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**SOCIAL POLICIES AND INDIGENOUS
PEOPLES IN TAIWAN**

ELDERLY CARE AMONG THE TAYAL

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DOCTORAL THESIS

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores how Taiwanese social policy deals with Indigenous peoples in caring for Tayal elderly. By delineating care for the elderly both in policy and practice, the study examines how relationships between indigeneity and coloniality are realized in today's multicultural Taiwan.

Decolonial scholars have argued that greater recognition of Indigenous rights is not the end of Indigenous peoples' struggles. Social policy has much to learn from encountering its colonial past, in particular its links to colonization and assimilation. Meanwhile, coloniality continues to make the Indigenous perspective invisible, and imperialism continues to frame Indigenous peoples' contemporary experience in how policies are constructed. This research focuses on tensions between state recognition and Indigenous peoples' everyday experience of the policies of national long-term care in the case of a specific indigenous group, the Tayal. My research questions are: (a) What are "Indigenous problems" represented to be in the long-term care (LTC) policies in Taiwan? (b) How do the Tayal experience care in a care center funded by the nation state? How is the policy contested in their everyday experiences? What alternative visions of care do the Tayal have? (c) What are the discrepancies between the policy and practice of LTC for the elderly? And how do they reflect the relationship between coloniality and indigeneity in multicultural Taiwan?

An Indigenous research paradigm is utilized as a critical lens to examine the contexts of care for the elderly. The rationale of this approach is that it counters the effects from the fact that research is inextricably linked to colonialism and imperialism and that conventional research tends to treat Indigenous peoples as mere research objects. For this reason, this study has incorporated an epistemological and methodological positioning that is devoted to indigenizing research and employs it to understand the concepts of aging and care. Tracing the multiplicity of meanings of the elderly and care and presuppositions behind the dominant biomedical perspective, this dissertation draws from the Indigenous research paradigm and broadens the concept of elderly care with perspectives of relationality, sacredness of life, humanness, interconnectedness and co-existence.

The study employs two methods for answering the questions posed above. On the one hand, in order to answer the first research question, it utilizes critical policy analysis to explicate the "problems" in long-term care policy as problematizations which are constituted in discourse. Data from seven social policy documents produced in 2013–2018 are used to examine how "Indigenous problems" are constructed in Taiwanese long-term care policy. On the other hand, in order to provide answers to the second research question, the study utilizes critical ethnography to explore the perspectives of elderly Indigenous people. I utilize ethnographic fieldnotes and interviews

about care stories of the experiences of elderly Tayal people conducted primarily in 2016–2018 to examine how care is practiced and experienced by the *bnkis* (Tayal elders) in a state-funded “Day Club”. The study grounds the experience of the Tayal by reflecting on their experiences through the Indigenous research paradigm, in which I use the term “Tayal hermeneutics” as a way to privilege their voices in reconfiguring the concept of care. Results from these two research tasks are analyzed to shed light on the relationship between coloniality and indigeneity through investigating the dynamics between policy and practice in Taiwan.

The study identified three policy frames on caring for Indigenous peoples that can be delineated from the policy discourses. They are the frame of secludedness, the frame of inadequacy and the frame of culture. These frames exhibit the grounds and lens the state has utilized to create and produce the “Indigenous problem”. The policy frames of secludedness and inadequacy fix Indigenous elderly into disabled seniors and depoliticize care as a logistical distribution and lack of staff with biomedical expertise. On the other hand, the frame of culture privileges culture as a critical component to good care. Contrary to the depoliticized and victimizing stance of the previous two frames, the frame of culture also creates space where Indigenous peoples can act and find solutions on their own. On the other hand, the ethnographic analysis found that the state’s organization of care for Indigenous peoples generates an uneasy tension among the intermediaries (care workers) and the *bnkis* in the Day Club. The tension arises because idealized “tribal care” promoted in the Day Club turns a blind eye on the fluid, contextual and living Tayal culture that lays ground to the kind of care that the *bnkis* prefer. Investigation of experiences of the *bnkis* shows that the Day Club is nevertheless appropriated, re-purposed and re-defined by the Tayal community to negotiate identities and contest predominant the conceptualizations of aging and care. Thus, Tayal hermeneutics offers novel alternatives to understanding care as living well.

These findings suggest that, contrary to Taiwan’s promise to recognize Indigenous rights, the care policy shows in its construction of “Indigenous problem” and Tayal elders’ experience that no matter how multicultural Taiwan claims to be, the approach to accommodate Indigenous elders still derives from a middle class, urban, Han-Chinese norm. The current care system in Taiwan individualizes, generalizes and medicalizes what care ought to be, and marginalizes what Indigenous elders’ view of good care is.

The novelty of this study lies in its aspiration to develop Indigenous epistemology and Tayal hermeneutics in the context of care. These perspectives allow us to encapsulate that different dimensions of living well and the Tayal visions of care in the Day Club should be valued and cherished. A wholistic, relational and Indigenous-informed approach in care is needed to reform Taiwanese long-term care policies. Moreover, the results of this research contribute to literature in critical policy analysis, care studies, Indigenous studies, critical gerontology and Taiwan studies, as they raise

important questions about what indigeneity is and the role that the nation state plays in the making of social policy for Indigenous elders.

TIIVISTELMÄ

Tässä väitöskirjassa tutkitaan, miten Taiwanin sosiaalipolitiikassa käsitellään atayalin alkuperäiskansaan kuuluvien vanhusten hoivaa. Tutkimuksessa tarkastellaan vanhustenhoivan politiikkaa ja käytäntöä ja selvitetään, miten alkuperäiskansalaisuuden ja koloniaalisuuden väliset suhteet toteutuvat nykypäivän monikulttuurisessa Taiwanissa.

Dekolonialisaation tutkijat ovat esittäneet, että alkuperäiskansojen oikeuksien parempi tunnustaminen ei ole lopettanut alkuperäiskansojen taistelua. Sosiaalipolitiikalla on paljon opittavaa koloniaalisen menneisyytensä kohtaamisesta ja erityisesti sen yhteyksistä kolonisaatioon ja assimilaatioon. Koloniaalisuus jatkaa alkuperäiskansojen näkökulman piilottamista, ja imperialismi kehystää edelleen alkuperäiskansojen nykyisiä kokemuksia julkispolitiikkojen kehittämisestä. Tässä tutkimuksessa keskitytään valtion osoittaman huomion ja alkuperäiskansojen jokapäiväisen kokemuksen välisiin jännitteisiin kansallisen pitkäaikaishoivan politiikoissa tietyn alkuperäiskansan, atayalien, osalta. Tutkimuskysymyksiäni ovat: a) Mitä ”alkuperäiskansoihin liittyviä ongelmia” Taiwanin pitkäaikaishoivan politiikassa on? b) Millaisena atayalit kokevat hoivan kansallisvaltion rahoittamassa hoivakeskuksessa? Miten politiikkaa kyseenalaistetaan heidän jokapäiväisissä kokemuksissaan? Mitä vaihtoehtoisia näkemyksiä hoivasta atayaleilla on? c) Mitä eroja vanhusten pitkäaikaishoivapolitiikan ja -käytännön välillä on? Entä miten erot heijastavat koloniaalisuuden ja alkuperäiskansalaisuuden välistä suhdetta monikulttuurisessa Taiwanissa?

Alkuperäiskansojen tutkimusparadigmaa käytetään kriittisenä näkökulmana vanhustenhoivan kontekstien tutkimiseen. Tämän lähestymistavan perusteena on sellaisten vaikutusten torjuminen, jotka johtuvat tutkimuksen kytkeytymisestä erottamattomasti kolonialismiin ja imperialismiin ja perinteisen tutkimuksen taipumuksesta kohdella alkuperäiskansoja pelkinä tutkimusobjekteina. Tästä syystä tähän tutkimukseen on sisällytetty epistemologinen ja metodologinen asetelma, jossa pyritään tutkimuksen indigenisointiin sekä ikääntymisen ja hoivan käsitteiden ymmärtämiseen. Tässä väitöskirjassa jäljitetään vanhusten hoivan moninaisia merkityksiä sekä vallitsevan biolääketieteellisen näkökulman taustalla olevia oletuksia. Väitöskirja perustuu alkuperäiskansojen tutkimusparadigmaan, ja siinä laajennetaan vanhustenhoivan käsitettä relationaalisuuden, elämän pyhyden, inhimillisyyden, keskinäisen riippuvuuden ja rinnakkaiselon näkökulmiin.

Tutkimuksessa vastataan edellä esitettyihin kysymyksiin kahden menetelmän avulla. Ensimmäiseen tutkimuskysymykseen vastaamiseen käytetään kriittistä policy-analyysiä, jolla selitetään pitkäaikaishoivapolitiikan ”ongelmat” diskurssissa muodostuvina problematisointeina. Vuosina 2013–2018 laadituista seitsemästä sosiaalipoliittisesta asiakirjasta saatujen tietojen

avulla selvitetään, miten ”alkuperäiskansoihin liittyvät ongelmat” esitetään Taiwanin pitkäaikaishoivapolitiikassa. Vastausten löytämiseksi toiseen tutkimuskysymykseen tutkimuksessa hyödynnetään kriittistä etnografiaa alkuperäiskansaan kuuluvien vanhusten näkökulmien tutkimiseen. Käytän pääasiassa vuosina 2016–2018 tehtyjä etnografisia kenttämuistiinpanoja ja haastatteluja atayal-alkuperäiskansaan kuuluvien vanhusten hoivakokemuksista selvittääkseni, miten hoivaa annetaan ja millaisena *bnkisit* (atayal-alkuperäiskansan vanhukset) kokevat hoivan valtion rahoittamassa päiväkerhossa. Tutkimus pohjaa atayalien kokemuksiin pohtien heidän kokemuksiaan alkuperäiskansojen tutkimusparadigman kautta. Käytän tässä yhteydessä termiä ”atayalien hermeneutiikka” keinona tuoda heidän äänensä kuuluviin hoivan käsitteen uudelleenmäärittelyssä. Näiden kahden tutkimustehtävän tuloksia analysoidaan koloniaalisuuden ja alkuperäiskansalaisuuden välisen suhteen selvittämiseksi tutkimalla politiikan ja käytännön välistä dynamiikkaa Taiwanissa.

Tutkimuksessa määritettiin kolme alkuperäiskansojen hoivaa koskevaa poliittista kehystä, jotka voidaan rajata poliittisista diskursseista. Ne ovat eristäytyneisyyden, vaillinaisuuden ja kulttuurin kehys. Kehykset tuovat esiin ne perusteet ja näkökulmat, joita valtio on käyttänyt ”alkuperäiskansoihin liittyvän ongelman” luomiseen. Eristäytyneisyyden ja vaillinaisuuden poliittiset kehykset yhdistävät alkuperäiskansoihin kuuluvat vanhukset vajaakuntoisiin vanhuksiin ja depolitisoivat hoivan logistisena jakeluna ja asiantuntevan biolääketieteellisen henkilöstön puutteena. Toisaalta kulttuurillinen kehys asettaa kulttuurin keskeiseksi osaksi hyvää hoivaa. Edellisen kahden kehyksen depolitisoivasta ja uhriuttavasta näkökulmasta poiketen kulttuurillinen kehys luo myös tilaa, jossa alkuperäiskansaan kuuluvat voivat toimia ja löytää ratkaisuja itse. Toisaalta etnografisessa analyysissä havaittiin, että valtion tarjoama alkuperäiskansojen hoivajärjestely synnyttää vaikeita jännitteitä välittäjien (hoivatyöntekijät) ja päiväkerhon *bnkisien* keskuudessa. Jännitteet johtuvat siitä, että päiväkerhossa edistetty ihanteellinen ”heimoperusteinen hoiva” sulkee silmänsä muuttuvalta, kontekstuaaliselta ja elävältä atayal-kulttuurilta, joka luo pohjan *bnkisien* kaipaamalle hoivalle. *Bnkisien* kokemuksiin perehtyminen osoittaa, että atayal-yhteisö kuitenkin ottaa haltuun, muotoilee ja määrittelee uudelleen päiväkerhon kyseenalaistaakseen identiteetit sekä ikääntymisen ja hoivan vallitsevat käsitteellistämiset. Näin ollen atayalien hermeneutiikka tarjoaa uusia vaihtoehtoja hoivan ymmärtämiselle hyvänä elämisenä.

Nämä havainnot viittaavat siihen, että huolimatta Taiwanin lupauksesta tunnustaa alkuperäiskansojen oikeudet, hoivapolitiikan tapa konstruoida ”alkuperäiskansoihin liittyvät ongelmat” ja atayal-alkuperäiskansaan kuuluvien vanhusten kokemukset osoittavat, että alkuperäiskansojen vanhusten hoiva perustuu edelleen keskiluokkaiseen, urbaaniin ja hankiinalaiseen normiin. Taiwanin nykyinen hoivajärjestelmä siirtää hoivan

yksilöiden vastuulle sekä yleistää ja medikalisoii sen, mitä hoivan pitäisi olla, ja marginalisoi alkuperäiskansojen vanhusten näkemyksen hyvästä hoivasta.

Tämän tutkimuksen uutuus piilee pyrkimyksessä kehittää alkuperäiskansojen epistemologiaa ja atayalien hermeneutiikkaa hoivan viitekehityksessä. Näiden näkökulmien avulla voidaan kiteyttää, että hyvin elämisen eri ulottuvuuksia ja atayal-alkuperäiskansaan kuuluvien näkemyksiä päiväkerhohoivasta tulee arvostaa ja vaalia. Taiwanin pitkäaikaishoivapolitiikan uudistamiseksi tarvitaan kokonaisvaltaista, relationaalista ja alkuperäiskansojen omaan tietoon pohjautuvaa lähestymistapaa. Lisäksi tämän tutkimuksen tulokset tarjoavat panoksensa kriittistä policy-analyysia, hoivatutkimusta, alkuperäiskansatutkimusta, kriittistä gerontologiaa ja Taiwan-aiheista tutkimusta koskevaan kirjallisuuteen, sillä ne tuovat esiin tärkeitä kysymyksiä siitä, mikä alkuperäiskansa on ja mikä on kansallisvaltion rooli alkuperäiskansoihin kuuluvia vanhuksia koskevan sosiaalipolitiikan toteuttamisessa.

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GLOSSARY

[Tayal]

<i>Terms used in the text</i>	<i>Meanings</i>
Babaw Cinbwanan	the cosmos higher than us, the world above us
Bnkis	Elder (In this manuscript, I use <i>bnkis</i> for both singular and plural.)
Bbnkis	Bnkis in plural form
Cisan (or Cisal)	Story-telling, to “talk a story”
Gaga	The Moral Order of Tayal
Gaga na Cinbwanan	The world of Gaga; The woven world
Hongu Utux	Bridge of the Spirits
Llyung	River
Malahang	To care, caring; to govern
Mrhuw	Leader
Mstaranan	Tayal people living along the river of Taranan
Mqyanux	To live, to survive; living
Ngasal	Home
Psbalay	Blessing, reconciliation
Ptasan	Tattooed face
Qalang	Residence of a group of individuals, which can also be referred to as a homeland, a nation, a country and an autonomous entity.
Qlqalang	Qalang in plural form.
Qnxan	Living
Qnxan na Gaga	Lit. Living the way of Gaga; culture
Qutux Gaga	Lit. Gaga in one, refers to a collective that shares the same ritual from the moral order
Qutux Niqan	Lit. eat in one, refers to a collective who farm, hunt, eat and worship on a land
Qutux Ramu	Lit. blood in one, refers to a collective tied by blood
Rgyax	Mountain
Rrgyax	Mountains
Rhiyal (or Rhzyal)	Land
Tayal	Human
Utux	Higher Spirit
Yaki	Elderly women; grandmother
Yutas	Elderly men; grandfather

[Mandarin Chinese and/or Japanese]

Terms used in the text

Terms in characters

Aiyusen	隘勇線
Buluo	部落
Bùluò wénhuà jiànkāng zhàn	部落文化健康站
Fān	番
Fān jiè	番界
Ino Kanori	伊能嘉矩
Jì huà fù zé rén	計畫負責人
Kuomintang (KMT)	國民黨
Kushshaku fān	屈尺番
Malai fān	馬來番
Mori Ushinosuke	森丑之助
Nainai	奶奶
Qing mian fān	黥面番
Rìban	理番(りばん)
Sāndài tóng tang	三代同堂
Shān bāo	山胞
Shān dì	山地
Shān dì xiāng	山地鄉
Shāndì sān dà yùndòng	山地三大運動
Shēng fān	生番
Shèqū zhěngtǐ zhàogù móshì	社區整體照顧模式
Shou fān	熟番
Tàiyǎ zú	泰雅族
Tsai Ing-wen	蔡英文
Wèishēng suǒ	衛生所
Xué	學
Yuán zhù mín	原住民
Yuán zhùmín yǔ lídǎo jí piānyuǎn dìqū	原住民與離島及偏遠地區
Yuán zhùmíng bǎoliú dì	原住民保留地
Yuán zhù mín zú	原住民族
Zhào Gù Fú Wù Yuán	照顧服務員

1 INTRODUCTION

Swa iyal inlungan nya

Rangi maku gasa laway

Iwan balay nyux cisay nanu

Rangi maku gasa laway¹

Old Tayal song “S’nun” (longing)

A while back, I was leading a group exercise called “What is Your Fullest Name” at the University of Helsinki. Many in attendance were international students. The idea of the exercise was to motivate students to think how their identities are entangled with racial/colonial narrative, ethnicity, religion and migration. I started by sharing how I get my names. The feedback from students was overwhelming: many of them said that it was interesting and stimulated reactions that they had not thought about. Of course, not everyone found the exercise useful. I noticed a tendency that students who roughly align to the category of “people of color” were more responsive and engaged in telling stories of their names. Interestingly, I found out the same tendency in my circle of friends: “people of color” or those working closely with “people of color” were more responsive. This made me start to ponder: does the fact that I have gone through many name changes and feel strongly about this fluidity of identities mean that I am a person of color? Never having regarded myself as a person of color, I was bewildered by the thought.

This dissertation is informed by this journey of exploring my identities and names. The question of identity on the personal level gradually led to the inquiry of “who are the Tayal, and where should we go from here in the nation state?” Throughout this journey, I have actively peeled away layers of confusion and bewilderment. Meanwhile, I have peeked through the cracks of “multicultural Taiwan”, where relationships of indigeneity and coloniality are at work. Let me first address these issues by telling a story of my names and my family.

When I was born, my parents gave me the name “Chen I-An”. Chen was the surname, a family kinship marker that was obligatory to be taken from the

¹我心徬徨不安 My heart is unrest and lost

我的摯友就在那兒 My friend is there

真的好像他現在就在某處 It is as if he is somewhere there

我的摯友就在那兒 My friend is there

father's side; I-An means easygoing and safe. Being born during the year when the Martial Law was lifted, it was unthinkable to have a name that shows any Indigenous heritage. Ten years later, I was given a Western name "Grace" in an English language school. Though it was not official, as it is not recorded in any official documents, I used the English name regularly when attending the language school twice a week. Using an English name was like adopting a new identity. It is a widespread phenomenon for children from middle class families in Taiwan. It upholds a shared understanding, and subsequently, a shared identity among persons who yearn to be international.

When I entered university, I witnessed a vibrant consciousness of the citizenry waking up in Taiwanese society, and the trend of recognizing difference was in full swing. I started to consider changing back my name as an acknowledgement of my Indigenous heritage. I felt safe to do it in the university, I thought: nobody could sneer at me anymore. I reclaimed my Indigenous status after my father reclaimed his by updating our family name from Chen to Gao in the national registration system. Gao is my grandmother's last name, which she got through a randomized lottery system from the Chinese district registration office when she was a child. Like many people in her generation, she used to have a Japanese-sounding name and not a typical Tayal tribal name. People in the community call her Huzi.²

Huzi has been a proud Tayal entrepreneur who used to operate a small retail souvenir store on the commercial street in the community. She has good social networks and can get a good revenue for her merchandise. She reminded me that she gave me a Tayal name Wasiq. It refers to a delicious, common and important plant in the community. There is no "family name" in the Tayal system. Instead, my grandmother told me we use our father's or mother's name attached to our own names to distinguish whose sons or daughters we are. In my case, my father's indigenous name is Silan, so I should refer to myself as Wasiq Silan. However, I did not use Wasiq Silan after grandmother gave it to me. For the most part I thought that I am not Tayal enough—I have been constantly asked how pure I was (meaning how much Indigenous blood I have) and told that I did not look "Indigenous" (meaning often that I am too pale). Most importantly, I felt fake to claim that I am Tayal without being able to speak the language, tell a proper joke with the proper accents or without living in the community on an everyday basis. But then it hit me that it is not about those things—blood quantum, familiarity with the culture, language proficiency, or appearance—that qualify whether I am Tayal or not. It is more about negotiating an Indigenous identity for myself and staying committed. In other words, being indigenous is an active process of becoming, a topic to

² She has approved me using her Tayal name in this dissertation. While I fully agree and understand that referring to nameless person is problematic, I do not feel respectful if I change all of the mentions of "my grandmother" in the text into her name Huzi Amuy. The conscious choice has been made to refer to her as my grandmother (*nainai*) in the text, not as a way to diminish her subjectivity as an individual, but to emphasize how we are bound by relationships.

which I will return in Chapter 2.2. It is based on this process of becoming that I have written my dissertation.

I have been sojourning the ways of “inbetweenness” (cf. Chapter 4) during the research process in a sense of finding peace with my “inside-outside insider” role. The knowledge underpinning them have bearing to the research topic that I decided to take up. On the one hand, this dissertation is about making sense of the state perspective. How are policies made and how are we governed through the gaze from the state? How do different forms of power operate? Political science has trained me to explain and predict state actions, in other words, it has taught me the art of “seeing like a state” (Scott, 1998). I feel the expectation that one needs to learn and even to adopt a singular perspective to govern a population, and to use a rational and management-oriented mindset to build a system of control. It reminds me of what Nietzsche wrote in *Beyond Good and Evil*: “If you gaze long enough into an abyss, the abyss will gaze back into you” (1886, aphorism 146).

On the other hand, I feel the responsibility to uphold relationships and speak up as an Indigenous researcher. How to honor the elders’ perspectives placing their meaning-making in their genuine cultural context? How to re-center our interests and concerns, and to *conceptualize* from our own perspectives and for our own purposes? Embracing the Indigenous research paradigm is like opening a door to celebrating Indigenous onto-epistemologies as an ethical framework in research. Reclaiming my Tayal identity and deciding to commit to it means I need to make room for a balanced account between the state policies and the growing Tayal voices.

A combination of these two aspects led me to an exploration of policies and practices of elderly care for Indigenous peoples. This dissertation encompasses a part of the search for a balancing of voices. I ask three interlinked sets of questions. The first one is about *how Indigeneity is accommodated by the state and how Indigenous peoples have been dealt with as a problem in long-term care policies*. In Smith’s (2012, pp. 94-95) words, the Indigenous “problem” tends to be framed in public policy so that it blames Indigenous individuals instead of seeing that the problem lies at the social or structural level. My goal is to untangle these problematizations in state policies.

The second question asks *what is the experience of Tayal like in the Day Club (tribal cultural health center) and how they contest the social policy, as well as what are their alternative visions of care*. For brevity herein I call tribal cultural health center “Day Club”. Translated directly from Mandarin Chinese, the bizarre name “tribal cultural health center” was given by the policy makers to promote community care in the Indigenous community (*buluo*).³ This question deals with the Indigenous research paradigm, the

³ *Buluo* is frequently translated as “tribe” in official legislation, regardless of its negative connotation that is readily sensed in other English-speaking contexts such as North America. For more about *buluo*, see Kuan & Lin, 2008; Friedman, 2018.

Tayal's perspectives on care and what it means to live well. Aligning with a "women's standpoint" taken from Dorothy Smith's institutional ethnography (cf. Campbell & Gregor, 2002), I explore knowledge stemming from the position of the elders which is rooted in their everyday lives. I enter a process of investigation and discovery, using the Indigenous research paradigm as my guide. Meanwhile, I have listened, learned and conceptualized Tayal hermeneutics based on conversations with the elders that I studied. The third set of questions builds upon the first two, taking them together and placing them side by side. *What are the political implications of the similarities and differences between the policies and practices in the care of Indigenous elders? Are care policies that set out to accommodate ethnic diversity necessarily benevolent? How do these inform us about colonial legacies in multicultural Taiwan? And how do the Indigenous perspective and elders' experiences contribute to new insights of care?*

With this dissertation, I offer my own contribution to the debate of policies and practice in the case of Taiwan through looking at care for the elderly. In particular, I examine the relationship of indigeneity and coloniality through analyzing long-term care (LTC) policy and practice at a care center in Tayal Indigenous communities in Taiwan. My positionality enabled me to de-center the inquiry from the colonial gaze, while my process of becoming allowed me to problematize the issue of indigeneity. The twofold goal is to understand the dynamics between social policies and Indigenous peoples by using the Indigenous research paradigm as a critical lens for bringing both worlds together; and to examine the meaning of care through Indigenous peoples' lived experience and meaning-making, in so doing complementing the conceptualization of care in the literature. I hope to diminish the ubiquitous voices of biomedical perspectives in care and to invite the readers to envision a care system that includes and celebrates Indigenous peoples' experiences. Ultimately, it is hoped that this dissertation makes a major contribution to research on knowledge paradigms by demonstrating the need to develop Indigenist concepts such as Tayal hermeneutics as a way to embrace more diverse voices in care.

This introductory chapter is organized as follows: first, I will describe concisely previous research on social policies and Indigenous peoples. This is accomplished by a discussion of the ongoing ideological tension between social policies and Indigenous rights. Next, I will present the research questions and research design in more detail, followed by a presentation of the Taiwan case. Lastly, I will introduce the structure of this dissertation.

1.1 PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON SOCIAL POLICIES AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

Political science—including social policy that addresses the ways societies across the world meet human needs—has much to learn from the encounter

with its colonial past (Iverson, Patton & Sanders, 2000; Midgley & Piachaud, 2011). With the term “colonial past”, I refer to the Indigenous standpoint that Indigenous peoples have been subjects to colonial expansion and imperialism. The policies based on colonial projects range from the “Scoop” of many Indigenous children on the Turtle Island (Sinclair, 2007), “Norwegianization” to eliminate the Sámi as to achieve an ethnically and culturally homogenous country on the Norwegian side of Sápmi (cf. Ryymin, 2019), to the systemic assimilation of Indigenous peoples in Taiwan—first Japanization, then Sinicization—to erase their cultural identities (cf. Barclay 2017). These measures were deployed as ways of achieving cultural and ethnic homogeneity which was deemed necessary in nation-building processes. From an Indigenous perspective, political science—which is largely based on Western liberal political thought—has not only been complicit with, but instrumental to the justification of colonial expansion, imperialism and the dispossession of Indigenous peoples from their lands, in the name of nation-building (Iverson, Patton & Sanders, 2000).⁴

What happens to Indigenous peoples today is largely shaped by imperialism, ranging from loss of language and connection to land to dehumanization. When discussing imperialism, I follow Māori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith’s (2012, p. 22) understanding. She argues that there were four tenets of imperialism since it “started” in the fifteenth century: (1) imperialism as economic expansion; (2) imperialism as the subjugation of “others”; (3) imperialism as an idea or spirit with many forms of realization; and (4) imperialism as a discursive field of knowledge. The close relationship between social policy and Indigenous peoples that is examined in this dissertation is precisely about the fourth use of the term: how does imperialism influence the way knowledge is conceived and the subject is constructed, while juxtaposing the ruling and the ruled.

Similarly, Mignolo (2007a) concludes that imperialism is also about the colonization of knowledge and a reproduction of coloniality/modernity. Smith’s (2012) work on imperialism is complemented by Mignolo’s (2007a) study of domains of the colonial matrix of power, in which Mignolo argues that coloniality is about the controlling subjectivity and knowledge (Mignolo, 2007a, p. 478). Mignolo eloquently argues that conquest did not only happen to the land, natural resources and the exploitation of labor, but also into our heads. Mignolo identifies the arbitrary claim that if one does not live up to the religious and moral standards set by Christianity in terms of both faith and appearance, one is an outcast. This, he notices, results in “Western Christian white men in control of knowledge” (Mignolo, 2007a, p. 479). It explains how Indigenous peoples around the globe became outcasts of the Empires. In this

⁴ By the term ‘Western’, I follow Datta’s (2018, p. 22) understanding that it “refers to a mind-set, a worldview that is a product of the development of European culture and diffused into other nations like North America.”

process, policies and the political theories behind them have been complicit in the logic of coloniality.

Imperialism continues to frame Indigenous peoples' contemporary experience (cf. Smith, 2012) through the ways in which policies are made. In most cases, state policies do not challenge the logic of coloniality, and create distinct politicized identities of "Indigenous peoples" that are shared across the globe. They are what Gray, Coates, Yellow Bird, and Hetherington (2013, p. 5) call a "shared experience of dispossession, discrimination, exploitation and marginalization precipitated through the colonial projects". Imperialism has been exerted upon Indigenous peoples, and this is operationalized in policies.

Similarly, coloniality makes Indigenous perspectives invisible. When discussing determinants of health, Walker and Behn-Smith (2018) argue that the invisibility of Indigenous peoples' own systems of care to the larger Western medical system is detrimental to Indigenous peoples' possibilities of living well (pp. 320-321). However, other aftermaths of coloniality are more concrete—placing children in residential schools and assimilating them into a national culture, for example. But coloniality is also about the mind. It entails self-perception and conceptions of worth of being an Indigenous person, and views of where their place in the development of history is.

The first two decades of twentieth century have witnessed a shift from assimilating and marginalizing ethnocultural groups to recognizing and accommodating their rights (Banting & Kymlicka, 2006). Indigenous peoples are claimed to be part of such ethnocultural groups. Indigenous peoples have lived autonomously and have had their distinctive socio-political structures that allowed them to develop sets of localized knowledge to sustain and flourish. The settlers that came to political ascendancy claimed the land, imposed their religions and attempted to "civilize and Christianize" Indigenous peoples. These colonial impositions have caused long-lasting consequences for Indigenous lives, including disadvantaged health, vulnerable social economic status and lost languages and cultures. In particular, older generations that have lived through the consequences of colonial assimilation policies are the generation that are most severely influenced by the trauma (Kirmayer, Brass & Tait, 2000; Silviken, Haldorsen & Kvernmo, 2006; Wexler, 2009).

Greater recognition of Indigenous rights is one way to remedy such damages: to encourage resurgence of Indigenous voices in policies and the healing of such disjuncture (cf. Alfred & Corntassel, 2005; Meyer, 2013a). The recognition of Indigenous rights in the 1980s was not given by the states out of their kindness or their hearts: this was the long-expected fruit that came from Indigenous movements both nationally and internationally. In policies, this recognition is largely understood as the need to take distance from homogenization and to embrace diversity and differences. To what extent has this recognition of diversity been realized? Over the past decades, social policies have been examined in terms of their links to colonization and

assimilation (Laenui, 2000; Gray et al., 2013; Mehus, Bongo, Engnes & Moffitt, 2019). Many of these studies have been carried out by Indigenous scholars and their allies. They argue that it is important to consider social problems faced by Indigenous peoples as colonization has caused most of them (Tamburro, 2013). Moreover, restoration of cultural practices, beliefs and values that antedate colonization is essential for the survival, resilience and well-being of Indigenous peoples (Yellow Bird, 2013). This is why the recognizing and accommodating Indigenous rights is important.⁵

Social policies are no exception in this shift towards greater recognition of Indigenous rights. However, it still seems like an audacious dream to recognize that Indigenous peoples require rights that are different than the rest of the population. For this reason, it is even bolder to address Indigenous rights and consider the impacts of colonization in social policy and services. Luckily, a rich literature on Indigenous peoples' influence over social policy and services has been accumulated (Blackstock, 2016; Shewell, 2016; Shewell & Spagnut, 1995; Wien et al., 2007). Indigenous social workers and their allies are applying their insights stemming from Indigenist knowledge and theory to practice (Gray et al., 2013; Fejo-King & Mataira, 2015). Yet, there remains a lack of responsiveness from the state, also in the field of social policy, including elderly care policy. I argue that the reason for the lack of responsiveness is deeply embedded in the nation-state's assumption of homogeneity, which permeates the continuation of coloniality and imperialism in social policy. Let me explain.

Social policies in modern states, including those dealing with elderly care, tend to be entrenched in a paternalistic charity of imperialism and a mindset of racial superiority. This system perpetuates marginalization by objectifying Indigenous peoples and in so doing infuses a sense of helplessness (Greenwood & Schmidt, 2010; Smith, 2012). By providing a one-size-fits-all approach to services, the nation-state promotes a common sense of national membership and consolidates a homogenous national identity. Such policies and their deeply embedded imperial mindset tend to have a catastrophic impact on Indigenous communities (Baines et al., 2019; cf. Gao, 2018). When encountering care professionals, policies underpinned by homogeneity of the state tend to make Indigenous peoples feel culturally unsafe (Minde, 2015) and

⁵ Some take a step further and argue that the politics of "recognition" is in itself colonial (Coulthard 2014). Indigenous peoples have always had the inherent rights of autonomy and self-determination. The rights have never been ceded away and have always been strong. Instead of asking the states to move from outright assimilation to legal recognition of Indigenous rights, some have urged for "Indigenous resurgence", which entails Indigenous peoples regaining full autonomy in all aspects of life. This is an act of moving towards the Indigenous paradigm, which I unpack in chapter 4. In recognizing the Indigenous paradigm, we can reconfigure the meaning of sovereignty and jurisdiction, the value of interculturality in education and a different way of coexisting, such as a decentered democratic diverse federalism system.

even damage relationships in the community (Wang & Yang, 2017). What is more, this imperial mindset is constantly reproduced through policy-making.

