and Biological Diversity Conservation, Taichung, Taiwan, 24-25 October 2009.
- . "Literary Notes at Camp Fire: The First and Second 'This Mountain Is Called Tongku Saveq' Movement (爐火邊的文學記事 - 寫一、二次「這山叫做東谷沙飛」運動)." <http://www.wretch.cc/blog/tongkusaveq/12764413>, accessed April 21 2011.
- . *Palisia Tongku Saveq (東谷沙飛傳奇)*. Taipei: INK, 2008.
- . "Story of Mother Bean: Part 2 (豆類媽媽的故事 (下))." Lihpao, <http://www.lihpao.com/?action-viewnews-itemid-105537>, accessed 6 December 2011.
- . "Story of Mother Bean: Part 1 (豆類媽媽的故事 (上))." Lihpao, <http://www.lihpao.com/?action-viewnews-itemid-105324>, accessed 6 December 2011.
- . "When Nature Meets Culture — a Note on Tour in Yushan (當自然遇到文化 — 玉山地方行程側記)." *ISE Newsletter* 2, no. 1 (2010).

- Soqluman, Neqou (乜寇・索克魯曼), and Hau-Ren (洪浩仁) Hung. "Revitalizing Local Knowledge in an Indigenous Community: Action Plan of Making Tongku Saveq School by Youths (活化部落在地知識 - 青年打造「東谷沙飛學校」行動計畫)." In *2008 Final Report of Youth Action Plan for Community Participation (2008 青年社區參與行動計劃成果專刊)* edited by National Youth Commission. Taipei: National Youth Commission, 2008.
- Stanner, W.E.H. "My Dreaming." In *White Man Got No Dreaming: Essays, 1938-1973*. Australian National University Press, 1979.
- . "Some Aspects of Aboriginal Religion ". In *Religious Business* edited by M. Charlesworth. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- "Status Act for Indigenous Peoples." Laws & Regulations of Database of Republic of China, <http://law.moj.gov.tw/Eng/LawClass/LawAll.aspx?PCode=D0130001>, accessed 16 June 2013.
- Stevens, Stan. *Conservation through Cultural Survival: Indigenous Peoples and Protected Areas*. edited by Stevens Stan Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 1997.
- Stevenson, Marc G. "The Possibility of Difference: Rethinking Co-Management." *Human Organization* 65, no. 2 (2006): 167-80.
- Su, Tai-hua (蘇泰華). "Comparative Analysis of the Indigenous Mythology in Taiwan : Study on the Origin of Mankind, the Mythology of Flood and the Shooting Sun Legend (台灣原住民神話之比較分析：以人類起源、洪水及射日神話為例)." National Taitung University , Taiwan, 2003.
- Suchet-Pearson, S., S Wright, K Lloyd, L Burarrwanga, and Bawaka Country. "Caring as Country: Towards Multi-Directional, More-Than-Human Engagements in Natural Resource Management ". *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* (in press).
- Suzuki, David. "Harming the Environment Is Bad for the Economy." In *David Suzuki Foundation: Solutions are in Our Nature*, 2009.
- Suzuki, David T., A. Mason, and A. McConnell. *The Sacred Balance: Rediscovering Our Place in Nature*. Greystone Books, 2007.
- Swinhoe, R. "Additional Notes on Formosa." *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 10, no. 3 (1865 - 1866).
- Tadao, Kano (鹿野忠雄). *Mountains, Clouds, and Savages: Notes on High Mountans in Taiwan (山, 雲與蕃人: 台灣高山紀行)*. Translated by Nan-Chun (楊南郡) Yang. Yushan, 2000.
- Taiwan Academy of Ecology (台灣生態學會). *The Oral Account Investigation of Park Rangers at Yushan National Park (玉山國家公園巡查員口訪計畫)*. Nantou county, Taiwan: Yushan National Park Headquarters, 2009.
- Teng, Emma. *Taiwan's Imagined Geography : Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and Pictures, 1683-1895*. Harvard East Asian Monographs. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center : Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2004.
- The Living Knowledge Project. "Working Together through Joint Management-Gulaga and Biamanga National Parks " The Living Knowledge Project: Koori Coast, http://livingknowledge.anu.edu.au/learningsites/kooricoast/08_handback.htm, accessed 17 July 2011.
