

國立交通大學

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Traditions and Pingpu Cultural Revival Movements

—Kavalan and Ketagalan as Examples



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中文摘要

本文借用霍布斯邦(Eric Hobsbawm)對於傳統的創發(invention of traditions)，以及巴斯(Fredrik Barth)所主張的族群邊界(ethnic boundary)理論，來觀察在噶瑪蘭族與凱達格蘭族的族群文化復振運動之中，當傳統做為一種運動策略與族群邊界的時候，族群內部以及內外部之間成員互動的情形。本文將指出，儘管這兩族之間因為漢化程度、族群成員鬆散程度不一而形成不同的運動策略，但是兩個族群在運用傳統文化或是文化傳統來恢復族群文化與回復族群認同的過程中，族群成員內部之間以及內外部的互動均是讓此種運用傳統的運動策略能夠有效帶領文化復振運動的原因。因此，本文想藉由這兩族族群文化復振運動的比較，一方面補充噶瑪蘭族復振運動的觀察，另一方面針對凱達格蘭族復振運動做出更深入的分析。

本文分為四章。第一章將大略描述本文的架構與田野背景，並且在文獻回顧的部分會將族群理論中關於族群意識來源的探討做整理分析，再輔以台灣與西方的例子來探討傳統在文化復振運動之中的情況。

第二章則是以噶瑪蘭族的部分進行探討，這部份將以族群的族語教育、藝術的表演與文字藝術創作者權威，以及運動中後設的(metaphysical)組織統合力量做為探討的對象。這些傳統之所以能引領整個族群運動是因為在型塑的過程之中，是以族群內部及族群內外部之間的互動做為基礎，而發起族群復振運動。

第三章的部分則是以凱達格蘭族為探討對象，在這個章節的分析將放在族群的族名、族群文化遺址遺跡，以及分散的族群力量，這三個傳統除了與噶瑪蘭族的三個傳統成為對比而可供觀察差異之外，卻也歸納出與前一章相同的關鍵因素—族群內部以及內外部之間的互動，才是讓到目前為止凱達格蘭族族群運動得以進行的原因。

第四章的部分則是首先將本文當中提到的兩個族群利用傳統來進行文化復振的策略進行比較，指出其差異點以及相似點，而最後再總結本文。

Key Words: traditions, cultural revival movements, ethnic groups, ethnic identity, the Kavalan ethnic group, the Ketagalan ethnic group, invention of traditions, ethnic boundary, interactions

Abstract

This thesis tries to explore the interactions among the ethnic members and between members and nonmembers, when traditions are taken as the movement strategies and ethnic boundaries in the Kavalan and Ketagalan cultural revival movements. This thesis will adopt the notions “invention of tradition” by Eric Hobsbawm and “ethnic boundary” by Fredrik Barth. This thesis will indicate that although these ethnic groups adopt different strategies due to the various degrees of loss of indigenous culture and of unity of ethnic members, the intra-group and inter-group interactions are the similar, crucial trait for either group successfully to revive their ethnic culture and to arouse ethnic identity while they are using traditional culture/ cultural traditions as their strategies. Therefore, this thesis hopes to, with the comparisons and contrasts between Kavalan and Ketagalan, complement the observations in the Kavalan cultural revival movements on the one hand, and to further analyze the Ketagalana cultural revival movements on the other.

The thesis will be elaborated in four chapters. The first chapter will briefly describe the structure of the thesis and the background of field study. Besides, the literature reviews will analyze traditions in the cultural revival movements with the theories of ethnicity formation and similar examples in Taiwan and other regions.

The second chapter will focus on the Kavalan traditions, including the mother-tongue education, the artistic performances, the authorities of the word-makers and artists, and the metaphysical collectivity. The reason why these traditions can arouse the ethnic identity and revive the ethnic culture is that their formations depend on the interactions among members and between members and nonmembers.

The third chapter will turn to the Ketagalan traditions. Our foci are the ethnic title, the cultural heritages and ancient relics, and the separate labor for identity striving. Aside from the contrasts between traditions of either group, this chapter also proposes the similar reason discussed in the former chapter to make the movements attractive to members and nonmembers as to earn more recognition and to arouse ethnic identity.

The final chapter will first compare the traditions as movement strategies of either group to revive ethnic culture and to arouse ethnic identity, and then sum up the differences and similarities. Finally, there lies the conclusion of the thesis.

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Chapter One

Introduction

In this thesis paper, I intend to explore traditions in two Pingpu tribes, and to see how they have been practiced respectively in the formations of the ethnic identity of the Ketagalan (凱達格蘭族) and Kavalan (噶瑪蘭族). Traditions, along with kinship, language, religion, territory and experiences of suffering, are major cultural characteristics which form the basis of the ethnic identity. Besides, social and political interests can also establish the basis of the ethnic identification. Different situations would lead to different choices of these characteristics or interests to draw the ethnic boundaries, while the ethnicity would come from both cultural heritage and social needs. Take Taiwan indigenous people for instance; traditions have been playing key roles in searching for their self-identity. The heritage arouses not only the memories deeply buried in people's minds, but also the group consciousness among them. This consciousness oftentimes unites people to complete some goals. Judged from the experiences of Taiwan indigenous people, it is often found that they ask for more social rights, privileges and status while the acquisition of their identification with the ethnic group is being formed. Official recognition, for instance, is one of the commonest appeals local indigenous people have desired for. Because of the contributions from the revived culture, the cultural revival activities relevant and helpful to self-identification are so important that they have been frequently held in the indigenous regions. Traditions, therefore, prove to be one of the vital parts of the identity formation in the local indigenous communities.

With the inspections on the relationships among the formations of the ethnic

identity, cultural characteristics and social interests, I will then explore the traditions in the cultural revival movements of Ketagalan and Kavalan respectively. The anti-nuke movements have gathered groups of people to defend the Ketagalan sacred cultural inheritances; the kinship with a remote Kavalan tribe aroused the buried memories and the ignored ethnic relationships. Different factors have influenced the formations of these Pingpu identifications. However, for a community in which the Pingpu culture is hardly preserved due to the prevalent Han culture, how do the Ketagalan traditions cope with the modern situations for survival? Do they have to change to adapt to the present circumstances? If they are changed, how can these adapted traditions still play as the key element to draw the ethnic boundary? Could the non-Ketagalan traditions function similarly to mark who the Ketagalan are? On the other hand, in such a community where the Pingpu traditions are influenced by the Han and Amis, how does the Kavalan traditional culture cope with the challenges from the cultural interactions? If traditions were changed, how do these adapted Kavalan traditions continue to distinguish the Kavalan from others? If traditions remain as they were, do they still draw the same line between the Kavalan and others? In this essay, the Ketagalan Xinsher in Xandiao tribe and the Kavalan Xinsher in Hualien are my main cites for observation. Based on the different backgrounds of the Ketagalan and the Kavalan, this essay tries to explore how traditions have been influencing the formations of the ethnic identity in each community. Not only the differences but also the similarities lying between these two ethnic groups are my primary concerns. The differences will tell us how the local factors of these two ethnic groups have made impacts on their individual identity formations, whereas the similarities of two groups reveal that the mixed cultural traditions brought about by ethnic interactions can still draw the ethnic boundary. This essay tries to prove that the cultural boundary does not mean the ethnic one, and that cultural interactions

within traditions in these two Pingpu communities are complicated but worthy of our more attention to study them.

Literature Review and Theory

i. Ethnic group, ethnicity, and ethnic identity.

When it comes to the studies of the ethnic groups, the ethnicity and the ethnic identity, the controversies between primordialism and instrumentalism should not be ignored. Although two camps of researchers took different sides to explain the origins of the ethnic groups and of their derivatives, their desires were the same for finding out how the ethnic groups are formed, how the ethnic identity is aroused, and how the ethnicity is produced.



The primordialists put more emphases on the given attachments which come with the birth of people. Pierre van den Berghe (1981) proposes that “ethnic and racial sentiments are extension of kinship sentiments. Ethnocentrism and racism are thus extended forms of nepotism—the propensity to favor kin over nonkin” (18). He argues that the more genetically and biologically related people are, the more likely they will be altruistic to each other, trying to “maximize their inclusive fitness” (35). The degree of the nepotistic relevance, along with the rational calculation of interests, will entail people decide to cooperate or conflict.¹ Clifford Geertz (1996[1963], 43-5) indicates that not only the consanguinity of blood but also the kinships of

¹ Despite that I take van den Berghe’s primordial viewpoint on the ethnicity, I did not mean that he denied the instrumental perspective. In fact, he combines these two separate viewpoints, saying they can complement each other. He argues that aside from the nepotism there are still two factors—ecological and cultural ones—influencing human behaviors. This compromised stance is the often-seen perspective many following researchers have taken, after the debate of many years over why people choose to stay together. For more details, refer to van den Berghe, 1981.

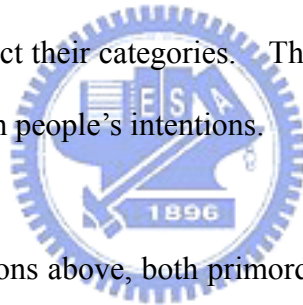
marriage and adoption, language, region, shared religious beliefs and customs can produce the primordial attachments which might arouse ethnic discontents that require the notice of every modern sovereignty. Charles Keyes implies that the cultural characteristics of primordial attachments are the basic elements and the standard of categorizations of the ethnic groups (Zhong Yolang, 1995: 9).² Among these cultural traits, Keyes (1976) proposes that the “shared descent” is the most vital element in the ethnic identity formation (Hsieh Shizhong, 2004a: 75). Keyes stresses the advantages of the consanguinity in the formation of the ethnic identity, but he did not agree to the socio-biological perspective that the gene decides what ethnic group people choose to identify with. Instead, Keyes indicates that the cultural heritage people identify with is not decided by the consanguinity, but learned as cultural symbols to mark the members in the ethnic group (Su Yuling, 1995: 2; Yang Linghui, 1996: 1). Generally speaking, the primordialists assert that the ethnicity comes from the cultural traits and what is passed down from the ancestors plays the most important role in the ethnic identity formation. This descent is not only genetic, but social which means that people will learn the cultural characteristics after birth and that people try to distinguish themselves from others as well as to establish their ethnic identities with the acquired cultural traits.

Although Keyes is classified as one of the defenders in the primordialism camp, his propositions are not consistent with others’ perspective that every identity comes from the consanguinity; he turned to a point-of-view that the ethnic identity is culturally constructed (Zhong Yolan, 1995: 9). Obviously it is impossible for the primordialists to ignore the human intentions in the identity formation, and it leads us to the perspective of the instrumentalism.

² The quotations from Chinese references are translated by me in this thesis.

The instrumentalists claim that the ethnic group is an *interest group* which may change its identity when people pursue the fulfillment of a certain interest. Therefore, the ethnic group is not fixed, but fluid. People can choose their identities at their will, and move from one ethnic group to another, according to what they identify with. The fluid categorizations of the ethnic groups, therefore, imply the formation of the ethnic identity can be varied in order to accomplish certain goals or to fulfill some desires. All in all, the ethnic identity in the instrumental sense is no longer fixed to the kinships or the consanguinity which the primordialists stress, but varied according to different social circumstances. Based on a dialectical mode of ethnic variation, Keyes (1981) proposes that when people have interactions as individuals or groups to pursue their interests, people will take new cultural meanings and modes to adapt to the new situations, and then a new identity or the old identity with new meaning will be constructed to differentiate members and nonmembers. Keyes turns to assert that “[B]oth the cultural attributes that are presumed to be associated with an ethnic identity and the social uses for which groups are mobilized with reference to their ethnic identity can vary through time” (27), re-evaluating the importance of the circumstantial factors in the formation of ethnicity. Moreover, Cohen (1981) has provided an example from the Creoles in Sierra Leone who establish their ethnic identity in order to look for official services in the government. The creoles had intermittently changed their identity in each phase Cohen implies according to their social and political needs. He finds that the “[C]reole ethnicity came to its own . . . when the first time they faced a cataclysmic challenge to their hitherto privileged position, at times to their very *livelihood* and to their *possessions*” (318; my emphasis). Based on his example, Cohen proves without striving for the political and social interests would these Creoles not unite to form a group. He proposes thus “[E]thnicity is a communal organization that is manipulated by an

interest group in its struggle to develop and maintain its power” (325). Moreover, Fredrik Barth (1969b) has studied the Pathan people around the border of Pakistan and Afghanistan and he finds that, instead of the cultural traits, the outer menace from other ethnic groups is the primary factor in the formation of the Pathan identity. Judged from the examples mentioned above, the instrumentalism leads us to a different perspective to observe how the ethnicity is formed. In this sense, the ethnic groups are no longer categorized by certain cultural characteristics; by contrast, people can subjectively choose their identity according to their individual social and political interests. Furthermore, people can change their identities as they desire. They move in and out of ethnic groups, depending on how their interests are coped with. In the instrumentalist sense of the ethnic identity formation, people take the initiative and subjectively select their categories. The ethnic boundaries are no more unchanged; they will vary with people’s intentions.



Judged from the discussions above, both primordialists and instrumentalists give us detailed explanations of the formations of the ethnic identity, but we can not have a full vision of the ethnic identity formation just from either side. People of a certain ethnic group inherit or acquire the cultural traits to mark the boundary between the ethnic members and others; meanwhile these traits can form a system of symbols to unite the ethnic members. This symbolic system, including race, language, region, religion, aesthetic culture patterns and the shared suffering, is not only given by birth but also learned after birth (Keyes, 1981; Yang Linghui, 1996: 5; Su Yuling, 1995: 5-8; Hsieh Shizhong, 2004b: 175.). On the other hand, when facing changes from the social environment, people will draw new ethnic boundaries of their own to strive for some social interests, privileges and status with the cultural bases. Re-forming the ethnic group can make it possible for members to unite to ask for more economic

and social supports, for example. Therefore, the ethnic identity is not only a biological and cultural product, but also a social one.

Although each has their insights into the identity formation and they seem to have much room for any overlap, the primordialist and instrumentalist senses do not lie at either side of a spectrum. Instead, they often cooperate when the ethnic identity is formed. The primordialists claim that the ethnic identity is fixed and unchanged is quite correct because the consanguinity and cultural traits indeed form the basis of individual identification with a certain ethnic group. The kinship and the shared suffering can gather some people and arouse their belongingness. On the other hand, the instrumentalist perspective should not be denied, since their insights into people's wishes for more social advantages lead to more advanced observations that when people are influenced by the social and political interests, how could they, based on the cultural traits at hand, manipulate their ethnic boundaries to recruit more cooperation to fulfill their needs? It is likely that the history and shared cultural heritage of an ethnic group can be re-written and re-interpreted in different ways, just in order to accomplish some common wishes (Kuo Qienting, 2002: 9).