This leads us to examine the ways in which policies are made, regarded and analyzed. I argue that policy-making in nation states—including social policy—have been strongly associated with positivism and a sense of rationality from the era of Enlightenment. This feature has made possible the reproduction of coloniality and the continuation of lack of responsiveness in social policies. This is the policy-making and analysis model advocated by the conventional policy analysts (for brevity I call them “conventionalists”). The other camp of thought is a reaction to the conventionalists, I call them critics, or critical policy analysts.

Before 1980s, the way how policies were made was dominated by the conventionalists. That is, the policy-making process was seen as an endless cycle of decisions, implementation and performance assessments (Colebatch, 2009). Policy-making was conceived and analyzed through an iterative process (Easton, 1965). Under this model, colonial and imperial influence easily become invisible. The idea that policies contain a variety of interpretations and reflect different biases is inconceivable. Policies under the conventionalist model are rational, calculated and cyclical. The colonial logic is perpetuated through the neutral language of policy-making. On the one hand, it relies on context-independent and analytical rationality, and on the other hand, it receives legitimacy from an ideal of the Enlightenment (Flyvbjerg, 2001, pp. 53-57).

To illustrate the difference between critical and conventional policy analysis, the first and foremost feature to be emphasized is that conventional policy analysis has a core theoretical tenet that is informed by positivism (cf. Chapter 4.1). Yanow (2000) concludes, “it is not only necessary but also actually possible, to make objective, value-free assessments of a policy from a point external to it” (Yanow, 2000, p. 5). “Good policies”, in this sense, will be achieved by objective rationality, which is referred to as “analysis based upon careful reasoning, logic, and empirical observation that is uninfluenced by emotion, predispositions, and personal preferences” (Irwin, 2015, p. 19). This characteristic reflects an “unproblematic, logical, simplistic paradigm” prevalent in the traditions of science and the study of human activities—notably positivism, functionalism and structuralism (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 26).

Conventional policy analysis often utilizes methods that are experimental and manipulative. Mirroring natural sciences, conventional policy analysis embraces a highly rationalized set of processes to solve policy problems. The goal for utilizing these methods is to predict, extrapolate and achieve generalizations. (Manski, 2013.) Namely, this is about identifying patterns from which problems emerge, which are then formulated into action plans with specific objectives; once actions are evaluated, amending and replacing policies are the next step (Colebatch, 2009, pp. 47-48; see also Howlett & Ramesh, 1995; Patton & Sawicki, 1993). The purposes and ambitions of conventional analysis are to be explanatory and predictive. In sum,

proponents of conventional policy analysis tend to strive for an ideal of “effective policy” that is measured and monitored by expert researchers—who are perceived as unbiased, rational and objective—who use predominantly positivist-informed and theory-supported models and techniques to identify features of generalizations and to achieve progress (cf. Irwin, 2015, p. 99).

The legitimacy of the positivist (and postpositivist) paradigm has been increasingly challenged, just as the conventional approach to conduct policy analysis has been increasingly critiqued, for example, for its narrow understanding of objectivity and epistemology, problems of “good research” and inadequate reflexivity (e.g. Clarke, 2005; Denzin & Lincoln, 2017; Harding, 2015). Bacchi (1999) offers critique against the positivist paradigm and suggests utilizing problematization as a way to engage with recent societal development, in a way that fully reflects power, ideology, language and discursive framework in the policy-making (Bacchi, 1999, p. 19). Policy does not solve problems, but *creates* problems. In her analysis of “problematization”, Bacchi (1999) explains how conventional policy analysts *create* policy problems: they take a problem as given, and focus meticulously on a definition of the problem so that they can propose “better solutions” (Bacchi, 1999, p. 20). The conclusion is that it is not enough to just focus on problem solution or definition, but instead on how problems are constituted and brought into existence (Bacchi, 1999). Bacchi’s viewpoints enable us to examine the embedded knowledge production of the “Other” and ultimately, the discourse on how Indigenous peoples become a policy problem.

Bacchi’s stance concerning problematization is built on the work by Murray Edelman (1988), who is one of the first one to highlight the inextricable link between discourse and policy problems. Since the 1980s, an increasing number of policy researchers have shifted from conventional approaches to critical perspectives to interrogate underlying nuances of policy-making (McDonnell, 2009 cited in Diem et al., 2014, p. 1069). This dissertation adopts a critical perspective to examine the problematizations of policies as a way to challenge the norms consolidated by conventionalists. In so doing, I hope to bring social policies closer to encountering their colonial past, which has contemporary relevance to many Indigenous lives.

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND RESEARCH DESIGN

“Inquiry thereby becomes a political act,” says Guba (1990, p.24)

This is how We became

“those people”.

The “Uncivilized”

“Vanishing”
“Disadvantaged”
“Dispossessed”.

(Graveline, 2000, p. 362)

This project examines the relationship between the colonial state and the Indigenous peoples by focusing on the case of elderly care. I use a specific approach within the Indigenous paradigm, namely the Tayal hermeneutic perspective, to examine aging, care and well-being from an Indigenous-based perspective (see Chapter 4). In this endeavor, I also deploy insights acquired from the more comprehensive Indigenous paradigm. Through the process of examining elderly policies and Tayal elders, I hope to develop further Tayal hermeneutics, which centers on the Indigenous research paradigm and methodologies. Conceptualizing from a Tayal perspective is relatively novel, which necessitates the use of the broader and more general Indigenous research paradigm simultaneously as a theory and a methodology to strengthen the conceptualization. There are three research questions that I aim to answer in this dissertation:

1. What are “Indigenous problems” represented to be in the long-term care (LTC) policies?
2. How do the Tayal experience care in a Day Club funded by the nation state? How is the policy contested in their everyday experiences? What alternative visions of care do the Tayal have?
3. What are the discrepancies between policy and practice of LTC for the elderly? And how do they reflect the relationship between coloniality and indigeneity in multicultural Taiwan?

To answer the first question, I examine what kind of an “Indigenous problem” is created through policy problematization. I ask: what kind of a problem is created when the government sets their goal to fix it? I aim to find out how the Taiwanese state defines its relations with the Indigenous peoples through making the policy framing, where the racial/colonial narratives are embedded, visible. Rooted in an interest of care, health and wellbeing, this dissertation examines the extent of accommodation of Indigenous peoples in the state-indigenous relationship through analyzing the long-term care policies for the Indigenous peoples in Taiwan.

Then, I explore Tayal’s experience of care in the second question. I inquire: how is the idea of care negotiated, contested and altered in the care center, the Day Club? I examine the relations between the Indigenous peoples and the state through engaging directly with the Indigenous community itself. Different from analyzing the policy framing, I draw from collaborative

research design for this second part of the inquiry. I make visible the interactional and interrelational Indigenous epistemology through engaging with community members—in particular elders—by asking two interrelated questions: (1) how do the Tayal experience care? (2) How is “good care” understood?

Throughout the two questions above, I utilize the indigenous research paradigm to center Indigenous voices in reconfiguring the concept of care. I explore the meaning of care along two storylines—policy documents and Indigenous elders’ lives—and through which I developed the Tayal hermeneutics further. The third and main question is to examine the relationship between coloniality and indigeneity through investigating the dynamics between policy and practice in Taiwan. This dissertation utilizes long-term care policy and practice as an example to delineate the layered coloniality and indigeneity in the contemporary Taiwan.

As a whole, all three questions touch upon the contemporary relationship between the Taiwan Indigenous peoples and the Han Chinese state. In doing so, I hope to address issues of racial/colonial privilege, identity and oppression in knowledge-making in the context of caring for the elders among the Tayal. In Smith’s words (2012), I aim to not only to *rewrite* and *reright* narratives, but also to centralize Indigenous Voice in my work (Graveline, 2000). In the words of Tonga Elder Linita Manu’atu (personal communication, September 24, 2019), I aim to conceptualize the Tayal speaking and thinking, how we value our values, our beliefs and our spiritual experiences.

As a Tayal researcher, I use the Indigenous research paradigm as a catalyst and a critical lens for analyzing theories and findings in this dissertation as a political act against the objectifying research that made Indigenous peoples “dispossessed”. I engage with the community through deploying the Indigenous paradigm and a collaborative design as a way to re-center the research on the Indigenous themselves from a decolonial perspective. The decolonial perspective is essential, when engaging with indigenous communities. Due to unethical research practices in the colonial times, academic research was deemed as one of the dirtiest words in Indigenous vocabulary (Smith, 2012). Communities immediately fell silent upon hearing someone is “studying” the community, because it was usually associated with Eurocentric arrogance and the lack of consciousness about diversity of knowledges (epistemological plurality). Historically, researchers have capitalized on indigenous peoples’ suffering which has left decades of social stigma on the people (for example gout research in Taiwan). This lack of ethical standards is not exclusive to scholars, but shared also by the government and industries, or a combination of both. By contrast, it is my intention as an Indigenous researcher to conduct this research with humility and respect of the knowledge systems and epistemologies of my people.

In sum, this dissertation examines the discrepancies between policy framing and indigenous Tayal’s lived experiences as a way of unraveling the extent of self-determination in the contemporary state-Indigenous relations

under Taiwan rule. On the one hand, framings of long-term care policy for the Indigenous elderly are examined to retrieve a deeper understanding of what problems are represented to be, as well as what “Indigenous culture” is represented to be. On the other hand, Indigenous elders’ lived experiences in the institutional setting of the Day Club are highlighted to disrupt, contest and speak back to the “Indigenous problem” permeated in the policy. How do their adaptive, dynamic cultures evolve while staying in touch with their traditional knowledge and the mechanisms that ensured living well that were there in the first place? These are the key questions that I aim to shed light on. In doing so, I hope to contribute to a plural epistemological future and the effort of re-centering the research—in this case care research for the elderly—from the settler viewpoint to the Indigenous peoples.

1.3 TAIWAN AS A CASE

Indigenous peoples maintain tribal order according to traditional customs, and ecological balance according to traditional wisdom. But in the process of modern state-building, indigenous peoples lost the right to steer their own course and govern their own affairs. The fabric of traditional societies was torn apart, and the collective rights of peoples were not recognized. For this, I apologize to the indigenous peoples on behalf of the government.

President Tsai Ing-Wen’s Formal Apology 1.8.2016

Indigenous peoples, the speakers of the Formosan branch of the Austronesian Language Family, have lived for thousands of years in Taiwan (Blundell, 2009; Kuan, 2016). The Tayal people living in the central and northern mountain range are part of them. The first Austronesian speakers, arguably, settled in Taiwan 6,500 or more years ago. The Austronesian languages spoken in Taiwan had great diversity and features of proto-Austronesian, therefore evidence shows that Taiwan is one of the earliest settlements—or conceivably the Austronesian homeland (Li, 2008). In the same vein, Taiwan has been Indigenous peoples’ sacred ancestral land and their traditional territory.

Indigenous peoples in Taiwan have faced a multitude of colonial invasions. The Europeans (the Dutch and Spanish), Japanese and Han-Chinese settlers constituted the main force against the Indigenous peoples in Taiwan during imperialism and colonial expansion. To justify the invasion, Indigenous peoples in Taiwan were not treated as humans. For example, they were treated as no more than animals under Japanese laws (Wu, 2019). Japan followed the classification of the Qing Dynasty from China, the authority that occupied part of Taiwan for 212 years, and divided the Indigenous peoples into “raw savages” (referring to those with low level of assimilation) and “cooked savages”

(cooked as understood as being fully domesticated). Tayal people were classified as the “raw savages”.⁶ The Japanese exerted its control on the land of the “raw savages” (classified as “savage land”) with a series of military “pacification” measures (cf. Kuan, 2016), which resulted to the Japanese seizing 85 percent of the Indigenous land (Adam, 2018). Although the Japanese left in 1945, their colonial legacy—including the fact that they dispossessed the Indigenous peoples of their land—lingers on, especially for the *bnkis* (elders in Tayal language).

After the World War II, the Chinese nationalist (Kuomintang, KMT) government inherited the Japanese categorization and institutionalized its recognition of Indigenous peoples by tying it to the place of residence. In principle, “raw savages” were changed into “mountain compatriots” and “cooked savages” were changed into “plain-land compatriots”, if they managed to prove that they had been registered by the Japanese to be “savages” in the first place and their place of residence was in the savage border, on the “barbarian land” (more about savage border, see Barclay 2017). In other words, KMT continued the legacy of the Japanese by constructing indigeneity into a shameful and dehumanizing category. During the Martial law era (1949-1987), such a construction of Indigeneity intensified and was meant to “improve” the Indigenous peoples into Han-Chinese nationalists. For example, just a few years into the Martial law era in the 1950s, Indigenous ceremonial dances were taken as one of the targets for improvement. Through systematic monitoring and policing, Indigenous peoples’ ceremonial dances were standardized to glorify the KMT party leader in their newly-given lyrics in Mandarin Chinese (Huang, 2016). During that period, Indigenous peoples’ health and welfare were completely subsumed under the general policies. There was no specific distinction between the Indigenous and non-Indigenous. This trend reflects the popular belief of the time that Indigenous peoples were to be gradually “civilized” and assimilated so no special measures would be necessary. The caveat of this difference-blind social policy and welfare ideology was that it turned an indifferent eye on the social suffering faced by the Indigenous peoples which has resulted from the colonialism and it allows the gap between Indigenous peoples and the general population to get worse.

The past four decades have witnessed a trend of transforming the state-Indigenous relation. Taiwan has made strides toward recognizing Indigenous peoples. It is most evident in Taiwan’s apology for forced assimilation and marginalization policies toward Indigenous peoples in 2016. Here is an excerpt from the speech by president Tsai Ing-wen who officially apologized to the Indigenous Peoples in Taiwan.

⁶ While the earlier settlers—the Dutch and the Spanish—landed in the seventeenth century, the ethnonym inscribed to the Indigenous peoples is more of a Japanese-era (1895-1945) creation.

There is a book called "The General History of Taiwan" published in 1920. In its foreword are these words: "Taiwan had no history. The Dutch pioneered it, the Koxinga Kingdom built it, and the Qing Empire managed it." This is a typical Han view of history. The truth is that indigenous peoples have been here for thousands of years, with rich culture and wisdom that have been passed down through generations. But we only know to write history from the perspective of the dominant. For this, I apologize to the indigenous peoples on behalf of the government.

Office of the President, Republic of China (Taiwan)

The apology addressed a Han-centric chauvinism perpetrated in the writing of history. Via such an apology, it signifies a transition towards the reconciliation process as far as the relationship between the Indigenous Peoples and the government of Taiwan is concerned. The change in policy had a lot to do with domestic and international issues.

Domestically, Taiwan's democratization has given citizenry a new boost for claiming their rights, so Taiwan has undergone waves of Indigenous rights movement (Hsieh, 2011). The key demands of Taiwan's indigenous movements were three. First, name rectification, which referred to a recognition to write Indigenous names (personal names, names of their peoples, lands and territories) in Romanized letters.⁷ Second, return of lands and land rights rallied three times in 1988, 1990 and 1993 to protest the loss of land.⁸ The loss of land has led to immense cultural loss and social suffering. Demands for the return of land have been a challenge to Taiwan's colonial mindset. Coloniality has been deeply embedded in the political and legal framework of Taiwan with regard to land. Third, Indigenous peoples had demanded substantial self-government.⁹ This speaks to the core of the decolonial process, as the government continues to make decisions without free and prior consent of the people while these decisions would have a big impact on them. Take environmental colonialism, for example: the Republic of China (Taiwan) government has used *Ponso no Tao*—traditional territory of the Tao Indigenous peoples—as a nuclear waste depository since the early 1980s.¹⁰ The permission was gained through deception: the government representative told the Indigenous peoples that they were going to build a fish cannery (Chi, 2001). The indigenous movements helped Taiwan to insert more

⁷ It was contesting the legislation during the "Speak National language (Mandarin Chinese)" era that made illegal writing local language—indigenous languages included—in Romanized letters. Name rectification, in Mandarin Chinese, is 正名.

⁸ Return of land and land rights, in Mandarin Chinese is 還我土地.

⁹ Self-government, in Mandarin Chinese is 自治.

¹⁰ *Ponso no Tao* (lit. Island of the People) is a volcanic island off the southeastern coast of Taiwan Island. It is known as "Orchid Island", a calque of the Chinese name; or "Lanyu", derived from romanization of the name's Mandarin pronunciation.

Indigenous perspectives, including political, social and cultural claims into the existing legal and political discourse, so the state-Indigenous relations have changed.

It was not until the 1980s, along with the Indigenous movements, democratization and the lifting of Martial Law, that the voices of proponents for alternative ways to accommodate Indigenous peoples' health and wellbeing were getting louder. In Taiwan, the early existence of this kind of "alternative thinking" was to construct a "parallel" welfare system (Li, 2003). In 1995 Council of Indigenous Peoples (CIP) was established and it started to address the health gap between the dominant population and the Indigenous peoples. However, instead of attempting to build a parallel welfare system, CIP adopted policies that focused on minimal cash benefit, which did not alleviate the root of the problem.

It can be argued that the fact that CIP fails to live up to the expectation of establishing parallel welfare system is no surprise: the failure is an inevitable result of political compromise, given that Indigenous peoples comprise of only two percent of the population. However, it is my argument that CIP's failure in this regard reflects the fundamental flaw in Taiwan's recognition of Indigenous peoples. As its mandate and monetary resources have been stripped away, CIP's role within the governmental structure has been merely symbolic (Wang, 2011, pp. 6-7; for case studies for Inuit and Sámi, see Gao, 2018). CIP has been unable to provide an alternative welfare discourse and what care means based on indigenous worldview that reflects indigenous cultures. Instead, CIP is only capable of emulating the mainstream welfare logic, i.e., to add-on cash benefit as the form of indigenous welfare it advocates. Nevertheless, the Day Club can be regarded as an exception. The Day Clubs are instances of alternative thinking as parallel welfare, representing indigenous worldviews, but constrained in this by governmental structures, as CIP is unable to operate an alternative welfare system by itself. The policy development and the example of CIP show how colonial relationship are being reproduced and reinforced in the new age of recognition, when it comes to accommodating the rights of Indigenous peoples.

Internationally, Taiwan has been eager to jump on the bandwagon to recognize Indigenous peoples because of its isolated international status. Since 1971, Taiwan, the Republic of China (ROC), lost its permanent representation as China in the United Nations (the UN) to the People's Republic of China (PRC). The isolation consolidated Taiwan's determination to uphold the Western liberal values, including human rights, democracy and diversity. Taiwan hoped to gain more political leverage against the PRC by joining the ideological front of the liberal democracies. Indigenous rights were recognized in this context.

United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) was passed in 2007 and set the minimum standards for the treatment of Indigenous peoples. This international instrument, although not legally binding, helped to shape Taiwan's domestic standards in relation to the rights

of Indigenous peoples. Although Taiwan was not a member of United Nations, it adopted UNDRIP into its domestic laws and thus the Indigenous Basic Law was born in 2005.¹¹ In the Basic Law, the claim to health and well-being for Indigenous peoples got increased momentum. There were demands that Indigenous peoples should be entitled to have a distinctive system of health care that is based on their culture so that their health and wellbeing can be promoted and protected. So Taiwan has recognized Indigenous peoples for domestic and international reasons. What are the concrete measures?

The Basic Law of Indigenous Peoples was a follow-up recognition after the constitutional recognition in the 1990s. In 1994, Indigenous peoples achieved constitutional change in order to reclaim their name from a derogatory term to “Indigenous people” (In Mandarin Chinese: Yuán Zhù Mǐn). In 1997, the Constitution was amended by stipulating that Indigenous peoples have rights to be assisted in promoting their languages and cultures, political participation, education, health, economy, lands and social welfare. For example, Indigenous rights were strengthened in political participation and representation. There are currently six seats for the representatives of Indigenous peoples in the Taiwanese parliament (i.e. Legislative Yuan). Though allocating them six seats out from 113 total seats—that is, 5.31% of all the seats—can be seen as an expression of affirmative action, the election results have shown that the majority of those who have been successfully elected are from the biggest Indigenous groups, such as Amis, Paiwan and Tayal (Kuan, Lin & Cheng, 2015). Among the six seats, three are allocated to the plain indigenous electoral district, another three to the mountain indigenous district.

Moreover, Taiwan has recognized various Indigenous groups, which is fundamental as it is related to the enjoyment of a number of specific rights under Taiwanese and international law (see Chapter 2). In Taiwan, sixteen Indigenous groups are officially recognized numbering approximately 560,000 persons, or 2.4 percent of the Taiwanese population. Apart from officially recognized groups, ten lowland plains indigenous peoples numbering 400,000 persons remain unrecognized and have engaged in active advocacy to gain official recognition (cf. Hsieh, 2013). Among the recognized Indigenous peoples, the biggest group is the Amis, followed by Paiwan and Tayal. These three groups account for 70% of the Taiwan Indigenous peoples. Tayal, Seediq and Truku (see the circle in Figure 1) were categorized as one group with the shared ethnonym “Atayal” during the Japanese colonial period based on their shared cultural characteristics.

¹¹ The implementation of the Basic Law has been problematic, as the other laws—especially those touching upon natural resources and self-determination—override and ignore the Basic Law.

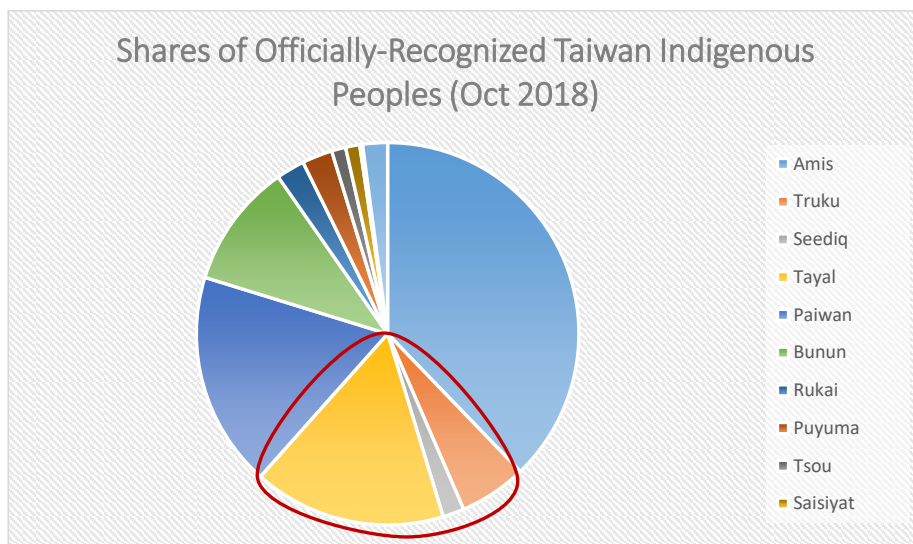


Figure 1. Shares of officially recognized Taiwan Indigenous Peoples by Oct 2018. Tayal, Seediq and Truku (in the circle above) were categorized as one group under ethnonym “Atayal” during the Japanese colonial period.

The legal definition of Taiwan indigenous peoples is based on the Status Act for Indigenous Peoples which was passed in 2001. The Act draws an arbitrary line to distinguish between two kinds of Indigenous peoples: mountain and plain-land ones. The former refers to those who have an ancestral connection to the mountain administrative zone, whereas the latter refers to those who have an ancestral connection to the plain-land administrative zone.

“The term “indigenous people” herein includes native indigenous peoples of the mountain and plain-land regions. Status recognition, unless otherwise herein provided, is as provided in the following:

- * Mountain indigenous peoples: permanent residents of the mountain administrative zone before the recovery of Taiwan, moreover census registration records show individual or an immediate kin of individual is of indigenous peoples descent.
- * Plain-land indigenous peoples: permanent residents of the plain-land administrative zone before the recovery of Taiwan, moreover census registration records show individual or an immediate kin of individual is of indigenous peoples descent. An individual is registered as a plain-land indigenous peoples in the village (town, city, district) administration office.” (Status Act for Indigenous Peoples 2001/2018)

As demonstrated in Article 2 of Status Act, the categorization of Indigenous peoples on the national level is tied to administrative zones. Indigenous peoples are treated as residents in these territories controlled by the

administrative authority. Measures—ranging from the Constitution to political participation—demonstrate that Taiwan has made considerable strides towards accommodating Indigenous rights. However, measures also have problems, many of which are related to how indigeneity is seen in the Constitution. In particular, the division between “raw savages” and “cooked savages” persists the legal framework of Taiwan in a different manner. Such use of discriminatory classification not only continues to exist in Taiwan’s Constitution, but also shows a colonial dominance of the state (van Bekhoven 2016). This particular way of constructing the indigenous category is key to understand the “Indigenous problems” in the policies and Indigenous peoples’ experience in long-term care. I delineate three aspects below.

The first problem concerns Indigenous peoples’ political representation. As addressed above, the seats of the Legislative Yuan are allocated according to two categories: mountain and plain Indigenous peoples. This narrow way to classify Indigenous peoples has been challenged on the grounds of its close alignment to colonial interests, lack of acknowledgment for the Indigenous peoples’ collective rights and their self-identification (Proposal 18425, Legislative Yuan, 2016). The problem of political representation is inextricably tied to the Indigenous status, which leads to the second problem.

Second, the arbitrary division between the mountain indigenous peoples and plain-land indigenous peoples, as described in the status law above, originates from 1905, the home registration under Japanese rule. The KMT government inherited the division and it has remained a source of high contestation political debate until today. The construction of indigeneity in this case functions as an intertwined political and legal category. We can see that in the context of Taiwan, indigeneity as a political and legal category is heavily associated with its geographical location (e.g. mountain and plain-land administrative zone) and coloniality (e.g. “the recovery of Taiwan”). These completely bypass a more profound level of what indigeneity entails (Chapter 2), such as the idea of their ancestral land, legal institution, cultures, and societal rules.

Third, the colonial logic—classification of mountain and plains Indigenous peoples bound by administration zones—constitutes the state’s understanding of indigeneity, which leads to a pervasive problem in the care system. Indeed it is not news that Taiwan’s care services—both social and health care services—are distributed unevenly: Indigenous peoples do not have the same access to them compared to the general population (Chapter 7.1.4). Yet, the criteria of an elderly person who is eligible to apply for government-subsidized long-term care services only includes “mountain Indigenous peoples who are disabled and 55 years of age”. In other words, the plains Indigenous peoples are excluded altogether.

The colonial logic functions in a twofold manner. On the one hand, as Glen Coulthard (2014)’s analysis of politics of recognition notes, Indigenous peoples often are in fact fighting for recognition from the state, and forget to question the legitimacy of the settler state. Along a similar vein, care services

become a token of the recognition that the state gives. Indigenous peoples (for example the “mountain Indigenous peoples”) end up seeking care services in competition with others (for example the “plains Indigenous peoples”). On the other hand, the colonial logic in care exacerbates the idea that mountain Indigenous peoples are more disadvantaged and more depleted of resources in comparison with those living in the plain-land administration zones. To receive the care services from the state, they have to accept first that they have no means to solve their own problems. This perception—very likely fueled by the division of “cooked savages” versus “raw savages”, civilized versus uncivilized, plain-land versus mountain peoples—is however not only ill-founded, but also damages the relationship between the state and Indigenous peoples (Ru, 2016). The state has recognized the Indigenous peoples, but at the same time remains oblivious when it comes to delivering social and health services to them.

1.4 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

The rest of the study is structured as follows. Chapter 2 delineates the contested concept of indigeneity. While the term indigeneity is often taken as a category between states, it is also manifested as a lived conceptualization. These two levels of understanding give rise to the contrast between the two storylines. On the one hand, it focuses on the Indigenous peoples as part of a state-building project; on the other hand, it emphasizes the perspective of regaining autonomy and jurisdiction of the Indigenous peoples. These two storylines give key insights in answering “who is indigenous?” and how to conceptualize indigeneity. The chapter also shows that “accommodating diversity” is problematic and complex. In this dissertation, I argue that finding Indigenous voices in care policies is crucial for seeking social justice for the Indigenous. Previous work on theorizing indigeneity focuses largely on either treating indigeneity as a legal and political category between states, or as a state of being and a cultural way of existing that seem to be divorced from the larger social and political system. This dissertation shows that other aspects matter to conceptualizing indigeneity, as well as to the state-Indigenous relationship.

Chapter 3 introduces the Tayal people and their lives in Taiwan and Wulai. On the one hand, I examine how coloniality has been intertwined with the naming of Indigenous peoples in Taiwan via offering glimpses into the way indigeneity was categorized and classified as part of the government program to exercise management and control. On the other hand, I discuss Tayal people’s cultural wealth, resilience and ways of being and knowing, and their encounters with settler colonialism in multicultural Taiwan. The focus on the Tayal people in Wulai in particular is to contextualize the Indigenous community in this study.

Chapter 4 sketches the contours of the Indigenous research paradigm and Tayal hermeneutics. Grounded in a methodological and positional reflection, the Indigenous research paradigm offers glimpses into the way state services may look different from an Indigenous onto-epistemological standpoint. The chapter then explains the question of ethics when engaging with Indigenous communities and my reflections as a researcher embracing “inbetweenness”. It wraps up by outlining Tayal hermeneutics as my input to answer my research questions.

Chapter 5 examines elderly and care from the perspective of the Indigenous research paradigm. It explains how the concept of elderly and care are conceived in general literature and presents the hegemonic knowledge deployed to conceive elderly and care: the bio-medical perspective. I bring Indigenous perspective into the picture by offering the alternative understanding of aging and care. I unravel the care-giving and care-receiving strands while combining them with Indigenous perspectives. The chapter concludes by overviewing the concept of good care from Indigenous perspective.

Chapter 6 introduces the methods and data utilized. On the one hand, I use critical policy analysis to explore the problematizations in the policies and the frames that operate in the policy texts on the “Indigenous elderly care problem”. In re-researching the policy documents, I employ the Indigenous research paradigm to articulate and identify hidden conceptual ambiguities that operate beneath the action plans. The data utilized is policy documents and actions plans pertaining to elderly care for the Indigenous peoples from 2013 to 2017. On the other hand, I employ critical ethnography to identify, contextualize and analyze how the experiences of care are shaped and negotiated in a more comprehensive, lived context. I utilize the synergy of both perspectives to unravel the meaning of care for Indigenous peoples and the relationship of coloniality and indigeneity. The data utilized is field notes from my observations when I attended the Day Club with my grandmother during 2015 to 2018.

Chapter 7 introduces Taiwan’s long-term care system for the elderly, and presents the analysis of the policy frames. It explains the entanglement of Chinese ideology, filial piety and growing marketization in the historical development that ultimately shaped today’s care system in Taiwan. It shows the governing of Indigenous peoples in care policies is built on three sets of policy frames: the frame of secludedness, the frame of inadequacy and the frame of culture. The frames exemplify the spatial vocabulary of colonialism at work, where the governing logic is built around three dichotomies: urban/remote, modern/primitive, and Han-Chinese majority/deeply-tribal Indigenous peoples.

Chapter 8 analyzes the experiences of the Tayal elders meeting the state in the state-funded Day Club. I describe their experiences and viewpoints on what good care, or actually “living well”, entails. The idea of care for the *bnkis* as I show, is not a means to an end, but a process, an ethical responsibility to

the community. This dissertation explores the everyday life experience of the Tayal and in so doing analyzes their living well as embedded in the dynamic relationship of ethical responsibility, not passively sitting there and being (physically) cared for. An examination of care through Indigenous peoples' lived experience and meaning-making also complements the conceptualization of care in the literature.

Finally, the conclusion (chapter 9) brings together the results of the study, and discusses their implications and importance to Indigenous research, care research, policy and political science. It argues that Indigenous peoples' lived conceptualizations are disregarded when it comes to what it means to be an Indigenous person and the experiences as an Indigenous elder are neglected in care policies.

This research shows that care for the Indigenous elderly in Taiwan today is on the surface more plural and multicultural than ever, but in essence it still excludes Indigenous voices. By examining the interaction of indigeneity and coloniality and how they have taken shape through long-term care (LTC) policy in the Day Club in Tayal communities in Taiwan, I come to the conclusion that although the tension between Indigenous peoples and the social policy in modern states has resolved in parts, the dynamics between them remain many layered and complex. Using the Tayal hermeneutics as a critical lens to bring both worlds together, my dissertation aims to diminish the predominance of biomedical perspective in care and make a contribution in envisioning a care system that includes and celebrates Indigenous peoples' experiences. Ultimately, the goal of this study is to unravel the knowledge paradigms underpinning care and the need to develop Indigenist concepts such as Tayal hermeneutics as a way to embrace more diverse voices in care.

