

***Tayal* Time, Space and
Territory:
Rethinking Scale, Property and Taiwan**

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Department of Geography and Planning
Macquarie University
December 2018

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This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of yutas Payal Hetay (1937 - 2018)

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Abstract

This dissertation addresses Indigenous property rights and experiences of dispossession and recovery in Taiwan. Drawing on geographical fieldwork with *Tayal* people, an Indigenous group living in northern Taiwan, it engages with Indigenous experiences of and responses to a settlers-sanctioned logic of possession and the hegemonic geographical imaginaries imposed by multiple colonizations. The dissertation first examines *Tayal* ontological understandings of 'possession'. It then discusses the inconsistent ontological understandings of 'property' and 'possession' between *Tayal* people and the State that underpin *Tayal* people's dispossession. Drawing on this analysis and using examples from *Tayal* territory in northern Taiwan, the dissertation argues that the current property system, which was enacted through colonial geographical expansions, requires careful reconsideration. The dissertation offers a re-reading of Taiwanese geopolitics that re-places Indigenous, in this case *Tayal*, perspectives rather than colonizing narratives, as central to understanding Taiwan's past-present-futures.

Keywords: Taiwan, property, Indigenous geographies, space-time, *Tayal* people

Statement of Originality

This work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself.

Date: 12/12/2018

Yi-shiuan Chen

Acknowledgement

December 2018 marks the three-year milestone of me coming to Macquarie University for doctoral study. This has been the best journey I could ask for. I am eternally thankful to my supervisors Richie, Sandie and Daya. Thanks for your insights, patience, guidance and so much more. The Department of Geography and Planning has been my home in the past three years. I am very grateful to all the colleagues I have met. Navchaa, Sunita and Zahra, thanks for being my comfort zone during this journey. I am very lucky to have you as friend, mentor and family. Special thanks to Ash and Dauglas, who I shared an office with and literally have been through each other's worst time. Thank you two for being amazing office pals. I thank *Tayal* people and Country, as well as the Wattamattagal clan of the Darug nation, the traditional custodians of the Macquarie University land, for their hospitality. My family – dear husband, mom, brother and sister, have been my biggest support throughout my life. Thanks for your unconditional love. I am very excited to share this achievement with you.

Acronyms and Abbreviations

CCP	Communist Party of China
CIP	Council of Indigenous Peoples
DPP	Democratic Progressive Party
IPBL	Indigenous Peoples Basic Law
KMT	Mandarin: Kuomintang; Chinese Nationalist Party
NGO	Non-government organization
PCT	Presbyterian Church in Taiwan
PRC	People's Republic of China
ROC	Republic of China
UN	United Nations
UNDRIP	United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America
VOC	Dutch: Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie; Dutch East India Company

Preface

My journey with *Tayal*¹ Country² started in 2009, when I was a second-year undergraduate student majoring in Ethnology at National Chengchi University, Taipei, Taiwan³. I took a course convened by Dr. Daya (Da-wei Kuan); an Indigenous⁴ *Tayal* scholar who came from Jianshih Township (尖石鄉). Jianshih Township is part of *Tayal* Country and an Indigenous administrative district under current Taiwanese jurisdiction. He was my principal supervisor in the Master of Ethnology program and is now my adjunct supervisor for my PhD program at Macquarie University in Sydney, Australia. I took the unit 'Ethnic Geography' convened by him. During the semester, I started to know Dr. Daya through discussions regarding unit assessments. In that summer, the disastrous Morakot Typhoon took place (see: Hsu, 2016a). The Taiwanese Government's responses regarding affected Indigenous communities was controversial and deeply lacked cultural sensitivity (Hsu, 2016a). Daya decided to engage the broader societal debates. He asked student volunteers to assist in interviewing scholars and recording interviews. I joined that project and interviewed Associate Professor Tibusungu 'e Vayayana (Wang Ming-huey or more widely-known as Tibu) at the Department of Geography, National Taiwan Normal University, Taipei, Taiwan. I remember that during my interview with Tibu I felt totally lost. That was the first time I heard terms such as 'Indigenous Reserved Land (原住民保留地; *yüenchumin paoliuti*)', 'Returning Our Land' movements (還我土地運動; *haiwot'uti Yüntung*) and other relevant terms. I felt I was entering an unknown world, which was far from my experience as a non-Indigenous Han⁵ descendant growing up in Taipei, the capital city. Later that session, Daya ran an excursion to Jianshih Township. The County government planned to build two dams in Jianshih Township. *Tayal* people rallied for anti-dam construction campaigns. Jianshih Township is Daya's hometown. He saw the student excursion as an opportunity to raise public awareness of this issue and contribute to *Tayal* efforts to oppose the dams.

My memory of entering Jianshih Township for the first time is vivid, even now. I remember we got out of the car at nighttime. The surroundings were so dark. I could see only some road lamps and the cement road. But the first thing that came to my mind was: "um, it looks 'normal' as they still have road lamps and a cement road." I think I had expected something more 'primitive' - like mud roads and huts. That was the first time in my life I ever encountered with Indigenous communities. In next day, we participated in a community public hearing to share information and raise local awareness. I

¹ In this dissertation, I italicize all *Tayal* language to avoiding confusion except for *Tayal* peoples' name.

² In Australian Indigenous thinking, the idea of 'Country' comprises complex ideas about relationships and connection. It simultaneously encompasses territorial affiliation, social identification and cosmological orientation (Hsu et al., 2014: 370). Given its significance, I capitalize the Aboriginal English term 'Country' in this dissertation (see Rose, 1996a: 7). I will further discuss implications of using the term 'Country' in this dissertation in Chapter Two.

³ The National Chengchi University was, and to some extent still is, the Party Colleague of the Kuomintang (KMT, literally translates as the Chinese Nationalist Party). It was founded in Nanjing in 1927 and reinstalled in Taipei in 1954, corresponding with the KMT's retreat to Taiwan. This institute meant to educate government employees for the KMT-sanctioned ROC state. The Department of Ethnology was no exception. It used to be called the Department of Frontier Study and was meant to develop potential government employees to govern the ethnic minority in China. After the KMT withdrew to Taiwan, it was hard for the Department to continue their research so the Department decided to make a turn by focusing on Indigenous peoples in Taiwan. The Department is very policy-oriented and practice-driven.

⁴ Following Johnson et al. (2007), I capitalize the terms 'Indigenous' to recognize, affirm and acknowledge Indigenous peoples' sovereignty, autonomy, collective rights and emancipation.

⁵ Building on Brown's definitional discussion (2004), I use the term 'Han' to refer to a broader ethnic group identifying themselves as ethnic Han and having ancestral connections with continental China.

cannot remember the details, but I remember that interacting with *Tayal* people and territory felt like a parallel world - something that was very far away from my previous life experience. People were talking in a language I did not understand. All the local institutions were unfamiliar - there were Presbyterian Churches, Catholic Churches and other churches, Fathers, Pastors and Deacons⁶. People started introducing themselves in terms of their kinship. For example, Dr. Daya was recognized through his father, Dakasi, whose service in the local township office was well-known and respected. I was genuinely shocked by the fact that *Tayal* people know each other whilst in my life experience, people barely know their neighbors in cities. This was a world that had obviously existed for so long, yet, as a person who was living on the same island, I had no awareness or understanding of it. It was a literally parallel world for me.

In my third year of undergraduate study, I took a fieldwork-based unit convened by Dr. Daya. Students read literature regarding *Tayal* people and/or Jianshih Township and went to Jianshih Township for a pilot excursion during the session. Then we went to Jianshih Township for a two-week fieldwork exercise during the summer break. During that fieldwork, the class was divided into three groups. I was in the group whose main task was collecting and recording *Tayal* place names. That task was language-oriented. We interviewed local elders and recorded *Tayal* place names on Google Earth. This undoubtedly led to my increased interest in geography. Of course, I had no knowledge of *Tayal* language back then. Luckily, we had a *Tayal* classmate in our group. Piho is a son of a *Tayal* professor at Yushan Theological College. He was born and raised in *Tayal* culture, social movements and the Church environment. He taught me how to spell *Tayal* language in Roman spelling using the Presbyterian Church's orthography system. He taught me how to refer to a *Tayal* person using their current title (e.g. *mama* for uncle; *yata* for aunt; *yutas* for grandpa; *yaki* for grandma; deacon for people serving in the church; *bokusi* (originated from Japanese) for pastor). He taught me how to act properly in *Tayal* communities. Piho was my very first mentor for *Tayal* cultural fieldwork.

Working with a *Tayal* colleague (Piho) and a *Tayal* supervisor (Daya) made my journey special from the outset. The first thing I noticed was that whenever we started an interview or any communication, it always started with introductions based on kinship. Local *Tayal* people normally recognized us as Dakasi's son's students. Or our interview might start with Piho saying who his father is, and people from the Church would normally know his father, or Piho introduced where he came from and people would make the kinship connection by themselves (e.g. I had a relative married to that community). I still recall thinking at these moments, "Wow, how can you connect with someone who lives so far away?"⁷ The other thing I began to realize was that the way of entering *Tayal* communities matters. I realized that local *Tayal* people were more willing to share with me because my supervisor was Dr. Daya. The affiliation came out naturally. People assumed I am friendlier because I work with a *Tayal* supervisor who fitted into and was familiar with and part of their world.

During our fieldwork, I gradually learnt and familiarized myself with the local context. A deacon at *Piling* Church named Sabi helped us a lot. She served in the local Township office and other public

⁶ Christianity is the major religion among the Indigenous population in Taiwan. As part of the majority Han ethnicity, my own upbringing was largely influenced by Buddhist and Confucian traditions. The importance of Christianity in revitalizing and preserving *Tayal* culture will be denoted in Chapter Six.

⁷ Now I understand I was thinking in a Han-centric way. Viewing *Tayal* territory from Han-centric positionality made me think all *Tayal* communities are far from each other as they are scattered through a mountainous area. But viewing from *Tayal*-centric positionality, all *Tayal* communities are located in a relation web with each other. I will discuss the concept of '*Tayal*-centric positionality' in Chapter Two and apply it throughout the dissertation.

service. She used to be a village representative. Since she served in public service for so long, she is well informed regarding government policy. She was the first of the local people to know that the County government planned to build dams in Jianshih Township. She had a really strong and well-connected network in Jianshih Township, including Churches, village offices and so on. Basically, anyone above 40 years old in Jianshih Township knew and respected Sabi. She started to organize information sessions regarding planned dam construction across communities. She was very clever and knew the need to work outside of Presbyterian Churches (even though herself served at a Presbyterian Church). She organized information sessions in local Catholic Churches and she also cooperated with a non-government organization, the Society of Wilderness, to reach out for external support.

Sabi has been a very important mentor throughout my journey. Our relationship is very intimate. When I met her, she was about 50-ish. She had also commenced studying at University for her bachelor's degree (she started working after high school). She is so energetic, dedicated and a faithful friend. Indeed, she often felt more like an additional mother for me. She always said I am her daughter whenever local *Tayal* people asked me who I was or when people wondered why a weird, suspicious young Han lady was hanging out in Jianshih so often. After she graduated from her bachelor's degree, she wanted to pursue a higher degree. Eventually she was admitted to the Department of Ethnology, National Chengchi University, and became my colleague. We were so excited when we learnt that she got the admission! But that jumps ahead a little too quickly. Let me return to 2011. After I finished Dr. Daya's internship in July 2011, I completed another unit called 'Research Design and Ethnographical Writing'. Under Dr. Daya's supervision, I and other two colleagues returned to Jianshih for our own research projects. Besides my personal fieldwork in Jianshih, I also started working for Dr. Daya as a Research Assistant. I worked for him until 2015, one month before I came to Macquarie University to commence my PhD program in December 2015.

During my journey with *Tayal* people and territory, one thing completely changed in my own life: my sense of place. When I had just commenced my work in Jianshih, I felt it was a parallel world to my life in Taipei. The two worlds (Jianshih and Taipei) were not related and were isolated from each other. Whenever I travelled to Jianshih, the commute felt so long, as if I was going somewhere far away. Nevertheless, after I visited Jianshih more frequently and stayed longer in the local contexts, I gradually felt that the two worlds merged together. The first thing is that people I met in Jianshih, I would also see them at Taipei. Sabi went to the same institute as me a few years after we met. Another close *Tayal* friend started working in Taipei for Dr. Yih-Ren Lin at Graduate Institute of Humanities in Medicine, Taipei Medical University. The more frequently I travelled; the more I got used to the distance. At some point, I stopped feeling that I was traveling and simply felt that I was going back to somewhere familiar. As this time, I also entered into a relationship with Cinbwanan, a *Tayal* pastor serving in the local Presbyterian Church at Jianshih Township and whom I married in August 2018. After we had been seeing each other for two years, I introduced Cinbwanan to my family in Taipei. Gradually I started feeling that the two worlds (Jianshih and Taipei) merged and turned out to be more interrelated and inclusive of me.

Working with a *Tayal* mentor, Dr. Daya, deeply affected my research interest. Dr. Daya's research is contemporary, political and practical. His work focuses on Indigenous peoples and land policy. My research interest derives from my working experience with him and other *Tayal* mentors. Through the eyes of my *Tayal* mentors, I became conscious, informed and concerned with contemporary issues,

especially Indigenous peoples⁸' land rights and property rights. Indigenous social activists (I interviewed many of them during the second phase of fieldwork for this study) surrounded me throughout my journey. They all helped to inform me about the daily struggles and challenges of Indigenous peoples caught up in government processes and mechanisms that are fundamentally antagonistic to the very existence of Indigenous peoples' persistent assertion of sovereignty, territory and autonomy. I began questioning the very concept of a nation-state as it created a risky illusion of homogeneity, which I do not see my *Tayal* mentors can fit into. This journey directed my research interest towards a practice-oriented focus that concentrates on the historical roots and contemporary geographies of Taiwan's Indigenous polity. For my doctoral project, I decided to investigate *Tayal* people's property rights and land rights as it is the foundation of their purported dispossession.

⁸ I use Indigenous peoples and connections in plural to avoid essential Indigenous peoples' ontologies. It is worthy to note that there are plural understanding of Indigenous peoples' connection with place. This statement is not always applicable to different Indigenous contexts.

1: Introduction

This dissertation addresses Indigenous peoples' property rights and experiences of dispossession and recovery in Taiwan. Drawing on geographical fieldwork with Indigenous *Tayal* people, an Indigenous group with a population of 90,631 as of September 2018 (Council of Indigenous Peoples, 2018/10/11). *Tayal* people dwell in mountainous area (see Figure 1 - 1), northern Taiwan and identified as one of the sixteen nationally recognized Indigenous groups by the Republic of China (ROC)⁹ in Taiwan¹⁰. It engages with *Tayal* peoples' struggles, resistance and responses to a settlers-centric¹¹ discursive and practical construction of 'property' and the hegemonic geographical imaginaries imposed by multiple colonizations. The dissertation begins by examining *Tayal* ontological understandings of 'property'. It then discusses the inconsistent ontological understandings of 'property' between *Tayal* people and the State that underpin *Tayal* people's dispossession. Drawing on this analysis and using examples from *Tayal* Country in northern Taiwan, the dissertation argues that the current property system, which was enacted through colonial geographical expansions, requires careful reconsideration to accommodate the persistent Indigenous presence in Taiwan. The dissertation offers a re-reading of Taiwanese geopolitics that re-replaces Indigenous, in this case *Tayal*, perspectives rather than colonizing narratives, as critical to understanding Taiwan's past-present-futures.

Indigenous people living in Taiwan are Austronesian-speaking people (Bellwood, 2017; Blundell, 2011; Zeitoun, 1998) (see Figure 1 - 1). The critical geopolitical location of Taiwan in East Asia, adjacent to the major powers of China, Korea and Japan has attracted European, Chinese and Japanese settlers since the European Age of Discovery. Conventional historical accounts of Taiwan's geopolitics start with Dutch (1624 - 1662) and Spanish (1626 - 1642) colonies occupying parts of the island of Formosa. They proceed chronologically through the Kingdom of Tungning¹² (1662 - 1683), the Qing Empire (1683 - 1895), a brief Republic of Formosa (1895), the Japanese Empire (1895 - 1945) and the Republic of China (1945 - present) each of which made claims to sovereignty over Formosa and the adjacent islands. Through these colonizing processes, Taiwanese Indigenous peoples' ontological

⁹ Building on Brown's definitional discussion (2004), I use the term 'Chinese government' to refer to the State governing continental China. It includes the Republic of China (ROC) (represented by the nationalist KMT government) before their withdrawal to Taiwan in 1949 and the People's Republic of China (represented by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP)) founded in 1949 as well as its citizens.

¹⁰ The geographical scope of Taiwan in this dissertation follows the definition of the Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895) and is defined including the following islands: the Pescadores group and Formosa, where currently the Republic of China has administrative responsibility. This dissertation was undertaken in Formosa, the main island of Taiwan.

¹¹ Throughout this dissertation, I intentionally use terms such as 'settler', 'colonizer' and 'colonialization' in the plural to avoid over-simplifying and assuming a singular, homogenous colonialist occupation. In Taiwanese settings, colonialism and its legacies have never been singular. Taiwan has attracted European, Japanese and Chinese settlers. Various settlers came to Formosa and adjacent islands, expelling the preceding settlers and expanding their colonies. The geographical expansion of colonialism in Taiwan thus gradually accumulated through different colonizers (will be discussed in detail in Chapter Seven). Therefore, in using the term settlers-centric rather than the more common settler-centric, I hope to provide a constant reminder of this complex colonial history and refer not simply to the Japanese colonial period but simultaneously evoke earlier European and Chinese presences and the post-Japanese occupation by the KMT government.

¹² The Mandarin Romanization system adopted in this dissertation is generally the Wade-Giles Romanization as it is conventionally adopted in Taiwan (eg. the Kingdom of Tungning, Hsinchu County, Jhudong Land Office and Kuomingtang). At times, we also use Tongyong Pinyin where it is preferred in common usage (eg. Jianshih Township, Jinping Village and Yufong Village). For the Romanized name of scholars or politicians, I use the Romanization these figures generally choose themselves.

understandings of their own property and autonomy in their traditional territories¹³ was fiercely challenged, and the notion of property was/is¹⁴ detached from Indigenous peoples' relational nets of self-human-Cosmos connections and turned into the rigid legal term 'property' in present Taiwanese bureaucracy. This regulated form of property became the economic foundation of Taiwan's growth as one of the so-called "Asian tiger economies" (Tang, 1998), of livelihoods and national economic development, while simultaneously and ironically dispossessing Indigenous peoples. This dissertation focuses on the issue of dispossession and Indigenous peoples' property rights. It specifically engages with *Tayal* people, and discusses the traumatic experiences, responses and recovery of *Tayal* people as they encountered/encounter colonizers-endorsed notions and practices of property.

¹³ In Taiwanese settings, the term 'traditional territory' has a long, complicated and politicalized history. This term firstly emerged as a proposition Indigenous groups put forward in the campaigns for 'Returning Our Land' in 1988, 1989 and 1993. These campaigns proclaimed their land rights against the Government's oppressive land policies in Indigenous territories which had been categorized as State-owned forest and/or National Parks (Shih, 2013). It was not until the year 1999 that the term 'traditional territory' was given a legalized definition. Shui-bian Chen, the presidential candidate representing the DPP signed a treaty-like document with representatives of Indigenous peoples during his campaign. The document is called 'A New Partnership Between the Indigenous Peoples and the Government of Taiwan (原住民族和台灣政府新的夥伴關係; yüen chu min tsu han t'ai wan chêng fu hsin tê huò pan kuan his)' and includes seven articles. One article states: "Recovering traditional territories of Indigenous communities and Peoples." Chen won the election in 2000 and in the same year, he reaffirmed the New Partnership in a ceremony with Indigenous representatives after his official service as the President of the ROC. The Indigenous Peoples Basic Law (IPBL) passed by the Legislative Yuan, the ROC in 2005, and defined "Indigenous land: refers to the traditional territories and reservation land of indigenous peoples." In February 2017, Taiwan's Council of Indigenous Peoples announced the *Regulations for Mapping Indigenous Land or Community Area* to fulfill a political commitment by the current government to deliver legal outcomes anticipated in the IPBL. Nevertheless, the Regulation is deeply controversial and will be discussed in Chapter Five.

¹⁴ I use this awkward verb form here and throughout the dissertation to ensure that the presence and dispossession of Indigenous peoples is not understood as being located in some past settings but remains very much part of the ongoing present.



Formosan Languages and Yami

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Adapted from Tsuchida (1983)

Figure 1 - 1 Austronesian-speaking people in Taiwan

This map demonstrates the distribution of Austronesian-speaking people in Taiwan. Tayal people live in central northern Formosa (the red circle). Tayal people were labelled as 'Atayal' in this map because Japanese literatures and scholars referred so. However, Tayal people self-refer to themselves as 'Tayal', meaning 'human'. One of my informants Teru told me 'Atayal' means 'human beings over there'. Nevertheless, the reason for this misnaming remains unknown.

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1.1. Contextualizing keywords: property, scale and Taiwan

My dissertation engages with three keywords in the geopolitical discourses of East Asia: property, scale and Taiwan. Williams in his signature work *Keywords: a vocabulary of culture and society* draws attention to the problematic nature of *vocabulary* (Williams, 1983: 15, emphasis in original). Williams emphasizes the discursive construction of significant terms that have been extensively and frequently cited in various disciplines, and values either the existing and developing meanings of known words or the explicit but as often implicit connections people connect between particular formations of known words' meanings (Williams, 1983: 15). Building on Williams' argument, I conclude that each of these keywords encompasses a set of meanings that connects it to various and contingent social, spatial and cultural contexts (Bennett et al., 2005: xix). Howitt (2002a) discusses issues of language use in resource management – not just terminology, but deeper issues of the relationships between words, meaning and power (Howitt, 2002a: 11):

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. And in the contemporary world of industrial resource management, the invisible generally considered unimportant (Howitt, 2002a: 11; emphasis in original).

It is pivotal to think, understand and see 'keywords' in a radical contextualist framing (Howitt, 2011b) in order to challenge the conceptual building blocks (Howitt and Suchet-Pearson, 2006) that underpin taken-for-granted assumptions imposed by dominant cultures in colonizing settings. Howitt (2011) advocates the reflective methodological foundation of 'radical contextualism' to critically engage and account for geographical knowledge generated in certain contexts and address messy geographical realities in scholarly discussions. To de-privilege academic narratives, bridge thinking and doing, and most vitally, to be reliable and responsive to the ontologically diverse real world (Howitt and Suchet-Pearson (2006: 324), I am acutely conscious about the terminological choices I made in this dissertation. Critically addressing the keywords in their social and cultural contexts situates this dissertation in a specific-temporal-and-spatial scale and cultural-and-geographical-appropriate context¹⁵.

The language and keywords I chose to use around Indigenous peoples' property rights matter. They matter not in the sense of terminological choices, but because of the taken-for-granted presumptions embedded in their usage. Unpacking the ontologically privileged presumptions neutralized in usage of keywords is not simply about defining and/or re-defining. The process of defining and/or re-defining keywords would inevitably turn out to be a process of essentializing keywords without engaging with the privileged ontologies and practices which marginalize, traumatize, dispossess and often render Indigenous societies dysfunctional (Howitt and Suchet-Pearson, 2006: 324). My purpose in emphasizing these keywords is not to define and/or re-define them. On the contrary, I intend to engage and challenge their deeply embedded, yet often omitted predominance (Howitt, 2018). In this dissertation, I intend to unsettle the taken-for- grantedness underlying three keywords: property, scale and Taiwan.

¹⁵ I further discuss how the concept of 'radical contextualism' applies to the dissertation's conceptual foundations and methodological reflections in Chapter Two.

1.1.1. Property

This dissertation engages with *Tayal* people and their property right as well as its implications for broader debates in Indigenous geographies. To prepare for following discussion, I define the keyword 'property' as a process of abstraction that conceptualized/ing primary resources into personal, communal, customary, state-approved, and various publicly recognized belongings. The keyword 'property' is critically discussed in great detail in Chapters Three, Four and Five. However, to better guide readers through *Tayal*-centric contexts, I brief how the notion of property is customarily developed and maintained in *Tayal* agricultural practice. *Tayal* people customarily practice shifting cultivation. The process of shifting cultivation commences with chopping down trees and burning the prepared field. After the preparation, *Tayal* people begin setting stones along the fields to identify boundaries. The arranged stones also signify ownership to other *Tayal* people. Once other *Tayal* people see arranged stones, they are aware that field is owned by a *Tayal* person and will respect the boundaries. *Tayal* people reside in steeply sloping mountainous areas, so *Tayal* people also stack stones to manage the terrain and form level fields. *Tayal* people shift fields every seven or eight years once it becomes less fertile. The field owner will grow alder tree before fallowing the field. The field owner maintains their rights over fallowed fields amongst communities. The trees grown in fallowed fields could be used as construction materials or firewood (Chen, 2015).

The traditional patterns of shifting between locations across *Tayal* agricultural patterns plays an important role in establishing *Tayal* customary land interest¹⁶. However, *Tayal* people's ontological understanding of property, including the temporality and spatiality embedded within, was contested when they encountered colonizers. *Tayal* people in the northern mountainous area of Formosa remained largely autonomous and undisturbed by settlers compared to Indigenous groups whose homelands lay in the western belt and northern coast of Formosa, where the Dutch and Spanish settlers first landed in the seventeenth century. It was not until the nineteenth century that rapidly growing demand for Formosan camphor drove Chinese settlers starting to risk intruding into *Tayal* Country to collect naturally grown camphor trees (Lin, 1997; Tavares, 2004)¹⁷. When Japan took over Formosa in 1895, they declared all forests, where *Tayal* people and other Indigenous groups dwell, as State-owned property, except for those Chinese settlers had deeds issued by the Qing court (Li, 2001). This proclamation underpinned the Japanese colonial government's camphor monopoly (Durham, 1932). The ROC government occupied Formosa from 1945 and further transformed the land title system in Taiwan by adopting a title system modeled on the Australian Torrens Title system (Hsu, 2009). Underlying principles of the Torrens title system included the registration of every land title to a single owner; title by registration and indefeasible title with registry¹⁸. This rendered *Tayal* ontological understandings of property and communal land interest unrecognizable¹⁹. Even though *Tayal* people could seek to have land interests registered under the new system, *Tayal* understandings of mobility and continuity across space and time were disrupted by the ROC insistence of registering just one title to *Tayal* individual ownership and refusing recognition of customary land interests under the registry-oriented policies²⁰. *Tayal* people's views of property, as well as their property rights systems, were utterly absent from the colonizing and hegemonic construction of 'property' by the

¹⁶ *Tayal* customary land interests are further discussed in Chapters Four and Five.

¹⁷ The *Tayal* experience of interacting with colonizers in the pre-1895 period is discussed in detail in Chapter Seven.

¹⁸ This new land title system is the focus of Chapter Three.

¹⁹ How the post-1945 land title system failed/fails to recognize communal land interests is also discussed in Chapter Three.

²⁰ The inconsistent understandings of property among *Tayal* people and settlers is addressed in Chapter Five.

ROC legal system. This dissertation explores the ways in which property, land, law and culture have been conceptualized in divergent ways by elements of the Taiwanese polity and the implications of this for Indigenous campaigns for reconciliation and rights.

1.1.2. Scale

Scale is one of the foundational concepts of the discipline of geography. There have long been vibrant discussions around rethinking 'scale' in academia. In Anthropology, for example, Berreman (1978) gives a critical overview of the social, cultural, and historical meanings which have been attached to the concept of scale and the implications. In Geography, drawing deeply on the work of political scientist Bertell Ollman (Ollman, 1976; Ollman, 1990), Howitt (1993) proposed a framework that conceptualized geographical scales as dialectically and internally related to the totality of social relations (Howitt, 1993: 33). Ollman (1976) contends Marx's conception of social reality is best approached both relationally and dialectically, dealing with the cluster of qualities and relationships that are ascribed to particular social factors (Ollman, 1976: 13). For Ollman, as for Marx and his philosophical influences including Leibniz, Spinoza, and Hegel, the relations that come together to make up a whole are also expressed and contained in what are taken to be its parts. Each part is seen as encompassing both the whole and its relations with other parts up to and including everything that comes into the whole. (Ollman, 1990: 38).

In developing his relational approach to geographical scale, Howitt recognized that categorical scale labels commonly used to represent geographical scales (e.g. national, regional, local) would entrench particular power relations in temporal and spatial perpetuity. In present-day global geopolitics, the taken-for-granted scales of a nation-state is often seen as the authoritative, legitimate and only possible political entity to exercise rights, to claim and to be recognized (Anderson, 1983; Scott, 1998). This imbues the national scale with a preeminence in economic, political, legal and cultural discourses which overwhelm and often effectively erase pre-national scale constructions. As imperial assemblages succumbed to post-World War II decolonization, nation-states increasingly asserted themselves as the only possible source to enact property, to maintain property and to claim property. Indigenous peoples, whose lives straddle space and time differently to state actors and the citizens they empower or authorize, have always assembled and divided territorial scale differently. They have granted identity, membership and legitimacy in different ways to nation states and state actors. Under the grand narratives of the historical inevitability of a nation-state, Indigenous peoples were/are rendered as invisible, powerless, fragile, fragmented, unimportant and negligible when speaking of political power and rights. In most circumstances, settlers' societies looked/look at Indigenous peoples' homeland and Countries and declared/declare there was/is **no** property just because settlers' legal systems were/are not capable of understanding, or it was/is not in their interest to understand Indigenous peoples' ontologies of property and belonging. In some situations, even if Indigenous peoples' proprietary rights were recognized, they were/are represented as incapable of managing their own property in settlers-centric possessive logic. Hence, settlers justified their actions by arguing they were/are responsibility-bound to 'educate' and 'discipline' Indigenous people to utilize their property 'efficiently' and 'civilly' (Brody, 2000; International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, 2018).

The taken-for-granted scale of the contemporary nation-state is also predicated on a nested hierarchy of scalar labels – local, regional, national, international, global – and tends to constrain Indigenous peoples' matters within a national scale constituted by the very nation states that marginalize them. Even in the signature international non-government organization (NGO) dealing with Indigenous

affairs - the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues under the United Nations (UN) – participation is national-representative-bound. The UN is all about nations - completely based on the privileging of the nation state. The nation-state, therefore, not only acts as the sole source of property, but also acts as the primary authority when speaking of Indigenous peoples' affairs in contemporary political settings. I further engage with the keyword 'scale' in Chapters Six and Seven.

1.1.3. Taiwan

Experiences of dispossession, struggle and healing are shared by Indigenous peoples across various nations and territories. In the matter of Indigenous peoples and colonizer-sanctioned dispossession, the case from Taiwan offers unique insight due to its political status. Taiwan is an awkward geopolitical entity located in the western Pacific. In Taiwanese settings, the three keywords, property, scale and Taiwan, have been used to mobilize spatialized and racialized tropes that boost a settlers-centric discursive construction to legitimate what was taken from Indigenous peoples in the geographical region now called Taiwan. The imagined scale of Taiwan was not built overnight. The purported nation-state scale of Taiwan was explained under grand geopolitical narratives built on the prolonged erasure, denial and subordination of Indigenous peoples dwelling in these islands, and the marginalization of Indigenous peoples remains pervasive yet poorly acknowledged to this day. The proceeding sections serve as background knowledge to tackle the keyword 'Taiwan'. Chapters Three, Four and Seven explore the discursive and material processes which contributes to the construction of the keyword 'Taiwan' in great depth.

In the present day, Taiwan's status as a sovereign nation-state is contested at the geopolitical scale. It retains an ambivalent status since World War II. The geographical region of Taiwan first emerged as an entity in the Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895) following the first Sino-Japanese War (1894 - 1895). As the defeated party, the Qing Empire ceded sovereignty of Formosa and Pescadores island groups to Japan - even though the Qing court did not have sovereignty over the whole territory and barely controlled the territories in its sway in the western belt of Formosa. This geopolitical history will be untangled further in Chapter Seven. Taiwan, including Formosa and Pescadores island groups, became parts of Japanese Empire as a trophy of victorious Japanese Empire in 1895. During Japanese colonialization in Taiwan, the political dynamic of Qing Empire changed. In 1912, the Kuomintang (KMT), which literally translates as the Chinese Nationalist Party, founded the ROC after it overthrew the Qing Empire. The ROC stood with the Allies during the World War II and eventually won it. As the succeeding party of the Qing Empire, the KMT-led ROC government had claimed the sovereignty over territory where Japan allegedly stolen from either the Qing Empire or the ROC since the Meiji Restoration

In 1943, the Cairo conference held by three Allies Powers - the ROC, the USA and the UK – signed off the Cairo Declaration which stated that: "all the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa [Taiwan], and the Pescadores [Penghu Islands], shall be restored to the Republic of China" (Hughes, 1997: 6). The Cairo Declaration has been pivotal to the KMT-led ROC government's assertion of "Taiwan is a part of China" (Hughes, 1997: 6). In the Potsdam Proclamation of July 1945, the Allies undertook to carry out the terms of the Cairo Declaration as one of the conditions for Japanese peace (Jain, 2017: 25).

The Cairo Declaration and the Potsdam Proclamation were made on a condition that there was only one representative of China (Jain, 2017: 26). However, the legal status of Taiwan became uncertain due to the increasingly complicated internal politics of China (Copper, 2008), namely the resumed

Chinese Civil War in 1945. In 1945, the KMT-led ROC government, which was victorious during World War II, went into the resumed and aggravated Chinese Civil War against the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). In 1949, the KMT-led ROC government decided to retreat its main force to Taiwan with a hope to fight back to mainland China in a near future and formed an effective government in exile on Taiwan. After the ROC government's withdrawal to Taiwan, and following establishment of the PRC by the CCP in 1949, a tense standoff formed across the Taiwan Strait.

The KMT regime on Taiwan was contingent on the geopolitical relations that characterized the Cold War. The outbreak of the Cold War (1947 – 1991), and especially the Korean War in 1950, consolidated the KMT's governance of Taiwan. The USA Seventh Fleet was sent to protect the KMT regime and to prevent the territory falling under Communist control and threatening USA navigation in the Taiwan Strait and USA security interests in the west-Pacific region (Hickey, 1994). Even as the KMT-sanctioned ROC withdrew its main force to Taiwan, it still claimed its status as the legitimate representative of 'China' internationally and signed various treaties on behalf of 'China'. To representative the technical status of hostility toward Japan, the Allied Powers concluded the San Francisco Peace Treaty with Japan on 8th September 1951 and it entered into force on 28th April 1952. The San Francisco Peace Treaty made Japan renounce all of its "rights, title and claim" to Taiwan, but did not specify any beneficiary state. The subsequent Treaty of Taipei signed between the ROC and Japan in Taipei on 28th April 1952, and took effect on 5th August 5 the same year, "recognised that under Article 2 of the Treaty of Peace which Japan signed at the city of San Francisco on 8th September 1951 (hereinafter referred to as the San Francisco Treaty), Japan has renounced all right, title, and claim to Taiwan (Formosa) and Penghu (the Pescadores) as well as the Spratley Islands and the Paracel Islands".

According to the San Francisco Peace Treaty and the Treaty of Taipei, Taiwan was legally detached from Japan but was not legally attached to China or any other country (Chen, 1998: 677). No treaty was officially signed for transferring the sovereignty of Taiwan. The KMT regime acquired *de facto* control of the island as a form of military occupation on behalf of the Allied Powers in 1945. In the late 1960s, relations between the USA and the PRC changed course as a result of USA efforts to disengage from Vietnam and an escalation of Sino-Soviet border hostilities. A rapprochement between these two former archenemies was mutually advantageous and was soon on the agendas of both governments. Largely as a result of the thaw in USA-PRC relations, the PRC was admitted to the UN and the ROC was expelled following the *UN General Assembly Resolution 2758* in 1971 (Copper, 2008: 49; United Nations, 1971). The Treaty of Taipei, which was signed between the ROC and Japan, was abrogated unilaterally by the Japanese government on 29th September 1972 as a result of Japan established diplomatic relations with the PRC in the same year.

The ROC rapidly lost its international recognition after its replacement by the PRC in the UN. The ROC cut off its formal diplomatic relations with the USA in 1979. The PRC uses the *UN General Assembly Resolution 2758* to propound its One-China policy²¹. The PRC consistently claims Taiwan as an inseparable part of its imagined pre-1949 territory (see: Harrison, 2001b) and requests that countries

²¹ The One-China policy has various interpretations among the USA, PRC and ROC (Chiang, 2004). The PRC's One-China policy deems Taiwan as an essential part of China and the ultimate goal is the unification of two regimes across the Taiwan Strait. In 1982, the PRC made a constitutional amendment to legalize its One-China policy with a following ratification of the Anti-Secession Law in 2005. In the Preamble of the PRC Constitution, it states: "Taiwan is part of the sacred territory of the People's Republic of China. It is the lofty duty of the entire Chinese people, including our compatriots in Taiwan, to accomplish the great task of reunifying the motherland". The Anti-Secession Law states: "There is only one China in the world. Both the mainland and Taiwan belong to one China. China's sovereignty and territorial integrity brook no division. Safeguarding China's sovereignty and territorial integrity is the common obligation of all Chinese people, the Taiwan compatriots included" (§ 2).

have diplomatic relation which adhere to its One-China policy (Chiang, 2004; Kan, 2007). Despite PRC assertions sovereignty over Taiwan; the PRC has never governed Taiwan. Since 1949 the ROC has functioned in the international community as the governing body of Taiwan - since 1971 as a *de facto* independent state, the year the PRC replaced the ROC as the representatives of 'China' in the UN (Clough, 1993). The current legal status of Taiwan has been subjected to different interpretations among three main stakeholders: The People's Republic of China (PRC) in China, the Republic of China (ROC) in Taiwan and the USA (Lin, 2011) and did not remain static (Gold, 1987).

The legitimacy of the KMT-sanctioned ROC government was not only contested internationally, but also severely challenged internally within Taiwan. On 28th February 1947, a civil uprising against the authoritarian KMT government by unarmed civilians was brutally suppressed. This incident, called the February 28 Incident, marked the commencement of Taiwan's White Terror. The number of dead civilians in this incident remains unknown. Scholars estimated 18,000 to 28,000 civilians were slaughtered by KMT troops in this incident (Republic of China Executive Yuan, 1992). On 19th May 1949, the KMT government imposed martial law on Taiwan. Taiwan was ruled by the KMT under martial law for more than 38 years, which was the longest imposition of martial law by a regime anywhere in the world at that time. During the White Terror period, thousands of civilians went missing, died or were imprisoned. The KMT government was obsessed with imposing authentic 'Chinese-ness' on Taiwan to antagonize the 'counterfeit' PRC. Local languages were banned and ethnic identities were erased (Harrison, 2001a). Civilians were persecuted for promoted self-determination and/or political dissents (Chen, 2008). In the 1980s, with increasing civil protest demanding an end to martial law, the KMT government eventually lifted martial law from Formosa on 15th July 1987 and Kinmen and Matsu Islands on 7th November 1992. Since then, the democratization of Taiwan accelerated. The first direct presidential election of the ninth-term President and Vice-President of the Republic of China was held in 1996. The first peaceful party alternation took place in 2000 as the presidential position was peacefully transferred from the KMT to the major opposition Democratic Progressive Party (DPP). The DPP was defeated in the 2008 and 2012 presidential elections respectively by the KMT. In 2016, the DPP presidential candidate Ing-wen Tsai²² and her running mate Chien-jen Chen won the election.

When President Tsai started her service in office, she fulfilled her campaign commitments proposed a national scheme for transitional justice. The Legislative Yuan passed the Act on Promoting Transitional Justice (促進轉型正義條例; ts'u chin chuan hsing chêng i t'iao li) on 5th December 2017. This Act promotes transitional justice and implements a liberal democratic constitutional order (§1). The corresponding Transitional Justice Commission began operations on 31st May 2018. The Commission plans and implements the following matters (Republic of China Legislative Yuan, 2017):

1. Providing for public access to political archival records.
2. Removing authoritarian²³ symbols and preserving sites where injustices were committed.
3. Redressing judicial wrongs, restoring historical truth, and promoting social reconciliation.
4. Settling and utilizing ill-gotten party assets.
5. Handling other matters pertaining to transitional justice.

²² All the Mandarin names in this dissertation follow the English writing convention. Given name is written ahead family name. Therefore, in this case, Tsai is the family name and Ing-wen is the given name.

²³ This Act defines the period of authoritarian rule as 'the period from 15th August 1945 to 6th November 1992 (§3)'; from the day Imperial Japan surrendered in World War II till martial law was lifted from Kinmen and Matsu Islands on 7th November 1992.

Indigenous peoples' land rights are listed as one of the central tasks under the national agenda of transitional justice. A specialized approach was established under President Tsai's office. On 1st August 2016, President Tsai delivered a National Apology to Indigenous Peoples in Taiwan on 1st August 2016 and according to a Presidential order, the Indigenous Historical Justice and Transitional Justice Committee (Indigenous Justice Committee) was established in March 2017 to rebuild Indigenous historical perspectives. There is a subcommittee on Land Claims under this Committee, which specializes in investigating the historical records to identify how Indigenous people were deprived of their land rights (Presidential Office Indigenous Historical Justice and Transitional Justice Committee, 2017).

Despite the increasingly democratic national polity and increasing recognition of Indigenous peoples in Taiwan, the current political status of Taiwan remains uncertain. Debates proceed as to whether the Chinese Civil War has legally ended (Wright, 2018: 62) and no armistice or peace treaty been signed as of October 2018. The PRC has threatened to annex Taiwan and asserts that matters concerning Taiwan are a 'national' matter of 'China'. The ROC has limited formal legitimacy in international society. Only seventeen sovereign nation-states currently recognize the ROC as the sole and authentic China and have formal diplomatic relations with it. The USA allied with the KMT-led ROC government during the Korean War and has been selling arms to Taiwan since the USA Congress enacted the *Taiwan Relations Act* in 1979. The Mayor of Taipei, the capital city of Taiwan, recently commented regarding the political status of Taiwan: "Taiwan must focus on making itself more valuable to President Donald Trump and accept its status as a pawn in the great power game between the USA and China" (Ellis and Lin, 2018/10/19).

What is presented above is an overview of how the grand geopolitical discourses of nation-states and key geopolitical powers constructed/construct the concept of 'Taiwan' and its past-present-future. In this conventional reading of geopolitics, the presence of Indigenous peoples living in these islands was/is largely ignored and securing the status of a sovereign nation-state has been the only credible foundation to securing property rights on the island of Formosa. Despite the United Nations' adoption of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), its implementation on Taiwan is limited due to the fact neither Taiwan nor the ROC possesses UN membership²⁴. In addition, Indigenous peoples living in Taiwan are certainly not invited to attend the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, not because they are not eligible as marginalized, dispossessed and poorly recognized Indigenous peoples, but because the international forum functions within the constraints of the UN and the dominance of nation-state accreditation. Under the conventional reading of geopolitics, the existence of Indigenous peoples in Taiwan is regarded as trivial and unimportant when speaking of the interplay among key powers. The taken-for-granted scale of 'Taiwan' has been constructed as an imperial property without recognition of Indigenous land rights.

1.1.4. Rethinking keywords

The contemporary dynamic of transitional justice and Indigenous rights in Taiwan reflects a complex history of sovereignty and governance. Indigenous peoples residing in Formosa and adjacent islands have never left their homes yet various colonizers came and purportedly claimed/claim colonies. Under a range of colonizing processes, Taiwanese Indigenous peoples' understandings of property, which integrate relations between peoples, nature and Cosmos, have been undervalued or even

²⁴ The PRC voted in favor of the Declaration while ironically it does not recognize Indigenous people nationally and refers to Indigenous people as an 'ethnic minority.'

omitted. Critically addressing the three keywords ‘property, scale and Taiwan’ at the beginning of this dissertation not only situates this dissertation in context but opens up narrative spaces to carefully rethink the keywords. These three keywords are discussed in-depth throughout the rest of this dissertation. Starting from a discussion of how *Tayal* farmers held title to their fields (discussed in Chapter Three), it becomes clear that the registration of property titles under KMT-controlled processes not only dispossessed many *Tayal* families but also was part of a larger story of dispossession and denial that challenged the customary institutions of *Tayal* life. Similarly, engagement with how customary governance of a common property – water for domestic and agricultural use – is currently exercised (discussed in Chapter Four), draws the dissertation into exploring the foundations of how common property was understood: What were the properties which allowed it to be governed? What were the relationships that allowed governance to be exercised, challenged and adapted? As the dissertation proceeds, the interplay between the keywords discussed above become more complex, and more compelling. Clearly, there is a lot going on in *Tayal* Country that lays foundations for rethinking what each of those keywords can (and should) mean in the evolving politics of democratic Taiwan, the changing dynamics of *Tayal* communities, and the wider geopolitics of East Asia.

1.2. Dissertation aim, questions and argument

It is in the interplay of these three keywords, particularly in the context of *Tayal* experience in negotiating identity, recognition and belonging, that this dissertation is focused. Customary governance of territory, resources, social relations and economic processes, *Tayal* language, identity and social organization, persist in *Tayal* Country, but recognition of customary governance is limited, and its exercise constrained. *Tayal* communities are distinctive within Taiwan, and *Tayal* institutions have shaped and reshaped relations with the wider world. The Presbyterian Church, for example, developed as a distinctively *Tayal* institution in *Tayal* Country, and in communities such as *Smangus* in the high mountain area, distinctive political-economic relationships are emerging that reflect strong *Tayal* identity (Berg, 2013).

This strong and persistent *Tayal* presence makes *Tayal* Country a highly appropriate venue in which to investigate the complex challenges facing both Indigenous groups and the wider, now dominant settler groups across Taiwan in negotiating their places in a rapidly changing world. Whatever wider geopolitical processes put in their path, for *Tayal* people, *Tayal* Country will always be *Tayal* Country. Indeed, this is an inescapable truth for Indigenous groups in many situations – the continuities of relationships between people and Country are foundational. They give rise to a place-based ontology that defines what is possible.

Based on this understanding, this dissertation explores the ontological foundations of contemporary Taiwanese property systems, their implications for Indigenous peoples’ land use and well-being, and governance initiatives that might better support present and future co-existence of Indigenous and colonizer peoples. Drawing on field research with *Tayal* people in *Tayal* Country (Jianshih Township), the dissertation addresses the following questions:

Question One: What are *Tayal* people’s ontological understandings of property?

This question takes a *Tayal*-centric positionality and draws from geographical fieldwork to discuss *Tayal* people’s ontological understandings of property.

Question Two: What underpins hegemonic notions of property in Taiwanese settings?

This question considers the ontological foundations of hegemonic notions of property in Taiwanese settings. For instance, what are the predominant yet taken-for-granted assumptions about temporality and spatiality embedded in Taiwan's current land title system?

Question Three: How does the Taiwanese property rights system impact upon Indigenous peoples in Taiwan?

This question brings *Tayal* ontological understanding of property into dialogue with the hegemonic understandings of property constructed by settlers and tackles the inconsistencies between them.

Drawing on analysis, discussion and response to these three questions, the dissertation argues that the current property system, which was enacted through colonial geographical expansions, requires careful reconsideration. The dissertation offers a re-reading of Taiwanese geopolitics that centers Indigenous *Tayal* perspectives rather than colonizing narratives, as critical to understanding Taiwan's past-present-futures.

1.3. The case study – *Tayal* Country (Jianshih Township)

My approaches to deal with the research design and methodological challenges are addressed in Chapter Two, but first the reader needs to be introduced to *Tayal* Country a little more carefully. As mentioned in the Preface, I have been connected with *Tayal* communities in Jianshih Township since 2009. This region was chosen for my fieldwork not only because of my personal connections, but because the emerging issues in this region are important for inquiring into *Tayal* ontological understanding of property. Jianshih Township is an Indigenous administrative district set up by the ROC government and constituted of seven villages with a population of 9,667 as of October 2018 (Jianshih Township Household Registration Office, 2018) (location see Figure 1 - 2). The main population is *Tayal* people with 83 percent of population identifying as *Tayal* (Lo, 2017: 132). The area is 527.5795 km². The *Tapon* mountain range (peak altitude: 1,914m, location showed in Figure 1 - 2) crossing from northeast to southwest roughly separates Jianshih Township into two river drainage basins. Local *Tayal* people conventionally refer these two watersheds as the front-mountain (前山; ch'ien-shan) and the back-mountain (後山; hou-shan)²⁵ (see the upper right map in Figure 1 - 2). The front-mountain area (altitude: 300-900m) is located in the northern Jianshih Township, where the Touqian River originates. The front-mountain area includes five villages (the red-outlined area in Figure 1 - 2). The back-mountain area (altitude: 1,000-1,600m) is located in the southern Jianshih Township, where the Dahan River originates. The back-mountain area includes two villages (the blue-outlined area in Figure 1 - 2).

