

Expert-centred discourses and Indigenous autonomy in post-disaster settings

Insights from Wutai Rukai experiences in Taiwan



Minna Hsu

BA University of Maryland, College Park
MA School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London

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Department of Geography and Planning, Macquarie University

[Research conducted under cotutelle agreement between Department of Geography and Planning, Macquarie University (Australia) and Department of Ethnic Relations and Cultures, College of Indigenous Studies, National Dong Hwa University (Taiwan)]

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Photos, clockwise from top left: (1) sign for Wutai and Provincial Highway 24, the only drivable road through Wutai Township [28 Dec 2010]; (2) landscape en route to Old Haocha by foot [25 Feb 2014]; (3) former Presbyterian Church at New Haocha, buried to second floor after landslides [27 Feb 2014]; (4) on the road to Wutai [2 Jul 2011]. These photos and all others included in this thesis are my own unless otherwise noted.

For everyone displaced in the wake of Typhoon Morakot

May you always find your way home.

「獻給因為莫拉克颱風而流離的族人：希望你永遠能找到回家的路。」
*sacebane kudra ngwalai ki takivalrigane ki Morakot si mawvagavagai: ku asidramanenai
muswane anitumane si kidringai ku sangwabalriyu ku kadalranane pakela lumamilringi.*

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Abstract

This thesis explores ways in which expert-centred discourses have shaped post-disaster circumstances in Taiwan. By focusing on the experiences of Indigenous Rukai people affected by Typhoon Morakot in 2009, the thesis contextualises and critiques “expert”-centred disaster response, recovery and reconstruction. Focusing on local Wutai Rukai settings in southern Taiwan, the thesis considers how expert-centred discourses and associated approaches can displace complex pre-disaster histories, geographies and cultures. Starting from a disaster event, these discourses are mobilised with state-sanctioned procedures that assume the incapacity of the local to respond and recover without expert intervention.

The thesis argues that locally-contingent, culturally and historically contextualised people-to-people, people-to-environment and people-to-cosmos relationships fundamentally shape the pre-disaster circumstances of communities and localities affected by so-called natural disasters. Such relationships, glossed as “Country” in Indigenous Australian settings, ground understandings of how the disaster created by Morakot was situated in Wutai Rukai histories and geographies. Institutional capacity deficits embedded within the disaster discourses and approaches were mobilised in the wake of Morakot, contributing directly to procedural vulnerability of Wutai Rukai institutions and reinforcing colonial processes already present prior to the “disaster” of the typhoon. Privileging technical experts in the reconstruction process simultaneously marginalised and silenced more locally and culturally nuanced recovery discourses and approaches. The privileging of technical expertise in such instances is part of a wider process, where the enduring implications of expert-centred discourses reflect how the dominant culture defines successful post-disaster responses in Indigenous domains. In response to the combination of natural and unnatural disasters that characterised the situation of Wutai Rukai people after Morakot, this thesis lays foundations for a different way for the agents and agencies of technical expertise to better understand and engage with the capacities and expertise of local people in their own lives, values, and aspirations in post-disaster settings.

Candidate's statement

I, Minna Hsu, declare that the work presented in this thesis is my original research and that the ideas of others have been duly cited and acknowledged in the text. This thesis is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and has not been submitted, in whole or in part, for a higher degree to this or any other university or institution. Ethics approval for this research was obtained from the Macquarie University Human Research Committee (5201200804).¹

Minna Hsu
December 2015

¹ In September 2013, the Ethics Secretariat of the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee extended an invitation for the ethics application of this research to be added to a resource library of applications commended by the Human Research Ethics Committee (Human Sciences and Humanities) for their high quality (Appendix 2). Assent was given, on the condition that the names of individuals and other personal details in the original application could be obscured prior to inclusion in the record. Accordingly, researchers are able to request a copy of the application in hard copy or by email from the Ethics Secretariat; permission was also granted for the application to be used in teaching exercises.

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Though my name appears as sole author of this thesis, a great many people have made significant contributions to this research. Foremost, I express my sincere gratitude for the generosity extended by (for lack of a more suitable delineation!) the people of Wutai Township and those who took part in this research; thank you for sharing with me your stories, experiences, hopes, fears. I also wish to express my appreciation to the individuals from the MPDRC, NGOs and other various institutions involved in post-Morakot recovery, who so kindly took the time to recollect and revisit their memories and experiences of reconstruction in Taiwan.

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Acronyms and abbreviations

| | |
|---------------|--|
| ADRRS | Agency-driven reconstruction in relocated site |
| CIP | Council of Indigenous Peoples |
| DMTIP | Digital Museum of Taiwan Indigenous Peoples |
| DRM | Disaster risk management |
| DRR | Disaster risk reduction |
| GFDRR | Global Facility for Disaster Reduction and Recovery |
| IFRC | International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies |
| KMT | Kuomingtang (Chinese Nationalist Party) |
| MPDRC | Morakot Post-Disaster Reconstruction Council, Executive Yuan |
| NCDR | National Science and Technology Center for Disaster Reduction |
| NDHU | National Dong Hwa University |
| NGO | Non-governmental organisation |
| NSTM | National Science and Technology Museum |
| PCT | Presbyterian Church in Taiwan |
| ROC | Republic of China |
| TJCID | Tajen University Center for Indigenous Development |
| UNDRIP | United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples |
| UNISDR | United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction |

Preface

In August 2009, Typhoon Morakot brought strong winds and torrential rains to Taiwan, triggering severe flooding and landslides throughout its central and southern regions. Eleven counties and cities covering half of Taiwan's surface area (35,980 square kilometres) were affected by the typhoon, with 9.16 million residents or 40 percent of the nation's total population (approximately 23 million people), directly affected. Damages were nationally significant (see Table 1). However, the disproportionate distribution of those damages was also significant; nearly 80 percent of the affected areas were home to Indigenous peoples. In the aftermath, the government, military, private organisations, and various sectors of Taiwanese society became involved in disaster relief efforts. On 15 August 2009, the national government of Taiwan established the Morakot Post-Disaster Reconstruction Council (MPDRC) to coordinate relief, resettlement, and reconstruction.

Table 1: Estimated losses from Typhoon Morakot

| Item | Amount (100 Million NTD) |
|---|--|
| 1. Total property damage that can be monetized | 1,998.3 |
| (1) Direct loss (loss of property) | 1,896.8 |
| a. Flood damage to homes | 53.1 |
| b. General damage to homes and buildings (incl. amenities) | 43.4 |
| c. Direct industry losses | 273.5 |
| (a) Agriculture, forestry, fishing and livestock industries | 194.0 |
| (b) Industrial (direct losses to business) | 23.3 |
| (c) Commercial (direct losses to speciality business districts) | 11.8 |
| (d) Tourism facilities | 21.8 |
| (e) Indigenous specialty industries | 22.6 |
| d. Infrastructure damage | 1,526.8 |
| (2) Indirect losses (loss of revenues) | 101.5 |
| a. Agriculture | 81.6 |
| b. Industry | 5.9 |
| c. Service industry | 14.0 |
| 2. Losses that can't be monetized | 699 people dead or missing, damage to natural environment and scenic areas, damage to indigenous peoples' culture, humanities and historic sites |

Please note the perfunctory acknowledgement paid to the disproportionate distribution of damages resulting from Morakot, with Indigenous losses aggregated into a single amount as "specialty industries", or represented as unable to be monetised. This table was directly drawn from a MPDRC compilation of figures provided by the various ministries of Taiwan. (Source: MPDRC, 2011a, p. 5)

Wutai Township in Pingtung County is home to primarily Indigenous Rukai people. My first visit to the area was towards the end of December 2010. At that time, affected Wutai Rukai residents had been relocated to the reconstruction settlement of Changzhi Baihe for a just few months (since 6 August 2010) or had officially moved in to permanent housing at the reconstruction settlement of Rinari (see Figure 8) a few days prior (on 25 December 2010). For the next year and a half I was based in Pingtung, working as a research assistant on post-Morakot issues at the Tajen University Center for Indigenous Development from February 2011 to May 2012, and residing at Rinari from December 2011 to May 2012. This time in Pingtung provided an experiential foundation to my understanding of and engagement with the post-disaster circumstances in the area that later became the focus of my PhD research. Navigating various and shifting positionalities (my own, in addition to others') presented considerable challenges but also allowed me to more fully reflect on the dynamic, complex processes of research as well as post-disaster recovery and reconstruction, that form the focus of this thesis.

Five years after Typhoon Morakot, the MPDRC was disestablished with its work seen as completed (MPDRC, 2014b) and the "Recovery and Reconstruction after Morakot Permanent Exhibition" (莫拉克風災重建展示館) opened at the National Science and Technology Museum (NSTM) in Kaohsiung, southern Taiwan on 8 August 2014—the "anniversary" of the typhoon.² Sponsored by the MPDRC and the NSTM, with a number of powerful co-sponsors,³ the permanent exhibition is comprised of five main areas:

² The use of 8.8.2009 as the official date of the Morakot event reconstructs the timing of the typhoon's trajectory to some extent; the typhoon made landfall in southern Taiwan on 7 August. The appellation of Typhoon Morakot in English as "8 8 Morakot" (also referred to variously as 88 flood/88 typhoon/88 storm from 八八風災), sounds in Mandarin Chinese as "bā bā Morakot" and coincides with Father's Day in Taiwan, which (also sounding like "father", 爸爸, *bàba* in Chinese) is a reminder of how issues of labelling, representation and meaning are constructed discursively and in response to a range of vested interests, contingencies and opportunities. These are issues taken up throughout the thesis, particularly in Chapters Four and Six.

³ Exhibition co-sponsors: Ministry of the Interior (National Fire Agency, National Airborne Service Corps), Ministry of National Defense, Ministry of Economic Affairs (Water Resources Agency, Central Geological Survey), Ministry of Transportation and Communications (Directorate General of Highways, Central Weather Bureau), Council of Agriculture (Soil and Water Conservation Bureau), National Science and Technology Center for Disaster Reduction (NCDR), Red Cross Society of the Republic of China (Taiwan), Buddhist Compassion Relief Tzu Chi Foundation, World Vision Taiwan

- A 區 重回莫拉克 (Area A: *Return to Morakot*)
- B 區 重建之路 (Area B: *The Road to Reconstruction*)
- C 區 風災科學觀 (Area C: *Scientific Perspectives of Disaster*)
- D 區 省思與前瞻 (Area D: *Reflection and Prospects*)
- E 區 迎向未來 (Area E: *Looking to the Future*)⁴

Before bringing the reader into the thesis, it is appropriate to provide some sense of Morakot. The NSTM exhibition offers a useful window on Morakot, and this preface uses images and video clips from the exhibition (Figures 1-6, 38 and Appendix 1). While doing so offers a useful starting point, the thesis ultimately also offers a critique of what is presented in the permanent exhibition as historical truth.



Figure 1: Entry to the exhibition, NSTM 6th floor.

To the left are replicas of a Provincial Highway 21 sign and Namasia Township Office structure from one of the areas affected by the typhoon; to the right is a Morakot memorial.

⁴ The English translations provided here are my own. Throughout the text I provide translations from Chinese to English except where otherwise indicated (for instance, in some cases materials are available directly in English). At various points, the nature of official translations and the complexity of translation and interpretation are issues that become central to the thesis argument, and the negotiation of multiple language contexts is one of the key methodological issues discussed in Chapter Three.



Figure 2: The Morakot Memorial at the entrance to the NTSM exhibition

The text of the memorial is on a series of plaques presented in a “traditional” Chinese form, providing an official account of the typhoon as a “veritable record” (see Figure 6).

After walking through the exhibition entry, visitors are invited to “Return to Morakot” (重回莫拉克) through an immersive theatre experience. The video clips on the CD in Appendix 1 introduce the NSTM Morakot exhibition and the “Return to Morakot”.⁵ In the first file (1)⁶ at [1:13], parts of the immersive theatre experience are depicted, which is further detailed in files (2)⁷ and (3)⁸. The surround format of this part of the exhibition aims to recreate elements of the typhoon experience. It begins with the calm stillness prior to Morakot making landfall then quickly escalates, and building urgency through both sight and sound; the audience is offered aerial views from within a rescue helicopter, is given the impression of standing amidst roaring flood waters, followed by images of entire buildings toppling into rivers and large-scale landslides. The experience ends with a photo montage accompanied by captions, the sound of steady rain falling and mournful music in the background.⁹

⁵ Video clips (1) (2) and (3) were retrieved from the Morakot official records at:

<http://morakot.nstm.gov.tw/index.php?slot=4&page=2>

⁶ http://morakot.nstm.gov.tw/images/uploads/03_90S%20CF0220140904.mp4

⁷ <http://morakot.nstm.gov.tw/images/uploads/Chinirse-English20140904.mp4>

⁸ <http://morakot.nstm.gov.tw/images/uploads/0802-E1-1.mov20140904.mp4>

⁹ This is captured in my own video-recording of the exhibition from 24 Oct 2014, provided as Video Clip 4 in Appendix 1.

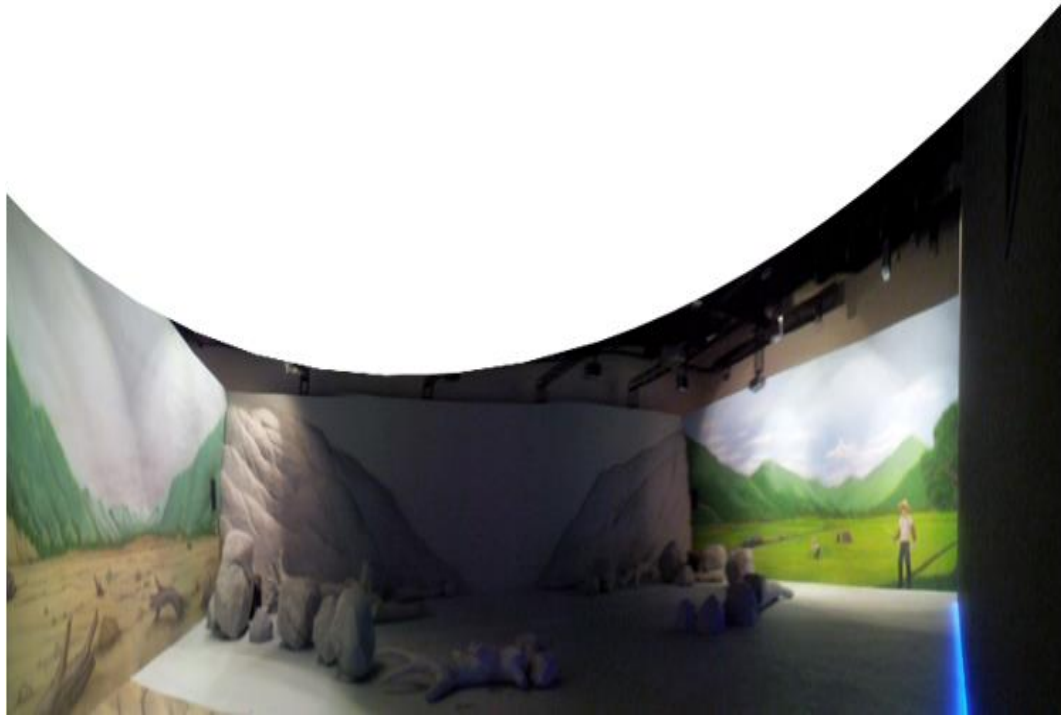


Figure 3: The immersive theatre, before and after the “Return to Morakot”

(Photo editing credit: David Ansari)

On my first time visiting the NSTM Morakot exhibition,¹⁰ I stepped into the theatre not knowing what to expect. As someone who did not personally experience Typhoon Morakot, the anxiety and sorrow I felt during those minutes in the theatre can only be a fraction of what those who faced the typhoon must have experienced, and would probably experience again if they visit the exhibition. One wonders about the potential impact of this immersion simulation if anyone displaced by Morakot visits the theatre without any prior warning or indication that the events depicted therein may cause distress. The theatre experience, especially as an introduction to the rest of the exhibition, recaptures some of the intensity of the disaster event—yet, to what end? Are these technologically impressive, dramatic methods the only means of inspiring empathy and understanding in those who did not directly experience the event?

¹⁰ I visited the NSTM Morakot exhibition a total of three times: on 24 October 2014, 24 December 2014 and 25 May 2015.



Figure 4: “Return to Morakot” final photo montage

Next to last image shown. The text reads: “As we mourn, we should also reflect on what we still have and what have we learned from all of this?” (在悲傷之餘更值得我們深思的是我們還擁有什麼？又獲得了什麼樣子的啟示?). Yet, who is the “we” in this case, and are they the same in each instance? Who is meant to be doing the reflecting, and the learning? In Figure 5, a “we” and “them” emerge.



Figure 5: Second to last image shown in “Return to Morakot”

The text reads: “There has been unconditional love and support for the victims in Taiwan. Together we can help to give them strength and hope. We will help them see a better tomorrow!” (因為，在臺灣的土地上有許多無私偉大的愛心在支持協助這些承受苦難同胞，給他們力量讓他們看見明天的希望!) The question of who reflects and learns (from Figure 4) remains ambiguous.

The take-home messages of the exhibition are somewhat unclear save for an unmistakable point that the exhibition is presented as a faithful, truthful account of successful recovery and reconstruction after Morakot, as well as of the roles played by the government and other institutions, and the plight of the disaster “victims”. These claims are evident from the NSTM exhibition website, shown in Figure 6. The title of the website, 拉克颱風災後重建實錄, has been officially translated in English to “Typhoon Morakot Disaster Rebuilding Complete Record”.



Figure 6: Recovery and Reconstruction after Morakot exhibition homepage

This site (<http://morakot.nstm.gov.tw>) also hosts the archive of the official MPDRC website, <http://morakotdatabase.nstm.gov.tw/88flood.www.gov.tw/index.html>, which was formerly located at 88flood.www.gov.tw prior to the disestablishment of the MPDRC. The final two characters, 實錄 (*shilü*) circled in red above within the title of the website, have a significant genealogy which makes their use in this context deeply significant. The direct translation of *shilü* in English is “veritable record”, an innovation from the Tang Dynasty (617-907 CE) and commissioned for successive dynasties of imperial China as well. Veritable Records were “the most important and prestigious products of official historiography, the authorized official account of each individual emperor’s reign. The compilation of a Veritable Record was not simply a routine rewriting of the official record but was in every case a major and deliberate political act” (Twitchett, 2002, pp. 119-121).

What is less clear for visitors to the permanent exhibition is how Indigenous peoples affected by the disaster and the reconstruction processes have experienced, valued and assessed the successes (and failures or shortcomings) of post-Morakot recovery. The exhibition's orderly narrative from disaster to reconstruction sits uncomfortably with the experience on the ground in many places, symptomatic of a prevailing yet less publicly visible critique following Typhoon Morakot.

This thesis engages with the messy, in-between spaces of less-than-linear recovery and the ambiguities of success in the intricate intercultural politics of contemporary Taiwan. It disrupts that linear narrative and asks the reader to accept a more complex, uncertain and differentiated representation of both recovery and success –and to consider the wider implications of this disruption for thinking about how Indigenous peoples' concerns and interests are addressed in disaster recovery efforts.

1 Introduction

This thesis explores ways in which expert-centred discourses shape post-disaster circumstances in Indigenous domains. It is particularly concerned with the experience of Indigenous peoples in post-disaster settings, and draws on an emerging literature that suggests that vulnerability and resilience to disaster needs to be reconsidered (Haalboom & Natcher, 2012; Hilhorst et al., 2015; Veland et al., 2013). One of the general changes that have occurred in disaster risk reduction (DRR) is an effort to engage with the idea of social differentiation, which comes in opposition to earlier technocratic, top-down disaster risk management (DRM) approaches.¹¹ This push for a more differentiated approach corresponds with a reconceptualisation of disaster, and has given rise to the incorporation of concepts such as vulnerability and resilience (Kelman, 2011; Klein et al., 2003; Manyena, 2006; Miller et al., 2010; Paton & Johnston, 2001; UNISDR, 2005; Vogel et al., 2007), and the consideration of culture in DRR (Button, 2010; Companion, 2015; Krüger et al., 2015).

The United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction (UNISDR) defines a disaster as “a serious disruption of the functioning of a community or a society involving widespread human, material, economic or environmental losses and impacts, which exceeds the ability of the affected community or society to cope using its own resources” (UNISDR, 2007). The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) expand on this definition, adding that although disasters are often caused by nature they can have human origins, and occur when a hazard impacts on vulnerable people, even providing a formula (IFRC, 2015):

$$(VULNERABILITY + HAZARD) / CAPACITY = DISASTER$$

It has long been recognised that disasters in human society are not simply ‘natural’ (O’Keefe et al., 1976). Natural hazards, then, are not necessarily synonymous with

¹¹ DRR is generally understood to mean the comprehensive development and application of policies, strategies and practices to analyse and manage the causal factors of disasters. DRM is often used in similar contexts to mean much the same thing: a systematic approach to identifying, assessing and reducing risks of all kinds associated with hazards and adverse events. It is more specifically applied to the operational aspects of DRR, the practical implementation of DRR initiatives aimed at lessening the impacts of hazards and the possibility of disaster (UNISDR, 2007).

disasters, which may be considered “less the result of geophysical extremes, such as earthquakes, hurricanes, and floods, and more the function of ongoing social orders as they overlie physical environments” (Oliver-Smith & Hoffman, 1999, p. 5).

Clearly, there is a cultural, historical and geographical scope to the complexities of disaster. There has been an increase in international policy papers/discourse advocating the importance of Indigenous and local knowledges to DRR (Gaillard & Mercer, 2013; Mercer et al., 2010; Kelman & Mercer, 2014). However, Indigenous knowledges are neither completely local, nor homogenous or shared (Hilhorst et al., 2015, p. 306). Contextual, situated approaches to understanding Indigenous experiences of disaster are needed in order to better mobilise the capacities and expertise of affected peoples in post-disaster settings. This thesis contributes to the literature discussing the incorporation (or underrepresentation) of Indigenous knowledges within DRR, in light of the discourses that are founded in technical expertise which still tend to privilege dominant DRM practices despite the emerging concerns in academic DRR literature.

There is considerable disconnect between Indigenous rights concerns and the ways in which disaster recovery and management affecting Indigenous peoples proceed. Ideally, disaster recovery and management involving Indigenous peoples should acknowledge and respect their rights. In many settings, however, acknowledgement and respect of Indigenous rights, peoples or cultures is, at best, ambiguous. The construction of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) was a deeply contested process (UNDRIP, 2007). At the interface between Indigenous issues and disaster risks, Taiwan offers a unique perspective. Taiwan’s formal exclusion from UN forums creates ambivalence in the application of such rights. However, Taiwan’s 2005 Indigenous Peoples Basic Law (原住民族基本法)¹² (hereafter referred to as Basic Law) effectively anticipated many aspects of the UNDRIP that was finally accepted in the General Assembly in 2007. The Basic Law provides a clear statement of principles, but is not legally enforceable as statute, which has led to

¹² An officially translated version of the Basic Law is available from the Laws and Regulations Database of the Republic of China (Taiwan): <http://law.moj.gov.tw/Eng/LawClass/LawAll.aspx?PCode=D0130003> (25 Jun 2015)

inadequate legal protection for the autonomy of Indigenous peoples in Taiwan (Mona, 2007; Mona & Simon, 2013; Simon, 2007, pp. 236-237; Simon & Mona, 2015; Wessendorf, 2008, pp. 270-272). It recognises the autonomy of Indigenous peoples on their designated land, states that government funds will be made available to develop Indigenous languages and prohibits the forced removal of Indigenous people from their land. That is, the Basic Law provides a level of recognition of the rights of Indigenous groups to be protected from arbitrary relocation. Yet in the disaster setting, such rights have not been observed, nor properly recognised by some institutions involved in post-disaster resettlement and reconstruction activities (this is explored in relation to Typhoon Morakot in Chapters Two and Four).

Major international agencies, not-for-profit and charitable organisations and national governments rely on a professional engagement with DRR and the capacity to mobilise responses to disaster events (Figure 7 illustrates the disaster management cycle as it is generally understood). In disaster discourse, *mitigation* involves preventative measures to reduce the cost and effect of disasters; *preparedness* includes plans to deal with disasters and their effects; *response* is the process of providing assistance to those affected by disaster and making affected areas safe; *recovery* is the means by which affected areas are assisted in returning to “normal” and comprises reconstruction and rehabilitation measures (UNISDR, 2007).



Figure 7: Disaster management cycle
(Source: adapted from USFHW, 2015)

Indigenous peoples are often marginalised in these disaster processes and discourses (Howitt et al., 2011; Veland et al., 2013), and characterised as vulnerable because they are Indigenous (Ellemor, 2005; Haalboom & Natcher, 2012). This thesis focuses on these discourses and characterisations. In doing so, it aims to examine the ways in which the discourses and practices of disaster management interact with Indigenous cultures, experiences and rights. Focusing on Wutai Rukai experiences in the context of Typhoon Morakot, the main research questions are:

- How Indigenous rights, cultural values and material interests are understood, acknowledged and addressed in disaster settings?
- How do state and non-state agencies in disaster response and reconstruction respond to Indigenous politics and cultures?
- How do pre-existing dimensions of Indigenous empowerment (or its opposite) play out in post-disaster settings? And
- How Indigenous futures are implicated, constrained or even determined in the way that disaster management is both imagined and practiced in the dominant cultures of disaster responses?

Historically, Indigenous peoples have endured loss of status, property and rights due to processes of colonisation; in the context of disasters, the ongoing ambiguities and uncertainties of recognition are often heightened rather than addressed or alleviated.

The thesis argues that:

- 1) Locally-contingent, culturally and historically contextualised understandings of people-to-people, people-to-environment and people-to-cosmos relationships fundamentally shape the pre-disaster circumstances of Indigenous peoples and localities affected by so-called natural disasters, and
- 2) Post-disaster responses must recognise, respect and respond to these existing relationships to avoid reinforcing unjust colonial processes.

In circumstances where disaster “expertise” risks displacing, disorienting, and reorienting futures, aspirations, values, lives; good intentions may not be enough. Beyond documentation and reflection, there need to be actions towards truly generating a “better tomorrow” (Figure 5).

Situating the thesis: Taiwan as the research setting

As already suggested, Taiwan offers a unique perspective on the interplay between disasters and Indigenous issues. Taiwan is often besieged by natural hazards, to the point where it has been called “a disaster island” (Lin, 2013). In 2005 the World Bank published *Natural Disaster Hotspots: A Global Risk Analysis* (Dilley et al., 2005), in which a key finding was that Taiwan may be one of the places on Earth most vulnerable to natural hazards, with 73 percent of its land and population exposed to three or more hazards (mainly earthquakes, cyclones/typhoons, floods, landslides). Since the 921 Earthquake in September 1999, the Taiwanese government has been trying to improve their disaster management framework, with major institutional changes still occurring (Wen et al., 2014).

However, “no single form of knowledge and no single approach can be a panacea for dealing with multiple hazards” (Kelman & Mercer, 2014, p. 287). Typhoon Morakot was dubbed the “flood of the century” by national media and in official records (MPDRC 2011a). By focusing on Wutai Rukai settings in southern Taiwan, the thesis considers how expert-centred discourses and associated disaster response, recovery and reconstruction practices discount and hence displace complex pre-disaster histories, geographies and cultures. These discourses and practices are mobilised with state-sanctioned procedures that start with the moment of the disaster event (as does the NSTM Morakot exhibition described in the Preface), and assume the incapacity of the local to respond and recover without expert intervention.

Deep and complex people-environment-cosmos relationships, glossed as “Country” in Indigenous Australian settings, are illustrative of how the disaster created by Morakot was situated in a longer, broader continuum of Wutai Rukai histories and geographies (Chapter Two). In response to the combination of natural and unnatural disasters that characterised the situation of Wutai Rukai people after Morakot, this thesis lays foundations for the agents and agencies of technical expertise to better understand and engage with the capacities and expertise of local people in post-disaster settings. The research reported engaged with expert-centred discourses and their associated practices in the post-Morakot, post-disaster setting through in-depth qualitative

methods of inquiry using ethnographic approaches such as participant observation and interviews, as well as discourse analysis to “study up” (Chapter Three).

Institutional capacity deficits were, inevitably, embedded within the disaster response discourses and approaches that were mobilised in the wake of Morakot. These, perhaps also inevitably, contributed directly to procedural vulnerability of Wutai Rukai institutions and reinforced colonial processes already present prior to the “disaster” of the typhoon (Chapters Four and Five). Privileging technical experts in the reconstruction process simultaneously marginalised and silenced more locally and culturally nuanced recovery discourses and approaches. The privileging of technical expertise in such instances is part of a wider process, where the enduring implications of expert-centred discourses reflect how dominant cultures define successful post-disaster responses in Indigenous domains.

The main agencies and institutions of recovery considered in this thesis are the Morakot Post-Disaster Reconstruction Council (MPDRC) and the primary NGOs involved in the resettlement and reconstruction of the Rukai tribal communities in Wutai Township—Buddhist Compassion Relief Tzu Chi Foundation (hereafter referred to as Tzu Chi), World Vision Taiwan,¹³ and the Red Cross Society of the Republic of China (Taiwan) (hereafter referred to as Red Cross). Their roles in post-Morakot recovery processes are most visible through the provision of permanent housing and their co-sponsorship of the NSTM Morakot exhibition introduced in the Preface.

This study focuses on the administratively delineated area of Wutai Township (霧台鄉), with an area of 278 square kilometres, average elevation higher than 1000 meters, population of 3,435 and primarily inhabited by Indigenous Rukai people. Wutai is classified as a mountain Indigenous rural township located in the northeast of Pingtung County in southern Taiwan (see Figure 8). During Japanese colonial rule of Taiwan (from 1895 to 1945), Wutai Township was grouped with present-day Sandimen and Majia Townships as “Savage Land” (蕃地), and governed under the Heitō District (屏東

¹³ World Vision Taiwan was officially incorporated into the World Vision international partnership as a field office in 1964 (World Vision International, 2015).

郡) of Takao (present-day Pingtung County and Kaohsiung City). Present-day Wutai Township encompasses eight tribal communities (部落, *bùluò*): *Adiri* (Ali, 阿禮), *Labuane* (Dawu, 大武), *Kucapungane* (Haocha, 好茶), *Karamemedisane* (Jiamu, 佳暮), *Kinulane* (Jilu, 吉露), and *Vedai* (Wutai, 霧台), *Kabalelradhane* (Shenshan, 神山) and *Kudrengere* (Guchuan (Yila), 谷川).¹⁴ Ali, Dawu, Haocha, Jiamu and Jilu are each administratively classified as villages (村, *cūn*); Guchuan, Shenshan and Wutai, are together classified as Wutai Village (for clarification, see Table 2).

Table 2: Wutai Township administrative delineation

| Tribal community (部落, <i>bùluò</i>) | Village (村, <i>cūn</i>) |
|---|---------------------------------|
| Ali | Ali |
| Dawu | Dawu |
| Haocha | Haocha |
| Jiamu | Jiamu |
| Jilu | Jilu |
| Guchuan | Wutai |
| Shenshan | |
| Wutai | |

After Typhoon Morakot, five of the eight Rukai tribal communities in Wutai Township, were relocated to new settlements in the lowlands at elevations of 200 meters or less: Ali, Jiamu, Jilu, and Guchuan were moved to the Changzhi Baihe (長治百合) settlement, initially constructed by Buddhist Compassion Relief Tzu Chi Foundation, and Haocha was relocated to the Rinari (禮納里) settlement, built by World Vision Taiwan (see Figure 8 and Table 3).

¹⁴ The Rukai names of the tribal communities are in *italics* here, followed by the romanised Chinese name, then the name in Chinese characters. After the arrival of the KMT on Taiwan, tribal communities were assigned names in Chinese along with being officially organised into administrative villages (e.g., *Kucapungane* is administratively recognised as Haocha Village, 好茶村). For consistency, tribal communities and villages will hereafter be referred to mainly by their romanised Chinese names (e.g. Haocha rather than *Kucapungane*) unless otherwise specified.

Table 3: Rinari and Changzhi Baihe permanent housing details

| | NGO in charge of permanent housing construction | # of houses built (planned) | # of houses built (actual)/ tribal community |
|-----------------------|---|------------------------------------|--|
| Rinari | World Vision Taiwan | 483 | 483 / Haocha: 177, Dashe: 174, Majia: 132 |
| Changzhi Baihe | <i>Period 1: Tzu Chi</i> | 509 (Period 1 + Period 2) | <i>Period 1 : 164</i> / Ali: 51, Jiamu: 44, Jilu: 24, Guchuan: 18; Dalai: 13, Dewen: 4 |
| | <i>Period 2: Taiwan Red Cross + Presbyterian Church of Taiwan (PCT)</i> | | <i>Period 2 : 106</i> (Red Cross: 70, PCT: 36) >>Total: 270 |

Note: Administratively, most of the resettled tribal communities are classified as villages and from various townships; at the Rinari settlement: Haocha Village (Wutai Township), Dashe (Sandimen Township), Majia (Majia Township); at Changzhi Baihe settlement: Ali, Jiamu + Jilu Villages + Guchuan tribal community (Wutai Township), Dalai Village + Dewen Village (Sandimen Township). This administrative complexity is further discussed in Chapter Four. (Source: Shieh, 2013; MPDRC, 2011a)

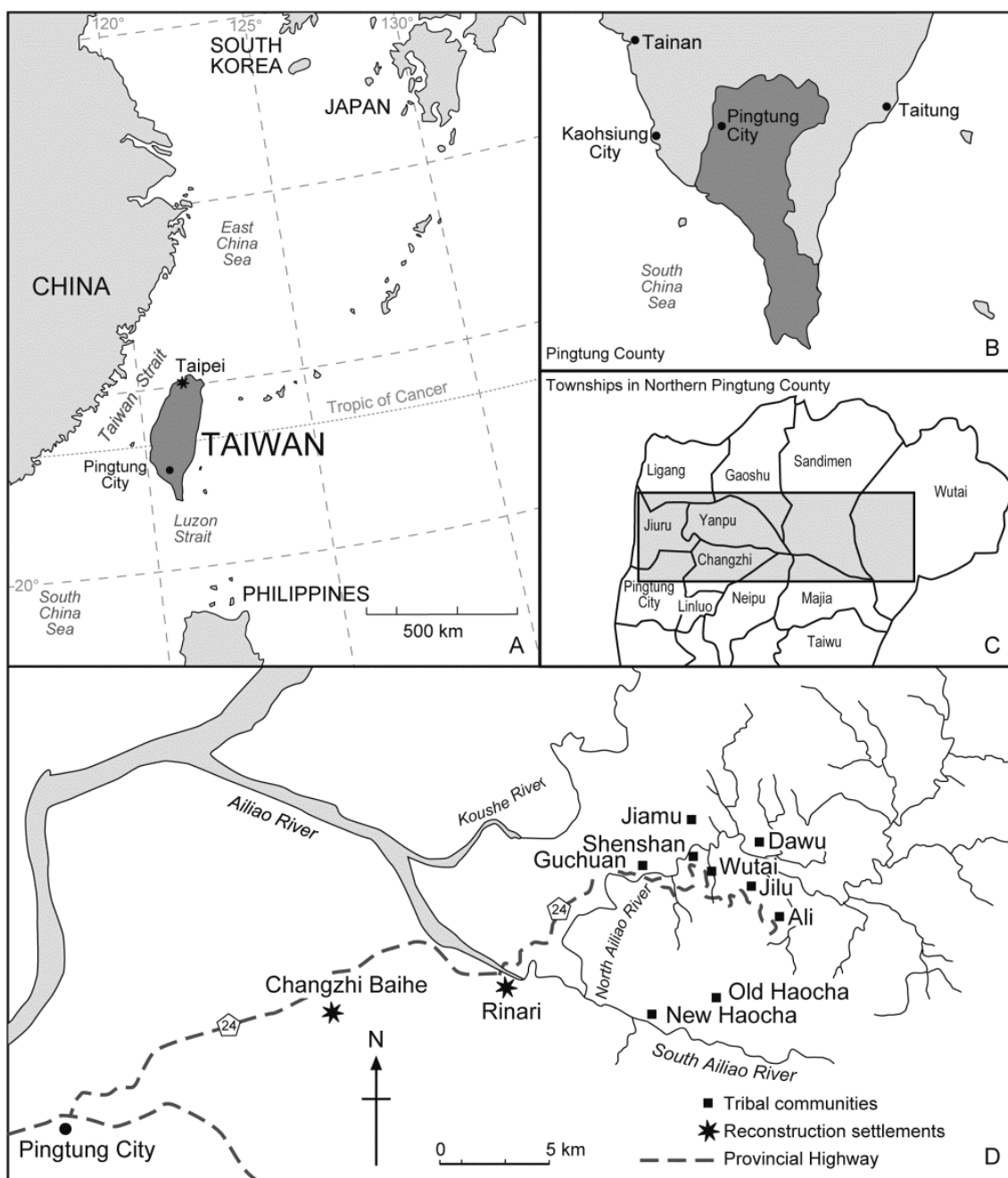


Figure 8: Relocated Rukai tribal communities in Wutai Township

This map is reproduced from Map 1 in Chapter Four. (Map credit: Judy Davis)

Wutai Township: A photo essay

Childs (2006) says of disaster imagery, “[they] make us feel as if we can see what really happened, sometimes as it happened” (p. 205). The incorporation of photos in this thesis does not presume to portray a totality of post-Morakot Rukai experiences in Wutai Township, nor provide an objective truth of what “really” happened. It is acknowledged that the use of images includes choices about representation, “asking the viewer ‘to see’ contexts, subjects, artifacts in particular ways” (Childs, 2006, p. 206) as the Preface has already done. A series of photos depicting various places in Wutai Township follow. However, the intention is that rather than simply presenting the changes wrought by Typhoon Morakot, the photos (both here and elsewhere in the thesis) are to be understood as illustrating parts of the bigger story about how disaster unfolded in Wutai Rukai settings that this research aims to tell.



Figure 9: North Ailiao River Valley and Guchuan tribal village [30 Jun 2011]

On the right bank of the river is Guchuan (Yila) tribal village. A number of households from Guchuan were resettled at Changzhi Baihe post-Morakot. The bridge under construction here is Guchuan Bridge (Figure 10), meant to replace Wutai Bridge No. 1, which was destroyed by debris and floodwater in 2009 during Typhoon Morakot.



Figure 10: Guchuan Bridge [31 Oct 2013]

99 m tall, 654 m long and 10 m wide, currently the tallest bridge in Taiwan. Guchuan Bridge opened for traffic on 5 October 2013 and spans the North Ailiao River Valley as part of Provincial Highway 24.



Figure 11: Wutai tribal community [28 Dec 2010]

One of the three tribal communities (Wutai, Shenshan, Dawu) in Wutai Township that were not resettled post-Morakot.



Figure 12: Wutai tribal community [14 Nov 2014]



Figure 13: Jilu tribal community, pre-Morakot [28 Mar 2009]
 (Source: treekuo 樹, <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/26374561>)



Figure 14: Jilu tribal community, post-Morakot [2 Jul 2011]



Figure 15: Ali tribal community, post-Morakot [2 Jul 2011]

The houses and buildings of Ali are just visible amongst the lush foliage to the right of the photo. The circumstance of “upper” and “lower” Ali varied greatly after Typhoon Morakot, making the designation of “special zones” highly contentious; this is further discussed in Chapter Six and in Lin (2013).



Figure 16: Ali tribal community, post-Morakot [2 Jul 2013]

(Source: 香璞 廖, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/shampooliao/7264257632/>)



Figure 17: Jiamu tribal community, pre-Morakot [3 Aug 2009]

(Source: 霧台民宿, <http://wutai.pixnet.net/album/photo/127588721>)



Figure 18: Jiamu tribal community, post-Morakot [10 Dec 2013]

(Source: 阿盛, <http://sheng1378.pixnet.net/album/photo/442718244>)



Figure 19: New Haocha, pre-Morakot [27 May 2007]

Haocha tribal community was relocated from Old Haocha to New Haocha in 1978 (see Figures 8, 21-22; also detailed further in the following chapters). . (Source: Yi-Lin Hsieh, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/tragicomedy1979/518548795>, Licensed under Creative Commons: <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0>)



Figure 20: New Haocha, post-Morakot [4 Apr 2011]

Typhoon Morakot triggered large-scale flooding and landslides in Wutai Township; New Haocha was completely submerged, leaving only the second floor of the Presbyterian Church building visible. The tribal community cemetery at New Haocha was washed away during another typhoon that occurred three years after Morakot, in June 2012 (see photo of church on title page).



Figure 21: Old Haocha [25 Feb 2014]

In October 2015, Old Haocha (*Kucapungane*) was placed on the 2016 World Monuments Watch list of the World Monuments Fund (WMF), to highlight "the importance of the fragile physical remains of Kucapungane as well as the associated intangible Rukai heritage—the stories, the skills, and the beliefs that create and sustain the living heritage of the region" (WMF, 2015).



Figure 22: Old Haocha, stone slab home [26 Feb 2014]



Figure 23: Rinari settlement, aerial view
 (Source: Ying-Chun Hsieh, <http://www.88news.org/?p=8823>)



Figure 24: Haocha at Rinari [27 Apr 2011]
 Permanent housing settlement built by World Vision Taiwan.



Figure 25: Changzhi Baihe - Period 1 [27 Apr 2011]
 Permanent housing settlement built by Tzu Chi Foundation.



Figure 26: Changzhi Baihe - Period 2 [30 Dec 2011]
 Permanent housing settlement built by Red Cross Taiwan and PCT.
 (Source: <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/70166098>; available under Creative Commons)




Figure 27: Marker at entrance of Changzhi Baihe [27 Apr 2011]

The Chinese characters on the stones read: 屏東長治慈濟大愛園區 (Pingtung Changzhi Tzu Chi Great Love Community). Below the stones are images meant to depict aspects of Rukai and Paiwan culture; from left to right: a hundred-pace snake, pottery with lilies growing from it, and another hundred-pace snake. Directly above the clay pot is a lotus flower, Tzu Chi's official logo (see Figure 22). The settlement was renamed "Changzhi Baihe" when permanent housing construction Period 1 was completed in August 2010. "Baihe" is "lily" in Mandarin; according to Tzu Chi (2010b), "each petal represents one of the six villages at Changzhi Baihe. In Chinese, the lily represents unity and prosperity. So, for the residents, it is a symbol of their shared heritage and hopes for a harmonious future together."

Tzu Chi Logo

Monday, 07 September 2009 00:00 | Tzu Chi Foundation

[Tweet](#) [Recommend](#)



Simultaneously bearing the lotus fruit and flower, the Tzu Chi logo symbolizes that we can make the world a better place by planting good seeds. Only with these seeds can the flowers bloom and bear fruit. A better society can be created with good actions and pure thoughts.

Ship: Tzu Chi steers a ship of compassion to save all beings that suffer.

Eight Petals: The petals represent the Noble Eight Fold Path in Buddhism that Tzu Chi members use as their guide.

