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Being Aboriginal and Taiwanese in the Pursuit of Community Well-Being: Examining the Janus-Face of Public Health Among Bunun Peoples

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For my beloved parents

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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On the southeastern hillside of Taiwan where Bunun peoples, groups of Austronesian-speaking aborigines reside, the politically designed and designated Aboriginal Reserved Land (ARL) system is both a sociocultural source of livelihood and an ever-shifting context of public health. Departing from these points and following the sociolinguistic trajectories of Bunun/Han Chinese/English polylogues, I explore the medicalization of certain plant and animal species (e.g., ginger) as patients on farms and in the forests, as well as the asymmetric relationship between health- and wellness-seeking at local, national, and global levels. Next, this dissertation project follows the circulations and communications of disaster narratives in Bunun landscapes, Taiwanese media, and international health organizations to further examine the intersection of lived and calculated risks, economic opportunities, and diachronic/synchronic ethno-demography. In addition, I seek to understand injuries and discomfort that are associated with physical labor on the ARL as both the corpo-realities and their therapies emerge. This ethnography of care is further complemented by the care *for* the ethnographer at Bunun eldercare gatherings that did more than simply provide care for the Bunun elderly.

Last but not least, I investigate the interplay between signifiers and well-being from two ethnographic turntables – the sequence of sounds made to care and the silence/utterance made to heal – then to turn the table on issues related to memory and post-coloniality. The Janus-face of public health among Bunun is a consideration and re-consideration of the ways in which Bunun peoples and their lands are includeded/excludeded the ways in which they are opposed/apposed in relation to the naturalizing and racializing practices and/or discourses of public health; and the change, the continuation and the conundrum of multiple and multiplying contexts.

Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION	**1**
Eco-Political Context	5
Ethnographic Context	7
Physical and Built Environment	9
Intellectual Significance	10
Research Methodolody	12
Research Objectives	15
Dissertation Chapters	17
CHAPTER ONE	**20**
1.1 Agro-Economic Demography	20
1.2 Socio-Political History and Relations	23
1.3 Ethno-Geographical and –Dietary Present	28
1.4 Bunun Voices of Well-Being	38
CHAPTER TWO	**44**
2.1 Domestic Supplements in Bunun Pharmacy	47
2.2 Bunun Wild Prescriptions	50
2.3 Plant Patient-Hood and "Agricultural Medicine"	51
2.4 A History of Bunun Meat Sharing-Redistributions of Risks and Wellness	63
CHAPTER THREE	**69**
3.1 Naturalized Disaster	69
3.2 Institutionally Circulated Risks vs. Lived Risks	74
3.3 The Dilemma of Bodily, Social, and Environmental Well-Being	83
CHAPTER FOUR	**101**
4.1 What is Bunun "Public Health"?	102
4.2 Emerging Bunun Occupational Therapeutic Choices	103
4.3 Bunun Elderly Care	109
4.4 Signifier of Care-The Sound of Bunun Caregiving	115
4.5 Embraced Colonial Past, Ancestral Virtue, Palimpsestic Healing	117
CONCLUSION	**133**
ENDNOTES	**147**
BIBLIOGRAPHY	**149**

List of Figures

1-1 The main distribution of Bunun peoples in Taiwan 20

1-2 Vakangan and other nearby communities 21

2-1 Shan-di-cong (highland onions) 47

Introduction

On August 8th, 2009, Hurricane Morakot swept through the heart of Taiwan, resulting in one of the most severe hurricane-led disasters in the history of the island. On the southeast coast of Taiwan in Taitung County, driftwood washed down from the mountains covered a stretch of at least 60 kilometers of the coastline. As a result, many railroad and freeway structures were damaged, destabilized, or simply destroyed. The hillsides of this area were home to several aboriginal villages located along river channels and the pounding and pummeling of floods decimated at least sixty houses. Many Bunun residents living in Vakangan, an aboriginal community located on the central hillside of Taitung County, also experienced the power of the hurricane when a major road that serves intra-communal traffic collapsed and a local hot spring was completely buried in mud.

While many Bunun residents jokingly claim that Vakangan is the only "disaster zone" among four other neighboring villages, it is quite truthful that their life has been changed dramatically by the aftermath. The commuting time now between Vakangan and a neighboring village has increased at least three folds and many have complained about the increasing demand for gas. The once nationally renowned Vakangan Hot Spring that provided opportunities for local employment and interactions are turned into mud and memories. What is being buried underneath is more than just a glorious past. If one digs deep enough, in fact there one would find a history of land tenure change and the dilemma embodied in implementation of the Aboriginal Reserved Land (ARL) system.

These reserved lands are located on the steep hillsides and were allotted to local Taiwanese aborigines as early as the beginning of the 20th century during the Japanese Colonial period (Wang 1980). At the waning of their power, when the Nationalist government retreated from China and settled on the island during late 40s, the officials adopted the land system and granted reserved areas to aborigines strictly for agricultural purposes (Simon 2002). The inheritance and continuing utilization of the ARL has not only created a dynamic land system, but also generating a diverse relationship between Bunun people and their physical surrounding.

In this dissertation project, I aim to demonstrate that the complexity of such "human + land" equation, from both historical and narrative standpoints, does not have a single sum. In fact, as one plugs in various cultural factors into either the "human" or "land" variable, the anthro-mathematical result also *changes*. Theoretically speaking, this anthro-mathematical speaks to the multiplicity of both Bunun narratives and locality. Locality, as Rodman (1992) suggests, reflects experiences of *others* and because of its multitude, its result should not be treated as ethnographically or theoretically totalizing and essentializing. In other words, the construction could also lead to further re-construction, re-consideration, and/or additional rendition. Hanks' (2010) investigation on Mayan land documents during its colonial era echo such multi-locality in its historical making - different worlds emerge as these land documents take shape (p 289). Such world-making process is found in Grime's (2006) research with an Austronesian society where maps shape the reality of Buru people. Departing from this standpoint, I intend to

use different chapters as textual maps that construct, reconstruct, or renovate multiple worlds of public health within an aboriginal community in Taiwan.

By renovating, I mean to refresh the perspective on a worldview that the text has allowed one's readers to see. In order to do so, local narratives will serve as textual structures where the theoretical pieces can be put together and stand. In the process of composing and reading such texts, as Bakhtin has suggested, it is possible that different arrays of contending, contradicting, complementing voices might exist, rather than a unified and straightforward voice (1981). As a result, the worlds of Bunun public health present in this dissertation project embody the confounding factors that are encountered not only during the process of data-collection, but also as lived experiences of the Bunun people.

The Bunun community where I visited and conducted 8 and a half months of fieldwork is located on the west side of a stretch of mountain ridge located in southern Taiwan. The local population is of people linguistically related to the Austronesian language family and many are fluent in Japanese and Han Chinese[i] languages. This is the direct and indirect result of colonial interaction with this particular aboriginal population over at least the past one hundred some years. Because of the Japanese rule (1895-1945), the continuing expansion of Han population expansion on the island, as well as inter-ethnic marriages, the locals are a very diverse group both culturally and linguistically.

Not only is Bunun a diverse Austronesian population on the island of Taiwan, the landscapes or the physical contexts[ii] through which their culture and language can be known should not be, both theoretically and ethnographically, taken for granted.

Naturalization of Bunun landscapes is one way such context is fixed and statically framed. One of the goals of my dissertation project is to demonstrate the process through which Bunun landscape is constructed as "natural." Juliet McMullin's (2010) investigation on the relation between Native Hawaiian and their land in history perfectly demonstrate the change of health in such context. Extending this ethnography to anthropological questions, Mukhopadhyay and Moses (1997) further shed light on the presumed naturalness of categorized human diversity, here I further extend that question to the presupposed absence of humanness (singular or plural) in the categorized landscape and demonstrate how "Bunun-scape" has come to be objectified and naturalized in Taiwanese public health discourses (Appadurai 2011).

Another major component of my dissertation is to frame Bunun model of "care," "well-being" and "public health" by drawing evidences from local narratives and practices that might not be meaningful in the contemporary discussion of public health in Taiwan. Harvey's (2011) detailed examination of Maya medicine salesperson as a legitimate form of public health practitioner and educator serves as yet another departure point for rendering Bunun people's stories of wellness as multi-faceted in various places. Additionally, Ritter's (2007) ethnographic insight on the performance of songs in a wider social and dialogical context, rather than simply focusing on the lyrical structure, shows its relevance in Bunun's sound of care when machines signify cultural dialogue.

Shifting focus to the dialogue between Bunun and public health discourse, how does the former conceptualize public health through their everyday experiences as farmers working on hills that are managed by the government? On a state level, both

political and lay discourses in the country are presently calling for the protection of highlands from developments such as excessive cultivation and logging. This contrasts with the fact that many lands that are allotted to aboriginal populations in Taiwan have been reserved for them for agricultural purposes. Culturally, my research centers in Vakangan–a Bunun community located on the hillside of southeastern Taiwan where the majority of the residents rely on farming and forestry for living. Topically, this anthropological field research project investigates the nexus of "well-being" and "land" that emerge in everyday Bunun life and public health discourses that inform them. One current example of this intersection is the reoccurring mudslides that affect rural mountainous regions and urban lowland spaces alike illustrating the inseparable ties between distinct cultural communities and geographies. I will focus my research by addressing several keys questions, such as "what are some of the local accounts and experiences related to issues of well-being," "How do the Bunun in Vakangan address such issues," and "what are the relations between the 'well-being' and 'land'?" Answering these questions will allow me to rethink about the potential benefit and/or shortfall of existing public health in both conception and practices.

Eco-Political Context

The effort to conserve land in mountainous areas has been an issue in Taiwan's recent history. This, in part, corresponds to the large scale of mudslides that occurred in southern Taiwan brought by several powerful hurricanes (August 8, 2009 and September 20, 2010). The massiveness and devastating amounts of land that have washed down from the island's mountains have threatened the safety of both highland and lowland

residents. For Bunun residents whom I interviewed in the field, many can relate to the lived experiences of such disaster that have created insecurity and inconvenience, such as damages of roads, structures, and infrastructures. For many Taiwanese who did not live or frequently travel in risky areas-hills, mounds, mountains, or even some flat terrains with potential run-off, the risk of landslide can observed and heard about in media and public discussions.

As public condemnations searched for the possible causes and explanations for these "natural" disasters, some have begun blaming aboriginal residents in mountainous regions for destroying the environment, which would in turn affect a wider public. Because many mountainous aborigines own land in hilly areas and because agriculture has remained a major life subsistence activity, public scrutiny has emerged based on this presumably 'natural' link between aborigines and mudslides (Oliver-Smith 2001). However, a closer look at the ethno-historical context reveals that along with the structural restrictions that come with the aboriginal reserved land (ARL) system, many aborigines were left with arable lands that were deemed unsafe for the lowland residents and unprofitable for business investments (Simon 2002). Aboriginal farmers are often encouraged to plant trees for conservation purposes by the government – a policy that has been promoted in highland areas of Taiwan.

While I understand that Bunun ways of life is entangled with the use Reserved Lands that are regulated and monitored by the state at multiple levels-local, township, and national, I also served in a (mandatory) military unit that was closely associated with aboriginal affairs in Taiwan. The bureaucrats and the military seniors whom I worked

with might treat certain ethnographic details or information as beneficial or threatening to their career advancement or policy recommendations. Certain information from the government agency might be favoring groups of elite in the community while disfavoring others when shared. For this reason, the sharing of ethnographic "truths" as a result of dialogues between many stakeholders in the field and in this dissertation suggests that ethnographic data to be written and communicated in partiality and incompleteness.

Furthermore, the conflict and contradictions that exist between certain aboriginal communities and the state require careful treatment of ethnographic data as written record or communication in any other form. Therefore, I deliberately decided to not address or include some of the information that Bunun people treated as "private" or what my military seniors might deem as "critical" and might subject to political or legal actions. By providing such information to either communities or including them in this dissertation, I might actually turn myself as a traitor to either community. My positionality during and after fieldwork hence prevented me from eliciting every single detail of my ethnography and about the governing bodies (Bunun or non-Bunun).

Ethnographic Context

Vakangan, literally, the red-leave, a community where maple tree are grown is clearly a good example where a land policy and public health concern intersect and contradict one another. Out of necessity, many Bunun residents plant trees for economic purposes as well as food on their government-allotted land. During my previous visit to the field, I was informed by local residents that the government programs reward farmers who establish tree plantation on highland hills - from subsidies on bamboos in the past to

financial reward for growing and maintaining forests in more recent times. Hence the discussion of how Bunun residents in Vakangan sustain their livelihood in relation to forestry and agriculture could lend a pathway to understanding how the safety and well-being of the lowlanders might turn out.

During my previous visit to the ethnographic site, many local residents claimed that they are living healthier than their lowland counterparts because of the environment – hills, trails, and isolation from the urban areas. Some Bunun added that because they have to hike and work alone steep hills, they are actually farming and exercise at the same time. As a result of such physically strenuous activities, many Vakangan residents claim to have *mahatba* or to be in possession of fortitude. This concept, according to many Bunun, is often used to describe a person's state of well-being. Examples, such as being hard-working or being able to carry a lot of agricultural produce on one's back, captures some of the essential qualities of well-being in this community. This Bunun concept, thus, is linguistically and symbolically different from what is generally considered as "healthy" (*jiankang*; 健康) in Han society as they are culturally and geographically distinct.

This project investigates local narratives and contexts that emerge out of everyday life of how Bunun people experience *mahatba* in Vakangan village. Questions such as what Bunun peoples consider as *mahatba* as they perform forestry and/or agricultural tasks and how such knowledge and its application might be inconsistent and/or incompatible with wider Taiwanese global public health conceptions are key to my investigation. This project will focus on framing local understandings of *mahatba* by

following the "wellness-seeking" (Harvey 2006) process in places including but not limited to farms, forests, and places where healing activities, such as shamanic and Christian healing, occur. Some of these healing activities have been noted by past literature (Huang 1993) and my ethnographic observation of where mahatba-related activities might emerge.

Physical and Built Environment

With regard to the physical and built environments of the research site, several recent hurricanes have not only devastated many mountainous aboriginal communities, but also generated questions on the legitimacy and liability of farming in these steep hills. Hence both positive and negative attributes are associated with aboriginal farmers in the mountainous communities. For their part, Taiwanese government has been carrying out policies that encourage forest plantations in these regions to conserve hilly sites that are susceptible to mudslides that might further lead to detrimental disasters in the lowland areas (Forestry Bureau Website). Vakangan, one of these mountainous communities, is perched on a hill where both fields of agricultural produce can be found, as well as a major lumbering trail built for forestry industry since the Japanese colonial period during early 20th century.

Significantly, this lumbering trail lead to plots of aboriginal reserved lands and state-owned forests that are used for agriculture and re-forestation by the local Bunun and the government. A river adjacent to the trail provides water for drinking and farming for not only Vakangan and nearby communities, but also serve as one of the water sources for the urban population in the lowland area. The presence of such important land and

water resources makes Vakangan an ideal site for my doctoral research; investigations on Taiwanese aboriginal's health have mainly focused on genetic relevance of disease and structural factors (Chen et al 2004, Cheng et al 2004, Ko et al 2002) neglecting their subjective experience of well-being as active participant in shaping and being shaped by their environment.

Intellectual Significance

Well-being and land use are intimately connected and their nexus has been an important topic of debate in both global and domestic policy, generating views that range from preservation and protection to various degrees of development and alternative industries (Parry et al 2007:407). I seek to expand these discussions by drawing an example from a group of Taiwanese aborigines and how the issues of wellness emerge as they carry out farming and forestry tasks as a case study in response to a global social and health issue. The implications of my observations and findings will not be limited to Taiwan, the ethno-geographical specificities of the Bunun peoples and their non-aboriginal counterparts, or to context specific public health concerns over land use but promise to have global relevance. How Bunun peoples in Vakangan apply culturally specific approaches to well-being in order to manage forests and farms not only distinguishes them from (globalized) policy-based public health planning and practices, it is instructive for understanding how local conceptions of health intersect with global expectations.

This approach expands the understandings of the role of land related narrative and performance in framing well-being. That is, what Bunun farmers and forestry workers

say and do about their land could reveal what well-being means for them. These narratives and practices of well-being, while influenced by policy restriction and public pressure, have important relevance to the environmental safety of lowland residents (e.g., the threat of landslides). What it means to be farmers and forestry workers in Vakangan, therefore, provide important ways to understand what well-being means for the Bunun in relation to lowland residents (i.e. "mahatba" vis-à-vis "jiankang"). My research will investigate these local discourses and practices to enrich current scholarly discussion on land and health.

My research thus provides a unique approach to public health research on Taiwanese aborigines that have too often emphasized genetic factors or structural constraints while overlooking well-being as everyday experience in the process of being and becoming. While some sociological and psychological researchers (Huang et al 2003, Ko et al 2002) have specifically dealt with narratives as a pathway to understand health issues at the local level, they tend to emphasize such phenomenon from social and biomedical standpoints. Anthropological investigations into issue of well-being among the Bunun is scarce and seldom departs from both subjective narratives and as means to understand well-being. Hence I center my dissertation project on lived experience that leads to understand how local Bunun perceive as "public health".

Anthropologically, both Csordas' (1994) exploration of well-being through embodied experience and Mattinly's (1994) documentation of well-being as an discursively "emerging" process are useful theoretical lens to examine the relationship between well-being and landscape in Bunun's case. That is, well-being could emerge

through discourse as Bunun farmers interact among themselves and could take shape as lived experience as a part of their farming activities. This project aims to trace how being a Bunun farmer is related to their well-being and what well-being might mean for them as the body unfolds between being and well-being; the individual and the social (Abu-Lughod 1990, Hahn 2007, Scheper-Hughes and Lock 1987). Of course, the body is not without its limit as a lens for understanding local culture. Sanders' (2008) analysis of gendered body and rainmaking ritual in Tanzania cautiously warns his readers that the mapping of the former unto the latter is not always the case. Likewise, Matory (2009) makes the claim that a human body is the land, where multiple beings reside. Hence there is no one approach to the body that can complete the composition for a singular Bunun self. In other words, the body might not be sufficient in sustaining a cultural analysis. Hence, the question of land and languages will serve as contents and contexts as they are used by local residents. I shall return to the discussions of land and language in the following sections of this chapter.

Research Methodology

I was physically present in this Bunun village for almost nine during 2010. While living in this community, I interacted with people of different ages, gender, and profession, as well as people living in various neighborhoods inside the village and different Bunun villages. I included "neighborhood" (*lin* in Mandarin Chinese) as an investigative variable when sampling. Although neighborhood is an official and bureaucratic category of space, I also observed that many close Bunun relatives chose to live in the same neighborhood, if not physically next to one another. As a result, I tried

to get equal and randomized samples for each neighborhood and controlled intra-community kinship for other variations.

Additionally, I also had the opportunities to discuss similar research questions (well-being and land) with informants in inter-Bunun community settings. Whenever I was visiting other Bunun villages (*buluo* in Mandarin Chinese), which is both bureaucratically constructed and discursively confirmed by everyday use, I would pose similar research questions that I used in my field site to inquire about their everyday life. For example, although the results of this inter-community examining was not the original intent of my dissertation design, the narratives of these Bunun informants living three hours away by car ride or ten minutes in a neighboring village served as references when I collected and analyzed data in my own *buluo*.

Both ethnographic interviews and participant observation were utilized within the physical boundary of the *buluo* and beyond. I always explained myself as a graduate student as to learn about the therapies, the medicine, and the Bunun people when people inquired about my motive in their village. I was often introduced as the "researcher from America" to elderly people who could spoke only Bunun and Japanese and required translation either in a street conversation or formal/informal interview. Most of the Bunun adults would comment on how elders possessed rich knowledge about the past and life and suggested that I spoke with someone who was socially recognized with reverence (either the title of *Tama/Cina-"parental generation"* or *Hudzas-"Grandparental generation"*). However, my intellectual inquiry did not merely rely on the wisdom and stories that Bunun elderly shared with me. This ethno-methodological

clue was merely the starting point and reflection to what could have been ethnographically relevant.

As one of the health workers broke down the health issues by age to me, she said, "[those] people who are between 45 and 65 years of age have more chronic illness. Those people who are above 65 are very healthy and do not have as many health problems as those people who are between 45 and 65 years of age," and when I asked her about people of 65 years of age and above, she continued to say, "I don't think too many of them live [in this village]. About 20 of them are living away from this community" (April 18, 2011). Based on this narrative, I tried to sample local populations based on age range that goes between 20 to 40, 40 to 60, and 60 and above, with the understanding that my last sample group might not stand for all of the narratives and experiences due to the absence of the population in this village.

The official age floor for aboriginal elderly population in Taiwan had been previously set at the age of 55 by the government, as opposed to 65 for the Han Chinese population. Due to this bureaucratic calculation, the official age for Bunun elderly in documents and healthcare services began at the age of 55. For research purposes, I generally followed the discursive practices that drew the difference between the parental and grandparental generations as people were called. For instance, an informant who was 60 were called with Bunun title of "Tama" (father or male member of parental generation) was considered as an adult in my study, rather than an elderly person. As a result, I treated this particular person as an adult (between 40-60), rather than an "elderly" as government policy might have suggested.

Research Objectives:

1) To map out the contour of Bunun concept(s) of well-being. Specifically, I will pay attention to what 'Bunun being' might be and what being a Bunun being in a state of wellness might mean ethnographically. In order to frame a locally relevant discourse of well-being, it is beneficial to learn about how Bunun identify themselves first. That is, the ways in which Bunun people in Vakangan perceive and perform Bunun-ness could be an analytic denominator if a culturally constructed or contested idea of well-being were to be calculated. Understanding well-being in its own cultural context hence allow me to build a model of Bunun well-being that is historically and ethnographically contingent to the circle of life in this Bunun community.

2) To investigate the relationship of Bunun people to their land. I will trace the history of land use, types of land (i.e. reserved land and etc.), their exact or approximate locations, and how the Bunun utilize it. Additionally, I will study the relationship between local Bunun and animals, plants, or streams that appear, disappear, linger, or live on such territories. This will allow me to examine "land" as living subjects rather than just immobile objects.

3) To examine issues of well-being and its possible relation(s) to land use in a specific Bunun community where farming and forestry work are common life subsistence activities. This is one of the primary focus because how the concept(s) and practice(s) of these agricultural activities are relevant to not only the well-being the local Bunun resident, but also might affect that of lowland residents indirectly. Land that these Bunun people manage and utilize could be a key in understanding how life in this highland

community is associated or is not associated with public health issues (i.e. mudslide and flooding) that the urban population and political discourses are concerned with.

The significance of this dissertation project are: 1) to understand issues of well-being that are relevant to Bunun people from a lived and emerging perspective. That is, how does a specific group of people living in a mountainous communities experience as "Bunun being", "a state of well-being", and "land". I will frame "Bunun public health" based on local narratives, practices, or inter-local interactions.

4) To reconsider the underlying theories/discourses of public health and to whom they should be meaningful. In other words, could public health model be universal and free of culture? In this case, the application of this model would be universally suitable regardless of any local belief or practice of well-being. Or is it possible that such discourse operating at the political and public levels fused with culture(s)? If so, what are they and are they adequate in raising relevant questions and providing explanations or recommendations to issues of well-being in a different cultural setting? By answering these questions, I will address some of the presuppositions of "public health" in both theory and practice.

5) Moving towards a methodologically turntablist: to turn the table on the culture(s) of the anthropologist who investigated the scene – that is, what investigative lens might the researcher wear/wore to produce such results? By this, I mean what possible underlying theories could have been operating in order for the reconsidering and reconstruction of public health models to hold any analytical and explanatory liability. What if such point of view is shifted, turned around, partially blocked, or zoomed in/out?

Could the reconstruction and reconsideration be re-thought about? If so, how? Answering these questions not merely serve as a reflective process, I propose a deflective anthropology that reshape the thinking path(s) of the anthropologist.

6) Create a platform in order for local Bunun residents and policy makers to have dialogue in what each hold as relevant "public health" issues and reconceptualize a model that might be more ethno-sensitive, rather than ethnocentric.

Dissertation Chapters

This dissertation consists of five chapters, in addition to introduction and conclusion. Chapter One will be on ethnographic contexts, including the history, the physical environment and the sociocultural relations of Bunun people in general and in Vakangan village where the fieldwork took place. In addition, I will also give a brief overview of the political and economic status of Taiwanese aborigines and how Bunun people might be viewed from this macro-social stage. Another aspect of Bunun life relevant here the use of language(s) in their everyday life – the way how they speak, perform jokes, and make silent – that produce them as an unique sociolinguistic community (Harvey 2006, Hymes 2001, Bauman 1992). Such information will help readers to understand the field site in both macro-history and micro-narratives and be able to understand the political economy and sociolinguistic complexity associated with Bunun people's life and physical surrounding.

