The Shifting Chronotopes of Indigeneity in Taiwanese Documentary Film

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Abstract

This paper explores the shifting representations of Taiwan's indigenous peoples in films by indigenous and non-indigenous directors alike. Drawn from over sixty films in the archives of the Taiwan International Ethnographic Film Festival (TIEFF), these films offer a snapshot of the changes in how indigenous personhood has been constructed in Taiwanese documentary films going back to the end of the martial law era. The films are grouped into three overarching Bakhtinian *chronotopes*, each of which uses indigenous identities to highlight different relations between Taiwan's past, present, and future, as well as different spatial relations following from those choices. The first chronotope highlights the Japanese colonial encounter with indigenous peoples. The second the continuity between ancient Austronesian culture and the present. And the third focuses on encounters between indigenous people and the modern Taiwanese state. Films are compared within and across these chronotopes to reflect on the shifting nature of indigenous personhood in Taiwan, tracing the way these chronotopes have adapted to shifts in Taiwan's wider political economic framework. Finally, the paper turns to the work of two young indigenous filmmakers whose films draw on oral histories to transcend all three chronotopes. Salone Ishahavut's "Alis's Dreams" (2011) and Su Hung-En's "The Mountain" (2015), each formulates a unique indigenous "voice" to call for indigenous sovereignty over their own destiny.

Introduction

When I was tasked by the editors of this volume to write a chapter on Indigenous Taiwanese documentary films I turned to the material that was most readily available to me: the archives of the Taiwan International Ethnographic Film Festival (TIEFF). As festival programmer I had easy access to over sixty films on Indigenous issues, by Indigenous and Han Taiwanese directors alike. The time period covered from this archive extends back from the 2017 festival to the period just after the lifting of martial law in the late nineteen-eighties,[1] a period of nearly thirty years. As a result, the archive traces much of the history of both documentary film and the rise of Indigenous identity politics in Taiwan.

The post-martial law period was a very exciting one for Taiwanese documentary film. For decades the state had only allowed stories which parroted official rhetoric, according to which the Republic of China was the true government of all of China. Local narratives were suppressed and the people who told them possibly disappeared. So when martial law was lifted, there was over forty years' worth of pent-up desire for local narratives and a flourishing of documentary film in Taiwan (Hu 2013, 149–150).

Faced with such a large body of data, there are a number of ways I could have organized it: chronologically, by ethnic group, by subject matter, etc. But my recent work on the development of Taiwanese multiculturalism had sensitized me to the various chronotopes at work in Taiwanese identity politics and I realized that almost all of the films in this archive could easily be grouped into one of three dominant *chronotopes*. As put forth by the literary scholar Bakhtin, a chronotope refers to the virtual space-time constructed in a novel by which "people, places, and things that would be otherwise understood as more spatially distant or not coeval to one another" are made to be proximate and contemporaneous to each other (Lempert and Perrino 2007, 207; in Das 2016, 177).

Often used to describe the tropes of various literary genres, in linguistic anthropology the concept has been broadened to include the different frames within which identities are constructed. For instance, Jonathan Rosa (2016) has persuasively talked about how the chronotopes associated with speaking Spanish in America frequently constrain the scope of Spanish geographically to specific neighborhoods, and position it temporally as facing the past, while English is positioned as the language of Latinx[2] futures and is not seen as geographically confined in any such way.

[1] The first festival was in 2001, but a number of older films have been shown over the years, including early works by "featured directors."

[2] Latinx is a widely accepted gender-neutral alternative to Latino or Latina (Steinmetz 2018).

In Taiwan a Chinese chronotope has long been promoted by the Nationalist Party (Kuomintang, KMT), to the point of violently suppressing any competing chronotopes during the martial law era. Spatially, the Chinese chronotope places Taiwan at the periphery of an imagined geography with ancient capital of Nanjing as the true center. Temporally, it traces KMT rule back through thousands of years of Chinese history, seeing them as the true heirs of the Yellow Emperor. As recently as 2012 Taiwanese President Ma Ying-jeou presided over a memorial ceremony for the Yellow Emperor (Fan and Su 2012). The party sees itself as the true repository of ancient Chinese Confucian values, as is evidenced by the importance it places on reading classical Chinese texts in the national school curriculum. That curriculum reforms were controversial shows how much things have changed in the last thirty years (Hioe 2017). Students no longer have to memorize the location of train stations in China, and local Taiwanese history and culture have become an integrated part of the school curriculum.

Because the films in this collection all date from after the martial law period and because the Venn diagram of those interested in promoting Chineseness and those interested in Indigenous culture do not overlap, the Chinese chronotope is largely absent from the sixty-odd films looked at for this chapter. But its presences are still felt because the three dominant chronotopes that I have identified all exist in relationship to this foundational chronotope in some way or another. The first two, the colonial Japanese chronotope and the Austronesian chronotope both serve to displace Chineseness, while the third, the development chronotope, posits Chinese modernity as the unstated goal of Indigenous development.