The Noble Eight Paths:

| | |
|-------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Right View | 5. Right Livelihood |
| 2. Right Thought | 6. Right Effort |
| 3. Right Speech | 7. Right Mindfulness |
| 4. Right Behavior | 8. Right Concentration |

Figure 28: Tzu Chi logo details

(Source: Tzu Chi, 2009b) Note the eight petals of the lotus flower in contrast to the six petals of the lily. As of December 2015, the marker as depicted in Figure 27 remains at the entrance to Changzhi Baihe.

Framing (and re-framing) the research problem

Essentialised assumptions about Indigeneity and vulnerability leave little space in official and technical discourses for negotiation and navigation of alternate pathways towards recovery and reconstruction. In Indigenous settings, the risk is that pre-disaster processes of colonisation and marginalisation are reinforced by the dominant approaches to recovery and reconstruction that become part of what Rose (1996) refers to as “deep colonising”. Deep colonising, Rose (1996, p. 6) suggests:

communicates complex ideas about our contemporary period—a time some people want to label 'post-colonial'... While it is demonstrably the case that many formal relations between Indigenous people and the colonising nation have changed... as have many of the institutions which regulate, these relations, it is also the case that practices of colonisation are very much with us... Colonising practices embedded within decolonising institutions must not be understood simply as negligible side effects of essentially benign endeavours. This embeddedness may conceal, naturalise, or marginalise continuing colonising practices.

When peoples are displaced from lands, resources and relationships (Country)—and as a result from cultural, economic, and spiritual resources—a multitude of social inequities are to be anticipated. These include educational gaps, chronic unemployment, poverty, addictions, and skill deficiencies. Add to this layers of trauma that have been the norm since the entry of colonial forces and the implementation of assimilation or exclusionary policies and programs; such legacies created dependency and dysfunction. The real disaster may be the continuation of these colonial legacies through elected leaders, councils, and post-disaster development projects ostensibly meant to “build back better”.¹⁵

This leads to the need to capture a longer history than starts with the moment of disaster and a wider scope of politics, power and knowledge. DRR and DRM responses to risk and calamity are socio-political to the extent that resources, knowledges, information, and meaning are informed through contested processes involving multiple stakeholders and actors over long time periods. Individual and collective identities, the capacities to speak and act—agency—are effects of discourse and power. In this thesis, power is understood as “employed and exercised through a net-

¹⁵ Build(ing) back better is discussed further in Chapter Four (see also Kennedy et al. 2008; WCDRR, 2015)

like organization” rather than top-down or originating from a single source (Foucault, 1980, p. 98). Discourses can govern what political claims are perceived as meaningful, legitimate, or possible, as well as who can make those claims, and on what grounds (Foucault, 2002, p. 55-61). Discourse theory shares with postcolonial theory a focus on power and knowledge, how linguistic constructions create meaning, and on the importance of language in the production of social and political worlds (Reimerson, 2015, p. 31). This thesis finds that a dominant disaster discourse in Taiwan impacts Indigenous peoples’ autonomy and political agency, such that processes of reproduction, re-articulation, resistance, and reinvention within and across political and administrative levels are shaped and limited by technocratic, expert-centred perspectives of appropriate, successful post-disaster recovery and reconstruction.

Thesis structure

This thesis is presented as a thesis by publication. Through three published papers together with four more conventional chapters, it frames an argument around issues of Wutai Rukai representation, marginalisation and agency. The thesis comprises three sections. The first reframes post-disaster recovery in Indigenous settings in Taiwan and includes Chapters One, Two (a published paper), and Three. The second section focuses on Wutai Rukai institutions of recovery and presents the core empirical work of the research through Chapters Four and Five (a paper accepted for publication and a published paper, respectively). The final section provides a discussion of findings and conclusion in Chapters Six and Seven. The thesis by publication approach means that some fragmentation exists between papers, with some inevitable but necessary repetition of contextual information in each. Short backgrounds to the papers serve to link the discussion in the publications to the wider arguments and make the coherence of the thesis explicit. In the case of two co-authored papers they also explain the authors’ specific contributions.

Chapter Two was the first paper written in the research, and offers a conceptual framing of the thesis argument. Drawing on research in both Taiwanese and Australian settings, the chapter suggests that people-to-people, people-to-environment and people-to-cosmos relationships fundamentally shape pre-disaster circumstances of

peoples and localities affected by so-called natural disasters. These relationships – evoked by the term “Country” in Australian Aboriginal settings – proved to be difficult to translate into Mandarin Chinese, one of the languages of colonisation in Wutai Rukai domains. The idea of Country, however, provides a way of grounding understanding of how the natural disaster created by Typhoon Morakot was situated in a longer story of Wutai Rukai social history and changing Indigenous geographies of the disaster-affected areas.

Chapter Three explores the methodological and conceptual challenges of decentring the researcher-as-expert in the way research is framed. The research design developed for this thesis adopted a studying up approach, paying careful attention to the institutions and processes of formal recovery and reconstruction as well as the experiences of affected people. The research also accepted Wutai Rukai peoples’ expertise in their own lives, values and aspirations as foundational to the complex tasks of post-Morakot recovery and reconstruction. This displaced the values of both the researcher and Taiwanese state and non-government organisations (NGOs) involved in reconstruction, as benchmarks for understanding how recovery was approached, and how the discourses and practices that were mobilised in the wake of Morakot were experienced and understood in the places affected.

Chapter Four was the last paper written in the research and considers the implications of privileging “experts” in defining and delineating Wutai Rukai “communities”, histories and geographies. Having reframed post-disaster recovery as well as research in Indigenous Taiwan settings within the three preliminary chapters to foreground Indigenous-specific needs, rights and values, this paper draws on both historical and ongoing circumstances to provide an empirically-based discussion about how spatial and temporal complexities were reduced to simplified, categorical ways of framing. Issues of translation hinted at in Chapter Two and discussed in terms of methodology in Chapter Three are more fully fleshed out in this chapter.

Chapter Five was the second paper written in the research. It discusses how institutional capacity deficits embedded within the expert disaster agencies led directly

to the procedural vulnerability of Wutai Rukai people and institutions, and reinforced colonising processes that were already affecting them prior to the typhoon event in August 2009. The decision to use an agency-driven reconstruction in relocated sites (ADRRS) approach post-Morakot is explored and critiqued to demonstrate the impacts of the institutional context on Wutai Rukai circumstances.

The study area is reviewed and findings articulated in *Chapter Six*, which elaborates on the lasting consequences of expert-centred disaster recovery and reconstruction in Wutai Rukai domains. It looks at how these dominant (and dominating) discourses shape not just disaster recovery processes and practices, but Indigenous dialogues as well. It explores how these discourses are deployed in a way that continues to compromise the ability of disaster recovery experts and their organisations to adequately respond to Indigenous issues in disaster recovery and reconstruction.

Chapter Seven concludes the thesis by considering the wider implications of the Wutai Rukai case study, assessing the thesis's contribution to addressing the research problem and questions posed in this chapter, offering directions for future research and reflecting on the broader research problem of decolonising disasters.

2 Reframing post-disaster recovery in Indigenous settings

Publication details

This paper was published in the international journal *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*.

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Background

A key moment that led to the conceptualisation of this paper came when musing whether there was a similar word in Mandarin Chinese for the Aboriginal Australian idea of 'Country'. I had been struggling to elucidate why although issues of land ownership and property rights are very real concerns for many Indigenous peoples in Taiwan, it seemed inadequate to refer simply to 'Indigenous connections to land'. Yet this is often what happens, and so some time was spent trying to think of an equivalent term for Country in Mandarin Chinese. Those that did come to mind however, were insufficient. The terms for "landscape" (地景 *dìjǐng*) or "traditional territory" (傳統領域, *chuántǒng lǐngyù*) did not quite fit; "homeland" (故鄉, *gùxiāng*) seemed to come a bit closer, but was at best a vague approximation with a certain something still missing. This led to the realisation that perhaps it was not actually a direct translation of Country that was required, and the eventual explication of the idea of Country as comprised of people-to-people, people-to-environment and people-to-cosmos relationships.

The concept of Country as it frames the discursive context of post-disaster circumstances in Indigenous settings is relevant not just to the empirical chapters that follow (Chapters Four to Six) but also the methodological approaches ultimately used in this research as well (Chapter Three), which drew on existing ideas of Country. This paper argues that attention to the people-environment-cosmos relationships encompassed by Country is essential in developing comprehensive, culturally respectful understandings regarding best practice in post-disaster recovery and reconstruction. By engaging with the specificities of Wutai Rukai post-Morakot

experiences in Taiwan, the chapter highlights the challenges and necessity of incorporating considerations of Country in post-disaster discourse as well as practices. Such engagement opens the possibility of exploring the inadequacies of an “expert” disaster discourse that privileges the restoration of physical resources over intangible, multidimensional relationships and elements. This is the first opportunity for the reader to engage with the challenges to Indigenous autonomy that, in Taiwan, are presented by disregard or ignorance of the significant relationships encompassed within the idea of Country in post-disaster settings.

This paper was written early on in my candidature, long before the “Lost, Found and Troubled in Translation: Reconsidering ‘Imagined’ Indigenous Communities in Post-disaster Taiwan Settings” paper that is Chapter Four of this thesis, was conceptualised. In light of the complexities regarding application of the term “community” in Indigenous settings that are expanded upon in Chapter Four, it is pertinent to mention that community is used throughout this publication where in later instances within the thesis, “tribal community” is used instead.

Contributions

This paper is jointly authored. Richie Howitt and Chun-Chieh Chi are both part of my PhD supervision team (these relationships are further detailed in Chapter Three). The paper evolved from discussions with Professor Howitt prior to and during my preliminary field research in Taiwan from November 2012 to January 2013 and also following my return to Australia, when Professor Chi was drawn more fully into the dialogue. As lead author, I set up the framework underpinning the paper together with Professor Howitt, who contributed to the initial drafting by providing much of the supporting literature on the idea of Country in Indigenous Australia and Indigenous geographies. Professor Chi contributed to the ‘Geographies of connection, disaster and development in Taiwan’ section of the paper by drafting the segment on development. Both Professors Howitt and Chi were also involved with redrafting the final paper after I prepared the first draft, which I presented at the North American Taiwan Studies Association Conference in Santa Barbara, California on 22 June 2013.

The idea of 'Country': Reframing post-disaster recovery in Indigenous Taiwan settings

Minna Hsu,* Richard Howitt* and Chun-Chieh Chi†

*Department of Environment & Geography, Macquarie University, North Ryde, New South Wales 2109, Australia.
Email: minna.hsu@mq.edu.au (M. Hsu)

†Graduate Institute of Ethnic Relations and Culture, National Dong-Hwa University, Hualien 974, Taiwan.
Email: richie.howitt@mq.edu.au / jjjih@mail.ndhu.edu.tw

Abstract: *In Australian Aboriginal thinking, the idea of 'Country' comprises complex ideas about relationships and connection. It simultaneously encompasses territorial affiliation, a social identification and cosmological orientation. It draws attention to what might be glossed as people-to-environment, people-to-people and people-to-cosmos relations. These relations influence disaster responses, but are rarely mobilised explicitly in shaping formal recovery and reconstruction efforts. Colonial disruption of connections to Country imposed new practices and presences into contemporary Indigenous geographies and is often reinforced in disaster settings. This paper considers more recent disruptions arising from post-disaster recovery in Taiwan, arguing that the idea of Country offers a powerful way of framing cultural and social dimensions of post-disaster relief and recovery for government agencies, non-government organisations and research alike.*

Keywords: country, Indigenous rights, Typhoon Morakot, disaster reconstruction, Wutai Rukai

Introduction

In general English usage, the term 'country' refers to a nation or state with its own form of government, located within a particular territory. Its connection to national identity implies both a claim by the state on its citizens and the state's exclusive claim to national territory. In Aboriginal Australia, however, the idea of Country¹ implicates a very different set of connections. It simultaneously encompasses territorial affiliation, a social identification and cosmological orientation. That is, the Aboriginal Australian idea of Country draws attention to what we may gloss as people-to-environment, people-to-people and people-to-cosmos relations. In the Australian context, the idea of Country has not generally implied a nationalist claim of exclusive rights from Indigenous peoples. It has more commonly been used as a statement of connection, belonging, and affinity. By linking these three sets of connections (environment-people-cosmos) as co-constituents of being, the idea of Country offers a way of framing complex Indigenous geogra-

phies that contextualises a range of notions that inform discussion of Indigenous geographies, but are often treated as disconnected from each other, such as 'land rights', 'sovereignty', 'justice', 'recognition' and 'sustainability'.

Thirty years ago von Sturmer (1984) produced a powerful critique of the emphasis on people-land relationships in the *Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976* and its application in the Ranger Uranium Environmental Inquiry (Fox *et al.*, 1977). Von Sturmer suggested that the legislative process privileged particular sorts of relationships to land, but diminished the significance of people-to-people relationships constructing contemporary polities and socialities of Indigenous governance. That is, the land claim process restated the dominant culture's obsession with property (Crabtree, 2013) and failed to understand Indigenous peoples' claims about (rather than to) Country. Outside Australia, the idea of land rights as the basis of Indigenous peoples' claims to recognition reinforces the privileging of property as the marker of rights. Yet Indigenous discourses often emphasise a range of markers of

belonging in addition to land ownership, including language, culture and shared histories and geographies.² In terms of community-scale resilience in disaster settings, where specific property claims may become precarious because of landscape scale, physical changes, population displacement and relocation and resettlement processes, Indigenous concepts of people-environment-cosmos relations will influence community scale responses. This paper advocates the Australian Aboriginal idea of Country as a way to focus attention on Indigenous peoples' rights, cultural concerns and interests in disaster response, recovery and reconstruction settings. Drawing on a critique of colonial disruption as an 'unnatural disaster' (Howitt *et al.*, 2012) that undermines Indigenous peoples' ways of being in terms of culturally mediated social, environmental and cosmological relations, it considers recent Taiwanese experience in the wake of Typhoon Morakot in 2009 to advocate the value of the Australian Aboriginal idea of Country beyond the particularities of Australia.

Australian Indigenous geographies do not generally conceptualise cultural landscapes as passive containers in which Indigenous culture is played out. Rather, the cultural landscape is a sentient partner in the experience of being human. It is a place shared with other humans, other-than-humans and more-than-humans. It is a place of 'co-becoming' (Bawaka Country *et al.*, 2013; see also Wright *et al.*, 2012). The idea of Country insists on attention being paid to people-to-cosmos relationships alongside attentiveness to environmental (people-to-environment) and socio-political (people-to-people) relationships, as central to understanding the experience of being human. In doing so, the idea of Country challenges others to consider all three elements in framing their engagements with and impacts on Indigenous groups. In the context of localised histories of colonisation, this demands attention to questions of power and privilege and their mobilisation in post-disaster settings. For researchers, this has implications for research questions, design, methods, ethics and responsibilities in working with (or for) Indigenous peoples. For state and NGO agencies, it demands reflection on wider questions of power, privilege and justice for Indigenous

peoples beyond the immediate relief of human suffering in post-disaster settings, and development of intercultural capacity to support sustainable and culturally connected futures for affected Indigenous groups.

This paper is a product of a nourishing and challenging dialogue between geographers whose experiences straddle the Indigenous geographies of Australia and Taiwan. It considers how the Aboriginal Australian idea of Country might inspire a novel and constructive approach to questions regarding Indigenous experiences of disaster relief and reconstruction in Taiwan. The particular purpose of the paper is to frame a doctoral project working with Wutai Rukai in southern Taiwan, which will review their experiences of relief, recovery and resettlement after Typhoon Morakot in 2009. Thus, our purpose here is necessarily simultaneously provocative and analytical; philosophical and methodological. Having said that, we also suggest that failure to recognise and respond to the complex simultaneities of people-to-environment, people-to-people and people-to-cosmos relationships in disaster recovery settings risks putting Indigenous communities into harm's way at the behest of racialised, ignorant, or self-interested ideas of what is 'best' for communities and cultures already marginalised and disadvantaged by historical processes of colonial dispossession, continuing occupation, and contemporary exclusion (Howitt, 2012; Veland *et al.*, 2013) (Fig. 1).

In many natural disaster settings, research is commonly focused on responses to sudden and irreversible changes to physical landscapes, including development of response plans (Tsai and Chen, 2010a,b), and provision for immedi-

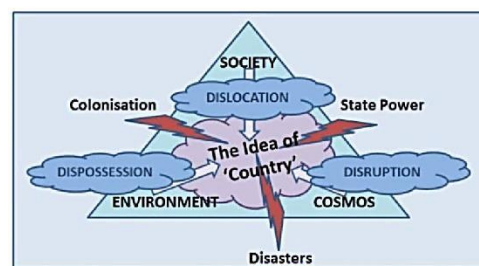


Figure 1. Conceptualising disasters, colonisation and state repression as disruption of relationships to Indigenous peoples' idea of 'Country'

ate basic needs in the relief and recovery phases (Ding, 2007) rather than protection of Indigenous peoples' rights and connections to their traditional territories and communities. For Taiwan, Hipwell (2009) has promoted an asset-based community development (ABCD) approach to addressing the development aspirations of Indigenous people, but post-disaster resettlement risks further compromising communities' development assets by producing 'communities' that are actually 'unsettled' by being removed 'to new grounds where the land rights are even more insecure' (Chen, 2002: 2) and loss of access to resources for development and cultural maintenance (Chi, 2001). In responding to disaster, people-to-people relationships of culture, language, identity and governance are all too easily set aside in favour of responses facilitated by – and sometimes for – outsiders, whose generosity, charity and expertise sweeps people into a new and settled order disconnected from more familiar elements of Indigenous geographies, such as the markers and relationships of Country. Indeed, the charitable work of faith-based organisations is typically predicated on very different, or very particular, imaginaries of the people-to-cosmos relationship from those of local Indigenous groups. Seen in this light, disaster relief and recovery risks becoming a vehicle to mobilise, demonstrate and advocate the particular cosmology, politics and environmental ethos of a relief agency rather than to recognise, honour and nourish the cosmology, politics and environmental ethos of the aid recipients. With the best of intentions, it risks becoming an act of ongoing, deep colonising and exercising of power over Indigenous groups (Colyer, 2014).

The idea of Country in Indigenous Australia

As a connection to place or perhaps more appropriately, landscape, Country implicates the physicality of landscape but refers to much more than just the physical aspects of a place. In terms of Indigenous Australian cosmologies, the landscape itself is sentient and alive. Its human and non-human presences are all manifestations of this multidimensional entity. Connected in these ways, co-inhabitants are conceptualised as kin, as sharing a significant connection – as Country. Country is a relation-

ship of mutual recognition of responses between human and non-human/sentient landscapes and includes the performance of these relationships in the complex intercultural spaces of contemporary Australia. Rose (1996: 7) discusses Country in the following terms:

Country in Aboriginal English is not only a common noun but also a proper noun. People talk about country in the same way that they would talk about a person: they speak to country, sing to country, visit country, worry about country, feel sorry for country, and long for country. People say that country knows, hears, smells, takes notice, takes care, is sorry or happy. Country is not a generalised or undifferentiated type of place, such as one might indicate with terms like 'spending a day in the country' or 'going up the country'. Rather, country is a living entity with a yesterday, today and tomorrow, with a consciousness, and a will toward life. Because of this richness, country is home, and peace; nourishment for body, mind, and spirit; heart's ease.

The emergence of the term Country in Australian discourse presented a significant challenge to the environmental discourses which had advocated new settler relationships with Australian landscapes through ideas of 'wilderness' which re-inscribed Indigenous geographies as empty and available to settler priorities of conservation (Langton, 1996, 1998). As one history of Australian environmentalism put it:

The nature preservation movement in Australia . . . owes its existence to people . . . who had a profound empathy for the remnant tracts of Australian nature that had somehow avoided colonisation. Their concept of 'pristine nature', however, still reflected the legacy of *terra nullius* in that it failed to acknowledge the long-term engagement of the indigenous people with all of Australia's diverse landscapes. (Mulligan and Hill, 2001: 304)

Indigenous campaigners responded that there was no 'wilderness' in Australia in the terms being advocated in environmental campaigns, because the land had never been empty, had always been (and would always be) Country. Geographer Elspeth Young introduced the term to her discussion of Anmatyere experience in central Australia in 1987 (Young, 1987), and

took it into the policy domain in a report for the Australian National Parks and Wildlife Service a few years later (Young *et al.*, 1991). The term, often phrased as 'caring for Country' has since been drawn into policy and programmes in Australia (e.g. Lane, 2002; Walsh and Mitchell, 2002; Ens and McDonald, 2012). Muller's work (Muller, 2003, 2008, 2012, 2014) offers a window on the utility of Country as a term in environmental management systems, while Rose (Rose, 1988, 1996, 1999, 2004; Muir *et al.*, 2010), Graham (Graham, 1999), Weir (Weir, 2009, 2012) and others offer insights into the mobilisation of Country as an important trope in Indigenous thinking in Australia.

Drawing on this literature in the Australian context, it has been argued that 'the outcome of natural disasters is often mediated by the unnatural disaster of colonial and post-colonial state policies and practices' (Howitt *et al.*, 2012: 48). Indigenous peoples worldwide have parallel relationships and experiences, and those parallels offer a foundation for both comparative studies, and more conceptually focused discourses that seek to draw on insights from other areas to reframe research questions in one's home turf. It is in such discussions that this paper has its origins. In Taiwan, waves of colonisation since the 17th Century drove socioeconomic and cultural change in Indigenous geographies, leading to dissolution of pre-colonial systems of governance and production, disruption of people-to-environment relationships and environmental management processes, displacement of peoples (collectively and individually) from their traditional territories, and devaluation of local knowledges, languages and identities. The particular circumstances of Taiwanese Indigenous geographies, in relation to both natural and unnatural hazards, have created landscapes of risk and opportunity that are rarely explored in the Indigenous-centred frames that have emerged in Australia.

Geographies of connection, disaster and development in Taiwan

During the Dutch colonial period in Taiwan (1624–1662) and continuing into the period of Qing Dynasty rule (1683–1894), ethnic Chinese began immigrating to Taiwan, settling the

western coastal plains and assimilating a number of the Indigenous peoples in those regions in the process (Hsieh, 2006). The uplands to the east remained primarily the domain of Indigenous peoples until the early 20th century, when the Qing Dynasty formally ceded Taiwan to the Empire of Japan in 1895. Japanese colonial rule of Taiwan lasted until 1945, when Japan renounced sovereignty over Taiwan at the end of World War II. For Indigenous groups, and in international law, the question of sovereignty was further complicated in 1949 when the Republic of China relocated its government (the Kuomintang (KMT), or Chinese Nationalist Party) from mainland China to Taiwan upon the end of the Chinese Civil War.

The impacts of external 'civilising' forces on Taiwan's Indigenous peoples and their social, environmental and cultural practices were profound. Han settlement of the western plains dispossessed Indigenous groups, displacing and dislocating traditional relationships between people, their environments and territories, and their place in the cosmos. Japanese occupation unified the island territory in unprecedented ways. While it provided some recognition to Indigenous groups, there was no treaty making, no political space for Indigenous autonomy. For most of the Indigenous people in Taiwan, the coming of the Nationalist regime from China did little more than to change the face of the coloniser. The KMT government initially retained the Japanese categorisation of Indigenous peoples into nine groups, and also prolonged the practice of demarcating Indigenous territories as reserves with its 'Aboriginal Reserve Land Management Act' (Yan and Yang, 2004). Under this act the Indigenous peoples were apportioned 251,080 hectares of land for current use and future development, which was a small fraction of their traditional lands (Li *et al.*, 1983).

'Development' poses a constant threat to the reserve lands, which have been and are sites of resource extraction – mainly timber and minerals – as well as dam construction (Simon, 2010). Additionally, many Indigenous reserves tend to be located in mountainous areas prone to landslides. In many settings, these circumstances have deeply influenced Indigenous knowledge and values regarding understandings of people-

environment and people-cosmos relations in Taiwan; rapid deforestation, mining, dam construction and road building alongside ongoing marginalisation of Indigenous rights shape new risk landscapes in these areas. With global warming and severe weather patterns increasingly becoming the norm, Indigenous peoples in mountain areas are being confronted with unprecedented challenges from both natural and unnatural disasters.

During the rapid expansion of economic activity in Taiwan as part of the East Asian economic miracle,³ Indigenous issues were generally ignored as a political issue. Political contingencies produced some recognition of Indigenous rights in 2005 with passage of the Indigenous Peoples Basic Law,⁴ which foreshadowed many of the provisions of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples,⁵ but failed to deliver secure tenure of lands, rights to self-government and autonomy, or protection of economic and cultural interests in legally enforceable forms. Like many Indigenous peoples, Indigenous groups in Taiwan face a complex risk landscape in which natural hazards occur within social, economic and political settings where risks are intensified by histories of marginalisation, dispossession and prejudice. Investment in education, infrastructure and economic programmes have continued to favour non-Indigenous groups in Taiwan and reinforce migration of young people from more remote and poorly-serviced Indigenous villages to large cities, with associated exposure to cultural prejudice and risks (Chu, 2000).

Indigenous geographies in Taiwan: risk, resilience and recovery

In the wider literature on disaster risk management, it is increasingly understood that the post-disaster reconstruction process itself can be disruptive, exacerbating the impacts of a disaster. Indeed, many observers now argue that although natural (and unnatural) hazards have been occurring since before recorded history, it is how communities adapt and respond to hazards that make them disasters (Wisner *et al.*, 2005). As Oliver-Smith (1991: 13) puts it:

While a disaster may kill and injure many, disrupt community organizations and econo-

mies and destroy infrastructure and dwellings, it rarely obliterates everything; structures of organization emerge from the rubble, often quite rapidly as the society undertakes the task of reconstruction. On the other hand, involuntary resettlement often involves removal from an environment in which the society has evolved centuries old patterns of adaptations. This relationship to the environment may be based on economic, political or sociocultural factors or a combination of any or all three.

One way of understanding this is to recognise the importance of traditional values in shaping the communities that must respond to disasters, and the way that the connections encompassed by the Australian Aboriginal notion of Country shape communities' resilience to disaster and capacity to recover. Thus, in the context of post-disaster resettlement and reconstruction, it is not only a simple version of the people-environment relationship that must be given consideration by neutralising immediate danger by relocation and provision of shelter. Culturally appropriate and long term recovery will also consider the social dimensions of community (people-people), the cultural and spiritual dimensions of identity and community (people-cosmos) and the socio-ecological dimensions of community well-being in terms of livelihood, history and values (people-environment).

In the particular circumstances of Indigenous peoples in Taiwan, disaster risk policies, programmes, and practices; community scale resilience efforts; and variable political circumstances frequently reduce these complex interactions between people and their cultural-and-physical landscapes to a rather simplistic notion of 'Indigenous connection to land'. Administratively this can impose a rather inflexible view of social connections which emphasises ethnographic understandings of kinship and the way that people are related or otherwise connected to one another, but does not adequately consult them as self-governing groups. The values and dimensions of community have also become more complex in post-disaster settings in Taiwan because the history of religious engagement with (and by) Indigenous groups has seen the development of diverse approaches to the people-to-cosmos relationships underpinning peoples' understanding of social and environmental processes. Shifts in the cultural

foundation of people's understanding of social norms is particularly sensitive in the post-disaster context, where religious groups are often active in the delivery of services and assistance, and communities are vulnerable to profound uncertainties arising from their engagement with events that were previously quite literally an 'unthinkable risk' (e.g. Stoffle and Minnis, 2008; see also Stoffle *et al.*, 2008; Stoffle and Arnold, 2008; Stoffle and Stoffle, 2013). For religious organisations, the shift from relief to recruitment to a world view can be difficult to conceptualise, as their own religious orientation to a particular understanding of the people-to-cosmos relationship is constituted as 'truth' rather than 'belief' and Indigenous identity is easily conflated with vulnerability (Haalboom and Natcher, 2012).

Disaster and recovery in Rukai Country

In August 2009, Typhoon Morakot caused serious damage to central and southern Taiwan. The Indigenous Rukai⁶-populated Wutai Township in Pingtung County, with an area of 278 square kilometres and elevation higher than 1000 metres, was one of the areas particularly affected. Flooding and landslides occurred throughout the region, and entire communities were displaced. Some communities were relocated from the mountains of Wutai to new settlements at elevations of 200 metres or less. The central government established the Morakot Post-Disaster Reconstruction Council (行政院莫拉克颱風災後重建推動委員會) to coordinate relief and recovery and many external organisations, including mainstream international agencies, religious groups and Taiwan-based organisations, became involved in the rebuilding process. Initial post-disaster recovery was largely addressed in terms of physical needs, meaning that issues such as housing were attended to at the expense of other less tangible factors such as the cultural impact of relocation.

Displaced communities were allocated to various nongovernmental organisations (NGOs). Tzu Chi Foundation,⁷ World Vision Taiwan,⁸ and the Red Cross Society of the Republic of China (Taiwan)⁹ were allocated as the main agencies for relief and recovery for Wutai Rukai. Of the eight communities

originally comprising Wutai Township, five were relocated to the lowlands: four communities were moved to the Changzhi Baihe (長治百合) settlement and one to the Rinari (禮納里) settlement. Shortly after the initial relief period, permanent housing became the priority rather than provision of transitional housing as was done for the 921 Earthquake in 1999 (Morakot Post-Disaster Reconstruction Council, 2009; Huang, 2010). This came about because of a proposal from Tzu Chi Foundation to directly begin building permanent housing based on their previous recovery experiences (Feng, 2009; Tzu Chi, 2009) and in part due to the training of those who were involved in post-disaster recovery planning, with the majority coming from technical backgrounds such as engineering (Pu, 2013).

While provision of physical shelter is understandably given priority in the disaster relief period, the lasting cultural, social and well-being impacts of decisions regarding relocation and reconstruction need to be considered when framing long-term responses to disaster, rather than locking affected communities into long-term legacies constructed by short-term contingencies of relief operations. The idea of Country insists on giving attention to the complexities of people-to-environment, people-to-people and people-to-cosmos relationships in framing the transition from immediate relief to longer term recovery from disasters. In shifting from transitional to permanent housing solutions for the Wutai Rukai context, some attention was given to the significance of people-people relationships as communities were allocated land in new settlements in ways that allowed entire communities to be relocated together. However, in the case of the Changzhi Baihe settlement built by Tzu Chi, some families and individuals who were recognised as community members were not granted permanent housing due to issues such as household registration, and proof of ownership (Huang, 2010). The resettlement plan also required different ethnic groups to reside together in resettlement locations such as the Rinari settlement, despite historical tensions between the communities involved (Pavavaljung, 2012).

In case of the Wutai Rukai, *Kucapungane* (Haocha, 好茶),¹⁰ one of the displaced communities, can be taken as a particular example of

how the resettlement process was fraught with difficulties and discord. In 1978 Haocha was relocated from its location at 950 metres to a site at elevation 230 metres next to the South Ailiao River. The community was intermittently affected by typhoons from the time of resettlement to two years prior to Morakot, when it was partially buried in a landslide during Typhoon Wutip in August 2007. Haocha residents were placed in interim housing at the barracks of the nearby Ailiao military camp, where they were still residing when Typhoon Morakot hit in 2009. On December 25, 2010, the community was permanently relocated to the Rinari settlement built by World Vision. When Haocha residents were evacuated to the Ailiao military camp, there was initially talk of returning to the former location next to the South Ailiao River despite offers for Haocha to be relocated to the area now known as Rinari.¹¹ After Typhoon Morakot some community leaders called for a collective Rukai village where all the displaced Wutai Rukai residents could be relocated (Lee, 2010), but this did not come to pass. While Morakot ended the state of limbo that Haocha had experienced since 2007, the aftermath of the typhoon left the community with no other choice than to accept the terms of resettlement at Rinari, which included residing with *Makazayazaya* (Majia, 瑪家) and *Davalan* (Dashe, 大社), two distinct Paiwan communities, with different cultural customs, mother tongues, and traditional territories from the Rukai of Haocha. In the composite settlement that emerged, both the allocation and design of housing proved to be a source of tension. Key issues were left unresolved and lay foundations for longer term concerns. For example while community members 'own' the houses they reside in, the land that Rinari sits upon officially belongs to the government rather than either the Rukai or Paiwan peoples (He, 2011; Pu, 2013). This means that while residents retain the right to live at Rinari and pass on their house as an inheritance, they do not have the right to rent or sell the property (Huang, 2010).

The connections referred to by the idea of Country discussed earlier in this paper could provide a way of engaging communities in a dialogue about what was being put in place from the beginning of the post-disaster relief and response period. It would also frame

discussion of the implications of current issues in the ensuing reconstruction activities, and post-reconstruction development activities, where the new normal created by disaster response actions settles in communities with accompanying experiences of displacement, loss of connection; creates or exacerbates internal tensions; and influences how decisions are made and reviewed by Rukai community members. A phrase that was touted as one of the key relocation principles post-Morakot was 'Leave the Disaster not the Village, Leave the Village not the Township' (災不離村, 離村不離鄉), or as the CEO of the Morakot Post-Disaster Reconstruction Council, Chern Jenn-chuan put it, 'moving within the village' (災不離村) and 'moving within the township' (離村不離鄉) (Chern, 2011). Put more clearly, if communities were relocated, every effort would be made to stay within the village and if that was not possible, every effort would be made to stay within the township. However, it must be noted that while the word '鄉' (*xiang*) can be translated to mean 'township', an administrative subdivision in Taiwan, it can also mean 'homeland', which is far closer to the idea of Country. It would be a mistake to consider these two very different translations of '鄉' interchangeable, one being an externally imposed and enforced concept, and the other imbued with layers of memory and emotions, yet it would seem that in the post-Morakot relocation process, exactly that may have occurred (Ke, 2011).

For the Reconstruction Council and the major not-for-profit organisations involved in recovery, there are lessons to be learned from this experience and its consequences. Reviewing the experience of the Indigenous communities affected by Morakot and the subsequent disaster relief, recovery and reconstruction process offers a valuable opportunity for critical reflection on the cultural and social dimensions of the risk landscapes confronting Indigenous peoples in Taiwan. More engagement between affected cultural groups, state agencies, NGOs and scholars involved with these processes is an important part of improving future disaster preparedness, relief and recovery involving Indigenous peoples in Taiwan. Bringing to light inadequacies and oversights in disaster recovery work in relation to Indigenous cultural

relationships is important because once these relationships have been disrupted they cannot be rebuilt in the way that physical infrastructure for a new settlement can be rebuilt. Yet in Taiwan, it seems the state consistently falls short of the standards required to protect Indigenous cultural interests:

... the main policy goals are proving the existence of intangible cultural value through tangible architectural means and reviving traditional tribal crafting techniques and social solidarity. In addition to adding cultural variation and diversity to permanent housing bases, this also records of the tribe's migration history ... It seems as if many of the indigenous residents are natural artists able to recreate the beautiful scenery of their past homeland entirely through painting at their new residences ... these scenes of homeland were mainly painted because elders missed the sight of their homeland very much. This way, elders would not have to travel a great distance back and be able to assuage their homesickness by seeing the same landscapes at their new homes ... The clever use and arrangement of these elements have given the houses new looks and instilled deep cultural significance into the new villages. (Morakot Post-Disaster Reconstruction Council, 2011)

This appears to illustrate the prevailing view among many in decision-making positions at institutional levels – provision of physical resources is again the primary objective, and intangible elements such as cultural values and the connection people have to environment can be easily resolved by allowing displaced community members to have tangible depictions of homeland available for viewing. Culture is not static and natural disasters will sometimes shift the foundations on which cultures are built. However, the capacity of a community to dynamically respond and adapt to disasters can be adversely affected by the decisions and actions taken in the process of well-intentioned relief and recovery activities that are poorly informed about culture and the connections encompassed by the concept of Country.

Conclusion

In this paper, we propose that investigation of the historical and cultural context of relocation

and reconstruction efforts requires greater attention, not only in terms of how land rights or cultural affiliation are affected by disaster responses but also in terms of those wider settings that the Australian Aboriginal idea of Country emphasises regarding people-environment-cosmos connections. We are not suggesting that there is no equivalent set of concepts in Taiwanese Indigenous cultures. Rather, the Aboriginal Australian formulation offers a powerful and useful representation of a set of concepts that is framed in locally specific ways in diverse cultural contexts. This paper advocates more careful consideration of the ways in which changing relationships within and between Indigenous groups, state agencies and NGOs reshape people-to-people, people-to-environment and people-to-cosmos relationships – the three core elements of Country – in post-disaster situations. In advocating consideration of these elements by framing Indigenous rights through the lens of Country, we are suggesting that a more comprehensive, culturally sensitive approach to both research and state and NGO agency responses that address Indigenous issues in relief, recovery, and reconstruction phases can be developed. The concept of Country challenges researchers and relief agencies to engage with all three core elements when framing their work with (or for) Indigenous communities and cultural groups in post-disaster settings. Disaster settings often produce power plays that further disadvantage affected populations, particularly in colonial settings where patterns of structural power and racial and cultural privilege have become normalised or Indigenous identities and rights have been politicised as antagonistic to nationalist aspirations and ideals (see Howitt, 1991). Practitioners and policy makers might, in fact, benefit just as much as researchers from framing their post-disaster response and recovery approaches with the elements that constitute the idea of Country, whether they be ABCD or other strengths-based approaches. Failing to recognise and respond to the complex simultaneities of Country in disaster recovery settings will continue to create new risk landscapes for Indigenous communities that reflect, reinforce and re-introduce racialised, ignorant or self-interested mainstream ideas of what is 'best' for Indigenous cultures into post-disaster resettlement communities that separate

people from and undermine the social, environmental and cosmological relationships implicit in the idea of 'Country'.

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Notes

- 1 Given its significance, both within Indigenous discourse and in this paper, we capitalise the Aboriginal English term (Country) as a proper noun throughout this paper. See Rose (1996: p. 7)
- 2 We note in particular the recent discussion in *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* on the recent emergence of Indigeneity as a marker of political discourse in Cambodia and Laos (e.g. Baird, 2013).
- 3 From the 1960s to 1990 East Asia underwent a transformation in its economic development, now widely referred to as the East Asian economic miracle. This was largely in part due to the growth of eight Asian economies: Japan, Hong Kong, the Republic of Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, and three newly industrialised economies Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand (Page, 1994).
- 4 Full act at: <http://law.moj.gov.tw/LawClass/LawAll.aspx?PCode=D0130003> [in Chinese]
- 5 Full text at: <http://social.un.org/index/IndigenousPeoples/DeclarationontheRightsofIndigenousPeoples.aspx>
- 6 There are fourteen recognised Indigenous peoples in Taiwan: Amis, Atayal, Bunun, Kavalan, Paiwan, Puyuma, Rukai, Saisiyat, Tao, Thao, Tsou, Truku, Sakizaya, and Sediq (Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan, 2013).
- 7 The Tzu Chi Foundation is an international Buddhist humanitarian organisation that was founded in Taiwan in 1966, and has gone on to become the largest NGO originating in Asia.
- 8 World Vision Taiwan is the national office of World Vision International, a Christian relief, development and advocacy organisation that was founded in the United States.
- 9 The Red Cross Society of Taiwan is a national committee of the International Committee of the Red Cross, an impartial, neutral, and independent humanitarian organisation based in Geneva, Switzerland.
- 10 *Kucapungane* is the name of the community in the mother tongue of its inhabitants. After the arrival of the KMT, tribal communities were given names in Mandarin Chinese as well as organised into administrative

villages; consequently, the officially recognised name is Haocha Village (好茶村).

- 11 The settlement was renamed Rinari during the official move-in ceremony on 25 December 2010; *rinari* was the original Paiwan name for the area. In all prior relocation talks and initial documentation, Majia Farm was the name used to refer to the area.

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This article corrects:

The idea of ‘Country’: Reframing post-disaster recovery in Indigenous Taiwan settings
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1. The ‘c’ for Country in Keywords should be capitalised.
2. The section headings following ‘Introduction’ and before ‘Conclusion’ should not be italicised, but instead bolded (i.e. ‘The idea of Country in Indigenous Australia’, ‘Geographies of connection, disaster and development in Taiwan’, ‘Indigenous geographies in Taiwan: risk resilience and recovery’, ‘Disaster and recovery in Rukai Country’).
3. On page 374, second paragraph under the '*Indigenous geographies in Taiwan: risk, resilience and recovery*' section, ‘Thus, in the context of post-disaster resettlement and reconstruction, it is not only a simple version of the people-environment relationship that must be given consideration by neutralising immediate danger by relocation and provision of shelter.’ should read ‘Thus, in the context of post-disaster resettlement and reconstruction, it is not only a simple version of the people-environment relationship that must be given consideration by neutralising immediate danger through relocation and provision of shelter.’
4. On page 375, first paragraph under ‘*Disaster and recovery in Rukai Country*’ section, the Chinese translation of ‘Morakot Post-Disaster Reconstruction Council’ (行政院莫拉克颱風災後重建推動委員會) should not be set in italics.
5. On page 376, the Chinese phrase for ‘Leave the Disaster not the Village, Leave the Village not the Township’ should read ‘離災不離村, 離村不離鄉’, while ‘moving within the village’ is ‘(不離村)’ and ‘moving within the township’ is ‘(不離鄉)’.
6. On page 378, Note 7 should read ‘The Tzu Chi Foundation is an international Buddhist humanitarian organisation that was founded in Taiwan in 1966, and the largest NGO in the Chinese-speaking world.’

The authors regret any inconvenience caused by these errors.

3 Speaking Truth to Power

Entanglements with theory, methods and discourse

Introduction

The awkward, in-between spaces considered in this thesis are characterised by disorderly and unsettled sets of relationships. How those relationships have responded to, been impacted by and, in turn, influenced outcomes of the radical disruption that accompanies a “natural” disaster was the focus of the fieldwork undertaken in this research. Like all human relationships, those at the heart of this thesis are experienced and understood differently by different parties. There can be no singular authoritative representation that captures a universal and objective truth about these relationships and the circumstances under which they evolve. It is possible to reach “wrong” conclusions—and there are certainly “better” and “worse” representations of circumstances. But, equally certainly, there is no single right answer to the questions investigated in this research, nor is there a single correct representation of the situations investigated. Despite the centrality of the “disaster event”—in this case Typhoon Morakot’s destructive impact on southern Taiwan in August 2009—in the relationships at the heart of this thesis, these relationships did not originate with the disaster event. They were already implicated in the complex histories, geographies and politics of Taiwan.

As such, the challenge of research design has not been to select a set of pre-determined and pre-emptive methods to record, represent and reveal an objective and singular truth about post-Morakot reconstruction. That would be to misunderstand, and misrepresent, the realities of Wutai Rukai experiences and post-Morakot Taiwan. Rather, the challenge has been to develop a responsive research design that would allow participants, researcher, readers and other audiences to better comprehend the progression of post-disaster reconstruction, and why distinct, even contradictory, understandings, representations and accounts of—and community recovery from—the disaster have evolved. That is, the methodological challenge has been in framing how to rigorously engage in building a better understanding of complex, messy and important sets of relationships in a complex, messy and dynamic real world context.