Chapter Two will cover the first major issue of my dissertation project – Bunun patient. I will specifically discuss Bunun being – the interaction between Bunun farmers and certain species (i.e. plants or/and animals) – that frames the well-being of Bunun and

their scape in an intimate yet alienating trajectory by ways of sociolinguistic and agro-chemical treatment of such Bunun being. In this cultural process, I hope to show the asymmetry of health and well-being as well as to contemplate about the dilemma of public health discourse. I will also address "mahatba" ("stronghold" in Bunun), a local concept of well-being and its relation to Bunun-scape. This discussion will help clarify the issues of Bunun being and well-being in the fresh fields of agriculture produce.

In Chapter Three, I will focus on the issue of land as shifting contexts, both literally and metaphorically, during the time of disaster such as landslide. First, I will trace the history of land tenure at the macro-level - Taiwanese aborigines as a whole – and move into that of Bunun people. Additionally, I will address the political and economic influences that have changed the way how land is planned, perceived, and used at the state and the local levels. With the support of ethnographic evidences, I will then plot out a local understanding and utilization of land use by the Bunun in Vakangan. I will also relate land to their livelihood – mainly farming and forestry work. I will address the issue of land as a relation from its living subjects, such as the relation between Bunun and plants/animals, to address the issue of being and well-being. I will then bring the discussion to how Bunun well-being could be relate to their land (i.e., Bunun "environmental" health).

In Chapter Four, I will discuss multiple ways how Bunun care is carried out in the field. I will specifically discuss Bunun elderly care and the role of the anthropologist in this context. Then I will discuss identity change and its relation to Bunun healing – specifically on how name embody cross-cultural healing experiences, as well as Bunun

predecessors/ancestors and various colonial pasts. Lastly, I will discuss how machines becomes the media through which Bunun signify care among themselves. This three-part discussion will pave the ground to the discussion of issues like identity and healing, the healing of ethnographic encounter, and the sound of care.

These chapters sum up a multivocal and multilocal approach to understand Bunun life and the overlapping layers of social and cultural complexities that make my ethnographic account of Bunun healing practices and public health dialogues meaningful. The sociolinguistic traces and the ethno-spatial contexts are not to be naturalized as *the* Bunun experiences, but both the scientific framing and reframing of Bunun lived experiences and experiences while living among Bunun in a communicative relation. That is to say, the absence of such voices should also not be treated as simply the absence of Bunun experiences. The challenge of this dissertation project is to take up Bunun people, their physical environment, and their voices as locally made.

Chapter One

1.1 Agro-Economic Demography

Bunun people are one of the fourteen Taiwanese aboriginal groups living on the island. There are approximately 52,824 Bunun people, making it the fourth largest among all aboriginal populations (CIP 2011). They are spread out along the Central Mountain Ridge and mainly reside in Hualien, Taitung, Nantou, and Kaohsiung counties. The territory highlighted in Figure 1 shows where Bunun people resided and spread out from since the Japanese rule at the turn of the twentieth century. Many Bunun people have migrated to or lived in other counties beyond this marked boundary.

Figure 1-1 The main distribution of Bunun peoples in Taiwan

Vakangan (*Hongye* in Chinese), the Bunun community where I conducted ethnographic fieldwork[iii] from January 2010 through October 2011, is roughly standing at 300 to 400 meters above sea level. Although such altitude might not be as high as some other aboriginal mountainous communities, it is generally regarded "highland" (*gaoshan* 高山) in local narratives and anthropological records during early 1900s (Academia Sinica 2008, Hudas Huya and Samingan 2010) have suggested that Bunun people used to live in higher mountains during early 1900s. Among these communities, Vakangan is a well-known Bunun community not only for its famous little league baseball team during

the late 60s, but also its natural hot spring. The community is officially known as Hongye based on the plantation of maple trees in and near the town.

Vakangan (see figure 1-2) sits west to the Taitung city, which is a five-hour train ride from Taipei city, the capital of Taiwan. It has an excellent panoramic view of the hills and the Coastal Mountains. When one travels from Taitung city towards Vakangan on the local freeway, he/she will notice obvious changes of landscape, as well as vegetation and people's lifestyle. Small hills that rise out of the horizon gradually become large mounds and mountains, whereas the cliffs beneath winding roads get steeper and steeper. Rice fields look sparse as elevation rises. According to local residents, rice planting has been halted in Vakangan for a long time due to a water shortage for irrigation. Instead, some residents of Vakangan grow pineapples, pumpkins, corn and vegetables, while others work in the forestry sector (i.e., tree plantation, weeding, and so on), and some others hold regular and part-time jobs away from the village.

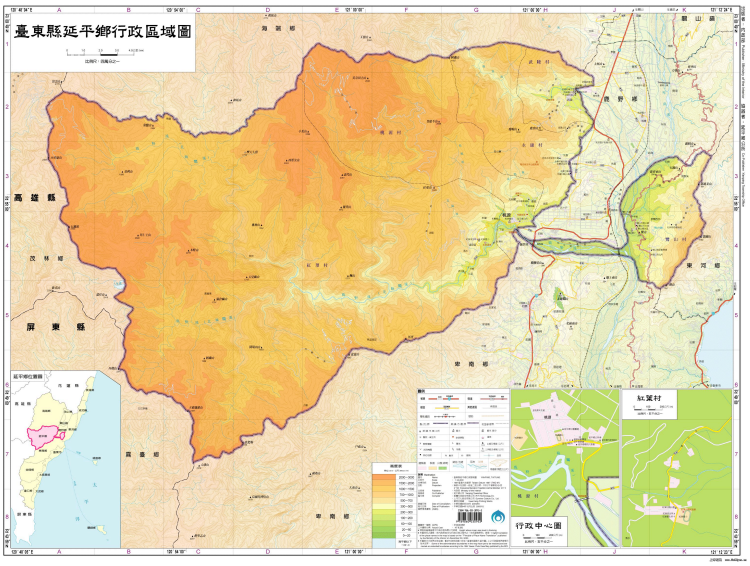

Figure 1-2 Vakangan and other nearby communities

Statistically speaking, the registered population of Vakangan is roughly 500, but the actual number of people living in the village is roughly 300 due to job and school

opportunities away from the village. Vakangan is spread out in five neighborhoods that are weaved through by a major street and back roads around itself. Some of these neighborhoods are a congregation of three to five households along with a school and a health center, while others consist of 15-plus households. Most of the residents in Vakangan are Bunun people, while a small percentage of its population are from other aboriginal groups, such as Paiwan and Amis. The number of Han residents, the major ethnic population on the rest of the island, is the smallest compared to the aboriginal population in this Bunun community. Because of the lack of jobs and higher education institutions in Vakangan, many youths and young adults seek opportunities away from the village.

Connecting Vakangan and other nearby communities and towns are two major roads. The shorter one leads directly into Pasikau, a neighboring Bunun community, while the longer one takes people to paths that connect to roads leading to Pasikau and a major freeway. Because of the damage to a bridge foundation during a hurricane in 2009, the shorter road remains abandoned as of June 2011. Most of the residents take the longer route to commute or travel to nearby towns. There are four other Bunun communities located by and off the freeway; they are known together as the Yanping Township (*yan-ping-xiang*). They are Pasikau, Vakangan, Sanuungsung, Buklavu, and Tulanzang. Pasikau is the closest Bunun community to Vakangan and has the largest population among all of five communities.

1.2 Socio-Political History and Relations

Many Taiwanese have learned about Yanping County because of its historical little league baseball team (Hongye Youth Baseball Team; *Hongye-shao-bang*), as well as its natural hot spring. Prior to obtaining its Mandarin name, Hongye, the community was known as Vakangan. It is said that the name came from a man of the Rukai ethnic group who was killed by Bunun people in the past. Alang in Vakangan remembered how the elderly people talked about the origin of the name Vakangan. He said that there used to be non-Bunun aborigines traveling to where the hot spring area is today just to enjoy hot baths along the bank of the river. The killing of the Puyuma person was probably set in such context when a traveler or someone who passed by was treated as an intruder. In other words, there were other non-Bunun populations that would come to or close to what is known as Vakangan today, and there might have been conflicts between different aboriginal groups historically in this specific area. Vakangan, an ethnic "other" to Bunun people, has nonetheless become the aboriginal name for this community today. I will further discuss the role and requirement of "Otherness" in a Bunun healing ritual in Chapter Four.

Many Bunun, who were in their 70s and 80s, recalled how their families were forced to leave what is known today as "Laipunuk" (*neibenlu* 內本鹿), a large and flat plateau in the higher altitude of the mountain where their predecessors and ancestors used to reside. For instance, hudas Huya and hudas Saminga, both were above 75 years old while I was conducting fieldwork in the village vaguely remembered their relocation. Hudas Huya said,

(小時候)在內本鹿啦，(指另一位長者)也是在那個內本鹿出生的。日本時代的時候把她們遷下來。是日本人叫她們下來…巒山那邊的也是從(內本鹿)遷過來的。有的放這邊，有的放那邊，有的放桃源那邊…她被遷下來時是日本小學一年級。(另一位長者是)十八歲的時候下來的。(August 2, 2010)

We grew up in Laipunuk. The Japanese moved us to Vakangan during their rule of Taiwan. Some of us were moved to Tulanzang [Luanshan] and others to Pasikau…I was a first grader in Japanese elementary school when I was relocated. Hudas Saminga followed her good friend's comments and continued, "I was just 18 at then when it happen. (My translation)

The Japanese were able to continue extracting resources (such as timber and camphor) in the mountains as many Bunun were moved into hills of lower altitude.

A Bunnu man in his 40s commented on the difference between the Japanese rule and the Han Chinese governments during the 20th century as it continued to adapt the Reserved Land system created by the former regime. He said:

保留地這個東西是沒有經過我們同意的…日本人的理番政策雖然對原住民很不公義，但是你問老人家對日本人跟現在的漢人統治的時候，你們比較感恩或是比較緬懷的，十個有九個都說日本人。(日本人)很好，所有的山林，包括樹或砍木頭賣到市場都可以。日本人還是有給他們使用傳統領域的空間，而且他們沒有禁止狩獵的行為，還有給他們做為（布農族）男人應該有的生存智慧和自尊。(March 11, 2010)

We didn't agree on such land system. The Japanese, though not very just, were reminisced more by most of the elderly population in the community. The Japanese didn't put restriction on cutting trees down or selling them in the markets and gave [Bunun in the past] access to their traditional territory and allowed them to hunt. They didn't take away the wisdom and respect for them to be real Bunun men. (My translation)

However, other Bunun informants have commented on how Japanese rule was resisted by some Bunun people. A male informant in his late 70s said,

日本人找下面的原住民，就是排灣族和卑南族一起追捕(反抗日本統治的布農人)，後來威脅，騙他們（其一為 Haisul) 說自首的話我們不會殺你，最後(還是)被抓槍斃了。 (March 16, 2010)

> The Japanese worked with some Puyuma and Paiwan [aboriginal peoples] to go after [Bunun insurgence]. The Japanese threatened and lied to [Bunun people], saying that they would not hurt them [if they surrendered]. One of the Bunun insurgence leaders was later caught and executed by the Japanese rule. (My translation)

The contexts of these two narratives were completely different-the first one being a general nostalgic feeling towards the older colonial regime (the Japanese) rather than the Han Chinese regimes (The Nationalist and the Democratic Parties) portrayed by some as contemporary colonial governments, the second narrative took place specifically during the Japanese rule as a group of Bunun peoples resisted the dominance of colonial regime over their old settlement and territory.

The point here is that the parts of past that were remembered and narrated by my Bunun friends did not necessarily lead to a consistent and beautifully round-up story that showed Bunun people as one group of people of one history. But these narratives offer the contours of the contexts that were necessary to frame "Bunun-ness," as well as a part of emerging ethnographic contexts, which could be learned from reading history books and documentations of Bunun people, but were not necessarily *present* as lived and cross-cultural experiences themselves vis-à-vis ethnography-in-the-place. Another point is to demonstrate that Bunun surroundings have been as natural as it could be in appearance, but politically and populationally made in history that they *"happened"* to be where they were today.

Looking back into the migratory history of Taiwanese aborigines, it was not hard to find the recurrence of aboriginal migration in relation to population pressure and policy implementation in relation to land control. This is so not just in the Bunun's case during

the Japanese rule (1895-1945), but also with many other aboriginal groups, living in both lowland and highland regions of the island, under previous political regimes. During the Manchurian governance of Taiwan (Q'ing Dynasty, 1684-1895), the expansion of the Han population often led to conflict between the former and aborigines over issues of territory throughout western plains. Although the Q'ing government carried out policy to shelter both lowland and highland aborigines and their land from the encroachment of Han settlers, the lack of political assertiveness on the ground often led to land loss and further migration of the former.

The growth of the Han population in Taiwan can be traced back to the Ming loyalist (1662-1684) and the Dutch colonial (1642-1661) regimes. Under the rule of Ming government, Han settlers migrated and settled in most of the plain regions of Taiwan and were coming into direct contact with lowland aborigines. Assimilation and pressure from an increasing number of settlers and their desire for arable land led to migration and disappearance of aborigines from many lowland areas. This is a not a small change of aboriginal livelihood compared to that during the Dutch colonial period. The Dutch employed Chinese migrants to work in rice and sugar industries in order to expand the former's global dominance in finance and trade. The Han population grew from less than a thousand people to approximately 15,000 from 1633 to 1650 (Shepherd 1993: 86-87; Brown 2004: 39). Though this does not necessarily mean that the Han population increase was related to the Dutch colonizers, the growing number of settlers and their desire for arable land was likely to gradually interfere with the living spaces of aborigines island-wide.

Today, many Taiwanese aborigines do not experience the same kind of population migration due to pressure from Han settlers. In fact, many Taiwanese aborigines began moving into big towns, counties, and cities for employment and education opportunities. In Vakangan, the only pubic educational institution is its elementary school. The absence of a middle school and high school in this community further leads children and youngsters to go to neighboring towns or even Taitung City (approximately 30 min. or so by car) for secondary schools. A few of them drop out in the process of pursuing diplomas and degrees, while others continue studying at universities or other higher/vocational educational institutes. This does not mean that the waves of migration always move in the direction out of Vakangan. There are a small number of children who come in from other places to join the roster of the local elementary school baseball team every year. This is because the school baseball team has been known for its excellent performance in the past. In recent years, the school has been trying to revitalize its once famous baseball team by having players from in and outside of the village.

While many children are from Vakangan, some are from outside of the village and can be seen as seasonal migrant workers. This is reasonable because they perform their physical work for specific baseball season(s), during which they usually play in Vakangan and are occasionally driven with the rest of the team to different schools in Yanping County, Taitung City, or even other cities on the island. During the off-season, many continue to live at the school facilities and remain hard-working on the court and in the classroom. My experience while working with these baseball team players during the spring of 2010 was that many were children from Han families and other aboriginal

groups. The trainers of the baseball team were also people who came from other parts of Taiwan. In other words, many players and the trainers of this baseball team were not local Bunun. In this case, the presence of these children and adults has demonstrated that the migration of people in this contemporary Bunun community is not just outward-migration. There are many non-Bunun people moving in for work and educational opportunities as well.

Besides employment at the local elementary school, work opportunities in Vakangan include a few local family-run stores and tourist-related businesses. While some people hold nine-to-five jobs in nearby communities or towns, many choose to labor in the agricultural sector, either on their own farms or on lands allotted to them in the mountains. Some others work on case-by-case forestry jobs that require them to travel, labor and live in the deeper mountains. Those people who choose to farm in the village generally grow food crops or vegetables on their own lands, while some work on other people's farmlands for income. Some of these lands are closed to residential houses, while a lot of them are located in the mountains where driving or riding motor scooters up slanted hills is required – ranging from a few hundred meters to nine kilometers away in the mountainous hills.

1.3 Ethno-Geographical and -Dietary Present

These lands owned by Bunun are Aboriginal Reserve Land (ARL) specifically designed and designated to the aboriginal population in Taiwan. The development of the ARL has roots in the colonial Japanese and Chinese governance during late nineteenth century (Yang & Yen, 2004, p. 174). This land system has been adopted by the political

rule since the Republic of China was established in Taiwan in 1945. These lands are often remote territory assigned to aborigines for agricultural purposes solely or they would be taken back by the government (Simon 2002:2). Also, the reserved land has very low economic value, making it difficult to use as collateral for borrowing money from banks. As a result, agricultural production becomes one of the few ways to make a living with these lands. While some residents in Vakangan plant trees on their land for government reforestation projects, many grow food crops and vegetables for self-consumption and/or profits.

Many young people choose to hold jobs away from the village because of the lower economic value of land and related labor in comparison with jobs that pay consistent salaries. This was demonstrated by a playful term that some Bunun would use to call others who take on local jobs offered by the government-*ba bai zhuang shi (*八百壯士/literally eight hundred warriors). *Eight hundred* means eight hundred New Taiwan (NT) dollars, as the wage one was supposed to earn daily while taking on some of the local jobs for weeding, sweeping, and organizing local surroundings. Addtionally, the inconsistency of job availability or output by local residents for different reasons further create incentive for many to seek employment away from the village.

Less and less people were willing to work in the forestry or on farms as one Bunun woman in her thirties explained to me,

> 我們現在很少去山上，反而去山上(工作)覺得好辛苦。以前是大家都一樣，都是一起工作，女生男生都要工作。現在變成就是少數幾個在(那邊)工作，為什麼那麼辛苦？ (March 19, 2011)

> Less people of my generation go into the mountains [to work] and one might even think that going to the hills to perform physical labor is hard. It used to be that most of the people would do so, regardless of their gender, and they would not say it was hard. Less and less people work in the mountains and consider it an easy task. (My Translation)

Because of limited job opportunities and less working population involved in the forestry and farming sector, the tendency for Bunun residents in this community to seek jobs away from the village itself was obvious.

As more and more Taiwanese aborigines move to cities and towns for jobs, they leave behind young children and elderly people at home. This does necessarily make the elderly population passively waiting or vulnerable. In fact, under the organization of the community development committees and local churches, many Bunun villages hold "elderly care" programs that enable aboriginal elders[iv] to develop new hobbies and be active during their free time. Similar to the concept of "day care," elderly people in Vakangan, for example, congregate at the community development center once a week. They come for routine health checks – blood pressure measuring by local health center personnel. Then, they follow the leadership of activity planners – often middle-aged women from the village -- for physical, artistic, and educational activities. These activities are then concluded by their sharing of food.

"Sharing" (*mahazas-zas* in Bunun; *fengxiang* in Mandarin Chinese) is a virtuous act generally regarded by the Bunun as a major cultural characteristic. Most people of 50 years of age and above remember how their parents and their grandparents treated sharing of food, especially wild game, as ancestral teaching and precious. This included wild boar, deer, muntjac (deer in smaller sizes) and other wild animals during specific

seasons regulated by the government. Many people describe the act of sharing game meat as though it did not fully belong to the person(s) who caught it. For example, when hunters who had caught wild game ran into hunters who had not caught anything along their trip, the former would have to share the leg of the animal with the latter. Likewise, when they returned home, all of the game meat would have to be distributed to their clan members or neighbors, and sometimes strangers, whether they knew or had not heard about it, as long as they witnessed the event. Today, the practice of game meat sharing has changed -- in part because of wild animal conservation policy and the shift from subsistence to a market oriented economy.

However, the concept and the language of sharing still persisted strongly across many of the Bunun communities. Alang, a Bunun informant tells me that not giving is a loss, whereas giving is not a loss. This is because those people who share would more than likely be able to get game meat the next time they go hunting. *Mahazas-zas tu bunun* is a person who loves to share, as he explains, and the act of *mahazas-zas* almost rhymes with the verb *sa* (to spread or disseminate) in Mandarin Chinese, my own native language. This insightful and anthropological teaching from a Bunun person grounds his language-thought-world appropriately to my own and allows me to reflect on the unconscious patterns of both *mahazas-zas* and *sa* belonging to different linguistic systems (Austronesian vis-a-vis Sino-Tibetan) as an arc of arbitrary signs – one that can be bridged as the concepts of sharing is experienced through the sharing of the concepts (Whorf 1941, Sapir 1949, and Saussure 1972).

Meat remains an important dietary ingredient in this community. Many Bunun in Vakangan raise animals for their own consumption or sell them to generate income. This includes, chickens, goats, and domesticated pigs. The sharing of pigs' meat somewhat resembles what the previous generations had done with their game meat. A pig is killed for special occasions – engagements, weddings, celebrating major career achievements, and other events. The dissecting and the distribution of pork oftentimes reveal a lot about contemporary Bunun society.

Specifically, Bunun social relations are embodied in the dissecting and distribution of the body of a pig. In the past, as Bunun people ran into one another while hunting in the forest, the one who had already caught wild game was obligated to share a portion of their meat with those who had not gotten any wild game. This was prior to the restriction on hunting. Nowadays, Bunun people also purchase pigs together in addition to raising their own. The way a purchased pig is divided is based on the portion of money each individual has put in. Also, every party present will get an equal proportion of the legs and the body. However, in the event that a pig is killed and distributed to relatives and friends for a wedding, the legs of a pig was said to be given to the closest kin members to demonstrate the importance of such relations. Other times, a non-kin visitor who is present at the event will get his or her share of meat as was done in the past. In this case, a guest is considered to be a great honor to the Bunun family and has to be provided with meat just as a kin member. These contemporary practices show that sharing of meat is still important in this Bunun village and sharing of pork is context

contingent depending on the social relations and economic investments one is associated with.

Another cultural practice that sets Bunun people apart from the majority of the Han population in Taiwan is their way of showing hospitality. When Han people visit their kin or non-kin members, they often *bring* gifts as a way to show appreciation and respect. However, in most of the Bunun cases that I have observed and recorded, guests are expected to show up at the door of the host *without* having to present any presents. Not only that, but the guests are often asked to accept gifts or take food home with them. According to many local informants, this is because people used to have to walk by foot for hours or days to visit their friends or relatives. Under such circumstances, bringing a gift would be physically challenging, and it would make sense for the host to prepare food so the guests could return without having to worry about being hungry. Showing up at friends or relatives' doors without presenting gifts is regarded as appropriate and is still being practiced by many Bunun today. However, such behavior might be treated as awkward or impolite in the Han society of Taiwan, because a gift presented by the guest is a sign of being courteous.

The process of receiving gifts in Bunun culture is somewhat different from that practiced in Han society. In general, a Bunun individual will accept the offering of a gift when it is presented to him or her. Agreeing to take another person's gift – either an object or a compliment – is treated as an act of being "generous" in a general Bunun context. By accepting another's offering of gifts, one is showing that he or she might not be hesitant to offer gifts back in the future. In other words, denying another's gifts might

be interpreted as an act of being "stingy," an indication that one would not be willing to return the goodwill/gift in the future. Therefore, taking others' gifts or compliments is deemed as appropriate. However, such behavior might reveal different cultural meanings when it takes place in a Han-Taiwanese society.

When one is presented with gifts or being complimented, the general trajectory of Han Taiwanese culture is that he or she should act in a state of slight uneasiness and turn down the offering at first. To deny the offering of a gift or compliment is, in part, deemed as "being polite" or "being humble," depending on the circumstances. Regardless of whether the individual takes the gift or not, the act of denial itself is very much essential and "natural" by Han community in Taiwan in terms of gift giving and receiving practices. However, such behavior might be interpreted as less hospitable or unfriendly in Bunun's case. It is precisely when such contradictions/conflicts arise that Bunun and Han Taiwanese "cultures" emerge as distinct experiences.

Another ethnographic focus of this research project is the sociolinguistic features of the Bunun peoples in Vakangan. In addition to what they say (i.e. local narratives, discourses, and communications), I also examine the local ways of speaking that are culturally specific (Briggs 1986, Hymes 1974, Saville-Troike 2008: 10-11). This includes both the content and the context in which the speakers exhibit and/or inhibit communicative competence by ways of performing jokes (Basso 1979, Oring 1992), speech play (McDowell 1992, Norrick 1993) and silence (Harvey 2006, Saville-Troike 1985). For example, jokes are often told in situations to ease social tension, to "break

ice," or simply for fun. Many local jokes revolve around self-mocking or making fun of others, such as people telling jokes about their own dark skin, excess weight, or drinking problems. Such humor is rarely considered inappropriate or "offending" to local people's self-esteem, but might be regarded as "rude" or "awkward" when the code-switching is neglected.

In addition, silence is also a way local Bunun communicate. During my stay in Vakangan, many people stressed the point that Bunun people, men in particular, are raised without much emphasis on learning how to express their emotions verbally. Hence a person might not always initiate a conversation or respond to a question about their feelings. This is especially true when encountering someone who is socially less familiar. Moments of silence are very much everyday communicative practice when encountering strangers or less acquainted individuals. This also matches what some local Bunun comment on as the characteristics of an ideal Bunun man – economical with words, speak with humor, and hard working. In this case, arguing for one's point or overtly expressing one's mind verbally might not be regarded as desirable in everyday sociolinguistic practices.

