

Issue 31 | INDIGENOUS  
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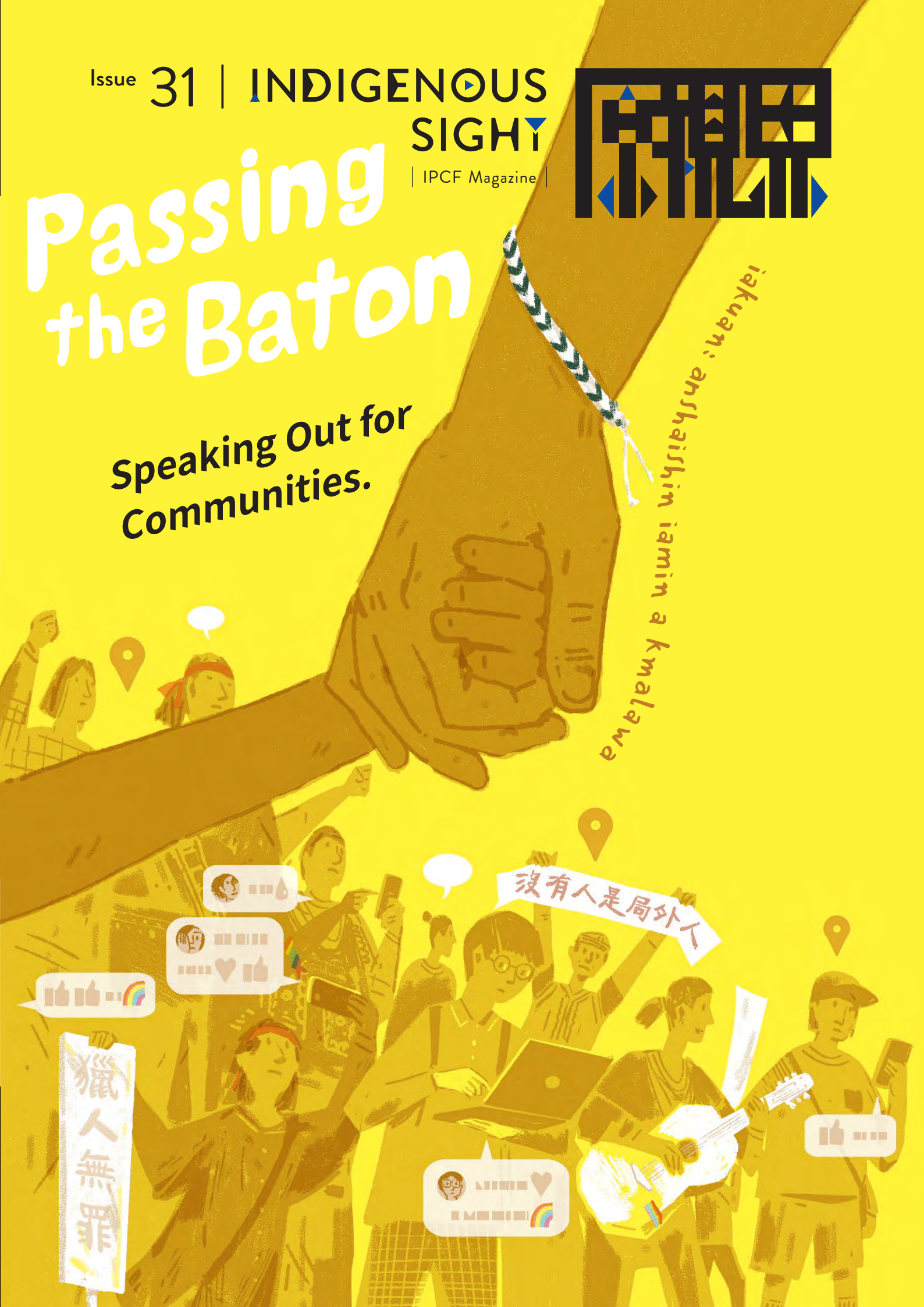
# Passing the Baton

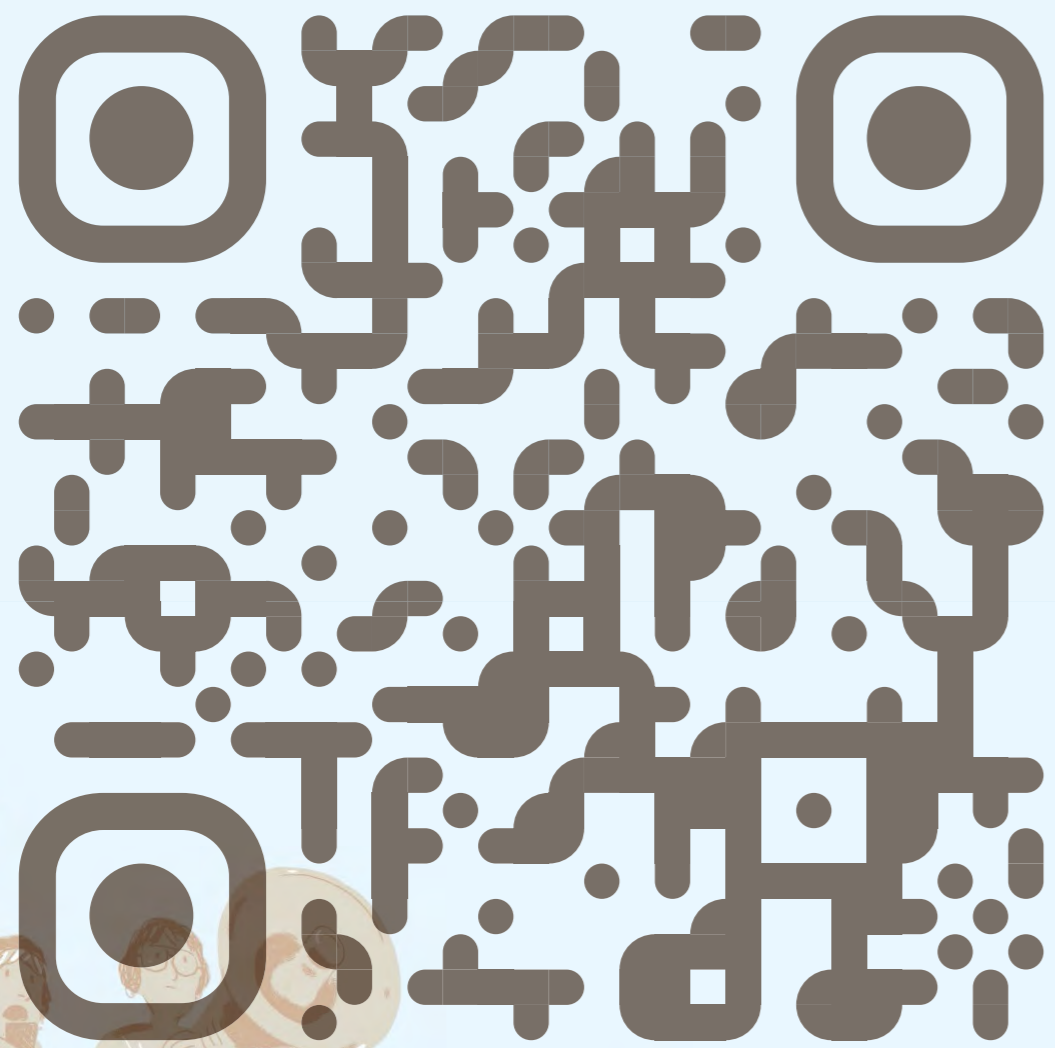
Speaking Out for  
Communities.

iakuan: anshaihin iamin a kmalawa

沒有人是局外人

獵人無罪





## *ya kahiza miniahala inai a thau a makakakri numa muhiaw sa malhinuna*

### Post-Indigenous Movement Era: **Faster and Wider**

ya mat tinakawash mashpatiz a miniahala inai a thau a makakakri, numa thuini a “miniahala inai a thau a makakakri ya kahiza” ianan sa antu tataal a kmalawa sa kalawan, numa aniamin. tu kahiwan apasain sa manasha wa tilhaz ya sas sa lalawa wa kalawan, kanuniza thuini ianan sa dawaz sa saran, numa shduu muhiaw sas sa izai a kalawan, numa mathuaw pidazah ya malhalhinuna sa kalawan numa afuilh ya tu suma wa thau amunai mindahip, numa ianan sa manasha wa malhalhinuna wa pruu, antu muqay shduu ya manasha wa thau a mashashduu masa mindahip, shduu mani mapalhalhituz sa tatata wa a miniahala inai a thau a qbit, shduu ya manasha wa kalawan a lalawa sa miniahala inai a thau a makungkazakka sa buut.