The relationships examined here are not simply social, neither encompassed nor contained by solely human systems. They are complexly coupled human and natural systems (Liu et al., 2007a; Liu et al., 2007b) played out in dynamic landscapes that are simultaneously cultural and physical in nature (Ashmore, 2015; Wilcock et al., 2013). They are contextualised by social, historical, administrative and economic forces that play out in dynamic natural systems—at once interpersonal, intercultural and geopolitical.

The research task, then, is not a matter of collecting data using pre-emptively defined methods, nor analysing with similarly pre-conceived tools. The approach developed in this thesis cannot be explained in a conventional methods chapter. It is necessary, of course, to explain the approach adopted and the tools mobilised to support it. However, this chapter takes the reader on a different path, exploring the approaches and tools used as it simultaneously explores a variety of theoretical, personal and discursive contexts with which the research process was entangled. As a first step, let me invite you to engage with the journey towards recovery and healing of a Haocha (好茶, *Kucapungane*) Rukai man, Kui Kadrangilane. Kui's story is presented here in his own words, initially in Chinese, and then translated (by me) into English.

回家 “Going (Back) Home” (original Mandarin text)

有些事情刻意地去遺忘，目的在於不願再讓自己處於心力交瘁的狀態裡，但卻又總會在某些時間、地點、人物身上，再次觸碰到內心深處的記憶，然後，再度心痛。

2009/08/08，莫拉克颱風挾帶著無情的雨水，再度肆虐我的家鄉，勝於前次的風災，這回連想站在那片土地上的機會都消失了，一夕之間汪洋一片，父親多年的心血在那刻化為烏有，至今我仍不願面對或甚至試著揣測他的心情，因為我知道，那將會讓我無法呼吸。貴重的文化物品隨著崩塌的土石就此沉沒，再也無法傳承，我無法形容當得知這件事情的時候，是有多麼地震驚，但我清楚地明白這樣的心情絕對不想再來第二次，可惜事與願違，隨後緊接而來的公墓地塌陷，終於讓我堅守的淚水潰堤，我開始痛恨起無情的八月，無的放矢，但在這接踵而來的事件裡，我的任性也只能僅止於此了。

有很長的一段時間裡，我將這些事情塵封於記憶深處，不看不聽也不去想，鸵鳥心態但倒也能稍稍喘息，直到今年二月的某次機緣，女友的提議讓我開始正式地面對，長期在我腦海裡揮之不去的心魔。

「回家吧。」她甜甜地笑著。

『蛤?』

「我們回舊好茶吧。」眼神裡帶著盼望，口吻卻透著堅定。

『蛤?!』裝死。

我知道她得鼓起多大的勇氣才能將這些話說出口，畢竟每回提到有關於好茶的曾經，我總是板著一張臉，然後沉默。看著她侷促不安的神情，我既是心疼又是無奈，也許真的是時候了吧，我心想。於是我們開始著手計劃並安排流程，待一切整裝完畢，如期出發。

2014/02/25，早上八點三十分，我們與幾名友人從禮納里好茶村出發，在此之前當然免不了要合照，這是起始，一段尋找記憶的開端。



沿途上，我的內心五味雜陳，尤其在繞過回好茶必經之路上的文化園區內，平常不太用腦的我，記憶開始在裡頭髮酵。

我看見了幼時的我和弟弟，在老爸的打檔車上指著園區下方的水壩驚恐不已。
我看見了年少的我載著友人，在園區內蛇行嘻笑著，當時我剛學會騎車。
我看見了成年的我和家人，開著車窗享受著風竄入時的涼爽，以及即將見到奶奶時那雀躍的神情。
我看見了.....，那些不願再回想起的記憶。

敏男騎著他的戰車，而我坐在後頭，老爸開著他的無敵農用搬運車，其他人則坐在那上頭，看著他們時不時的拿起手機、相機擷取路途上的美景，以及體驗著這趟旅程所能帶給他們或多或少的感動，而我雖然戴著口罩，仍被搬運車揚起的灰塵弄的鼻梁很酸、很酸。

終於，以非人力的方式來到斷橋處，剩下的旅程僅能依靠自身的體力及意志來完成了。老爸叮嚀個幾句並做點簡單的禱告後，接著目送著我們的啟程，我不敢回頭看，因為我知道在他內心裡他有多想陪著我走完這趟路途，但礙於年紀和身體狀況的不許可，只能作罷。記得，在這之前的好些年前，老爸總是嚷嚷著要帶我們兄弟倆回舊好茶，但總卡在對方的時間喬不攏，甚至可以說是沒有那種意願，事過境遷，歲月如梭，現在回想著實令我相當遺憾，當年的我，確實幼稚了。



偌大的河床佈滿著大小不一的石頭，偶爾還得要脫鞋渡溪，而眼前灰朦一片的斷垣殘壁，以及腳丫子傳遞上來的刺痛感，在在的都提醒著我大自然反撲的力量，該要心生畏懼且胸懷敬意，但我仍只想罵髒話，我說過了，我的任性只能用在這時候。我抬起頭看著峭壁上舊有的道路，心中的感慨已非筆墨能形容，每走一步，每看一眼，心中負面的情緒持續增加，為了不影響其他人，我開始低著頭走路，可越走到靠近新好茶之際，我的步伐也越見蹣跚，連帶話語也更加沉默，並非體力透支之故，實是我真的不知道能不能再看一眼，那已非我記憶中的家園，然而終究該面對的還是會來到，我刻意地走在後方，眼角瞥見了僅存的教堂，瞬間腦袋轟然作響，我現在站在的這片河床上是哪戶人家？我的家呢？在哪？我憑著教堂的所在尋找正確的方位，但我仍無法確定所站的位置下方到底是不是我的家，久久無法自己，真的很想大喊瘋狂嘶吼，但我仍舊拼命地壓抑發即將爆發的情緒，於是我找了顆大石頭並在那上頭坐了下來，背對著新好茶，像從前一樣，每回只要我心中鬱憤難平，總會一個人開著車回到新好茶的溪邊，然後找顆大石頭坐著，聽著溪流潺潺水聲，有時坐上個把小時，待心情平復後才會離開，只是背後的村莊早已消失不見，眼前的景象也只像是一種嘲諷，像是在告訴我回不去了，再也找不回那段曾經，那座在我人生迷途時的避風港。

我沒有看向坐落在教堂上方的公墓地，因為我還想留點口德，又或者只是我瞭解所能承受的哀傷莫大過於此，否則太過於脆弱弄得所有人都尷尬，其實無論是哪種理由都好，無所謂，我只知道我絕對不能望著公墓地，即便那裡曾經躺著我最深愛的兩個人。約莫一個小時後，收拾好心情繼續前進，畢竟我們的進度已經落後，此時已然是日正當中，再拖下去只怕昏暗的天色會延遲我們抵達的時間，屆時造成他人的麻煩可就對不住了。離開了新好茶往舊好茶之路邁進，老實說我頓時感到輕鬆了不少，心中居然有種冒險探索的雀躍之意，也許只是因為新好茶有著我幼時至成年的回憶，沉重的心情才會伴隨著我前段路程的每一步，無可厚非，對我來說這趟路途並不是自我認清的價值之旅，而是打破過往的脆弱，再次重新出發。

還未抵達登山口，遠處便已看見小獵人帶著他的獵犬朝著我們急馳而來，果然是我們拖得太久，他等到有點擔心了，簡單寒暄幾句後便繼續前進，而總算到達登山口後，我們才算開始面臨真正地考驗，前大半段的路途已耗費我們不少體力，緊接而來海拔高於 900M 的深山更是嚴峻的過程，我們走的並非是古道，而是獵人自個兒開闢出來的小徑。稍作歇息後便再度起身前進，途中經過兩段好漢坡，幸好在這之中較難以攀爬的路上有棉繩可以抓住，手腳並用下體能流失的並沒有想像中快，沿途上獵人開始介紹族人曾經於此的生活方式，舉凡植物的運用以及耕作地的開墾，當然還有他小時候參與打獵的趣事，也因為他利用了交談分散我們的注意力，好讓我們能在最短的時間抵達，否則一直專注於大腿上的痠痛，走走停停只會讓體力消耗得更快，約莫傍晚四、五點左右，趕在黑夜來臨前，我們終於到達目的地，隨即映入眼簾的情景，陌生卻又熟悉，我說不上來這是一種什麼樣的感覺，彷彿我曾經在這生活過一般似的，心靈上的充實舒緩了身體上的疲累，我深深且緩慢地吸吐了一口氣，無比踏實。

那晚我們一夥人把酒言歡，用音樂交流心中的感動，每個人用著他們自我的方式詮釋著，他們獨特的浪漫。

翌日，行程上安排的是部落巡禮，獵人將會帶著我們繞舊部落一圈，介紹每戶人家、學校、祭祀處等所有景點大大小小的故事，有苦有甜，有笑有淚，每則故事都撩撥著我們內心的深處，泛起一片片的漣漪。首先第一處是我家，那曾經居住著我祖先的家，爺爺、奶奶和老爸一直念念不忘的家。



到達之後由於雜草叢生，獵人交給我一把鐮刀，於是我們兩人開始動手處理眼前這片綠意盎然的景象，而其他則自動自發的戴起手套，或拔或撿的陪著我清理，當下的感動我放在心中，可也溢於言表。隨後，處理到某個階段時，獵人要我放下手中的鐮刀，站在一個一體成形且光滑無比的石板前方，他說我第一次回家，得要祭拜祖靈，他一邊說一邊啜泣，時而中文時而母語的訴說著，當下我眉頭一蹙，記憶中不曾有過的片段一陣一陣地敲擊我的腦海，我像是看見了爺爺在屋前吹著他擅長的鼻笛，奶奶搗著小米的背影，老爸隨心所欲的哼著歌，這些我根本不可能看過的景象，彷彿真實地上演在我的面前。我拿著手上那一小杯的高粱，迅速地喝了下去，接著頭一撇並將右手抬起好讓手臂能遮住我的視線，然後有一種我很久很久沒聽過的聲音，強迫從我的喉嚨傳達到我的耳朵，從緩慢到急速，從哽咽到放肆，我瘋狂似的咬著我的手臂，直到痛楚蔓延到我的全身，直到女友在旁緊緊地抱住不斷抽蓄的我，我才知道，我哭了。

後來祭拜儀式怎麼結束的我已記不太清楚了，我只記得離開之後敏男仍獨自坐在我家前面，吹著鼻笛向爺爺致敬，看著那一幕，真的多謝他這麼有心了。爾後的行程我強忍著悲傷，仍堅持著自己走完了，但心中那股無以復加的憂傷依然難

以揮散。而原本預訂好兩天一夜的計劃，因眾人的意猶未盡而又多留了一天，這樣也好，畢竟下次能再上來的時間也不曉得會是在什麼時候了，當然多留的這一天也發生了許多趣事，然而僅只是些瑣事，就當作是我和大夥的秘密吧，在此暫且表過不提了。

有起始就有終端，這段尋找記憶之旅也到了該結束的時刻，就像一開始，不免俗的仍來張大合照，我不清楚在這段旅程上是否有獲得，或是認清了些什麼自我意識上的肯定，我只知道無論再如何的抗拒過往不堪的回憶，人生唯有不斷地向前，這輩子才不虛此行，即便平淡，卻也怡然自得。



這段旅程多謝獵人及其夫人的辛勞照顧了，我終生萬分感謝。

手牽手。

「為什麼哭？」又是那種侷促不安的神情。

『蛤？』

「我說你為什麼在祭拜祖靈的時候會哭？」打破砂鍋問到底。

『蛤?!』我真的很想裝死。

「我想知道。」

『知道什麼？』

「你的心。」

手牽手，緊緊地互相牽著。

『其實，在那當下我只是突然想起了爺爺奶奶，想起了他們在萬般無奈的情況下移居到新好茶，心中卻仍念念不忘著生活大半輩子的舊址，過世了依舊無法葬在自己深愛的土地上，對照現在甚至屍骨無存，我很想知道，他們的靈魂回家了沒?!』

『也想到了老爸這一生辛勞的工作，畢生所有的心血全在新好茶那棟石板屋上，一夜之間雨水便將他所有的努力轉化成泡影，彷彿在告訴他，他的人生只是場鬧劇，我永遠也忘不了他在瑪家上方看著好茶淹沒在土石流之下，那心力交瘁的背影，那一夜過後，他老得好多好快...。』

放手，擁抱。

『那妳哭什麼？』我吸了吸鼻水。

「你哭我也會想哭。」噢噢，愛烏及屋的意思?!

謝謝妳，敏娜，如果真要說截至目前為止我的人生裡有什麼值得感恩的事，那便是上天讓我遇見了妳。

“Going (Back) Home” (English translation)

Some things one deliberately forgets, not wanting to be in a physically or emotionally taxing state, yet there are always times, places, people, who once again stir the deepest memories and then, again—heartache.

On August 8, 2009 Typhoon Morakot brought merciless rain, wreaking havoc upon my homeland and succeeding where previous storms had failed; this time even the chance to stand once more on that land was taken away. Overnight, amidst a vast body of water, my father’s years of painstaking efforts vanished in an instant; I still cannot face or even to try to speculate on his mood, because I know it will render me unable to breathe. Priceless cultural artefacts buried under a landslide of earth and rock, no longer able to be passed on... my shock upon hearing of this was indescribable, and I knew that I would never want to experience such feelings a second time. Contrary to my wishes, this was followed by the collapse of the community cemetery soon after, and at last the flood of tears I had been resolutely holding back broke free. I began to detest the ruthless month of August; pointless perhaps, but in the face of such events occurring one after another my wilful nature knew only this way to cope.

For a long period of time, I let these matters gather dust in the depths of my memory—I did not look, did not listen, did not think about it—a bit of an ostrich mentality, but it allowed me to somewhat catch my breath. It wasn’t until February of this year that there came a second chance brought about by a proposition from my girlfriend, whereupon I began to face the lingering demons ever-present in my mind.

‘Time to go home,’ she smiled sweetly.

‘Huh?’

‘Let’s go back to Old Haocha.’ Hopeful eyes, but resolute tone.

‘Huh??!’ Playing dead.

I know how much it took for her to muster the courage and speak those words aloud; after all, every time there was ever mention of Haocha’s past I would always become stiff and silent. Yet looking at her uneasy, distressed expression, I felt both love and helplessness. ‘Perhaps it really is time,’ I thought. So we began to plan and arrange, and once all was ready, set off as scheduled.

On 25 February 2014 at 8:30am, we set off with a few friends from Haocha Village at Rinari. Prior to departure there was of course the obligatory group photo; this was the beginning, the start of a search for memories.



My heart was a jumble of emotions along the way, especially when travelling the winding road through the Indigenous Culture Park, the only route back to Haocha.

I saw myself during childhood, with my brother on Dad's motorcycle, pointing in fright at the dam farther down.

I saw myself in adolescence, laughing with a friend on the road as I learned how to ride a scooter.

I saw myself as a young adult with my family, opening the car windows to enjoy the cool refreshing breeze, and the anticipation of being able to see grandma again.

I saw ... recollections that I did not want to revisit.

Dad drove his invincible farm truck with everyone else piled in the truck bed while Binalriw rode his scooter behind, with me as passenger. I watched them up ahead—from time to time picking up their phones, cameras, to capture the beauty of the landscape—and saw how experiencing this journey moved them, to different degrees. Although I was wearing a face mask, the truck raised quite a bit of dust—it must have been that which made my eyes sting.

Finally, we arrived at the broken bridge, able to rely only on our own strength and willpower to complete the remainder of the journey. Dad imparted a few words of caution and performed a simple prayer, then watched us depart. I did not dare look back because I knew how much he wanted in his heart to accompany me to the end of this trip but since his age and health did not permit, could only drop the subject. I remember, many years prior, Dad always clamouring to take my brother and I back to Old Haocha, but we never managed to find a time. Honestly, it could be said that the intent was not there then; now, overtaken by events and years down the road, I very much regret the delay, my immaturity.



Such a huge riverbed, filled with stones of different sizes, occasionally taking off our shoes to cross the river. Standing in front of a large slab of dark grey rubble, a particularly sharp rock pressing up into my foot, I was reminded of the power of Mother Nature's wrath and how one must feel fear and intimidation as well as pay respect, but truth be told I wanted more to swear profanities, my wilful nature again rearing its head. I looked up at the old road along the cliff, words unable to express the sorrow in my heart; with every step, every glance, the negative emotions continued to increase. In order to not affect the others, I lowered my head and began to walk, but the closer we got to New Haocha my pace began to falter and I became even more taciturn, not because I was so exhausted but because I truly did not know if I could look upon what was no longer the homeland I remembered. However, one still has to face the inescapable and so I deliberately walked at the rear, catching a glimpse of the church's remnants out of the corner of my eye. An instantaneous flash in my mind: which household used to be where I am standing here on this riverbed? Where is my home? Where?? I tried to use the church to orient myself but still could not determine whether buried beneath my feet was in fact where my home once was. For a long time I was not myself; I wanted to scream, shout madly, but desperately suppressed the simmering emotions. I found a large rock and sat upon it with my back to New Haocha, much like before; in the past whenever angry or upset I would always drive to the riverside and find a big rock to sit on, listening to the murmuring stream sometimes for hours, only leaving after my mood calmed. Yet behind me, the village had vanished and it was as if the setting before my eyes was taunting me, telling me there was no going back; I would never again find that which had served as refuge when I lost my way.

I did not look to the area above the church where the public cemetery was located because I wanted to maintain some propriety lest I were again inclined to swear, or perhaps I knew how much grief I could afford to bear; showing too much vulnerability would just have been awkward for the others. In truth, whatever the reason it does not matter, I just knew I absolutely could not look at the cemetery, even though that was where two of the people I hold most dear used to lay. After approximately one hour when moods were sorted we set off again since we were already behind schedule, it being already mid-day; were we to tarry further the darkening sky might delay our arrival and cause inconvenience for others. Leaving New Haocha and heading towards Old Haocha honestly made me feel immediately much more at ease, a sense of adventure and anticipation unexpectedly sparking in my heart. Perhaps because New Haocha is filled with memories from my childhood to adulthood, a heavy mood accompanied every step I took during the first part of the journey; as far as I'm concerned, recognizing my self-worth was not the purpose of this trip, but to break with my weakness regarding the past, and start over again.

Before reaching the trailhead we could see in the distance Little Hunter advancing rapidly towards us with his hound; we really had dawdled for too long and he had gotten a bit worried. We kept going after exchanging a few pleasantries and, after finally arriving at the trailhead, were confronted with the true test of strength. We had already spent quite a lot of energy on the first part of the route, only to now be faced with an even more rigorous path taking us deep into the mountains at elevations above 900m; we did not take the old trail, instead following a path that Little Hunter had opened up by himself. After a brief rest we set forth once more, encountering a couple of extremely steep slopes along the way; fortunately, there were ropes tied along the more difficult parts of the path for us to grasp. On the way, Little Hunter began pointing out different aspects related to tribesmembers' previous ways of life such as plants and their various uses, and areas of cultivated land along with, of course, hunting anecdotes from his childhood. In this way he distracted us and made time seem to pass more quickly, allowing us to arrive sooner than expected; otherwise, we probably would have focused far more on our aches and pains. At about four or five o'clock, just before nightfall, we finally arrived at our destination. The scene that greeted me was both strange yet familiar; I cannot explain this sort of feeling, almost as if I had lived here once before. Enriched spirit soothing my tired body, I slowly and deeply took a breath—in, out—supremely steadied.

That night we ate, drank and laughed merrily, using music to communicate our emotions, everyone using their own way to feel and interpret the romance of it all.

The next day, first on our itinerary was a tour of the old village: Little Hunter took us around showed us all the households, the school, sacred sites, etc. accompanied by stories long and short, of hardship, sweetness, laughter, sorrow; each story resonated within the depths of our hearts, sending out ripples. The first house we stopped at was my home, the home where my ancestors once resided; the home that my grandfather, my grandmother, my father always longed for and cherished in their memories.



Upon our arrival we found the house overgrown with weeds, whereupon Little Hunter handed me a sickle and we both set about working tackling the abundant foliage before us. Meanwhile, the others spontaneously and ubiquitously put on work gloves and began to help clean up; I was extremely moved and stored the moment in my heart, but did not show it. Soon after, when we had cleared the overgrowth to a certain extent, Little Hunter bade me to put down the sickle and stand before an incomparably long, smooth stone slab, saying that as it was my first time returning home, I had to pay tribute to the ancestor spirits. He sobbed as he spoke during the ritual, sometimes in Mandarin Chinese, sometimes in our mother tongue. All at once, my brows knit and fragments of a memory I had never had before, came to me in flashes: I saw Grandfather sitting in front of the house playing the nose flute he was so skilled at; the back of Grandmother as she pounded millet; Dad, carefree and humming ... it was as if these scenes, which I simply could not possibly have seen in real life, were genuinely taking place before me. I took in hand that little cup of kaoliang and drank it rapidly, then cast my head to the side and raised my right arm to block my line of sight; there was then a sound I had not heard for a long, long time, forced from my throat—slow to rapid, choked to unrestrained—I frantically bit down on my arm until the pain spread throughout my body and it wasn't until my girlfriend's tight embrace brought me back to my surroundings that I was aware, I had cried.

Afterwards I couldn't quite remember how the ceremony ended; I just recall that as we left, Binalriw still sat alone in front of my house, playing the nose flute as if paying respect to my grandfather—looking back on that scene, I am very grateful for his considerateness. For the rest of the trip I held back my grief and persevered to the end, but that sort of extreme anguish was slow to dispel. The original plan had been to stay for just one night but everyone ended up wanting to stay for another; a good idea, really, because after all, who knew when we would have another opportunity to go up there again. Of course, staying an additional day brought many interesting incidents but mainly small stuff; for now it shall remain a secret between me and those who were present, not to be divulged here.

With every start comes an end and these travels, this search for memories, came to their conclusion much as they began, with the inevitable group photo. I am not sure what exactly I obtained from this journey or whether there was any absolute affirmation of self-consciousness, I only know now that no matter how unbearable are memories of the past, there is no resisting. Life goes on and is worth living; even with just an ordinary life, one can still be happy and content.



Many thanks to Little Hunter and his wife for looking after us on this journey; they have my lifelong gratitude.

Hand in hand.

'So why did you cry?' Again with the hesitant, ill at ease expression.

'Huh?'

'I said, why did you cry when we were paying tribute to the ancestral spirits?'
Inquisitive to the very end.

'Huh??!' Really trying to play dead.

'I want to know.'

'Know what?'

'Your heart.'

Hand in hand, holding tight.

'Really, at that moment I just suddenly thought of my grandparents, of how they were given no other alternative but to move to New Haocha and yet in their hearts still never forgot the place where they spent more than half their lifetime; of how when they passed away, were still unable to be buried on their beloved land; and how now, even their resting place is no longer. I really want to know whether their spirits have returned home yet.

'Dad also worked so hard, toiling, putting everything he owned into building the stone slab house at New Haocha, and then in one night the rain washes away all his efforts, as if telling him this life was just a farce. I will never forget seeing him from behind, standing at upper Majia and looking out at New Haocha submerged beneath the landslide, physically and mentally exhausted. Since that night he has aged so much, so quickly...'

Clasped hands drop, embrace.

'Well, why did you cry?' I sniffled.

'You cry, I cry.' Oho—so love me, love my dog then, is it?

Thank you, Minna. What I am most thankful for so far in my life, is having met you.

Situating the Research

The approaches and methods used in this thesis are a response to the historical, political, and cultural particularities of Wutai Rukai post-Morakot experiences and my evolving understanding of that context. Beginning this chapter with “Going (Back) Home” is a deliberate effort to embody radical contextualism, which Howitt (2011a, p. 133) defines as:

an epistemological, political, philosophical, and aesthetic orientation to the importance of the material, transactional, and relational connections of history, geography, and society (of time, place, and social process) as influential to how things unfold, and how we come to understand and respond to the events, places and people around us - the sticky materialism of experience and being-together in place.

“Going (Back) Home” was first published in a Haocha tribal community newsletter on 12 May 2014.¹⁶ The original version from 5 May 2014, which included more photos, has been included here with the author Kui’s permission and cooperation. At Kui’s invitation, and with his direct involvement, I translated the piece into English for wider circulation and inclusion in the thesis. In doing so, I attempted to keep as close to the original tone of the work as possible, but I ask that those with the ability to do so to read the piece in its original language (Chinese) as well. It is presented in Chinese here in the body of the thesis rather than relegated to an Appendix to highlight the linguistic (and inevitably political) context of the Rukai setting for English-speaking readers. Rather than merely summarising or responding to Kui’s work as a supplement, it is centred in this chapter so that the reader may learn from Kui’s experience (as I did), rather than privileging the thesis and myself as authority. This is explored in depth later in the chapter, but suffice to say by way of introduction that positioning the research in such a manner is foundational to the decisions made about research design and execution.

This chapter describes how I engaged with issues of power and representation in post-Morakot Taiwan, critically interrogating what is considered “expertise”. It discusses the decisions and challenges faced in designing and executing the research. My relationships both pre-existing and developed with particular people and places have

¹⁶ <http://kucapungane.pixnet.net/blog/post/366582005> (12 May 2014)

been crucial to this process, and necessitated critical reflexivity regarding my own positionality as well as an adaptive, flexible and responsive research plan.

The chapter positions my research within a range of literatures, and a conceptual framework for engaging theoretically and methodologically with power. In submitting my work for the PhD qualification, I inevitably make some claims on expertise arising from my research. Yet I also seek to disrupt the authority and power that such claims underpin. So there is both ambiguity and risk in assuming that expertise makes one an expert, at least in the sense that this is commonly used in Taiwan, within the areas addressed in the thesis. What this thesis in fact seeks to capture are the complexities of ethical, appropriate post-disaster recovery; the very notions of “being together in place” (Howitt, 2011, p. 132; Johnson et al., 2016; Larsen & Johnson, 2012a; 2012b) or “co-becoming” (Bawaka Country et al., 2013; Bawaka Country et al., 2015; Suchet-Pearson et al., 2013) are disrupted, discouraged, and made impossibly difficult by the existing disaster discourses and approaches in Taiwan.

As part of the exercise to de-centre and disrupt the category of expert within existing power structures, a significant element that requires exploration is that of the researcher themselves and their relationships to and with their research. The approach adopted here acknowledges that social analysis has a tendency to be done “on the relatively powerless for the relatively powerful” (Bell, 1976, p. 25) and, in highlighting expert-centred discourses within different disciplines and communities of practice, I draw parallels between the ethnographer/researcher and the disaster specialist as expert. Entitling this chapter “Speaking Truth to Power” is an effort to encapsulate a postcolonial, Indigenous-centred methodological commitment in the research which began with the premise that some of the most pertinent questions were: ‘Who speaks?’, ‘What truth?’ and ‘Whose power?’ These issues were continually present in the design, ethics, and execution of the research. Consequently, discussion of methodology necessarily requires exploration of the theory, concepts, and discourses that are inextricably implicated in the approach taken.

Throughout the research, there were persistent and fundamental questions about representation, truth, and power, but they arose in very different ways in different phases of the project. Therefore, this chapter departs from the more conventional approach to the thesis structure, where theoretical framework, methodology, and literature review are explored in separate chapters; these three components are instead woven together to illustrate how a commitment to speaking truth to power served as a guiding principle in discovering suitable concepts and processes to frame and execute the research.

Epistemological and philosophical approach

Power has been a central concept throughout the research. When examining power, many different elements must be taken into account; relationships to (as well as among and between) “community” and institutions need to be disentangled and addressed. Moreover, Taiwan’s colonial history and its lasting implications for Indigenous groups need to be acknowledged and understood alongside making sense of the disaster recovery policies, processes, and the ensuing research “opportunities” that arose in the wake of Typhoon Morakot. In order to address this, the research design needed to “study up” in the way Nader suggested researchers need to think about “studying the colonizers rather than the colonized and the culture of power rather than the culture of the powerless” (Nader, 1972, p. 289).

A reflexive approach was needed, in which iterative engagement with materials and issues was structured into the research plan. This assisted in addressing issues such as knowledge construction and perception biases and has pushed the thesis to illustrate the imperial/colonial legacies of knowledge. As Smith puts it, “the ways in which those legacies continue to influence knowledge institutions to the exclusion of indigenous peoples and their aspirations” is critical, as is locating “responsibility to change society in both the non-indigenous and indigenous worlds... promot[ing] and support[ing] indigenous communities in their particular struggles” (Smith, 2012, p. vii). In studying up, the research focused on the institutions that played significant roles in the post-disaster experiences, the Morakot Post-Disaster Reconstruction Council (MPDRC) and the NGOs involved in recovery in the Wutai Rukai domains. However, it is also

necessary to simultaneously study down, sideways and through (Bowman, 2009; Stryker & Gonzalez, 2014). The intention was not to forego ethnography in local areas; the alternative to producing an ethnography of marginalised groups is not to disregard these groups in favour of those who seem to wield more power in society, but rather to highlight the complex issues of representation and relationships between various actors. In doing so, this opened the possibility of fostering engagement at different scales, both to refine my awareness of the accuracy and utility of emerging understandings, and to improve my comprehension regarding the implications of the discourses and actions of those with power and standing in the recovery and reconstruction processes.

Consequently, this thesis does not just study the post-disaster circumstances affecting Indigenous areas in contemporary Taiwan, but also explores how echoes of colonialism from previous eras continue to resonate in post-disaster practices. It considers how well-intentioned interventions to support recovery and reconstruction are easily diverted into relationships and processes that Rose (1999) identifies as “deep colonising”. In line with Nader’s original attempt to “outline a paradigm for studying power that was *both* methodological and theoretical” (Stryker & Gonzalez, 2014, p. 14), the approach adopted in this research was a multi-sited, studying-up ethnography, which has been termed especially “suitable and insightful” for looking at disaster response (Bankoff et al., 2004, p. 65).

Postcolonial, decolonising and Indigenous methodologies

Postcolonial studies focus on the ways in which legacies of colonialism and imperialism are exercised, legitimated, and responded to. With respect to this thesis, matters of voice and representation are fundamental in challenging the colonising power structures of “expert”-centred discourses and recognising alternative ontologies. Spivak (1988) explores the ethical issues of investigating “other” cultures based on “universal” understandings in considering whether the subaltern can speak, with “subaltern” referring to the perspectives of those from regions and groups outside of hegemonic power structures. Spivak concludes that this completely disempowers subaltern peoples, continually rewritten as the object of patriarchy or imperialism,

particular in conventional research contexts. The subaltern has only a dominant language or discourse with which to speak, and is thus both created and silenced by these hegemonic discourses. Seeking to reorient postcolonial studies, Spivak examines how power oppresses, objectifies and essentialises the subaltern, and challenges researchers to speak with rather than speak for the historically mute subaltern.

The representation of research subjects in texts such as this thesis inevitably establishes or enacts power relationships (Butz & Besio, 2004). If a primary aim of this thesis is to 'research back' in the postcolonial sense—to listen to Wutai Rukai experiences and converse, debate and engage with them—one of the first steps is to acknowledge that

Research is one of the ways in which the underlying code of imperialism and colonialism is both regulated and realized... regulated through the formal rules of individual scholarly disciplines and scientific paradigms, and the institutions that support them (including the state) ... realized in the myriad of representations and ideological constructions of the Other ... and in the principles which help to select and recontextualize those constructions... (Smith, 2012, p. 8)

Postcolonial discourses are described by Howitt and Stevens (2010) as those which aim to contribute to the Other's self-determination through research that values their rights, knowledge, perspectives, concerns and desires. There are lessons to be learned from postcolonial studies

that challenge 'conventional'—in the sense of common, long-established and unexamined—views of fieldwork. These lessons revolve around the importance of rejecting the attitudes, assumptions, purposes, and methodologies of what post-colonial theorists refer to as colonial research in favour of those of 'decolonizing', 'post-colonial' research. (Howitt & Stevens, 2010, p. 42)

Decolonising research works towards breaking down cross-cultural discourses, representations and structures through which the asymmetrical power relationships of colonialism and imperialism have been constructed and retained. Decolonisation is a process that engages with imperialism and colonialism at multiple levels. For researchers, one of those levels involves forming “a more critical understanding of the underlying assumptions, motivations and values which inform research practices” (Smith, 2012, p. 21). While this thesis does not presume that Taiwan has entered into a

decolonising 'stage' as part of any predetermined trajectory, an approach that takes into account the complexities of Taiwan's geopolitical situation (drawn in at various points throughout the thesis and discussed in more detail within Chapter Four) has implications for post-colonial—and potentially, decolonising—thinking and research concerning Taiwan.

Louis (2007, p. 133) refers to Indigenous methodologies as alternative ways of thinking about research processes which aim to ensure research on Indigenous issues “is accomplished in a more sympathetic, respectful, and ethically correct fashion from an Indigenous perspective”, and details four unwavering principles of Indigenous research:

- 1) relational accountability: recognises that all parts of the research process are related, and the researcher is also accountable to ‘all your relations’ through Indigenous concepts of interrelationships
- 2) respectful representation: demonstrates consideration for knowledge sharing processes and acceptance of Indigenous peoples’ decisions as to the treatment of knowledge shared
- 3) reciprocal appropriation: acknowledges that research is appropriation and demands adequate benefits for both Indigenous peoples and researcher
- 4) rights and regulation: where research is driven by Indigenous protocols with explicit goals and consideration of research impact, and ensures that ‘findings’ are accessible to Indigenous audiences.

Louis's principles provide the foundation for determining appropriate ways to engage with Indigenous peoples, and centre Indigenous concerns and worldviews in research so that it may be undertaken for the purposes identified by Indigenous groups (Muller, 2008; Smith, 2012). For a non-Indigenous researcher, developing a methodology that is informed by postcolonial, decolonising, Indigenous methodologies requires tools to critically assess the assumptions, motivations, and values that inform not only one's own research practices, but also those of others who play key roles in post-disaster reconstruction in Taiwan.

Positionality and reflexivity

In keeping with the epistemological approach of this thesis, I explicitly locate myself within this research in order to acknowledge the ways in which my positionality

influences my work (Maxey, 1999). Recognising that qualitative research requires “cognizance of the position and powers of the researcher and the politics of doing research” (Brockington & Sullivan, 2003, p. 72), reflexivity regarding one’s positionality takes into account how factors such as gender, privilege and nationality influence research outcomes and contributions. However, the dynamic nature of one’s positionality also needs to be acknowledged; our identities and subjectivities are spatially and temporally tempered, changing in accordance to relationships in different places and at different times (Sultana, 2007).

It is, therefore, appropriate to critically reflect on my own positionality and the drivers involved in undertaking this research. As is the case with most such journeys, there was no single defining starting point. Yet, a particularly noteworthy incident was in May 2007 when I visited the Danayigu Ecological Park in southwestern Taiwan, an Indigenous Tsou-run ecotourism initiative. The invitation to participate in the workshops was initiated by and extended from Professor Scott Simon and Dr. William Hipwell, both researchers with long-time relationships to Indigenous communities in Taiwan. It was an exceptional opportunity, the series of workshops as part of the Aboriginal Sustainability Network (Hipwell et al., 2008) bringing together Indigenous visitors from Canada, Australia, and New Zealand; scholars from Taiwan, Canada and the United States (US); and students from National Dong Hwa University (NDHU) and the then-National Hualien University of Education (NHUE)¹⁷ with Indigenous tribal communities in Taiwan. After completing my undergraduate degree in the US, I made the decision to move to Taiwan and learn how to read and write Chinese. Having arrived just a few months prior, most things were quite unfamiliar to me at the time of the Danayigu experience—I had only started becoming accustomed to hearing and speaking languages other than English with people besides family on a regular basis—and then suddenly found myself immersed in yet another new place, amongst people from cultures that I knew practically nothing about. This was Taiwan?

I was born in the US to Taiwanese parents, and while for as long as I can remember I have self-identified as being Taiwanese-American, I only travelled to Taiwan a handful

¹⁷ NHUE merged with NDHU merged to become a single institution in 2008.

of times prior to finishing my undergraduate degree in the US. It was not until I moved back in early 2007—as part of a searching-for-roots endeavour that so many second-generation children seem to embark on—that I spent more than a month in Taiwan. Growing up in the US, I watched Taiwan democratise from afar, and while I was quite comfortable around Mandarin Chinese, Taiwanese Hokkien, and Hakka (the main languages spoken by the majority of people in Taiwan), had next to no knowledge of the Indigenous histories and cultures of Taiwan until shortly before graduating from university. The visit to Danayigu, and that trip overall, demonstrated to me just how little I knew about Taiwan, despite its supposedly unshakeable part of my identity. Fast forward to August 2009 when I was about to complete my master’s degree in London, whereupon I received word that Danayigu, and much of central and southern Taiwan, had been severely damaged by Typhoon Morakot. It was devastating news; seeing firsthand how the area we visited had been revitalised by the Danayigu Ecological Park had left a lasting impact back in 2007, and the thought of how much effort it would take to recover and rebuild, applying that to all the affected areas post-typhoon, was quite sobering.

Shortly after returning to Taiwan from the UK, in November 2010, I attended an international conference in Taipei about post-Morakot recovery at National Taiwan Normal University (NTNU), “A Year After: Taiwan Indigenous People’s Post-Disaster Reconstruction and Sustainable Development” (一年過後：原住民災後重建與永續發展國際學術研究會).¹⁸ If one were trying to pinpoint the motivations for my research, this conference, which I attended out of concerns regarding post-Morakot reconstruction stemming from my Danayigu experience, could be seen as the catalyst in my PhD trajectory. It was where I met Dr. Taiban Sasala and Professor Richie Howitt for the first time, both speakers at the conference; I worked with Sasala as a research assistant at the Tajen University Center for Indigenous Development (大仁科技大學原住民族發展中心) (TJCID) from February 2011 to May 2012 and Richie went on to become my principal PhD supervisor at Macquarie University in June 2012. I had been exploring the idea of starting a PhD even before attending the conference at NTNU.

¹⁸ www.ntnu.edu.tw/irdc/post-disaster/brochure.doc (18 Oct 2014)

When I accepted the position at the TJCID, it was after already having discussed my research interests with Sasala, and the potential for my work building towards further study on post-disaster issues in southern Taiwan.

Tajen University is located in Pingtung County, the southernmost county in Taiwan. The university's proximity to areas affected by Typhoon Morakot and the nature of my work as research assistant meant that during my time living in Pingtung (from February 2011 to May 2012) before commencing at Macquarie as a PhD student, I had already begun working closely with many of the groups and people involved in this thesis. Friends and colleagues invited me to participate in and contribute to the reconstruction work they were doing; Sasala himself is also from Haocha, one of the Indigenous Rukai tribal communities relocated in the wake of Morakot and discussed in "Going (Back) Home". This, combined with his then-position as director of the TJCID and assistant professor at Tajen, meant that while working at TJCID I had opportunities to form relationships with organisations, institutions, and people whom I might not otherwise have met (at least not in the same capacity). I was in a personal relationship with Kui Kadrangilane, the author of "Going (Back) Home", from September 2011 and resided in Haocha at Rinari, the settlement it was relocated to, from January to May 2012. This developed new and strengthened other friendships and relationships in the area, and afforded me another means of circumstances with which to explore the reconstruction process that I did not initially have.

When I started the PhD, I had already conceptualised its focus on post-disaster reconstruction in Indigenous areas, and the study area had been tentatively delineated as the largely Rukai-populated Wutai Township in Pingtung County. My motivations for doing so were largely influenced by pre-existing relationships, as well as my commitment to highlighting the importance of understanding issues of identity, engagement, trauma and cultural continuity following relocation. These issues had arisen during my time in Pingtung before commencing at Macquarie; many of these themes were still present once I refined my research proposal and are further explored in later chapters of this thesis. I originally enrolled solely at Macquarie, with the

understanding that we would pursue a cotutelle¹⁹ with NDHU, largely influenced by its having a College of Indigenous Studies. For reasons too complex to detail here, the cotutelle agreement took over two years to come to fruition and I did not commence at NDHU until September 2014, with Professor Chun-Chieh Chi, already acting as an adjunct supervisor for my Macquarie doctoral program, becoming my principal supervisor at NDHU. Enrolling at NDHU so late in my candidature meant that while I was compelled to take two additional semesters of coursework as part of the requirements for graduation from NDHU, I had already completed the majority of my fieldwork in Taiwan and all of the PhD requirements for Macquarie apart from my dissertation.

Ethics as first method

This personal administrative history had implications for the research reported in this thesis. In particular, the administrative requirements of the Australian university sector, along with my principal supervisor's history of engagement with research ethics in Indigenous settings meant that my research design process was framed quite differently than it might have been had I enrolled initially, or solely, in a Taiwan-based doctoral program. Howitt (2011b) has framed an approach he terms as "ethics as first method", where he insists on the need to simultaneously pursue ethical and methodological issues in research design.

The understandings that I have reached in this thesis were the product of a careful research design which was piloted in my preliminary fieldwork undertaken in Taiwan from November 2012 to January 2013. As discussed in Chapter Two, recognising that complex coupled human and natural systems encompass people-to-people, people-to-environment and people-to-cosmos relationships allowed the research to more carefully engage with post-Morakot circumstances, and refined the research design for the extended period of fieldwork that followed (this is further discussed in the following 'Methodological choices and challenges' section). Critical engagement with

¹⁹ A cotutelle (literally, "co-tutoring" in French) is a joint agreement between two institutions at the doctoral degree level. The terms of the agreement vary at individual levels; such agreements can be entered into between the two cooperating institutions, the PhD candidate and/or the candidate's supervisors. The candidate receives a diploma from each institution. More information may be found at: http://www.mq.edu.au/international/research/cotutelles/cotutelle_versus_joint_phd_model/

the NDHU coursework as part of the cotutelle (see Table 3) offered an opportunity to further reflect upon and enhance engagement with particular stakeholders in the reconstruction process. This iterative relationship with the analysis and understanding of the research materials was enriched by the in-between spaces that would not have been possible without the cotutelle agreement between Macquarie and NDHU, given the opportunities to engage with literature, ideas and practice in Chinese and English at NDHU as well as in the doctoral program at Macquarie. The need to challenge the idea of “the expert”, which is ultimately one of the thesis’ main contributions evolved from various facets and periods of this research. It is not possible to point to any one particular instance, but some key provocations regarding the researcher-as-expert certainly came from the Young Scientists’ Conference at the Academia Sinica (see below), my time at NDHU, and, of course, my engagement with “Going (Back) Home”.

Howitt (2011b, p. 3) suggests that more conventional ways of framing academic research proposals

obscure ... issues of power, of connection (including connections of exclusion, erasure and denial), of history and place that shape the relations embedded in intercultural ... systems. These contextual complexities are generally excluded from well-structured and focused reports; they become researchers’ margin notes or asides in classes and supervisions; they emerge in reflective papers late in researchers’ careers; they unsettle some to the point where they look for other things to do. In my observation, which includes experience as an applied researcher, research supervisor, research mentor and member of an institutional ethics committee, these matters are rarely the focus of explicit ethical discussion in framing or evaluating research. It is as if the field of ethics is somehow not embedded in the administration of either intercultural ... institutions or the research that is done on, in, around and for them.