Based on the comprehensive analyses of defining the ethnic group, a compromised but not vague definition can be drawn. An ethnic group means a group of people who really exist, of people who naturally get together, of people who are given the common primordial consciousness, of people who define themselves based on their subjective affection, of people who strive for common interests, and of people likely to lead the contemporary ethnic movements (Hsieh Shizhong, 1993; Quoted from Su Yuling, 1995: 16). In addition, the "dialogue between inside and outside" (Kuo Qienting, 2002: 14) which requires equal attention to influences from

the society and within the group should be emphasized as well. The support and challenge from the environment where people live too play key parts in the identity formation. Thus, although “people can define their own ethnic identities by manipulating the cultural traits inclusive of language, religion, race, region, and aesthetic cultural forms as a system of ethnic symbols to mark the differences between ethnic members and others”(Hsieh Shizhong, 2004b: 175), they are not the only one who holds the power of interpretation. The interactions between them and others enable the latter to have some impacts on drawing the ethnic boundaries. That is, the ethnic boundary is not only decided by the cultural traits, given or acquired, which the primordialists have implied, but also formed through the interaction of the ethnic members with others. When defining what an ethnic group is, “‘what the ethnic group is?’ and ‘who belongs to the ethnic group?’ should be included, [because] the former elaborates the ‘outer’ field where people interact with the nation-state and the society, while the latter the ‘inner’ field where the traditional culture functions independently” (Hsieh Shizhong, 2004c: 221) .

ii. Local examples

From the deterministic aspects of the primordialism and instrumentalism to the interactions between inner and outer forces, previous pages of discussion remind us that the formations of the ethnicity, of the ethnic group and of the ethnic identity should be examined by the influences from both the cultural traits and the social interests people long for. With this approach, several essays reflecting on the local experiences of the identity formations can be useful examples. Although they may cover different cultures and ethnic communities, their discussions reveal how the two forces mentioned above work together in the local communities.

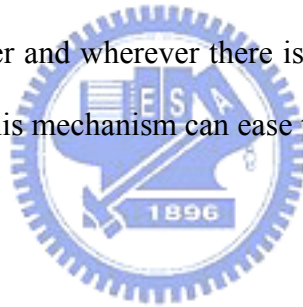
Su Yuling (1995) tries to elaborate the how the cultural traits and social interests influence the identity formations of the people in Peipu. She indicates that although the identities of Peipu people can be divided into several layers where the kinship extends everywhere as the basis of group identity, they will not be completed without considering the interactions among ethnic members. Su discovers that the shared religious ceremonies and activities become the cultural symbols to differentiate them from others, but the social and political conflicts among interest groups in Peipu also make impacts on the identity formations (78). To sum up, Su uses Hakka identity formations in Peipu to prove Abner Cohen's assertion that the subjective identifications are often emphasized as long as the social and political needs appear in the situations people have to deal with (83). The mechanism of Hakka identification comprises not only the kinship which extends to every corner, but also the striving for the social and political interests in the Peipu Hakka community.

Yang Linghwei (1996) observes that while the language along with food, clothing, taboos and the historical past as the cultural traits can theoretically form the ethnic identity, the Truku proves the language is the best to mark the boundary between the Truku and the Atayal. Moreover, although two tribes within the Truku share a lot of the common cultural traits, the kinship still plays as the line of demarcation between the two. The solid ties given by the consanguinity provide people with the basis of identification, and at the same time with the standards to recognize the group members. Furthermore, since the Taroko National Park has robbed the Truku of their lands and ways of living, the movements to strive for their social and economic rights too gathered a lot of people to speak out their rage and desires. The ethnic boundary was thus drawn in the process of social movements. All in all, Yang clearly indicates that the Truku identity formation is mutually

determined by the cultural heritage and the interests people ask for, and that the identity is a product not only of one-way assertion, but of interactions between the Truku themselves, as well as between the Truku and the Han.

Hsieh Shizhong (2004c) argues that the categorization of a certain ethnic group at least includes, for example, what the Thou is and who belongs to the Thou (221). He finds that the Lu-ju (爐主) is a special mechanism for the Thou to recognize a wife of non-Thou descent as a Thou. Lu-ju has been an important person in the ancestor memorization ceremony, since Lu-ju will read all names to the ancestors to ask for their blessings onto the family members. If a wife of a non-Thou descent acts as Lu-ju, the ceremony is endowed with another function to admit the wife to become the Thou. However, this recognizing mechanism is in fact the compromised result of the cultural traits and interest fulfillment. On the one hand, if the wife of non-Thou descent does not act as Lu-ju, her name won't be read to the Thou ancestors, let alone receive their blessings, since she is not seen as one of the family members. Only by acting as Lu-ju will this wife acquire the Thou identity and ancestors' blessings. On the other hand, the wife's acting as Lu-ju is a solution to the sense of crisis of the Thou people. For fear that the Thou will disappear when numbers of outsiders move in by marriage, the Thou think out a mechanism for these wives of non-Thou descent to acquire the Thou identity. Also due to the sense of rarity that this ceremony is held annually and that only one wife can be assimilated for each time, the Thou feel safe that even though outsiders can make use of this ceremony to become insiders, and their number won't be too great for the Thou to deal with. Moreover, as far as the wife is concerned, the ceremony also means a chance to "earn more blessings for her and her family" (225). Although Lu-ju has its own function of assimilation, it does not matter in her daily life since whether the wife acts as the Lu-ju does not erase

her original identity. A wife of Han descent, for example, won't desert her Han identity after marriage with a Thou husband, and more importantly neither will the Thou forget her Han identity. Therefore, since Lu-ju does not influence too much the life in Thou community, Lu-ju turns out to be an opportunity to "return the wishes" she has asked the Thou ancestor to fulfill. The ceremony and Lu-ju are given a function of interest accomplishments, therefore. All in all, the whole mechanism of identity formation is the result of interactions among the cultural heritage and social interests. While Lu-ju is a cultural marker for the Thou, it is a media through which some social interests can be fulfilled. Although being a wife of non-Thou won't matter much, and although the original identity of the wife still remains, Lu-ju as the mechanism of identity formation becomes "the mechanism of adjustment" (233). Whenever and wherever there is a crisis, whether it is related to identity or personal interest, this mechanism can ease the stress, with fewer changes in reality.



Based on the theories and local examples of the formation of ethnic identity, we can say both of the primordialism and the circumstantialism should be put into consideration. The cultural essence as the basis of identification usually underpins the interest pursuits in appearance. People will manipulate the cultural traits when they strive for more social, economic and political interests. In this essay, I tend to explore the role of traditions in the formation of identity, to see how they are practiced, for what purpose they are practiced, to what extent they are adapted to the present situations and the environment, and how they can help draw the ethnic boundaries.

iii. Traditions in the identity formation

Traditions have been playing a key role in the formations of the identity,

including familial identity, the identity of “a certain class” (Hobsbawm, 1983b: 283-291), and “the national identity” (Hobsbawm, 1983a: 6). Traditions in these identity formations help to solidify the family, the class and the national members. In this essay, I would like to focus on interrelationships between the ethnic identity and traditions. Hobsbawm (ibid.) provides his insights into the formation of the ethnic identity with the invention of traditions. He has been curious about the role of the past in the formation of the ethnic identity. He proposes that the traditions we have been asked to believe they were coming from a long time ago are not as natural and traditional as they look; instead, they are “invented”, and they are novel products. They are intentionally arranged, created to fulfill some kinds of social and political needs. The invented traditions are the outcomes of intentional construction, institution and repetition. Since the invented traditions are manipulated to give people senses of unity and belonging, people will thus be endowed with the responsibility for building a nation and the loyalty to it; this enthusiasm will sustain people to sacrifice their families, careers and even their lives. All in all, the invented traditions save the ties of identification with a shared past, offering the explanations of the ethnicity and the unity of the ethnic members. Hobsbawm emphasizes the intentions of people when the traditions are manipulated to interact with the world outside the ethnic group. Although the economic, social and political interests are the goals to pursue, the ethnic members still need the cultural traits as their basis of identification. In this way, inventing traditions becomes the way to produce the historical past, making use of the links between modernity and antiquity to imagine the ethnic boundary and the ethnic communities.

While Gellner (2001) tells us that the nationalism which can revive the dead language and create the traditions produces the nation-state, a smaller scale of the

collective consciousness, or the ethnicity, can be produced with the similar approaches in my opinion. Wang Mingker (1994; 1997) use the structural amnesia and the collective memory to explain the essence, the formations and the changes of the ethnic groups. He agrees with van den Berghe that the ethnic identity is the extended relationships of the kinships, and that nepotism which helps to support the primordialist sense of the identity formation establishes the basis of the identification. However, Wang does not consider this biological basis determines the ethnic identity; instead, he emphasizes what counts in the kinships is *what people believe* (my emphasis), not what the real relations are. Because of much room for man to manipulate the identification, people will intentionally forget as well remember something individually and collectively, constructing their common memories to produce the nepotism which is therefore not only biological but also social. Moreover, the “cultural nepotism” (Wang Mingker, 1994: 126; 1997: 52) will be expressed in all kinds of media. Mostly, the memories structurally forgotten and massively constructed are passed down through the folklores, the mythologies and traditions. Wang indicates that it is important to see how and why people try to preserve the memory, rather than to look into the historical past. That is, when it comes to the formations of the ethnicity, the ethnic group and the ethnic identity, we must probe into how and for what people would choose what they believe, “how an event in contemporary society becomes the social collective memory, and how the memory is created, combined and preserved with collective activities, literature and artifacts” (Wang Mingker, 1994: 134). Wang reminds us of the relationships among traditions, the formations of memories and the ethnicity. The shared past is produced in the process of forgetting and construction, and one of the media through which the historical past can be represented is tradition. Therefore, with the manipulation of traditions, the inheritances underpinned by willful selections become

the basis of the ethnic identity.

While people's desires intervene in the construction of the collective historical past of the ethnic group, the traditions leading to the ethnic identity formations may come from official "regime of memory representation" (Wang Zhihong, 2005: 11). Hsieh Shizhong (2004c) has mentioned the two forces influencing the Thou identity formations, and the traditional ceremony plays a vital role. In his other essays (2004d; 2004e; 2004f; 2004g), he shows that the indigenous traditions in Taiwan have been represented and exhibited, under the influences of the members of the ethnic communities, the academic researchers, the tourists of different ethnic descents, and the cultural affairs departments of the local and central governments. These influences imply that the traditions in the modern society would not be shown mostly in the old ways; new traditions would be produced by old ones adapting to the desires of the ethnic members, the academic researchers and the bureaucracy. No matter what they are, the textile, dance, or ceremonies, the novel traditions are understood now in a creative sense, due to the official policies and the promotion strategies. Therefore, new traditions, whether they are results of people's amnesia and construction or of official policies, preserve the ties between the present and the past for the ethnic groups and establish the cultural basis of the ethnic identification.

Zhong Yolang (1995) takes the Pazeh in Dasher region as her example to elaborate the relationships between identity formation and history in the Pingpu community. She found that different people in Dasher would take different understandings of the historical past to draw their ethnic boundaries. The legends, the folklores, the religious ceremonies, and so on are the most reliable sources for Dasher people to identify with the ancestors, but the historical heritage is interpreted

in varied ways to produce ethnic markers. Elders of the Han and the Pazeh take different viewpoints to decipher an old story, and they draw the ethnic boundaries according to the ethnic images revealed in the story. Besides, elders of the Pazeh call themselves as “Fan” with the name passed down from ancestors, while the younger Pazeh deny the “Fan” and call themselves “Pazeh” to avoid the barbarity the word “Fan” is implied in written records. Moreover, the anthropologists and historians since the Japanese rule have been trying to define what the Pazeh used to be and are now, and different perspectives bring about varied boundaries of the Pazeh. No matter how far the Pazeh can be traced to, Japanese rule or the Qing dynasty, the categorizations have been done again and again and the ethnic boundary between the Pazeh and others has been changing all the time. To sum up,

people re-construct the “past” through varied forms; the subjective consciousness, feelings and the ethnic stances oftentimes make impacts on what has been re-constructed. These re-constructions not only record the interactions between ethnic groups, but also show the contemporary ethnic relationships. (43)

Whenever an ethnic boundary is drawn, we can see the traditions or the historical past would be interpreted in several ways to satisfy all kinds of needs to define what the Pazeh is, since varied explanations of the past mean different intentions in the Pazeh identity formations. The formation of an ethnic group is a process of interactions, and traditions are where different forces tend to make impacts on. Thus, traditions are not only the media through which the historical past is passed down, but also the ethnic boundaries to categorize people.

Furthermore, Kuo Qienting (2002) takes the Amis in Tzishang as the example to discuss the interrelations between the formation of the Amis identity and traditions. She finds when the Tzishang Amis think out ways to show the harvest ceremonies of

their own, the traditions in the festivals passed down by elders become the symbolic system to classify who the Amis is and to solidify the ethnic identity of the Amis, and what matters among all traditions is the preserved traditional social hierarchy. Since the social system of age remains, the elders are respected and they give their credits to the traditions which are either passed down by them or qualified by them if any adaptations are made. With this system, although the traditions may be changed owing to the impacts from the surroundings, they can play as the mechanism to hand down the Amis cultural inheritances and to mark the boundary line between the Amis and others, because of the endorsements from the social hierarchy. The system of the age, Kuo concludes, therefore “seals the leaks between consanguinity and region categorizations” (71) to consolidate the Amis in Tzishang. In a nutshell, this social hierarchy helps the ethnic-specific ceremony to act as the identity mechanism. With the elders’ endorsements, any adaptation does not lead to less identification with the ethnic group, as far as the Amis are concerned. In face of the drastic changes outside the Amis community, the representations and exhibitions of the harvest ceremony provide opportunities for the Tzishang Amis to show who they are and what the Amis is. Traditions of the Amis in Tzishang are not only the media of cultural inheritances, but also the ethnic boundary when the cultural interactions are too prevalent to differentiate the Amis and others.

Judged from the discussions above, when we try to probe into the relationships between the ethnic identity and the traditions in the ethnic community, we should not ignore the cultural interactions among the people of different ethnic groups. The traditions influencing the ethnic identification would change their contents due to several forces from inside and outside. The religions and the customs from the neighboring ethnic groups make up the space where people fail to learn the original

traditions; the new ethnic members might have different thoughts about the old traditions when they try to present these traditions to others; the academic and official people too have their perspectives of the traditions, pushing the traditions into where the ethnic members could never imagine. What the studies mentioned above focus on is how these results of cultural interactions, or the invented traditions, could still act as the main instrument to mark the ethnic boundary. That is, although the people cross-cut the ethnic boundary, the dichotomy is still firm; people all know who they are and what ethnic group they belong to. Barth (1969a) has reminded us that “we should shift the focus of investigation from internal constitution and history of separate groups to ethnic boundaries and boundary maintenance” (10). In this essay, I tend to explore the traditions under the influences of ethnic interactions, to see how they function in the Kavaln and Ketagalan communities, and to compare how the local and cultural differences affect the influences of the traditions on the ethnic identity.

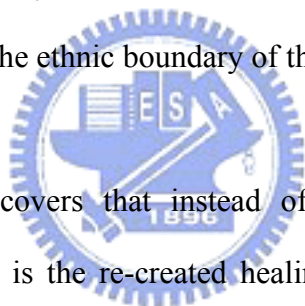


Indigenous Instances to Reflect on

i. Kavalan Xinsher

People in the Kavalan Xinsher have depended on many traits to distinguish them from others. The “Batohogan” and “Bakalavi” which were, however, changed due to the influences from the Amis still draw the boundary between the Kavalan and the Amis in Xinsher (Zhang Jenyue, 1998: 18, 119). Besides, after Jie Wanlai searched for his relatives in the homeland Yilan, the consanguinity has become a strong tie in the Kavalan ethnic boundary. In addition, the regular meetings in the ethnic community, including the Mass in the church, the harvest festivals and the ceremony “Palilin” to memorize the Kavalan ancestors in the end of the year, help to preserve

the belongingness within the ethnic group (Zheng Jingqi, 2001: 69). With these unique traits, Jiang Mengfeng (1996) indicates that the older and young generations could have kept their Kavalan identities, and the Kavalan ethnic movements were underpinned by these cultural bases, while after imploring the bases of the ethnic identification, Zheng Jingqi (2001) reminds that the changes of these traits should not be ignored (49). Many Kavalan can not speak the language, but claim their Kavalan identity; although the Kavalan identity in Xinsher and other villages was established on the consanguinity, people in these villages have been experiencing inter-ethnic marriages and the modern Kavalan are not “pure” in terms of their consanguinity (21); since some villages do not practice the ceremony and many visitors come to Xinsher to ask for joining the ceremonies, it is still a doubt whether the Palilin is so exclusive and representative as to draw the ethnic boundary of the Kavalan.