²⁵ However, the distinction between the front-mountain and back-mountain areas is more than a topographical difference. It implies a settlers-centric evaluation, which is the focus of Chapter Six.

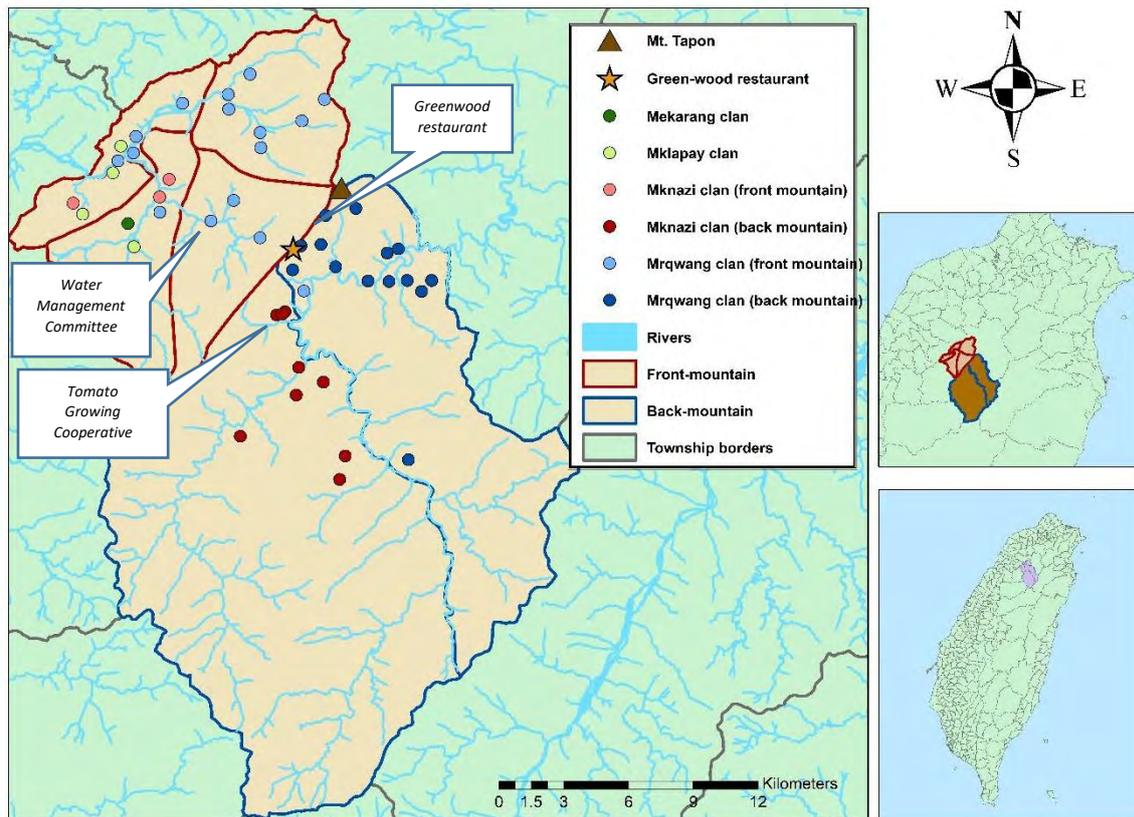


Figure 1 - 2 Locations of Jianshih Township and case studies

Jianshih Township is part of *Tayal* Country and home to several *Tayal* clans. According to *Tayal* people's *Imuhuw* (oral history; a chanting that records their epic migration to find cultivable land), *Tayal* people migrated through the 'flow-ness' of rivers, they built settlements along rivers, founded communities within catchments, and identify themselves by the name of rivers (Kuan, 2009). The research area is home to the *Mknazi* clan, *Mrqwang* clan, *Mklapay* clan and *Mekarang* clan (Figure 1 - 2). Before the Japanese government's intervention in 1895, *Mrqwang* and *Mknazi* clans formed communities in the nowadays back-mountain area. Bordered by the River *Mrqwang*, *Mrqwang* clan lived in the eastern valley while *Mknazi* clan lived in the western valley. When *Mklapay* clan and *Mekarang* clan migrated to the area they formed communities in the nowadays front-mountain area (Mona, 1984: 134-148). Nevertheless, with the Japanese colonial government's intervention after 1895, some *Mrqwang* and *Mknazi* clans were relocated in *Mklapay* and *Mekarang* clans' territory and gradually configured the area currently referred to as the front-mountain area (Hsiao, 2016).

My dissertation engages in detail with three cases. The first one is the **Water Management Committee in Naro community**, a *Tayal* community in the front-mountain area and consisting of a mixture of *Mrqwang* and *Mkanzi* clans that were relocated by the Japanese government. The second one is a **Tomato Growing Cooperative in Tbahu community**, a *Mkanzi* clan in the back-mountain area. The third one is **Greenwood restaurant in Quri Lupi**, the junction between the front-mountain area and the back-mountain area, which is operated by a local *Tayal* person from *Mrqwang* clan (case studies location shown in Figure 1 - 2).

The three cases provide significant materials for probing *Tayal* ontological understandings of property, their traumatized experiences of multiple colonizations as well as recovery from settlers-sanctioned dispossession. Both *Naro* community and *Tbahu* community have been relocated by colonial

authorities. As relocated *Tayal* communities, *Naro* community and *Tbahu* community members encountered/encounter distinctive experiences of dispossession. The community members who currently live in *Naro* community did not voluntarily settle in this location but were resettled into an area where the colonial government aimed to institute rice cultivation by transforming the landscape with terraces. Furthermore, with lasting consequences for the complex present reality, the resettlement co-located *Tayal* people who came from *Mrqwang* and *Mknazi* clans (Zheng, 2006), who share common historical memories, but still possess independent identities. The community members who currently live in *Tbahu* community were relocated from several small *Mknazi* clans into a compacted settlement. The settlers-sanctioned co-location has been made more complex by various colonial governments' ambition to create official administrative divisions (see: Hsu, 2016b). The cases of *Naro* community and *Tbahu* community are especially insightful because they reflect the entwined reality of messy and blurred identities across multi-scales which constitute an important element of Indigenous peoples' campaign for land title, property rights, governance, sovereignty, recognition and reconciliation. I address how *Tayal* people's claims for land title and property, as well as their well-being, has been affected by settlers-led displacement. In contemporary Taiwanese settings, the notion of property has been naturalized into the economic foundation for the Government and people to foster national financial growth. The cases of the Tomato Growing Cooperative in *Tbahu* community and the Greenwood restaurant in *Quri Lupi* are both commercial organizations from conventional readings. Yet, by examining these two case studies, I show how *Tayal* people manifest the concept of property as a tool to claim identity and property, and assert a community-bound polity, in a capitalist market-led context.

1.4. Dissertation structure

This dissertation is formatted as a dissertation by publication and presents three publications and five conventional chapters. It consists of five parts. Part I consists of Chapter One, the Introduction to this dissertation. Part II includes Chapters Two and Three (a published paper) and situates the research in contexts. Chapter Two discusses the conceptual foundations and methodological reflections. It commences with acknowledgement of *Tayal* custodianship of Country. By doing so, the intention is to embed the dissertation (and the reader) in a *Tayal*-centric context which offers a lens that alters the conventional framing of property. Chapter Three is a literature-review-based publication focusing on the contemporary Taiwanese land title system. Settlers, in the case of *Tayal* experience the Japanese colonial government and the ROC government, installed/install a nation-states-authorized property system that subordinates *Tayal* peoples' property. Chapter Three reviews the historical process of installment of the land title system and explores possible solutions for better recognition of Indigenous property rights.

Part III presents the data analysis and comprises Chapters Four (a published paper) and Five (a published paper). Drawing on geographical fieldwork working with *Tayal* people, Chapters Four and Five reframe conventional notions of common property governance and property. In Chapter Four, I argue that *Tayal* common property governance is embedded in a relation web. In *Tayal*-centric positionality, governing common property is more than performing a human-centric exercise of entitlement, but is about connecting human and non-human agencies in a more-than-human world. In Chapter Five, it is argued that *Tayal* ontological understandings of property require a long-term and cyclical temporal-spatial pattern to develop land interests. Nevertheless, the new land title system

disqualified *Tayal* customary land interest by implanting a settlers-centric definition of 'property' consisting of a hegemonic temporality and spatiality.

Part IV is the discussion section and includes Chapters Six and Seven. This section calls attention to the hegemonic geographical imaginaries that underpinned, and continued to underpin, the enactment of imperial and colonial property through settlers-centric geographical expansions. This section proposes that in order to recognize *Tayal* and other Indigenous peoples' presence as part of 'us' – the geographical self of Taiwan - it is necessary to challenge and unsettle the taken-for-granted hegemonic geographical imaginaries that divides Taiwan into 'superior plains'/'inferior mountains'; 'self'/'others'. By taking a *Tayal*-centric positionality, I argue that hegemonic notions of property are built on a geographical expansion of colonial scale. Part V consists of Chapter Eight and presents the dissertation conclusion. Chapter Eight reviews the ways this dissertation engages the research questions, research design and ethical concerns, as well as future research directions. Moreover, it discusses the dissertation's contribution and significance and how it unpacks the colonial legacies embedded in taken-for-granted concepts of property, scale, and Taiwan offers an alternative lens to re-think Taiwan's past-present-futures.

In terms of how the dissertation structure aligns with research questions, in this dissertation, I do not respond to the three research questions in order. The three research questions weave throughout this dissertation and are addressed in various chapters. Chapters One and Two address the research background and situate this research in a specific-temporal-and-spatial scale and cultural-and-geographical-appropriate context. Chapter Three engages Questions Two and Three. Chapters Four and Five respond to Questions One, Two and Three. Chapters Six and Seven address Questions Two and Three. Chapter Eight serves as a conclusion of this dissertation.

2: Acknowledging *Tayal* Country and its people: methodological reflections and conceptual foundations

2.1. Acknowledgement of Country

Since commencing my PhD studies in Australia, I have learned that in Australian Indigenous settings, a ‘Welcome to Country’ is a custom among many Aboriginal²⁶ groups to assess the *bona fides* of visitors and ensure their safe passage in Country. That custom is now extended to include Traditional Owners giving a welcome to non-Indigenous groups at the start of a speech or an event. Arising from the growth of the reconciliation process there is also an increasingly common use of an ‘Acknowledgement of Country’, which can be used by anyone – Indigenous and non-Indigenous – to acknowledge the Traditional Owners of the land at the start of a speech or event (Langton, 2018). Acknowledgment rituals are structured as affirming recognition of the entitlement and belonging of Indigenous persons or groups to a place, typically by an outsider. While the Acknowledgment is a matter of appreciation, or a declaration made to ensure validity, the Welcome has a classic host–guest structure. A host is normally someone who has an entitlement or belonging within a domain to which the guest is admitted. The host is to be respected but is also morally bound to extend hospitality to the guest. An Acknowledgment may be made by someone without direct address to those understood to be acknowledged, and without reciprocation; a Welcome frames both parties as participants of the event (Merlan, 2014: 298). There is no doubt that some elements of Welcome (such as smoking and dance) have long been in use among groups of Indigenous Australians, but most Australians realize that both ritual forms have become part of public protocol in the recent past. The two rituals started coming into public use during 1990s, as a form of recognition during the reconciliation decade (see Merlan, 2014: 299-302).

Australian Indigenous peoples’ usage of the term ‘Country’ implies a different meaning from general English usage. In Australian Indigenous thinking, ‘Country’ comprises complex ideas about relationships and connections. It simultaneously encompasses territorial affiliation, a social identification and cosmological orientation (Hsu et al., 2014: 370; see also: Rose, 1996a). Acknowledgement of Country for me, is very much about acknowledging **connections** – the connections that encompass people-to-environment, people-to-people and people-to-Cosmos relations (Howitt et al., 2007; Howitt, 2011a). I start my methodological reflections with Australian Acknowledgement ritual protocols intentionally. This dissertation explores the concept of ‘property’ and Indigenous *Tayal* people’s experience of dispossession and recovery. Through categorizing, subordinating and controlling Indigenous people, and ultimately possessing their territories, Indigenous peoples and their connections with Country have been essentialized and rendered insignificant and primitive in the “normative Colonial ways of thinking and being” (Leeuw and Hunt,

²⁶ In Australian settings, the term ‘Aboriginal people’ is conventionally used to refer to Indigenous peoples in Australia. Thusly, I also use the term ‘Aboriginal (in capital case) people’ when I mention Australian experiences or insights. However, please note that in Taiwanese contexts, the terms ‘aboriginal people’ and ‘aborigines’, both in lower cases, are considered culturally disrespectful and offensive, which I explain further in Chapter Seven.

2018: 7/14). In the colonizing narratives of settler property, Indigenous peoples were/are, to use the terms of Australia's Northern Territory Supreme Court in the Gove Land Rights case (Blackburn, 1970), too barbarian to utilize their land and thus no 'property' existed/exists per se.

In contrast, this dissertation seeks to subvert the settlers-centric possessive narratives by starting with a positionality of recognizing and acknowledging *Tayal* custodianship of Country. Before I start the methodological discussion, I would like to give my acknowledgment to *Tayal* people and their Country. I give my appreciation and acknowledge the entitlement of Indigenous *Tayal* peoples' belonging to place and aim to emplace the following discussion in the specific context where knowledges²⁷ are generated.

2.2. Methodological challenges

Linda Tuhiwai Smith's landmark book *Decolonizing methodologies: research and Indigenous peoples* (Smith, 2012b) profoundly affected Indigenous studies. Smith powerfully puts this proposition: "from the vantage point of the colonized, a position from which I write, and choose to privilege, the term 'research' is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism" (Smith, 2012b: 1). The fashion of postcolonialism, in Smith's words, has become a strategy for re-inscribing or re-authorizing the privileges of non-Indigenous academics because the field of 'post-colonial' discourse "has been defined in ways which can still leave out Indigenous peoples, our ways of knowing and our current concerns" (Smith, 2012b: 25). Referring to Smith's words, Sikes (2006) argues that the applicability and meaning of the 'post' prefix, and particularly when it is hyphenated, is problematic. Not only does 'post' suggest a temporal linearity and a definite in-the-pastness which some (ex)colonized peoples may not experience or perceive, it perpetuates the 'othering' and emphasizes oppositions and binaries. A central task of projects of decolonization is, and should be, to go beyond such reductive polarizations (Sikes, 2006: 350-351).

Writing from a Māori positionality in Aotearoa-New Zealand, Smith argues that, in order to decolonize research dominated by colonizers, research needs to be done in a '*Māori*' way. She proposes a methodological paradigm, *Kaupapa Māori* (Smith, 2012b: 185-197). The *Kaupapa Māori* methodology emerged from, and was influenced by, global Indigenous movements, commitments to the Treaty of Waitangi and the *Māori* revitalization movement (Walker et al., 2006: 332). This paradigm has been used extensively in research, especially in the field of pedagogy (Braun et al., 2013; Chinn, 2007; Denzin et al., 2008; Elder and Odoyo, 2018; Lincoln and González y González, 2008). One main focus of a *Kaupapa Māori* approach to research is the operationalization of self-determination by *Māori* people (Bishop, 1999). This approach:

challenges the locus of power and control over the research issues of initiation, benefits, representation, legitimation and accountability as outlined above, being located in another cultural frame of reference/world view. *Kaupapa Māori* is challenging the dominance of traditional, individualistic research, which primarily, at least in its present form, benefits the researcher and their agenda. In contrast, *Kaupapa Māori* research is collectivistic, and is orientated toward benefiting all the research participants and their collectively determined agendas, defining and acknowledging *Māori* aspirations for

²⁷ I use the word knowledge in plural to refer intentionally to the multiplicity of knowledge systems in contested cultural landscapes, see also Chapter Four.

research, whilst developing and implementing *Māori* theoretical and methodological preferences and practices for research (Bishop, 1999: 2).

Decolonizing methodologies marked an important milestone for research with Indigenous peoples. However, it also requires careful consideration when responding to this framework and adapting it for use in different Indigenous settings. As noted by Smith herself, even the term 'Indigenous' is problematic in that it appears to collectivize many distinct populations whose experiences under imperialism have been vastly different (Smith, 2012b: 6). Rather than distinguishing and binarizing Indigenous people versus settlers, Mlcek (2017) argues that decolonizing methodologies are about making the connections:

At the start of an academic presentation or talk, I always begin by acknowledging those first peoples who are the custodians of the land on which I stand, and make this connection through my own Aboriginal/Indigenous worldview. I now follow this recognition by acknowledging and paying my respects to my own *Māori* Elders both past and present, for connection to whakapapa is a source of privilege for all *Māori*. In this way, the touchstones to place and Indigeneity become a crucial part of decolonizing methodologies to counter the diasporic anomie of being 'away from home', or of being part of a minor culture surrounded by other Indigenous peoples (Mlcek, 2017: 89).

For Mlcek (2017), the storytelling process both resists and intervenes to cocoon the individual in a state of protective and strengthening sustainability. The telling of personal stories is a powerful way to talk about life experiences within a socio-cultural context, especially when they relate to being "on the borders" (Mlcek, 2017: 85, 88). *Decolonizing methodologies* challenges researchers to think deeply of their own colonial and cultural contexts and provokes a nascent research paradigm embedded in specific cultural settings. However, Leslie (2014) found that the label 'decolonizing' is not suitable in her own *Kamilaroi* cultural context. To avoid conflating a specific Indigenous context into a colonized/de-colonizing binary, Leslie notes:

I thought deeply about this challenge to decolonizing methodologies. It made me think that the challenge was not to use colonized methods but rather to develop and understand my own Indigenous research paradigm. I didn't need to use a western methodology and decolonize it (Leslie, 2014: 198).

Through reflective thinking in *Kamilaroi* language, Leslie (2014) develops her own *Wingangay* methodology. The word '*winanga*' is translated as hear and the verb for *winanga*, *winangay* goes beyond just hearing. In Leslie's *Kamilaroi* culture, like many oral cultures, "the ear is seen as the instrument or seat of intelligence and perception therefore *winangay* goes beyond just hearing." (2014: 203). In her words, listening means connection:

When I say "I hear you" in *Kamilaroi*, I am engaged in a relationship with my family members in this study. I am not the researcher, I am a family member and I don't just hear them. I connect to them on a deeper level because of my relationship with them – therefore I understand them; I know them; I remember them; I think about them; and I love them (Leslie 2014: 198).

This approach shifts the relationship between the privileged researcher and their research subjects away from one of colonizing knowledge whereby knowledge is something to be possessed by the researcher and reframes the research relationship in very different ways. The challenge arises from

methodological challenge of Indigenizing and decolonizing can be linked to the thread of academic critique to the concept of hegemony and the idea of belonging-together-place. Building on the work of Gramsci (1971), the concept of hegemony extends the notion of political predominance from relations between states to relations between social classes. Gramsci insists on shifting focus from matters of direct political control to better understand processes and methods of domination. Hegemony implies that the interests of a ruling class have been normalized as ‘commonsense’ by those subordinated to it (Williams, 1983: 144–145). I frame the notion of ‘property’ in Taiwan as a reflection of contextually specific hegemonic discourses, which encompass a culturally hegemonic interpretation of time and space (see also Chapter Five: Chen et al., (2018a: 991)). The hegemonic interpretation of what property is, and should be, excluded and subordinated Indigenous peoples’ – in my case *Tayal* people’s – belonging together-in-place and connection to their Country. The concepts of hegemony and belonging-together-in-place will be further unfolded in Chapter Six. Here I would like to address how a *Tayal*-centric worldview shape their ontological understandings of property as well as the methodological responses and how I respond.

2.2.1. Indigenizing methodologies – towards a *Tayal*-centric framing of the research

The above issues prompted me to think deeply about how to frame the research for this dissertation. *Decolonizing methodologies* introduced me to the idea of framing a research methodology with Indigenous peoples, but it also reminded me that ‘Indigenous’ is a problematic label, which might conflate diverse experiences of colonized peoples. Indigenous research methodologies should be embedded in a specific context, rather than just adopting a generic decolonizing methodological paradigm without being aware of the context. Thus, I frame this dissertation as radical contextualism, an idea recently introduced to geography (Howitt, 2011b). I discuss the rationale of adopting this methodology in my publication: Chen et al. (2018a: 380–382) presented in Chapter Four. I extend my discussion here by addressing *Tayal* people’s ontological understanding of ‘Country’.

In April 2012, an incident surprised *Tayal* Country. Police caught a *Tayal* person from *Smangus* community ‘unlawfully’ logging cypress in the traditional territories, which had been categorized as State forest, of another *Tayal* community: *Pyanan* community. On one hand, the Taiwanese State argued the man’s action was illegal because according to the ROC legislation, all timber in State-owned forest are State property. Hence, the accused man had stolen State property. On the other hand, *Tayal* people felt the man’s action in this case was illegal because the suspect had violated *Tayal Gaga* (the Law in *Tayal* ontology). In *Tayal Gaga*, violating the *Gaga* (Law) of boundaries is the most severe transgression. *Tayal* people have very rigid *Gaga* (Law) of boundaries regarding rivers, hunting grounds and cultivating fields. Respecting the boundary and never moving across it without permission is fundamental in *Tayal* ontology. This incident especially stirred *Tayal* people in *Pyanan* community to anger because it was a *Tayal* person who had encroached their territory, not an outsider. In order to settle the anger and amend the relationship between the communities, the two communities decided to hold a *Sbalay* (Reconciliation) ceremony in *Quri Sqabu*, one of the vital bifurcated places during *Tayal* people’s epic migration (Zheng, 2006). They chose *Quri Sqabu* as the ceremony venue because there was where *Tayal* ancestors had agreed to ally with each other before they separated into different watersheds and built their communities. In their oral history *Imuhuw* chanting, when a *Tayal* ancestor *Kbuta* led *Tayal* people migrated to *Quri Sqabu*, he said to his people they would separate from here, and exhorted his people to follow rivers and build their communities (see also Chapter Four: Chen et al., 2018a):

You shall not turn your back on each other. When boys turn mature, be prudential of blood relation [to avoid incest taboos]. If you hear of a well-educated girl, you shall ask elders to propose in proper ways. Then your children shall thrive as well as bamboo shoots (Zheng, 2006: ch.4 p.9 (my translation)).

The *Pyanan* community and the *Smangus* community did *Sbalay* (Reconciliation) ceremony not only for amending relations, but also for proclaiming their sovereignty over their Country and re-strengthening the *Tayal* alliance. Thus, this ceremony was also a *Phaban* (Alliance) ceremony (see: Lin, 2015c). The *Sbalay* (Reconciliation) ceremony was held on 4th May 2012 at *Quri Sqabu* near the *Pyanan* community. I arrived at the *Pyanan* community on 3rd May 2012. I was visiting the *Pyanan* community as a Masters student and was about to commence my fieldwork in the community. That night, elders from *Tayal* Country gathered together at the *Pyanan* Presbyterian Church²⁸. A map was drawn to denote the *Tayal* Country (Figure 2 - 1). This map was used in the *Sbalay* (Reconciliation)/*Phaban* (Alliance) ceremony the next day (Figure 2 - 2).

²⁸ In Taiwanese settings, the Presbyterian Church plays an important role in promoting democratization and Indigenous social movements. This is discussed further in Chapter Six.



Figure 2 - 1 A map of Tayal County prepared for the Sbalay (Reconciliation)/Phaban (Alliance) ceremony. This map is titled 'the traditional territory of Tayal people' (the green words on the top). This map represents Tayal Country. Each river in Tayal Country is drawn in blue lines with the Tayal name labelled in blue and the Mandarin name labelled in purple. Each river represents a watershed and a clan of Tayal people. For instance, Ilyung Tmail is the name of river Tmail and the name of the clan living inside the watershed of river Tmail. The location of Quri Sqabu is marked in the red circle. Where the presenter points is the sacred mountain Papak waqa. The small figure in the right bottom corner indicates the area of Tayal Country in Formosa (the red bordered area) and indicates other Indigenous peoples in the island (the yellow bordered area).

(Photo taken on 3/5/2012 at the Pyanan Presbyterian Church. Credit: Hwei-Chung Hsiao. Reproduced with permission)



Figure 2 - 2 The Sbalay (Reconciliation)/Phaban (Alliance) ceremony
(Photo taken on 4/5/2012 at Quri Sqabu. Credit: Huei-Chung Hsiao. Reproduced with permission)

The ceremony began with an introduction and included following programs:

- *Pramu minqyanux* (Sacrifice and purification): Killing a pig as the sacrifice
- *Smrhuw qyunam Tayal* (Proclaiming *Tayal* traditional territory)
- *Lmuhuw msgail qwas* (Migration history chanting)
- *Pinhaban qyunan Tayal* (Alliance): each *Tayal* clan sent a representative to proclaim the alliance by dipping some pig blood on the map.
- *Pmumu pinhaban ke* (Vow to ally)
- *Qwas sinrhgan ke* (Exhortation from elders)
- *Pzimuw pngsa'* (Prayer for thanksgiving)
- *Mqwas sinramat* (*Tayal* hymns)

The *Sbalay* (Reconciliation)/*Phaban* (Alliance) ceremony profoundly shaped my methodological framing. Six years later, as I sit in my office at Macquarie University, I can still recall the memory vividly. It altered my understanding of 'Taiwan'. I was born and raised in a Han family, the descendants of Chinese settlers. Having faith in the State for me was something normalized in my daily life. Yet, in that ceremony, *Tayal* people requested apologies from the State for sabotaging *Tayal* forest regulations and rejected State policy that they saw as fallacious (Lin, 2015c). In the ceremony the territory was presented, the vow was made and the alliance was strengthened. '**It was and always will be their Country**' I thought. I had a strong feeling that they were/are governing their Country in *Tayal* ways. Given the suspect has been arrested by the ROC police force, *Tayal* people decided to settle according to the *Tayal Gaga* (the Law). The reconciliation process in *Tayal* ontology is about reconnecting and strengthening ongoing relations. There was a strong connection of time and space in that ceremony. Choosing where the *Tayal* ancestors had bifurcated during their epic migration as the ceremony venue connected the past of *Tayal* people to their present, as well as connecting to an allied and reconciled future. Representatives from every watershed vowed to work together in the program of alliance, connecting *Tayal* places across Country into a congregation. The notion of *Tayal* Country

is more than a bounded area. Rather, it encompasses connections across time and space between *Tayal* people, place and *Gaga*.

Recognizing and acknowledging *Tayal* Country in that ceremony completely altered my way of seeing things. It opened up a *Tayal*-centric perspective as well as a *Tayal*-centric framing of the research reported in this dissertation. It also emplaced my dissertation in *Tayal* Country: as Howitt (2011b) argues: “Context matters – the historical, geographical, social, and cultural context in which social geographers undertake research fundamentally shapes what we come to know and how we come to represent it to our various audiences” (Howitt, 2011b: 142). By applying a ‘radical contextualist’ lens to this research, I emplace my doctoral research in a *Tayal*-centric positionality and acknowledge *Tayal* people’s custodianship to their Country. I aim to represent my data in a specific-temporal-and-spatial scale and cultural-and-geographical-appropriate context.

2.2.2. Research design and methods as a response to the challenge of Indigenizing methodology

Applying the radical contextualist lens, I designed my dissertation to respond to the local context as I became more aware of it. I have worked in the field site for six years and intend to continue working there for as long as possible. My doctoral project fieldwork was a comparatively brief part of my on-going relationship with the field site. I intentionally designed my doctoral project fieldwork into two phases to retain my accountability to the local contexts. The first phase was from August 2016 to January 2017. The second phase was from January 2018 to February 2018.. Although due to my pre-doctoral working experience, I had channels to be introduced into *Tayal* communities if I wanted. I felt it was still necessary to familiarize myself with the community’s context. To build relations within community contexts, it is important for me to come back after data collection for checking my interpretation of *Tayal* narratives. Coming back to the community for me was an accountability-building process. The second phase fieldwork was a key period to me to confirm my research outcome was (or was not) reliable in community contexts as well as an effort to maintain my on-going relationships with field site.

2.2.2.1. Research ethics

Conducting my research ethically was a prime concern throughout my study. During my fieldwork, my informants were aware of my relationship with my partner Cinbwanan (we were not married when I conducted my doctoral research fieldwork). My partner and I have been dating since 2011, and I have been working with *Tayal* communities since 2009. My *Tayal* colleagues were informed of our relationship, and some of them later were recruited as my informants. Moreover, one of the field sites, *Naro* community, is my partner’s mother’s hometown. I gave ethical consideration to my situation. In my ethics application to Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee, there was a question: “In undertaking this research do any “conflict of interest” issues arise?” My response was:

“Ms Chen’s partner’s mother came from *Naro* community, so Ms. Chen is in a dual role as researcher/family member in this field site. However, this dual role won’t cause any conflict of interest during the research procedure for following reasons: all the previous contacts of Ms Chen and members is based on their own free will without any coercion. Furthermore, Ms Chen’s partner isn’t a member of *Naro* community and is only well-known by his relatives and community members. Lastly, Ms Chen’s partner isn’t holding

any authority or formal position in the community or its churches and social organisations. It will be clarified before each interview that the participants are volunteer and have the right to withdraw from this project anytime”.

My approach to the research ethics challenges was accepted and approved by the Ethics committee. The research project and corresponding fieldwork are covered by an ethics protocol approved under Australian requirements (Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee Approval # 5201600433; see Appendix Two). The formal interview sessions followed an approved protocol. To give detailed information of the research, a consent form explaining the purpose of the research was given at the beginning of the interview (see Appendixes Three and Four). Depending on the participant’s willingness, either written consent or verbal consent was agreed before the interview²⁹. I made it clear to participants that they were not obliged to take part in the research or answer any question(s) they did not wish to answer, they could withdraw from the research at any time. To protect each participant’s identity and confidentiality, I also explained to them that pseudonyms would be used in the analysis and writing. All recorded data would be kept for the use of this study and its related publications only and would not be available to any third party without the express permission of the participant. All collected photos/videos would be showed to the photo-taker or people in that photo, to seek their approval of using that photo in the dissertation or related presentations and papers. Other researchers or students seeking to access the data would be provided with non-identifiable data.

2.2.2.2. Research methods

The research methods applied in my first phase of fieldwork were in-depth interviews, trail hiking, site visiting and group interviews. In-depth interviews involved two phases – an initial general interview followed by participatory photography where I gave the informants a disposable camera to take photographs of their daily natural resource practices. I recruited seven community members as research participants for these interviews. I consciously recruited senior local residents who are involved in customary natural resource governance and have long experiences over time of colonial interventions with a balance of male and female informants (see Table 2 - 1). The in-depth interviews were designed to involve two to three interviews per informant and each interview lasted around 60 minutes. For the first interview, I explained the research content, ethic protocols and asked for general information about the informant’s natural resource practice and governance. At the end of the first interview, I gave the informant a disposable camera, and asked the informant to take photographs of their daily practice of natural resource governance. After the informants finished photographing, I came to collect the camera and printed out the photographs. I let the informant explained those photographs and located the photographs on the mental map (see Figure 2 - 3) in the following interviews. I designed this research method to gain insights into the embodied experiences of *Tayal* common property governance. The rationale of informant selection is described in Chapter Three (for the list of informants see Table 2 - 1). Participatory photography collected in the first-phase fieldwork are mainly analyzed in Chapter Three.

²⁹ Consent forms are attached in Appendixes Three and Four. I prepared consent forms in English and Mandarin.

Table 2 - 1 Interviewees for in-depth interviews and participatory photography in first-phase fieldwork at Naro community

Name (Pseudonym)	Gender	Occupation	Age	Ethnic Group	Rationale for selection
Yaway	Female	Farmer	55~	Tayal	Yaway is a local farmer. She participates in the herb production and marketing group. She is familiar with current agricultural practices.
Mayan	Male	Farmer and hunter	55~	Tayal	Mayan is a prestigious hunter. His hunting skills are well known in the community. He is familiar with the hunting grounds and relevant regulations. He also cultivates customary crops and commercial crops.
Yukan	Male	Farmer	55~	Tayal	Yukan is a hunter and farmer. He grows commercial crops and hunts during his free time. He is well informed about customary natural resource governance. He is also active in local public affairs.
Pitay	Female	Farmer	55~	Han (married to Tayal)	Piaty lives in the <i>Naro</i> community with her husband. They both are farmers and participate in the herb production and marketing group. She is familiar with present agricultural practices.
Yapit	Female	Farmer	60~	Tayal	Yapit is a committed customary crops cultivator and preserves native species (including bean, cucumber etc.).
Pasang	Male	Farmer	40~	Tayal	Pasang has the expertise of connecting and maintaining the local pipeline system and the allocation of water resources. He also grows commercial crops and participates in the herb production and marketing group.
Yumus	Female	Farmer	60~	Tayal	Yumus and her family practice organic agriculture in the community. She is familiar with present agricultural practices.

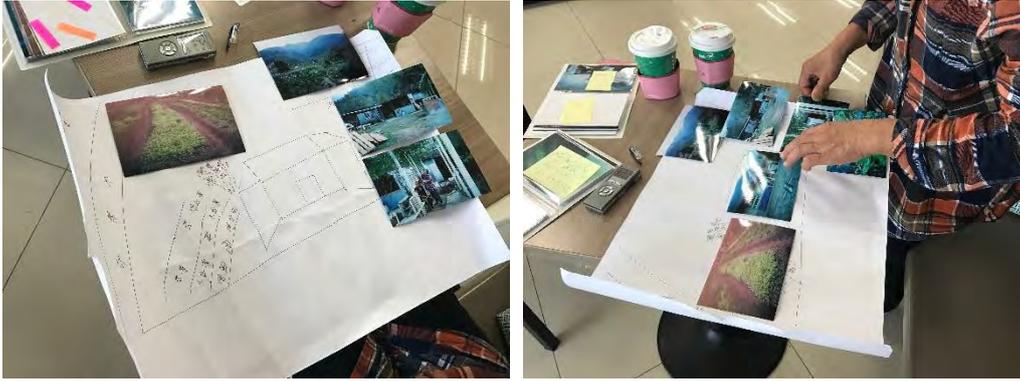


Figure 2 - 3 Informant' mental map during first-phase fieldwork

The left photo is a mental map that the informant drew to explain where she took those photos. It is her house and adjacent field. The right photo is the informant located photos corresponding to the mental map.

(Photo taken on 20/12/2016 at Jhudong Township. Credit: Yayut Yi-shiuan Chen)

Outside of in-depth interviews, I conducted trail hiking and site visiting. My informants arranged these activities after in-depth interviews for me to inspect where their photos were taken, or sometimes I visited my informants when they were in their fields. For instance, Figure 2 - 4 is one of the trail hikes I did during first phase of fieldwork. The left photo in Figure 2 - 4 is my informant leading the way. The right photo in Figure 2 - 4 is the land marker we were looking for. According to my *Tayal* formats, it is a land marker set up by the Japanese colonial government to mark the boundaries between State-owned forests and the area Indigenous communities were 'allocated'³⁰.



Figure 2 - 4 Trail hiking with informants during first-phase fieldwork

Note: the Japanese character in the land marker in the right photo is 'mountain'.

(Photo taken on 15/12/2016 at Naro community. Credit: Yayut Yi-shiuan Chen)

In addition to these in-depth interviews, I also organized group interviews (see Table 2 - 2). The rationale of running group interviews and interviewees selection is discussed in Chapter Three: Chen et al. (2018a: 383-384).

³⁰ The categorization and demarcation of Indigenous Countries in Taiwan will be addressed in Chapter Seven.

Table 2 - 2 Group interviews in the first-phase fieldwork

No.	Type of interview	Date	Participants component	Rationale of selection
1	group interviews	2016.09.06	Behuy, Hana and Yulaw	Behuy and Hana were born during the Japanese colonial era and have run a local grocery store and agricultural business since they married. They are both prestigious local leaders and have witnessed colonial interventions in <i>Tayal</i> common property governance (e.g. forest, water, hunting ground etc.) during various settler governments. Yulaw belongs to the same extended family. He currently is a farmer and subject to <i>Tayal</i> common property governance.
2	group interviews	2016.09.22	Payal and Kumu	Kumu and Payal belong to the same extended family. Kumu is a local farmer and grows customary crops in her fields. Payal is a local resident. Both have the expertise of connecting and maintaining the local pipeline system and the allocation of water resources.
3	group interviews	2016.10.01	Hetay and Apay	Hetay and Apay are a married couple and both are local farmers. They are familiar with evolving agricultural practices and accessibility to common property in the local context.
4	group interviews	2016.12.07	Yuming, Kumay, Watan and Tapas	Yuming, Kumay and Watan belong to the same extended family. Yuming and Kumay are elders and leaders in their extended family and the community. They are both local farmers and are familiar with <i>Tayal</i> common property governance (e.g. hunting ground and trail, water source etc.) Watan and Tapas were interpreters for this interview.
5	group interviews	2016.12.12	Pasang and Yapit	Pasang has the expertise of connecting and maintaining the local pipeline system and the allocation of water resources. Yapit is Pasang's mother. She is a committed customary crops cultivator and preserves native species (including bean, cucumber etc.).

In my second phase of fieldwork, I explored the contemporary dynamic at a broader scale, putting *Naro* community more clearly in the context of changing dynamics between what are commonly called the front-mountain and back-mountain areas in Jianshih Township (further discussed in Chapter Six). Recruitment of informants differed for this second phase of fieldwork. I recruited both local residents and research fellows who are involved in *Tayal* public affairs and/or Indigenous social movements. Some of the informants have long experiences over the time of colonial interventions. Some of them are youth who started contributing to public affairs more recently. All participants I interviewed in the second phase of fieldwork have been working in the same *Tayal* network. They are mainly Jianshih-Township-based (see Table 2 - 3). Unlike the first phase fieldwork, where I immersed myself into contexts of a specific *Tayal* community – *Naro* community and built relations with recently met *Tayal* informants; the interviewees in the second phase fieldwork are either my mentors and/or friends. I have been working with them since I started working in *Tayal* Country. The interviews followed the approved protocol. I opened interviews with detailed information of my doctoral research and explanation of the consent form. Since I have been working with my interviewees for a certain period and was already familiar with their works, the interviews were semi-structured. I listed the interview themes and run interviews accordingly (see Table 2 - 3).

Table 2 - 3 Interviewees for In-depth interviews in second-phase fieldwork

Name (Pseudonym)	Interviews Date	Gender	Occupation	Age	Ethnic Group	Rationale of selection	Interview themes
Sabi	2018.1.3 2018.2.6	Female	NGO worker	40~	Tayal	Sabi serves in a Taiwan-based NGO for around 10 years. She has a social work degree. She runs or facilitates many Jianshih-based social programs and is dedicated to empowering <i>Tayal</i> people.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social work experience in <i>Tayal</i> Country • Indigenous polity and identity
Llyuw	2018.1.4 2018.2.5	Male	Research fellow	50~	Han	Llyuw participated in the Indigenous social movements with his <i>Tayal</i> colleagues in 1990s. Since then, he is dedicated to Indigenous Rights research and social movements. He has long-term expertise in <i>Tayal</i> culture.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social work experience in <i>Tayal</i> Country • Indigenous polity and identity
Sangus	2018.1.5 2018.1.8 2018.1.31	Male	Retired minister	60~	Tayal	Sangus is a retired minister of the Presbyterian Church. He's participated in the Indigenous social movements since 1990s. He is devoted to <i>Tayal</i> cultural preservation, <i>revitalization</i> and promotion. He has expertise in <i>Tayal</i> customary chanting, a form of oral history recording <i>Tayal</i> people's migration.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mapping of <i>Tayal</i> traditional territory • <i>Tayal</i> history and culture • Indigenous polity and identity
Teru	2018.1.7 2018.2.2	Female	Cultural worker and farmer	50~	Tayal	Teru is a dedicated cultural worker. She applies government projects to work on <i>Tayal</i> culture preservation, revitalization and promotion. She also grows customary crops and commercial crops.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mapping of <i>Tayal</i> traditional territory • <i>Tayal</i> history and culture • Experience of running a <i>Tayal</i> local business
Mankay	2017.1.20	Male	Local business owner and farmer; formal NGO worker	40~	Tayal	Mankay is a local farmer with a PhD degree in Ethnology. He promotes organic agriculture. He used to work in an NGO to run and facilitate programs to empower local farmers. He now runs a restaurant with Iban.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Experience of running <i>Tayal</i> local business • Mapping of <i>Tayal</i> traditional territory
Iban	2018.1.26	Male	Local business owner and farmer; formal NGO worker	30~	Tayal	Iban is a local farmer and used to work in an NGO to run or facilitate programs to empower local farmers. He now runs a restaurant with Mankay.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Experience of running a <i>Tayal</i> local business
Ataw	2018.1.2	Male	Local minister	30~	Tayal	Ataw is a local <i>Tayal</i> person and recently graduated from theological college. In 2017 he came back to his home Church ministry. He is dedicated to community affairs.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social work experience in <i>Tayal</i> Country • Indigenous politics and identity

2.3. Conceptual foundations: Acknowledging *Tayal* Country

In the wake of transitional justice in the Taiwanese national polity, the hegemonic possessive logic established by the nationalist KMT government has been subjected to critical redress. The conceptual framework of ontological pluralism (Howitt and Suchet-Pearson, 2003; 2006) is especially helpful at this juncture. Recognizing ontological pluralism in Taiwanese contested cultural landscapes sets the ground for later discussion. Inspired by the Australian Aboriginal protocol of an 'Acknowledgement of Country', my research responds to the methodological challenges of contextualizing this dissertation in a specific-temporal-and-spatial scale and cultural-and-geographical-appropriate context. In order to connect methodological challenges to conceptual foundations of this dissertation, I adopt the lens of ontological pluralism to engage with Indigenous *Tayal* people's property and challenge the nominally universal notion of 'property'. Acknowledging *Tayal* people's custodianship of Country is the entry point to establish an ontologically pluralist Taiwan, as it unveils the taken-for-granted assumptions that are embedded in hegemonic discourses and practices of property in Taiwanese settings.

Acknowledging *Tayal* people's custodianship of Country is also the entry point to establish that a *Tayal* ontology of place must inevitably shape research about *Tayal* places. In Taiwan, the complex histories of colonization and creation of property rights and legal frameworks that failed to accommodate *Tayal* people and *Tayal* Country as already encompassed by *Tayal* ontology, law (*Gaga*) and responsibilities has seen much scholarly research framed in ways that privilege colonial and colonizing values. As Rose (1999) recognizes, even well-intentioned research such as the research reported in this thesis risks being caught in the web she characterizes as "deep colonizing".

Recent Indigenous and other scholarship in Australia (Palmer, 2016), Aotearoa New Zealand (Coombes, 2016) and North America (Barnd, 2008) and more broadly in the emerging field of Indigenous geographies (Coombes et al., 2011; Frantz and Howitt, 2012) offer timely and contextualized advice on how to reconceptualize research methodology in Indigenous settings. The challenge of radical contextualism, however, is to move beyond some sort of generic and abstracted Indigenous frame to the particularities of a specifically *Tayal* frame for this research. That is, just how does the hegemony of the dominant Han Chinese culture in Taiwan act as a contemporary colonizing force in *Tayal* Country? How does a *Tayal* ontology of place reframe research about relationships between *Tayal* places, *Tayal* property and rights, and *Tayal* past-present-future experiences? And how does the juxtaposition of *Tayal* settings at the local scale interact with the wider temporal and spatial scales of colonization, dispossession, democratization and pluralism in Taiwan's national polity?

In their work on "being-together-in-place", Johnson and Larsen (2017) offer some valuable insights into the challenges of building a *Tayal*-centric methodology for this research, but their work does not refer to *Tayal* Country and culture. Rather it draws on work in New Zealand and North America. Similarly, the powerful insights of the Bawaka Country research collective (Bawaka Country et al., 2013; 2015) offers valuable guidance and suggestions, but is not *Tayal*-specific. Some of these threads in the wider literature on Indigenous methodologies are taken up later in the thesis in Chapters Six and Eight, but the key challenge to meet now is to take the reader into the relational web of *Tayal* Country and its people. To move beyond acknowledgement and towards **engagement**.

In the context of contemporary Taiwanese scholarship, where the academic expert easily assumes license to speak not just about but often for Indigenous communities and where academic discourse

too easily silences and even erases *Tayal* perspectives, experience and voices, even acknowledgement is rare. But in this work, I have sought to follow a path to Country that sits comfortably in and is able to be challenged and transformed by my *Tayal* guides, mentors and teachers. In other words, my methodology has developed as *Tayal*-centric - drawing on guidance and insights from wider scholarly debates about Indigenous methodology and Indigenous geographies, but always coming home to *Tayal* Country, *Tayal* advisors for review, affirmation and approval. My personal journey has immersed me in *Tayal* social relations. Taken me into my *Tayal* family. Held me accountable in *Tayal* customary discourses. That is a continuing journey, and one that I hope will allow me to nurture research that moves from being *Tayal*-centric to being *Tayal* controlled, governed and driven. But in explaining the *Tayal*-centric methods developed and applied in this research, let me first take the reader on some of my journey into that relation web of people, mountains and rivers in *Tayal* Country.

2.3.1. Rivers, mountains and peoples: a relational web

From January 2018 to February 2018, I intensively visited a *Tayal* pastor recently retired from the Presbyterian Church. Pastor Sangus is a pioneer and social activist from the 1980s. He is one of the people I have come to admire since I started working with *Tayal* people in 2009. I was lucky enough to interview him at some length. I wanted to interview him because of a figure he drew for another scholar's doctoral dissertation to explain the ontology of *Tayal* People (Hsiao, 2016: 157). As elaborated on in Chapter Four, *Tayal* people migrated from central Formosa to northern Formosa and continuously built communities along rivers (see Chapter Four: Chen et al., 2018a: 385-387).

Figure 2 - 5, a map recorded by Japanese anthropologists Utsurikawa, Mabuchi and Miyamoto (Utsurikawa et al., 2011 [1935]), gives a sense of geography of *Tayal* people's migration pathway. The red square shows the area discussed in this dissertation. The mountain *Papak Waqa* plays a paramount role in *Tayal* people's creation. The actual geography of *Papak Waqa* is a matter of dispute among various clans of *Tayal* people, while generally in the research area people name it as the Dabajian Mountain (Mandarin: 大霸尖山; Elevation: 3,490 m; Coordinate: 24°27'58"N 121°15'29"E). *Papak* means 'ear' in *Tayal* language and *waqa* means split. Mountain *Papak Waqa* might be named after the shape of its peak. It looks like an ear-shaped stone came out from a split (Provisional Commission for the Investigation of Taiwanese Old Customs 1996 [1915]: 18).