Drawing on the philosopher Levinas, Howitt addresses that “awkward and disturbing dis-connection”, arguing that “planning, executing and reporting research raises significant ethical issues” well beyond formal procedural domains of institutional review and approval:

In intercultural research ethical issues are implicated in how meaning is constructed, what might constitute data, how interpretation occurs, and how researchers’ understandings come to represent the worlds, lives, values and experiences of others ... Ethical concerns need to be understood as foundational to the intercultural research enterprise ... [and] researchers must,

therefore, negotiate not only formal institutional ethical requirements, but also a range of methodological challenges that are constituted in the ethical engagement of others whose rights, interests, responsibilities, opportunities and places-in-the-world are implicated in the ways that work proceeds (Howitt 2011b, p. 8).

Hand (1990, p. 75) suggests that when Levinas mentions the face of the Other, he means "I do not grasp the other in order to dominate; I respond, instead, to the face's epiphany". In other words, when, as a researcher, one engages with others across difference, it is not to appropriate their knowledge in order to become expert, but to respond with understanding, responsibility and ethical availability. As Rose (2004) succinctly puts it, research engagement with Indigenous peoples demands that our work be framed in an "ethics for decolonisation".

Speaking from the margins

In the Taiwanese setting, ethical oversight of research has been limited and there is a strong academic culture of expertise. Deferential and hierarchical structures are strongly gendered and it is not uncommon for a young female researcher to find themselves in the margins of expertocracies within academic settings. As Harding (2008, p. 3) notes:

the modernity vs. tradition binary remains powerful today in shaping research in the natural and social sciences and their philosophies as well as in the public policy which such research serves. Such work typically treats the needs and desires of women and of traditional cultures as irrational, incomprehensible, and irrelevant—or even a powerful obstacle—to ideals and strategies for social progress.

In October 2013 I was invited to present at the "Young Scientists' Conference on Integrated Research on Disaster Risk, Future Earth, and Sustainability", which was hosted and organised by the Integrated Research on Disaster Risk-International Centre of Excellence in the Center for Sustainability Science at Academia Sinica²⁰, in partnership with START (an NPO based in Washington, D.C. that focuses on increasing global environmental change research capacities in Africa and the Asia-Pacific). At the time, I was about to embark on the prolonged stage of my fieldwork in Taiwan so my presentation was more preliminary findings than final conclusions, and I was in the

²⁰ Academia Sinica (中央研究院, literally "Central Research Academy") is the national academy of Taiwan.

minority as a social scientist amongst predominantly natural and applied scientists. I was scheduled to present in the final session on the last day, and what struck me while listening to the other presentations was how each one was undoubtedly detailed and coherent, yet a cohesive social element was not articulated in much of the highly technical material that was discussed. Spanning two days, on the first day the conference was largely attended by the “young scientists”. On the second day, particularly the closer it got to my scheduled session, a number of senior academics, primarily male, joined us. These factors, combined with my seeing who the convenor of our session would be—Jenn-Chuan Chern, then-CEO of the Morakot Post-Disaster Reconstruction Council (MPDRC)—led to some trepidation as to how my presentation might be received.

At the conference there was another presentation regarding earthquakes that included Wutai as a case study location and pronounced it as a high probability seismic hazard area, which should focus on mitigation. There was no indication of the repercussions such findings might have for people living in that area. The seismologist approached me after my own presentation (which eventually evolved into what is Chapter Five of this thesis), and acknowledged that they were unfamiliar with the actual area of Wutai and had not considered the fact that it is chiefly inhabited by Indigenous Rukai people, since they worked mainly with second-hand data to obtain their findings. They did not know about the ways in which Wutai Rukai people have adapted to living in an area with high seismic activity, and were intrigued to hear of Indigenous stone slab homes that are designed to withstand earthquakes and typhoons. In this situation, the modernity versus tradition binary and how it shapes research, its philosophies, and the policies that such research serves as discussed by Harding is evident. An example of how the sciences often “trump” the needs and expertise that more “traditional” cultures possess, this lack of consideration regarding the need for incorporating elements of traditional knowledges, accounting for ontological pluralism, and the implications of “modern” science for so-called traditional peoples or societies is something that seems to occur quite often (Harding, 2008, p. 5).

The convenor of my conference session, Professor Chern, was gracious and obliging in later encounters. On this occasion as session chair, he introduced the presenters before me in our panel without further commentary; when it came to my turn to present, however, Professor Chern's introduction was comparatively lengthy, offering his view (as MPDRC CEO) on reconstruction and concluded by insinuating that there were, of course, "other sorts of opinions" before inviting me to speak. Even if this was an unconscious exertion of power, I felt silenced by such an introduction. In such circumstances one's own positionality is emphasised. I was a female researcher whose position as a social scientist in a mainly technical scientific conference was already vulnerable. This was further exacerbated when during my presentation several of the senior, male Taiwanese scientists smirked and snickered upon my providing a brief background concerning Taiwan's colonisation and development. Yet, over three-quarters of the audience were non-Taiwanese scholars with limited knowledge about the geopolitical and historical issues discussed in my presentation. In his closing comments, Professor Chern did not respond directly to the issues highlighted in my presentation. Instead, he referred to examples of how "the Indigenous people have been quite content with how reconstruction has been handled". The displays of authority and disrespect that I experienced before, during and after the presentation at Academic Sinica underlined the power and gender relations at play in this expert-centred setting. Due to the pre-emptive assumptions about my stance, I was not only silenced, but also placed in a position where I was unable to sufficiently explore different perspectives of post-Morakot circumstances as part of my effort to destabilise the 'researcher as authority' mentality. Consequently, there was no prospect of serious debate of or response to the issues I raised; I certainly felt quite marginalised.

This experience reinforced the importance of reflecting on my own positionalities and their implications for research design for this work. The inadequacy of singular labels when positioning a researcher in the context of their research practice is well-established (e.g. England, 1994). I am not Indigenous, I am not Rukai. I am a younger, female, Asian-American social scientist. I do not conform to a stereotypical view of a researcher in Taiwan, particularly in the areas of study and practice I focused on. This means that I inevitably speak from the periphery in several ways. My being silenced as

a researcher during micro-circumstances such as presenting at the Young Scientists' Conference can be seen as a parallel to the silencing of various non-conformist, dissident and Indigenous voices in many research designs. While I did not presume to speak for affected Wutai Rukai peoples with my presentation, my research considers issues of inclusiveness and representation in post-disaster recovery processes. This was something I meant to highlight in my presentation yet it was symbolically and quite explicitly "talked over", as was Taiwan's colonial history, by those who were authorised as more expert. As per Harding (2008, p. 8), these peripheries should be increasingly loudly "talking back" to the centres, for both political and epistemological reasons.

This talking back is not a call for all researchers to focus solely on women and/or "traditional" cultures. Spivak (1993) problematises the "saviors of marginality" syndrome, where "the presumption that the textual restoration of marginality (the writing by academics for academics about the struggles of subalterns) turns authors into subalterns themselves" (Crush, 1994, p. 344). My positionality certainly directly contributed to my experience at the Young Scientists' Conference. However, finding myself in the margins of the expert-centred discourse that dominated the conference was not only unsurprising, but also ultimately constructive to the development of my research design. As Howitt (2011a, p. 132) notes:

There is much of interest and value to social geographers in the margins of discourses; the edges that overlap and blur the apparent certainties of particular theoretical positions; the awkward, even uncomfortable juxtapositions that occur across the frontiers, borders, edges and boundaries of places, peoples and ideas (Howitt 2001a). Such margins often challenge claims to certainty, privilege and superiority... The ways disciplines engage with these edges, how one's work is situated in these often hotly-contested and awkward geographies, actually offers a fine place to think to come to know, to be challenged, and to act.

Methodological choices and challenges

As a social scientist entering the disaster studies field, I have been confronted with many challenges in making decisions about research methods and refining my understanding of the nature of my data and the conditions for interpretation and analysis. My work seeks to neither not repeat nor dismiss previous work in this field; neither do I seek to inhabit the expert-centered discourses of disaster studies, but

rather I adopt a Wutai Rukai-centered perspective in order to study up into those disaster-centred discourses, their institutions, assumptions and representations. Critical reflexivity was crucial to the conceptual and methodological choices and the practical and logistical challenges of the research. Reflection on these elements of the research is as much a part of the research dialogue as the ethnographic data from post-Morakot recovery and reconstruction in Wutai Rukai domains.

While I arrived at Wutai Rukai domains with some existing connections and experiences, it was necessary to recognise that the empirical task of documentation required attention to context rather than a commitment to pre-emptive theory or hypotheses about cause and effect. Grounded theory offers an approach that is "grounded in data systematically gathered and analyzed" (Strauss & Corbin, 1994, p. 273). It values research methods such as participant observation, interviewing and collection of artefacts and texts, and demands a critical (and continuing) reflexivity regarding the positionality of the researcher and their subjects. A grounded theory perspective leads the researcher to begin a study without preconceived notions about what the research questions should be, assuming that the theory on which the study is based will be tested and refined as the research is conducted. Studying up is often used in grounded approaches, such as textual analysis, in order to provide the empirical basis for a critical interpretation of meaning and significance.

If a principle intention in employing a postcolonial approach to *Speak Truth to Power* was to make it possible to "research back" (Smith, 2012) or talk back from the peripheries (Harding, 2008), then in addition to making clear how reflexivity was employed in my research design it is also necessary to address knowledge construction and perception biases (for the researcher and the researched). Unravelling colonial legacies of knowledge and representation, then, and the way that such legacies may have continue to influence knowledge and practice, particularly in institutions such as the MPDRC and disaster relief and response organisations, becomes imperative, and is particularly detailed in Chapter Four of this thesis. In attempting to clarify who is speaking when, questions that bear constant asking include: Who is talking? And, what peripheries? Such questions are critical, lest research be taken as a replication of

colonial practices, where the researcher speaks for the researched rather than raising important questions regarding responsibility, accountability and self-regulation (Nader, 1972).

This thesis is informed by the relationships between the researcher and the places and people affected by Typhoon Morakot. It draws on periods of extended fieldwork in Taiwan undertaken between 2012 to 2015, and subsequent periods of research, analysis and writing away from the field area which reinforced McCall's (2006, p. 5) insight that the various aspects of the research process—from design, data collection, data analysis to write-up—are not “a linear sequence of stages... but a rapidly rotating wheel, in which all four aspects are performed virtually every day while in the field” and beyond. Table 4 outlines the amount of time that was spent in Australia and Taiwan for research purposes.

Table 4: Research timeline

| Date | Location/Purpose |
|----------------------|--|
| Jun to Nov 2012 | Australia (Macquarie University) |
| Nov 2012 to Feb 2013 | Taiwan - preliminary fieldwork, 3 months |
| Feb to Jun 2013 | Australia (Macquarie University) |
| Jul 2013 to Feb 2014 | Taiwan - extended fieldwork, 8 months |
| Mar to Sep 2014 | Australia (Macquarie University) |
| Sep 2014 to Jun 2015 | Taiwan - NDHU coursework, 10 months |
| Jul to Dec 2015 | Australia (Macquarie University) |

Issues of Engagement

Ethnography is understood here to be “the recording and analysis of a culture or society, usually based on participant-observation and resulting in a written account of a people, place or institution” (Coleman & Simpson, 2015). In the past, ethnography has been a means of representing totality, or a sort of compass pointing, which is diametrically opposite to the aims of this thesis. Postmodern ethnography addresses this through various approaches, two of which are described by Fontana (1994, pp. 213-214):

The first, postmodern fieldwork, emphasizes the problematic status of the ethnographer as the subjective author of ethnographic accounts. This type of fieldwork relies on a heightened awareness of problems in the field but still bases its observations on everyday data gathered from the “natives.” The second, multitextual ethnographies, make the object of traditional accounts problematic by broadening the concept of “everyday life” to encompass films, television, fiction, dreams, and other types of data not commonly included by traditional ethnographers as part of their field of inquiry.

Ethnographic approaches and studying up both played significant roles in my methodological engagement for this research. Using these methods was not treated as a means of representing the totality of Wutai Rukai culture nor writing an authentic and objective account of the role that experts in the form of the MPDRC, NGOs, or other external institutions played in post-Morakot recovery and reconstruction. Rather, they were selected precisely for their ability to contextualise the research and to engage with the notion of “expert” in both research and in disaster settings.

Ethnography seeks to comprehend parts of the world as experienced and understood by those who “live them out” (Crang & Cook, 2007, p. 1). While ethnographic methods have often been used to obtain “insider” perspectives within specific political, economic, and social contexts, my positionality was not reducible to simply insider or outsider. As previously stated, I am not Indigenous, nor Rukai. Yet, because of my relationships formed and time spent in the area prior to starting my PhD, I was also not necessarily seen or treated as a complete “outsider”. Behar (1995) offers a different sort of theory and practice, dismissing the value and possibility of being a completely objective observer, and recommends a participatory role, which enhances understanding of those studied. The ethnographer as researcher and writer must be prepared to be, as Behar puts it, “a ‘vulnerable observer’, willing to include all of his or her pain and wounds in research and writing, because it is part of what he or she brings to the relationship” (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002, p. 24).

Studying up

There is a multi-layered aspect to power structures and relations within disaster recovery that must be taken into account: these relations cannot be reduced to simplistic binaries such as a coloniser/colonised relationship, the state/Indigenous groups, or disaster recovery institutions/affected peoples. Beyond these binaries,

another element that warrants exploration is that of the researchers themselves and their relationships to and with that which they are researching. As Smith (2012, p. 3) states, researchers' information gathering has been:

from some indigenous perspectives... [experienced or perceived] as random, ad hoc and damaging as that undertaken by amateurs. There was no difference, from these perspectives, between 'real' or scientific research and any other visits by inquisitive and acquisitive strangers.

There have already been some post-Morakot studies that discuss the challenges for disaster policies and practices in Taiwan (e.g. Cheng, 2013; Kang, 2013; Knight et al., 2012; Sia, 2014; Taiban, 2013). What is noticeably missing in these studies, however, is a deeper engagement with and reflection on how research may be implicated in perpetuation or intensification of existing negative stereotypes and practices alongside explorations of power (see also Haalboom & Natcher, 2013). This reinforces the importance of studying up into the power structures and discourses of expertise in this research.

Studying up unavoidably positions the researcher in relation to the structures and institutions being studied. In electing to study up from the Wutai Rukai context, there is no suggestion that Wutai Rukai post-disaster experiences are of greater or lesser importance than other experiences, nor that the institutional players are more or less important than the people in the affected locations. Rather, studying up allows the research to develop a broader and better contextualised scope –studying the NGOs and government institutions involved in disaster reconstruction processes was a deliberate move towards a more in-depth exploration of how relationships to and with power affected disaster experiences in Wutai Rukai settings. Power is understood in this context as “relational, characterized by mutuality rather than sovereignty. Power from this perspective is reciprocity between two subjects, a relationship not of domination but of intimacy and vulnerability” (Christians, 2011, p. 74).

The Fieldwork Experience

The three months of preliminary fieldwork from 2012 to 2013 were a scoping phase to ground my research focus, and re-establish/begin connections with Wutai Rukai areas as well as among and within the institutions involved in reconstruction. During my time

in Taiwan between 2012 and 2014, I resided primarily in Pingtung City or in Haocha at Rinari. While my return during those periods was ostensibly for field research, residing at Rinari, a settlement constructed post-Morakot, was not a tactical move meant to gain strategic “insider knowledge”. It was home, and I was with family. However, due to the nature of my research it could never be just home or family, which made positionality and reflexivity an especially significant part of the process.

Throughout my time in Taiwan from 2012 to 2014, the boundaries between outsider and insider continued to blur, allowing for a “betweenness” where there was no absolute sense of outsider or insider (Nast 1994, p. 57). This in-between position has been identified as a space that can be useful for countering dominant ways of information acquisition and knowledge production (Chacko, 2004; Katz, 1994; Nast, 1994; Palomino, 2011), and contextualising emergent understandings (Howitt & Suchet-Pearson, 2003; Suchet-Pearson & Howitt, 2006). My connections to the Kadrangilane clan influenced my interactions with Wutai Rukai people in various ways. Kui’s father is a chieftain (頭目) in the Haocha tribal community, a hereditary title from before colonial disruptions to pre-existing Indigenous forms of governance. This meant that people from various tribal communities in the area could “place” me if they knew of my relationship, but this did not appear to detract from their willingness to speak with me. Additionally, this “placing” afforded me a sort of protection in situations where I could have been potentially vulnerable as a single, younger female researcher. Various factions and allegiances inevitably have their place in any locality, but on the whole, the relationship between Kui and I was not something that was either hidden or paraded in the research.

Living in Pingtung City allowed for better comprehension of the mobility and livelihood issues faced, with many residents commuting from the Rinari or Changzhi Baihe settlements to nearby Pingtung City (approximately 23 kilometres away), or the larger cities of Kaohsiung and Tainan (approximately 55 and 68 km away, respectively) for study or work.²¹ While in Haocha at Rinari, I had numerous opportunities to be part of

²¹ Population of Pingtung City: 203,866, Tainan: 1,884,284, Kaohsiung: 2,778,992.

everyday experiences. This form of participant observation included interacting with residents, reconstruction workers and visitors to the settlement, as well as participating in or observing various activities such as village meetings, harvest festivals, weddings, community tours, youth group gatherings, church socials, and other commemorative events in addition to less formal activities. Fielding (2006, pp. 99-100) states that what distinguishes ethnographic interviewing from other in-depth interviews is

the centrality of rapport based on relatively long-term contact, the investment of time in each round of interviewing and the kind of openness on the researcher's part that stimulates an even-handed relationship. ...a key feature is the idea that the researcher is there to learn from the respondent rather than impose an external frame of reference.

Along with the opportunities for informal conversation and participant observation, ethnographic narrative interviews were also held with Wutai Rukai people from the relocated tribal communities (these are described in more detail below).

Through interviews with a range of actors in the disaster recovery and reconstruction process (described below), I primarily sought to hear and learn about their understandings of post-Morakot experiences in southern Taiwan. However, there was no expectation that the "truth" was "out there", waiting to be discovered by asking the right questions. I did not presume that my questions were objective, nor assume that respondents' answers had straightforward, definitive meanings which mirrored a singular "reality." Rather, all social actors' meanings were considered to be multiple, shifting, interacting and culturally constructed in particular contexts. Because of this, while I initially sought to conduct semi-structured interviews with the institutions involved in reconstruction such as the MPDRC and various NGOs as part of my endeavour to study up, I realised during the preliminary stage of my fieldwork that arriving with a set of predetermined questions was insufficient in exploring post-Morakot circumstances beyond all of the public material that was already available (e.g. press releases, news articles, official reports). From then, I began to incorporate narrative interviewing techniques whenever appropriate and found that many interviewees had plenty to say beyond the general facts and tales of successful recovery. Riessman (2006, p. 189) defines narrative interviewing as

A form of interviewing that involves the generation of detailed ‘stories’ of experience, not generalized descriptions. Narratives come in many forms, ranging from tightly bounded ones that recount specific past events (with clear beginnings, middles and ends), to narratives that traverse temporal and geographical space – biographical accounts that cover entire lives or careers.

Most interviews with disaster reconstruction officials and representatives were scheduled for one hour, two at most. Yet, there were numerous times when the interview continued on far longer than anticipated (for both parties). Depending on how much the interviewee found they wanted to share, some lasted for up to four hours. Due to Macquarie ethics protocol (and further discussed in the previous “Ethics as First Method” subsection, p. 64; see also Candidate’s statement and Appendix 2), interviewees and their specific affiliation/positions are not named in this thesis without their explicit consent.

Thirty-seven formal interviews in total were conducted for this research (Table 5). Fourteen interviews were conducted with members of the affected tribal communities or those working in local NGOs; of these, two were more semi-structured in nature, and the rest tended towards ethnographic-narrative. Thirteen interviews were conducted with government officials at national and regional levels; officials were from the MPDRC, National Science and Technology Center for Disaster Reduction (NCDR), Council of Indigenous Peoples (CIP), and Pingtung County and Wutai Township offices. Ten interviews were conducted with international NGO staff and volunteers from Taiwan Red Cross Society, World Vision Taiwan, Tzu Chi Foundation, and the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan; two of these were telephone calls with Tzu Chi Foundation (one of which became an impromptu interview). The rest of the interviews were all conducted in person. I also had the opportunity to participate in a MPDRC visit to Changzhi Baihe, and a World Vision Taiwan volunteer disaster training workshop in Pingtung. While conducting research I kept diaries with my observations, thoughts and daily activities. I also kept other records such as digital recordings of the interviews, meetings and events for which I obtained consent to record, in addition to photos where appropriate and consent was also obtained. Information from written sources

was also collected, such as official government documents, NGO reports and presentations, various publications and media, and subject to critical discourse analysis.

Table 5: Periods of time spent in the field

| Date | Location/Purpose/Research conducted |
|-----------------------------|---|
| Jun to Nov 2012 | Australia (Macquarie University) |
| Nov 2012 to Feb 2013 | Taiwan - preliminary fieldwork Scoping phase, based primarily in Pingtung and Rinari Participant observation Telephone conversation with Tzu Chi Interviewed tribal community members, local World Vision volunteers, MPDRC officials |
| Feb to Jun 2013 | Australia (Macquarie University) |
| Jul 2013 to Feb 2014 | Taiwan - extended fieldwork Based primarily at Rinari Attended Young Scientists' Conference (Oct 2013) Participant observation Attempted follow-up telephone conversation with Tzu Chi Interviewed tribal community members, local government officials, NGO (local, World Vision and Red Cross) staff and volunteers, NCDR and CIP officials, former MPDRC officials |
| Mar to Sep 2014 | Australia (Macquarie University) |
| Sep 2014 to Jun 2015 | Taiwan - NDHU coursework and follow-up fieldwork Based primarily in Hualien Visited NSTM Morakot exhibition (Oct, Dec 2014; May 2015) Participant observation Interviewed tribal community members, local government officials, NGO (local, World Vision, Red Cross and Presbyterian Church) staff, MPDRC officials |
| Jul to Dec 2015 | Australia (Macquarie University) |

It bears mention that interviews with NGOs aside from Tzu Chi Foundation were relatively simple to arrange. Repeated efforts to reach any member of Tzu Chi who had actually been on the ground in the affected Wutai Rukai areas in Pingtung were largely

unsuccessful; attempts were made over email, telephone, and in person at the Tzu Chi Foundation headquarters in Hualien. In the end, two telephone conversations were held with an official public relations person at Tzu Chi, the first of which began as a phone call in response to my request for an interview, allegedly to ask me for a list of predetermined questions; it turned into a 43 minute call during which I had access to a computer to take notes. Consequently, Tzu Chi's presence in this thesis is primarily through the one telephone interview and the rest, through publicly available literature.

Interpreting, translating and writing

The majority of interviews for this research were conducted almost entirely in Mandarin Chinese. In some instances, the interviewee had a fair command of English and from time to time, would slip in a phrase or two. During my time in the affected Wutai Rukai areas, there were situations when I could not communicate directly with elders in their first language, but there was nearly always someone present who could translate from Rukai (or in some cases, Paiwan²²) to Mandarin Chinese for me. Issues of language—not just regarding terminology, but also the deeper issues of the relationships between words, meaning and power—are often the most troubling, and are persistently revisited throughout this thesis. Aside from in this chapter, these issues are specifically unpacked through discussions of the idea of Country in Chapter Two, the conceptualisation and problematisation of Indigenous “community” in Chapter Four, and the prioritisation of expert disaster discourses in Chapters Five and Six.

Kui's piece reflects the distinct challenges of interpretation and translation presented in this research. His “mother tongue” (母語, *mǔyǔ*) is Rukai—both self-described as well as ascribed by others—yet he, like so many others of his generation, cannot speak it. This is the result of educational/political/social practices in Taiwan and illustrative of the impacts that colonial civilising missions in the name of modernity have had on linguistic diversity in Taiwan. As mentioned, “Going (Back) Home” was originally written in Chinese, which could be considered Kui's native language since it is the only one he currently knows how to speak fluently. This corresponds to the argument in

²² The Paiwan are another of the recognised Indigenous peoples of Taiwan; their language(s) are mutually unintelligible from those spoken by Wutai Rukai.

Monolingualism of the Other; Or, The Prosthesis of Origin, which begins with the statement, “I only have one language; it is not mine” (Derrida, 1998, p. 1). At once theoretical, personal and comparative, Derrida’s book explores linguistic and cultural identity as it relates to colonialism and the problematics of translation, guided by two central claims: 1) We only ever speak one language, and 2) We never speak only one language. Derrida’s (1998) work is a significant contribution to the postcolonial interpretation of language, and provided the basis for much of my thinking around language and discourse underpinning this research.

Translation involves interpretation and inevitable distortions (Larkin et al., 2007), hence the decision to include Kui’s work in the language it was first written. As Jaivin (2013, p. 47) states:

All translators are on a mission of one sort or another... Consciously or not, they bring to the work their own agendas. That should never excuse any falsification of the original text, for the translator enters into an implicit pact of trust with the reader as well as the author of the original text.

Aside from the published papers as chapters, when quoting interviewees in this thesis I have endeavoured to include the original version in Chinese along with an English translation. However, when officially available, English translations of material from institutions such as the MPDRC and NGOs have been directly quoted; the existence of these translations may be interpreted in a context where the primary working language is Chinese. These elements contributed to a discourse analysis approach where not just available materials, but also the language(s) used during interviews, conversations and within or about spaces of representation (e.g. museums, relocation settlements), were subjected to close scrutiny in order to produce insights into the way discourse reproduced—or resisted—power, dominance and inequality.

Intersubjectivity was an explicit component of the research approach, in both process and product. Reflexivity regarding my positionality in this research made it less about comprehending an Other and more about shared, lived experiences. Where this might have once been explored in terms of finding a balance between subjective/objective, structural/post-structural experiences and approaches, the development of the research approach confirmed that thinking in terms of such stark binaries, risks

oversight of the nuances and insights of margins, peripheries, and the spaces in-between. As previously discussed regarding the insider/outsider (mis)label, finding a way to address such slippages, oversights and messy in-betweenness is furthered by translation, dialogue and projection. This echoes Nader's statement that research design is not an "either/or proposition; we need simply to realize when it is useful or crucial in terms of the problem to extend the domain of study up, down or sideways" (Nader, 1972, p. 292).

In postmodern critiques of traditional ethnography, the role of the author is seen as problematic. According to Fontana, postmodern ethnographers attempt to "remedy what they consider to be a fallacy of traditional fieldwork, the ethnographer's authoritative influence over the interpretation and reporting of data. This kind of postmodern fieldwork instead relies on narrative dialogue to minimize authorial bias and influence and to emphasize natives' perspectives" (1994, p. 215). Marcus and Cushman (1982, p. 29) define ethnographic realism as "a mode of writing that seeks to represent the reality of a whole world or form of life", stating that "what gives the ethnographer authority and the text a pervasive sense of concrete reality is the writer's claim to represent a world as only one who has known it first-hand can." As Clifford (1983, p. 118) put it, the goal of ethnographic realism is to give the reader a sense of "you are there, because I was there." However, this ethnographic realism creates a radical separation between "doing" ethnography as part of the fieldwork experience, and the ethnographic text that is created as the product of the fieldwork. In this research, and particularly when reflecting upon the methodological choices made, it is precisely the fact that 'I was there' which requires reflection. Failure to incorporate reflexivity about researcher positionality in the thesis, as discussed earlier in this chapter, would be a significant ethical oversight.

Conclusion

As this chapter illustrates, processes of fieldwork and analysis are not understood in this research as two distinct and categorically separate instances in a linear research process. There were, of course, periods of more formal, systematic analysis; however, while in the field one is "inevitably making sense of what one is learning, which in turns

affects the way fieldwork is being done and the directions the research takes” (Crang & Cook, 2007; Palomino, 2011, p. 42). As Brockington and Sullivan (2003, p. 68) put it: “the experience of research does not end with one's exit from the field: it overflows as the sensations produced by memories of place, people and events conjured up in the process of constructing a written story from the fieldnotes and data brought home”. They also stress that the

in-depth nature of engagement that characterises qualitative research... is only as good as the degree of critical reflexivity pursued by the researcher. This inevitably means treading a fine line between this and self-indulgent naval-gazing. If this line is trod healthily however, it is both instructive and rewarding. (Brockington & Sullivan, 2003, p. 72)

The researcher's first responsibility, then, is to be aware that knowledge, like action, has consequences. Attentiveness to power relations must always be conscious of the procedures of representation, even while recognizing that the problem of representation can never be overcome completely. In regards to speaking truth to power, this chapter demonstrates the significance of multiple voices, subjective truths, and relational power in the post-Morakot setting within Wutai Rukai domains.

A strategy for dealing with problems of representation may be in making these strategies explicit, and the tensions between ethnographic method and ethnography as text addressed. If ethnography is a way to make the familiar unfamiliar and vice versa, the inclusion of Kui's piece in this thesis, for instance, is simultaneously a means of addressing the problems of representation, and of allowing for reflexivity and transparency regarding my own positionality. Additionally, it is—one hopes—not simply a means for the reader to have a window into an unfamiliar Other culture, but to gain some insight into the underlying themes and issues in this research and come to understand the common intrinsic hopes, dreams, fears, and desires that make us human, while recognising the differences that exist through radical contextualisation, through intimacy, recognition and acceptance. Where such an approach may be considered a challenge to ethnographic authority, the intention here has been purposeful and the inevitable disruption of the “author-ity” of the researcher/author deliberate and welcome. By incorporating a postcolonial, decolonising, Indigenous methodology the intention has been to explore the troubled grounds of

representation and the construction of authority and expertise in both research and disaster recovery.

When talking back to the centres of power and authority, if the centres do not hear, or do not realise that they have heard but not listened or understood, what then?

Consideration of who speaks and who is authorised to speak of their experiences and acceptance that there is no singular “truth” means it is imperative to examine power and acknowledge the peripheries—these are all issues that the reflexive, postcolonial, studying up approach adopted hopes to address. Complex interpersonal relationships have shaped my evolving understanding of this approach. In this thesis, “Going (Back) Home” is simultaneously an acknowledgement of my positionality and a challenge to the construction of the ethnographic researcher as singular, ultimate author and expert of cultures. Similarly, presenting my own experiences at the Young Scientists Conference highlighted the need for explicit consideration of more than the empirical as an influential context of research practice. These narratives of the research experience offer windows into the way that the knowledge presented in the thesis was generated – the contextual influences on thinking, understanding and knowing as well as the circumstances of planning, doing and learning. Howitt (2011, p. 133) states:

The conceptually and empirically rich narratives that tell stories of belonging, alienation, loss, movement and the experience of change narrate both material and imagined geographies. ... Dealt with sensitively, these narratives can nurture social theory that is situated, engaged and based on the relationships and processes that occur in the lived experience of places at multiple scales from the interpersonal to the cosmological...

In framing the research in terms of speaking truth to power, the purpose has been to explain how the research design evolved, how its ethical implications were addressed and why it offers a way forward in understanding the power relations between Indigenous groups, power structures and well-intentioned disaster relief in post-disaster settings. The resultant argument is not intended to suggest that all expert disaster institutions—in the context of this thesis, the MPDRC and NGOs—are mechanisms of terrible, calculated domination and subjugation. Those who were present at the conference may not have been consciously exerting their dominant culture and expert perspectives, but it is this very sort of imposition that needs to be

reviewed. Insights into marginalisation gained in the conference setting enabled deeper understandings of the post-Morakot disaster discourses and associated approaches in Taiwan. Speaking truth to power may be a monumental challenge, but in the terms that frame the approach developed here, it is an ethical obligation.

4 Lost, found, troubled in translation

Reconsidering imagined post-disaster Indigenous “communities”

Publication details

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Background

Conceptually, this paper was long in the making but it was the last of the paper series that was written for the thesis. Consequently, the expert-centred discourses that this research endeavours to highlight, contextualise and critique are more explicitly examined within this chapter and “tribal community” is used to refer to what were described as Indigenous communities earlier in the research trajectory; the need for such an adjustment (in English) is discussed in the chapter.

“Community”—given its variations in meaning—has been problematised within DRR, in which it is understood to be “not always, but typically... an entity that has geographic boundaries and shared fate... composed of built, natural, social and economic environments that influence one another in complex ways” (Norris et al., 2008, p. 128) Yet, as Cannon (2008, p. 11) puts it:

The idea of community is frequently used as if it is the ‘level’ where, as a bare minimum, consultation should take place, where participatory activities are conducted, and disaster preparedness should be carried out. This is because we tend to take it for granted that a community is a good thing: it evokes a sense of collaboration and harmony, an assumed coherence....

In choosing to use the term tribal community, the intention is not to provide an absolute term of reference laden with my own interpretation, but rather to highlight the messy, awkward, in-betweenness that exists in defining community, difficult to resolve even with the involvement of those being defined. As Howitt (2001b, p. 11) asserts:

Language reflects, shapes and limits the way we articulate and understand the world around us. It not only provides the building blocks from which we construct our way of seeing complex realities. It also constructs the limits of our vision. Language reflects and constructs power. Our language renders *invisible* many things given importance by *other* people.

The deeply-rooted intricacies of pre-disaster colonisation that created opportunities, imaginings and spaces of being for Indigenous peoples are not simply wiped out upon the occurrence of a severe natural hazard. In Taiwan, Japanese colonial ethnography has had particularly lasting implications (Barclay, 2001; 2007). This paper delves into some of the historical complexities surrounding the very category of Wutai Rukai, to demonstrate how post-disaster imaginings, or reimagining, of Indigenous communities, may be tantamount to recolonising. In the wake of large-scale natural hazards and the ensuing recovery responses which seek to work with neatly categorised conceptualisations of Indigenous community and collectives, the association between colonisers with intentions to “civilise” as experts, and well-intentioned expert institutions of disaster recovery becomes more conspicuous.

Lost, found and troubled in translation: Reconsidering imagined Indigenous ‘communities’ in post-disaster Taiwan settings

Abstract

Post-disaster discourses emphasise the importance of community in fostering reconstruction, yet the focus on recovering from a “natural” disaster can obscure the slower-paced disasters of displacement, dispossession and marginalisation. Pre-disaster conditions of Indigenous peoples influenced reconstruction after Typhoon Morakot, which devastated Taiwan in 2009, and have shaped the relations within which Indigenous groups are embedded as well as the terms used to represent them. ‘Community’ is already contested in its application within various settings and, in Taiwan, masks a multilingual complexity. Moreover, it obfuscates the risk landscape into which disaster recovery and reconstruction venture, where external institutions imagine as self-evident what they mean by ‘community’ development, values and needs. This paper argues for reconsidering how imagined communities are implicated in post-disaster circumstances. Taking a historical approach to Wutai Rukai experiences, it discusses how inattention to cultural diversity reinforces rather than addresses risk and vulnerability for Indigenous populations in hazardous landscapes.

Keywords: Morakot, relocation, Wutai Rukai, community, Taiwan, post-disaster reconstruction

I. Introduction

“Which ‘we’ and which ‘they’ are you referring to?” [*Question repeatedly posed to a senior Morakot Post-Disaster Reconstruction Council member during their interview.*] (personal communication, 1 December 2014)

On August 8, 2009 Typhoon Morakot brought record rainfall to Taiwan, flooding nearly the entire southern region and triggering severe landslides. Many of the affected areas are home to Indigenous peoples. The central government refrained from declaring a state of emergency (Office of the President, Republic of China (Taiwan), 2011) electing instead to establish the Morakot Post-Disaster Reconstruction Council (MPDRC) under the Executive Yuan, executive branch of the Republic of China (ROC) government, and to seek “assistance from private organisations to begin comprehensive post-disaster reconstruction efforts” (MPDRC, 2009). The MPDRC operated until August 8, 2014 and oversaw the relocation of many

people affected by Typhoon Morakot along with the construction of new infrastructure, houses and settlements, coordinating the involvement of not-for-profit agencies and their engagement with affected localities. However, like many reconstruction processes, Taiwan's post-Morakot response mobilised not only resources to relieve people in immediate danger, but also wider discursive constructions that have shaped, constrained and engendered activities in the affected areas. This paper explores the dynamics that affected post-disaster circumstances of Wutai Rukai people in southern Taiwan.

In the interview cited above, depending on the context, "we" referred to the central government, the MPDRC, the expert advisors, or non-Indigenous citizens; "they" were those in areas affected by Morakot, Indigenous peoples, or Wutai Rukai. "Expert" discourses in disaster responses often characterise Indigenous populations as vulnerable (see Haalboom & Natcher, 2012) and reflect the representations of indigeneity by official government communications. Yet the complex, slower-paced disaster of displacement, dispossession and marginalisation that characterises the colonial and post-colonial experiences of Indigenous peoples is easily overlooked in the context of "emergency" relief. The discourses of dominant cultures represent the "colonizer's model of the world" (Blaut, 1993) and, as Anderson (1983) observed so powerfully, create "imagined communities" of nationalism, in which Indigenous groups are represented as people without history (Wolf, 1982). Indigeneity is a political construct, an identity marker shaped and lived "in contrast to and in contention with the colonial societies and states that have spread out from... centres of empire" (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005, p. 597). In many settings, state-determined recognitions of Indigenous status reflect patterns of power and control rather than the exercise of self-determination. Drawing this power into recovery and reconstruction processes risks even generous and well-intentioned disaster recovery processes becoming 'deep colonising', a term coined by Rose (1996; 2004) to refer to the colonising impact of many well-intentioned "post"-colonial interventions in Indigenous peoples' lives by state, not-for-profit and private interests.

Post-disaster recovery is often more concerned with short-term, immediate responses rather than considering historical processes and their long-term effects. While there is widespread commitment to "building back better"¹ amongst relief agencies, what constitutes "better" is

¹ The 'build back better' approach gained global attention during reconstruction following the 2004 Indian Ocean earthquake and tsunami. While building back better has been defined in many ways, it is meant to

often defined by dominant discourses of national development rather than local values and aspirations. Indigenous peoples' rights are often poorly addressed in political discourses that emphasise human rights in terms of individual rather than collective rights, particularly in settings where Indigenous self-determination sits uncomfortably in discourses of national interest and development for the dominant national culture. In atomising Indigenous polities and social formations into sets of vulnerable individuals whose needs are best assessed and addressed by experts, the post-disaster relief and reconstruction process puts collective rights such as those guaranteed by the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) at risk. In the context of post-disaster recovery and reconstruction efforts, Indigenous rights require consideration of identity, difference and diversity. Claims about universality and egalitarian rights mask the hegemonic oppression of dominant groups; justice does not require the eradication of group differences, but rather the development of institutions that understand and respect difference (Young, 1990; Ngo & Wang, 2011: 1).

This paper explores how the idea of 'community' was mobilised in post-disaster recovery and reconstruction in southern Taiwan between 2009 and 2015. It draws on ethnographic fieldwork and participant observation with Indigenous Rukai peoples in Wutai Township, and interviews with relief and reconstruction agencies officials and various key institutions involved in relief and recovery.² In particular, it explores how both the social relations within which Indigenous groups are embedded and the terms used to represent Indigenous peoples in popular, academic and official discourses have influenced Wutai Rukai experiences of relief, recovery and resettlement after Morakot. There is no truly "organic" formation of community; much like indigeneity, it is shaped by forces both internal and external. The intention for this paper is neither to produce an(other) expert-but-external account of post-disaster Indigenous circumstances in Taiwan, nor to provide research a(nother) conventional Rukai ethnography (Davidson, 1903, pp. 572-574; Taihoku Imperial University, 1935) . Rather, the paper problematises historical processes that shape(d) the imaginaries mobilised by government agencies and non-government relief groups regarding the interests, needs, values and rights of Wutai Rukai people affected by Typhoon Morakot. In particular, issues arising from the historical use of terms referring to Indigenous identities, affiliations and

advocate for the restoration of communities and assets in a manner that makes them less vulnerable to disasters and strengthens resilience (WCDRR, 2015; *see also* Kennedy, 2008).

² Wutai Rukai consent was obtained prior to commencing field research. The project is covered by a protocol approved under Australian requirements (Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee Approval #5201200804). Details regarding informants' positions are provided, but names of individuals and specific organisations are withheld where appropriate.

places in Mandarin and their rendering into English are highlighted as pointing to complex ethical challenges and scale issues implicated in post-disaster settings involving the rights of Indigenous peoples.

Much like the colonial shaping and reshaping of peoples and their places, post-disaster practices can be a means by which the visions of external institutions rather than those of affected peoples are implemented in order to build back better— a clear instance of Li's (2007) critique regarding experts and their "will to improve". This paper argues that Wutai Rukai experiences after Morakot demonstrate how well-intended disaster relief can become deeply colonising in its effect and how external forces, values and ambitions can overwhelm, compromise and weaken the abilities of those who are part of the pre-disaster 'communities' to build resilience and overcome vulnerability in ways that build back better in locally-referenced terms.

II. Taiwan's imagined geographies and identities

Taiwan's complex colonial-post-colonial history illustrates Said's (1993, p. 6) contention that the struggle over geography "is complex and interesting because it is not only about soldiers and cannons but also about ideas, about forms, about images and imaginings" (see also Teng, 2004). While there are a range of origin theories, Taiwan's Indigenous peoples have lived on the island for thousands of years. In 1544 the island was sighted by Portuguese sailors and in a colonial moment, "imagined" into existence as *Ilha Formosa* ("beautiful island"). It was subsequently occupied by the Dutch and Spanish as part of their colonial trade networks from 1624 to 1662. During the Qing Dynasty (1644-1912), the island shifted in Chinese geographic imagination from being "far, far beyond the seas" to being firmly situated within the Chinese empire. It was formally annexed in 1683 as part of Fujian Province and was given full provincial status in 1885 (Davidson, 1903). Increased migration from the mainland saw intensified Han Chinese agricultural settlement across the western lowlands of the island, and high levels of conflict with Indigenous peoples and with the Qing administration. While Taiwan was largely marginal as a driver of the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-95), it was ceded to Japan by the Qing administration under the terms of the Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895 and became Japan's first formal colonial territory (Ching, 2001, p. 15).

The Japanese colonial administration lasted until the end of WWII, when Japanese troops on Taiwan surrendered to the army of the Republic of China (ROC). In late-1949, when the

Communist Party of China (CPC) defeated the forces of Chinese Nationalist Party, or Kuomintang (KMT), and established the People's Republic of China, the KMT leadership and two million of its followers retreated to Taiwan. It is well beyond the scope of this paper to summarise the key elements of the Chinese Civil War (1927-1949), but the KMT was the ruling party of the ROC government on mainland China from 1928 until its defeat and withdrawal to Taiwan in 1949. The communist victory in China saw Taiwan develop a central role in the Cold War politics of East Asia, with the KMT Government in Taipei occupying the Chinese seat in the United Nations (and a permanent seat in the Security Council) until 1971. The KMT administration of Taiwan after WWII was deeply contested. In early-1947 an anti-government uprising, the 228 Incident, led to the execution and imprisonment of thousands of Taiwanese and imposition of martial law which was only lifted in late 1989. The martial law period is referred to as the White Terror and deeply scarred Taiwanese society. It was under these conditions of militarised occupation that the KMT reshaped the administrative geographies of Taiwan. This complex territorial history has had varying implications for Taiwan's inhabitants.