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that there is a simple one-to-one mapping of Taiwanese identity politics on to the chronotopes deployed in these documentary films. The utility of the chronotope as an analytic concept comes from the fact that it identifies sites of contestation within which multiple, competing, identities are negotiated. While it is true that at various points in time certain political groups have latched on to certain chronotopes, no one group or ideological stance has a monopoly on any given chronotope. Moreover, in my conclusion, I hope to show how a younger generation of Indigenous directors are increasingly comfortable jumping between multiple chronotopes. For younger Indigenous directors these chronotopes function more as a shared cultural resource, from which they can pick and choose as they please, than a sign of their political or ideological allegiances.

The Japanese Chronotope

It is no secret that Taiwanese love Japan. It *is* surprising however, especially when compared with Korea or China, both of which temper their love of contemporary Japanese culture with varying degrees of resentment and mistrust rooted in the colonial encounter. Not so Taiwan, which is outright nostalgic about the fifty years it was under Japanese colonial rule (1895 to 1945) (Ching 2001). Over the past few decades Taiwanese have meticulously restored many

of the Japanese-era buildings throughout Taiwan (Amae 2011), including the Presidential Palace—Taiwan's White House. Part of this is because Japanese rule in Taiwan was genuinely less cruel than elsewhere in the empire. Japan set up Taiwan as a model colony to show the world that they could be just as good as the British, the French, or the Americans (Peattie 1987). It took decades after World War Two for Taiwan to reach the level of wealth and development it had achieved in the period just before the war. But an even more important reason for this nostalgia is that emphasizing the Japanese origins of Taiwanese modernity offers a challenge to the official Chinese chronotope promoted by the KMT.

This is best illustrated by the blockbuster fiction films of Taiwanese director Wei Te-sheng whose first major film, "Cape No. 7," features two parallel love stories. One, set in the present, is between a young musician and a Japanese fashion model. The other is a series of letters from a colonial era Japanese teacher to his Taiwanese lover—whom he left behind after the war. The two stories overlap when the musician, who is working as a mailman to make ends meet, finds these undelivered letters and sets out to find the woman they were addressed to. But it would be a mistake to portray Wei's films as nothing but unabashed Japanophilia. His second film, "Warriors of the Rainbow: Seediq Bale," documents the brutal suppression of an Indigenous rebellion in the 1930s. While some have argued that the film failed to succeed in China partially because it was overly sympathetic to the Japanese (Green 2017), it does not shy away from portraying the violence inflicted on Indigenous groups. Yet the fact that the film is largely filmed in the Japanese and Seediq languages, with almost no Chinese, still serves to undermine the Chinese chronotope.

Despite its sympathy for its Indigenous protagonists, "Warriors of the Rainbow" nonetheless draws on the classic trope of the "noble savage" in depicting its Indigenous heroes, even having the Japanese commander grudgingly admit the warrior spirit of his enemies. A 2005 documentary film by two Indigenous directors, Oloh and Watan, draws upon the same martial themes. "The Solicitude for the Takasago Volunteer" documents the life of Mr. Tomohide Kadowaki, a Japanese man who devoted his last years to honoring Taiwan's Indigenous soldiers who gave their lives fighting for the Japanese during World War Two. He does so at great personal cost, using up the last of his savings and ruining his marriage in the process.

This film came out the same year that an Indigenous Taiwanese legislator attempted to stage a protest in front of Japan's Yasukuni Shrine where Indigenous Taiwanese war dead are memorialized alongside Japanese soldiers. In doing so, she was attempting to drive a wedge between pro-independence Taiwanese politicians and Indigenous groups by portraying these Indigenous soldiers as victims rather than heroes. But as anthropologist Scott Simon has documented, Indigenous social memory of the Japanese era is far too complicated to fit neatly into the victim slot (2006). Many older people in the Truku village where he did his research

still spoke Japanese and even some of the younger people expressed pride in "the 'fierceness' of their tribe" (2006, 7).

The ambivalence and complexity of the Indigenous colonial experience is better captured by two documentary films that explore the historical memory of the Indigenous uprising featured in "Warriors of the Rainbow." That uprising, the Wushe Rebellion, was followed a year later by a second incident in which many of the survivors, who had been resettled to another village after surrendering to the Japanese, were systematically massacred. Despite this historical tragedy, several hundred managed to survive. Both Pilin Yapu's 2012 film "Wushe Alan Gluban" and Tang Shiang-Chu's 2013 film "Pusu Qhuni" rely on their descendants to construct oral histories of that period. Both films are directly or indirectly in dialog with "Warriors of the Rainbow" but Pilin Yapu's film more obviously so, featuring numerous clips from the film and directly challenging the film's depiction of those who fought on the side of the Japanese. Tang's film, on the other hand, is more concerned with the act of remembering the past and focuses on those who have worked to preserve or share the history of the uprising. Both films share, however, a sense of the Japanese colonial past as being overlaid upon the present.