tu kahiwan a’ ianan sa manasha wa lushkin, miaqay sa kalawan katshushuziza, thuini shduuiza pashtay kafazaqin sa tata wa kataunan a kalawan. numa ianan dawaz sa saran a qbit, shduu mani kafazaqin ya tu suma wa kataunan tataal a sa lalawa wa kalawan, sa izai a lalawa muhiaw shduu sas mu’ apaw.

thuini a miniahala inai a thau a makakakri a parhaway, minnaka az’ az a katataunan miniahala inai a thau a qbit mriqaz, numa mriqaz sa az’ az a katataunan a lalawa wa kalawan, numa mafazaq sa az’ az a katataunan a faat, numa shduuiza makikalhi tu az’ az a katataunan sa maqitan a lalawa, sa izai tu kahiwan a tanatuqash maqarman kmalawa sa kalawan. kanuniza sa izai a infazaqin amiakuza pasain sa miniahala inai a thau a qbit masa kataunan, numa parhaway amunai kataunan mafazaq sa thuini a kalawan numa amafazaq sa Thau a kataunan numa multhkiz a miniahala inai a thau a qbit.

alhungqizi a parhaway tu miniahala inai a thau a qbit, numa ata tu in’auraan amangqtu suma wa qbit a lalawa wa kalawan. tu kahiwan miniahala inai a thau a makakakri minmaqitan a lalawa, numa amintamar tanatuqash a lalawa, thuini a faqlhu parhaway apasain sa ma’ aluz’ uz a mangqtu a kuswit, minaka miniahala inai a thau mangqtu apaza, numa lhmazawan makit. haran numa makit.hazish sa multhkiz a miniahala inai a thau a qbit.

Compared to the indigenous movement of 40 years ago, the current “post-indigenous movement era” has a completely different set of strategies and tools. Transmitting messages in the past was time-consuming and labor intensive, while today’s high-speed information flow through social media and access to the internet makes bringing issues to light and calling for mobilization much easier. By utilizing different social platforms, indigenous movements can gain recognition and attract support across a broad range of ethnic groups, making the discussion of indigenous issues more diverse.

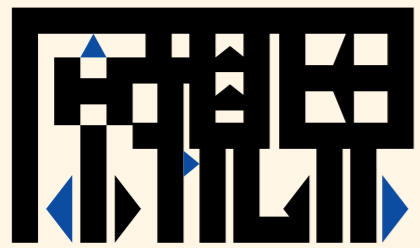
In the past, it often took a serious situation to attract support, but today an issue affecting a single community can garner attention. Related issues can be connected through online communities, making it possible to quickly spread safeguarding voices far and wide.

Young activists today can see domestic issues from international indigenous perspectives and become familiar with national regulations and policies. They can propose suggestions at the national level – mediating and contenting with government – in a way their predecessors could not. Yet applying this knowledge within indigenous societies still relies on the new generation going deep into communities to understand their needs.

Young people with a strong concern for indigenous society should avoid thinking about an issue from a single ethnic group. The spirit of past indigenous movements is a model worth emulating, by a new generation whose flexible thinking can expand the horizon for all indigenous peoples – from an indigenous perspective.

naur kazash a kalangan  
CEO of the Indigenous  
Peoples Cultural Foundation

*Megaitan*  
梅吉丹



# INDIGENOUS SIGHT

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iakuan: anshaishin iamin a kmalawa

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# Passing the Baton

## Speaking Out for Communities.

iakuan: anshaishin iamin a kmalawa

*They are often regarded as politically indifferent, but when faced with the government's inability to quickly respond to changing social values, the new generation has become ever more enthusiastic about public affairs. The Wenlin Yuan urban renewal project, the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear disaster, and the death of Hung Chung-Chiu have catalyzed a wave of street-level student and social movements that pursue equality and justice.*

*Now things are different. Activists today have technology and social media to spread social movements. Resistance doesn't erupt on its own; it needs mobilization before and vocalization after the event to ensure an impact on state-citizen relations. "Movements off the streets" have already begun, and today's youth are carrying on the spirit of their predecessors - step by step creating the ripples of societal change.*

Note: "iakuan: anshaishin iamin a kmalawa" means "It's our turn to stand up and do something" in the Thao language.



A Platform for Indigenous Youth to Make Some Noise

# The Indigenous Youth Front

Connecting the New Generation of Young People.

The Indigenous Youth Front links together this generation of indigenous young people. We know these indigenous movements will not immediately yield results, but at least you know you are not fighting alone.



*The Indigenous Youth Front is composed of indigenous youths approximately between the ages of 20 and 35 years old. This extremely flexible organization does not have a rigid operation structure and has become an important platform for indigenous youth to connect with companions who have similar ideas and magnify their voices in society.*

Written by **Chen Yi-Ru**; Photo credits: **Indigenous Youth Front, Huang Jian-bin**; Translated by **Chen Deh-I**

In 2013, members of a Bunun church yelled “indigenous peoples don’t support same-sex marriage” during a protest against same-sex marriage. This offended Savungaz Valincinan, who was then still a university student. She was not happy that the church masked their personal opinions as the opinion of all indigenous peoples, therefore she worked with other students in university indigenous youth clubs to jointly write a statement in response. But when they completed the article, they realized they had no platform nor channel to release it. Eventually, the students set up a Facebook fanpage dedicated to this function, and the Indigenous Youth Front was born.

Actually, this group of young people already knew each other before this same-sex marriage statement incident as they also participated in other movements, such as opposing Meiliwan and the anti-nuclear protest. Since the released statement stirred up a lot of reactions, the Indigenous Youth Front fanpage naturally became the platform where people talked about indigenous issues. In addition to the fanpage, the group also set up a private Facebook club for internal discussions.

In the past eight years, the Facebook club has accumulated about 300 members, including indigenous and Non-indigenous members, from all over Taiwan.

There is no entry requirement to join the organization. The only condition is that the person has to participate in a physical event organized by the Indigenous Youth Front. “People assume that the Indigenous Youth Front is only a virtual platform on which everything happens very quickly,” Savungaz said, “but we all have to meet in person before letting new people in. The internet is just a tool, the people are still the crucial element.”

## A Platform Where People Find Companions with Similar Goals

At first glance, the Indigenous Youth Front is not very different from other dissent groups. When an issue becomes a hot topic, they issue statements, organize press conferences or protests. However, the operational structure of the organization is more flexible than other groups: they have no leader nor official cadre. If a topic arises and requires further discussion, anyone can start the conversation and organize events.



A scene in the movie *David Loman 2* was discriminatory towards indigenous peoples. Savungaz (second left) and the Indigenous Youth Front scattered spirit money at the company's door, symbolizing they want to "exorcise discrimination".

Therefore, the topics discussed in Indigenous Youth Front are very diverse and cover many different areas and peoples. For example, Indigenous Youth Front members took part in events and movements related to the Bunun hunter Talum hunting case, the Ljavek Community in Kaohsiung fighting against forced relocation, and the protest against excluding private lands from traditional indigenous territories. "I won't call the Indigenous Youth Front a movement group. Since the very beginning, we have always been a platform on which people can find partners to work together for the same goal," Savungaz said frankly.

"For me, the Indigenous Youth Front links together this generation of indigenous young people." Indigenous Youth Front member Akoy explained. "Because these indigenous movements will not immediately yield results, so it is very important that we know there are others who care about these issues as well and are willing to fight alongside you. At least you know you are not alone."

## New Game Plans Gives Us Wider Exposure

It's easy to spot the creativity of the new generation in the events organized by Indigenous Youth Front. In 2014, a tour group strutted into the Tourism Bureau of the Ministry of Transportation and Communications. "This is the Tourism Bureau." The tour guide explained loudly to the group. "These are actors playing out an office scene. That person over there is portraying a person talking on the phone." This ridiculous

arrangement is actually a protest against the Tourism Bureau for setting 2014 as the "first year of indigenous village tourism". The indigenous residents felt they were taken advantage of and thus wanted the Bureau officials to experience how it felt like to be a tourist attraction. This creative "Tourism Bureau Tour" flash mob successfully attracted public attention and is, so far, the most well-known event organized by the Indigenous Youth Front.

Another event was sparked by a scene from the movie *David Loman 2*. In that particular scene, the protagonist called the Tao people in traditional garb, who were there protesting against nuclear waste dumping, "nutcases" and "you all stink". The act was very disrespectful towards the indigenous peoples and galvanized the Indigenous Youth Front to gather at the entrance of the film company where they conducted a "discrimination exorcism". The protesters scattered spirit money at the company's door and requested that they apologize immediately and delete the discriminatory scenes.