Classifying and "recognising" Indigenous peoples in Taiwan

Since the arrival of colonial forces on Taiwan, Indigenous peoples have been subjected to and defined by various civilising projects, categorised according to the "civilisers'" cultural perceptions of difference and similarity rather than their own. The state's role in shaping or "imagining" communities and collective identities is put quite succinctly by Anderson (1991, pp. 165-166):

These 'identities,' imagined by the (confusedly) classifying mind of the colonial state, still awaited a reification which imperial administrative penetration would soon make possible... passion for completeness and unambiguity [leads to] intolerance of multiple, politically 'transvestite,' blurred, or changing identifications. The fiction... is that everyone is in it, and that everyone has one – and only one – extremely clear place. No fractions.

Of particular note in earlier disruptions to the island's Indigenous peoples are the meticulous censuses that the Japanese colonial government conducted in Taiwan, what Yao (2006, p. 58) calls "one of the most accomplished feats of data-collection from any population, at any given time, anywhere in the world... [where] not only were the natives construed to be a governable entity but they began to enter a sphere of governmental calculation". During Japanese rule, a binary classification was established between the Indigenous peoples of the plains and of the mountains. Japanese anthropologists further categorised the 'mountain

peoples' (高山族, literally "high mountain peoples")³ into nine different groups now often referred to as 'tribes': Amis, Atayal, Bunun, Paiwan, Puyuma, Rukai, Saisiyat, Tsou, and Yami.

The KMT initially retained the Japanese classification of 'mountain' peoples; currently the ROC government recognises sixteen Indigenous peoples in Taiwan.⁴ Before the end of Martial Law and Taiwan's democratisation in the 1987, the KMT's stance towards Indigenous peoples generally consisted either of "ignoring their existence, celebrating their patriotic resistance to the Japanese colonialists, or portraying them as the beneficiaries of assimilatory policies designed to confer 'progress' and the benefits of Chinese culture" (Vickers, 2008, p. 87). After movements for recognition in the 1980s, the Indigenous peoples in Taiwan came to be referred to as *yuanzhumin* (原住民, "original inhabitants") (see Simon, 2007) and in contemporary Taiwan, Indigenous culture tends to be promulgated as one aspect of the island's 'multiculturalism'.

Lost in translation

In Taiwan, the various Indigenous peoples are referred to as 族 (*zú*) in Mandarin Chinese, which is commonly translated as 'tribes' in English. However, this is misleading and a closer translation might be 'race', 'clan' or 'ethnic group'. Since the KMT occupation of Taiwan and installation of Mandarin Chinese as the island's official language in 1945 (Prior to this, the Japanese language had been compulsorily taught in Taiwan during Japan's colonial rule), 部落 (*bùluò*) has become a widely used term for Indigenous communities. *Bùluò* literally translates into English as 'tribe', but to refer to the various *bùluò* in Taiwan as tribes would be misleading as well. 'Village', which is commonly used to refer to *bùluò* in English, is also misleading since there are the administrative villages that were established under the KMT on Taiwan. In the administrative divisions of the ROC (Taiwan), villages are official

³ It is worth noting that this classification is read the same way in Chinese characters and Japanese kanji, reinforcing the common theme of the colonial commitment to improve and civilise so eloquently critiqued by Li (2007).

⁴ The current sixteen recognised peoples are: Amis, Atayal, Bunun, Hla'alua, Kananavu, Kavalan, Paiwan, Puyuma, Rukai, Saisiyat, Sakizaya, Seediq, Thao, Truku, Tsou and Yami (Tao). This does not take into account the 'plains' (or Pingpu, 平埔) Indigenous peoples and is not without its contestation and complexities; each of the sixteen Indigenous groups presently recognised were at one regarded as part of the nine originally formalised under the Japanese categorisation system. The Plains Indigenous peoples/Pingpu live throughout the flat areas of Taiwan, and are considered to have been gradually assimilated into Han society upon the arrival of settlers from China to Taiwan. They were also categorised into various groups but ceased to be officially recognised as Indigenous in the 1950s after the arrival of the KMT and remain "unrecognised" today, although the movement continues to gain momentum (see also Brown, 1996; Hsieh, 2006; Sung, 2004).

subdivisions beneath townships or county-controlled cities; under a rural township 鄉 (*xiāng*), a rural village is a 村 (*cūn*) [see Table 1].

Like the initial categorisation of Indigenous peoples, the administrative divisions established under the KMT were derived from those used by the Japanese colonial rulers of Taiwan, and as before, these divisions did not necessarily correspond to categorisations drawn by the peoples themselves. While acknowledging the flawed social theory and connotations that in the past have propagated the term ‘tribe’ (Lowe, 2001), I have elected to use ‘tribal community’ to refer to the Indigenous ‘communities’ (*bùluò*), including those in Wutai Township, to distinguish them from the externally derived and designated administrative unit of ‘village’ as well as the direct translation of the term ‘community’ (社區, *shèqū*). In the installation of villages in Indigenous areas, the KMT also established village heads in each village as well, elected according to externally imposed electoral methods, often at odds with previously existing systems of governance in tribal communities. These terms, of course, are not concepts from Rukai language, but from Mandarin. Their translation both into English and administrative practice raises difficulties. Reid (2010, p. 8) discusses the slippage that occurs in translating terms from Mandarin Chinese to English, observing that:

... indigenous groups of Taiwan are not necessarily tribal in terms of their social organisation. Hence, in Taiwan tribe is a misnomer applied to ethno-linguistic groups ... Tribe is also used in Taiwan to refer to villages or communities of a few hundred people. This compounds the problem of mislabelling although this doesn't occur in Mandarin where the word *buluo* is used to refer to a village or community. A *buluo* is typically made up of tens or hundreds of people living in the same area and maintaining close relations and sharing of resources. Historically this has been the primary unit of social organisation of indigenous peoples in Taiwan....the Mandarin Chinese terms for classifying indigenous peoples in Taiwan are accurate, but they are often translated into English incorrectly.

While Reid's comment addresses some of the difficulties in translation, this paper argues that a historical perspective is necessary when looking at the concept or construction of ‘tribe’, ‘village’ and ‘community’ in Taiwan whereby it may not so much be that the Chinese terms are ‘accurate’ but that they more or less reflect the circumstances that have come about through, and been shaped and defined by, historical-colonial forces. Each of the terms have particular connotations and result in mislabelling or conflation, which is discussed in the following sections.

III. “Imagining” Wutai Rukai

Based on historical archives, the Digital Museum of Taiwan Indigenous Peoples (DMTIP) (2008) identifies the main stages of classification by external, colonial forces that the “Rukai” ethnic group has undergone:

- (1) 1900: the Tsarisen are regarded as an independent ethnic group based on customs and language, and include the Raval, Butsul, Rukai and the Hsia-shan groups
- (2) 1912 to 1921: the Tsarisen are considered part of the Paiwan ethnic group
- (3) 1935: the Rukai are classified as a separate ethnic group based on genealogy and language; “Rukai” include the Rukai and the Hsia-shan (“low mountain”)
- (4) 1939: the Rukai are reincorporated into the Paiwan ethnic group

Today, the Rukai are one of the officially recognised Indigenous peoples of Taiwan and are generally seen to have three main branches based on geographical distribution and self-perception: eastern Rukai, western Rukai, and Hsia-shan. Of note is that the languages spoken by the three tribal communities comprising the Hsia-shan Rukai are mutually unintelligible, and these three languages are mutually unintelligible from those spoken by the eastern and western Rukai. The western Rukai are concentrated in Wutai Township and are referred to as Wutai Rukai in this paper, recognising the historically constructed nature of both township (Wutai) and ethnic group (Rukai).

Wutai Township: Contested histories

Classified as a mountain indigenous rural township, Wutai Township (霧台鄉) is located in the northeast of Pingtung County in southern Taiwan, with an area of 278 square kilometres and average elevation higher than 1000 meters. The township encompasses eight tribal communities (*bùluò*): *Adiri* (Ali, 阿禮), *Labuane* (Dawu, 大武), *Kucapungane* (Haocha, 好茶), *Karamemedisane* (Jiamu, 佳暮), *Kinulane* (Jilu, 吉露), and *Vedai* (Wutai, 霧台), *Kabalelradhane* (Shenshan, 神山) and *Kudrengere* (Guchuan, 谷川).⁵ The first six tribal communities are classified by the local government (in this case, being Wutai Township) as rural villages (*cūn*); Wutai, Shenshan, and Guchuan are together classified as Wutai Village [Map 1]. In Taiwan, administrative villages were meant to represent existing tribal communities to some extent, but the creation of official administrative divisions such as townships and villages in fact “imagined” connections into being - much like the imagining of a collective Rukai ethnic group. For instance, the DMTIP (2008) states that:

⁵ The names of the tribal communities in their mother tongue (Rukai) are in *italics*. After the arrival of the KMT, tribal communities were assigned names in Mandarin Chinese along with being organised into administrative villages; e.g. administratively, *Kucapungane* is officially recognised as Haocha Village (好茶村).

The Rukai population was originally centered at Dalubaling (the Big Ghost Lake)... *Kochapongan (Haocha Village) is the mother tribe of most of the western Rukai tribes. Both Adel (Ali Village) and Butai (Wutai Village) originated from Kochapongan, so Kochapongan is an "original" tribe* [sic, emphasis added].

And according to a Pingtung County Government (2006) website introducing the Rukai:

The Rukai tribe are living at the mountain sides of south section of the Central Mountain, which are in an area of Wutai Township in Pingtung County, Maolin Township in Kaohsiung County and Pinan [Beinan] Township Taitung County... It is said that the ancestors came on shore at Taitung, went up to mountains and settled at the Ketuer mountain, south section of the Central mountain. *After a certain time, partial tribe people under the leadership of the chief, and came across mountains to Chio-hao-cha [Old Haocha], guided by a resourceful clouded leopard and an flying eagle... Afterwards, some tribe people migrated to Ali, Chilo [sic, Jilu], and Wutai communities... Thus, the Rukai tribe is referred to as the hometown of clouded leopard.* [emphasis added]

Taking into account the migratory nature and high instances of intermarriage between tribal communities, Wutai Township residents generally concur that Haocha was the place of origin for most of the tribal communities in the township. Yet, “*Adiri, High Above the Clouds: Ali Tribal Community Record*” was published by the Council of Indigenous Peoples in 2012, “writing” Ali’s history (with the other tribal communities in Wutai Township inevitably mentioned and “placed” in the text); members of the Ali tribal community have also emphasised that Ali has “always been there” and is “the oldest example of Rukai culture” (personal communication, 23 December 2013). This illustrates the complexities of a singular historical narrative seeking to represent a definite identity rather than acknowledging these created – “imagined” – spaces.

Here it is not just the imagined geographies of administrative districts and ethnic identities at play but also indigeneity, corresponding to how Indigenous movements often portray themselves as ahistorical, political and social configurations that have always been present - we have always been here, always will be. The range of narratives highlights the dangers in what Hall (1998, p. 451) calls self-enclosed approaches, “valuing ‘tradition’ for its own sake, and treating it in an ahistorical manner, [analysing] ...cultural forms examined as if contained within themselves, from their moment of origin, some fixed and unchanging meaning or value.” However, not only is the assertion/delineation of Indigenous identity(s) a problematic ahistorical phenomenon; so is imagining it as an apolitical formation where the external colonising, territorialising forces that shape boundaries, identities and culture are not taken

into consideration. In Taiwan, the bearings of imagined geographies and communities have differed for Indigenous peoples in comparison to the now dominant Han Chinese population. The fixing in time and space of cultural meaning, values and identity is not taking place among Wutai Rukai as an organic phenomenon, but in response to categorisations and delineations produced by dominant cultures.

Wutai Rukai Post-Morakot Experiences

It is against these colonial and post-colonial processes of marginalisation that the particular experiences of disaster and unsettling of the Wutai Rukai is situated. Following Typhoon Morakot, five of the eight Rukai tribal communities in Wutai Township were relocated to new settlements in the lowlands at elevations of 200 meters or less. Ali, Jiamu, Jilu, and Guchuan were moved to the Changzhi Baihe (長治百合) settlement, built by Tzu Chi Foundation, and Haocha was relocated to the Rinari (禮納里) settlement, built by World Vision Taiwan. While this paper cannot comprehensively document the varied post-Morakot experiences of each resettled Wutai Rukai tribal community let alone those of every individual affected, Haocha can be taken as a particular example of how the resettlement processes were fraught with difficulties and discord.

In 1978 Haocha was relocated from its location at 950 meters (Old Haocha) to a site at elevation 230 meters next to the South Ailiao River (New Haocha), ostensibly for better access to resources such as healthcare, education, and jobs. [see Map 1] Yet there was still a significant amount of outmigration, as was the case in many Indigenous tribal communities in that era. A young Haocha man put it this way when speaking of his childhood and subsequent experiences:

The location [of New Haocha] wasn't so convenient, and before they got sick, I remember my *kaingu* [grandmother] and *umu* [grandfather] going back to Old Haocha every chance they got. It [Haocha] only went up to primary school anyway, so what point was there for us to stay in Haocha? Dad thought that we'd get a better education in the city; I know he had his reasons. When [I] have children, I want them to go back to the mountains often. I don't want them to be like me, feeling like the land is so unfamiliar.

Asked about whether this sort of familiarity could be nurtured given Haocha's new circumstances at Rinari:

I'm not sure, guess it remains to be seen. Doesn't seem likely though, does it. Old Haocha is even further away now. Future [generations] are probably going to have to just deal with being here [at Rinari]; it's going to be home for them now.

Two years prior to Morakot, Haocha was partially buried in a landslide during Typhoon Sepat in August 2007. Residents were temporarily resettled in interim housing at the barracks of the nearby Ailiao military camp, where they were still residing when Typhoon Morakot hit in 2009, and on 25 December 2010, Haocha was permanently relocated to Rinari. In the composite settlement that emerged, key issues were left unresolved and laid the foundations for longer term concerns (see Hsu et al., 2014, Hsu et al., 2015). These three episodes of displacement occurred in a mere 30-something years, with profound implications for people's social relations, community institutions, identity and material well-being.

V. Conceptualising 'community' and collective Indigenous identities

During a conversation with a representative from one of the main NGOs involved in post-Morakot reconstruction, I asked whether Indigenous peoples face different challenges in post-disaster recovery and reconstruction. The response was that "in reconstruction everyone is human first" (personal communication, 5 February 2013). While it may at first seem that such an answer puts human rights at the forefront of consideration, it also illustrates a discourse in which human rights are conceptualised as individual rights, and reflects a tension between discourses of individual and collective or communal rights. This risks inadequate protection of aspects of the rights of Indigenous peoples. To address this, the UNDRIP:

... seeks to accomplish what should have been accomplished without it: the application of universal human rights principles in a way that appreciates not just the humanity of indigenous individuals but that also values the bonds of community they form... [it] in essence, contextualizes human rights with attention to the patterns of indigenous group identity and association that constitute them as peoples (Anaya, 2006, p. 13).

As discussed by Hartley (2007, p. 9), the UNDRIP affirms that "Indigenous peoples have the right to the full enjoyment, as a collective or as individuals, of all human rights and fundamental freedoms as recognized in the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and international human rights law", and the Global Indigenous Peoples Caucus asserts, the UNDRIP "does not create new rights. It elaborates upon existing international human rights norms and principles as they apply to Indigenous peoples".⁶

⁶ In Taiwan's case, its contested international political status has meant that while Taiwan has not been a member of the United Nations since 1971, it has attended the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations (WGIP) since 1988, and yet has not been able to represent itself as a "Delegation from Taiwan" since 1997 due to protests from the PRC (Hsieh, 2006, pp. 47-49).

In 1996 Taiwan's Council of Indigenous Peoples (CIP, 原住民族委員會), formerly the Council of Aboriginal Affairs, was established at ministry level to centralise the coordination and planning of Indigenous affairs in Taiwan. An oft-heard critique is that the CIP is meant to take care of everything and nothing. A senior CIP official declared that all Indigenous issues are "thrown at it", yet it still has to report to a range of relevant ministries; the establishment of the MPDRC was meant to bypass these bureaucratic difficulties in post-Morakot reconstruction. Yet, this resulted in such legitimacy being outsourced to others with even less cultural sensitivity and the CIP still had to get involved to "clean up the mess" (personal communication, 14 January 2014).

Found, and troubled, in translation: Disruption and continuity post-disaster

The post-Morakot relocation settlements have been referred to in Mandarin Chinese in documents and discussions, at times interchangeably, as settlements (*jùluò*, 聚落), communities (*shèqū*), or, interestingly, tribal communities (*bùluò*) as well as 'tribal village' and 'permanent housing community' in English directly. Yet, at least two different ethnic groups, Rukai and Paiwan, reside in both the Rinari and Changzhi Baihe settlements, with each settlement comprised of multiple tribal communities. In my research I asked various officials involved in recovery and reconstruction why Rinari and Changzhi Baihe are each collectively referred to as a tribal community (*bùluò*); a multitude of answers were given, but a common thread running through the responses was 'Indigenous peoples live in each of these settlements, so why not call it a tribal community?' (personal communication, June 2012 to 2015). This perception illustrates how underpinning these attitudes is a lack of awareness or outright disregard for the multifaceted aspects of what commonalities of values, language, relations or belonging makes or is community/ies. Further, those who were resettled from Wutai Township have themselves begun adopting 'tribal community' to refer to Rinari and Changzhi Baihe –at the beginning of my field research in 2012, the use of 'tribal community' was still being debated amongst community members; by the end of my field research in 2015, Rinari/Changzhi Baihe 'tribal community' was used daily in the communities, and legitimised through various print media and maps made available through the local township offices, Pingtung County government, CIP, MPDRC and various NGOs.⁷

⁷ In addition, there are now signs in and leading to the settlements in Pingtung that say specifically: 'Rinari Tribal Village' in English (禮納里部落) and, in Mandarin, 長治百合部落園區 (which translates as 'Changzhi Baihe Tribal Community Park').

Despite these seemingly successful efforts to “imagine” community into existence, it cannot simply be created; as indicated by anthropologist Chen Chi-nan (1998, p. 53):

‘Community’ is originally closer to “social grouping” or “collective body”; it is neither purely a geographical unit of space, nor simply an administrative delineation. It should refer to a group within a society reaching consensus. The consensus, i.e. “community consciousness”, can be strong enough to have the character of a ‘community’; in the sphere of foreign relations, it even can be seen as an entity having “legal status”. So, when we are talking about a community we are referring to “people” instead of “land”, and to “community” instead of “space”.

Yet, the sort of community Chen speaks of differs from the community that this paper refers to, where *bùluò* as tribal community is simultaneously about people in addition to land and space—or to put it another way—the interrelatedness of people-environment-cosmos relationships (Hsu et al., 2014). These are the sorts of connections easily overlooked, trivialised or misunderstood by many external parties involved in post-Morakot recovery and reconstruction; these are the connections directly threatened by forced resettlement.

A key principle in post-Morakot relocation was purportedly “Leave the Disaster not the Village, Leave the Village not the Township” (離災不離村，離村不離鄉). The intention of this principle was to prioritise shared belonging as the foundation for recovery. The MPDRC and NGOs involved in recovery may have anticipated being commended for their cultural awareness in realising ‘the importance of remaining close to one’s village or township’ (personal communication, 6 November 2013). This expression, however, actually illustrates how the imagined has become embedded and reinforced in the very language of disaster recovery and reconstruction. Using ‘village’ (*cūn*, 村) and ‘township’ (*xiāng*, 鄉) — administrative divisions and terms created by external, colonial forces—to think about and describe relocation in Indigenous areas has effectively constrained the idea of what is being conceptualised. At best the relocation principle continued to conflate village and tribal community (*bùluò*, 部落); at worst it denied tribal communities the same consideration as the spatial divisions that were previously decided by outsiders under conditions of colonial occupation and continuing post-colonial marginalisation. This is also the case with incorporating ‘township’ into the principle—yet another created administrative division—where it further entrenches the colonial and post-colonial imaginary of the dominant Han Chinese and expert cultures (see also Hsu et al., 2014, p. 376).

VI. Discussion: Post-disaster, post-colonial?

In the immediate disaster response after Morakot, the pre-disaster conditions of Indigenous peoples were effectively reimagined and reconstructed as marginal to the tasks of post-disaster reconstruction. Issues of risk, vulnerability and marginalisation rooted in pre-disaster political, economic and social relations were not recognised and were overwhelmed by processes that focussed on generalised models of expert-led recovery and reconstruction. The implications for affected Indigenous peoples were serious and are ongoing. Rapid shelter provision and creation of “hard” infrastructure is important in post-disaster reconstruction, but where it comes at the expense of “soft” infrastructure⁸ and consideration of collective Indigenous or community needs and rights, it risks solidifying a new era of marginalisation that amplifies rather than addresses pre-disaster marginalisation.

A senior member of World Vision Taiwan’s rehabilitation taskforce stated in an interview that if reconstruction efforts were to be analysed from a humanitarian or human rights perspective, “most of the boxes can be ticked” regarding the speed of infrastructure/services/shelter provision, and that in the process they became increasingly aware of the importance of culture, or “soft” infrastructure (personal communication, 27 November 2014). In many instances however, such awareness was not present at the outset of the disaster response. The same staff member highlighted how they would not have realised that Indigenous peoples have different requirements in post-disaster recovery and reconstruction were it not for prolonged visits to the “frontlines” and truly engaging with tribal community members, something that many of the officials involved in reconstruction were not able to do, and recounted:

One time, I had to deliver these sensitive documents to [someone in] a fairly remote tribal community and just could not rest until I knew they were in his hands...each time we [as World Vision] had visited in the past, we got positive reports and things seemed to be going well...this time, I don’t know if it was because I stayed longer or what but when I asked how things were going, I was shocked to hear a long list of grievances. When I inquired why he hadn’t told us before, he said, “You have already been so generous in helping us, what right do we have to complain?”

This story illustrates how good intentions can miss the deep colonising impacts they create, and how the urgency of experts’ self-constructed schedules, demands and priorities makes the

⁸ The terms “hard” and “soft infrastructure are used here in accordance with the terminology used by many key officials involved in post-Morakot reconstruction (personal communication, December 2012 to June 2015).

deep and respectful listening that intercultural learning requires difficult to achieve – even for experienced and well-intentioned actors.

Communities are not static or neatly bounded entities; rather, they are shaped over time. They are also shaped by their engagement with government agencies and aid organisations before and after the disaster(s), highlighting the need for taking into account the emergent, relational nature of communities in order to address the long-term causes and impacts of disasters (Barrios, 2014). However, the Wutai Rukai tribal communities located in the Rinari and Changzhi Baihe settlements are now spatially both static and bounded, where residents are unable to expand the size or numbers of homes in the settlements and they own the house but not the land that it sits on. The settlements and Indigenous communities meant to be incorporated within the village boundaries have been “fixed” in other ways as well—similar to colonial impositions and categories. Once again they are defined, delineated, and captured at a specific point in time that is henceforth meant to represent the official and concrete reality. Temporally, the period of reconstruction has been fixed, as marked by the disbanding of the MPDRC and the opening of the NSTM Morakot exhibition.

This categorical way of framing people in post-disaster settings is deeply embedded in NGO, relief agency and national discourses, which then shapes decisions and constrains futures (see also Hsu et al., 2015). The spatial and temporal dimensions of disaster must be measured against the continuity and disruption brought about by interruptions to not just daily life at the time of the natural disaster, in this case Typhoon Morakot, but to include a range of colonial and post-colonial disruptions to sociocultural continuity and ethnic identity. Such an understanding of the interconnections between disruption and continuity shapes the extent vulnerability is overcome in ways that enable building back better in locally-referenced terms.

VII. Conclusion

A parallel can be drawn between the creation of categories and institutions in post-disaster recovery and reconstruction and the ways that pre-disaster colonialism created categories, labels and imaginaries about where and how people should live through various “moral” lenses. In disaster settings the moral imperative is to get people out of harm’s way to support them to build back better and overcome the physical and social vulnerability that attended their indigeneity in the pre-disaster setting, but looking at it another way, in the colonial sense it is about the “civilising” influence in the development agenda. The Rukai may have been

“imagined” and formalised under colonial circumstances, yet, given the now ongoing perpetuation of a Wutai Rukai identity, these sorts of heteronomous geographies should not be seen as anomalies or exceptions to the rule, but rather concrete realities by which people live and negotiate their rights and interests (Biolsi, 2005, p. 254).

Indigenous collective representation at different scales must be better recognized in post-disaster efforts in ways that enable Indigenous peoples to shape that representation, rather than having it imposed by external actors. Supporting this *prior* to disasters avoids the inevitable assertion of external expertise that occurs in post-disaster settings which is often justified due to the emergency conditions. It bears keeping in mind that the differences between groups may cut across group boundaries so that individuals might have multiple group-differentiated identities (Ngo & Wang, 2011). Reducing it to a singular, and inevitably simplified, Indigenous or ‘difference’ without acknowledging and respecting that within a shared collective identity there are diverse voices and different scales at which autonomy and self-determination are imagined and governed, risks essentialising dynamic social formations into ossified singularities of a deep colonising imaginary. Each of the Wutai Rukai tribal communities is also a collective. For the people living in these tribal communities, this is clear and reflected in the ways that local level governance is practiced, contested and assessed – even though it is not acknowledged by the Taiwanese state and its public administrative processes. For Wutai Rukai, their collective rights were not taken into account during their resettlement, which was largely determined by external institutions. Reflecting a continuation of colonial practices, the imperative of urgency that imbues post-disaster reconstruction intensifies the imposition of external processes, priorities and expertise.

Although there were measures implemented for communities to discuss amongst themselves what course(s) of action to take post-disaster, in many cases such consultation was led as a top-down process, with a sort of “choose one of these options that have been preselected for you” approach rather than one that was truly holistic and inclusive (Hsu et al., 2015, p. 313). Expert-led agencies in both the state and NGO sectors which neglect critical reflection of (and even local and external expert critique of) their actions in post-disaster reconstruction risk reproducing, reinforcing and perpetuating problems embedded in pre-disaster social, political and economic conditions of Indigenous peoples. The panoptical sovereignty of the modern state (Biolsi, 2005, p. 240) lies “fully, flatly, and evenly operative over each square centimetre of a legally demarcated territory” (Anderson, 1991, p. 19), and implies that

citizens, who are all interchangeable in the eyes of the state, should receive equal treatment. In this vision, the rights of Indigenous peoples are somehow excessive and anomalous – despite their recognition by statute and treaty and the legacy of past injustices. There are echoes of this expressed in the ‘humans first’ view of the NGO official regarding reconstruction in Indigenous areas. If the institutions involved in recovery and reconstruction neglect reflective consideration of their positionality(s), a lack of awareness regarding the power-laden post-disaster dynamics may occur, as shown by the anecdote at the beginning of this paper. This “us” and “them” discourse and the vague amalgamation of different parties on both “sides” further solidified the division between ‘expert’ and ‘vulnerable/those to be helped’, and conflated that with ‘non-Indigenous’ and ‘Indigenous’.

Tania Li’s (2000, p. 151) argument bears mention in situating indigeneity within the universalising disaster discourse, where a group’s self-identification as indigenous “is not natural or inevitable, but neither is it simply invented, adopted, or imposed. It is, rather, a positioning which draws upon historically rooted practices, landscapes, and repertoires or meaning, and emerges through particular patterns of engagement and struggle”. Indigenous movements have long struggled with and against identities and definitions originating in the discourse of oppressors, attempting to avoid definition by a particular order of discourse and power that would thus reinforce this order. Taiwan provides a unique case in Indigenous and post-colonial studies, given its unclear status as a (non)state in the international sphere and expands our understanding of the colonial experience and modernity in the Asia Pacific region. The impacts of such multi-layered colonial experiences need to be borne in mind when examining the role that the state plays in forming administrative geographies and disrupting existing Indigenous geographies in Taiwan. In Indigenous contexts, pre-disaster colonial processes have contributed to problematic structures and institutions are exacerbated by post-disaster reconstruction efforts that aim to build back better in ways that are understood and valued by the dominant culture but are antagonistic to Indigenous understandings, aspirations or values. As evidenced by the Wutai Rukai experience of post-Morakot recovery and reconstruction in Taiwan, the challenge is to consider what ‘was’ and ‘is’ in order to see what ‘will be’. Only then is building back better after disasters, of all kinds, truly possible.

Glossary

| <u>English</u> | <u>Acronym</u> | <u>Rukai</u> | <u>Mandarin Chinese</u> |
|--|----------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| tribal community | | | 部落 |
| village (rural) | | | 村 |
| community | | | 社區 |
| settlement | | | 聚落 |
| township | | | 鄉 |
| Morakot Post-Disaster Research Council, Executive Yuan | MPDRC | | 行政院莫拉克颱風災後重建推動委員會 |
| Council of Indigenous Peoples | CIP | | 原住民族委員會 |
| Republic of China | ROC | | 中華民國 |
| Kuomintang (Chinese Nationalist Party) | KMT | | 中國國民黨 |
| Digital Museum of Taiwan Indigenous Peoples | DMTIP | | |
| United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples | UNDRIP | | |
| Haocha | | <i>Kucapungane</i> | 好茶 |
| Jiamu | | <i>Karamemedisane</i> | 佳暮 |
| Jilu | | <i>Kinulane</i> | 吉露 |
| Ali | | <i>Adiri</i> | 阿禮 |
| Dawu | | <i>Labuane</i> | 大武 |
| Wutai | | <i>Vedai</i> | 霧台 |
| Shenshan | | <i>Kabalelradhane</i> | 神山 |
| Guchuan (Yila) | | <i>Kudrengere</i> | 谷川 |

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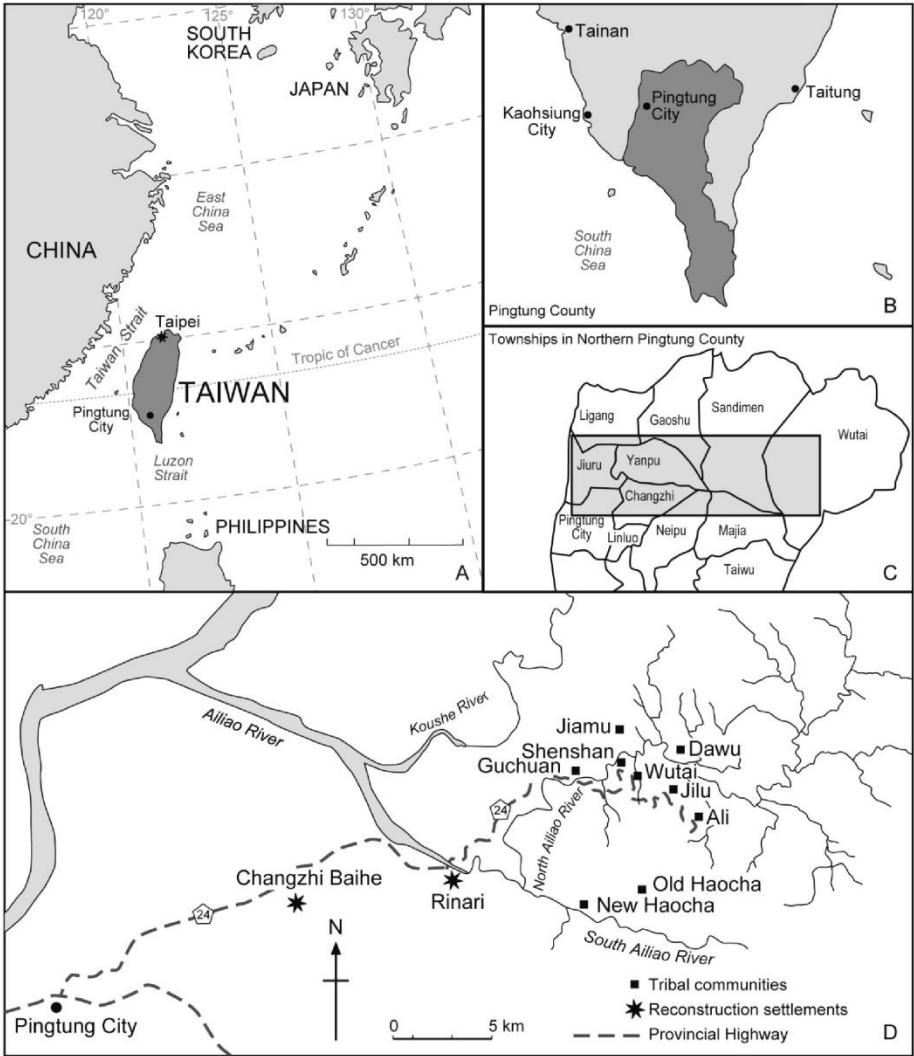
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Table 1. *Administrative Divisions of Taiwan*

| Level | 1st | 2nd | 3rd | 4th |
|---------------|---|------------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| Division type | Special municipality (直轄市 <i>zhíxiáshì</i>) | | Mountain Indigenous District (山地原住民區 <i>shāndì yuánzhùmín qū</i>) | Urban Village (里 <i>lǐ</i>) |
| | Province (省 <i>shěng</i>) | Provincial city (市 <i>shì</i>) | District (區 <i>qū</i>) | |
| | | County (縣 <i>xiàn</i>) | County-controlled city (縣轄市 <i>xiànxíáshì</i>) | |
| | | | Urban Township (鎮 <i>zhèn</i>) | |
| | | | Rural Township (鄉 <i>xiāng</i>) | Rural Village (村 <i>cūn</i>) |
| | | | Mountain Indigenous Township (山地鄉 <i>shāndì xiāng</i>) | |

Map 1. *Relocated Wutai Township tribal communities*



Map drawn by Judy Davis

5 Procedural vulnerability and institutional capacity deficits in post-disaster recovery and reconstruction

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Background

This paper develops ideas presented by Howitt (in collaboration with Dr. Siri Veland) on procedural vulnerability and Miller on resilience. In the context of this paper as part of the thesis, it was initially conceptualised and written earlier than the “Lost, Found and Troubled in Translation: Reconsidering Imagined Indigenous ‘Communities’ in Post-disaster Taiwan Settings” paper that is Chapter Four, although structurally it comes after. Considering the complications regarding application of the term “community” in Indigenous settings that were expanded upon in the previous chapter, it is pertinent to mention that “community” is used throughout this publication where in later instances within the research trajectory, “tribal community” was deemed more suitable. The articulation of this discrepancy highlights the iterative approach taken within this research, which contrasts distinctly with the issues of procedural vulnerability discussed in the following paper.

It is worth noting the *Human Organization* editors’ comments regarding the special issue and our paper (Faas & Barrios 2015, p. 291):

The issue editors and an editorial board of five senior disaster anthropologists selected the manuscripts that comprise this special issue from a pool of nearly sixty proposals received in response to our call for papers in 2014. Papers were carefully selected to cover a range of theoretical, geographic, and methodological foci, showcasing the complexity and diversity of contemporary disaster anthropology. Articles in this issue engage the analysis of disasters’ root causes and their unfolding aftereffects and prove that applied disaster

anthropology is not merely a site for the reiteration of ready-made theory but is also a site of theoretical innovation. ...

Minna Hsu, Richard Howitt, and Fiona Miller's study of the Indigenous Rukai communities in southern Taiwan during post-Typhoon Morakot recovery and reconstruction in 2009 points to the ways in which firmly established anti-Indigenous prejudices and patterns of injustice and disadvantage were reified by post-disaster interventions of the state, NGOs, and donors. In addition to the hazards and disaster events faced by the Rukai, the authors identify procedural vulnerabilities that are part of the risk landscape for Indigenous peoples in Taiwan. Their findings call attention to the ways in which humanitarian interventions that lack cultural sensitivity and historical perspective are implicated in the (re)production of vulnerability. Their discussion and conclusion call for greater attention to Indigenous values and experiences in disaster recovery in ways that will reduce vulnerability "to the extraordinary *and* the everyday disasters communities confront."

Contributions

This paper is jointly authored. Fiona Miller is also part of my PhD supervision team (along with Richie Howitt and Chun-Chieh Chi). As lead author, I set up the framework underpinning the paper and wrote the proposal for it to be considered as a presentation at the International Geographical Union Regional Conference in Kyoto, Japan (IGU Kyoto), in close consultation with Professor Howitt. I presented an early version of the paper in Kyoto on (incidentally) 8 August 2013, and, following the IGU Kyoto, drafted another iteration for the "Young Scientists' Conference on Integrated Research on Disaster Risk, Future Earth, and Sustainability" in Taipei that was discussed in Chapter Three. Finally, I wrote the proposal for the paper to be considered for publication in the special issue of *Human Organization* following my extended fieldwork in Taiwan from July 2013 to February 2014. Professor Howitt contributed to the drafting of the paper by providing much of the foundational literature on capacity deficits and procedural vulnerability, and Dr. Miller provided key literature regarding vulnerability and resilience in DRM. Both Professor Howitt and Dr. Miller were also involved with redrafting the final paper after I prepared the draft for submission to *Human Organization*.

Procedural Vulnerability and Institutional Capacity Deficits in Post-Disaster Recovery and Reconstruction: Insights from Wutai Rukai Experiences of Typhoon Morakot

Minna Hsu, Richard Howitt, and Fiona Miller

Post-disaster reconstruction relies on, and is shaped by, the good intentions of states, non-governmental organizations, and donors. These intentions, however, are inescapably framed by historical circumstances and cultural values. Consequently, post-disaster interventions can reinforce patterns of prejudice, injustice, and disadvantage that were entrenched in pre-disaster settings. Focusing on the experiences of Indigenous Rukai communities in southern Taiwan during recovery and reconstruction following Typhoon Morakot in 2009, this article explores the challenges faced in addressing Indigenous-specific concerns in post-disaster reconstruction and community development. We argue that institutional capacity (and capacity deficits) and the procedural vulnerability created in post-disaster responses are components of the risk landscape which require greater attention to diverse cultural values, protocols, and experiences in fostering resilient and inclusive disaster recovery approaches. In Taiwan, the particular complexities of Indigenous geographies, colonial and postcolonial circumstances, and contemporary political dynamics make developing approaches that are respectful of Indigenous cultural values, social aspirations, and political processes not only more difficult but also more important in shaping post-disaster community at multiple scales. Attentiveness to these values, aspirations, and processes generates opportunities for decreasing vulnerability to the extraordinary *and* the everyday disasters that communities confront.

Key words: disaster anthropology, postcolonialism, Indigenous, relocation, resettlement

Introduction

I was sitting in this meeting and the official goes, "All you vulnerable Indigenous people." ... Since when did being Indigenous mean being vulnerable? I'm not vulnerable!

— Wutai Rukai man,
personal communication, July 2011

In August 2009, the Indigenous Rukai¹-populated Wutai Township in southern Taiwan, elevation higher than 1,000 meters, was severely impacted by Typhoon Morakot. The central government established the Morakot Post-Disaster Reconstruction Council (MPDRC, 行政院莫拉克颱風災後重建推動委員會) to coordinate and implement relief and recovery, with a number of external organizations becoming involved in the rebuilding process. Entire communities were relocated from the highlands to new settlements at elevations of 200 meters or less.

Indigenous populations are often characterized as vulnerable to natural hazards (Haalboom and Natcher 2013). This vulnerability is easily represented as reflecting a variety

of elements of Indigenous people's position vis-à-vis wider society, such as their marginalization; deviation from national values and standards; underperformance in key areas such as education, employment, and health; and deficits in various other attributes. Indigenous resilience, on the other hand, can also be easily reconstrued as threatening national unity or impeding national development. Such focus on Indigenous peoples as "the problem" sees disaster planning intervening in Indigenous settings in ways that reinforce Indigenous disempowerment and risk, reproducing colonial patterns of displacement, dislocation,

The authors are deeply grateful to the Wutai Rukai community members and those interviewed for their assistance and cooperation. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the International Geographical Union Regional Conference in Kyoto, Japan, August 4-9, 2013. We acknowledge the valuable comments from reviewers, which have pushed us to improve the clarity of our ideas. All authors are affiliated with the Department of Geography and Planning at Macquarie University. Correspondence concerning this article may be addressed to: Minna Hsu, Department of Geography and Planning, Faculty of Arts, W3A, Macquarie University, North Ryde NSW 2109, Australia // Email: minna.hsu@mq.edu.au.

and disadvantage in post-disaster settings. These outcomes contrast with the stated intentions of most post-disaster response agencies and disaster recovery plans. Yet, tension between state players, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and minority ethnic, cultural, and religious groups in post-disaster situations remains troublingly pervasive.

Good intentions notwithstanding, the unintended consequences of poorly conceptualized, poorly planned, and poorly executed disaster responses have significant and lasting effects for Indigenous groups rendered vulnerable, at risk, and disempowered by colonial history and more recent “deep colonising” (Rose 1999). Good intentions as articulated in humanitarian discourses of assistance, support, charity, and welfare can prevent open reflection on the implications of the actions put in train by such intentions and position critical attention as both unwelcome and unwarranted. Veland et al. (2013) use the term procedural vulnerability to draw attention to the ways that systemic risks constructed in colonial relationships and reinforced by the post-colonial relationships affecting Indigenous groups create a complex risk landscape in which natural hazards are contextualized. Procedural vulnerability arises from people’s (and peoples’) relationships to power rather than environment, and the ways that power is exercised. In such contexts it may be difficult to distinguish between the predatory opportunism of vested interests in the dominant society (including the interests of the colonizing nation-state) and misguided, ignorant, or simply racist approaches to post-disaster assistance. The tendency of nation-states to prioritize national development and to vilify local groups, including Indigenous groups opposed to state-sponsored development activities, as a potential threat to and outside the national interest is easily mobilized in post-disaster settings as a patronizing “we know what’s best for you” response that imposes dominant society values and aspirations as the appropriate reference point for recovery planning.

Howitt et al. (2013) suggest that “capacity deficits” in many agencies complicate the task of intercultural cooperation in many development settings. An important research question, then, is how such capacity deficits and procedural vulnerabilities shape the post-disaster experiences of Indigenous groups affected by natural hazards. We explore this question in relation to Wutai Rukai experiences of Typhoon Morakot after it struck Taiwan in August 2009, which resulted in the loss of more than 600 lives and the devastation of many areas in central and southern Taiwan where the majority of inhabitants were Indigenous peoples. Drawing on intensive field research conducted between 2012–2015, we describe how the post-disaster recovery activities of the state and large non-profit relief agencies have created procedural vulnerability for affected Indigenous communities.