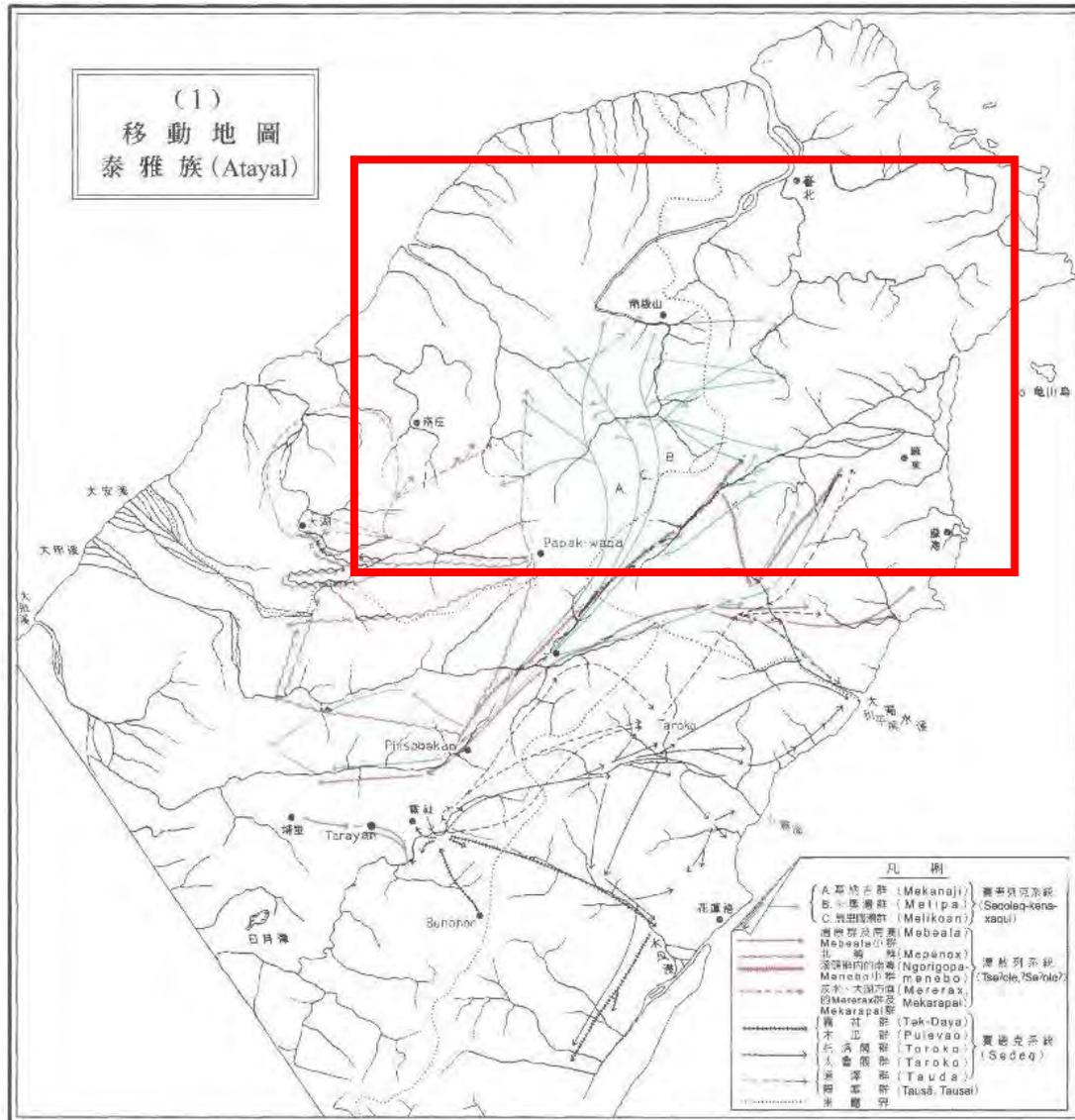


Figure 2 - 5 *Tayal* People's migration pathway recorded by Japanese anthropologist (Utsurikawa et al., 2011 [1935])
(Reproduced with permission for non-profit use)

The various versions of *Tayal* creation myths share common features. Here I present one to demonstrate the role of *Papak Waqa* (sacred mountain):

In the old time, there was one huge rock on *Papak Waqa* (sacred mountain) which suddenly split and one man and one woman walked from it (...) gradually their descendants multiplied and spread out. One time, a deluge took place, only the peak of *Papak Waqa* (sacred mountain) was not drowned. All people rushed to the peak. After discussion, the public agreed someone must have violated taboos and that was the reason for the deluge. Hence, compensation was demanded. The public threw a dog into the water but nothing happened. Then the public threw an elder into the water, but still nothing happened. The public confirmed there must have been offenders among them. They did a thorough investigation and found out a brother and sister committed incest. The public threw them into the water and this time, the deluge subsided (Provisional Commission for the Investigation of Taiwanese Old Customs 2012 [1918]: 34) (my translation).

In contrast to the formal geography of Utsurikawa et al. (2011 [1935])'s figure, Pastor *Sangus*'s illustration offers a mental map that reveals *Tayal* spatial understanding of their Country (Hsiao, 2016: 157). In that mental map, rivers radiate from *Papak Waqa* (the sacred mountain). However, each river on that map does not solely indicate the actual river, but also indicates *Tayal* clans within the river catchment (see Chapter Four: Chen et al., 2018a: 368 for how the watershed-based identity was formed in *Tayal* culture). The figure was later reproduced for me by the scholar (Figure 2 - 6) and another *Tayal* elder Teru (Figure 2 - 7).

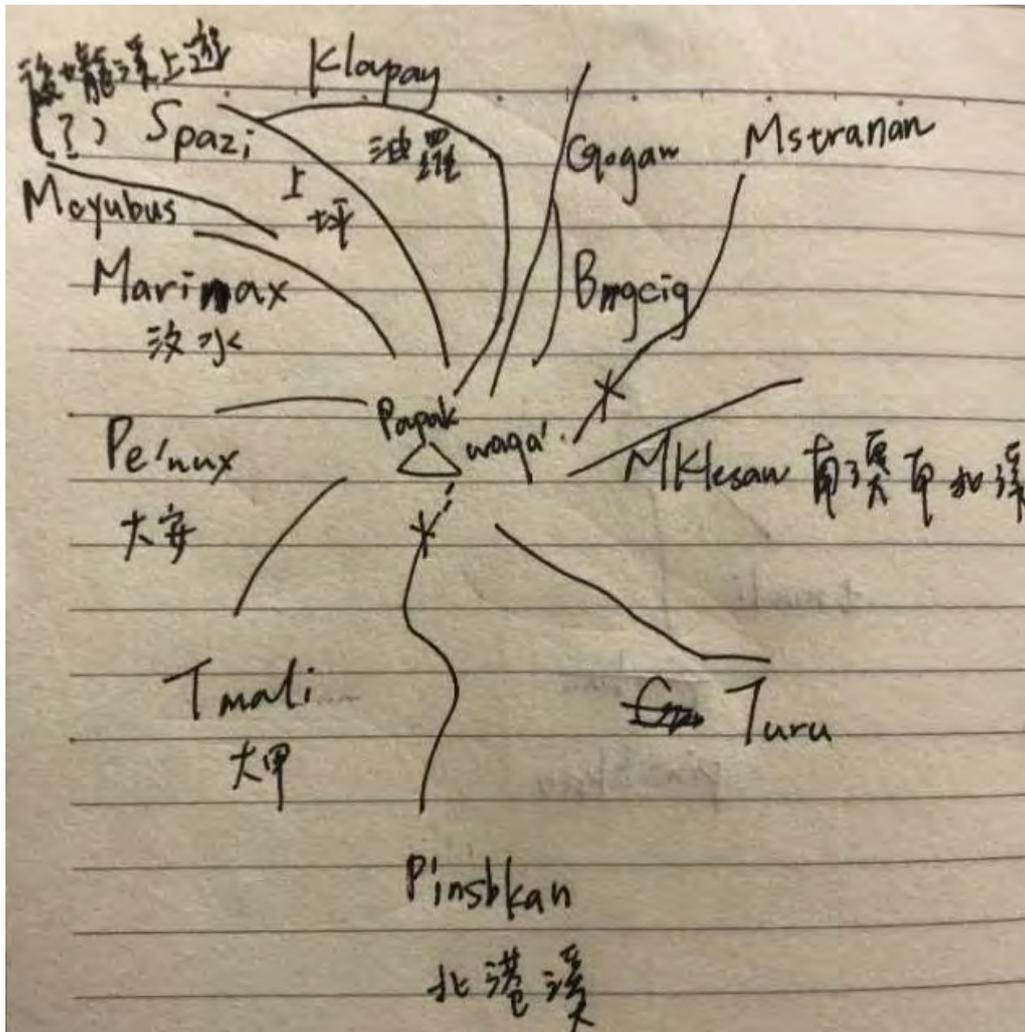


Figure 2 - 6 Papak waqa-centric Rivers reproduced by Hsiao

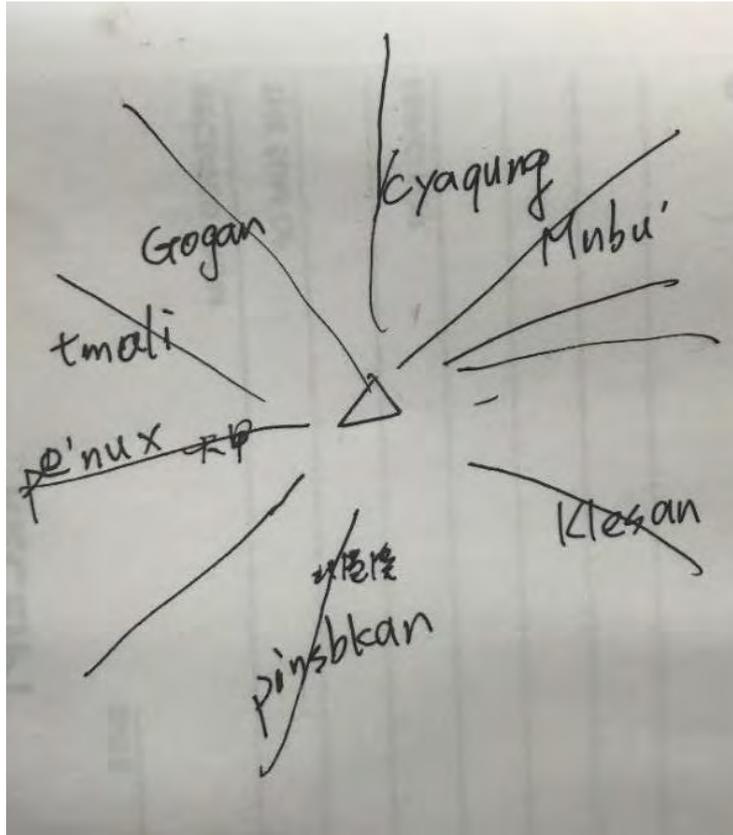


Figure 2 - 7 Papak waqa-centric Rivers reproduced by Teru

The triangle in the middle of Figure 2 - 6 and Figure 2 - 7 indicates *Papak Waqa* (scared mountain). Locating *Papak Waqa* as the coordinate starting point, each curve indicates a river along which *Tayal* People have built communities and reside within. As can see at Figure 2 - 6 and Figure 2 - 7, each river diffuses from *Papak Waqa* and brings a *Papak Waqa*-centric Country into being. However, not every river physically originates from *Papak Waqa*' (the scared mountain). For instance, those rivers with a cross mark on them do not originate from *Papak Waqa* (the scared mountain). Moreover, it is clear that Figure 2 - 6 is more simplified than Figure 2 - 7. The reason is that Teru hesitates to over-generalize the 'name' of rivers in *Tayal* Country:

When they were naming the rivers, they named it section by section. Because people from downstream could not go over border. You know we have the sense of territory, *qes* (border). Even though we all belong *Tayal* people. For example, I am *Kanzi* clan. I would not go over to *Mrqwang* clan's territory. If you across the border, then you *hmiriq Gaga* (against customary law) [Teru from *Kanzi* people, fieldwork interview on 7th January 2018 at Hêngshan Township].

For *Tayal* people, the rivers and tributaries provide the pathway where the ancestors migrated and built a series of settlements (Kuan, 2009: 141). When Pastor Sangus redrew the figure for me (Figure 2 - 8), he said:

Tayal society is a society without writing system. Moreover, we do not have the concept of 'ocean'. We do not have 'ocean' in our creation myth. Only mountains and rivers in our creation myth ... For instance, in our creation myth, it was *Papak Waqa* (the scared mountain) saved our life ... Our migration is about mountains and rivers. We emphasize mountains and rivers ... a very important point is that when speaking of our sense of

space, because we do not have writing system, we use myth and *Imuhuw* (oral history) to deliver (our sense of space). Either we use chanting or description to record our ancestral migration pathway along rivers [Pastor Sangus, fieldwork interview on 8th January 2018 at Chutung Township].

Rivers and mountains are decisive in *Tayal* ontology. In *Tayal* language there is a term '*qluw llyung*'. Interpreting the term directly, '*qluw*' means relatives and '*llyung*' means river, so '*qluw llyung*' mean 'relatives along the river'. Through migrations, *Tayal* people started to settle down and progressively develop settlements within watersheds. Settlements within the same watershed form a military alliance to defend enemies and use the term '*qluw llyung*' to refer community members who live within the same watershed. Not only rivers have been used to metaphorize social relations in *Tayal* society, but mountains also. When proposing a marriage in *Tayal* society, the groom-to-be is required to give his future brother-in-law '*pintrgyax*'. The term '*pintrgyax*' comes from the word root '*trgyax*', mountain ridge and the term '*trgyax*' comes from the word '*rgyax*', mountain. '*Pintrgyax*', normally is a pig, could be interpreted as the greeting gift the groom-to-be gives to his future brother-in-law when proposing marriage to the bride-to-be's family. Using '*trgyax* (mountain ridge)' as the word root implies marriage is merging two families and building relations, just like crossing mountain ridges.

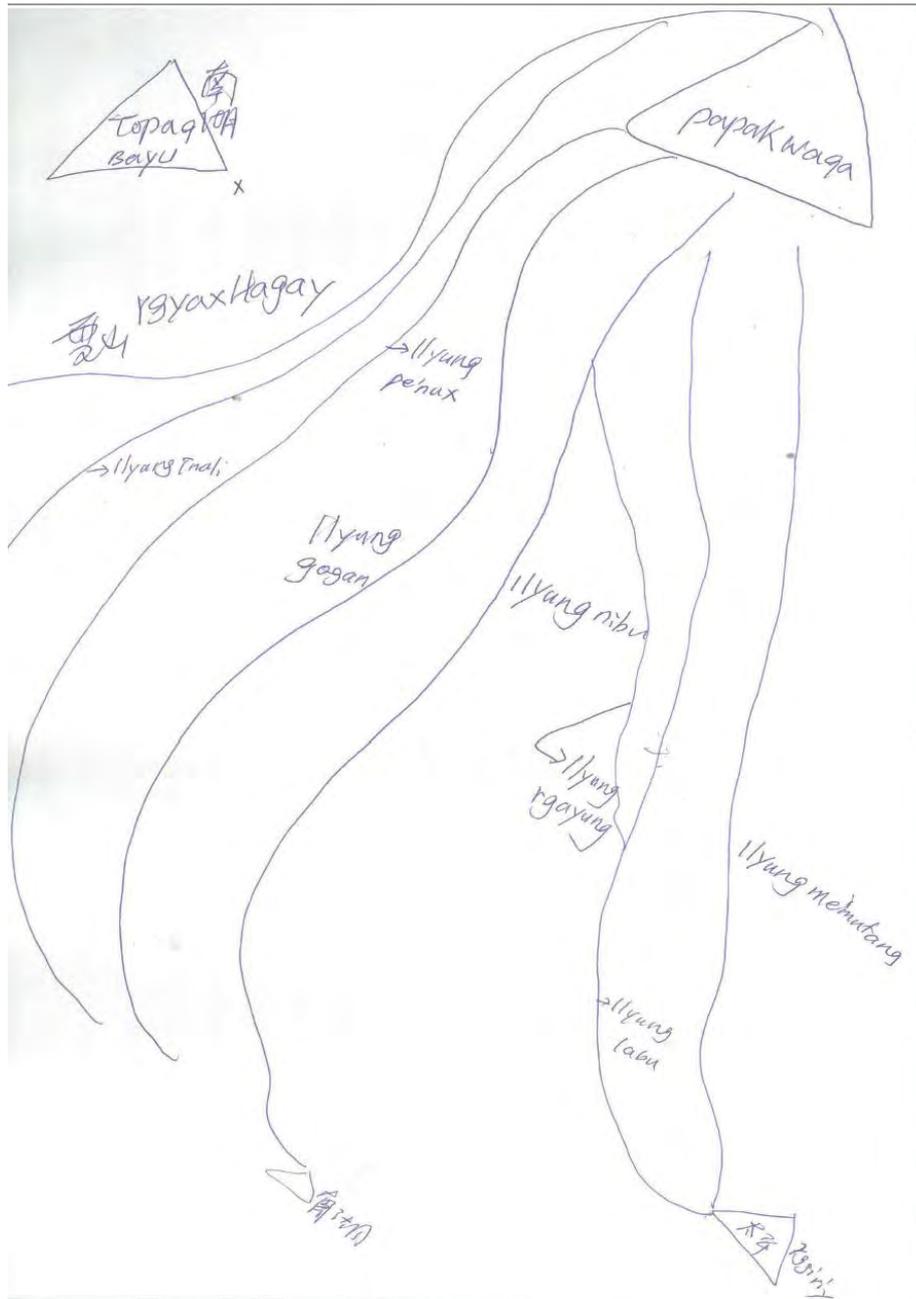


Figure 2 - 8 Papak waqa-centric Rivers drawn by Pastor Sangus

The other thing Pastor Sangus noted is the sense of ‘orientation’ in *Tayal* ontology: “Most importantly, other people may believe they came from lowland and migrated to highland. However, for *Tayal* people, our concept is that we migrate from highland; from mountain” [fieldwork interview on 5th January 2018 at Chutung Township]. Teru also mentioned this feature during her interview:

I used to say to Pastor Sangus that: “our ancestors were really clever. It seems like they saw things from highest point. They saw the world and saw the future. Then they slowly walked down (...).” So I said to Pastor Sangus: “Our *Tayal* people’s environment really starts from *Papak Waqa* (scared mountain) ...when we perceive regions, we perceived it from watersheds instead of administrative districts, such like how many clans dwelled in that watershed. We do not perceive our environment by where can cement roads reach. We perceive our environment by *Ilyung* (river). People from same *Ilyung* (river) are belong

to that *Ilyung* (river)” [Teru from *Kanzi* people, fieldwork interview 2nd February 2018 at *Tbahu* community].

Rivers, mountains and people weave *Tayal* Country into being and constitute *Tayal* ontological understandings of beings. For *Tayal* ontology, every being is connected within a relational web constituted by rivers, mountains and peoples. For me, it is pivotal to establish *Tayal* ontology in the early stage of this dissertation, because it provides a conceptual, theoretical and methodological ground for unpacking, probing and revealing the taken-for-granted concept of property.

2.3.2. Reframing ontologically pluralist understandings of ‘property’

One of the propositions underpinning this dissertation is that inconsistent ontological understandings of space and time between settlers and *Tayal* people profoundly dispossessed/dispossess *Tayal* people (this is discussed in detail in Chapter Five). Ontology, understood as a branch of metaphysics, is the science of being, embracing such issues as the nature of existence and the categorical structure of reality (Honderich, 2005: 670). The concept of ‘ontology’ is about being, existence and knowing in the Cosmos. Ontology is the foundation of how humans know themselves and the Cosmos. While ontology is clearly defined in many philosophy and social theory texts (Honderich, 2005; Bullock et al., 1988), the implication for understanding and for claiming its power is rarely understood. Howitt and Suchet-Pearson advocate that ontological pluralism should be recognized in contested cultural landscapes (Howitt and Suchet-Pearson, 2003; 2006). They argue “academic discourse typically represents its knowledge as detached, objective and universal” (Howitt and Suchet-Pearson, 2003: 557). Engaging with “alternative ontologies - diverse ways of knowing, being-in-place and related to complex, often contested cultural landscapes at various scales” (Howitt and Suchet-Pearson, 2003: 557) is their response to singular, homogenous and dominant ontological discourses.

For Howitt and Suchet-Pearson, ontological pluralism goes beyond Euro-centric philosophies. They argue that diverse ways of knowing the world are extremely important for reframing dominant forms of natural resource governance. Culture shapes the way people know the world, and the way people locate themselves in relationship with the Cosmos (Bawaka Country et al., 2013; Cameron et al., 2014; Theriault, 2017). To decenter the human-centric ontology, which thinks there is a hierarchical order between human/non-human, Suchet-Pearson and her research partners raise the idea of a ‘relational ontology’ (Lloyd et al., 2012; Bawaka Country et al., 2013; 2015). They elaborate it as

“a relational ontology of connection means understanding all beings and things as inherently connected. Neither one’s identity, actions or ethics can be understood in isolation from other research partners, family members, other people, or the natural world. Rather, humans, animals, plants, winds, rocks, spirits, songs, sunsets and water, indeed all things, are connected together in a web of kinship and responsibility” (Lloyd et al., 2012: 1076).

The relational ontology proposed by Lloyd et al. (2012) and Bawaka Country et al. (2013; 2015) not only de-centers human-centric privilege, but profoundly indicates the need to recognize the multiplicity residing in the concept of ontology. Inspired by the above discussion, I adopted the lens of ontological pluralism to reframe the concept of ‘property’. The concept of property, on the one hand, is naturalized as the economic foundation for financial growth. On the other hand, the definition of ‘property’ is subject to growing critical reflections from academia (Bhandar, 2015; 2016; Blomley, 2017a; 2017b; Chen et al., 2018b; Crabtree, 2013; Graham, 2011; Graham and Bartel, 2017; Keenan,

2014; 2017; Porter, 2014). The keyword 'property' holds a long and complicated history. Graham (2011) contends that the dominant meaning of property, that property is not about real things but abstract rights, can be linked directly to maladapted land use practices and their ecological consequences (Graham, 2011:2). Graham and Bartel (2017) critically reflect on the anthropocentric worldview that separates people from place and recruits private property as the means to transform nature into culture, by literally cultivating the land. This worldview imagines public property as the appropriate site for conserving (the relics of) nature and the past (Graham and Bartel, 2017:4). Crabtree (2013) unpacks the imperatives behind understandings of property and offers ground for developing diverse models which articulate relationships to place (Crabtree, 2013:112). Keenan (2014) understands the concept of property as a spatially contingent relation of belonging. While belonging can describe emotional attachments to 'home' and security, it can also describe hierarchical and exclusionary relations of possession and material wealth (Keenan, 2014: 71).

The nature of 'property' enacted through the land title registry system has gained increasing scholarly attention. Porter (2014) examines the dispossession of Indigenous lands under conditions of colonialism, and the displacement of urban residents under conditions of urban renewal and gentrification. Porter argues that the materialistic aspect of 'property' has been predominant in planning, and its "narrowed definition as a conflation with private exchange rights and the possessory individual mark the limits of rights under conditions of dispossession" (Porter, 2014: 395). She finds that "claims for restitution under such dispossessory logics are persistently co-opted into the language of possession: further reconstituting ways of owning and possessing the thing-ness of property" (Porter, 2014: 395). Furthermore, using the case of the Torrens title system, Keenan (2017) maintains that land title registry in the Torrens title system created a linear temporality that projects into the future, by rejecting retrospection, and which had the effect of naturalizing the elite class' multi-generational ownership of estates (Keenan, 2017: 91). Bhandar (2015; 2016) addresses the racialized nature of 'property' under the Torrens title system in settler nation Canada and argues the privatization of the land base was intimately connected to colonial identity formation. Blomley (2017a; 2017b) discusses the ways the legal form of 'property' plays out in sustaining, reshaping and defining people's relations with land in the cases of territorialization, land use and planning. Challenging the predominant yet biased and frequently taken-for-granted concept of property has attracting academic interests. I further engage with these ongoing academic debates in Chapter Five: Chen et al. (2018b).

2.4 Conclusion

Attending the *Sbalay* (Reconciliation)/*Phaban* (Alliance) ceremony in 2012 altered my understanding of 'Taiwan' utterly. It made me realize *Tayal* people governed and continue to govern their Country in their own ways, despite persistent colonial interventions. *Tayal* people are always retaining and renewing their connections to their Country and each other. *Tayal* connections to Country are built on relations with rivers, mountain and people co-exist in the Country. In terms of research design, this recognition required me to turn the taken-for-granted context of 'Taiwan' inside out, in order to emplace this dissertation in the ways *Tayal* people **see**, **think** and **do**. This is a theme that I return to at the end of the dissertation in order to explore the ways in which this *Tayal*-centric approach to questions of belonging, connection and Country require a profound rethinking not only of Indigenous peoples' connections to space, time and place, but also re-contextualize hegemonic discourses about nation, place and belonging.

3: Communal Title and Indigenous Property Rights as a Challenge for Taiwan's Land Title Systems: insights from the Australian experience

Publication details

<i>Title of paper</i>	Communal Title and Indigenous Property Rights as a Challenge for Taiwan's Land Title Systems: insights from the Australian experience
<i>Publication status</i>	This paper was published in <i>Journal of Geographical Research</i> .
<i>Publication details</i>	Chen YS and Howitt R. (2017). Communal Title and Indigenous Property Rights as a Challenge for Taiwan's Land Title Systems: insights from the Australian experience. <i>Journal of Geographical Research</i> , 66, 31-46. doi:10.6234/JGR.2017.66.03.

Publication background

The paper is a literature-review-based paper and was initially drafted in mid-2016, early in the doctoral program, as a conference paper for presentation at the 2016 Annual Conference of The Taiwan Society for Anthropology and Ethnology, 10th September – 11st September 2016, Taipei, Taiwan. Chen was invited to present in the panel 2-C-2 *Indigenous people, Land and Social Development* on 10th September organized by her adjunct supervisor Dr. Da-wei Kuan from Department of Ethnology at National Chengchi University.

This paper sets up the theoretical ground for following discussions. It builds on Chapter Two, which set the conceptual and methodological foundations for the dissertation. As mentioned in Chapter One, the current land title system adopted in Taiwan is modelled on the Australian Torrens title system. This publication examines this process and discusses the land issues Indigenous peoples in Taiwan encounter in terms of legal issues. It draws from Australian experience to propose possible solutions for the better legal accommodation of communal title and Indigenous property rights in Taiwan.

Statement of authorship

<i>Principal author's contributions</i>	
<i>Name of principal author (the candidate)</i>	Yi-shiuan Chen
<i>Contributions</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Conceptualization of the paper ✓ Literature review (70%) ✓ Structuring the paper ✓ Drafting and preparing the manuscript ✓ Revision of successive drafts (70%) ✓ Acted as the corresponding author
<i>Co-author's contributions</i>	
<i>Name of co-author</i>	Richard Howitt
<i>Supervision relation with the candidate</i>	Principal supervisor
<i>Contributions</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Supervised development of work ✓ Literature review (30%; mainly in providing insights of Australian experiences) ✓ Manuscript evaluation and edit ✓ Assistance in revision of successive drafts

Pages 40-55 of this thesis have been removed as they contain published material. Please refer to the following citation for details of the article contained in these pages.

Chen, Y.-S., & Howitt, R. (2017). Communal title and Indigenous property rights as a challenge for Taiwan's land title systems: insights from the Australian experience. *Journal of Geographical Research*, 66, p. 31-46.

DOI: [10.6234/JGR.2017.66.03](https://doi.org/10.6234/JGR.2017.66.03)

4. Reframing Indigenous water rights in ‘modern’ Taiwan: reflecting on Tayal experience of colonized common property

Publication details

<i>Title of paper</i>	Reframing Indigenous water rights in ‘modern’ Taiwan: reflecting on Tayal experience of colonized common property
<i>Publication status</i>	This paper was published in <i>International Journal of the Commons</i> .
<i>Publication details</i>	Chen YS, Suchet-Pearson S and Howitt R. (2018). Reframing Indigenous water rights in ‘modern’ Taiwan: reflecting on Tayal experience of colonized common property. <i>International Journal of the Commons</i> , 12(1), 378-401. doi: 10.18352/ijc.823

Publication background

The paper was initially drafted in early-2017, as a conference paper for presentation at the XVI Biennial Conference of the International Association for the Study of the Commons, 10th October – 14th October 2017, Utrecht, the Netherlands. The fieldwork data analyzed in this publication was collected by Chen in the first phase of fieldwork from August 2016 to January 2017.

This publication addresses the nature of *Tayal* people’s common property governance. In Taiwan, a presumption serves to perpetuate settlers’ privileges - that Taiwanese Indigenous peoples have lost their connections to their Countries as a result of colonizations. Indigenous peoples and its common property governance have been viewed as primitive, outdated and belong to the ‘past’, which do not fit into the ‘modern’ Taiwanese setting. This publication calls for a reconsideration of acknowledging Indigenous peoples’, in this case *Tayal* people’s, common property governance as an accountable part of the ‘modern’ Taiwan, rather than stereotyped historical remains that need to be ‘modernized’ to fit in present-day Taiwan. It concludes that for *Tayal* people, governing common property is about governing common social, cultural and spatial more-than-human relations, instead of solely exercising a human-centric right to entitlement. This publication plays a bridging role from the dissertation’s conceptual and methodological foundations to a concentrated discussion of *Tayal* ontological understandings of property. This paper sets up the basis for Chapter Five and its focus` on the inconsistent understandings of property between *Tayal* people and the settlers-centric discursive constructions.

Note

Please note the Romanization of Jianshih Township is not consistent in this publication. This paper was published in my mid-candidature and I used the Romanization 'Jianshi' in this publication. Later I adopted the commonly used Romanization 'Jianshih' throughout the dissertation.

Statement of authorship

<i>Principal author's contributions</i>	
<i>Name of principal author (the candidate)</i>	Yi-shiuan Chen
<i>Contributions</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Fieldwork ✓ Data analysis ✓ Conceptualization of the paper (75%) ✓ Literature review ✓ Structuring the paper ✓ Drafting and preparing the manuscript ✓ Revision of successive drafts ✓ Acted as the corresponding author
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International Journal of the Commons
Vol. 12, no 1 2018, pp. 378–401
Publisher: Uopen Journals
URL: <http://www.thecommonsjournal.org>
DOI: 10.18352/ijc.823
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ISSN: 1875-0281

Reframing Indigenous water rights in ‘modern’ Taiwan: reflecting on *Tayal* experience of colonized common property

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Abstract: There is a widely accepted stereotype that Indigenous Taiwanese have lost their connection to country as a result of colonization and thus the Indigenous presence is often omitted in representations of ‘modern’ Taiwan. By asserting a modern/traditional binary that privileges the colonizer as modern these representations demean Indigenous cultures as ‘primitive’ or ‘traditional’. This paper challenges those biased dichotomies by exploring the experience of *Tayal* people in northern Taiwan, drawing on both field and archival research to demonstrate the resistant and persistent Indigenous presence in common property resource governance, specifically water governance. The research found that *Tayal* systems for common property governance persist in the management of water. It also demonstrates that in those governance systems, non-human agencies such as water have active agency in *Tayal* culture. By recognizing water as actively engaged in the common property governance, the paper argues that governing common property in the *Tayal* context is about contemporary and adaptive governance relations among non-human and human agencies in a more-than-human world, as well as communally sharing the custodianship. It is misguided to understand these governance systems as primitive, traditional or inauthentic – all common representations within dominant Taiwanese discourses. The paper also argues that recognizing and engaging *Tayal* people’s communal custodianship offers a

foundation for building culturally appropriate, just and resilient common property governance frameworks in Taiwan's contested cultural landscapes.

Keywords: Common property resource governance, customary water interest, Indigenous presence, more-than-human, Taiwan

Acknowledgements: We would like to acknowledge *Tayal* participants and their families involved in this research. We acknowledge *Tayal* custodianship and caring that nurtured, and continue to nurture *Tayal* country. We would like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments and suggestions to improve the quality of the paper.

Baqun balay qwara Gaga, ini kbrus

(When someone knows customary law (*Gaga*) we know they will not lie)

(*Tayal* elder, Jianshi Township, Taiwan, Fieldwork Interview, 6th September 2016)

I. Introduction

In many settler societies, there is a common and dominant misconception that Aboriginal peoples have lost connection to their traditional territories and values as a result of colonization. In reality, Indigenous peoples, languages and cultures are a persistent and resistant presence in many places where the dominant culture asserts such loss and privileges ideas of the absence, erasure and denial of Indigenous peoples (Howitt 2012). Dominant discourses that privilege colonization as an unproblematic driver of modernization demean Indigenous cultures as 'primitive' or 'traditional' – creating a modern/traditional binary that this paper seeks to unsettle.

In Taiwan's 'modern' society, there is a widespread stereotype that Indigenous cultures must remain unchanged to be authorized as authentic and recognizable by the Taiwanese state. So, like many colonizing societies, Taiwan has, until recently at least, argued that Indigenous culture exists only as a past traditional society – unchanging and unchangeable; anywhere and any-when except the here and now.¹

On 1st August 2016, President Ing-wen Tsai delivered the National Apology to the Indigenous Taiwanese for historical injustices and proposed transitional justice in a national scheme.² This National Apology opens an opportunity for Taiwanese

¹ A good example to demonstrate this stereotype is an Indigenous hunter Guang-Lu Wang (王光祿) who was sentenced to three-and-a-half-year imprisonment because: (1) he used a rifle instead of a homemade gunpowder weapon; (2) he hunted without reporting to local authorities and 3) he did not hunt during the 'traditional' festival. The imprisonment was delayed as the Attorney General filed an appeal for the Indigenous hunter (February 2017) (For the verdict: <http://jirs.judicial.gov.tw/FJUD/HISTORYSELF.aspx?SwitchFrom=1&selectedOwner=H&selectedCrmyy=104&selectedCrmid=%E5%8F%B0%E4%B8%8A&selectedCrmno=003280&selectedCrtid=TPS>).

² For the full text please visit: <http://focustaiwan.tw/news/aip/201608010026.aspx> (last accessed: 18/4/2017).

society to reconsider its recent colonial history and to re-narrate the contested cultural landscape by listening and responding to Indigenous narratives as always and already present in the nation's cultural landscapes. Understanding Indigenous cultures as adaptive, dynamic and evolving is an important step in recognizing Indigenous cultures as part of 'modern' Taiwan. Such recognition requires a reconsideration of the nature of common property and Indigenous property rights, including rights held in common under customary governance arrangements, and reframing of those rights. Failure to do this will recreate the conditions for continuing dispossession and displacement of Indigenous peoples and will fail to provide conceptual foundations for just and resilient commons governances.

The opening quotation from a *Tayal* elder in northern Taiwan proposes that 'When someone knows customary law (*Gaga*) we know they will not lie'. This proposition encompasses the ethics and integrity of the *Tayal* customary law system and reflects a persistent and contemporary customary governance framework about common property resources. This paper explores how this proposition plays out in contemporary water governance in *Naro* Community, Jianshi Township and considers its wider implications for Indigenous rights discourses in Taiwan.

Following Schmidt and Dowsley (2010), who demonstrate the importance of understanding common property as having active agency in customary governance systems, we acknowledge the active agency of water and re-examine the nature of its place in common property governance in the *Tayal* context – a shift which requires reconsideration of many aspects of common property governance. The paper explores the ways in which the agency of water in *Tayal* culture renders it not simply as a common pool resource to be governed, but as a key actor in a resource governance system with significant agency in the everyday affairs of *Tayal* people, influencing social, cultural and political domains as well as being part of the environmental context in which governance is disputed in contemporary Taiwan. The paper argues governing common property in the *Tayal* context of *Naro* Community, Jianshi Township is about governing relations among non-human and human agencies in a more-than-human world as well as communally sharing the responsibility rather than merely exercising (and constraining) self-interested control over the resource. In addition, this paper offers recognition of the persistent, adaptive and contemporary Indigenous presence in common property resource governance in 'modern' Taiwan. Finally, it offers some conclusions regarding how to deal better with the complexity of Indigenous claims to rights in property, resources and governance in the wake of President Tsai's National Apology.

2. Research methods

2.1. Methodology

Methodological approaches which embrace more-than-human worlds are increasingly acknowledged as framing the interface between human and natural systems

in the discipline of Human Geography (Whatmore 2002; Braun 2005; Panelli 2010; Suchet-Pearson et al. 2013; Wright 2014; Bawaka et al. 2015; Larsen and Johnson 2016). Among studies of more-than-human worlds, there is growing interest in how Indigenous philosophies perceive relations and connections with non-human agents, such as rivers, land and forests. For instance, Suchet-Pearson et al. (2013) demonstrate the co-constitution of human and non-human agencies in Yolŋu ontology in northeast Arnhem Land, Australia: they 'see humans as one small part of a broader cosmos populated by diverse beings and diverse ways of being, including animals, winds, dirt, sunsets, songs and troop carriers (Suchet-Pearson et al. 2013, 185)'. Acknowledging a more-than-human world opens the possibility to recognizing a non-anthropocentric worldview and its implication of common property governance (Bawaka et al. 2015). Similarly, Kwakwaka'wakw scholar Sarah Hunt asks how disciplines might more respectfully respond to Indigenous philosophies and knowledge "rooted in Indigenous worldviews" in ways that ensure researchers "avoid being agents of assimilation when it comes to Indigenous knowledge, people and communities?" (Hunt 2014, 30). Building on this approach, the research reported here engaged with the *Tayal* presence and more-than-human world in modern Taiwan. The research adopted Howitt's radical contextualist methodology (Howitt 2011). Howitt (2011, 132) uses the term 'radical contextualist' to advocate an approach to geographical knowledge that is 'responsive to and aware of the context(s) in which knowledge is formed, debated, and applied. It also advocates recognition of multiple contexts influencing the social geographies in which our knowledge is constructed, tested, and applied.' This methodology emphasizes that researchers need to be responsible for how knowledge is generated in a specific context. Especially in Indigenous geographies (Coombes et al. 2012, 2013, 2014), researchers are dealing with issues regarding people and culture, which both are dynamic and changeable. Hence, 'Context matters – the historical, geographical, social, and cultural context in which social geographers undertake research fundamentally shapes what we come to know and how we come to represent it to our various audiences' (Howitt 2011, 142).

Non-human agencies play an important role in *Tayal* people's understanding of the world (Kuan 2009, 2013, 2015; Berg 2013; Lin 2015). While in Eurocentric ontology, entities such as water, forest and land are treated as 'objects' rather than 'agents', they are critical elements of common property resource governance which are understood in *Tayal* governance as embodying cosmological agency. So, rather than being simply a natural resource basic to sustenance of human societies, water is motivated by cosmologically framed agency (Hsu et al. 2014). Water governance that is symbolic of a society's cosmology is not uncommon across the world (see also Singh 2006; Samakov and Berkes 2017). Taiwan's dominant resource governance schemes often reduce resources to consumable or tradeable commodities, and nature is binarized with culture so the 'natural' resources need to be managed to achieve the goals of human agents. The research reported here paid attention to *Tayal* views of the cosmological and ontological significance of water resources as an active agent in *Tayal* culture. The research

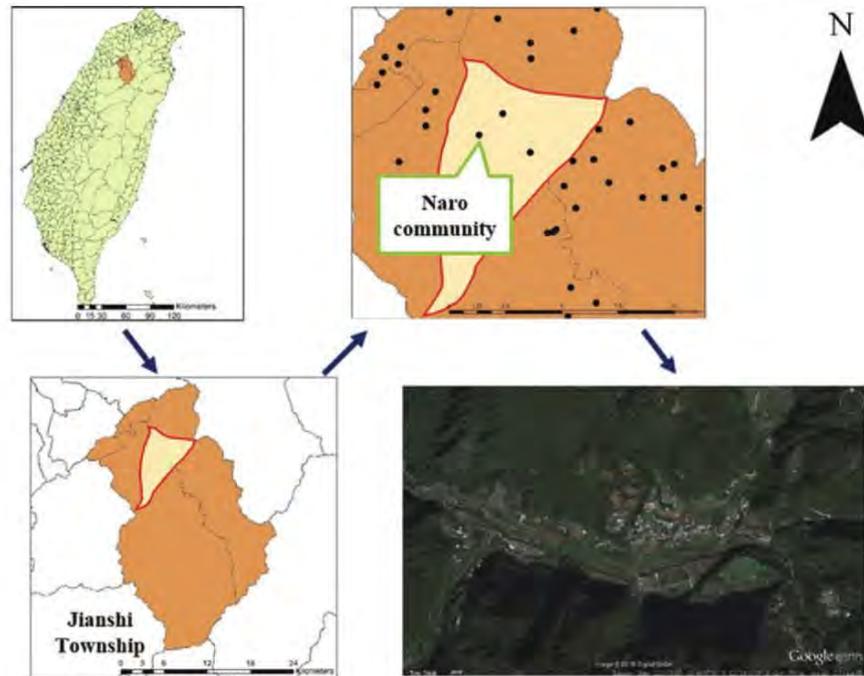


Figure 1: Research site in Naro Community, Jianshi Township, Taiwan.

demonstrates that ‘water’ in *Tayal* culture is not only a resource, but also an active agent that shapes people’s identity and nurtures social relations.

2.2. Research site and ethics

Drawing on co-author Chen’s existing engagement with the *Tayal* community in Jianshi Township and using participant observation and ethnographic research (Chen and Howitt 2017), the research reported here explores how *Tayal* governance and use of commons has evolved through colonial interferences. Jianshi Township (Mandarin: 尖石鄉; pinyin: Jiānshí Xiāng) (Figure 1), is a mountain Indigenous township in Hsinchu County in northern Taiwan. It had an estimated population of 9395 as of July 2017 (Jianshi Township Household Registration Office 2017). The main population is the *Tayal* people of the Taiwanese Indigenous people. The area is 527.5795 km².

Tayal economic activities in Jianshi Township continue to be predominantly agricultural, with strong reliance on locally managed water distribution to fields. The Naro Community within the Township (260 households and population 807 as of May 2017 (Council of Indigenous Peoples 2017)), provided an appropriate case study location because the community economy is primarily agricultural,

the landholders are a mixture of *Tayal* customary landholders and more recent ethnic Han and Taiwanese settlers, and customary *Tayal* governance remains common in how water is governed and managed. When approached, the community leaders supported the research, and cooperated by welcoming Chen into community meetings, activities and interviews. Informed consent was obtained from *Tayal* participants prior to commencing site visits, trail walks, participatory mapping, interviews or group discussions. The project is covered by a protocol approved under Australian requirements (Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee Approval # 5201600433). Under this protocol, and with their approval, participants are referred to using a pseudonym to protect their privacy.

2.3. Data collection and engaging with *Tayal* knowledge

The research was conducted from August 2016 to January 2017. The fieldwork involved 23 local residents with a mixture of 6 women and 17 men. The average age of informants is above 55 years old and most of them practice agriculture or access common property (e.g. water, hunting ground, forest...etc.) frequently. The informant selection was deliberate. Chen³ consciously recruited senior local residents who are involved in customary water resource governance and have long experiences over time of colonial interventions (for the list of informants see Appendix 1). The data comprises individual interviews and group discussions with research informants about the nature of *Tayal* knowledge and approaches to the use, management and governance of water. Table 1 lists group discussions that the researchers held during the fieldwork.

During the fieldwork, Chen became aware that *Tayal* informants were more actively engaged in interviews when their relatives also participated and when the interview was held in semi-public places. By employing a radical contextualist lens, Chen consciously sensed that *Tayal* knowledge is embedded in the *Qutux niqan*, a social-relational group sharing food, which can be interpreted as an extended family. *Tayal* knowledge is generated, maintained and regulated through/within their *Qutux niqan* (extended family) (Kuan 2013). *Tayal* knowledge is never singular, linear, and exclusive. Knowledge is debated, generated and a common property/common knowledge is reached in a localized relational web of kinship, community and senses of place. In order to access contextualized information in *Tayal* culture, Chen held 5 group discussions and recruited *Tayal* participants from the same *Qutux niqan* (extended family). We acknowledged that the relations among informants matter through data collection. Sharing knowledge within a relational web of kinship is paramount in *Tayal* culture. The research methodology applied to explore the dynamic of *Tayal* common property resource governance hence emerged in a specific-temporal-and-spatial scale and

³ The research fieldwork was mainly conducted by Chen under the supervision of Sandra Suchet-Pearson, Richard Howitt and adjunct supervisor Da-wei Kuan in National Chengchi University, Taiwan.

Table 1: Group discussion.

No.	Type of interview	Date	Participants component	Rationale of selection
1	Group discussion	2016/09/06	Behuy, Hana and Yulaw	Behuy and Hana were born during the Japanese colonial era and have run a local grocery store and agricultural business since they married. They are both prestigious local leaders and have witnessed colonial interventions in <i>Tayal</i> common property governance (e.g. forest, water, hunting ground... etc.) during various settler governments. Yulaw belongs to the same extended family. He currently is a farmer and subject to <i>Tayal</i> common property governance.
2	Group discussion	2016/09/22	Payal and Kumu	Kumu and Payal belong to the same extended family. Kumu is a local farmer and grows customary crops in her fields. Payal is a local resident. Both have the expertise of connecting and maintaining the local pipeline system and the allocation of water resources.
3	Group discussion	2016/10/01	Hetay and Apay	Hetay and Apay are a married couple and both are local farmers. They are familiar with evolving agricultural practices and accessibility to common property in the local context.
4	Group discussion	2016/12/07	Yuming, Kumay, Watan and Tapas	Yuming, Kumay and Watan belong to the same extended family. Yuming and Kumay are elders and leaders in their extended family and the community. They are both local farmers and are familiar with <i>Tayal</i> common property governance (e.g. hunting ground and trail, water source... etc.) Watan and Tapas were interpreters of this interview.
5	Group discussion	2016/12/12	Pasang and Yapit	Pasang has the expertise of connecting and maintaining the local pipeline system and the allocation of water resources. Yapit is Pasang's mother. She is a committed customary crops cultivator and preserves native species (including bean, cucumber... etc.).

cultural-and-geographical context and acknowledged the contextualized environment of *Tayal* knowledge generation.

2.4. Time scope and colonial Taiwanese history

Indigenous Taiwanese have experienced multiple colonial governments (Hsu 2016) since this island was initially spotted by Portuguese sailors and given the name 'Formosa', which means beautiful island, in the sixteenth century. The island was occupied by the Netherlands (1624–1662; mainly in southern Taiwan) and Spain (1626–1642; mainly in northern Taiwan) in the Age of Discovery. In 1661, a Ming Dynasty leftover loyalist Koxinga ousted the Netherlands and established a military base in Taiwan. Taiwan was annexed into the Qing Dynasty Empire in 1683, and then ceded to Japan after the First Sino-Japanese War in 1895. Until the Japanese occupation of Taiwan, *Tayal* customary governance of land and resources was basically unaffected by colonial interference. The Japanese

colonial government extended central control to the highlands of Taiwan, invested in significant new infrastructure, particularly hydraulic infrastructure for cultivation (Chen 1993), and encountered significant Indigenous resistance (Fujii 1997). This challenged *Tayal* sovereign control of local resources, and provided a major foundation for dispossession of *Tayal* territory that was amplified by later colonial governance. Under the United States oversight, following the defeat of the ruling Japanese colonial government in the 1945, Taiwanese sovereignty was unclear. In 1949 the Nationalist Kuomintang (KMT) government of the Republic of China (ROC), following their retreat from mainland China and establishment of the Peoples Republic of China (PRC), occupied Taiwan and claimed the island as an indivisible part of an imagined pre-1895 imperial domain (Leng 1996).

Although Japanese colonization challenged *Tayal* governance structures, the land policies imposed by the Japanese colonial government recognized communal land titles (Kuan 2014; Chen and Howitt 2017) and, as under the previous colonial interventions, Indigenous institutions were largely able to continue operating, particularly in more remote areas. However, the occupation of Taiwan by the ROC government resulted in the enforcement of an individual-registerable and private-owned freehold title system which is identified by the researchers as the main factor currently impacting Indigenous people's common property governance. As such, this paper focuses on the time period of 1945 to the present.⁴

3. *Tayal* water governance

3.1. River-based narrative and relational ontology

The case study presented here focuses on *Tayal* people's water resource governance. In *Tayal* culture, there is a way of chanting called *Lmuhuw*; it is the philosophy of flow or "through-ness" and informs *Tayal* people's cosmology. The term *Lmuhuw* means "flowing" and "going through" in *Tayal* language and literally refers to the way water moves as it flows in a river or through bamboo (Kuan 2009). *Lmuhuw* records the epic migrations led by three brothers: *Buta*, *Ayan* and *Yaboh*, along the different watersheds due to the densely populated origins. They migrated from the origins toward the north to find cultivable lands. *Lmuhuw* is chanted and inherited by male elders exclusively, and normally is chanted when proposing marriage or reconciliation after a dispute. The chanting of *Lmuhuw* clarifies the relations between parties involved (Zheng 2006). On the occasion of proposing marriage, it clarifies that there are no blood relations between the two families to avoid incest. During reconciliation processes, it reminds the stakeholders of their common ancestors, in order to smooth the peace-making process by strengthening their identity and connection.