In addition to responding to social issues, Indigenous Youth Front also focuses on empowering the younger generation. The annual Consensus Camp is a major event during which they recruit and train new participants. According to Ool, who has served as Camp Coordinator before, the three-day Consensus Camp teaches participants how to deal with the media and write news releases. They also discuss action plans for different topics. The maximum number of campers each year is around 30 people. High school students are also welcome.

## Reaching a Consensus Getting Everyone On Board

There is one rule that Indigenous Youth Front members have to follow: the consensus rule. Before anyone can organize an event or publish news releases in the name of the Indigenous Youth Front, they must obtain the approval of at least five people in the Facebook club and have no one object to the idea. Savungaz explained that it does not mean the suggestion is a no-go if anyone opposes it. It just means the proposal requires more detailed discussions and adjustments so that the people originally against it eventually support the idea as well.

"Atypical" organizations like Indigenous Youth Front are extremely flexible. Members are not restricted by their roles and can respond to the situation according to their capabilities. "Our lives, work, and topics we are working on are all connected. As long as you have the capability, anyone can take charge." Ool, who works in an NGO, thinks that Indigenous Youth Front's shared governance and decision-making mechanism help generate true consensus among the team. "In a structured organization, sometimes the members are not persuaded. They are just obeying the organization's orders or their superiors."

Yet this agile and flexible organization model also has disadvantages. As the original members gradually graduated from university and entered the workforce, the organization suddenly found themselves short-handed. "Some issues need to be dealt with immediately, but we cannot be available all the time." Akoy pointed out. Especially when the organization does not have official cadres in charge of the events or projects, progress may fall stagnant. This is also the reason why

During the 2019 Gongsheng Music Festival, Indigenous Youth Front responded to the 228 Smoke Signal Movement and helped raised public awareness on transitional justice for indigenous peoples.



In October 2016, Indigenous Youth Front petitioned in front of the Presidential Office, requesting that the government should give the indigenous peoples and hunters the dignity they deserve.

Indigenous Youth Front did not organize the Consensus Camp for three years. Ool admitted that "we hope to see more young people step up and take over".

## Being a Role Model for the Younger Generation and Leading Them Onwards

Now that everyone can freely voice their thoughts online, the young generation has to be strong enough to withstand online hater attacks. "Although you know it's going to happen, it still hurts." Admitted Savungaz. This led to the birth of the Indigenous Youth Front's "post-event meetings". Members do not discuss the results of the events or areas to improve during the meetings; instead, they are encouraged to chat and blow off some steam.

Back when information was mainly transmitted through the media, the public did not have channels to voice their opinions; now, the new generation can speak through the internet without being reviewed or interpreted. However, this also means the speakers have to pay more attention to details. Savungaz shared that in the past when the public was not familiar with indigenous peoples, it was considered great progress if they could openly say "don't call me a savage!" or "give back our lands!". "But for our generation, it's not that simple. We have to actually talk about how they are going to give back our lands and have more in-depth discussions with society."

These indigenous youth followed the footsteps of their predecessors and entered the world of indigenous movements. They are no longer just young people gathering their friends together to "do something", but senior members of the organization which newcomers look up to. And they will lead their younger brothers and sisters forward and carry on the momentum of indigenous movements.

Rallying the **Team Spirit** of the Younger Generation

# The Taitung Bunun Youth



Connecting the Bunun Youth on Both Sides of the Central Range.

Linking together Bunun youth from the five major communities to step up and protect our people and future together.



*The Taitung Bunun Youth (TBY) was established by a group of twentysomething Bunun youths in 2015. The organization is mainly composed of young people. Going beyond Bunun traditions, Taitung Bunun Youth sets up a conversation platform for the modern Bunun youth and helps the younger generation relearn their own culture.*

Written by **Liang Wen-Jing**; Photo credits: **Taitung Bunun Youth, Tsai Zong-Sheng**; Translated by **Chen Deh-I**

"The hunter is innocent; the law is unconstitutional!" "Safeguard our sovereignty, defend traditional territories!" Bunun youth from the five major communities on both sides of the Central Range gathered at Puli Township, Nantou County, to jointly show support of the constitutional interpretation of the Bunun hunter Talum case and the "Katratripulr Safeguarding Sovereignty and Defending Traditional Territory Declaration."

Taitung Bunun Youth from Taitung was one of the supporters present. They believe that the right to

hunt and land ownership rights are not issues of one single community or people, but related to the culture of Taiwan's indigenous peoples. Especially the Right to Hunt dispute, which was ignited by Bunun hunter Talum, is closely related to the daily life and culture of the Bunun people. The sense of loss kindled by the disappearance of traditional culture is exactly the reason why TBY was born.

In 2015, a group of Bunun youths who had just graduated from university or graduate school returned to Taitung. Sensing that modern society has changed

the traditional Bunun way of living, which used to be centered around the clan, the young group decided to set up a platform on which everyone could converse equally. The platform, named "Taitung Bunun Youth", is an extension of the traditional Bunun concept of "**tastu baning**" (sharing the same cooking stove) and represents a new foundation for Bunun culture.

## We Need to Give Young People Opportunities to Stay in Their Communities

Since its initiation, Taitung Bunun Youth has grown from a couple dozen of members into an organization with nearly a hundred members. In the past six years, they mainly focused on reviving their traditional culture. Activities included holding weaving courses, planting traditional crops, visiting and surveying traditional territory, and studying old houses. Every year TBY alternatively hosts the Taitung Bunun Youth School and Palihansiap Bunun Studies Forum. The Taitung Bunun Youth School organizes a one-week long summer course



Taitung Bunun Youth also has a band. They use music to share Bunun stories with more people.

for teenagers in high school and up to learn about Bunun culture. And the Forum aims to establish a Bunun knowledge system and invites community elders, culture workers, and young people to participate and interact with each other.

After accumulating lots of experience and resources, Taitung Bunun Youth gradually became involved in developing community industries. TBY Managing Supervisor Vilian Istandaa mentioned that long before “local revitalization” was a trend, Taitung Bunun Youth was already working on cultural empowerment and resource inventory. “Our ultimate goal is to find opportunities for the younger generations so that they can stay and live in their communities and really put down roots there.”

In addition to working with the public sector to roll out local revitalization projects, TBY also helps villages set up personal workshops for weaving and garment making. They hope that in the future they can work closer with local communities and help set up sustainable development projects.

### Spreading Out into Different Areas

Traditionally, the clan is the unit in Bunun social structure and daily life. The concept of “the entire village” is not very prominent. While public affairs are decided by village leaders, most affairs are presided and decided by the elders in the family. The younger generation is expected to obey and carry out the results. In addition, unlike the Pangcah or Pinuyumayan, the Bunun society does not have an “age class” structure which cultivates the concept of “our village” in community children.

“Our people also have another characteristic. If we don’t agree with you, we just leave.” Qubiaz Tamapima, the fourth board director of Taitung Bunun Youth, said with a smile. The Bunun people are quite reserved. If the family heads don’t agree with each other, they tend to avoid direct conflict. “We will leave quietly and withdraw from the discussion.” This trait also makes the sense of “one whole village” rather weak among the Bunun.

To focus on community consensus, TBY went beyond the traditional mindset and created a communication platform with a modern organizational structure for the younger generation. Compared with other peoples who have youth organizations with age classes, Vilian Istandaa believes that the structure of TBY is very different. “Taitung Bunun Youth doesn’t have strict restrictions related to age. Regardless of your age, we can all converse on equal footing.” When there are disagreements within the organization, members used the traditional Bunun *palihansiap* (“discussion”, “to hold a meeting”) mechanism to discuss the issue and vote on the outcome.

Yet would this practice impact community culture? “We never wanted to change or challenge village traditions. It’s more like we are brainstorming for new directions.” Taitung Bunun Youth Director Manama Binkinuan explained. “If our village needs people to help out, we go and lend a hand. If they need funding, we go look for resources.” Just like the traditional concept of *kiudu* (“taking turns to work”), TBY connects Bunun youth from various villages in Taitung and encourages them to find their indigenous identity and be involved in related affairs. TBY assists communities when they need it and carries on traditional mechanisms through modern means.



The Taitung Bunun Youth School revives traditional crafts by teaching the students cross-stitching, weaving, and tanning.

When Taitung Bunun Youth was first established, community elders were skeptical about the idea. Qubiaz Tamapima explained, “although the Bunun greatly respect the elders, we also recognize people ‘that can do things’”. As TBY gradually showed positive results, the elders began to understand that the youth are truly working for the community. They were then more than happy to offer assistance and support, and became a strong force in helping Taitung Bunun Youth promote their traditional culture.