Following this introduction, we review relevant literature on disasters from anthropology and post-colonial theory before outlining the methods underpinning our research; the article then details the initial impacts of Typhoon Morakot and its implications for the Wutai Rukai. In the discussion, we

draw particular attention to the post-Morakot relocation and reconstruction activities in which NGOs and purpose-specific state agencies have intervened in Indigenous Rukai communities to plan and implement recovery and reconstruction. In conclusion, we argue that the preparedness and capacity of those organizations for addressing Wutai Rukai-specific concerns was generally poor and has resulted in some substantially negative consequences for the affected groups. As such, we seek to reorient the perspective on Indigenous vulnerability to disasters from the capacity deficits of such communities to the relations state and non-state actors have with these communities, challenging the persistent assumption that “the problem” solely lies with Indigenous communities themselves.

Anthropology, Disaster Studies, and Postcolonialism

Anthropology and Disaster

Disasters were once thought of and presented as “natural occurrences, accidents, bad luck, and acts of God” (Oliver-Smith 2013:276), but anthropological and other social science contributions to disaster research have challenged this assumption, with important theoretical developments from the late 1970s onwards leading to the distinction between natural hazards and disasters (Anderskov 2004; Blaikie et al. 1994). O’Keefe et al. (1976) argued that natural disasters are “more a consequence of socioeconomic than natural factors,” and Torry et al. (1979) advocated the anthropological study of natural hazard and disaster research, providing recommendations on how and why such research might be applied in practice. The concept of vulnerability has been crucial in shaping our understanding of the root causes of disasters, with important contributions from Adger (1999, 2006), Bankoff (2001), Cutter (1996), and Wisner et al. (2003) explaining the historically rooted and socially—as well as spatially—differentiated nature of disaster impacts. As Bankoff et al. (2004:3) maintain, “Vulnerability is not just concerned with the present or the future but is equally, and intimately, a product of the past.” The concept of resilience, a related yet different concept to vulnerability (Miller et al. 2010), is also crucial in understanding disaster and risk through its concern with systemic change and adjustments over time.

Where disasters were once framed as an indication of a society’s failure to sustainably adapt to certain features of its environment (Oliver-Smith 1996), anthropological approaches to disaster have taken this into account and expanded further on issues of adaptability, power, and politics. Indeed, the ideas of root cause and power are lost when social vulnerability is equated with adaptive failure. Power, not the adaptive failure of a community, drives its vulnerability, and “...adapting to imbalance in power further strengthens existing power structures, thereby perpetuating social vulnerability” (Oliver-Smith 2013:278). Bankoff and Hillhorst (2009:695) state:

The way governments mainly see a disaster...has its origins within a western cultural perspective of how the physical and social world is constructed. According to this notion, a disaster is an *abnormal* event...appropriate measures can then be instituted to restore *normalcy*... [which] implies restoring a certain set of social, economic, and political relations commensurate with the social order prior to an event. It is an inherently conservative attitude towards disaster risk response that does not see anything amiss with the existing social structures that might have rendered people vulnerable in the first place.

Similarly, certain notions of disaster resilience have stressed the idea of “bouncing back” and returning to a pre-shock state (Manyena 2006). When discussing how hazards and disasters are presented and how the world is “rendered unsafe,” Bankoff (2001:20) speaks of two worlds: *them* and *us*, where the “us” is the West and the “them” is everywhere else, with Western societies depicting large parts of the world as dangerous places for *us* and *ours* and providing further justification for Western interference and intervention in others’ affairs for *our* and *their* sakes. This binary construction has deep roots in postcolonial discourses (e.g. Said’s [1978] exploration of Orientalism) but is insufficient to encompass the complexities of contemporary disasters in settings where issues of power, dominance, and representation render “us” and “them” as meaningful only in terms of particular cultural, social, and political histories and geographies. Disasters thus provide an opportunity to contest the historically constructed power relations and values that dominate in constructing what is considered “normal” in such settings—a “normal” that, for some, is comprised of the ordinary, everyday “unnatural” disasters of marginalization and dispossession associated with national development. The foundational role that colonial histories play in shaping such unnatural disasters are, for instance, the basis for referring to the 1970 disaster in Peru as a “500-year earthquake” (Oliver-Smith 1994).

Postcolonialism and Disaster Studies

Bankoff (2001) critically assesses the Western genealogy of much disaster discourse; yet at the same time as critiquing it, this also risks privileging the dominance of “the West” in the discourse. For regions where the histories and geographies of dispossession, occupation, and displacement have not been driven by European imperialism, such a framing potentially misplaces analytical focus and misdirects disaster responses. In Taiwan’s case, the island’s contested, layered colonial history and the geographies this has produced ensure a diverse range of narratives. Young (2001) cites the invasion of Taiwan by the Kuomintang (KMT), or Chinese Nationalist Party, in a review of the postcolonial era and various anti-colonial struggles in countries more recently occupied. However, in this example and often in present-day discussions of a postcolonial Taiwan, Japan’s colonization of Taiwan and the enduring impact of colonialism on Taiwan’s Indigenous peoples could be more adequately addressed (Liao 1999; Teng 2005). Taiwan’s complex colonial histories have shaped a

similarly complex Indigenous politics, which are implicated in Taiwan’s wider arguments about identity and sovereignty.

Alfred and Cornsattel (2005:597) discuss Indigenism as an “oppositional, place-based existence, along with the consciousness of being in struggle against the dispossession and demeaning fact of colonization by foreign peoples” (see also Gomes 2013). Loomba (1998:2) reminds us that colonial processes were not identical across the world, but everywhere it locked the original inhabitants of a locality and the newcomers “into the most complex and traumatic relationships in human history, and...the process of ‘forming a community’ in the new land necessarily meant unforming or re-forming the communities that existed there already.” Focusing attention on the binary power relationship of Taiwan (ROC) versus China (PRC) risks subsuming Indigenous experiences of colonialism and imperialism into Taiwan’s greater postcolonial discourse, highlighting the tension and potential convergence that often exists between Indigenous and postcolonial dialogues (Byrd and Rothberg 2011). It risks privileging the “national” scale (imagined alternatively as either the island of Taiwan or China as a whole) over diverse subnational scales of cultural identity. Examining the ongoing consequences of colonialism for Indigenous peoples in Taiwan under KMT rule and, going further back in history, Taiwan under Japanese colonial rule (1895-1945), Qing dynasty rule (1683-1895), Koxinga (1661-1683), or Dutch colonial rule (1642-1662), is necessary to address the island’s settler-colonial history and better understand contemporary articulations of power, society, and culture as they affect “vulnerable Indigenous populations,” such as those impacted by the 2009 disaster arising from Typhoon Morakot. There has been some research regarding the sociocultural impacts of disaster specifically focusing on Taiwan (Chen and Wang 2010; Cheng 2013; Fu et al. 2013; Kang 2013; Taiban 2013), but developing critical postcolonial approaches which take Indigenous circumstances into account promises a more robust discussion of the island’s historical contexts of disaster.

Institutional Context, Procedural Vulnerability, and Postcolonialism

Disaster risk reduction (DRR) and recovery studies frequently focus on capacity building and resilience at community or local levels. However, while a community-level focus is essential, it is also necessary to keep in mind that “communities” are neither static nor bounded when addressing the long-term impacts and causes of disasters (Barrios 2014). Research in political ecology highlights the value of considering the role of wider scale structural processes in contributing to vulnerability (McLaughlin and Dietz 2007). In practice, DRR and recovery are often built on good intentions, but these intentions are inevitably framed historically, culturally, and politically. The very perception of what constitutes a “disaster” and the concepts of risk, resilience, and vulnerability as shaped and understood by institutional forces and disaster management can reinforce problematic political

processes and hierarchal structures that existed in pre-disaster settings. Inverting the conventional lens of capacity-building research and focusing on institutional incapacities, as discussed by Howitt et al. (2013), to engage and respond in intercultural disaster settings offers a means of addressing these challenges.

The conditions in which institutions exist and operate within post-disaster recovery processes contribute directly to organizational incapacities. Addressing this institutional context better fosters continuity between disaster response and recovery (Pettersen 1999). In post-disaster settings, institutions may operate according to diverse, competing interests and motivations, and according to contradictory policies (Friend and Funge-Smith 2002). One way to counter this is through innovative partnerships, defined as collaboration involving communities in DRR, where the “at risk” communities are engaged “in ways that are more meaningful, empowering, and gives them an opportunity to address their needs and priorities” (Udu-gama 2013:163). Lack of attention to institutional context and organizational capacity in post-disaster settings puts at risk the accountability, ethics, and effectiveness of relief and recovery efforts. It also imposes specific costs on affected peoples, particularly in terms of their cultural integrity, when recovery institutions are insensitive to the rights and interests of those who were already marginalized in the pre-disaster setting. The rise of capitalist relief industries in disaster settings, termed “disaster capitalism” by Klein (2007), makes consideration of institutional context and organizational capacity even more urgent in light of Gunewardena and Schuller’s (2008) critique of the negative consequences of neoliberal approaches to disaster reconstruction.

The histories and geographies of exclusion and oppression that shape the particular experiences of marginalization create relations in which state policies reflect everyday practices of racism and prejudice, entrenching patterns of disadvantage. These patterns are evident in statistics that reveal poor economic opportunity and participation, poor health and education outcomes, disadvantage in housing and access to services, and other key social indicators. For many Indigenous minorities, ongoing processes of colonization and the deep colonizing that characterizes well-intentioned but ill-informed actions by the institutions of the dominant culture contribute to a slow-motion disaster unfolding in their communities. This shapes a risk landscape that “requires acknowledgement that the outcome of natural disasters is often mediated by the unnatural disaster of colonial and post-colonial state policies and practices” (Howitt et al. 2012:48).

Comprehending how particular recovery processes unfold, then, requires a holistic, historical, and relational approach to risk landscapes rather than a narrow, categorical, and top-down approach to the risks created by particular physical settings. In societies that have already experienced rapid and catastrophic loss through the trauma of colonization, conflict, and displacement, it is insufficient to insulate risks from “natural” hazards, from the ontological risks (Stoffle and

Arnold’s [2008:1] so-called “unimaginable risks”) linked to cultural loss and politicized and racialized violence. In such settings, many of the institutions involved in disaster response are themselves marked by colonial history as part of the institutionalized hostility to cultural continuity. They operate in policy and resource settings in which access to services post-disaster continues to be contingent on conforming to the demands and expectations of the dominant society, its conception of “normal,” and the institutions of its political and economic power. This pressure to conform ignores how in particular cultural value systems, the risks arising from natural forces are inescapably embedded within cosmological relationships that are profoundly ethical and relational in nature and in which humans have particular responsibilities and obligations to both human and non-human others.

As such, the institutional context in which disaster response, relief, and recovery occurs can create “a procedural vulnerability where stakeholders in research and policy fail to accommodate alternative research questions, methods of inquiry, modes of presentation, conclusions or policy outcomes” (Veland et al. 2013:314). In negotiating the disaster recovery process, it is fundamental for marginalized minorities to recognize, analyze, and respond to the procedural vulnerabilities that emerge within particular institutional configurations of policy, resources, and practice.

Research Methods

This article emerges from first author Minna Hsu’s doctoral research among the Wutai Rukai communities in southern Taiwan, which investigates their experiences of relief, recovery, and resettlement after Typhoon Morakot in 2009.² The article draws on data collected from both primary and secondary sources. Primary sources include more than thirty semi-structured interviews³ with government officials (at national, provincial, and township levels), NGO staff and volunteers, Indigenous community leaders, academics, and other stakeholders; along with intensive ethnographic research conducted during Hsu’s research periods in Taiwan spanning from November 2012 to February 2013, July 2013 to February 2014, and September 2014 to January 2015. Secondary sources include governmental archives, news and research reports, NGO newsletters, and press releases.

Typhoon Morakot in Taiwan and the Wutai Rukai

On August 7, 2009, Typhoon Morakot made landfall on Taiwan, bringing a record cumulative rainfall of more than 2,500 mm over three days, equivalent to the average annual rainfall for the island. This resulted in severe flooding and landslides that displaced entire communities throughout central and southern Taiwan, with Indigenous communities making up nearly 80 percent of the affected areas (MPDRC 2011). In response, the central government established the Morakot Post-Disaster Reconstruction Council (MPDRC)

under the Executive Yuan⁴ to coordinate relief and reconstruction. The MPDRC includes members of administrative departments, scholars, leaders of private organizations, heads of office in disaster-stricken counties and cities, disaster victim representatives, and Indigenous peoples' representatives.

Many external institutions, such as international agencies, religious groups, and Taiwan-based organizations, became involved in the rebuilding process. The central government used a number of NGOs to build the new settlements in a move to raise funds and keep the financial costs from Typhoon Morakot in check. In addition to these NGOs, Taiwanese government agencies such as the Council of Indigenous Peoples and national research institutes were also involved in post-Morakot recovery activities, as well as local government and township offices, local offices of specific ministries, and community organizations. Tzu Chi Foundation, World Vision Taiwan, and the Red Cross Society of the Republic of China (Taiwan) were among the main NGOs allocated reconstruction zones in southern Taiwan. The Tzu Chi Foundation is an international Buddhist humanitarian organization founded in Taiwan in 1966 and is now the largest NGO in the Chinese-speaking world (O'Neill 2010). World Vision Taiwan is the national body of World Vision International, a Christian relief, development, and advocacy organization founded in the United States. The Red Cross Society of Taiwan is the national society of the International Committee of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (ICRC), an impartial, neutral, and independent humanitarian organization based in Geneva, Switzerland. Founded in 1904, the society was originally located in China and moved its headquarters to Taiwan after the Chinese Civil War.

Wutai Township: A History of Disruption

In Taiwan, townships are administrative subdivisions of counties, delineated during the Japanese colonial period and slightly modified under KMT rule. Wutai Township, a primarily Indigenous Rukai-inhabited rural township in Pingtung County, was particularly affected by Morakot. "Rukai" is derived from *drekai*, a term used to refer to cold, high mountain areas in the native language spoken by those in the Wutai area, and *ngudradrekai* means "people living in the cold and high mountains". Wutai Township is comprised of six administrative villages: *Adiri* (Ali, 阿禮), *Labuane* (Dawu, 大武), *Kucapungane* (Haocha, 好茶), *Karamemedisane* (Jiamu, 嘉暮), *Kimulane* (Jilu, 吉露), and *Vedai* (Wutai, 霧台); the Wutai administrative village includes the Wutai, *Kabalelradhane* (Shenshan, 神山), and *Kudrengere* (Guchuan / Yila, 谷川/伊拉) tribal communities. Post-Morakot, five of the communities were relocated to new settlements in the lowlands: Ali, Jiamu, Jilu, and Guchuan were moved to the Changzhi Baihe (長治百合) settlement in August 2010, and Haocha was moved to the Rinari (禮納里) settlement in December 2010.

Haocha tribal community's history illustrates how successive waves of colonization and state intervention

have disrupted community livelihoods arguably as much as natural disasters. Prior to 1977, Haocha had been at its site deep in the mountains (referred to as "Old Haocha", 舊好茶), elevation 950 m, for hundreds of years. The gradual integration of smaller tribal communities into Old Haocha during the Japanese colonial period eventually culminated in the government-initiated relocation of Old Haocha to a new site (referred to as "New Haocha", 新好茶) next to the South Ailiao River under KMT rule in 1978. This was ostensibly for better access to resources such as transport, education, and health care. The community was temporarily resettled at the Ailiao military camp due to Typhoon Wutip in 2007 until permanent relocation to Rinari when New Haocha was flooded and completely buried in a landslide during Typhoon Morakot. Japanese interference with Haocha community structures and the moving of the community into harm's way in 1978 has culminated in present-day relocation to yet another setting not considered to be within traditional Rukai territory. These disruptions in the name of "development" and "progress" have reinforced the cycles of dominance and imbalance of power that resulted from the entry of the state.

Shortly after the initial relief period post-Morakot, provision of permanent housing became the focus, and the reconstruction zones that were to become Changzhi Baihe and Rinari allocated to Tzu Chi and World Vision, respectively. This agency-driven reconstruction in relocated sites (ADRRS) met with several obstacles along the way that could have been anticipated given existing research. In addition to the initial humanitarian and physical impacts associated with the typhoon, communities were subject to additional dislocation and uncertainty associated with resettlement. Resettlement emerged as a major factor influencing the negotiation of "normal" in reconstruction and exacerbating the power imbalance between Indigenous communities and institutions involved in reconstruction.

Institutional Context Post-Morakot: A "Fast Food Mentality"?

In a *Handbook for Reconstructing after Disasters* developed by the World Bank and the Global Facility for Disaster Reduction and Recovery (Jha et al. 2010), ADRRS is defined as an approach in which a government or NGO agency contracts the construction of houses on a new site, generally with minimal involvement of the community or homeowners. Further, a review of international experiences with the ADRRS approach reveals that this approach has a number of disadvantages and risks (see Table 1). Nevertheless, many international NGOs and private corporations will opt for post-disaster ADRRS because it allows them full control over the reconstruction process, ensures them high levels of visibility, and is believed to be the most expeditious method of replacing damaged housing (Barenstein 2012). This is corroborated by the post-Morakot situation in Taiwan. An Indigenous official stated that during his involvement in the government's reconstruction efforts:

Table 1. Agency-Driven Reconstruction in Relocated Site (ADRRS) (adapted from Jha et al. 2010:100)

| Disadvantages | Recommendations |
|--|--|
| Difficulties and delays in finding appropriate land | Only adopt ADRRS if owner-driven reconstruction is not possible on safety grounds |
| Negative socioeconomic impacts and disruption of livelihoods from relocation may cause occupancy rates to remain low | Avoid this approach in rural areas, anywhere people can manage house construction on their own, and where livelihoods are very site-specific |
| Poor site selection may cause negative environmental impacts or recreate vulnerability of original location | Carefully assess relocation effects on livelihoods and provide mitigation measures |
| Construction quality is often poor | Ensure community participation throughout the project cycle, site selection, settlement planning, and housing design |
| Loss of local building culture and capacity | Establish social audit mechanisms to ensure local accountability |
| Disruption of access to common property and to natural and cultural heritage sites | Ensure quality control through an independent third-party audit |
| Settlement layouts, housing designs, and building technologies can be alien to local communities and culturally inappropriate, particularly in rural areas | Take into consideration socioeconomic and gender-specific requirements |
| Repair and extensions to houses built with exogenous building technologies may be unaffordable | |
| Contractors may encourage communities to demand additional benefits from reconstruction agencies | |
| Lack of community participation or oversight may result in poor targeting, unequal distribution of houses, and elite capture | |

I raised the possibility, "Okay: one option is you provide the funds and build the homes, what if you provide the funds and they build the homes themselves?" but they refused. Of course, they may have had their reasons for refusing, in theory because they were taking speed into consideration, but then behind the scenes, what they were truly thinking, I don't know. So I did bring this up but they, the NGOs, refused. ...In a lot of the cases, there was too much leeway given to NGOs; we may have held the NGOs in too high regard because they were the ones paying. But it's not their money, in reality it's actually society's resources. And as society's resources, the people's wishes should be respected, and there should be constraints. (fieldwork interview, Taipei, January 2014)

This corresponds to oft-voiced issues post-Morakot reconstruction; where people in each of the affected Wutai Rukai communities stated that they did not feel as though their wishes were being heard or their needs met. The official quoted above went on to say of an NGO in charge of building permanent housing:

[It] was also of a "type" ...you know, of these four types of homes, which style would you like, etc. ...[S]o they

weren't exactly respecting what sort of style home the community wanted either, it was a sort of "fast food" mentality where you are forced to accept these things...their communication wasn't what we would truly call communication. (fieldwork interview, Taipei, January 2014)

The "fast food mentality" metaphor in this comment resonates in its illustration of the limited input and involvement stakeholder communities had in their resettlement and recovery process; the illusion of participation existed, but in reality, it meant that affected communities were presented with a limited set of predetermined choices. NGOs' values, concerns, and understandings rather than those of the affected peoples were decisive in shaping available choices, and these diverged greatly depending on which NGO was involved with a community's recovery and reconstruction processes. The relationship that each NGO had with the central government influenced decision-making speed and funding options. A number of interviewees stated that they felt as though the government had prioritized rapid results while NGOs struggled to pay attention to residents' needs, long-term issues, and the psychological impact of resettlement

and disaster. At one point, an MPDRC official initiated a series of less formal visits to the various affected Wutai Rukai communities, for the very reason that the official felt Indigenous voices regarding post-disaster circumstances were not being heard.⁵ During these visits, community members brought up issues of concern and difficulties faced, ostensibly with the MPDRC, yet it was later confirmed that while allowing this sort of outlet was important and necessary, there was no officially planned means of addressing the matters that were raised (fieldwork interview, January 2013).

In each of the affected Wutai Rukai communities there have been cases of individuals or families being ineligible for homes in the new settlements; this may be partially attributed to a lack of institutional-level awareness regarding Indigenous mobility and kinship factors. For instance, regardless of being recognized as a member of the community and/or even owning a house or residing in the community pre-disaster, if one's permanent residency was listed as elsewhere they were not allocated housing in the new settlements, despite the MPDRC's plan for the "collective" relocation of Indigenous villages and communities.⁶ Additionally, when NGOs conducted surveys to document how many people were in each home prior to Morakot, the numbers obtained did not necessarily reflect the actual number of household members. There were instances where only the number present at the time of the typhoon was recorded. Often the questions themselves were not clearly understood because those conducting the surveys only spoke Mandarin Chinese and arrived in communities during the day when just the elderly and very young were at home.

Two of the main NGOs involved in Wutai Rukai disaster recovery are associated with religious values and codes, with significant political influence and media presence. World Vision has had a presence in Taiwan's Indigenous communities since the 1970s and these communities are now predominately Christian. Although Tzu Chi holds compassionate relief and non-discrimination among its major tenets (Tzu Chi 2008), to some of the Indigenous communities, the organization represents the greater Taiwanese society.⁷ After Tzu Chi built the first lot of permanent housing at the Changzhi Baihe settlement, in August 2010, the Red Cross and the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan took over the second and subsequent rebuilding stages. In several of the Wutai Rukai communities, more than a few residents, while making sure to highlight their gratitude for the generosity and charity of the aid organization and its donors, expressed their discomfort about their initial involvement—or lack thereof—in choosing which NGO was to rebuild their community (Ma 2009, 2010a, 2010b). It was especially distressing for community members to feel inundated with messages and advice regarding lifestyle choices from well-intentioned donor organizations and institutions upon being allocated permanent housing. One relocated resident was quoted by 88news.org, an independent Morakot news agency, as saying:

We keep being admonished to stop smoking, stop drinking, stop eating meat; are these the only daily activities of

Indigenous peoples? We've already had to suffer relocation from our homeland because of Typhoon Morakot, and must still comply with [NGO name withheld]'s lifestyle "tips", I am being forced to suffer colonization all over again (Fan 2010).

When NGOs are allocated in the face or in the wake of disaster, how they "fit" with affected communities or peoples should be taken into consideration, and the needs and aspirations of those affected should be adequately integrated into resettlement and recovery plans. In the particular case of the Wutai Rukai, there was little consideration given to the best fit between NGO and community; the interplay between power, representation to the government, and access to resources was far more apparent.

With the model of resettlement that the MPDRC decided upon, the reconstruction zones that each NGO was allocated were conditional on the amount of funds that each organization was able to raise, allowing the central government and community stakeholders less control over the process. In fact, where one might expect the state to have a clearer idea of ideal circumstances, the NGOs were the ones who "courted" the government in determining which communities they would represent. The question bears asking, then, of whose vision and agenda was being upheld in recovery and reconstruction? Certain organizations had access to far more resources than others, whether it was because they were far more successful at raising funds or because of their influence with the government. An official involved with an unnamed NGO's rehabilitation program spoke about some of the difficulties faced when trying to coordinate with certain other NGOs regarding reconstruction: "It was so difficult to negotiate with them. They don't collaborate at all, they have their own ideals and positions, don't concede" (fieldwork interview, October 2014). This illustrates how the tensions that emerged post-disaster were not only interethnic or state-local but among the disaster institutions themselves as well. Such tensions resulting from the outsourcing of reconstruction only serve to reinforce the detrimental impact that disaster capitalism approaches have on the rights and interests of those affected by disaster.

Procedural Vulnerability Post-Morakot: Risk, Resilience, and Recovery

A senior specialist at the Council of Indigenous Peoples (CIP) spoke about some of the greatest challenges in relocating Indigenous peoples from a government perspective:

The communities rely on the CIP to represent them, but then when we are in the Executive Yuan (EY) they don't trust us because they [the stakeholder communities] don't completely realize the context or circumstances, and they [in the EY] don't come from the communities. It is an issue of principles and strategy.... However good the plan, if your strategy is wrong you will still be unable to implement it. They were wrong from the very start in assuming that by relocating, the problem would just be resolved. ...

If at the internal government level there is no way to reach consensus, there is no way to make things happen, much less at the CIP; no one will pay attention to us. ...It is a hardship for us because they use economics, development to "hit" us and keep neglecting culture, [but] if we lose sight of culture, we must afterwards spend even more to set it right again. The government shouldn't just use one standpoint to approach this issue; they should consider it from various viewpoints. (fieldwork interview, Taipei, January 2014)

In this response, there is a blurred distinction between "them" (the government) and "us" (stakeholders and in this case, Indigenous peoples) that gradually appears towards the end. As an official working for the CIP, one might expect an instinctive affiliation with the government, but instead there seems to be an inclination towards identifying as Indigenous and bringing to light issues of marginalization, representation, and multiple ways of knowing. Disaster institutions and organizations must comprehend that while housing provision is explicably prioritized in disaster recovery, the lasting cultural, social, and well-being impacts of decisions regarding resettlement and reconstruction need to be foregrounded in framing more resilient responses for Indigenous communities and marginalized peoples.

The level of autonomy that NGOs had post-Morakot elevated them to the administrative equivalent of government agencies and rendered Indigenous rights as peripheral to recovery because recovery was defined and evaluated by the MPDRC and NGOs rather than by the stakeholder communities. Such outsourcing of responsibilities to external and relatively unaccountable institutions effectively created a new risk landscape for the Wutai Rukai and other Indigenous groups to negotiate (see Hsu et al. 2014). When culture is neglected, the risk landscape comprises not just post-disaster recovery but also reconstruction and/or development projects that, as Ferguson and Lohmann (1994:176) put it, can bear "little relation to prevailing realities...expanding the field of bureaucratic state power in people's everyday lives." They also highlight the fact that neither state bureaucracies nor the "development" projects associated with them are impartial, apolitical machines existing only to provide social services and promote economic growth (Ferguson and Lohmann 1994:178). As an indication of how far removed the state bureaucracy can be from reality, an official at the MPDRC was reported as saying in regards to Indigenous communities' dissatisfaction with resettlement negotiations, "I've given you homes, free homes, and you *still* won't come down from the mountain?" This misguided, perhaps unintentionally patronizing and dismissive, statement encapsulates how post-Morakot decision making sometimes failed to reflect a basic understanding between those in power and those receiving aid, hardening the "us" and "them" division.

Discussion

A study on global risks commissioned by the World Bank found that Taiwan led the world in vulnerability to natural hazards, with 73 percent of its land and population exposed

to three or more hazards (Dilley et al. 2005). It would be simple to make the leap that exposure to natural hazards is equivalent to people being inherently vulnerable, particularly Indigenous peoples located in mountainous regions. In terms of risk, however, it is a mistake to conflate being Indigenous with being vulnerable. The Wutai Rukai communities affected by Morakot were not vulnerable because they are Indigenous or due to location; rather, it is essential to acknowledge how historical processes and successive interventions by the state have shaped their present-day circumstances. The particular needs of Indigenous peoples must be considered; with different starting places, Indigenous communities require radically different strategies for the attainment of social justice and economic empowerment (Simon 2005). Lack of such consideration compromises the accountability of governments and institutions involved in post-disaster processes and their capacity to deliver effective services, with the institutional arrangements for disaster prevention and response often serving the needs of governments and institutions more than those directly affected by the disasters (deWaal 2008). Government plays a central role in disaster management because of its capacity and legitimacy to mobilize and to allocate a significant amount of resources. The government's role is thus unparalleled in disaster scenarios, especially under a centralized political system such as the one Taiwan possesses (Tsai and Chi 2010). It also has a moral and legal imperative to protect the rights of all citizens. A report to the Royal Geographical Society (Knight et al. 2012:51) concluded that:

The organizational structure of the disaster management system in Taiwan...is fundamentally flawed.... Generic response methods in some instances actually hinder those who have to cope with a unique situation that by nature requires a unique response....Depoliticiz[ing] disaster management in Taiwan [would ensure] that the right people in the right locations get the right type of assistance at the right time.

However, what may in fact be needed, if even possible, is not to depoliticize disaster management. Determining the "right" sort of assistance that the Wutai Rukai communities required post-Morakot would have called for a more comprehensive understanding of community perceptions concerning risk and socio-environmental relationships and an engagement with power to make politics more transparent. This would have resulted from prolonged engagement and persistent observation that produced "thick description" of local contexts (Haalboom and Natcher 2013).

Going back to the term that Wutai Rukai use to refer to themselves, *ngudradrekai*, is in effect an expression of their geographical position relational to where other peoples are situated. What happens, then, when Rukai are no longer "people living in the cold and high mountains" as is currently the case in Wutai Township? The post-Morakot relocation of the Wutai Rukai communities illustrates how it can be difficult to define an actual end point to reconstruction⁸—what does it mean to be "post" Morakot? At what point does it stop being a

disaster, and how can we address the “us” and “them” binary that is often prevalent in the discourse of extraordinary and everyday “unnatural” disasters?

Conclusion

The concept of procedural vulnerability as it pertains to disaster management processes redistributes the accountability for good DRR practices; where there has been a multitude of research regarding building community-level resilience and reducing vulnerability at community levels, there has not been enough focus on how institutional contexts and power relations influence such endeavors. In Indigenous circumstances, the entry of the state more often than not was equivalent or led to disruption of foundational knowledge and values regarding people-environment relationships and the risk landscape of areas already prone to a multitude of natural hazards.

A briefing paper from Oxfam (2014) examining the recovery from Typhoon Haiyan in the Philippines states that the challenge is “to ensure that recovery efforts leave devastated communities better able to pursue diverse livelihoods, access safe shelter, and withstand future shocks.” These should be the aims in any disaster recovery process in any part of the world. However, recovery is also a non-linear process, dependent on and constrained by cultural histories and geographies. Recovery and reconstruction cannot be simply reduced to a universal or predefined strategy as if all experiences of disasters are the same. Successful post-disaster recovery and reconstruction, more than simply rebuilding housing or infrastructure, should also be measured by whether it contributes to mending tears in the social fabric caused by long-term imbalances in power relations. It should also make every effort to ensure that relocation, if necessary, is not deleterious to cultural continuity and does not equal sociocultural dislocation. Disaster responses that naively or patronizingly impose relocation or require it as a condition for receiving assistance, for example, need to consider the ways in which place, home, and territory are conceptualized, experienced, and valued by affected people, families, communities, and peoples rather than devaluing specific places—whether in sacred or secular cultural landscapes—by reducing them to undifferentiated locations. It is the relations between people, families, communities, and peoples and their places, homes, and territories that is the basis of resilience; processes that repair rather than sever such social-ecological relations need to be actively constructed.

For the MPDRC and the NGOs involved in recovery after Typhoon Morakot in Taiwan, reviewing the institutional complexities of the relief and reconstruction process offers a valuable opportunity for reflection. The resettlement and recovery experiences of the Wutai Rukai allow for greater comprehension of how vulnerability may be institutionalized when disaster policies and processes are well-intentioned but short-sighted, and by not taking historical processes into consideration, replicating past colonial legacies of dominance, power, and mis/underrepresentation. Inter-organizational disputes and inadequate communication are detrimental

not just to the institutions and organizations involved in disaster recovery, but most importantly, to affected populations. Beyond the specific context of post-Morakot recovery and reconstruction in Taiwan, this research illustrates that the culturally, historically, and politically charged nature of institutional contexts and the procedural vulnerability it can produce for Indigenous groups affected by disasters are components of the risk landscape that must be identified and explored. It is only in this way that effective disaster responses which are respectful of Indigenous cultural values, social aspirations, political processes, and social-ecological relations may be developed.

Notes

¹The Rukai are one of the sixteen Indigenous peoples currently recognized by the Taiwan government: Amis, Atayal, Bunun, Hla' alua, Kanakanavu, Kavalan, Paiwan, Puyuma, Rukai, Saisiyat, Tao, Thao, Tsou, Truku, Sakizaya, and Seediq.

²The project is covered by a protocol approved under Australian requirements (Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee Approval #5201200804).

³The majority of interviews conducted were in Mandarin Chinese with a translator(s) present where Indigenous languages (Rukai, Paiwan) were used.

⁴The Executive Yuan is the highest administrative agency and executive branch of Taiwan's government.

⁵This was the reason given during a follow-up interview (Pingtung, January 2013) with the Indigenous MPDRC official heading these particular visits.

⁶In accordance with Paragraph 1, Article 20 of the Special Act (MPDRC 2009), Article 23 of the Aboriginal Basic Act, and the Declaration on the Rights Indigenous Peoples passed in 2007 by the UN General Assembly, the 17th committee meeting of the Reconstruction Council passed the “Post-Morakot Collective Relocation of Indigenous Villages and Private Construction of Permanent Housing Plan” (MPDRC 2011:39).

⁷Over 70 percent of the population in Taiwan identifies as Buddhist and/or Taoist. Many people also follow and practice other aspects of Chinese folk religions (U.S. Department of State 2007).

⁸The MPDRC was disbanded on August 8, 2014.

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6 Displacing expert-centred post-disaster reconstruction

Placing, not re-placing; recovering, not re-covering

In the wake of Typhoon Morakot, government agencies, disaster relief organisations and individual disaster experts implied or stated that Wutai Rukai vulnerability was inherent in peoples' Indigeneity. Vulnerability cannot be simplistically linked to Indigeneity; indeed, it needs to be recognised as procedural in nature, and institutionalised through processes of governance that are best characterised as deep colonising. The argument cultivated in Chapters Four and Five is further developed here to provide empirical evidence of how expert-centred discourses and approaches to the post-disaster setting reinforced important elements of the vulnerability of Wutai Rukai people present in the pre-disaster social, economic and political relations of the affected region. The chapter argues that post-disaster recovery processes and institutions need to respond to peoples' circumstances, rather than applying dominant values of non-local and expert-centred discourses that discount processes of marginalisation, colonisation and disadvantage characterised by Howitt et al (2012, p. 48) as " 'unnatural disasters' that wreak consequential havoc on Indigenous communities". In Indigenous settings, the metaphor of recovery risks being experienced as re-covering – identities, values and institutions are further silenced; experiences of exploitation, loss and dispossession are covered up; and ancestors, stories and culture are re-buried.

This chapter sets out to untangle the elements of healing understood here as re-establishing, adapting and reframing the human-to-human, human-to-environment, human-to-cosmos connections that characterise cultural identity. This is significant as it departs from the rebuilding of infrastructure, facilities and housing that too easily comes to represent the task of post-disaster recovery and reconstruction. Following an overview of expert-centred disaster discourses and how they were mobilised in the context of port-Morakot Taiwan, the chapter reframes and reorients the discourse by highlighting Wutai Rukai responses to Morakot and problematising the

(mis)representation of local autonomy and “successful” recovery, drawing out the elements of trauma, timeliness and continuity as issues that must be reflected upon and addressed in recovery and reconstruction which genuinely aims to build back better.

Expert-centred recovery and reconstruction

While the broad field of disaster studies commonly understands disasters to be a combination of exposure to hazards, vulnerability and inability to reduce or cope with the potential negative consequences of impacts (UNISDR, 2009), disasters need also to be understood as:

long unfolding historical processes involving co-constitutive interactions between people (with their culturally contingent values, political systems, technologies, and practices) and their material environments... [and recognised as] by no means natural or unavoidable events that [can] only be engaged through emergency management practices. (Faas & Barrios, 2015, p. 289)

Failing to perceive these complexities and conceptualising a disaster as a situation or an event that overwhelms local capacity and necessitates external, expert assistance at national or international levels, where the discourse and impetus for urgency and response runs the risk of displacing internal (Indigenous, local and, by definition, non-expert) expertise, is likely to result in the neglect of local aspirations, values and knowledges. Often overlooked in expert-centred approaches is that the task of building back better – of responding to the risks embedded in the physical landscape with improved physical infrastructure – can easily overlook what is already embedded in the cultural landscapes. Just like the physical forces that trigger disasters, the relationships, values, institutions and practices encompassed by cultural landscapes are already in motion and need to be considered as integral to disaster recovery.

Chapter Four illustrated how what was/is represented as community in Taiwan Indigenous settings is not in a steady state that is disrupted by a natural hazard creating a disaster event at a scale requiring external intervention – it is never in a steady state. Yet, in expert-centred approaches it is easily assumed that the target of expert intervention is already familiar and that every situation, while always specific, particular, and dynamic, will follow a regular pattern of response, recovery and

reconstruction. Expert teams enter an all-too-familiar disaster scene in the wake of a singular disaster event, and move forward from there on a predetermined pathway to “successful” recovery and reconstruction to build back better. With that said, not all teams take a pre-determined approach; the key issue is insufficient attention regarding how success is defined and the role of historical, pre-disaster contexts in shaping the disaster. This should be the starting point, not the disaster event.

In the past, technical approaches to hazard management dominated disaster discourses and practices, and tended to neglect vulnerability reduction or the political and socioeconomic roots of disaster; Pelling (2001) says of such approaches, “Were the real target beneficiaries those vulnerable to hazard and disaster, or engineering and disaster management consultants and their employing institutions? Certainly, vulnerable people are largely absent from the discussions that set the agenda” (p. 175). Yet an increasing focus in current disaster literature on vulnerability reduction or the political and socioeconomic roots of disaster (e.g. Adger, 2006; Bankoff et al., 2004; Pelling, 2001; Wisner et al., 2005) does not mean foundational issues are necessarily understood or addressed in practice; those defining who or what is “vulnerable” and institutionalised processes that contribute to the perpetuation of vulnerability must be considered, as discussed in Chapter Five of this thesis. When such procedural vulnerability is not addressed or remains invisible, it essentially equates to continuing cultural domination through marginalisation of representation, aspirations and values of the very people whom, with good intentions, the experts, institutions and representatives of the dominant culture intend to assist.

Alexander’s review of *Rebuilding after Disasters: From Emergency to Sustainability* (Lizarralde et al., 2010), captures something important about the expert-centred approach in noting that the focus of the book under review was “about the reconstruction of housing, not the restoration of infrastructure, cultural heritage, or other elements of the built environment” (Alexander, 2010, p. 1117). Although recovery and reconstruction must take into account all of the elements mentioned by Alexander in addition to housing, in Taiwan’s post-Morakot circumstances these other elements were shaped by the approach to housing provision. As discussed in the

previous chapters of this thesis, provision of housing and resettlement of people and communities displaced by the typhoon event were central to recovery: reconstruction discourses focused on the best ways for experts to ensure the timely provision of housing. While Lizarralde et al. (2010) focus on reconstruction challenges faced in the building industry, the key questions they pose to the building sector are relevant to all aspects of post-disaster recovery and reconstruction:

How can we, as professionals, react to a disaster situation?

How can we improve post-disaster reconstruction?

What are the roles of architects, engineers and development practitioners after disasters?

What are the roles of government actors and NGOs?

What is the role of local communities and how can it be respected?

These questions would be well-directed to a wide range of “professionals”, or experts, including architects, engineers, development practitioners, government actors and NGOs, along with researchers and scholars. The intention here is not to set up a simplistic and oppositional binary of expert versus local. Rather, the intention is to highlight how technocratic expert disaster discourses and practices, instead of promoting sustainable, successful healing and recovery, can end up re-covering and hence reinforcing issues that affected peoples’ vulnerability, resilience and opportunity prior to the disaster event. Through such understandings, new discourses and practices emerge that can potentially contribute to more appropriate approaches.

Mobilising expert-centred discourses post-Morakot

In this section, the following tracts of text are from official government documents regarding post-Morakot reconstruction, with particular points to be further discussed highlighted in red. I have elected to include much of the original text here rather than simply summarising the documents, not just for posterity’s sake, but so that while my interpretation of the language and discourse is offered, the reader is able to have a more contextual sense of the empirical material. All documents were obtained in English and are presented here in their publicly available form (with original spelling, grammar).

A report entitled “Post-Morakot reconstruction swift and thorough” from the Executive Yuan in May 2015 explains how the expert services of disaster response and recovery were mobilised in Taiwan:

On August 8, 2009, Typhoon Morakot shocked the world with its strong winds and torrential rains that triggered landslides, demolishing the village of Xiaolin entirely and devastating southern Taiwan. Eleven counties and cities covering half of Taiwan’s surface area were ravaged by the typhoon, affecting 9.16 million residents, or 40 percent of the nation’s total population.

The government, military and various sectors of society immediately took up rescue work. Incorporating private-sector forces, the government conducted across-the-board planning for post-disaster reconstruction. On August 14, President Ma Ying-jeou convened a national security meeting... The next day, the Morakot Post-Disaster Reconstruction Council was established.

On August 27, an emergency relief budget of NT\$22 billion (US\$707 million) was allocated, and the Special Act for the Typhoon Morakot Post-Disaster Recovery and Reconstruction was passed by the Legislature. On November 10, the Legislature approved a special budget for Typhoon Morakot post-disaster reconstruction.

Because of full collaboration between the legislative and administrative branches as well as the cooperation of various sectors of society, post-Morakot reconstruction proceeded swiftly. Within six months, permanent housing was built for more than 600 households. In the five years after the typhoon, the following work was accomplished:

- 3,561 permanent housing units in 43 places were completed.
- 1,145 schools were repaired and reconstructed.
- 126 roads and bridges were built.
- 243 kilometers of embankment were set up.
- Sand and gravel were dredged to refill 492 hectares of lost farmland as well as 310 hectares of fish farms.
- Post-disaster psychological care was enhanced.
- Indigenous architectural, cultural and linguistic heritage were augmented.

... Disaster areas were rehabilitated based on seven major aspects: industry, employment, culture, community regeneration, living, schooling and ethnic groups. New disaster-prevention concepts were instilled, such as “evacuating at-risk areas takes precedence over disaster prevention, and disaster prevention is even more important than disaster relief.” Eco-friendly concepts for mountainous roads, bridges and rivers were established.

... The Morakot Post-Disaster Reconstruction Council concluded its mission and disbanded on August 8, 2014. All important reconstruction data have been transferred to the National Science and Technology Museum and displayed at its exhibition hall about the Morakot post-disaster reconstruction. These materials are in Chinese. (Executive Yuan, 2015)

This report illustrates how official expert perceptions of a successful reconstruction “mission” comprise of swiftly built permanent housing and infrastructure. Much like the perfunctory acknowledgement by the MPDRC of non-monetisable losses endured by Indigenous peoples shown in Table 1 within the Preface, the augmentation of “Indigenous architectural, cultural and linguistic heritage” are added to the end of a long list enumerating achievements post-Morakot that are largely technical. The largely technocratic focus within definitions of success in post-Morakot reconstruction is also evident from the following two accounts (MPDRC, 2012; Executive Yuan, 2013).