What Bunun people in Vakangan tell about their stories is as important as how they tell them. The local ways of speaking are a specific focus of this research project and a key entry to gain insight into my ethnographic encounters. Moments of silence and ethno-sense of humor – one that is mocking of self and others by drawing from cross-cultural experiences and/or being playful linguistically -- as I have experienced in Vakangan, are sociolinguistic practices that are culturally meaningful in this community.

It is with these historical details, political economy, and sociocultural intersections as the ethnographic background and/or foreground that the research questions are addressed. The key issue of this dissertation project is to investigate what Bunun people in Vakangan believe and practice as public health. The answers to this question will provide insight into how emerging lived experiences might lead to the shaping of localized public health models. These models are worth a closer look because they are intimately related to emerging and everyday experiences. While they might complement, contradict, or crisscross efforts of national or global public health services, localized public health approaches address issues of well-being that are relevant to the specific needs of a group of people (Harvey 2011).

The design and implementation of public health programs at the national and global levels, while targeting issues of well-being among the Bunun collectively, reflect specific cultural realities of what is "hygienic," "healthy," or "holistic." These realities also reinforce certain attitudes and behaviors that people at the local level should take on in order to achieve "health." This is evident as the World Health Organization declares its own role in public health as "setting norms and standards and promoting and monitoring their implementation" (WHO website 2011). Though norms and standards setting might benefit the implementation of public health services at the local level, what is being normalized institutionally and internationally might not necessarily address issues of well-being cross-culturally.

Understanding what Bunun people in Vakangan believe and practice as "public health" is beneficial not only to the conceptualization and the implementation of public

health services locally, but also to the planning of public health programs at the national and the global level. In order to achieve such goals, local narratives and practices related to well-being are being carefully observed and recorded. The foci of fieldwork that lead to this dissertation project have not been limited to merely where processes of "curing," "healing," and "wellness-seeking" (Young 1982, Strathern and Stewart 1999, Harvey 2006) take place, but also how "well-being" unfolds as lived experiences.

Such lived experiences are positioned and evaluated in specific cultural contexts, which are the landscapes, literally, of various vegetation, altitude, ownership and/or genealogy. Here, "natural landscape" is also a part of the "cultural context" because the construction (both physically and conceptually), the use, and modification of such space as "free of culture" can be seen as a cultural process. This is, in part, achieved by the way of chronotopic discourse of savagized space (Blanton 2011, Trouillot 1991). This is the process through which a landscape is framed as ahistorical and non-contextual, as well as being naturally associated with a group of people whose culture is "closer" to nature (i.e. "less civilized"). In other words, aboriginal reserved land and certain state owned land that are located among the forests have been constructed to be "natural" landscape, yet they are truly politically designed (i.e. Japanese and Han-Chinese control of population or environmental measures) land designated to the Bunun.

Another important element of this study is to trace what "Bunun being" is in Vakangan to map out the local trajectory of well-being. In other words, it is through the ways in which local Bunun identify their own state of being that the state of well-being might emerge. The relation between identity and well-being, hence, is another

investigative focus. In order to fully explore these key factors ethnographically, emphasis has been given to how Bunun in Vakangan narrate their "being" and what constitutes a good state of such "being." For instance, the way local people talk about their Bunun names and its association with sickness could provide a pathway to understanding the relationship between Bunun being and Bunun well-being.

The point of framing Bunun well-being in relation to their identity, landscape, and healing experiences is to paint a trifold picture of what people in Vakangan believe to be public health. What is "public" in this Bunun context can have two distinctive facets. First, it is referring to the local population as a unit of analysis, hence what "Bunun being" stands for in collective terms (i.e. Bunun selves) (Harvey 2006). Second, it is what "local landscape" stands for both experientially and spatially. The confluence of these two analytical channels comprises what ultimately will be treated as "public" in forms of population and embodied space. In other words, understanding Bunun identity and landscape helps realize what "public" could be in framing a local public health model.

1.4 Bunun Voices of Well-Being

In order to explore what "public health" might mean among Bunun in Vakangan, it is crucial to examine issues of "well-being" that prevail or are common locally. While it is important to investigate existing discourses that have been carried out by national, regional, and local public health workers, there might exist other unidentified phenomenon or processes that could shed light on local ways of well-being. This is relevant because "mahatba," a local translation for the word "health," which literally means "stronghold," is associated with specific ways of being and laboring in their

surrounding landscape. Not only so, but "minhatba," the word for "making someone stronghold," also appears to be associated with local healing practices. The examination of Bunun identity, landscape, and healing experiences can help construct a vernacular version of public health that resembles what is meaningful to the local population.

Ethnographically speaking, most of the informants discussed that *mahatba* can be demonstrated in hiking in the forest and carrying loads of harvested produce. In their opinions, this is not a strictly category to describe men. According to a male informant in his early 40s

> Mahatba 是健康。定義一個人的健康…從勞動力勤奮。他/她 可以到山上去狩獵(就是健康/mahatba)。(March 9, 2010)
>
> To define the idea of mahatba, we would say that first of all…that the person should be diligent (*laodongli* and *qingfen*). Someone who is capable of hunting in the mountains is said to be even more mahatba. (My translation)

Although women did not do much of the hunting, they would also be considered as mahatba if they develop endurance (*naili/耐力*) over what they do. Another male informant in his late 50s confirmed that mahatba might vary based on age difference, rather than gender. He said that

> 有那個體力就還好嗎。所以要爬山走路就可以知道你現在的體力有多少。第二個，你還能挨(背)多少東西…有歲數還是有差呢。 (March 31, 2010)
>
> [one is] well if he/she has the strength…First, hiking or walking would reveal how much strength one has. Next, it is related to how much weight one can carry…Age affects one's ability to do these things. (My translation)

But an able body does not does not necessarily guarantee one to be in such state of wellness. Someone is capable yet doe not carry out work (such as laziness) cannot be recognized as mahatba. Another Bunun male informant in his 40s said that

> mahatba 就是你可以做事情…你不定跟我們一樣是四肢健全，但是你可以做事情…做的事情不一定是跟我們一樣，只要她/他可以做的事情是對自己有利益，有幫助，甚至可以幫助到其它人，我覺得這就是 mahatba。(July 21, 2010)
>
> mahatba means you can handle things…One can be handicap but if he/she can handle things…not exactly the ways how we do them, but in such ways to help him, herself, or others then I would call this person mahatba. (My translation)

This brings the second component of the concept into discussion. The strength at heart (*laoxin*/劳心, literally the laboring heart) can be measured by being-at-work with others or for others, getting to work, weeding, harvesting, and carrying things- which are all that could be counted as diligence as people who are studying or working at a desk job. A "disabled" body that contributed his or herself was qualified as mahatba, whereas one who does not do so was considered as lacking stronghold-"maghasa" said a Bunun woman in her 50s.

Other Bunun women discussed their idea of mahatba in similar ways – two Bunun women discusses the evaluation of a woman's worth in the past was based on her ability to carry heavy weight on her shoulder and walked/hiked in the hills. While I asked a young Bunun woman in her 30s about what mahatba means, her relative interrupted and said that they would actually use the term *damasa* ("strength") – "[this] works for both men and women. [People in the past] would call that person as madamasa" (March 19, 2011). Although mahatba was not used in this case, we can infer that both madamasa or mahatba is closely associated with the idea of enduring the hardship of physical work in their literal and Bunun senses.

Another female informant in her 40s further suggests that even though women didn't use "mahatba" to call themselves,

> 我們跟男人做的事情一樣，像我也就這樣。背梅子啦，扛玉米啊，什麼都做，不輸給男人。(February 15, 2011)
>
> [we] would perform tasks like men did. I myself is an example. I would carry plums and corn-almost anything…[Women] would do the same kind of (physical) work and would not be less of a worker than men. (My translation)

Furthermore, this informant offered the story that the absence of the linguistic category found among women or perhaps a gendered category is not necessarily related to the gendering of a working Bunun body. In other words, the absence or the presence of the category found in a particular gender does not lead to social hierarchy. However, the performance of work in accordance with one's capability determines a great part of how well a Bunun could be.

With this framework of Bunun being and multi-voiced well-being (Harvey 2013) in mind, there are a few places where wellness-seeking activities take place in Vakangan: the local health center, a household where a Bunun healer resides, local church meetings, as well as the steep hills where trailing and laboring occur. By trailing-and-laboring in steep landscape, I am referring to physical work that is related to agricultural, forestry, and other livelihood sustaining activities. Though these places are where local Bunun restore, generate, or transform their wellness, they are not necessarily used by Bunun people only. As a matter of fact, they are all accessible to both Bunun and non-Bunun populations living in and outside of the community. The wellness-seeking activities that these places are associated with are nonetheless based on different conceptual and practical approaches deserving further discussion in the following chapters.

Additionally, the discourse of public health could take on different trajectories of thought in anthropological discussion[v]. The discourse that draws the boundary of public around a particular population and places the public health practitioners as an inclusive part of the "public" suggests that public health in this context is *by* and/or *of* the targeted population. This is the type of "public health" that Bunun people life experiences project-the re-naming ritual that I discuss in Chapter Four is thus a form of "public health" of and by Bunun people. This was not of the biomedical origin or extension, yet served to treat shared health problems across Bunun communities. Non-Bunun people might not be diagnosed or treated in the way that Bunun people did, but the former could nonetheless help (such as learning and calling out the names or passively being incorporated socio-linguistically in name re-assigning).

This inclusion of the public health and its targeted population is different from the public health that draws the boundary and excludes itself from the targeted population. In other words, the "public health" in this case is an entity that sees itself as regulating the problems of the Bunun populations at various levels. This exclusion sets "public health" as the party defining otherness of population and behaviors deemed as healthy or unhealthy, but itself as a neutral party that stands outside of its target. This is the kind of public health *for* the targeted population. An anthropological or public health research that treats its population as "primitive" and lacking its own social, political economic, or control mechanisms to regulate health and/or well-being issues beyond individual level is a primitive in its own reflexivity and conception and relation with the other constructed.

The examples of landslide as institutionalized in Chapter Three suggests that

certain political or public voices framed the aboriginal populations as the sole party responsible for trigging or influencing the risks of landslide is approaching their view with precisely such primitivism of speculation. The omission of the seer (institution or individual) from the seen thus perpetuated an act of value-free seeing that sees itself as simultaneously public yet not public enough to see itself. This type of shortsightedness, however, can be altered simply by repositioning of the self and seeing. The self simply needs to stand along side with previously conceived other to form new selves-hence public health when the seer is included as the Other.

This inclusive "public" that requires the shifting of self in positioning and seeing also sets itself different from the unmovable and unshifting "public health" that royalizes itself as *the* majestic "we". The public that becomes the ultimate site of discourse production, circulation, and anti-mutating narratives suggests that referent is the mimesis of the signifiers, rather than the other way around. The power of the discourse resides in its being reproduced in everyday practices-rendering itself as *true* and *unchanging*. The history of public health has clearly pointed out that the exclusive type of public health can be taken as majestic through institutional mechanism of self-moralizing and other-mediatizing. The landslide communication in Bunun's cases are (see Chapter Three), in part, examples of discourse making without discussing the standpoints of what is rendered a problematic public (Taiwanese aboriginals only and alone in many cases).

Chapter Two

> 我們可以跟動物，植物和這些自然相通。我有幾次的經驗是這樣，知道它心理在想什麼。有一隻鳥撞到學校的玻璃…同學跟老師圍著鳥，認為它很可憐，應該把它放生。過幾天，那隻鳥帶著另外一隻鳥飛回來，他聽到鳥的聲音說：謝謝你救我，我那一次受傷的時候你幫助我…我有兩次鳥飛進來，（其中一次是我太太懷孕時）它跟我說恭喜你要作爸爸了。(March 11, 2010)
>
> We aborigines can communicate with animals and plants. I have heard such experience of understanding what they are thinking about and experienced it myself…A bird ran into the glass window [and got hurt] at a local elementary school. The kids and the teacher felt sorry for the bird and thought they should try to help it fly freely again. It then returned with another one chipping, "thank you for saving me when I got hurt"…I also had birds telling me "Congratulations, you will soon be a father [while my wife was pregnant] as one of my two experiences. (My translation)

This is a story that a Bunun man in his forties shared with me while we discussed the similarity between the native people appeared in the movie "Avatar" and Bunun. One thing he mentioned as a shared trait was their ability to communicate with animals. He also included the communication with plants in this discussion without further elaboration. But this idea of communicating beyond the "human realm" was not an ethnographic surprise because of the historical documentation of Bunun people and their interaction with millet as both communal and communicative (Butal et al. 2010: 64-66). This is demonstrated in the planting of millet when Bunun people came together to plant and sing for millet. In other words, communicating with animals and plants took place long before our discussion of *Avatar* and had been an idea more than possible regarded by many Bunun.

In this chapter, I want to discuss the ways in which certain animal products and produce from Bunun farms, as well as wild game and greens, take on local discourses of pharmacology that are directly and indirectly tied to sickness and emerging public health endemics. These wild and/or domesticated animals and vegetables, through the process of co-habitation or sympathetic healing, have been used to deal with general personal illnesses and health problems at the public level. In these scenarios, the Bunun farmer-hunter acts as a kind of local pharmacist – providing, prescribing, and prohibiting the use ethno-pharmaceutical goods and services in their respective local contexts (Nichter 1992)–to those people who might be facing daily work-related discomfort or greater health threats, such as Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS).

Nonetheless, unauthorized appropriation and unhealthy application of these ethno-pharmaceutical resources by "invasive clienteles," such as illegal loggers, might create an upset in the order of the pharmaceutical environment. Additionally, the increasing employment away from local communities, particularly in the past few decades, has led to a decline in the local farming and hunting population, and consequently, the disappearing and even endangering of Bunun "pharmacists." These remaining specialists also take on the role of Bunun "medicine men" and are sometimes in administering "vaccination," agrochemical (農藥/*nongyao* or literally 'agricultural medicine'[vi]) that is, to certain produce that occupies a patient role—such as plant patients and animal patients when.

Following local narratives, I aim to demonstrate that, first, certain animals and vegetables, in relation to a sick or health-maintaining Bunun, could occupy the role of

dietary supplements, preventive medicines, or prescription drugs. Second, there would be times when illegal loggers who mistakenly treat certain plant species as "medicinal" might create even wider public and environmental health threats (landslides and so on). While such an attempt might be built on a desirable and potentially truthful ethnomedical understanding of the substance, it is ignoring the invaluable knowledge of the local farmers, who can be seen as pharmacists from their sociolinguistic patterns of "agrochemicals." Third, these pharmacists also perform the medicalization of the non-pharmaceutical farm produce, which in turn makes their journey into the mountains a "medical mission." Ethnographically and historically speaking, fewer and fewer local Bunun are involved in farming due to the taking up education and employment away from the community. As a result, the mission to treat plants medically is becoming less and less frequent.

Since many of the Bunun have access to aboriginal reserved land either located in their village or along a segment of the historical lumbering trails laid behind and above the village itself. Many of them carry out farming practices that encompass growing vegetables and trees, as well as raising animals. On their farmland, some leave traps to catch animals such as rabbits. This is also done during the hunting season when Bunun men go into the mountains to acquire game meat. Many of the Bunun are skilled in both farming and trapping, and both occur episodically.

For instance, one might ride his motorbike or truck to check on his or her produce, and if traces of wild animals are spotted, such as vegetable leaves that have been consumed, one might hide traps along the route where the animal(s) have passed through

or might pass through. However, the farmers do not always check on their produce on a daily basis, so hunting might take on a relatively passive process – only when one decides to check on the agricultural produce. There is also a case where the informant would deliberately wait for the animal to appear on his reserved land after dark, but most of the trappers leave their traps in the field with the intention of checking them only when they are on their way to do something else (i.e. weeding, planting, or etc.).

2.1 Domesticated Supplements in Bunun Pharmacy

Figure 2-1 shan-di-cong (highland onions)

Certain plants farmed in Bunun households are considered to be preventive supplements to emerging public health threats, such as Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) that arose in Taiwan, southern China, and some parts of North America during the spring and summer of 2003. Although the health threat was contained and the infected population was quite small compared to other countries, the number of people on quarantine reached a number that has reified the threat as a lived experience among many Taiwanese residents (Kao 2003). The media's role in over-magnifying the threat of SARS echoes what Briggs and Nichter (2009) frame as the politics of bio-communicability, in part the selective process through which certain public health messages become more real and embodied, during pandemics.

This is evident as Bunun residents in the field recalled SARS as an emerging health threat taking place in households and clinics in Taipei, the capital of Taiwan. What was circulated in the media was the need and shortage of medical masks and the merit of self-quarantine for people suspected of developing syndromes related to the disease. Viliang, a Bunun adult in his 50s, while discussing the events also commented on how a variety of onion called shan-di-cong (*highland onions* or *Luqiao* in Chinese/*Allium bakeri/chinense*, see Figure 2-1[vii]) grown locally is said to have helped prevent SARS during its outbreak. The Bunun farmers claim that these produces were sent to cities or suburbs where their relatives and friends lived during the outbreak of SARS. While its therapeutic effect on tuberculosis and "influence upon bronchial secretion" has been observed in traditional Chinese medicine (Keys 1976: 52-54), the highland onions were a seasonal dietary item across many Bunun communities. But such health information does not even become a competitive narrative when examining the possible preventive/supplemental treatments that the public might be able to adopt during the crucial time of SARS outbreak.

Ethno-culinarily speaking, highland onions are consumed by cleaning the outer layer and mixing or dipping in salt before being eaten raw. This is said to be powerful in preventing illness, including SARS. Although it might have been suggested to be hard to tell from garlic or chives (Wu 2006), I did not observe Bunun people eating garlic or chives raw or with salt like they do with mountain onions. The harvest season of the plant is short and very much in line with spring season in the village. This made it possible for them to be sent out to local Bunun residents' relatives in cities or suburbs,

who were experiencing the panic of SARS beginning in March 2003. The efficacy of such ethno-pharmaceutical items to curing and healing might be different issues here (Waldram 2000) – depending on whether SARS is merely treated as the physical symptoms or as a social sickness that accompanies the arbitrary signs and referents (i.e. fear generated from the large number of individuals wearing medical masks in the public) repetitively portrayed by the media and public discourses (Kao 2003: 96). Regardless of the lack of scientific verification or falsification regarding the preventive properties of *shan-di-cong* to SARS, local people still remember how they would associate this plant with combating SARS as a social prescription.

In this case, a special variety of onion grown in the Bunun community is consumed both within and beyond its physical boundary, as the gift-giving network operates not based on those who have already contracted the disease, but on people who are assumed to be exposed to the source of a health threat, suggesting that *shan-di-cong* was not taken as medication. Rather, it was more of a supplement that people would take to improve their immune system or overall health. Hence, this variety of onion can be seen as a "domesticated supplement" in relation to SARS. Since this acute health threat has not occurred again since 2003, people who are consuming the onion might think of it, based on their association between the plant and the health problem, as over-the-farms ethno-pharmaceutical supplement that does not require the prescription of biomedical doctors, native healers, or other types of ethno-medical specialists (i.e. Chinese medicine practitioners).

2.2 Bunun Wild Prescriptions

Other types of Bunun medicinal resources include plant species grown in the forests, such as *huangteng (*literally *"yellow ivy"* or 黃藤) that are non-domesticated and said to have a beneficial effect on one's well-being. Both types of plants require physical presence in different types of forests in order for acquisition. Arrow bamboo shoot is said to help wash off the grease in one's stomach whereas the core of yellow ivory helps in "cooling down bodily heat," according to Bunun informants. Yellow ivory often comes with a thick layer of thorny spikes that requires the process of shaving with a sharp and long blade. The core is a white or pale yellowish multiple layers of fiber. It is hard and can be used as a walking stick before being cooked. Once it is boiled, often with meat and bone, it turns into semi-crunchy and chewy fiber that has the texture of cooked bamboo shoot but a taste that is slightly more bitter.

The healing effect that local people claim the core of yellow ivory contains is often associated with descriptions like "*qingre*" (cleansing the heat) or "*jianghuo*" (literally, "lowering the fire"). This is what Kaptchuk (2000) describes as possibly "inflammation" in Western physio-medical terminology (p154-55), but could reflect other signs such as dryness (of bodily fluid) as accompanying signs. While these terms are more related to the language of Chinese Medicine, people would use these terms to describe changes in their state of well-being by perceiving human body and wellness as cultivation like a landscape – one which has its foundation in Taoist philosophy (Schipper 1993), it is the Bunun people who take on such ethnomedical terminology and attribute to plant species found prevalent in their surrounding environment. Be it code-

switching (as the local informants are enacting cultural relativity) or code-swatching (there is a lack of knowledge as to whether there is the concept of metaphorical heat or coolness in Bunun ethnomedical linguistics), it might be the case that compassionate healing is operating in this specific Bunun context.

Like many other narratives of Bunun healing that are work-related or plant-related, it is common to find such application of the core of the plant, such as the core of the silvergrass (*mao cao*/茅草) for cuts or light external bleeding as mentioned before. The "heart" of the plant (*xin*/心) is as important in its medical application as in its sociolinguistic application. In other words, the heart of yellow ivory – *tengxin* – is making the reference to the de-thorn and skinned *huan teng* that are ready to cook. The consumption and hence the embodiment of the "heart" of the plant, as a result, creates perhaps the coming together of the heart of a plant and that of a human being, hence compassionate healing.

2.3 Plant Patient-Hood and "Agricultural Medicine"

The compassionate healer can also be seen among some Bunun farmers as they take trips to their reserved land for agricultural activities. One key farming activity is the application of *nongyao* (農藥，pesticide or literally, "agro-medicine") on specific kinds of plants. In fact, one common phrase used in relation to farming is *dayao (*打藥*)*, which is to apply "agro-medicine" to plants. Additionally, when mentioning medically treating domesticated animals, people often refer to giving animals antibiotics or growth hormone as *dazhen* (打針 or needle injection). In such scenarios, I argue that the application of "agro-medicine/medical injections" (*dayao* or *dazhen*), through the construction of a

patienthood for certain animal or plant species, intimately associated with an agro-medicalization process.

One aspect of biomedicine that has been critically and anthropologically examined is its process of medicalization, through which a person's body might be objectified, raicialized, and medicalized (Taussig 1980, Kaw 1993). What follows is the categorization of such abnormality into medical conditions and the creation of treatments in response to these conditions. What emerges out of the medicalizing process is the role of patient that is not only culturally constructed and socially inhabited, but not universal (Harvey 2008). In other words, the forms and boundary of such patient-hood are often times culturally drawn.

What I suggest here is not whether certain Bunun animals or plants alone might possess subjectivity or not, but the fact that this role of plant or animal patient is co-inhabited by the language and technology that Bunun have adopted and used in their *interrelations* with these species. It is perhaps not too difficult to observe such Bunun Species stories when we read the oral myths passed down from their ancestors. Monkeys and pigs, for instance, were initially Bunun persons and transformed into animals because of food poisoning or violating social rules. Very similarly, a certain variety of pine tree is said to have collectively stopped coming to the Bunun households by themselves and instead, moved close to cliffs in the deeper forests because they were taken for granted and despised by Bunun ancestors in the past (Butal et al. 2010: 43-44).

Driving this theoretical vehicle to the Bunun community, one would discover that certain plant and animal species could inhabit such a patient role, as the sociolinguistic

and topo-historiographical signs both point towards the medicalizing process through which agrochemical treatments are necessary to deal with the sickness of certain species – often the ones raised by human beings. For instance, many Bunun farmers I spoke to commented on the harmful effects of agricultural chemicals on health in general. Specifically, I was warned by my field assistant not to go into the mountains to help individuals apply agrochemical because of its potential health threat.

However, the discourse of health does not simply stop at that of human beings. Quite contrary, it continues and is being extended to the health of plants and in many cases, plants inhabit the role of patient and agro-medical treatments are necessary for their survival. Consulting a local farmer about ginger plantations run in the village, he answered,

> 現在種生薑你還要配合肥料，有機肥，還有農藥。尤其是噴農藥，那個會傷身…以前生薑隨便丟，就長起來，長那麼大…現在種生薑，聽說十公分…而且很多病， 要一直噴農藥…現在很多蟲, 蟲害。因為你種的越多，蟲害就（越多）…吃葉子，從葉子那邊它就會爛掉，薑最怕的就是葉子生病，到底下就爛掉 。（March 31, 2010）

> One applies fertilizer, organic fertilizers, and agro-medicine (*nongyao*), which harm your body, when growing ginger…many people [use these agrochemicals]…[The gingers] used to grow quite easily and in relatively larger sizes, but now they only grow to be 10 cm long (roughly 4 inches)… These gingers *get sick* (*shengbing*) and people keep spraying pesticide…There are just way too many pests. These pests eat the leaves and it starts rotting from the leaves. The most dreadful thing is when the leaves of the ginger gets sick, then the root might start rotting. (My translation)

Here, the application of pesticide to the ginger leaves is associated with the sociolinguistic category, "agro-medicine," which is then mapped to the relationship between ginger leaves, pests, and farmers. Here the measure of ginger size and the agro-

medical diagnosis accompanied by treatment – *nongyao* – legitimizes the "medical" treatment of the leaves as a compartmentalized ginger body – one that is similar to a patient's body that is objectified and compartmentalized under the "medical gaze" (Foucault 1973 and Taussig 1980). Since these ginger plants inhabit a patient-hood, the agro-medicine then serves as a legitimate bio-scientific treatment.