In Tang's film especially, we get numerous scenes where the camera shows us Taiwan's contemporary mountain landscape while an on- or off-screen narrator brings the Japanese era to life. There are also numerous scenes of people making offerings to their ancestors at sacred spots, gravestones, or even historical monuments. In fact, one of the film's central narratives is about the fate of the bones of Mona Rudao, the leader of the Wushe Rebellion. The film takes its name from the journey of Pawan Nawi, one of the actors from "Warriors of the Rainbow," and himself a descendant of the victims of the massacre. He leads his sons across Taiwan's mountains to the sacred stone, Pusu Qhuni, from which their ancestors are said to have first emerged. In this way the Japanese chronotope intersects with the Seediq tribe's own traditional chronotopes, turning Taiwan's Central Mountain Range into a palimpsest of overlapping narratives.

The Austronesian Chronotope

Time

Whereas the Japanese chronotope challenges Chineseness by emphasizing oral narratives of the colonial encounter, the Austronesian chronotope does so by emphasizing the continued relevance of Indigenous traditional cultures. Each of these chronotopes applies a different temporal scale to Taiwanese history: the Japanese chronotope emphasizes Taiwan's pre-war modernity while the Austronesian chronotope emphasizes Taiwan's links to an ancient past, stretching back thousands of years.

Scholars of Indigenous visual culture have long been concerned about the risks associated with linking contemporary Indigenous subjects to a prehistoric past. Such representations can end up denying the coevalness[3] of Indigenous cultures with the present, relegating them to a timeless "ethnographic present" (Fabian 2014, 80). And because Indigenous claims to authenticity often require animating (Silvio 2010) this distant past through performance, there is the ever-present danger that such performances will just end up reinforcing a "primitivist perplex" (Prins 2002) that denies Indigenous modernity. While the very nature of indigeneity makes it hard to completely escape such Orientalizing narratives, the films in the festival archives mostly manage to carefully navigate their way around such dangers, often going out of their way to emphasize the contemporary elements of the Austronesian chronotope.

Part of the reason for the lack of such orientalist primitivism in the festival archive is due to the post-colonial context of Indigenous cultural reinvention in Taiwan. Having been subjected to both Japanese and Chinese colonialism, converted to Christianity, and denied the right to practice their cultural traditions, the contemporary performance of traditional rituals is about much more than simply performing Indigenous authenticity. In many ways these rituals are acts of tribal sovereignty, asserting a right to define one's own identity. As such, they are as much assertions of the modernity of the Austronesian chronotope as they are invocations of its distant past.

Another reason for the archive's relative lack of such Orientalizing imagery is the post-*Writing Culture* (Clifford and Marcus 1988) sensibilities of the anthropologists who founded the festival. The early 90s, when the festival was founded, was a period of increased self-reflection regarding the power dynamics of both written and visual ethnographies. By exploring two films made by former festival directors, we can get an idea of the ethnographic sensibilities that informed the festival selection process. Both festival founder Hu Tai-li and festival director Futuru Tsai have made their own films about Indigenous rituals, each of which highlights the "articulated" (Clifford 2013, 59–66) nature of Indigenous identities.

Futuru Tsai's 2007 film "Amis Hip-hop" offers a charming portrait of how the young people of Dulan village playfully incorporate modern global music into the traditional *kiluma'an* ritual while staying true to the traditional spirit of the ritual (Tsai 2010). Indigenous sculptor Siki Sufin lays out one of the central arguments of the film when he defends the village from accusations that the embrace of modern dance forms marks a loss of tradition:

> This is exactly the unique tradition of Dulan tribe. So, the chief says that the youth must do their best to demonstrate … to try to please the elders. That means how to present your body movements. And so, we are living in this moment, in this era. What you can show to the elders is what is most familiar to you. . . Through the form of

[3] Johannes Fabian defines coevalness as the "persistent and systematic tendency to place the referent(s) of anthropology in a Time other than the present of the producer of anthropological discourse" (Fabian 2014, 31).

> modern dance, you show off your best to everybody. . . I think this is the wisdom of our elders in Dulan tribe.

Hu Tai-li's "Returning Souls," from 2012 but filmed over eight years, follows the story of Pangcah (Amis) villagers from Tafalong who asked the Institute of Ethnology at Academia Sinica (Taiwan's leading research institution) to return a pillar that had been taken from the village after being damaged by a typhoon in 1957. The existence of this pillar, and the noble Kakita'an family house where it had once resided, were a valuable record of a way of life that had been suppressed during the Japanese colonial period (Hennessy 2013, 141). After a series of negotiations it is determined that the village cannot provide the proper climate controlled conditions to ensure the pillar's integrity; however, a compromise is reached. A new Kakita'an House, along with a new ancestral pillar, is constructed in Tafalong village and then the villagers slaughter a pig and conduct a ritual at the Institute of Ethnology in order to transport the spirits from the old pillar back home to the new one. Thus, even though the pillar is never repatriated, the spirits are.