The Special Act was originally scheduled to expire and the MPDRC to disband after three years on 29 August 2012. A press release explained:

In the interest of speeding up subsequent reconstruction efforts to care for the lives and livelihoods of residents in reconstruction areas, and achieve the goal of joyful living and employment, the Executive Yuan’s Morakot Post-Disaster Reconstruction Council called its 29th committee meeting on May 16th... in which the decision was made to extend unfinished projects and efforts in the Morakot post-disaster reconstruction project to a maximum duration of two years. During this extension period, the Special Act can be applied to these unfinished projects in order to eliminate the red tape and simplify related administrative procedures and speed up the process. The organization of the Reconstruction Council will also be extended and continue to serve residents of reconstruction areas through coordinating, evaluating, making decisions, promoting, and supervising reconstruction related matters. ...After nearly three years of reconstruction after Morakot, concrete results are now evident. In terms of homeland reconstruction, the government has provided 216.5 hectares of land, simplified administrative procedures, and joined efforts with NGOs to support permanent housing construction for disaster survivors. (MPDRC, 2012)

Another press release from the Executive Yuan’s Department of Information Services in April 2013 titled “Premier²³ commends Morakot reconstruction progress” details:

Under the leadership of President Ma Ying-jeou, the three preceding premiers have devoted significant efforts to rebuilding communities ravaged by Typhoon Morakot, Premier Jiang Yi-huah said today, noting that 3,481 permanent housing units have been built on 40 sites since reconstruction began three-plus years ago. ...Presiding over the 32nd meeting of the Executive Yuan’s Morakot Post-Disaster Reconstruction Council (MPDRC), Jiang said that as affected residents are gradually settled into new homes, the focus of reconstruction work has shifted to industrial development, community rebuilding and job

²³ The premier is the head of the Executive Yuan, and appointed by the President of the Republic of China (Taiwan).

creation. Premier Jiang asked government agencies to redouble efforts in these areas so that residents can return to normal life as early as possible. While today's meeting with the MPDRC was the first for the recently formed Cabinet, Jiang said, MPDRC has served since the beginning as the Executive Yuan's highest decision-making and consultation body for reconstruction efforts. He thanked members of the council for sharing their expertise that contributed to the successful implementation of reconstruction programs... Jiang said now that basic infrastructure and permanent housing have largely been restored, the next steps are to deepen cultural appreciation in the communities, ensure daily living needs are met, rebuild communities and businesses, and boost employment. The objective is to bring cultural, economic and ecological considerations together to create sustainable communities. (Executive Yuan, 2013).

The MPDRC's official website²⁴ was continuously kept up to date, in both Chinese and English, throughout its existence. There was a clear sense that the reconstruction process being developed and implemented was a model of reconstruction strategy. Upon the Reconstruction Council's disbandment, the website was archived through the NSTM, with English materials still accessible.²⁵ In July 2011, the MPDRC published *Rebuilding a Sustainable Homeland With Innovation and United Efforts* (創新協力重建永續家園) in both Chinese and English. A press release (MPDRC, 2011b) about the book's publication was officially translated to English, and conveys the sense that the reconstruction strategy was iconic of Taiwanese society:

In order to record the precious memories about how the government and Taiwanese society worked alongside each other in the face of disaster and gruelling reconstruction efforts in the past 2 years, the Reconstruction Council is publishing the book: *Rebuilding a Sustainable Homeland with Innovation and United Efforts*. This book documents how the government and private sectors worked together in the process of innovating and implementing reconstruction efforts for this unprecedented disaster. They worked with the disaster victims together to build sustainable new homes. The process showcased the outstanding compassion of Taiwanese people and created an international model for post-disaster reconstruction.

In line with the "full cooperation between the legislative and administrative branches as well as the cooperation of various sectors of society" from the previous Executive Yuan report, this press release highlights how "the government and Taiwanese society worked alongside each other in the face of disaster". Yet, Taiwanese society may more

²⁴ <http://88flood.www.gov.tw>

²⁵ <http://morakotdatabase.nstm.gov.tw/88flood.www.gov.tw>

accurately be replaced with the “private sectors” that appear in the following highlighted text. The previous chapters of this thesis and evidence in subsequent discussions illustrate how although the book details the collaboration between government, private sectors *and* “disaster victims”, affected peoples themselves did not feel as though they were a respected part of decision-making processes regarding recovery and reconstruction.

A section in the book titled “Unprecedented challenge and reconstruction strategy” asserts:

The month of August in 2009 was a very difficult time for Taiwan. In addition to the threat from H1N1 there was also the global economic downturn triggered by the U.S. Subprime mortgage crisis in 2008. *Despite clashes over rising unemployment, disaster survivors’ psychological/physical issues and public opinion, the government still had to forge ahead with reconstruction. Reconstruction was a race against time* to avoid a secondary disaster by resettling refugees, making emergency repairs and rebuilding critical infrastructure before the typhoon season. (MPDRC, 2011a, p. 22)

The wording in this section expresses what may be taken as the overarching sentiment regarding post-Morakot reconstruction. As a “race against time”, the requirements of reconstruction effectively superseded issues of livelihood, trauma, and needs of affected peoples. This is at odds with previous statements (MPDRC, 2012; Executive Yuan, 2013), which champion government and charitable efforts to prioritise and assist with industry reconstruction, employment and building overall sustainable communities.

Amongst the six “unprecedented challenges” that are subsequently listed the section, the second expands on how:

rehabilitation of destabilized land (slopes and riverbeds) was at odds with the expectations of some disaster survivors: *Most of the destabilized land was located in mountains areas and their nature made any human engineering efforts futile. A rethink in land rehabilitation was required, but for many citizens especially indigenous peoples living in the mountain areas, their bond with the land and cultural traditions led them to expect engineering intervention by the government.* These expectations were greatly at odds with the greatly changed post-disaster environment. (MPDRC, 2011a, p. 23)

This directly correlates to the report from the Executive Yuan (2015) above, which stated that “evacuating at-risk areas takes precedence over disaster prevention”. However, rather than engaging with the issues and complexities of relocation after a “natural” disaster, the MPDRC book seems to be justifying its decisions to resettle affected peoples, and borders on victim-blaming when mentioning the destabilised areas and ensuing expectations

Initial direction regarding the MPDRC’s permanent housing strategy came from former Premier Liu Chao-shiuan, who stated:

Generally speaking, the government did its best to cooperate with NGOs. While the government provided the necessary infrastructure, having the NGOs build the permanent housing themselves introduced diversity. It also allowed them to add their own creative touches as well. Through their interactions with the survivors, NGOs can also take care of areas that the government can’t. (MPDRC, 2011a, p. 32)

The level of cooperation between the government and private sectors becomes even more apparent from this statement, yet it also raises issues of accountability that are discussed later in this chapter and in Chapter Seven.

A “one-stop approach” to permanent housing was taken to avoid the problems associated with interim/pre-fab or temporary housing (MPDRC, 2011a, p. 36). Former MPDRC CEO Hsun-hsiung Tsai said of the permanent housing decision-making process:

What stood out was how clear the Premier was on the policies for temporary shelter and the construction of permanent housing. This was when entire settlements on the mountain were cut-off by impassable roads. We eventually realized how correct the Premier’s decision was on two levels. The first was that when we carried out a safety evaluation of the (original) communities, we found that 70% were not suitable for habitation and had potential hazards. The second was that those communities had become over-developed. Over-development meant that future anomalies from climate change will cause disasters to reoccur over and over again. If we can move the people down from the mountains, we reduce the pressure from land development and allow for natural recovery. (MPDRC, 2011a, p. 34)

Victim blaming is even more evident here, with a directly correlation apparently existing between people residing in the mountains, overdevelopment and their implied vulnerability. Yet, as this thesis has endeavoured to illustrate, it is entirely inappropriate to point fingers at those being perceived as vulnerable due to their

Indigeneity, without taking into account the various processes that have contributed to these circumstances. Further, the above statement implies the pervasive view among expert dominant discourses that the solution to the disaster of Morakot was as simple as moving to a new location.

In August 2014, a revised and expanded edition of *Rebuilding a Sustainable Homeland With Innovation and United Efforts* (MPDRC, 2014a)—referred to as the “final and authoritative version” in an interview with a senior MPDRC official (personal communication, 1 Dec 2014)—was published in Chinese. The respective preceding passages quoted in English remain the same in the 2014 edition.

The final press release from the MPDRC was titled “Morakot Typhoon Post-disaster Reconstruction Council, Executive Yuan’s five-year mission successful [sic] closes on August 8th, 2014”, and details the commemoration of the five-year anniversary of typhoon:

with various reconstruction work yielding tangible results, the Morakot Post-disaster Reconstruction Council, Executive Yuan has staged a plaque removal and archives turnover ceremony, which is presided by minister without portfolio, Executive Yuan, Yang Chiu-hsing and CEO of Morakot Post-Disaster Reconstruction Council, Executive Yuan, Chern Jenn-chuan who jointly remove the Executive Yuan Reconstruction Council’s plaque, symbolizing the reconstruction mission has completed its incremental mission. ...Yang Chiu-hsing indicates that “with the disaster Morakot brought to Taiwan behind us, and the reconstruction work has come to a close and has also demonstrated tangible results, the citizens’ confidence and rebirth courage demonstrated in the disaster is the dynamism propelling Taiwan to move farther and greater. As he recounts the harm Morakot has brought, and how many of the disaster survivors are able to stand on their feet with the help of all sectors of the society and government entities, restoring the once pitted reconstruction areas to now an affluent and agile looks, and also with many tangible results, which he feels elation and comfort in his heart. He dedicates his special gratitude to the long-term efforts of 18 ministerial and departmental associates assigned to the council... and also his thankfulness to relevant central government entities, local governments and private sector NGOs for their invaluable contribution to the rebuilding work. ...Indicates CEO Chern Jenn-chuan, as a rather unusual government agency, the Morakot Post-Disaster Reconstruction Council has set up offices in the rebuilding frontline – Kaohsiung for promoting the reconstruction work in the past five years, where its associates have traversed to all corners of the rebuilding areas to jointly set a new page in its history of a fine agency culture by chronicling the Morakot rebuilding process with limited

manpower and funding to have convened 48 times of working group meeting, 33 times of Council meeting, 53 times of working report meeting, almost 2,000 times meeting regarding infrastructure, industry, homeland and community reconstruction, submitted 15 times of report regarding reconstruction process in Executive Yuan meeting, 6 times of report in Office of President, the Morakot rebuilding work's efficient promotion is attributed to the high levels of emphasis and support of the President, former conveners. He says, "As the Morakot Post-Disaster Reconstruction Council completes its mission, on reflecting the Morakot rebuilding experience heritage, he encourages everyone to call on the National Science and Technology Museum to visit the Morakot Post-disaster Exhibition, where it showcases by means of instilling education in amusement on how to strengthen one's disaster response capability and the Morakot post-disaster rebuilding results pooling the love and care of all sectors, and he also recommends local denizens not to miss the "Typhoon Morakot – Rebuilding the Homestead" premiering on the National Geographic Channel at 9:00PM August 8th in Taiwan, and the "Typhoon Morakot – the Hope for Rebirth" documentary premiering on October 10. (MPDRC, 2014b)

Of note here is the number of times the "tangible results" are mentioned in relation to post-Morakot reconstruction. As in the previously assessed tracts of text, evidence of the completed "mission" is accompanied by a veritable record of the minutiae of reconstruction, in this particular case, the number of meetings that were held regarding the rebuilding process. The National Science and Technology Museum (NSTM) Morakot exhibition is also specifically promoted as an education tool regarding the post-disaster experience in Taiwan, further substantiating the focus that this thesis places on assessing the exhibition as a representation of dominant discourses, approaches and positions.

Reframing the expert-centred disaster discourse

As evident from the previous section, official representations of post-Morakot reconstruction left little space for the Wutai Rukai (or other affected Indigenous groups') experiences of the post-Morakot processes. They emphasised the efficiency and effectiveness of the trajectory anticipated in the expert-centred approach – a relatively ordered progress from disaster to recovery and reconstruction. Despite the reference to culture as one of the seven key aspects of the task (Executive Yuan, 2015), it is unclear how experts understood local culture and affected peoples' capacities and needs in the recovery process. In Chapter Five, parts of an interview with a senior specialist at the Council of Indigenous Peoples (CIP) who had been involved with the

reconstruction process were used to highlight issues of procedural vulnerability in post-Morakot responses (pp. 116-117). One statement in particular from the CIP specialist is worth highlighting again here: “They [reconstruction officials in Taiwan] were wrong from the very start in assuming that by relocation, the problem would just be resolved” (personal communication, 14 Jan 2014).

Revisiting Wutai Rukai responses to the Morakot Disaster

In the previous chapters, the devastating experiences of Wutai Rukai people due to the typhoon were glimpsed. In the case of Haocha, already displaced several times, the people faced the complete destruction of their settlement and further displacement from their ancestral domains. My first visit to the Wutai Rukai areas affected by Morakot was well after the typhoon had come and gone, with many residents already moved into permanent housing. While in the field I heard many recounts of what it was like to experience the typhoon, yet time and again, a consistent thread running through the responses—what people seemed to consider more significant—was not Morakot as a disaster event, but rather the post-Morakot responses. In contrast to the tracts of text in the previous section exemplifying official, expert perceptions of successful post-Morakot reconstruction, the stories that follow serve to highlight the effects of what was essentially a resettlement as recovery approach that affected peoples perceived as the actual, unnatural disaster.

In a 2013 op-ed for an independent news outlet, Lin²⁶ considers an initial key dispute with homeland reconstruction, which had to do with the demarcation of “special zones” (特定區) post-Morakot, and highlights the complex roles of experts in disaster risk management (Lin, 2013). These zones, several of which included Wutai Rukai territories, were designated by the MPDRC as high-risk and no longer suitable for habitation. In his piece, aptly titled “The disaster isn’t over – Do not forget Typhoon Morakot”, Lin describes how the delineation of special zones was purportedly based on considerations of both geological safety and the circumstances of residents who would be affected, yet, he argues, the MPDRC actually made the decision regarding

²⁶ Dr. Yih-Ren Lin is a Taiwanese academic who, particularly during his time as Associate Professor in the Graduate School of Ecology at Providence University in central Taiwan, advocated greater awareness regarding the resettlement policy after Morakot (see Lin & Lin, 2011).

special zones hastily and forcefully. In some of the affected areas there were strong protests to post-Morakot special zone demarcation, whereupon the government did not persist, whereas in other areas the residents were unable to collectively respond and so the special zones were implemented. Lin draws attention to how it was not just the scientific knowledge of “experts” at play, citing the experiences of Ali tribal community as an example.

Tribal community consensus proposed that just part of Ali be demarcated as a special zone, and specialists visited Ali three different times, with the areas in question pronounced as “safe” each time, yet the entirety of Ali was still ultimately designated “unsafe”. The ruling by the MPDRC fragmented the tribal community and left those who wanted to return to their homeland to rebuild in the safe areas, in a particular predicament. This ruling, despite expert scientific opinion demonstrating otherwise, demonstrates how not it is not simply technocratic expert approaches to disaster management that risk marginalising local expertise, but also how reconstruction can be a process which is shaped by expert, political conceptualisations of appropriate means to address and recover from a “disaster” in line with Mercer’s (2011) discussion of whose and what knowledge counts in DRR.

In May 2013, a Haocha youth at Rinari shared the following public anecdote on social media (personal communication, 1 May 2013):

工人對著一個長輩說：「你們真的太幸福了！我們都沒有這樣的聚會空間（教會）」。
長輩聽了，滿臉無奈，也不知道要回應他什麼。莫拉克之後的傷痛也許是很容易被人遺忘的，有形的建體永遠換不回來站在自己土地上的那種踏實感，重新建立的過程很感謝多方資源的挹注，但是中間辛苦的過程也許我們自己才能體會。

Translated:

A worker said to one of our elders: "You are really too fortunate! We have no such gathering space (the church)." The elder heard this with a helpless expression, not knowing how to respond to him. Post-Morakot pain and sorrow may be very easily overlooked, [but] tangible material construction can never replace the steadfastness of standing on one's own land; are very grateful for the assistance from multiple resources in reconstructing, but perhaps only we ourselves can understand the hardships suffered during the process.

The anecdote was accompanied by a photo:



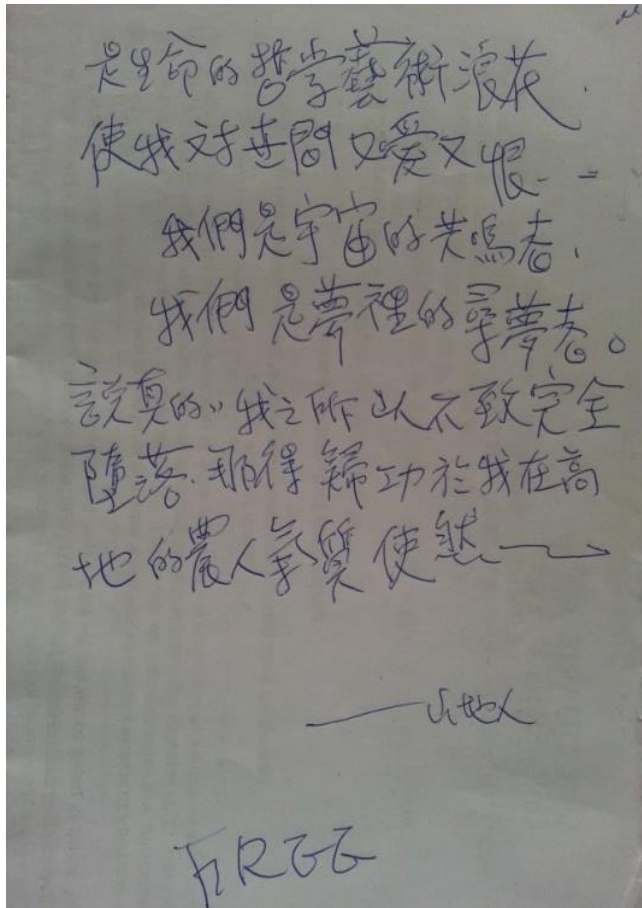
Figure 29: Haocha permanent housing at Rinari.

The source of this photo was traced back to the MPDRC Morakot News Agency via the 921 & 88 Digital Archives (Shieh, 2013): <http://www.taiwan921.lib.ntu.edu.tw/88pdf/A8801PHP01.html>

One evening at Rinari, an elder Haocha Rukai man insisted on writing something for me (Figure 30) when he heard about my research topic, asserting “I have something to say” (我有話要說) while excusing his self-professed lack of eloquence, citing his inability to use his mother tongue with me (我沒辦法用母語).

The poem reads:

是生命的哲學藝術浪花，
使我對世間又愛又恨，
我們是宇宙的共鳴者，
我們是夢裡的尋夢者。
說真的我之所以不致完全墮落，
那得歸功於我在高地的農人氣質使然。
——山地人



**Figure 30: poem by Haocha Rukai man
[30 Dec 2014]**

At the bottom of the page, he also wrote "FREE", avowing that is how he feels in the mountains, and only there. In relation to this, he also said repeatedly in Mandarin Chinese "捨不得", which translates roughly as "hate to part with".

My translation/interpretation:

*Life's philosophies, art,
cause me to feel both love and hate for the world,
We are cosmically resonant people,
we seek dreams within dreams.
The reason why I have not completely fallen,
is due to my personality that which has been tempered by farming the highlands.
--an Indigenous person*

Asking not to be named, the man deliberately signed the poem as "an Indigenous person". His having to write it in Chinese (not his first language), my interpretation of it in English here, and our overall interaction—the majority of which took place in Mandarin by necessity—expresses the layers of historical complexity and the loss, longing, and trauma imbued in relocation, yet insufficiently unaddressed by, reconstruction.

To further illustrate such historical complexities, this poem was passed to me amidst a conversation in which another person was lamenting the modification of "traditional"

dances performed for visitors to Haocha at Rinari while nearly simultaneously acknowledging the inevitability of such change, saying, resigned, “[sigh] modern culture... well, one needs to eat” (唉, 現代文化... 要填飽肚子嘛). The discussion then transitioned to culture, alternately described by those present as: something to be taught (教育), inherited (傳承), and that which follows you where you go (跟著我們走). Following this the writer of the poem said, indignantly, “in the past Americans [missionaries] brought their bread, their faith... we got to know Jesus, but we still got sick” (美國人, 拿那個麵包拿那個信...以前我們認識耶穌還不是會拉肚子). Finally, the debate turned to the writer’s use of 山地人 to sign the poem, which more literally translates to “mountain person” (and previously used as a pejorative in Taiwan). Other terms that have been used to refer to Indigenous peoples were then tossed out such as: 高山族 (“high mountain peoples”), 原住民 (*yuánzhùmín*, aboriginal/ Indigenous: the presently used term). Someone stated, “these classifiers were given to us by *bailang*²⁷[outsiders], anyway... so long as we don’t make ourselves inferior” (尤其這些名詞還不是 *bailang* 給我們的... 只要我們不要矮化自己就好), whereupon someone else made a case for reappropriating the 山地人 (mountain people) term, basically declaring that “they can’t make you inferior if you do it first” (矮化自己可以, 那時候你就比他厲害了)²⁸ (personal communication, 30 Dec 2014).

Revisiting official representations of the Typhoon Morakot disaster

Typhoon Morakot had an unmistakably significant impact on all those involved in recovery processes. The establishment of the “Recovery and Reconstruction after Morakot” permanent exhibition at the NSTM and a major exhibition about Tzu Chi Foundation’s disaster relief work at the Tzu Chi Jing Si Hall in Hualien City, reflect this. These official representations of the recovery and reconstruction process, however, speak volumes about the way Wutai Rukai experiences were marginalised in official and expert-centred disaster discourses.

²⁷ *Bailang* is a term often used in Indigenous settings to refer to Han Chinese people; here it has been taken more generally to denote non-Indigenous people, or “outsiders”.

²⁸ 矮化 (*ǎi huà*) more literally translates as “to dwarf or stunt”, although “inferior” is used here.

Tzu Chi Culture Park (Figure 31) is in Hualien City on the east coast of Taiwan, and includes Jing Si Hall, the Hualien Tzu Chi Hospital and Tzu Chi University. Jing Si Hall (Figure 32) features exhibits throughout the building which illustrate the four missions of Tzu Chi – charity, medicine, education and culture (Tzu Chi University, 2013).



Figure 31: Tzu Chi Cultural Park

From left to right: Tzu Chi University, Jing Si Hall, and Tzu Chi Hospital in Hualien City, Taiwan. (Source: <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/32501826>)



Figure 32: Tzu Chi Jing Si Hall

Jing Si Hall (靜思堂) translates to "Hall of Still Thoughts" (Source: Fred Hsu, photo available under Creative Commons: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Taiwan_2009_HuaLien_City_JingSi_Hall_FRD.jpg#)

In the basement of Jing Si Hall, there is a large-scale exhibition about Tzu Chi's disaster relief efforts, both domestic (in Taiwan) and abroad. Notably, the exhibition includes a photo poster of the NGO's entry into Haocha Village after Typhoon Sepat in 2007 (Figure 33). The photograph and accompanying caption celebrates the bravery and responsiveness of the first response, and presumably, is meant to offer a view of Tzu

Chi's longer term (pre-Morakot) relationship with Haocha, at least through disaster relief assistance. However, the image also emphasises the importance of reputational capital, branding and representation to the NGO sector—in the photograph, the first person on the ladder entering Haocha is a videographer (who was apparently preceded by a photographer) set to record Tzu Chi's activity.



Figure 33: Tzu Chi relief team entering Haocha, August 2007

This photo is part of the display in the basement of Jing Si Hall featuring Tzu Chi's disaster relief work. [29 May 2015]

This celebration of the bravery and generosity of NGO efforts represents Indigenous presence as silent recipients of benevolence rather than active partners in the design and delivery of recovery. This is repeated in other formal representations of the official recovery process. For example, the provision of housing was often represented as a complex logistical task requiring the particular expertise of specialised NGO teams and beyond the capacity of even the national government to deliver. A senior MPDRC official reaffirmed the government's decision to have NGOs provide permanent housing when asked during an interview why, if certain NGOs are more suited for certain aspects of reconstruction over others, they were not correspondingly allocated—they responded that it was because of the scale of the disaster and that

because the government could not provide free housing, that's why the NGOs did. Elaborating further, the official said "anyway, we can't tell them [the NGOs] what to do, they also need to be given a chance to learn" (personal communication, 1 Dec 2014). This corroborates former Premier Liu's statement regarding the government doing its best to cooperate with NGOs (p. 133) and demonstrates a serious oversight regarding the sets of values, wishes, and aspirations that NGOs themselves bring to reconstruction, as well as an disinclination to take responsibility for the implementation of recovery and reconstruction. Yet, as the official institution meant to be in charge of the recovery process, is the MPDRC not be accountable for such oversights?

In the same vein, the same official claimed in response to an inquiry about the relationship between industry and culture in Indigenous resettlements that the government's role was to assist from the sidelines without intervening, and the government could not direct "them" [Indigenous people] how to "do" culture, adding that the affected communities "need to stand up on their own" (personal communication, 1 Dec 2014). Of note here is the selective interpretation of "intervention"; the demarcation of special zones, resettlement policy post-Morakot appear to not be conceived of in terms of their capacity to disrupt or intervene. The official's claim is also rather at odds with statements from Jenn-chuan Chern, former CEO of the MPDRC, during an August 2014 interview in which he cited a survey that found 90 percent of resettled residents are satisfied with their new living environment, and also asserted that with employment opportunities existing for only 50 percent of the workforce in the new settlements, the government "is trying to help residents develop ecotourism and cultural and creative businesses to boost job growth" (Central News Agency, 2014).

President Ma Ying-jeou visited Rinari in August 2011, and said during an interview the next morning that his overnight stay in permanent housing had been "cool and refreshing... the air cool and clean, very comfortable... like being in Provence, a utopia" (Luo et al., 2011). His statements were met with a fair amount of criticism, with some feeling as though he was likening Rinari to a resort and burying the difficulties

experienced by permanent housing residents; Ma responded that he had meant to refer to the warmth and tranquility of the area. Regardless of intent, the phrase seems to have taken hold (see Figure 35).



Figure 34: Rinari, Taiwan's "Provenge"

A display of handicrafts from Rinari in the NSTM Morakot exhibition is titled "Rinari: Taiwan's Provenge". Note: the Chinese characters above "Taiwan's Provenge" read 台灣新普羅旺斯, which more accurately translates to: Taiwan's New Provenge.

These official representations of the recovery process not only rendered Wutai Rukai presence indistinguishable and clearly uninfluential, but also created a narrative of successful reconstruction completion. This is at odds with the affected peoples' own understandings of the situation. Their disenfranchising in the depictions of recovery left many disconcerted by the way their personal experiences were exhibited as proof of success. As indicated by Wutai Rukai responses to the post-Morakot experience from Wutai Rukai perspectives, from the sources drawn on in this research, are in marked contrast to both the way issues are represented and in the way success is understood.

Recovering Wutai Rukai in the representations of reconstruction

Regarding the interpretation of disaster imagery, Childs (2006, p. 206) lays out three main questions:

- 1) Who is in the image?
- 2) What is in the “look” of the image, including the background setting and its artifacts?
- 3) What is the relational nature between who is in the image, the background and artifacts?

Questions such as these guided my own interpretation of the NSTM Morakot exhibition and other materials from expert institutions involved in post-Morakot recovery. I also add to the list of questions to consider: who or what isn’t in the image?, as well as how and/or whether consent was obtained from those who are represented.

The NSTM Morakot exhibition includes several stands with flip boards featuring quotes from various, named people involved in and affected by the reconstruction process—many of them from Wutai Township—including some statements that could be considered critical of the process. Yet, the inclusion of these critical statements in an exhibit geared towards showcasing a successful reconstruction comes across as no more than cursory. Moreover, when I spoke with people from Wutai Township about the exhibition, they stated that they did not know that they are featured and quoted in the exhibition, or that they are being shown to visitors to the museum in photographs and videos (personal communication, 22 Nov 2014) (see Figures 33-34).



Figure 35: Unexpected depiction [24 Dec 2014]

Kui Kadrangilane visited the NSTM on 24 December 2014. He was startled to see his house in Haocha at Rinari (with his mother out front) featured in a video of images from reconstruction settlements within the Morakot exhibition (see Figure 34). Neither he nor his parents, who also reside in Haocha, were aware that they were featured in the exhibition (personal communication, 24 Dec 2014).



Figure 36: Kadrangilane house in Morakot exhibition [24 Dec 2014]

The photo essay video caption reads (in English): "The house of the big chief (Rinari Guchabo'an [Kucapungane] Village). The stone pillars erected outside of the houses have tribal emblem carvings. They are the symbols of the power of the tribal leaders. The chiefs are the representation of power and spirit of the tribes. Most aboriginal tribes are consisted of several chiefs leading their families."

With respect to representing people who have experienced trauma, this highlights the necessity for an “ethics of seeing” (Sontag, 1977), so that affected peoples may be “seen” as active agents in their “diverse and complex lives and roles”. This may be likened to the colonial representations of what “is” Rukai, what is recognised and authentic, as discussed in Chapter Four. The lack of Wutai Rukai awareness that they are represented in the Morakot exhibition epitomises Spivak’s argument of whether the subaltern can speak—and the oppressive, objectifying and essentialising nature of hegemonic discourses is particularly apparent in Figure 34.

Such discourses have direct consequences beyond representations such as the Morakot exhibition. An official Rinari website states, “At Rinari, this new homeland, see the fine surrounding views of the mountains all around views, Kaohsiung’s 85 Sky Tower visible on the horizon, the convergence of public interest groups’ great love, the perseverance and vitality of the tribespeople, that have established Taiwan’s ‘Provence’” (在禮納里這個新家園，環顧四周景緻的山林、可見高雄 85 大樓的無敵視野，融合公益團體大愛、族人堅毅的生命力，建立起台灣的「普羅旺斯」).²⁹ Demonstrating the lasting implications of discourse, a descriptive statement from the president of Taiwan that both praised and offended depending on the perspective of the receiver, in addition to its memorialising in the NSTM exhibition (Figure 32), has now been adopted as part of defining Rinari’s path forward, for all who visit Rinari’s website to see.

In the NSTM Morakot exhibition there is a strong focus on the physical and material dimensions of recovery and reconstruction. The personal, social and cultural dimensions of peoples’ lives and their recovery are less considered. What is missing in the museum are portrayals of peoples’ connections with each other, with place and with the cosmos—Country; connections that are so significant, and evocatively captured in the poem by the Haocha Rukai man (Figure 28) and by “Going (Back) Home” in Chapter Three. Simultaneously, these works also demonstrate the significance of autonomy and representation.

²⁹ <http://rinari.pgo.tw/index.php> (10 Dec 2015)

Those directly affected by Morakot were not involved in creation of the museum displays and their particular framing of the narratives of reconstruction. The presence they are given in the exhibition is token and done without opportunity for them to exercise control over the way their words, images, experiences and perspectives are represented. The overall structure, purpose and narrative of the Morakot recovery exhibition are carefully crafted by experts who, while they may have been involved at length in recovery and reconstruction processes, are not the ones whose realities were and continue to be affected by the disaster event. This is emblematic of the wider processes of deep colonising associated with post-disaster reconstruction. The museum, in its portrayal of recovery and reconstruction, “re-covers” in a different sense, adding new layers to the historical processes of procedural vulnerability that contributed to the conditions which enabled the typhoon to transform into a disaster.

Trauma, timeliness, continuity: insights from Wutai Rukai experiences

Some of the most significant insights from Wutai Rukai experiences of Typhoon Morakot are about trauma, timeliness, and continuity in disaster. Trauma is not limited to the trauma of experiencing a disaster/natural hazard event. Colonial or intergenerational trauma has become an important element in discussions of Indigenous experiences (Damousi, 2002; Halloran, 2004; Krieg, 2009; Lloyd, 2000; O’Loughlin, 2009), mainly in psychological or public health studies. Following Morakot, a number of studies have examined the effects of the typhoon on Indigenous peoples in Taiwan (e.g. Chen et al., 2011; Cheng et al., 2012; Yang et al., 2011), also mainly psychological; however, the studies tend to fall short of making a broader connection to colonial and intergenerational trauma. This indicates an even greater need for disaster studies in Taiwan to integrate engagement with both unnatural and natural disasters and their effects on affected peoples. In many ways, the lesson to be drawn from the idea of Country that is discussed in Chapter Two, is how the coherence that allows culture to adhere to place, and allows people to adapt to change, is framed by the interconnectedness of people-environment-cosmos relations.

The timeliness of collaborations to reconnect these relationships in the wake of disaster events, and the capacity of collaborating agencies and institutions to work

with local people to heal those relationships is as central to processes of sustainable recovery as the construction of housing. Indeed, the timeliness of confronting the damage of the “slow disaster of colonisation” (Howitt et al., 2012, p. 2) and deep colonising may be foundational to building back better in terms that are valued as meaningful by affected peoples. The continuities that connect people, environment and cosmos across the disruptions caused by disaster events are similarly foundational to recovery. These notions of continuity cannot be entirely captured by ideas of tradition or heritage as portrayed via means such as the Digital Museum of Taiwan Indigenous Peoples (DMTIP) referred to in Chapter Four or historical ethnographic studies. They might be better thought of in terms of people’s ability to know what came before and having the ability to make—or at least exercise decisive influence over—decisions regarding what comes after.

The nature of trauma

A statement from the Morakot Post-Disaster Reconstruction Council declares:

As insignificant as the individual may seem [sic] compared to the power of natural disasters, the groundswell of selfless charity and unity from the community during reconstruction has helped smooth over the pain inflicted by merciless nature. (MPDRC, 2011a, p. 5)

In much of the official representations and discourse of the Morakot disaster, its impacts and the reconstruction process revisit and reinforce the traumatic experience, but marginalise the historical and longer-term trauma affecting Wutai Rukai people. What is missing from the exhibitions celebrating successful relief and recovery efforts, for example, are narratives of healing and portrayals of the connections between people, place and cosmos that are substantial in peoples’ own representations of their experiences, such as in the poem included earlier in this chapter by the Haocha Rukai man (Figure 30) and “Going (Back) Home” in Chapter Three.

Decisively absent from those displays are discussions of greater trauma, such as that which Kui didn’t know he was suffering until going back to Old Haocha. Kui said, of (his start to) participating in tribal community-related activities post-Morakot, “Taking part in these activities, it’s like preparing for the inevitability of my dad not being there” (餐與這些活動就好像在準備我爸不在的那一天) (personal communication, 13 Dec 2014).

This statement illustrates the changing relationships of leadership and responsibility that he faced prior to Morakot and which continue as challenges after the disaster event. However, the feelings of pain and loss that are expressed are not from one who is devastated simply by wounds inflicted by “merciless nature”, nor are they simply about the prospective loss of a beloved father. They are also marked by the loss and intergenerational trauma that colonial systems of dominance, imposition and disruption have brought to Indigenous peoples, systems and ways of understanding in Taiwan and elsewhere.

This trauma was exacerbated by the administrative complexity (described in Chapter Five and evident from the anecdotes shared in this chapter) as well as disconnect between administrative complexity and cultural foundations for local governance, accountability and autonomy—the vibrancy of the local culturally embedded institutions of resilience and self-governance. Such disconnect was intensified not only by Morakot, but further enforced by the way that the recovery process was delivered. This trauma is not just the trauma of loss and disruption by the event; it is also the persistence of imposed loss and destruction and disruption before, during and after the disaster event.

Negotiation of timeliness

The expert narration of recovery in terms of a beginning and end to reconstruction, sees success measured in terms of the quantity and speed of the provision of hard infrastructure (housing, roads, services), but renders invisible the quality, sustainability and meaning of people’s lives and wellbeing. Those whose communities are to be built back better are given little say in deciding when recovery has been effective and how success is defined and measured. This reinforces their impotence in influencing wider processes of marginalisation, exclusion and dispossession. The loss of and alienation from Country that comes with resettlement, dislocation and recovery to others’ standards heralds recovery and reconstruction as a new round of deep colonising rather than healing.

The museum, in its portrayal of recovery and reconstruction, adds new layers to the historical happenings that were already part of the damage experienced by Wutai Rukai people. These layers contributed to the conditions of vulnerability that contributed to the disaster event. Rather than constituting recovery in the sense that the expert-centred discourses anticipate, the museum re-covers the Wutai Rukai presence in their customary domains. Rather than being the influential drivers of recovery and reconstruction, Wutai Rukai were reduced to playing roles as passive recipients. When speaking about Wutai Rukai experiences of reconstruction, a Wutai Township official said, wryly, “We’ve manage to encounter all the major NGOS in Taiwan [World Vision, PCT, Red Cross, Tzu Chi] , aren’t we so fortunate?” (台灣所有 NGO 團體我們多於到了, 很榮幸齣?) (personal communication, 21 Nov 2014).

Despite a rhetorical commitment to the rehabilitation of disaster affected areas “based on seven major aspects: industry, employment, culture, community regeneration, living, schooling and ethnic groups” (Executive Yuan report discussed in the “Mobilising expert-centred discourses post-Morakot” section, p.129), this chapter has provided specific instances where approaches to engagement and inclusion were neither convincingly acculturated to Rukai values, nor respectful of and responsive to Rukai capacities. Peoples’ livelihoods were not supported in the design and layout of new settlements, and in terms of land tenure and access arrangements. The focus on industry is again about the imposition of unfamiliar, outside decisions. Rehabilitation of the various aforementioned aspects was implemented more as a one size fits all approach analogous to the “fast food mentality” described in Chapter Five (p. 115) rather than adapted to fit or strengthen local capacities. It was already decided early on that each of the relocation settlements would receive, at some point – a school, a “cultural product display hall” and various other buildings for recreational use, yet the issues considered more pressing by the affected peoples were not properly addressed; such as insufficient land allocated to households for agricultural use, and limited dimensions to permanent houses so that they were unable to be expanded (personal communication, 21 Nov 2014).

The fast-food metaphor is also applicable in relation to the provision of housing and other elements of hard infrastructure replacement, where the measures of quantity and speed were surrogates for effective reconstruction. There is a common belief that effective rebuilding depends on the speed of construction (Lizarralde et al., 2010, p. 2). These time-bound conceptualisations of disaster and reconstruction—that there is an end to being “reconstructed”, the disestablishment of the MPDRC—represented a completion of the task. Its archiving became symbolic not only of completion, but of the value of the process as worthy of preservation. This resonates with the engineering resilience definition which is about the speed by which a system bounces back, whereas other interpretations of resilience argue that systems cannot bounce back after a shock as the system changes and learns, thus the “norm” has changed (e.g. Adger et al., 2005; Manyena, 2006; Norris et al., 2007). As such, the quality of relationships, connections, and the processes of learning and maintaining core functions are essential.

Post-Morakot reconstruction was praised as effective because of the speed with which houses were built and infrastructure provided in multiple interviews with MPDRC and other government officials involved in recovery (personal communication, 23 Jan 2014; 12 Feb 2014; 18 Feb 2014; 26 Oct 2014) and NGO workers from World Vision (personal communication, 20 Dec 2012; 6 Nov 2013; 26 Oct 2014), Red Cross (personal communication, 22 Jul 2013; 9 Mar 2015), and Tzu Chi (personal communication, 5 Feb 2013). In official materials, reconstruction was termed “successful” (Executive Yuan, 2013; 2015; MPDRC 1014b). Yet in Wutai Rukai domains, while gratitude regarding assistance provided was expressed, the affected peoples did not define reconstruction in terms of success – because what is being reconstructed? The survey that was referred to by MPDRC CEO Chern (p. 129) was meant to demonstrate contentment with permanent housing; yet, when there are no (legal) alternatives, and paths are predetermined, it is difficult to envisage how one who has been affected by disaster might say anything besides “yes, I am satisfied” to those in positions of authority and power. This is reminiscent of the anecdote related by the World Vision staff member in Chapter Four (p.98), where the person from the affected tribal community responded:

“You have already been so generous in helping us, what right do we have to complain?”
(personal communication, 27 Nov 2014).

Continuity, reconstruction, regeneration

Alfred³⁰ (2005, p. 254) asserts, “The *resurrection* of a reality experienced by our ancestors is obviously impossible; thus, a *regeneration* is the way to think about the challenge we face”. Such a conceptualisation is applicable to the challenges of how to address the issues of trauma, timeliness and continuity in post-disaster recovery, with fairly obvious parallels existing between resurrection/regeneration and reconstruction. Advocating continuity in post-disaster Indigenous contexts here is not simply promoting the continuation or resurrection of practices that are deemed “traditional” (which are often also erroneously attributed to or equated with being “vulnerable”), but instead as possessing the capacity to understand the past in order to exercise autonomy over what the future brings. If reconstruction is meant to be building back better, it must aim for regenerating, rather than resurrecting (in)capacities.

Conclusion

The Veritable Record (Figure 6, Preface) of post-Morakot reconstruction in the form of the NSTM exhibition as well as the extensive documentation by the MPDRC illustrate a “systematic, institutionalized approach to national history” (Ng & Wang, 2005, p. 111-112). In August 2014 the MPDRC (2014c) published *Five Years Later: Reconstruction After Morakot* in Chinese and in English, with a preface that notes:

Despite its limited personnel and funding, the Morakot Post Disaster Reconstruction Council has managed to create 2 international documentaries, 8 documentaries, 11 short films, as well as writing 43 books, hosting 59 film screenings through Taiwan in the past 5 years. The goal of these efforts was the hope that these words, images, and domestic and overseas exchanges would pass on reconstruction experience to all corners of the earth. (p. 4)

Again, the minutiae of reconstruction efforts are detailed, this time in regards to documentation. From this, it is apparent that the intent behind such actions, much like with Tzu Chi, are not only to document the expert-led post-disaster recovery and reconstruction for learning, but to preserve a version of history which portrays the post-Morakot experience as a successful endeavour worth sharing.

³⁰ Taiaiake Alfred is a Kanien'kehaka (Mohawk) scholar-activist and Professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Victoria, Canada.

Yet, within these depictions, as within the NSTM exhibition, people are once defined, delineated and captured at a specific point in time that is henceforth meant to represent the official and concrete reality (as detailed in Chapter Four). Temporally, the period of reconstruction has been fixed, as marked by the disbanding of the MPDRC and the construction of the museum. This categorical way of framing people in post-disaster settings is deeply embedded in NGO, relief agencies and national discourses, which then shapes decisions and constrains futures.