“We hope that the youth who are part of Taitung Bunun Youth can eventually return to their own communities. Hopefully, they will continue to be involved in public affairs and become the pillars of the community. We also wish that they can do well in different industries. Only when we have our people in every area can we change the current situation.” Vilian Istandaa remarked.

### Let the Voices of Bunun People from All Corners be Heard

Looking back, the core members that set up Taitung Bunun Youth have grown from youths in their twenties to adults nearing their forties. To pass on the torch of Taitung Bunun Youth, they started “youth squads” to empower new members from the communities or participants of Taitung Bunun Youth School. Vilian Istandaa admitted that it’s difficult to pass on the mission as all the work done in TBY are unpaid. Members who have day jobs are working for TBY in their own free time. In addition, indigenous young people rarely have the choice to return to their villages as there are few job opportunities. This is a challenge common among modern indigenous youth.

Nevertheless, the fourth director and supervisor team, which has just come into office, is not discouraged. “For our generation, we had to figure out our self-identity on our own. The next generation is a bit luckier, at least they have the senior members of TBY to help them learn more about their own culture.” For Qubiaz Tamapima, Taitung Bunun Youth is still a relatively young organization. They ran into many obstacles along the way and fortunately had each other to lean on and learn from. “We will continue to spread and promote our culture. Hopefully among the many sparks, we can find a fire that burns a little brighter and keep on passing down the energy of Taitung Bunun Youth from generation to generation.”

“Taitung Bunun cannot represent all Bunun people. We hope that Bunun youth all over Taiwan can form their organizations and let the voices of Bunun people everywhere be heard. By linking together the communities along the Central Range, we can form an unprecedented connection between all Bunun people.” Qubiaz Tamapima said. On both sides of the Central Range, these Bunun youth may not come from the same clan or village, but they look up to the same moon and sun, and is a family that shares the same *tastu baning*.



During Education on Food and Agriculture class, children are encouraged to get in contact with the land and learn more about Bunun culture.

Support the Rainbow in Indigenous Communities with Movements

# Taiwan Indigenous LGBTQ Alliance

There is No Need to Hide As an LGBTQ,  
You are Not Alone!

First we support one another, then  
we have the momentum to move  
forward. Step forward, when you  
have enough strength!

*Compared to LGBTQ in general, indigenous LGBTQ are more afraid of being seen. Fearless of social opinion, Taiwan Indigenous LGBTQ Alliance (TILA) steps forward courageously, giving many the courage they need. They build a place where “the minority of the minority” can understand and support one another and feel at ease.*

Written by **Chen Yi-Ru**; Photo credit: **Taiwan Indigenous LGBTQ Alliance**; Translated by **Ker Nai-Yu**

May 2019, the Marriage Equality Bill was adopted. In the significant first year of same-sex marriage in Taiwan, TILA established accordingly in September.

Despite being established less than two years ago, Ken, the founder of TILA, has long been a key person in the indigenous LGBTQ world. A Truku person from Hualien and 32 this year, Ken has volunteered at Taiwan Tongzhi Hotline Association (hereafter referred to as the Hotline) since 18 and is the first generation daring to openly step forward and defend the rights of indigenous LGBTQ. Many see him as the spiritual leader.

## The First Time He Felt Saved

The establishment of TILA has much to do with Ken's experiences in life. His sexual awakening took place in his second year at middle school, when he realized he had a crush on his neighboring male classmate. He wrote down his worry and shared it with his homeroom teacher, who replied, “you are psycho, you should go and see a therapist!”

The year he entered high school, there were a lot of news coverage on *Brokeback Mountain* winning awards.

At a boy's school, Ken watched as his classmates teasingly put on shows of boy kissing and hugging boy, ridiculing the whole thing. He would rather take his lunch elsewhere on the campus than eating it in the classroom. After his homeroom teacher discovered him, despite being afraid of another psycho accusation, he worked up the courage to confess to his teacher for being gay, and things took a different turn.



TILA at 2019 Hualien Pride Parade.

The teacher explained to the class solemnly that there are indigenous and non-indigenous people in the class, there are single-parent families and those who are raised by grandparents, there are also people who like either boys or girls, “these people sit among you every single day, I hope you get to know people with different qualities. If you do not try to understand and say things that hurt other people, you do not deserve to be their classmate or a student of mine!”

Ken watched his teacher on stage, feeling extremely emotional, “that was the first time I felt saved! Someone with authority taking actions to show that I support you. It was hugely influential and pushed me down the road of social movements and becoming an influence on others.” Not long after, Ken “came out” to the whole class and confessed his sexual orientation at home in the second year of high school.

### Let Everyone Know That They are Not Alone

Having volunteered at the Hotline for many years with very few other indigenous LGBTQ volunteers, whenever discussion came up regarding indigenous issues at the Hotline, he always spoke up. Over the time, he became a principal figure in relevant issues. Others suggested that he could form an indigenous LGBTQ group and lead the development of indigenous LGBTQ.

Therefore, Ken began wearing indigenous clothing every year starting 2013, making appearances in pride parades all over Taiwan, “I was the fearless one! Always making appearances and taking the stage to speak.” Akuanx Kulatana, a senior member of TILA, says, “it was not easy at all for Ken to step forward, since indigenous LGBTQ wasn’t even part of the discussion then.”

Two years in the parade, he failed in attracting more people in joining him. “That was when I realized, ‘afraid of coming forward’ is an issue.” Ken reasoned that indigenous peoples are intricately connected to their communities, “you do something in Taipei, and your family in Pingtung immediately knows what you have done.” Coming out is not just about facing the family, but the opinions of the entire indigenous community. It did not help that the religion prevalent in indigenous communities is largely anti-LGBTQ, making the LGBTQ issue even more of a taboo.

Later, Ken decided to change his method, and held instead an “indigenous LGBTQ chatroom” at the Hotline every month. The gatherings and talks help them get to know one another and support each other. “First we support one another, then we have the momentum to move forward.” Akuanx Kulatana agrees with this method, “let everyone know that they are not alone.” But to make real progress in indigenous LGBTQ issues, an official organization is still required, hence the establishment of TILA.



TILA members perform on stage at the 2020 Hotline fundraising event.

### Stand Up Front So More People can See Indigenous LGBTQ

There are currently a little over 70 people in the TILA online group, and 15 core members. With no official staff at TILA, their members mostly work in media, social work, church, and long-term care. Therefore, in addition to LGBTQ issues, many other indigenous issues are also discussed in the online group and petitioned in the name of TILA.

TILA also form alliances with other groups, including Taiwan Indigenous Teachers’ Association, Adju Music Festival, National Dong Hwa University, and Taiwan Tongzhi Hotline Association. Every year, TILA members deliver short talks at school clubs, and share the stories of their lives. Akuanx Kulatana says, “this allows people who cannot step forward a gentle way to participate in the issues.”

Currently 31 years old, Akuanx Kulatana started the first pride parade in Hualien when he was just a freshman at National Dong Hwa University. Akuanx Kulatana laughs, “I still feel awkward when people call me a social activist. I see myself as just supporting the people important to me, I am not afraid of coming out so I fight for the chance to be seen, hoping that people can understand more about the situation of indigenous LGBTQ.”

### You can Walk a Little Further with Some Company

In 2018, when the debate is hot on marriage equality bill, many politicians and church deny the existence of indigenous LGBTQ. In the name of their indigenous chatroom, Ken and a few members spoke at the marriage equality concert that year, “we are here, we should be seen. We are human too; we have the right to

marriage too. We are indigenous, we are also LGBTQ, the two identities are inseparable because that is our life.”

Prior to this, indigenous issues were rarely discussed even in the LGBTQ community, but with Ken coming forward to speak, many indigenous people wearing indigenous clothing showed up in the pride parade that year. With the establishment of TILA in the following year, even more indigenous people showed up, and they even formed their own troupe and marched with songs and dance. Akuanx Kulatana believes that “stepping forward is definitely influential!”

Indigenous LGBTQ in the older generation can only hide their true identity, when people in Ken’s generation began coming forward, combined with the free flow of information on the internet, a lot of courage is shared. Ken recalls meeting an undergraduate student in indigenous clothing during a pride parade, who said to him that he realized he was not alone after watching a video of Ken’s speech and became determined to participate in the parade in his indigenous clothing.