Not only that some animal species also play the role of patient as many Bunun informants have suggested. Pigs that are raised locally and historically to maintain social relations (both kin and non-kin) and are used as gifts or compensation for labor or favors by other Bunun members. In local narratives, pigs raised for market sale are often said to be given antibiotics or growth hormone, hence the term *dazhen* (injection), whereas most people claim that the ones they raise would not be treated with this medicalizing process.

Many local Bunun actually name this process as the reason they are more likely to be sick than their ancestors. An elderly person says,

> 以前在山上，老人家吃的這些食物都沒有噴過成長劑，藥物那些。這些我們現在吃的動物跟蔬菜都有給牠打荷爾蒙，打一些殺蟲的藥。所以現在的人身體都壞掉。豬跟雞的飼料都有摻一些藥，連米也有…以前的小米沒有。（August 11, 2010）
>
> What elderly people ate in the past didn't have *growth prescriptions* (sheng zhang ji) or other *medicines*. But what we eat today, such as animals and vegetables, are injected with hormone and *medications* that kill pests. This makes people nowadays have poor health (when they consume these food items). Pigs and chickens have *medicines* mixed in their food. This includes the rice we eat today, but millet in the past did not have these (medications). (My translation)

The sources of meat and vegetables from non-domesticated animals, such as the ones raised and sold in the markets in towns nearby, might contain antibiotics or growth

hormone that are introduced by human beings. Local Bunun claim that, as a result of consuming animals that have undergone the medicalizing process in the patient role, people are more likely to be sick by embodying them.

McMullin's (2005) concept of *healthy ancestor* in Native Hawaiian narratives is clearly a linguistic and cultural parallel to what the Bunun describes here as the reason for contemporary health problems. Bunun residents' understanding of their contemporary health problems is in part related to the over-medicalizaiton of their food and land (i.e. farms and fields). In the Hawaiian case investigated by McMullin, " heath and healing…are achieved by re-establishing a tie between the land, Hawaiian ancestors and a Hawaiian cultural identity" (p 818). To what extent the Bunun can re-establish a healthy identity is dependent on the degree to which the land is medicalized and the animals and vegetables have assumed the role of ethno-patient-hood.

From both the examples of plant or animal patient-hood, it is the case that the sociolinguistic categories of pesticides or antibiotics/hormone used by Bunun people are directly associated with medical treatments that are similar to patients who are provided with medical prescriptions in the human world. Specifically, the word *yao (medicine or 藥) and zhen (needle or 針)*, have been repeatedly linked to both the practices and criticism of applying such agricultural treatments. I argue here that the medicalizing process of animals and plants in this Bunun community cannot be separated from the construction of "patient" as a social role for these respective domesticated plants and animals. As a result, the simultaneous construction of patient-hood and medical

treatments have – in the hope of maintaining the health of say, pigs and ginger – threatened or potentially undermined health of human beings.

If we were to follow the trajectory that these pesticides were really medicine, then we would not only encounter the issue of plant patienthood – a category that invites pathologizing and medicalizing, but also the role of medical practitioner played by local farmers. Hence the administering of "farming medicine," in Bunun context, is parallel to the prescription and injection taken on by physicians or pharmacists with their patients. Nonetheless, these Bunun farmers are also participating in feeding and caring for the plants with nutrient (i.e. fertilizer) that they are literally on a medical mission when they take trips to their reserve land to apply fertilizers and agrochemicals. And since the reserved land is not quite their own land, legally speaking, it is a journey to aid a certain plant, which now occupies the role of a patient in a "foreign" landscape.

If this is a Bunun way of caring for plant-patients, then what was the history that led to such way of medicalization? To understand the issue, one has to begin with the change of land tenure as the Japanese colonial rule governed the area (in early 1900s). As described by many elderly people in the community, farming used to take the form of slash and burn, where only small plots of land were cleared for agriculture. Most of the Bunun informants claim that they would move from one plot of land to another only when the former was not fertile or suitable for planting anymore. Hudas Ani, a Bunun lady in her 80s explained,

> 如果以前她們燒墾的土地很好，隔壁有更好的，她們就會往隔壁移…以前就是這樣移來移去的。現在不行了。以前是隨便可以開墾，就是拋棄式－比較不肥的(地)，換另外一個來開墾。(May 11 2010)

> If there was another plot of land that was more fertile than the land that we have cleared from slash and burn, then we would move to that piece of unplowed land…we used to be able to move freely [from one land to another] but not anymore. We were not restricted about where we could grow things and land could be abandoned (*paoqishi*, literally *disposable*) as we wished. (My translation)

This type of farming practice was based on the idea that ownership of land was not linked a specific plot of land, but rather, how much one could plant within a given cycle of planting season. However, in order to control Bunun and other aboriginal groups in the area, the Japanese relocated the Bunun to a lower mountain range and organized them into a collective settlement with a capitalistic mode of production. (Huang 2006, p3-4) Consequently, most of the Bunun farmers, while living in a relatively spread out and family/clan-based (*jiazu*; 家族) format, became part of what is known as a village (*buluo*; 部落), where a mix of different Bunun families and ethnic groups live.

The Bunun farmer's "medial mission" might also consist of the return from the reserved land, as when a Bunun man returns to the village from working and walking in the forests with plants that are said to have healing effects. For example, one Bunun man de-thorned and cut up a stick of yellow ivy along the trail of the forest. The plant was given to the me as a walking stick to aid his poor agility and balance while hiking with other Bunun men. Such "agility," as culturally defined, is often associated with first, the size of a person's calves and second, the height of the person. For instance, local male adults often commented about how my height (approximately 6 ft. and 1 inch) is tall but creates a major physical disadvantage in maintaining balance when walking in the forests.

There were many occasions, while hiking with Bunun men in the forest, I was jokingly said to be "handicapped" for not having thick calves and being too tall. Both are factors that local Bunun believe to be signs of strength; thick calves are generally recognized and joked about by Bunun people, both men and women, as culturally unique. So hiking along the trails could have possibly increased the "internal heat" of a non-locally trained ethnographer due to "under-trained" or "underdeveloped" calves. Hence, the fetching of yellow ivy, one that is said to "cool internal flame," was possibly to target the fatigue and discomfort resulting from my own clumsiness and over-strenuous experiences while moving in, though, and between mountainous reserved lands.

Here, moving through the reserved land can also be seen as well-being in the making. Being Bunun in a state of wellness is not only associated with the changes and the immediacy of their physical context (the rise and the fall of the hills; the geographical contour line), but also with the sociality of their physical activity. Following the theoretical footprint of Terrence Turner (1980) and Bryan Turner (2008) on the sociality of bodily adornment and practices, Bunun well-being is one that the self manifests through the exercise of certain body parts that re-locates the Bunun being back to its body entirety of the social. In other words, a built physique and strong calves built from constant hiking and laboring in between the hills create a context-contingent Bunun well-being that is muscle-making while laboring in the woods as well as being made by (calve) muscles.

Some informants would comment on their farming activity in the hills as *dong yi dong* (move around; move about) so that they might "sweat it off" and maintain their

well-being. For instance, an elderly person said, “When I am not growing anything, I would still ‘take a walk in the [mountains]’ (*qushanshangzouyizou*/去山上走一走). The weather is quite good there and it is cooler in the mountains. The weather in [the village] is too warm and [as a result] I do not have a good appetite” (March 16, 2010). Others have also commented on the tranquility that the forests and the hills away from the village might offer-such as what a cancer patient had privately informed me. The importance of the hills and forests here as physical locations, however, were as important as the process of *getting there* or/and *being there*.

Trailing or hiking in these cases, was not based on the inclination to condition or sculpt their individual bodies to fit an ideal local physique or simply to benefit their health. An ideal Bunun physique is associated with someone who had strong calves- they were forming as one performs the physical work of walking and planting– for sustaining the Bunun livelihood. In other words, the Bunun body and the reserved land co-metabolize one another, literally, into Bunun being and Aboriginal Reserved Land. Bunun well-being is not a given, but formed while it shapes embodied experience in a specific way (of reserved land trailing and physical laboring).

Most of those Bunun trailing the mountains nowadays – farmers who are not seen in the village because many of them work on lands that are located in the hills far from the village – are weeding, planting, and applying agrochemicals to their produce. One would often hear their motorbikes or trucks leaving for the mountain, as well as see their equipment for such tasks, but rarely witness them working. When asked about where they farm, most people would answer “the eighth kilometer place” or “the ninth kilometer

place" (*bagonglichu* or *jiugonglichu*), which means the 8th or the 9th kilometer mark counting from the head of the lumbering trail in the village.

Eight kilometers is roughly 5 miles and nine kilometers is approximately 5 ½ miles in distance. The elevation is quite steep and the road is not in perfect condition; the lumbering trail is at times very narrow, hence making it difficult for two cars to pass, and not paved in some places, so there are many waterholes that are unpleasant to drive or ride one's motorbike on. Some local Bunun describe what they are carrying out the "reforestation project" (*zaolin* or literally, "creating forests"), planned and overseen by relevant government bodies (both central and local).

The agricultural production and reforestation activities on reserved land are often very much in tune with the idea of fixity and framing of land based on a non-mobile construct. That is to say, contemporary Bunun farmers are not able to slash and burn, or move from one plot of land to another based on their judgment of how arable and fertile a piece of land might be. They have, due to reserved land policy and introduction of fertilizer and other agrochemicals, become sedentary in terms of their "work space." These factors greatly affect the health of their plants and themselves. This echoes what Johns (1999) argued as the detriments – increase in the use of pesticide -- brought about by abandoning vernacular ways of land use in indigenous communities.

So what would be the vernacular ways of "using" the land in this Bunun community? Some Bunun informants have commented on the importance of land ethics (*tudilunli*) as practiced by their ancestors. Some of them regard the well-being of land from the perspective of aging and well-being replenishment – that land actually gets old

(*laohua*, literally "getting old") if it is nutritionally depleted, hence "people would move to another place, allowing this [depleted] land to 'take a break'" (*xiuxi*) (March 9, 2010). According to this informant, part of the replenishment comes from letting "the land rests…this is a concept related to health – you should let the land have weeds again, then you can burn it, and use the ashes as fertilizers" (same interview).

Here we see that slash and burn is not simply a practice that clears and prepares a plot of land for agriculture. It is a practice that enhances health of the land, by using existing weeds as a nutritional supplement. Nonetheless, such agricultural practice is regulated – weeds have become undesirable things when appearing in great numbers on someone's land. One of the ways that people deal with weeds now is simply by applying herbicide because "it takes too long to weed the fields and there is not enough time," as one elderly lady informed me (April 1, 2010). Due to restrictions on burning weeds, what could have been used as a nutrient from the viewpoint of an unweeded land is now seen as unwanted from the perspective of the farming labor.

The idea that weeds can be beneficial to the nutrient-depleted or aging land forms the discourse of vernacular land ethics, while its later construct, *zacao* (a blend of random grasses and weeds) is to suggest that in addition to the discourse of medicinal plants, random grasses and plants deemed unimportant to human health, therapy, or ethnopharmacology could be treated as potentially beneficial to land health. In other words, unwanted weeds should not be normalized as the botanic or agricultural Other. The burning of slashed weeds on a plot of land to replenish the well-being of itself and what will be grown and consumed is to treat the weeds, the produce, and the animals as

agricultural selves so that the embodiment of one another is one that contains multiple agricultural selves through, literally, being-in-the-body (either human or land) metabolism.

This body of multi-selves metabolism, in a healthy and anthropological emergence, is made possible by tracing the theoretical trajectory Marxist ideology that labor (it is being treated as the physical work) as a metabolic that is transforming and transformed. The empirical example is as humans exert labor on nature, nature is turned into a cultural product of land and, in turn, changes what human culture might be. The metabolism, or rather, the *physical changes* take shape both on man who performs work and the nature itself.

As weeds are slashed and burned, they enter the metabolism of a specific land body. That land body in turn yields produce as farmers continue to give care, which then feeds the human. Thus the process through which an agricultural other (weeds) become in-the-body of the self (land and human), completes two trajectory of metabolism and turns itself into a human self when the food raised by labor (an alienated man, thus a part of land) is fed to the labor (man) it might embody. In a vernacular body (of land), the worked field embodies weeds that are no longer the other once it is slashed, burned, and absorbed. It has grown to be an agricultural body that is richer in nutrient and supposedly healthier.

This is a self contained within another self within another self, perhaps a body of multiple selves (one such as *Sssselffff*), if we follow the route of weeds-land-produce-human body metabolism. More importantly, the metabolic process relies on the co-

presence of selves (hence from apposite) and eventually their communal merging (through compost to composite) (Harvey 2006). In other words, a self without the presence of another self (singular or plural) is arguably a depleting and unhealthy one according to these Bunun narratives.

2.4 A History of Bunun Meat Sharing - Redistribution of Risks and Wellness

Let's also not forget that certain animals are relevant in this discussion. As many local Bunun claim that gout problems (*tongfong*, literally "pain-wind"), known clinically as *hyperuricemia* attributed to behavioral (mostly high purine diet including meat, alcohol, and beans) and genetic causes, is something that was rare in the past. What was rare was also the availability of meat. Even when the meat (mostly game meat) was available, people would share it – dividing it up based on the size of the game meat, the number of people in one's neighborhood, and even to the unexpected guests or visitors. This way of Bunun sharing, as many elderly people claim to be disappearing, plays an important role in maximizing the number of people who might benefit and minimizing the amount of meat intake as well.

This sharing, as Bunun informants remember, often took place upon the return of Bunun men from their hunting trips. The person who carried the game meat would ensure that no one got special privileges in picking or choosing their share of meat unfairly. Instead, all of the meat would be poured out on a canvas. From there, all of the bones and meats were chopped and divided up equally to the number of people in the community. If a visitor showed up at this time, an additional portion would be made by getting pieces of meat from everyone's share. Sometimes the host himself would even

give his own share so that the visitor might have a "gift." Such an altruistic act was not just a sign of hospitality; it was a way of minimizing meat consumption and re-distributing risk factors (for gout, hypertension, or high cholesterol) at the communal level.

Nowadays, hunting wild game is regulated by the state, and the act of sharing game meat has significantly decreased because people abide by the law for fear of being reported, or they sell game meat for profit. Because of government's restriction on hunting wild game, Bunun have been relying on domesticated animals for meat. However, the most crucial components of its distribution, both in terms of the social relations that it serves and the spreading out of health risks at the population level, are severely undermined.

This is more true to the cultural hypothesis regarding some of the reasons Bunun are more vulnerable to sickness than before. Many Bunun informants answer the question by saying that there is more pesticide and growth hormone in the food they eat, be it vegetable or meat products. Besides taking risk factors back into their own hands by growing food on their own, hence the production and distribution of food, the consumption of meat has much influence on the health of local Bunun. Nonetheless, the issue is not a straightforward one, as it is entangled with the idea of Bunun identity.

A very typical comment about meat a Bunun informant would make generally goes like "wo men bunun zu shi yi ge chi rou de ming zu" (*We Bunun are a people of meat*). This, as one middle-aged Bunun woman explains, is because Bunun people used to live in the higher altitude and often had to perform physical work in the forests. In

order to maintain a sufficient level of energy, meat (some informants would also relate this to the importance of wine) kept people warm and able to work. Hence, many people remembered how they would run into hunters in the forest and be given meat as a matter of cultural etiquette, so that those who did not have could remain energized throughout their hunting trip as a benefit from those who did have.

Additionally, domesticated animals raised within one's households were treated as readily disposable properties in the past. According to a Bunun woman, she rarely had meat from their own domesticated animals because they were raised for guests. She described her childhood memory of meat as

> 雞是有養但是不能亂吃－客人才能吃，我們只能夠喝湯而已，不能吃肉。客人有時候吃剩下的要帶回去…那個肉在客人走時要給她通通帶走…我們出去(到別人家作客)時，(她們)也是會這樣(招待我們)。這是我們布農族的習慣。如果你沒有這樣子，客人就會不高興，以後就不來了。我們去哪裡都是這樣子，都會拿很多東西回來。光要走去(拜訪)就很累了。(August 18, 2010).
>
> We could not eat our own chickens as we wished-they were for guests. We could only eat the soup [left from cooking the chicken]. The leftover had to be packed for the guests. This is how we [treat our guests and our meat] in the past. Things left from meal had to be packed up and be taken home by our guests…So when we visited [others], they would provide us their meat. This is how we did it. If one did not do it this way, the guests would be mad and would not visit you again. It is the same thing when we become guests. We would bring a lot of food home when we visit others…It takes a lot of energy to get to our host's place. (My translation)

What this elderly woman suggested was a form of Bunun hospitality-one that required reciprocity of meat and the one who hiked for long to be fed by the one who did not travelled away from home. This was also an example that rich foods (domesticated or wild animals) had to be offered to one who made his or her body available to *becoming a guest* in Bunun past.

Such Bunun network of meat was thoughtfully and intricately organized that everyone was assured to have meat. This was also true when it was game meat, meat purchased collectively, meat shared with a group of the population in the village or beyond in the past. This applies to people who were waiting at home, random visitors who appeared at the scene when people were dividing meat, or anyone who encountered hunters with game meat in the forests. Again, every person who knew or did not know about the hunter's catch would get their own share, and the cultural denominator of the meat division was *never* fixed. It was as emerging as potentially expanding. As much as such giving could be an obligation to receive, to give, and to reciprocate (Mauss 1990, p13), I am also suggesting that it is also a way to balance the richness of food and intake of meat. Hence meat sharing was perhaps to start a social relation or return a favor, but also to dis-embody, literally, potential risk factors of over-consuming a certain food item (i.e. meat of wild or domesticated animals).

The most extreme case is said to be when a hunter or a host gave up his own share of meat to a guest or an unexpected visitor (*jianzheyoufen*,"見者有份", literally, *those who witness it get a piece of the share*). If we examine this issue in the historical context, we would learn that in most of the scenarios these expected or unexpected visitors had travelled days to reach the house of the host or in the forests. Most of the guests, because they were traveling on foot, had not only exhausted their food and water, but probably significantly lowered their health risk with such long-distance walking and hiking. As a result, they were given the richest food possible in the host's context – meat. The most

hospitable and most appropriate practice, as many suggest, would have been to pack up the meat for the guests to consume on their way back.

We see that meat as a food item was distributed to the one who has been traveling to become a guest and is expected to take on a strenuous long-distance hike back to where he started from (as a future and potential host). A traveled body not only regulated hospitality, but also demanded the surrender of meat from a person who had taken the role of a host (and previously a guest). Though such giving could be related to demonstrating social or filial respect and gratitude (Strathern 1979), fulfilling moral and spiritual bonds (Mauss 1990), or simply what Bunun did *naturally* (Bunun narratives), the issue of health risk and benefits of food *in relation* to a contextualized and socio-metamorphic body (physically moving in order to move *into* a different social role) should also be taken into consideration.

A more exercised host, perhaps nutritionally depleted and having a lowered health risk, earns more or all of the meat that a host can offer at one time. That is to say, the next time that the host takes on such social exercise of becoming a nutrition-depleted and exercised guest body, this supposedly healthier body would be more likely to take on richer food like meat than the stay-home host. In short, the Bunun hospitality and sharing of game meat that were once practiced and prevalent were not simply associated with the glorification of individuals for sharing or creating social bonds between them. They served as vernacular "health behaviors" that were already in place to deal with potential health concerns such as over-consumption of meat and accompanying health issues like gout or high cholesterol that people recognize to be crucial problems today.

Here physical activities, such as hunting and traveling long-distance to become a guest, creating social ties, fulfilling obligations, and taking on certain rights (to meat), cannot be separated from a historiographical account of health behaviors that emerge out of and manage potential health threats centered around meat as a central ingredient of ethno-cuisine. Meat, as gift-giving in this cultural context, is given to the guest rather than being presented to the host. Today, one is expected to receive a gift as a host or the guest might be regarded as *xiaoqi* ("stingy"). It is obviously very different from a Han culture that a guest is often expected to present a gift upon visiting the house of the host. When we think about the social exercise, in their respective roles and body becoming process, it is quite reasonable for the host to complement a guest's exercised body with food richer in nutrition. To be a guest was to exercise and to be a host was surely to provide for the guest's body that was more ready for richer food.

Chapter Three

3.1 Naturalized Disaster

Typhoon Morakot swept through Taiwan causing casualties and leaving many homeless in August 2009. Many of the communities that were severely affected are located in the mountainous region of the island. A Bunun community situated on the west side of a major mountain ridge in southeastern Taiwan was one that escaped the disaster; nevertheless, a nearby tourist resort, a nationally-renowned outdoor attraction was completely buried under mud. Buried underneath the mud are not merely many tourists' fun memories, but valuable employment opportunities for the local Bunun. The landslide or *tushiliu*, literally the flow of mud and rocks, also exposed a longstanding dialogue of risk emerged in both political and public health discourses and the lack thereof.

People in Taiwan often associate the concept of "landslide" or "mudslide" with disasters like typhoons and earthquakes, but also with human modified environments like beetle nut plantation[viii] and poor forestry management of steeped hillsides. While some factors might be deemed unavoidable as the work of *daziran* (the "Great Nature"), others are closely associated with human activities. So when we talk about disaster – a concept that Oliver-Smith (2001) suggests is historically contextualized and inalienable from social processes—it could be less natural than we think. After all, plausible causes of a disaster, its literal and projected impact, and how people adapt to a disaster and its aftermath do not guarantee the position of a disaster to be natural.

By focusing on the political and public discourses of "landslide" in the context of Bunun people's life experience, I argue that landslides in Taiwanese aboriginal country is

could be related to continuous, collective, and cross-continent and often time contradictory practices of health-promoting lifestyles. Failing to address the economic constraints and benefits of the Aboriginal Reserved Land (ARL) system further leads to the naturalization of the disaster by neglecting the political roots of this culturally designed and designated landscape. By naturalization, I mean literally treating such a disaster as a process, free of any history of human influence, intervention, or impact.

Such a claim, according to Blanton (2011), is a discourse of "chronotopic" construction that positions certain vulnerable populations and their suffering as ahistorical and acultural, and their life stories as readily disposable. In order to understand this landslide in a grand scheme of things, it is critical to trace the historical and political economic birth of Bunun landscape, the risk of disaster as communicated or un-communicated across various global, state, and local agents/agencies, and the interrelation/interdependence of health that have connected the Bunun people and their land to other places and populations of a shared or different publics.

The ARL is a landscape that has embodied discourse of ethnicization and racialization (Urciuoli 1996) emerging from Taiwan's history of colonization and population expansion. While both the plain and the mountainous regions of the island were once occupied by aborigines, those of the plains were mostly assimilated by Han settlers or driven away, whereas those of the mountain region remained strongly resistant to the subjugation of the political powers in the past (Ka 1995, Brown 2004, and Shepherd 1999). The establishment of aboriginal territory was meant to safeguard

aboriginal people's livelihood, as well as maintain social order in Taiwan under rule of the Ch'ing dynasty. (Ka 1995:40).

The construction of the ARL in Taiwanese history has not only proven the establishment of past governing power unto the lived boundary of Taiwanese aborigines, but also the expansion of Han population into aboriginal territory. Han settlement, starting from Dutch colonial rule during early 1600s, grew consistently for the need of physical labor in commodity exportation and international trade. The lack of private ownership as well as slash and burn agricultural contributed to the misconception that there was an absence of land ownership among the aborigines. This gradually led to increasing land reclamation and population expansion into aboriginal territory by the Han settlers.

The creation of the Aboriginal Reserved Land system, having its roots set during the Japanese governance, was meant to obtain natural resources such as camphor and timbers from highland Taiwan (Butal et al. 2010). However, the growing demand for land gradually forced many aborigines to assimilate and migrate away from their protected zones. Soon after the Republic (1947- Present) era began, the nationalist government adopted the reserved land system. While the tension between Taiwan and communist China remained strong, the political rule of the island had strict control of the mountainous region in order to prevent communist intrusion[ix]. This made some of the aboriginal communities that were already far from cities more isolated both politically and economically.

The geographical and political economic constraints associated with such territory have left most of the Taiwanese aborigines to agricultural and forestry production, if not migrant labor. While living standards improve and the desire for better economic opportunities increases, more and more Han people, especially those with higher income and educational backgrounds, start demanding health-oriented produce. This includes agricultural produce like "wild/mountain greens," different varieties of fruits, and ginger. Additionally, the demand for leisure life away from the polluted and stressful city life has led its population to vacation in the countryside and aboriginal communities.