In the following chapters, I will discuss a number of theories and concepts from a multi-disciplinary approach over the course of the dissertation. I aim to write in an accessible manner so the content can be understood no matter readers are coming from political science, indigenous research, gerontological social work, decolonial research or care studies. Therefore, the dissertation opts to elaborate rather than assume that readers are well-versed in any of these fields.

2 CONTESTED INDIGENEITY : WHO IS INDIGENOUS?

My aim in this chapter is to examine what it means to be “indigenous”. The concept of indigeneity is contested, especially in Taiwan. The purpose here is not to start theorizing anew but to more clearly identify the challenges of using the term “Indigenous peoples”, and the pitfalls ahead of us if we ignore them. The first two sub-chapters look at knowledge in the context of indigeneity in the state and everyday lives respectively. The third part brings both the logic of the nation-state and Indigenous peoples together by tackling knowledge around the politics of “accommodating” Indigeneity.

Collectively, “who exactly are the Indigenous peoples?” is a question that is not easy to answer, as there is no universal definition of what indigeneity entails. Granted that the term has been effective in distinguishing Indigenous Peoples from ethnic/racial minorities as well as those belonging to the dominant ethnic group, it is however necessary to remain alert to the usage of the term. For example, the term has also been used in contemporary discourses to negate the claims made by certain indigenous groups, as they were argued to be “not indigenous enough” (cf. Aikio & Åhrén, 2014; Sarivaara, 2012; Junka-Aikio, 2016). To better understand the term indigenous, I employ two propositions to delineate the concept of indigeneity. The first proposition of conceptualizing indigeneity is seeing it as a category. I will use three levels of definition, namely, the international, regional and national level, to flesh out the notion of indigeneity and its shifting, contested, and ambivalent features. It will be followed by a critical analysis concerning the caveats of conceptualizing indigeneity as a category. The second proposition brings forth decolonial perspectives with an aim of reshaping the political positioning of indigeneity and my own perspective on the contested concept.

2.1 INDIGENEITY AS A CATEGORY WITHIN AND BETWEEN STATES

Indigeneity has emerged primarily as a category to distinguish between those who are “Indigenous” and “others” (cf. Merlan, 2009). In doing so, a sense of solidarity is fostered and achieved when the line is drawn to separate those who are inside and those who are not. The narrative used to draw the line by employing statements such as “we, Indigenous peoples, protectors of Mother Earth” or along the line that Indigenous peoples have endured colonization, massacres and ongoing human rights violations perpetrated by states. These are common narratives in international fora such as the United Nations. These statements, functioning as global narratives, have not only been utilized to

define who are Indigenous, but have also been effective for Indigenous peoples to leverage existing resources and gain access to new ones, such as land rights and issues pertaining to biodiversity. Indeed, aspiring to indigeneity was not new in the twentieth century as it has been one of the examples of many systems of identity-based politics proliferated after World War II (Graham & Penny, 2014, p. 6). Yet it comes with a caveat: it binds Indigenous peoples into a unified, coherent, homogenous, ancient group with one unified voice (Toivanen, 2019). The binding effect is essentially similar to the discriminatory image that equates Indigenous peoples to “bibulous board-riding persons living in a mountain hut” (Taljimaraw, 2016). The only difference is that the disparaging image entails prejudices that are imposed from the outside (etic); while the unified voice evokes a sustainability-loving, deeply-spiritual Indigenous image (emic). That being said, it is not completely negative to deploy the term Indigeneity. In fact, making distinctions could be powerful in fostering solidarity on the inside.

Let me focus on the implications of using indigeneity as a category regarding two issues, one about political solidarity and the other about legal human rights standards. First, the term indigenous functions to produce solidarity among diverse indigenous groups—from the Arctic to the Pacific, via Asia, Africa and the Americas. The Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) provides an operational definition that allows solidarity to be achieved.

Indigenous peoples and individuals have the right to belong to an indigenous community or nation, in accordance with the traditions and customs of the community or nation concerned. No discrimination of any kind may arise from the exercise of such a right. (Article 9 of UNDRIP)

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to determine their own identity or membership in accordance with their customs and traditions. This does not impair the right of indigenous individuals to obtain citizenship of the States in which they live. 2. Indigenous peoples have the right to determine the structures and to select the membership of their institutions in accordance with their own procedures. (Article 33 of UNDRIP)

The global narrative functions by tying them together in a shared experience of conquest and oppression by states. The inherent ambiguities and contradictions within the loaded term “indigeneity”, as Graham and Penny (2014, p. 8) observe, allows shaping indigeneity through performance and performativity. Indigeneity signifies a process of ongoing transformation and the agency of sojourning between oppositional dualities.

Second, indigeneity as a category has gained momentum in the 1970s and 1980s as “advocates of indigenous rights turned to the international legal realm to stake their claims” (Teves, Smith & Raheja, 2015, p. 109). In other

words, Indigenous peoples sought to internationalize their struggle as a way to bring governments to comply with international human rights standards.¹² The struggle was internationalized into a global narrative through the language of litigation. For example Jeremy Waldron (2003) critically reviews the discourses of indigeneity as first occupancy and prior occupancy from the perspective of international law.¹³ Similarly, James Anaya explains that once international law had been used to justify colonial subjugation, the legal term *Indigenous Peoples* was developed to support Indigenous peoples' demands (1996). Niezen (2003) observes that the legal category of Indigenous people took form in international law and became the core of legal protection for Indigenous peoples around the world. I agree with these observations, but it would be naïve to stop here, as almost all states today pay lip service to the human rights protection and pretend to be moving in that direction.

There are two potential difficulties of deploying indigeneity as a global narrative. First, the development of indigeneity reflects a capricious environment in which Western political philosophy is located. By Western political philosophy, I refer here to contemporary liberal political thought that has been utilized to help to justify colonial expansion and imperial control over Indigenous peoples and their territories (cf. Ivison, Patton & Sanders, 2000). Indeed, indigeneity is constructed as a legal category as a way to help us to grasp the colonial past of the states. This issue is particularly clear in the argument of indigenous claims to land. However, the effort might be ineffective as liberal political thought still has much to learn concerning its own colonial heritage. Waldron recalls Dianne Otto's observation: "liberal arguments are ...unable to comprehend what is distinctive about indigenous claims to land and self-government" (2003, p. 81). Contemporary liberal thought has been complicit in reproducing relationships of injustice between states and Indigenous peoples. Indigeneity is developed as a legal category to amend this inability entrenched in contemporary Western political philosophy.¹⁴ The potential danger here is that making indigeneity into a legal category in global narratives structured by Western political thought may diminish the goal of grasping the colonial pasts of states altogether.

Second, Indigeneity as a form of global human rights narrative developed during the Cold War era tends to bind Indigenous peoples into a reified category of "minority-ness" (cf. Toivanen, 2019). Adopting the global narrative

¹² This has not always been successful. See Merlan (2009).

¹³ Waldron's analysis suggests that theorizing indigeneity as legal categories, no matter whether it is first occupancy or prior occupancy, would be dangerous because it falls easily into the trap of coloniality. He considers that the lens of liberal political philosophy may limit his observations.

¹⁴ It is not my intention to label Western political philosophy as incompatible with the notion of indigeneity. On the contrary, as I show in the case of Bent Flyvbjerg and his phronetic approach to science, studying indigenous peoples/indigeneity does not mean abandoning Western political philosophy. There are actually ways, e.g. phronetic social science, that have a lot in common –esp. epistemologically and methodologically—with indigenous approach.

has become the only way for Indigenous peoples to be heard, as the argument of indigenism and environmental degradation during the twentieth century together with the emergence of human rights discourses provided a global platform for the rise of Indigenous politics in national and international fora. Indeed, the term Indigenous Peoples in this kind of a global narrative is heavily associated with their encounters with “historical colonization and invasion of their territories, and [they] face discrimination because of their distinct cultures, identities and ways of life” (OHCHR, 2018). Yet, Toivanen (2019) observes that this global narrative often reflects states’ involvement in abusing international instruments to create an image of a homogenous, group-centered, and unchanging nature of pre-modern Indigenous society. Constructing such an essentialized form of indigeneity is hardly the best way to beat the misconduct from the state. For one, it disempowers Indigenous peoples and imposes various “cultural scripts” in which they are expected to act out in stereotypical ways. For another, it offers to the possibility to nullify those Indigenous peoples who are not officially recognized.

To properly understand the notion of indigeneity, we need to take into account not only legal definitions and their global prevalence, but also the political implications that are closely associated with the legal and global aspects. A key task is to delve into what shape indigeneity as a category takes. Below, I demonstrate how the legal, global and political aspects of the category of indigeneity have emerged at the international, regional and national level.

2.1.1 DEFINITIONS AT THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL

The most widely recognized definition pertaining to Indigenous peoples on the international level comes from the United Nations. Of all the relevant definitions from other mechanisms and agencies, such as the ones from the International Labor Organization (ILO), the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII) and the World Bank, the one given by José Martínez Cobo, Special Rapporteur of the United Nations, is the most widely accepted definition. Cobo defined Indigenous peoples as follows:

“Indigenous communities, peoples, and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing on those territories, or part of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems.” (Cobo, 1982)

Cobo (1982) emphasizes that Indigenous peoples are those who had established their own societies before invasion or prior to the arrival of

colonizers. I explain below three features Cobo enumerated as they underscore the key features of the Indigeneity as a category embedded in the global narrative. First, this notion has merits as it critiques the often taken-for-granted principle of *terra nullius* (empty lands) and Doctrine of Discovery. Second, Cobo argues that indigenous peoples “form non-dominant sectors of society” (1982), which should be understood not merely as small absolute numbers, but also referring to lack of power (Frichner, 2010). Indeed, many Indigenous peoples are numerically in a minority position in relation to the general population, such as the Sámi in Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia, the Maori in New Zealand and the Indigenous peoples in Taiwan. Yet the same does not apply for Indigenous peoples in Latin America where they constitute considerable parts of the population, but are not dominant in terms of power. Third, they have their own distinct languages, cultures, and social, and legal and political institutions which differ from mainstream society (Cobo, 1982). With emphasizing that the term Indigenous peoples refers to an involuntary, or forced transition from a primary society to a secondary society (cf. chapter 3 for the case of Tayal in the primary, secondary and tertiary society), the notion of indigeneity underlines a sense of hope for fairness and justice for the Indigenous peoples.

The emergence of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) marked the new trend of legal definition of Indigenous peoples on the global level. It was adopted by the UN General Assembly on September 13, 2007, with 144 states in favor, 11 abstentions. Four states—Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States—voted against the UNDRIP, but all of them have changed their position since and now support the Declaration. International law has been subject to a turn from being an instrument used by settler states to justify their colonization on indigenous lands, to recognizing the rights of ‘Indigenous Peoples’ as a collective to have control over their own land (Mona, 2007). UNDRIP has both political and legal significance and serves as an anchor for contemporary Indigenous peoples’ rights on the international level.

The International Labor Organization (ILO) is also an important arena for advancing indigenous rights on the international level (Mona, 2007). ILO Convention no. 169 (the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989) was drafted after Convention no. 107 (the Indigenous and Tribal Populations Convention, 1957), which had been widely criticized to be based on assimilative grounds. The prerequisites of Indigenous rights as constructed in the ILO Convention no. 107 were based on colonial concepts, such as “assimilation” and “integration” (cf. Simon & Mona, 2013 for Taiwanese experience). On the other hand, the Convention has been considered as important as UNDRIP because although its coverage is not as thorough, the fact that ILO no. 169 is formally an international treaty that becomes legally-binding upon states through ratification has more power than just a declaration. The current ILO Convention no. 169 highlights the political and social sides of indigeneity and hints at their rights to self-determination. It

reads “[Convention no. 169 is] based on respect for the cultures and ways of life of Indigenous peoples and recognizes their rights to land and natural resources and to define their own priorities for development.” (International Labour Organization, 2013, p.1)

Before going over to explaining how indigeneity is defined at the regional and domestic level, it is to be reiterated that the legal instruments concerning Indigenous peoples in the international society should not be taken as apolitical or neutral. Instead, it is perhaps more appropriate to problematize the rights protection and locate it in the context of the postwar era. In this way, we can examine the international instruments and their corrosive effects of nation-building, imperialism and capitalism on Indigenous peoples (cf. Barclay, 2017).

Canadian social anthropologist Niezen has noted that the term Indigenous people is a recently-formed global political entity. That is, the term Indigenous peoples in the postwar era, just as the nation-state two centuries ago, is gaining traction as a valid political entity on the global stage. If we treat the formation of nationalism and the nation-state as novelties of the nineteenth century, Niezen proposes that the term “Indigenism” (2000) is a global movement in the same way—albeit “smaller in scale, more fragile, less turbulent than the nationalist upheavals” (p. 119). He further argues that Indigenous peoples as a form of global identity under the international society after World War II, is a legal, social and political category. This observation is reflected in the tentative definitions from the UN agencies listed above. Echoing Niezen, Barclay argues that Indigenous peoples and nation-states have been coproduced in the processes and structures of world history (Barclay, 2017, p. 38). Supplementing from a decolonial perspective, Smith (1999, pp. 29-31) critiques that the notion of history from a Western perspective is a modernist project that has been developed alongside imperial beliefs about othering Indigenous peoples.

Thus far, debate concerning notion of indigeneity as a category on the international level aids my analytical lens: it entails the legal instruments in a global narrative with political implications that are closely related to states’ colonial legacy. Contrary to the operational definition of indigeneity drawing from United Nations on the international level, the meaning of indigeneity at the regional level shows an even more nuanced picture. Due to regional conflicts resulting from sovereignty issues, the manifestation of indigeneity takes a different shape.

2.1.2 DEFINITIONS AT THE REGIONAL LEVEL

On the regional level, the notion of indigeneity as a category reflects a more diverse picture than on the international level. Such a diverse picture is predictable because of the 370 million indigenous peoples worldwide, around 260 million people reside in Asian countries (Errico, 2017). The pursuit of fairness and justice, which plays a key role on the international level when

formulating indigeneity, takes a different shape as it is influenced by the capricious environment of sovereignty disputes. Although the definitions of Indigeneity share characteristics in line with the international level, those who are Indigenous peoples are referred to differently from country to country (Stavenhagen, 2007, p. 4). For example, the Indigenous peoples in Asia consist of the Ainu and Okinawans in Japan, ethnic minorities in China, Austronesian-speaking indigenous peoples in Taiwan, Igorot and Lumad from the Philippines, komunitas adat terpencil in Indonesia, Orang Asal in Malaysia, the Indigenous peoples in Thailand, ethnic nationalities in Burma, Jummas in Bangladesh, Adivasi Janajati in Nepal, Scheduled Tribes (Adivasis) in India and the Nagas, the transnational indigenous peoples across the borders of North-East India and North-West Burma (Mikkelsen, 2013, pp. 222-320). In addition to being diverse, these different terms for Indigenous peoples used on the national level also reflect the reluctance of Asian states to recognize these peoples as Indigenous Peoples.¹⁵ Let us see briefly what it means in the case of Convention ILO no. 169 as an example.

The applicability of the term “Indigenous peoples” is still an ongoing debate in Asia (Minority Rights Group International, 2019; cf. Stavenhagen, 2007). In the drafting session of the ILO Convention no. 169, China bluntly refused to accept that any Indigenous populations reside in its territory; India reiterated China’s stance and stated that the tribal peoples in India are drastically different from the “problems, interest and rights” of the Indigenous peoples, therefore setting an international standard on such “complex and sensitive issues involved might prove to be counter-productive” (ILO Conference cited in Minority Rights Group International, 2019). The general reluctance to concede the legitimacy of Indigenous rights in the Asian region makes Taiwan, the case for this study, a special case (see chapter 1.3).

The limited success of secured Indigenous rights is the consequence of Asian states’ dubious attitude towards acknowledging Indigenous peoples. Unwillingness to give Indigenous peoples any political or legal status also leads to serious human rights violations (Stavenhagen, 2007, p. 22).¹⁶ The patterns of human rights violations of Indigenous peoples in Asia are similar to what the Indigenous peoples suffer in the rest of world. However, there is a big human rights implementation gap as a result of the weaker human rights protection and monitoring mechanisms in Asia. Some of the most serious forms of human rights violations experienced by Asian Indigenous peoples are related to the rapid loss of indigenous lands (Stavenhagen, 2007, p. 6). Some

¹⁵ In an international conference held by the Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in Beijing, when discussing language revitalization and Indigenous rights, state representatives simply walked out from the venue. They said that it was not their concern because they do not have Indigenous Peoples, therefore none of the recommendations that promote Indigenous rights would apply to them. (A. Tsykarev, personal communication, November 26, 2018)

¹⁶ Asian countries such as India, Malaysia, Philippines and Cambodia give constitutional recognition to Indigenous peoples (Stavenhagen, 2007, pp. 4-5)

commentators have suggested that land loss may be related to the homogenous nation-building projects initiated by the states.

During the nation-building period, a number of policies were designed to facilitate the assimilative process during the states' invasion, such as encroaching indigenous lands, restricting cultural and religious practices, prohibiting indigenous languages, and undermining their institutions of self-government (Kymlicka, 2007, p. 66). The absence of the accommodation of indigenous rights has also a negative impact on indigenous health and living well. Indigenous peoples in Asia do not score low on the indicators in relation to their enjoyment of basic rights such as education and health out of nowhere. Instead, the fact that they are impoverished is a result of "the loss of their traditional lands, territories and lifestyles" (Stavenhagen, 2007, p. 3). They are also exposed to possible health risks by national development projects (*ibid.*, p. 12) and being excluded from health care and services (*ibid.*, p. 16).

In sum, regionally in Asia, the development of indigeneity as a category—no matter whether it is legal, political, social or cultural—has been met with limited success. This development has been hampered by the restraint rooted in the nation-building processes.

2.1.3 DEFINITIONS AT NATIONAL LEVEL

The ways in which indigeneity functions as a category differ from one national context to another. In this chapter I will utilize the national context that is most relevant to my case—Taiwan—to illustrate how the notion of indigeneity as a category functions.

Indigenous peoples in Taiwan are the descendants of the Austronesian people who settled in Taiwan 6,500 or so years ago. They include both the ones with official recognition and the ones without status.¹⁷ The definition of indigeneity has evolved through time from the Japanese domination to the KMT (Kuomingtang, Chinese Nationalist Party) era, and with the lifting of martial law and the rise of indigenous rights social movement opened new doors for Indigenous peoples. For example the category of indigeneity on the national level changed from "compatriots" to "Indigenous peoples" (cf. Kuan, 2016; Hsieh, 2017). Different from the majority of Asian states, its special international status has taught Taiwan to pick up its speed on recognizing Indigenous rights.

The experience from how Taiwan recognizes the Indigenous peoples reveals a distinctive pathway compared to other Asian countries. Taiwan's experience indicates that although colonial trajectories are present in shaping the notion of indigeneity at the national level, more Indigenous voices—for example, advocating for collective rights and self-identification—are being

¹⁷ Official recognition of Indigenous peoples in Taiwan was not so much based on their self-recognition or cultural heritage, but more on the data from home registration papers that were determined in the colonial era under Japan.

incorporated into the debate of defining who the Indigenous peoples are. With indigenous voices incorporated into the construction of categories, in particular through formal political representation, there is more chance to resist the illusion of one homogenous Indigenous group. Instead of “one Indigenous voice”, there is a polyphony of voices fighting for autonomy and self-determination. It seems to suggest that more people are allowed to enter the arena of deciding what indigeneity as a category means. The category of indigeneity seems now to be understood as a fluid meaning open to contestation, rather than a broad conception that will not change. How has the recognition succeeded in actually yielding higher level of self-determination of the Indigenous peoples?

I have discussed how recognition politics have impacted Indigenous peoples in Taiwan in chapter 1.3. Just as Yellowknives Dene Glen Coulthard pointed out in his foundational work “Subjects of Empire” (2007), Indigenous peoples are led to fight for recognition, instead of self-determination, in the game of settler state (see also Simpson and Smith 2014). It seems that Taiwan has been giving out small tokens of recognition to Indigenous peoples, for example through the form of political representation, legal recognition and health and social services. At the same time, the colonial powers in Taiwan have had the continuous habit of linking the concept of indigeneity to the geography-based division. It lies in a deep-seated settler colonial mindset. This mindset pushes Indigenous peoples into the margins. It is essential to interrogate their marginalized position in the Han-Chinese state formation. In doing so, it becomes visible that the mechanism for the ongoing marginalizing effects faced by the Indigenous peoples has been that they fail to conform to “the civilized model”: the Japanese in the Japanese-era, and the Han Chinese person in the era of Republic of China (ROC, also known as Taiwan). It signifies an epistemic stance that was forged on the experience of one particular ethnicity, which Castro-Gómez calls ‘hubris of the zero point’ (2007, cited in Mignolo 2009). We need to engage with the colonial matrix of power (Quijano 1992, cited in Mignolo 2007a) and re-center our gaze towards the ways of being and knowing of the Indigenous peoples. (cf. Chapter 1.1.)

In sum, the notion of indigeneity as a category has been institutionalized in the Status Act (cf. Chapter 1.3). The Indigenous category, developed in the process of colonization, creates an essentialized identity which also has material consequences (e.g. access to long-term care service).

Thus far, I have illustrated how the category of indigeneity functions at three different levels. Using indigeneity as a category gives us the advantage of giving a clear shape to which groups we are talking about—let it be the case that they are a pre-invasion population with non-dominant power or permanent residents of the mountain administrative zone—but it does not come without problems. As already demonstrated, the category of indigeneity, precisely because it is ambivalent and vague, has been used to nullify the rights of Indigenous peoples. Illustrating the strategies of nullifying, I present an

alternative conceptualization of “indigenous” as way out from utilizing indigeneity as a category.

2.2 TOWARDS A LIVED CONCEPTUALIZATION OF “INDIGENOUS”

The advocates of identifying indigeneity as a category see the utility of employing the term of Indigenous. However, several problems have made others hesitant as they regard it as a racialized/ethnicized category. Below, I examine the caveats towards indigeneity as a category in three areas namely, essentialism and primitivism, the chase of authenticity as well as invisibility.

2.2.1 CAVEATS OF INDIGENEITY AS A CATEGORY

First, opponents who are hesitant to utilize indigeneity as a category argue that it may deepen a misconception that indigenous peoples lack progress and their culture should stay permanently primordial. Povinelli (2002) deems that equating the notion indigenous as a legal category is risky, as Indigenous peoples tend to be constructed as deserving recognition only when they are primitive and static under the law. Once this deserving recognition is established, the authorities tend to nullify their political and legal claims utilizing the discourse that “Indigenous peoples are not primitive and static, therefore there is no need to safeguard their rights”. The category ultimately “serves as a tool for the colonial management of the Native.” (TallBear, 2013, cited in Teves, Smith & Raheja 2015, p. 112). In a similar manner, Kuper (2003) has argued that using the concept of indigeneity is dangerous because it might fall to old notion of primitivism and deepen the misunderstanding about who Indigenous peoples really are. Misusing indigeneity risks to reassert “essentialist ideologies of culture and identity” which can lead to severe political consequences. Kuper also adds that this idea of indigeneity is much too frequently associated with presumptions of a Euro-American-dominated notion of culture, which ties it to blood and soil (Graham & Penny, 2014, p. 1).

Second, using indigenous as a racialized/ethnicized category may cause a double invisibility for Indigenous peoples. On the one hand, the discourse of human rights tends to construct the notion of Indigenous peoples in a universalist manner, such as that “we all *used to be* indigenous, but now we are all *just human*.” (Arvin, 2015, p. 119.) This conceptualization tends to render Indigenous peoples invisible as they vanish into other more established categories, such as immigrant, citizen, and human. On the other hand, the invisibility may function internally in ways that cause the heterogeneity of the Indigenous communities to become invisible. Consequently, utilizing indigenous as a category may risk creating a sense of a reified way of being

Indigenous. What is more worrying, treating Indigenous peoples as a homogenous unit makes it difficult to unsettle sometimes prevalent ideas such as patriarchy and homophobia within the community.

Third, people who are hesitant to use indigeneity as a category deem that it opens a Pandora's box for a quest of authenticity (cf. Povinelli, 2002; Urrieta, 2017). In the pursuit of authenticity, a process of othering is at work. In pursuing authenticity, it is easy to fall into the tropes of discoveries of the non-modern made by the modern (cf. Anttonen 2005).

These caveats identified are by no means exclusive, but overlapping. The people who want to nullify Indigenous rights have combined these strategies and thereby make Indigenous peoples vanish. Take an example from indigenous peoples' claims to hunting rights in Taiwan. A counter-argument has been launched to nullify Indigenous rights by saying they are not authentic anymore, thus making them vanish into broader categories. Buddhist nun Shih Chuan-fa launched an attack that strategically tied the legitimacy of hunting to authenticity. She argued that Indigenous peoples were not authentically primitive anymore, therefore their legitimacy of hunting was no more valid.

Contrary to the traditional methods of purity and simplicity, the current indigenous hunting practice has changed dramatically. To put it nicely, we call it traditional practice. However, there was no use of knives, spears or bows and arrows, not even fighting with the animals fairly with just the bare hands. How could this be called traditional? The contemporary indigenous peoples' hunting culture is not only a disaster for the animals, but also a manifestation of the sorrow of indigenous peoples losing their roots. (Shih Chuan-fa, 2005, cited in Kuan 2014, p. 12).

In the statement above, Shih nullifies the indigenous rights to hunting as Indigenous peoples do not live up to the standard of authenticity that should have exhibited "traditional methods of purity and simplicity", which entails an understanding of fighting animals bare-handed or with simple weapons. This understanding of indigeneity points to an urgent need to examine the construction of how coloniality and raciality (Arvin, 2015, pp. 120-121) play into the everyday discourses.

This leads us to the fourth caveat, namely: if we treat indigenous as a taken-for-granted racialized/ethnicized category, it leaves the question of coloniality untouched. Audra Simpson warns us to be vigilant of how scientific practices and representations define indigeneity in the service of state interest (Simpson 2003 cited in Teves, Smith & Raheja, 2015, p. 115). Speaking of re-centering nationalism in the Mohawk context, Simpson (2000) argues that indigeneity should be examined through how people have lived and produced meanings of it. In other words, the concept of indigeneity should be viewed discursively and attention should be paid to how meanings to it are given. This insight sees indigeneity as a fluid, "lived" process, a sense of becoming where everyday

meaning-making is central to how I myself understand indigeneity. That is, indigeneity is highly complex and should be kept open and fluid, as a lived experience.

Regardless of the caveats stated above, the benefits of utilizing the notion of indigeneity may be higher than the impediments. In the context of postwar era, a refined conceptual construction of indigeneity is unavoidable, as indigenous peoples' cultures, lifeways and knowledges are deemed more valuable than ever. We can see the trend clearly from the landmark UN declaration of rights of Indigenous peoples, Convention on Biodiversity as well as involvement of the Indigenous peoples in the development of Sustainable Development Goals (cf. Sterling et al., 2017). In the end, indigeneity may be a term that cannot be avoided, not only among indigenous peoples, but also in the debates of politics and philosophy concerning cultural sovereignty. Indeed, many theorists argue that frame of reference should be re-directed so that the past and present of coloniality in relation to the Indigenous peoples should be contested and interrogated (cf. Ivison et al., 2000; MacDonald, 2014). There may be good reasons for conceptualizing indigeneity through a decolonial lens, as coloniality has been present in the way that Indigenous peoples have been viewed and studied.

If we hold our gazes upon coloniality and resist the temptation to avert our eyes from it, it is evident that coloniality has been intertwined with indigeneity this whole time. Waldron underlines that Indigenous peoples were not just roaming across the land when the settlers came, but they were already living and thriving with their own polities, law and economy. It was colonization that disrupted these systems, often with brutality (2003, p. 66). The disruption caused ongoing negative impacts and that is why the debates of indigeneity are closely linked to the legacy and aftershocks of colonialism (Kuokkanen, 2007, p. 10). Echoing Kuokkanen's (2007) observation of linking indigeneity to colonialism, Stępień and his colleagues conclude similar results from the Sámi case. To these scholars, indigeneity signifies "a concept, ideology, and movement developed over the twentieth century, and in particular the 1970s, based on notions of 'unfinished decolonization', a community of suffering as well as opposition to forced assimilation, modernization, and on-going dispossession." (Stępień, Petrétei & Koivurova, 2015, p. 118). What, then, does the unfinished decolonization entail? And what kind of new conceptions of indigeneity may be appropriate? I utilize Taiwan as an example to explicate colonial aspects in the present debate, followed by a proposal of conceptualizing indigeneity as a lived process. These understandings are important as they are the basis of the discussion of long-term care and Indigenous peoples in this dissertation.

2.2.2 INDIGENEITY AS A PROCESS

I adopt in this dissertation the approach that treats indigeneity by conceptualizing it as "a process of emergence" (Graham & Penny, 2014). This

conceptualization goes beyond an essentialized category of personhood. Instead, indigeneity is self-conscious, reflexive and full of possibilities. Before we go into the discussion of what this process of emergence is about, let us pause for a moment to contemplate how the colonial context has impacted Indigenous peoples, and in turn how it shapes the notion of indigeneity.

Indigeneity should be seen as a contextualization of the fluid relationships between the Indigenous peoples and the state. Let us look at the relationship between the colonial power and Indigenous peoples through the three categories of self-determination: (1) primary society, (2) secondary society, and (3) tertiary society (Andreyeva, Poelzer & Exner, 2010, pp. 2-3). These sociopolitical categories do not name the epoch at which we have arrived, one where colonialism came and another where colonialism is in the past. On the contrary, precisely because colonialism persists and its influence still is ongoing, it is imperative to address the presence of colonialism and how the complex web of meaning is interwoven. I utilize the three categories as reference points to make visible the imperialism and coloniality perpetrated against the Tayal people. In the primary society, the Indigenous peoples were living and thriving with their own systems of polity, law and economy; they had inhabited in Taiwan for at least 4,000 years; they subsisted on farming, hunting and fishing. In the secondary society, their material culture, spiritual beliefs as well as legends and languages were interrupted with the ascendancy of colonization and mass immigration of Han Chinese people. National education and lifestyle improvement policies were promulgated to change the Indigenous peoples into the model provided by the civilized settlers. Lastly in tertiary society, the transition towards Indigenous peoples' autonomy started with an official apology and processes of reconciliation. For many Indigenous peoples, the apology means starting a reconciliation process. What is important lies further along the way: a recognition of ancestral territories, a vernacularization of Indigenous languages, an implementation of self-determination, just to name a few (cf. Mona, 2019; Kuo, 2019). In the same vein as Ivison (2015), I hope that this apology marks a new beginning—rather than an end point—of new forms of co-existence between Indigenous peoples and the rest of the society.

The act of apology reflects the beginning of *decolonization* that Indigenous peoples have been struggling to achieve. Embracing indigeneity as an emergence motivates us to examine it from the lens of *decoloniality*, which encourages us to look for ways to break free from the control of subjectivity and knowledge (see chapter 1.2). Understandably, the concept of Indigeneity as a “lived” process in the context of politics of recognition (namely, after the apology) is to detach it from the underlying structure of colonial knowledges which have formed the bedrocks of Western civilizations (cf. Mignolo, 2017). To engage with the decolonial-oriented path forward in conceptualizing indigeneity, I propose the following two ways. The first draws implications from Flyvbjerg (2001)'s analysis and the second from Maile Arvin (2015).

(1) Process in context: phronetic social science

I see Flyvbjerg's defense of social science and drawing from *phronesis* as a way of unsettling the established colonial structure. Calling for value-rationality, phronetic social science is resourceful for the purpose of re-conceptualizing indigeneity as a lived process forward.

Flyvbjerg (2001) developed phronetic social science, while drawing from Aristotle's idea of *phronesis*, which means prudence or practical wisdom. Flyvbjerg (2001) argues that *phronesis* is most useful when looking at social phenomena as it gives a tool to analyze issues of power. The tool, Flyvbjerg (2001, 2004) explains, is built upon a re-centering of value-rationality. The importance of value-rationality has been subsumed under the shadow of instrumental rationality, which was installed in the dominant position after the Enlightenment and modernity. The value-rationality being eclipsed by instrumental rationality has resulted in a situation that has made us overlook ethics in relation to social and political praxis (Flyvbjerg, 2001, pp. 53-55). Positioning indigeneity in the framework of phronetic social science is to retain this ethical outlook in relation to social and political praxis, to reflect on the values in the specific context.

Phronetic social science gives us tools to engage with power, justice and indigeneity through reflecting ethics and value-rationality. Social science with a phronetic approach means "carry[ing] out analyses and interpretations of the status of values and interests in society aimed at social commentary and social action, i.e. praxis." (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 61). In this sense, positioning indigeneity as *phronesis* is concerned with "contribut[ing] to society's practical rationality in elucidating where we are, where we want to go, and what is desirable according to diverse sets of values and interests" (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 167). Breaking away from an imposed external standard, indigeneity in the framework of phronetic social science calls for an emphasis on paying attention to the needs and interests in their contextualized settings.