This chapter explored, and disrupted, accounts of the Wutai Rukai post-Morakot experience that privileged and mobilised expert-centred approaches to the tasks of responding to, recovering from and reconstructing after the typhoon. It has reviewed the discursive constructions of success in post-Morakot representations of that experience in official reports, exhibitions and interviews. There is no one discourse that can be focused upon; the expert-centred discourses and approaches are not monolithic or singular. Indeed, the state, civil society and international agencies that produce (and are products of) the expert-centrism of disaster responses are diverse and amorphous. For example, despite the implicit singularity of “the state” as a player in these discourses and practices, the state that needs to be considered in the Wutai Rukai setting includes at least the central government in Taipei, MPDRC, and local government (Pingtung County, Wutai Township).

As Chapters Four and Five explored in-depth, the historical, political and cultural complexities of administrative, governance and accountability structures (and their representation in Mandarin and English) are not just multifaceted, but also part of the deep colonising processes that see Wutai Rukai people buried by the day-to-day hegemony of the dominant national culture. By focusing on the institutions involved in recovery and reconstruction such as the MPDRC and main NGOs, this chapter has examined how expertocracies shaped recovery and reconstruction after Morakot in ways that minimised accountability to Wutai Rukai institutions, values and politics and imposed a cycle of expert-centric activities that were pre-defined as the measures of success.

The “Return to Morakot” immersion theatre experience in the NSTM exhibition (as detailed in the Preface) concludes with a final quote from Master Cheng Yen, living founder of Tzu Chi (Figure 37).

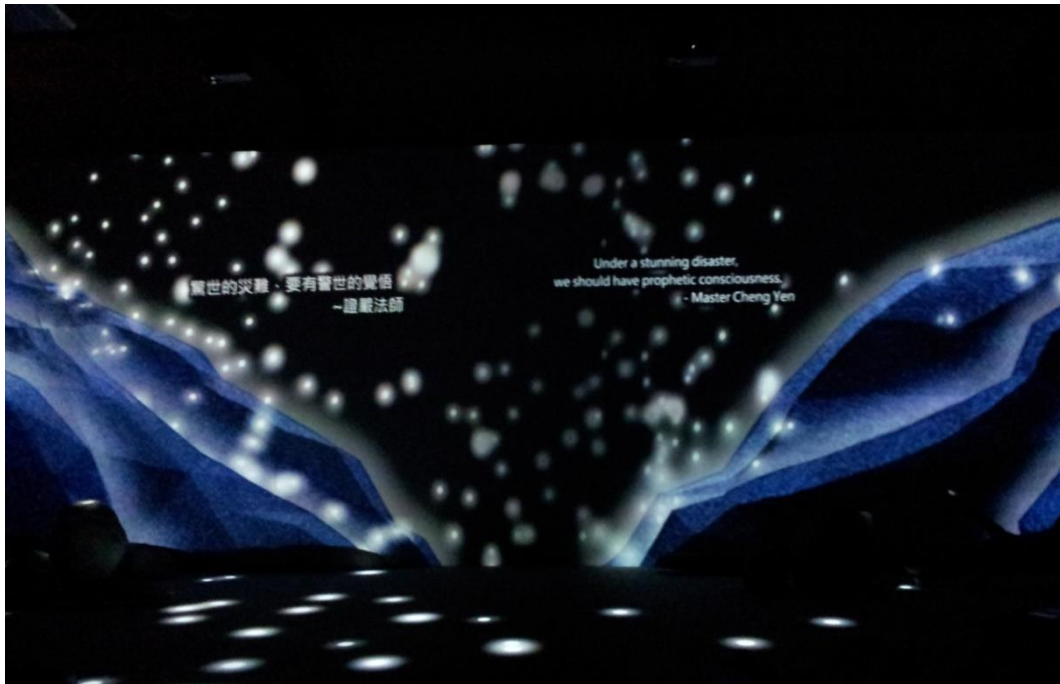


Figure 37: Final image in “Return to Morakot”

The caption reads: “Under a stunning disaster, we should have prophetic consciousness. – Master Cheng Yen” (驚世的災難，要有警世的覺悟 - 證嚴法師)

These are powerful words to end with, but who and what determines the dimensions of this abstract “prophetic consciousness”? The uncomfortable conclusion to be drawn from an absence of the connections encapsulated by Country in the NSTM exhibition is that these connections were insufficiently considered, thus unaddressed. This, together with the fact that Tzu Chi was all but absent in research interviews, exercising their power through non-response and yet still unavoidably present in the research inquiry regarding Wutai Rukai experiences of disaster, leads to an even more uneasy conclusion about the prophetic consciousness and capacity to reflect that disaster “experts” purportedly possess. Careful and sensitive listening to, not just hearing of, Wutai Rukai experiences offers powerful and important lessons that significantly reframe expert-centred discourses and approaches to recovery and reconstruction. Ultimately, a tangible prophetic consciousness must encompass considerations of power and the representation of those affected by disaster, as well as a commitment to deep reflection about the implications of longer-term trauma, timeliness and continuity in reconstruction processes—to make regeneration from disaster possible.

7 Decentring experts, decolonising disasters

This thesis challenges the idea of “the expert” in disaster discourse along with the practices and material implications associated with the mobilisation of expertise in particular ways. To do so, it has unpacked how these discourses and practices were deployed in Wutai Rukai domains in post-Morakot Taiwan. It found that the ability of technical experts and the institutions of disaster recovery to effectively engage with disaster-affected peoples was compromised by the ways they understood Wutai Rukai culture, politics, histories and geographies. The complexities of the local were often reduced to over-simplified, categorical ways of framing Wutai Rukai people as vulnerable victims. Disaster responses, as the thesis argues, need to be understood through an appreciation of historical context and lived experiences of colonialism and marginalisation.

Through a series of papers and chapters, the thesis contextualised post-Morakot recovery and reconstruction, exploring how Wutai Rukai experiences of disaster were framed and responded to by the formal processes of recovery. In part, the challenge was not just to make Wutai Rukai more visible as active agents of Indigenous self-determination about their own life, but to explore how to better conceptualise the issues involved and how to do so across cultural and linguistic diversity and complexity. This theme is most strongly reflected in Chapters Two and Four, where the value of drawing in a wider discourse of belonging and connection from Indigenous Studies (in this case the idea of Country as encompassing people-environment-cosmos) and the difficulty of delivering consistency even in the naming of groups, locations and governance structures between Rukai, Chinese and English is explored. Those involved in the reconstruction process—as local “victims”, advocates and workers, national agents (some with connections to the places and peoples being reconstructed), and charitable, not-for-profit institutions—all mobilised particular understandings and representations (imaginaries) of the people involved, as well as of the risks, aims and measures of success in recovery and reconstruction.

Such misunderstandings and misreadings were affected and shaped by difference, lack of consensus and the asymmetry of power relations. Issues of marginalisation, dislocation and severing of connections with place, were, of course, already in place before August 2009 when Typhoon Morakot wreaked havoc across Taiwan and on Wutai Rukai domains. This illustrates how the focus on the disaster moment and post-disaster reconstruction, with good intentions to build back better, risk becoming processes of deep colonising. The roots of the disaster are in the practices, discourses and relations constructed by colonialism, and maintained in the modern-day governance discourses and practices of state and non-state actors, which emphasises the vital importance of considering relations in context.

Starting with a consideration of the Australian Aboriginal concept of Country in the paper that comprises Chapter Two, the thesis established that social, environmental and historical relations which include colonial experiences and deep cultural values are foundational to local understandings of place, vulnerability, disaster and recovery. With insights from Kui Kadrangilane's piece "Going (Back) Home", a Wutai Rukai understanding of the translation from "place" to "home" and other significant concepts and experiences were manifested, and centred within the discussion of methodology and theory in Chapter Three. An ethical obligation to consider the role of the researcher laid the foundation for an approach to the research that problematised rather than privileged technical expertise. A detailed discussion in the paper that is the basis of Chapter Four considered how place (home) is created, and how imposed spatialities of colonisation and administration have continually disrupted Wutai Rukai autonomy. Building on threads already woven into disaster studies approaches as well as insights from disciplines such as Indigenous studies, Taiwan studies, and postcolonial and postdevelopment studies, this was followed in Chapter Five by a consideration of how the subsequent procedural vulnerability magnified the consequences of Morakot for Wutai Rukai. This consideration of procedural vulnerability post-Morakot is part of a greater emergence of literature regarding the anthropologies and geographies of disasters and risk. Finally, Chapter Six synthesised the previous chapters to engage more deeply with the impact of expert-centred disaster discourses.

Insights and implications

The implication of this study is that so-called natural disasters should never be conceptualised or responded to as singular, isolated occurrences. Disasters are not natural; they may have a natural trigger as highlighted by Pelling (2001), but their origins lie in historical circumstances. They are always embedded in complex social histories and geographies that greatly determine the nature of the disaster event and subsequent recovery and reconstruction and the extent to which opportunities to redress past injustices are realised. The privileging of technical experts and expert discourses by the key institutions of post-disaster recovery risks marginalising local expertise, knowledges and values. For Indigenous peoples the risk is that already manifest conditions of colonisation, marginalisation and loss of autonomy are reinforced by disaster reconstruction that is deep colonising in its operations and affect. Rather than successfully building back better, as the dominant discourse in Taiwan advocated, it further reinforces existing patterns of procedural, cultural and material vulnerability. Yet, it can be difficult to offer a critique of colonising features "without calling into question the whole decolonising project" (Rose, 1996, p. 6), even more so when disaster recovery and reconstruction projects are not necessarily framed in terms of projects with intent to decolonise, yet their stated aims of sustainability, building back "better" and reducing the dependence of affected peoples on external institutions for assistance consequently make them so by definition if not in actuality.

As noted by Faas and Barrios (2015, p. 289):

disasters are not natural and ...human actions and policies enhance the materially destructive and socially disruptive capacities of geophysical phenomena. Moreover, once identified through ethnographic, geographic, historical, and sociological methodologies, these practices could be subject to reflection, critique, and change, potentially leading to effective mitigation of disaster and a changing climate before a catastrophic event manifests.

This is hardly a new insight, but the thesis draws the argument into the unethical disconnect that exists between (not just) social science research and professional practice in disaster risk reduction and management. It identified the tensions between state and dominant society discourses about recovery and reconstruction and peoples'

experiences of trauma, loss and healing. There is an ethical obligation to doing research that contributes to opportunities for reflection, critique and change. Such research can potentially overcome the disconnect between research and professional practice.

Beyond the specific context of post-Morakot recovery and reconstruction in Taiwan, this research illustrates that the culturally, historically, and politically charged nature of institutional contexts and the procedural vulnerability it produces for Indigenous groups affected by disasters are components of the risk landscape. These components must be identified and explored, not just as an interesting research topic but also in very practical terms within the discourses and practices of technical (and specialist, e.g. health, community development) expertise. It is only in this way that effective disaster responses which are respectful of Indigenous cultural values, social aspirations, political processes, and social-ecological relations may be developed. This insight, however, confronts the paradoxes of both disaster and development studies, and illustrates how post-disaster responses must be understood as part of what has been referred to by Li (2007) as “the will to improve”. Li (2005, p. 283) also argues that:

...vast schemes to improve the human condition continue to be designed and implemented, but Rather than etch their visions of improvement on the landscape by constructing orderly cities, forest, farms, and resettlement sites, these schemes work on and through the practices and desires of their target populations. Their proponents are not only the state apparatus but also an array of authorities, including the so-called nongovernment organizations (NGOs). They operate across multiple spatial scales.

Attempts to improve landscapes and livelihoods through and by the good intentions of experts (as the state apparatus, NGOs and other authorities across various scales) have a historical basis that is often not easily perceptible due to the urgency required in post-disaster settings. An uncomfortable parallel may be drawn between the colonial civilising missions in Indigenous areas and the building back better notion within post-disaster reconstruction, in the sense that both deny Indigenous autonomy, knowledges, expertise and aspirations. Reflecting on this highlights the necessity for drawing upon postcolonial, post-development, and even post-human approaches to issues of vulnerability, resilience and recovery in disaster studies and practice.

Reflections on research design and process

Conceptually and methodologically, the idea of speaking truth to power was key in framing and shaping this research. Challenging the researcher-as-expert was an essential aspect of ethically addressing issues of representation in research. Due to the iterative approach taken in this study, the time that was spent at NDHU as part of the cotutelle agreement, enhanced the research design and process of this thesis. In Chapter Three, the principles of Indigenous, as well as postcolonial and decolonising methodologies were highlighted as part of a means to develop suitable approaches as a non-Indigenous researcher. Weaving together the various issues discussed in that chapter, of engagement, translation, interpretation and writing, made it possible to better understand the significant roles that reflexive positionality and interpersonal relationships play in processes of meaning, knowing, and becoming.

While the timeframe of a PhD means that there must be a beginning and end to both process and product, the nature of this iterative approach to research meant that it was difficult to decide when to stop researching, and corresponds to how there is no actual endpoint to recovery or reconstruction. Taking such an approach foregrounded the finite timeline of the Morakot Post-Disaster Reconstruction Council (MPDRC) and how the dominant perception among disaster experts of there being a clear, determinable end to recovery framed the reconstruction process. The incorporation of the Veritable Record into the reported record of the MPDRC and into the NSTM exhibit (as introduced in the Preface and further unpacked in Chapter Six), along with the memorialising of compassionate relief and love in the Tzu Chi exhibition— as well as the iterative processes of community building (in both hard and soft terms) in places like Rinari and Changzhi Baihe—make such finite endpoints somehow transient and imaginary, transitions of convenience rather than reality. Successful disaster responses must begin by broadening the scope of what is considered a disaster response. An iterative, reflective approach disrupts the Preparation–Response–Recovery of the DRM cycle (Figure 7), not by simply focusing on the Mitigation aspect of the cycle, but in ways that are contingent and which confront the localness of culture, self-determination and the colonising effects of misguided good intentions in key institutions of post-disaster recovery.

Revisiting the research questions

In Chapter One, four questions were posed as the focus for the research reported in this thesis. It is appropriate to return briefly to those questions and consider how the thesis has addressed them.

The first question asked how Indigenous rights, cultural values and material interests are understood, acknowledged and addressed in disaster settings. The evidence presented here suggests that even though the key elements of the disaster recovery systems in place in Taiwan are well-intentioned, the expert discourses and practices they invoke are far from expert in the particularities and specificities of Indigenous peoples' experiences. As a result, Indigenous rights, cultural values and material interests are often misunderstood, poorly protected, significantly compromised and misrepresented in the context of disaster responses in Taiwan. Given the relative novelty of Indigenous-specific research in disaster recovery, it is likely that the Wutai Rukai experiences reported here have much in common not just with the experiences of other Indigenous peoples in Taiwan but more widely as well.

The second question posed led the research to pursue a strategy of "studying up" into how state and non-state agencies are mobilised in response to disaster events, to better understand how they respond to Indigenous polities and cultures. It proved impossible to undertake anything like organisational ethnography inside the agencies or institutions, although there was certainly generous cooperation and thoughtful interviews forthcoming from some quarters. It is fair to say that the research has not revealed a nuanced or responsive engagement with Indigenous issues in the post-Morakot setting by these agencies. Rather, the focus has been on conventional benchmarks of recovery – resettlement figures, infrastructure replacement and delivery of reportable outcomes. Regardless of their intentions, the institutions considered here have been implicated in the process of deep colonising that pre-dates and persists beyond the disaster event and its subsequent recovery and reconstruction processes.

The third question required consideration of the ways that pre-existing dimensions of Indigenous experiences of empowerment (and disempowerment) played out in post-disaster settings. The evidence drawn together in the thesis clearly indicates that pre-disaster conditions of colonisation, marginalisation and disadvantage affecting Wutai Rukai people had very substantial impacts on the ways they experienced and responded to Typhoon Morakot , and the subsequent recovery and reconstruction processes. This thesis has argued that this is a significant finding, and that the pre-disaster conditions of Indigenous peoples are central to understanding their experiences of disasters, recovery and reconstruction.

Finally, the research sought to investigate how Indigenous futures are implicated, constrained and determined in the ways that disaster management is both imagined and practiced in the dominant cultures of disaster responses. In the Taiwanese context of this research, where colonial history often imagines Japan rather than contemporary Han Chinese polities as the coloniser, disaster reconstruction has been an important national project. Indeed, in the work of Tzu Chi as an icon of Taiwanese compassion, it has been complexly stirred and bound into the ambivalences of Taiwanese identities. The national capacity to respond and recover is, of course, noteworthy in an environment that has been recognised as subjected to multiple hazards. For Indigenous populations in Taiwan, however, there are additional existing ambiguities that characterise national policy and performance in the recognition and protection of Indigenous rights and autonomy. These ambiguities mean that disaster response and recovery risk further entrenching Indigenous futures which maintain the disruption of their connections to one another, to their customary territories and domains, and their relationships to the wider world and the cosmos that underpin their ethno-linguistic identities as distinct groups. In other words, through processes of relocation, resettlement and dislocation, disaster management creates a new risk landscape for Indigenous groups in which the future is already deeply colonised.

Further steps

The thesis opens up a range of possibilities for both future research and future practice – both personally for the researcher, and more generally for applied scholarship and locally engaged research and action. Given the continuing discussion of Indigenous sovereignty both in Taiwan and in international spaces, issues of Indigenous autonomy and governance as they are complicated by resettlement in a changing climate are ever more relevant. In particular, the difference between local governance and local government in Indigenous settings as explored in Chapter Four, and the strong connection with self-determination, is an important issue which is raised but not resolved in the thesis. Questions regarding leadership and responsibility explored so painfully in “Going (Back) Home” require quite a different research approach than developed here.

There has been some work focussing on how vulnerability, resilience and development discourses are conceptualised, negotiated and implemented in the context of climate change (Cannon & Müller-Mahn, 2010; Miller et al., 2010). In light of this existing research, the thesis raises more theoretical questions about where the interface with local communities is positioned, in addition to the conceptual and technical tools and guiding principles for respect and understanding of and effective engagement with affected peoples, so that they participate in determining their own lives, values and aspirations. Such questions relate to Howitt’s (2003) discussion of major development projects, which argues that local non-specialist expert participation is “fundamental to managing impacts (negative and positive) and achieving sustainable, beneficial outcomes at all scales” (p. 27), and responds in part to the criticisms that have been levelled at development regarding representation and accountability.

The confronting internal questions for aid agencies such as Tzu Chi, Red Cross and World Vision, who played such substantial roles in the post-Morakot setting, warrant deeper engagement than could be achieved through this research. Given the connections between disaster recovery and development, enduring questions of NGO accountability (Kilby, 2006; Ebrahim, 2005) need even more so to be addressed, where “short-term ‘functional’ accountability responses [are privileged] at the expense of

longer-term ‘strategic’ processes necessary for lasting social and political change” (Ebrahim, 2003, p. 813). Lines and mechanisms of downward accountability contribute to ensuring issues of local and cultural autonomy are not jettisoned, in order to not prolong the disaster. Within the chaos of disasters, key considerations that might provide an ethical compass for engagement with and effective response to affected peoples are, ultimately, of reflective practice through generative power and love. In the implementation of change, if lacking recognition that “we and others are interdependent, [results] will at best be insensitive and at worst, oppressive” (power without love); if interdependence is realised but we act in a way that “hobbles our own or others’ growth, the result will be at best be ineffectual and at worst, deceitfully reinforcing of the status quo” (love without power) (Kahane, 2010, pp. 7-8).

In realising ways to act, Frye’s (1983) discussion within *In and Out of Harm’s Way: Arrogance and Love* offers characterisations of sight regarding power and love; she delineates an “arrogant eye” and “loving eye”, the former being that which perceives “with reference to themselves and their own interests... and coerces the objects of his perception into satisfying the conditions his perceptions imposes (p. 67). The arrogant perceiver’s mis-definitions of “good” and “healthy” are problematised, where “if one has the cultural and institutional power to make the misdefinition stick, one can turn the whole other person right around to oneself” (Frye, 1983, p. 70). The loving eye is contrary of the arrogant eye:

It is the eye of one who knows that to know the seen, one must consult something other than one’s own will and interests and fears and imagination... The loving eye does not make that object of perception into something edible, does not try to assimilate it, does not reduce it to the size of the seer’s desire, fear and imagination, and hence does not have to simplify. It knows the complexity of the other as something which will forever present new things to be known. (Frye, p. 75)

Although Frye originally envisioned her work as part of the attempt to locate a radical feminist vision, these delineations are applicable to contemplating all kinds of dominant—and dominating—discourse, power and action.

Last words

A fundamental reconceptualisation of the expert and community is required in order to better understand and engage with the capacities and expertise of local people in pre- and post-disaster settings. This thesis has attempted to lead the reader to such an understanding through situating and resituating expert disaster discourses and practices. cursory acknowledgements of difference (whether in terms of locality or whatever and wherever societal cleavages exist) by technocratic-minded disaster experts are insufficient in ensuring the needs of affected peoples are effectively met. The decentring of such expertise and moving towards a contextual reframing is necessary in order to sufficiently attend to the continuing challenges of negotiating and navigating autonomy and presence at diverse scales. Even when institutions do not explicitly state that the intent is to decolonise through their approaches taken, official discourses that talk about empowerment, and better, more sustainable futures establish even stronger links between disasters and development, and make considerations of intent an ethical imperative.

This study has created opportunities to rethink not just post-disaster recovery and reconstruction approaches, but “disaster” more generally. It insists on the need to consider the political and socioeconomic roots of disaster in disaster management and the planning and execution of disaster policies. Yet, the focus cannot be narrowly centred on disaster policies alone. The agenda needs to be expanded to make the connection between policies that prevent people from maintaining cultural practices, relations with land, autonomy in governance—connection to Country. It is through the recognition that such actions are connected to reducing disaster vulnerability that the risk of disasters can be reduced and decolonisation pursued. There may be no identifiable endpoint for reconstruction, but through addressing the complex challenges in more equitable, respectful and empowering partnerships as first step, the lasting implications of trauma and loss in disasters of all kinds may become more visible and thus, addressable, allowing for true healing to begin.

Postscript

In a return to where this thesis started, let us revisit the dedication of this thesis:

For everyone displaced in the wake of Typhoon Morakot

May you always find your way home.

「獻給因為莫拉克颱風而流離的族人：希你永遠能找到回家的路。」

sacebane kudra ngwalai ki takivalrigane ki Morakot si mawvagavagai: ku asidramanenai muswane anitumane si kidringai ku sangwabalriyu ku kadalranane pakela lumamilringi.

The translation of this dedication to be meaningful in Rukai encapsulated the challenges of working within cross/inter-cultural spaces. Focusing on “may you always find your way home”, my English dedication first had to be translated into Chinese: 希你永遠能找到回家的路. Next, translation into Rukai required the assistance of someone with a firm enough grasp of English for an interpretation that could be close to the original message. The Chinese-Rukai translation was originally returned to me in the two alternate renditions shown here:

1 *ku asidramanenai muswane anitumane si kidringai ku sangwabalriyu ku kadalranane (pakela)lumamilringi*

那個 我們所期待 你的 能夠 找到 那個 回家 的 路(路徑) (直到)永遠

2 *anikidringai ku sangwabalriyu ku kadalranane (kela)lumamilringi*

希望能找到 那個 回家 的 路(路徑) (到)永遠

The English (back) translations are my own:

ku asidramanenai muswane, anitumane si kidringai ku sangwabalriyu ku kadalranane (pakela)lumamilringi

那個 我們所期待 你的 能夠 找到 那個 回家 的 路(路徑) (直到)永遠

that we look forward to your ability to find that returning home road (way to) (until) forever

anikidringai ku sangwabalriyu ku kadalranane (kela)lumamilringi

希望能找到 那個 回家 的 路(路徑) (到)永遠

hopeto be able to find that return home's road (way) (up to) forever

So, the final interpretations read: “That we look forward to your ability to find that returning home road way to until forever” and “Hope to be able find that return home’s road way to up to forever”. This effort might at first glance seem akin to inputting phrases into translation software. However, bearing in mind that the historically oral Wutai Rukai language is presented here in a Romanised form by necessity and that the official language of Taiwan is now Chinese (whereas prior to 1945 Japanese was the official language and compulsory in schools), the endeavour becomes a mini-account which encompasses the manifold complexities of history, translation, representation and being that this thesis attempted to begin to address.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: NSTM Exhibition and “Return to Morakot”

Video clips (1), (2) and (3) were retrieved from the Typhoon Morakot Disaster Rebuilding Complete Record (NSTM & MPDRC, 2015) at:

<http://morakot.nstm.gov.tw/index.php?slot=4&page=2>

(1) NSTM_MorakotExhibitIntro:

http://morakot.nstm.gov.tw/images/uploads/03_90S%20CF0220140904.mp4

(2) NSTM_MorakotExhibit_ImmersiveTheatre_1:

<http://morakot.nstm.gov.tw/images/uploads/Chinerse-English20140904.mp4>

(3) NSTM_MorakotExhibit_ImmersiveTheatre_2:

<http://morakot.nstm.gov.tw/images/uploads/0802-E1-1.mov20140904.mp4>

(4) 20141024_NSTM-Return toMorakot:

My own video-recording of the immersion experience [24 Oct 2014]

All video clips are available on the CD provided.

Appendix 2: Ethics approval



MACQUARIE
University

MINNA HSU <minna.hsu@students.mq.edu.au>

Approved- Ethics application- Howitt (Ref No: 5201200804)

1 message

Ethics Secretariat <ethics.secretariat@mq.edu.au>

Mon, Nov 5, 2012 at 3:32 PM

To: Prof Richie Howitt <richie.howitt@mq.edu.au>

Cc: Dr Sandie Suchet-Pearson <sandie.suchet@mq.edu.au>, Dr Frank Thomalla <frank.thomalla@mq.edu.au>, Ms Minna Hsu <minna.hsu@students.mq.edu.au>

Dear Prof Howitt

Re: "Rebuilding Post-Disaster Community: Relocation, Reconstruction and the Wutai Rukai in Taiwan" (Ethics Ref: 5201200804)

Thank you for your recent correspondence. Your response has addressed the issues raised by the Human Research Ethics Committee and you may now commence your research.

This research meets the requirements of the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007). The National Statement is available at the following web site:

http://www.nhmrc.gov.au/_files_nhmrc/publications/attachments/e72.pdf.

The following personnel are authorised to conduct this research:

Chun-Chieh Chi
Dr Frank Thomalla
Dr Sandie Suchet-Pearson
Ms Minna Hsu
Prof Richie Howitt

NB. STUDENTS: IT IS YOUR RESPONSIBILITY TO KEEP A COPY OF THIS APPROVAL EMAIL TO SUBMIT WITH YOUR THESIS.

Please note the following standard requirements of approval:

1. The approval of this project is conditional upon your continuing compliance with the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007).
2. Approval will be for a period of five (5) years subject to the provision of annual reports.

Progress Report 1 Due: 05 November 2013
Progress Report 2 Due: 05 November 2014
Progress Report 3 Due: 05 November 2015
Progress Report 4 Due: 05 November 2016
Final Report Due: 05 November 2017

NB. If you complete the work earlier than you had planned you must submit a Final Report as soon as the work is completed. If the project has been discontinued or not commenced for any reason, you are also required to submit a Final Report for the project.

Progress reports and Final Reports are available at the following website:

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

3. If the project has run for more than five (5) years you cannot renew approval for the project. You will need to complete and submit a Final Report and submit a new application for the project. (The five year limit on renewal of approvals allows the Committee to fully re-review research in

<https://mail.google.com/mail/u/2/?ui=2&ik=6ed891599d&view=pt&q=5201200804&qs=true&search=query&th=13aced7dee4d72ac&siml=13aced7dee4d72ac> 1/2

an environment where legislation, guidelines and requirements are continually changing, for example, new child protection and privacy laws).

4. All amendments to the project must be reviewed and approved by the Committee before implementation. Please complete and submit a Request for Amendment Form available at the following website:

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

5. Please notify the Committee immediately in the event of any adverse effects on participants or of any unforeseen events that affect the continued ethical acceptability of the project.

6. At all times you are responsible for the ethical conduct of your research in accordance with the guidelines established by the University. This information is available at the following websites:

<http://www.mq.edu.au/policy/>

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

If you will be applying for or have applied for internal or external funding for the above project it is your responsibility to provide the Macquarie University's Research Grants Management Assistant with a copy of this email as soon as possible. Internal and External funding agencies will not be informed that you have final approval for your project and funds will not be released until the Research Grants Management Assistant has received a copy of this email.

Please retain a copy of this email as this is your official notification of final ethics approval.

Yours sincerely
Dr Karolyn White
Director of Research Ethics
Chair, Human Research Ethics Committee

Amendment request: Ethics Application (Ref No 520100804-Howitt)

Ethics Secretariat <ethics.secretariat@mq.edu.au>

Mon, Apr 15, 2013 at 9:41 AM

To: Richie Howitt <richie.howitt@mq.edu.au>

Cc: Minna Hsu <minna.hsu@mq.edu.au>, Fiona Miller <fiona.miller@mq.edu.au>, Frank Thomalla <frank.thomalla@mq.edu.au>, Chun Chieh Chi <jjjih@mail.ndhu.edu.tw>

Dear Richie

Thank you for your email and amendment request. The following amendment has been approved:

1. The addition of Dr Fiona Miller to the supervisory team for the project.
2. The removal from Dr Frank Thomalla from the supervisory team for the project.

Richie, if data collection is ongoing (and for our records), please update the information and consent forms to reflect this change in the supervisory team.

Kind regards

Fran

[Quoted text hidden]

—

Office of the Deputy Vice Chancellor (Research)

Ethics Secretariat

Research Office
Level 3, Research HUB, Building C5C
Macquarie University
NSW 2109

Ph: +61 2 9850 6848

Fax: +61 2 9850 4465

Email: ethics.secretariat@mq.edu.au

Office of the Deputy Vice-Chancellor
(Research)

Research Office
Research Hub, Building C5C East
Macquarie University
NSW 2109 Australia
T: +61 (2) 9850 4459
<http://www.research.mq.edu.au/>
ABN 90 952 801 237



22 July 2016

Professor Richard Howitt
Department of Geography and Planning
Faculty of Arts
Macquarie University
NSW 2077

Dear Professor Howitt

Reference No: 5201200804

Title: *Rebuilding Post-Disaster Community: Relocation, Reconstruction and the Wutai Rukai in Taiwan*

This letter is to confirm that the ethics application cited above met the requirements set out in the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research* (2007 – Updated May 2015) (the *National Statement*).

The application received approval from the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee on 5 November 2012.

The above project was conducted by Ms Minna Hsu, PhD candidate, under the supervision of Professor Richard Howitt (Macquarie University, Australia) and Professor Chun-chieh Chi (National Dong Hwa University, Taiwan).

Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any questions.

Yours sincerely

Dr Karolyn White
Director, Research Ethics & Integrity
Chair, Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee

This HREC is constituted and operates in accordance with the National Health and Medical Research Council's (NHMRC) *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research* (2007) and the *CPMP/ICH Note for Guidance on Good Clinical Practice*.

From: **Ethics Secretariat** <ethics.secretariat@mq.edu.au>
Date: 25 September 2013 13:17
Subject: Ethics application ref: 5201200804 - Request to add application to Ethics Library
To: Richie Howitt <richie.howitt@mq.edu.au>

Dear Richie

Re: Rebuilding Post-Disaster Community: Relocation, Reconstruction and the Wutai Rukai in Taiwan

The Ethics Secretariat is compiling a library of ethics applications that have been approved outright by the Human Research Ethics Committee (Human Sciences and Humanities) without further amendment or where the applicants have been commended by the Committee for the high quality of the application. The intention is to make these applications available to other researchers

- (i) as examples of high quality applications to assist other researchers in completing their own ethics applications and
- (ii) (ii) to use them for teaching purposes, e.g. at workshops and courses, etc, relating to research ethics.

We would like to invite you to add your application to the library as the Committee commended you for the high quality of your application, specifically for considering the issues raised in A of the Macquarie University Ethics Form (Research involving Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander People) in preparation for completing B (Research to be undertaken outside Australia).

If you are willing to add your application to the library, you can choose whether to allow the whole application or nominated sections to be made available to other researchers or for use in teaching exercises.

Researchers will be able to request a copy of the application or nominated sections of the application, depending on the permission you give, via hard copy or email from the Ethics Secretariat. Similarly the whole application or nominated sections of the application will be used in teaching exercises, depending on the permissions you give.

Please be assured that the application will not be used for any other purpose than to provide an example to assist other researchers and/or to be used in teaching.

If you do give us permission to add your application to the library, you are free to withdraw your permission at any time. Please send us an email indicating that you wish to withdraw your application from the library and we will ensure that this action is taken within five (5) working days.

Please indicate by return email one of the following options:

1. I do not wish to add the application to the library.
2. I am willing to make my application/nominated sections of the application (indicate your preference) available to other researchers only.
3. I am willing to make my application/nominated sections of the application (indicate your preference) available for teaching purposes only.
4. I am willing to make the whole application/nominated sections of the application (indicate your preference) available to other researchers and for teaching purposes.

If you choose to edit your application prior to being added to the library, please remove the information that you are not willing to share and return the edited application to the Ethics Secretariat.

Please send your response to ethics.secretariat@mq.edu.au. Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any questions.

Kind regards

Fran Thorp

Ethics Secretariat
Research Office Level 3, Research Hub, Building C5C East
Macquarie University NSW 2109 Australia
T: [+61 2 9850 6848](tel:+61298506848)
F: [+61 2 9850 4465](tel:+61298504465)
<http://www.mq.edu.au/research>

CRICOS Provider Number 00002J

Please consider the environment before printing this email

This email (including all attachments) is confidential. It may be subject to legal professional privilege and/or protected by copyright. If you receive it in error do not use it or disclose it, notify the sender immediately, delete it from your system and destroy any copies. The University does not guarantee that any email or attachment is secure or free from viruses or other defects. The University is not responsible for emails that are personal or unrelated to the University's functions.

Appendix 3: Information and Consent forms



Ms Minna Hsu
Department of Environment and Geography
Faculty of Science
MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY NSW 2109

Phone: +61 (0)2 9850 4285
Fax: +61 (0)2 9850 9778
Email: minna.hsu@mq.edu.au

Information and Consent Form

Rebuilding Post-Disaster Community: Relocation, Reconstruction and the Wutai Rukai in Taiwan

You are invited to participate in a study that explores relocation and reconstruction in the Wutai Rukai context. This research will examine how institutions shape and are shaped by the effects of post-disaster relocation and reconstruction on community. I am interested in your knowledge of, and opinions on, community structures and cultural resilience, especially in regards to identity.

The study is being conducted by Minna Hsu, Department of Environment and Geography, Macquarie University (minna.hsu@mq.edu.au, tel: +61 2 9850 4285) to meet the requirements of a Doctorate of Philosophy degree under the supervision of Professor Richie Howitt (richie.howitt@mq.edu.au, tel: +61 2 9850 8386), Dr. Fiona Miller (fiona.miller@mq.edu.au, tel: +61 2 9850 8245), Dr. Sandie Suchet-Pearson (sandie.suchet@mq.edu.au, tel: +61 2 9850 8393) of the Department of Environment and Geography at Macquarie University in Australia and Professor Chun-chieh Chi (jjjih@mail.ndhu.edu.tw, tel: +886 (03) 863 0116) of the Department of Ethnic Affairs and Culture at National Dong Hwa University in Taiwan.

If you decide to participate, you will be asked to discuss the research topic in an interview(s) or focus group with Ms Hsu, either in person or by telephone, email, or Skype; share any material you may have that could be of use to the research project; and/or visit any sites/premises you are involved with in your work or as a community member. With your consent, the interviews/discussions will be recorded on digital audio equipment and may be transcribed for detailed analysis. Face-to-face interviews will take place in a setting agreed upon between yourself and the researcher.

Any information or personal details gathered in the course of the study are confidential (except as required by law). No individual will be identified in any publication of the results unless direct permission is obtained. Only Ms. Hsu and her project supervisors will have access to the research data. A summary of the results of the data can be made available to you on request (via letter, email, fax, or telephone).

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary: you are not obliged to participate and if you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without having to give a reason and without consequence.

I, *(participant's name)* have read *(or, where appropriate, have had read to me)* and understand the information above and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this research, knowing that I can withdraw from further participation in the research at any time without consequence. I have been given a copy of this form to keep.

☐ I give permission to record my interview with the researcher(s).

☐ I give consent for photographs of myself taken and used for any reasonable purpose associated with the research including public lectures, presentations, and research publications.

Please note that any proposal for other uses of photographs taken will require specific written consent.

Participant's Name: _____
(Block letters)

Participant's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Investigator's Name: _____
(Block letters)

Investigator's Signature: _____ Date: _____

The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through the Director, Research Ethics (telephone (02) 9850-7854; email ethics@mq.edu.au) or Professor Chun-chieh Chi (jjjih@mail.ndhu.edu.tw, tel: +886 (03) 863-0116) of the Department of Ethnic Affairs and Culture at National Dong Hwa University in Taiwan. Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome.

(INVESTIGATOR'S COPY /PARTICIPANT'S COPY)

徐敏娜

澳洲麥克里大學環境與地理學系

人文地理學 博士生

電話: +61 (0)2 9850 4285

傳真: +61 (0)2 9850 9778

電郵: minna.hsu@mq.edu.au

資訊與同意表

重建災後社區：遷移、重建與台灣霧台魯凱族

我是 Macquarie 大學環境與地理學系博士候選人徐敏娜小姐 (minna.hsu@mq.edu.au)，謹此邀請您來參加討論有關霧台魯凱族遷移與重建的研究；這個研究將探討社區如何受到災後遷移與重建的影響。很想聽聽您對社區結構和文化韌性的寶貴知識和意見，特別是關於文化認同方面。

這個計畫由澳大利亞 Macquarie 大學環境與地理學系 Richie Howitt 教授 (richie.howitt@mq.edu.au, 電話: +61 2 9850 8386)、Fiona Miller 博士 (fiona.miller@mq.edu.au, 電話: +61 2 9850 8425) 與 Sandie Suchet-Pearson 博士 (sandie.suchet@mq.edu.au, 電話: +61 2 9850 8393)，以及台灣國立東華大學族群關係與文化學系紀駿傑教授 (jjih@mail.ndhu.edu.tw, 電話: +886 (03) 863 0116) 所指導。

若您願意接受此計畫參與的邀請，徐小姐將親自與您會面，或利用電話、電郵、Skype 的方式，與您單獨或小組方式討論研究主題，藉此分享與此研究計畫相關的資訊。經由您的同意，這些面談和討論將被錄音記錄，並且轉換成詳細的文字。面對面的會談需經由您和研究者雙方的同意進行。

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1. (參與者姓名) 已閱讀這封信件，或在特殊情況下已向我闡述告知並了解上述資訊，並且我的任何疑慮都將獲得滿意的回答。我同意參與這項研究計畫，並且知道任何時間我可以退出此計畫，不負擔任何後果。我可以擁有這封同意書的一個副本。

☐ 我允許我與研究者的面談進行錄音。

☐ 我同意在研究計畫相關的目的下，使用我的相片，包括公開的演講、報告、以及研究刊物。

請注意，相片用在任何其他場合皆必須先取得我的同意。

參與者姓名：

(請用黑色筆)

參與者簽名：_____ 日期：_____

研究者姓名：

(請用黑色筆)

研究者簽名：_____ 日期：_____

有關這項研究計畫的倫理相關事務已由 Macquarie 大學倫理事務委員會通過。若您對參與這項研究計畫有任何倫理方面的不認同或持有保留態度，請與此委員會的倫理研究主任（電話：+61 2 9850 7854，電郵：ethics@mq.edu.au）或台灣國立東華大學族群關係與文化學系的紀駿傑教授（jjjh@mail.ndhu.edu.tw，電話：+886 (03) 863 0116）聯繫。您所有的不滿都不會被公開且將受到研究團隊充分的研討，最後結果也會告知您。

[參與者/研究者副本]



Ms Minna Hsu
Department of Environment and Geography
Faculty of Science
MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY NSW 2109

Phone: +61 (0)2 9850 4285
Fax: +61 (0)2 9850 9778
Email: minna.hsu@mq.edu.au

Participant Information Form

Rebuilding Post-Disaster Community: Relocation, Reconstruction and the Wutai Rukai in Taiwan

You have consented to participate in a study that explores relocation and reconstruction in the Wutai Rukai context. This research will examine how institutions shape and are shaped by the effects of post-disaster relocation and reconstruction on community. I am interested in your knowledge of, and opinions on, community structures and cultural resilience, especially in regards to identity.

The study is being conducted by Minna Hsu, Department of Environment and Geography, Macquarie University (minna.hsu@mq.edu.au, tel: +61 2 9850 4285) to meet the requirements of a Doctorate of Philosophy degree under the supervision of Professor Richie Howitt (richie.howitt@mq.edu.au, tel: +61 2 9850 8386), Dr. Fiona Miller (fiona.miller@mq.edu.au, tel: + 61 2 9850 8245), Dr. Sandie Suchet-Pearson (sandie.suchet@mq.edu.au, tel: +61 2 9850 8393) of the Department of Environment and Geography at Macquarie University in Australia and Professor Chun-chieh Chi (jjjih@mail.ndhu.edu.tw, tel: +886 (03) 863 0116) of the Department of Ethnic Affairs and Culture at National Dong Hwa University in Taiwan.

You will be asked to discuss the research topic in an interview(s) or focus group with Ms Hsu, either in person or by telephone, email, or Skype; share any material you may have that could be of use to the research project; and/or visit any sites/premises you are involved with in your work or as a community member. With your consent, the interviews/discussions will be recorded on digital audio equipment and may be transcribed for detailed analysis. Face-to-face interviews will take place in a setting agreed upon between yourself and the researcher. Photographs of yourself, your home, and your community and/or workplace may be taken with your consent. Photographs taken in association with your participation in this research may be used in situations related to the research including public lectures, presentations, and research publications.

Any information or personal details gathered in the course of the study are confidential (except as required by law). No individual will be identified in any publication of the results unless direct permission is obtained. Only Ms. Hsu and her project supervisors will have access to the research data. A summary of the results of the data can be made available to you on request (via letter, email, fax, or telephone).

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary: you are not obliged to participate and if you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without having to give a reason and without consequence.

The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through the Director, Research Ethics (ethics@mq.edu.au, tel: +61 2 9850-7854) or Professor Chun-chieh Chi (jjjih@mail.ndhu.edu.tw, tel: +886 (03) 863-0116) of the Department of Ethnic Affairs and Culture at National DongHwa University in Taiwan. Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome.

徐敏娜

澳洲麥克里大學環境與地理學系
人文地理學 博士生

電話: +61 (0)2 9850 4285

傳真: +61 (0)2 9850 9778

電郵: minna.hsu@mq.edu.au

資訊表

重建災後社區：遷移、重建與台灣霧台魯凱族

我是澳洲麥克里（Macquarie）大學環境與地理學系博士候選人徐敏娜小姐（minna.hsu@mq.edu.au），感謝您已同意參加討論有關霧台魯凱族遷移與重建的研究；這個研究將探討社區如何受到災後遷移與重建的影響。很想聽聽您對社區結構和文化韌性的寶貴知識和意見，特別是關於文化認同方面。

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