The same issues with regard to blending tradition and modernity emerge in a number of other films as well. In his film "Encounter in the End of the Forest" (2016) artist and filmmaker Etan Pavavalung of the Paiwan tribe explores the concept of "vecik," a Paiwan word which expresses a number of symbolic activities which he has translated as "trace-layer-carve-paint" (Paton et al. 2017, 222). Through vecik he has created an artistic vocabulary which draws upon traditional Paiwan hand tattoos and wood carving to create works that fit comfortably in the international art world. And in "Kalay Ngasan: Our Home" (2016) school teacher Wilang's efforts to build a traditional Atayal (Tayal, Tayan) house requires numerous compromises to modernity: he can't use the traditional trees which are a protected species, and the house's location in the plains means greater exposure to typhoons, requiring him to use reinforced steel beams to keep the building from collapsing. These changes force us to consider what makes the house Atayal?

The nineties and early aughts (noughties) were a period of tremendous cultural revitalization as Indigenous peoples began reviving rituals and festivals that had previously been banned or died out. "Trakis na Bnkis" (2003) documents the revival of the rituals associated with Atayal millet farming. And Yang Chun-Kai's "Paths of Destiny" (2017) covers the life story of my colleague Panay Mulu who transitions from a researcher studying a small group of Pangcah shamans to getting indoctrinated as a shaman herself, thus keeping the rituals alive for at least one more generation.

In some cases, the Japanese colonial record offers the earliest documentation of these rituals. The oldest film in the festival archives is a restored print of the 1936 film of the Saisiyat tribe's Pasta'ay ritual made during the Japanese colonial era. The Japanese-era film was shown alongside Hu Tai-li and Lee Daw-ming's 1988 documentary "Songs of Pasta'ay"

about the same ritual, but unlike the documentaries of Indigenous rituals mentioned above, Hu and Lee's film focuses explicitly on the tensions between the traditional and the modern, and doesn't shy away from including the tourists who were already beginning to be a problem in the eighties. Tensions between modernity and tradition are also central to Lee Daw-ming and Sakuliu Pavavalung's "The Last Chieftain" which uses the occasion of a political election to explore the changing role of a traditional Paiwan village chief, as well as the erosion of the Paiwan caste system. And changing rituals are also the topic of Mayaw Biho's "Dear Rice Wine, You are Defeated" (1998) which documents tension between the older and younger generations over the age grade promotion ritual during the annual Pangcah *ilisin* ritual.

Space

So far I have focused on the temporal dimension of the Austronesian chronotope, but there is an important spatial dimension as well. This takes two distinct forms. The first draws from Taiwan's importance as the homeland of one of the largest seafaring migrations in human history. The publication of Jared Diamond's article "Taiwan's Gift to the World" helped popularize the now widely-accepted view that the Austronesian peoples who went on to settle Hawaii, New Zealand, and Madagascar can trace their journeys back to Taiwan (2000). This connection is regularly invoked by politicians across the political spectrum when it is convenient to do so, such as when signing a trade treaty with New Zealand.

The second way in which the spatial dimension is important relates to the political struggles over Indigenous land rights within Taiwan. Although the struggle dates back to the "Return Our Land" protests of the early 1990s (Stainton 1995), it was only with the passage of the Indigenous Basic Law in 2005 that Indigenous people finally gained some legal rights to their ancestral lands (Simon 2013, 220). Even before the law was passed, a number of initiatives were launched to collect Indigenous oral histories in order to document Indigenous traditional knowledge and practices connected to the land, such as how hunting territories were marked off between villages. While the new laws marked a major advancement in Taiwanese Indigenous rights, the implementation of these laws has been controversial. For one thing, the government has never fully reconciled the Basic Law with existing laws governing the same territory, such as the Forestry Act (Lu, Chueh, and Kao 2012; Charlton, Gao, and Kuan 2017). Moreover, there is still considerable debate over how to handle privately-owned lands that fall within traditional Indigenous territories (Charlton, Gao, and Kuan 2017, 21–22).

Not surprisingly, most of the films related to Indigenous seafaring are focused on the Tao tribe of Orchid Island. The Tao are the most recent Austronesian arrivals in Taiwan, having arrived as the result of reverse migration from the Batanes islands in the Philippines. As a result, the Tao language is more closely related to the Ivatan language spoken there than it is to the other Austronesian languages of Taiwan (Loo et al. 2011). The film "Memory of

Islands" (2013) is the only film to explicitly explore this link, following a series of cultural exchanges between the Batanes and Orchid Island. Other films highlight the Tao's seafaring cultural practices and their traditional knowledge of the ocean. The films "Men's Ocean, Women's Calla Lily Field" (2008) and "Kawut Na Cinat'Kelang" (2009) both document the resurrection of long-neglected rituals associated with the building and launching of Orchid Island's famed ten-person boats, while "Rayon" (2001) focuses on the rituals associated with the flying fish catch of the season. "Dishes of An Afternoon Meal" follows a couple preparing lunch and shows the traditional knowledge associated with living off the ocean.

The historic connection with the ocean seemingly still shapes the lives of many of the coastal Indigenous populations, such as the Pangcah, many of whom still work in the fishing industry. In "Vast Deep Ocean Blue" (2015) we watch as Layway Dalay, the only one of his siblings not to follow his father into a career in deep-sea fishing, tries to understand their experiences at sea which often took them away from home for months at a time. In other films the connection is even more tenuous. Huang Hsinyao's humorous documentary "Taivalu" (2010) uses the Austronesian connection to link Taiwan and Tuvalu, but is more concerned with the effects of global warming than Austronesian culture. Finally, it is worth mentioning here a modern-day Indigenous journey across oceans: "Voices in the Clouds" (2010) traces the journey of Tony Coolidge as he tries to get in touch with an Indigenous past his mother had hid from him when he was growing up in America.