To conceptualize indigeneity in a phronetic way helps us steer away from the pitfalls of seeing it as an entity or a category. It helps us to develop a contemporary concept of indigeneity by highlighting that the production of knowledge should be conceptualized in intimate familiarity with practice in contextualized Indigenous settings—or Indigenous "context-dependence" (Flyvbjerg, Landman & Schram, 2012). What is important about this realization is that indigeneity should not, and does not, stand external to the issues—let it be psychological, ecological, political, social and environmental—but as intertwined, entangled, encompassed or even synthesized. "[P]henomena do not stand in a bipolar external relationship to each other: power produces rationality and truth; rationality and truth produce power" (Foucault, cited in Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 124). Along a similar vein of power-knowledge, the idea of indigeneity should not be seen in abstractions, principles, theories and general criteria that would easily lead us astray from real practice in its context. In order to break away from these kinds of

understandings of indigeneity, we should inquire instead how power actually functions in the specific contexts where analyses of Indigenous peoples are made. Here, I do not only refer to academic studies, but also the politics and policies in which power-knowledge functions.

To see how power actually functions, proponents of conceptualizing indigeneity in their specific context argue that the notion of indigeneity should be located in the historical circumstances and processes experienced by the actors (cf. Guttorm, 2018; Simpson, 2007; Sung, 2011; Watan, 2019). In other words, Indigenous peoples' circumstances are integral in understanding who the Indigenous peoples are, just as Flyvberg (2001, p. 137) notes, "structures are found as part of actors and actors as part of structures". The examples of how indigeneity is defined on the international, regional and national level showed that the status is "acquired" under certain criteria. By contrast, conceptualizing indigeneity as a process of emergence does not regard that indigeneity can be simply "acquired" by fulfilling some external standards. Instead, indigeneity entails an active process of exercising and operating power; indigeneity is fluid and it is shaped in the knowledge-making process through discourses and interpretation (see Foucault, cited in Flyvberg, 2001, pp. 122-123). In this way, the exploration of indigeneity can allow a polyphony of voices, not one voice claiming authority. Seeing indigeneity as dialogical helps us to "produce social dialogue and praxis in a society", which responds squarely to the caveats which have been presented against use of indigeneity as a category. To treat indigeneity in the framework of phronetic research is "to clarify and deliberate about the problems and risks we face and to outline how things may be done differently, in full knowledge that we cannot find ultimate answers to these questions or even a single version of what these questions are." (Ibid., p. 140)

Thus far, I have explained one of the potential ways of reconceptualizing indigeneity: instead of seeing as an entity, it can be a process and unravel its socio-political and historical context. Below, I introduce another way to conceptualize indigeneity: one that embraces its fluidity and utilizes it as an analytic tool for awakening.

(2) Process of awakening: indigeneity is complex and fluid

I align the second proposal of conceptualizing indigeneity as a process of emergence with Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiian) researcher Maile Arvin (2015). Arvin (2015, p. 120) conceptualizes indigeneity as an analytic of contemporary forms of colonialism. This conceptualization assists us in unsettling the ways taken-for-granted categories were formed in colonialism in the first place. Arvin (2015, p. 121) defines indigeneity as follows, "the historical and contemporary *effects* [emphasis added] of colonial and anticolonial demands and desires related to a certain land or territory and the various displacements of that place's original or longtime inhabitants."

Indigeneity is established as a decolonial interpretation that is constantly in co-creation with the past and present effects of coloniality.

Conceptualizing indigeneity in this manner is to contrast seeing it as a static identity. Indigenous, as a marker of identity, opens the door for vanishing Indigenous peoples into other categories through the functions of caveats mentioned above. Those who are not judged primitive or authentic enough automatically lose their claims to Indigenous rights. In this process, they are “vanished”. Conceptualizing indigeneity by drawing attention to the effects of coloniality makes the fluidity of the category “Indigenous” seen and visible. Most importantly, instead of repeating claims of indigenous peoples as “sick and dying”—due to their “lack of authenticity” for example—this kind of reconceptualization can open up space for “boundaries of indigenous identity, culture, politics, and futures to new, productive possibilities” (Arvin, 2015, p. 126). This conscious choice of using indigeneity as an analytic tool gives possibilities for *awakening*. I understand awakening here according to Native Hawaiian scholar Manulani Aluli Meyer (2013a)

I didn't view myself as a true Indigenous person in my youth growing up in Hawaii. Where was my ethnic dress, ritual of healing, language, burying customs? They were indeed all around me, but dismissed as “things from another time.” ... Then came my own awakening and interest in *na mea waiwai*, in the *cultural wealth* of our own people. (Meyer, 2013a, pp. 251-252)

As demonstrated in the excerpt above, indigeneity is not a static personhood nor identity, but a process of becoming and emergence of a kind of celebration of identity. For Aluli Meyer, making visible the colonial logic (“things from another time”) gives rise to an awakening and “an activation of love of your life” that is embedded in the growth of people and community (Meyer, 2014).

Indigeneity as awakening is a complex and fluid process. In many cases, awakening entails a dialectic relationship with homeland (ancestral territory). In this vein, indigeneity as awakening is also a negotiation of home-coming. The element of water is utilized by Yang (2018) to describe the three types of fluidity of indigeneity.¹⁸ She identified the following three types of negotiation of indigeneity confronted by the Indigenous female writers (2018, p. 30), which also carries relevance for our purpose here. The first is return to the upper reaches of rivers (Huí yóu).¹⁹ Taking the image from salmon run, it specifies that indigeneity functions as a link between those Indigenous people awakened to their ethnicity and culture through their daily lives and actions, such as being, knowing, writing and living in general. The second type is to utilize indigeneity as an anchor for floating in between (Yóu yí).²⁰ In this case, indigeneity is regarded an active act of sojourning between subject and object,

¹⁸ The element of water is exemplified by utilizing the character 游 yóu

¹⁹ 洄游

²⁰ 游移

home and foreign land, leaving and returning. The third and last type is breaking the bond (Yóulí), which entails a sense of estrangement and alienation from the Indigenous identity.²¹ These three types are not mutually exclusive, but complex and intertwined. The findings entail that the process of awakening is not linear and clear-cut, but is constantly changing, complex and fragmented, and at times contradictory.

To summarize, I endorse that the notion of indigeneity should be understood via its contextualized settings and how power-knowledge has played part in shaping it. At the same time, it signifies a process of awakening, becoming and ongoing negotiation of the complex identities. The concept of indigeneity should not be seen to have a definite content. Neither should it be seen as clear-cut. Instead it is interwoven in the ongoing colonial history and the everyday lives of Indigenous peoples. Nevertheless, it should be noted that although using indigeneity as a category is problematic, the benefits outweigh the impediments. Most importantly, there is no way to avoid engaging indigeneity as a category when we deal with the contextualization of the fluid relationships between the Indigenous peoples and the state. Seeing indigeneity as a category has its use as long as we are aware of the pitfalls and caveats. With this in mind, proposing indigeneity as a lived experience in addition to a category offers more transformative ways forward.

2.3 ACCOMMODATING INDIGENEITY

In this section, I take up the contexts of both indigeneity and the state, and examine ways in which how indigeneity is seen by the state. In particular, I will analyze Indigenous peoples' situation by connecting to the project of unity and diversity. By the project of unity and diversity, I am referring to the undertaking faced by modern nation-state regarding the tension between uniting the country in one common identity and recognizing the myriad differentiated identities which come from the ethnocultural diversity. Accommodating indigenous rights has been commonly framed as a challenge of multiculturalism (Banting & Kymlicka, 2006). Yet this formulation of treating them as "just another minority" not only disregards their collective rights as Indigenous peoples, but also turns a blind eye in the colonial aspects of shaping indigeneity (cf. Chapter 2.2).

The first section explains the place of Indigenous peoples in the state project, and how the state takes consideration of Indigenous rights: in other words, how the state simplifies Indigenous claims and makes Indigenous peoples legible in the state apparatus via policies. The second section assesses who gains, who loses and the mechanisms of power as well as questions of value-rationality as a way to outline what this unity and diversity project is perceived to be from the Indigenous perspective.

²¹ 游離

2.3.1 THE LONG-STANDING STATE PROJECT: MAKING INDIGENOUS PEOPLES LEGIBLE

States tend to accommodate indigeneity through invoking the project that antagonizes unity and diversity. The antagonization is done through a governing apparatus that makes illegible societies into legible ones. The technique of this transformation is creating a set of rules and standards for uniformity. The state project is thus also a project of legibility (Scott, 1998, pp. 76-83). Below, I discuss the key features of the state project through three aspects. First, I explain how unity and diversity was made into a conflicting issue, followed by how theories of citizenship and “multiculturalism” were refined as an attempt to include a wider population. Second, I explain what this state project brings to Indigenous peoples through an example concerning rights to self-governance. Third, I review briefly the limitations of the state project.

To begin, the issue of unity versus diversity has been entrenched with the birth of nations. It used to be a pervasive trend that states assumed that diversity was incommensurable with the internal unity of any modern nation-state. Diversity was seen as a threat to political stability, therefore the nation-state should diminish diversity at all cost. In the period of growing nation-states, the ideology of “one country, one culture” was thought to be the justification for the nation-state’s existence (Simon, 2011). This monocultural imagination has been implemented in the form of assimilative policies. Often defended in the name of “efficiency”, policies resulting in assimilation have been readily observable in the way that minority languages were sternly restricted, national education was implemented (often as a tool to instill dogma fused with nationalism), and settlement policies to remove minorities out of the way of the territorial development plans were imposed (Kymlicka, 2001, pp. 73-82). In a similar vein, the doctrine of discovery has been utilized as an international instrument to Christianize “savages” all over the globe (cf. Miller, LeSage & Escarcena, 2010). In short, the project of unity and diversity, through the policies fused by the imagination of monoculture (as well as mono-religion and mono-ethnicity), can be seen as the root reason why the state cannot truly “accommodate” Indigenous peoples.

This ideology was challenged, especially after the Second World War, with T.H. Marshall (1950) proposing what has since been the commonly known as postwar orthodox view of citizenship. Marshall’s conception of citizenship was to accommodate the diversity question by ensuring everyone is treated as a full and an equal member of society. “Citizenship is a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community. All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed” (Marshall, 1950, pp. 28-29). Marshall divided the rights into three: civil, political and social rights. While Marshall suggests that social rights can be “the final element in the evolution of a participatory conception of citizenship” (Tweedy & Hunt, 1994), social rights are also the key tenets to the discussion on care for Indigenous elders. That being said, the question of indigeneity was

not directly being dealt with in Marshall's thought, let alone being dealt in the tradition generally.

The conception of citizenship derived from Marshall has been increasingly under attack for a myriad of reasons relating to responsibilities and virtues (Kymlicka & Norman, 1994). For this dissertation, the critique on how to better accommodate increasing social and cultural pluralism of modern societies is the focus here. The monocultural state project, in the same vein, was severely criticized for the fact that many groups—blacks, women, Indigenous peoples as well as ethnic, religious, and sexual minorities—feel excluded from the “commonness” that was supposed to be unproblematic through the common rights of citizenship (cf. Lister, 1997; Young, 1989; Kymlicka & Norman, 1994). The groups can only be incorporated when their difference and identities are heard and recognized. That is why the conception of “differentiated citizenship” (Young, 1989) was conceived. The common rights of citizenship—“originally defined by and for white men”—cannot accommodate the special needs of these groups (Kymlicka & Norman 1994, cf. Young, 1989). Members of these groups, such as Indigenous peoples, should be incorporated into the political community not only as individuals but also as groups. As we have seen, different sorts of groups have different histories, needs, aspirations, and identities, therefore their claims have specific nature and logic rooted in those differences (Kymlicka & Norman, 2000, pp. 24-25).

Second, for Indigenous peoples, it has been argued that the most appropriate group rights have been rights to self-governance (Kymlicka and Norman, 2000, pp. 26-27), basically meaning the “right to govern themselves in certain key matters, in order to ensure the full and free development of their culture and the best interests of their people” (Kymlicka & Norman, 1994, p. 372). The idea of self-government also underlines the transfer of power and jurisdiction from the central government to the Indigenous communities. Self-determination for the Indigenous peoples, realized through the trend of transferring power and jurisdiction, has been discussed in many different areas, including language, cultural autonomy, land rights, rights to natural resources, functions of self-determination institutions and financing schemes for these institutions as well as distinctive epistemologies, worldviews and knowledges (cf. Meyer, 2001; Bowers, 2010; Helander-Renvall, 2016). These areas, although varied and distinctive, echo the emphasis of the idea of conceiving Indigenous rights as a group right. Moreover, the self-government rights signify a reconciliation effort with the Indigenous peoples for the harms originated from the years of assimilation policies.

This urge to accommodate claims from *groups* gives rise to the “multicultural turn” in contemporary political theory. Multiculturalism can be defined generally understood as a particular approach to accommodate cultural and religious diversity. Specifically, it refers to “a broad array of theories, attitudes, beliefs, norms, practices, and policies that seek to provide public recognition of and support or accommodation for nondominant ethnocultural groups” (Iverson, 2015). Multiculturalism is viewed as a solution

to the critique of an imperfect conception of citizenship in relation to accommodating the diverse groups. In other words, it is a way to resolve the nation-state's dilemma between unity and diversity. Then, how does multiculturalism accommodate claims posed by Indigenous groups?

The tendency of acknowledging indigeneity in policies—that is, treating Indigenous peoples as distinctive groups with rights—has been discussed widely in political philosophy regarding citizenship and multiculturalism. Regardless of their varying level of eagerness to associate Indigenous peoples with rights to self-determination, political theorists have categorized the claims from Indigenous peoples to be demands for attempts to reimagine the boundaries of group rights. That is, political theorists remain vague concerning the extent to which Indigenous peoples enjoy the rights to self-determination.

Thus far, the project of unity versus diversity has evolved from an ideal of common citizenship for all individuals to a call to cherish differentiated cultural identities. This refers to an understanding that entails having a common identity shared with all other people in the country, but also being able to obtain a distinctive group-based identity (cf. Parekh, 2002; Kymlicka & Norman, 1994). Indeed, this is a formidable task for states dealing with increasingly multicultural demands. Just as political theorist Bhikhu Parekh assesses,

Multicultural societies... need to find ways of reconciling the legitimate demands of unity and diversity, achieving political unity without cultural uniformity, being inclusive without being assimilationist, cultivating among their citizens a common sense of belonging while respecting their legitimate cultural differences, and cherishing plural cultural identities without weakening the shared and precious identity of shared citizenship. (Parekh, 2002)

Parekh reminds us that modern societies with ethnocultural diversity have to seek methods to balance the common sense of national belonging while recognizing their differences (“respecting their legitimate cultural differences”). His remarks echo the core concern of the unity versus diversity project. The mechanisms of power behind the unity versus diversity project seem to be formed upon a problematic premise. Accommodating indigeneity is perceived as an inconvenient burden to nation states and universalizing tendencies for procedures to accommodate different sorts of group needs on a bureaucratic level. What kind of problems may be caused by this? Let us consider what the limitations of the state project are.

The state project, thus far, seems to reflect the fact that it does not deviate from treating unity and diversity as opposing ideas. The state project continues to make simplifications, abstractions and standardizations when encountering different groups with different needs. It makes more categories and ultimately homogenizes the population. The idea of diversity on the surface is important for the state to showcase their affinity to multicultural

liberal values; nonetheless, diversity is hardly recognized substantively, but only becomes a category with a “diversity” label under unity. This does not help accommodating anybody, but may make marginalization and stigmatization worse for those who are struggling on the peripheries. Therefore, it is crucial to politicize the thought behind such a conceptualization, and make the colonial, patriarchal, and capitalistic power relations that permeate Western thought visible.

In a similar vein, the exclusionary effect in the discourses of multiculturalism is evident. Far too often we hear the experts, some with the best intentions, argue how the rights of marginalized groups should be accommodated. We rarely hear from those who are being accommodated--those who are easily further marginalized in this way of narration. This silence of Indigenous peoples, among other disadvantaged groups, invokes the cacophony of liberal legal pluralism, which entails resubordinating marginal groups within a legal system that leaves their substantive disadvantages intact. It reminds us in a subtle way of continuous colonialism (Iverson, 2015, pp. 3-4).

2.3.2 THE EMERGING INDIGENOUS PROJECT: LEGITIMACY OF THE STATE

There is an emerging consensus among Indigenous peoples and their allies to question the legitimacy of the state’s accommodation project (cf. Sinclair, 2007; Simpson, 2000; Weaver, 2015; Andersen, 2015). They not only disagree with the historical narratives of the post-1950s that pre-suppose homogeneity as a prerequisite of state unity. They also do not agree with the taken-for-granted legitimacy of the state to make Indigenous peoples its citizens in the “multicultural” society. Instead, Indigenous peoples and their allies privilege nation-to-nation relationships, where Indigenous sovereignty and their inherent rights play a bigger role in the Western model of citizenship and multiculturalism. Through the structure of Western model of citizenship and multiculturalism, they can carry a monocultural understanding of those notions and determine which knowledge is legitimate and valid. To assess the speculation, let us consider the critiques of Western model of citizenship and multiculturalism at two levels: contextual and historical.

At the contextual level, in Asia, it is increasingly critiqued that the rhetoric of ‘multiculturalism’ is based on Western theories, often promoted by Western academics, governments and international organizations (He & Kymlicka, 2005). It can be observed that the global models of multiculturalism—as a means to resolve the controversy between unity and diversity—“loses its luster in Asia”. It is argued that Asia has always been a place of great ethnocultural diversity, as well as diversity in political institutions and historical pathways. There is also great diversity of intellectual traditions to draw upon to achieve peaceful coexistence between different groups. They have their own traditions, in principle, to accommodate diversity. However as I explained earlier, Asian

states have not been particularly successful in implementing the recognition of Indigenous rights as a whole. So the traditions and history to accommodate exist in Asia, but implementation to protect human rights is another issue. Consequently, the idea of citizenship and “multiculturalism”, which is perceived as coming from the Western model, is not always appropriate and even desirable as far as Asian countries are concerned (ibid.). If this is the case, it is even more necessary for the groups themselves who demand recognition in the name of cultural pluralism to participate, so that they are able to shape the way in which they are incorporated into the political community. In sum, on the contextual level, the Western model of citizenship and multiculturalism are criticized for being “out of place” in Asia.

From the viewpoint of history, colonial legacies persist in the development of political theories (cf. Chapter 1.1). Indigenous peoples were not incorporated into the nation state by choice, but by coercion, deception and even genocide. The idea of citizen—someone who has democratic rights and claims to justice (Kymlicka & Norman, 1994)—sits uneasily with Indigenous peoples (MacDonald, 2014; Simon, 2011). Namely, the model of citizenship is formed upon the Western tradition that was used as an instrument to eliminate Indigenous peoples in the first place. It is not peculiar to find out that Indigenous peoples do not trust the model of citizenship. Meanwhile, the model of citizenship itself does not fit Indigenous peoples either. Therefore, on the level of history, the Western model of citizenship and multiculturalism are criticized for turning a blind eye to the injustice and struggles faced by Indigenous peoples. Not only that, but they are also criticized for helping to commit colonialism against Indigenous peoples.

The viewpoint of history reminds us that when speaking about “accommodating” Indigeneity, colonialism has cast a long shadow over the lives of Indigenous peoples. Anybody who is interested in justice today must face the project of undoing the legacies of colonialism (Young, 2000). Taking a phronetic stance and asking “of what story or stories do I find myself a part?” (MacIntyre, 1981, cited in Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 137), it is easy to see that the ubiquitous discourse of multiculturalism is built on the assumption of an epistemic authority which has been mainly formed from a standpoint which does not consider colonial legacies. Addressing colonial legacies, Young calls for questioning the system of state sovereignty and offers a model of governance based on decentered diverse democratic federalism (2000, pp. 237-258), as a remedy and genuine solution to the project of unity and diversity. So from the historical viewpoint, we see that the power structure behind the project is inextricably linked to the legacies of coloniality.

Thus far, the unity and diversity project is translated into the language of the states “accommodating” the claims of Indigenous peoples. What are the potential problems with framing the issue this way? The two examples from context and history suggest that the institutions (e.g. state sovereignty systems) that are built upon the Western models are the ones who gain from framing the issue at the “accommodation” level. The ones who lose are the

people being “accommodated”, who are on the geographic and dominant knowledge-production peripheries.

Is such a way to “accommodate” diversity desirable? That is, if we take up the issue of indigeneity and the state, is it enough to follow the state’s proposal to make multicultural adjustments so indigeneity exists as a way in which the state is united in diversity? It is tempting to answer yes. After all, the attitude of the state has shown much improvement, considering it used to commit forced assimilation, coercion and even genocide to remove Indigenous peoples. Yet, the lingering colonialism and the ongoing manifests of coloniality suggest that it is not enough to just make Indigenous peoples “accommodated”. So is accommodating Indigenous peoples’ diversity while forgetting about colonialism desirable? My answer to this is No.

What, then, should be done instead when thinking about accommodating indigeneity? The fact that we acknowledge that “accommodating Indigenous peoples” is not desirable inspires us towards new and alternative ways of thinking and theorizing the project of unity and diversity. In the case of addressing Indigenous peoples’ claims, it should be done in a substantial way, not just as a symbolic accommodation at a superficial level. Yet a symbolic accommodation is a cost-effective way for the state. Given the imbalance of power relations between the state and Indigenous peoples, the state can get away with accommodating them superficially without considering the aspirations from the marginalized group. In addition, the state also has the advantage of legitimacy that gives it power to decide what is thinkable and plausible. Frances Bacon advocated “knowledge is power”, yet, a more realistic picture is “power is knowledge”, as power gets to define what counts as knowledge and defines the physical, economic, social and environmental reality that we deem as possible (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 155).

Along similar vein, Parekh (2000) argues that to integrate differences politically, we should definitely not adapt to maximum unity (he calls it a ‘proceduralist’ view), nor should we try to achieve uniformity in the public realm while allowing diversity in a limited manner in the private realm (‘civic assimilation’ view). Parekh argues that differentiated identities should be treated as a value to be cherished, not merely just to be accommodated (‘millet model’). Neither Kymlicka nor Parekh mention what accommodating diversity in the area of long-term care means for the Indigenous elderly. I have written elsewhere that a liberal multicultural state may fall into traps of accommodating diversity that are detached from self-determination and equitable jurisdiction for the Indigenous peoples (cf. Gao, 2018), which are the key areas of rights for the Indigenous peoples. To conceptualize on liberal terms such as “accommodating the diversity of Indigenous elderly people” will only reduce achievements on the superficial rhetorical level. In my dissertation I hope to understand Indigenous elderly care with this constraint more in-depth, by contrasting the state’s perspective on elderly care for the Indigenous peoples on the one hand, and the Indigenous perspective on the other.

The project of unity and diversity is a valid and increasingly important challenge. It is important and relevant for all states with groups that are ethnoculturally diverse. I argue that the project cannot be approached only by the state as “a problem of diversity to be solved”, as it only addresses the superficial level of the problem. Instead, the project of unity and diversity should be approached by taking up both the perspectives of the state and the of Indigenous peoples. Through what? Through the state and the Indigenous peoples working together to define what the problem is and what to do about it. Working in collaboration is essential to find solutions for such a project. That is, looking at the issue from both sides and through a more dialogical approach (Flyvbjerg, 2001, pp. 157-158). The definitions and solutions should be more bottom-up, not top-down. Many scholars have already contributed to such reinterpretation of what is possible concerning disadvantaged groups in relation to the project of unity and diversity. In the case of Indigenous peoples, Ivison (2015) deduces that the problem lies in the assumed legitimacy of the multicultural state. He points out that Indigenous sovereignty continues to evolve and change and is inherent—Indigenous peoples have always been entitled, but they are denied.

To conclude, in relation to “of what story or stories do I find myself a part?” (MacIntyre, 1981, cited in Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 137), I find myself being able to listen and understand stories from both sides: the side of the state and the Indigenous peoples. For one, I understand the state’s perspective and the urge to manage population through dividing all groups into legible units. For the other, I understand the weight of colonization and the ongoing colonial impacts that lead to Indigenous health inequalities (Reid and Robson, 2007). That is, I hear both sides of the stories. Yet, I find myself more a part in the Indigenous story.

In the case of long-term care for the elderly, understandings of colonization and Indigenous health inequalities will allow us to see layer upon layer of power structures—or “new systems, new history, new values and new ideas” in Reid and Robson (2007)’s words—established to determine what qualifies as care resources for the elderly, how the resources will be obtained and redistributed, and to whom. Arguing from a Maori perspective, Reid and Robson (*ibid.*) argue that the power structures lay out who will benefit and be privileged which has bearing to Indigenous wellbeing and health.

[T]hey promote new ideas about who is normal (and therefore who is not); who is knowing and who is ignorant; who is civilized and who is barbaric; who is deserving and who is undeserving; and who is good and who is bad. Through this process Maori move from being normal to being ‘different’ from Pakeha, non-Maori, non-indigenous norms. Maori rights as *tangata whenua* are appropriated as we become marginalized, reclassified and scrutinized as ‘outsiders’. (Reid and Robson, 2007, p. 5)

To take coloniality into account, it is clear that a mere recognition of differentiated identities is not enough to address the complex and fluid issue of Indigenous sovereignty. Thought that is not delinked from its colonial roots may exacerbate the process of making Indigenous peoples “different”—in a sense of dehumanization, from paternalism to romanticism. In this sense, the project of unity and diversity does not merely exist on the level of accommodating groups with differentiated identities. We should go beyond this kind of universal and neutral perspective and cultivate new ways to engage with the project.

2.4 SUMMARY

This chapter sets out to discuss the understanding of a central concept for this study, namely indigeneity. I examined the concept of indigeneity both within and between the states and as a lived conceptualization. I pointed out that the definition of indigeneity within and between the states is criticized for reifying the boundaries of ethnicity. Indigenous peoples tend to be created to conform with an essentialized and primitive image, or to be invisible altogether. I argue that it is still good to use the notion of indigeneity despite these disadvantages for two reasons. On the one hand, the shortcomings of using indigeneity as a concept among states have provided the main impetus toward developing approaches that regard indigeneity as a lived process. Under a lived process, indigeneity is open-ended, fluid and dynamic. On the other hand, the term “Indigenous peoples” is highly political and allows us possibilities to engage with pursuit for justice. Holding onto indigeneity allows us to investigate the close entanglement between concepts such as indigeneity, imperialism, colonialism and coloniality. These entanglements also foster possibilities of healing, recovery, reconciliation, resilience and indirectly also self-determination, sovereignty and jurisdiction in current states that Indigenous peoples live in. For these two reasons, the notion of indigeneity should be kept regardless its imperfections.

In the last subchapter, I brought together the state and indigeneity under accommodation of indigeneity. The aspirations of Indigenous peoples in contemporary liberal democratic states are often framed as “to what extent diversity is accommodated”. I elaborate such a state perspective, followed by the indigenous perspective.

I explained where the state “accommodating” Indigenous peoples has come about as well as good reasons that have made us question the legitimacy of the state. Mere “accommodating diversity” is not enough. We need to cultivate new ways to engage with the project and to think critically about the legitimacy of the state. In so doing, we can contemplate on what terms unity and diversity exist. The ways in which we imagine Indigenous peoples can be accommodated to have implications in caring for the Indigenous elders, which is the focus of this study.

If we see only one side of the story, say the state's perspective, then the idea of unity and the notion of diversity are in tension with one another. If we prioritize nation-building, then the substantial coexistence of unity and diversity is a paradox. On the one hand, the idea of unity and a homogenous community underpins the basic functions of social rights, which are entrenched in the notion of nation-building. Nation-building is understood as a policy principle to create a shared and communal identity among certain population. Creating, fostering and consolidating a common national identity and culture are also basic functions of social rights. Social rights, as Kymlicka (2002) argues, involve generally "the right to gain certain common benefits through common public institutions operating in a common national language, so as to meet basic needs while simultaneously creating a common national identity." (Kymlicka, 2002, p. 329). The logic of long-term care for the elderly rests upon this sense of commonness—citizens are treated equally with common entitlements and experiences. On the other hand, the idea of diversity is embedded in the promotion of differentiated identities as a means of resisting the injustices which were created in the nation-building process (Kymlicka, 2002). However, unity and diversity do not need to be conceptualized as relationship of a tension. In my project of examining Indigenous elders and care, I wish to demonstrate a new way to approach the project of unity and diversity by taking up both sides of the story. Due to the imbalance of power relations, Indigenous voices needed to be strengthened in order to give a full picture. This is why the Indigenous research paradigm is placed at the core of the analysis, not only as a theoretical and conceptual framework, but also as a methodological and epistemological tool. I explain the context of Tayal and Tayal hermeneutics within Indigenous research paradigm more at length in the next chapters.

3 WHO ARE THE TAYAL? CONTEXTUALIZING THE RESEARCH

In this chapter I will introduce a brief history of Tayal and particularly Tayal in Wulai as a way to contextualize the analysis of Indigenous elderly care which will be the focus of my empirical analysis.²² The Tayal are less known compared to their Austronesian cousins, such the Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Tayal and the other Indigenous peoples in Taiwan are Austronesian people who are linguistically, culturally and ethnically different from the Han Chinese people living in Taiwan (as explained in Chapter 2, cf. Blundell, 2009; Lin, Icyeh & Kuan, 2007). For thousands of years, they lived in small tribal groups scattered across the island of Taiwan, having rich cultures of spoken stories (cf. Cheng, 2017; Watan, 2019). The arrival of Han Chinese and Japanese had a major effect on them. Today Indigenous peoples in Taiwan consist of two percent of the Taiwanese population, and Tayal people make up nearly one fourth of the Indigenous population.

I structure the past and present of Tayal people in the Taiwanese society through sociopolitical categories. In the context of Taiwan they can be divided into primary society (corresponding to 19th century and prior), secondary society (corresponding to the end of 19th to 1980s) and transition to tertiary society (corresponding to 1980s-now).²³ These three categories provide a horizontal timeline of the Tayal's sociopolitical trajectories in Taiwan, which will be discussed first on the general level describing Tayal's collective history in Taiwan. It will be followed by a contextual zoom into the case of Tayal in Wulai.

To tell the Tayal's collective history in Taiwan, I focus on describing the Tayal people and culture during early settlement, including their livelihood, societal structure, traditions, elders' role and cosmology. Through this, I hope to give a bird's-eye view of the important cultural tenets of Tayal people and society, which have relevance to the care for the elders (cf. Chapter 8).²⁴ The

²² Tayal was referred in the earlier literature as Atayal, which was used in ethnology and anthropology. For the sake of consistency I call them Tayal.

²³ I am aware that using the categories that represent the struggle between the Indigenous peoples and the state as if it were a linear progression is misleading. Yet, as the point is to emphasize the presence of imperialism and coloniality still prevalent today, as it is important in the context of Taiwan, I take the risk of utilizing these categories.

²⁴ The information on this period before colonial conquest, or so-called 'primary society', was accumulated typically by ethnologists, historians, linguists and anthropologists during the colonial conquest. It shows the multi-faceted relationship between the Indigenous peoples and the researchers associated with empires. Indigenous peoples are still wary of the researchers because of their infringement of ethics, on the other hand, the materials which were written by the researchers have been invaluable to reconstruct and revive the Indigenous culture.

second part tells what happened to the Tayal's society and tradition after Taiwan was ceded to Japan, or at the outset "secondary society". During this period, Indigenous traditions were banned and the ruling government saw zero value of continuing indigenous culture. The official categorization of Indigenous peoples in Taiwan is explained to show the close association between the colonial government and anthropology. Commissioned by the Japanese government, the Japanese anthropologists established a categorization system and in-depth research about Indigenous peoples that still has relevance today. The third part tells about the change and Tayal's revitalization efforts to regain power and autonomy. The transition to the era of regaining self-determination and autonomy (or the "tertiary society") is marked by the lift of Martial Law in 1987, the rise of Indigenous movements from 1980s, the official apology and the launch of Committee of Transitional Justice. After the overall story of Tayal people, I focus on Wulai, the northernmost part of Tayal territory and where my empirical fieldwork of their concept of care took place. I incorporate the local history, geography and contemporary development. After introducing these two layers, I will bring a synthesis of how old Tayal tradition and culture coexist with the modern ways.

Before we begin the contextual history of Tayal people, I will explain how Tayal identity has transformed throughout the years—across primary, secondary and tertiary society—through looking at how they were named by themselves or others. It has bearing to the state-Indigenous relationship and it signifies how "the other" is constructed. The changing indigeneity through the politics of naming for the Tayal is highly relevant and contextual to this research.

3.1 ENCOUNTERING TAYAL INDIGENEITY IN THE POLITICS OF NAMING

The indigeneity of the Tayal is complex, layered and constantly evolving (see more about indigeneity in Chapter 2). I understand Tayal indigeneity as developing through a mutual construction of both colonizer/colonized subjectivities (see Young 2000, Simpson 2007). This understanding is crucial in the case of how "Tayal" and "buluo" come into being.

Tayal means human, human-being in the Tayal language. The word Tayal is composed of *mita* (look after) and *rhzyal* (land): looking after and caring for the land. For one, encountering Tayal's indigeneity is, in essence, about engaging with what it means to be human and what it means to live intimately in and *with* the changing environment. This is a more ideal, onto-epistemological meaning of Tayal indigeneity. For another, asserting indigeneity in the context of naming and re-naming of people and places is about making the settler-colonial process visible (cf. Gray & Rück 2019). Analyzing Tayal indigeneity in the politics of naming is in itself an affirmation of the Indigenous research paradigm, which lies in the core of the dissertation.