Thus, Zheng Jingqi discovers that instead of the differences of language, consanguinity and religion, it is the re-created healing ceremony “Kisaiz” that can explain the relationships between the traditions and the Kavalan identity formation. Although Kisaiz has been lost since 1950s, it has been recreated to present what the Kavalan is to others since the activity “The Night of Fengbin” was held in 1987. Moreover, due to different situations, whenever it was exhibited and represented, it was revised more or less to fulfill varied interests. Thus, Zheng concludes that

the Kavalan identity formation is through the inventions of the traditions . . . to produce new ones. This process is elaborated by taking the “Kisaiz” as the blueprint, and when the internal identity was expressed by ceremonies, the identity movement was upgraded to the official recognition while the indigenous movements were being prevalent in Taiwan. (23)

By asking what became the focus of the Kavalan identity when the language, consanguinity and religion had lost their particularities to draw the ethnic boundary,


Zheng Jingqi has clearly indicated that the revised, exhibited, re-interpreted and selected tradition by Kavalan themselves, the Kisaiz, takes the responsibility for Kavalan identifications. Even though the Kisaiz has lost its authenticity like Palilin, Bakalavi and Batohogan, it is the value to be memorized by the Kavalan that makes it the result of intentional creation and manipulation. More importantly, the recreated and mixed Kisaiz can symbolize the Kavalan who are also discovered after the neglect of many years, and who try to establish their own identity in spite of many influences from the interactions with other ethnic groups.

The Kavalan example has provided us an example to see how traditions are used to consolidate the ethnic identity and how they are invented, adapted and instituted in the ethnic movements, when reacting to the interactions with and the influences from other cultures. After looking into the Kavalan traditions I find crucial to the ethnic cultural revival movements, there will be interesting comparisons and contrasts between the Kavalan and the Ketagalan traditions. Especially they both have a “Xinsher” as their center of the cultural revival movements. Comparing the Ketagalan traditions of Xinsher in Taipei will lead us to see how all kinds of local differences affect the relationships between traditions and the formations of the ethnic identity, while the invention of these traditions of the ethnic movements is the common trait between among traditions of the respective ethnic groups.

ii. Ketagalan Xinsher

Located in the region formerly called Xandiao tribe, or “Xandiao sher”, Xinsher of the Ketagalan is one of the most active Pingpu communities striving for their ethnic identity. Based on the environmental and cultural issues, geographical differences, and historical as well as anthropological data, several ethnic boundaries defining who

the Ketagalan is have been marked in this region. The fourth nuclear power plant was planned to be erected around this region, and the Ketagalan ethnic movement was first the reaction to this nuke construction. The anti-nuke movement has been connected to the ethnic identity formation since people thought the plant would destroy the cultural inheritances of the Ketagalan. The tomb of their ancestors, the iron foundry site, and the symbolic tree would have disappeared as long as the nuclear plant would have been erected. Due to this sense of cultural crisis, people asked the government to stop the erection of nuke plant and to preserve the cultural heritages in this region. The voices from Xinsher people have attracted other people in Taiwan to notice the existence of the Ketagalan people and culture, and the Ketagalan identity has been established through interactions among people inside and outside Xinsher.



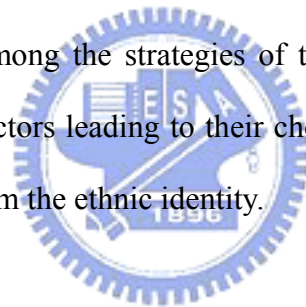
Besides, the Ketagalan boundary is as well formed in the cultural revival movements. The activists manipulated the historical and anthropological records, which entail that the place where Ketagalan ancestors landed was around the Xandiao tribe, to hold several activities like tomb-sweeping, visiting important ethnic memorial sites, chanting the ancient songs, and the language teaching (Pan Yinghai, 2003). While neglecting the linguistic evidence offered by Li Renkwei (1997) that the most linguistically diversified place is where the ethnic group originates, and that Damsui is therefore the landing cite of the Ketagalan ancestors (131), the Xinsher Ketagalan adopted the historical and anthropological data to support their beliefs and to convince others. Moreover, the Ketagalan ethnic boundary is also drawn with reference to the geographical differences. According to a local elder, she reveals that the Xinsher is the place where the Ketagalan live, while the Han people live in the Jousher which lies next to the Xinsher. An elder interviewee also comes up with the stories when the Han people immigrated into this place and then robbed many lands

of the indigenes. With the explanations from the elders, I think the Ketagalan ethnic boundary line is situated in the geographical separation, as far as the Xinsher folks are concerned. Thus, we can see how the Ketagalan have been categorized according to regional differences, the cultural revival movements, and above all the intention which made people choose what they want to agree in the pursuit of certain interests.

I have been discussing several factors influencing the formations of the Ketagalan identity. While different locations and the cultural inheritances to be saved, including cultural heritages and shared memories, have provided their powers of categorization, I want to explore the traditions in the Ketagalan cultural revival movements, which have encouraged the descendents to arouse their identification with the ethnic group and its culture. The ethnic title as a tradition has successfully drawn the ethnic boundary, because it has separated a group of people from the dominant Han ethnic group. Against the long-term ignorance and the misunderstanding, the ethnic title was proposed so that the movement enthusiasts and the descendents could establish a banner to gather more recognition from ethnic members and nonmembers. Moreover, the Ketagalan movements have been using their cultural heritages and ancient relics as the basis of the activities. The separate activities based on these old stuffs have attracted members and nonmembers to pay a visit and to be aware of the ethnic existence and culture. These symbols have triumphed in depicting a Ketagalan picture of the ancient lives. These traditions have helped the Ketagalan descendents emphasize their existence in the cultural movements, but these traditions are not as old as they seem to be. In fact, the ethnic title was a production at the beginning of the movements and the visiting tradition then a by-product as the ethnic enthusiasts changed their strategies. How these traditions are formed is relevant to the interactions among members and nonmembers,

because the purposes of these represented and exhibited traditions are to arouse the identification of the Ketagalan descendents and the recognition of the whole society. If these opinions of the Ketagalan and the non-Ketagalan upon the represented traditions can be clearly explored, we can have a fuller vision of how traditions are constructed and then influence the Ketagalan identity formation.

With varied perspectives inside and outside the ethnic group, I think the role of the traditions in the identity formation can be clearly deciphered. The ethnic group is the constructed through interactions in the society (ibid.). In both of the Kavalan and Ketagalan communities, the ethnic identity is not a process of one-way defining. Instead, it is concerned with the intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic relationships. With the comparisons and contrasts among the strategies of tradition usurpations, this thesis will elaborate the different factors leading to their choices, and what lies similarly in their traditions which help form the ethnic identity.



Brief Structure of the Thesis Paper

This essay will be divided mainly into four parts. The first part includes the introduction of the thesis and the literature reviews. The introduction will elaborate the basic ideas of this essay, and the literature reviews will provide the basis of whole discussion when the issues of ethnicity, ethnic groups, and ethnic identity formation are concerned.

Then the second part will focus on the Kavalan identity formation, and the role of traditions in the identity formation. The traditions of language education, artistic performance and religious consolidation as strategies in the ethnic cultural revival

movements will be our foci. Since the field studies and data of the Kavalan culture and its ethnic movement are quite abundant, this thesis will take the information at hand as the primary sources, but the interviews with the Kavalan people and others in the neighboring regions are as well important for more detailed explorations.

The third part includes the comprehensive examinations of the Ketagalan culture and its ethnic movements. Also, the role of the traditions is our main concern. This thesis is likely to explore the opinions from ethnic members and nonmembers when they faced the traditions proposed by the movement activists; therefore, the interviews will play a huge part in the discussion, since the information at hand put more emphasis on the historical researches of the Ketagalan and on the introduction of the cultural events in the cultural revival movements, but less on the individual feelings about the ethnic movements. With more detailed studies in these people's opinions in response to the traditions of ethnic title, visiting cultural heritages and relics, and the separate labor of ethnic identity striving, we can have a different but clear picture of the developments of the Ketagalan cultural revival movements.

The final part will cover the comparisons between the ethnic movements in two Xinshers of the Kavalan and the Ketagalan. Through the comparisons and contrasts, it is interesting to note how people react to the individual cultural movements of different cultural backgrounds. These contrasts and comparisons will help us to know better the attitudes of the ethnic members and others around them.

Chapter Two

Kavalan:

Traditions as Movement Strategies

in a Culturally Well-Preserved Ethnic Group

Introduction

The forefathers of the Kavalan descendents in Hualien Xinsher had lived in Yilan Plains before they migrated into Hualien. Owing to the Han robbery of the lands on the plains, some of these forefathers migrated into the Karewan Plains which was named after one of the tribes on the Yilan Plains and which is now located near the Hualien airport. After many conflicts with the local Amis and migrating Hans, these forefathers chose to move south to where their descendents live now. Other ancestors escaping the poverty then went to these newly-moved places as well (Taiwan Committee for Documents and Archives, 1999: 235-7). Situated at the peripheral area of this island, the Kavalan people in Xinsher could still have preserved some of their living styles, while the modern life and the Amis culture have been influential forces. Moreover, since one of the movement activists searched for people whose first name is the same as his and who might be Kavalans in late 1980s, the cultural revival movements have begun to look for and preserve the remaining Kavalan culture as the means for cultural exhibition and the identifiable symbols. So, we can say the Kavalan is an ethnic group where the ethnic culture is well-preserved, and how traditions have functioned in such an ethnic group and its cultural revival movements is the focus of this chapter.

In this chapter, I would like to elaborate on the traditions the Kavalan have been carrying out in their cultural survival movements. Some of these traditions claim the historical continuity with past as the legitimate evidence to be the Kavalan; the others support the formation of the ethnic boundaries and of the Kavalan ethnicity. I will put emphases on the Kavalan language education which has been practiced for a long time, the songs and dances they have been practicing in the festivals and the invited performances, and on the religious tradition which has been playing as a spiritual strength while the Kavalan there have been reviving their culture. These Kavalan traditions have been not only passed from one generation to another, but also invented and instituted in order to fit in the miscellaneous needs in their movements. Along with the processes of invention and institution have been going the interactions within the Kavalan in Xinshen, and between outsiders and the ethnic members. After examining each of these traditions, we will find these traditions are not as given as they seem; the ethnic boundaries are the consequences of a series of producing, constructing, instituting and interchanging. These traditions are not as arbitrarily self-claiming as they appear; on the other hand, they are the negotiated results in which multilateral influences take and give in some advantages to strike a balance.

Language Education and Word-makers' Authorities

As far as the Pingpu are concerned, the Kavalan language is the most well-preserved language among all (Zheng Jingqi, 2001: 15). Not only many words are saved and passed from their ancestors, but also most of the people in Xinshen can still speak the language. However, every language must deal with the impacts from novel changes in the modern society, and the Kavalan language is no exception. The Kavalan have to produce novel vocabulary to describe the new things around them.

New terms here are often made by a group of people through long discussions, produced with vivid imaginations. The consequences of creativity would be put in the textbooks of the mother tongue education. Therefore, the linguistic traditions of the Kavalan Xinsher mean not only repeated practices of their mother tongue, but also systematic productions of the language and an effective institution through the compulsory education in the Xinsher Primary School. Moreover, the process of producing and instituting the Kavalan language is an interchange between people inside and outside the ethnic group. This reminds us that what counts in discussions of linguistic traditions as the ethnic boundaries is not what words are originally passed from their ancestors while others are invented, but how these words are produced and practiced to maintain the ethnic boundaries of the Kavalan.

i. Language education as a tradition

One of the active advocates in Kavalan Xinsher, who is also my interviewee, has explained why and how they would stress the teaching of their mother tongue. First, a sentence of a passage in the magazine he has read long time ago reminded him of the importance of preserving the mother tongue. The sentence goes that if the language of an ethnic group disappears, people in the world can not compensate for this loss.³ Second, a famous linguist from Japan, Tsujida Shigeru, came to Xinsher to meet my interviewee, and encouraged him to preserve the Kavalan language.

³ Although my interviewee could not offer the exact reference of the sentence, I have found a similar view post on a web page. It was said that a linguist pronounced in an international Linguistic conference in 1992 that “the disappearance of any one of the languages in the world will not be compensated for, as far as the whole mankind is concerned. Owing to this, we hope that UNESCO can respond to our urgent appeals as follow. For those endangered and dying languages which have not been studied or fully recorded until now, the linguistic research intitutes should be encouraged and sponsored to keep records of them, establishing the grammar, dictionary, and historical records of these languages. The recording of the oral literature is included as well.” Please refer to Yang Yunyen, “Taiwanese Languages: on the policies of mother tongue and relevant problems.” <<http://203.64.42.21/iug/Ungian/Chokphin/iankang/TOgugianchengchhek/TOgugianchengchhek.htm>>.

Therefore, with the warnings from the magazine and the researcher, he started to learn the mother tongue with the elders in the tribe. It took him three years to master the Kavalan language. Moreover, the principal of the local primary school also encouraged him to teach their kids the mother tongue. The principal had been staying in schools of different ethnic groups, including the Amis, the Bunun, and the Truku. While he was assigned to Xinsher Primary School and then knew there was no course to teach the Kavalan language, he was surprised that when the Kavalan people still existed, the extinction of their language was around the corner. Not reconciled with others' ignorance, he asked my interviewee to teach kids there, in order to preserve the language and the ethnic group. Furthermore, the local governments helped to subsidize the edition and publication of the textbooks. So, the language teaching has been put into practice since 1991. With the financial support, the enthusiasm of the advocates and the participation of the folks, the Kavalan language education has been so successful that almost the kids in Xinsher can speak the mother tongue privately with their grandparents and publicly give a speech in the contest. Carefully examining the whole process, the interactions among people are very crucial when it comes to the promotion of the Kavalan language education as a tradition. Neither the determination of the enthusiasts, nor the wishful thinking from the academic researchers, nor the abundant financial assistances from bureaucracy could solely promise the construction and repetitive practices of the Kavalan language education. Only when the language education is seen as the consequence of these multilateral, exchanging forces will we be fully aware of the formation and maintenance of this tradition as an ethnic boundary.

ii. Language production as a tradition

The other tradition in the language education, which helps maintain the ethnic

boundary, is the process of producing teaching materials. After examining the whole process, the interactions among people will be found to maintain this tradition of producing language. There were four key people of the cultural revival movements in Xinsher, and all of them have been responsible for editing the teaching materials. When there are vocabularies which do not exist in the Kavalan language, they choose to produce new words with their vivid imaginations, rather than to borrow the foreign expressions. For instance, since there is no exact word to describe “baseball” in Kavalan language, these word producers thought out a compound word which combined the “pomelo” with the action of hitting, instead of using “bangqio” or “yakiu”. Still, they have produced words related to vehicle with a root “gaidun”. Therefore, the bike will be the action of pedaling plus “gaidun”; the motorcycle the action of revving plus “gaidun”; the train the image of fire burning plus “gaidun”, and the bus the action of puffing the smoke out of the tail pipe plus “gaidun”. However, these four language producers did not always reach agreements when words were produced; there were usually arguments of whether the words should be invented with borrowing from the foreign expressions or with their imaginations and life experiences. However, a language maker who owned a better academic training background always took advantages and authorities of making new words. In addition, as far as the local parents and grandparents are concerned, their kids must learn the new words from the textbooks these four language makers edited, and they would have doubts about why these new words were produced with imaginations and life experiences. However, they seem to have been satisfied with and fond of the creative productions, according to my interviewee. Their approvals did not hinder, but support the language teaching in Kavaln Xinsher. Furthermore, approximately two and half years ago, the teaching materials of mother tongue education were unified and the Ministry of Education took the control. Under the new policy, the

Kavalan language makers could not write and edit as they wished. Instead, what they had to do was to translate the standardized sentences given by the academic researchers. For example, the language makers should write a Kavalan translation of the sentence “Our people go to catch fish and share with their relatives and friends” (Jie Wanlai *et al.*, 2005: 1). After more-than-ten-year efforts, the mother tongue education gained more attention from the central government, but the local people lost the authority of planning what to teach. Despite the lost, however, the local people compromised and kept the language going on. All in all, we can say the tradition of producing language teaching materials by a monopoly of four enthusiasts has been formed and maintained by the efforts of themselves, by the satisfactory evaluations from other ethnic members and, to some extent “disturbed”, by the government policy. Although this tradition of language production does not entail any boundary to decipher ethnic members and nonmembers, the interactions among people to maintain the tradition are the crucial factor when it comes to the formation of the tradition. Besides, although there have been many inner and outer influences, the language production has still gone to the four enthusiasts, and what has changed under these influences is the extent to which these language producers can control. Some members might challenge; bureaucracy might intervene, but the dichotomy between the language producers and non-producers remains. Therefore, aside from the interactions among people which make the tradition of the language production possible, this phenomenon of cross-cutting the boundary without changing the dichotomy should not be ignored, since the latter explains why the boundary persists while multilateral forces have been intervening the tradition formation.