A big part of the global Indigenous struggle for sovereignty over their own lands has been documenting oral traditions in the hopes of trying to give them the same legal status as the written texts used by settlers. Among the Atayal, the *Lmuhuw* tradition of chanting is "inherited by male elders exclusively, and normally is chanted when proposing marriage or reconciliation after a dispute" (Yi-Shiuan Chen et al. 2018, 16 note 14; in Zheng 2006). Because the *Lmuhuw* records the history of Atayal migrations, it serves as an important reservoir of knowledge for the delineation of traditional territorial rights. The 2017 film "The Memory of Orality" follows the efforts of a research group to record these chants before the last remaining *Lmuhuw* practitioners pass away. The film shows us how these songs are turned into datapoints on a map, as drone cameras fly us over the paths taken by the ancestors.

The Development Chronotope

Like the Austronesian chronotope, the development chronotope denies the coevalness of Indigenous Taiwanese cultures with that of the various "civilizing" powers they have encountered. The difference is that rather than valorizing traditional cultures, it frames them as obstacles to progress. This was true of the Qing, who framed the distinction as one between "raw" and "cooked" tribes, although in practice being "cooked" just meant laying down arms and paying taxes (Shepherd 1993, 109). This was true of the Japanese, who took rebellious

Indigenous leaders on tours of the larger cities in Taiwan and even Japan in order to impress upon them just how backward they were (Ching 2000, 795–796). It was true of the KMT, who created grade school textbooks about the legend of Wu Feng who supposedly gave his own life to put an end to the practice of headhunting (Ching 2000, 802–810; Liu, Li-Ching, and Vickers 2013, 125). And it continues to be true of a number of religious organizations and non-profits who make the "uplift" of Indigenous communities their life's work.

Because of Taiwan's history of uneven development, Indigenous communities, often located in inaccessible mountain areas, or on the remote East Coast where my university is, remain far from Taiwan's centers of economic development. This gives a spatial dimension to the development chronotope. Rural poverty and urban migration are themes in many of the documentaries. But with a few exceptions, the films in the TIEFF archive are almost universally critical of the development chronotope, thus this chronotope tends to appear only by way of critique. One might even be justified in calling this the "anti-development chronotope." From the point of view of a chronotopic analysis, however, the two are nearly identical, since they make the same temporal and spatial assumptions even if they differ in terms of which side of the rural-urban or traditional-modern binaries they valorize.

One of the few films to portray Indigenous culture as an obstacle to development is "And Deliver Us From Evil" (2001) by Si Yabosokanen. Tao widows are often isolated from the family and community because of fear that they will bring bad luck. The film follows some Christian volunteers who provide them with food, baths, basic care, and company. Mostly women, they often do this work against the wishes of their own husbands. But the framing of the film ends up pathologizing traditional Tao culture, pitting it unfavorably against enlightened Western medical practices and Christianity. The work of Paiwan director Sasuyu Ubalat is more representative of the archive, reversing this equation to portray traditional Indigenous culture as the answer to a pathological Chinese modernity. In "The Last 12.8 km" (2013) he presents cultural tourism as a response to environmental degradation from a proposed highway project, and in "Resurgence" (2016) we see how embracing local culture helps Indigenous youth succeed in school.

One of the biggest challenges to the preservation of Indigenous culture is rapid urbanization. As of 2015 the urban Indigenous population has begun to outflank that of the rural population. Despite the fact that many of these cities were built by Indigenous labor, Indigenous people tend to live in makeshift settlements on the peripheries of Taiwan's large urban centers. All too often they find themselves in the path of bulldozers as these cities expand outwards. Tsao Wen-chieh's "Dreaming of Home—Marginal Tribe of the City" and "Children in Heaven" by the Pangcah director Mayaw Biho were both made in 1997. Each explores a different community on the outskirts of Taipei, each threatened with destruction. Both films focus especially upon the lives of the children, for whom these seemingly temporary dwellings are the only home they've ever known. In "My River," made in 2009, Mayaw Biho returns to the

community featured in “Children in Heaven” to document the continuing struggle which is summed up in the words “If they tear it down, we’ll build it again!”

Other films focus on the rural villages being left behind, such as “Songs of Hunungaz” (2015) which focuses on the plight of Zhou Feng, a rural Indigenous school that is in danger of being closed down due to declining population. In order to try to make a case for the school’s continued existence, they embark on a series of singing contests. This strategy was inspired by the children of another Bunun school, documented in the popular 2009 film “Sing it!” The children in that film blended traditional Bunun harmonies with Western choral singing to win national and international recognition. Unfortunately, despite a lot of enthusiasm and talent, the small student population of Zhou Feng makes it hard to compete on the national stage, and their efforts ultimately prove unsuccessful.