I explore Tayal's indigeneity and naming in two parts. One is a more onto-epistemological one that conceptualizes it through the layers of home, the other concerns the settler-colonial process of renaming. The Tayal's onto-epistemological identity and belonging—their indigeneity—were formed through the two layers of home (*ngasal* in Tayal). The first layer of home is based on intimate relational ties, including blood lineages, marriage, ceremonial rituals and adoption. The key feature of the relational ties is that they are flexible and practice-based. Persons included in the “home” change and adapt based on the everyday practices (Wang, 2014). In Tayal language, the word *qalang* is used to mean the residence of a group of individuals, or “settlement” in English (Lin, Icyeh & Kuan, 2007, p. 146). More broadly, *qalang* can be referred to as a homeland, a nation, a country and an autonomous entity as a whole. Today, the fluidity of the concept was disrupted. The idea of home was remade in line with administrative borders, that is, it has not since been purely practice-based, but a mixture of government's administrative gaze and the original practice-based meanings. The term *buluo* was used first by the colonizers, later it also started to include meanings by the Indigenous peoples themselves, to refer to their ancestral homeland. The meaning of *buluo* was institutionalized to refer to a group of people bonded by traditional rituals and living together in a designated area approved by the authority (Article 2, Indigenous Peoples Basic Law 2005). The fluidity of the original meaning of “home” gets diminished in the official definition of *buluo*. The official definition encourages us to overlook its meaning of being human, especially in relation to being a part of the environment: the mountains, forests and the rivers. The Tayal's *qlqalang*, plural of *qalang*, are usually built near the rivers. Across tributaries of the same river, different *qlqalang* were built and flourished. This leads us to the second layer of home.

The second layer of home, *ngasal*, is embedded in the riverscape, the watershed on which a number of *qlqalang* are distributed. As the riverscape constitutes the Tayal's epistemology, rivers are sacred for the Tayal people (cf. Chapter 4). Rivers run through the landscape—their country, homeland and nation—giving life. River is *Llyung* in Tayal, and the idea of home, *Qutux Llyung*, then entails a group of the Tayal within the same watershed along a river. It implies that by sharing the same water source, they are part of an extended family (Chen et al., 2018).²⁵ For example, Tayal territory in northern Taiwan consists of six watersheds (Kuan & Chen, 2013), see Figure 2 below.

²⁵ Another more academic term for the *qutux llyung* is “root society”. It refers to those Tayal who belong to the same clan (that is, same root), within the larger watershed.

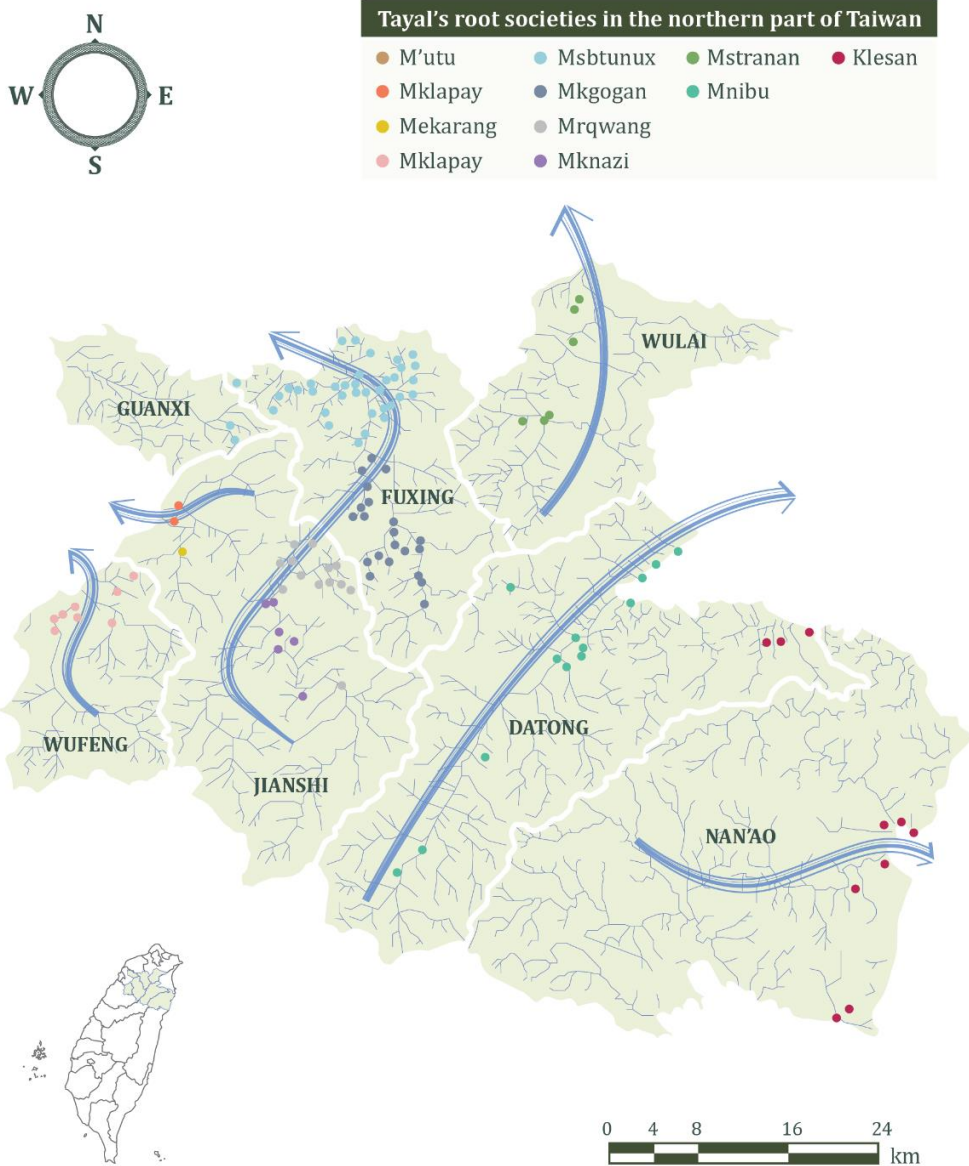


Figure 2. Tayal's root societies in the northern part of Taiwan. "Evaluating the Network for the Co-management of Natural Resource in Tayal Traditional Territory, Northern Taiwan," by Kuan & Chen, 2013, *Journal of Geographic Information System*. Map visualized and remade by Pei-Yu Lin. Adapted with permission.

The site where this research has taken place, Wulai, belongs to the *Mstaranan*. Taranan (or Tranan, for consistency I use Taranan) means “the place where we used to be” (Liao, 1984), and “Ms” is a prefix meaning people belonging to some place. The Tayal community in Wulai, from a Tayal perspective, is more accurately expressed as “Tayal people living along the Llyung taranan”. The identity and belonging of the Tayal are thus consolidated through the two layers of home, namely, the practice-based flexible layer and the riverscape that is shared with others along the same watershed.

While these two layers strengthen a sense of internal identity, a facial tattoo constructs external identity—in a sense that it distinguishes the people without facial tattoos as others. Facial tattoo (*Ptasan* in Tayal language) carries the most significant relevance to Tayal identity. Facial tattoo is visible and thus forms a strong sense of group. It is the tangible form of how the sacred law Gaga operates in accordance to the Tayal cosmology. (Yapu, 1999; Wang, 2006; Watan, Lin & Taru, 2008) The logic of internal and external identities can be traced back to the time before the invasion by the colonizers. These identities and sense of belonging still play a role today (for Tayal identity transformation in religion, see Wang, 2018). These features can thus be regarded as forming the first part of the Tayal identity.

The second part of Tayal identity concerns the renaming perpetrated by the settlers. Indigenous Peoples in Taiwan were labeled with demeaning names throughout the process of varying waves of settlers. During the Qing dynasty, the Indigenous peoples were named *Fān* (savage). The settlers applied the Han Chinese understanding of tattooed face (‘Qíng Miàn’, an ancient punishment against slaves) and called the Tayal “Qíng Miàn Fān” (meaning “a savage who received tattoo punishment”). The meaning of *Ptasan* (a tattooed face), a significant cultural protocol that marked a Tayal’s coming of age, was distorted. The colonial renaming was done to weaken Tayal’s identity and existence. The colonial renaming was further applied to the whole island, as all Indigenous peoples were dehumanized (*Shou Fān*, cooked savage, and *Shen Fān*, raw savage, see Chapter 1.3).

Tayal’s identity was further entangled in colonial threads in the era of Empire of Japan (cf. Chapter 1.3). Indigenous peoples across the island were categorized as *Fān* attached to different places. Like a specimen under the close examination of a meticulous surgeon, the Tayal people in Wulai were labeled as the *Malai Fān* and the *Kusshaku Fān*. The prominent impact from the Japanese era was the lumping of Indigenous peoples with tattooed faces into a seemingly homogenous group, called “the Tayal tribe”. The anthropological reports commissioned by the Taiwan Governor General reflect the Japanese ruling over Indigenous peoples in Taiwan (cf. Barclay, 2017; Yap, 2016).

I explore the Tayal’s indigeneity with this historical context in mind. That is, I do not take the term “Tayal people” (*Tàiyǎ zú* in Mandarin) for granted. I make this stand not only because the term “Tayal” should be seen as a

construct that was institutionalized under the Japanese colonial administration, tourism industry and scholarly apparatus (Barclay, 2017, pp. 190-250), but also because Indigenous peoples have *practiced* the term, embodied the term in their onto-epistemological knowledge and thus the term has been reinvented and transformed for their purposes. Indeed, with the massive colonial expansion to the Tayal territory, reifying the identity of the Tayal as if it were an unchanged category is deeply problematic (cf. Chapter 2.2.1). However, the Indigenous peoples in Taiwan have demonstrated strength and resilience by using such reified indigeneity as a starting point for a resurgence of tribal knowledges. This reflects absorbing indigeneity as an imposed category and adapting it into an indigenizing process of resurgence (cf. Chapter 2.2.2). The transitioning can be seen in the establishment of “*xué*”.

The last two decades have witnessed the resurgence of ethnic group-specific Indigenous research in Taiwan, in particular, the making of “[insert a name of a group] *xué*”. “*Xué*” is Mandarin Chinese, in this context meaning -ics, -logy and -try. Contextually it reflects the core values shared by decolonizing and indigenizing research (Mataira, Matsuoka & Morelli, 2005; Fejo-King & Mataira, 2015). The goal of establishing a group-specific *xué* is to tackle the problem of othering by producing academic knowledge through flipping the position of Indigenous peoples from objects to subjects (Sun, 2014). Through holding academic events with the theme surrounding a specific ethnic group, Indigenous peoples get to unite and make sure they can interpret culture in their own way (Hsieh, 2017; see also Lin, 2018). So although the notion of an ethnic group carries an inextricable link to the colonial settlers, the contemporary meaning of Tayal is interwoven with Indigenous resistance, resilience and agency. Instead of being patronized, Indigenous peoples are taking up the opportunity to define their indigeneity.

Indigenous peoples in Taiwan did not see themselves belonging to certain “ethnic group” before the Japanese came. From a Tayal perspective, what was more important was who belonged to the autonomous worship group, such as *Qutux Gaga* and *Qutux Ramu*, and whether we share the same *Llyung* (river), as it defines the fluid sociality between us (Wang, 2003). The categorization of Tayal ethnic groups was originally imposed by the colonial settlers for their *Riban* (savage management) purpose. Instead of ethnic group, Indigenous peoples refer to themselves as belonging to certain *buluo* (Ming, 2012). In other words, *buluo* not only ties closely with indigeneity, but also functions as a basis for the revitalization of Indigenous culture and onto-epistemological knowledges.

It is to be noted that such indigenous revitalization is by no means homogenous. In fact, encountering indigeneity in contemporary Taiwan also entails acknowledging the differences within the groups. We can trace several potential conflicts in the process of recognizing Taiwan’s Indigenous peoples (cf. Chapter 1.3). The lift of Martial Law in 1987 marked a whole new era in the state-Indigenous relationship. It not only entailed a transition to the tertiary society, but also the start of Indigenous peoples navigating their claims of self-

determination in the state's recognition-based approaches (cf. Coulthard, 2014).

As a result of an increasingly stronger civil society after the lift of Martial Law, two groups—the Truku and the Seediq—that were originally categorized as Tayal demanded to have their own names recognized. In 2003, the Truku was separated from the Tayal, followed by the Seediq receiving its own status in 2008. Though Tayal, the Truku and the Seediq all have facial tattoo and overlapping Tayal cosmology as core characteristics, although linguistic differences and practices can be found within them. Many Indigenous rights activists worried that these differences would lead to more dispute and conflict within the pan-Tayal group. For example, there were proposals that the Tayal should be recognized as two, three, four, even five different groups. This further separation was understood as undesirable by many Elders (cf. Liao, 1984).

In the post-Martial law era, the Tayal has begun to consider reconstructing a common Tayal identity as a way to have a stronger voice in the democratic Taiwan. Tayal Elder Laysa Akyo has proposed an image of Tayal community through Tayal philosophy and legends (Akyo, 2012)

Qutux puqing kinhulan ta kwara. (We all belong to the group that has one origin) (Akyo, 2012, p. 37)²⁶

Consequently, in this dissertation, I recognize the problematics of the term of the Tayal as it was coined and used as a categorization with homogenous connotations during the Japanese colonial period. I understand and respect the struggle of people who were forcefully regarded as Tayal, but saw themselves as Truku and Seediq instead. With this issue in mind, this dissertation, however, cannot tackle this complex issue at length. The term Tayal is here used to refer to the Indigenous peoples with the common facial tattoo tradition.

This decision is consciously made to continue the conceptual tradition established by Masaw Mona, the first Tayal scholar who made big strides in Tayal-centered history through his in-depth ethnographic research. Masaw advocated for uniting the Tayal people and contested the politically-infused separation movement. I approach the term Tayal from the holistic, broadly-defined viewpoint. By adopting this holistic definition of Tayal, I hope to utilize the naming as a way to voice community interest and re-examine the taken-for-granted understanding of the Tayal people under the rapidly changing contemporary Taiwanese society (Ma, 2000).

Thus far, I discussed the layered polyphony of who are the Tayal both with the state and within themselves. Instead of treating the term “Tayal” as an imposed disruption, Tayal's society and sociality have adapted and evolved along with the colonial influence (cf. Wang, 2006). Tayal activists even see the

²⁶ 我們都同屬於一個起源的民族

group of Tayal as source of resistance and cultural revival. It is similar to how buluo is used these days. Below, I offer a contextual analysis of Tayal as a closer look at this issue.

3.2 TAYAL IN TAIWAN AS A WHOLE

We already talked about the concept of indigeneity and the two layers of home that constitute Tayal identity and belonging. But who are the Tayal exactly? The Tayal people are one of the Austronesian people who has been inhabiting in Taiwan for thousands of years. By mid-2018, the official census registration indicated that the number of the Tayal was approximately 135 000 and their traditional territory spread across the mountainous central and northern Taiwan.²⁷ Below, I will discuss the important cultural tenets for the Tayal people as they have bearing on how the Tayal experience care.

3.2.1 THE TAYAL IN PRE-SETTLER TIME

From the Tayal point of view, the life comes from the river. It is from the river that lives grow and expand and on which cosmology and epistemology is based. Observing the cultural landscape around the Tayal's life, Kuan (2013) affirms that rivers not only represent a means of shared resources, but also bond the Tayal together through shared language, blood and memories. Riverscape also has relational implications. Yap (2016, pp. 143-144) confirms that Tayal people's social relations are inextricably tied to each river watershed.²⁸

Tayalness is closely embedded in the riverscape. For example, many Tayal words that depict body parts are visible in the environment. The middle of the chest where it goes lower is in the Tayal language is called *hbun*, which is used to describe a place where two rivers meet (cf. Chapter 5.3).

Tayalness in different communities is tied to its ancestral place and the social relations built within the watershed among the people living in different *qlqalang*. As it is tied to the place and relations, the Tayal's spatial relations are not fixed. Instead, they determined by their social relations that might change depend on the dynamic interactions between *qlqalang* (Lin, Icyeh & Kuan, 2007, p. 146). In the spirit of teasing out the fluid social relationships

²⁷ The number of 135,000 is composed of Tayal around 92,000, Truku 32,000 and Seediq 10,500.

²⁸ Legend has it that Tayal people originated in 'Pinsbkan' (nowadays in Nantou county, Taiwan) and Tayal descendants were born out of a big rock in a place called 'sbkan'. Two Tayal Elders, Yaway Temu (born in 1929) and Kumu Nokan (born in 1936), confirmed the central importance of 'Pinsbkan' to Tayal people and the separating place 'Sbayan' within Tayal's migration history (Hola, 2013). These stories are important markers of how Tayal people connect to land and their relationship are negotiated in the landscape of rivers.

embedded in the land, three cultural tenets shall be elaborated in closer detail. They are *ptsan* (facial tattoo), *Gaga* (Tayal's sacred law) and *lmuhuw* (Tayal's epic story).

Ptsan, or Facial tattoo, used to be the most apparent feature shared by the Tayal.²⁹ The *ptsan* differentiates the Tayal from other tribes, as well as a way to record accomplishments in the Tayal society. As there was no written language, the Tayal's *ptsan* functioned like a family book and a resumé. It told which family this person was from and what achievements and status this person had in the community.³⁰

The traditional Tayal cosmology was closely tied to the *ptsan*: one needed to have the tattoo to be accepted and to be able to walk the bridge made of rainbow to join the ancestral spirits. In Tayal, rainbow is *Hongu Utux*; hongu means bridge, *Utux* means spirit. *Ptsan* signifies that one has taken the agreement to unite to become *Tayal balay*, a real Tayal, entailing both the biological and cultural layer, as Yupas Watan, a Tayal elder and an anthropologist observes:

“The concept of being human for the Tayal has two layers. The first one is rooted in the relations between children and parents; the second is patas [tattooed people]. Only with these two layers you are a “Tayal balay” (real Tayal person). (Watan, 2009, cited in Hsu, 2011, p. 156)

In sum, *ptsan* has a practical and spiritual meaning and was followed by the Tayal collectively. *Ptsan* defines Tayal's way of life, central characteristic and dignity that has passed on across generations (cf. Yapu, 1999). *Ptsan* was a symbol of glory and honor and it represented one abiding the sacred law and carrying on the Tayal's cosmology.

The second tenet defining Tayalness concerns the sacred law *Gaga*.³¹ It defines the moral order in the Tayal society. The Tayal used to live in small close-knit communities regulated by the moral order *Gaga*, driven from the omnipresent spirit(s) *Utux*. These close-knit communities were small autonomous groups formed in the name of the sacred law *Gaga*. A Tayal had various responsibilities based on the riverscape (e.g. *Qutux Llyung*) (Kuan, 2013, p. 102) and smaller practice-based groups (e.g. *Qutux Niqan*), which can be understood as equivalent to a loosely defined “family” in the modern

²⁹ The Tayal here referred to the officially recognized Tayal, Truku and Seediq groups, all of which have facial tattoo tradition. While other Indigenous peoples in Taiwan have the tattooing tradition, it is done on other parts of the body (for example Paiwan people tattooed on the hands).

³⁰ Although the patterns were different among different clans, in principle the *ptsan* was applied to the forehead and chin (for men) and to the forehead and cheeks (for women). Apart from the practical function, facial tattoo also carried a layer of spiritual meaning.

³¹ “*Gaga*” is “*Gaya*” in two Seediq dialects.

context (Lin, 2015).³² These autonomous groups formed the basic unit of Tayal society, bonded by the sacred law of *Gaga*.

Gaga composed the fundamental layer of Tayal culture and the basis of the belief system, which was conceptualized as a contract between human and the *Utux*.³³ The Tayal society thus functioned to maintain a harmonious human-*Utux* relationship/contract on which Tayal societal structure and behavioral norms were established (Hwa, Hong & Lin, 2010).

Tayal experienced the world in a wholistic and broad way, and many of the characteristics might be categorized as animistic beliefs. For example, Tayal people believed that the spirit of *Utux* exists in the land, mountains, rivers, trees, birds and fish, and the Tayal people—both the living and the deceased. One dies, but *Utux* lives on. The Tayal people were surrounded by *Utux*, just as *Utux* was embraced by them. Spatially, as *Utux* existed in all the beings, the Tayal *were* land, stones, plants, mountains, fish, sky, earth and wind. Culturally, *Utux* was central in their cosmology.

The Tayal's cosmology can be observed in how living and dying were depicted. Elders often reminded, “Ita squlioq ga, aring mwah ta rhiyal qani lga, nyux ta nya iminun na *Utux* la, tminun hongu, hongu na *Utux*.” (“We human, our lives begin with *Utux*'s weaving: a spirit-woven bridge”) (cited in Icyeh, 2011, p. 78).³⁴ When a Tayal passed on, Elders would say “wayal suqun tminun *Utux* la” (*Utux* has finished weaving), and the spirit of the deceased would travel across *Hongu Utux* into the land of the spirit (Icyeh, 2011, p. 78).

Gaga has been the highest principle for all the aspects of Tayal life. From cradle to grave, *Gaga* has regulated ordinary people's behaviors on a daily basis, for example in regards to birth, naming, how to cohabit before marriage, sexual morality and hunting. *Gaga* has been the moral order that should be followed, and violating *Gaga* is believed to bring misfortune to oneself, or even the community. As one Tayal elder describes *Gaga*:

It (referring to *Gaga*) is binding, strongly. So it cannot be disobeyed, just as the Ten Commandments in the Bible, we Indigenous people are more or less the same—we cannot go astray from the Ten Commandments. The things that are forbidden, if you transgress it—(for example) you are bound to fall of the cliff, or be bitten by snakes when you go into the mountains. Therefore the binding is strong. (Hwa, Hong & Lin, 2010, p. 53)

³² Qutux in this context means join in one, Niqan means eat. A Qutux Niqan may be around 50 people and traditionally they made decisions in consultation with the elders (Mona, 2014). Belonging to the same Qutux Niqan meant the people followed the same calendar to conduct worship ceremonies and shared means of subsistence such as agriculture together (Hwa, Hong & Lin, 2010, p.52).

³³ The idea of contract entails at least six types of relationships, including “appealing to *Utux* for answers”, “appealing blessings from *Utux*”, “conversing with *Utux*”, “divination of the holy bird *ssiliq*”, “begging forgiveness”, and “appealing to *Utux* for arbitration” (Hwa, Hong & Lin, 2010, p. 32).

³⁴ 我們人的生命從一生出來即是 *Utux* 在編織，編織一座神靈之橋

On an abstract level, *Gaga* functions like a customary law that defined rights and responsibilities. In this sense, *Gaga* is equivalent to “law”.³⁵ Knowledge of *Gaga* is not written, but passed on orally. This means *Gaga* is flexible and allowed space for different interpretations among Tayal societies. Hence “Maki nanak *Gaga* nya”, meaning, “*Gaga* exists in everything”. (Icyeh, 2011, p. 70)³⁶

The implications of what *Gaga* as a contract between human and *Utux* meant is taught by Elders. The philosophy of living and dying is thus created: when a Tayal is still breathing, s/he is expected to participate in a social organization that is based on the healthy human-*Utux* contract. By doing so, he or she who follows the daily behavioral norms in accordance with the human-*Utux* contract might join the spiritual world with the ancestors when one had stopped breathing. While Elders passes down the teaching of *Gaga* to the next generations, Tayal’s culture and spirituality are strengthened and societal, economic, political structure are sustained. Elder Besu Hayung states, “The most important responsibility for *Mrhuw* [leader] is to maintain *Gaga*. To teach young people and people in the tribe who were not familiar with it. To maintain tribal order!” (cited in Watan, Lin & Taru, 2008, p. 42)³⁷

Through maintaining *Gaga*, the community is linked to the ancestral spirits, so the human-*Utux* relation resumed its balance. The elders plays an important role in practicing the cultural protocol and upholding the sacred law of *Gaga*. What do the elders tell about where the Tayal come from and how each group relates to one another? This brings us to the third tenet of Tayalness.

Lmuhuw refers to an ancient way of chanting and an oral storytelling tradition. From the Tayal point of view, *lmuhuw* is the annals and sacred text of *Gaga* (Yu, 2008, p.15).³⁸ The content of the *lmuhuw* typically entails vivid stories of the migration story of the Tayal and the sacred law of *Gaga* (Yu, 2008). The historical memory, cultural transition and rules of the Tayal people are traditionally passed down from generation to generation though *lmuhuw*. *Lmuhuw* is traditionally performed by Elders who are the holders of Tayal communities’ historical memory and cultural knowledge. *Lmuhuw* is storytelling with specific purposes: it educates young people, tells the history of the community and mediates disputes.

If we see *Gaga* as a thread of moral order, driven from *Utux* that tied the Tayal society together, then *lmuhuw* is the other thread that chants an epic expedition passing down across generations. With both threads, we can see a

³⁵ 法, 法

³⁶ 都有其 *Gaga*

³⁷ 頭目最重要的工作就是維護 *Gaga* 的遂行，對於年輕人及對 *Gaga* 不甚了解的族人做教導，維護部落秩序!

³⁸ The word itself means to sew, to stitch or to suture (Cheng, 2017). Embedded in the Tayal cosmology of riverscape, *lmuhuw* entails “flowing” and “going through” the Tayal’s history and across generations (Chen, Suchet-Pearson & Howitt, 2018).

woven Tayal riverscape of cosmology in front of our eyes. *Gaga* allows us to see a horizontal perspective, giving structure to the *qalang*, while *lmuhuw* enables us to traverse the vertical aspect to examine how the history of the Tayal is passed down throughout generations. In both the horizontal and vertical trajectories, Tayal Elders play the central roles in making sure the sacred order *Gaga* is followed and tribal knowledge is passed down through *lmuhuw*. “Elders” in Tayal is often written as “*bnkis*” or “*nbkis*”, they may be “*mrhuw*” (lit. leader) which refers to leading and making political decisions for the community.³⁹

The societal order based in *Gaga* and *Utux* was challenged and disrupted when Japanese settlers imposed a market economy over existing economic arrangements. From it arose entirely new social, civil and political arrangements.

3.2.2 TAYAL ENCOUNTERING SETTLER COLONIALISM

We have discussed Indigenous peoples in Taiwan as a totality, now we will turn to the era where Tayal encountered settler colonialism. These encounters set conditions of Tayal’s experience of living-well and care in contemporary Taiwan. Unlike Indigenous Peoples living on the western plains, the Tayal territory was largely isolated from the settlers who arrived to Taiwan from the Southwest coastline.⁴⁰ In the very beginning of the colonization, the Japanese authorities consciously avoided interaction with the Indigenous people. Instead, they sent out historians to map out societal habits and do ethnographic studies on “primitives”. A decade after the official start of the settlement, Indigenous peoples began to be persecuted by the Japanese army. The authorities started to close in on Indigenous communities in the mountains with advancing a “guard line”—a frontier line with heavily equipped electric fence and mines.

The impacts of colonialism and imperialism are not uncommon in the history of Tayal. In 1903, just seven years after Taiwan was annexed after the Sino-Japan war, the Japanese government militarized all affairs pertaining to indigenous territories for economic exploitation, such as output of camphor. On the other hand, a conference of all high-ranking officials on the island was convened to discuss a plan for ending “the Aborigine Problem.” (Barclay, 2017, pp. 101-102.) The convener Mochiji Rokusaburo had a typical “Meiji youth” mindset that reflected a generation of social Darwinism-informed modern, scientific worldview (ibid.). Along a similar vein, Japanese education was

³⁹ Kinbkesan (Tayal, lit. ancestor) has ‘bk’ as the root of the word, which refers to *bnkis* (Tayal, lit. Elder). Kinbahan (Tayal, lit. descendants) has ‘bah’, which means ‘to create’, ‘to renew’.

⁴⁰ From 1683 to 1886, more Han Chinese people settled in Taiwan and the expansion quickly grew into the mountain areas inhabited by the Indigenous peoples. The imperial Qing dynasty thus launched a *Riban* (savages-management) polices to govern and civilize the Indigenous peoples. But this measure to manage “savages” influenced largely the Indigenous peoples living on the plains, not the Tayal.

expanded to Tayal territory in Quchi in 1908. Unlike the goal of common schools for Han children which was to create Japanese “citizens” (*kokumin*), the government-general’s approach to Indigenous education was to create “docile and useful subjects” (Barclay, 2017, p. 149).

The resistance by the Indigenous built up to the Warfare of Truku in 1914-15: it was the biggest battle between the Japanese army and the Tayal communities living in the middle mountainous part of Taiwan (Dai, n.d.). The defeat in the Warfare of Truku profoundly crippled the resistance of the Indigenous people and weakened and dissolved traditional Indigenous society. With the dispossession of lands, the authority of police officers exceeded traditional tribal leaders and Elders. As natural resources around the communities were exploited by the Japanese empire, the concept of land was also slowly changed among the Tayal.⁴¹

The conflict with the Imperial Japanese escalated Indigenous peoples’ resentment against the Japanese. On October 27, 1930, in response to long-term oppression by Japanese authorities, some 300 Indigenous Seediq led by Mona Ludao raided government arsenals, ambushed isolated police units and killed 134 Japanese nationals during a school assembly. The Japanese retaliated with genocidal fury, killing roughly 1000 people men, women and children in the following months with aerial bombardment and infantry sweeps. The Warfare of Wushe ended with the cornered Mona Ludao hanging himself after killing his own family. The remaining Indigenous people of Mona’s village Mahebu were forcefully relocated. Mehabu was thus forever wiped off from the map (Barclay, 2017). After the Warfare of Wushe, an assimilative and forced relocation policy was implemented by the Japanese upon Tayal people.

After the Warfare of Wushe, the Japanese wanted to make Tayal extinct by assimilating them into the majority culture. Simultaneously, Japanese historians studied them, and the authorities used the ethnographic data collected by the historians to divide and rule. Indigenous communities were meticulously relocated to inhabit with other communities that were hostile against them, so the Japanese authorities could further weaken the Indigenous societies (Yap, 2016).

The Tayal’s spiritual and socio-economic cohesion of the traditional cultures gradually eroded since Japanese colonization. The Tayal’s practice of facial tattooing was banned by the Japanese in the 1930s. It was viewed as uncivilized and thus prohibited as a backward practice. After the Second World War, Tayal’s facial tattooing tradition was again regarded as barbaric by the Han society. Only with the “multicultural” turn in the recent decades,

⁴¹ Traditionally Indigenous peoples believe that no one owns the land, Japanese brought the modern idea of the country is owned exclusively by the Japanese state (for “public” use). At the same time, Japanese authorities forced the Indigenous peoples to build infrastructure, resulting in disrupting traditional hunting and shifting cultivation. Japanese tended to pay ‘uncivilized’ Indigenous people less salary, compared to the more ‘civilized’ Indigenous peoples or Han Chinese people.

the government of Taiwan added Tayal's facial tattoos as intangible cultural heritage, and the elder with tattooed face thus became Taiwan's "national treasure". But as Lawai Payan, an tattooed Elder pointed out, being labeled a "national treasure" did not bring any substantial help. Lawai Payan said, "It was just a nice-sounding name." (Watan, Lin & Taru, 2008, p. 16).

The Tayal's history from their own cultural point of view was forcefully stopped and silenced during the secondary society under the Japanese rule (1895-1945) and the Martial Law imposed by the Chinese Nationalist government (1949-1987). Although *lmuhuw* was first recorded in 1918 by the Japanese anthropologist Yukichi Sayama in "An Investigation of the Aborigines in Taiwan", it was categorized as a feature of Tayal music (Cheng, 2017, p.2). The Tayal were regarded barbarian for their lack of writing, so Japanese historians and anthropologists were sent out to map out their life styles and habits.

Continuing the Japanese colonial rule, the Chinese Nationalist government (KMT) retreated to Taiwan in 1949 and continued the settler-colonial relations. It continued to super-impose the market economy and perpetrated the Han Chinese dominance over indigenous way of life. For the past hundred years, traditional forms of slash-and-burn based shifting cultivation was promoted to be turned to cash crop based agriculture. This kind of settled agriculture was prioritized by the KMT during 1950 as a key to improve Indigenous living standards (Kuan, 2014, p. 15). Capitalism was promoted as the default mode of production (Hsia, 2017). With modernizing and civilizing the Indigenous peoples in mind, KMT embraced a series of assimilative programs to instill them with modern mode of production, life style, belief system and values (including role of land, the idea of ownership and property) (Hsia, 2010, p. 36). In particular, KMT continued the *terra nullius* ('no one's land') doctrine and placed the majority of land under "Indigenous Land Reserve" (see Hsia, 2010; Kuan, 2014). So along with the disappearance of culture, the Indigenous ancestral lands were taken away. In a matter of four hundred years, the territory of the Indigenous peoples has shrunk dramatically. The promulgated Indigenous Land Reserve only applies to a fraction of the lands to which the Indigenous peoples are historically, culturally and customarily attached to.⁴²

Thus far, the dissertation has discussed the encounter of Tayal and the settlers. Indeed, the Japanese and Chinese settlers invaded the Tayal land, resulting in conflicts such as Warfare of Truku and Warfare of Wushe. The process of Tayal dispossession in the nineteenth and twentieth century was clearly parallel to the colonial narratives of dispossession in other indigenous contexts around the world (cf. the colonial context of the Sámi dispossession

⁴² A land committee under the presidential office has been established to foster truth and reconciliation after Tsai's official apology. Land disputes have continued to surface with the Taiwan's democratization. A protest organized to advocate for Indigenous land rights has attracted attention nationwide (see for example Hsia, 2017)

remained unrecognized for a very long time, see Korpijaakko-Labba, 1989; Lehtola, 2015; Tuori, 2015). Tayal's identity, or Tayalness, has been constructed by both the subjectivities of the colonizers and the Tayal themselves. Imperialism has framed Indigenous peoples' experience through its policies (see Chapter 1.3), and in particular through dissecting and classifying them into seemingly unchanged categories. Research has played a central role in the process of framing Indigenous peoples' experience when the colonial governments has the Indigenous peoples in its grip.⁴³

In terms of Tayal's traditional beliefs, the role of *Utux* was uprooted and *Gaga* quickly eroded as a consequence. The Japanese promoted the Shinto religion until 1945, then other churches came to the Indigenous communities when the nationalists took over Taiwan. The Tayal's animistic religion and cosmology were subjected to persecution in the name of modernity.