Fishman (1996) has proposed that since “ethnicity is experienced as a guarantor of the eternity” (63), it should be recognized in reality. People can touch it, feel it,

and relate themselves to their ancestors with a tangible link. For Fishman, the language is the very link by which the being, doing and knowing of the ethnicity can be better experienced. The existence of the Kavalan ethnic group can be tangibly experienced when people speak their mother tongue which is different from the Amis and the Hans inside and outside Xinsher. Besides, the ethnic doings like songs, chants, rituals, jokes, and riddles are the means for the Kavalan members to “preserve, confirm, and augment collective identities” (65), and these means should be realized through the use of the Kavalan language. Furthermore, the cultural wisdom derived from the ethnic being and doing can be transmitted through the Kavalan language, since “any other mode of expression would be inadequate, shallow, and self-limiting in expressing the treasures that need to be enjoyed and sensed” (66). The knowing of the Kavalan, or the traditional Kavalan intelligence, is thus passed down and then used by the Kavalan to unite more people to identify the ethnic group. Judging from Fishman’s observations, we can furthermore realize the reasons why the Kavalan would make a lot of efforts to teach their children their mother tongue. The language is the medium on which the self-identity of the ethnic group can be noticed, the cultural activities can be held, and the traditional expertise can be inherited. Even though the linguistic differences neither arbitrarily determine which an ethnic group people belong to, nor definitely promise the sufficient fixation of an individual member onto an ethnic group (Balibar, 1996: 164-8),⁴ the functions of the language to express the being, doing, and knowing of the ethnicity are worthy of people’s

⁴ Balibar has elaborated the reason why a language community is not sufficient to produce ethnicity. He thinks the linguistic construction of an ethnic group is quite “open”, and it fails to deal with the new acquisitions of the group members. Even though people cannot choose their mother tongue, they can learn other languages and turn to the bearers of the new languages. In face of these deviations, the original ethnic group can do nothing but to naturalize the linguistic multiplicity. It is a common phenomenon for the second and following generations, since the mother tongue of the individual generation differs from each other. The mother tongue of a single generation is not the “real” mother; the deciphering power of the original speech community does not last longer so enough as to guarantee the identity of the future generations.

never-ending interactions on the language education.

Artistic Performances and Artists' Authorities

The cultural exhibition of an ethnic group is quite an often-seen means for establishing and claiming a boundary between the group members and others. However, the process of construction of the ethnic boundary is not just an intra-ethnic-group interaction, but an inter-ethnic-group one as well. Kuo Qienting (2002) has proved in her essay with the Amis in Tzishang that

the group members who have similar living experiences, who are inherited from the same elders, and who are aroused their historical emotions by performing these traditions, decipher themselves from others in these cultural exhibitions, accepting these symbols as the indexes of the ethnic identity. (74)

The Amis in these cultural performances maintain the ethnic boundary not only by performing traditions, but also by sharing their own opinions concerning how traditions should be shown, though the elders take advantages and authorities of interpretations. The maintenance of the ethnic boundary with traditions should therefore been seen as a dynamic process, requiring participations within the group. Besides, the ethnic boundary in terms of traditions is also preserved by the interactions of people inside and outside the ethnic group. The Taiwan indigenous people have been used to performing their cultures to others. The profits from tourism, the government policies, and the opportunities for introducing themselves to the nonmembers have been the main reasons why they would strive for performing their own traditions. Despite the audiences of different needs, the interactions between actors/ actresses and audiences are an inevitable factor during their performances are made and revised. Xie Shihzhong (2004b) has elaborated an

example from a Daiyan tribe where only few traditions are preserved, but people there still produce the “cultural exoticism” (175) to attract the tourists. While the tourists come to Wulai for the “authentic indigenosity” (180), the local indigenes and tourism industry try hard, cooperating with each other, to produce the authenticity of the indigenous culture, which the tourists visiting Wulai hope to see. The negotiations often entail that the tourists fulfill their curiosities and the local people solve their economic difficulties. Moreover, other than the commercial relationships, Xie Shizhong (2004d) has indicated that the authenticity of the indigenous culture is the consequences of the interchange between the material feedbacks from audiences and the non-material ones from performers. The traditions in the cultural parks of Nanto and Pintung County mentioned in this essay would be re-invented, re-interpreted and revised partly because of the audiences’ predetermined stances towards the indigenous culture, and partly because of the oscillations of the indigenous performers between traditionalism and profitability. Furthermore, the traditional culture would be influenced by the dynamic interactions between people and policies. Xie Shihzhong (2004e) as well has provided examples that explain the previous predominant role of government policies to define how traditional culture is represented with the advantages of subsidies, and the recent turnover which enables the indigenes to decide what to perform with the annually-guaranteed budget from the local and central governments. If the cultural exhibitions of a single tribe are put in the chronological order, we will see a tug-of-war between the policies and people; while the former took the lead in controlling the traditions before 1980, the latter retrieved their dominance after 1980 when the annual budget itself became a tradition, too. All in all, no matter what relationships the struggles for the representation authority of traditions are involved in, both of the intra-group interchanges and the dynamic interactions between the group members and non-members can lead us to

analyze the formations of traditions as the ethnic boundaries. As far as the Kavalan traditions of artistic performances are concerned, the negotiations within the ethnic group and the interactions with people outside the group have been much more prominent, and these interesting processes require our notice and careful investigations.

i. Dances and songs as artistic traditions

The dances and songs of the Kavalan are presented as the ethnic boundaries, since whenever there are opportunities of self-introduction, the Kavalan often choose these artistic performances to exhibit their culture. Nevertheless, these performances are not as given as they may seem; they are the results of intentional construction and institution as well as of the interactions between the Kavalan and the non-Kavalan. As far as the dances and songs are concerned, they are frequently performed by the folks in the harvest festivals and the invited activities. The dances and songs are produced by a local reverend and a group of elders. With their memories, the traditional art performances were constructed and then instituted in every opportunity of self-introduction. However, the invention of these traditions is not a one-way production; it requires the Kavalan folks' mutual reflections on and the different audiences' reactions to these artistic performances.

Since 1987, the local Kavalan have been focusing on the artistic performances, composing many songs and dances for the invited performances and the harvest festivals. In 1987, several elders gathered and picked up the pieces of the songs they hardly remembered, in order to make songs presented in the cultural activity "The Night of Fengbin". Meanwhile, some elders composed several dances as well, combining them with the songs for people to practice before the activity. Therefore,

although the time had been a rush, the Kavalan in Xinsher still made it with a successful show of their traditional culture.⁵ Moreover, the activity “The Return to the Homeland” in 1991 again pushed them to produce more songs and dances. However, they needed different songs, since the reunion of the Kavalan should be accompanied by joys; the previously-produced songs for ceremonies and other traditional songs turned out to be inappropriate. Thus, the elders again produced new songs, but with Amis melodies and the religious hymns. The former would, for example, be adapted to sing the miserable destiny of the Kavalan ancestors—We were living in Yilan/ But wandered to Hualien for better living chances/ Today we are happy to return home; the latter would be used to describe the characteristics of the Kavalan—The Kavalan are happy and carefree. So, in order to fulfill different purposes, the song composers have thought out novel ways to exhibit the traditional culture. From then on, the Kavalan people continued to compose new songs and dances, and they published these works publicly to let more people familiarize the Kavalan culture. Until now, there have been more than 30 songs and ten dances composed.

In terms of the successful achievements of the artistic performances, the supports within and outside the ethnic group are very crucial. Whenever the Kavalan in Xinsher were invited to perform their dances and songs, some of the Amis in Xinsher would participate in the performances as well. Perhaps some of the songs and dances were combined with the Amis artistic traditions, so it would make little difference for the Amis there to dance and sing like the Kavalan. Interestingly,

⁵ Although the authorities concerned wanted to choose one of the participants to perform in the activity, each of the teams had such great performances that every one of the competitors was elected to go to Taipei to present their artistic achievements. This activity “The Night of Fengbin” was so important that it could be seen as the beginning of the collective awakening of the Kavalan.

although they joined the cultural revival movements of the Kavalan, they still did not think they are Kavalan; instead, despite the frequent interactions among people of these two ethnic groups, the ethnic boundary remains. Besides, during the recent years, this creativity has spread to other Kavalan tribes; the Zhangyuan and Litek tribes have been under the movement leaders' guidance to produce dances and songs. These emergent tribes were even responsible for the performance in the Yilan Green Expo in 2005, replacing the Xinsher Kavalan to exhibit the ethnic culture, but they were still representing the whole group. Therefore, we can see the artistic traditions that be they influenced by the government policies or oriented from the spontaneous creations, the Kavalan people keep producing these artistic performances, repetitively practicing and instituting their works whenever there are chances to show them. Furthermore, influenced by the negotiations and cooperation within the ethnic group, and by the outer supports from people inside and outside the ethnic group, the Kavalan artistic traditions have been maintained as the ethnic boundaries in the process of interchanging of the multilateral impacts. The members might have their own choices and reasons, deciding whether they take part in or reject the activities the movement leaders have held (Zheng Jingqi, 2001: 18, 65), while people outside the tribe or the ethnic group would be zealous to participate in the movements. The dances and songs were performed in peaceful, joyful ways, but the formation processes of these performances have not been as peaceful as they seem; the negotiations and interactions of the multilateral forces have presented violent struggles on the various interpretations of the Kavalan dances and songs.

ii. Production of the artistic performances as a tradition

The other tradition in the Kavalan artistic performances is the authoritative productions from the group of composers of the songs and dances. Similar to the

productions of the new vocabulary, the productions of dances and songs were also led by the several elders in the tribe. They made efforts to revive the traditional artistic performances by consulting the elders despite how little they might remember, creating the suitable performances to present in specific occasions, encouraging people in other tribes to use their creativity to produce more dances and songs (Zheng Jingqi, 2001: 62), and publishing their performances to gain more recognition. However, their enthusiasm did not entail satisfaction from every member. When they started to produce songs and dances, some people in the tribe interrogated the validity of their creations. Some would try to revise the performances these leaders had made, adding more Amis styles of art (Zheng Yijun, 2003a: 84). Although being interrogated and challenged, these leaders still spent more time convincing others, and they little by little gained others' respect and admiration. Therefore, the works of their creativities could have been kept and practiced, and we can say their authorities have been established through their diligence and enthusiasm, the compromise of some ethnic members, and the zealous participations of the folks in the cultural activities. This tradition of the authority of creative productions, however, can not persist solely with any one of the influences mentioned above. It is the dynamic interchanges among these three influences that have made this tradition of the authoritative art production possible. Although its orientation belongs to an individual level, the ethnicity is the product of collective representations of a group and of social constructions inscribed onto the minds of the ethnic members through successive socialization.

They [traditions] might have originated in the mind of one individual, a leader, artist, or prophet, but once they are externalized and adopted by a group they become collective and objective, assume an existence of their own, so to speak, and confront the individual from the outside, constraining them,

giving expression to his uncertain feelings, and exerting pressure on him to conform. (Cohen, 1981: 322)

The simple idea of a single enthusiast would not be well-known and promoted, were it not for the inter-personal interactions. Furthermore, only when the dynamic interactions are the key to the tradition will not the artistic performances die with these elders. There will be another group of producers, but similarly the group will not predominate; the dynamic strength of maintaining the tradition of the authoritative as well as creative productions can promise more dances and songs of the Kavalan in the future.

Collectivity to Unify People

When it comes to the primordial ties of ethnicity, Clifford Geertz (1996) has put religion as one of his foci, along with assumed blood ties, race, language, region and custom. The Indian and Philippine examples he offers remind us of the ethnic differences stemmed from heterogeneous religious beliefs. In India, people believing in Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam would identify themselves respectively with people of the same religion; Islamic believers in Philippines know well the invisible boundary between the Catholics and them. Moreover, what is often emphasized is not merely the differences among religious men, but also the conflicts among them. The conflicts of political and social interests due to the religious differences have been prevalent in India and Philippines. In Taiwan, however, although the all kinds of religions here have too separated people into several groups, these gaps do not lead to social and political conflicts among people. The local religions on the island sometimes cooperate with each other to console people when there are disastrous, catastrophic events. Therefore, we can see an interesting

paradoxical tradition, which denotes that the deciphering strength of religions may turn to be an inclusive power. People know well the religious inconsistencies among them, but they tend to think out a larger collectivity to neutralize the deviances within people. What pushes them to reconcile might be a common goal related to the developments of their ethnic group. However, what is the common goal, how and why do people negotiate? Other than working out a medium of consolation together or fulfilling a shared interest, are there any other explanations of the religious reconciliations? All of these require our advanced research, and the investigation of the Kavalan people in Xinsher offers us quite a different answer.

In the Kavalan ethnic movements, the collectivity to unify people of heterogeneous backgrounds is so vital that the differences in, for instance, religions can be neutralized or respected to recruit more participants. On the one hand, before the folks start to attend the invited performances, the reverends, who are also my interviewees in Kavalan Xinsher, will lead the participants to pray. With the grace from God, they feel secure and more determined to realize their wishes. On the other hand, they would ask another leader of the movements who is neither a Catholic nor a Christian to hold traditional religious ceremony as the spiritual support. This collectivity, which thus has become a tradition in the cultural revival movements, comprises not only the intentional constructions and repeated practices, but also the negotiations among these religious people.