Seeing everyone coming forward, Ken was overwhelmed, “I marched alone for two years, and when no one joined me, I really doubted myself. I criticized myself and thought that I must have done something wrong. But even if you have been walking for so long, when people do come and share their experiences with you, you feel like you can walk a little further.”

“Afraid of coming forward” used to be the biggest challenge for TILA, but now they are in no rush. Akuanx Kulatana says quietly, “those who can step forward and advocate can come and fight with us, those who are unable to step forward can keep each other company in silence.” Ken reiterates, “step forward, when you have enough strength!” The journey of indigenous LGBTQ movement is difficult, but they are never in despair. Together, they support the rainbow in indigenous communities with movements.



TILA at 2020 Hualien Pride Parade.

Taiwan's Very First Cross-peoples Writing Project

# The No-Names



*Lost and confused about their plains indigenous peoples' identity, a group of "no-names" decided to find the answers in writing. This is Taiwan's first cross-peoples writing project and the first piece of popular literature about the Taiwan plains indigenous peoples. Through the words, the authors soothed themselves and healed others.*

Written by **Chen Yi-Ru**; Photo credits: **The No-Names, Lin Yi-Xian**; Translated by **Chen Deh-I**

In 2013, indigenous students from universities all over Taiwan took part in Taiwan's largest anti-nuclear march. This is also where a group of young people from different peoples who felt confused about their identities met each other.

Society usually slaps a "plains indigenous peoples" label on this group of people and flippantly says that they have "assimilated into Non-indigenous culture", erasing the history, culture, and even identity of these peoples. "Back then we were severely anxious about our identity. It got so bad that every time I

met new people and they would ask which peoples did I belong to? I would feel very stressed and confused." Chen Yi-Zhen of the Makatao people recalled.

In 2014, five youths came together and began a five-year-long writing project on Facebook. This group, which called themselves "The No-names", traveled around Taiwan to interview and document the stories of twenty indigenous youths who were also confused about their indigenous identity. The life stories were eventually compiled into a book that was published in 2019. Yu Yi-Te of the Makatao people explained that "in addition

Helping Taiwan Plains Indigenous Peoples  
Break Through the Confusion of Identity.

We were born in the 1990s and this is the overall situation that we face. We just want to find a feasible direction among all the choices.



to identity, we were also interested in the lives of each person. We wanted to see the differences between our experiences and theirs."

## Braving Through Chaos and Uncertainty, Using Actions to Make Changes

"Writing was like a self-healing process." Chen Yi-Zhen recalled. Every long holiday, they would gather at Yu Yi-Te's home in Pingtung to write and discuss the content. During the discussions they realized, "It is what it is! Why can't we just let it go?"

"It's not our fault our peoples intermarry or the indigenous peoples are becoming more urbanized. It's not up to us that we have a "messy lineage"; we can't get an



The “No-names” interviewed and documented the life stories of twenty plains indigenous youths. The interviews were compiled into a book that was published in 2019.

indigenous ID, or do not have an authentic community experience. We were born and raised in this generation and this is the overall situation we grew up in. We’re just trying to figure out a feasible direction among all the choices.” Chen-Yi-Zhen said frankly.

\* People who are “not like an indigenous person” due to intermarrying or certain traits would joke that they have a “messy lineage”.

After completing and publishing the book *The No-Names* (沒有名字的人), the five authors do not have any further writing plans at the moment. Yu Yi-Te shared that “writing helped us get through that chaotic and uncertain period. Back then we had the anxiety of ‘are we indigenous or not’, but now we are more resilient. We do these things because we want to, not because of our lineage.” There are four members currently working on research related to indigenous peoples’ cultures. They firmly believe that writing is not the only way to make changes.

Now, they do not feel that their identity is a burden anymore. “People don’t know you, they don’t know your people, either. It’s not something you can change with a few words. Later I realized that ‘actual action’ is key.” Chen-Yi-Zhen said. “Regardless of which peoples the

person belongs to, the way they use their bodies and actions to carry out their own thoughts and beliefs is more important than a lineage certification or household registry.”

### With Facebook, the Group can Act Faster

Although *The No-names* is not an activist group, they are still very active in indigenous communities and are all members of the Indigenous Youth Front. They often show their support of indigenous issues under the name “*The No-names*” to express the opinions of plains indigenous youths.

Facebook was on the rise when this group of young people, which were born in the 1990s, formed *The No-names*. “The new tool gave us a platform to swiftly react, disperse information and publish articles.” Yu Yi-Te commented. Chen Yi-Zhen explained that in the past, social movements relied heavily on interpersonal relationships - people had to actually meet and know each other. “But with Facebook, we can spread the word out faster. Every community or club has a leader, if we can reach out to the leader, it would be the same as contacting all the university students in that community or club.”

The five-people team visited many Taiwan plains indigenous peoples’ villages to collect stories.



With the internet readily at hand, strategies for disseminating information have become more flexible. On Facebook, *The No-names* tells long stories about the lives of each member. Compared with serious and rigid statements, the captivating narrative is more accessible and easily accepted. The *No-name* accumulated a lot of fans within a short time and successfully raised awareness on indigenous issues. Chen Yi-Zhen pointed out that “a lot of readers commented that they felt something after reading our stories and began to seek out their roots, too.” This also affected other indigenous communities and they started to use more approachable ways to share their life stories on Facebook.

### Reaching Out to More People

The indigenous movements in the 1980s talked about land ownership, name rectification, saving underage prostitutes, and labor rights. “Now we are still talking about land ownership, but in more detail. And thanks to the internet, these ‘case study’ type issues can reach more people faster.” Yu Yi-Te explained. For example, the Jhihben optoelectronic development project, Oppose Meiliwan movement, nuclear waste on Orchid Island case, and the forced relocation of Ljavek Community in Kaohsiung are all regional issues and involve different policies and regulations.

“We realized that a lot of issues are not just the problem of one certain group or community, but exist on a regional, social class, or gender level.” Chen Yi-Zhen pointed out. For example, in the Ljavek Community forced relocation case, the two opposing parties are the government and the residents who are fighting for justice of the right to adequate housing and land ownership rights. For gender issues, they are fighting against the patriarchy.

This new generation is extending their scope from the petitions of past indigenous movements and gaining experience from different issues. When Chen Yi-Zhen was in university, he was exposed to the issue of “anti-commodification of education”. He learned how to study related provisions, how to form his discourse, and use this as a foundation to write speaking notes. He even learned to make tree diagrams to show all different aspects of the issue, their relations, and how to respond to the challenges. “Later this became a habit. If I encounter an issue, I’d go look up the related provisions and try to form my own or the group’s discourse.”

When they began, they were trying to figure out their names while actively being involved in indigenous peoples’ issues. Now they have found a feasible direction and are marching onward to find the answers.



# Bringing the Voice of Taiwan Indigenous Peoples to the World

## WE THE PEOPLES LIMA Taiwan Indigenous Youth Working Group 我人民

NOSOTROS LOS PUEBLOS

United Nations  
Permanent Forum  
on Indigenous Issues



*A small group with a lot of power! This new-generation indigenous youth organization with less than twenty people is dedicated to learning about international issues and actively participating in UN organizations to speak out for indigenous peoples in Taiwan. They also bring what they have learned from other countries back to their communities to expand local mindsets.*

Written by Tang Zu-Xiang; Photo credit: LIMA Taiwan Indigenous Youth Working Group; Translated by Chen Deh-I

It all started in 2006. Tuhi Martukaw, who was still studying diplomacy in university, traveled with Taiwan Foundation for Democracy and took part in the UNPFII, a high-level advisory body to the UN Economic and Social Council, and its planetary meetings. She was very inspired by the indigenous representatives from around the world she met there and thus made this event something she wanted to participate in every year.

When she was studying in Europe, Tuhi began to seek out like-minded people who were also

interested in indigenous issues. Most of their first meetings happened in airports: some flew in all the way from Taiwan, and some were overseas students. Most of them had never met before. However, since they did not know each other beforehand, there were often disagreements in opinions and ideas. Considering the fact that this group of people is going to represent the image of Taiwan indigenous peoples to the world when they participate in international events, Tuhi started to think about finding other partners which shared common ideas and beliefs.

Bringing International Experiences Back to Taiwan.

We want to let the world know about the existence and situation of Taiwan indigenous peoples and also bring global topics and issues back to Taiwan.



### Let's Join Hands and Take Part in the International Society

Tuhi returned to Taiwan after completing her studies. She later met a group of like-minded indigenous young people at various social movements and training lectures that she gave. The group tested out the waters with study groups. Many meetings and interactions later, they gradually agreed that they could form a team. Thus LIMA Taiwan Indigenous Youth Working Group (hereafter referred to as "LIMA") was officially established in 2013.