In *Lmuhuw*, when *Buta* separated from *Ayan* and *Yaboh* for different migration paths, he exhorted them that: "No matter wherever you are going, you shall start your community alongside with different water sources (*mtbuci lmuuw ginqwangan*

⁴ For the historical procedure through which the ROC government imposed freehold title in Taiwan from early-1946, see Chen and Howitt (2017, 37–38).

sbqiy) (Zheng 2006).” In *Tayal* culture, *Tayal* ancestors migrated along rivers, and established settlements along rivers. They founded communities and subgroups along rivers and various watersheds. Throughout *Tayal* migration, the rivers acted as guides rather than just convenient paths. Rivers also actively shaped and reshaped *Tayal* people’s identity. Their identity is watershed-based. In other words, *Tayal* people identify themselves with the watershed they come from rather than settlement (Kuan 2009; Mabuchi 2012 [1941]). Rivers play an active and significant role in *Tayal* ontology and cosmology. The traditional chanting *Lmuhuw* is an explanation of *Tayal* people’s **existence** over **time** and **space**. The migration paths recorded in *Lmuhuw* embed *Tayal* people’s identity simultaneously in past migration, current territory and commitment to future generations. *Tayal* people formed a watershed-based identity through the common ancestral migration, and they use the term *qutux llyung* (*qutux* means one; *llyung* means river in *Tayal* language) to refer to the fact that community members live within the same watershed and share the same identity.

Lmuhuw is also about social norms and ethics. The legendary leader *Buta* taught his younger brothers how to hold reconciliation once a conflict happened and other social norms that they and their decedents should obey (Zheng 2006). *Tayal* ontology and cosmology are entangled and mutually constructed in a relational web, in which social norms, explanation of existence, sense of belonging, ethics, sense of place, governance and identity are entangled, mutual-constructed and connected through the flow or through-ness of physical and/or symbolic rivers. Physical and symbolic rivers actively construct and connect *Tayal* people – practically, ontologically and cosmologically.

Relations with water construct *Tayal* people’s ontological and practical understandings. The flow or “through-ness” of rivers construct a relational web in which *Tayal* ontological and practical understandings are embedded. A relational ontology of connection means understanding all beings and things as inherently connected. Neither one’s identity, actions or ethics can be understood in isolation from other research partners, family members, other people, or the natural world. As in Yolju culture in Australia, humans, animals, plants, winds, rocks, spirits, songs, sunsets and water, indeed “all things, are connected together in a web of kinship and responsibility” (Lloyd et al. 2012, 1076). In the *Tayal* context, their relational ontology reflects a unique way of governing common property. By recognizing that all beings and things are connected, natural resources are not solely consumable and manageable resources; they also embody an active agency that connects, nurtures and maintains relations amongst all beings. In the group discussions it was clear that this relational way of seeing their world still matters in *Tayal* peoples’ water resource management while practices evolve over time.

3.2. Water as an active agent – a manageable resource or a commons relation?

When non-human agencies are understood as active agents, the scheme of common property governance requires significant revisions (Schmidt and Dowsley

2010). In *Tayal* culture, rivers, no matter whether they are symbolic or physical, are more than manageable resources for *Tayal* people. Rivers play an active role in *Tayal* customary governance. Rivers shape and engage *Tayal* people's identity, sense of belonging, sense of place, explanation of existence. Rivers also maintain and nurture social norms and ethics that are embedded in *Tayal* customary governance. Rivers and water commons are not reducible to a consumable commodity in *Tayal* ontology. They establish common relations that connect human and non-human agencies in more-than-human worlds. In this sense, *Tayal* governance of common property is not an anthropocentric utilization, but is about managing the social relations among various human and non-human stakeholders with an interest in a common pool resource. It is also implicated in the relations among various 'non-human' stakeholders in a more-than-human world. The following section provides three case studies that further illustrate how water, as a non-human agent in the scheme of common property governance, evolves along with colonial interferences; and how *Tayal* customary governance resists and persists in the 'modern' Taiwan landscape.

4. Case studies

4.1. Water interests in customary governance

With annual rainfall of around 2000 mm, water is not scarce in *Tayal* territory. Water sources, in springs and water courses, are used for domestic and agricultural purposes, with a complex system of pipes connecting water sources to a range of locations. In terms of *Tayal* customary law, sharing water sources implies being part of an extended family. The *Tayal* term for extended family, *Qutux niqan*, refers to a group who share foods, and also refers to a group that shares water sources. With increasing presence of non-*Tayal*⁵ people in *Tayal* territory, *Tayal* groups have adjusted their social norms to apply in current society. In *Tayal* language, the term *Pucing qsya'* means the water source (*puqing* means roots; *qsya'* means water), and the term *Cinpucing qsya'* refers to the priority user of a water source, normally a person who used that water source first and therefore has the priority interest. To connect to the pipeline system, the consent of *Cinpucing qsya'* is essential in *Tayal* social norms, and other people are only allowed to connect pipelines below where the *Cinpucing qsya'* is connected. Historically, approval to use the same water source implied being included into family. Nowadays, however, *Tayal* community members also give their permission and welcome to non-*Tayal* settlers to connect pipelines to their water sources. To comply with *Tayal*

⁵ The non-*Tayal* people moving into *Tayal* territory referred to here generally come from the dominant Han and Hakka ethnic groups or other Indigenous groups in Taiwan, whose ancestors immigrated from the continental China either around Qing Dynasty (A.D. 1644–A.D. 1912) or after World War II. According to 2014 Mayoral election data, there are 17 percent of local residents are non-*Tayal* people (Lo 2017, 132).

social norms, some non-*Tayal* settlers will hold a sharing pork ceremony with *Tayal* community members' assistance:

If a non-*Tayal* settlers came to our community to live and ask to connect his/her pipeline system from our water source, he/she needs to share a pig with whom sharing the same water source, not the whole community. This thing is called *qbalay* (deal with) *Gaga* (customary law), which means all relevant parties negotiated, agreed, so we will share a pig.

–*Kumu* and *Payal* from *Naro* community

Through killing a pig and sharing pork with the group sharing the same water source, the non-*Tayal* settlers acknowledge the custodianship of *Tayal* people and will be recognized as part of the social relations in the *Naro* community, and thus share the responsibility of water resource governance. While the sharing pork ceremony does not require explicit recognition of *Tayal* customary governance of the shared resource, it reflects *Tayal* custom and the customary governance relationships built on that customary law. Not all non-*Tayal* settlers were willing to hold the sharing pork ceremony. Some non-*Tayal* settlers paid the maintenance fee to the community without sharing pork with the community. In such cases, the maintenance fee paid to the *Cinpucinq qsyá'* or the head of household or through a community council body also reinforces the *Tayal* perception that customary governance of the resource is being reinforced and accepted rather than bypassed. But either way, holding the sharing pork ceremony or not, paying the maintenance fee to the community still indicates a customary governance system that is recognized and reinforced by non-*Tayal* settlers making financial contribution to the community.

Figure 2 illustrates the priority relations of customary water interests in *Tayal* society. *Tayal* customary governance system, in which common property interests are explicitly allocated to various members in a customary community, is well understood and lasts for multiple generations among *Tayal* people. In *Tayal* customary governance system, people have particular responsibilities that are accountable to a wider body politic. If a local *Tayal* person asks to connect her/his pipeline from the *Cinpucinq qsyá'*, she/he does not need to hold a sharing-pork ceremony with the group; only non-*Tayal* settlers need to do so. This is because the sharing-pork ceremony is an acknowledgement of being included in the relations, and thus, being responsible to govern the common water interest. For community members, there are clear priority water interests maintained by social norms. As in other customary law settings, common property resource governance is not about collective ownership of particular resources; it is about sharing the **responsibility** and **custodianship collectively** under customary law in a more-than human world rather than exercising anthropocentric utilitarianism over resources (see also Toussaint et al. 2005; Hoverman and Ayre 2012; Jackson et al. 2012; Ayre and Mackenzie 2013). In *Tayal* customary law settings, managing water commons is not solely about utilizing the resource. It is always directed towards maintaining, nurturing and governing the social relations embedded in the customary law and governance system.

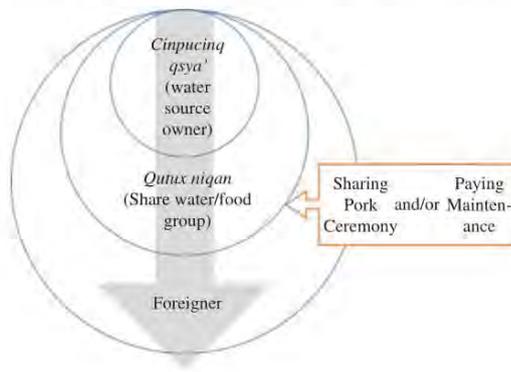


Figure 2: The priority relations of water interests.
 (The diagram visualizes the understanding of customary water interests' priority as concentric circles. The inner circle appears as the priority of water interests in customary law.)

4.2. Contemporary water commons governance

Even though water is not a scarce resource in *Tayal* territory, pipeline systems in its mountainous terrain are fragile and require a lot of maintenance, especially in response to major storms, typhoons and landslides. In such events, water and rivers play an active force in guiding *Tayal* people's mobility and migration patterns (Kuan 2015). In order to work with this active agent, *Tayal* people need to respond to the agency of water through timely maintenance of the pipeline systems. The responsibilities involved in maintaining the water commons is integrated in *Tayal* customary system. When maintaining the pipeline, *Tayal* are simultaneously maintaining their social relations. As illustrated in Figure 2, the relationships within this water governance system are multi-faceted, and well-illustrated both physically and metaphorically by the pipelines that carry water from the water sources to fields and houses. Figure 3 shows a pipeline connected across a five-storey-deep valley. The *Cinpucinq qsyɑ'* (water source owner) is responsible for maintaining their own pipeline system. If damage occurs, the *Cinpucinq qsyɑ'* (water source owner) either maintains it in person or hires someone to do so, and all households in the same pipeline system will split the costs. The left side of Figure 3 is the water source and the right side of Figure 3 extends to the left side of Figure 4. In Figure 4, two sub-pipelines connect from the main pipeline. The two sub-pipelines belong to different households. Each household is in charge of their own sub-pipelines. Again, the pipeline system illustrates a customary governance system, in which people have specific responsibility that are accountable to a wider community polity.

Water makes and reflects the connections between people as an active agent. At times of typhoons, floods and landslides, it can exercise an active threatening agent to well-being. People are literally connected by/with water. The connections are **visible** in the landscape through the pipelines which reflects certain social



Figure 3: An example of the pipeline system in Naro.



Figure 4: The pipeline reflects the social connections.

structures. All pipelines are literally the social connections constructed by/with *Tayal* customary governance. The pipelines clearly demonstrate the materiality of Indigenous **presence and water as an active agent** in local relationships of governing and using shared resources. The persistent and adaptive presence of customary governance structures and relationships with resources disrupts dualist representations of traditional/modern and articulates that *Tayal* social norms evolve over time. For instance, the *Naro* community acknowledges the non-*Tayal* settlers in their area and includes them into their relations through cultural processes. With the pressures that come from increasingly monetized economic relations and the challenges of rapid social changes, *Tayal* community members

reorganize and adjust their social norms in a dynamic manner, but in doing so, they create and maintain a modern and dynamic *Tayal* presence in the region, which subverts the dominant culture narratives of Indigenous absence, irrelevance or inauthentic cultural identity.

Clearly, then, *Tayal* customary common property governance is not simply a matter of managing the common resource itself. It is crucially also and always about governing relationships among human and non-human agencies in a more-than-human world, as well as managing relationships between *Tayal* and non-*Tayal* people in an increasingly complex Taiwanese setting. In *Tayal* ontology and practice *water* is an active agent that directly influences governance, appropriate behavior, and how custodians are rewarded and supported. In modern *Tayal* society, governing the common property resource indicates **commonly** sharing the **responsibility**, rather than merely sharing the resource. The next section examines the domination and invisibility of *Tayal* culture, values and identity through colonial interventions and government legislations in 'modern' Taiwanese settings, and its implication for Indigenous presence and the matter of common property governance.

4.3. Colonial interventions and government legislations

When President Ing-wen Tsai delivered the National Apology to Indigenous Taiwanese on August 1, 2016 for historical injustices and proposed transitional justice in a national scheme, an important moment emerged to reconcile, acknowledge and recognize Indigenous presences as an essential part of 'modern' Taiwan. Nevertheless, discourses of invisibility and ignorance towards Indigenous presences are still deeply rooted in the dominant culture and national government legislation. Taiwan's occupation by the ROC government essentially erased Indigenous water rights and interests with deficient legislative frameworks and policies (Chen and Howitt 2017). The main legislation dealing with water rights and interests is the *Water Act* 1942. Amendments made in 1963 declare the State's ownership of water resources and claim to virtually extinguish Indigenous customary water rights and interests at the national-legislative scale. The *Water Act* states:

(§2). Water resources, being part of the natural resources, are owned by the state, and the state ownership is not prejudiced by the land ownership of any persons.

The 1963 amendments also formalized the legal concept of water right:

The term "water right" as referred to herein shall mean the right acquired according to law to use or make profits from surface or ground waters (§15)'.
 Furthermore:

'the acquisition, creation, transfer, alteration or extinguishments of water right shall be null and void unless duly registered pursuant to this Act (§27)' [and

to obtain water rights requires] ‘registration shall be filed with the authorities-in-charge at the municipal or country (city) level (§28)’.

A 2016 amendment of Article 42 recognized Indigenous Peoples’ water interests in a certain way. It stated:

‘In the Surface or ground water usage for the following purposes are exempt from water right registration: ...2. water consumption in accordance with Subparagraph 4, Paragraph 1, Article 19 of the Indigenous Peoples Basic Law’ (hereafter referred as IPBL).

The *IPBL* announced in 2005 is the main body of Indigenous rights and interests legislation in Taiwan. Article 19 aims to protect Indigenous Peoples’ accessibility toward natural resources:

Indigenous persons may undertake the following non-profit seeking activities in Indigenous peoples’ regions:

1. Hunting wild animals;
2. Collecting wild plants and fungus;
3. Collecting minerals, rocks and soils;
4. Utilizing water resources’.

These activities can only be conducted for traditional culture, ritual or self-consumption. While the *IPBL* means to protect Indigenous rights, the articles ironically only recognizes Indigenous Peoples’ accessibility to natural resources in a ‘traditional’ purpose. The *IPBL* effectively froze Indigenous cultures in a ‘traditional’ frame and failed to recognize contemporary Indigenous cultures. It formalized Indigenous water interests and rights in a way that ensures they are **only** recognized when the activities are conducted for ‘traditional culture, ritual or self-consumption’, which underpins the doctrine of ‘tradition’ and unchanging Indigenous cultures. Based on this token acknowledgement of Indigenous peoples and their water interests, the *Water Act* accordingly privileges the dominant discourse that Indigenous cultures are recognizable and acceptable only to the extent that they are unchanged, ancient and ‘traditional’ (see also Barclay 2010; Maddison 2013).

5. Discourses and practices of invisibility and dominance

The legislative framework in ‘modern’ Taiwan recognizes a limited scope for Indigenous water rights on the presumption that Indigenous culture is unchanging and part of ‘traditional’ society. The legislation fails to acknowledge Indigenous water interests in a dynamic manner and that Indigenous cultures are adaptive and modern, not limited to some arbitrary authentic moment in the past. Fieldwork with *Tayal* custodians and managers of water for agricultural and domestic use revealed their understanding of water as an active agent in *Tayal* ontology. This

significant feature has not been acknowledged in Taiwanese national legal frameworks. The dominant discourse deems water, along with other natural resources, as a passive object, subject to (state-authorized and controlled) human action to manage/control/intervene. This section examines how Indigenous presence at a local scale has been challenged by national policies and legislation and rapid social changes. This section also unpacks how *Tayal* customary was intruded by practices and discourses of invisibility and dominance.

With an increasing number of non-*Tayal* settlers moving into *Tayal* territory in recent decades, the customary allocation of water resources has been affected. Non-*Tayal* settlers tend to fence their lands as an assertion of their proprietary claim under tenancy or lease, so *Tayal* community members have to detour around the fence to connect their pipelines. With more and more non-*Tayal* settlers moving into the territory, most *Tayal* community members choose to avoid negotiating access arrangements with non-*Tayal* settlers by locating their pipeline to take advantage of recently provided government infrastructure, such as ditches and roads.⁶ By doing so, informants *Kumu* and *Payal* said: 'no one can argue with you'. This implies that the *Tayal* customary governance system has been influenced by non-*Tayal* actions. Pipeline connection used to be dependent on and reinforcing of local social relations even though it was increasingly framed as a private property from the dominant perspectives. The dominant practices and discourses excludes the *Tayal* collective water resource governance. The dominant discourses and practices claim that the state is the sole authority in the water resource scheme and infrastructure, the individuals only owns the pipeline as private property. As a result, individuals can connect their pipeline through infrastructure without reference to the *Tayal* customary governance, since the *Water Act* reserves exclusive authority over water source governance for the state and omits customary governance.

While *Tayal* common property governance renders a strong sense of communality, in the national legislation, recognition spaces⁷ for the communal and customary interests of Indigenous people are rendered all but impossible (Chen and Howitt 2017). Encountering oppression from arrogant settlers' discourses and practices, the *Tayal* customary water governance faces great pressure to maintain and regulate. The colonial interventions that authorize and reinforce the national governance of local water resources are profoundly carved into the landscape. Figure 5 shows a land boundary marker set up by the local land registry office to clarify the boundary between fields. *Tayal* residents in *Naro* community generally do not require land boundary markers to clarify boundaries between fields due to the fact that they lived here for generations and shared the communal custodianship. However, non-*Tayal* settlers brought dominant spatial discourses and

⁶ Pipeline systems generally cover quite long distances. In some sections, *Tayal* people chose to locate the pipeline in ditches or roads. If they really needed to pass a certain field, they buried the pipeline underground or detour around the edge of field.

⁷ This term is drawn from Pearson (1997).



Figure 5: Land boundary marker and a pipe attached on it in the edge of a field.

practices into *Tayal* territory. Through a discourse of invisibility, non-*Tayal* settlers omitted the *Tayal* conceptions of and approaches to water governance. They ignore the notion of communality in *Tayal* people common property governance, and aggressively claim their proprietary right under tenancy or lease through erecting land boundary markers. In response to the physical markers of state governance, *Tayal* community members place pipelines in the edge of fields or bury them under the ground. This literally marginalizes Indigenous presences in the landscape, and literally marginalizes *Tayal* perceptions of more-than-human worlds as well. The colonial intrusion into the *Tayal* landscape actually creates a spatial disciplining – the pipelines are disciplined by the colonial power to only traverse areas that are not ‘privately owned’ by non-*Tayal* settlers. The dominant discourses and practices perceive common resource as manageable, controllable and measurable, and they literally marginalize the *Tayal* water governance. However, there is actually an ongoing assertion and presence of *Tayal* governance system, as presented in Figures 3–5, which required careful interpretation.

The *Tayal* epic migrations along rivers, watershed-based identities and social relations all reveal a more-than-human cosmology and relational ontology. Here multi-layered and multi-dimensional knowledge is formed in relations that stretch between places and across temporal scales. Knowledge and the systems that govern its application to the stewardship of common property resources, are, therefore, entangled in the more-than-human settings in which they operate. The ROC's colonial interventions brought an arrogant settler discourse based on an assumed binary distinction between nature and culture, and a privileging of state power over customary practice and *Gaga* (customary law). The dominant discourse interprets subsequent patterns of common property management as disconnection of *Tayal* people from their culture. In *Tayal* discourses, however, the same patterns are understood as adaptive responses in which *Tayal* connections to nature, community and customary governance are reinforced against the colonizing assumptions of the invisibility and unimportance of Indigenous rights in contemporary resource management. Encountering the growing pressure from dominance and invisibility, nevertheless, *Tayal* water governance remains a presence in the landscape of an ostensibly 'modern', but still colonizing Taiwan.

6. Conclusion

Tayal governance of common property offers an alternative to colonial interventions. It challenges discourses and practices of dominance and invisibility by demonstrating its persistent and resistant presence. Through re-examining the nature of commons, this paper has illustrated that common property governance in the *Tayal* cultural context is maintained/nurtured by customary law which has accountability and moral obligations to a broader *Tayal* customary governance system. In *Tayal* water governance, water is an active agent which engages *Tayal* cultural dynamics rather than a consumable resource. *Tayal* customary governance offers a strategy for thinking relationally about governing the communal relations among non-human and human agencies in a more-than-human world, rather than consuming resources in anthropocentric ways.

This paper weaves together two threads of argument from fieldwork on water governance in the *Naro* communities of Jianshi Township in Taiwan. On the one hand, there is a theoretical thread; on the other is a contextual thread. First, the paper has shown that in common property governance, it is important to recognize that non-human agencies play an active role in *Tayal* culture. By recognizing water as actively engaged in common property governance, the approaches regarding common property governance needed to be re-examined. In the *Tayal* context, water is a vital agent that shapes identity, belonging and existence; water also connects a range of other human and non-human agencies. Governing the water resource for *Tayal* people is never merely about managing the resource itself, but about managing the relations among non-human and human agencies and sharing the **responsibility communally** in a more-than-human world. It is too simplified to presume that common property governance indicates communal ownership. In the *Tayal*

cultural context, it also indicates sharing the **custodianship** under customary law. Academic discourse typically represents scholarly knowledge as detached, objective and universal, yet the contested cultural landscapes of *Tayal* territory in Taiwan reflect a persistent ontological pluralism (Howitt and Suchet-Pearson 2003, 2006) that needs to be recognized. Recognizing *Tayal* people's communal custodianship of 'resources' is the foundation needed to propose more culturally appropriate, just and resilient common property governance frameworks in this contested cultural landscape.

Secondly, the paper critically considered the implications of a discourse about 'modern' Taiwanese society. In Taiwanese dominant discourses, Indigenous culture is deemed traditional and authentic only when it exists somewhere else or some-when else. Colonial interventions and government legislation have been complicit in creating the apparent invisibility of Indigenous Taiwanese in 'modern' Taiwan, and in underpinning the dominance on non-Indigenous culture in 'modern' Taiwan. However, in examining the case of *Tayal* water governance, the paper demonstrated the continuing Indigenous presence and identified the political challenge in 'modern' Taiwan, especially in a post-Apology political dynamic. The examples discussed reveal a contemporary *Tayal* ontology that consists of interdependent relations between human and non-human beings in particular places, which is not valued in a deep colonizing Taiwanese society. *Tayal* people's water resource governance is deeply integrated with their epic migrations and oral history that underlies their more-than-human ontology. *Tayal* customary governance framework is resilient and adaptive, evolving correspondingly to society dynamics. Through cultural ceremony, *Tayal* people recognize non-*Tayal* settlers as stakeholders of collective water interests and include them into the social relations. When down-scaling the discourse of Indigenous absence (or stereotyped presence) from national legislations to local landscapes, the research reported here revealed an inconsistency, as well as identified a political challenge in a post-Apology political dynamic in Taiwan. In the ostensibly 'modern' Taiwanese setting, the dominant discourse excludes Indigenous cultures as parts of the present society. However, a resilient local common property resource governance relies on the collective ability to engage rather than subvert diversity in knowledges⁸ and cultural experiences (see also Natcher et al. 2005; Chaudhary et al. 2015; Bunge-Vivier and Martínez-Ballesté 2017; Tadie and Fischer 2017). Just as custodianship of territory by Indigenous peoples was not seen or valued by non-Indigenous colonizers, Indigenous modes of governing the landscape to maintain vital resources were also mostly unperceived and unacknowledged (see also McLean 2010). The pipeline systems in *Naro* community governed by customary law literally show Indigenous governance embedded in an ever-present and everyday social-relational web (see Figure 4), and illustrate how Indigenous presences, while marginalized by colonial interventions and national legislation (see Figure 5), remain resilient and adaptive

⁸ We use the word knowledge in plural to refer intentionally the multiplicity of knowledge systems in contested cultural landscapes.

and reassert themselves through negotiation of the changing physical, social and regulatory landscape (see also Figures 3 and 4).

The National Apology provides a space to start re-narrating (and listening/attending to other narratives already present) the discourses of presence, existence, belonging and governance in Taiwanese contested cultural landscapes (Howitt 2012). Recognizing the historical injustices of colonization and national legislation that sought to erase the rights of Indigenous Taiwanese is an important step toward building a national society that acknowledges and recognizes Indigenous Taiwanese's presence as an essential part of 'modern' Taiwan. Only by acknowledging the failed extinguishment and the persistent and resistant Indigenous presence, can Taiwanese society start a process of reconciliation. Starting to identify and bridge the gap between the dominance and the messy reality is what this paper aimed for. Common property governance is about governing among relationships rather than merely governing the resource. Recognizing the inherent custodianship of Indigenous Taiwanese people does not hurt the legislatively protected water interests of individual citizens. Such recognition would benefit *Tayal* communities by acknowledging their importance of *Tayal* relational ontology in common property resource governance. Such reframing of common property resources such as water will be beneficial for Taiwanese society by reframing the historical, cultural, political, ecological narratives in ways that support the solidarity of Taiwanese society by including Taiwanese Indigenous peoples, including *Tayal* people, as part of 'modern' Taiwan, rather than romanticized relics.

Glossary of *Tayal* terms

Cinpucinq qsyá: the priority user of a water source or 'water owner'

Gaga: customary law

Pucing qsyá: means the water source (*puqing* means roots; *qsya*' means water),

Qutux niqan: extended family, refers to a group who share foods, and also refers to a group that shares water sources

Lmuhuw: traditional chanting records ancestral migration

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Appendix I

Informants list

No.	Informant (pseudonym)	Gender	Occupation	Approx. age	Ethnic group
1	Atung	Male	Farmer	60~	Tayal
2	Payal	Male	Local residents	50~	Tayal
3	Kumu	Female	Farmer	60~	Tayal
4	Hetay	Male	Farmer	60~	Tayal
5	Hayung	Male	Farmer and restaurant owner	50~	Tayal
6	Tali	Male	Elder and former farmer	80~	Tayal
7	Ataw	Male	Elder	60~	Tayal
8	Yuming	Male	Farmer	65~	Tayal
9	Kumay	Male	Farmer	65~	Tayal
10	Watan	Male	Local resident and retired teacher	50~	Tayal
11	Yulaw	Male	Farmer	65~	Tayal
12	Pasang	Male	Farmer	40~	Tayal
13	Icyh	Male	Farmer	60~	Tayal
14	Lahuy	Male	Farmer	55~	Tayal
15	Behuy	Male	Local business owner	75~	Tayal
16	Hana	Female	Local business owner	75~	Tayal
17	Apay	Female	Farmer	60~	Tayal
18	Mayan	Male	Farmer and hunter	55~	Tayal
19	Yukan	Male	Farmer	55~	Tayal
20	Piaty	Female	Farmer	55~	Han (married to Tayal)
21	Yaway	Female	Farmer	55~	Tayal
22	Yapit	Female	Farmer	60~	Tayal
23	Tapas	Female	Local resident	50~	Tayal

5. Decolonizing Property in Taiwan: Challenging hegemonic constructions of property

Publication details

<i>Title of paper</i>	Decolonizing Property in Taiwan: Challenging hegemonic constructions of property
<i>Publication status</i>	This paper was published in Environment and Planning D: Society and Space.
<i>Publication details</i>	Chen YS, Kuan DW, Suchet-Pearson S and Howitt R. (2018). Decolonizing Property in Taiwan: challenging hegemonic constructions of property. Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 36 (6): 987-1006. doi:10.1177/0263775818799751.

Publication background

The first version of the paper was drafted by Chen in mid-2017, for presentation in the Thinking Space Seminar Series at the School of Geosciences, University of Sydney (10 May 2017). The fieldwork data analyzed was collected by Chen in the first phase of fieldwork from August 2016 to January 2017, with supplementary materials collected from Chen's second phase is from January 2018 to February 2018.

This publication engages the ontologically inconsistent understandings of 'property' between *Tayal* people and settlers-sanctioned construction. It argues that the hegemonic interpretation of time and space embedded deeply yet normally omitted in current Taiwanese land title system profoundly dispossessed/dispossess *Tayal* people.

Statement of authorship

<i>Principal author's contributions</i>	
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<i>Contributions</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Fieldwork ✓ Data analysis ✓ Conceptualization of the paper (75%) ✓ Literature review ✓ Structuring the paper ✓ Drafting and preparing the manuscript ✓ Revision of successive draft ✓ Acted as the corresponding author
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Pages 85-104 of this thesis have been removed as they contain published material. Please refer to the following citation for details of the article contained in these pages.

Chen, Y. Y.-S., Kuan, D.-W., Suchet-Pearson, S. & Howitt, R. (2018). Decolonizing Property in Taiwan: challenging hegemonic constructions of property. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 36(6), p. 987-1006.

DOI: [10.1177/0263775818799751](https://doi.org/10.1177/0263775818799751)

6. Rethinking geographical imaginaries in *Tayal* Country

Chapter background

Chapters Three, Four and Five, consisting of three publications, provide insights of Indigenous peoples' legal dilemmas for property right recognition (Chapter Three), *Tayal* people's common property governance (Chapter Four) and *Tayal* people's ontological understandings of property (Chapter Five). Part Four (Chapters Six and Seven) is the discussion section of this dissertation and calls attention to the hegemonic geographical imaginaries that underpinned, and continued to underpin, the enactment of imperial and colonial property through settlers-centric geographical expansions. Chapter Six dialogues with the hegemonic 'mountain' imaginary that divided/divide Taiwan into fictionalized and racialized 'superior plains' versus 'inferior mountains'. Drawing from three case studies, this chapter questions the problematic 'mountain' imaginary by engaging *Tayal* people's contemporary manifestations of identity, culture and economy.

Note

This chapter will be converted into a journal paper after dissertation submission. An abstract prepared for paper submission is below.

Abstract prepared for paper submission

Indigenous peoples in Taiwan have been troubled by a hegemonic geographical imaginary: 'mountain'. This trope not only implies topographical terrains, but also is widely perceived as including primitive, barbarian and uncivilized Indigenous populations in contrast to modern and productive 'plains' people. This binary builds on Taiwanese colonial histories in which Indigenous peoples have been referred to as 'high mountain people' and 'mountain compatriots'. This paper works with *Tayal* people, one of sixteen nationally recognized Indigenous groups in Taiwan. Drawing from geographical fieldwork in Jiahshih Township, an Indigenous administrative district and part of *Tayal* Country, this paper argues that the haunted geographical imaginary differentiates and essentializes Indigenous peoples' belonging to place. The paper presents three case studies: a tomato cooperative, a local restaurant and a water management committee to demonstrate how *Tayal* people re-narrate connections in time and place as well as share existence and belonging-together-in-place with non-*Tayal* settlers. This paper proposes that in order to recognize *Tayal* and other Indigenous peoples' presence as part of 'us', it is necessary to challenge and unsettle the taken-for-granted hegemonic geographical imaginary that divides Taiwan into 'superior plains'/'inferior mountains'; 'self'/'others' and accommodate and respond to the uneasiness of belonging-together-in-place.

6.1. Naming the geographical imaginary of colonial experience

Peoples' relations with place are a deeply geographical matter. This chapter explores how communities, institutions and colonizers in Taiwan have understood, represented and essentialized Indigenous peoples' ways of belonging to place and in doing so have sought to impose a hegemonic geographical imaginary on Indigenous *Tayal* people's connections to Country (see Chapter Two). In thinking about how *Tayal* and other people connect to place in *Tayal* territory, the chapter considers how geographical imagination and belonging-together-in-place are mobilized as the foundation for either colonizing or decolonizing futures. As a discipline, geography arguably owes at least some of its rapid growth to colonial expansions (Gregory, 1994: 15-69; Jazeel, 2012; Pratt, 2007; Stoddart, 1986). How geography might contribute to de-colonizing processes in the postcolonial era remains a focus of lively discussion (Radcliffe, 2018; Howitt, 2018). In the context of this chapter, I argue that the challenge of de-colonizing geographical knowledges largely lies in de-learning the geographical knowledges that helped to justify and shore up colonizing processes based on specific assumptions that are rooted in colonizing geographical imaginations. In this process, respectful engagement with Indigenous peoples' geographical imaginaries and their concrete experiences of colonization are important.

According to Gregory et al. (2009), the geographical imaginary is a taken-for-granted spatial ordering of the world. A 'geographical imaginary' is often treated as a more or less unconscious and unreflective construction and is rarely given any formal theoretical inflection (Gregory et al., 2009: 282). Bordering as well as ordering has been key to colonizing geographical imaginaries: the hierarchical division of the world into nested scales (see Howitt, 2003; 2006). These divisions often impose tacit valorizations, such as 'civilized'/'savage' (Gregory et al., 2009: 282) which become deeply entrenched in the geographical construction and imagination of nations. The geographical imagination 'has the metaphorical capacity to refigure a larger conceptual field, to bring material and mental worlds into closer conjunction, to connect the mythical and the mundane' (Daniels, 2011: 182). With thriving discussion of postcolonialism (Chanco, 2017; Chiu, 2008; Chun, 1994; Howitt, 2002b; Jazeel, 2012), there is increasing recognition that the social fabric of communities is woven from plural geographical imaginations rather than a reductionist assertion of a singular national framing. Many human geographers have become reluctant to speak of 'the' geographical imagination – unless they are referring to a hegemonic form of geographical enquiry, and then usually as an object of critique – and are much more interested in the possibilities and predicaments that arise from working in the spaces between different philosophical and theoretical traditions (Gregory et al., 2009: 282-285).

Indigenous peoples in Taiwan have been troubled by a hegemonic geographical imaginary that characterizes its high mountain areas and the people who call them home in terms such as primitive, barbarian and uncivilized. This has situated Indigenous peoples unfavorably in relation to modern, civilized and productive people who have settled the 'plains'. This hegemonic binary builds on Taiwan's colonial histories in which Indigenous peoples have been referred to as 'high mountain people' and 'mountain compatriots'. This draws on fieldwork in Jiahshih Township, to argue that the dominant geographical imaginary differentiates and essentializes Indigenous peoples' belonging to place. Three case studies – a tomato cooperative, a local restaurant and a water management committee – demonstrate how *Tayal* people are re-narrating connections in time and place as well as sharing existence and belonging-together-in-place with non-*Tayal* settlers.

In the case of Taiwan, as has already been discussed in this dissertation, its complex and contested history reveals a palimpsest of competing geographical imaginaries, each asserting authority and seeking hegemony as meanings to dominate the territory. Underlying this palimpsest of colonial imaginaries are multiple Indigenous narratives of place, belonging and territory, including the narratives of *Tayal* belonging and journeying discussed in this dissertation Chapters Four and Five. This chapter explores how rethinking the geographical imaginaries that categorize and order *Tayal* and other Indigenous peoples' presence in their traditional domains challenges and unsettles the taken-for-granted patterns of privilege and disadvantage created and supported by the hegemonic geographical imaginary that divides Taiwan into 'superior plains'/'inferior mountains'; 'self'/'others'. This, in turn, offers opportunities to accommodate and respond to the uneasiness of belonging-together-in-place. It engages the competing imaginaries mobilized during waves of colonizing processes, including Dutch occupation in the southwest plain of Formosa (1624-1662), Spanish occupation in the northern coastal area of Formosa (1626-1642), the Kingdom of Tungning (1662-1683), the Qing Empire (1683-1895), the Republic of Formosa (1895), the Japanese Empire (1895 - 1945) and the Republic of China (1945 - present).

Building on Gramscian thinking about 'hegemony' (Gramsci, 1971), the chapter particularly invites and anticipates dialogue with the hegemonic geographical imagination developed under the Nationalist Chinese (KMT) martial law rule in post-War Taiwan. Discussion centers on this post-War polity and its particular geographical imaginary (and its contestation in *Tayal* territory) because the nationalist government that occupied the islands of Taiwan in 1945 imagined those islands as an inseparable part of a larger, singular 'Chinese Nation (中華民族; Chunghua Mintsu)' (Chang, 2015). This hegemonic geographical imaginary was foisted on the islands through the imposition of martial law (1949 - 1992³²) and the geopolitical construction of a single contested Chinese entity that provided virtually no recognition space for alternatives, including the ancient underlying Indigenous geographies of the islands. Thus, the chapter is particularly interested in how this hegemonic nationalist geographical imaginary and its legacies affects the recognition and representation of Indigenous peoples' connection to their territories.

Three main components constitute this chapter. The first section of the chapter sets up the theoretical framework using the notion of belonging-together-in-place from Indigenous positionality (Johnson and Larsen, 2013; 2017). The second part unpacks the hegemonic geographical imaginary in Taiwan and discuss how the hegemonic geographical imaginary differentiated *Tayal* peoples' connections to their Country. The last section presents three case studies. The first is a tomato growers co-operative in *Tbahu* community. The second is an organic restaurant in *Quri Lupi*, run by local *Tayal* farmers. The third is a water management committee in *Naro* community. These three cases cast light on how *Tayal* people understand and value their connections with Country, with time, and with each other as sharing-existence and belonging-together-in-place (for locations of case studies, see Figure 1 - 2).

While Austronesian-speaking groups across Taiwan encountered various waves of European and East Asian colonization since European Age of Discovery (Chiu, 2007; Andrade, 2005; Shepherd, 1993), *Tayal* groups in the island's mountainous northern area remained largely autonomous until Japanese occupation in the twentieth century. In 1895, under the terms of the Treaty of Shimonoseki, China's Qing Dynasty ostensibly ceded the Pescadores group and Formosa (Taiwan) to Japan. However, in 1895 Qing occupation of the island of Taiwan was neither complete nor uncontested. The

³² Martial law was lifted from Formosa on 15th July 1987 and was lifted from Kinmen and Matsu Islands on 7th November 1992.

mountainous regions of *Tayal* Country (discussed further in Chapter Seven), for example, were not occupied by Qing forces, nor were they administered as part of the Qing Empire. Even under Japanese colonization, when the whole island was administered as a single colonized entity, *Tayal* groups embodied fierce resistance that was countered by military and administrative force (Tavares, 2004). After World War II, Japan officially renounced its rights to Formosa (Taiwan) and the Pescadores by signing the Treaty of San Francisco (1951). The KMT government, which had retreated to Taiwan in the face of defeat in the civil war on mainland China in 1949, occupied Taiwan under the sponsorship and surveillance of the American alliance. With expanding Cold War tensions focusing on the Korean Peninsula, where great power conflict between Japan, China, Russia and western powers had already fomented major conflicts on previous occasions (Paine, 2017), Taiwan was a focus of East Asian geopolitics in a way that has remained uncertain ever since. Prior to the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations in 1971 and wide international adherence to a 'One China' policy, the KMT held the UN seat for 'China' as the Republic of China (Brown, 2004).

Relying on support from Western alliance powers for its geopolitical importance, the nationalist KMT government imposed one of the world's longest and most oppressive martial law regimes in Taiwan for 38 years from May 1949 until November 1992. Under these conditions, opportunities for Indigenous groups in Taiwan to protect their rights and interests were limited. Martial law disciplined the geographical imagination of Indigenous groups under threat of violence (see Smith, 2012a). With martial law and the changing geopolitical circumstances of post-war politics, the creation of private property rights and a regulated market economy under the KMT rule, *Tayal* patterns of customary movement, economy and property were disrupted and rendered increasingly fragile (see also Chapter Four). Yet, as this discussion of *Tayal* experience in northern Taiwan demonstrates, many elements of *Tayal* geographical imaginaries continued to shape community-scale practices, values and aspirations in ways that have borne fruit in recent decades.

6.2. Belonging-together-in-place

A growing literature in human geography reframes understandings of 'place' on the basis of working with Indigenous peoples and Countries (Bawaka Country et al., 2013; 2015; Johnson and Larsen, 2017; Larsen and Johnson, 2012; 2016). Inspired by contemporary Indigenous social movements, Larsen and Johnson (2016) argue for the agency of place as well as land-based relationships and knowledges. In addition, they also address in what way Indigenous ontologies help to alter the conventional geographical self. Larsen and Johnson (2012) explicitly point out that a hegemonic understanding of place diminishes human-place interactions. They argue for an open sense of place that underpins decentralized and anarchic expressions and represents a way to create and sustain a sociality of dwelling together at the boundaries of ontological situatedness, in between what is known and that which is unknown, unexpected, and transformative (Larsen and Johnson, 2012: 634,643). Johnson and Larsen (2017) talk more broadly about a place-driven tactic to refine understandings of Indigenous ontologies. In the introduction of *Being Together in Place: Indigenous Coexistence in a More Than Human World*, they highlight the agency of 'place' in nurturing co-existence in so-called settler societies: "coexistence begins in a place ... place convenes our being together, bringing human and nonhuman communities into the shared predicaments of life, livelihood, and land. Place calls us to the challenge of living together" (Johnson and Larsen, 2017: 1).

Colonial representations of places tend to imagine and depict local Indigenous people-place relationships as somehow exotic or alien (see Jazeel, 2012). In contrast, in discussing local sense of

place in northern Australia, the Bawaka Collective (eg. Bawaka Country et al., 2013; 2015) demonstrates the relational understanding of place in *Yolŋu* ontology. In *Yolŋu* ontology, they argue, the philosophy of *wetj*, translated most simply as sharing, links *Yolŋu* with each other and with the diverse beings of Country in a web of mutuality and responsiveness/responsibility. The understanding of ‘place’ in *Yolŋu* ontology indicates a process of ‘co-becoming’, which sees all beings, including human beings, as coming into existence through relationships (Bawaka Country et al., 2013: 186-187). Co-becoming is a conceptualization of a Bawaka *Yolŋu* ontology within which everything exists in a state of emergence and relationality. Not only are all beings – human, animal, plant, process, thing or affect – vital and sapient with their own knowledges and Law, but their very being is constituted through relationships that are constantly re-generated (Bawaka Country et al., 2015: 2). Bawaka Country et al. (2015) further argue that the conceptualization of ‘co-becoming’ suggests: “that more-than-humans and humans co-become as place/space, in deep relation to all the diverse co-becomings that also constitute it” (Bawaka Country et al., 2015: 2). Working with Indigenous peoples and exploring Indigenous ontologies opens up alternative understandings of ‘connections’. The connections of people-place tend to be represented as essentialized and/or human-centric in dominant settlers’ narratives (see Chiu, 2009; Dodson, 1994). Nevertheless, as narrated in preceding paragraphs, Indigenous peoples’ connections with places are more dynamic, more fluid among human, non-human and more-than-human beings.

In Indigenous Taiwanese settings, the Presbyterian Church plays a decisive role in maintaining, reviving and debating Indigenous philosophies (Ai, 2013; Chiu, 2014). The Presbyterian mission came to Taiwan in the nineteenth century (Stainton, 1995: 146) and established the first Church in *Tayal* territory in 1946³³. Its mission has long nurtured a Christian theology embedded in *Tayal* ontology (Piho, 2009). The contemporary Presbyterian Church devotes a lot of effort to localizing theology as well as building and empowering local born ministers. In 1946, Yushan Theological Seminary was established in Hualien, eastern Taiwan. It is the first and only Theological College in Taiwan that focuses on Indigenous ministry as well as educating Indigenous ministers. The foundation of Yushan Theological Seminary, Presbyterian Church in Taiwan (hereafter referred as PCT) cultivates numerous Indigenous ministers dedicated to a dialogue of Christianity with Indigenous philosophies (Stainton, 1995). PCT is also the largest Protestant Christian denomination in Indigenous territory across the nation, as in 2016 census; there are 519 Indigenous Presbyterian Churches in Taiwan³⁴.

Several *Tayal* theologians configure *Tayal* ontological understandings with nature. Tali (2003) asserts *Gaga*³⁵, translated most simply as ‘Law’, is key to understanding *Tayal* ontology. *Gaga* (Law) has plural and context-dependent interpretations. Piho (2009) argues the essential component of *Gaga* is Law, discipline, rule, and regulation. *Gaga* (Law) is the ethic that governs every aspect of *Tayal* people’s life, from birth to death (Piho, 2009: 99). In *Tayal* ontology, the ethics of nature is ‘*Gaga na lhezén* (the Law of nature)³⁶. *Tayal* people deem earth alive; as alive as human beings. Therefore, the ethic of nature is that nature has its own *Gaga*. If humans exploit the earth, then this offends the ‘*Gaga na*

³³ Based on census data provided by the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan. Information available on <http://www.pct.org.tw/ChurchHistory.aspx?strOrgNo=C17058> (accessed on 28/8/2018)

³⁴ Based on census data provided by the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan. Information available on <http://churchstat.pct.org.tw/collection.htm> (accessed on 25/6/2018)

³⁵ I capitalize ‘Gaga’ as it is a proper noun in *Tayal* setting.

³⁶ *Gaga* means customary law; *na* is equal to possessive apostrophe; *lhezén* means soils or earths in daily contexts, in here can be extended to indicate nature.

Utux (the Law of God)', and apocalyptic punishment is inevitable. A *Tayal* proverb says '*mqyanux ta chinbwanan ga, nyux ta mpiung lhezen gani* (in this life, we are only guests to the earth)'. This proverb reveals *Tayal* people's ethic of nature. Everyone is only a guest; a passenger to the earth. Human beings only come to visit this earth rather than owning the earth. Tali (2003) quotes *Ecclesiastes 3:1-8* to elaborate the content of *Gaga*. He argues *Gaga* is like the phrases in *Ecclesiastes* that assert the regulation of existence and time for every being. Thus, to expound the notion of *Gaga*, it consists of ethics in human society; harmony in nature; regularity in time; *Utux* (God)'s discipline in religion. Mutual-communication among the above four is also part of *Gaga* (Tali, 2003: 73-74).

Three dimensions of *Gaga* are pivotal in *Tayal* ontology as well as ecological theology: the ethic of human (*Gaga na Tayal*), the ethic of God (*Gaga na Utux*) and the ethic of nature (*Gaga na lhezen*) (see Wu, 2017). The role of humans is to weave the relations rather than dominate them (Tali, 2003: 74-75). Chang (2003a) notices that *Tayal* people name newborn babies with names from nature, for instance, the name of a tree or vegetable. This is an illustration of *Tayal* peoples' relationship with nature. It also renders humans as responsible to nature, as the custodians of nature. Humans shall not exploit nature and should co-exist with nature sustainably (Chang, 2003a: 28). Weaving is another vital concept in *Tayal* ontology. *Tayal* people believe God weaves life. When a person is born, they say '*tminun Utux* (*tminun*: weave; *Utux*: God. The literal translation is 'God weaves')'. When a person passes away, they say '*masoq tminun Utux*' (*masoq*: finish; *tminun*: weave; *Utux*: God. The literal translation is 'God finished weaving'). When someone has good luck, they say '*blaq cinunan Utux*' (the result of good weaving from God). When someone has bad luck, they say '*yaqih cinunan Utux*' (the result of bad weaving from God) (Provisional Commission for the Investigation of Taiwanese Old Customs 1996 [1915]: 40). *Tayal* people believe that every being in the world is woven by *Utux*. They say '*tminun na Utux*', means the woven fabric of God. *Tayal* people believe that God weaves every being in the universe, including human beings, animals, natural landscapes and so on, like women weave clothes and men weave baskets (Tali, 2000: 100-101; Yumin, 2003: 16-18).

There is strong sense of belonging-together-in-place in *Tayal* ontology. *Tayal* people consider every being as woven together into existence through *Utux* (God). Belonging-together-in-place is not exclusive to humans but includes non-human beings. Every being is related through weaving. *Tayal* peoples neither dominate nor override other beings. The connection between *Tayal* people and their Country is embedded in a relational web. Furthermore, belonging-together-in-place in *Tayal* ontology not only conveys a sharing existence in a place, but also sharing time with other beings. It is about the seasonal nature of time and being responsive and responsible to time.