The concept of modernization intertwined with the rise of Western religions: Chinese Nationalists allowed missionaries to enter Indigenous communities and convert people.⁴⁴ In 1956, 42% of the Indigenous population were Christians; the number skyrocketed to be 86% in 1967 (Li, 2003, p. 92).⁴⁵ In 1974, the Canadian missionary Clare Elliot McGill—who was very integrated into the Tayal community and had been given a Tayal name Watan Magil—finished the translation of New Testament to the Tayal language and devoted his life to teach Indigenous peoples to read the Bible using their own languages (Squiliq dialect) (Qiu, 1998, p. 269). Interestingly, Tayal people also

⁴³ The history of being systemically classified started in the Japanese era. The earliest categorization of the Tayal in the Japanese text was in the Taisho period (1915). Kojima Yoshimichi's "Fa-tsu guan-xi tiao-ch'a pao-kao shu: di er juan sha-ji tsu" (Report on the Survey of Barbarian Tribes: the second book of Sedeq tribe, 番族慣習調查報告書：第二卷紗績族, 1915) published by the Taiwan Office of the Governor-General Provisional Committee on the Investigation of Taiwan Old Customs. In the eleventh year of the Taisho period (1922) Asai Erin divided the Atayal group into two branches: "The original Atayal" and "the Sedek," based on their languages, and then distinguished among several dialect groups in the two branches. In the tenth year of the Showa period (1935), in "The Formosan Native Tribes: a Genealogical and Classificatory Study" (台灣高砂族系統所屬的研究), Utzukawa classified the Atayal group into branches based on their places of origin: Pinsbukan, Papakwaga and Bunohon. These branches are called the Sekolek, Tseole and Sedek sub-tribes. In the fourteenth year of the Showa period (1939), Tadao Kano proposed a multilayer classification that resembled Asai Erin's. Kano's classification is more complete because he not only considered broad criteria such as language, customs and physiology, but also created a hierarchical system of organization, from the largest, "tribe," to "sub-tribe," "group" and, the smallest, "village." After the Second World War, Hwei-Lin Wei proposed a new multilayer classification in Taiwan sheng tong-zhi: tong zhou zhi (General Report on Taiwan Province, 台灣省通志：同胄志) and another classification in Taiwan "tu-zhu ge-zhu fen-bu" (The Distribution of Taiwan Aborigines, 台灣土著各族分佈), which uses the river drainage areas where the Atayal tribes are located as the criteria for classification.

⁴⁴ Cp. during Qing and Japanese time, Indigenous people were segregated from the rest of the society

⁴⁵ American missionary James Ira Dickson and Canadian missionary Clare McGill were key persons in spreading the Christian gospel in Tayal communities.

used the Church to get more leverage to protect their language, which was crucial for them to resist the assimilative policy to make everyone speak Mandarin (“Speak National language Movement”) that emerged in 1947 and made to a law in 1956.

The meaning of being Tayal, under the colonial settler state, increasingly dissolved away. The Elders’ teachings became insignificant along with the marginalization of Tayal institutions; Tayal language speakers rapidly decreased because the new generation was told the language and culture had no future or “practical use”; traditions such as facial tattooing were turned from a symbol of glory to an embarrassment. These instances of social suffering deepened the trauma for the next generation and created increasing estranged Tayal youth. These challenges—restoring ceremonies, reconnecting peoples and reinventing traditions—have been the core issues for the Tayal in the contemporary era to tackle and transform.

3.2.3 TRANSITION TO A RECOGNITION-BASED SOCIETY

Today, Tayal’s Indigenous status has been recognized in the Constitution of Republic of China (Taiwan) in 1994. Tayal is one of the 16 officially recognized Indigenous peoples. The Council of Indigenous Peoples (CIP)—a *de facto* ministry under the Cabinet—was established in 1996 with the mandate to promote and maintain Indigenous rights. In 2005 the Basic Law of Indigenous Peoples, a national law that reflects the principles of UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), was promulgated to safeguard Indigenous survival and development. All these reforms directly resulted from the indigenous rights social movement that started at the end of the 1980s (cf. Chapter 1.3).

A concerted effort has been initiated to counter the effects of imperialism and to strengthen a renewed image of Tayal through research. Here I will elaborate in the aspects discussed in relation to the Tayal position in the primary and secondary society to offer some points to contrast and compare the development since. First, a unified written system of the Indigenous peoples’ languages in Taiwan was announced on the national level for the first time in 2005 (Ong, 2008). Second, many activists, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, are participating in the knowledge production concerning *lmuhuw* (Payan, 2002; Lai, 2002; Cheng, 2005, cited in Kuan, 2011, p. 99). Although it was not until 2010s that nation-wide research about *lmuhuw* was developed, it is a positive sign that Tayal culture was officially included as part of the cultural heritage of Taiwan. This shows that despite the fact that Tayal culture has long been marginalized and even rejected to be valid history, the ongoing process of constructing Tayalness is very much relevant today. The identity construction that tackles traditional tribal values on the one hand and colonial dominance on the other in modern Taiwan is offering possibility and hope for a shared future of Taiwanese people.

Third, the same tendency can be observed in the reconstruction of traditional beliefs in contemporary society. Many Indigenous intellectuals have actively engaged to theorize *Gaga* in the discourse of Indigenous customary law (cf. Charlton, Gao & Kuan, 2017, p. 140). At the same time, the belief of *Utux* and the social structure that used to be created by *Gaga* are reinvented through church systems. As Indigenous peoples rely heavily on services provided by the churches that are active in the Indigenous communities and health services provided by Christian hospitals (Liu, 2004, p. 8), a combination of tribal beliefs with Christianity has been a strategy to cope with the modern world. Fourth, Elders' crucial roles needed to be redressed and restored within a decolonial context. The genocidal violence imposed by the colonial authorities and institutions for the past hundreds of years had had catastrophic impacts on Indigenous peoples. Reviving Elders' roles helps to restore the Indigenous societies (cf. Viscogliosi et al., 2020). What, then, are the challenges and problems?

There are four worrisome trends faced by the Indigenous communities. They are rooted in the unhealed oppression embedded in the settler-colonial relations in Taiwan. First, Indigenous peoples continue to be stigmatized as inferior and unfit. They are blamed to be inept because their culture has made them less intelligent. The stigmatization indicates that the settler-colonial relations manifest at the structural level against Indigenous peoples. At the same time, however, Taiwan has tried to keep up with the multicultural trends and it has allocated funds into the development of Indigenous peoples' cultures. However, only those areas of Indigenous cultures that the government had judged to be appropriate, such as singing and dancing, have been budgeted to be developed (Kuo, 2004).

Second, as modernization made traditional societal system rapidly disappear, basic infrastructure that should be available by modern state standards has not been present in the Indigenous communities. Many Indigenous communities do not have enough facilities or staff working in health service system, neither do they have enough people to work in pre-school kindergartens. The multiple lacks can be seen as a way to maintain colonial relationship, with Han Chinese ruling over the Indigenous peoples.

Third, Indigenous students have faced higher possibility to drop out from schools (Fann, 2015, p. 205). This is entangled with discrimination and racism and the lack of teaching facilities and educational staff. In the 1980's and 1990's, the saving indigenous child prostitutes movement surfaced and exposed the phenomenon of marginalized indigenous families from the uneven peripheral development. On the issue of child prostitutes, Dai (2014, pp. 93-96) points out that Taiwan's feminist movement had not treated the challenges faced by Indigenous women as a valid problem of its own. Facing the gender issues within the Indigenous issues remains an ongoing challenge.

Fourth, Indigenous families have often encountered hostile questions that not only blamed but also stigmatized them as problematic and "non-functional" (Lin & Huang, 2010). Indeed, it used to be common to see

grandparents taking care of children because parents traveled to work in the urban area where they were able to receive a better salary (Li, 2003, pp. 93-95). Yet the prevalence of treating Taiwanese (Han-Chinese, urban, middle-class, nuclear family) family as the normative family often remains unquestioned (Lin & Huang, 2010). The uneven economic development also shows in the income gap between an Indigenous family and the average Taiwanese family. In 2015, the yearly income for an Indigenous family was NTD 685,117 and for an average Taiwanese family NTD 1,071,427, that is, 40% higher (Council of Indigenous Peoples, 2015). All these features corroborate to what Simon (2002) called “the underside of the Taiwan miracle”, in which he argues that the economic development of the 1970s and 1980s had created social and economic costs that have been disproportionately born by the Indigenous peoples. Those costs still can be seen today, as Indigenous communities fall behind in virtually all the social and health indicators. How do all these trajectories take form in Wulai? To find out, let us first contextualize who are the Tayal people in Wulai in the next section.

3.3 FOCUS ON THE TAYAL IN WULAI

In this subchapter, I focus on the Tayal community in Wulai, where I studied elderly care in detail. The intention here is to explore their sense of self, community and culture as a way to utilize this information later on in my analysis, particularly, how these features influence them to experience elderly care in a specific manner. The officially-established classification of who the Tayal are (cf. Chapter 1.3) does not completely conform to their self-perception. As we shall discuss below, the mismatch has its roots in the colonial history, which has ongoing effects. As the dissertation aims to explore the Tayal’s sense of care and to understand Tayal hermeneutics, it is imperative to give voice to the ancestors as it connects to reflexivity from the Tayal’s perspective (Mataira & Silan, 2019). Who are the Tayal on their own account? To explore this question, much can be learned from the tradition of *lmuhuw*.

Lmuhuw, the oral tradition of the Tayal, has it that around 300 years ago, the Tayal had their settlements concentrated in the middle part of Taiwan. It was getting too populated and land ceased to be fertile enough for everyone to survive, so a group of Tayal decided to move towards north. According to Elders’ stories, the three brothers Buta, Yabuh and Ayan brought their people to the migration route northward. Elder Ryuk Lbak and Elder Silan Hola remembered through *lmuhuw* that it was Buta’s grandson Yawi Puna who led the Tayal into Wulai around 1650 (Cheng, 2017, p. 17, p. 57 ; Hola, 2013, p. 207). The descendants of Yawi Puna were the ancestors of Tayal people in Wulai. These Indigenous voices set the scene for the Tayal in Wulai: they are connected to the other Tayal and share the same origin, and they are all connected to the riverscape.

As discussed earlier, the Tayal did not have the concept of belonging to a certain ethnic group. Instead, Tayal's sense of self and others is inextricably embedded in the river and the surrounding environment. The Tayal in Wulai are living along Llyung Taranan (lit. River Taranan), and thus they refer to themselves as "Mstaranan" (see Figure 2).

The Mstaranan—or Tayal communities in Wulai—hunted, fished and practiced slash-and-burn agriculture within their *qyunam*, meaning roughly "territory" in English but differing from the concept of territory in modern societies. It is similar to "territory" because it refers to an area associated with certain group of people. Unlike "territory", *qyunam* however is not fixed. The borders of *qyunam* depend on the relationships between *qlqalang* (roughly means 'settlements', see the previous section) and the ecosystem living within the watershed (Hsiao, 2016, p.7).⁴⁶ Unlike the modern concept, nobody owns *qyunam*, but each *qalang* acknowledges their responsibility to *malahang* their *qyunam*; *Malahang* means "keeping, protecting, caring" (Lin, Icyeh & Kuan 2007).⁴⁷ So the idea of *malahang*, care, is connected with the custodianship of the *qyunam*.

In addition, the belief of *Utux* and the moral order of *Gaga* were important for the Mstaranan, including their concept of care. Unlike the clearly-defined tribal area according to the administration borders, the Mstaranan Tayal communities negotiate their group borders based on their blood ties, ceremonial worship and other activities that enable them to practice care.⁴⁸ Forming the groups based on reciprocity, *Utux* belief was upheld and the moral order of *Gaga* was carried out. As they sometimes depended on upland rice and millet as their daily staple food, following planting ceremonies as indicated by the *Gaga* was crucial to ensure a good harvest. The ceremony was conducted by *Qutux Gaga*, which consisted of *Qutux Ramu*.

A Mstaranan person with a facial tattoo signified to others that s/he followed *Gaga* and had gained social status within the community. A child under *Gaga* within the Mstaranan community would receive his or her first facial tattoo on the forehead when she was around 15 years old. Facial tattooing functioned like a resumé: A Mstaranan male received the second tattoo on his chin as a reward after his first head-hunting. A Mstaranan woman received the second tattoo on her cheeks as a mark of accomplishment after

⁴⁶ The *qlqalang* that shared the overlapping *qyunam* did not use resources exclusively, but they utilized the natural resources based on humility, respect and reciprocity (Lin, Icyeh & Kuan, 2007, pp. 102-103).

⁴⁷ The meaning of *Malahang* is context-dependent and fluid. It means *care*, and also *govern* and *manage* in other contexts.

⁴⁸ In the watershed of Llyung taranan, the Tayal communities were formed by different number of *Qutux Ramu* (blood tie worship group). There was only one *Qutux Ramu* formed in Raga; whereas in Rimogan and Wulai, the community was formed by eight and seven *Qutux Ramu* units respectively (Ushinosuke cited in Chang, 2003, p. 29). This indicates that the Tayal communities in Rimogan and Wulai were stronger and influential than the one in Raga.

she mastered weaving and household agricultural duties. The tattoo patterns on her cheek would be identical as the weaving pattern that she managed to produce (Chang, 2003, p.31).

In sum, the Mstaranan—the ancestors of Tayal people in Wulai—formed their own functional communities which were scattered sparsely across the watershed. Based on this territory (*Qyunam*), the Mstaranan practiced their own system of care (*malahang*) with not only animals and people, but also waters and lands. As they lived under the moral law of *Gaga* driven by the sacred spirit *Utux*, their sense of care was holistic and included people, animals, land and cosmos. What happened to the Mstaranan when the settlers invaded their territory?

The territory of Tayal was intact when the Han Chinese settlers came in the early 1700s. The Qing Empire made a “savage border”, *fān jiè*, to segregate “unruly savages” (Hirano, Veracini & Roy, 2018, p. 201). A hundred years later, in 1885 under the imperial policy of “opening the mountains and pacifying the savages”, the official record reads “eight *qlqalang* of Tayal in Wulai had been pacified” under the Qing’s civilizing project led by the General Liu and a hundred soldiers (Xu & Liu, 2010, p. 293). The Colonial policies were continued during the Japanese period. Labeling Wulai as “savage land”, Japan’s armies and administrative apparatus subjugated the Tayal and disconnected them from their histories, knowledges, living space and ways of life.

Tayal’s own systems of order was dismissed when the colonizers came. The Mstaranan people experienced involuntary relocation under colonial rule, they were named savages and subjected to civilization attempts. In addition to treating Indigenous peoples as savages, the Japanese used anthropologists to map out the Tayal communities as a way to better manage them while simultaneously extracting natural resources. For example anthropologist Mori Ushinosuke researched the number of households practicing *Gaga* worship among four Tayal communities in Wulai (Ushinosuke cited in Chang 2003, p. 29).

Most of the 20th century, Wulai suffered from the colonizer’s assimilative policies. The “modernization” and “civilization” projects implemented by the Japanese and the subsequent Chinese Nationalists had severe impacts on Wulai. Compared to other Indigenous communities, Tayal people in Wulai got involved in the capitalist mode of production the earliest. Studying the meaning of alcohol as a way to examine the capitalization process of Indigenous societies, Hsia (2010, p. 22) notes that because of contact with capitalism, “[t]he holy meaning of alcohol in traditional Indigenous tribes in Wulai disappeared earlier than other communities. It reflected more concretely the more serious drinking problem compared to other tribes.” Hsia’s observation illustrates the destructive impact of colonialism on the Tayal people. Indeed, the Tayal in Wulai have been actively tackling the damaging impacts of alcoholism. Based on her ethnographic research of Tayal women in Wulai, Yen (2000) argues that Tayal women’s adaptive strategy of

dealing with alcohol is crucial in contributing to a better solution for both the community and the health professionals. Nevertheless, dealing with the legacies of the colonial period is an ongoing battle. Kuo (2004) points out that we should be cautious about publicly-funded projects in buluo, as they reinforce the logic of colonization and pushes Indigenous further into capitalist economy.

Little is known about what the riverscape geography used to include. Nowadays, there is some information on the riverscape of Tayal on the map. *Llyung Taranan* (watershed of Wulai region) has been largely forgotten, and the new name in Mandarin Chinese is in use.⁴⁹ After WWII, the Chinese Nationalists copied the relocation decision by the Japanese and divided the Wulai region into sub-administrative units. Indigenous place names that marked the tribal history and environment were systemically erased, and were substituted by Sinicized names.⁵⁰ Wulai (Ulay in older texts) is one of the few exceptions in the Llyung Taranan river basin that still keeps a place name reminiscent of the cultural landscape of Tayal. The name Wulai is a transliteration from Tayal language *kirux balay*, meaning scorching hot. It refers to the hot springs in the community. The Sinicized place names—Fú Shān, Xìn Xián, Xiào Yì, Wulai, and Zhōng Zhì—lost their original meaning in the riverscape. In contemporary Taiwan, perhaps the loss of memories embedded in the place names is desirable and necessary from the settler perspective, as it helps to create and construct an unified national identity (see Kymlicka, 2002).

Wulai was merely 30 km away from Taiwan's capital Taipei—the sociohistorical center of colonial power—therefore the influence of government authorities was easily projected on Wulai. From 1903 to 1905, the Japanese police completed a “guard line” (*aiyusen*) to separate the Tayal from the “civilized”.⁵¹ By the first decade into 20th century, most of the Tayal people

⁴⁹ Nowadays it is called Nanshi river. Nanshi came from Hokkien language Lām-si-khe. Nan means south, so Nanshi River means river of the south.

⁵⁰ Rimogan and Taranan were lumped together as one sub-administrative unit and given the name Fú Shān (in Chinese 福山, lit. lucky mountain). The Fú Shān district is situated at the upmost upstream location with four villages sparsely scattered across an area of 160 sq. km. The original meaning of Rahau in Tayal means “the trap placed across the tree between mountain valleys”, and it was renamed in Chinese xìn xián (信賢, lit. xìn means sincerity and xián means worthy), a name that is based in Confucian ideology. Aqyaq means cotton wool grass in Tayal, the place was given this name because there were a lot of cotton wool grass. Like Rahau, Aqyaq was renamed in Chinese into xiào yì (孝義, xiào means filial piety and yì means righteousness), which is based on Confucian ideology as well. The district is the third biggest area in Wulai, but with least inhabitants because it was mostly forests and rivers (Hola, 2013). Tanpiya/Kayu is located at the midstream of the Nanshi river and is closest to the Taipei basin. It was given the Confucian name Zhōng Zhì (忠治), meaning loyalty and rule.

⁵¹ More accurately it was a kilometers-long electric fence, riddled with mines and booby traps, to segregate the Tayal. “Japanese forces invaded, occupied, and embargoed Indigenous villages, the former

were under the Japanese ruling consolidated by the police force (Xu & Liu, 2010; Chang, 2003).

By the second decade into 20th century, the “Savage Land” administration in Wulai was completed: while forbidding ordinary people to enter the “Savage Land”, the Japanese government exercised power arbitrarily through its police force. It maintained safety, educated the “savages”, exercised public health and promoted agriculture. The Japanese also manipulated the other Tayal in the watershed Taranan to persuade the Tayal who lived in watershed Msutunux to pacify under the Japanese colonization (Chang, 2003, pp. 40-41). This colonial strategy to use one Indigenous tribe against other Indigenous people was implemented as the highlight of their power over the Tayal society in the northern part of Taiwan.

The Japanese colonial strategy was effective and successful, particularly in places like Wulai where colonial power could easily reach. Relocation was one of the long-lasting colonial policies that the Tayal faced in the Japanese era. In 1912, the official record from the Japanese indicated there were 366 Tayal people in four communities. From smallest to biggest, they were Raga, Rahaw, Rimogan and Ulay (Chang, 2003, pp. 43-44). In 1922, the Japanese government ordered the Tayal to sign a “contract of relocation”, allowing Mitsui Corporation to legally own the mountain area.⁵² From an Indigenous perspective, this “contract” functioned in the same way as the ideologies of “civilization” and “modernization” that ultimately were used to legitimize colonizers to destroy Indigenous cultures. In regards to Taiwan’s Plains Indigenous Peoples, Hsieh (2018, p. 16) asserts “[I]n the names of ‘modernization and ‘civilization’, indigenous identity, values and societal status have ‘disappeared’.” Through relocation, Japanese colonizers forced Indigenous peoples’ cultures to disappear so nobody would be in the way of the imperial extraction of natural resources, as Hsieh notes: “Indigenous land and resources have been stolen while indigenous culture has suffered genocide.” (ibid.). Forcing traditional tribes, *qalang*, to dissolve was a direct result from the policies that meant to manage savages, or *Riban* policy, which the Japanese authority adopted since 1914.

Tayal’s traditional society and economy in Wulai was demolished and uprooted during the Japanese era. For example, the Japanese police demanded the Tayal to stop shifting cultivation, forbade them to tattoo and prohibited ramie-planting. In stopping shifting cultivation, Tayal’s traditional ecological knowledge was marginalized and labeled as backward; in forbidding the facial tattooing, the presence of *Gaga* and *Utux* was diminished in Tayal’s

Qing ‘savage boundary’ ... was outfitted with electrified barbed wire, mines, and mounted guns to curtail Aboriginal incursions into government-controlled areas” (Hirano, Veracini and Roy 2018:209).

⁵² Other impacts of this “contract” included that the Mitsui Corporation obtained legal permit to use nearly 100 sq. km. in the Llyung Taranan (Nanshi watershed) and the Tayal people were forced to relocate to five designated collection points, where the Japanese authority demanded the sparsely located *qlqalang* to concentrate into those points that were close to the local police station.

everyday lives; in forbidding ramie-planting, the Tayal women could not continue the traditional weaving culture. The hunting-weaving life style was forced to be abandoned (Hola, 2013, pp. 185-186). By the 1940s, the names of the individual Tayal people in Wulai had been converted to Japanese (Chang, 2003, p. 42). In 1947 based on the Malaria prevention clinic built by the Japanese, health clinics were built in the five administration units with the one in Wulai as their headquarters (Hola, 2013, p. 211). These headquarters in Wulai were the bases for eradicating the “inferior” habits of the Tayal people, and to turn them into Han Chinese.

Colonialism is one expression of imperialism (Smith, 2012, pp. 22-24), and in Wulai, it is expressed in the form of tourism. In the 1960s and 1970s, Wulai was incorporated into tourism trade and doing business around tourism became an important part of everyday experience of Tayal men and women in Wulai (Chen, 2001). One may speculate that this might have marked the end of Tayal culture in Wulai. The Tayal culture seemed to witness its lowest ebb, as the Elders’ traditional role diminished, Tayal traditional territory became national land and the meaning of being Tayal was getting lost. It was an understandable speculation, after all, the modernization and KMT’s “civilization attempts” continued after the Second World War.

The KMT’s policy to promote tourism has a direct impact on Wulai (Hola, 2013, p. 212). The tourism industry was a major source of income for local Tayal people between 1950s and 1990s. As a result, Wulai is among the communities in Taiwan that have been in most long-lasting contact with market economy, commercialism and capitalism, and thus deeply influenced by them. In the 1950s, the tourism industry was launched “to strengthen economic development, promote international friendship and intercultural exchange” (Kuo, 2005, p. 16). Tayal people’s culture was commodified in the service of the tourist industry. In the 1960s, Japanese tourists were the main group that came to Wulai, and the role of Tayal women became increasingly crucial, as they would easily earn money from running tourist shops, or performing commercialized songs and dances. However, in the 1970s and 1980s the tourist industry faced a decline, only coming back in the 1990s when the hot springs began to attract visitors (Kuo, 2005, pp. 18-19). Contrary to the previous four decades, Tayal’s culture was now less objectified, romanticized and eroticized. Instead, big corporations started to invest in hot springs-related businesses in the community. They obtained a permit to build hot spring hotels for tourists through good relations with the local politicians, and promised to promote local economic development but in practice they excluded local Tayal people from work in white collar positions. As we will see later in my empirical analysis, the impact of tourism as a form of economic colonization is key to understand *bnkis*’s experience.

Another key factor to understand how the Tayal and *bnkis* understand and experience care is faith and religion (see later Chapter 8). Over the years, the assimilative policies have influenced the belief of *Utux* and the moral order of *Gaga*. However, they were re-created in a transformed manner under

Christianity. In the case of Wulai community, the major religions present are Presbyterianism, Catholicism, Buddhism and Taoism. For Indigenous peoples in Wulai, Presbyterian churches are the central places for them to gather and celebrate important festivals. The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, the largest protestant Christian denomination based in the country, plays an important role in the contemporary indigenous movement in Taiwan. It is important in a post-authoritarian/democratic Taiwan for they have always see themselves as the torchbearers of active advocacy for Indigenous subjectivity.

The Presbyterian religion has adapted locally through combining with the local individual Tayal community's culture through 150 years of preaching in Taiwan. This very religion utilized the traditional Tayal hunting units as a basis for its congregation, at the same time combining the Tayal customs into the church system (more in Chapter 8). Yaba *Utux* Kayal (Tayal, lit. father *Utux* above) is used to refer to God in the Bible. This demonstrates the coexistence of Indigenous tradition and Christianity: the concept of *Utux* continues to exist, but takes a different form. Although *utux* means gods and spirits in general, it has been transformed into *Utux*--with a capitalized U--that symbolizes one and only God (Li, 2017). After years of co-existence, Christianity was utilized during colonial era as a shield to block the waves of assimilation and leverage to link back to the Tayal identity. The work of translating the Bible and the Hymnbook into Tayal conducted by Presbyterian missionaries had a great impact on strengthening the Tayal identity. This translation work conducted in 1950s was especially important, as it coincided with the Sinicization movements.⁵³ Negotiating the boundaries between the traditional Tayal culture and the pressures of modernization builds up to the catalyst where Tayal identity can co-exist with the Christian religion. In examining the relationship between *Utux*, *Gaga* and *Niqan* understood by the Tayal in Cinsbu, Huang (2001) concludes that since the 1970s the Tayal have utilized sources of theology to revitalize the Tayal culture while insisting to be both faithful Christians and proud Tayal.

Tayal culture has transformed under the pressures emanating from both contextual (history of colonialism) and international (globalization and capitalization) sources. Indeed the meaning of what it means to be Indigenous has changed dramatically. Yet, Tayal people in Wulai continue to adapt and in so doing, form and shape the meaning of indigeneity, which also helps them to adjust and live on. This is their resistance and resilience through embracing a fluid form of what it means to be indigenous and what constitutes care.

It would be dishonest to state that such a meaning-making of indigeneity in contemporary Taiwan is free of struggles. We can, indeed, perceive the influence of contextual and international pressure as mixed: with both positive and negative elements. The advantage of being in close contact with the colonial ruling center like Wulai has been that people are generally

⁵³ Known as “Shāndì sǎn dà yùndòng”, which in fact was in essence policies of forced assimilation (Kuo, 1975). Cf. Tsai (2009), Matsuoka (2018).

economically better off compared to other Indigenous people. They are able to buy cars, build their own houses and pay for in-home care providers if there is a need (cf. Ru et al., 2016).

The challenge is, firstly, the prevalence of corruption. As establishing hot-spring hotels in Wulai is highly profitable, corporations come into the village and buy lands through legal and more than often, through less legal channels. The corruption has made it difficult to initiate positive change and it has further marginalized local people's needs for basic infrastructure, for example running tap water. In Wulai, only 20.65% of households have running water, whereas the percentage is 97.40% in New Taipei City (Department of Budget Accounting and Statistics, 2011). Ironically, the entire area of Wulai is listed to be a water protection area (to secure the urban Taipei residents' need for water).

The second challenge is the erosion of traditional Tayal culture and language. On the commercial street, culture is limited to souvenirs and the ability to speak the Tayal language has decreased across generations. Opinion leaders in Wulai tended to regard the challenge as a matter of "Tayal people in Wulai hav[ing] low confidence in their culture" (cited in Kuo, 2004). Kuo (2004) observes: "Most of the Indigenous peoples in Wulai do not regard their own culture as a viable way out for their buluo development. They instead combine culture to products because they think their culture is more a tool to make money." However, the situation is far from black and white. Many in the Wulai community have been actively involved in language and cultural revitalization through engaging with local educators and universities. They raise funds to do these revitalization projects through doing eco-tourism and cultural-tourism.

The tradition about village and society and the spirit of our ancestors are not passing to the next generations. Our young people are facing a dilemma between adopting into modern society and retaining traditional values. I am really worried. (Tayal Elder from Kayu community in Wulai, cited in Hancocks, 2012)

The dilemma expressed in the quote not only points out that the worry of cultural continuity is acute but also reveals that the cumulated trauma caused by colonialism is ongoing. These factors all play crucial roles in answering my question of care for the Tayal elders in Wulai. Figuring out what indigeneity means to the people is an imperative in the wave of transformations faced by many Indigenous communities around the world, including the Tayal in Wulai.

3.4 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have painted a picture of the Tayal, including their indigeneities in naming and their encounters of past and present by paying

special attention to how Tayal's traditions coexist with modern ways as they have moved into today's "multicultural" society. The picture depicts the Tayal people, both before and after the arrival of settler colonizers. It also brings to the fore the fact that from the end of 19th century to 1980s, their culture was suppressed with a genocidal attempt as they were taught that their culture was inferior and thus in need of rescue by modern civilization.

Before the expansion of Qing Empire and later Japan Empire—or, in the primary society—Tayal societies were flourishing and strong. In Wulai, Tayal communities sharing the living space of the watershed (*Llyung Taranan*) followed their respective *Gaga* driven by *Utux*. The Tayal societies were functional and aimed for a balance between the Tayal and the highest spirit (*Utux*). The Elders used oral history (*Lmuhuw*) to tell stories about the Tayal's origin and history and to teach how to comport oneself in conflicts.

After the arrival of colonizers the Tayal societal order was gradually uprooted and displaced. They were labeled as "savages" and were subjected to indoctrination in the name of "civilization" as well as "modernization". As the Japanese settler colonizers set foot on the Indigenous soils, they adhered to the colonizer ideology of *terra nullius* and quickly took over the lands as if they had always been imperial territory. The land was quickly subjected to extraction of natural resources: camphor, tea, logging and so on. These efforts established the preliminary outline of colonial order: the Center/the Outside. In 1949, Chinese Nationalists retreated to Taiwan and copied the Japanese ideology in managing Indigenous peoples and lands. To make Indigenous peoples more governable, the Republic of China (ROC) changed their label to "Shān bāo", or mountain compatriot, while presuming that the Indigenous minority were to vanish anyway. To make use of this presumed vestige of history, for example, Wulai was built to be a tourist attraction. This brings forth the discussion of mixed ongoing effects of this development that still have implications on community's lives and care within it.

Despite these "civilization" and "modernization" efforts, Tayal have retained their tradition and culture. In fact, the cultures of Indigenous Peoples in Taiwan have undergone a resurgence since the Indigenous movement (Hsieh, 2018). This resurgence is demonstrated by a mix of old and the new, which manifests vividly in the resurgence of *Utux* and *Gaga*.

This chapter also contextualized the specific Tayal community in which my research collected data on how elderly care for the Tayal works in practice and how the Tayal experience it. Modernization and commercialization have influenced the Tayal in Wulai for a much longer time than other Indigenous communities. They are stigmatized as the most Sinicized, thus "lesser Tayal". On the one hand, it reflected the struggle faced by most of the Tayal people in Wulai regarding the process of negotiating their identities. The struggle captures the essence of state colonialism exacerbated by tourism, which casts a long shadow of economic colonization over Wulai. On the other hand, it also demonstrated the resilience and coping mechanisms with modernity. The Tayal tradition is not dormant, but it is active in a different form from before,

as it has incorporated elements from the journey of modernization. The close association between the Christian religion and Tayal's *Gaga* and *Utux* belief is an example of this incorporation. As a consequence of these colonial legacies, we can conclude that the identity of Tayal people can be conceptualized as having two interrelated layers. On the one hand, it is about configuring and transforming indigeneity, while resisting the idea that Tayal are stuck between the dichotomies consisting of the past/present, tradition/modern, old/new. On the other hand, it is about finding ways of existing between the state policies and the Tayal practices informed by ancestral knowledge.