In the Austronesian language, "lima" means the number five, it also means "hand". Eleng, who is one of the members, stressed that the name of the group symbolizes everything the indigenous people have are all made by hand. It also means that they want to link hands with their community members and connect with the international society.

LIMA is a diverse group with members from different backgrounds, such as law, diplomacy, building and planning, and languages. The eighteen members come from the Paiwan, Pinuyumayan, Rukai, Bunun, and Atayal peoples, respectively. When LIMA was first established,



LIMA actively participates in international conferences where they share the situation of Taiwan indigenous peoples with their global counterparts.

most of them were still in university or graduate school. Some of them have lived in the city for a long time, and some grew up in their villages and moved north for further education.

### Telling the World Loudly “I am a Taiwan Indigenous Person!”

Besides continuously following and being involved in international indigenous affairs, LIMA is also dedicated to training local youths. From 2013 to 2019, a couple of LIMA members attended the annual major event – UNPFII. Before they left Taiwan, LIMA hosted several pre-departure study groups to empower and train the members. Using the work reports of certain issues discussed in UNPFII as an introduction, members were asked to think about the correlations between Taiwan and international indigenous issues. Response and presentation skills were also part of the training before the trip to the UN. In the past few years, the group members have accumulated a deep understanding of good governance, climate change, transitional justice, and sustainable development.

LIMA does not have a class distinction in core cadres and general members. Everyone can speak their mind during the discussion or decision-making process, and conclusions are reached by consensus and not majority decision. “If there are different opinions, we continue to discuss the issue and let everyone express themselves clearly.” Said Tuhi. Thus LIMA often extends their discussion time until everyone reaches a consensus and generates a conclusion.

The two-week-long UNPFII gathers indigenous representatives from all over the globe. On average there are two thousand participants per year. Usually,

before the official forum starts, task teams representing the global indigenous peoples, indigenous women, and indigenous youth do pre-forum prep work. They collect and compile suggestions from all parties into a statement that will be issued at the official forum. LIMA’s suggestions are also included in the statements. During the regional Asia and Pacific task team meetings, some LIMA members serve as cadres and would interact with indigenous representatives from the two regions. Representatives from the Philippines and Indonesia have also extended visit invitations to LIMA members, strengthening the bonds between the parties.

### Although Faced with Oppression, Our International Friends Are There to Help

When LIMA is participating in international affairs, the most common challenge they encounter is oppression from China. It is very difficult for Taiwan to take part in international organizations and events. Every year, LIMA members cannot register on the UNPFII website with Taiwan addresses and telephone numbers. If the email address ends with “.tw”, it will be rejected. Therefore, members can only register under other countries’ organizations. Fortunately, international indigenous groups that understand Taiwan’s situation are always happy to help out.

Once Eleng flew to Rome to attend a UNFAO meeting, yet she was not allowed to enter the venue. “Taiwan is not a member of the UN, so I couldn’t get in, even with an invitation.” Eleng sighed. Fortunately, they had long-term friends inside the venue and those participants helped her present LIMA’s suggestions on food crisis via con-call from a cafe outside.



LIMA actively interacts with the international society because they want to not only let the world hear the voice of Taiwan, but also remind the world of the existence of Taiwan indigenous peoples. Tuhi expressed that “a lot of countries don’t even know there are indigenous peoples in Taiwan, let alone our situation. We want to tell everyone about us and also bring international topics back to Taiwan.” After returning to Taiwan from the events, LIMA hosts workshops in villages or universities to share their experiences at international conferences. This gives youths from different generations and peoples a chance to know more about international indigenous peoples’ affairs and inspire a broader mindset among them.

“You cannot just look at things from your perspective. You must expand the scope of your vision.” For Eleng, LIMA is like the messenger that brings international experiences and ideas back to Taiwan. Now when someone runs into related issues, they would come and ask LIMA about relevant cases around the world. Tuhi observed that initially many village youths did not dare to express themselves openly, but after a couple of years of interacting with LIMA, discussions became more frequent and livelier during workshops and events. These gradual changes proved that LIMA’s hard work has not been in vain.

### The Flame of Our Mission will Never Go Out

As members slowly graduate from school and enter a new phase of life, LIMA is also adjusting their operation methods and members are now bringing their experiences and capabilities in indigenous affairs into their respective careers. For example, Eleng works at the Indigenous Center at the Legal Aid Foundation Hualien Branch where she helps community members deal with legal matters related to conflicts between indigenous traditional



customs and the nation’s legal system. Tuhi is currently working for her Ph.D. and is also involved in village research projects. Other members are at the front lines teaching or working at Taiwan Indigenous Culture Park. Some are lecturers at the Council of Indigenous Peoples’ International Affairs Training Camp where they share their experiences with the participants.

Throughout these years, members take part in the events during their free time, and sometimes they simply do not have the extra time after they have taken care of their work or studies. Eleng admitted that they wish they had steady funding to support the operation of LIMA. Then the group can solely focus on social advocacy.

Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, UNPFII canceled physical forums for two consecutive years. Tuhi revealed that recently LIMA received a collaboration project inquiry from the European Economic and Trade Office in Taiwan and that may be LIMA’s next project. “Let LIMA keep in contact with the world and we can do more for the local people.” There is no end to LIMA’s mission, for it is a growing process that will keep on going.

The name “LIMA” means the number “five” and also symbolizes that the group wants to take the hands of their community members and connect with the world.



Taking Part in the Protests Against CP Enterprise in Hualien

## The Hualien Central District Youth Team



*The construction plan of the six poultry farms ignited the largest environmental protection protest movement in recent years in Hualien. Following the examples of their uncles and elder brothers, the youth of Tafalong Community are stepping up to defend their community and protect their people.*

Written by **Chen Yi-Ru**; Photo credit: **Frank**  
Translated by **Chen Deh-I**

Located in Guangfu Township, Hualien, Tafalong Community is the largest Pangcah community in Taiwan. It also has a Mandarin name - Futian ("abundant fields") because of its rich soil and plentiful harvests. However, this beautiful pastoral scene was disrupted after the commercial cattle farms appeared.

In 2018, Taiwan Charoen Pokphand Enterprise (CP Enterprise) planned to build six poultry farms in Hualien. The farms are located in Guangfu, Fenglin, and Shoufeng Townships, respectively, and five of them have already obtained operation licenses. However, one of the poultry farms is only 1 kilometer away from Tafalong Community and merely 300 meters away from Fahol Community. In addition, 400 meters beyond the

planned poultry farm, there is a larger cattle farm that is near completion and waiting for its stock farming license.

### Stepping Up to Protect Our Lands

Because this impacts the communities' land and environment, a number of townships and Communities organized self-help organizations to protest against CP Enterprise. The movement, which became the largest environmental protest event in recent Hualien, not only collected over ten thousand signatures but also led to a thousand-people march. Among the many self-help organizations, the Hualien Central District Youth Team

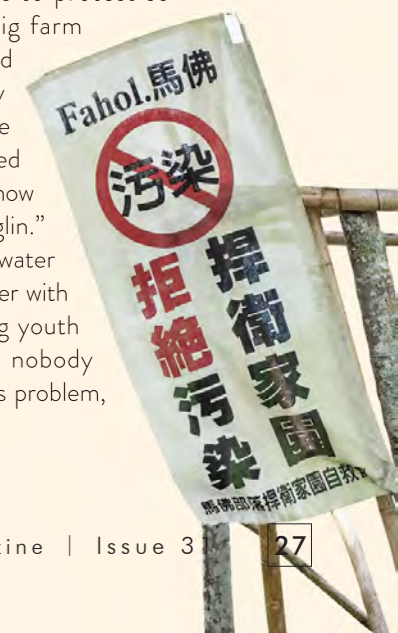
Becoming the Defenses of Our Community  
and Protecting the Rights of Our People.

Young people are the defense of the community! In the past, we were the ones protected inside, now it's our turn to protect our people!



is composed of community members from Tafalong Community, Fahol Community, and local young people who care about social issues. Twenty-nine years old Tafalong youth Lin Wei-Fu is one of the team's cadres.

What caused the local residents to protest so strongly? Three decades ago, pig farm operators entered the village and severely affected the community members' living environment. "In the past, the residents in Guangfu used water from Guangfu Township, but now they have to get water from Fenglin." Lin explained, "because the wastewater from the pig farms polluted the river with bacterium coli." Another Tafalong youth Sun Zhi-Guo added, "back then nobody knew it would cause such a serious problem, so no one stepped up to oppose it."