Even though there are several different religions or sects in the tribe, the religious people don't reject the participations of the people of various beliefs in the cultural revival activities. On the contrary, the ethnic movements have gathered and united people of different religions or sects because there have been a more vital goal

to fulfill. My interviewee has told me that there should be no boundary among religions in his opinion, and indeed the Kavalan there have been tolerant of the religious differences. Before people set off to the invited performances or before some of the members edit the textbooks of the mother tongue education, for example, they would ask my interviewee who believes in Christianity to lead people to pray, hoping the God to give them more strength. Although some members are Catholics, partly due to the advantage of the willful style of Christian praying, and partly due to the Catholic imitation of the Christian ways of praying, people can pray like Christians for more strength from God at any place, time, and occasion. Moreover, for the non-believers of westerner religions, the spiritual strength would not be absent. They often ask their ancestors to protect them by dropping water with their hands to the floors around them while saying their wishes. Therefore, despite the religious differences, the collectivity brought out by the neutralization of and respect for various ways of praying has become a tradition for the Kavalan people in Xinsher, and oftentimes we can see different ways of praying co-exist before their cultural revival activities. When struggling for their official recognition for instance, without the insistence on the heterogeneous religious rules, the Kavalan there have established a tradition of more solid support, which breaks the religious prejudices within people and helps maintain the ethnic boundaries between the Kavalan and nonmembers.

When it comes to traditions and religions, most people would think of the Palilin, Sasbo, the Patohogan, the Kisaiz and the Pakalavi as the prominent ethnic boundaries.⁶ The collectivity in which religious elements are involved I have looked

⁶ Palilin is a ceremony of worshiping the Kavalan ancestors. It is usually held several days before the Lunar New Year. Sasbo is the worship ceremony of the Kavalan ancestors and the elves living in the ocean. It is usually held at the beach near the tribe during the time from the early spring to the summer. Batohogan is a ceremony in which the witch helps the people who were just dead to disconnect the relationship between them and their families, and then to send the dead to the place

into in his chapter, nevertheless, is a tradition as well, but it is seldom mentioned. The western religions have been the menaces of the local religion, but paradoxically they have cooperated in the cultural revival movements and they have turned to a conglomerate of religious strength to recruit more people. Although this strength would not suffice to distinguish the Kavalan from the non-Kavalan, this tradition of human organization has been more closed to the cultural revival movements and to the daily lives of the Kavalan. As mentioned before, the actions of praying before activities of the movements have turned out to be a symbolically indispensable means for the local people. It not only crosses the religious differences, but also gathers more people to join the movements and to strive for the Kavalan identity with confidence and determination. Thus, I think as far as the traditions in the Kavalan cultural revival movements are concerned, the tradition of the collectivity to unify people can not be ignored but worthy of our further investigations.



Summary

With the discussions of the Kavalan language education, the Kavalan dances and songs, and the unified collectivity of people, we can be fully aware of their important roles in the Kavalan cultural revival movements--these traditions have drawn or helped to draw the ethnic boundaries between the Kavalan and others. Although they would be classified as the primordial ties when it comes to the reasons why

where the Kavalan ancestors have gone to after death. Similar to Batohogan, Kisaiz is not held regularly, but according to the time when young girls are sick and whether exorcism is permitted by the ancestors. It is a healing ceremony conducted by a group of female witches. After being cured by Kisaiz, the girls are qualified to become witches. They can start to learn the art of healing and witchcraft. After these girls begin their lessons, they have to attend Bakalavi which can be seen as the training courses. However, Bakalavi is an exclusive healing ceremony for witches, and it is held regularly during the late summer and early fall. Palilin, Batohogan and Kisiaz are the most well-preserved and frequently held Kavalan religious ceremonies, but they have been changed to the different extent. For more details about these religious traditions, refer to Zhang Jenyue, 1998; Bauki Anao, 1999; Zheng Jingqi, 2001.

certain people would think they belong to the same ethnic group, these traditions are not as given as they claim. They, instead, are the consequences of producing, constructing, and instituting by the people of an ethnic group. More importantly, the willful intentions from the Kavalan won't make these traditions complete; while the traditions are put into repetitive practices, like rituals, as the ethnic boundaries, there always emerge multilateral forces which directly and indirectly help to maintain the lines established between the Kavalan and the non-Kavalan.

Although the Kavalan language is one of the well-preserved Pingpu languages, the Kavalan still put the language education of their mother tongue as the first priority. It has become a tradition to emphasize the language education, with assistances from the group members, the movement enthusiasts, and the outer supports. The tradition of teaching mother tongue would not be possible without the interactions of these influences. In addition, the tradition of the authoritative production has been as well maintained by the interactions within the ethnic group, and between the members and non-members. When it would be a common thing for people of a language to produce new terms for adaptations to the social changes, the Kavalan language has been enriched exclusively by a group of elderly people. The arbitrary but vivid imaginations from these people have added a lot of new words into the Kavalan language. Though being challenged by other group members and rid of their total control of the writing teaching materials, the authority of deciding what the Kavalan language is still goes to the small group of elders and enthusiasts. Judged from the instances in language teaching, we can say therefore the traditions of language education would not be successful in determining and helping to determine who belongs to the Kavalan, if we miss the perspective of the interchanges among people.

The artistic performances in the Kavalan Xinsher are identical with the linguistic traditions. The dances and songs are produced to draw the ethnic boundary and they are composed by a certain group of elders, too. These traditions not only have been constructed, instituted and repetitively practiced, but also have persisted owing to the multilateral influences. Although the creative productions and the authorities of the composers might be challenged, these Kavalan traditions not only have been successfully set up but also have aided to revive the indigenous identity and culture, through never-ending negotiations and interactions.

As to the collectivity to unify people in the Kavalan Xinsher, it also turns to be tradition crucial to the cultural revival movements. Instead of segregating people into several groups, this collectivity to neutralize the deviances among western religions has quite successfully gathered more people of different sects to attend the activities of the revival of the Kavalan culture. Moreover, this unifying tradition has not excluded the traditional religion. The prayer to ask for help from the Kavalan ancestors has been also tolerant and practiced in the meantime. Thus, we can say the Kavalan cultural revival movements have been assisted not only by the tradition of revised religious ceremonies, but also, more importantly, by the one of the unifying power which crosses the boundaries of different sects and religions. While the collectivity to unify people implies a process of producing and ritualized practices, the way how the Kavalan have interacted to maintain the encompassing magic of the tradition should not be ignored.

Chapter Three

Ketagalan:

Traditions as Movement Strategies

in a Culturally-Vacuous Ethnic Group

Introduction

The Ketagalan Xinsher is a community near where the legendary ancestors landed this island. It is said by these Ketagalan descendents that their ancestors came from “Sanasai”, and after a long sailing, they chose to live along the coast. These forefathers, however, were expelled to where the Xinsher tribe is located owing to the Han immigration to the eastern Taiwan and owing to the attacks from local gangsters in the mountains. After their moving into the new place, however, the economic robberies did not end. The fields originally belonging to the indigenes were being taken by the Han immigrants who cheated the Ketagalan people to sign disadvantageous contracts and dumped some dirty materials to make the Ketagalan people discard their lands, according to my interviewees. Furthermore, the economic oppression even has been aggravated when the Nuclear Plant was to build in the neighborhood. The construction would not only take lands away from and harm the health of the local folks, but also destroy the cultural heritages and relics proving the ethnic existence of the Ketagalan people. Since the ethnic culture has been long deprived due to the cultural and economic assimilations, if the Ketagalan descendents had not been aware of the significance of these heritages and relics, not merely the culture would have remained vacuous, but also the splendid Ketagalan culture and civilization would have been forgotten for good. Therefore, no longer

tolerating the economic and cultural menaces, the Ketagalan descendents began to preserve and revive their culture in 1994. Contrary to the culturally well-preserved Kavalan culture, the Ketagalan people had to face a vacuous ethnic culture. Although the vacuum seems to hinder the knowledge of the Ketagalan culture, it also opens much room for heterogeneous explanations and interpretations. Our foci in this chapter are therefore the ways how the Ketagalan descendents have invented and manipulated traditions in such a different condition.

As far as the Ketagalan traditions are concerned, the way the ethnic members worship their ancestors, the coral current, the releasing of the “tiendeng”, the ritual of crossing the fire to cleanse bodies, etc. used to be the primary symbols to differentiate the Ketagalan and others. However, after the enormous immigration and invasion of the Han people into the northern Taiwan, the traditional Ketagalan culture changed a lot. Be their culture assimilated or appropriated by the dominant Han culture, the ethnic boundary stemmed from indigenous traditions turned out too vague to tell who the Ketagalan people are. Therefore, if we want to elaborate the ethnic dichotomy brought about by the differences in traditions nowadays, the perspective of “cultural tradition” provided by Pan Yinghai (2001: 225-8) can denote the traditions in the Ketagalan cultural revival movements. In this chapter, the title of the ethnic group, the cultural heritages, and the separated striving for ethnic identity will be my foci. These traditions are the results not only of producing and instituting, but also of the mutual maintenance by the people inside and outside the ethnic group.

These consequences arising from a series of processes and interactions among people turn out to be traditions of the Ketagalan culture and their cultural revival movements. When asked to prove their ethnic identity, the legends of the Ketagalan

ancestors about where they landed, lived and were buried would be the frequently mentioned evidences to present the nexus between the Ketagalan ancestors and the people who now live in the former cites of the Ketagalan tribes. These evidences are not merely the claims the Ketagalan descendents themselves lay to; these traditions acquire their authorities through the nonmembers' participations in and endorsements of the activities as well. Therefore, although the self-assertions or the "awakening" are an important beginning of the cultural revival movements, the traditions as the ethnic boundaries would not be made complete without the mutual interactions between the Ketagalan and the non-Ketagalan. Moreover, the intra-ethnic interactions also play a crucial role when it comes to the production, institution and mutual maintenance of the ethnic boundaries. Indeed, taking these two aspects into considerations, it would make more detailed and convincing the discussions on the Ketagalan traditions in their cultural revival movements.



Title of the Ethnic Group

The reason why the tradition of the title "Ketagalan" arouses my attention is the similar transformation of the ethnic title in two Xinsher tribes. Zhan Sujuen and Zhang Subin (2001) has indicated that originally the Kavalan descendents in Hualien had called themselves and had been called as Karewan, and they as well had been recorded as Karewan by the researchers. However, in order to arouse more recognition and participation, they changed to use the term "Kavalan" to describe themselves. Therefore, we now often hear the Kavalan descendents call themselves Kavalan rather than Karewan. With this novel adoption of the ethnic title, these Karewan people not only emphasized the migration process of their ancestors, but also connected themselves to the assimilated Kavalan people in Yilan Plains. This

link would strategically help the Karewan people or Kavalan people in Hualien mobilize more people to support their search for ethnic identity and cultural revival movements (84-5). With the Kavalan example to reflect on, we can find out the Ketagalan people have been experiencing the same process of transformation. For the people who live in the Ketagalan Xinsher or who visit the tribe, “Yunjumin”, the indigenes, or “Fan”, the barbarians have been the nominal tradition. The ethnic title “Ketagalan” we always think of is seldom mentioned in their daily conversations. Even the activists of the movements in Ketagalan Xinsher would say “Yunjumin” and “Ketagalan” intermittently to refer their people. The ethnic title Ketagalan therefore can be seen as a strategic makeshift in the movements, as the term “Kavalan” has played in the Kavalan movements. Though not overwhelmingly influential as the term “Kavalan”, the ethnic title “Ketagalan” in the Ketagalan cultural revival movements has been used frequently, and it has become a nominal tradition. Considering gaps among these nominal usages, namely “Yunjumin”, “fan” and “Ketagalan”, the first part of the discussions of the Ketagalan traditions in the cultural revival movements will center on the way how the ethnic title “Ketagalan” has been used as a tradition and how it has persisted as an effective ethnic boundary.

When the ethnic movements began in 1994 after the Ketagalan heritages had been discovered, the ethnic enthusiasts and the researchers tried to decide the title to call the indigenes. There were controversies over this nomination. While the academic opinions advised the historical term “Basay”, which was once the name of the people in the northern Taiwan good at fishing, trading and navigation, the ethnic members persisted in the combination of “keta” and “galan”, since the former refers to the sacred name of the ethnic group and the latter “connecting” which also implies the confederation the Ketagalan had built long time ago. Not conciliated with the

academic advices, the ethnic members took the advantages of the final result of this naming process. Moreover, without a successful institution would not this ethnic title be prevalent in our society. On March 1996, after advised by the ethnic members and the researchers, the Taipei City Government renamed the road before the Presidential Hall as the Ketagalan Boulevard, and the Ketagalan were allowed to send their representative to the Indigenous Peoples Commission of the Taipei City Government (Zhen Shuyue, 1994: 14-5). With the renaming and counseling instituted in the bureaucracy, the ethnic title “Ketagalan” does not merely exist in the historical and anthropological references; it went into people’s lives, no matter what ethnic identity every one has, and became a must people took into consideration when it comes to studying the history of the northern Taiwan. People, including students and interested researchers, have established many web cites to introduce the Ketagalan culture in their neighborhood. Reporters, cooperating with the movement enthusiasts, have introduced the recent archaeological findings and helped promote the cultural revival activities. There also have emerged plenty of curricula accessible to people to excavate the remained indigenous legends and customs. To sum up,

people around the island were all “aware” of the ethnic group named as Ketagalan in their daily knowledge system, through the popularity of the metropolitan Taipei, the official promotions, and the reports and records from the books and newspapers. (Zhan Sujuen and Zhang Subin, 2001: 154)

With the construction and institution of the title “Ketagalan”, the consecutive and repetitive practices of various kinds have reinforced the legitimacy of the consequence of the intentional selection and production. Therefore, the title becomes so familiar to every one of us, but indeed it is not as given as it might seem.

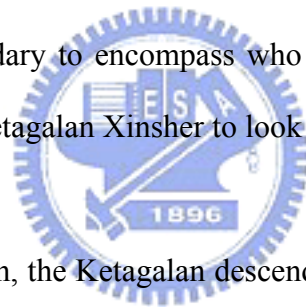
This section reflects on the Kavalan nominal transformation to begin the

discussion of the Ketagalan ethnic title. While the Kavalan has been so influential that it has replaced the term “Karewan” in almost every aspect of living and it has become the strategic tradition in the ethnic movements, the ethnic title “Ketagalan” has not been used as a tradition in daily lives, but manipulated as one in the cultural revival movements. After the investigation in this section, we can say the use of the title “Ketagalan” as a tradition to draw the ethnic boundary is the consequence of producing, instituting and repetitive practicing. The multilateral forces inside and outside the tribe also help the title persist as an ethnic dichotomy in the Ketagalan cultural revival movements. People are involved in how the title has been authorized to imply these indigenes, including the Ketagalan descendents who insisted on the self-referring term and the metaphorical root of the Ketagalan vocabulary inherited from their ancestors, the academic and non-academic researchers who provided the historical data despite the fact that they might disagree to the native interpretations, and the central as well as local bureaucrats in charge of replying the appeal for the official recognition and of assisting the ethnic activities. Without checking the processes of invention and mutual maintenance of this nominal tradition will not make complete the explanations of this nominal tradition as an ethnic boundary.