The famous story of a Bunun baseball team's triumph over the little league world champions in the 60s positioned local Bunun land on the map as the birthplace for athletic heroes and a destination for tourism. The Vakangan baseball museum is a particularly well-known tourist spot where the display of baseball trophies and equipment speak the glorious past of the local little league baseball team. If one took the staircase up to the second floor, he or she would find a room full of Bunun cultural objects, such as bows and arrows, highly adorned costumes, and agricultural equipment.

After exiting the room, one can take a hallway that leads through the dorm rooms where current baseball players live. An exit on the second floor leads to an outdoor space. On one side of a tree at the corner, a tire, which was hung from a branch for the original team's batting practice, is now literally enclosed by the skin of the tree. Looking down from the tree, there is a baseball field filled with red dirt where both the original and the current baseball teams have practiced. Some tourist groups pay homage to this

tree as it sets the cornerstone for Taiwanese baseball history, while many others, if lucky enough, take the opportunity to witness the new players practice.

The tire-embodied tree could serve as a bridge between the cultural objects in the museum and living subjects in the baseball field, but missing are the voices of the team members. As many original members of the little league team passed away and others moved away, the last member residing in the village has worked as a cab driver going in and out of the village. Hence the widely celebrated past of baseball history comes to manifest between the disembodied cultural objects and the re-embodied living subjects, as well as the sometimes forgotten betwixt and beyond.

Besides the cultural tourism and its culture, health-oriented produce is another growing source of local economics in Vakangan. Produce like ginger and mountainous greens can be found in the fields within and surrounding the village. Many prune and peach trees are grown in the land at higher altitudes along the lumbering trail. Though many locals consume this produce, the major goal is to sell it to people living in the cities. The planting of ginger, while being a crop that generates greater profit, is said to leave the soil not arable for several years.

Some of the mountainous greens, such as shan-di-cong (highland onions) and other "wild greens," are deemed to be health-promoting produce by tourists, as well as consumers in the cities. This is evident in the restaurant of the Luye Native Botanical Garden, where a great variety of vegetables, said to possess healing properties, are displayed on the buffet bar for tourists. Many of these greens can be found in plantations in Hognye according to a local woman who grew and sold greens locally and to a nearby

tourist resort that marketed the enjoyment of natural hot springs and health-promoting mountainous greens.

The value of vegetables and other agricultural produce grown in aboriginal communities is often related to concepts of rareness, tastiness, and agrochemical-freeness. These characteristics work hand-in-hand with geographical advantages such as cooler temperatures and perhaps fewer agricultural pests. For instance, cabbage grown in higher altitudes are said to be sweeter and crunchier accordingly. This culturally constructed and favored tastiness is crucial to the ethnic cuisine of the majority of Han Taiwanese people. The savor of such dietary items, however, comes at the cost of increased landslide risk in some aboriginal communities.

While some of the land sits on relatively flat hillsides, many reserves are located along or close to slopes ranging from mildly-slanted to steep. This not only makes labor on such landscapes strenuous, but also creates potential risk for landslide when the vegetation on such slopes is cleared off and replaced with crops of seasonal produce. Whether or not such activities could be linked to incidents of landslides is unclear, but discourse that naturalizes the relation between farming practices in and near mountainous communities and landslides has emerged in both political and public realms.

3.2 Institutionally Circulated Risks vs. Lived Risk

A former government official known for his disaster relief and management work best demonstrated the prevailing view on the risk of landslide in Taiwan. Claiming Taiwan is the "most disaster-hit region" in the world, he suggested the following environmental protection strategies by:

> 水資源必須從「頭」規劃,為了養蓄高山水源地，上游住民應有開發上的限制，不能砍樹種植菜園、果園，但是政府要幫他們考慮生計問題...發展觀光。 (Commercial Times, March 2011)
>
> managing the "root" of water resources. In order to retain the land near the source of water in the mountainous region, its residents should be restrained from development. They should not cut down trees for vegetable and fruit plantation. The government, instead, should take [highland residents'] livelihood issues into consideration and help them…develop tourism. (My Translation)

This statement clearly shows that the state has adopted the discourse of risk – one that has been produced by the Independent Evaluation Group (IEG) of the World Bank -- that calculated the percentage of Taiwanese people exposed to "multiple hazards" as the highest in the world (IEG, 2005). The communication of such public health risk from an international health agency takes on a very literal mimicking when it gets to the political discourse at the state level, such as the one suggested in Commercial Times. The risk of Taiwanese people in the context of landslide can be roughly calculated as K=C•(PhExp)a•Va1 •Va2...•Vap, according to World Bank's *Natural Disaster Hotspots Case Studies* (2005: 24). In this statistical (and equally theoretical) model, *K* stands for the people killed in the actual landslide incident, whereas *C* stands for a constant, *PhExp* represents the population living in the exposed area in relation to the frequency of the landslide occurrence, V is the socioeconomic parameters and a (1, 2, 3…p) are the exponential values of socioeconomic parameters.

Hence the calculation of the landslide risk in a Bunun community, based on the people killed (value *K*) might be as problematic as the numerical representation of socioeconomic factors (value *V*) in numerical forms. During my fieldwork in and away

from the Bunun village, I noticed that household damages were more frequent than human casualties. This was the case in several Paiwan aboriginal villages that I visited in summer 2009, as well as the Bunun village where buildings and public infrastructures were the only known losses during my fieldwork in 2010~2011. These were significant losses to aboriginal populations, as many Bunun commuters complained about the lengthened time and distance of their commute because one of the inter-village bridges was severely damaged and could no longer be used.

With the understanding that the statistical formula developed by World Bank was probably intended to raise disaster awareness worldwide, the calculation of risk and vulnerability in mathematical and statistical representations was a great effort and only a start. Nonetheless, the formula itself not only omitted the structural (literally, the buildings) and infrastructure damages in its consideration, but also oversimplified socioeconomic factors in yet another mathematical representation (value V) in singular or multiple possibilities (depending on the value of p as the exponents of value V). Questions then arise, as one might ask *who* determines what these factors are and *how many* socioeconomic factors are there? My argument here is not on the p value itself, but that the determination of socioeconomic factor(s) might not involve voices of those people who experience the risk of landslide, as well as neglecting the historical changes of land tenure as we see in some Bunun narratives (Povinelli 2011).

For instance, in the Bunun community, several residents have pointed out that agricultural production on a slanted hill could very easily lead to a landslide. Though this resonated with the discourses on disaster risk produced by international governing bodies

and the discourse that was circulated in the media, the risk of landslide as lived can be further complicated when we continue to examine the details of such narrative. When asked about how a landslide took place, an experienced Bunun farmer in his early 60s offered his opinion on the design of a ginger farm, "What one should do [after plowing a large area of land] is to dig a trench along the bottom edge of the ginger farm and pile rocks along it to build a base [to make up for the loss of vegetation]" (March 31, 2010). This local narrative redirected the perception of landslide risk to *how* land is farmed rather than simply blaming highland agriculture as the overarching factor for causing landslides (Sheng, 1966). However, when we examine the discourse of landslide in media, we rarely see this perception of lived risks circulated outside of this Bunun village or other aboriginal communities.

The discourse of landslide risk, while reflecting or as reflected in the narrative of highland farming discussed locally by Bunun farmers and stressed globally by the IEG and World Bank, does not necessarily reflect the multiplicity of local voices associated with landslide risks. Aboriginal Reserved Lands and its importance in maintaining aboriginal livelihood was once again sacrificed for the retaining of soil stability, which had been suggested as a root cause of landslides in Taiwan. This type of environmental protecting discourse was successful in treating all lands as *naturally and logically* prone to slides, but failed to recognize that the creation, the physical location, and the management of lands had been everything *but* natural.

Again, we see how the discourse of environmental health, while being developed to model the global agenda, silenced certain aspects of local voices and failed to initiate,

maintain, or circulate narratives of lived experiences concerning landslide. Leslie Butt's (2002) "suffering stranger," a voiceless face that is merely framed as a visual or audial representation in the international discourse of the "needed" echoes the silencing of lived risks in which some of the residents in the disaster burdened areas were framed. Likewise, the claim that socioeconomic parameters associated with landslide risk can be derived from a mathematical formula provided by the scientists is to neglect the history of landscape (i.e. the ARL system); hence, numbers can be plugged into this formula, as well as many others founds in reports and documents produced by international health governing bodies, to successfully evaluate risks as arm-chair figures and phenomenon.

Such a one-size-fits-all formula contains quantitative flexibility and might allow for stretching to fit ethnographic data if one were to consider the conceptual space provided by the multiplicity of p value. In other words, this model did point out the multiplicity of socioeconomic factors in influencing, relating, or producing landslide morbidity in a synchronic calculation of risks. But how we decide that one socioeconomic parameter is relevant while another is not in the process of a landslide is problematic. The additional assumption here was that socioeconomic factors were quantifiable and they could capture *lived risks*.

If we were to examine more Bunun narratives about landslides, we would see that people are very aware of the risk of landslide, especially during rainy and hurricane seasons. One Bunun woman in her early twenties even informed me that she would look for signs of a potential landslide, such as muddy water seeping into her house, to determine when she would begin running out of her house with her grandmother. This is

similar to the preventive actions that an older woman said she would take as someone who lived directly under a plantation field. "I would leave the village if there were big rains that lasted for more than three days. [That is when] we see water running out of our ground pipes" (March 17, 2011). These are great examples of risk that can be experienced in these Bunun individuals' immediate awareness. The socioeconomic calculation of risks might be relevant, but not as "perceivable" and "grounded" when compared with the risks of landslide, such as heavy raining and ground water outpouring from ground pipes.

Different perception of risks then brings us to the discussion of risk perception and communication, one that Frewer (1997) suggests is different in the perception of the layperson than in the discourse of science or media. Trust, as a result, is a key component in the development of risk perception and facilitation of its communication by and in the public. The history of Bunun public-state relations embodies some ambiguity and conflict as I have suggested in the history of aboriginal land tenure, as well as the cooperations and crticisms that emerge out of aboriginal-state interactions over several political regimes.

To better understand such relations one might start by becoming familiar with the political party preference of the Bunun village and its neighboring communities. The resentment of the Nationalist Party is very much present and an everyday discourse among some of the Presbytarian Church's affiliated members. This can be traced back to the social protests and movements initiated by the religious organization in metropolitan Taiwan during the 1980s, especially regarding matters of aboriginal land and cultural

revitalization. Today, certain Christian members of a local church discuss how the KMT does not care for the aborigines living in the mountains – except during election time.

For instance, a Bunun elder commented on how the present state-aborigine relationship embodies much tension going back to the days of colonialism. He said,

> 日本人還沒有統治以前，我們下山打獵，日本人來了，統治台灣，把我們從山上用逼的方式…遷到這裡（指平地）。如果從良心□，其它外國人還沒有進到台灣的時後，這個地就在我們的手裡…就到現在，如果要拿土地，一定向政府申請。這個是顛倒的。(January 9, 2010).

> [Before] the Japanese ruled Taiwan, we could hike [from higher] to lower altitude for hunting. Once the Japanese arrived, we were forced to move to where we were (lower altitude) today. Speaking from my conscience, this land was ours prior to the arrival of these foreign regimes…So today, I (as a Bunun and an Aborigine) need to file an application to the government in order to have lands. This is the opposite of how things should have been. (My translation)

This story demonstrates the hostile sentiment that many Bunun people and aborigines have towards the state, be it the colonial Japanese or the Han Chinese governance in Taiwan. Such opposition and conflicts came out of the historical forced migration, isolation, and perhaps later on, integration that Bunun people experienced under the control of various governments. The landslide, in some people's perspectives, could very much be a direct or indirect result of such tension. A lawsuit filed by an aboriginal group against the state claiming poor judgment of its governance, which relocated them to where they were and, as a result, led to their suffering from disasters, is a perfect example of political conflict-led disaster (Central News Agency, August 2011).

This state-local interaction and communication about disaster risks, one that was rooted in politics, did not shed much of its light on national and global discourse of risk calculations. Rarely did the discussion of land struggle and tenure politics see their own

light in statistical or regression analysis. A Bunun woman in her mid-thirties offered an interesting perspective on landslide when she asked me what landside is made of. My over-analyzing mind could offer nothing useful. She then described if one pours some medicinal wine (burgundy in color) into a glass filled with ice cubes (rocks), then pour in some canned milk that one found at a local grocery store, then you would get the motion of dirt-like liquid washing the 'rocks' and there, you would have landslide. (October 2011).

This recipe for landslide is playful in part and sadly truthful in another because it speaks of the fact that some believe that a landslide could be *made* just like the cocktail. This kind of joke is nonetheless far from being self-pitying. Bunun people might use such a joke to lighten up an otherwise tragic topic. "Landslide," according to a Bunun mother from a neighboring village, is the reason that her childhood village was buried under earth. Other metaphors of landslide can also be found in Bunun conversation as social comments on other aboriginal related issues.

At the end of the day, how many of these stories were circulated or heard by the media, the residents of lowland areas in Taiwan, or the politicians who design and operate disaster-coping strategies and relief programs? When it comes to disaster risk communication and management, it is very likely, due to distrust or mistrust, a challenge for the major stakeholders, such as various government agencies, the aboriginal county government, and local Bunun residents, to exchange messages across the board. The existing constraints of the reserved land system – such as its predetermined legal suitability for agricultural production, as well as the regulation on its transaction as

physical capital – might not make tourism as the replacement for agriculture a viable plan in highland and aboriginal communities in Taiwan.

The adoption of global health discourse, such as the one laid out in the Commercial Times interview, speaks of the less critically examined global health measure. Though designed with good intentions, the discourse does not consider local (agri)cultural context and does not take local perception of disaster risks into consideration. Though the disaster relief expert's comment does reflect the reality of danger, to a certain degree, and the risk of highland farming and forestry in Taiwan, he fails to address the constraints and complexity of the Aboriginal Reserved Land in the mountainous region.

Geographically speaking, most of the existing reserves are planted in the hills of Taiwan. This is in part due to the historical migration and relocation of Taiwanese aborigines into the mountains during early colonial times and from higher altitudes into lower hillsides particularly during the Japanese rule between 1895 and 1945. The confrontation and negotiation between Taiwanese aborigines and Han settlers from China or between the former and colonial governments further led to the establishment of the reserve system.

This aboriginalized landscape gradually shrank in size due to the state's desire for the natural resources. This was true for the Japanese colonial rule because of their capitalistic approach to and development of the forests and natural resources such as camphor in Taiwan. Today, the call for environmental conservation has often been placed on top of the governmental agenda, whereas aboriginal reserves, being physically

located in or near forests and mountains, are often an inalienable part of the political discourse like the one Taiwanese media helped circulate. Indeed, the relationship between landslides and aboriginal reserves is often accompanied and reinforced by discursive means of "risk."

The risk of landslide is framed, therefore, by naturalizing the association between the mountainous region and its residents. This connection is drawn by first of all, shelving the production of the aboriginal reserve system and the political prolongation of its life behind the discourse. It appears that landscapes in the mountainous region or highland Taiwan are completely free of any political planning and public planting. As the tracing of aboriginal land history in Taiwan has shown, political forces were in place that had created reserved land amid what is regarded as the "natural" landscape.

3.3 The Dilemma of Bodily, Social, and Environmental Well-Being

In addition to naturalizing, literally, the "natural" appearance of aboriginal reserves and the "imbalanced" relationship between the mountainous landscape and its resident, the concept of risk is often incorporated into both public and private discourses on landscape vis-a-vis landslide. Such discussions are often joined by ideas like "environmental-friendliness" and "greater public well-being," which demand the discipline of the remote and aboriginal bodies that work the land. These two discourses might have practical and positive benefits to the safety of the public when investigated outside of this cultural context. When being examined along with the complexity of the reserve system and the politics of risk, they are more than simple life choices.

The reserved system, as previously mentioned, has been historically and systematically designed for and designated to Taiwanese aborigines. However, the land's geographical remoteness, low market value, and political ambiguity not only bar the entrusted aborigines from full ownership, but also from participating full citizenship. In this case, the aboriginal reserve land and its owners are placed in a "savage slot" – a conceptual slot reserved for the Other (Trouillout 1991). In this case, words, this ethnicized territory and the Taiwanese aborigines fill in the poetic void of natural landscape, as well as fulfilling the political design of past and current states.

The planning and designing of the aboriginal reserve land system has not only created a natural bond between Taiwanese aborigines and landslide, it has consequently created constraints that bind its owners to a certain eco-political economy and discursive destiny. This is evident when looking back into the history of the island during the 70s and 80s, when a great majority of Han Taiwanese experienced what is known as the "economic miracle." The agricultural development and infrastructure building carried out by earlier political rules, including the Japanese and the Nationalist Party, has allowed the industrialization and the fruit of economic development to be born.

The economic take-off drew many aboriginal people residing in the countryside and remote communities into the cities and suburban areas. Many of these internal migrants were looking for better employment opportunities and ended up working labor-intensive and low-wage jobs. Benefitting from the growth in their financial stability and well-being, a large number of the Han Taiwanese population, primarily those living in the cities and suburbs, were seeking outlets for their growing wealth and getaways from busy

and noisy cosmopolitan life. Tourism development around the island was among one of their choices.

Meanwhile, organized under the influence of the Presbyterian Church, many Taiwanese aborigines of different tribes gathered in the cities and suburbs were able to form a pan-aboriginal identity away from their home communities. This identity was drawn from aboriginal clothing, singing, and the life experiences of different tribes, and it led to the integration of several forms and ideologies (needs example). The pan-identity formation has been further incorporated into the making of cultural tourism, one that specifically markets aboriginal singing, dancing, and cuisine to tourists from all over the island.

The rise of cultural tourism in aboriginal communities also came along with ideologies such as environmental awareness/protection, and issues regarding land use and entitlement. Many of these newly emerging discourses and governmental policies are directly or indirectly in contradiction and confrontation with the ARL system. For instance, as many Taiwanese aborigines brought pan-identity back to their home communities, they faced the challenge of obtaining the capital to develop cultural tourism. Because many reserved lands are either located on steep hills or are only for agricultural purposes, their market value is so low that they cannot be used as collateral to borrow money from banks.

Given the constraints of the reserved land system, the development of cultural tourism is limited across aboriginal communities. While many Bunun remain working in the agricultural and forestry sectors, they also face the increasing demand for protecting

their environment. Here, the concept of environment is constructed as one that needs to be free from human exploitation, such as specific ways of farming or planting. Farming practices that favor shallow-rooted plants and produce are often the focus of public criticism and condemnation. For example, the growing of beetle nut trees, which produce a widely consumed fruit called the beetle nut (*saviki* in Bunun; *binlang* in Chinese), can be found in almost every aboriginal community. The common use of this plant has drawn attention and discussion about its relationship with landslides due to its poor ability to hold soil at the roots.

Regardless of the validity of such a claim, plants and produce as such are being cultivated throughout the hills of Taiwan. Many of these hills contain plots of aboriginal reserved land and are used for growing vegetables, fruits, and other produce. In Vakangan, one can spot the cultivation of ginger sitting on hills along and above residential houses. While some individuals in the community fear or talk about these plantations as landslides waiting to happen, especially given the region's proneness to hurricanes, it is also a plantation that offers job opportunities for many local people. Nonetheless, when looking closely into the cycle that drives the plantation, one finds that the risk of landslide is not so simple and straightforward.

Because many aboriginal communities are located away from some of the severely polluted and populated areas in Taiwan, they are often regarded as places that offer safer and better agricultural produce. Many farmers not only claim the advantage of the locality and the weather to what they grow, but also plant specific produce that feed into the public discourse and practice related to well-being maintenance. A general and

very prevailing concept related to contemporary dietary practice throughout the island is to turn to vegetables gathered in the "wild" or mountains for their health-benefiting and potential healing effects.

This is evident in the rise of green consumerism and new age health practices that have pointed out the untaintedness of vegetables found in the wild or in the mountains. This belief is built on the idea that, one, agricultural produce grown in the less populated areas is less likely to be polluted and, two, that the plants themselves might be healthier than those grown or found in the plains. If so, it is reasonable to say that such vegetables, for instance, might actually embody more of the "wilderness," "nature," or "liveliness" than their lowland counterparts. When such a belief stands, its consumer can then embody the wellness of the plants by directly ingesting them.

Other produce that is grown and harvested across many mountainous communities, such as ginger, has also been recognized by the general public as well-ness inducing and promoting. From cooking to folk medicinal application, it is said that ginger can drive away "coldness" and can be beneficial to the stomach (Wu 2000:107). The philosophical ideology behind how the food operates in the human body often points to the traditional Chinese medicine and Taoist interpretation of nature and body. In the Taoist school of thoughts, the human body needs to embody "the nature" – following the changes in the physical environment and becoming a part of it, with the balance or illness that might come about. Bodily "hotness" or "coldness" will have to be balanced – by food or by physical movement and manipulations. The body that demands and desires wild greens is possibly one that is lacking the element of "nature" and by consuming

greens grown in the wild and mountains, the person might actually become one with the natural wilderness through such food consumption.

Compared to Han-Taiwanese's ideology of health, that of the Bunun people in Vakangan unfolds in a way that is uniquely different, yet shares some similarities to its Han counterpart. *Mahatba* is the closest Bunun term adopted to represent the concept of health in Chinese, and it literally means "stronghold." Many Bunun elderly people explained to me that this concept specifically referred to how much agricultural produce a Bunun individual could carry on his or her back when they used to walk back and forth between their houses and their fields on steep hills far into the forests. This agricultural produce could be corn, sweet potatoes, and other vegetables, as well as wild game they had caught or firewood. The weight of these loads were extremely heavy for the Bunun because they would stuff everything they had harvested, hunted, or needed.

In this case, "health" is measured not only by the absence of disease, but also by the physical endurance of individuals, both male and female. In other words, mahatba can be seen as a process from which the state of wellness comes into being, rather than a matter of what has to be consumed in order to maintain physical well-being. This is not to say that local Bunun do not hold ideas such as "let your food be your medicine," but such plants or animals do not directly contribute to the emergence of mahatba, which is inseparable from the specific Bunun ways of living and laboring in the mountainous landscape.

Take the flying squirrel for example; many local people consume not only its meat, but also its intestine. It is said that the body part can help to treat stomachache and

the best way to consume it is when the game has been just killed. The ideology behind such a healing choice is that flying squirrels eat fresh and young leaves of plants that also contain healing properties. Therefore, by consuming the fresh intestines of a flying squirrel, many people have claimed that their stomach problems or their relatives' stomach problems have been alleviated. While it is true that stomach problems might affect one's ability to carry out life's tasks and labor, it is rare for Bunun people to specifically seek such animal parts for the simple sake of healing.

Likewise, local Bunun seldom go into the mountains to look for certain wild vegetables or plants just for the sake of treating their own personal illnesses. Quite often, a wild plant will be used because it just happens to be growing nearby when the consumer encounters discomfort or suffers from a work related injury. For example, susuluk (*xianfengcao* in Chinese or *Biden pilosa*) has been known to help stop bleeding when a Bunun suffers from a cut while working in the mountains. While it is the case that it contains a healing property, local people do not take this plant home for its application in the future.

It might be argued that susuluk can be found almost everywhere so that local Bunun do not take the plants home as "medicine". But it is also the case that when susuluk is not present in the environment, local people look for other plants that contain similar healing properties to treat minor injuries, such as cuts. The inner core of the stem of badan/badzan (*mangcao* in Chinese or *Miscanthus floridulu*; *silvergrass*) or the "sap from the stem" of valu (*shange* in Chinese or *Pueraria Montana*; *Taiwan kuzubean*) can also help to treat bleeding from fighting wild boar (Butal et al. 2008). Likewise, these

two plants are often sought and applied when the injury occurs, instead of being carried around as "medicine."

These examples show that the Bunun do not usually use these ethnomedicinal items as depository remedies. In most cases, they are used only when a sense of discomfort or injury emerges as a result of labor (i.e. agricultural work or hunting). Their application does not contribute to an individual's state of being mahatba, which is culturally related to the ways in which the Bunun carry out livelihood activities, along with the value of endurance, diligence, and respect to the elderly people. These ethnomedicines, therefore, are landscape-led and are relevant to the immediate lived experience of the Bunun, rather than prescribed and predetermined.

Many of these plants can be found in the forests spread across mountains near or far from the community. Many Bunun adults claim that there are other plants where they work or hunt in the mountains that have been used for healing purposes, but they can't quite recall their names. Regardless, they would recognize such plants when they encountered them in the forests. This is especially true because one might find completely different species of plants in different altitude ranges. The knowledge and the application of such species, mostly plants, have shown that they are more of cultural species than "natural" species or "wild" species.

However, there is a reversal representation of plant species – agricultural plant species being shaped into "natural" or "wild" ones -- found in the general public. The latter is often preferred by those consumers who believe in the beneficial medicinal properties of such agricultural produce. They are given added-value economically and

culturally by consumers for their constructed exoticness, natural-ness, and perhaps purity. Altogether, these characteristics make them appear to be something other than agricultural produce. Instead, they are perceived as plant species closer to nature – hence embodying more "wilderness."