- Thomas, Guboo Ted. *The Best Is yet to Come*. Unpublished work.
- . *Renewing Dreaming*. Unpublished work.
- Thomas, Martin Edward. *The Many Worlds of R. H. Mathews : In Search of an Australian Anthropologist*. Crows Nest, N.S.W.: Allen & Unwin, 2011.
- Tian, Zhe-Yi (田哲益). *Social Movement of Taiwan Indigenes (台灣原住民社會運動)*. Taipei: Taiwan Bookstore, 2010.
- Toyne, P., and R. Johnson. "Reconciliation, or the New Dispossession?: Aboriginal Land Rights and Nature Conservation." *Habitat Australia* 19, no. 3 (1991): 8-10.
- Tsai, June. "Bunun Heritage Comes Alive on Trails of Sacred Mountain." *Taiwan Journal*, 1 April, 2008.

- Umbarra Cultural Centre. *Umbarra Cultural Tours: Journey to the Dreamtime*. Bermagui, NSW, 1996. Video.
- Wadsworth, Yolanda. "What Is Participatory Action Research? ." In, *Action Research International, Paper 2*. (1998). http://www.uq.net.au/action_research/ari/p-ywadsworth98.html, accessed 19 May 2013.
- Wang, I-shou. "Cultural Contact and the Migration of Taiwan's Aborigines : A Historical Perspective." In *China's Island Frontier : Studies in the Historical Geography of Taiwan*, edited by Ronald G. Knapp. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii : Research Corp. of the University of Hawaii, 1980.
- Warren, D.M., L.J. Slikkerveer, and D. Brokensha, eds. *The Cultural Dimension of Development: Indigenous Knowledge Systems*. London: Intermediate Technology Publications, 1995.
- Weir, J. K. "Connectivity." *Australian Humanities Review (online journal)*, no. 45 (<http://www.australianhumanitiesreview.org/archive/Issue-November-2008/weir.html>) (2008).
- . "Murray River Country: An Ecological Dialogue with Traditional Owners." *Aboriginal Studies Press: Canberra* (2009).
- "What We Do." Cultural Survival, <http://www.culturalsurvival.org/what-we-do>, accessed 9 September 2012.
- White, Francis. "A Visit to the Interior of South Formosa." *The Cycle: A Political and Literary Review* 17 (1870).
- Whyte, William Foote. *Participatory Action Research*. Newbury Park, Calif: Sage Publications, 1990.
- Willis, J. "Two Laws, One Lease: Accounting for Traditional Aboriginal Law in the Lease for Uluru National Park." In *Aboriginal Involvement in Parks and Protected Areas*, edited by Jim Birkhead, Terry De Lacy and Laurajane Smith. 159-66. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 1992.
- Wohling, M. "The Problem of Scale in Indigenous Knowledge: A Perspective from Northern Australia." *Ecology and Society* 14, no. 1 (2009): 1.
- Woodfield, Craig. *Traditional Aboriginal Uses of the Barwon River Wetlands*. Newtown, NSW: Inland Rivers Network, 2000.
- Wright, J. *The Cry for the Dead*. Oxford University Press, 1981.
- Yeh, Chia-Ning (葉家寧). *The History of Formosan Aborigines: Bunun (台灣原住民史: 布農族史篇)*. Nantou: Taiwan Historica, 2002.
- Yu, Yonghe (郁永河). *Small Sea Travel Diaries : Yu Yonghe's Records of Taiwan (裨海紀遊)*. Translated by Macabe Keliher. Taipei: SMC Publishing, 2004.
- Yushan National Park Headquarters. "National Park Law." <http://www.ysnp.gov.tw/en/aboutus/parklaw.aspx>, accessed 24 February 2012.
- . "The New 7 Wonders of Nature — Vote for Yushan Now." Yushan National Park Headquarters, http://np.cpami.gov.tw/english/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2626&Itemid=99, accessed 11 June 2010.
- Zurba, Melanie, Helen Ross, Arturo Izurieta, Philip Rist, Ellie Bock, and Fikret Berkes. "Building Co-Management as a Process: Problem Solving through Partnerships in Aboriginal Country, Australia." *Environmental Management* 49 (2012): 1130-42.