Cultural Heritages and Ancient Relics

Cultural heritages are inevitably the prominent evidence to prove the existence of an ethnic group, which especially has lost its language and most of its culture. It is no exception for the Ketagalan descendents in Xinsher. They oftentimes exhibit their legends of the ethnic origin and of the miserable destiny when their ancestors fought hard against other settlers. Also, the ancient objects able to show the existence of the Ketagalan are usually mentioned in Xinsher. These heritages

comprise the memorable stone on which the emperor's promise to protect the local indigenes of that time was written, the tomb of the former chief in the Sandiao tribe, and the sacred tree which symbolizes the Ketagalan and acts as the most important companion in the ancient Ketagalan daily life. Moreover, the legendary "sacred mountain" and the relics nearby on the Qixing Mountain have become a recently-developed tradition for others to realize the Ketagalan culture. Therefore, many people become aware of the Ketagalan culture through the introductions of these cultural heritages as well relics, and these abundant cultural resources attract more people to attend cultural activities for acquisition of what the Ketagalan are. Thus, the mutual maintenance of the authority of the cultural heritages, along with the intentional selection and effective institution, has lead to traditions which makes it easy to draw an ethnic boundary to encompass who the Ketagalan descendents are. Let us turn to people in the Ketagalan Xinsher to look for more investigations



In contrast to the Kavalan, the Ketagalan descendents have few living traditions, like the language and the religious ceremonies of the Kavalan, to present to others, whenever they want to or they are asked to provide some evidence to prove their ethnic existence. They turn to present the heritages to convince others, instead. Some ethnic members are used to taking visitors to the monumental stone on which the emperor's words were engraved. Moreover, the grave of the former chief, the olive tree nearby and the smelter tunnel excavated by the nuclear construction workers would also act as the ethnic evidence, showing that there have been Ketagalan ancestors living here, and proclaiming that the Ketagalan descendents' appeals to protect these relics and to be officially recognized as an ethnic group should not be ignored. Under the guidance of the ethnic members, therefore, some books and reports introducing the Ketagalan would always mention these relics as

symbolic representations of the Ketagalan culture (Zhen Shuyue, 1996; Li Shunren, 1998: 137; Liu Hwuenyue, 2004; Wang Shumei, 2000; Hong Qinglin, 2001). What's more, according to the offspring of the former chief, people would ask to see these heritages because they have read these reports and books, and expect the ethnic members to tell their ethnic legends about the Ketagalan origin, the misery before the ancestors immigrated into Xinsher, and the traditions of worshipping their ancestors. Although the tomb stone, owing to the construction of the nuke plant, has been too broken to recognize whether it belongs to the Ketagalan, annual practices as routines to sweep the tomb covered the deficiency in clear transcriptions of the tomb stone.

With these resources, the Ketagalan have been successfully introduced and people all know the indigenes of the northern Taiwan are the Ketagalan, but neither the ethnic identity came from a natural process, nor this ethnic boundary obviously has been completed solely by the ethnic members. It is through the intentional selection, systematic institution and interactions among ethnic members and nonmembers that the ethnic boundary of the Ketagalan has been established. Above all, the tradition of promoting the cultural heritages as the ethnic symbols has played a vital role in the formation of this ethnic boundary as well as the Ketagalan identification.

As far as the promotion of the ancient relics as the ethnic symbol through interactions among ethnic members and nonmember is concerned, another ethnic member in Xinsher has provided another interesting example to see how this tradition of promotion has influenced the establishment of the ethnic boundary. This enthusiast has discovered a tiny pyramid in the Qixing Mountain, claiming that before their ancestors established the Ketagalan kingdom in the northern Taiwan, these

forefathers had taken “Kavu”, which is a hat-like vehicle people now believe to be UFOs, from another planet and landed around the pyramid. Not only the pyramid, but also the tri-angled altar, various stone carvings and several gigantic stones are spread in the top of the Qixing Mountain. The enthusiast proclaimed that one of the stone carving corresponds to the traditional Ketagalan totem “Leigongtsi”, or the son of the Thunder God. Therefore, along with several archaeological evidences discovered in the places where the Ketagalan were believed to live,⁷ this ethnic enthusiast and other researchers working together claimed that the Ketagalan had had a much more advanced civilization and Taiwan was once the center of the world. He also urged that since the Ketagalan had had such an advanced civilization, the Ketagalan ancestors brought the much more advanced culture to Taiwan, allowing the indigenes on this island to have advanced civilizations and therefore making Taiwan the homeland of the Austronesians. Thus, based on these historical and archaeological findings, the existence of the Ketagalan should not be denied and the protection of these cultural relics ought to be practiced immediately (Lin Shengyi and Ho Xienrong, 2001).

With the elaborated explanations encompassing the archaeological and historical investigations, this ethnic enthusiast has taken the way people seldom trot. Instead of depicting the Ketagalan as the barbarians without civilization, he thought of his ancestors as the group of people whose civilization was once equivalent of or more advanced than the ancient cultural empires on this planet. Although his perspective

⁷ Several archaeologists have discovered several sites which are spread with charcoals, iron, and the pottery made of copper, iron, lead and arsenide. Moreover, many historical records from Chinese reveal that the indigenes in the northern Taiwan had found gold in the rivers. In addition, the Dutch recorded that the indigenes also had brimstone products trading with them. These evidences show that the Ketagalan ancestor had, to some extent, metal industries in the pre-historical era and then they exported their technology to other civilizations. For more details, refer to Lin Shengyi and Ho Renyi., 2001. 36-46.

has aroused controversies and contempt over his researches, his diligence in field studying, counseling the academic opinions and promoting their culture through study tour has produced another tradition of realizing what the Ketagalan culture is, and at the same time of establishing the ethnic boundary between the members of his ethnic group and others. His comparison “Ketagalan/ more civilized vs. others/ less civilized” has been much more advanced and created a brand-new approach to tell the differences between the Ketagalan indigenes and others.

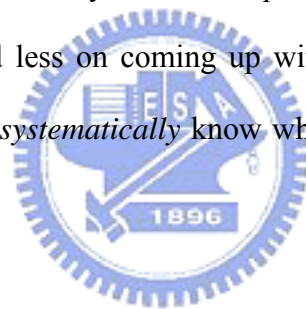
However, the success of this tradition has not relied solely on the self-assertion from this movement enthusiast; instead, its formation must have come along with the interchanges among the ethnic members and nonmembers. In order to promote this ethnic boundary, this enthusiast cooperated with the UFO research Association to hold many study tours to the Qixing Mountain, introducing the Ketagalan legends of the mysterious origins and great civilizations to nonmembers. In every spring, he would lead the study tour held by the association to visit these cultural heritages, and therefore this visiting has become an annual routine. Moreover, the media reports and the official supports from the National Park administration used to be the means he depended on to spread their own discoveries; in this way, the discovery of the Ketagalan has become a kind of tourism, turning the serious academic researches to be the recreational activities in our daily lives (Zho Meihwei, 2001; Hsu Feili, 2002; Janyi, 2002; Li Reiyu *et al.*, 2002; Zhen Jidong, 2002). Besides, this enthusiast has also invited academic researchers to prove the authenticity of these cultural relics. While some offered their agreements to the authenticity (Lin Shengyi and Ho Renyi, 2001: 36-46, 132, 149-150; Janyi, 2002; Zhen Jidong, 2002), still others remained suspicious of the reliability of his assertion (Zho Meihwei, 2001). Despite these different opinions about these cultural relics, this enthusiast has still endeavored to

promote his imagined Ketagalan civilization with the advantageous academic endorsements, strengthening his own interpretations. Furthermore, there have been many ethnic members, who also devoted themselves to the Ketagalan research, participating in the Qixing Mountain study tour. Although these ethnic members might not agree to such a perspective of looking into the Ketagalan culture but see this tradition based on the relics as ridiculous and incredulous, whenever they would have chances to explain what the Ketagalan and the ethnic culture are in their own activities, the Qixing Mountain legends would be often accompanied to authenticate the Ketagalan existence. Thus, as mentioned above, the formation of this visiting tradition has not been the unilateral assertion of the ethnic enthusiast; by contrast, this tradition has become the ethnic boundary through the intra- and inter- group interactions. These multilateral supports include the participations of the people interested in the UFOs, the academic investigations as the credible endorsements, the promotions of the zealous bureaucrat and reporters, and above all the repetitive emphases of the Ketagalan cultural workers on the origin legends, no matter what attitudes they have taken to this perspective somehow hard to believe. Denials of the controversial boundary do not lead to that of his ethnic identity; cross-cutting the boundary does not mean approvals of this dichotomy. Only with the dynamics brought out by these multilateral influences, repetitively interacting with each other and systematically instituted and practiced, would this tradition of visiting these relics afford to establish an ethnic boundary deciphering the Ketagalan people and others.

Separate Labor to Strive for Ethnic Identity

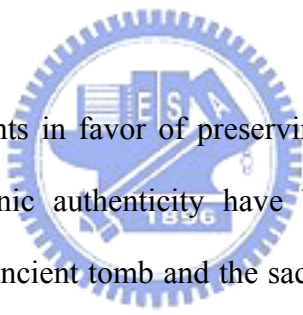
In this part of discussion, I would like to move onto a similar view, which goes to the metaphysical aspect of the cultural movement I have taken in the Chapter Two,

but this similar perspective has different results. This tradition is the separate labor to strive for the ethnic identity, contrary to the Kavalan tradition that the ethnic members are consolidated and the gaps among members are filled with the authority of certain elders and the collectivity to unify people. The tradition is so crucial in the Ketagalan ethnic movements that it makes the movements prosperous while it, to some extent, is seen as the hindrance to the formation of the ethnic identity. Separation does not merely mean that different ethnic members strive for the ethnic identity in various ways, but also that they, instead of having worked out a consensus with each other, have tended to hold onto their individual perspectives to practice their own cultural revival movements. Contrary to the consolidation of the Kavalan, these Ketagalan descendents little by little have put more emphases on developing their own interpretations, and less on coming up with comprehensive and cohesive visions to make more people *systematically* know what the Ketagalan and its culture are.




As far as the Ketagalan cultural revival movements developed by the members from Xinsher are concerned, there are two tendencies to revive their ethnic culture. One is that by visiting the ancient stone, the tomb and the sacred tree, the ethnic members in favor of preserving these heritages have tried to hold fast to the Ketagalan culture proved by the authenticity of these old stuffs. The other focuses on the Ketagalan civilization, comprising taking the mysterious relics and archaeological discoveries as the evidence that the Ketagalan have lived in the northern Taiwan and that their industrial achievements had enabled the indigenes in ancient times to spread their civilization to every other part of the world, and mixing the Ketagalan living philosophy with the comprehensive community construction in Mauao. The tradition of knowing the ethnic culture through heritages is still being practiced, but it

attracts less attention than before, while the civilization perspective becomes much more prevalent. After further investigations, we will find that this shifting of attention from Xinsher heritages to mysterious relics and Mauao community construction entails the separate, differentiated visions of reviving the Ketagalan identity when these members have been struggling for the impoverished resources from the government. In other words, with the limited official subsidies and the inevitable competition among the ethnic members, the Ketagalan descendents have cultivated a tradition of separating their strength to establish various cultural explanations to know the Ketagalan people and their culture, although these various constructions might arouse chaos in telling which one represents the orthodox Ketagalan culture.



The Ketagalan descendents in favor of preserving and presenting the inherited treasure to maintain the ethnic authenticity have been focusing on the cultural heritages nearby. Since the ancient tomb and the sacred tree in the construction site of the Fourth Nuclear Plant were discovered, the preservation of these heritages along with the cultural revival movements have been practiced for more than ten years. In addition to the academic investigations and historical researches, the Ketagalan descendents in 1994 held an ethnic activity “Return to the Landing Site” that appealed to the search for the origins of the Ketagalan people and their culture. By holding this activity, the public attention to the Ketagalan people was aroused, and the wishes from the ethnic members to save their heritages gained plenty of attention and supports. However, the financial supports which compensated the possible loss of their inherited treasure turned out to arouse various attitudes toward the developments of the Ketagalan people in the future. Some insisted that the government preserve and study the cultural heritages keeping old stuffs at where they were supposed to be,

while some thought by removing these heritages to a built memorial hall in the neighborhood, all of the ethnic members could share the financial support with each other, improving their impoverished status quo and saving their treasure at the same time. Due to the unwillingness to compromise, it has been hard for the ethnic members to worship their ancestors and memorize the sacred heritages as they wish, because they had to apply for visiting the heritages kept in the construction site, and the ethnic activities related to these cultural heritages became too complicated in power struggles to attract more ethnic people to join. Therefore, whereas some gave up working in the movements and still some held fast to the passed-down heritages, other ethnic enthusiasts chose different ways to earn more recognition from nonmembers as well to make his own living in the meantime.



From 1998 to 2004, according to this ethnic enthusiast who created a different way to strive for ethnic identity and culture revivals, he and several ethnic members have made a lot of field studies, visiting many elders, recording what has been still remembered relevant to the Ketagalan people and culture. Moreover, they worked with the academic researchers to gain more ancient contracts which, for example, the Dutch had made with the Ketagalan ancestors in seventeenth century.⁸ They also cooperated with the interested researchers, be they coming from Taiwan or other countries, to investigate the unknown relics, including the Qixing relics which I have mentioned in the third section of this chapter, and the sunken city deep in the Taiwan Straits. In order to elaborate his perspective of the Ketagalan civilization, this movement enthusiast has combined these archaeological and historical studies with

⁸ The contract was mainly to regulate how the Dutch went on their trades and religious conversions on the island, especially with the aids of the Ketagalan people. With this evidence, it can not be denied that the Ketagalan had had a more advanced civilization than others, since they knew how to speak the same language with the Dutch as well as other indigenes, and they knew how to sail boats to a far place and trade with people there.

his own imagination. He proposed that there be a great civilization in Taiwan which had the techniques to produce metals and sugars to trade with Chinese, Japanese and others from Europe, and he believed this civilization should belong to the Ketagalan people. What makes his point of view more ambitious is that he said if we could have recognized the existence of this Ketagalan civilization, the history of ancient Taiwan, Asia, and world should be re-written now, since the cultural achievements of the Ketagalan are taken into consideration. In a nutshell, this ethnic member has changed from the preservation of the cultural heritages to the novel viewpoint of the Ketagalan civilization. This alternative interpretation of the Ketagalan legends, he said, would have helped their people strike the social movements to strive for the ethnic identity from 1998 to 2004. He thought only when people realize the splendid civilization and their achievements will they spontaneously identify with the Ketagalan and then join the revival of the indigenous culture as well as the struggle for the ethnic identity, especially avoiding the struggles for money and lands which would often lead to ethnically internal dissents and external contempt.

However, owing to the limitations in the official recognition, he and some ethnic members changed their strategies again in 2004. They hoped to take the legal actions to acquire their deserved human rights, rather than merely introduce their culture/ civilization or walk on the street shouting out loud their appeals. They turned to the universal human rights which the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has regulated, claiming that the indigenes have the right to self-assert and to be recognized as indigenes (Pang Daho, 2005: 1).⁹

⁹ Pan Daho's viewpoints were mainly based on the "Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples" proposed in 1994. Although this draft has regulated what the governments ought to do for their indigenes, these regulations ended up with failure owing to the controversies on compensation and land given back to the indigenes. Refer to <<http://www.pts.org.tw/~abori/law/un/1.html>> for further details about this draft.

They also hoped the international influences can enforce Taiwan government to make up every visible and invisible loss due to the long-term negligence. The government should recognize the existence of the Ketagalan people, their language and their culture. The bureaucracy should give the lands originally belonged to the indigenes back to the Ketagalan descendents. Therefore, in the summer of 2004, they established the “Ketagalan Aborigine Brotherhood Confederation”, and handed in an application for formal diplomatic relations with ROC. Moreover, they also asked the US government to give the people of this confederation visa, and hoped to send an ambassador to USA. Although these might sound insane, the ethnic members adhering to this approach considered these procedures are legitimate and legally practicable, and these are just beginning. Thus, we can expect a more advanced approach this movement enthusiast with somewhat legal knowledge in the foreseeable future, and see whether this approach turning to the universal human rights would provide an advantageous perspective for the Pingpu people whose language, culture and lands have been lost.