A concept such as "wilderness," being associated with certain produce is in part related to the ideology and practice of well-being and embodiment in its own marketing and consumption processes. This produce is literally being "naturalized" and it is regarded as the (agri)cultural Other in the Han-Taiwanese market. This (agri)cultural Other also occupies a fabricated cultural framework, yet its name grants itself perhaps a more natural appearance in Han-Taiwanese culture. Thus they are marked differently from lowland produce and are deemed to be more desirable by many consumers. In this case, the agriculturally produced and remotely planted greens are treated as if they are part of the romanticized landscape – free(er) from human intervention. Their wilderness, thus, is being equated with their closeness to nature and "better quality."

The consumption of wild and mountainous greens in human diet and its relation to better human well-being is very much built on the foundation that one's wellness is attributed to being close to nature. The case that maximizes this effect is when the body actually embodies nature or vice versa. Perhaps it is the "liveliness," "untaintedness," or "cleanness" that people associate with nature. Then, these values can be restored or reproduced in the human body as one consumes the produce. People who deliberately follow this green consumer path very likely construct their well-being as lacking "liveliness" or being "tainted" by the culture of cosmopolitan life.

Although such wilderness embodies positive meanings, we should not forget that Taiwanese aborigines were once regarded and treated as the "less civilized" people both politically and by the layperson in Taiwan. The current term being used to describe Taiwanese aborigines – "yuanzhumin" (literally the original inhabitants) – has been adopted by the island's government and its population in more recent times (Hsieh 1994 find reference). Prior to this, Taiwanese aborigines were often recognized as "*shanbao*," which literally means the "mountain compatriots or brothers/sisters" in literal translation. While this term alone did not reveal any specific negative connotations, it was the social circumstances under which the language was used when Taiwanese aborigines were often associated with many social stigmas of being closer to the nature than their Han "brothers and sisters" (Hsieh 1987).

The sociolinguistic context of "shanbao" was one that romanticized (romanticize savage), racialized, and demonized Taiwanese aborigines. Terms like "huan-a," "shandiren," and "gaoshanzu" were historically and are perhaps still being used to describe them. "Huan" ("fan" in Mandarin) is the Hoklo[x] dialect referring to people who are the ethnically Other in general. However, when it is used to refer to a Taiwanese aborigine, such as a "huan-a," it is often derogatory. Although the use of such terms has significantly decreased in public discourse, it is not completely wiped out in the sociolinguistic reservoir of many Ha-Taiwanese people.

At the same time, "shandiren" (mountainous people) and "gaoshanzu" (high mountain people) are also common sociolinguistic terms used to describe Taiwanese aborigines since the Nationalist Party took over the island in 1945. Both words contain

the character of mountain, which associated Taiwanese aborigines with the natural and the geographical surroundings that they might have lived closed to. While this might be true for many Bunun people, it is also the case that a lot of the aboriginal people have lived close to the sea or in the cities and suburbs. The stereotypes associated with such sociolinguistic terms continue to provide a platform of imagination that sets Taiwanese aborigines apart from and inferior to their Han counterpart.

Perhaps it is in these social circumstances that the ideology related to wild and mountainous greens should be reconsidered. The wild and mountainous greens, very possibly, have come to stand as symbols for many Taiwanese aborigines' agricultural produce in contemporary health-oriented discourses. The concept of "wild" or "mountain" here contains the notion of greater health benefits, untainted realness, and perhaps intrinsic superiority in its quality in relation to produce grown in other locations or lower altitudes. The value given to such agricultural produce clearly contradicts what has been explained regarding how "mountain" was associated with and applied to Taiwanese aborigines.

Today, Taiwanese aborigines are known as "yuanzumin" (the original inhabitants) of the island. Terms such as "huan," "shandiren," "shanbao," or "gaoshanzu" are not used as often as before. However, the public still calls greens grown or gathered in aboriginal communities "shancai" (mountain greens) or "yecai" (wild greens). This agricultural produce is often believed to have positive effects on the health of its consumers, whereas the geographical locality of these aborigines has historically led to

the generalization of the aboriginal identity – one that is "naive," "closer to nature," or "inferior to Han culture."

This racializing process has shaped Taiwanese aborigines into beings who are born a particular way, rather than focusing on the process through which they have *learned* and become who they are. For example, certain public discourses have emphasized on how Taiwanese aborigines are born good athletes and have strong physiques. Meanwhile, the trajectory of such discussions further leads to the false assumption that these aborigines are intellectually inferior to Han-Taiwanese. The public discourse further applies the idea of "noble savagery" by projecting it onto their agricultural produce. That is to say, the mountain greens and wild greens are believed to be healthier to the consumer because they are healthier by nature.

The culturally-produced association between mountainous produce and cosmopolitan practice of health-oriented diet have stimulated the contradicting desires for environmental protection and the highland produce. As the general public's awareness towards healthier life extends to their physical surroundings and remote environments, the face of forestry also shifts from time to time. While many recognize that tree plantations might help stabilize the earth on steep slopes and be a good tool to target landslides, the combination of forestry and tourism has become a new goal for the preservation of green hills in Taiwan.

Nevertheless, forestry by itself is not a straightforward solution to solve all the environmental problems or even economic issues that the aboriginal Taiwanese might be encountering. Accroding to Yeh's (2002) field interviews with Bunun people, forestry

has been a relatively difficult way to make a living because of the low financial reward and thetime it takes to gain back the investment. Some people also state that the lack of training in management and marketing does not help them sell the planted trees. Ultimately, forestry is not as economically feasible as agriculture and the integration of forestry with eco-tourism often leads to an alternative path for those who decide to work in their communities.

Forestry has been a focus of eco-economic activity across many mountainous communities in Taiwan. For the purpose of environmental protection, creating job opportunities, and other industrial and practical applications, forestry has been a major way for residents in the mountainous communities to gain income. Until the late 70s, the lumbering industry was still operating and was one of the main sources of income for the state. Recently, the government has also shifted its emphasis to the building of community forestry and forest recreational areas with the means to cope with the socioeconomic transition of its citizens, as well as the criticism from the public regarding the ecological damage from lumbering industry.

Forest plantation has been one of the strategies that the state advocates as a way to safeguard the now depleting and potentially landslide-inducing mountainous forests and landscapes. Although the discourse and practice of forestry has been changed to equate "green" landscape with "safety," "harmony," or "sustainability," the new directions of these forestry practices and the relationship of the industry to the aboriginal community and its livelihood deserve further investigation. The discussion of these issues, again,

cannot be alienated from the eco-political economy of the ARL that complicates, confounds, and contradicts such relations.

The structural constraints of the ARL extend beyond agriculture and into forestry. Aborigine landowners are encouraged to plant trees and are rewarded by the government for as long as they follow the contract and not cut down the trees. However, the issues arise when new directions that the government proposes, such as eco-tourism, community forestry or recreational forest areas, become entangled with aboriginal identity and living space. This is potentially problematic in the assumptions or stereotypes that it might produce.

First, aboriginal users, owners, or organizers and their land are not naturally associated. These associations are politically planned and some of the owners are not aborigines directly living and working the land. Second, the eco-tourism that ultimately involves the cultural knowledge of the aboriginal inhabitants might lead to the use and abuse of natural resources unforeseen and unplanned before. This has been the case prior to the official establishment of communal forestry in Vakangan. Third, recreational forest areas or any other forms of tourism that incorporate or market aboriginal cultures might create and reinforce the nature:aborigine vis-à-vis culture:non-aborigine ideology, as well as certain stereotypes that link aboriginal identity to caricatured performers in cultural tourism performances.

Take Vakangan, for instance, some of the reserved land situated near the village and along its lumbering trail is not owned by aborigines living in the community. Some of the owners are aborigines living in neighboring villages. In this sense, what is done to

the land, such as agricultural or forestry practices that are believed to be causing landslides, might not directly affect those who own or work the land. So in a the forest is being developed into a supposed conservation-oriented recreational area, who should be responsible for the potential problems, such as degradation and pollution, as well as the issue of monetary distribution from such an operation?

Furthermore, eco-tourism and communal forestry that help local residents reclaim their "traditional" knowledge, while potentially benefiting them financially and increasing their awareness of the natural and cultural resources in their surroundings, might create the image of "nature lovers" that somewhat parallels the social production of noble savages. This process positions the aborigines as people closer to nature. This might appear as an advantage to those who believe that one's physical proximity to nature and health are intimately associated. However, other confounding social and behavioral factors have suggested otherwise. Regardless, tourism that emphasizes the protection or the utilization of forests by aboriginal inhabitants living nearby, while increasing employment opportunities, might create the misconception that aborigines are simply nature lovers.

Another structural factor that should be considered in this case is the infrastructural framework that the political and (local) public actors should ponder. The planning, the operation, and the maintenance of tourism in any form – cultural, ecological, or merely recreational – in mountainous communities in Taiwan often neglects factors of weather, transportation, and monetary distribution. The weather factor often influences how tourists can actually access the tourist sites – many local freeways

are easily affected by heavy rainfall, falling rocks, or even landslides. This was obviously the case when a hot spring area in Vakangan was completely buried under mud brought by a hurricane in August 2009. Ever since the disaster, tourist activities in the village have significantly decreased.

The weather factor also directly and indirectly influences the transportation in and out of the tourist area. The hurricane that took place in August 2009 also exposed and damaged the concrete foundation of a bridge that connects Vakangan to its neighboring village – a loss that significantly increased the commuting time between communities. Though there has been an alternative route going in to the village, the vulnerability of roads leading to the future tourist site in Vakangan and other remote communities is not a simple and readily resolved issue. The lack of alternative transportation and ways to get in and out of the tourist site might be as damaging to local livelihoods and the tourist industry as landslides.

Another potential risk that triggers landslides is actually the physical development of roads and paths in mountainous landscapes. Landslide and infrastructural development such as road construction are interrelated. That is to say, while the building of infrastructure might lead to the development of tourism, it might also threaten itself and the well-being of local residents. While it is hard to prove that the dredging work and the physical construction of roads in the upper stream led to the burial of the Vakangan hot spring under the mud, it is hard to falsify such probability given the long presence and influence of such construction.

Last but not least, how are the costs and benefits of tourism shared or to be addressed in mountainous tourist communities (Chambers 1997)? The tourism industry is helpful in generating monetary resources into its base community, but how and with whom will the residents share such revenue? Is it the people who provide the land/forests or is it the people who actually invest in the development of the industry? Who will be responsible when the tourism industry struggles and who will be paying the costs when the environment is damaged by the tourists or the poor planning?

These questions are worth of rethinking by the politicians, the local residents, and perhaps the public who care about the environment. The emerging of discourses will help to reassess and reconsider the suggestions that agricultural and forestry development should be replaced by tourism development in a mountainous community like Vakangan. Once more and more people get to travel in these mountainous communities, will there be opportunities for people, either local or from outside, to exploit the resources to feed the ideology of well-being that might be beneficial to the well-being of its consumers but detrimental to the environment?

As in the case of the illegal lumbering of Antrodia (*Cinnamomum micranthum*), a species of tree that hosts a rare fungus said to treat liver cancer (*Taiwanofungus camphoratus*can) be found, the access to forests and protected species will have to be carefully assessed and managed to prevent negative impacts. The risk of landslide, in the context of reserved land trusted to Taiwanese aborigines, should not be evaluated without thinking about its political ambiguities, restrictions, and its relation to the ideology and practices of health related to the Han Taiwanese culture. In this case, it is the

responsibility of both aboriginal and Han communities to reflect and rethink their approaches with this social disaster.

Chapter Four

In this chapter, I will specifically discuss several types of Bunun care. The first topic of discussion is Bunun work-related injuries and its "emerging therapy" as contextual care (see Chapter Two for Bunun-species). Here the constancy and consistency of physical landscape as a singular context is problematized. I argue that Bunun treatment of injuries associated with work, particularly on the Reserved Land, varies from one location to the next. Furthermore, I also pose the question regarding the "natural" property associated with certain ethno-pharmcological items (i.e. plants).

Next, I will discuss Bunun elderly care as a sociocultural practice and discourse (i.e. cross-generation care and its reconceptualization) that are often problematized by the public. I will then discuss the elderly-care gatherings in the village, turning the focus of study onto myself, the anthropologist and the *subject* of anthropology, who would not have understood Bunun care in the same way without having been *cared for* by the Bunun (Wagner 2001, Behar 1996). This type of care was done through co-performance of activities like singing, dancing, producing art work, and having meals together that were initially designed to keep the elderly people busy and occupied. In this process, the elderly people always extended their invitations to include me as a recipient and a giver of care.

The third emphasis of this chapter is to address the relation between language, identity, and well-being by looking at a Bunun renaming ritual. Although similar name-changing practices were recognized by some Han-Chinese people in Taiwan, I argue that the context and the content, as well as the socio-linguistic mechanism of the Bunun

healing ritual might be different from that of its Han-Chinese counterpart. I attempt to address issues such as silence, post-colonialism, and memory by focusing on the history, the voices, and the identity of the sick and the non-sick in this ritual.

4.1 What is Bunun "Public Health"?

During the beginning phase of my fieldwork, as I deliberately and anxiously tried to network with local people in and near this Bunun community located on the west side of a major mountain ridge, I encountered a young man about my age. As "polite" as I could be, I introduced myself and mentioned my previous connection to the community as a volunteer in a nearby tourist resort. This was in 2004 six years before my return as an ethnographer. I remembered encountering this this young man at the resort but he seemed to have no recollection of me at all. The young man then asked me what my purpose of being in the community was. I replied, saying that I wanted to find out issues related to Bunun people and public health. He said, "What do you think of the *lunbei*?" Lunbei, literally "turn-taking cups," refers here to multiple people drinking out of the same cup as a Bunun cultural practice.

I did not answer the question as I did not want to burn bridges with potential informants to whom my response might have seemed harsh, but it led me to think about such cultural behavior. Later, months into my fieldwork, I gradually began to hear people talk about how it is not sanitary for several people to drink out of the same glass because some of them might have sickness, such as hepatitis B, which is potentially contagious through sharing the same glasses. Some locals would keep an eye on their own cup while drinking at a social gathering; others would not care and just take a

random plastic cup from a table where people set all of their cups. It is a health issue according to some, while completely ignored by others. Then there is this young man who presents the idea of *lunbei* as perhaps a way to turn the table on the anthropologist.

One theoretical and ethnographic route that I have been taking is to capture not only public health discourses as they circulate or circumvent as evident in the discussion of landslides in Chapter 3, but also how the local Bunun might be thinking about their own health issues, achieve well-being, and acquire therapeutic experiences in their respective local contexts. In order to do so, I followed Bunun people to places where care can be detected both bodily and linguistically – not only by and amongst themselves, but also for an anthropologist like me. Here the notion of *care* follows what Ong et al (1995) frames as the "need to feel known and understood," which is different from the notion of cure – one that is associated with the instrument and knowledge, as well as the act of treatment itself (p 906).

4.2 Emerging Bunun Occupational Therapeutic Choices

The first topic of my investigation of Bunun care is the emerging therapy of occupational injuries. This form of care is generally associated with work-related injuries that a Bunun person encountering while *working* (*gong-zuo*, literally "working at one's job"; 工作) in the agricultural or forestry sector at a remote site. Ethnographically, when being asked about where their partners were or where they were planting, weeding, managing pests, or harvesting, the answers from my Bunun informants almost always involved the term *gongzuo*. For instance, a middle-aged lady would refer to her

husband's absence upon my questioning as he "went into the mountains to *work*" (*shang shan gong zuo*; "上山工作").

Many other Bunun people also used the term "work" when describing their childhood memories – people suggested that they would play with their siblings alongside their parents while the latter were working, or that they had to work at an early age (some as early as when they were in elementary school). In other words, these Reserved lands in the forests were considered a workplace that spoke as much about the physical labor that Bunun people performed and space that was turned into a social and occupational one because of such labor. A similar discussion of Duranti's (1992) investigation on Samoan ritual space (men's houses in this case) not only suggests the particular language a space speaks (Hall 1973), but also the body that constitutes or transforms such "cultural context."

In other words, the working Bunun bodies are what turned these Reserved lands into a continuing cultural space of work and constitute such context as well as *being* its content. However, injuries and discomfort can occur on such land just as they can in different working environments. The bodily illnesses can also happen because of untreated or unexpected problems, such as fever or stomachache. In order to deal with these injuries and discomfort, Bunun people *at work* look for remedies in their working environment[xi].

When asked about whether they took these plants home or preserved them for future therapies, most Bunun informants would describe such behaviors as rare or explain that some would even have a difficult time remembering the name of many therapeutic

plants. The reason for this sometimes has to do with the idea that the effect of the plants might diminish as the number of people with knowledge of them and their healing properties increases. When asked if taking herbal medicine was one way to improve wellness, Huđas Ali answered, "I rarely [took] herbal medicine…I did not hear much about the herbal cure for snake bites from the elderly people. According to Bunun tradition, the healing power of the herb would decrease if more people learned about it." (August 2, 2010)

While similar reasons can be identified for poisonous snakebites from local narratives, it is quite common that many local Bunun, especially adults over 40 years old, have a basic knowledge about several plants and their healing properties. For instance, narratives about bađan (*Phragmites australis* or *luwei* in Chinese) often describe it as growing in the forests and often slashed down to create a trail. During the trailing and working process, people get cuts from the leaves of common reed, which though long and loosely hanging are quite thin and sharp along the edges. When such cuts occur, the person will cut down a bađan plant and take its core (*xin*, literally the heart) out. After chewing the core of the plant, they apply it to the cuts and stop the bleeding. Such injury-healing co-embodiment, literally the joining of the human and plant bodies, is a "sympathetic healing" where the healer and sufferer are literally collapsed into one (Harvey 2006:7-8).

However, to claim such use of plants as *emerging* care, in addition to perceiving them as "occupational therapy" and "sympathetic healing," we will rely on the evidences of other ethno-pharmacological items used to treat the same physical injury, as well as

the unpredictability of injury and that the knowledge and application of plants is dependent on its availability and where a Bunun's physical location might be. Injury such as bleeding does not necessarily require a fixed ethno-pharmacological formula. Instead, local Bunun seeks what was available in the immediate environment to treat their symptoms.

Like many other Bunun informants, Cina Abus initially had a hard time remembering names of plants that have therapeutic properties. When I asked her what plant she would use to apply to small cuts or bleeding caused by plants, she said she would take the young leaves of susuluk (*Bidens* or *guizhencao* in Chinese) and apply it on the wounds (February 15, 2011). Be it susuluk or badan, local Bunun did not carry either around in their pockets or prepare it as preventive therapies before they set out to work in the farming fields or forests. Rather, they are only sought immediately after a cut has occurred. This is because one might find bađan in a specific location, while susuluk in another. Hence the therapy is emerging based on the geographical features of the environment and is as emerging as the physical injury.

Additionally, some Bunun claim that at different altitudes and locations, the plants being used to treat illness also vary. In other words, such remedies are (physical) context dependent and are more than fixed knowledge about what has to be used for specific bodily discomfort. As a result, when many local Bunun were asked about what would treat other work related injuries like snakebites, many experience difficulty recalling the names of the plants in either the Bunun or Chinese language.

This might be because they did not deliberately memorize the plant species or because they believed the effect of the plant would lose its potency if revealed to people who are not inflicted. People say, however, they would know when they see the plants. This is what I call a topo-therapeutic remedy, such as bađan or susuluk, which would be chosen depending on the physical location when one was injured. They were not prescribed medications that the locals carried with them like pharmaceutical items.

Walking and working in the forests is not always a safe task. Sometimes plants, animals and insects emerge during the hike and create stressful or unpleasant experiences before one even starts laboring. For instance, hundred pacers (*Deinagkistrodon* or *baibushe*), which are highly poisonous snakes, hornets, and biting-cats (*Urtica thunbergiana* or *yaorenmao*), a type of plant that stings, makes people feel like a needle is stuck in their skin, and causes a rash that lasts for days, might be present in the forests. Additionally, there were also cases of people falling off trees while harvesting fruits of wild figs (*Ficus pumila* var. *awkeotsang* or *aiyu*), according a Bunun informant (August 2, 2010). Hiking to the fields in the mountain does involve potential risks of threats and discomfort. The work itself can also bring potential harm to the body at different levels.

Another important aspect of such work-related injuries is that not all injuries have a corresponding remedy – sometimes people just have to go to hospitals for certain illnesses that might have serious and severe complications. This is true when a group of Bunun were harvesting pineapple. The fragrance draws a lot of bees, and one Bunun man apparently had at least a dozen of bees flying around and moving on his body. Another young man got stung on his hand and the spot got so swollen that they had to

send him to a clinic immediately for allergy shot. Some other people, including myself, were completely okay after being stung by a bee. The idea here is that not all work-related injuries have corresponding remedies that can be found in the landscape. Serious illnesses that might lead to death or severe health problems still require hospitalization; herbal remedies, in many Bunun's eyes, are just temporary therapies.

People also talk about work as laboring: that they need to "move a little" (*dongyidong* in Chinese) in order to feel well. However, most of the people in the village talk about walking in ways related to agricultural or forestry planting, weeding, harvesting and related physical labor. This kind of work is seasonal, as well as weather-dependent, rather than consistent all year round. This sounds, at first, very "natural" but what it really entails is the cultural psychology of work. For instance, summertime might bring less physical work for some because of not only the unbearable heat, but also the scarcity of water and suitable environment to grow most of the mountainous vegetables. This does not necessarily mean the absence of physical work. Many people attend their farm in the early mornings prior to sunrise and take most of the time off during the hours of blazing sun. Then work is continued in the afternoon when the temperature cools down. In these cases, we can see that agricultural labor is performed less in the warm season, and effort is made to avoid sun in most of the cases.

Of course there is also unavoidable time when physical labor must be performed in regards to farming – when the fruits, such as pineapples become ripe and when there is a set time to harvest and sell the produce. In this situation, physical labor is intensive and requires the output of friends and relatives in all scales. Some specialize in putting fruit

into boxes, while some stronger persons are in charge of lifting and weighing the fruits, as well as loading cardboard boxes onto trucks, while others run back and forth for unforeseen emergencies such as machine break-downs. Some of the heavy physical tasks that these Bunun are put in charge vary based on age and gender, but participation almost always involves people regardless of their gender, age, and level of strength. The cultural psychology of work in relation to well-being, in these cases, is seasonal and weather-dependent, but attendance is deemed as important as participation.

4.3 Bunun Elderly Care

The legal definition of aboriginal elderly persons is slightly different from that of Han elderly persons in Taiwan. Because of the shorter life expectancy among the general aboriginal population than that of the Han population, the government has defined the aboriginal elderly population, as well as its related social welfare benefits, starting from the age of 55 (Bureau of Labor Insurance Website). In the community where many aboriginal elderly people reside, they are not merely being offered care and provided with resources. They are also caregivers in many ways.

The establishment of elderly daycare (*laorenrituo*) can be found in many Bunun communities as social welfare programs supported by the state. Each community has their specific ways of running daycare and many are affiliated with either local churches or community development programs that receive funding from local county government or non-governmental organizations. Most of them also involve the elderly people in mild physical activities, arts, singing, and sharing of food. This is also true in Vakangan

where health checkups and promotion programs are incorporated in the elderly daycare that take place once every week.

These health checkups and related programs are facilitated by registered nurse(s), local women, and sometimes health-related professionals from the county health center. Elderly people's blood pressure is checked, and those individuals who have a history of diabetes have their blood sugar levels measured by the nurse, who also pays home visits and holds a once-a-week clinic session with a registered doctor and pharmacist in the community health center. In other words, the nurse does not just come to get these biological numbers recorded, she is also watching out and tracing the health signs of those elderly patients with more health needs.

What is more important is yet another form of "occupational therapy" that follows the health check: the process through which elderly people in the village maintain, learn, and regain abilities for carrying out their work and social activities. This process includes craft-making, dancing, singing, exchanging health information between local residents and health professionals, as well as among themselves. Beyond the community gathering, the arrival and the departure of these participants from/to home and other parts of the community is possibly a physical therapy by itself – either by walking or driving, many participants exercise their motor skills in ways that might benefit their strength, coordination, and connectedness.

Undoubtedly, there are other health risks involved in getting to the daycare: blazing sun, stray dogs, and even snakes moving across the street. Therefore, people are sometimes offered rides by others, or accompany one another while getting to the

gathering. In other words, the process of getting to and from the daycare is just as important as the activities provided at the center. I have repeatedly offered elderly people rides back to their homes after the meetings but have been turn down by many.. This could have interrupted their walking as daily health maintenance process. The only time that I was asked to give a ride was when the sun was extremely hot and a lady needed to go back to her house on the hill; she knew the heat was not good for her health, so she requested the service.