A third group of films in this chronotope traces the increasingly popular reverse migration, from the city back to the village. Priced out of cities and tired of the bustle of city life, a large number of Indigenous Taiwanese, young and old, are now looking for ways to make a living back home. Thanks to increased tourism, better transportation, and the internet, this can now be an option for some. Tang Shiang-chu’s “How Deep is the Ocean” (2000) is about the director’s Tao friend, Mamuno whose world is split between Orchid Island where he is building a home, and the Taiwan mainland where he must live and work to pay for that house. Pan Zhi-wei’s (Pangcah) 2017 “Dialogue Among Tribes” looks back on such lives from the perspective of a generation that have largely left behind dangerous work in the cities (or at sea), and now are living back in their own villages.

Taiwan’s unique climate and geography makes it particularly prone to natural disasters, and because Indigenous communities are often situated in the mountains or on the coast, they are disproportionately impacted by these disasters. It is common for entire villages to be buried in mud from a landslide, swept away by flooding, or lose their access to water. The government’s response to such disasters has often been lackluster, bordering on callous. After Typhoon Mindulle in 2004, then Vice President Annette Lu provoked outrage when she suggested that Indigenous people affected by the disaster emigrate to Central America (Hong 2004). Religious NGOs, whose attitude towards Indigenous people can be aloof and paternalistic, are rarely any better.

But the tensions are not simply between the Indigenous villages and the government, or the NGOs. The disaster-recovery films in the archive often reveal deep tensions within the Indigenous communities themselves as they risk being split apart by the conflicts between those who want to relocate and those who want to try to stay and rebuild. These films often focus on the trials and tribulations of individual Indigenous leaders as they navigate these tensions. Mayaw Biho’s film “Light Up My Life” (2011) focuses on Arbuwu, an Indigenous woman politician from the Kanakanavu tribe struggling to rebuild her village after disaster.

Futuru Tsai's "The New Flood" (2011) explores a similar set of issues in a Tsou village. And Chen Jofei's "Sakuliu 2 : The Conditions of Love" (2013) explores the tensions between the Paiwan artist and community leader Sakuliu and the village he used to call home as it tries to rebuild after getting severely damaged by Typhoon Morakot.

Conclusion

The utility of the chronotope concept lies in its ability to make comparisons both within and across chronotopes (Agha). Thus, in this chapter, when a film falls into multiple chronotopes I have chosen to emphasize one chronotope over another largely on the basis of which comparisons are most fruitful for advancing our understanding of the shifting frameworks of Indigenous identities in Taiwan, even if doing so might sometimes overlook other important aspects of these films. For the same reason I have excluded some films which don't easily fit into the larger comparative scheme. Any analytical framework will necessarily highlight certain aspects of the dataset at the expense of others. As scholars of Bakhtin have pointed out, one of the strengths of his own use of chronotopes lies in how he linked spacio-temporal frameworks to concepts of personhood (Bakhtin 1982; Lempert and Perrino 2007; Agha 2007), and that is what I have tried to do here. But there is another aspect of Bakhtin's literary theory which is also important to understanding the construction of personhood, and that is *voice*.

Both chronotopes and voice are dialogic concepts, and thus "permit metasemiotic readings that differentiate biographic-individual from social-collective realities" (Agha 2007, 330). So far, in this chapter, I have focused on chronotopes and ignored voice. The analysis of voice requires a more in-depth reading of individual films than space allows in a survey essay of this kind. However, by way of conclusion, I would like to look at the works of two younger Indigenous filmmakers whose manipulation of voice is particularly noteworthy. What makes Salone Ishahavut's "Alis's Dreams" (2011) and Su Hung-en's "The Mountain" (2015) especially interesting is that they self-consciously deploy all three chronotopes discussed in this chapter. In doing so, I would like to argue that this also represents a generational shift in Taiwanese identity politics. Whereas an earlier generation saw themselves locked in a battle for or against Chineseness, the younger generation of Indigenous artists, intellectuals, and activists is more concerned with questions of Indigenous sovereignty within Taiwan.

This is part of a larger trend in Taiwanese society. Ever since the lifting of martial law and the rise of multiparty democracy in Taiwan, the political landscape has been dominated by two political parties: the pro-China KMT, and the opposition Democratic Progressive Party, or DPP. Like other modern democracies, many young people and activists are frustrated with the way the two-party system limits the bounds of reasonable political debate, the *doxa* (Bourdieu 1977, 164) of political discourse. In the last few years this frustration has led to the Sunflower

Movement, when young people occupied the Legislative Yuan (Taiwan's Parliament) in 2014, and the rise of new-wave political parties, like the New Power Party (NPP) that take a stronger stand on social justice issues (Fell 2016). But for Indigenous activists there is still widespread frustration at the way this political doxa continues to exclude issues pertaining to Indigenous justice, sovereignty, and land rights. It is perhaps for these reasons that younger Indigenous filmmakers treat the various chronotopes discussed here, not as political weapons in battle between the two leading parties, but as symbolic resources from which they can pick and choose as they please, weaving together multiple chronotopes into a single coherent narrative.