If considering what this Ketagalan movement enthusiast has done for the revival of the ethnic culture and identity, the community re-construction he has conducted in the Mauao community since 2000 can not be missed. In the 1990s, the comprehensive community construction has been a prevalent policy and movement to improve the social and economic conditions of the poor communities around Taiwan. The Mauao community tried to strive for the supports from the comprehensive community construction project, but it was not until the participation and guidance of this Ketagalan movement enthusiast would the re-construction of Mauao have been initialized. With the aid from him, the Mauao community has been subsidized not only by the community construction project, but also by the employment projects

after 2001 (Lin Tsongsheng, 2005: 87), and therefore the lives of the community folks became more vivid and colorful. Many local young emigrants came back to Mauao, hired to help the administrative work; many elders stopped sitting on the bund, joining the employment project by passing down their expertise to the next generation. They contributed much to the construction of the river bank, management of the hostels, plantation of the organic vegetables, technical advancements in the aqua farms, etc., and the expertise also has been so lucrative that not only the economic conditions improved but also they could have good social welfare by giving elders, children, women and the mentally retarded some money to sustain their lives.

What made the community construction in Mauao extraordinary is not merely the improvement of the local economic and social poverty, but, above all, the promotion of the Ketagalan civilization. Because Mauao is near the place where the Ketagalan had lived, this ethnic enthusiast has tried to add more indigenous elements while the whole community was being rebuilt. When he tried to rebuild one of the main rivers, the Rongshu Creek, he adopted the techniques from the Ketagalan wisdom to build, for instance, the retaining dams which help to block the huge rocks flowing with the surged flood, and to protect the safety of the people living along the creek. Although the whole construction remained unsatisfied to the professional perspectives, the construction helping the community escape the violent destructions of the typhoons gave him and the folks of Mauao great confidence in protecting the community (ibid. 89-90). Aside from giving the town people safety in living, the Ketagalan living philosophy also provided an approach to improve the economy of Mauao. The ethnic enthusiast promoted the indigenous thinking, “produce together, share together”, enabling more local people to have steady jobs. By doing so, not only the local elders can pass down their skills to their offspring without being wasted,

but also the communal members working far away would come back, living in their hometown and making lives in the community much more vivid (ibid. 90).

Judging the discussions above, we can say the Ketagalan cultural revival movements in Xinsher area have been strived for in a separate labor. As far as the ethnic members are concerned, they did not center on several similar cultural traits at hand to promote, but some have held fast to the cultural heritages passed down by their ancestors while some envisaged a Ketagalan civilization and tried to put the wisdom of their ancestors into the practices of the community re-construction. In addition, not only each of the different approaches, but also this separate labor when striving for ethnic identity is the tradition of successful construction, institution and repetitions. The fad in Taiwan society of the 1990s of and the governmental emphases on reviving and preserving the Pingpu culture had aroused the ethnic members in Xinsher to protect their culture, though the financial attraction from the compensation should be considered as well. Moreover, since the Ketagalan culture has been assimilated or stolen to the extent that they were mistaken as the vanished ethnic group, there has been much room to be filled with all kinds of evidence, be it historical, archaeological or anthropological, to authenticate the Ketagalan existence. So, in addition to the academic researches conducted in the every discipline, the indigenous visions have been emphasized and even taken as the most valid interpretation when there were controversies over a certain historical past. Thus, based on these social and cultural conditions, we can realize the tradition of the Ketagalan separate labor to strive their identity is the consequence not only of consecutive practices and practical institution in the cultural activities, but also of the interactions among the ethnic people, government policies, zealous researchers, and the whole environment where the Ketagalan people have tried to seek more supports.

Summary

With the concept of “cultural traditions” from Pan Yinghai, I have elaborated on the traditions in the Ketagalan cultural revival movements in this chapter. The ethnic title “Ketagalan”, the ritualized perspectives of knowing the Ketagalan through the cultural heritages and civilization relics, and the separate labor to strive ethnic identity are such crucial traditions that we can not miss them when the Ketagalan revivals of the ethnic culture and identity are investigated. These traditions helpful and advantageous to the ethnic movements are not merely the results of the unilateral assertion, but also of the mutual interactions among ethnic members and nonmembers.

Similar to the Kavalan people, the title “Ketagalan” had not been the term for the ethnic people to call themselves before the ethnic movements began. “Basay”, “fan”, or “Pingpu” were the common terms when they introduced themselves and others would call them before 1990s. Even until now, the ethnic title “Ketagalan” has *not always* been the ethnic referent in the daily conversations among the Ketagalan descendents and others. After looking into how this tradition of the ethnic title was formed, I find this ethnic title was the consequence of interchanges. The zealous researchers and the ethnic members had had their own opinions involved in the choice of the title, although the indigenous viewpoint prevailed in the end. Moreover, the compromised result would not have been so well-known as to help others recognize the ethnic movements, if the government did not institute the ethnic title as the name of the road in front of the Presidential Hall, and if people in the northern Taiwan were not encouraged to discover the Ketagalan elements in their lives. Therefore, I would take this ethnic title as a cultural tradition brought about by the intentional construction of the ethnic members, the successful institution of the governmental

policy, the consecutive practices of the interested folks as well as some ethnic members when they keep investigating the indigenous culture, and above all the interactions as well as communications among people mentioned to enrich the contents of the Ketagalan culture.

As far as the ethnic members in Xinsher are concerned, they used the cultural heritages and the archaeological discoveries as their traditional culture to strike their own ethnic movements. Whenever people went to Xinsher finding something to see what the Ketagalan is, the ethnic members always led or are asked to lead visitors to the tomb, the sacred tree and the stone the higher respect from the emperor inscribed. It therefore became a tradition that people considered these heritages as the ethnic symbols, and this visiting tradition aftermath was reinforced with a large quantity of reports which attract more people to realize the Ketagalan culture through visiting these heritages. Beside, the ethnic members in Xinsher would also introduce the archaeological findings around Xinsher and on the Qixing Mountain as the cultural symbols to emphasize the Ketagalan civilization. Similarly, through the mutual interactions among ethnic members and nonmembers, the tradition of realizing the Ketagalan civilization has been formed with the repetitive participations of the enthusiasts, the official assistances of the government, and the endorsements from the academic as well as non-academic researches. All in all, these cultural heritages and relics of the ancient civilization have turned to be the ethnic boundaries, and the process of knowing the Ketagalan people and culture through these old stuffs has become a tradition. We can say thus both the traditional culture represented by the old objects and the cultural tradition maintained by multilateral influences have contributed much to the Ketagalan cultural revival movements and the formation of their identity.

Owing to the vacuum of the cultural traits, the Ketagalan people have been left a huge space to elaborate and interpret the culture with their visions of the Ketagalan culture/ civilization, and this vacuum too has led to the Ketagalan tradition of separate labor to strive for ethnic identity. Due to the heterogeneous plans for the future developments of the Ketagalan cultural revival movements, the ethnic members in Xinsher separated their strength, working out their own individual projects to revive the ethnic culture. Some held fast to the cultural heritages inherited from their ancestors, while some articulated the archaeological, historical and anthropological discoveries with his exclusive vision of the advanced Ketagalan civilization, and then promoted the ethnic wisdom to the reconstruction of an impoverished community. Although these ethnic members did not agree to the perspectives others have taken, separation did not mean indifferences. They would still attend the activities made by the viewpoints disapproved, and the discoveries of every approach would still be the powerful evidence whenever they wished to prove the existence of their ethnic group to the nonmembers. The acceptance of the ethnic identity did not result in the compulsory agreements to every ethnic boundary; denials of the dichotomy did not lead to rejections of the crosscutting the boundary. Therefore, we have seen here the complex relations among the ethnic members, be they approvals or challenges, have made this tradition of separate labor to strive for ethnic identity possible. Interactions within the ethnic group, plus the interchanges from intra-ethnic relations, have directly maintained the formation and consolidation of this tradition, and indirectly helped to keep the dichotomy between others and the Ketagalan people intact.

Chapter Four

Different Fates, Similar Approaches:

Inter-Personal Relationships

in Constructions of Ethnic Boundaries and Traditions

Comparison and Contrast


The Ketagalan and Kavalan people had been believed to be siblings, having many traits in common. Some words in both languages are pronounced similarly. Some oral legends reveal they emigrated from the same place, called *Sanasai* or *Sansai* depending regional differences. However, what had happened to the traditions of these two ethnic groups which have been connected with brotherhood, when their ethnic members both have been governed by alienated sovereignties and affected by the dominant foreign cultures? They have encountered problems and difficulties during they have been strived for cultural survivals. What differences lie in both ethnic movements when they revived, manipulated, and instituted their traditions to attract more recognition from within and out of the ethnic group? Moreover, are there any similarities in their cultural revivals, when they both suffer the loss of their ethnic identity and culture, though they are dispersed in different regions and they are surrounded by different foreign ethnic groups? Looking into these paradoxical phenomena will enable us to be aware of the dynamic processes in the ethnic movements of the Ketagalan and Kavalan, as well as to discover more about what the ethnic traditions that have not been discussed in details, but crucial to the movements have been practiced.

i. Differences—environmental factors

The environmental differences have led these two ethnic communities to heterogeneous strategies when they have been thinking out ways to revive their cultures in their ethnic movements. The Kavalan Xinsher is the community where some of the Kavalan ancestors escaped the Han invasion in the Qing dynasty to the Yilan Plains; the economic pressure had pushed them to the places far away from homeland. The Ketagalan Xinsher is the community where some of their ancestors moved to, escaping the outer invasion as well, but their ancestors did not emigrate from such a far place as the Kavalan ones did; the Ketagalan people just moved to the neighboring sites. In addition, their environmental differences also include their relationships among the neighboring ethnic group. While the Kavalan people have been interacting with the Amis, the Ketagalan ones should learn to live with the Han people. Therefore, the degree of dominance in culture and economy of the neighboring ethnic group has influenced how much the Pingpu culture and identity could be preserved.

The Amis whom the Kavalan people in Xinsher live with are one of the minority groups in modern Taiwan society. Both of the Amis and the Kavalan here lack chances of making livings and almost every young people would leave their hometown to big cities to earn more money, with their parents and children staying lonely in the Xinsher tribe. However, due to the lower industrial developments in this area which is isolated along the eastern coast, the conflicts for the living resources among ethnic groups have not been strong, and people of every ethnic group mainly live by agriculture and fishing. The ethnic dominance has not been so obvious that either one has taken lots of advantages. Therefore, the Kavalan have successfully preserved most of their ethnic culture without totally being assimilated. Apart from

this advantage, the ethnic educations of mother-tongue and culture have been practiced in the Xinsher Primary School. Almost every Kavalan child can speak fluently their mother tongue with their family members, and even the Kavalan in Xinsher can speak the Amis language as well other languages because of their frequent interactions with other people. The religious ceremonies, the songs and ballads, the dances and other customs have been passed down to the following generations. Therefore, we can see why the Kavalan cultural revival movements could have been practiced by manipulating the traditions of language education and artistic performances. They are not only the daily experiences which ethnic members sense their differences from others, but also cultural residues of ethnic interactions, which authenticate their ethnic existence.



Comparatively, the Ketagalan language and customs are not as well-preserved as the Kavalan ones, and they must take some alternative approaches to revive ethnic identity and to strive for more recognition. The environmental factors of the Ketagalan Xinsher have been playing pivotal roles in their loss of ethnic culture and identity. Long affected by the economic and cultural invasions of the Han people, the Ketagalan descendents have lost their traditional styles of living. Most of the lands around Xinsher originally belonged to the Ketagalan ancestors, but then these lands were lost because of the invasions of the Han people. Cheating by signing contracts the indigenes did not understand and by playing tricks on the farms, the Han people have acquired most of the fertile fields in Xinsher around two hundred years ago when they immigrated in this area. It is an often-heard explanation, therefore, of the Ketagalan descendents nowadays in Xinsher that the reason why they would become poor is the Han robbery of the indigenous natural properties. Furthermore, the loss of the lands entails not only the loss of the traditional life styles and the

means for making their livings, but also that of the mechanisms for transmitting the ethnic culture. The protests against the construction of the Nuclear Plants were partially based on this crisis in cultural preservations. All in all, without preserving the living sources and cultural assets, they have at first lost their traditional lives and their cultural roots and voices to claim their rights were deprived then.

Contrast to the Kavalan isolation of their tribes, their economy and to the Kavalan preservation of their traditional lives, the Ketagalan descendents could provide little evidence to prove their ethnicity, but turn to the dead cultural heritages and relics, depicting and imagining an ancient culture or a much more advanced civilization to convince their “un-awaken” ethnic members and nonmembers who wish to know more about the Ketagalan. However, the traditions the movements have been utilizing might be alien not only to the nonmembers but also to the ethnic members. Therefore, the traditions of the title *Ketagalan*, the cultural heritages and archeological relics have been challenged for their authenticity and legitimacy repeated by ethnic members and nonmembers. This phenomenon of inconsistencies in opinions could be traced to the vacuum ethnic culture which results from the loss of the indigenous traditional living styles due to the drastic changes in their surroundings. The essential differences lying between the Ketagalan and Kavalan traditions as movement strategies in their ethnic movements should be judged on the environmental factors.

ii. Differences—human factors

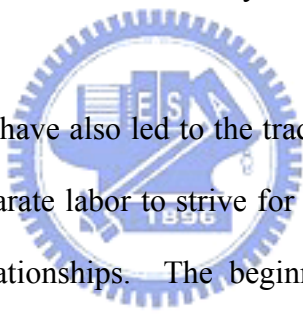
The human factors can as well explain the heterogeneous strategies when the traditions have been appropriated in the ethnic movements of the Kavalan and the Ketagalan people. As far as the Kavalan people in Hualien Xinsher are concerned,

the cultural revivals have begun when one of the ethnic members tried to find out people whose first name is identical to his, and to check if they are the Kavalan as his father had told him before (Taiwan Committee for Documents and Archives, 1999: 247). Moreover, the long-term ignorance of the ethnic members' to be recognized as the indigenes by the government has been the reason why the Kavalan people in Xinsher hoped to revive their culture and presented their language and customs as the evidence of their existence. Therefore, we can see the initiatives of the ethnic movements were not personal or limited to some, but communal to all the descendents. Although there might be misunderstandings of the movement activists' intentions among the ethnic members, the zeal and the concerns for the ethnic culture and identification of the members and "un-awaken" members have proved their promotions of the official recognition and culture revivals did not earn much for the enthusiasts, but took them much money, time and effort to interview people around the island, to participate in many activities held by various people to spread their ideas, to maintain good relationships with the interested and helpful sources, including media and academic researchers, etc.¹⁰ Therefore, the activists in Xinsher have become not only the leaders, but also the ethnic symbols of the Kavalan ethnic group; identification with these leaders usually leads to the identification with the Kavalan ethnic group.