Examining the activities taking place at the elderly care center, we can see that, although facilitated by adults in their 30s and 40s, they also include care given by the elderly to each other and to their grandchildren. This is the case when they are learning a new craft, such as bead-making, textile work, and clay related art projects. These experiences help to develop hand-eye coordination, while allowing participants to create gifts for the children at home whom they also take care of. So this is a care-giving and receiving economy that the elderly-care gathering produces – those who receive care also give care to those who are present and absent. This system of care-fullness enables these individuals, who seem to have been constrained by their limited physical and social ability, to be transformed into care-giver with the gifts that they produce for themselves and for their family. A lot of the funding for purchasing such craft materials is provided by the local church that receives donations from local residents.

Not only so, their care-fullness for each other is expressed as they bring home grown vegetables and fruit for the meal they share after every gathering. Although some purchase meat from vendors, many bring fresh produce from their farmlands for the

group to consume; people claim these do not have pesticides and are good for their health. What is embodied in this feast of food is yet another environmental conserving practice: people actually bring in their own utensils and bowls so they do not have to use plastic containers or pre-manufactured bamboo chopsticks. Both products have been marked as threats to human and environmental well-being by the media and the public, so the adoption of dining with kitchenware brought from home is not just a public measure in metropolitan Taiwan, it has also reached the heart of aboriginal communities and people of older age, including those living in Vakangan.

This phenomenon has shown us that these Bunun elderly people are capable of making environmental and personal health decision and executing them. As a reaction to the increasing waste of plastic products, and the possible contamination of pre-manufactured bamboo chopsticks that has been exposed in media, the public in Taiwan has been increasingly advocating for dining in restaurants with home utensils (Consumers' Foundation Website). By bringing their own utensils and containers, often stainless steel ones, they have demonstrated that they are capable of filtering, adopting, and organizing cutting-edge conservation practices and techniques that are culturally framed as environmentally friendly in Taiwan. They are also capable of caring for themselves and for each other in this "elderly care" gathering, in addition to the care they have received from nurses and facilitators.

Childcare in this Bunun community gently promotes dialogue with public discourse that frames who could be children, how children are cared for, how children care for each other, and how children are, supposedly, "free of care" vis-a-vis those who

are “full of care”. Childcare, especially cross-generational care, is a crucial strategy for many Taiwanese residents. Grandparents or grandparents-in-law are often a resource of childcare utilized in families that allows parents to hold employment opportunities otherwise impossible.

Sometimes care for grandchildren falls on non-kin members, such as nannies, or institutions such as kindergartens when alternative options are not available, or when the parental interest is to socialize their children for better future competitiveness. In Vakangan, a similar situation can also be found. Many parents who hold jobs away from town often leave their children to live with the grandparents. This is not a unique phenomenon since there had been cross-generational care when many Taiwanese aborigines began moving to metropolitan and suburbs for employment or education during the 1970s and 1980s.

In more recent times, especially in the discourse of education, there has been a lot of emerging discussion about how cross-generational care might be the cause for a growing number of ‘problem kids’ and is hence regarded as problematic. However, we find that such discourse presupposes parental care as “natural,” predicting the downfall of grandparental-grandchildren care as “unfit,” as well as perpetuates an uni-directional model of care in these particular cultural situations. Furthermore, this emerging discussion of childcare denies the possible parallel between grandparental and parental care and even pushes aside the preciousness of care provided by children for other children.

Due to potential violations of human subjects under legal age, this portion of the dissertation will only discuss ethnographic interactions and participations with and amongst children in Vakangan. Historically speaking, care for children in this Bunun community takes place regardless of the kind of work that parents had to perform. Many elderly people, especially the female ones, suggest that they would carry infants or young children on their back while working on their farms. When the children are able to walk, they are often cared for by their older siblings while being physically close to their parents.

A Bunun female informant reveals how she used to work and care for her siblings when their parents were working on their land, "[My siblings and I] started working in the mountains at a young age. At the time, we had rice plantation. We would follow our parents everywhere they went, and worked along their side. We would work on simpler things, such as carrying stuff or taking care of younger siblings (brothers) and so on…My sister would get woken up early to cook [for the family], while [the younger ones] would start taking care of animals. We all had to do work [early in the morning at a young age]" (March 20 2011). What this Bunun woman describes is not just the work that a child performed, but the kind of care he or she had for other family members.

This was the type of childcare that took place when parents worked on farms or in the forests for livelihood. In other words, childcare was not merely parental care for children, but also children's care for one another, as well as older family members. In this cultural context, childcare had different facets and the caregiving person, like the

case of elderly care, was a role that could be inhabited by a young child or a parent. What is more, an older adolescent and young adult could play the role of a care-giver.

Another type of care said to have existed in this Bunun community is the care that the animals have for human beings. Although this is not related to the specific kind of physical care performed, it is based on whether or not the animal has *qingyi* (sentiment and loyalty) towards its owners. A Bunun woman who suffered through a great flood in the past describes some of her animals as having more *qingyi* because, in order to let the animals survive on their own during a flood, she and her family would let them free ahead of time so that they could swim or travel to safety when the flood came through. Some of the animals actually returned after the flood and she believes that they had more *qingyi* towards their owners than many animals today.

In this specific case, we might argue that the animals that returned actually care more about their owners, as they have sentiment and loyalty towards those who fed and raised them, regardless of the goal of such domestication. As the owner cared for the animals prior to the flood – by setting them free – their return is said to exemplify sentiment and loyalty. And as the owner cared, some of these animals also did the same. Unlike many animals today, the Bunun woman's experience at a hard time proved that a caring animal would return to show its true emotion and loyalty to those have cared for it.

4.4 Signifier of Care – The Sound of Bunun Caregiving

What has been discussed is how the Bunun might care for each other while trailing in the mountains. They would think about those people who might be waiting for them at home, others whom they might randomly encounter along the way, or about

dealing with the potential obstacles that could be harmful to others, such as live or dead animals or low tree branches that might hurt moped rider.

Caring while trailing the mountains is also a feature of Bunun "sympathetic supplying." This happens almost at any point of an encounter when one travels by foot on the paved road. One is often asked about where he or she is heading with the phrase "*qu na li*" (where are you going?) or "*ze mo yong zou de*" (how come you are walking?). In such scenarios, the person who is driving almost always slows down and asks if the person walking wants a ride.

There are also occasions when the driver will stop the car to offer an agricultural product, such as pineapples, that they have in their trunk. This practice of caregiving is very similar to what Bunun elderly people describe as their sharing of game meat in the past. The historical context of game sharing, as some would argue, is prior to the introduction of the cash economy. Others have suggested that it is more related to the legality of hunting, as it has entered the discursive and pragmatic realm of wild species protection.

Regardless, many have pointed out that such generous acts of sharing are disappearing or have died down. Perhaps it is the case that game meat sharing has been restricted or has disappeared, but it might have also taken a completely new form – in the form of slowing down one's mode of transportation, asking questions, or simply giving material goods or services. Such acts of sharing one's possessions or questions is certainly a referent of caring. Even though sometimes none of the referents are in place,

signifiers of caring could still be perceived. This is evident when people passing by each other would honk their horns to show respect to each other.

This is normally demonstrated by just one or two short beeps of the horn. The sound-images of care are often returned with equal amount of signifiers that index local forms of familiarity, respect, and courtesy. The levels of caring intensified as the sound of honking transforms into sounds of engine brakes and local Bunun speaking. Questions such as "*yao bu yao zai ni qu*?" (do you want me to give you a ride) often follow a greeting question like "*qu na li*" (where are you heading?) if one is traveling on foot when one cared enough to stop their vehicles when passing by one who traveled on foot.

The signifier of care elevates to the highest level in two possible ways: when the sound-image of the other embodies oneself, and when one literally gets in the passenger seat of a manual-shift truck. While hiking on the paved road with a local Bunun, there were many instances when people driving by honked at us for acknowledgement or slowed down to make a conversation. This is more evident when people stopped their truck to do things for other passers-by. Some would stop to cut trees back so motor scooter riders would not run into the branches that were sticking out into the road; others would stop to simply offer food to those they passed by in cars or scooter bikes. Things that have been offered by others, such as rides, food, or simply sounds of acknowledgement, signify the kinds of care practiced in this Bunun community.

4.5 Embraced Colonial Past, Ancestral Virtue, and Palimpsestic Healing

What is in a name? What then lies behind and beyond a name? How does a name tell us about the relationship between identity and well-being from an anthropological

perspective? These are questions that I attempt to answer in this paper as I examine a group of Bunun peoples' healing practices based on their re-naming ritual. Being one of the Austronesian-speaking peoples recognized by the Taiwanese government, Bunun people live in urban, suburban, and mountainous regions of the island. My ethnographic encounter with a group of Bunun people on the east side of a major mountainous ridge in southern Taiwan has provided me invaluable insight into the contexts and contents of this unique process of healing.

Before the readers begin to explore the theoretical and ethnographic inquiry that "ever follows but never fixes" the emergence of phenomenon[xii], I would like to point out that Bunun healing practices associated with name changes are unfolding as we speak. One of the unique aspects of this ritual is that the healing process might be taking place as some of these Bunun persons' names are uttered in their lived worlds. While some of the sick are never cured, the healing process may take one's lifetime and resist human anticipation. We will revisit these points again at the end of this paper.

Now, let me begin by suggesting that curing and healing are two distinctive concepts that Waldram (2000) and many other medical anthropologists have set out to untangle between the physical and the socio-emotional conditions. Strathern and Stewart (1999) have also stated that the spiritual component of the body is often not included in the discussion of curing, whereas healing might entail the inclusion of both the physical condition and the spiritual aspect of an illness. What this paper seeks to address is not whether the spiritual or socio-emotional component is real or not, but the kind of the

anthropological concepts that are useful in making such a cross-cultural understanding of re-naming practices and Bunun well-being possible.

How Bunun individuals obtain their first names is based on the succession of names from their kin members of older generations and respective gender. Multi-generational adoption of names, such as the oldest grandson in the family inheriting the name of the grandfather or the second oldest grandson adopting the name of the great grandfather are examples of male name inheritance practices (Tian 1992). Female kin members also follow similar name inheritance rules. For instance, if the oldest granddaughter is called "Savi," then it is most likely that her grandmother's given name is also "Savi."

However, when sickness or misfortune continues to be experienced by an older kin member whose name is soon to be given to a young child, the adults in the household might question the names to be inherited (i.e. grandfather or grandmother's given name) as potentially capable of passing the bad fortune to the respective grandchild. In another scenario, a child who has inherited the name of his or her respective elderly person in the family and has been suffering from an extended period of sickness might also be told to adopt a new name.

Commenting on the reason for getting a new name, a Bunun lady said,

> 我們那一家全都是(改名)，我們的山地名字－像我是 Ibu ，因為小時愛生病，就改成 Sabu。我大哥他的名字叫 Idan，以前沒有叫(山地名)，直到現在才開始叫。 (July 23, 2010)
>
> My entire family changed our given names…Our aboriginal names – mine was Ibu and had been changed to Sabu because of my frequent sickness at a young age. Though my older brother's name [given at birth] was Idan,

> we didn't start calling this aboriginal name until recently [for a similar reason of childhood sickness associated with such name]. (My translation)

It is clear that name changes could affect many individuals within a family and that people remain knowledgeable about their birth names into their adulthood.

This change of the Bunun names given at birth reflects what Huyssen (2003) has suggested: Traces of our past and present overlap one another and in turn, point to the fact that a newly adopted name does not make the inherited name disappear or be forgotten. Instead, it is palimpsestic because the newly formed text (the newly adopted name) overwrites the old text (the inherited name) without the complete erasure of the latter. Bunun people who have undergone name changes clearly recall their birth names and they are only forgotten when the new names are recalled.

By adopting a new name, a Bunun is being made to reference the name of another kin person or a name from a linguistically non-Bunun community. They include Chinese and Japanese names that have been framed as cultural "Other" in local narratives. I have heard both Han-Chinese and Japanese regimes critiqued as colonial and imperial, with naming systems that are foreign and unsuitable for Bunun people. One of the problems an elderly person has identified is the issue that Han-Chinese surnames that have been assigned to Bunun people clearly do not reflect the latter's naming system and culture.

Yeh's (2002) detailed investigation of Bunun surnames and the Chinese surnames states that Han-Chinese surnames were still being assigned to Bunun people as late as the 1940s. We see a variety of Han-Chinese surnames among the Bunun population and sometimes different Han-Chinese surnames for people within the same Bunun kin group living in different, although possibly nearby, communities (p 174-176). This naming

practice by the state, as Scott el al (2002) suggests, is intimately tied to the rise of the state in controlling its "subjects" and carrying out its political and economic projects, such as those for the purposes of taxation and property management (p 7).

Following the trajectory of this argument, perhaps a statement that can be inferred is that the historical production of identity, in this case the assigning and the use of Han-Chinese surnames, could be in itself a form of state power in exercise. Indeed, an elderly Bunun male talked about the impact of the Han Chinese name system on aboriginal people as

> 漢人的姓來了，我們的文化就(沒了)。(我的)家族的姓跟漢名完全沒有關係的完全不喜歡聽，完全不喜歡用。(January 9, 2010)
>
> when Han Chinese name system was introduced [to Bunun], our culture disappeared…[My] Bunun name is completely unrelated to my Chinese name. I do not like to hear [the latter] and I do not like to use it. (My translation)

From this statement, it is clear that the governmentality of aboriginal identity in part was built on the introduction of a set of Chinese names (both first names and last names) that did not reflect the meaning or the sounds of aboriginal names.

However, not all Bunun names have consistent and corresponding Han-Chinese names when we review township registry records (Yeh 2002). In different aboriginal towns, the same Bunun last name might be registered as completely different Han Chinese names. Balalavi as a Bunun surname could be "Yu" in one township while being "Lee" in another (ibid: 100, 151). It is also the case that one single Bunun family name could be matched with various different Han surnames in one single village (ibid: 85). Such many-to-one or one-to-many systemic "mismatches" from the standpoint of

Bunun surnames might suggest that the control of the state that James Scott and colleagues theorize has some empirical obstacles.

Here, the issue of governmentality and governing bodies might have a slippage, or shall we say that inconsistency might be associated with *a body of govern-mentalities.* The inconsistency of Han-Bunun name matches on the one hand produced the governing of Bunun people, while the mismatch at intra- and inter-village or township levels might allow for the difficulty of recognition and surveillance from the point of Han-Chinese names alone. In order to identify a "subject," the state at the national level must consult and coordinate with township and local governing bodies (what I call *govern-mentality* in plural).

Does this bureaucratic inconsistency in Bunun name vis-à-vis Han Chinese names across towns and its production as official records provide a way for some Bunun people to resist, or attain freedom from, the political control of the state via the path of a non-Bunun name system? Be it a literal process of de-culturalized citizenship as we follow this Bunun narrative, or the *allegorical (*culturally and acoustically speaking*)* "cultural citizenship" in Pauline Strong's (2004) discussion of Native American mascots, the official names could be seen as a form of governance that was produced as the record of names produced the subject of the state, but the subject does have other social selves to turn to -- their Bunun names given at birth or Bunun names attained after (Lazarato 2002).

Three questions arise from this discussion. First, does this "model of control" have the same explanatory power when applied to the assignment of a new first name (Bunun or non-Bunun) which was not often seen on the official record but was generally

known by people in the community, as in the case of the name-changing ritual? Second, what are some of the historical contexts of such name-changing practices and their relation to the notion of power? Third, how do these two questions relate to the healing process brought about by name changes found in Bunun communities?

The discussions of the Bunun practice of changing first names often referred to elderly persons and local shamans as the main parties in charge of initiating the ritual and selecting new names for the sick children. Additionally, the sickness is often understood as the result of a kin member whose misfortune had become embodied by the descendent as the name was being inherited. In other words, the sickness that inhabits the body of the descendent suggests the possibility that "sick person" is a social role that multiple generations might inhabit at the same time, and/or the sickness manifested in a birth name might be the problem of a *social relation*, rather than of just the physical body of the sick person[xiii]. (Harvey 2008, Scheper-Hughes and Lock 1986)

Taussig's (1993) critiques of a realist approach to understanding mimesis, an act of more than copying, is a useful framework in explaining the healing process here. He not only advocates for the magic of resembling otherness in the process of mimicking, but also suggests that mimesis not only produces similarity in forms, but also reproduces the power of the imitated in the imitating. Following this trajectory of thought, we can make sense of the Bunun name-changing ritual where a sick descendant's name given at birth is considered by other Bunun persons to be *unsuitable*. The diagnostic process reflects what Taussig points out as the power of mimesis (both similarity and contact according to James George Frazer).

In the event where a Bunun descendant inherits the name of a predecessor (deceased or alive), to call a predecessor's name unfit is to understand that the name of the descendant is that of their predecessor. Not only so, his or her social well-being is also to be an exact copy of that of the predecessor whose name he or she has inherited and considered unfit. As a result, parents and other social members make a recommendation for the sick descendant to inherit another name, be it a Bunun or, as in many cases, a non-Bunun name. In the case when a new Bunun predecessor's name is selected, people discussed the character or health state of the predecessor as "good."

The general criteria for selecting a new name from a Bunun predecessor further echoes the rule of contact that Taussig extracts from Frazer (p 52). The newly "acquired" predecessor's name, as if a part of the ancestor, yet not a faithful copy since it is not the predecessor him or herself, serves as the embodiment of "goodness" that can be literally taken in by the person who inherits–as being called by a name suggested by other Bunun kin members. In this case, being called one's Bunun name is simultaneously evoking the "essence" of that particular predecessor, who could be a Bunun ancestor.

There is also the case when a Bunun individual receives a Han-Chinese or Japanese name to substitute for their name inherited at birth. Such substitution operated slightly different, as Han-Chinese or Japanese would at times be considered the colonizers according to some Bunun narratives. The question is, how would one determine the character or the health state of a colonizer? The issue here is more closely associated with the sociolinguistic influence of the non-Bunun predecessor than his or her actual character or health. The incorporation of these sociolinguistic choices in Bunun

re-naming ritual speaks the power of being a cultural Other that might result in the healing of a sick Bunun.

This is what Taussig argues is the "crossroad of sign and thing," one that the "name not only specifies but does so by superimposing the symbolic with the ontic essence of the person, the referential…with the actual-in the sense that…the person is the name" (p 56). In Bunun people's renaming ritual, the inherited name at birth or the newly inherited Bunun name are said to contain the character of the predecessor that the descendent would embody. The newly inherited name, especially, contains the good character that would balance or counteract the sickness of the sick. Hence the life lived and led by the predecessor was as important as the name of that particular person, perhaps because the name to be inherited also embodies the essence of the predecessor, based on Taussig's theorizing of mimetic faculty.

The Adoption of the new Bunun name is a demonstration of the power of *otherness* (either Bunun predecessor or use of non-Bunun sociolinguistic terms) performed in its own social contexts. Similar ethnographic examples can be found in Janzen's (1978) documentation of clan as patient in Lower Zaire clearly supports the Bunun case in a synchronic aspect – living kin members and the sick play the role of patient and undergo the healing process together. Whereas in Bunun's case, family and community members begin to question the sick child and their relation to kin members who are deceased or still living – by reframing their names in relation to another kin member or referencing names in non-Bunun languages.

Some of the examples that I encountered while exploring this topic in the field are:

> 1) When asked about the practice of name-changing and its effect on one's well-being, an informant said that "[the practice] is common in a Bunun community. I remember one of my uncles, who used to get sick a lot, changed his name from *Lumaf* to *Arumutu*," which is accordingly, a Japanese name (AP, March 20, 2011).

> 2) A husband comments on how his wife has been given a new (non-Bunun) name. He said, "My wife, for example, she used to get sick quite frequently when she was young. Her name was changed from *Abus* to *Alin*. After she got married and her grandmother passed away, she changed her name back to Abus" (PH, March 11, 2010).

These are two of many examples of how non-Bunun languages play an important role in name-changing ritual that leads to the healing of a sick person. There are also cases of renaming practices that are used as preventive treatments of the sickness. For instance, a grandfather explains to me how his father changed his name in order to help prevent potential sickness. He said,

> 我們的襲名是老大跟阿公嘛。可是我阿公的名字已經被用到了。不方便給你取(阿公的)名字。我就從阿公最小的兄弟(承襲)名字。我的名子是從後面取上來的…我弟弟是(承襲阿公兄弟中)倒數第二的(名字)。 (December 19, 210)

> [O]ur naming practice is that the oldest grandson inherit his grandfather's [given] name. But the grandfather's name has been taken by one of the deceased brothers of mine. So my father said it would not be a good idea to use [my grandfather's] name. He said they would have me inherit the name of the youngest brother of my grandfather. So I inherited the name from the opposite [order] of the norm…So my younger brother inherited the name of the second youngest [brother of my grandfather]. (My translation)

The father, probably after having discussions with other kin members who are not mentioned here, found an innovative and alternative way to the name inheritance

practice, by naming his child from the opposite order of the norm to help prevent the potential sickness that might have been associated with a pre-existing kin name.

Be it sickness prevention or healing process, the Bunun naming and renaming practices consist of sociolinguistic traits from the colonial pasts – that of Han-Chinese and Japanese's presence and absence in this community and on the island of Taiwan in general. Why then would people associate their new identity with these regimes that have great sociopolitical impact on the livelihood of these Austronesian-speaking populations? Langford's (2002) research in India has suggested that contemporary Ayurvedic medicine has been reinvented to reconcile a torn national identity induced by colonialism. The reinvented Ayurvedic medicine sometimes serves as a response to illness associated with such colonialism and post-colonialism.

In Bunun context, the languages associated with colonialism are re-drawn to address sickness that is socially oriented and treated. It might be the case that these languages are associated with the colonial pasts, but the healing practice associated with these languages points to the importance of these names in contemporary Bunun life, rather than their association with the colonizers. As a matter of fact, the languages brought by the colonizers offer a great opportunity for the re-naming and healing process. Here the newly adopted names in Japanese or Han-Chinese suggest that colonizers might be constructed as socially relatable or embodying goodness in specific Bunun terms.

While I was in the field, I had the opportunity to speak to a Bunun community leader who took me to see some of the physical traces left by the Japanese rules during the early 20th century. One of them is a station built along the road into the mountain

where the Japanese police could inspect the traffic and people going in and coming out of the hills by the community. I was reminded that the Japanese policemen were called "sasbinanzd," which is used in contemporary religious ceremonies as one way to address God. However, we should not forget about the forced migration carried out by the Japanese rule that impacted the life of the Bunun as the former's military force overcame aboriginal opposition and extracted natural resources from aboriginal territory. (Munsterhjelm 2002: 2)

Many elderly people in this Bunun community clearly recall the time when they were sent away from their traditional territory to places where they reside today. However, this colonial past is not in conflict with the renaming practice when non-kin based Japanese or Han-Chinese names are adopted by a sick person. Here, the power of the colonizers comes in the renaming practices through which a Bunun can be related with linguistic otherness and be healed. This merging of the self and other has been demonstrated as healing in cross-cultural wellness-seeking practice among the highland Mayans (Harvey 2006).

A colonial past is embraced, in this case, or constructed and classified as socially relatable to some Bunun like those kin members who exemplify well-being and are re-referenced as a part of the renaming practices. What might be effective in treating a child's sickness, via a name change, is determined by the way a kin person lived, or is living, his or her life, rather than by his or her simply being a kin member. Like Boellstorff's (2008) insight into the culture of the "virtual" online gaming community and the socioeconomic complexity of role-inhabiting in sustaining itself as real, Bunun

renaming practices are based on the cultural role of "patient" that is simultaneously inhabited by the living individual who has been diagnosed and their deceased ancestor whose name has been adopted.

In this case, I see "virtual" as both possessing virtue and a systematic role inhabitation of the sick individual and a kin member who possesses *good characteristics*. What it means to be a "good" Bunun, accordingly, varies from person to person. For instance, one Bunun male in his early 60s told me that "Bunun are special among human beings (*ren zhong zhi ren*/人中之人) precisely because we are 'bu-neng,'" playing on the similarity of sounds between "no" in Mandarin Chinese and "human" in Bunun (March 29, 2010). He then further explained that such "no" meant the taboos that people stand by and restrain themselves from. He said, "[Bunun] are good at keeping our *masamu* (taboos)…we respect elderly people and we do not build our happiness upon other people's suffering" (same interview).

In another interview, a 72-year-old grandmother also suggested the virtue that a Bunun should have. She jokingly answered my question by saying a "Bunun" has "two eyes, two feet and so on" and laughed with the crowds, including myself, who patiently listened to her answer afterwards. She then continued, "We can tell from their eyes and the way they speak" (April 9, 2010). The wisdom offered by this elderly lady shows that maybe after all, Bunun and non-Bunun are not so different, with the exception of how they carry themselves in their life. At this point, another Bunun male among the crowds offered his opinion saying, "[A] human who have done things that are not good then is a

dead man walking" (same interview). To this, the elderly woman responded with "[Then] such person's heart is 'not here' (*xin bu zai yan*/心不在焉)".