Both "Alis's Dreams" (2011) and "The Mountain" (2015) present the life stories of Indigenous elders whose life has spanned the Japanese era, the martial-law era, and the opening up of Taiwan to democracy. Both films are told primarily through the voice of this main protagonist. These protagonists are both from tribes who once called the high central mountain ranges their home, and so both films highlight the links between land rights and traditional Indigenous ways of life. Both films also have interesting critiques of the development chronotope, although the context and tone of these critiques are very different in each film. The films also deal with voice in very different ways. "Alis's Dreams" provides a somewhat traditional oral history that includes the stories of the main protagonist and her immediate ancestors, but this is combined with a visual narrative that imparts to these stories a unique sense of traveling through space. "The Mountain," on the other hand, uses a number of distancing mechanisms to maintain a certain ironic distance from the central oral narrative. This allows the filmmaker's own ambivalence about his Indigenous identity to intrude into the film. In the end, however, both films make a strong case for Indigenous sovereignty over their land.

Salone Ishahavut's "Alis's Dreams" traces the life journey of Cina Alis, a seventy-four-year-old Bunun woman who was born during the height of Japanese colonial rule. Her ancestral village was located high in Taiwan's Central Mountain Range, but over the course of both Japanese and KMT rule they were forced to relocate five times. Now, after a typhoon swept much of the village away and destroyed the water supply, they are once again being asked to relocate. This time to a planned community set up by the Buddhist Tzu Chi Foundation, Taiwan's equivalent of the Red Cross. Like "Pusu Qhuni" the film matches oral histories with modern-day Indigenous pilgrimages, and like "Lmuhuw" the film makes extensive use of Google Maps to virtually etch the oral narrative onto the landscape (Lin 2013, 174). But the voice in this film functions less in a grand historical frame and more at the level of a personal journey.

Cina Alis's oral narrative blends the voices of her ancestors, her own childhood memories, and the current plight of her village. Each of these voices marks different chapters in the film and each one evokes time and space in a different way. First there are the oral traditions

passed down to her from her parents about life during the Japanese colonial era. A journey to her childhood home, now in ruins, helps mnemonically trigger (in Lin 2013, 178; Tilley 1997, 24) some of these memories. Throughout the film, the experience of Bunun culture is presented as a living tradition which exists alongside the colonial encounter, through to the present; not something that only existed in the distant past. For instance, her father had to set aside his responsibilities working for the Japanese police in order to fulfill his responsibilities as son of the village headman, handing his police responsibilities over to his younger brother.

Secondly, there are her own childhood memories, recounting the experience of growing up as an Indigenous girl during the martial-law era under KMT rule. Because of her gender she was restricted from joining her brothers from hunting or even picking fruit, although at school she had a chance to show off her shooting skills when she competed in target practice. Throughout both chapters, her knowledge of traditional customs and ecology shapes how the viewer sees the landscape. By the time she was eight the Japanese had left and her own childhood was shaped by KMT policies. But, as Lin points out, her experience of the lived environment, the remains of her ancestral village that was built in the traditional Bunun style, her knowledge of herbs and memories of picking plants, etc. all serve to infuse these narratives with a strong sense of Indigenous personhood which is intimately tied to the land.

The third chapter takes us to the present, which finds Cina Alis living in a temporary residence after the disaster of Typhoon Morakot in 2009. Here we encounter the development chronotope through the voice of then president Ma Ying-jeou who gives a speech praising the efforts of the Buddhist Tzu Chi Foundation to build new homes for the community. He praises Tzu Chi for offering the villagers a "healthy, moral, and modern life." In fact, along with her desire to return home, it is this focus on health and morality that prevents Cina Alis from living in the new housing. As she explains, her son drinks and smokes and would thus be unable to abide by the rules of the community if they lived there.

"Alis's Dreams" wields the multiple chronotopes of Indigenous Taiwanese personhood as a weapon in a struggle for Indigenous sovereignty. It constitutes an extended argument for Cina Alis's right to live in a place of her choosing. But because this argument is so closely bound up with Cina Alis's own personal voice, it remains unclear if this connection to the land will outlive her? At one point in the narrative she recounts how her grandfather had refused to follow the rest of the villagers after one of the relocations, instead staying behind to die in the only place he knew how to live. Is this all she can hope for? To die alone in her former home?

Su Hung-en's 2015 film "The Mountain" takes a different approach. Although also based on a personal narrative, the director's voice is present throughout the film which maintains a certain ironic distance. This is as much the director's journey as that of his grandfather, the ostensible subject of the film. Born to a Han father and an Indigenous mother, the film focuses on the director's Truku grandfather, Teymu Teylong, who lives in the mountains of

Hualien on the East Coast of Taiwan where he raises fish and chickens and regularly goes hunting in the mountains. Beautifully shot on 16mm film by cinematographer Miquel Martinez, the film is accompanied by poetic first-person narration by Teymu, and also makes use of historical footage (some of which is reconstructed) documenting each period of Teymu's life, from the Japanese period up through to the present day.