When CP Enterprise set up factories in the western part of Taiwan, there were a lot of pollution issues including wastewater and odor problems. In 2020, it was revealed that the company dumped meat paste illegally in Changhua and polluted various areas of land. Seeing these past cases, the angry community members quickly united and ignited a blaze of protests.

### Carrying On the Strength and will Our Elder Brothers Showed Us

Lin Wei-Fu, who came forward to protect his community, admitted he did not have much impression of his community before this. During his second year in elementary school, his family moved to Hualien City. He later studied and worked in Taoyuan and only returned to the village four years ago to take care of his ailing grandfather.

During his first year back in the community, Lin attended adult classes for community rituals. That's where he heard a senior member say, "the young people are the defense of the community!". His words left a strong impression on Lin. Lin Wei-Fu believes that "regardless of the outcome, we need to be on the front lines. And now I am here, I should keep the bad things out of our village. This is what our elder brothers taught us."

According to his research, CP Enterprise's poultry farms are located next to the "ga-nang-nang" (Damo) River, which is an important irrigation water source of the village. If wastewater from the farms is released into the

river, it will flow downstream directly. "Does that mean we have to irrigate our rice with manure water? Chicken farms also cause air pollution. And there are so many elders and children in the village, how can we force them to endure the stench every day?"

### Linking Together the Regions to Protect Our Homes

Initially, the village was oblivious to the poultry farm plans. It was not until 2019 when CP Enterprise started construction work at Fengping Village in Shoufeng did the residents realize what was going on. Local protests reached their peak last year. The main protesting force of Fenglin Township, which has the densest distribution of poultry farms, is the Fenglin Self-help Organization. They collaborated with communities and self-help organizations from different regions to organize marches. The groups also visited Hualien County Magistrate Xu Zhen-Wei and filed a petition, and some community members even traveled to Taipei to protest outside of the CP Enterprise press conference. At the same time, community members continued to send out information on online communities to magnify their voices. Since the opinions of the elders carry weight in communities, Lin Wei-Fu drew out the area which will be affected by the poultry farms and assembled community leaders to discuss the severity of the issue.

Faced with these protests, CP Enterprise responded with a "zero communication" policy and simply stated that everything the company did was legal. The company did not hold any explanation sessions. "CP Enterprise is



unwilling to respond to us and explain themselves when we have so many questions. This makes us residents even more anxious," said Tafalong Community youth Wang Jian-Nian.

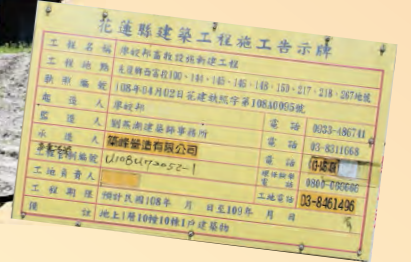
He pointed out the problem is caused by a grey area in related legislation. According to Article 21 in *The Indigenous Peoples Basic Law*, when governments or private parties engage in land development on indigenous land or adjoining land, they should consult and obtain consent from the indigenous community members. However, the provisions excluded privately-owned lands. Since the CP Enterprise poultry farm and cattle farm are set on privately-owned lands, the company is not breaking any laws if they refuse to hold explanation sessions. Wang pointed out that this is a loophole in the original Article, and it basically adds a "privately-owned lands excluded" clause to the provisions.

Due to the strong opposition from the residents, Hualien County Government revoked CP Enterprise's licenses in June 2020, citing that CP Enterprise did not reach a consensus with the local residents. The County Government also began to draft the "Management Ordinance of Setting up New Livestock Farms". Unhappy with the outcome, CP Enterprise filed an appeal, and the results came out this March: the Executive Yuan's Council of Agriculture ruled that Hualien County Government should "revoke the original disposition". In response, the County Government expressed that they remain firm in revoking the licenses and sent back the written statement to the Council of Agriculture for deliberation.

While the community members were protesting against CP Enterprise, some villagers found out the company was also building a cattle farm nearby. However, the farm was registered as a privately-owned institution. Members from the Tafalong Community went to protest outside of the construction site by lighting fire beacons and building stone walls. Community leaders and village chiefs also went there to show their support,



The cattle farm's drainage is connected to the water channel and may pollute the land and water source.



unfortunately in the end they still could not stop the construction.

### If You don't Try, There will be No Chance At All

Lin felt defeated by the outcome. During the construction period, he drove by the cattle farm site almost every day. "Watching it grow from a little bit to that thing you see now, the helplessness in your heart grows with it."

Someone jokingly asked Lin how much money did he make by going to protests? And is he doing all of this because he is trying to get elected village chief? Actually, all members in the Hualien Central District Youth Team have day jobs and they come to these events and movements when they have free time. All expenses come out of their own pockets. Yet these attention-grabbing events are still often misunderstood or questioned by others.

Community elders also oppose CP Enterprise, but they would say, "we used to be like you, but after a long time we realize it is futile". However, all of this has never swayed Lin Wei-Fu's determination. "I'm stubborn, I need to fight to the last minute." He said. "Don't just talk about the cases that failed, I could become the case that won. If you don't try, you have no chance at all." Sun Zhi-Guo added, "this fire cannot be extinguished. Because development projects and factory constructions will keep on coming. If we allow the first one, it would be very difficult for the younger generations to keep the later projects out."

Every time he feels defeated, Lin Wei-fu encourages himself with the defense concept. "Young people have to be at the front lines of the community. When we were young, our uncles and elder brothers did this, they blocked out many things we did not know about. We used to be the ones protected inside, now it's our turn to protect the others!"

# What are Young People Doing on the Streets?

A Glimpse at Present through Objects

Since the Wild Lily Student Movement in 1990, the 2014 Sunflower Student Movement has been the largest protest activity in Taiwan. This protest has demonstrated the influence of students and young people, as well as the important role that social media and information technology play. They are vital in connecting the network of protesters and spreading their arguments. As soon as smartphones were invented and rolled out, and Facebook became prevalent, the era where everyone becomes a “self-media” person has arrived. Now the way that young people engage themselves in social movements would amaze you.

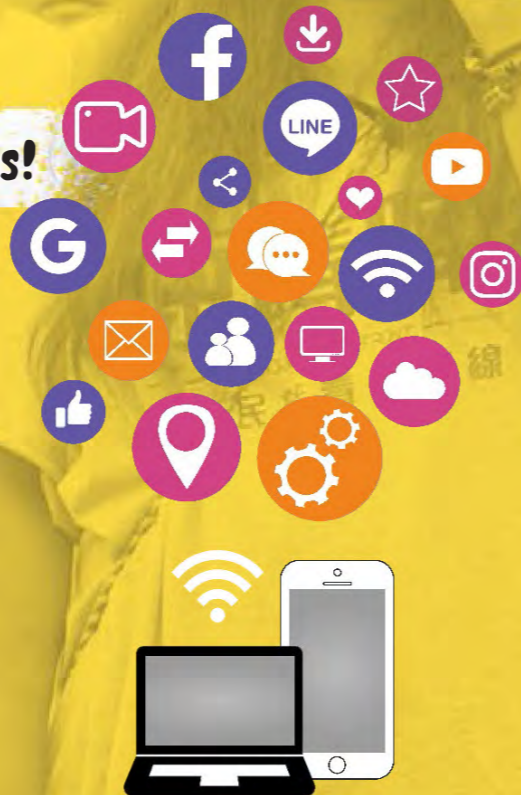
Written by Kuo Po-Jiun; Photo credit: The Indigenous Youth Front; Illustrated by Shutterstock  
Translated by Lai Yu-Hsuan

## Internet, Laptops, and Smartphones!

### Instant News Takes You by Surprise

With the invention of smartphones and the prevalence of the Internet after 2010, everyone can get information and send messages with his smartphone anytime. These gadgets that enable information flow have changed the way the whole generation think, and hence the strategies and routes of social movements.

With smartphones and laptop computers in hand, a phone call, a piece of email, a photograph, or a report is likely to be used as a bargaining counter for protesters. At a protest, protesters can take pictures of and video record the scene, or live-stream what is happening on-site. They can also release news on various types of mass media platforms and bridge different social groups to inspire netizens' participation in protests.



## Facebook

### Real-Time Support from Fans and Friends

Facebook was introduced to Taiwan in 2008. Its “hit like” function used to be a fad among the old and young. Other functions include fan pages, check-ins, events, and tagging. No matter where you have been to, what you want to do, and whom you want to invite, you can always receive answers and responses. This attraction effect also makes political flash mobs organised by a small group of people possible.