6.3. Taiwan's hegemonic 'mountain' imaginary

One of the shared elements in both colonial and Indigenous imaginaries of geography in Taiwan is the imagery of mountains³⁷, which has been powerfully affiliated with Indigenous peoples both in colonizing tropes and in Indigenous re-imaginings. Following intense colonial occupation of the western plains areas of Formosa, as it was easy to occupy and seen as agriculturally productive, as

³⁷ Even though this paper focuses on 'mountain' Indigenous peoples, I would like to give courtesy to Indigenous peoples who dwell in the western plains of Taiwan. They firstly and directly encountered the violence and conflict of colonization since settlers built their colony on the southwest plain of Formosa. Not only did the plains Indigenous peoples bare the first-hand brutality of colonization, but they have been stigmatized as 'assimilated, not authentic and lost their culture' in present Taiwanese society. I would like to acknowledge their presence and existence. For more details, see Hsieh, (2006; 2018) and I will expand further in Chapter Seven as well.

well as displacement and repression of Plains Indigenous peoples (Hsieh, 2006), Indigenous peoples in Taiwan were increasingly associated with the mountain and forest areas in the popular imagination, and even in political and scholarly discourses (Kuan, 2009). Taiwan's Indigenous peoples have been historically referred as 'high mountain people (高山族; Kaoshantsu)' or 'mountain compatriots (山地同胞; Shantitungpao)' in the post-War polity. With expanding 'frontiers' (Shepherd, 1993; Chang, 2003b; Tavares, 2005; Barclay, 2017; Kang, 2014), European, Chinese and Japanese settlers proclaimed conquest of the 'barbarian mountain' (further detailed in Chapter Seven). The 'mountain' imagery aligned with settlers' perceptions of the island's Indigenous 'others' (See Barclay, 2017; Teng, 2004). It denoted a hierarchical division with moral evaluation attached to binaries such as mountain/plain; uncivilized/civilized; other/self; underdeveloped/developed; primitive/modern; and so on. It also alluded to an assumption of linear temporality whereby settler intervention would ensure progress to an eventually better, more civilized status.

The ROC period was not the first time Indigenous peoples were affiliated with the mountains by settler-occupiers. Since the Dutch and Spanish occupations, the imaginary 'mountain' has been associated with Indigenous peoples as a symbol of barbarism, which I will address in Chapter Seven. Throughout the Qing period, the State and settlers made distinctions between Indigenous peoples based on the level of their political identification with the Qing state and their acculturation to Chinese customs. Those who held tax obligations to the State, engaged in wetland rice agriculture, and adopted other Chinese customs such as language and dress were known as the 'cooked savages' (熟番; Shoufan) or 'plains aborigines' (平埔番; P'ingpufan). Those who had limited or recent contacts with the State or Chinese settler society were known as the 'raw savages' (生番; Shēngfan) or 'mountain aborigines' (高山番; Kaoshanfan). The 'raw' and 'cooked' savages were political-cultural categories the Qing court employed when referring to the Indigenous peoples of Taiwan. Although the terms 'mountain' and 'plains' 'aborigines'³⁸ were also common in the late imperial period, they are technically a misnomer as many of the 'mountain aborigines' actually lived on the plains and many of the 'plains aborigines' in the foothills (Faure, 2001: 5-6; Tavares, 2004: 111-112)

The forested and mountainous landscape became part of a powerful geographical imaginary (Kuan, 2009: 5) as the 'mountain imaginary' became attached to Indigenous peoples in Taiwan and conceived as a symbol of barbarity, wildness, marginality, outcast and backwardness (Kuan, 2014b). The haunted geographical imaginary of 'mountain' as uncivilized and more importantly, as *other*, delimited the national subjectivity. The hegemonic geographical imaginary implies a linear temporality in which the barbarian mountains could be developed to become more like the civilized and productive plains, and profoundly laid out the ideological foundation whereby settlers reckoned/reckon it is their responsibility to boost the transformation of people and place towards civilization and productivity. The 'mountain' imaginary affiliated with Taiwanese Indigenous peoples has a protracted and troublesome history, which is discussed in detail in Chapter Seven. The front mountain/back mountain trope has its root from the Qing occupation. During the Qing occupation, the term back-mountain evinced roughly the eastern half of Formosa, but more specifically used to present an uncivilized space beyond imperial administration, indicating a cultural hierarchal order in official discourses. Qing

³⁸ Please note even though the term 'aborigines' and the adjective 'aboriginal' (both in lower cases) have been used extensively by settlers as derogatory labels imposed on Indigenous peoples in Taiwanese history and are considered as widely offensive and lacking in cultural sensitivity in contemporary Taiwanese settings. In following texts, I only use them when referring to historical terms and/or citing historical literatures as I subject those terms to critical reflection.

historical records described ‘back-mountain’ as a place where one could expect to observe unbelievable or mysterious phenomena; this unknown geography greatly satisfied the folk imagination toward strangeness (Kang, 2004).

With the Japanese occupation of Taiwan from 1895, the ‘Pacification and Reclamation Office’ (Japanese: 撫墾署; Hiragana: ぶこんしょ) was set up in 1896 to deal with Indigenous affairs and with the Japanese state’s interest to claim and exploit the camphor resource in the mountainous area (Simon, 2015: 81). Before Japan formally took over Taiwan there were already Japanese interests involved in the harvesting and export of camphor, primarily for use in medicine and in Hindu rituals in India. After the 1890s, it was also used in the production of celluloid, smokeless gunpowder and plastic. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, especially between 1875 and 1920, Taiwan, with its naturally occurring camphor laurel trees, emerged as one of the world’s most important producers of camphor crystals and camphor oil for markets in Europe, America, India, and Japan. Between 1860 and 1895, Taiwan’s camphor industry spread into the Indigenous areas of northern Taiwan (Lin, 1997; Simon, 2015; Tavares, 2004). Jun Mizuno, the first civil administrator of the Governor-General of Taiwan delivered a statement in 1896, the same year as the establishment of the ‘Pacification and Reclamation Office’. Mizuno’s statement outlined the State’s tactic to rule the Indigenous peoples and exploit the highlands they inhabited (Tavares, 2004: 181-182):

Civilizing the savages is the obligation of our government. Colonizing and developing the savage territory are critical for fostering our wealth (...) The future enterprise and industry of Taiwan is actually found in the savage territory³⁹.

Like colonizers across the globe, Japanese colonial government officers viewed Indigenous territory as a treasure trove of natural resources and adjudged Indigenous peoples as not civilized enough to utilize wisely the resources found in their territory. Consequently, Indigenous peoples had to be brought into civilization. The Japanese colonial government encouraged sedentary agriculture and a relocation policy in Indigenous areas (Chen, 1993). The purpose was to relocate Indigenous peoples from the deep mountains to the plains to better enable control from central authority. From 1909 to 1914, the Japanese government imposed a ‘Five-Year Military Pacification Project’ and proclaimed it had conquered Indigenous peoples in Taiwan. In 1927, the Japanese government commenced forcible displacement of Indigenous people in two ways: either relocating them to the plains area or resettling scattered and mobile communities into a more compact and settled pattern. Displacement before the 1930s was mainly through inducing neighboring Indigenous communities to settle in compact settlements (Mona, 1984; Yap, 2016: 126). Yet, the claim of conquering Indigenous peoples was proven to be moot as evidenced by the shocking Musha incident which took place in 1930. In the Musha Incident a *Seediq* Musha community leader Mona Rudao led a rebellion against the colonial authority. This incident was particularly shocking from the view of the Japanese state. The Musha community had been seen as a ‘successfully civilized and disciplined’ model in Japanese state propaganda and the leader of rebellion Mona Rudao invited to visit Japan in 1911. The Japanese state did not imagine the armed rebellion would happen in a ‘successfully civilized and disciplined’ community (see Ching, 2000). The Musha uprising effected a radical shift in Japanese colonial governmentality in which specific forms of imperial incorporation emerged as the primary ideological apparatus whereby Japanese colonial power reconstituted itself (Ching, 2000: 799).

³⁹ Translated quotation that appeared in Tavares (2004: 181).

After the Musha incident, the State decided to undertake a more rigorous, larger-scale displacement policy (Yap, 2016). From 1930-1939, 25 percent of the total pan-*Tayal*⁴⁰ population were forcibly displaced to an easier-accessed hilly area and relocated with other *Tayal* communities in order to collapse the ‘customary governance system’ (Chen and Sun, 1997: 190; as cited in Yap, 2016: 125). The displacement policy was meant to disintegrate Indigenous customary institutions and disconnect allied communities (Yap, 2016: 125)⁴¹. The Japanese colonial government decelerated the displacement policy in the 1940s due to the outbreak of the Pacific War but the nationalist KMT government continued the displacement policy after World War II (Yap, 2017).

When the KMT government occupied Taiwan in 1949, its Sinification principles shaped cultural policy until the 1970s. A forceful Sinification policy ‘Cultural Renaissance Movement’ dominated the early post-War years (Chang, 2004). The KMT government brought a hegemonic geographical imaginary to Taiwan that represented the Austronesian-speaking population as an inextricable part of a greater ‘Chinese Nation’. In a post-war geography textbook, for example, the diverse Indigenous cultures of Taiwan were conflated into a singular category ‘high mountain people’ and explicitly defined as part of the ‘Chinese Nation’ (Chang, 2015). The KMT government renamed Indigenous Peoples in Taiwan as ‘high mountain people’ and referred to them as ‘mountain compatriots’. An administrative area category ‘mountain township’ was created to accommodate Indigenous territory in the bureaucratic system. The category of ‘mountain compatriots’ was subdivided into ‘highland mountain compatriots’ and ‘lowland mountain compatriots’. The nationalist KMT government used the image of ‘mountain’ as savagery wildness in contrast to civilized ‘plain’. This political gesture aimed to culturally assimilate ‘savage’ Indigenous peoples into civilized docile subject Han settlers (Hsieh, 1945). In the 1950s, the nationalist KMT government adopted assimilation as a principle of Indigenous policy and commenced the ‘Plainize the Mountain’ policies (Hsieh, 1945). In the name of these policies, the nationalist KMT government promoted sedentary agriculture in order to transform Indigenous people from alleged ‘savages’ to civilized citizens (Li, 2012). Geographical terrains ‘mountain’ and ‘plain’ were endowed with a colonizers-centric moral hierarchy. Spatial tropes of ‘mountain’ and ‘plain’ were polarized as a raced symbolic order that rendered the ‘mountain-ness’ as subaltern.

With the martial law order lifted by President Ching-kuo Chiang in Formosa in 1987 and the first direct presidential election occurring in 1996, the form of government in Taiwan has transformed into a more democratic political regime, with increasing demands of ‘Taiwanization’ from public and academia in the 1990s (Shih, 2012; Hughes, 2011; Chiu, 2008). Austronesian-speaking populations in Taiwan were formally recognized as Indigenous peoples in the constitution when in 1994, the ROC government made a constitutional amendment replacing ‘mountain compatriots’ with ‘Indigenous peoples’ to deliver formal recognition of the collective rights of ‘Indigenous peoples (Hsieh, 2018: 17)’. The National Apology to Indigenous Peoples in Taiwan delivered on 1st August 2016 by President Ing-wen Tsai brought the transformation of Indigenous policy in Taiwan to a new level as it called for better co-existence:

⁴⁰ Japanese government categorized *Truku* people and *Seediq* people as part of *Tayal* people during colonial periods. In 2004 and 2008, the ROC government formally recognized *Truku* people and *Seediq* people as twelfth and fourteenth nationally recognized Indigenous groups because of their distinctive identities. The reason of use the term ‘pan-*Tayal*’ here is because all Japanese literatures from the colonial era listed *Truku* people and *Seediq* people under *Tayal* people (Chi and Chin, 2012).

⁴¹ *Tayal* people are no exception under the Japanese government’s policy. In this chapter section 6.5, how *Tayal* people were/are affected by this policy is discussed in detail.

I call upon our entire society to come together and get to know our history, get to know our land, and get to know the cultures of our many ethnic peoples. Let us work towards reconciliation, a shared existence and shared prosperity, and a new future for Taiwan.⁴²

The National Apology offers a space to reconfigure senses of self, connection in place and time as well as senses of belonging in a postcolonial nation as Taiwan⁴³. Juxtaposing Australian experiences, the National Apology delivered by Prime Minister Kevin Rudd in 1998 challenges settlers' subjectivity and sense of self (Gelder and Jacobs, 1995; 1998; 1999; Gooder and Jacobs, 2000). From the viewpoints of settlers in Australia, the National Apology challenges the geographical sense of self in a profound way that reminds settlers that what they call home; used to be, and still is, others' home. The familiar place called home became an unfamiliar, someone else's home – a feeling that Gelder and Jacobs (1999) describe as uncanny. A feeling that being in place and 'out of place' exist *simultaneously* (emphasis in original) (Gelder and Jacobs, 1999: 111). The settlers' collective anxieties, (see Slater, 2013) of senses of self, place and belonging, tangle with other challenges in the post-Apology Australian setting. As a settler nation, Taiwan faces a parallel challenge. Taiwanese society is haunted by a taken-for-granted 'mountains' imaginary that equated Indigenous people as inferior and 'other'. However, the National Apology offers an opportunity to reframe the way in which Taiwanese imagine their geographical selves. In order to do so, however, it is necessary to recognize how the 'mountain' imaginary has disrupted Indigenous Country, and to explore how Indigenous people retain their connections with Country despite such disturbance.

6.4. Presenting and being represented: differentiating Indigeneity

What we know today as Indigenous Formosa is a co-creation of the resulting relationship between the Japanese state and diverse political constellations among many Austronesian groups across the islands.

(Simon, 2015: 73).

'*Tayal*' does not exist only in contrast to these 'others', for it is primordial category, established by history, descent and cultural traits, and institutionally reinforced by state, church and school. The changing nature of these interactions, economic changes, and state policy all tended to give a new moral estimation to what it means to be *Tayal*, stated in contrast to these others.

(Stainton, 2006: 393-394)

The mountain imaginary, embedded in a long temporal pattern of encountering colonializations, has been effectively used to represent and denigrate the connection between Indigenous peoples and their Countries in the national imaginary. When zooming into a smaller scale, the mountain imaginary is found to be further differentiated, leading to an essentialized understanding of Indigeneity. Drawing on geographical fieldwork in Jianshih Township, the remainder of this chapter problematizes the differentiated imaginary of mountain and essentialized Indigeneity. The fieldwork engaged with *Tayal* people involved in a range of contemporary manifestations of *Tayal* identity, culture and economy.

⁴² For the full text please visit: <http://focustaiwan.tw/news/aip/201608010026.aspx> (accessed on 18/6/2018).

⁴³ However, whether Taiwan is a postcolonial society is still a matter of debate. See Chiu (2014) *Emancipation and indigenous Taiwan: A postcolonial theological interpretation of chhut-thâu-thin*. Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, the U.S.A.

In Chapter One, I mentioned that local *Tayal* people customarily refer to the two valleys separated by the *Tapon* mountain range as the front-mountain area and the back-mountain area. Despite the front-mountain/back-mountain categorization being normalized in local residents' daily life, it is far from an objective geographical categorization. It reflects colonial valorizations of civilized/savage. Since the Japanese colonial era (1895-1945), the Japanese government extensively used the category of front-mountain/back-mountain to filter *Tayal* communities as civilized/primitive (Hsiao, 2016: 88). During the displacement policy in the Japanese colonial era, the *Mklapay* and *Mekarang* clans were forced to move into compacted communities near police stations or elementary schools ostensibly under the banner of promoting paddy agriculture (see Simon (2017) for further implications), although it was actually to put them under surveillance (Hsiao, 2016: 91). After the police officials evacuated the ancestral domain of the *Mklapay* clans, the *Mknazi* and *Mrqwang* clans were mixed and resettled (either voluntarily or reluctantly) in evacuated places in the nowadays front-mountain area (Mona, 1984: 188-193).

The Japanese state was not the first state apparatus to use the 'mountain' trope as a symbol of barbarianism affiliated with Indigenous peoples in Taiwan. Ever since Dutch and Spanish settlers came to the island in the seventeenth century, 'mountain-ness' has been associated with Indigenous peoples to symbolize their 'backward-ness' from settlers-centric perspectives (extended discussion provided in Chapter Seven). Yet, it is fair to say the Japanese state apparatus created and imposed the front-mountain/back-mountain categorization in the research area. Besides massive relocation programs in the research area, the Japanese state carried out anthropological research to categorize Indigenous peoples. The State effectively further differentiated the 'mountain-ness' into 'front-mountain' and 'back-mountain'. The 'back-mountain', of course, was a metaphorical category used to refer to *Tayal* clans the Japanese considered more backward and who lived in deep mountainous areas. The 'front-mountain' was used to accommodate *Tayal* clans who lived in lower mountainous area and were more 'civilized' from the State's viewpoint. In Japanese literature, the front-mountain/back-mountain categorization was applied to some *Tayal* clans. For instance, *Mknazi* clan members who moved to the lower mountainous area were categorized as front-mountain *Mknazi* clan. The *Mknazi* clan members who did not move to lower mountainous area were listed as back-mountain *Mknazi* clan. The differentiated places are not merely subject to the shift of livelihood but entail a dichotomy of front-mountain/back-mountain versus civilized/backwards (Hsiao, 2016: 88). As showed in Figure 1 - 2, the bright blue spots indicate where the *Mrqwang* clans live in the front-mountain area, and the dark blue spots indicate where the *Mrqwang* clans live in the back-mountain area. The bright pink spots indicate where the *Mknazi* clans live in the front-mountain area, and the dark red spots indicate where the *Mknazi* clans live in the back-mountain area.

Canadian Reverend Michael Stainton, who has worked extensively in Taiwanese Indigenous communities since the 1980s, asserts that a given moral quality in hierarchical binary contrasts has been installed on the front-mountain/back-mountain division. He quoted a district Forestry Department official as stating:

(front-mountain) was developed in 1940s already; local *Tayal* people and non-local settler communicate frequently, inter-ethnic relationship is still able to get along well. Intensification of contradictions rarely happens ... (*Tayal* people in back-mountain) is rustic and conservative. They got a doughty personality, and a strong sense of defending homeland (Stainton, 2006: 394-395).

Stainton (2006) uses an adjective in *Tayal* language to describe the essential virtue of being *Tayal* – *lokah*. This adjective has multiple-contextual meanings (Stainton, 2006: 397-400):

- tough (meat);
- strong (rope, cloth, wood);
- firm (a knot of fastening);
- hard to open (a sticky door or rusted handle);
- stubborn (a person who insists on their own way);
- unwavering (a person’s political stance in the face of the state).

While the essential virtue *lokah* has been applied to the back-mountain area, the front-mountain area today is often cited as an example of deficient *Tayal* nature. Back mountain *Tayal* often say the front-mountain *Tayal* have ‘lost their culture’, ‘lost their mother tongue’, are ‘controlled by the nationalist KMT government’. Being a real *Tayal* indicates being *lokah*. Stainton quotes an interview with *Tayal* people who live in the back-mountain area: “we in the back-mountain have different physical builds from the front-mountain – they cannot take the cold in the winter, we cannot stand the heat on the plains in the summer”. This bodily contrast implies a moral contrast. To be unable to withstand the cold is to not be *lokah*, the essential virtue of being *Tayal*. However, to be unable to withstand the oppressive heat of the summer in Taiwan’s lowlands is an affiliation of *Tayal* experiences, and a trope for not being able to adapt to the Taiwanese life of plains (Stainton, 2006: 397). Kuan and Lin (2008) argue that this geographical imagination implies a colonial ‘center’ that is viewing and differentiating *Tayal* country. The front/back mountain trope hints at an imagined distance from the ‘center’ of colonial civilization, where the governmental institutes and urbanized areas are located. The front-mountain area is where Jianshih Township Office, Jianshih Township Public Health Station and Jianshih Senior High School are located. It is closer to the urbanized plains area; its residents can more easily access public infrastructure. Most importantly, the front-mountain area is more ‘modernized’ compared to the back-mountain area (Kuan and Lin, 2008: 123).

Tayal people’s connections to their Country has been represented in the settlers’ hegemonic imaginary as ‘barbarian mountain’ and further differentiated within this in relation to authenticity. The next section presents three case studies from fieldwork in the area. These case studies demonstrate how *Tayal* people build up a sense of belonging-together-in-place in a complex and dynamic contemporary economic, political and more-than-human setting. The three case studies unsettle the taken-for-granted, hegemonic geographical imaginaries discussed in this chapter. The three cases respectively are the *Mrqwang* clan located in the front-mountain area, the *Mkanzi* clan located in the back-mountain area and a restaurant located in the junction between the two (case studies location shown in Figure 1 - 2).

6.5. Case studies illustrating the contemporary dynamics of connection to *Tayal* Country

6.5.1 Tomato Growing Cooperative, *Tbahu*

The back-mountain area has been perceived as primitive, barbarian and uncivilized in both administrative and popular discourses (Kuan, 2014a). In the 1990s, with increasing tourism, Indigenous communities in the back-mountain was represented as ‘authentic’, attracting tourists to visit and explore (Stainton, 2006). Research with *Tayal* clans in this area generally addresses

community-based development and its potential for empowering local *Tayal* people. For instance, Huang (2003) and Haustein (2014) investigate how *Tayal* communities approach eco-tourism as a channel to empowerment, community autonomy and sovereignty. Yen et al. (2012) focus on the community development benefits of converting conventional agriculture to organic agriculture and Kuo et al. (2015) examine the founding of cooperatives as a nascent way of co-marketing and commercialization as well as their impacts on Indigenous communities. Here I discuss in-depth the case study of a tomato growers' cooperative in *Tbahu* community.

Tbahu community locates at a height of approximate 1000–1200m above sea level in the mountainside. *Tbahu* community consists of two *Tayal* settlements. During the Japanese colonial era, Japanese officials attempted to relocate two *Tayal* communities that used to be scattered in the mountainside into a compacted community, but due to lack of incentives the relocation did not succeed. However, when the KMT government commenced building public infrastructure, such as cement roads and electricity infrastructure, *Tayal* people started moving close to the roads for convenience and gradually formed two compact communities. Local industry is agriculture-based and one of the most common commercial crops is tomatoes [field interview on 7th January 2018 at Neiwán]. *Tbahu* community recently established a tomato cooperative. The tomato co-op facilitator is Teru. She outlined the initial motivation for founding the tomato co-op:

(Before we set up the cooperative) normally after harvest, local *Tayal* farmer just sold tomato to wholesalers or mid-man. *Tayal* farmer has no idea of how the price was negotiated. They just took whatever price the wholesalers or mid-man offer. By the end of every year, I always told those farmers we really should establish some organizations (for co-marketing). I always told them to calculate how much you paid to the agricultural associations. Those farmers regretted deeply every winter. Nevertheless, when spring came, everybody became so busy and forgot their regrets last year. This loop has been lasting for ten years. After ten years, our Church [the *Tbahu* Presbyterian Church] started a brother fellowship recently. When the brother fellowship started, there was no one to facilitate the ministry. You know, when a bunch of men gather, they always talk about jobs. They exchanged business idea, insect control and so on during the brother fellowship. After discussion over and over, they determined to establish 'something'. They were not sure what will be that 'something', but they started to collect shares and entry fee. Then they came to me, to ask help from me. I turned them down, because I told them so ten years ago, but nobody heard me before. My intension actually was to testify their determination.

However, the community members did not give up on this idea. After I turned them down, my cousins came to me in row and tried to convince me. Eventually, my brother came to me. I was also thinking it is the time for me to contribute to my own community, so I accepted their proposal. It took me three months to make mind.

[field interview on 2nd February 2018 at *Tbahu* community]

By the time Teru committed to facilitating development of the co-op, the consensus group developed beyond the brother fellowship in the Church. At the first meeting, Teru told them that they should found a cooperative instead of an association, because they needed to have a formal legal organization to deal with money. However, to create a co-op required shares. They struggled to raise shares for a while but eventually made it. The procedure to establish a co-op was bureaucratic. It took

them one and a half years to recruit members and collect shares. They planned to found the co-op in June 2013, and tried to send out their products in July 2013. However, the bureaucratic procedure was prolonged, and they waited until October 2013 which was when they finally got the cooperative's membership code corresponding to the Taipei First Fruit and Vegetable Wholesale Market, and were hence eligible to sell goods to the Market as a cooperative unit.

2013 was the first year *Tbahu* community started to run the co-op. Even though those farmers have been growing tomatoes for a decade before founding the co-op, there was no comprehensive and unified management procedure. They spent the first year focusing on internal training, including personnel training, quality control, packaging, grading. They gradually learnt how much they should and could export monthly and annually. All of the consumables, such as cartons and fertilizers, they negotiated with the factory for bulk prices. The factory even delivered the goods to the community because of the large orders. The co-op members complained to Teru: "we felt like we took so many detours for the past decade!"

Establishing a co-op not only enabled the farmers to reduce the cost of their consumables, it also improved quality and quantity management (see Figure 6 - 1). When the farmers previously sold tomatoes to the agricultural associations, they were only told their price after two or three weeks as the agricultural association would not do quality control for every single producer. After establishing the co-op, the producers received timely auction prices one day after sales. Since all participants in the co-op are from the same community and familiar with each other, they are able to compare each other's price and make improvements accordingly so that the quality from all farmers is now the same. Quality control also reflects on productivity. Previously, the farmers used to grow ten thousand tomatoes at a time. When the hurricane season came in every July and August, all the tomatoes could be damaged at once. Since the co-op was established, they have regulated farmers so that tomatoes are grown at three different times in March, April and May. When the hurricane season came, if first batch is damaged, the second and third batches would be too small to be damaged and will come into production after the hurricane season passes and at a time when shortages were previously common. Because of the quality management, productivity increased. The Cooperative is now one of the biggest producers of tomatoes in Taipei First Fruit and Vegetable Wholesale Market, with a market share of 50% from July to November.

Good quantity control also ensures a good price. Teru said in first year (2013), they sent two trucks, but the price was low for three days. She went to the market to find out why. Market staff said they sent too many tomatoes; for the market was overwhelmed. It turned out that period was right after a hurricane. All farmers were in rush-harvest. The market did not have the capacity to accommodate that many tomatoes. They learnt from this experience and now carefully control their output to the market.

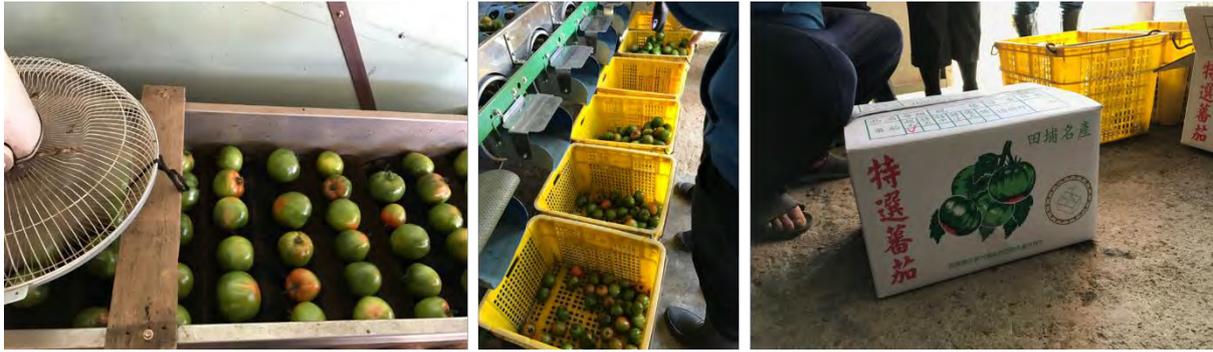


Figure 6 - 1 Getting tomatoes ready for shipment

From left: Blowing dry freshly harvested tomatoes; filtering various sizes of tomatoes and quality control inspection; the customized box of the tomato co-op.

(Photo taken on 24/11/2016; Credit: Yayut Yishiuan Chen)

The cooperative has been running for several years and the governance structure has been reformed along the way. When co-op started, there were fifteen households participating. This has increased to thirty households. The participants reached an internal consensus that they will rigorously examine interested applicants. Because most of the participants serve at the Church, they do not partake in alcohol or smoke. They decided they also want new applicants to obey this rule. Nowadays, there are three levels of participants in the co-op: shareholder, member and supplier. Shareholders buy shares and get a bonus at the end of every year. Members do not buy shares, they pay an entry fee. Members are not allocated a bonus, but they can participate in all activities and excursions. Suppliers do not buy shares nor pay entry fees; the co-op simply provides a delivery service for them.

Although the cooperative mechanism is culturally foreign to *Tbahu* community, Teru maintains that *Tayal Gaga* and customary institutional values are integrated in the cooperative. She said that they established this co-op with *Gaga of Qutux niqan* (people shared the same customary law):

qutux niqan (people shared the same customary law) means we said this out of our roles as deacons in the Church. In the Church we are all *qutux niqan* (people shared the same customary law). We used to offer sacrifice when we formed a *qutux niqan* (people shared the same customary law). We did not do it this time; instead, we held a thanksgiving service to invite every participant. We let every participant declare his or her determinations. We reached to a consensus that if the co-op is going to collapse, then we are going to collapse as a whole. Every participant needs to obey the rule and cannot sell their products to other mid-men simply because they offer a better price. If someone violated this rule, fines are applicable. If they are willing to pay fine, we will give them a chance. If they are not willing to pay fine, the shares will be forfeited and the personnel will be forbidden to participate in any activities. The other rule is that every time we have a meeting, each household must send a representative. Otherwise, they will be fined for the meeting refreshments. Because we set up rules at the beginning, so now if we have any new applicants, the shareholder will review them. Normally we will let them become the member at first for trail [field interview on 2nd February 2018 at *Tbahu* community].

The co-op not only accommodates *Tayal* customary law and social organization, but also reinforces the customary practices in a contemporary setting. *Sbayux* is a *Tayal* term describing how community members exchange labor in different occasions. The most common occasion is during the agricultural season. Teru said the co-op participants would help each other because if they do not help each other

out, they will not be able to catch the delivery truck. Founding the co-op helps local employment. When they firstly started the tomato co-op, they signed a contract with an outside delivery service. The deliveryman would come to the community to pick up the tomatoes and deliver them to the market. Now they hire a local *Tayal* person for this delivery service. During summer, they now deliver to the wholesale market daily. During winter, they deliver twice a week. They also grow other vegetables when they do not grow tomatoes during the winter [field interview on 2nd February 2018 at *Tbahu* community].

Through the journey with the tomato co-op in *Tbahu* community, sharing existence, commitment and long-term pursuit of a common good is centered in Teru's narrative. By founding the co-op, *Tayal* people in *Tbahu* community act as a *Tayal* collective in the capitalist market. Teru, as the facilitator, plays a vital role in the process of building community and more importantly, building connection. Teru completed her education in Yushan Theological Seminary and worked outside her own community for decades. When she decided to return to her community, she worked for various NGOs or governmental projects in the urban area and across *Tayal* Country for decades. When she returned to the community, she wove connections between the community and the capitalist markets in urban area. Teru is not the only *Tayal* person migrating back to home Country after experiences outside their Country. In fact, there is currently a strong dynamic of *Tayal* people migrating back to home Country. The *Tayal* figure in the next case study shares in this experience.

6.5.2 Greenwood Restaurant, Quri Lupi

Mankay is a local *Tayal* farmer advocating organic and natural agriculture. He was born in a Christian family in the back-mountain area. His father was one the first few farmers in Jianshih Township to convert conventional agriculture to organic agriculture and has been promoting organic agriculture since 2004. Mankay was influenced greatly by his father's agricultural vision and has been working together with his father for more than ten years. He also went to Taipei, the capital city, to pursue higher degree studies in ethnology. He plays an important role in bridging academia and local practitioners in Jianshih Township, as he participates deeply in both fields. Around 4 years ago, while working in a role promoting organic and natural agriculture, he started to think that there was also an opportunity for a local restaurant to use the locally produced vegetables as ingredients. He started to discuss this idea with existing local businesses, but things did not go smoothly. Most local restaurants said it was impossible to adopt local products because the locally produced vegetables are seasonally cultivated and as a result, menus would not be consistent, and their business relied on a fixed menu and need a stable source of certain ingredients. Locally produced vegetables are various and seasonal, which is difficult to align with local restaurants' needs. The other reason is the budget. Locally produced organic vegetables are more expensive compared to conventionally cultivated vegetables. One year later, after Mankay tried to promote local products to local restaurants but failed, he met a chairperson of a commercial district in Hsinchu County. That chairperson is also a restaurant owner. He agreed with Mankay's idea and started frequently coming to Jianshih Township to buy locally produced vegetables. One day as they stood in a mountain saddle between two mountain valleys, Mankay spontaneously told the chairperson that he also wanted to open a restaurant. The chairperson was surprised and asked Mankay if he had any places to run a restaurant. Mankay said his brother-in-law has land in the place that they were standing and would rent it for such a venture. So the idea was settled. The chairperson helped Mankay arrange everything. Mankay was in charge of renting the land (for the location of the restaurant, see Figure 1 - 2; see also Figure 6 - 2). He also asked his brother-in-

law to come to work in the restaurant. The initial deal was that the chairperson would assist Mankay to run the restaurant for three years, but after the first year, the chairperson suffered financial loss from his other restaurant and decided to withdraw from this business. Mankay has been running the restaurant on his own for two years since then.



Figure 6 - 2 Green-wood restaurant

From left: the freshly harvested vegetable prepared for hot pot; the view seeing from the restaurant; the reception desk with menu on the black board.

(Photo taken 26/01/2018; Credit: Yayut Yishiuan Chen)

Mankay said that at the beginning running the restaurant by himself was scary: “it is like you do not how to drive and suddenly ask you to drive in the mountain.” The chairperson set up everything for him in the beginning. He had no idea of cost or profit, how to purchase ingredients and other things. Sometimes, he said, profit did not even meet cost. Nevertheless, gradually, he developed his own way of doing business. He said: “luckily I am not a businessman, so I only want reasonable profit. I insist in selling local products and try our best to promote local ingredients.” Mankay is re-organizing the menu now. He said: “I want to lower the price, not higher; a reasonable price basically. I want to find more great local products. I have been working on my own for two years. I feel I have reached a point that I am fine with some profit”. Part of the reason Mankay did not stick with the idea of high profit is that he does not need to pay high rent. He said: “I only need to pay the chef’s (his brother-in-law) salary and mine, so I only need fair amount profit.” Slowly, other local *Tayal* people have heard of Mankay’s business and want to learn from him. Mankay said he is always honest about all the costs of running a restaurant. He said: “my principle of running business is popularizing local products. I am doing this business in long-term. I do not like if we do not have tourists come, we do not have income. I want to serve food in reasonable price, so that local *Tayal* people will also come to eat”.⁴⁴

The main source of his vegetable ingredients come from *Mrqwang* clans in the back-mountain area (for the location of *Mrqwang* clans, see Figure 1 - 2). The sources are stable. Normally he will go to their fields to harvest crops and pay the farmers monthly. He said:

My intention is that when I use the local products in my shop, sometimes they will ask where the source is. Then I will introduce them to the local *Tayal* farmers. I do not want to run business for too long. I feel I will lose my sense of mission. I am thinking after this restaurant is going on track, I want to rent this restaurant to someone and go back to be a farmer [fieldwork interview on 20th January 2018 at Green-wood restaurant].

From his vision to his career plan and this restaurant, Mankay starts to share his feeling of being a local activist for so long:

⁴⁴ All the interview quotation in this paragraph came from our interview on 20th January 2018 at Green-wood restaurant.

So you see, I have been coming back and working in the *Tayal* country since 2001. Now is already 2018. I started to change my working pattern around two years ago. I am not doing everything literally. I started to push someone else to do. If I am still doing all the works, then people will say:” You see! Mankay is doing everything again!” For instance, last year after our visit to Satoyama in Japan, we decided also to organize a workshop in my community. We want to provoke some food education. I did not organize that workshop. I let my wife to do it. You know when men are gathering, we are always fighting to be the head, but women are different. Man will do whatever their wife ask him to do. When my wife organized that workshop, I am only a worker. Even some male elders were also willing to participate [fieldwork interview on 20th January 2018 at Green-wood restaurant].

Mankay did not make this turn all of a sudden. His experience of working in *Tayal* communities is bittersweet. One time, some *Tayal* people from another community told him: “No matter you come ten years ago or now, is there any difference? Mankay? It is always the same group is doing thing!” The comment from community members made him rethink his working strategy. He said:

the people I always work with is only twenty percent in the community. What about the rest eighty percent? I am not saying I want to change the rest eighty percent, but I want to get them involved gradually. So now when I am doing something in the community, I always try to find someone is not from my clan to do things. Of course, in my community, we have some regulars. If I keep work with those regulars, my communication will be less time consuming or energy consuming. Even if you have done something bad, they will sympathize you. However, if you work with someone out of your clan, the communication is very time consuming and energy consuming. You might have some arguments or being criticized. Nevertheless, I still feel it is important to work with people out of your clan. Because that is what make the community progresses [fieldwork interview on 20th January 2018 at Green-wood restaurant].

6.5.3 Water Management Committee, Naro

The imagery of the frontier is a common trope in colonizing societies, with settler institutions proudly proclaiming their achievements in bringing civilization to barbarian societies (Brady, 1994; Howitt, 2001; Prout and Howitt, 2009; Blomley, 2003; Peluso and Lund, 2011). In Taiwan, of course, the ‘uncivilized’ mountain societies have been on the other side of the settlers’ expanding frontiers, inextricably intertwined into the mountain imaginary. Frontiers have acted as the transfiguration between civilized plain to savage mountains from settlers’ perspectives. The experiences shift when positioned from *Tayal* people’s perspectives. Frontiers have been where *Tayal* people experience co-habitation, sharing-place and sense of belonging with non-*Tayal* settlers. In recent decades, there is an increasing body of non-*Tayal* people who have resettled in Jianshih Township (Kuan, 2014a: 22). The distinction between the ostensibly civilized ‘front mountain’ and the persistently primitive ‘back mountain’ has commonly been seen as one of these frontiers. In this case study, *Mrqwang* and *Mknazi* clans co-habit in *Naro* community (see Figure 1 - 2 and Figure 6 - 3), and it is located in the front-mountain area. As already discussed in Chapter Four, because of the nascent resettlement of non-*Tayal* settlers allocation of natural resources, especially water resources, is an increasingly important issue in resource management, Indigenous governance and community administrative politics in *Naro* community.



Figure 6 - 3 Naro community
(Photo taken on 14/12/2016; Credit: Yayut Yishiuan Chen)

In Jianshih Township, *Tayal* people, rather than a formal government service, are in control of connecting the pipeline system for household usage or agricultural purposes. Customarily, *Tayal* people used processed bamboo as pipes. Nowadays they use plastic pipes. The local township office will sometimes subsidize consumables to some communities; such like plastic pipes or metal wires, but the maintenance of the water pipeline system always depends on local *Tayal* people. The maintenance and connection of pipeline system varies between communities. The most common situation is that each household or extended family will take responsibility of their own water source and pipeline system. The management of water sources is rigorous in *Gaga*. The person who found or used a water source has priority interest. Other people who come later can only connect to pipeline under that person's authority and consent (Chapter Four: Chen et al., 2018a)

The *Naro* community locates in a 600-meter-above-sea-level valley facing north in the front-mountain area. Unlike most communities in the research region, this community has a community-based water management committee (hereafter referred as the Water Committee). The Water Committee was established in 2015, during the current term of the Head of Suburb, who is also the chairperson of the committee. Before the establishment of the Water Committee, there was a loosely structured social system organized by local leaders. Normally, retired Head of Village, retired Head of Suburb and current Head of Suburb would organize the maintenance and connection of pipelines as well as allocation of water resource to new tenants and local residents would pay a service fee to those local leaders.



Figure 6 - 4 A spare communal water tower
(Photo taken on 10/12/2016; Credit: Yayut Yishiuan Chen)

The Water Committee is not a formal system from the view of official authorities. Nevertheless, it illustrates how local *Tayal* people always governed their country. In *Naro* community, all new tenants are required to hold a sharing pork ceremony (see Chapter Four: Chen et al., 2018a: 388-389). When the researcher interviewed the current chairperson Pasang, he said most of the new tenants are willing to do so. Otherwise, *Naro* community will not allocate water to new tenants. They told new tenants that the ceremony is intended to help new tenants mingle with the community; to let everyone know them, so the new tenants can use water without concern. Pasang explained further that when new tenants moved in, they would pay service fees to the community organization. With that service fee, community members would assist in setting up the pipeline system. When the researcher asked the chairperson how he explained this sharing pork ceremony to the community elders, he said he would tell elders that there were new tenants moving in. Customarily when *Tayal* people shared water resources with others, a sharing pork ceremony was required. Similarly, a tenant who moved into *Naro* community a decade ago said he did that ceremony when he moved in. He was informed that the sharing pork ceremony was intended to introduce him to the community [fieldwork interview on 2nd February 2018 at *Naro* community].

After the Water Committee was founded in *Naro* community, community members started to have regularly seasonal meetings. The meeting minutes were kept by the chairperson. Some interesting dynamics emerge in those minutes. For instance, in the meeting minutes of May 2017, there was a resolution: 'the community decided to explain hunting regulations to Losing'. In an interview, the chairperson explained this resolution. Losing is a *Tayal* person who moved from another *Tayal* community to *Naro* community a decade ago. "I am not sure why, but elders used to ask Losing to patrol water source before. I think he got used to patrolling and he connected his own pipeline. He is a bit over the line now. He just spontaneously went to hunt and built a hut around our water sources. Some community members even complained to me that he put traps in trail that we walked through. I think now is the time to set up some regulations to him" Pasang said. During the regular seasonal meeting held in February 2018 meeting, members discussed how to set regulations for new tenants

in the future. The meeting wrapped up with a discussion that the committee would let a local *Tayal* person, who served in the public service for long time, draft a regulation regarding the water allocation and fees for new tenants⁴⁵.

The case of *Naro* community provides a profound example of how *Tayal* people deal with daily challenges in the frontier. *Tayal* people living in the front-mountain have been represented as deficient *Tayal* people in the mainstream media (Stainton, 2006; Kuan, 2014a). However, the ethnography of *Naro* community reveals a powerful counter example of this conventional belief. For the people who live in *Naro* community, it is the experience of dealing with the day-to-day challenges which highlights their daily autonomy. The allocation of water delivers multifaceted values. It delivers cultural values, in which *Tayal* people manage the natural resource in a collective way and exercise their custodianship in a changing society. It delivers economic values, in which some residents argue allocating water to new tenant brings local prosperity. It delivers political values, in which the local polity is empowered in decision-making. Most importantly, it delivers a sense of being-together-in-place and sharing existence with non-*Tayal* settlers and non-local *Tayal* people.

6.6. Connecting people, time and place

The hegemonic geographical imaginary of front-mountain/back-mountain not only evinces hierarchical thinking, but also invokes the hegemonic imaginary of linear time scales moving from one to the other with the assumption of inevitable movement towards progress, development and civilization by means of colonization and displacement of the uncivilized mountain compatriots. As discussed earlier this chapter, in contrast to this linear temporality, *Tayal* people embrace ‘weaving’ ontology in which *Utux* weaves this world into existence, just like women weave clothes and men weave baskets. They say ‘*tminun na Utux*’, which means ‘beings are the woven fabric of *Utux*’. In *Tayal* ontology, there is strong sense of belonging-together-in-place. *Utux* weaves every being into a sharing existence. People are connected to each other and to other beings. From these three cases, a narrative of connections starts to manifest. Some threads can be woven together - ‘*tminun Utux*’ – to illustrate key connections in time, space and society through stories, mobilities and identities.

The case studies presented in this chapter, beautifully illustrate connections across time. In the case of the Greenwood Restaurant, one of Mankay’s motivations to found a local restaurant was his desire to provide seasonal ingredients, and his long-term commitment to place saw the disinterest of other restaurant owners transformed into a new way of building connections. Mankay adopted locally produced vegetables in his restaurant without offering a fixed menu through all seasons. He adapted to the seasonal circularity of time rather than trying to discipline place to an imagined linearity of time. In *Tayal* ontology, there is a regulation of existence and time for every being. *Tayal* people believe nature has its own *Gaga* and time (see also Chapter Four). Through Mankay’s story, attention to time and the seasonal nature of time naturally emerges. The *Tbahu* Tomato Co-op shares this sensitivity to time. *Tayal* people in *Tbahu* community rather than passively following the everyday routine of the capitalist market, chose to be responsive and to connect with the market and dynamic pricing. By working as a cooperative, they were able to connect with a broader trading network and be responsive to that, and to manage the rhythms of place in ways that reduced their vulnerability to market fluctuations and exploitation. In the *Naro* Water Committee, engagement with time plays out differently. Local *Tayal* people in *Naro* community have faced increasing tension from co-habitation

⁴⁵ All the interview quotation in this paragraph came from our interview on 2nd February 2018 at *Naro* community.

with non-*Tayal* settlers and non-local *Tayal* peoples. While negotiating allocation of water resources, claiming of time became contested. During my participation at a seasonal meeting, a non-*Tayal* settler asserted: “I was here twenty years ago. I set up those pipelines with elders. Our ancestors have always been here”. Local *Tayal* people disdained by fighting back with a proposition: “Our ancestors have been here for thousands of years” [field note on 28th January 2018 at *Naro* community]. The same argument occurred when arguments arose between non-local *Tayal* people and local *Tayal* people. Local *Tayal* people insisted they have more say on allocating water resources since it is their home Country. Being-here-earlier turns out to be the affirmation of pre-eminence of common property governance. In *Naro* community, the privilege of claiming ‘time’ became central to arguments.

Nevertheless, the conundrum of contested time in the *Naro* case highlights a second important point: the uneasiness, complexity and challenges of belonging-together-in-place. Belonging-together-in-place sounds splendid, yet the reality is it is never easy. In the *Naro* Water Committee case, sharing existence with non-*Tayal* settlers and non-local *Tayal* people is not simple for local *Tayal* people. It involves conflicts and tensions. Yet, it is in the struggle that *Tayal* people’s identity and connection to their Country can be reasserted – even reconstructed in response to changing circumstances and persistent values in *Gaga*. Belonging-together-in-place is a deeply geographical matter. It is about sharing existence in place and time with other beings, which is challenging, but it is also about accepting the imperfection. The uneasiness of belonging-together-in-place is also evident in other two case studies. It was not easy for the facilitator Teru to decide to take on the role because she failed to convince her people previously. Then in order to establish the co-operative, Teru needed to go through tedious bureaucratic processes. After its establishment, the co-op required (and continues to require) constant internal negotiations. For Mankay, founding a local restaurant was financially, mentally and physically challenging. It was not easy for him to engage with his people and he was sometimes judged harshly. Despite of all the uneasiness, *Tayal* people presented in the three case studies consistently deal with the complexity. It is the struggle of dealing with difficulties in their daily lives that constitutes *Tayal* people’s daily autonomy. The process of negotiating shared existence is also a process of asserting and reasserting autonomy, connection of time as well as caring for place in *Tayal* Country. It is paramount to accept uneasiness, tension and complexity as part of belonging-together-in-place.

There are several things in common in the narratives of Teru and Mankay. They both worked outside their home communities for a period of time and then returned. They are both employed in community building experiences and opportunities through the Presbyterian Church to provide a moral, social and economic support for their transformative work to mobilize new geographical imaginaries of connection in place. They show how *Tayal* people accommodate diverse organizations in their networks and transfer their networks into platforms of community building in contemporary settings. In the case of Teru, the Church and the tomato co-operative have been an accommodating and functioning form of *Tayal Gaga* and *qutux niqan* (a group that share obligation). In the case of Mankay the Church and the restaurant provide the platform for empowering local industry. The process of building community renders a strong sense of belonging together as a congregation and building together as a community. I also found this feature in the *Naro* case. The Water Committee is a platform for local residents to negotiate public affairs. Churches, the tomato growers’ cooperative, the restaurant and the Water Committee are all new organizational mechanisms for the *Tayal* communities. Yet, *Tayal* peoples have claimed and transformed those organizational mechanisms into overtly *Tayal* mechanisms by accommodating them into their *Gaga* and their persistent customary

institutions. Foreign organizational mechanisms have not sabotaged *Tayal* society. On the contrary, they have provided a platform to perform and transform *Tayal* people's institutional capacity. Those foreign organizational mechanisms play a key role in facilitating the assertion of *Tayal* identity in contemporary Taiwanese settings.

Tayal people understand that every being in this world is woven into existence through *Utux* (God) - '*tminun Utux*'. One thing is essential in each of these case studies – rebuilding connection in place and, in the process reimagining local geography and its connection to wider networks. Both Teru and Mankay returned to their Country with knowledges and experiences from working outside. Drawing on this, they built connections for their communities to broader networks. Establishing the tomato co-op is an attempt to connect with the capitalist market more justly, sustainably, responsively and responsibly. Mankay's restaurant is located in the border of the front-mountain area and the back-mountain area. It connects commuters going through the front-mountain area and the back-mountain area and engages local industry and the seasonal nature of time. *Naro* community's location in the front-mountain area was previously imagined to privilege *Tayal* people who were deemed as more 'civilized and obedient' in terms of colonial perceptions and requirement. Such front-mountain areas and their communities were/are seen as examples of places that have lost connection to important elements of *Tayal* belonging to place and nature. Notwithstanding, through the journey of the Water Committee, it is compelling to see how local *Tayal* people's re-connection to their Country is being reasserted, and how this leads to a re-narration of their connections to Country as well as belonging-together-in-place.