Besides, the religious strength has assisted the Kavalan people to stay together to strive for the ethnic identity. There have been three sects of the western religion, and the ancestry worship which people of no specific religious belief have been practicing. However, when the ethnic movements began, the movement leaders of different

¹⁰ What the leading activists of Hualien Xinsher in the Kavalan cultural revival movements have done for their people can be seen detailed in Zhen Yijun, 2003a. 83-6.

religions appealed that the ethnic members should discard the religious differences to look for the union and the identity of the Kavalan ethnic group. The Kavalan people not only have made it, but also cultivated a tradition of praying in respective ways before they departed to Yilan for the artistic performances of their songs and dances, for example, or before they edited their mother-tongue teaching materials. People of various religious beliefs, therefore, could find out their spiritual supports in the ethnic movements filled with fatigue and frustration. All in all, based on the unselfish diligence of the movement leaders and the religious supports crosscutting the religious boundaries, the tradition of union of the Kavalan people has been formed, and this tradition has provided a communal intention that convinced the government and nonmembers to recognize the Kavalan identity.



While the human factors have also led to the tradition of cooperation and union, the Ketagalan tradition of separate labor to strive for their ethnic identity have partly resulted from the human relationships. The beginning of the Ketagalan cultural revival movements could be traced to the protest against the construction of the Fourth Nuclear Plant around the Ketagalan Xinsher. Since the construction would destroy their cultural heritages, the Ketagalan descendents in Xinsher united many ethnic members to think out ways to revive their culture as well as identity. They have excavated a lot of oral legends about the ethnic origin and immigration. The archeological discoveries in the nuclear construction site furthermore have strengthened their beliefs that their ancestor had lived here and that these ancestors had created an advanced civilization. Even the government sent out official good will to take into consideration the appeals of the Ketagalan people by renaming the road before the Presidential Hall with the ethnic title. It seemed that everything was ready for the official recognition of the Ketagalan ethnic group.

However, the inconsistencies of opinions in the disposal of the financial support from the government destroyed the solidarity among ethnic members in the cultural revival movements. Some would like to use the money to remove the cultural heritages to the memorial hall built around the Xinsher tribe, while some would like to share the money with others without holding any ethnic movements. Due to the heterogeneous intentions, the ethnic members had no choice but to stop the whole projects of the cultural revival movements or some of them found their own ways to earn others' recognition. For example, some would stay in the Xinsher tribe, introducing to others the cultural heritages. Some would resort to the archeological discoveries to create the imagination of the Ketagalan civilization, and put the achievement of the civilization into practice, that is, the comprehensive construction of the Mauao community. All in all, contrast to the solidarity of the Kavalan people, the Ketagalan descendents have separated their labor, striving for more recognition without uniting their strategies. Without the spiritual strength of religions, it seemed to be much harder for the Ketagalan descendents to have consensus over the revival of the ethnic culture and identity, solely based on the material consideration. The separate labor in the cultural revival movements not only hindered the whole ethnic movement of identity striving, but also confused the nonmembers with the far more incredulous explanations of the ethnic origin or with the incoherent descriptions of ethnic culture.

The environmental and human factors have caused the heterogeneity of strategies used in the Kavalan and Ketagalan cultural revival movements. The differences in territorial openness and the degree of dominance of the neighboring ethnic group, the different purposes of the movement activists for reviving ethnic culture and identity, and the control or loss of spiritual supports have decided what propensities of the

ethnic traditions would be taken to prove their ethnic existences. Although the Ketagalan and the Kavalan people have been heterogeneous in various ways, their appropriations of traditions still have one thing in common—the invention of traditions.

iii. Similarities—inter-personal relationships

Despite the fact that these two ethnic groups have a lot of differences due to various factors, there lies the invention of traditions which makes the strategies of the movements of these two groups are, to some extent, identical.

Even though the Kavalan people have preserved many traditional customs and most of their mother-tongue, they still have to deal with the needs in the movements and daily lives. The artistic tradition of performing songs and dances was invented. Many songs and dances have been created to perform in different stages, including the local competitions, the invited shows in the 228 Memorial Park and the Green Expo in Yilan. Because the songs and dances were not all passed down or remembered by the members, the elders appropriated not only the traditional religious ceremonies to produce the dances, but also the melodies of the Amis and the religious hymns to make many songs for performances of different atmospheres. Apart from the invention of the songs and dances, this tradition of artistic performances would not be complete without the repetitive practices of the ethnic members year after year and the effective institution by the choice of the ethnic members whenever they would like to present the Kavalan culture. Besides, the tradition of mother-tongue education was invented, too. In order to save the Kavalan language, the movement activists cooperated with the academic researchers and governments to encourage the members to learn their mother tongue. After many years' endeavor, children can

speak fluently with the elders and the ethnic members are glad to send their kids to learn the Kavalan language. We can say this phenomenon has resulted from not merely the invention of learning mother tongue, but also the effective institution in the basic education as well the never-ending practices of speaking the Kavalan language in daily lives.

Last but not the least, the group of elders who have promoted these ethnic traditions has become a tradition as well. Although their artistic inventions were sometimes challenged and their invented linguistic usages were quite depended first on personal experiences and then on the unified teaching materials given by government, their authority in inventing traditions has not changed since more than a decade ago. These changes and challenges have not altered their authority, but helped this tradition of production to be instituted effectively and repetitively practiced in the cultural revival movements. They are still the ones asked to add more contents to the movements. This tradition of production is not just a simple wish of several elders; it involves complicated processes of interaction among people, including ethnic members and nonmembers.

As far as the Ketagalan are concerned, the traditions of visiting the cultural heritages and relics were invented, then instituted and practiced daily or annually in the cultural revival movements. In order to authenticate the ethnic existence, the Ketagalan descendents took the cultural heritages and relics discovered and excavated by the anthropologists to convince others. They invented a tradition of knowing what the Ketagalan culture is by leading many ethnic members to these places to share this sense of imagined community; they also led nonmembers to visit these heritages and relics to experience the Ketagalan culture and civilization achievements,

hoping that this visiting can be the traditional starting point to know the ethnic traits. I think they have made it a successful tradition, since every time when the ethnic activities were held, the cultural heritages and archeological relics would never be missed physically and verbally, even though some ethnic members and cultural workers did not agree to the perspectives from the Xinsher descendents. The regular activities have successfully instituted the tradition of visiting these old things in daily lives, and repetitive discussions of these old things, albeit opposing, have made this tradition much more solid in the movements.

In a nutshell, the invention of traditions is not made up with the creators' wills, but inclusive of interactions among people. The interaction can bring about the institution and repetition of the practices of the traditions. Were it not for these three key factors, the language education would have been simply an impracticable wish of an elder in Kavalan Xinsher; the songs and dances would have been forgotten right after the members came back from these invited performances; the zealous elders in the Kavalan Xinsher would have lost their authorities with the burgeoning concerns for the Kavalan culture, and the Ketagalan heritages and relics would have been regarded as insane fabrications. Although the Kavalan and Ketagalan ethnic groups have many differences between them, the invention of traditions has become a quite common phenomenon in both cultural revival movements.

Conclusion and Self-Reflection

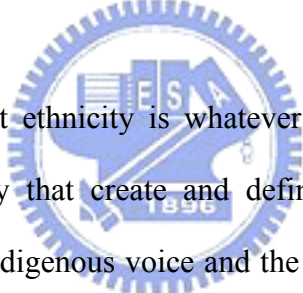
This thesis paper begins with the academic fights between the primordialism and the instrumentalism when it comes to the explanations of the formations of ethnicity. The compromise of these two camps led to the transfer of the academic attention to

the maintenance of the ethnic boundary which the ethnic members may cross-cut without damaging the dichotomy, or they may deny without changing their ethnic identities. The perspective of the ethnic boundary provides us with an interesting viewpoint to look into how traditions in ethnic movements have augmented the formations of the Kavalan and Ketagalan ethnic identities. I will conclude my research that although there are many differences between traditions of these two ethnic groups due to the territorial and human factors, there still lies the similarity that both of their traditions in the ethnic movements are the consequences of the intentional production, effective institution and repetitive practices.

The primordial perspective has offered researchers the prescriptive traits of an ethnic group to categorize people of heterogeneous backgrounds. Geertz (1996 [1963]), van den Berghe (1981) and Keyes (1976; 1981) have proposed their standpoints that the ethnic identification is formed by the blood relationships, language, religious beliefs, territorial occupations or customs shared among ethnic members. Human beings, like the animals, will tend to favor others who have more similar cultural traits. The kin connections based on various similarities will enable people to cooperate to strive for more common interests. Therefore, the members are tied together and the ethnic groups are established. The primordial view prescribes that the relationships among human beings are based on the given cultural traits, and that be these primordial attachments passed down from the ancestors or learned by the younger generations, these cultural traits help the members as well as the interested researchers to distinguish the members and nonmembers.

While primordial ties provide prescriptive explanations of the formations of ethnicity, instrumental perspective puts more emphases on the subjective selections of

human beings to adapt to the novel situations in their daily lives. Cohen (1981) and Keyes (1981) have provided different examples to prove the same viewpoint that people will change their ethnic identity in adaptations to the social and economic desires. Creoles in the Sierra Leone changed their identity in order to protect their social and economic interests. Immigrants and people from a minor ethnic group tend to change their identity in order to survive among others of the major ethnic group. Thus, taking the desires and intentions of the ethnic members into consideration, the instrumental perspective opens a descriptive window for the native opinions. Even the researchers at first in agreement with the primordial perspective should then compromise by mixing the objective standards with the willful subjective choices to complement their explanatory deficiencies.



Barth (1969) reveals that ethnicity is whatever the natives say it is; it is the natives' perceptions of reality that create and define ethnic boundary and ethnic relation. The stress on the indigenous voice and the subjective stances of the ethnic members actually makes the explanations of ethnicity formations complete, since it avoids the rigidity of the prescriptive approach that ignores the human consciousness and denies the ample room for alternative identity. The compromise between the prescriptive and descriptive perspectives leads to the dynamic pattern of investigating the ethnic phenomena in the modern society where the ethnic identity is not any longer limited in a small scale of area and culture, but influenced by heterogeneous factors owing to the fact that the technologies of communication and transportation have solved the territorial hindrance, and that modern "economic men" tend to make their decisions with the interest evaluations.

Therefore, the notion of maintaining the ethnic boundaries among ethnic

members and nonmembers has become a more persuasive approach to look into the ethnic phenomena in the modern society. Here, in this thesis paper, I have taken the interactions over the ethnic boundaries among people of different intentions and backgrounds to interpret how ethnic traditions have been manipulated to revive the Ketagalan and Kavalan ethnic culture and, above all, identity. However, without the notions “cultural tradition” and “traditional culture”, we can not finish the elaborations of the traditions in cultural revival movements.

If we just focus on Barth’s explanations on the maintenance of the ethnic boundaries, we can elaborate some of the ethnic traditions used in the ethnic movements, and they indeed have the functions of deciphering members and nonmembers. The songs and dances of the Kavalan Xinsher exhibited on the stage or in the harvest festivals can successfully represent the uniqueness of the Kavalan ethnic group. The visiting of the cultural heritages and relics of the Ketagalan ancestors have made these cultural and archeological symbols become the traditions to know what the Ketagalan culture is. What’s more important is that although some ethnic members might disagree with the legitimacy of these traits, they still recognize and mention them oftentimes to prove their ethnicity. Based on the interactions of these ethnic members and nonmembers, these ethnic traditions therefore help to draw lines between members and nonmembers.

However, there are other traditions which should be denoted by the idea “cultural tradition”, different from the traditional cultures mentioned in the last paragraph. The tradition of learning the Kavalan mother tongue, the tradition of the Kavalan elders’ authorities in creating new words, new songs, and new dances in adaptation to the novel needs and situations, and the tradition of union and cooperation under

religious strength in the Kavalan movements are the results of intentional construction, effective institution and daily or annually consecutive practices of the ethnic members. Too are the tradition of using an ethnic title borrowed from an academic term, the tradition of visiting the heritages and relics in the Ketagalan movements, and the tradition of separate labor in the Ketagalan movement activists. Because of the vacuum of the Ketagalan culture, these traditions usually used in the cultural revival movements are more likely to be the results of intentional inventions, effective institution and repetitive practices.

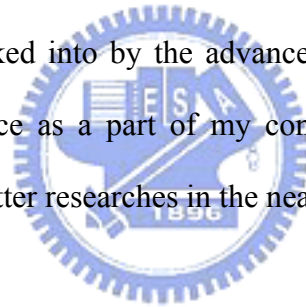
Combining Barth's notion "boundary maintenance" and Hobsbawm's idea "invention of tradition", my thesis paper has endeavored to elaborate how interchanges among people have played pivotal roles in the cultural revival movements when the activists manipulated the traditions to arouse members' self-awareness and nonmembers' recognitions. The inter-group and intra-group relationships have successfully made the ethnic movements complete, and without these interaction, the traditions can not decipher the members from nonmembers as the Kavalan artistic performances and the Ketagalan ethnic title, heritages and relics can do now, let alone sustain the Kavalan tradition of collective production as well as cooperation and the Ketagalan tradition of separate labor in the movements. By taking more traditions as novel discoveries, though unable to draw the ethnic boundary, this thesis hopes to broaden the views to observe the traditions in the cultural revival movements either of an ethnic group preserving much of its culture, or of an ethnic group losing most of their life styles and culture. No matter how much has been left, when people in movements desire to fulfill their wishes through manipulating traditions, the inventions of novel ones and adaptations of the ancient ones are inevitable procedures, and the emphasis on the human interactions to make

their approaches complete is the key to the success.

This thesis paper tries to provide more examples to complement the knowledge of how traditions at hand have been playing in the ethnic movements. We all know the language is important for the indigenous people, but we have not seen many papers focusing on the key media which the language preservation is made possible. We all know the religious ceremonies are quite important for the Kavalan to present their traditional culture, but we have put less emphasis on the daily prayers and worships which might be trivial but still vital for the movements. We all know the ethnic title representing an indigenous group in the northern Taiwan, but the origin of this title has not been studied in a perspective of invented traditions. Moreover, this thesis paper also tries to elaborate the human factor which has been neglected by previous researchers, but playing a key role in the Ketagalan movements. Perhaps due to the difficulties in describing the human relationships and conflicts among the members, or due to the arguments on the authenticity of various interpretations of the Ketagalan culture, the human factors has not been judged in a perspective of traditions, but the often-seen phenomena in an ethnic group where the ethnicity is not yet well-formed. In this thesis, however, I have taken the arguments on the authenticity as many possible explanations to the vacuous Ketagalan culture, and I have found more unheard opinions which might be mute in the human conflict. With these novel pieces of evidence, I have provided a tradition of the separate labor to strive for the ethnic identity to denote the paradoxical ethnic phenomena in the Ketagalan ethnic movements.

In this thesis, I intend to explore the interactions or interchanges of opinions among people to denote the ethnic phenomena of the Kavalan and Ketagalan ethnic

groups. Basically I should have relied mainly on the interviews with members and nonmembers of either groups, but because the thesis has been done in haste, I therefore have depended on many papers and studies at hand, and on the unilateral explanations from certain people to know what has been going on. I find the data from the papers and historical records can give me a fast and systematic description of the ethnic phenomena, but I would have accepted the prejudices of some authors without proving whether these passages are correct or false. Besides, although the interviews with the key persons and several others in the movements can give a more complete picture of the cultural revival movements, I think these interviews are still not enough to understand the whole phenomena. For example, I did not put the differences in gender and age into considerations. Even the differences in class and stratification among people should be looked into by the advanced studies in the coming future. These reflections could suffice as a part of my conclusion, but they tend to open another space for initiating better researches in the near future.



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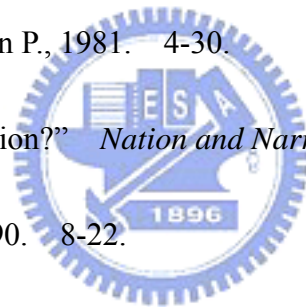
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