Similar to the elderly man's comment on being a "good" Bunun, the elderly woman built her answer on what another Bunun informant said about "dead man walking"by focusing of one's attention and attitude to one's immediate surroundings, which could be conceived as both non-confirming to the everyday practices that might not be considered as Bunun-ly good, such as not over-drinking according to many others, not disrespecting people, or simply being aware of one's role in the community/society. These two particular narratives suggest a type of consciousness that a Bunun might need to have to be or act "good", hence being "virtual" in the literal sense.

Regardless of a "virtual" predecessor or an embraced colonial past, the sickness narratives suggest that many Bunun still recall the names they have inherited from their kin members at birth. That is to say, while relating to a new name might help treat one's sickness, the names that have been given at birth and thought to cause sickness are not completely forgotten. This is why the healing practice reflects the notion of "palimpsest"–coexistence of present and past-in Huyssen's term (2003).

The Bunun renaming practice has roots in the newly perceived social (sick) body that can be occupied by living and deceased individuals. The inheritance of name from one's kin member as a common practice further questions the notion of self as singular in essence or free from intersecting other *selves* at its most natural state (i.e. a Bunun at birth). Ethnographically speaking, Bunun renaming ritual embodies a community of kin and/or non-kin members in order for healing process to take place. One's given name at

birth already embodies an Other in time or space that might influence the well-being of a Bunun person.

In order to maintain or restore one's well-being, the renaming ritual is carried out, not by the sick person, but strictly by kin members. It is not because the sick person is indebted to the kin member during and after the time of suffering (Sansom 1983), but simply because the sick person is too young at the time to speak for him or herself about such matters. The result of the renaming ritual, by re-referencing the sick to a new name and re-establishing a sick Bunun being to a relation with another being in wellness, allows the sick person to be related to sociolinguistic Others that have been locally constructed as parts of the colonial past.

Nonetheless, the ritual of name-changing for treating one's sickness did not always assume an absolute cultural congruity among people who underwent such a process or people whose family members were given another name for the reason of sickness. One of the informants said about the reason for changing a name was

> 但是他們都是做夢。作夢的時候，就告訴你說，這個人要給他改名字，這樣的話，邪靈 hanitu 就認不出來。我有一個學弟，他快要離開以前，他的母會的牧師就有做夢，要給他改名字。他質疑說，我們是基督教的牧師了，難到這種文化的概念要應用到今天(病人)的牧師嗎？(March 11, 2010)

> [because family members of the sick] had dreams about it. When they dreamed, the elderly people [in their dream] told them to change their name so the evil spirit (*Hanitu* in Bunun) would not recognize them anymore. I had a junior classmate at school. [After being diagnosed with severe sickness] and before he died, his pastor had a dream saying that the sick should change his name. The pastor hesitated because he thought that he was a Christian and questioned whether he should apply such cultural concept to the sick. (My translation)

In this case, even though name-changing ritual was understood as a potentially healing and curing practice, a Bunun person struggled to recommend this method of treatment. This struggle could be seen as a form of conflict within the community. Whereas the effect of this name-changing ritual might not be scientifically falsified, its cultural effect was falsified by the recognition that it might not be simply an act of changing one's name. Rather, it could be seen as a ritual that might not integrate well with certain religious ideologies or practices. Nonetheless, this type of struggle and conflict among the Bunun was discoursively rare, though present during my enthnographic encounter.

The adoption of new names, be it Bunun or non-Bunun, did not completely over ride the names given to the sick person at birth. This is clearly true for many Bunun people in the village and outside of it because they could still tell you their names given at birth. However, the moment when a sick person's new name is called and recalled, their birth name is also forgotten. The newly adopted name suggests that such Bunun identity is not just about "being oneself," but more of a relation of selves that is in reference to other social selves in time and by others' acts of calling one self's name. Hence the healed Bunun being or the Bunun being in this healing process continue to resemble the traces, in both presence and absence, of kin predecessors and non-Bunun in its making.

Conclusion

Janus-faced Bunun public health is an attempt and an account of aboriginal wellness and health concerns and conditions that have emerged during my days as a practiced anthropologist in Taiwan and in the U.S. The dialogical process through which I position theoretical, ethnographical, and historical data and weave them together allow me to question and renovate what "public health" might be for this group of Austronesian-speaking people. The discursive trajectories that I have chosen to investigate such issue are:

> 1) public health discourses as distinctive parties that converse about the risk of public health hazards, one such as landslide, *to*/*with* Bunun people, 2) shared wellness issues, such as *mahatba,* as historical practices that Bunun people have reinvented and incorporated into their wellness behaviors prior to and since the introduction of Western public health models and is worth of further consideration. 3) The promotion of health for the general public, such as the consumption of agricultural produce at certain ethno-geographical locations, while requiring and perhaps reinforcing Bunun wellness, might not lead to the overall health outcome of the Bunun communities and other Taiwanese residents.

These different facets of health as perceived and practiced by various communities in Taiwan and specifically, in this Bunun community, offers lessons about

public health from multiple perspectives and contexts, as well as cultural practices of health and wellness that might look even unfamiliar to a Taiwanese.

Another important theoretical emphasis that I have chosen to focus on in this dissertation project is the relations between language and well-being. Here I tease out the concept of well-being from wellness to stress its additional emphasis on identity (hence "being"). Following the trajectory of this concept, I have explored Bunun re-naming practices as a healing process. In this section of the dissertation, I raise the question of what seems to be an individual's identity – personal name – becomes entangled with the past and the social utterance, as well as leading to the diagnosis and healing of one's sickness.

This healing process, while initially might involve the notion of curing in the pathological sense, could further rely on the "good" – what I call the "virtue of the virtual" – of an ancestor or in turn, depend on the sociolinguistic traces of a colonial past for its continuing emergence. As a result, the use non-Bunun names/language in this particular practice might suggest the unnatural relationship between language and identity and that between language and well-being. To make sense of this Bunun re-naming practice anthropologically, the self here intersects with the social and in order to be healed, one self is constantly repositioned as greeted by others and the utterance of others is crucial and necessary in making this healing practice work.

From this healing practice, the relevance of James Spradley's (1979) work on ethnographic method that follows not just what is said, but also how it is said becomes a gold standard for understanding different range of narratives that have been heard. As for

the elderly care in the community, the embodied practices such as dancing, game playing, arts and crafts, as well as meal sharing that the anthropologist has become a part of, along with the Bunun and non-Bunun elderly population in the community, has suggested that the community of caring has been extended to include the anthropologist.

Jokes are another sociolinguistic feature of many Bunun people. This particular way of speaking often unfolds in forms of self-mockery (in both singular and plural terms). Many of the Bunun people whom have encountered me as a researcher, as a friend, as a stranger or as an acquaintance would sometimes tell a joke or come up with funny phrases that often leads me to laughter and critical thinking. Joke topics range from disaster, disease, death, and even stereotypes about Bunun people has me wondered why they would tell it to a Han-Chinese who appears to have adopted some American cultures about what it is to be funny, healthy, and laughable.

Joking about multiple deceased kin members by one of the informant at a family banquet is as the biggest taboo as the anthropologist could possibly imagine. Other family members pick up the joke and add their parts to it as if the talk is as natural as the many Aboriginal Reserved Lands look to me at first. This is by far one of the most unique ways of how Bunun talk about themselves as I have experienced ethnographically in the past three years. The humor is mostly about making fun of themselves, making fun of things that might be deemed as taboo in another culture. This is, as one female informant reminded me, an important trait for a classic Bunun man.

What earns a Bunun male a good name in the community involves hard working, which is what I have suggested as Bunun well-being (*mahatba*), not speaking much (*bu*

duo hua or "one who speak very few words*"*), as well as being humorous. Most of time, such cultural silence is permitted and regarded as being Bunun. Some of the languages used to explain such silence is the Chinese word "悶" (*men or "one who keeps things inside"*, explained by a symbol that has a "heart" inside the "doors"), or that Bunun people are not good with words (不善表答 or *bushanbiaoda*) but they have a very good nature (善良 or *shanliang*) as one local politician suggests.

Regardless of the intra-cultural interpretation of such way of speaking, it is clear that voice and subjectivity are not necessarily forming a one-way relationship in this context. To speak with a sense of humor is more important than to simply speak. The techniques involved with local sense of humor are much more complex than we think. Some of the funny phrases often involve code-switching between multiple languages that Bunun speakers are or are not familiar with. The verbal twists and turns of phrases commonly heard in Han-Chinese, English, or even in other languages are incorporated and re-created to suit the emerging situations of social or familial events, as well as describing complex and sometimes contradicting realities that Bunun peoples encounter everyday.

Some of the key thematic and theoretical issues I have explored in the previous chapters have been an attempt to spell out the relationship between Bunun people and public health as a discourse and as lived experience. Public health as a discourse has come to stand for the idealized health model from which Bunun people might be disciplined about their ways of living. This, as I have suggested in the context of the reserved land, is the most fundamental regulated body of experience Bunun landscape.

The example of landslide and the communication between various discourses explain how public health discourses have been circulated and sometimes circumvented without truly being communicated.

Another argument being made in the discussions of disaster risk is the asymmetric relationship between the idea of health, wellness, and well-being. While health is specifically associated with the bio-mathematical measures of say, landslide risk associated with certain group of people by public health practitioners, wellness is more of the Han-Chinese folk ideologies and practices associated with their correspondent bodies. Well-being is the wellness that concerns about Bunun people's state of being and further complicates the picture of public health, folk medicine, and Bunun healing/curing/caring practices. The result of such discussion, in the context of landslide and Aboriginal Reserved Land, is the prioritizing of public health and Han-Chinese wellness behaviors over the immediate and important questions about Bunun well-being.

The discussion (Chapter 3) on landslide risks of course assumes that public health operating outside of Bunun well-being model. When one positions public health within Bunun culture, as another possibility, then the anthropological investigation might offer a completely different stories to Bunun experiences of healing, curing, and caring. This does not entail the manipulation of ethnographic evidences. Instead, it departs from a renovated vision of the seer and a constantly renewed inter-textual relation. One may ask – what is the relevance of presenting public health as within, without or between/betwixt Bunun people? The answer is situated on the intersection of identity,

wellness, and health and the extent to which a member of *public* (singular or plural) can step in and out of health and wellness.

What Bunun's experiences offer are not only the multitude of livelihoods, but also the conditions and contradictions that are at times, necessary for the conditioning of their well-being. This is evident in Bunun's name changing practice – where the colonial past and history unfold in different and perhaps at times opposite trajectories. For this reason, the ethnographic investigation and writing of this particular ritual has become a historiography of Bunun name change ritual that attempts to uncover the merits of such seemingly diverging forces. It is also an attempt to synthesize the embodied (sociolinguistic) traces of the colonial past and the historical confrontation between Bunun people and their colonial rule.

This dissertation project, in turn, has become a departure point for understanding the multiple voices within a Bunun (name-change) healing ritual, as well as different possible scenarios of sickness that might or might not intersect one another, but remain meaningful in the lack of their own uniqueness. Rather it is the shared and often unsaid words that underlie these narratives. Drawing from The Han-Chinese, Japanese, or different ancestral name has suggested that the intersection of self and social could very much be related to one's well-being – which embodies both Bunun wellness and being.

This particular ritual is a process through which Bunun wellness-seeking informs their identity and vice versa, through the re-collection of the sociolinguistic traces form the past. These alter-ancestral post-colonial signifiers are re-related to the sick and allow them to move toward well-being through the utterance of others – literally calling and re-

calling the newly given name of the sick, rather than the one given to them at birth. The key linguistic ingredients in this healing process consists of the blend of cultural and generational Self and Other to reach what might be a community of "sympathetic healing" – as ancestors and their descendants are positioned together in the sick person. (Harvey 2006)

Additionally, the sociolinguistic identities of these Bunun people that I became familiar with also demonstrates the multiplicities of worlds that they live in when we follow the illness narratives of the sick and the well as they accept or struggle to make sense of the relevance of re-naming process. While some Bunun have suggested the mis-treatment of Han-Chinese and Japanese rules on them and their ancestors, others have adopted the language to carry out healing ritual as described above. The lived experiences of Bunun people do not simply follow a single historical trajectory when referencing their predecessors and colonial rule.

The range of narratives at times weaves together and perhaps diverge on the matter of Bunun identity in relation to other groups. This is obvious in the family/clan approach to ritual performed and its authenticity. The same ritual that is held at the family level, community level, and county level all have to follow the guidelines of the national policy, but it is very different from the discourses that have emerged out of cultural performance. Interestingly, the term "performance" (展演 lit. expanding and enacting) has also been adopted by local administration as a way to perform the role of anthropologist.

It is uncertain how the discourse enters into aboriginal ritual performance but the exploration of such issue should not overlook the de-normalization of a local way of speaking about culture. As anthropologists, researchers, and tourists come in to the community to look for *Bunun culture*, they are also being lectured about the categories that might help them think not merely limited to their own intellectual training and interest. Instead, they are reminded that there is yet another layer of cultural lenses that that one might have already put on or forgotten to put on. In other words, the Bunun informant who chooses to use this term is aware and very much understand the different worlds that participants and people who were absent occupy various positions on *their* culture.

It is up to the hearer to register such familiar and yet strange signifiers (*zhan-yan* or *performance*) to by ways of apperception or perceiving along with other Bunun signifiers. By apperception, I am referring to Boas' (1889) socio-scientific analysis of linguistic research on sounds in certain Native American languages. The inconsistency of sounds led to the conclusion, for a few scholars, that Native American language was inconsistent and not systematic. However, a close examination leads to the suggestion that it is the hearer (the researchers) who might have registered the sounds based on the known and familiar sounds in their own langaguge.

Likewise, zhang-yan or chan-yan, the anthropological term and translation for performance in Mandarin-Chinese does not necessarily relate to the theoretical and ethnographic concepts that we as anthropologists often register as. How such terms are used often accompanies a sense of fabricated seriousness and is often followed by

mocking participants who might demonstrate that the local signified associated with *performance* might be what lies between the words spoken, rather than in the words per se.

Saussure's (1972) arbitrary relation between the signifier (sound sequence) and signified (concept) could be found in the Bunun community where sound of care can be experienced both within the community and in the mountainous roads. The signifiers that point to a local sense of care – often can be heard when one slows down trucks or mopeds to inquire where the other party is heading. The sound sequences became more obvious because many trucks were second-handed and required manual shift to change gear. This, as a Bunun man has confirmed, was because most of the people in the community preferred manual shift due to its power on hilly roads. The slowing-down and the clutch-switching sounds from these trucks both reveal the intention to stop and interact when two vehicles approach one another. Sometimes a honk can represent such concept of care when neither of the party has intention to stop.

This is yet another example of Bunun communicative practice that demonstrated the intersection of Bunun language and care on the one hand and the relation between space and performance on the other. In the case of physical laboring on their lands, Bunun people have demonstrated their concept of well-being, which might be as different as altitude and topography changes. This ethno-geographical based enactment of Bunun well-being often involves the bodily practices associated with physical work and were sometimes complemented by Bunun occupational therapies. For instance, the trailing and tracing of the hills in the forest, in addition to weeding, planting, and harvesting were

necessary processes for Bunun people to be *well* and co-produced a sense of *beings*-in-the-world while working along side with others (Bunun beings and/or species).

This practice of Bunun well-being, nonetheless, has relevance for Bunun people who did not work in the field of agriculture/forestry. Regardless of the degree to which their work contains physical labor, many people were aware that *mahatba* ("Bunun well-being") is context contingent within and without the community. For people who did not perform physical labor, the *stronghold* of a Bunun person followed the principles of *samu* (Bunun taboo), which has been extended to contemporary community health issue such as immoderate drinking ("*hejiu*" or "喝酒"[xiv]) or lack of motivation and diligence in life.

The relation between Bunun well-being and its enactment, as a result, is a heteroglossia not only conceptually speaking, but also in the adoption of such consciousness into the contemporary social practices. In other words, mathatba now stood for the strength of one's character when moving through the highs and the lows of one's landscape of life regardless of being a farmer or a local elementary school teacher. The physical burden, such as fire woods, produce, and perhaps game meat, was now becoming the responsibility one has when confronting the problem of over-drinking and the lack of motivation.

Here, we see the shifting of the public health boundaries, concerns and complexity as the history and socioeconomics of ARL, a politically designed and designated landscape changes in both its contents and its contexts at the local and national levels and as the forces of cross-strait/cross-oceans relations between Taiwanese aborigines and domestic/ international governing bodies interact in the past four hundred

years. The inclusion, the exclusion, and the absolute royalized discourses of public health at times complement, contradict, or co-vary with the lived experiences and stories that Bunun people communicated during my stay and visits to their community.

The unfolding of the name-changing ritual and its healing power certainly requires a reconsidering of the Bunun name-mimicking process more than simply an act of copying. It is a perfect example of a healing process that involves the presence of community members of past and present, as well as the knowledge and recognition beyond what lies in a name. Rather, it is how one addresses the other in this Bunun ritual context. The narratives of the name changing ritual and the struggle that people encounter with this cultural practice further speak the simplicity and the force of such Bunun narratives-one that always references predecessors and sometimes who might be considered a cultural Other.

These ways of Bunun speaking, methodologically, follow the ethnographic experience as both multi-vocal and multi-local (Rodman 1992). It is multi-vocal by treating the voices of Bunun informants and their lived experiences as dialogical processes, which might unfold with the physical presence or absence of the ethnographer in the fieldsite(s) (Pool 1994). Additionally, it is multi-local because the voices heard do not have a fixed context even within the Bunun community itself. The examples of landslides, location-specific occupational therapies, and the emergence of re-naming ritual all speak about the shifting of context in physical shape, in the forests, and as much as healing required in this Bunun community.

While some of these experiences appeared to be natural, others were politically, economically, and socially oriented. Each of the context embodied different kinds of experiences and voices of Bunun being and well-being. For instance, the community activity center often contains the voices of young and middle-age women when there are intra- and inter-community dancing competition, and that of elderly men and women at least once a week for congregation and care for one another and myself as the anthropologist. The kind of narratives emerged from these places are related to coordination of the body and between them (i.e. dance or exercises). This is very different from the wellness narratives offered on the way to the reserved land and while working on the reserved land.

The multi-vocal and multi-local trajectories of Bunun lived experience in this mountainous community may intersect, interject, or even contradict one another at times. The acceptance of such contradictory as a possibility of sense making process within this cultural framework speaks of the dynamic forces of heteroglossia at work conceptually and socio-linguistically (Bakhtin 1981). The seemingly opposing ideas can be and are positioned along side one another to demonstrate that they might be appositional (Wagner 2001). Most importantly, as the multiple relationships between lived experience and narrative structure has shown us, Bunun being and well-being should not simply follow a fixed emergence in speech or in bodily enactment, when the layer of performativity is added to the picture of analysis.

To adapt to the changes, continuity, and conundrum in the manifestations of Bunun being and well-being, I propose a theoretical model that could provide access to

Bunun lived experiences without having to completely deconstruct each conceptual model for another possibility. In order to do so, renovation – the renewal of certain parts of the theoretical components - might be more efficient and adaptive to the ethnographic context and content that might already have pre-existing interrelatedness from Bunun perception. Adding and taking out a portion of the theoretical components to fit the unpredictable and unfolding reality is as important as seeing lived experience as a construct, re-construct, or in the process building with the presence or absence of the anthropologist.

The renovation approach of anthropology, while acknowledging the merit and possibility of all theories, demands the relatedness and relevance of theoretical components to the ethnographic foundations – the local ways of speaking, the referential and spatial contexts, and the lived experiences of Bunun community – rather leaving from the theory. This is not to say, however, that the theoretical and the ethnographic could not converse to one another. The theoretical materials will have to be re-grouped, re-angled, and/or re-measured to match to the ethnographic insight. This includes ethno-theories (i.e. Bunun being and species relation) that might have been operating, disputed, or remained silent.

What the renovation approach offers is the opportunity to refresh the emerging and existing lenses that the anthropologist choose to use and has yet to put on. The Janus-Faced Bunun public health is an attempt to project anthropological theories onto the façades and into the interior of Bunun experiences of being and their well-being. It invites and continues to allow additional and different perspectives to enter into the

discussion of such relation, as long as they serve as interdependent and interrelated components that allow other discourses and narratives to co-exist. Even in cases of conflicting and contradicting ideas, the framework seeks to hold ambiguities and anti-theses as much as ambiguities and anti-these could hold alterity in themselves, by themselves, or for themselves.

In sum, this Bunun "public health" project is both a re-situation of the ethnography and the growth of myself as an anthropologist in process. It is an intellectual attempt for tracing multiple trajectories of the pasts and polyphonic voices of Bunun people. Just like their ritual performance of the vocal polyphonic, a singer voiced sounds in relation to the rest of the group is a key to the success of each and every chance of such congregation, regardless of the changes in who participate and the outcome of the harmony. The voices of Bunun people, as heard and spoken about and with by the anthropologist made this ethnographic experiences, as unfolding and unfinished as their stories about the voices of my anthropology that investigated a confluence of Bunun and Taiwanese beings and well-being

Endnotes

[i] Han Chinese is referred to the descendants of Chinese population who have immigrated to Taiwan from mainland China since or prior to the colonization of Taiwan by the Dutch in 17th century.

[ii]By physical contexts, I mean that there are multiple contexts within the Bunun community. his is so by simply thinking about variation in altitude, in types of agricultural practices carried out in the village and forests, in the health and wellness ideologies associated with body-land interaction, as well as the moving and shifting of context – landslide – as lived examples.

[iii] Based on Pool's (1994) dialogical approach to ethnographic fieldwork, I considered my presence (Approximately 9 months) in the Bunun community and my continuing communication with these people until nearly the end of following year to be essential parts of my socio-scientific research.

[iv] The legal definition of an "elderly person" for someone who is Han Chinese is 65 years of age, comparing to 55 years of age for an aboriginal person. This legal definition is based on the gap between the average life expectancy (at birth) of aboriginal people in relation to that of the general population. The result was between 6 to 10 years of difference (less than Han Chinese population in respect to female and male) in 2003, as well as in 2013. This has led to the change of definition for what constitutes an "elderly person" legally and access to government welfare programs, such as the elderly care program that one can find in many aboriginal communities. For detail statistics, search National Statistics, R.O.C. or news report on statistics posted by the Council of the Indigenous Peoples at (http://www.stat.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=1669&ctNode=548 or http://www.lihpao.com/?action-viewnews-itemid-67647).

[v] Personal communication with T.S. Harvey and Juliet McMullin. Please see Harvey (2011) and McMullin's (2010: 76) work when considering public health as inclusive, exclusive, or royalized discourses.

[vi] This is very similar to the sociolinguistic patterns of agrochemicals ("the medicines") revealed by Karakasidou (2008) in her ethnographic research on how people in Crete relate pesticides and herbicides to human cancer. For further details, please see *Confronting Cancer,* edited by Juliet McMullin and Diane Weiner.

[vii] This image is acquired from the Aboriginal wild vegetables website of the Hualien City Office at http://www.hualien.gov.tw/aboriginal/info.aspx?v=9068ACD483C71FC1

[viii] There has been a lot of public and political discussion and discourse linking mudslides to the planting of beetle nut trees in the mountainous region of Taiwan. Attention has been drawn to the tree's shallow roots and their lack of power to hold soil together compared to other types of trees.

[ix]Personal communication with Dr. Bonnie Adrian

[x] Hoklo, also known as Min-nan (Southern Fujian Province of China) is referring to a dialect spoken in Southern China. Many of its speakers have immigrated to Taiwan since 1600s and they comprise, along with the Hakka ethnic group, at least 70% of the population on the island.

[xi] There are occupational injuries that do not have remedies, except to rest. This is the case as Tama Turbus explained that plants such as *Dendrocnide meyeniana (*yao ren gou, literally the "biting dog"*)* and *Urtica thunbergiana (*yao ren mao or the "biting cats"). These are the types of plants that are considered harmful and the discomfort of contacting such plants might last from three days to a week (March 29, 2010). My own experience with the latter (the biting cat) was initially similar to being stuck with a needle. However, the tiny rash that appeared at the spot of contact, though, did not bleed, develop into any serious injuries, or last more than three days. Later, when I spoke of this encounter to other Bunun people, they almost always commented on how delicate my skin was because I was not working in the mountains on a regular basis.

[xii] This is what T.S. Harvey (2006) suggests as a one way to avoid the autometric understanding of lived experiences that are dramatically or slightly different from one's own.

[xiii] For a theoretical exploration of "person" as a social role or relation, one can visit La Fontaine's (1996) "Person and Individual: some Anthropological Reflections".

[xiv] Although Bunun speakers often use the Mandarin-Chinese terms "hejiu" to refer to "drinking," drinking in this Bunun community is associated with the local demonstration of hospitality to guests and friends, which also involves drinking in people's front yards that can be partially seen in the public. In other words, drinking is not without the presence of anthropologists and visitors in this Bunun community and should be a seen as a public health issue that include the researchers as much as the hospitality has extended to, rather than simply an issue of the Bunun people.

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