6.7. Re-centering in Tayal Country: the challenge of decolonizing and being-together-in Country

This reading of *Tayal* journeys through space and time reveals geographical imaginaries that nurture connections to Country and embody *Gaga*. This emergent *Tayal* approach unsettles the hegemonic geographical imaginary that represents *Tayal* domains specifically, and Taiwan more generally, as simply part of an imagined greater China. In spite of the hegemonic colonizing geographical imaginary created by the geopolitical metaphors of 'One China' and 'mountain compatriots', this more nuanced, differentiated as well as locally-connected and specific set of spatial tropes allows more radically contextualized understandings of the spatial discourses created around and imposed on the front-mountain and back-mountain areas of *Tayal* Country. *Tayal* people consistently rebuild their connections in time and place with Country by reasserting their identity, mobility and narratives of being and belonging.

The challenge of de-colonizing geographical knowledge largely lies in de-learning the geographical knowledge that justified and supported colonizing processes. Just how the taken-for-granted geographical imaginary and correlated geographical imagination is to be unlearned is part of the task of unsettling colonized (and colonizing) places and peoples. With the Taiwanese democratization process in the 1990s and the historic National Apology delivered by President Tsai in 2016, it is necessary to reframe Taiwan's national and local geographical imagination by recognizing that the profound violence of colonization, martial law and social division has torn the Taiwanese society apart for many generations. In the National Apology, President Tsai called for a better co-existence in Taiwanese society. However, this has been haunted by a taken-for-granted 'mountains' imaginary that marginalizes Indigenous people and represents Indigenous people as an inferior 'other', rather than

part of an inclusive Taiwanese identity with whom the national society is learning to belonging-together-in-Country. This chapter proposes that in order to recognize *Tayal* and other Indigenous peoples' presence, it is necessary to challenge and unsettle the taken-for-granted hegemonic geographical imaginary that divides Taiwan into 'superior plains'/'inferior mountains'; 'self'/'others' and accommodates and responds to the messiness of what is occurring in peoples' everyday lives (see also Howitt, 2018).

As addressed in Chapter Two, a key methodological challenge and core conceptual foundation of this dissertation is to move beyond acknowledgement and towards **engagement**. I have demonstrated a strong sense of engagement in this chapter. This dissertation adopted a radical contextualism lens and envisioned my doctoral research to move beyond generic and abstracted Indigenous frame to the particularities of a specifically *Tayal* frame for this research. The nuanced and timely engagement of three *Tayal* cases in this chapter reflects on my devotion to represent *Tayal* Country as the way it is – complex, messy and entangled. However, embracing and accepting that messiness, addressing the trauma imposed on all Taiwan's peoples and places by its histories of violence and division, is a necessary beginning towards reconciliation; the beginning of reframing the national geographical imagination. Challenging the hegemonic geographical imaginary is more than breaking an outdated stereotype; it offers the transformative first steps toward true reconciliation for Taiwanese society, and a potentially powerful lesson for other settler societies. The key lesson from the case studies in this chapter, however, is the importance of turning much of the hegemonic imaginary inside-out and re-centering processes of identity, belonging and community on more locally specified narratives of learning to belonging-together-in-Country. It is to that task I turn in the following chapter.

7. Turning Taiwan inside out: recognizing *Tayal* positionality and rethinking colonial legacies

(...) One man at the betel nut stand recounts how his grandfather was looking for game in his family's hunting territory over a hundred years ago. Suddenly, he heard a noise and spotted a man in uniform walking through the forest. He seized and pulled his knife. 'This is my land. What are you doing in my hunting grounds?' he demanded. The stranger said, 'Who said this is your hunting ground? This is our land. I am a Japanese policeman, and I am patrolling the forest of Imperial Japan.' (...) the storyteller says the lesson is that his grandfather did not even know that his hunting territory had been 'ceded' by Qing Dynasty China to Japan in 1895. 'The treaty of Shimonoseki', he explains, 'had nothing to do with us Indigenous people. It was a treaty between the Chinese and the Japanese. We were not even consulted when they decided that our forests belong to them' (Simon, 2008: 51).

7.1. Expanding imperial scales and creating colonial property

In Chapter Four, *Tayal* ontology was discussed and the nature of property was understood in terms of connection/representation of people-to-people, people-to-Country and people-to-Cosmos relationships. It was argued that *Tayal* people's common property governance is built on a relational web. For *Tayal* People, governing common property, as discussed in relation to water, is governing the relation among non-human agencies and human agencies (see Chapter Four: Chen et al., 2018a). The discussion in Chapter Four commenced with *Imuhuw*; a chanting that records the oral history of epic migration led by the flow-ness of rivers (see Chapter Four: Chen et al., 2018a: 385-387). Through *Imuhuw* (chanting), *Tayal* people demonstrate a polity of **relations** – relations of governance that implicates people, environment and the more-than-human geographies of *Tayal* Country. Governing common property in *Tayal* ontology is governing the relationships between human agencies and non-human agencies, rather than exercising an exclusive entitlement over a resource.

In Chapter Five, *Tayal* people's experiences of colonization through the transition from self-governing common property to state-organized 'property' as dispossession was explored and it was maintained that inconsistent understandings of time and space were a fundamental driver of *Tayal* people's dispossession (see Chapter Five: Chen et al., 2018b). In that Chapter, it was argued *Tayal* people's land interests exist in multiple places across time. *Tayal* occupation of time and space is cyclical and plural, whilst the hegemonic property system implanted by the nationalist KMT government took absence of people from a particular place at a particular time as representing the non-existence (or impossibility) of recognizable land interest. Recognizing *Tayal* understandings of time and space unpacks the far-from-universal ontological foundations underpinning hegemonic understandings of property in Taiwan.

In Chapter Six, the hegemonic 'mountain' geographical imaginary that has so burdened Indigenous peoples in Taiwan under various forms of colonization was unpacked. The Chapter demonstrated that

the 'mountain' trope differentiated/s and essentialized/s *Tayal* peoples' belonging to place. The 'mountain' imaginary not only categorized/s *Tayal* Country into 'front-mountain' and 'back-mountain' based on racialized notion of 'development' and 'civilization', it also suggests a linear temporality whereby the wildness of mountains could be/should be conquered by the civility of lowland society; that 'barbarian mountains' could progress into 'modernized plains'. Chapter Six showed how the front-mountain/back-mountain binary disrupts but also reasserts *Tayal* people's own senses of belonging-together-in-place, and their narratives of being-*Tayal*. It demonstrated how *Tayal* people manifest their connections with Country, people and place, and how this reflects and reinforces *Tayal* identity, governance and presence in response to colonial others' (Qing, Japanese, KMT and Eurocentric) narratives that represent *Tayal* culture in terms of absence, deficit, primitiveness and insignificance.

This dissertation engages with *Tayal* time, space and Country to tackle issues around Indigenous peoples' property right in Taiwanese settings. Throughout the dissertation, I have discussed the hegemonic property system and the hegemonic 'mountain' imaginary in Taiwan, and its implications for *Tayal* property. In this chapter, the challenge now comes to understand how imperial property was enacted in Taiwan through the bordering, ordering and scaling that underpinned the hegemonic property system and the hegemonic 'mountain' imaginary. More importantly, the challenge is how to re-read the settlers-centric narrative of imperial property from *Tayal*-centric positionality. Chapter Seven now focuses on the conventional reading and representation of the Taiwanese settlers-centric territorial history. The conventional reading of Taiwanese history has legitimize/d settlers' imperial and colonial property, which continues to underpin and justify the State's failed policy to recognize and acknowledge *Tayal* people's property right in the Taiwanese polity. This chapter engages the keyword 'scale' to reconsider the taken-for-granted yet imagined scale of Taiwan.

A conventional reading of scale politics in Taiwan sets national development in complex regional geopolitics in which great power strategies have treated (and continually threaten to treat) the island of Formosa or the nation of Taiwan as a minor prize in global and regional scale conflicts. For *Tayal* communities, however, the reality is that *Tayal* Country is always that – *Tayal* Country. Whoever is nominally in charge, whoever claims the spoils of conquest, the land and its history, its people, its simultaneously physical and cultural landscapes are inescapably *Tayal*. From this standpoint, then, a rescaling of space and time becomes necessary. It becomes necessary to re-read *Tayal* time-space from the inside-out rather than accepting the dominant reading of colonizing narratives from the outside-in. It becomes necessary to commence my analysis with the *Imuhw* that records the epic migration guided by the agency of rivers and the relatedness of people to place and Cosmos across time. It becomes necessary to recognize the power of the Australian Aboriginal political claim that Australia 'always was and always will be Aboriginal land' (Rose, 1996a) as equally applicable to *Tayal* Country: it always was and always will be *Tayal* Country. From this standpoint, connections between spatial and temporal scales needs to be re-thought to respond to the ontological foundation in the *Imuhw* of belonging-in-place (see Chapter Four: Chen et al., 2018a: 385-386).

In re-thinking scale in this inside-out way, this chapter opens the possibility of recognizing the persistence of *Tayal* relationships to Country as persistent across space and time, *and* of rethinking how decolonizing of *Tayal* Country might proceed in the context of great power geopolitics. I take as an inspiration Australian printmaker Bea Maddock's extraordinary artwork *Terra Spiritus*, in which the coastline of Tasmania is represented and named from a central point within the Aboriginal cultural

landscape, while simultaneously being viewed and named from the colonizers' ship-based position⁴⁶. In taking a *Tayal*-centric standpoint to rethink the way geographical (i.e. simultaneously spatial-and-temporal) scale offers a lens from which to reconsider the past-present-futures of both *Tayal* Country and Taiwan, this chapter unsettles the hegemonic mountain imaginary and hegemonies of property and dispossession and respectfully anticipates the reconciliation of Indigenous and non-Indigenous Taiwanese peoples by being-together-in-place and learning to belonging-together-in-Country.

7.1.1 Towards an East Asian geopolitics of scale

The concept of geographical scale has been central to the geographical imaginaries of colonization. Conceptualizing the scale of nation, empire and colonized territories as enclosing Indigenous territories in nested hierarchies of power and control has contributed to geographical imaginaries – and realities – in which dispossession and settlement has been normalized. Unsettling the concept of scale, then, requires exploring how to disconnect the nesting of colonial power in geographical imaginaries that subsume and erase the geographical realities of 'others' and create states and institutions that require compliance with the colonial (and colonized) imagination. Through deconstructing the hegemonic 'mountain' geographical imaginary in Chapter Six, I argued that colonizing geographical imageries of scale differentiate and essentialize *Tayal* people's connection to their Country. The 'mountain' geographical imaginary has been deemed as an integratable part of a broader 'Chinese nation'. This hierarchical structure of colonizing scales effaced *Tayal* and other Indigenous peoples' presence by assuming a singular and conflated imagination of 'the' place: Taiwan. Yet, in narrating the geographical realities of *Tayal* people in Chapter Six, a more ontologically pluralist imaginary of places starts to emerge.

The quotation at the opening of this chapter is a proposition recorded by Canadian anthropologist Scott Simon during his fieldwork with Indigenous *Taroko* people in eastern Taiwan (Simon, 2008: 51). This story offers an opportunity to reconfigure conventional geopolitics and unsettle taken-for-granted notions of geographical scale. Conventional geopolitical approaches mainly consider grand discourses⁴⁷ and grand sectors with rare references to Indigenous presence (e.g. Paine (2017)). Contextualizing Taiwan in conventional geopolitical analysis brings the debate into a regional scale across East Asia, affected by the inter-play amongst imperial entities and national entities. For instance, taking a conventional geopolitical lens to construct what 'Taiwan' is, the discourse would focus on the grand narratives and strategic interventions of the great powers (particularly Japan, China, Russia, the USA), whose narratives have shaped and continue to be reshaped the concept of 'Taiwan' for more than a century. Conventional geopolitics are challenged by the emergence of 'critical geopolitics' (Dodds, 2001; Hyndman, 2015; Tuathail, 1996), which seeks to rethink/reframe conventional discourses of geopolitics, unsettle taken-for-granted notions of 'place', and bring the very meaning and limits of place and politics into question (Tuathail 1994: 314). Critical geopolitics

⁴⁶ This monumental work of 52 print panels using red ochre stretches nearly 40m and can be seen online at <https://nga.gov.au/landscapes/Pano2.htm>. This monumental work was made during the 1990s, when challenges to Indigenous rights, identity and belonging, were challenged by settler colonial mentalities in Australian politics. The artist explained: "The Aboriginal (*Palawa*) words were the reality of the thing, the *Terra Spiritus* ... all the other labor was for that ... It was almost like a ritual song ... What I wanted to do is to have a place for them [the Aborigines]. It really is a naming thing. It's geography with a purpose" (quoted in Zdanowicz, 2011: 476).

⁴⁷ For instance, Agnew (2003) periodizes the modern geopolitical imagination into three ages of geopolitics: Civilizational geopolitics, which he dates from the late eighteenth century through to the late nineteenth century; Naturalized geopolitics, which is associated with the period of inter-imperialist rivalry from 1875 to 1945; Ideological geopolitics, which is associated with the epoch of the Cold War rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union.

promoted attention to non-state actors, such as social movements and Indigenous groups (Gregory et al., 2009: 550), and reflection on broader calls for social justice (Gibson, 1998; Johnson and Larsen, 2017). This attention to the agency of non-state sectors, however, has not displaced the pre-eminence of analysis that focuses on how non-state sectors play into international scales and shape/reshape international geopolitics, as a more-than-state engagement with geopolitics at the scale of international relations. In contrast, moving from state-centric analysis to more localized geopolitics offers the possibility of a powerful rethinking of scale concepts and their geopolitical importance.

In both conventional geopolitics and critical geopolitics, the debates remained largely focused on the imagined communities (Anderson, 1983) of nation-states. The concept of nation-states has been so naturalized and neutralized that the ‘common-sense’ framing of Taiwan in geopolitical terms is to see it as an anomaly in the international polity or a case of territorial dispute (or both), as there is no space for geopolitical agency beyond nation-states. In this sense, the geopolitics in East Asia region has been understood **not** as a set of **connections** but as a set of **deeply contested boundaries**. In this chapter, instead of thinking that geopolitics only happen at that grand nation-state scale, I want to take a *Tayal*-centric perspective, to understand *Tayal* engagements in geopolitics as well as reconsider the territorial history from *Tayal* positionality.

7.2. Theoretical frameworks

7.2.1. Adopting ‘scale’ lens

In Taiwanese discourses, the hegemonic trope of ‘mountain’ has been effectively constructed as a geographical scale that entrenched ‘back mountain’ people and places as spatially and temporally remote. In the process, *Tayal* people’s connections to County have been abstracted and essentialized into a categorical and hierarchical representation of geographical scale that rendered a linear temporality. The ‘backwards mountains’ needed to be improved into being equivalent to ‘enlightened plains’. In the meanwhile, the scale of ‘mountain’ implied a bounded territory, which was formalized into state bureaucracy by processes of colonization, enclosure and registration as property (as discussed in Chapter Three: Chen and Howitt (2017)). In 1945, the same year the nationalist KMT government took over Taiwan, the Government zoned thirty ‘highland mountain townships’ and twenty-five ‘lowland mountain townships’ nationally for administrative purposes (Pan, 2002: 52, 56-58; Hsieh, 2018: 17). The ‘mountain’ geographical imaginary presented a linear temporality and a bounded spatiality. It also presented a nested hierarchy in which the Indigenous local was rendered as the powerless lowest level of the national polity. While the scalar labels of ‘international’, ‘national’, ‘regional’ and ‘local’ could involve the increasing or decreasing physical scalar quantity of areas, those scalar labels do not naturally possess a centralized, hierarchical and ordering power affiliation. However, the ‘mountain’ geographical imaginary in Taiwanese settings, has become a geographical reality due to the ROC government’s establishment of ‘mountain townships’ that were placed under the national jurisdiction.

The hegemonic geographical imaginaries in Taiwanese settings involved bordering, ordering and making of the nation-state (Chun, 1994; 1996). As mentioned in Chapter Five and Chapter Six, the nationalist KMT government’s reign in Taiwan came with an aggressive ambition to transfer the islands into an authentic China and unified Chinese nation, compared to the ‘counterfeit’ People’s Republic of China founded in 1949. The interplay among various scalar labels: local imaginary ‘mountain’, national imaginary ‘Chinese Nation’, regional ‘East Asia’ security and international tension of Cold War

outbreak are, as Howitt (1993: 36) argues, interpenetrated with each other (see also Chapter Six). Following Howitt (1993; 1998), this chapter recognizes geographical notions of scale as metaphors to “shape the way we think about and interact with both the material world and the world of ideas” (Howitt, 1998: 49). At some level, all writing, indeed all thinking, relies on metaphors and abstractions to communicate (Ollman, 1993; as cited in: Howitt, 1998: 49-50). Even a simple representation is never the thing itself. Especially when dealing with complex things, the influence of and reliance on representation to establish, clarify and analyze connections, comparisons and meaning are even greater. However, it seems easy to lose sight of the metaphorical elements in some representations (Howitt, 1998: 49).

Untangling the metaphorical elements inlaid in geographical scales is never easy, as two prominent dimensions of scale have been extensively used in daily life: size and level (Howitt, 1998). Howitt (1998) concludes there are three facets of scale: size, level and relation. The first two dimensions are relatively well recognized whilst the third one remained undertheorized. Drawing on Ollman’s theorizing of ‘Relation’ (Ollman, 1976), Howitt considers not just the sorts of connections (relations) that help to constitute particular geographical scales, but also begins to see geographical scale as a factor in itself, a structure, system or unit that can be abstracted from geographical totalities as having some relatively autonomous (though never independent) causal efficacy (Howitt, 1998: 56).

So, what is the implication of taking a ‘scale’ lens to Indigenous geographies? Argued by Howitt (1993), acknowledging geographical scales are dialectal and interpenetrated opens up the possible theoretical frame to empower marginalized Indigenous peoples. He provokes a reframing of geographical scale intending to empower Indigenous peoples. Using the inter-scale politics of Aboriginal land rights in Australia as an example, he argues geographical scales, conventionally assumed to be categorically distinct, actually interpenetrate each other. To take account of this, Howitt treats geographical scales not as logically distinct categories, but as internally related to geographical form in a dialectical, non-determinist and multidirectional manner (Howitt, 1993: 36). Colonial expansion always involved creating ‘new’ geographical scales (Howitt, 2001) as well as erasure of ‘outdated’ geographical scales (Howitt, 2009: 145-148), especially erasing scales of Indigenous governance (see: Cross, 2008; Howitt, 2001; Prout and Howitt, 2009). Thus, by acknowledging the notion of geographical scales as dialectical and interpenetrated, his work provides a theoretical framework that seeks to untangle the social processes of ‘created’ scales; to recognize as well as adapt to the changing nature of geographical scale.

In Taiwanese settings, the exclusion and underrepresentation of *Tayal* and other Indigenous presence in national geographical imaginary (see Chapters Four, Five and Six) revealed how Taiwanese society and international audiences framed the scaling of ‘Taiwan’. During the martial law period (1949 - 1987), the nationalist KMT government established a Chinese cultural hegemony that diffused from the realm of high politics to the level of everyday routine through various institutions, like schools, media, family, military and workplace. This Chinese cultural hegemony was rooted in the origins of Chinese civilization, its sense of continuous history, Confucian ethical legitimacy, and the spiritual consciousness of one people that had been inculcated over post-World War II period (Chun, 1994: 66). The KMT Government formalized Mandarin as ‘the’ sole national language (國語; *kuoyü*); it exalted Mandarin and suppressed other languages on the islands. The Government realized this language policy through a variety of approaches. For example, schools became not only an important institution of socialization, but also a major agent of language ideology (Hsiao, 1997). The Chinese hegemony planted by the nationalist KMT government has been naturalized and neutralized even in

contemporary Taiwanese settings (see Chapters Four and Five). These colonial mindsets have been entrenched into the 'national' geographical imaginaries of scales (see Chapter Six). In this chapter, I untangle the metaphorical threads, and indeed colonial legacies, that constitute the taken-for-granted geographical scales.

7.2.2. Year Zero and Ground Zero myths

In Chapter Five (Chen et al., 2018b), I discussed how the polity of post-war Taiwan conflicted with *Tayal* ontology and how the State has imposed hegemonic understandings of property. Yet more importantly, the post-war State polity not only sanctioned hegemonic understandings of property, but also endorsed a temporal-spatial narrative that legitimized the illusion of 'Year Zero' and 'Ground Zero' (Rose, 1997). Rose (1997), inspired by the Christian calendar, uses the concept 'Year Zero' to articulate the moment at which history is seen to begin with the arrival of the outriders of civilization (Rose, 1997: 26). The 'Year Zero' myth alludes to a linear temporal discourse in which things are seen to progress from this point to an ultimately better status, presuming the historical sequence is disjunctive and irreversible (Rose, 1997: 27). Using the concept of disjunction to break up the history of the world into epochs, each of which was differentiated by disparate inner values (Gurevich, 1985: 118; as cited in Rose, 1997: 27), the concept of an irreversible sequence shapes time, and has proved to be a powerful tool in modern culture (Rose, 1997: 27). Rose (1997) elucidates the notion of 'Year Zero' adjunctively with the spatial metaphor of 'Ground Zero', and vigorously re-narrates the frontier imaginary in north Australia. Rose states:

As is well-known, all of the frontier concepts in which these accounts of nation building are embedded are contested: the concept of wilderness, the concepts of savagery and civilization, the maleness of it, the whiteness and the inevitability of it, and the use of Indigenous people as media through which the new man is authenticated as an autochthonous new world human. My concern in this paper is more specifically with the central, and the vigorously contested emptiness of it all (Rose, 1997: 22).

Rose develops the concept 'Ground Zero' (Rose, 1997: 20-21) to denote the utter emptiness of Indigenous presence in British colonizers' and settlers' subjectivities (Rose, 1997: 20-21). This notion was built on American Historian Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier theory (Turner, 1920), which deems the history of the American nation to be the history of expanding settlement and the advancing frontier as the site of the formation of both the nation and the national character (Rose, 1997: 20-21). The concepts Year Zero and Ground Zero can be applied in other settlers nations, including Taiwan. In Chapter Six, I discussed the Taiwanese equivalent, where settlers' conflation of the 'mountain' imaginary and representation of Indigenous groups as uncivilized/barbarian justified denial, erasure and dispossession. Post-war polity in Taiwan reinforced the 'mountain' imaginary using bureaucratic mechanisms to formally refer to Indigenous peoples in Taiwan as 'mountain compatriots' and 'high mountain people' before 1994, as well as the 'mountain township' system that was created for administrative purposes (Hsieh, 2018: 17).

In this chapter, I extend the discussion further by exploring **how** the notion of 'Year Zero' and 'Ground Zero' was found in Taiwanese settings. The conventional history in Taiwan has been understood as disjunctive, with each Imperial period having a distinctive inner value. Each epoch is seen as building on the preceding period to eventually lead to the modernization and civilization of Taiwan. However, when applying the discussion of 'Year Zero' in Taiwanese contexts, an alternative way of seeing history emerges. Under the taken-for-granted historical discourses, the persistence and resistance of

Indigenous peoples in Taiwan is under-represented severely, and concealed under the territorial disputes. In this chapter, I deconstruct the conventional Taiwanese history and explore how the idea of 'Year Zero' and 'Ground Zero' has been constructed and how to read through the discursive construction.

The taken-for-granted historical discourses of conventional geopolitics in Taiwan started with the Dutch occupation (1624 - 1662) and Spanish occupation (1626 - 1642) in the European Age of Discovery. Then chronologically, the Kingdom of Tungning (1662 - 1683), the Qing Empire (1683 - 1895), the Republic of Formosa (1895), the Japanese Empire (1895 - 1945) and the Republic of China (hereafter referred as ROC) (1945 – present) disjunctively made ostensible sovereign claims over the islands, especially in the year of 1895, when three parties (Qing Empire, Republic of Formosa and Japanese Empire) claimed sovereignty over Taiwan in the same year. Notwithstanding, it should be pointed out, by retelling the taken-for-granted historical discourses repeatedly, we (as academia, as society and as human beings) (in)advertently re-erase Indigenous presence, continuity and autonomy over and over. The taken-for-granted historical discourse of Taiwan demonstrates what Rose critiques as 'linear time' (Rose, 1997). Linear time sees history cut into different periods, with each period established on the basis of the preceding one, yet ceaselessly moving towards a more progressed status. Indigenous presence is not surprisingly, absent in this picture. *Tayal* people's persistent resistance against and healing from colonial interventions was argued throughout this dissertation. However, a settlers-centric reading of Taiwanese history assumes a singularity of time and homogeneity of space. It assumes a sole authoritative interpretation of history eliminating all other Indigenous histories that happen/ed simultaneously, as well as an imagined homogeneous and rigid spatial scale of colonies.

The conventional accounts of Taiwanese history ignore and deny the continuing and resistant presence and autonomy of Taiwanese Indigenous peoples as well as construct an invincible mirage of 'Year Zero', the moment history commenced at the first arrival of alien civilizations without any reference to Indigenous history. To deconstruct the myth of 'Year Zero' in Taiwanese settings requires a careful reconsideration of history and its representations. In recognizing *Tayal* autonomy that always was and always is governing their Country (see Chapter Two), the grand sweep of history cannot and will not be read as the absence of *Tayal* history, but as a representation of *Tayal* resistance, of not being colonized, remaining autonomous.

7.3. Conquest, contest and connection⁴⁸

The current 'scale' of Taiwan is neither neutral nor rigid. It has a long, troubled and settlers-centric history that profoundly formulates what constitutes 'Taiwan'. Recognizing the concept of geographical scale as dialectical and relational helps to deconstruct the metaphorical elements consolidating the taken-for-granted geographical scales of settler-centric histories. This section consists of two main components. The first sheds light on how settlers-centric discourses **scaled up** the island of Formosa into a unified, homogenous and imagined imperial subject (section 7.3.1.). The second explores the internal relations that strengthen settler-centric perceptions towards the imagined scale of this singular imagined Taiwan (section 7.3.2. and 7.3.3.). Specifically, the second section focuses on the

⁴⁸ I acknowledge the use of Hsin-hui Chiu's chapter title in this heading: (2008) *The Colonial 'Civilizing Process' in Dutch Formosa, 1624-1662*. Leiden and Boston: Brill.

creation of 'aboriginal' Taiwan; the creation that builds up an internally hierarchal relation and supports settlers' hegemonic geographical imaginaries.

7.3.1. Initial encounter

It is a widespread myth that colonizers proclaim an entire nation/continent/territory by simply making a political gesture, such as Captain Cook's erection of a British flag on the shores of Sydney Harbor or Christopher Columbus' 'discovery' of the American continent. Colonizers often made ostensible claim over the whole colony as imperial property and proclaimed the existence of an imagined geographical scale. But the reality was never as simple as colonizers claimed, it was always much messier. Recent research unveils the frontier violence in the process of making, expanding, settling colonizing scales (Blomley, 2003; Mathias, 2015). This feature is shared in Taiwanese colonial history. The taken-for-granted 'Taiwan' scale was built on erasure, denial and suppression of Indigenous peoples already dwelling on the islands. In fact, the term 'Taiwan' derives from an ethnonym of a Taiwanese Indigenous people, possibly Taioan people who lived near where the Dutch East India Company (Dutch: Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie; henceforth abbreviated as VOC) built their fortress (Mair, 2003). The scale of 'Taiwan' may be taken-for-granted nowadays, yet reconsidering colonial Taiwanese history will enlighten how the scale of 'Taiwan' was developed from a Dutch trading base to various political entities in specific temporal and spatial contexts.

7.3.1.1. A trading base in the East Asian water

In the European Age of Discovery, Spain and Holland were attracted by Formosa's strategic location in the sea lanes between Southeast Asia, China and Japan (Mendel, 1970: 11). Spain built ports in northern coastal Formosa in 1626 (see Figure 7 - 2 for ports' locations) and the Dutch East India Company occupied southern part of Formosa in 1624. The VOC decided the best location to establish its harbor was Taioan (also known as Tayouan in some literatures), a peninsula in southwest Formosa. The peninsula of Taioan formed a bay separated from the mainland of Formosa by Taijiang inner sea. The Dutch decided to build a small fortress, named Zeelandia, in the peninsula of Taioan in 1623 (Zandvliet, 1998: 124). Figure 7 - 1 presents a painting drawn by Dutch cartographer Joan Blaeu. It shows the Dutch fortress Zeelandia in the peninsula of Taioan, which is most likely the derivation of the name 'Taiwan'. (Mair, 2003).



Figure 7 - 1 The seventeenth century watercolor drawing of the Dutch East India Company's Fort Zeelandia on the island of Formosa

(Note: this file has been identified as being free of known restrictions under copyright law, including all related and neighboring rights.)

The Fort Zeelandia later became the center of the VOC geographical imaginary (Kang, 2014). Before the Dutch occupation of the southern plain area, Formosa rarely had Han settlers visiting other than occasional fishermen (Chiu, 2007; Andrade, 2008). The political entities in China had not made claim over Formosa at that time. Formosa was seen as a 'savage' island located beyond the sea (Teng, 2004: 3), whilst the VOC was keen to secure maritime lanes in East Asian water. The VOC realized that their port's hinterlands could produce rice and sugar for export, but they were unable to persuade Formosa's Indigenous peoples to raise crops for sale—most were content to plant enough for themselves and their families. The colonists considered importing European settlers, but the idea was rejected by their superiors in the Netherlands. So they settled instead on a more unusual plan: encouraging Han immigration (Andrade, 2008: para 22). The VOC and the Ming Empire formed a 'cooperative colonization' (Andrade, 2006; Andrade, 2008) on the partial occupation of Formosa. The VOC offered tax breaks and alleged 'free' land to Han colonists, using their powerful military to protect pioneers from 'aboriginal assault' (Andrade, 2008: para 22). Shortly after the VOC occupation of Formosa in the 1620s, the number of Han settlers abruptly increased in the 1630s, correspondingly with the labor immigration policy by the VOC.

Ever since the VOC stepped on Formosa, they were ambitious to expand their presence in the region. Playing with internal politics within Indigenous populations, the VOC successfully took less advantaged Indigenous communities living in the western plains under their protection from forceful Indigenous communities living in deeper mountainous areas. The VOC gained support from Indigenous communities seeking shelter (Tai, 2006: 21-22). When the VOC stepped on the peninsula of Taioan in 1623, the first Indigenous people encountered was the *Sinckan* community of *Siraya* people (see Figure 7 - 2 for location). In the 1620s to the 1630s, *Siraya* people living in southwest coastal Formosa were in a tense geopolitical situation. *Siraya* communities were either allied or hostile with each other.

The arrival of VOC provided *Siraya* people another option to ally outside of Chinese or Japanese merchants. *Sinckan* community was not the fiercest among neighboring Indigenous communities, but the power dynamic shortly shifted with the VOC's arrival. In 1627, the VOC sent missionary George Candidius to Formosa. Regardless of the initial plan of serving Dutch employees, Candidius went to *Sinckan* community for missionary activity. Conversion was shortly accepted by *Sinckan* community and Dutch missionaries formed close social ties with them through marriage and settlement (Kang, 2008: 4-10).

When the VOC initially came to Formosa, they valorized the 'civility' of Indigenous people based on whether they had a hierarchical society and clothing. That is to say, the less coverage by clothes Indigenous people had, the more savage they were seen to be. If a community did not have hierarchal political system, that community was not seen as civilized. When the VOC officials first met *Siraya* people in the peninsula of Taioan, they were shocked by their nudity and believed they were "mournful barbarian people" (original in Dutch: rouwe barbarse mensen) (Kang, 2014: 103). In order to 'correct' their savagery, the VOC launched a 'black velvet gown and rattan cane' program (Kang, 2006). After a peace treaty in 1636 with rival *Mattaw* community of *Siraya* people, (see Chapter Three: Chen and Howitt, 2017: 33-34), the VOC held the first general village assembly in 1636. When Indigenous communities declared their submission and loyalty to the VOC (see Figure 7 - 2 for location of 'submitted' communities in Dutch literatures) the VOC asked each community to select a head (original in Dutch: hoofden). Whoever was selected would be granted with a black velvet gown and a rattan cane. The black velvet gown was planned to cover Indigenous peoples' bodies, to make them look more 'European' (Kang, 2006: 40-41; see also: Harrison, 2003). The rattan cane was symbolic of power. It not only symbolized a centralized and individually owned legitimacy of the head, but also implied the head had yielded his/her local authority to the VOC (Kang, 2006: 42).

The VOC established a base on Formosa to secure its existing marine trade in East Asian Water, especially with China and Japan. However, the VOC occupation in Formosa resulted in a contradictory outcome – its rising hostility with Japan and intensified rivalry against Spain. As an extended Spanish enterprise from Manila, the Spanish Governor-General of the Philippines sent fleets to occupy northern coastal Formosa in 1626 (see Figure 7 - 2), two years after the VOC arrival on Formosa (Mateo, 2009). Both the VOC and Spain needed to be on good terms with Japan. It was decisive for the VOC, because their main economic profit was from trade between China and Japan. For Spain, they needed the friendship with the Tokugawa Shogunate in Japan to give support to the persecuted missions in Japan (Mateo, 2009: 21).

The Nuyts Incident in 1628 changed the dynamic. Pieter Nuyts was the third Governor of Formosa. He put pressure on the Japanese vessels visiting Zeelandia and asked for taxes. Japanese businessperson Yahyōe Hamada⁴⁹ complained to Nuyts saying that before the Dutch had arrived Japanese were there trading. Hamada went to Japan in 1627, with sixteen Indigenous peoples from *Sinckan* community, who also resented the VOC. Hamada presented those Indigenous peoples as Formosan rulers and offered the control of Formosa to the Tokugawa Shogunate in Japan. In May 1628, when Hamada and accompanied Indigenous representatives returned back to Formosa, Nuyts confiscated their weapons and imprisoned the Indigenous peoples for revolt. Hamada was released shortly, but confronted Nuyts in June and eventually Nuyts was held hostage by Hamada to re-negotiate taxes. After reaching an

⁴⁹ All the Japanese names in this dissertation follow the English writing convention. Given name written ahead family. Therefore, in this case, Hamada is the family name and Yahyōe is the given name.

agreement, Hamada sailed back to Japan. Nuyts was recalled by the VOC to Batavia awaiting judgement in 1629. Ignoring the VOC's attempt to appease Japan, and after hearing the maltreatment of Japanese subjects and Formosan Indigenous peoples, the Shogunate declared an embargo on VOC merchants which lasted until 1632 (Campbell, 1903:42-51; Mateo, 2009: 21, 26; Shepherd, 1993:52; Tai, 2006: 23). The Spaniards in Manila were thrilled when heard this news because they saw the opportunity to re-establish trade with Japan may have arrived. However, this was too optimistic. In 1628, a Spanish armada commander found a red seal Japanese junk accidentally yet burned it for a previous grievance. Consequently, the tension between the Spanish colonial government in Manila and the Shogunate in Japan rose sharply (Mateo, 2009: 21).⁵⁰

The aggravated European trading exercise in East Asia soon became pointless. The Tokugawa Shogunate in Japan put its isolationist foreign policy into operation in the 1630s, which severely limited foreign entities' trade with Japan and nearly barred all foreign nationals entering Japan. The VOC turned its focus into governing its Formosan colony (Tai, 2006: 24). Through aggressive expeditions, the VOC gradually expanded its controlled colony. Two doctrines were adopted in varied contexts: aggressive islet depopulation and plains resettlement (Kang, 2009).

A Dutch ship *Gouden Leeuw* was shipwrecked on the Lamay Island (see Figure 7 - 2), an islet near the peninsula of Taioan, in 1622. Local Indigenous people killed those invaders and took their goods. Then in 1633, the VOC launched a punitive expedition towards Lamay islanders; some *Siraya* people also joined the army. A massive massacre was perpetrated on Lamay Island. All villages were burnt, males were slaughtered, and survivors were deported from the island. According to a report the VOC later submitted to their Board, 191 Lamay islanders were sent to Dutch East Indies (nowadays Indonesia); 482 islanders were sent to the *Sinckan* community of *Siraya* people, 42 children were adopted by Dutch families, 405 islanders were killed in the massacre from 1636-1639. In contemporary terms, a genocide took place on Lamay Island (Kang, 2009: 102). The Lamay Island incident reflected an aggressive doctrine of territorial expansion. The VOC wanted to extend this principle to other islets surrounding Formosa, but they changed their mind when they found out there were no 'worthy' resources on other islets (Kang, 2009: 109-111). In contrast, the succeeding general Cornelis van der Lijn (gov. 1645-1650) adopted a more conservative tactic. Rather than expanding the company's control to mountain areas, he preferred to resettle Indigenous peoples living in the mountains to the plains. Lijn's policy was based on ideas of economic efficiency for the company, although it did not succeed in delivering its desired outcomes (Kang, 2009: 112-121).

The *Siraya* people were only one of many Indigenous peoples the VOC encountered. The Kingdom of *Middag* was a supra-tribal alliance located in the central western plains of Formosa (Wang, 2009). This polity was governed by the King *Quataongh*⁵¹ from *Papora* people and the alliance was formed among Indigenous peoples of *Papora*, *Babuza*, *Pazeh*, and *Hoanya* (Kang, 2003). David Wright, a Scotsman who visited Formosa during the 1620s to the 1630s, stated that Formosa was not under the jurisdiction of one single governor, but stood divided into eleven shires or provinces, besides many less known lordships in the mountain region. One of the provinces, he said, belongs to the king of *Middag*:

⁵⁰ The Spaniards stayed in Formosa in the seventeenth century for only sixteen years, and the influences was limited (Borao, 2007) so I will mainly address Dutch influences in proceeding texts.

⁵¹ Scholar Kaim Ang believes the term '*Quataongh*' is the mispronounced Taiwanese term 'Lord of aborigines' accidentally recorded in Dutch literatures (Ang, 1992).

IV

This prince has seventeen towns that obey him, the largest being called Middag, which is also his chief seat and place of residence. (...) The king of Middag had formerly twenty-seven towns under his jurisdiction, but ten of them threw off his yoke. (...) He would never suffer any Christians to dwell in his dominions, allowing them only to travel through it (Campbell, 1903: 6).

Quataongh's ruling position was central and hereditary. Through playing his part in the ritual performance to ensure the harvest in his very fertile land, *Quataongh* demonstrated his magical power and potency as the most outstanding man in his domain. In return, he requested tribute from his subjects. There is convincing evidence that *Quataongh* did not eschew warlike violence to subjugate yet more neighbors and draw them into his realm. *Quataongh's* capacity to espouse territorial expansion may have been linked to his control over the trade along the several rivers which formed the routes for the flow of trade goods between the interior and the coast (Chiu, 2007: 32-33; Kang, 2003). After the Dutch defeat of Spanish-controlled areas in northern coastal Formosa in 1642, pioneering and securing a safe route for trading and gold mining expeditions became necessary. The Kingdom of *Middag* obstructed the Dutch plan. To subjugate *Quataongh*, a punitive expedition was launched. By the end of January 1645, 210 soldiers had burned down thirteen villages and killed 126 *Quataongh's* subjects. This loss severely undermined the Kingdom of *Middag*. A peace treaty was completed between the VOC and *Quataongh* in 1645 and *Quataongh* was granted a rattan cane to symbolize the Dutch overlordship. The Company continued to deprive him of his wealth between 1646 and 1650 by dividing his territories into six parts which were auctioned off to Chinese leaseholders (Chiu, 2007: 113-116; Kang, 2003: 110). Despite the shrinking number of subjects, the Kingdom of *Middag* remained independent until the VOC left Formosa on 1662 (Wang, 2009).

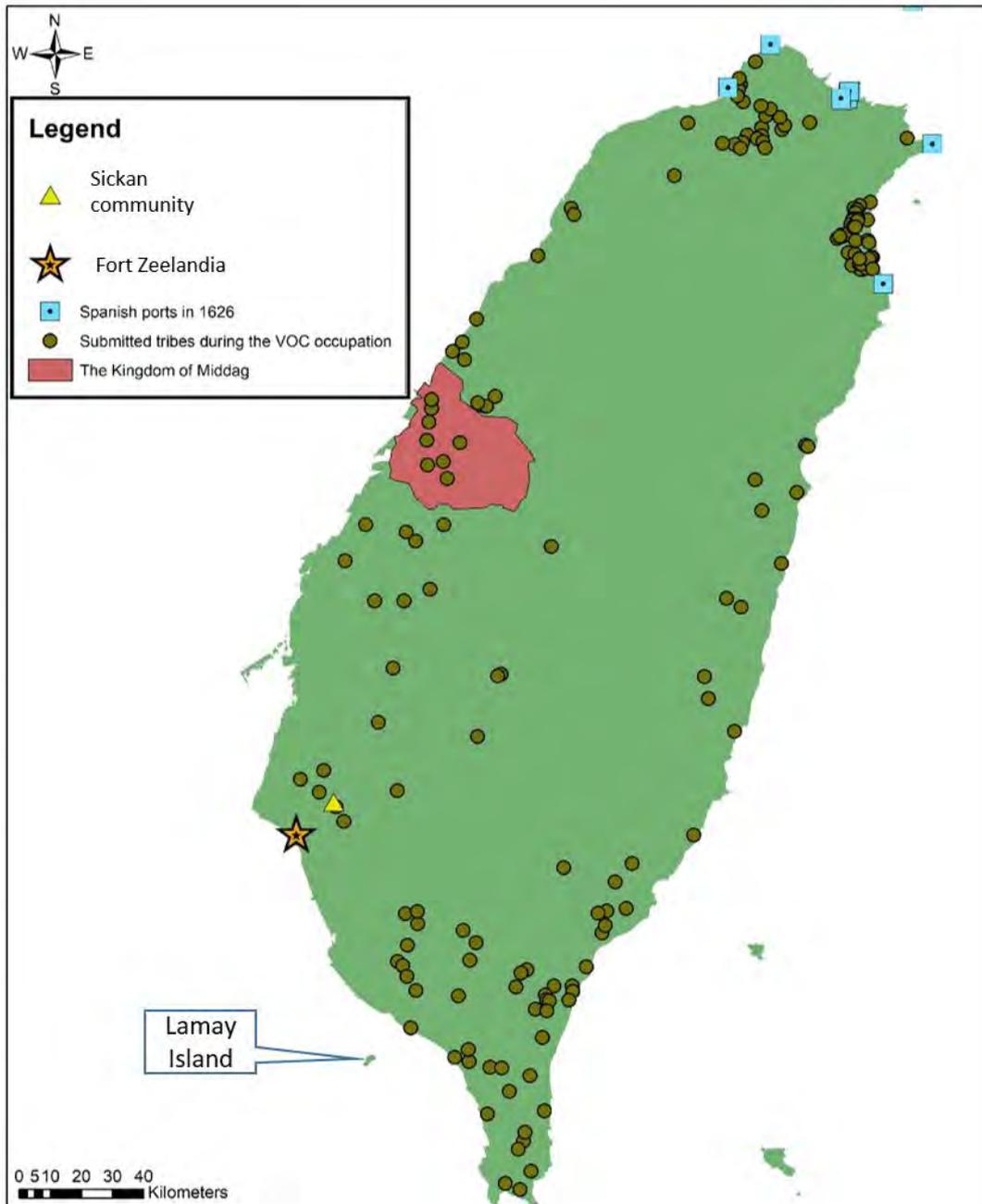


Figure 7 - 2 Colonizing geographical expansions during the sixteenth to the seventeenth century
 This map shows colonizing geographical expansions on Formosa during the VOC and Spanish occupation. The blue squares indicates the ports Spanish Governor-General of the Philippines sent fleets to occupy in 1626 (Liu, no date). The orange stars is where the fort Zeelandia located and the yellow triangle was the Sikan community. The green spots were Indigenous communities declared their loyalty to the Dutch VOC and submitted as imperial subjects. Those communities were recorded in the Company report from 1647 to 1656 (Tang, no date). The mauve area were the Kingdom of Middag (source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Dutch_and_Spanish_Taiwan.png)

(Made by Yayut Yishiuan Chen; date source: <https://thcts.ascc.net/>)

7.3.1.2. Importing Confucianism hegemony

A Ming loyalist⁵² Cheng-kung Cheng (鄭成功), known as Koxinga⁵³ in Dutch literatures, expelled the VOC in 1662⁵⁴. He had a family marine business in southern coastal China and fled to Formosa after the Manchu overthrew the Ming Dynasty and established the Qing Empire in 1644. In doing so, he established the Kingdom of Tungning on the base of the Dutch colonization. After Koxinga's sudden death in June 1662, four months after he built a new capital of his kingdom on Fort Zeelandia, his son Ching Cheng (鄭經) succeeded his kingdom. Koxinga's action in founding the Kingdom of Tungning in Formosa was extremely decisive and significant in symbolic and moral dimensions even though he only set foot on Formosa for four months. His son Ching Cheng raised the Kingdom's profile internationally and within the island. Ching Cheng reigned on the southwest plain of Formosa from 1663 to 1681 (see Figure 7 - 3). Inheriting Koxinga's trading networks, Ching Cheng continued exercising maritime trading rights in East Asian waters. In 1670, having received the invitation from Ching Cheng, the British East India Company decided to send two vessels to Formosa. An informal trading agreement between the British East India Company and Cheng regime was concluded in 1640; a formal treaty was signed in 1672 (Lai, 1965: 6). Then the British East India Company established a factory at Tywan (known as Taioan in Dutch literatures) in 1672. The British East India Company continued to maintain their presence in Formosa until the last princess of the Kingdom of Tungning surrendered to the Qing Empire in 1683 (Ts'ao, 1995: 1-2;9-10). Throughout the formal letters, the British East India Company titled Ching Cheng the 'King of Tywan' and referred to him as 'your Majesty' (Chang et al., 1995: 52-53; see also Massarella, 1993; Tsai, 2014). Cheng's regime at least partly saw Formosa acting as an autonomous political entity in East Asian waters during the seventeenth century (see Roy, 2003). Koxinga and his family's reign was most notable for bringing refugees who came from south costal China into Formosa. By 1690 these newcomers probably out-numbered Indigenous peoples in Formosa (Mendel, 1970: 12).

Geographical expansion continued throughout the Cheng regime. In 1670, the Cheng regime launched a campaign toward the *Salach* community of *Papora* people, which belonged to the Kingdom of *Middag* (see Figure 7 - 3). The Cheng troops burnt down the whole settlement and only six people survived this massacre. The other communities of the Kingdom of *Middag* shifted north (Lian, 1920: 476). The Cheng regime has similar doctrines toward Indigenous peoples as the VOC – civilizing and armed expeditions. The main difference was instead of importing Christianity, the Cheng regime imported Confucianism. Adopting advice from the Kingdom's chief-counsel Yung Hua Ch'ên (陳永華), the first Confucius temple was built in 1666 (Tai, 2006: 57) (see Figure 7 - 3) and Confucian scholars were recruited from China (Lian, 1920: 309) to promote Confucianism. By Ching Cheng's orders, schools were established and maintained in every district. Examinations were held once every three years, and such scholars as reached a certain standard were admitted to high school, from which, should they be so fortunate as to graduate, they were appointed officers of the Government and given

⁵² The historians have not reached to a consensus regarding this label. Some believe that his devotion to the cause of dynastic restoration was 'fanatical' and free of any selfish motivation. Some point to convincing evidence of opportunistic behaviour contradicting this avowedly determined stance. Some considers Koxinga managed to 'conflate his own interests with those of the Ming, and perform his best for the loyalist cause' (for detailed discussion, see Hang, 2016: 78-87)

⁵³ The literal meaning of 'Koxinga' is the 'Lord of the Royal Surname', because Cheng-kung Cheng was given a Royal Surname by a Ming Emperor.