The scenes of his grandfather show the daily struggles and activities of rural daily life. This is a world quite far away from the urban lifestyle of the director's childhood. Teymu visits the doctor, does household chores, sacrifices a piglet, attends a wedding banquet, and goes hunting in the mountains. There is nothing romantic about this. Even the hunting scenes focus on the practicalities of setting traps and butchering the animal at the campsite. Similarly, there is little sentimentality about the narration, such as when we learn that his father-in-law allowed Teymu's marriage largely because of his excellent hunting skills. We learn that, like many Indigenous people in Taiwan, he worked at sea, but also doing construction work in the city.

The archival footage, the oldest of which is actually reconstructed because of the poor quality of the Japanese-era footage, can be divided into two categories. The footage from the Japanese period, the 1960s, and the 1970s keeps repeating the same development narrative in which Indigenous peoples are represented as the beneficiaries of state policies designed to lift them out of poverty and ignorance. The fact that the footage in each era says essentially the same thing works as a powerful critique of decades of failed policies. This is then contrasted with footage of the Indigenous rights movement in the 90s, and Indigenous TV news from the present. Although now reported on Indigenous news, we learn that many of the same issues are still being debated.

In interviews, Su Hung-en has made it clear that he deliberately chose to avoid portraying Indigenous people either as victims of development, or the state as their savior (Ko and Chen Zhi Yi 陳芷儀 2016). And his use of the Japanese chronotope, although brief, serves to deemphasize the historical break between the Japanese and KMT eras, highlighting the continuity of state policies across time. Some of his grandfather's daily practices, such as hunting and making sacrifices, invoke the Austronesian chronotope, but otherwise he appears a mostly poor but self-sufficient, modern rural Taiwanese man. He sees news of the Indigenous movement on TV, but it seems very far from his daily experience.

Although this chapter has been purposely limited in scope, I can imagine a much larger project, one which traces the parallel histories of Taiwanese cinema and the shifting contours of Indigenous identities. The history of Taiwan's Indigenous peoples is intimately tied up with the early history of film. The most valuable commodity in Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period was camphor (Tavares 2005, 362), extracted from trees which grew in the high Central Mountain Range. At the dawn of the twentieth century camphor was used in

medicine and gunpowder, as well as early plastics. One of these plastics was celluloid, which the Eastman Kodak company patented for use in filmmaking in 1889 (Rossell 1998, 67). Camphor made up about thirty percent of celluloid (Reilly 1991, 150), which would remain the prime source of film stock until after the end of World War II. Taiwan would dominate global camphor markets during this entire time, providing over half of the world's camphor (Hsu 2010). To protect this valuable commodity, the Japanese forcibly evicted the Indigenous population from the mountains and built an electrified fence to keep them out. Ironically, it was also at this time that the Japanese started making films about them! Thus, Indigenous Taiwanese were captured on celluloid using the very camphor for which they had been conquered and kicked out of their ancestral lands.

The Japanese no longer rule Taiwan, film is no longer shot on celluloid, and Indigenous Taiwanese are no longer kept out of their homeland by an electrified fence, but over time film has come to play an increasingly important role in Indigenous Taiwanese lives. 2005 saw the launch of Taiwan's first ever Indigenous satellite TV station (Cultural Survival 2014), later followed by the creation of a companion YouTube channel. There has also been a flourishing of representations of Indigenous Taiwanese in fiction film, by Indigenous and non-Indigenous directors alike. "Warriors of the Rainbow," dramatizing the largest Indigenous uprising against Japanese rule, was one of the biggest budget films ever to come out of Taiwan (The Economist 2011). Films like "Finding Sayun" and "Panay" by Indigenous directors may not have had the same pull at the box office, but they probably did more in the long term to transform the landscape of Indigenous Taiwanese cinema.

The films discussed in this chapter also map on to the larger history of Taiwan, coming as they do out of the explosion of visual narratives about Taiwan that began to flourish at the end of the martial law era. This was the same time that Indigenous identity politics emerged as a powerful force on the national stage. As I have written elsewhere (Friedman 2018), Indigenous politics and the Taiwanese independence movement had an uneasy alliance. The Indigenous and Japanese chronotopes discussed in this chapter both served the needs of those seeking to challenge the previously dominant Chinese chronotope, but opposition party politicians largely continued (and still continue) to uncritically embrace the development chronotope and had little interest in giving more than lip service to Indigenous sovereignty.

Since the DPP came to power in 2016, led by President Tsai Ing-wen, those divisions have crystalized even further as Indigenous activists who once campaigned for Tsai began a long-term protest. This includes one of the Indigenous directors discussed here, Mayaw Biho, who has abandoned documentary filmmaking and taken up live-streaming protests on Facebook instead (Siku 2018). Others, such as Salone, Su Hung-En, and Pan Zhi-wei, have found a more personal voice with which to articulate their visions of Indigenous personhood. As China once again seems to be asserting itself in the Taiwan political sphere, it remains to

be seen how these chronotopes will be deployed; but no matter what, I'm sure that Indigenous voices will be central to the discussion.

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