This chapter has aimed to ground the dissertation in providing information on the Tayal, their culture, cosmology and viewpoints which also are the context for the theoretical approach adopted in this research and the empirical analysis to be conducted. The next chapter will elaborate in more detail on the former aspect and discuss the ways in which this dissertation engages with the Tayal hermeneutics and the Indigenous research paradigm from a more comprehensive perspective.

4 TAYAL HERMENEUTICS AS A CRITICAL LENS TO ELDERLY CARE

The Indigenous research paradigm, in particular in the form of Tayal hermeneutics, is central to this study as it is utilized as the critical lens to examine the contexts of care for the *bnkis*. The Indigenous research paradigm is understood as a philosophical, theoretical and ethical framework that is grounded in specific Indigenous cultural knowledge systems, from which analysis, critique, and practice can be drawn. The guiding principles, aligned with Indigenous storywork (Archibald, Lee-Morgan & De Santolo, 2019), include respect, responsibility, reverence, reciprocity, holism, interrelatedness, and synergy. These tenets indicate that *axiology* is placed in the core of Indigenous paradigm. Axiology refers to “a set of morals or a set of ethics” (Wilson, 2001, p.175) and it outlines features that distinguish the Indigenous paradigm from other approaches to research (cf. Chapter 4.1 for paradigms; Chapter 4.3 for ethics). Axiology highlights Indigenous control over research, a respect for individuals and community, non-intrusive observation, deep listening, self-awareness and the subjective self (of the researcher) in the research process (Hart, 2010, pp.9-10). The value of *respect* warrants paramount attention in the Indigenous paradigm, which is what axiology is all about. I see the Indigenous research paradigm as both a theory and a methodology.⁵⁴ As a theory, it guides and inspires me in composing the research questions and assists me to firmly root my study in its onto-epistemological ground. As a methodology, it directs the completion of the interwoven tasks. In this chapter, I am identifying Indigenous research paradigm in its theoretical, methodological and axiological strands and utilize it as the basis for building a specific Tayal hermeneutics.

The Indigenous research paradigm can be referred to as a response and a critique to the traditional research approaches to indigenous life, that is, conventional positivist research that emphasizes *objective* observations and *neutral* descriptions (Denzin, Lincoln, & Smith, 2008, p. 1). Positivist research as such often is complicit in domination and control against Indigenous peoples, whereas the Indigenous research paradigm functions as a way of intervening and changing these power relations. Ultimately, the Indigenous research paradigm aims for a reassertion and rebuilding of traditional

⁵⁴ I want to utilize this two-sidedness to emphasize the importance of breaking the boundaries between theory and methodology. As L. Siragusa (personal communication, September 24, 2019) reminds, it would precisely serve the decolonial purpose; in so doing, this choice also enacts that methodology cannot be separated from theory. See Madison (2005, pp. 12-15)

knowledges of Indigenous peoples. My dissertation will show several more aspects, to which we will return in Chapter 4.2.

The Indigenous research paradigm is about challenging the bounded way of thinking time and space.⁵⁵ It entails knowledge systems that are rooted in a way of being, knowing and living that is localized and contextualized in their environments. This openness allows possible allied solidarity between the Indigenous paradigm and interpretive inquiries in the “Western” paradigms (Chapter 4.7).

For the sake of discussion, I use the term Western science and understanding it as often based on rationalist, secular paradigm that is closely entangled with colonization and coloniality (Kovach, 2009, pp. 77-78). As a consequence it was used to support an ideological and racist justification for subjecting Indigenous cultures and ways of knowing. Western science also strives to maintain its monopoly of being the embodiment of universal valid science, it is maintained and reinforced by academic publishing system (ibid.).

In essence, doing research in the Indigenous paradigm is about connecting to land. Contextually, the key to hold on to this sense of place is to interrogate critically what influences our ways of perceiving realities, ways of knowing, and the value systems that inform the research process (Mertens, Cram and Chilisa, 2013, p. 15). On a personal level, Plains Cree and Saulteaux researcher Margaret Kovach notes that doing indigenous methodologies requires “[an] exploration of identity, an ability to be vulnerable, a desire for restitution and an opening to awakenings.” (2018, p. 217). These are the key standpoints that I take with me as an Indigenous Tayal researcher.

The Indigenous research paradigm plays a central role in my positionality and situatedness as an Indigenous researcher conducting research with Indigenous peoples. I endorse Denzin, Lincoln and Smith’s (2008) definition of the Indigenous research paradigm:

[E]thical, performative, healing, transformative, decolonizing, and participatory. It must be committed to dialogue, community, self-determination, and cultural autonomy. It must meet people's perceived needs. It must resist efforts to confine inquiry to a single paradigm or interpretive strategy. It must be unruly, disruptive, critical, and dedicated to the goals of justice and equity. (Denzin, Lincoln, & Smith, 2008, p. 1)

The definition above emphasizes restoring and reviving Indigenous ways of knowing as a way of disrupting the tendencies of how research has often been done through colonial eyes (cf. Smith, 2012). The Indigenous research

⁵⁵ The Indigenous research paradigm is linked to Indigenous peoples but I do not see the approach as belonging to the (officially recognized) Indigenous peoples exclusively. When conceptualizing who the “Indigenous” refer to within the Indigenous research paradigm, Chilisa (2012) reminds us that the role of indigeneity is “a cultural group’s ways of knowing and the value systems that inform their lives” (Mertens, Cram, & Chilisa, 2013, p. 15). Her observation affirms the lived conception of Indigeneity.

paradigm outlines the core concerns of the research that are embedded in a community-centered, dialogue-oriented approach which aims at autonomy and self-determination for the Indigenous peoples (cf. Wilson, 2008). To produce knowledge in the Indigenous research paradigm is about healing yourself and that healing helps others to heal—thus Indigenous research is all about recovery, renewal and reawakening (Meyer, 2014, p. 252). To achieve these transformative goals, one needs to open up and resist the confinement of a single dimension of truth. Instead, the Indigenous research paradigm urges the interconnectedness grounded in the relations, in other words, a relational approach (cf. Chapter 4.5).

The Indigenous research paradigm has benefited from many Indigenous authors' theorizing of knowledge. Rooted in the experience of Maori, Linda Tuhiwai Smith's *Decolonizing Methodologies* (2012) is a seminal piece of work that advocates for an indigenous research paradigm. Cree scholar Shawn Wilson (2001, 2008) furthers Smith's ideas by bringing in the Indigenous perspectives from Canada and Australia. Native Hawaiian educator Meyer provides a concrete roadmap for recognizing the dynamic interdependence of all things through embracing the wholeness of knowledge (2013b). At the same time, a growing number of resources are now becoming available for developing the indigenous paradigm, such as *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision* by Marie Ann Battiste (2000), *Indigenous Research Methodologies* by Bagele Chilisa (2012) and *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations and Contexts* by Margaret Kovach (2009). These works developed by Indigenous scholars serve as an invaluable resource for the development of the Indigenous paradigm from the Tayal perspective, which is one of the core contributions of the dissertation (see Chapter 4.6).

I will discuss this chapter in the following order: first I introduce the concept of paradigm, followed by an explanation of why indigenizing research matters, the ethics involved and how the Indigenous paradigm is allied with interpretive research. Then, I elucidate my positionality in-between and how I ground my exploration in relations that underpin the approach of the Indigenous paradigm. Lastly, I discuss what Tayal hermeneutics entail and the conceptual space between the "Western" and the "Indigenous". All the tenets related to the Indigenous research paradigm are discussed for the benefit of the readers not familiar with it.

4.1 LOCATING MY RESEARCH AMONG PARADIGMS

How do we conceptualize the Indigenous research paradigm? First, I clarify what "paradigm" entails. Wilson (2001, p. 175) has understood paradigm as "a set of beliefs about the world and about gaining knowledge that goes together to guide people's actions as to how they are going to go about doing their research". A paradigm is the driving force that determines how we understand the world and which questions are worth asking. We are all guided by

paradigms, whether or not we are conscious of our choice of paradigm or not. The paradigm we align with has relevance to the answer to “What is real?”, “How do I know what is real?”, “How do I find out more about the reality?”, “What is ethical to do in order to gain the knowledge, what will this knowledge be used for?” (Wilson, 2008, pp. 33-34). In other words, each paradigm has its own stance in ontology, epistemology, methodology and axiology.

Categorizations by Guba and Lincoln provide a good foundation from which to conceptualize what a research paradigm is.⁵⁶ They distinguish the axiomatic nature of research by summarizing five paradigmatic positions in research (i) positivism, (ii) post-positivism, (iii) critical theory, (iv) constructivism, and (v) cooperative/participatory inquiry.⁵⁷ Each of these entails its own positional space that determines what might constitute knowledge and methodology (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, pp. 170-171). It is important to note that no one categorization should override the purpose and intent of others but rather they are to be utilized to trace the basis upon which research is done and knowledge is built.

The main conceptual framework for this dissertation—the Indigenous research paradigm—lies in interrogating the presuppositions of conventional research paradigms through the ontological, epistemological, methodological and axiological pillars. Precisely these pillars make the Indigenous approach to research accountable. Informed by a mixed-method perspective, my dissertation aspires to deepen the understanding of Indigenous peoples and long-term care policies through a critical indigenous methodological approach. I aim to understand deeper the seemingly parallel worlds of the policies and the everyday lives of people, and envision a way forward.

To explore the understanding of Indigenous peoples and long-term care policies, this research aims to enrich the non-positivist inquiries, specifically, critical theory, constructivism and participatory approaches. Critical theorists stand on historical realism that views the reality shaped by social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic, and gender values, which leads them to adopt a dialogic/dialectic methodology. The approach is congruent with the Indigenous research paradigm in valuing action as the key form of empowerment as well as equity and justice as the end goals (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 172). Constructivists embrace the multiplicity of reality and the paramountcy of constructed realities. This approach can be aligned to my own approach in terms of valuing trustworthiness and authenticity as quality criteria, where a multitude of voices—instead of one single voice from the researcher—are taken on and cherished (*ibid.*, pp.171-172). Drawing from the participatory inquiry paradigm (Heron & Reason, 1997), as a researcher I am located in the ontological reality co-created by myself and those people who gave me their insights and trust. In a way the idea here is political: privileging the collaborative actions, the cultural etiquettes of engagement, the building

⁵⁶ Four paradigms in 1994, the fifth one added in 2005.

⁵⁷ The fifth paradigm, participatory (or cooperative), was elaborated by Heron and Reason (1997)

of trust and the use of language (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 168). My dissertation acknowledges the intricate balance between my role as a researcher and my connections to people and places as a Tayal woman myself. I, therefore, draw from critical, constructivist and participatory axiomatic positions, while critically engaging in the politics of Indigenous self-determination.

Although similarities can be identified between the critical, constructivist and participatory positions and the Indigenous research paradigm, there is still a caveat: the dominant paradigms—no matter whether it is positivism, post-positivism, critical theory, constructivism or participatory—all fall within the larger paradigm of Western thought, thus it might be problematic to combine them to Indigenous paradigm (cf. Kovach, 2009, p. 27). Nevertheless, I argue that the interconnectedness and compatibility between indigenous and Western methodologies may be more intimate and closer than we imagined (cf. Wilson, 2001; Kovach, 2009; Chilisa, 2012).⁵⁸ Native Hawaiian epistemologist Meyer (2008, 2013b) utilizes the tripartite notion of body, mind and spirit as a template to organize meaningful research that stretches beyond the boundaries of paradigms and ways of knowing. Meyer argues that to conduct research is to “extend through our objective/empirical knowing (body) into wider spaces of reflection offered through conscious subjectivity (mind) and, finally, via recognition and engagement with deeper realities (spirit)” (Meyer, 2008, p. 224). With interconnections between different dimensions needed more than ever, I think it is time to focus on the interwoven nature of paradigms, or in Geertz’s words, the “blurring of genres” (Geertz, 1983). It is also time to explore how non-positivist methodologies (critical theory, constructivism and participatory) and indigenous methodologies can complement each other with a decolonizing aim.

The paradigm that builds on Indigenous perspectives helps us to deepen the understanding of process and context, which are core issues in qualitative inquiries (cf. Kovach, 2009). That is, the Indigenous paradigm is aligned to qualitative studies, because they share characteristics and values that are congruent (cf. Chapter 6). For example, feminist research argues that the consequence of ignoring women’s lived experiences is masculine-oriented knowledge production limited to the experiences and observations of men, specifically white Anglo-Saxon men (Harding, 1987). Just like feminist scholars identifying the masculine bias in academic inquiry, Indigenous scholars have realized that the inherent values of Euro-Western research epistemologies and methodologies should not be taken for granted. As a solution, they have argued for indigenous methodologies, which are informed by forms of indigenous knowledge and add value to the conventional knowledge and methodologies. They add value through addressing issues from the viewpoints of the colonized and the historically oppressed, as well as from

⁵⁸ My dissertation will show more aspects on the congruence of the Indigenous paradigm and the non-positivist paradigms, to which I will get back to in Chapter 4.7.

the viewpoints of those who used to be the “Others” absent in knowledge production (Chilisa, 2012, p. 98).

4.2 CONFRONTING “THE INDIGENOUS PROBLEM” BY INDIGENIZING THE RESEARCH

I see indigenizing research as the first key ingredient to operationalize the Indigenous research paradigm. The act of indigenizing in research entails the transformative and decolonizing features outlined above. In practice, it means connecting to the cultural roots of the Indigenous peoples. It means a shift of re-centering to the interests and aspirations of Indigenous community.

Indigenizing is about squarely engaging with the making of “Indigenous problem”. The recurrent theme in colonial and imperial attempts to deal with Indigenous peoples is to simply name the issue “The...(insert name of indigenous group) problem” (Smith, 2012, p. 94). It started as a militaristic and policing concern (“getting rid of the rebellious natives”), and developed into more paternalistic responses (“promoting Indigenous lifestyles so people can die a less miserable death”) in the recent decades.

In the encounters between Indigenous peoples and imperialism, research has been utilized as a pretext to subjugate Indigenous peoples and it was used to produce knowledge about strange and foreign worlds (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008, p. 4). In Smith’s words, “the word research is believed to mean, quite literally, the continued construction of indigenous peoples as the problem” (2012, p. 96). Indigenizing research, by contrast, entails consciously rejecting the idea that the making of the “Indigenous problem” is a thing of the past.

Indigenization is about confronting the colonial gaze, which has been present throughout the history of research (Smith, 2012). Indigenization is like a spotlight that illuminates how a colonial gaze plays a role in the process of knowledge production. It would be remiss to discount accusations that research has historically been used as a form of systematic objectification of Indigenous peoples: that, by design, research has reinforced negative images perpetrated against them.

Research is inextricably linked to colonialism and imperialism (Smith, 2012). Smith points out that the word research is probably the “dirtiest word” in the indigenous world’s vocabulary, as it entails the worse kind of imperialism and colonialism: research means “knowledge about indigenous peoples was collected, classified, and then represented back to the West” (Smith, 2012, p. 1). Echoing Smith’s observation, Harvey noted,

Colonialist researchers may assert that their training and their status establishes their right to observe and ‘discover’ whatever they desire to know (“Trust me, I’m a researcher”). Their insistence on ‘objectivity’ distances them to a degree and sometimes determines (for them and those they observe) conflictual stances and engagements. It should also

diminish the value placed on the results and output of their research (Harvey, 2003, p. 138).

Research, if we contemplate this way, is not only far from neutral, but to a large extent informed by paradigms that are entrenched in the core of colonialism and imperialism. Research in many forms serves as the archetype or metaphor for colonial knowledge—the “archivist” of knowledge systems, rules and values. That is, it classifies societies, condenses them through a system of representation and ranks them according to criteria of evaluation (Smith, 1999, p. 44).

Indigenizing research is a powerful tool to critically engage with the colonial past of academic research. It responds to prevalent and troubling tendencies in social sciences: academic imperialism, scientific colonialism, methodological supremacy, and Western literature which marginalize the worldviews and ways of knowing of the colonized Other (Chilisa, 2012, p. 101). The position of indigenizing is to engage with what Smith (1999) identifies as research being “a significant site of struggle between the interests and ways of knowing of the West and the interests and ways of resisting of the Other” (p. 2). In other words, indigenizing research is about engaging with the power struggle between onto-epistemological systems. Taking elderly indigenous peoples as the Other in the case at hand, this positioning offers a genuine alternative to unsettle Western science. It is resistance against a homogeneous identity that perpetuates marginalization through objectifying the Other. It is also resistance against colonial oppression that assimilates, disempowers and controls Indigenous peoples. The approach of indigenizing research opens a door to examine the ontological, epistemological and methodological aspects from the Indigenous perspectives. Through juxtaposing how policy creates “problems” with Indigenous peoples’ lived experience, this positioning delineates the ways in which colonialism and imperialism permeates policies that underpin the contemporary suffering of indigenous peoples. In carrying out this research, the intent is to address care for the indigenous elderly within the wider framework of self-determination, decolonization and social justice, ultimately strengthening and empowering the Indigenous communities through its facilitation of shared concerns and actions.

For this reason, it is imperative to incorporate an epistemological and methodological positioning that is devoted to indigenizing research; one that respects relationships, honors Indigenous knowledges, and embraces the wisdom of elders. Opaskwayak Cree researcher Shawn Wilson illustrates “the shoddy research of an anthropologist” in his book (Wilson, 2008). He notes: “All Indigenous students fear that we will be seen as becoming as cold and objectifying as the anthropologist who wrote the article” (ibid., p. 74). In addition, Wilson explains how well-intended researchers cause harm through objectifying the persons they study. It echoes an anguished history of “outside” anthropological and sociological inquisitors who “study the culture, customs, and habits of another human group”, and who benefit from colonial

exploitation; their work “becom[ing] an objective way of representing the dark-skinned other to the White world” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 4). Through telling Cora’s story which underpins the objectifying anthropologist, Wilson reminds us that an Indigenous researcher should not replicate the imbalanced power relations. It is not easy because conducting research without thinking about the epistemological and methodological positioning is common, which makes the situation of imbalanced power relations worse.

Last but not least, indigenizing research is about recognizing the multiplicity of realities and the fact that no single “truth” is out there to be found. This dissertation opts for a *non-positivist* orientation so the partial, incomplete truths can be more clearly outlined and understood. It reckons that the social constructivist approach is more suitable to better comprehend social policy and Indigenous peoples. In other words, anchoring in indigenizing research contributes to the aims of epistemological pluralism in relation to care.

In summary, I have explained what constitutes indigenization, the first key ingredient of the Indigenous research paradigm. Indigenization is about being aware of the continuation of the making of “Indigenous problem” in research and in practice. It is about critical awareness of the imbalanced power relationships faced by Indigenous peoples. As a response, indigenization of research proposes to re-center Indigenous peoples and Indigenous ways of knowing in the knowledge production and multiplicity of “truth”. It is clear that incorporating the Indigenous research paradigm and indigenizing research are addressing complex problems and indeed are not easy to do. Why, then, is it necessary to incorporate Indigenous research methodologies? This brings us to the second key ingredient: ethics.

4.3 WHY BOTHER? THE QUESTION OF ETHICS AND SOLIDARITY WITH INTERPRETIVE RESEARCH

Why is it necessary to incorporate Indigenous research methodologies in this research on long-term care of elderly Indigenous people? As the topic deals directly with the theme of Indigenous peoples, in both policy documents and in practice, it is necessary to face squarely the marginalized and alienated tendency in previous studies: that Indigenous people are treated usually, if not always, as mere research objects (or simply ‘not human’, cf. Smith, 2012, pp. 26-41, pp. 119-122) who tend to have lots of problems. It is not uncommon to witness ethical problems when research is done on Indigenous peoples.

For the past decades, various disciplines have responded to this ethical dilemma by reflecting on the limitations of Western science and calling for a decolonizing conceptual framework and practice. This critical reflection has proceeded at different pace in different disciplines. For example, it has been more wide-spread in social work (cf. Gray, Coates, Yellow Bird &

Hetherington, 2013), education (cf. for example McKinley & Smith, 2019) and cultural studies (cf. Mignolo, 2007b; Castro-Gómez et al., 2001). The reflection process can be observed in political science as well (cf. Ivison, Patton & Sanders, 2000). The dominant scientific approach to Indigenous research is problematic because it tends to focus on problems and impose outside solutions to them—instead of comprehending, appreciating and expanding the resources available within the Indigenous communities (Wilson, 2008, p. 16). These problematic tendencies in Western (positivist) research serve as the rationale for using the indigenous research paradigm instead.

Indigenous epistemologists trace the problems to a flawed conception of knowledge. They caution that Western (positivist) science, which has for long been in denial about the sovereignty of the Indigenous, disseminates theories to justify learned helplessness, hopelessness and victimhood. Underscoring the experience of the Sámi Indigenous people, Helander-Renvall (2016) notes that Indigenous concepts and views have been marginalized in schools, in literature, and by the Judeo-Christian religious and Western knowledge tradition. She argues that Western science claims to hold “a monopoly concerning what is true and what is false”, and what is propagated as “superstition or ignorance” (Helander-Renvall, 2016, p. 63. cf. Helander and Kailo, 1998; Nadasdy, 1999). This Western knowledge tradition was the basis to justify assimilation policies, and how we gain knowledge to “civilize and Christianize” Indigenous children in church-run residential facilities legitimizing cultural genocide (cf. Skutnabb-Kangas, Nicholas & Reyhner, 2016; Francis, 1998).⁵⁹ Under these circumstances, it is imperative to be critical about the epistemological framework that informs us what reality is and how we gain knowledge about it. As Kovach reminds us “conceptual frameworks make visible the way we see the world. Within research, these frameworks are either transparent (i.e., through form) or not, yet they are always present.” (Kovach, 2009, p. 41).

The key role of the Indigenous research paradigm is to strengthen the knowledge production of Indigenous peoples and build conceptual frameworks that are ethical to the Indigenous community.⁶⁰ That is, this conceptualization ties in closely with the development of how axiology should be upheld in Indigenous research. The Indigenous research paradigm, as a relatively new approach, is still forming and finding strength from other

⁵⁹ More of the devastating consequences of assimilation policies in relation to residential school in Canada, cf. Sinclair 2007.

⁶⁰ States have shifted to recognize and accommodate Indigenous rights as a response to the social movements of Indigenous peoples, which gained momentum in the post-war era. In the 1970s, many of the indigenous initiatives were being advanced at the international level (Smith, 2012, pp. 116–119), and the concept of self-determination and sovereignty in the indigenous context was developed gradually. In the 1980s, a more consolidated sense of Indigenous rights began to form as exemplified by the draft of United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

interpretive traditions that share similar concerns, such as feminist approaches.

Many researchers like me who are inspired by the more interpretive, postmodern and critical social sciences have seen the potential of qualitative inquiries to the struggle of Indigenous peoples. Approaches such as feminist theory (standpoint theory and methodology of the oppressed), modern critical theory, postcolonial theory, critical race theory, notions of decolonization, resistance, struggle, and emancipation seem to be useful toolkits to address issues that are important to the Indigenous societies (cf. Battiste, 2000; Porsanger, 2004; Rigney, 1999; Smith, 2012; Chilisa, 2012; Cunningham, 2006). They share congruent characteristics that honor multiple truths, challenge the dominant power relations and endorse “self-in-relation” (Graveline, 1998, p. 57). Combined together, they raise the awareness of power, hegemony, colonialization, racism and oppression that the dominant knowledge practice often denies (cf. Meyer, 2008, p. 218). Positioning, as such, is operationalized through adopting the perspectives of Indigenous peoples as “situated knowers” and their knowledges as “situated knowledge”: knowledge that reflects the core perspectives of what it means to be Indigenous.

The Indigenous research paradigm speaks to mutual concerns shared with feminist epistemology and philosophy of science. Advocates of such views have argued that the dominant knowledge practices disadvantage women in many ways. They exclude women from inquiry and deny them authority to produce valid knowledge. They tend to produce theories about women that represent them as inadequate, inferior and significant only in the ways they serve male interests. In particular, the dominant model denies and marginalizes dissidence, contributing to a homogeneous picture of all women’s demands and standpoints in reaching “equality” (Cunningham, 2006). The problem of who is a legitimate subject to produce knowledge is a core issue also to the Indigenous research paradigm. Dominant knowledge practices have the tendency to produce theories about social phenomena that render women’s interests invisible and gendered power relations nonexistent. Last but not least, both indigenous and non-indigenous feminist advocates would agree that dominant knowledge practices produce knowledge that is not useful for people in subordinate or marginalized positions (Anderson, 2017, Cunningham, 2006). It is clear that feminist scholars throughout the world have long resisted the cooptation and exploitation of their scholarship and intellectualism as another effect of colonial expansionism.

Careful readers may have noted that I have not mentioned the Indigenous research paradigm’s potential gender-blindness. For that, I want to first emphasize that the relationship between Indigenous research paradigm and feminist research is built on two-way reciprocity. The Indigenous research paradigm has sharpened feminist research in elaborating on the ethnicity aspect; in a similar vein, feminist research has also provided important tools to Indigenous women to interrupt the prevalence of race and tribal nation

overshadowing gender issues (cf. Ramirez, 2007, Kuokkanen, 2012, Narayanaswamy, 2016).

This chapter has pointed out the need for the Indigenous research paradigm and how feminism can be regarded an ally for this quest for challenging the narrow, monocultural and interest-laden way in which particular theories and methodologies are produced, reproduced and privileged inside the Western-oriented academia (Graham Smith, cited in Kovach, 2009, p. 88). What does this mean when the Indigenous research paradigm encounters insider/outsider discourse? How does the researcher position in the “us—them” power divide? These issues are addressed in the following section, drawing from my dissertation as an example.

4.4 MY POSITIONALITY: “INBETWEENNESS”

How do I position myself? To start with, the binary language of insider/outsider that has traversed many social science disciplines is not always helpful in explicating the complex and fluid role of the researcher. It is not easy to define oneself as a complete insider or outsider, because positions are constantly being negotiated and re-negotiated and thus always changing. The role is by no means static.

To give an example, I grew up in a highly touristic area where Tayal culture by and large exists in the form of commercialized goods. I was not interested in living my Tayal identity before I moved to Finland, where I decided to write my Master’s Thesis on the disadvantaged health of Taiwan Indigenous Peoples. In that sense I am an outsider. On the other hand, people in the community recognize me when I walk around with my *yaki* (grandmother in Tayal) and they ask how my relatives and parents are doing. When I attend a Presbyterian church service in the community, people (almost all my cousins and relatives who are Tayal) always give me hearty greetings because I basically grew up in that church. I see myself more of an insider in this sense. That is why I position myself as occupying a position of ‘inbetweenness’. In explicating ‘inbetweenness’, I demonstrate how I embody the complexity, fluidity and multidimensional nature of positioning. I argue that by embracing this sense of “inbetweenness” can serve as a powerful conceptual framework to recognize multiple epistemologies.

The conceptual framework adopted in this dissertation was from the outset designed to follow the critical inquiry that is embedded in the qualitative landscape. As the research evolved, the presence of Indigenous epistemologies became stronger. Therefore, both critical qualitative inquiry and Indigenous epistemologies are explained as they inform the conceptual framework of this dissertation. This choice was informed and negotiated through my research identity of “inbetweenness”.

My identity journey disrupts the unity of the homogeneous image of a Tayal person. In a similar way it influences the methodological choices. In

recognizing fuzziness and ambiguity as fundamental characteristics of identity (Giesen, 2012), a hybrid conceptual framework, both qualitative and Indigenous that linked closely to this developing identity, both Taiwanese and Tayal, was thus conceived. In the journey, I negotiated and re-negotiated my role as an Indigenous woman and a researcher who has been trained in Western academia. In the process, I reflected my upbringing that was mostly informed from the Han Chinese mono-cultural perspective and a resurgence of my Tayal identity since my mid-twenties.

My belonging to the Tayal group is multidimensional; it is also contentious and yet at the same time empowering. On occasions when I am accepted as part of the group, it is my connections to place that are highlighted. My identity, or “my shared ethnic’ sense of belonging”, is strong when I am with my grandmother — her presence in a way vouches for my legitimacy as “insider” outsider. I am aware that having a shared ethnic group status does not equate to being an “insider”, especially when other characteristics of my identities make me an “outsider”. For example, not getting the sense of humor that is familiar to the community, not being able to speak “the tribal way”, or not knowing the essential people in the community.

In her reflection on *Methods and Interpretation*, Kovach (2009) identifies a variety of data collection methods that are common in Indigenous research, e.g., storytelling, research circles, conversations and journaling (2009, p. 123). She argues that an inclusion of a particular method, such as sharing circles, does not make research Indigenous. The core problem is whether research is epistemologically recognized to be Indigenous. Through positioning myself “in between”, this dissertation strives to create an *ethical space* (cf. Chapter 4.6) between indigenous and non-indigenous inquiries. Embracing “inbetweenness” assists me to recognize the invaluable assets that are available to an Indigenous researcher who faces the insider/outsider dilemma — which should not be a dilemma in the first place, but a leverage to gain more resources for Indigenous communities.

The hermeneutics adopted in this dissertation is embedded in the “triangulation of meaning” (Meyer, 2008). It assists me in examining the philosophy of science from an outside-the-box Indigenous perspective, especially in relation to the dichotomy of foundations on which natural and social sciences are established.⁶¹ Manu Aluli Meyer advocates for experiencing the wholeness of life and research through three points: body, mind and spirit. This is worth noting because Meyer’s (2008) triangulation enabled me to reconcile the contradictions between the paradigms.

⁶¹ Wilhen Dilthey distinguishes between *Naturwissenschaft* (‘natural science’) and *Wissenschaft* (science, knowledge, intelligence) on one hand, and *Erklärung* (‘explanation, interpretation, definition’) on the other hand. Echoing with the latter tradition, qualitative inquiry is rooted in the hermeneutics and the *Verstehen* (German, meaning ‘to understand’) tradition.

Using body, mind, and spirit as a template in which to organize meaningful research asks us to extend through our objective/empirical knowing (body) into wider spaces of reflection offered through conscious subjectivity (mind) and, finally, via recognition and engagement with deeper realities (spirit)." (p. 227)

Meyer argues that the wholeness of life and research should be understood giving equal value to body, mind and spirit. Echoing her insight that one needs this triangulation of meaning, the revelation that one's experience can be freed from the insider/outsider dichotomy was indeed empowering. The sense of "inbetweenness" can be regarded as sense of recognition and engagement with deeper realities.

4.5 GROUNDING THIS RESEARCH THROUGH RELATIONSHIPS

The "inbetweenness" of researcher's identity is about recognizing the relational aspects of realities, which is at the core of the Indigenous research paradigm. In the Indigenous research process, the value lies in a relational accountability that promotes respectful representation, reciprocity, and respect for the rights of the people studied (cf. Chilisa, 2012; Wilson, 2008). Relational approaches are fundamental to Indigenous ontology and epistemology. Wilson (2008) gives a poetic, powerful and concise description of how to understand relationships in Indigenous research:

These relationships come to you from the past, from the present and from your future. This is what surrounds us, and what forms us, our world, our cosmos and our reality. We could not be without being in relationship with everything that surrounds us and is within us. Our reality, our ontology is the relationships. (p. 76)

It is essential to comprehend how relationships play an active role in order to address the values that are central to the Indigenous research paradigm. The goal of this study is to gain an in-depth understanding of how aging Indigenous people, the Tayal *bnkis*, view their long-term care system as exemplified by the Day Club, which provides services for the elderly. Accompanying my grandmother into the Day Club helped me to conceptualize the relational aspect of doing research that aligns with the indigenous methodologies. I have been reminded multiple times that it is not just me, an individual doing research. Instead, studying the Day Club is about re-searching interconnectedness between family, clan, community and the continuation of our culture and language. It is these relational aspects that are at stake.

I explain in the following two sections how relationalities are manifested in my research. The first one concerns relations with my grandmother and how this study at hand is grounded through her relations to the community as a

whole. The second one concerns the “ethical space” and how deconstructing coloniality can be essential for empowering the communities living under a colonial ideology of superiority.

The knowledge I was given by the *bnkis* is grounded through the relationalities derived from my grandmother (more see Chapter 6.2.2). During the fieldwork between 2015 and 2018, I entered the Day Club with my grandmother, who was born inside the community. My grandmother has never moved outside the *Taranan* river drainage (cf. Chapter 3), although she has moved outside the demarcated *buluo* border into the commercial street to establish her business.⁶² This mobility of traversing across the border has given her opportunities to be financially independent, but at the same time she has been deemed as less “tribal” for crossing the border to the “Han-Chinese” side. Yet, she keeps in contact with her friends and relatives who stayed in the *buluo*. From observing her participating in the Day Club, it was apparent to me that she was a member of the Wulai village community. The presence of my grandmother allowed me to find meanings and knowledge helpful in my engagement with examining the history of Wulai, using the Indigenous research paradigm as a critical lens. This facilitated a process of my own reconnecting to the community. Indeed, the history of Wulai itself is heavily embedded in the context of coloniality. This brings us to the next point of relationalities and how empowerment is essential through grounding research.