⁵⁴ In fact, the Dutch re-occupied northern coastal Formosa, and formed a standoff with the Kingdom of Tungning in 1664. Several military conflicts took place and the VOC eventually withdrew from Formosa in 1668 (see Wills, 2003 and Kang, 2015).

rank and position. Thus, were laid the foundations of the hegemonic educational system of the island (Davidson, 1903: 58). Indigenous children were especially encouraged to attend the Confucian colleges. The Confucian college's admission commenced at the age of eight. Indigenous parents were waived military service if their children attended the colleges (Tai, 2006: 57).

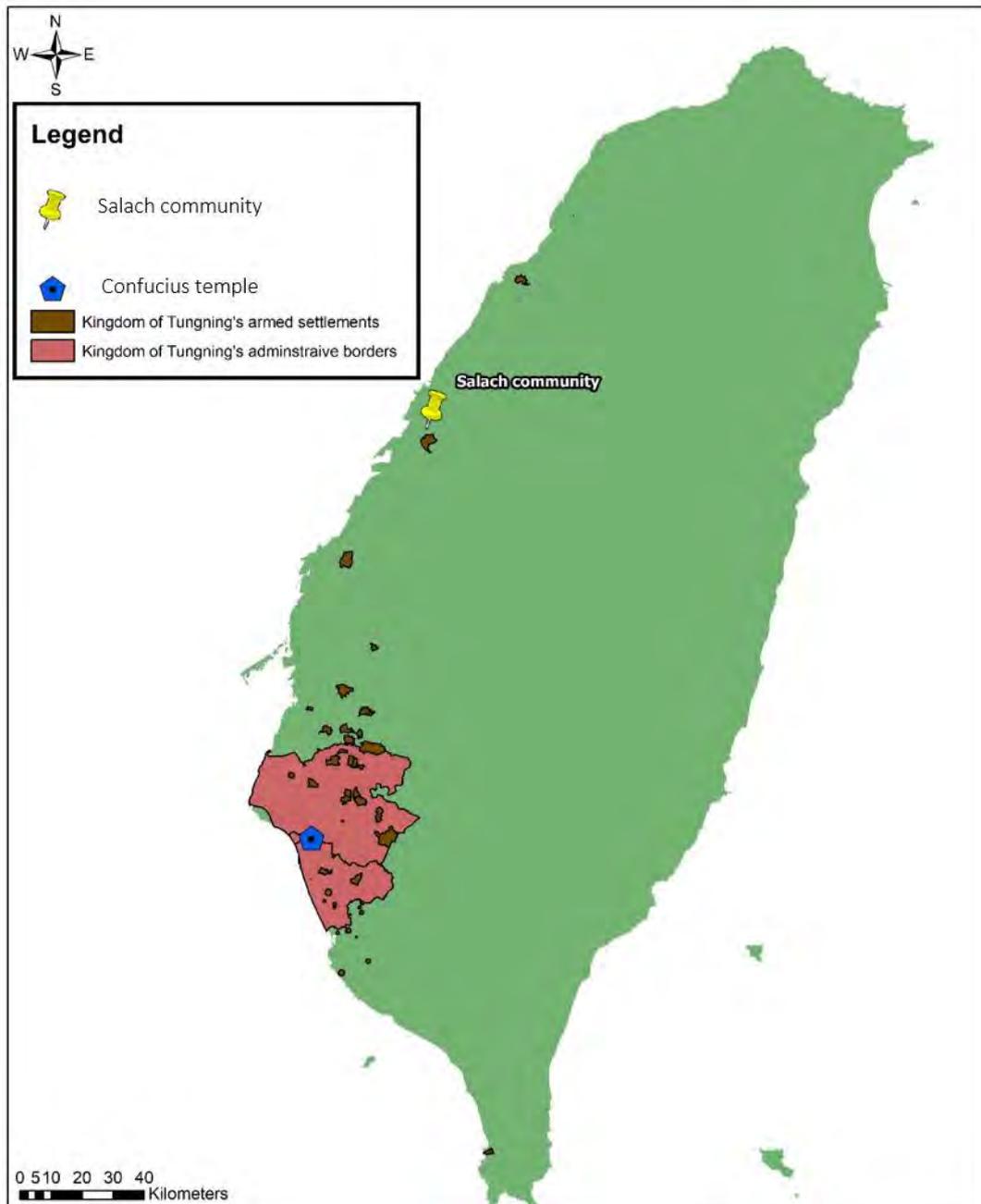


Figure 7 - 3 Colonizing geographical expansions during Kingdom of Tungning
 The berry red area was administrative borders of Kingdom of Tungning (Wang, no date-a) and the dark brown area the armed settlements of the Kingdom (Wang, no date-b). The yellow point indicates the Salach community.
 (Made by Yayut Yishiuan Chen; date source: <https://thcts.ascc.net/>)

7.3.1.3. A Qing territory?

With Ching Cheng's death in 1681 and following family feuds, Cheng's regime was rapidly shattered by the Qing Empire in the continental China. The Qing Empire sent Admiral Shih Lang (施琅) to launch a campaign against the Cheng regime and eventually received surrender in 1681 (Manthorpe, 2005: 100). It took the Qing Court some time to decide whether they wanted to 'annex' Formosa, regardless of consulting autonomous Indigenous peoples. Admiral Shih Lang urged the Qing court to annex Formosa for the sake of border security (Shi, 1683; see Manthorpe, 2005: 112). In 1684, the Qing Emperor accepted Shi Lang's proposal and 'annexed' Formosa as part of the Qing Empire's self-recognized territory. In reality, however, their regime was fragmented and never uncontested (Jacobs, 2011: 200-201; Mendel, 1970: 13).

During the Qing occupation of Formosa, the Qing Court roughly categorized Indigenous peoples into 'raw aborigines (生番; shēng fan)', 'civilized raw aborigines (化番; hua fan)' and 'cooked aborigines (熟番; shou fan)'. Using these offensive degrees of maturity to represent degrees of civilization, or to be frank, Sinicization, implied an insulting evolutionist thinking: just like fruits could turn mature; people could be educated into civilization. Hence, 'raw aborigines' were the most uncivilized and unsubjected to Qing rule. On the contrary, 'cooked aborigines' were subjected to the Qing court, such as paying tax and serving as assigned labors at state direction. The Qing court understood the distinction between 'raw' and 'cooked' aborigines as a fluid and shifting boundary. The Indigenous groups that were 'raw' in one historical period might become 'cooked' at a later date through acculturating Han customs, which was desirable for the Qing court. Thus there were the third category: the 'civilized raw aborigines' to describe this ambiguity and fluidity (Chan, 2012; Teng, 2004: 122-123).

Albeit the Qing court claimed 'cooked aborigines' as subdued subjects, this proclamation was fiercely challenged. The Ta-Chia-Hsi Revolt (大甲西社抗清事件; Tachiashê k'angQingshichien) of 1731-32 was a major Indigenous revolt on Formosa. The Ta-Chia-Hsi community (see Figure 7 - 5) of *Taokas* people were located in the territory of the Kingdom of *Middag*. The Ta-Chia-Hsi community disobeyed the Qing state's unreasonable labor and took arms against the Qing authority. Several communities in *Middag* territory rebelled against Qing officials and armed conflicts lasted for a year. Other 'cooked aborigines' communities', for example the *Hoanya*, sought to make amendment or waiver of their own labor by offering their service to the Qing court in suppressing the revolt. The *An-li* community of *Pazeh* people also helped in the Qing pacification campaign. The rebels were swept from the plains and the remnants took refuge in the mountains. By the end of 1732, the leaders of revolt were persecuted and the existence of the Kingdom of *Middag* came to a cease in the history (Shepherd, 1993: 128-132).

The Ta-Chia-Hsi Revolt of 1731-32 marked a power shift in the western plains. The Kingdom of *Middag* perished and the *An-li* community of *Pazeh* people and its interpreter Taching Chang (張達京) rose to power. The interpreter was a Qing official position representing Indigenous communities. The *An-li* community had more say on the land tenure in western plains after they were praised by Qing court for loyalty in pacifying the revolt (Lee, 2005: 12). The interpreter of *An-li* community Chang arranged 'cession of land for water' agreements (割地換水; kèti huanshui) between Han tenants and Indigenous landlords (Ye, 2017: 198). The paddy agriculture imported by Han settlers required irrigation systems, which were expensive and complex projects normally done as a joint investment. The 'cession of land for water' agreements guaranteed Indigenous landlords would cede their lands to Han settlers for

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exchange of irrigation rights (Ye, 2017: 195-196). These ‘land for water’ agreements are seen as a major way by which Han settlers deprived Indigenous peoples of their land whilst Ye (2017) asserts on the contrary, they demonstrated Indigenous peoples’ ability to participate in complex investments, as well as a catalyst for Indigenous peoples to become more ‘Sinicized’ (Ye, 2017: 205). A second implication was also argued by Chang (2012). In order to retain their privilege in land transactions, the *An-li* community willingly embraced Confucian education. They were also to seek educational and political achievements to avoid loss of land (Chang, 2012)

By the middle period of the Qing regime, the western plain had largely been ‘settled’ and many of the Indigenous groups in western Formosan plains transformed into Qing subjects. But in an ironic manner, the Qing court’s regime did not reach highlands Formosa (Jacobs, 2011: 201). In a map drawn by French missionaries in the eighteenth century on the order of the Qing Emperor, only the western plains of Formosa were included in the map (see Figure 7 - 4). It was also clear for foreign parties that only the western plain in Formosa was under the Qing jurisdiction, but rest of the island remained autonomous and governed by Indigenous peoples. In 1867, American consul of Amoy (nowadays Xiamen in east-south coastal China), Charles LeGendre concluded a verbal agreement with an Indigenous *Langqiao* headman *Toketok*, instead of the Qing court, to protect shipwrecked sailors from assault, robbery, and ransoming on Taiwan’s south coast (LeGendre, 2012: 281,292; as cited in Barclay, 2017: 56; see also Davidson, 1903: 117-122).

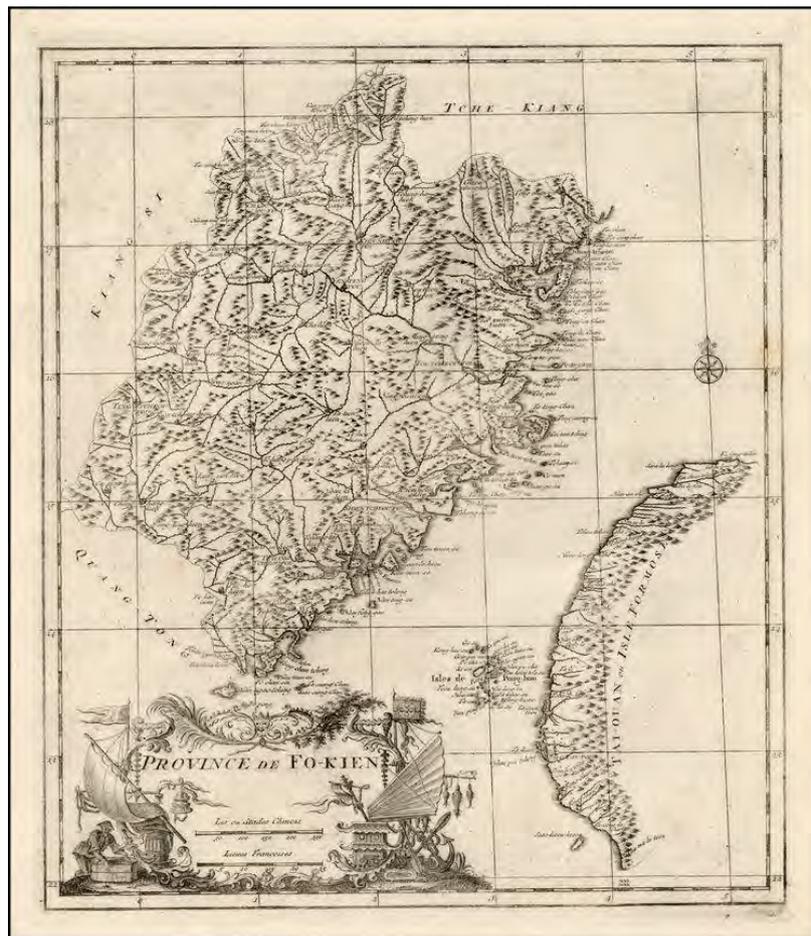


Figure 7 - 4 Province de Fo-Kien

Source: <http://theme.npm.edu.tw/exh106/QingDocuments/jp/page-8.html>. Reproduced with permission.

The year of 1874 marked the Qing court's changing attitude toward Indigenous peoples in Formosa. The changes were triggered in 1871, when a group of Ryukyu castaways were persecuted by Indigenous *Paiwan* people in *Langqiao*, south coastal Formosa after they accidentally intruded into *Paiwan* territory after being shipwrecked. The independent Ryukyu Kingdom was located on the Ryukyu Islands between Taiwan and Japan and maintained tributary relations to both the Qing Empire and Meiji Japanese government (Akamine, 2017; Kerr, 2000). Initially, the Meiji Japanese government went to the Qing court as the Qing Empire held sway over the western part of the island. There was ground for the belief that the Qing would also claim jurisdiction over eastern Formosa. But when the matter was placed before the Qing authority, it was made clear to the Meiji Japanese government was that the Qing authority would in no way assume responsibility for "depredations committed beyond the boundaries occupied by their own people" (Davidson, 1903: 124). The official Qing reply confirmed that Indigenous peoples in Formosa occupied 'an autonomous territory' (Chang, 2003b: 46; Tsai, 2014: 129). Using the Qing responses as an excuse, the Meiji Japanese government proclaimed Ryukyu as part of its imperial realm and launched punitive campaigns against Indigenous *Paiwan* people in *Langqiao* in May 1874. The crisis lasted until October same year, when the Qing agreed to pay monetary compensation for the Meiji Japanese government's withdrawal from the island (Chang, 2003b: 44-45; Lin, 2014: 140).

The Meiji punitive expedition to Formosa in 1874 gave Qing court a sharp warning. Before this event, the Qing court took a passive approach to controlling Formosa (Rubinstein, 1999: 185). Prior to 1874, the Qing intervention was principally focused on preventing Han immigration to Formosa as they saw there was a risk of creating a rebellious population on the island, a lesson the Qing court learnt from the Cheng regime (Shih, 2008). The Qing authority imposed quarantine policies and the restrictions on immigration. Attempts were made to quarantine aboriginal territories by drawing what was labelled a 'savage boundary' (Figure 7 - 5) and to limit the spread of Han settlement in Formosa to areas under effective government control (Shepherd, 1999: 116). The savage boundary policy led to foreign perceptions of a divided island (Chang, 2003b: 68), as illustrated by map Figure 7 - 4, and was used by the Meiji Japanese government as a foundation to challenge the Qing assertion of territorial administration on Formosa, regardless the fact that the Qing claims on Formosa were never unchallenged by Indigenous peoples.

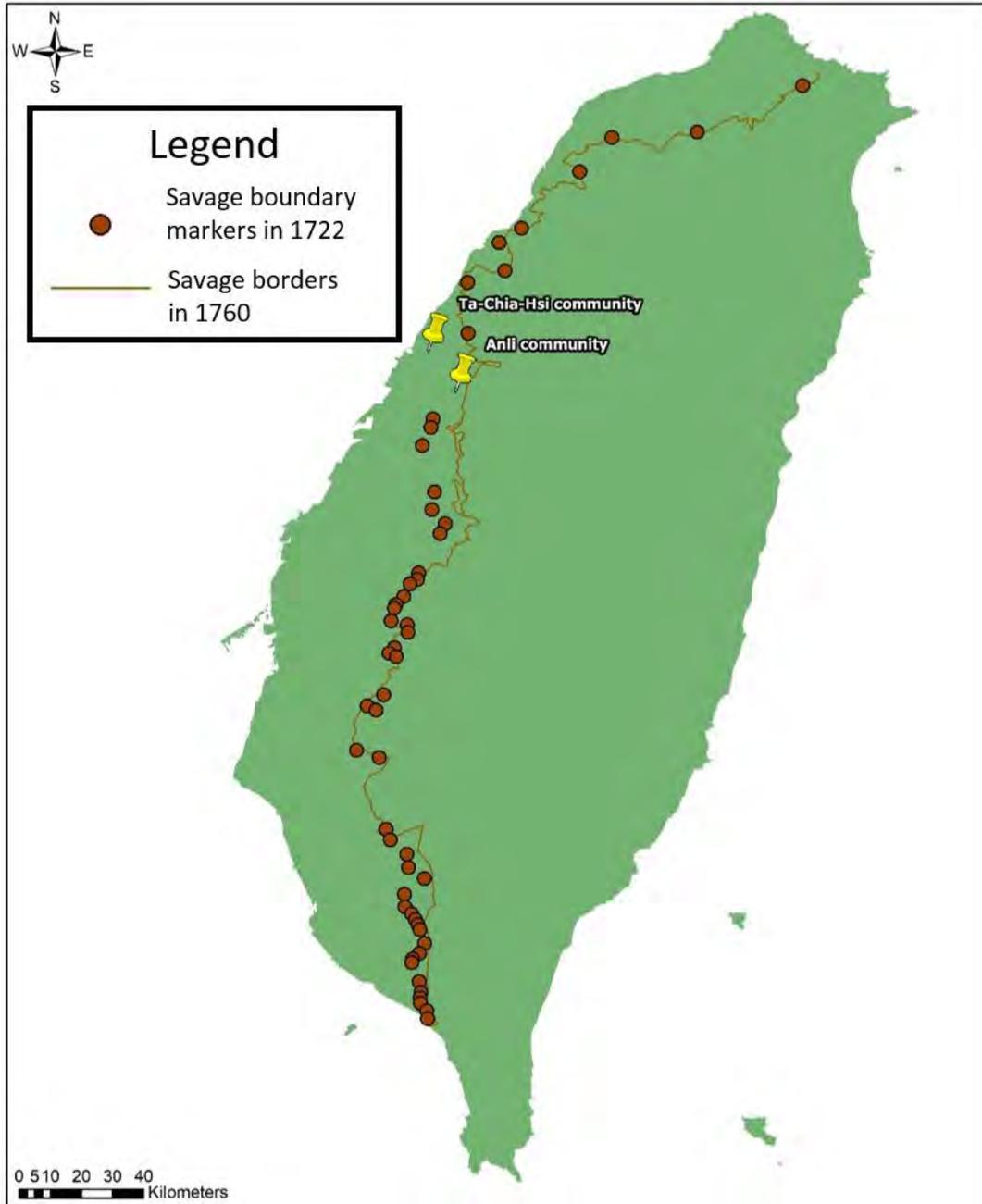


Figure 7 - 5 Savage borders in the early Qing regime

The red points shows the savage boundary markers erected in 1722 and the brown line was the savage borders recorded in Qing official atlas in 1760 (Institute of Taiwan History Academia Sinica, no date)

(Made by Yayut Yishiuan Chen; date source: <https://thcts.ascc.net/>)

In attempting to 'correct' these foreign perceptions of a divided island, as well as part of broader Qing institutional reforms, the 'self-Strengthening Movement' (自強運動; Tzu Chiang Yün Tung), in China from the 1860s the Qing authority launched a campaign of 'opening the mountains and pacifying the savages' (開山撫番; K'ai Shan Fu Fan) in Formosa. Pao-chen Shen (沈葆楨), the Fuchien⁵⁵ Navy Minister (福建船政大臣; Fuchien ch'uanchêng Tach'ên) of that time, who was in charge of maritime defense during the Meiji punitive expedition to Formosa in 1874, transformed his short-term defense mission into a

⁵⁵ Formosa was put under Fu-Chien Province (current PRC spelling as Fujian) under Qing administration even though the Qing regime only maintained effective control on the western plain (Davidson, 1903: 124).

broad, long-term program for Formosan development, including fortifications, new roads, internal colonization projects, and modern coal mining (Pong, 1994: 253-254). Most of the modernization projects eventually yielded limited results, but Shen's priorities appeared more imperial than technological. His 'opening the mountains and pacifying the savages' project aimed to encourage Han settlement in underdeveloped central mountain belts and bring those Indigenous peoples who stood in the way under Qing administrative control by persuasion if possible, or coercion if necessary (Rubinstein, 1999: 184-185; see also Shepherd, 1993: 360-408). In 1885, in part in response to the Sino-French War (1884-85), the Qing court declared Formosa an independent Taiwan Province and Ming-ch'uan Liu (劉銘傳) was appointed as the first Governor of Taiwan (Chu, 2011). This change did not disrupt the 'opening the mountains and pacifying the Indigenous peoples' policy (Lin, 2014: 140). The shift to an aggressive campaign to occupy and subdue the mountain areas and Indigenous peoples constituted a significant departure from the time-honored, passive, but cost-effective, Qing policy of quarantining un-submissive upland Indigenous communities in Formosa. By the late 1800s, Formosa had become strategically both more vulnerable and more economically significant to the Qing government. This justified both the assertion of formal imperial control over the island's rugged central and eastern regions and the development of sufficient local fiscal resources in the newly-declared province to sustain this effort (Shepherd, 1993: 360-408; Rubinstein, 1999: 185; Barclay, 2017: 20).

Despite their efforts, the Qing campaign to occupy and subdue the mountain regions was incomplete. The Qing jurisdiction still covered only the area to the western belt of Formosa. Faure (2001) argues even though the Qing jurisdiction did not always reach into the mountainous area, its influence was often quite far-reaching and consequential (Faure, 2001: 6). British Royal Navy officer Cyprian Bridge published his travel notes to Formosa. It was evident to him that the Qing jurisdiction did not reach eastern Formosa:

On the west this splendid range sinks into an extensive plain, fertile and rich in streams, which has received a multitude of industrious colonists from the neighbouring Chinese province of Foh-kien (nowadays Fuchien). There these colonists have built cities and have turned the country into a garden. But where the mountains begin, their occupation ceases; and the eastern part of the island, abrupt and mountainous to the very shore, is inhabited by tribes of savages who still live in unreclaimed barbarism. The territory in the possession of the Chinese stretches across the northern end of the island from sea to sea; but its extent on the Pacific shore is very limited, and may be said to end at the sea-port of Kelung (nowadays Keelung) (Bridge, 1876: 214-215).

The Qing court launched the campaign of 'opening the mountains and pacifying the savages' in the 1870s to proclaim their legitimate rule all over Formosa. What happened on the ground was far from their expectations. British diplomat Herbert Allen Giles recorded the reality of this Qing campaign:

The Chinese Government forbade their people to cross the boundary of savage territory, at one time well defined; but since the Japanese expedition against the Bootan tribe of aborigines in the south in 1874⁵⁶, they altered their policy, and, finding themselves looked on as masters of the whole island, took active steps to improve their knowledge of it. Schemes for cutting roads through the hills were set on foot, colonists were bribed to

⁵⁶ It is the Meiji punitive expedition to Formosa in 1874.

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settle in out-of-the-way places, and presents given liberally to the aboriginal chiefs, who were urged to acknowledge Chinese rule. These measures have not been altogether successful, in consequence of the persistent antipathy and mistrust shown by the savages, and the petty war goes on whenever the Chinese try to penetrate into the hills unaccompanied by a large force (Allen, 1877: 260).

In terms of *Tayal* territory, which this dissertation engages with, *Tayal* presence remains enigmatic in Qing official documents since they were rarely intruders into *Tayal* Country. British diplomat Robert Swinhoe has an early record of *Tayal* people during his travel in 1862. To his observation: “the Chinese seem only to acknowledge two races of independent aborigines, which they distinguish by the names Kalee hivan (Kalee foreigner) and Chh'i hivan (raw foreigner), the mountains of the south being, as already stated, held by the former, and those of the north, from about the latitude of Taiwanfoo, by the latter” (Swinhoe, 1863; as cited on Campbell, 1903: 553)⁵⁷. The first reaction when *Tayal* people saw the British was:

They stood and stared at us in astonishment, though with no sign of fear. The interpreter told them that we were also foreigners like themselves, and had come to visit them. They sat down again and examined us, and exchanged pipes of tobacco. After expressing admiration at our guns, they wanted to rush out and see us fire them (Swinhoe, 1863; as cited on Campbell, 1903: 554).

When speaking of *Tayal* people and their relations with Chinese settlers, Swinhoe said:

Owing to the introduction of spirituous liquors and other unknown causes they seem to decrease in numbers, and will, probably before the lapse of many centuries, entirely dwindle away before the steady advance of the rapidly increasing Chinese colonists. The Chinese state with confidence that another century will witness their entire extermination, but this is perhaps too short a time for its fulfilment (Swinhoe, 1863; as cited on Campbell, 1903: 555).

It turned out Chinese settlers overestimated themselves. *Tayal* people and their Country remained largely autonomous during the Qing occupation. *Tayal* people had little direct contact with the Chinese settlers or the Qing court until the second half of the nineteenth century when the Qing government pushed inland, partly out of fear that foreign powers might claim the eastern portion of the island if it did not establish some claim over it, and partly because the trade in camphor was sufficiently lucrative to make camphor-tree logging excursions into *Tayal* Country worthwhile (Liu, 1976; as cited in Faure, 2001: 6). Camphor, tea and sugar were the three main exported merchandises in the late Qing occupation (Lin, 1997). The first two commodities grew on foothills and mountains, and largely overlapped with *Tayal* Country. William Hancock was a Northern Irish botanist and customs officer resident in China. He heard of how *Tayal* people ferociously counterattacked intruders into their territory and decided to pay a visit:

⁵⁷ Chen (2008b) identified Chh'i hivan (raw foreigner) as *Tayal* people and Kalee hivan (Kalee foreigner) as *Rukai* people and *Paiwan* people in contemporary Taiwanese settings. Taiwanfoo is nowadays city of Tainan, where was the capital city of the Qing jurisdiction in Formosa. The reason Swinhoe uses ‘foreigner’ to describe Indigenous peoples is because the word ‘aborigines (番; fan)’ the Qing court used to refer Indigenous peoples, its original meaning is ‘foreigner’ without derogatory meaning. Yet, the word ‘aborigines (番; fan)’ was used offensively by the Qing court to describe the savagery status of Indigenous peoples in Formosa.

... first, that some of the savages come out to the border to barter with the Chinese; secondly, that in consequence of the encroachments of the latter on the edges of the forest, seeking camphor-wood, [...] encounters frequently take place, or rather that the Chinese, when engaged in cutting down the trees, are surprised by their wary antagonists and killed, their heads being cut off and carried away as trophies; thirdly, that these acts are not always done by the savages of the particular place where they occur, but by others brought from a distance for the purpose; and, fourthly, that anyone entering the forests and coming upon the savages without previous warning would almost certainly be killed (Hancock, 1885: 373).

A few years ago the river at this place was the boundary between the savage and Chinese territories, and although a few tea plots are now established on the other side, it was only last September that a Chinaman, while at work, was surprised and killed by savages who crept over the hill from the back and shot and beheaded him within half a mile of Kochu⁵⁸; whilst at another spot, rather more than a mile off, five days before I arrived, three Chinese had been pounced upon, and their heads cut off and carried away (Hancock, 1885: 374).

It should be clear, as Faure (2001: 26) asserts, that for most of the period under consideration, the Qing government did not succeed in establishing its rule among most mountain areas. Especially in the case of *Tayal* territory, *Tayal* people were never subdued nor allowed the Qing army to penetrate their Country. Nevertheless, *Tayal* people's persistent and resistant existence was rendered powerless, derogatory, and negligible in the settlers-centric expansion of scales. *Tayal* presence was ignored in shifting geopolitics; as they were not seen as even eligible to consult with, as evidenced in the chapter's opening quotation (see Figure 7 – 4 as well).

The First Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1894 and the result was that the defeated Qing court signed the Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895) with the Meiji Japanese government to cede the sovereignty of Formosa and Pescadores group, regardless of the fact that the Qing authority was never uncontested within the islands (Faure, 2001). When the Treaty of Shimonoseki was signed and released on 18th April 1895, the Qing literati and officials – some motivated by patriotism, some by selfish motives – united in declaring the island should never become a Japanese colony and decided to organize a Republic, making Formosa an independent State under suzerainty of the Qing Empire. On 23rd May 1895, the republican government declared independence. This independence was not recognized by Western Powers since it is a territory that was seen as ceded to Japan (Davidson, 1903: 279-280). The Qing court was passive and did not intervene due to the possibility of breaching the terms of the treaty. In order not to drag China in, the name of Formosan self-defense against Japan would be realistic (Wu, 1981: 93). Ching-Sung T'ang (唐景崧), the Governor-General of Taiwan was elected as the president of the Republic (Takekoshi, 1907: 83). This declaration offered a brief boost to the morale of Qing loyalists on Taiwan, but Meiji troops landed in northern Formosa on 29th May 1895 (Takekoshi, 1907: 84). The President T'ang and his ministers fled back to Qing territory in June (Lamley, 1968: 739). The commander-in-chief Yung-fu Liu (劉永福) refused to take the presidential role but willed to commend the defenses against Japanese attack (Lamley, 1968: 755). Liu escaped to Amoy (nowadays Xiamen in east-south coastal China) in October when realizing the doomed defeat. Meiji troops promptly eliminated any remaining Qing or republican army resistance and succeeded in occupying

⁵⁸ A Chinese settlement in nowadays Wulai District, an Indigenous administrative district and *Tayal* Country.

the city of Tainan in southern Formosa in October 1895 (Takekoshi, 1907: 90). The fall of city of Tainan terminated organized resistance to the Meiji occupation and marked the complete collapse of the short-lived Republic of Formosa.

7.3.2. Creating 'aboriginal' Taiwan

This Japanese occupation of Taiwan varies from previous regimes in that the State carried out a scandalous European doctrine of 'discovery, possession and *terra nullius*' all over Taiwan. Japan regarded Indigenous peoples in Taiwan as having no status under international law (Li, 2001: 106-107), and hence their land *as terra nullius*. Japan used this to justify the colonial government's assertion of government ownership over aboriginal territory (蕃地; banti) (Ye, 2017: 221). The Japanese colonial government applied the *terra nullius* doctrine in Taiwan through nationalizing land title and eliminating Indigenous people's 'human' status. In October 1895 (a few months after the takeover), the colonial government had already issued an ordinance declaring that forest and unclaimed land belonged to the Government unless claimants could prove 'ownership' through producing 'land documents or other certain evidence', or as the Chinese language version put it, 'evidence from previous owners and land deeds' (Ye, 2017: 229; see also Li, 2001: 25-27). In the early stage of colonialization, the Japanese state nationalized all the land titles of the mountain area, which had been home to Formosan Indigenous peoples for generations. In 1902, Rokusaburō Mochiji, councilor in the Ministry of Civil Affairs of the Taiwan Governor-General, weighed in to the ideological debate regarding the alleged 'aboriginal problem' and this became the foundation of the Japanese colonial government's Indigenous policies. He defined the 'aboriginal problem' first and foremost as a land problem:

Let me state clearly that when I refer to the problem of aboriginal lands: from the point of view of the Empire, there is only aboriginal land but not an aboriginal people. The problem of aboriginal land must be dealt with from an economic perspective and its management is an indispensable part of fiscal policy (Tierney, 2010: 44).

Kuan (2009: 82) contends a spatial order was created accordingly, which was built not only through military conquest, but also through planning and discursive practices that demystified the mountain and permeated into the system of colonial knowledge and administrative powers. The Japanese state conducted a series a series of military actions to march into Indigenous domains to push the savage borders forward in 1903. These actions came to a climax in 1910, when a 'Five-Year Military Pacification Project' to conquer Indigenous areas began (Kuan, 2009: 85). I discussed this project and the resettlement policy as well as its implications for *Tayal* people in Chapter Six, so I will not repeat it here. The State extended topographic investigation into the mountainous area and the categorization decision was released in 1928. The central belt of Formosa was categorized into conservation area (要存置林野; you sonti rinya), non-conservation area (不要存置林野; huyou sonti rinya) and quasi-conservation area (準要存置林野; zyun you sonti rinya) for further utilization. The 'conservation area' was secured for flood prevention and no cultivation was allowed in it. The 'non-conservation area' was open for economic exploitation; Japanese capitalists were subsequently invited to invest in the forestry business with governmental assistance. The 'quasi-conservation area' also named 'aboriginal territory (蕃地; banti)', which constituted only small and fragmentary parts of the whole mountainous area, was left for Indigenous people to live in (Li, 2001; as cited in: Kuan, 2009: 86-87; see also Chapter Three: Chen and Howitt, 2017: 37). The map of categorization outcomes is

shown in Figure 1 and Figure 2 in Chapter Three: Chen and Howitt (2017: 37). Aboriginal territory (蕃地; banti) was not included in the jurisdiction of general administration, but subjected to aboriginal administration (理蕃政策; Riban seisaku), which was mainly held by the police force (Huang, 2012). Under this doctrine, the 'barbarian' was confined to reserved land (and degrading nature) while the State managed nature according to the trope of civilization (Kuan, 2009: 82).

In addition to constraining Indigenous presence within a certain scale, the notion of 'Indigeneity' was also formalized in this period. Before 1895, there were attempts to classify Indigenous peoples in Formosa (see: Teng, 2004), but the classification developed in the Japanese colonial era was different. Seeking to demonstrate Japanese equality with European imperial powers, the Meiji occupation of Taiwan saw the first mobilization of government-sanctioned anthropological investigation as an element of colonial expansion in global contexts (see: Bremen and Shimizu, 1999; Robertson, 2005: 1-16).⁵⁹

With growth of the formal study of anthropology in Japan in the nineteenth century (Robertson, 2005: 20; Sofue, 1961: 173)⁶⁰, Japanese anthropologists were keen to find an 'unexplored'⁶¹ area in order to make a name for themselves. The newly acquired colony Taiwan in 1895 provided fresh materials for Japanese anthropologists to exhibit their intellectual virtuosity and its Indigenous peoples naturally became the ideal topic of Japanese anthropologists (Wong, 2004: 286). Ryūzō Torii was one pioneer anthropologist who studied Indigenous peoples in Taiwan. His work employed extensive photography and documented ethnographic images during his visit to Taiwan from 1896 to 1900 (Wong, 2004). Torii worked with another anthropologist Kanori Inō. They investigated the racial status of Indigenous peoples in Taiwan and devised the first academically influential overviews (Barclay, 2001: 117). Inō's landmark paper 'The distribution of aboriginal peoples in Taiwan' was the premier study on classifying Indigenous peoples in Taiwan. Using a tree diagram, Inō categorized Indigenous peoples into four groups, eight nations and twenty-one clans (Inō, 1898: 302) based on (1) physical features; (2) custom similarity; (3) degree of civilization; (4) language (5) oral history (Inō, 1898: 301).

Although both Torii and Inō found passion in the study of Indigenous peoples in Taiwan, their approaches varied. Inō arrayed Indigenous peoples in Taiwan along an evolutionary axis from savage to civilized based on degrees of Sinicization - acculturation to Han folkways. Torii, on the other hand, overcame the Chinese-centric narrative of conquest and Sinicization, pulling the Indigenous peoples in Taiwan out of Taiwan's Han historical context. As part of a larger project to discover the South Pacific origins of the Japanese race, Torii studied the Indigenous peoples in Taiwan as Malayo-Polynesian migrants whose ethnographic fundamentals had been shaped prior to contact with Han settlers. (Barclay, 2001: 118). It turned out Inō's narratives were widely accepted by the Japanese

⁵⁹ Development of anthropological studies of Austronesian-speaking people during the Japanese era can be roughly divided into three eras: the Anthropological Society of Tokyo (1895 - 1900); the Provisional Commission for the Investigation of Taiwanese Old Customs (1901 - 1928); the Taihoku Imperial University (1928 - 1945) (Hsu, no date).

⁶⁰ The formal study of anthropology in Japan dates back to the eighteenth century. In 1884, the Anthropological Society of Tokyo (the present Anthropological Society of Nippon) was founded by Shogoro Tsuboi (坪井正五郎), and its journal, *The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Tokyo* (人類学雑誌; Tokyo jinruigaku zasshi), was first issued in 1886. The term 'anthropology' came to be used in the German sense (i.e., the equivalent of 'physical anthropology' in the United States). The large percentage of the members of the Anthropological Society were interested amateurs and medical doctors (Robertson, 2005: 20; Sofue, 1961: 173).

⁶¹ The notion of 'unexplored area' was built on an ostensible assumption that Ryukyu islanders and Ainu people were assimilated as 'Japanese' despite Indigenous people's continuing resistance and autonomy against aggressive Japanese colonialization (see: Bhowmik, 2008; Low, 2012).

authority, who adopted the raw/cooked aborigines taxonomy developed by the Qing regime. Moreover, Inō formalized the concept of ‘Indigenous groups’ (Inō, 1898) in the ethnography of Taiwan Indigenous peoples (Wu, 2001: 48). The raw/cooked aborigines taxonomy was integrated into statecraft of the Meiji Japanese government and resulted in effective creation of ‘aborigines’ in imperial governance technologies and thinking.

Created by an imperial ordinance in 1901, the Provisional Commission for the Investigation of Taiwanese Old Customs (hereafter abbreviated as the Commission) was a research arm of the colonial administration of Taiwan. Its mission was to study social, economic and legal issues crucial to the effective and long-governance of modern Meiji Japanese government’s nascent colony (Tsu, 1999: 198). Shinpei Gotō (後藤新平), the first head of civilian administration in Taiwan (1898–1906), was backstage planner of the Commission. Trained in medicine (Dickinson, 2002), Gotō asserted Taiwan should be ruled under ‘biological principles (kanji: 生物学の原則; rōmaji: seibutsugaku gensoku) that stressed the importance of investigation of existing customs, population, infrastructures and so on (Tsai, 2009: 120-121). Gotō had his principle in controlling the new colony. He believed that assembling demographic census, family registration system and police system could offer potent controls (Chan, 2016: 129-130).

Built on the 1905 census data collected by the imperial police force (Taiwan-Governor's General Office, 1903), the Taiwan Governor-General’s office conducted the first census in East Asia, the Temporary Taiwan Household Investigation (臨時台湾戸口調査; rinji Taiwan toguchi chōsa. hereafter referred as the census), to accurately familiarize the Authority with the newly acquired colony (Lin, 2013; Chan, 2016). According to an imperial ordinance number 255 in 1905, *Regulation on Household Investigation* (戸口調査規程; kokō chōsa kitei), the Authority shall record the ‘race’ in the household investigation. The notion of ‘race’ was the product of two concepts: cultural difference and nationality. Formosan residents were divided into following ‘races’:

- raw aborigines (生蕃; Seiban)⁶²
- cooked aborigines (熟蕃; Jukuban),
- Fuku (福; Fuku) – Han people whose ancestors originate from Fuchien region),
- Kō (廣; Kō) – Han people whose ancestors originate from Kuangtung region) and
- Kan (漢; Kan) – Han people whose ancestors originate from other part of Qing Empire) (Taiwan-Governor's General Office, 1905: 92).

In the fourth National Census (国勢調査; Kokusei Chōsa) in 1935, the category of raw aborigines/cooked aborigines was replaced by Takasago people⁶³ (高砂族; Takasagozoku; literal translation: Formosan)/Plain people⁶⁴ (平埔族; Heihozoku) (Taiwan-Governor's General Office, 1935; see also: Chan, 2016).

⁶² For Indigenous peoples, classified by the Japanese colonial government as the ‘raw aborigines’, living in the ‘aboriginal Land (蕃地; Banchi)’, it was until 1943, due to conscription demand, they was listed into the household investigation book. Before 19143, because the ‘raw aborigines’ was dehumanized and not deemed as imperial subjects by the Japanese colonial government, they were not included in the household investigation (Harrison, 2001a ;Matsuoka, 2018).

⁶³ Takasago was the ancient name of Formosa from Azuchi–Momoyama period (1573–1603) to early Edo period (1603–1868). Zoku means people.

⁶⁴ The literal translation of Heihozoku is ‘people live in the plains’.

For the Japanese state, transforming administrative status from the Qing occupation (raw/cooked aborigines taxonomy) into a new hereditary one based on household investigation and national census is the other side of holding to a developmental view of societies which assumed that tribal or other ethnic identities on Taiwan were illustration of backwardness (Harrison, 2001a: 61-62). In addition to formalizing the racial status of Indigenous peoples in the imperial State's administrative processes, the academic classification of Indigenous peoples also thrived in the State-sanctioned institute. On establishment Taihoku Imperial University (now National Taiwan University) in 1928 included a course on the study of local peoples (土俗人種學講座; dozoku zinsyu gaku kouza), which is the foundation now Department of Anthropology (Sofue, 1961: 175). Its landmark work *The Formosan Native Tribes: A Genealogical and Classificatory Study* published in 1935 (Utsurikawa et al., 2011 [1935]). This work modified previous classifications of Indigenous peoples by the Taiwan-Governor's General Office, and classified them into nine ethnic groups: *Atayal, Bunun, Saisiat, Tsou, Paiwan, Rukai, Panayan, Pangtsah, Yami* through ethnographic fieldwork carried out by Japanese anthropologists (Ou, 2012: 222). The nine-group taxonomy 'created' by the course was followed by the post-War nationalist KMT government.

7.3.3. Nationalized 'aboriginal' Taiwan

With the Japanese Empire's defeat in World War II, the KMT-led ROC Government occupied Taiwan on behalf of the Alliance in 1945. Defeated by the CCP in the Chinese Civil War in 1949, the KMT-led ROC government withdrew to Taiwan and formed a tense standoff against CCP and its foundation of the Peoples' Republic of China (hereafter referred as PRC) in the same year. The KMT-sanctioned ROC government came to Taiwan with an ambition to transform these islands into an authentic 'Chinese Nation' (see: Chang, 2011; Chang, 2015). The nationalism that the KMT government advocated adopted a Han-centric discourse and demanded assimilation of non-Han ethnic minorities into a unified Chinese Nation that shared the same 'blood' and solidarity (Ku, 2014). The outbreak of a civil uprising 'February 28 Incident' on 28th February 1947 and following imposition of Taiwan provincial martial law (臺灣省戒嚴令; T'aiwanshêng Chiehyenling) accelerated the nationalist KMT government campaigns promoting 'Chinese-ness' and 'Nation-building' across Taiwan. The nationalist KMT government developed a hegemonic discourse to acculturate 'mountain compatriots' by inventing an evolutionist temporality (Ku, 2014; see also Chapter Five: Chen et al., 2018b).

The nationalist KMT government repealed the Takasago people/Plain people taxonomy of the Japanese state. The implication was to remove the Japanese legacy and assimilate the Indigenous peoples into a broader Chinese Nation (Harrison, 2001a: 60). The predominant political discourse then argued that the 'mountain compatriots' and Han people were only different in terms of spatial and temporal hierarchy. That was to say the Indigenous peoples shared cultural similarity with the ethnic minorities in southeast border zone in China. It was more convincing that the Indigenous peoples originated from China. Hence, the mountain compatriots were absolutely part of the 'Chinese Nation', while "they just have not as evolved as us" (Chang, 1953: 1, 5-7; as cited in Ku, 2014: 12-13). Since the mountain compatriots were less 'developed' Han people in the hegemonic linear temporality discussed in Chapter 6, the KMT government was 'duty-bound' to 'improve' the mountain. The Government launched a series of development-driven policies in 1950s to remove the backward 'Mountain-ness' (Kuan, 2014b: 9) that it despised. In 1951, the Government promulgated the 'Outline of Taiwan Provincial Mountain Administration' (Taiwan Provincial Government, 1951). This policy's essence was to (1) improve mountain compatriots' well-being, (2) promoting sedentary cultivation

and (3) achieve reforestation (Li, 2012). The nationalist KMT government symbolized the ‘mountain’ as uncivilized and backward. The ‘Mountain-ness’ of mountain was urgently needed to be removed from the ‘mountain compatriots’ and the main doctrine was to ‘Plainize the mountain’, to make the ‘mountain’ and ‘mountain compatriots’ more progressed, modernized, and most importantly, more like ‘Han’ (Kuan, 2014b; see also Chapter Five: Chen et al., 2018b).

The nationalist KMT government explicitly lifted the ‘Takasago people (Formosan)’ hereditary status during the Japanese colonial era and replaced it with a unified ‘Mountain people’ (高山族; Kaoshan tsu) and generally referred to ‘mountain compatriots’ (山地同胞; Shanti T'ungpao) as an integratable minority of ‘Chinese Nation’ (Chang, 2015: 180-184). Despite abolishing the ‘Takasago people (Formosan)’ status of distinct Indigenous peoples of the previous era, the nationalist KMT government identified those who were eligible to have the ‘mountain compatriot’ status based on the household investigation book surveyed by the Japanese state (Matsuoka, 2018: 214-216). Defined by a government order in 1954, a person fulfilling the following criteria could ‘be’ a mountain compatriot: had (1) household investigation record of residence in ‘aboriginal territory (蕃地; banti)’ during Japanese colonial era; (2) lineal ascendants was recorded as Takasago people during Japanese colonial era (Taiwan Provincial Government, 1954a: 402). This government order legally defined who could be recognized as Indigenous people under the ROC administration. As written in the government order, only an Indigenous person who possessed ‘Takasago people’ status under the Japanese household investigation book would gain ‘mountain compatriot’ status under the new ROC legislation. However, Indigenous peoples categorized as ‘Plain people’ and having Indigenous status during Japanese administration, were not eligible to be recognized as ‘mountain compatriot’, and consequently, they lost Indigenous status when later the ROC government gave formal recognition to ‘mountain compatriot’ as ‘Indigenous people’ in 1994’s constitutional amendment (see: Hsieh, 2006; Hsieh, 2018).

In 1956, the nationalist KMT government realized the above definition even could not accommodate all the Takasago people, so they came out with further differentiations for administrative purposes: they differentiated ‘mountain compatriot’ into highland mountain compatriot (山地山胞; shanti shanpao) and lowland mountain compatriot (平地山胞; p'ingti shanpao) (Pan, 2002: 55). Takasago people who had household investigation record of residence in ‘aboriginal territory (蕃地; banti)’ during Japanese colonial era were listed as highland mountain compatriot. Takasago people who had a household investigation record of residence outside of ‘aboriginal territory (蕃地; banti)’ during Japanese colonial era were listed as lowland mountain compatriot (Taiwan Provincial Government, 1956: 67). Then the Government zoned Indigenous territory into thirty ‘mountain township (山地鄉; shantihsiang)’ and twenty-five ‘plain township (平地鄉; p'ingtihsiang)’ nationally (Pan, 2002: 56-58) (see Figure 7 - 6). The ‘quasi-conservation area’ policy enacted during Japanese colonial era was followed by the KMT government. For how the land title system was created and imposed on Indigenous territory, see Chapters Three and Five: Chen and Howitt (2017); Chen et al. (2018b).