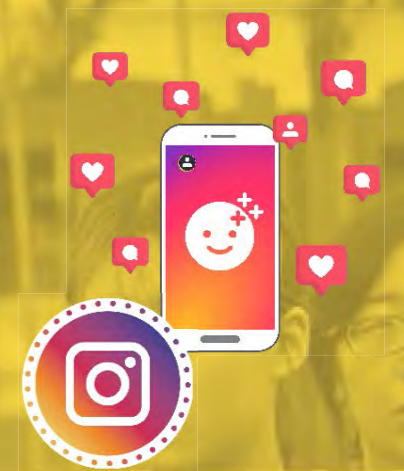
In addition to socialising function, users can also write long blogs on Facebook. Many young people compose long articles on fan pages or in Facebook groups to systematically elaborate on their arguments. Therefore, readers have time to digest information and then share and forward it. This is how young users can exert influence on Facebook.



## Instagram Stories

### Ideas Going Viral

“Facebook is for the old generation. Young people are now into Instagram!” Since Instagram launched “Instagram Stories” function with each story feed of roughly 10 seconds lasting only for 24 hours, it has successfully lured the hearts of young people. Young people record their feelings or situation at the moment, and their friends or audience share these stories and leave replies or comments. This type of instant messaging helps promote and spread key issues.



## Memes

### Derivative Work Brainwashes People

When it comes to memes of a confused Nick Young or “I suck” created by Taiwanese locally, do these images pop up in your mind immediately? Memes of parody or satire are an emerging trend on the Internet. A variety of meme groups have mushroomed. In particular, political memes are young people’s new favourites. Their popularity on social media platforms has indirectly elevated the public interest in politics. Well-designed memes can be spread rapidly or re-created easily. The fact that memes cost nothing, but can widely disseminate someone’s mindset or ideas makes them great assets in the information battle of the modern digitalised world.



## Profile Picture Frames

### Apply, Show Position, and Keep Up with the Latest Trends

Facebook’s profile picture frame enables users to design picture frames, so other people can know their mentality on a particular issue at the first glimpse at a picture frame. Most importantly, these frames can be made available for other users or fans to copy in order to show their stance and attract more followers.



# Nation vs. Community

## Where does Indigenous Peoples' Transitional Justice Go from Here?

Written by **yapasuoyngh akuyana** (General Director of Association for Taiwan Indigenous Peoples' Policy)  
Translated by **Lai Yu-Hsuan**

“

*To solve long-standing problems, we have to honestly face up to their root causes resulting from historical prosecution and injustice. I believe only when we treat the pain from history, can we turn the historical suppression of the indigenous peoples, into shared historical memories of all peoples in Taiwan, and bring about true reconciliation and transitional justice. On this basis, together we can pursue the future of Taiwan.*

*Presidential candidate, Tsai Ing-Wen  
(talk on indigenous peoples' policies, 2015/8/1)*

”

“

*The success of one ethnic people can be built on the suffering of another. Unless we deny that we are a country of justice, we must face up to this history. We just tell the truth, and then, most importantly, the government must genuinely reflect on this past. This is why I stand here today.*

*President Tsai Ing-Wen  
(an official apology to Taiwan's indigenous peoples on behalf of the government, 2016/8/1)*

”

Since its establishment in 2016, the Presidential Office Indigenous Historical Justice and Transitional Justice Committee (hereafter referred to as Indigenous Justice Committee), has touched upon important issues such as indigenous peoples' autonomy, land, education, human rights, communities, name restoration. Many more problems ranging from the relocation of nuclear waste on Orchid Island, solutions to deprivation of indigenous peoples' rights to land, to long-running discrimination are faced by indigenous peoples in all levels of society. However, reflecting on the fact that the work on indigenous peoples' transitional justice faces a large predicament and has made things worse. Another illustration of this is the Constitutional Interpretation No. 803 concerning indigenous hunting released by Judicial Yuan on the 7<sup>th</sup> of May this year. The interpretation itself is full of “understandings” and “guidance” solely from the aspect of mainstream society.

Indigenous peoples' transitional justice is marathon work, which requires not only the people of Taiwan, but also their sound mentality to continuously push forward having a long running plan. This historical lesson is difficult and complex, yet the Indigenous Justice Committee, which has only started for 6 years and organised 15 meetings, is still in its nascent phase of transitional justice.



Constitutional Interpretation No. 803

### Scrutinising 2 Perspectives of Transitional Justice by Practising Indigenous Peoples' Collective Rights

Perspectives 1

#### Establishment and operations of the Indigenous Justice Committee, thematic sub-committees, and relevant government agencies

The Indigenous Justice Committee is set under the Presidential Office, and serves as a platform for consultation between the government and various indigenous peoples on an equal footing. In effect, without specific statutory power, the Committee can only rely on the thematic sub-committee conveners, who are unpaid, to set an annual work agenda, and then raise funds from relevant government agencies. Maintaining and coordinating the sources of funds for thematic sub-committees have ended up being the most important mission of the Indigenous Justice Committee. Furthermore, when fundamental issues such as indigenous peoples' land, history, languages, and culture are involved, not only is communication within the society necessary, but the existing regulations and relevant administrative authorities will also have to be challenged. The major staff unit of the Indigenous Justice Committee is the Council of Indigenous Peoples whose Minister also takes on the position as the executive secretary of the Indigenous Justice Committee. In this case, how are we going to expect that the Committee could rightly ensure political impartiality and assist indigenous peoples, in our entirety, in the negotiation with the government on an equal footing? When the line between power and responsibility is ambiguous, the Council of Indigenous Peoples might intervene in the independent working of the Committee.

Perspectives 2

#### Appointments and nomination of a representative for each indigenous people.

Election of the committee members representing the various indigenous peoples shall be completed within four months, with the Council of Indigenous Peoples providing assistance to indigenous peoples or ethnic groups. It has been found that the committee members, who have been appointed through the assembly of the various indigenous peoples, community meetings, or existing ethnic councils, can better represent each indigenous people and their collective consciousness. On the contrary, if representatives are bound by the government administration, or who used to be legislators, most of their proposals only take care of their responsibility as a central or local governmental legislator (proposals such as increasing the indigenous reserved land, slope reinforcement construction, installation of speed camera, etc.). If so, the Indigenous Justice Committee will end up being a part of parliament, or local council and therefore incur a lot of criticism. As President Tsai Ing-wen stressed, the goal of setting up the Indigenous Justice Committee is to “clarify historical facts, spur societal communication, and put forward policy proposals, and seek reconciliation among different ethnic groups.” The truth is there has been little discussion about issues concerning the government and the indigenous peoples. Examples include the responsibility of treating nuclear waste on Orchid Island, Asia Cement's mining rights, and land registration report of Lintianshan.

### What is the Next Step for Indigenous Peoples' Transitional Justice?

The experience with several colonial powers has weakened the internalised control of indigenous peoples. Democracy and the voting system in the modern world have only helped justify the legitimacy of colonial power's suppression, but has done little to help the indigenous peoples out of the plight. To make things worse, vested interests resulting from political exploitations accelerate the collapse of traditional indigenous community structure. The government uses “seemingly beneficial welfare policies” to take care of indigenous peoples, but all these policies do is speed up the loss of indigenous languages, cultures, and land. In addition, indigenous peoples have been put on display to showcase the country's multiculturalist policies.

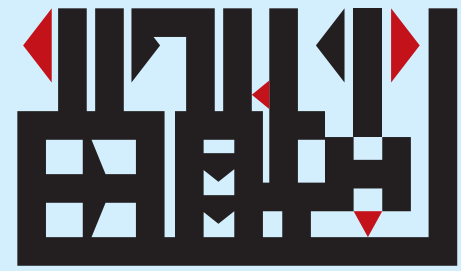
Only when the differences among diversified cultures are recognised; the fact of indigenous peoples being colonised and our autonomous governance being deprived is acknowledged, the relationships between the government and indigenous peoples will then be restored. Indigenous peoples need to play a role

in the political system in our Constitution, and the ruling party has to follow three principles of mutual acknowledgement, agreement, and cultural continuity when it tries to listen and understand indigenous peoples. Transitional justice will be made possible when both engage continuously and painstakingly in the discussion of the constitutional system appropriate for their generation.

*Only when the past sufferings of Taiwan's indigenous peoples are understood; the rights of Taiwan's indigenous peoples will be returned, then the mainstream society's “transitional justice” and “restorative justice” can be achieved ethically, theoretically, and practically. All ethnic groups in Taiwan can consequently be reconciled and healed.*

*Hao-Jen Wu, “The Rehabilitation of ‘the Savage’”*

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See the 31<sup>st</sup> issue for the section Seasoned >>



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# Passing the Baton

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