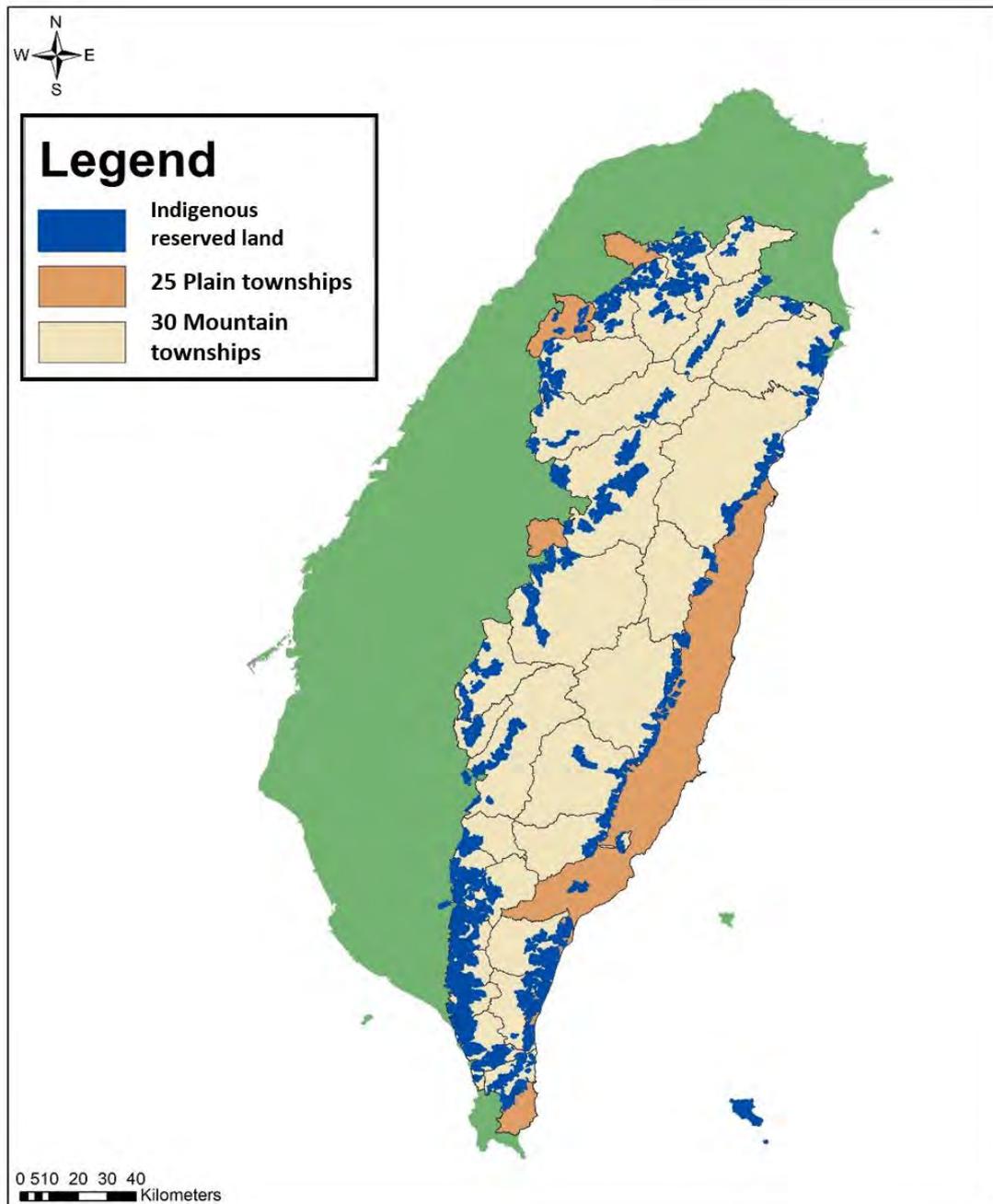


Figure 7 - 6 Indigenous reserved lands and Indigenous townships

The blue area is Indigenous reserved land (for information regarding Indigenous reserved land, see Chapters Three and Five). The orange area indicates twenty-five plain townships and thirty mountain townships. Mountain townships were categorized as aboriginal territory during Japanese era and subjected to police force. Plain townships were categorized as general administrative areas during Japanese era and subjected to jurisdiction of general administration. The KMT government continued this categorization. After demarcation in the 1990s, township mayors are directly elected, the mayor of mountain townships must be an Indigenous person while the mayor of plain township does not have to be an Indigenous person.

(Made by Yayut Yishiuan Chen)

Challenged by increasing protests demanding democratization, martial law was lifted in 1987 and social movements grew rapidly. Indigenous peoples campaigned for 'Returning Our Land' (還我土地運動; haiwot'uti Yüntung) in 1988, 1989 and 1993 (Yang, 2015: 26-29). In 1994, the ROC government made a constitutional amendment replacing 'mountain compatriots' with 'Indigenous peoples' to deliver formal recognition to the Austronesian population of being 'Indigenous' (Hsieh, 2018: 17; see

also: Center for Aboriginal Studies NCCU, 2016). In 2005, the Constitution was further amended by the *Indigenous Peoples Basic Law*, which formally recognized ‘Indigenous peoples’ and gave official acknowledgement of collective rights of the Austronesian population. The nine-group taxonomy set up by Japanese anthropologists and officially followed by the nationalist KMT government in 1954 (Taiwan Provincial Government, 1954b) was fiercely contested (Simon, 2015: 76). The Council of Indigenous peoples was established in 1996 under the Executive Yuan (Republic of China Legislative Yuan, 1996) and the *Indigenous Nations Identification Bylaws* were formulated in 2002 (Republic of China Legislative Yuan, 2002). However, there are more Indigenous peoples seeking self-determined identity than are recognized in the available legal mechanisms. The ROC successively gave recognition to *Thao* People in 2001, *Kavalan* People in 2002, *Turuku* People in 2004, *Sakizaya* People in 2007, *Seediq* People in 2008, *Hla’alua* People and *Kanakanavu* People in 2014 (see: Ericsson, 2004; International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, 2018; Simon, 2008; Simon, 2015; Chen, 2012). Furthermore, there is growing consciousness of Plains Indigenous peoples fight to ‘reclaim’ their Indigeneity and Indigenous status that were denied along colonizing processes (Hsieh, 2006; Hsieh, 2018).

7.4. Re-scaling *Tayal* Country in the discursive scaling of ‘Taiwan’

The problematic, multi-layered colonial histories discussed above sheds light on how the taken-for-granted scale of ‘Taiwan’ was constructed – and how its naturalization in both conventional and critical geopolitical discourses effectively erases persistent Indigenous presences that belie the ‘Year Zero’. Despite the self-aggrandizing claims of a sequence of colonial powers who proclaimed their sovereign control over ‘Taiwan’, there was no singular colonial ‘Year Zero’ – no colonial moment which changed sovereignty across the whole island and its surrounding waters and islands overnight. Different settlers came under different circumstances, but for *Tayal* people, *Tayal* Country remained, and remains, exactly that – *Tayal* Country. The legacies of hybrid colonizations constituted, and continue to underpin, the discursively constructed ‘national’ scale of present-day Taiwan. That scalar label, which is discursively constructed as ‘provincial’ by the PRC and the ROC, reflects the colonial histories that have deemed Indigenous presence as insignificant, primitive or non-existent. In this section, I reconsider the ways in which *Tayal* Country can be reimagined as a center and as a scale in its own right in ways that profoundly challenge the presumably rigid scale of ‘Taiwan’ in both conventional and critical geopolitics.

The imaginary of geographical scale has always been central in colonial processes. Through bordering and ordering space, colonial powers define themselves as a panopticon that ‘see’ and create the only possible and universal reality. They create the ‘new’ scale of the ‘colony’ or the ‘colonial nation state’ whose power is both the source and the product of the erasure of Indigenous rights. When re-considering the scale of ‘Taiwan’, it has become clear that the discursive and material trope of ‘Taiwan’ reflects a settlers-centric bordering and ordering of Indigenous spaces, places and time.

The name ‘Taiwan’ is derived from an Indigenous place name, known as Taioan in Dutch records, where the Dutch settlers arrived and later built Fort Zeelandia (Figure 7 - 1). The Eurocentric colonial discourse centers on Fort of Zeelandia as the origin of civilization (Kang, 2014). Kang (2014) argued by the end of the Dutch regime on Formosa, there were three ‘imagined’ civilizing geographical scales of Formosan Austronesians embedded in the officials’ mindset. The valorization was based on hierarchical differentiation after decades of expeditions, wars, massacres, rules and Christianizing practices. Radiating out from the Fort of Zeelandia, Indigenous peoples living near the peninsula of

Taioan were seen as the most civilized. Indigenous peoples living in the plain area in western coast were the second civilized. Indigenous peoples living in the mountain area were the least civilized (Kang, 2014: 134). Figure 7 - 2 (above) presented the way that nascent colonial scales – scales of power, governance and regime – were developed during the Spanish and Dutch occupation.

The Kingdom of Tungning built in 1662 marked the inception of Chinese hegemony in Taiwanese history. The Cheng regime has been deemed to have ‘brought civilization and built up modern-day Taiwan’ in public discourse (see Tai, 2001/04/30). The founder Koxinga is commemorated in Taiwan as a landmark figure of Han settler history⁶⁵ (Wang, 2015) and deified as ‘the Sage King who Opened up Taiwan’. His son Ching Cheng imported Han hegemonic culture and Confucianism to Formosa extensively. The Cheng regime brought to Taiwan not only its Chinese people but also the Chinese political and cultural systems. In order to eliminate the Dutch and Spanish legacies, the Cheng regime forced Indigenous peoples to abjure their Christian faith (Pickering, 1898: 64; as cited in Chang, 2014: 148), and forced them to receive Confucianism education (Yu, 1959 [1879]: 17-18; as cited in Chang, 2014: 128). Those who disobeyed the Kingdom were either slaughtered or segregated from Chinese settlers, while obedient Indigenous peoples chose to be sinicized for survival in a Chinese ethnocentric society (Chang, 2014: 148). Not only did the Kingdom raise its profile on Formosa, it also further scaled up the imperial scale of ‘Tywan (known as Taioan in Dutch literatures)’. Due to the Cheng regime’s maritime trading network, the term ‘Tywan’ started to be used as a political entity in regional contexts by the end of seventeenth century.

In relation to the Year Zero and Ground Zero perspective developed in Australia by Rose (1997), the case of Taiwan differs due to the multiple processes of colonizations by different colonial powers. The place nowadays called Taiwan encountered diverse colonializations. The spatially and temporally uneven development of colonizations made the reality even messier than in many colonial settings. An historical textbook that was widely used in the compulsory national education program (Lian, 1920) claimed: “Taiwan had no history. The Dutch pioneered it, the Koxinga Kingdom built it, and the Qing Empire managed it” (see also Chapter Five: Chen et al., 2018b).

Building colonial scales is not only a spatial expansion of settler’s territory, it demonstrates a linear temporality and a disjunctive continuity in which history created progress towards a better (more civilized, wealthier and advanced) society. Time becomes divided into different epochs. The Indigenous local is narrated as the most powerless, lowest level of the territorial polity and in need of enlightenment. In Taiwan, this hegemonic narrative has been reinforced in the sequence of colonial claims discussed above – each re-inscribing *Taya!* and other Indigenous peoples across Taiwan as only recognizable as part of the ‘Taiwan’ polity on conditions set by the colonizers. During the Qing occupation of western areas of the island, Qing officials promoted deifying Koxinga. Qing official Pao-chen Shen, who launched the ‘opening the mountains and pacifying the Indigenous peoples’ policy, submitted a memorial to the Qing throne to propose officially funded maintenance of ‘Shrine of the Prince of Yanping Prefecture’, the temple promoting worship of Koxinga, jointly with other related officials in 1874. The Shrine of the Prince of Yanping Prefecture was built on a private temple formerly known as the ‘Temple of the Sage King Who Opened up the Mountain’. At that time the image of the

⁶⁵ Even though he merely stayed on Formosa for four months, Koxinga is the most respected patron saint in contemporary Taiwan (Wah, 2002). He is especially worshipped by the KMT nationalist movement, which thinks of him as a loyal Ming warrior who provided an asylum on ‘his’ island fortress for thousands of Chinese opposed to the alien Manchu dynasty, and who plotted unsuccessfully to overthrow the Manchus in a ‘glorious counterattack’ (Mendel, 1970: 12).

mountain was used to imply Formosa, so Koxinga was worshiped as a deified figure who opened up and brought civilization to Formosa in settlers-centric narratives. The Qing court decided to officially fund the 'the Temple of the Sage King Who Opened up the Mountain' and transformed it into a governmental shrine 'Shrine of the Prince of Yanping Prefecture' was for tactical reason. The Meiji punitive expedition to Formosa in 1874 alerted the Qing court that Formosa attracted increasing attention from Japan and other colonizers due to its geopolitical location and rich natural resources. Thus, the Qing court modelled Koxinga as a loyalist and patriot in order to provoke the patriotism amongst Chinese settlers in Formosa (Chen, 2013: 6).

By the end of the Qing regime in 1895, the government-sanctioned colonial military occupation of Formosa had spread across the western belt while *Tayal* territory and many of the mountainous eastern areas of the island remained largely autonomous (Faure, 2001). In 1895, the entity nowadays called Taiwan emerged due to the Treaty of Shimonoseki. The Treaty of Shimonoseki concluded the sovereignty of Formosa and Pescadores group would be ceded from the Qing Empire to Japan, regardless that fact the Qing authority was fragmented, contested and, in eastern areas, non-existent. Hoping to avoid imminent cession, Chinese settlers inaugurated the Republic of Formosa, but they too had no standing in the *Tayal* Country, as Simon's interviewee quoted at the beginning of this chapter reminds us, nor in other Indigenous territories. The five-month Republic of Formosa gained relatively sparse academic interest and is mainly regarded as a footnote in discussion of nascent republican forms of government in Asia (for instance: Lamley, 1968). Nevertheless, its presence was built on a continuing assumption that Chinese settlers could represent the whole island of Formosa in shifting regional geopolitics, while effacing the Indigenous presence that underpinned the incompleteness of all previous colonial encounters with 'Taiwan'.

Japanese occupation of Taiwan marks a decisive moment that formalized who were 'savages/aborigines' through nation-state mechanisms which profoundly legitimized imperial property as well as further colonial state-sanctioned exploitation (Harrison, 2001a: 59). Harrison (2001a) asserts for the Japanese, the identification of Indigenous peoples in Taiwan as unassimilated 'savages' was a necessary justification for certain important aspects of their rule. In the Meiji punitive expedition to Formosa in 1874, they claimed that Formosa was 'savage', not controlled by the Qing executive, and as such could properly be claimed by whoever occupied it (Harrison, 2001a: 52-53). The Japanese colonial state extended the '*terra nullius*' doctrine to Taiwan. Not only did the Japanese state formalize the hereditary status of 'savage' in the administrative system, the State also conducted a categorization policy in Indigenous territory that resulted in the occupation, de-territorialization and nationalization of Indigenous lands, as well as primitive accumulation for nation-state-led capitalism (Yanaihara, 1929) (see also Chapters Three and Five). It was in the interest of the Japanese government to maintain the savage status of Indigenous groups who might otherwise have laid claim to ownership of some of Taiwan's richest natural resources (Harrison, 2001a: 56). The Japanese state legitimized the claim of imperial property which profoundly benefitted and boosted the hegemonic property system enacted by the nationalist KMT government in the post-War polity. When the nationalist KMT came to Taiwan, it followed Japanese policies and further enacted the individual land title system in Taiwan that profoundly caused Indigenous dispossession. Indigenous peoples campaigned for 'Returning Our Land' in the 1980s and the 1990s and have been fighting for self-determination and demonstrating their connections to their Countries consistently (see Chapters Four, Five and Six).

Viewed from *Tayal* Country, however, this historical narration of 'Taiwan' as a scale of identity, government and sovereign autonomy or colonial property is a naïve and cruel fiction. It proposes by brute (and brutal) force, imposed denial of even the most basic human rights, and any semblance of self-determination *Tayal* people were even constructed by the ostensibly legitimate Taiwanese state as incapable of having a right to use fallen timber in their ancestral domain (Wang, 2011)⁶⁶. In continuing resistance to such imposition, and in maintaining and adapting customary governance, *Gaga* and *Tayal* values, *Tayal* people continue to imagine and enact a *Tayal* polity, cultural identity, community and territory. At this scale, *Tayal* Country, as I refer to it, reimagines a scale geopolitics in which survival, recognition and connection across time and space though *Imuhuw* narrates just part of a culturally diverse 'Taiwan'. At this scale, *Tayal* Country persists despite the narratives and geographical imaginaries of the colonizers, nationalists and boosters. *Tayal* Country speaks of home, connection and belonging rather than asserting the need to defend boundaries. *Gaga* insists on building relationships, both human and more-than-human, that have integrity and continuity with the past-present-future of *Tayal* Country and people and Law. In other words, *Gaga* offers a *Tayal* scale lens and positionality that invites a reimagining of 'Taiwan' as multiple Indigenous domains that persist regardless of colonizers' discourses about nationalism, regional geopolitics and power.

7.5. Conclusion: property, scale and Taiwan

To some extent, the notion of property is enacted in the erasure and creation of geographical scales of governance and identity. Property, and scale at which it legitimated and governed, are common tools of the colonizing pole of power in which it defines itself as the self-nominated Justice to judge who was/is eligible to be 'human', and hence whose property was/is qualified to be recognized, just like how the European, Japanese and Chinese settlers dehumanized/dehumanize Indigenous peoples and justifiably 'built/build' imperial property out of Indigenous Countries. The ever-changing colonizing pole of power in Taiwan has defined what property is and should be and persistently declared Indigenous homelands as empty and without governance. Colonizers proclaimed Indigenous peoples as beyond the 'savage border', in the barbaric mountains as too primitive to understand or hold property and therefore unable to be recognized as self-governing societies. Hence, nascent scales of power, governance and authority were built to transform the 'wildness', which was already somebody's self-governed homeland, into imperial property and realms in which property was created and legitimated by a state structure predicated on the erasure and denial of Indigenous self-governance.

This chapter makes the connections between diverse issues emerging from previous discussion. It makes clear that there is an important relationship to be understood in the configuration of property and scale in contemporary 'Taiwan'. In Chapter Three, the current land title system in Taiwan was examined and the reasons it has not been capable of recognizing the collective right of Indigenous peoples was explored. Chapters Four and Five presented *Tayal* ontological understandings of property and property and the ways in which *Gaga* and *Tayal* custom created a scale of governance that has

⁶⁶ In 2005, three *Tayal* people from *Smangus* community found a fallen timber around their communities. After the discussion and approval in the *Smangus* community meeting, they went to collect the fallen timber to make ornaments. Yet, they were persecuted by the Forest Bureau for 'stealing State property'. Both the Taiwan Hsinchu District (local court) and the Taiwan High Court (regional court) found the defendants guilty. The defendants appealed to the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court overthrew the verdict of the Taiwan High Court and remanded the case to the Taiwan High Court. In the remanded proceeding, the Taiwan High Court found defendants not guilty, based on multi-culturalism endorsed by the Indigenous Peoples Basic Law (Wang, 2011).

persisted through and adapted to a sequence of colonizing challenges. Chapter Six discussed how bordering and ordering created a hegemonic 'mountain' scale that differentiated *Tayal* people's connection to Country. As the dissertation developed, it has become clear that not only has there been a pernicious and influential hegemonic geographic narrative of the mountain imaginary at work to undermine *Tayal* self-determination, but also that there is a need for rethinking of how geographical and temporal scale is understood as the basis for legitimizing property and governance in Indigenous domains. The 'mountain' imaginary put *Tayal* people in a less privileged and powerless position under the rigid social construction of the national scale of 'Taiwan', in which the current property system was enacted under threat of martial law by the colonial KMT government in the 1950s. Nevertheless, unpacking how the taken-for-granted 'Taiwan' scale was constructed demystifies its rigidity, legitimacy and power. Drawing on the preceding discussion, this chapter reviewed expanding scales of colonizations through the island's various colonial encounters. The process inaugurated with the Dutch VOC occupation of the port at Fort Zeelandia, expanded through the western areas of Formosa, and eventually attempted to confine Indigenous territory into a singular integrated scale of national control, seeking to deny, erase and diminish *Tayal* people's and other Indigenous peoples' autonomy. Through colonial expansion and social control, colonizers claimed to bring civilization and transfigure Indigenous Countries into property that was available to be taken as settlers' property bit by bit.

The nested hierarchy of scalar labels: local, national, regional, international and so on can become profoundly normalized in contemporary settings. Similarly, the concept of 'property' as a bounded spatial demarcation possessed by a single proprietor can become naturalized as the foundation of wealth and power. As discussed in Chapter Five, the hegemonic construction of 'property' in Taiwanese settings encompasses a hegemonic understanding of time and space. In this chapter, a similarly hegemonic understanding of 'scale' has been so naturalized in Taiwanese discourse that its absurd and inhuman denial of *Tayal* autonomy has become all but invisible to most observers. There is nothing wrong with using 'scale' as a key tool to define objects, but it is always vital to revisit what geographical reality was captured by the 'scale' tool and what was missed. Examining how the taken-for-granted 'Taiwan' scale was formed in wider geopolitical discourse and the dominant national politics within the ROC brings attention to a geographical reality full of erasure, denial and omission toward the very existence of Indigenous peoples. This aligns with the concept of 'Year Zero' and 'Ground Zero' (Rose, 1997), as the nested hierarchy of scalar labels suggests a linear temporal imaginary in which the 'wild mountain' could be progressed into the 'productive plain'. This condoned settlers' spatial narrative of 'opening up' Indigenous Countries to use, property and settlement by a sequence of colonizers – despite the obvious and continuing presence of *Gaga* and *Tayal* people.

It is the time to revisit where this dissertation began - the Acknowledgement of *Tayal* Country. As discussed in Chapter One, attending the *Sbalay* (Reconciliation)/*Phaban* (Alliance) ceremony in 2012 altered my understanding of 'Taiwan' utterly. As a response to my learning in *Tayal* Country, I argued that situating this dissertation in a *Tayal*-centric positionality would open narrative space to deconstruct how the entity, scale and nation nowadays called 'Taiwan' has been constructed in favor of settlers' enactment of colonial/imperial property. Enlightened by Australian printmaker Bea Maddock's artwork *Terra Spiritus* that turned Tasmania in-side out with Aboriginal place names, this chapter, set out to 'turn Taiwan inside-out' by recognizing *Tayal* people's custodianship of their Country as requiring recognition of the scale at which that custodianship is transformed in governance, culture and a range of economic, social and environmental practices. In doing so, the

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chapter acknowledges that the scale of 'Taiwan' was, and arguably continues to be, founded upon settlers-centric notions of superiority, entitlement and the assumed illegitimacy of the persistent *Tayal* presence in and governance of *Tayal* Country, culture and connections to the human and more-than-human worlds. What was rendered as unknown, wild and uncivilized emptiness in the conventional geopolitics of the great powers (for example, juxtaposing Figure 1 -1 and Figure 7 - 4), has been the resistant and persistent testimony of *Tayal* people's and other Indigenous peoples' in the island. Regardless how the conventional geopolitics shift, Indigenous peoples did not leave their Countries nor cede their sovereignty. Indigenous-peoples-centered richness has always been nourishing Taiwan. With this understanding, I put this proposition confidently: 'Taiwan always was and always will be Indigenous land'.

8. Unsettling ‘property’

This dissertation started as an inquiry into Indigenous *Tayal* people’s property and land rights. I started my dissertation probing the ontological foundation of contemporary Taiwanese property systems, and its implication for Indigenous peoples’ well-being and initiatives, hoping that it might promote a better co-existence of Indigenous and settler communities in Taiwan. It has been a long journey. In this final chapter, I conclude that the racialized existence of Taiwan as an imperial and/or colonial property is built on the erasure, denial and subordination of *Tayal* people and their property, as well as other Indigenous populations who dwell in Taiwan. In doing so, the dissertation engages some key concepts in the discipline of geography: space, time and scale. By critically rethinking and reframing those key concepts, this dissertation sheds light on how to unsettle the taken-for-granted and hegemonic discursive construction of ‘property’. In this concluding chapter, I commence by revisiting the research questions and discussing how this dissertation has addressed them.

8.1. Revisiting research questions

This dissertation began by contextualizing three keywords: property, scale and Taiwan. By placing these keywords in contexts, it has unpacked the contingent nature of rigid definitions of taken-for-granted concepts that have profoundly shaped the experience of *Tayal* people, and the place of Taiwan in world affairs. These three keywords are built on settlers-centric narratives that (in)advertently efface Indigenous presence, autonomy and governance. Throughout the dissertation, I have urged conscious re-consideration of how these keywords are understood in everyday discourses to better support Indigenous peoples’ property rights. In doing so, I applied the conceptual frameworks ‘radical contextualism’ and ‘ontological pluralism’, which led me to appreciate *Tayal* people’s custodianship of Country. Three research questions were proposed in Chapter One as a way of focusing the dissertation.

The first was: “What are *Tayal* people’s ontological understandings of property?” To sufficiently address this question, I started this dissertation with acknowledging *Tayal* custodianship of their Country in Chapter Two. Since this dissertation addresses *Tayal* people’s property right and land right, it is pivotal for me to commence this dissertation in a position that values and centers *Tayal*-centric ontology. I adopted an ontological pluralism lens to assist in understanding the ontological foundation of Taiwan’s current property system in the contested cultural landscapes of Taiwan. In settlers-centric discursive constructions of what property should be, *Tayal* ontological understandings of property have always been marginalized, neglected and excluded. With an intention to challenge the hegemonic understanding of property, it was vital to start my dissertation with the proposition: *Tayal* Country always was and always will be *Tayal* Country. This proposition confirms that *Tayal* people have never left their Country, nor did they cede it to any conquering invaders or settlers. I maintain that recognizing *Tayal* custodianship of Country is the first step to probing *Tayal* ontological understandings of property.

Building on the conceptual frame of relational ontology in Chapter Two, I allude *Tayal* people’s common property governance in Chapter Four. I argue that for *Tayal* people, governing common property is not solely about racing for the entitlement, but about governing social relations with non-human and human agencies. In *Tayal* ontology, governing common property embeds in a relational web that connected non-human and human agencies. In Chapter Five, I assert that in *Tayal* ontological

understanding of property and land interests are developed in a long and cyclical spatial-temporal pattern. Moreover, I address the connected-ness of space and time in contemporary *Tayal* society in Chapter Six. The strong sense of belonging-together-in-place connects *Tayal* people to Country and embodies *Gaga* in present days.

The second proposed research question was: “What underpins the hegemonic notion of property in Taiwanese settings?” This led to the third, closely-related question: “How does the Taiwanese property rights system impact upon Indigenous peoples in Taiwan?” The dissertation has discussed how the current Taiwanese land title system not only imposed a strictly defined individual land title only, but also failed to recognize the communal land title among many Indigenous communities (an issue discussed in Chapter Three). The current land title system, partly-modelled on Australia’s Torrens title system, also foisted a hegemonic configuration of time and space that was sanctioned by the nationalist KMT government in the post-War polity yet to some extent, lasts until nowadays. Chapter Five explicitly pointed out that the current land title system predominantly assumed/assumes a narrative of linear temporality and a singular spatiality that significantly disqualified *Tayal* land interests, which require a circular and prolonged temporal pattern to develop and exist simultaneously in multiple spaces.

Chapter Six probes how the hegemonic ‘mountain’ geographical imaginary was used as an efficient State apparatus to impose the hegemony of the dominant constructions of time and space. The ‘mountain’ imaginary has been used to differentiate Taiwan temporally as well as spatially. The trope of ‘mountain’ has been somehow closely affiliated with Indigenous population in Taiwan and contributed to the labelling of people and places as barbarian, remote, unknown, and, most importantly, not ‘us’ in order to mark clear contraction to civilized and developed and colonized ‘plains’. The metaphorical construction of mountain imaginary conspires with the land title system. The mountain imaginary hints at a differentiated spatiality which quarantines the settlers-centric ‘us’ of the island’s western plains against the mountain places of Indigenous ‘others’. It also implies a linear and progressive temporality in which the ‘barbarian mountain’ could be ‘improved’ into highly discriminatory yet settlers-approved ‘civil plain’. The developmentalist and nationalist construction of ‘mountain’ imaginary helps to justify the racialized notion of ‘property’.

The current land title system in Taiwan used to require Indigenous people to utilize a plot of field for ten years continuously in order to claim land titles⁶⁷. It strongly hints a racialized dimension of ‘property’ that solely values settlers’ agricultural practice, which is also believed to be the only possibility to generate and retain land interests and titles in settlers-centric narratives. This land title system profoundly impels *Tayal* people to think time, space and property in ways that conform with the hegemonic constructions of time and space. In order to have their land titles recognized by the State, *Tayal* people were/are forced to re-understand a much more relational customary definition of time, space and property. The hegemonic geographical imaginary not only differentiates and essentializes Indigenous peoples’ belonging to place but also assists the settlers-centric discursive construction of ‘property’. I conclude that the hegemonic mountain imaginary helps to justify as well as boost the racialized and biased notion of ‘property’.

⁶⁷ The waiting duration used to be 10 years when the regulations was launched in 1966. In 1998, an amendment was made and shortened the waiting duration to 5 years (Lin, 2001). There is a solid hope to cancel the 5-year waiting period in the Legislative Yuan as of October (Lin, 2018/10/4).

Chapter Seven considered how the mountain imaginary was established since Indigenous populations' first encounters with colonialism. I took a *Tayal*-centric positionality and drew from an extensive literature review to elucidate settlers' establishment and enactment of imperial/colonial property on Taiwan. I specifically engaged with the conventional understanding of scale to argue that the nominally rigid scale of 'Taiwan' is built on an assumed erasure, denial and subordination of Indigenous people. Through colonizing process, settlers expanded the 'scales' of their colony and self-justified the imperial property.

8.2. Reflection on research design and process

Methodologically, this dissertation started by taking a radical contextualist framing that centers *Tayal* positionality in the re-understanding of 'property'. As mentioned in the Preface, the very intention of conducting this dissertation is the witness of brutal dispossession my *Tayal* colleagues confront in a daily basis. I have been conscious that I wanted to frame this dissertation in a *Tayal*-centric positionality since the beginning of the dissertation. I have extensively adopted *Tayal* language and concepts to manifest *Tayal* ontological understanding of space, time, home, identity, belonging and property. I purposefully designed the research fieldwork into two phases. Firstly, I intended to revisit my field site to confirm with my informants whether my emerging analysis and interpretation of fieldwork data were culturally appropriate and ethical. Furthermore, I planned to revisit the site in order to retain the reliability and accountability as a researcher. I wanted to maintain and reinforce long-term collaborative relations with my informants, rather than leaving them feel I was a researcher who would visit once, collect data and not let informants to verify research outcomes. Ethical engagement prioritized during my fieldwork provided guidance on how to integrate these ethical aspirations into the research design. Though some of my informants have known and/or worked with me before me conducting my doctoral research, I have followed the ethical protocol under the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee throughout the research.

As a non-*Tayal* researcher, negotiating how to ethically and appropriately represent *Tayal* knowledges in a specific temporal-and-spatial scale and culturally-and-geographically appropriated context has been my main concern. In the first phase of fieldwork, when I was working with *Tayal* people in *Naro* community, I conducted my group interviews within *qutux niqan*, a social group that shares food and one of the basic social units in *Tayal* culture. This approach was adopted because, customarily, *qutux niqan* has always been the social space for *Tayal* people to exchange, communicate and generate knowledges. In the second phase of fieldwork, the main research concern was around broader issues of *Tayal* social and economic development and I engaged *Tayal* social activists, cultural workers and advocates in my dissertation to observe the changes currently underway in *Tayal* Country.

As mentioned in Chapter Two, my doctoral project fieldwork counted as a rather brief period of my on-going relationship with *Tayal* communities. Ethical engagements primarily concerned me during the fieldwork. I designed the second phase fieldwork in order to validate my interpretation of *Tayal* law and land relations. For instance, Chapter Five was written and submitted to *Environment and Planning D* after my first phase of fieldwork. Yet, during my second phase fieldwork, I brought my analysis back to the *Tayal* community and sought for more dispossession cases from community members. *Tayal* informants informed me with more State-sanctioned dispossession cases due to *Tayal* customary shifting cultivation or migration. I recorded those cases. Afterwards, when I received my review outcome from *Environment and Planning D*, I also included the case study verified by *Tayal* informants during second phase of fieldwork, which was Example Two on Chen et al. (2018b: 990).

Without detracting from the value of the dissertation, it is also important to acknowledge some limits on the dissertation. First, while the dissertation dedicated much effort to engage *Tayal* people's ontological understandings of time, space and property, there were limited numbers of *Tayal* informants that could be interviewed in total 9-month-long fieldwork. I worked diligently to build in-depth and mutually trusting relations with my informants. I spent time in explaining research questions and ethic and scheduling my interviews according to informants' schedule. Within given finite time frame of fieldwork, I did my best to conduct my fieldwork based on the schedule of *Tayal* communities. For instance, I did my first phase of fieldwork from August 2016 to January 2017, which was the transitional period in Taiwan, from end of summer to beginning of winter. It was the harvesting period and the appropriate timing for me to engage *Tayal* contemporary natural resource governance. However, it was also the busy season for my *Tayal* informants. Thus, I was only able to interview most of my *Tayal* informants at the end of a day when they were the most available. Within these constraints, however, I am confident of my research's reliability and accountability within the contexts of *Tayal* communities.

Secondly, while I have drawn heavily on interdisciplinary discussions, this dissertation is a geography doctoral dissertation. I applied ethnographic methods commonly used in geographical research during my fieldwork. In Chapters Three and Five, I drew heavily on legal scholarship, and in Chapter Seven, I consulted historical studies extensively. Thus, interdisciplinary research approach permeates throughout the dissertation. I have drawn materials and insights from other disciplines and apply interdisciplinary research methods to enrich my discussion of *Tayal* people's property rights. Nevertheless, I recognize that my capacity to adequately integrate the methods, approaches and conclusions from other disciplines is limited. The dissertation may engage materials from various disciplines, but ultimately, it is a geography dissertation. *Tayal*-centric positionality was woven through and centered in the rethinking, reshaping and reconsidering of time, space and property. By taking a geography lens, I have engaged *Tayal*-centric ontological understandings of property to re-read and challenge the taken-for-granted scale of Taiwan from an inside-out orientation.

8.3. Further research

Some research directions that future research can benefit from or develop on this dissertation. Firstly, the current land title system in Taiwan profoundly dispossessed/dispossesses *Tayal* people by implanting a hegemonic definition of what 'property' should be. The land title system is understood as an anomaly of Australian Torrens title system. The Torrens title system and its anomaly have been adopted across various nations and territories. This dissertation provides a powerful route for other Indigenous groups who have also been affected by the Torrens title system. This dissertation unpacks the hegemony embedded in the Torrens title system, and strongly critiques the hegemonic interpretation of time and space that foisted the settlers-centric construction of 'property' on Taiwan's diverse peoples. The same pathway can be useful for future research inquiries focusing on Indigenous people affected by Torrens title system or its anomalies.

Secondly, I would like to call attention for more-than-human common property governance. Common property research working with Indigenous communities have developed a strong foundation for awareness of community-based common property governance. There are some researchers who have initiated discussion regarding the more-than-human nature of common property (as reviewed in Chapter Four). Chapter Four is inspired by those scholarly discussion, and I would also like to call more attention on more-than-human common property governance.

Thirdly, another research area I am increasingly fascinated by is how nationalist aspirations of Taiwan's political leadership has affected Indigenous peoples. This dissertation has established a strong *Tayal*-centric positionality engaging property right matters. I illustrated how the nationalist KMT government implanted a 'Chinese Nation' hegemony which subordinated Indigenous peoples as barbarian civil subjects from an authoritarian-state-centric mentality. With the research limits, I could not go into a more nuanced and holistic examination of how the nationalist campaigns have actually affected Indigenous peoples. Further in-depth research on nationalizing campaigns toward Indigenous peoples globally could unpack in-depth discussion toward better social justice. Lastly, I aimed that this dissertation would apply a *Tayal*-centric approach to methodology. I have learned much along the dissertation journey that has provoked deep reflection about the challenges involved. Seeing, thinking and doing research in a *Tayal*-centric perspective is not a simple or straightforward journey. There are no '*Tayal* methods' simply waiting to be learned and applied. The shift to prioritizing community engagement and community benefit over academia priority is substantial, and contested in Taiwanese academic settings where performance is increasingly measured formally by research output and grants awarded. However, that challenge is part of the uneasiness, complexity and challenges of belonging-together-in-place for academic work in Indigenous domains. Without undermining the value and contribution of this dissertation, I am comfortable to acknowledge that my development of a *Tayal*-centric approach to my methodology has been uneven and perhaps unsuccessful in part. The contemporary *Tayal* communities are hybrid, complicated and uncertain. The processes of *Tayal* and others belonging-together-in-place is also complicated and uncertain. In the absence of both state and local recognition, *Tayal* people's sense of belonging, sovereignty and identity continues to be formed in diverse ways in different groups and settings. The same is true for my own identity formation as I negotiate my place(s) in my *Tayal* family. as a researcher, I am willing to acknowledge the uneasiness of drawing *Tayal* family and community members into academic research. My approach was always committed to ensuring community engagement to the best as I could, and reflects my dedication to including *Tayal* people in my present and future research, as well as demonstrates my long-term commitment and relationship building with *Tayal* community.

8.4. Contributions, significance and implications

This dissertation contributes to the subject of geography by unpacking and challenging the vital yet often neutralized concepts in geography: 'scale', 'space' and 'time'. The nuanced and in-depth narratives of how the allegedly scalar labels developed/develop in the *Tayal* settings can be beneficial for Indigenous geographies to further rethink fundamental notions. While there is a growing and valuable literature on settler colonies/dispossession/reconciliation/indigeneity, most of it has focused on the experience of formal British colonies, such as Canada and Australia. The *Tayal* experience, while surely unique, is pivotal in advancing Indigenous geographies in a sense it reminds the multiplicity, complexity and entanglement of colonizations.

Detailed and nuanced engagement and examination of history, time, space, property, Taiwan, *Tayal* people's worldview, *Tayal* ways of seeing, thinking and doing, as well as their approach to nurturing and sharing of their Country weave through the dissertation. An inevitable conclusion arising from this dissertation is that discussions that take a better-informed approach to Indigenous experiences and rights are urgently needed in the wake of transitional justice in the Taiwanese national scheme (see Chapter One). The dissertation offers empirical, theoretical, and methodological materials to rethink and challenge the dominant conventional reading of Taiwan's geopolitical past-present-futures. Since

the current international society functions within a system of nation-states, Indigenous peoples' affairs are largely constrained within a national polity. In the case of Taiwan, Indigenous peoples' voices are even harder to be heard internationally since these affairs are concealed under the complicated geopolitics of Taiwan-China-America dynamics and East Asian regional security concerns. Nevertheless, this dissertation has taken me on a journey towards an alternative approach that turns the convention outside-in colonizing process inside-out and centers *Tayal* people's belonging, sovereignty and custodianship of Country. I hope that it might perhaps provoke others to set out on a similar journey.

The significance of this dissertation goes beyond Taiwan. It offers a rethinking, reshaping and reconsideration of much that is taken-for-granted in contemporary settlers societies. It provokes reconsideration of ontological pluralist understandings of history, time, space, property, and indeed of Taiwan itself, by taking a *Tayal*-centric positionality. In wider discourse, the provocation is to encourage both a diversification of local and Indigenous perspectives on issues otherwise conceptualized as 'national', and simultaneously to advocate for recognition of diversity and belonging-together as the necessary foundation for sustainable futures that value the cultural heritage and intrinsic values of Indigenous societies. The contemporary international order privileges the political form of nation-state. A state acting as the sole and sovereign power to recognize and enact 'property' blocks Indigenous peoples' struggles against dispossession and asserts state property in ways that have been cruelly divisive and oppressive. However, I hope this work might help to re-center and re-situate Indigenous peoples' property as the way it always was and always will be - it is their Country – their homeland within which others might learn to belong-together. Indigenous affairs are not supposed to be labelled under nation-state. They were/are the owners of their Country. Indigenous peoples are not begging for more property; they are asking the recognition of their continuing property. I hope to provoke careful re-reading and reconsideration of history, time and space that would justify better understandings of scale, property and Taiwan as well as better acknowledgement of Indigenous peoples' property right and custodianship in their Countries.

The dissertation has given deep regard to the dilemma, struggle and challenge of dispossession that Indigenous peoples are encountering on a daily basis. I do not intend to generalize, homogenize or romanticize Indigenous peoples' dispossession across various settings. On the contrary, I want to point out a fact that many nation-states in current international society are built on Indigenous land. I have addressed, proposed and argued to unsettle hegemonic understandings of property, space and time and to re-center efforts to engage with ontologically plural and coexisting social groups in Taiwan by acknowledging an Indigenous *Tayal* positionality in this dissertation. By doing so, the dissertation opens up a very different world from the one that dominates today. The implication of such opening of social and political discourse goes beyond Taiwan. It is not only about the politics in Taiwanese settings but can also be applied in other places. The challenges of Indigenous dispossession and property rights are fundamentally a daily and political matter across many places. Through caring, sharing and connecting to their Country, *Tayal* people continue to nurture and govern *Tayal* Country regardless of constant and relentless colonizing interventions up to the present time. This is the proof of their property, rights and sovereignty. Centering and honoring *Tayal* Country will not jeopardize the credibility of a legitimate Taiwanese government. Indeed, appreciation of *Tayal* centered richness will contribute to a better co-existence and more legitimate and sustainable governance in these islands. This is, I conclude, an important lesson for Taiwan, and for other settlers societies.

Afterword

Being able to know *Tayal* Country; to have the privilege and honor to be allowed to immerse myself in *Tayal* culture has been the most blessed experience in my life. In the Preface and Chapter Two I talked about how working with *Tayal* people has completely altered my understanding of ‘Taiwan’, the place I call home. In the end of my doctoral research, I still put forward the same argument. I recall in the second half of 2017, the geopolitics in East Asia had deteriorated dramatically due to the North Korea nuclear crisis. During a phone call with my husband, I expressed my concern regarding shifting geopolitics, yet his response was unexpectedly calm. He told me: “War is going to happen regardless where and when, but here is my home”. That is one of those moments I realize how different we are. Frankly speaking, I feel fine to resettle anywhere. However, for my husband, he is certainly going to be buried in *Tayal* Country. For my husband, regardless of how the outside geopolitics shift, he will always be living, caring and defending *Tayal* Country. This profoundly unsettled and challenged me.

My supervisor Howitt in his 2018 *Progress in Human Geography* Lecture *Unsettling the taken (-for-granted)* states:

The verb unsettle carries ambiguity. It has overtones of both displacing from settlements that occupy space and make places of privilege and exclusion, as well as troubling the everyday discourses of erasure of the histories of settlement as invasion, occupation, dispossession and violence. It also carries an emotional content: feeling unsettled takes us outside our comfort zone. I want to take this ambiguity as a window on disciplinary responsibilities and responses (Howitt, 2018: 4/29).

I adopted the verb ‘unsettle’ in the title of Chapter Eight ‘Unsettling Property’ purposely. Firstly, I intended to disconnect colonizers-centric metaphorical elements that underpinned/underpin the racialized and biased yet taken-for-granted notion of property. Nevertheless, the other reason I adopted the verb ‘unsettle’ is out of my personal intention. As a settler descendant who was raised in Taipei City, the concept of ‘property’ used to be simple for me – assets, real estate or anything can be traded with cash. When I firstly engaged *Tayal* communities, I was shocked with how many struggles they needed/need to go through just for the very basic human rights – formal recognition of their property. During my work with *Tayal* mentors, one thing they frequently told me is how hard it is for them to be themselves in **their** home territory. They were restricted from hunting, fishing, logging, collecting wood, cultivating and so on. Almost everything they did/do customarily are illegalized and put under surveillance of ‘authorities’, e.g. National Parks, the Forest Bureau, the Water Resources Agency etc. Their land title of communal territory was not recognized by ‘authorities’ – one of the most common cases is hunting grounds, which are largely claimed as State-owned forests. Even for individual-owned lands, feuds arose frequently and consistently, not only between *Tayal* people and the State, but also among community members. The common scenario I have heard frequently is that *Tayal* elders honored their oral commitment of land transaction or exchange, but because they lacked ‘written evidence’ in the current land title registry, *Tayal* people failed to have their land title(s) recognized by the State.

Interaction with my *Tayal* colleagues and mentors is the first reason I am interested in Indigenous peoples’ land right and property rights. During my doctoral fieldwork and dissertation writing, I was deeply unsettled – not only as I attempted to unsettle hegemonic interpretations of ‘property’, but I

was also unsettled by the antagonistic elimination, discrimination and massacre of Indigenous people. Especially when I was writing Chapter Seven, I was profoundly unsettled by the slaughters which erased many Indigenous peoples and contributed to the creation of imperial/colonial property. This changed my understanding of 'Taiwan' thoroughly. Taiwan is a place I call home, yet I knew little about savage and cruel slaughters done to wipe out Indigenous presence. I have been led to rethink the legitimacy of Taiwan as a scale and/or an entity deeply. The feeling of being unsettled motivates me to finish this dissertation, to challenge the conventional reading of nation, state and geopolitics as well as the taken-for-granted rigidity of academia concepts scale, space and time. The journey of my doctoral study brings me more than the training to accomplish rigid academic research. It also changes my ways of seeing, thinking and doing. It changes my way of seeing Taiwan, of thinking *Tayal* Country and doing my research. Just as Howitt (2018) said, through the experience to unsettle taken-for-granted-ness, on the other hand, I was taken outside from my comfort zone, not only as a researcher but also as a Taiwanese. In Howitt's words, "the ambiguity the verb **unsettle** carried actually opened a window to address disciplinary responsibilities and responses" (Howitt, 2018: 4/29; emphasis in original). I truly wish this dissertation might initiate discussions for a better recognition of Indigenous presence in geopolitical interplays and a better political practice to acknowledge Indigenous peoples' inherent property right and custodianship of their Countries.

Glossary of *Tayal* terms

<i>Tayal</i> terms	English translation
<i>Cinpucinq qsyɑ'</i>	the priority user of a water source or 'water owner'
<i>Gaga</i>	customary Law
<i>Gaga na lhezɛn</i>	the ethic of nature
<i>Gaga na Tayal</i>	the ethic of human
<i>Gaga na Utux</i>	the ethic of God
<i>Llyung</i>	rivers
<i>Lmuhuw</i>	traditional chanting records ancestral migration
<i>Lokah</i>	tough (meat); strong (rope, cloth, wood); firm (a knot of fastening); hard to open (a sticky door or rusted handle); stubborn (a person who insists on their own way); unwavering (a person's political stance on the face of state).
<i>Mama</i>	uncle
<i>Papak Waqa</i>	scared mountain
<i>Phaban</i>	Alliance
<i>Pucing qsyɑ'</i>	means the water source (<i>puqing</i> means roots; <i>qsya'</i> means water)
<i>Qes</i>	border
<i>Qluw</i>	relatives
<i>Qluw llyung</i>	relatives along the river
<i>Qutux niqan</i>	extended family, refers to a group who share foods, and also refers to a group that shares water sources
<i>Rgyax</i>	mountain
<i>Sbalay</i>	Reconciliation
<i>Sbayux</i>	exchanging labor
<i>Trgyax</i>	mountain ridge
<i>Tminun</i>	weaving
<i>Tminun na Utux</i>	the woven fabric of God
<i>Tminun Utux</i>	God weaves

<i>Utux</i>	God
<i>Yaki</i>	grandma
<i>Yata</i>	aunt
<i>Yutas</i>	grandpa

Appendix

Appendix 1 List of informants

No.	Informant (pseudonym)	Gender	Occupation	Age	Ethnic Group
1	Atung	Male	Farmer	60~	<i>Tayal</i>
2	Payal	Male	Local residents	50~	<i>Tayal</i>
3	Kumu	Female	Farmer	60~	<i>Tayal</i>
4	Hetay	Male	Farmer	60~	<i>Tayal</i>
5	Hayung	Male	Farmer and restaurant owner	50~	<i>Tayal</i>
6	Tali	Male	Elder and former farmer	80~	<i>Tayal</i>
7	Ataw	Male	Elder	60~	<i>Tayal</i>
8	Yuming	Male	Farmer	65~	<i>Tayal</i>
9	Kumay	Male	Farmer	65~	<i>Tayal</i>
10	Watan	Male	Local resident and retired teacher	50~	<i>Tayal</i>
11	Yulaw	Male	Farmer	65~	<i>Tayal</i>
12	Pasang	Male	Farmer	40~	<i>Tayal</i>
13	Icyh	Male	Farmer	60~	<i>Tayal</i>
14	Lahuy	Male	Farmer	55~	<i>Tayal</i>
15	Behuy	Male	Local business owner	75~	<i>Tayal</i>
16	Hana	Female	Local business owner	75~	<i>Tayal</i>
17	Apay	Female	Farmer	60~	<i>Tayal</i>

18	Mayan	Male	Farmer and hunter	55~	<i>Tayal</i>
19	Yukan	Male	Farmer	55~	<i>Tayal</i>
20	Pitay	Female	Farmer	55~	Han (married to <i>Tayal</i>)
21	Yaway	Female	Farmer	55~	<i>Tayal</i>
22	Yapit	Female	Farmer	60~	<i>Tayal</i>
23	Tapas	Female	Local resident	50~	<i>Tayal</i>
24	Sabi	Female	NGO worker	40~	<i>Tayal</i>
25	Llyuw	Male	Research fellow	50~	Han
26	Sangus	Male	Retired minister	60~	<i>Tayal</i>
27	Teru	Female	Cultural worker and farmer	50~	<i>Tayal</i>
28	Mankay	Male	Local business owner and farmer; formal NGO worker	40~	<i>Tayal</i>
29	Iban	Male	Local business owner and farmer; formal NGO worker	30~	<i>Tayal</i>

Appendix 2 & 3 of this thesis have been removed as they may contain sensitive/confidential content

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