“Horror stories” on research done in Indigenous communities around the world (cf. Smith, 1999) are not difficult to find. Regardless of the best intentions of researchers, studying “Indigenous problems” has tended to infuse a learned sense of discouragement and despair into the communities. Indigenous communities have been told that they are incapable of solving problems themselves. In studying health among indigenous peoples in Taiwan, researchers focused on particular health problems, for example TB or gout, and simply concluded that a lack of a sense of individual responsibility among Indigenous populations caused the problems (cf. Gao 2017). Before starting to study Indigenous health, I was not familiar with any of these stories in the Wulai context. I have, however, encountered them in a different form when I asked my grandmother why the government gave us better treatment (satellite TV subsidies, study support and so on) when we changed our family name to Gao. She hesitated, then murmured to herself, “I don’t know. Is it because we [the Tayal people in general] don’t have money? Or is it because Indigenous people are stupid?” It baffled me how a sense of inferiority lingers at the back of her mind. There are multiple occasions of people stricken with inferiority as an aftermath of colonialism.

It is precisely because of this colonial aftermath that I found that utilizing the Indigenous research paradigm and privileging the relational aspects of

⁶² The demarcation of the traditional territory of Taiwan Indigenous peoples is contentious and is one of the key issues in the reconciliation process. See for example Shih (2017).

research are crucial. Through going to the day club with my grandmother for the past years, I have realized how powerful research can be when it is turned to serve community interests instead. To illustrate, my grandmother has asked me multiple times what I am doing in the day club. “Why are you here wasting time in the community? Don’t you have better things to do with your life?” She did not believe that hanging out with elderly people in the rural area like Wulai had anything to do with my doctoral studies. Through the course of my fieldwork I finally persuaded her that long-term care for the Indigenous peoples is a valid field of study and I could not do it without her helping me understand the indigenous perspective. “I cannot finish my doctoral dissertation without you helping me to see through the eyes of Tayal. I need you to help me.” It has simmered slowly in her mind, and her attitude changed gradually when I conducted follow-ups in my fieldwork in 2016 and 2017. In the beginning, she resisted getting up on time and delayed our journey to the care center. Later, instead of me dragging her to the Day Club, she was ready to go there even before I arrived. Sitting at her bedside, she would encourage me to ask her everything about the indigenous culture. She said cheerfully: “You ask me. I will tell you what I know.” She would walk briskly into the Church hall, seat herself and turn to me and say: “Ok, now you start to ask me what you want to know about our culture and language. I know everything, you know.” She also told her fellow *bnkis* that I was doing research on elderly care and I would do it the right way. She helped me in the process of seeking approval to enter and to uphold the Tayal protocol, to which I shall return in Chapter 6.2.

To conclude, relationalities—the core attribute in the Indigenous research paradigm—have played a crucial role in making this inquiry possible. On the one hand, knowledge is relational, especially in the Indigenous context; the presence of coloniality and resilience of people result in creating a renewed relational reality. On the other hand, privileging relational research is needed to heal the harms inflicted from the colonial policies.

4.6 TOWARDS A TAYAL HERMENEUTICS

Tayal hermeneutics here simply means a research agenda built on the knowledge standpoint that is privileging Tayal epistemology. Drawing from Meyer (2003), Tayal hermeneutics entails that I am Tayal and I focus on “who is talking” and “who is the I that is listening?” I have learned from a multitude of sources—my peers, respected elders, and scholars around the globe who continue to inspire me. In this dissertation, I see Tayal hermeneutics as my bedrock embedded in the Tayal knowledge system while conceptualizing care for the *bnkis* in policy and practice.

A myriad of research and policies about Tayal people has been conducted, but not so much with them nor from their point of view, not to mention for their interests of community development. On the contrary, research has often

been done to stigmatize, thus disempowering the Indigenous peoples. For decades, Taiwan has launched anti-drinking programs to solve the “Indigenous problem”. Through a set of narrowly-defined sobriety policies and research, it has individualized the problem and created a stigmatized image of “binge drinking, irresponsible, oblivious Indigenous peoples” (cf. Chen, 2014; Hsia, 2010; Wu, 2019). The missing piece in the puzzle has precisely been in the tensions of social policy in the modern state: on the one hand, it aims to help people to function better in society; on the other hand, it is deeply entrenched in paternalistic charity ideas of imperialism. From a psychiatric point of view, Wu (2019) explains that Indigenous drinking should be seen in the settler-colonial context, where Indigenous drinking is the product of marginalization and oppression. Researching Indigenous drinking through psychiatrizing the condition only ignores the deep-seated colonial power and in so doing exacerbates the stigmatization of Indigenous peoples (ibid.). In short, there has been a huge credibility problem among academia, the state and with Indigenous peoples in Taiwan as a whole. Indigenous peoples are portrayed in academic projects and government programs as powerless, in need to be saved (Smith, 2012, p. 122; Munsterhjelm, 2013). This is why the Indigenous research paradigm—and in particular Tayal hermeneutics—is needed to see the problems of the needs of Tayal elderly people from a better perspective.

The urgency of the presence of Tayal, or Indigenous hermeneutics, is to heal the wound caused by disempowering and objectifying modes of research. Under Japanese rule, ethnologists and anthropologists compiled meticulous documentation about Tayal kinship systems, norms, values, rituals and even racial identification (cf. Blundell, 2009; Barclay, 2017). Although many of these documents served as a source for Indigenous revitalization after 1980s, there is no denying that a large part of the research was conducted through colonial eyes. It meant that Indigenous ways of knowing and learning were suppressed, Indigenous knowledges were commodified, research ethics were breached and Indigenous peoples exoticized. In contemporary Taiwan, the problem of a colonial gaze in research has become more subtle and complex. The issues of indigeneity and authenticity have been topics of heated debates and power struggles in government funded projects (cf. Hsieh, 2004; Kuan & Lin 2008). Indigenous hermeneutics, in this case, plays an important role in healing the wound via recentering Indigenous ways of knowing and being in “multicultural” Taiwan.

It is uncommon to meet an academic or politician who is interested in engaging Tayal ways of knowing and being; it is rare to encounter a project or a policy that makes an effort to address the colonial influence in knowledge paradigms and how Tayal ways of knowing are consequently marginalized. It is not surprising to find out that it is even less common to encounter a recognition of Indigenous knowing as a way of healing, reciprocity and reconciliation. Given these circumstances, the stance of this dissertation is to

honor both text and context of the Tayal: That Indigenous knowledge is highly contextualized, in its affirmation of place (Wulai) and people (Tayal).

Tayal hermeneutics is anchored in the Tayal knowledge system. What do I mean by knowledge system? Following Indigenous Bunun researcher Tunkan Tansikian, I define an Indigenous knowledge system via four features. First, it is a knowledge system of subsistence and survival that was developed by the Indigenous peoples who have existed on the particular land from time immemorial. Second, it strengthens the Indigenous identities through its critical function of tackling the distribution and competition of power/resources. Third, an Indigenous knowledge system is the basis of a long-standing philosophical world view through which the people have developed practical knowledge to deal with the outside world. Fourth, this knowledge system has the capacity to change. It is able to adapt through times of crisis and upheaval, always being relevant for the people to tackle their survival challenges (Tansikian 2015). These elements of Indigenous knowledge system affirm Indigenous knowing as an open-ended, adaptive, land-based, localized and sustainable trajectory that entails a process that is constantly evolving. Along similar vein, Tayal hermeneutics is located in the center of Tayal knowing, which I call “riverscape of epistemology”. It is operationalized by the indigenization of research (cf. Chapter 4.2), which centers upon a critical theory of “inbetweenness” (cf. Mataira & Silan 2019).

I endorse a situated stance—which is understood by Graveline (1998, p. 57) as “self-in-relation”—as a central tenet to engaging with the experiences of the Tayal people. I affirm the situatedness of being an Indigenous researcher and define this dissertation in terms of personal experiences, families, communities and ultimately nationhood (Peltier, 2018). I acknowledge the relationships—with people, community, water, mountains, sky, animals and artwork—that play an important role in the Tayal knowledge-building. In so doing, this research actively engages with and explores the parameters that embody the worldview, knowledge and identity of the Tayal people.

I build my understanding of Tayal hermeneutics on two sources. On the one hand, I have absorbed strategically how the Indigenous research paradigm has developed in other Indigenous societies (cf. Chapter 4.1). Accounts provided by Indigenous researchers based on their societies allow me to connect the dots to assemble, articulate and illustrate the research paradigm of the Tayal. On the other hand, I deepen an understanding of the Indigenous research paradigm in my own context. Tayal researchers’ and practitioners’ efforts have enriched ways of knowing and being, they are instrumental for putting together coherent discourses concerning the Tayal approach to research. This speaks to the central concern of this dissertation: to conceptualize and articulate a research paradigm based on the Tayal perspectives. I explain below on which relational aspects of Tayal knowing the Tayal hermeneutics is developed upon.

I chose to engage with what Elder Willie Ermine called “ethical space” to ensure that the key ethical principles—respect, participation, collaboration,

reciprocity, benefit, FPIC (first, prior and informed consent) and responsibility—can be developed in a way that are line with the Tayal community. The principles of ethical space have compelled me to develop a visual representation of my research process as a Tayal researcher. Figure 3 demonstrates my visual representation, the road of decolonization, which functions like a “storyboard” of the dissertation that entails my ontology regarding coloniality and indigeneity. The visualization has guided me when engaging with Tayal community. I find it imperative to include the visualization as it was created and developed through a collaborative effort during a workshop on Indigenous methodologies in Inari, together with Emily Höckert, Pia Siirala and Vesa Matteo Piludu, as well as discussion with Maori scholar Peter Mataira. I see the aspect of collaboration as the first priority in keeping the ethical space.

Figure 3 illustrates layered ways to my research journey and my understanding of ethical space. I see two pillars as of paramount importance: (a) deconstructing coloniality and colonial ideology of superiority, and (b) reconciliating relationships between worldviews and ways of knowing. Too often in debates of research paradigms, people simply look at the green half of the picture, and ask why assertive, anti-establishment, and radical Indigenous peoples are asking for “autonomy”, an “Indigenous research paradigm” or “self-determination”. If we look at the red part of the visualization, it becomes clear that demands for ethical principles and self-determination must be seen in the context of, and as a response to, coloniality. This is why the ethical space is crucial to be visualized, as it shows clearly where decolonial methodologies fit in the bigger picture to deconstruct coloniality, to call for an unlearning of the scientism, and to dismantle colonial ideology of superiority. At the same time, this ethical space is an inseparable part of my theoretical and epistemological framework. It is not only about disrupting coloniality, but also pointing at where we should be going, i.e. a reconciliation of relationships and ways of knowing. To uphold an ethical space, one must be able to create space between knowledge systems and be aware of the systems that are dominating us—as individuals and academics—and act respectfully and create dialogue between knowledge systems.

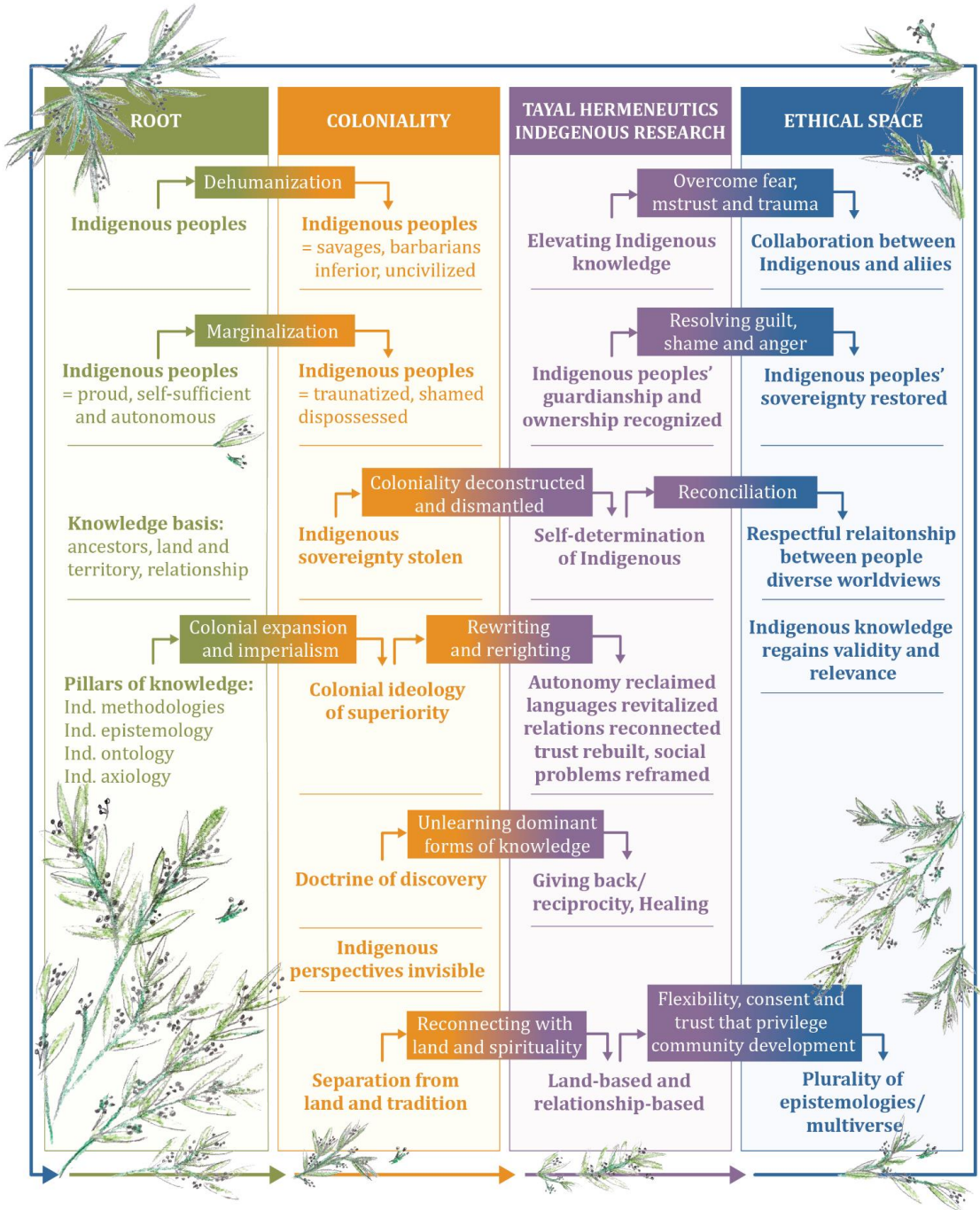


Figure 3. Path of self-determination in creating ethical space with Tayal community. Designed by Pei-Yu Lin.

To capture the fluidity of this research, it is important to recognize that the epistemological positioning is through the metaphor grounded in the environment that keeps the Tayal community in her embrace. Karin Amimoto Ingersoll uses ocean tides to develop the epistemological positioning of Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians). Seeing the sea as a giver of life and waves where the knowing is embedded, she calls it “a seascape epistemology” (2016). The waves connect the past, the present and the future; the waves transform the body, the mind, the spirit; and the waves transcend local, the regional and the global. Echoing the waves and the sea for the Kanaka Maoli, I use “a riverscape of epistemology” to recognize the epistemological positioning grounded in the Tayal way of knowing (cf. Chapter 3). The rivers can be regarded to be foundational to Tayal epistemology and ontology, as they are the basis upon which *Squliq Tayal* (Tayal people) build their identity (cf. Ingersoll, 2016). The riverscape of epistemology entails Tayal people’s *malahang* (caring, cf. Chapter 3) relations with the human and non-human agents within the river basin (cf. Kuan, 2013; Chen et al., 2018). It is a kind of custodianship structured by the *llyung* (main current) and *gong* (tributary river), in which farming, hunting, fish trapping and other Tayal livelihoods are embedded.

The past two decades have witnessed great initiatives and important strides toward stronger Tayal hermeneutics. Tayal activists and researchers have been working tirelessly to develop and enrich Tayal ways of knowing and being on which the “riverscape of epistemology” is based. Watan Tanga, Tayal Elder and Knowledge Holder has passed down invaluable stories of Tayal’s oral history to his pupils Tayal Elders Atung Yupas, Batu Watan and Tasaw Watan (Tanga et al., 2017). This would not be possible without the effort of the many allies of the Tayal people, such as Cheng Kwang-Po, and Elders such as Pagung Tomi. In placing the riverscape of epistemology in human geography, Tayal scholar Daya Da-Wei Kuan starts from the resource management perspective and links to Tayal’s traditional ecological knowledge: he outlines the dynamic mechanism built on the relationships between the river and Tayal people to exemplify the contemporary environmental governance (Lin et al., 2007; Kuan, 2013; Kuan, 2016). In terms of enhancing Tayal hermeneutics in the sphere of society and care, Tayal activist and social worker Yapit Tali and her family have worked tirelessly in revitalizing Tayal language and culture, thinking what caring for the community means in terms of Tayal values and the sacred order of Gaga (personal communication, December 17, 2017). Inserting the Tayal way of knowing to her work as a social worker, she has reflected critically on the role of non-governmental organizations in rebuilding relationships within tribal mechanisms (Huang, 2015). Tayal community activist Besu Piyas, working closely with Yunaw Sili, has been instrumental to the development of a Tayal knowledge-informed care system for the elderly (Fang, 2017; cf. Chen, 2015).

Moreover, Tayal hermeneutics have been developed in projects closely related to land. Tayal practitioner Watan Taru applies *bnkis*'s wisdom in natural farming. Linking Tayal's knowledge to Fikret Berkes's (1999) work on traditional ecological knowledge (Lo, 2016), he has developed a kind of Tayal hermeneutics using the Tayal concept of *Qmazyah*. Below he explains what the concept of *Qmazyah* means in his community, *Quri buluo*.

Qmazyah is a common term used by the community in *Quri buluo*. In general terms, *Qmazyah* entails the living territory and space of the community. Instead of being narrowly referred to as farm land, *Qmazyah* entails hunting ground and fishing territory. Not only that, *Qmazyah* includes a set of relationships where human, land, *Utux*, *Gaga* are all involved. (Lo, 2016, p. 40)

Through reflecting on *Qmazyah*, Watan Taru has examined a new discourse of knowledge production from natural agriculture through the Tayal worldview and ways of knowing. Still another example of Tayal worldview can be observed in Chiu's examination of the *Gaya*'s (means *Gaga* in the Truku context) impact on relationship among individuals, families, society and nature. He has devised a framework for elucidating the roles of *Utux* and *Gaya* in relation to land, and the responsibilities and humility embedded in these relationships (see Chiu, 2010, pp. 123-124; p. 129). The *bnkis*, scholars and activists have helped to make intellectual inroads into the dominant world based on the conceptualization of their Tayal existence.

In this dissertation, I utilize Tayal hermeneutics as my anchor in the Tayal knowledge system while scrutinizing how "Indigenous problems" are created in the policy as well as conceptualizing what care means to the *bnkis* in practice. The endeavor is to further Tayal hermeneutical project in this thesis.

4.7 BETWEEN WESTERN AND INDIGENOUS METHODOLOGIES?

There has been much debate about to what extent Western methodologies and theories can be combined with Indigenous methodologies (cf. Wilson, 2008; Chilisa, 2012; Kovach, 2009; Datta, 2018). Does it risk to compromise the transformative goal? To deepen an understanding of this topic, I use the Indigenous research paradigm to gain conceptual space between the "Western" and the "Indigenous". This is an attempt to negotiate the bridging between Western and Indigenous methodologies that are appropriate (and hopefully beneficial in the long run) to the Indigenous communities in Taiwan.

Rooted in the Indigenous research paradigm, I draw from methodologies that share allied solidarity: critical policy analysis and critical ethnography, as explained in detail in Chapter 6. These methodologies can be said to belong to the Western tradition. Aligning with scholars who are critical of creating a new dualism, I too do not treat Indigenous and Western as dichotomous or

absolutely incommensurable. Instead, I see the reality as more complex and open-ended. Feminist-influenced shifts in research methodologies that started in the 1960s have encouraged Western scientific research to focus on margins of experience. The marginalized ask different questions and contribute to a more diverse and plural conceptualization of knowledge, which results in producing knowledge concerning reconfigured notions of objectivity, legitimate science and the logic of scientific research (Posey & Navarro, 2016). For example, institutional ethnography, as part of critical ethnography, highlights authority and power embedded in social relations and advocates for a “sociology for women” so that marginalized groups, including women, can be seen and heard (Smith, 1987). Similarly, deep listening *Dadirri* (cf. Chapter 6) and critical theory (West, Stewart, Foster & Usher, 2012) echo overlapping concerns over ethics, power and positionality.

Synergy emerging from a collaborative space between non-positivist and Indigenous methodologies provides fruitful ground to localize the Indigenous research paradigm in my research context. Little has been written on the context of Austronesian Indigenous people under non-Western settlers, such as Han-Chinese people in Taiwan. Tonga researcher Linita Manu’atu argues that instead of following grand theories, each Indigenous scholar *conceptualizes* in their own languages, based on their own context, grounds in their culture and utilizes their own terms—this is the ultimate decolonialization of knowledge and research (personal communication, September 24, 2019). Following this inspiration, I tackle my own context with the stance of *privileging Tayal knowledge* (cf. Chapter 4.6). Kovach utilizes Kathy Absolon’s words to summarize what is at the core of holistic tribal research: “I am Anishnabe; I want to be an Anishnabe thinker.” (Kovach, 2009, p. 58). The political is personal: Indigenous people have been studied through colonial eyes. Hawaiian Indigenous scholar Meyer (2001) echoes this idea:

We are dulled by the guessing game of another culture. We are inspired by epistemological mediocrity. We are always at the short end of a smaller and smaller identity stick. Our biggest Hawaiian question this last century has been, How can we be more like them? has become slowly, Why do we want to be more like them? Someone has rolled down the window. The breeze of identity rushes toward my skin as the aroma of ocean air fills our memory. (pp. 124-125)

The Hawaiian question “How can we be more like them?” signifies a sense of inferiority, inadequacy and backwardness of an Indigenous image under colonial gaze. “We” are the historically subordinate, the subaltern, the “objectified dark-skinned other to the White world” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 4). “Them” refers to the colonial ones who are superior in rank, power and authority. The Hawaiian question Meyer underlines also exists in the Tayal context.

The Tayal's biggest question in the last century has precisely been: "How can we be more like them?" The only difference is that "they" consisted of the Imperial Chinese (later Kuomintang, KMT). With decades into the era of "multicultural Taiwan", the distinction between "us" and "them" continues to exist in legal and political reality (cf. Kuan 2014, Li & Xu 2019). The Indigenous paradigm is imperative because of its capacity of disrupting the dominant discourse.

Privileging the Anishnabe, Native Hawaiian or Tayal epistemology means also a challenge to how particular theories and methodologies are produced and reproduced inside Western-oriented academy by employing holistic, broad-based and interrelational tribal epistemologies when conducting research, and most importantly, producing knowledge. This transformative goal needs both the Indigenous paradigm and allied critical studies in order to be successful. Therefore, I argue that instead of treating the use of "Western" methodologies as an infringement to the achievement of the transformative goal, it is imperative to establish a bridge between allied "Western" and Indigenous paradigms. I shall use critical ethnography as an example to demonstrate this claim.

Before delving into how critical ethnography is used in conjunction with Indigenous methodologies, it is prudent to explain that both conventional and critical ethnography have Western-oriented ideological groundings. First, both rely on the qualitative interpretation of data and treat all cultural data (e.g. material items, behaviors, performances, ideas and values) as symbols within a coherent system. Second, both traditions have preference for developing grounded theory as a way of creating astute analyses on the phenomena they are interested in (Thomas, 1993). Grounded theory in ethnography typically entails reflective simultaneous data-collection and analysis, inductive construction of abstract categories that synthesize social processes within data and an integration of categories into a theoretical framework (Charmaz & Mitchell, 2001). These shared features allow researchers to go into communities generally, but for Indigenous communities it may expose significant challenges, such as questions of ownership, reciprocity and community participation (Datta, 2018).

Ethnography, no matter whether it is conventional or critical, attempts to elicit explanations of cultural phenomena from the point of view of the subject of the study. What differentiates critical ethnographers from conventional ones is that critical ethnographers problematize their own positionality in a manner that makes it congruent with values and ethics held by the Indigenous research paradigm. Examining the behavior of participants and eliciting meanings is not the end of the story for critical ethnographers. Unlike conventional ethnography that adheres to the hierarchical structure between the researcher and respondent to ensure the validity of the research, critical ethnographers do not presuppose the primacy of the researcher's frame of reference and instead engage in dialogue with the participants, keep alert to the structural factors and address prevailing ideologies. In broad terms,

critical ethnography is a qualitative approach that squarely confronts the issues of hegemony, oppression, and asymmetrical power relations in order to foster social change (Palmer & Caldas, 2016). By hegemony and oppression, I refer to the inferior “other” in the earlier example from the Hawaiian scholar Aluli Meyer concerning “we” and “them”. By asymmetrical power relations, I refer to the ongoing coloniality-caused inequities that can be observed in Indigenous communities (cf. Reid & Robson, 2007). This component makes critical ethnography easy to combine with Indigenous methodologies to explore indigenous ways of knowing and producing knowledge.

This brings us to the key differences that distinguish critical ethnography from conventional ethnography. These four interrelated features simultaneously link critical ethnography more closely to Indigenous research methodologies.

The first, general, characteristic that separates critical ethnography from conventional ethnography is that they address different levels of involvement. Conventional ethnographers tend to interpret meanings and explore cultural descriptions while staying away from being involved in the matter. On the contrary, critical ethnographers take a step farther than just describing the matter: they emphasize a high level of reflexivity in the process of engaging with the matter. Critical ethnographers uphold reflexivity and are aware of how their own backgrounds and experiences influence the research outcome. Three major areas that can be influenced include: (1) relation to the subject matter; (2) relation to the participants; and (3) relation to the research context and process (Savin-Badin & Major, 2013, p. 6). That is why many observe that “[c]onventional ethnography describes what is; critical ethnography asks what could be.” (Thomas, 1993, p. 4). The level of involvement in question is linked to asking questions that disrupt the othering process, which is at the center of the colonial project. The fluidity of a critical ethnographer’s role through a constantly-negotiated involvement allows such disruption to happen.

The second differentiating characteristic is objectivity. Conventional ethnographers want to conduct research free of bias but realize it is not possible. Instead, they attempt to repress bias. Unlike their conventional counterparts, critical ethnographers celebrate their own inseparable normative, social and political positions and use their inquiry as a tool to achieve societal change (Thomas, 1993, p. 4). Datta (2018, pp. 6-7) notes that a significant challenge he faced as an Indigenous researcher in Western research training was its neutrality and how it overlooked participants’ cultural protocols. Similar challenges of whether engaging with the Indigenous community equates compromising neutrality and objectivity are echoed among Indigenous scholars and critical theorists (cf. Lavallée, 2009; Harding, 2015; Datta, 2018). Doing ethnography with a critical mindset gives space to seeing different forms of localized knowledge—including indigenous knowledge—while paying critical attention to who is the one producing knowledge. As Harding (2015, p. 169) notes: “One can see knowers are not fundamentally autonomous, self-creating, culture-free

individuals...(…)...these accounts draw attention to the researchers' inevitable and necessary interactions with networks, communities, or social movements in the production of knowledge."

Third, conventional ethnographers tend to accept the *status quo* without problematizing how their own perspectives concerning the research subjects affirm assumed meanings. Thomas (1993, p. 5) observed studies which were informed by conventional ethnography and concluded that "they fail to integrate their descriptions of cultural parts into an analysis of the whole" (ibid.). In contrast, critical ethnographers tend to be more careful in positioning their own location in the research as a way to be reflexive and open towards how their positions become part of the research. Critical ethnography advocates for recognizing "the ways in which researchers' beliefs, values, and experiences underpin the questions posed and the analytical gaze that is cast on the research" (Giampapa, 2011, p. 97). To take a step forward, indigenous methodologies assist the critical ethnographer in focusing on relational epistemology and embrace the holistic relationship of ideas, people, land, environment and cosmic (Kuokkanen, 2000; Wilson, 2008). Relational epistemology, central to the Indigenous research paradigm, is understood as privileging sets of relationships and recognizing key concepts in them with humility. To uphold relationality, one should emphasize reciprocity, collaboration, well-being and gifts (Kuokkanen, 2000, 2009; Porsanger, 2012). Studying Indigenous communities in line with the Indigenous paradigm means engaging with Indigenous knowledge, which is tied to a particular time, space, sovereignty, identity, belonging, and relations. Applying a conversational method in Indigenous research is based on relations, e.g. storytelling, yarning, talk story, re-storying or re-memembering. The development of the method is culturally-gounded, contextual and holistic. The methodology of story-telling goes beyond researchers' beliefs, values and thoughts; instead it demands researcher-in-relation and an inter-relationship between method, ethics and care (Kovach, 2010). It is important that the people who participate in the research process know and trust the researcher: credibility and trustworthiness must be at the core (Kovach, 2010, p. 46).

Fourth, awareness of power relations and goals for societal change makes critical ethnography highly relevant when conducting research on and with oppressed and marginalized groups. Research conducted by critical ethnographers tends to target empowering and emancipation. Thomas explains that emancipation basically refers to "the process of separation from constraining modes of thinking or acting that limit perception of and action toward realizing alternative possibilities" (Thomas, 1993, p. 4). I am aware that the connotation of the term "emancipation" has its root in Enlightenment and coloniality (Mignolo, 2007a). Therefore the idea of emancipation is utilized here in the same way as *transformation*. Critical ethnography is simultaneously hermeneutic and *transformative*. Engaging with Indigenous communities prioritizes the idea that research is action-oriented. "We believed that with research we can speak up for our rights and justice and against

oppression” (Datta, 2018, p. 19). This echoes the epistemology of the transformative Indigenous paradigm: “The researchers within this paradigm maintain that knowledge is true if it can be turned into practice that empowers and transforms the lives of the people” (Chilisa, 2012, p. 36). Conventional ethnographers tend to present themselves as objective data capturing devices that collect data with apolitical and neutral attitudes. They tend to enter the field as blank slates so that the ethnographic experience would “inscribe automatically” to the ethnographers. Consequently, they tend to speak on behalf of the subjects when speaking to other researchers. By contrast, critical ethnographers tend to give more authority to the subjects so their own voices can be heard. Indeed, this is what reflexivity should be about. This matter is taken a step forward by many indigenous scholars by developing, for example, community-driven research.

In sum, I argue that combining the Indigenous research paradigm and methodologies from non-positivist approaches is productive in achieving a transformative goal. Critical ethnography is intertwined closely with interrogation of power, politics and authority. Its rationale for giving authority to the subjects is double: on the one hand, critical ethnographers envisage that knowledge is “co-constructed, produced and negotiated through the exchanges between researcher and participants” (Giampapa, 2012, pp. 96-97). On the other hand, they utilize it to induce empowerment and ultimately use the knowledge for social change (Thomas, 1993, p. 4). In this sense, critical ethnography fits the Indigenous research paradigm precisely because it is a methodology that recognizes research as a site of power struggle. Aligned to the Indigenous research paradigm, critical ethnography helps us to understand Indigenous worlds and explain the causes of Indigenous peoples’ continuing othering and exploitation better.

To summarize, in this chapter I have addressed the Indigenous research paradigm as the epistemological and theoretical framework that this dissertation is built upon. I have delineated the relationships between the Indigenous research paradigm and the dominant paradigms as well what the Indigenous research approach means in the Tayal context. In order to understand the concept better, I will in the next chapter introduce how the Indigenous research paradigm is utilized in understanding elderly care.

5 ELDERLY AND CARE THROUGH INDIGENOUS LENS

How to maintain and strengthen the Indigenous research paradigm so that research remains relevant to the Indigenous community and upholds relationships is a compelling question confronting scholars and societies as a whole. My dissertation takes up this question and attempts to find our way forward by expanding the Indigenous research paradigm as a way to understand aging and care. A myriad of research has recorded the demographic evidence of aging and the urgency of care development. The biomedical perspective is particularly pervasive: treating aging as an individual's irreversible decline and care as a buffer of delaying the decline. With the help of the Indigenous paradigm, in this chapter I aim to interrogate the presuppositions behind the biomedical perspective and envision a way forward based on an Indigenous perspective on aging, care, and how to live well.

Indigenous peoples around the world—Taiwan is no exception—have known for a long time that to live well, to gain well-being and wellness, one has to look beyond the individuals. It was not until the last decade that mainstream medicine and public health slowly started to acknowledge that in order to live well, one needs to look at broader dynamics (see Greenwood et al 2018). In this chapter, I will take up two sets of issues as ways of examining how caring for aging Indigenous people takes shape under the critical lens of the Indigenous research paradigm. Just as in the case of the concept of indigeneity, I argue that the concepts of the elderly and care do not, and should not, be viewed as having only one normalized meaning in sets of binary opposition such as traditional/modern; elderly/young; caring/cared for. The adequacy of these concepts does not “arise from [their] conceptual clarity, but from the larger political and social theory within which [they are] placed” (Tronto, 2013, p. 24). With this in mind, this chapter focuses on examining the multiplicity of meanings of the elderly and care, and, in so doing, linking them to their ontological and epistemological presuppositions.

In this chapter I will ask what is care for the elderly and answer by first, examining the elderly in terms of conceptualizations of age and aging; and, second, focusing on the notions of care. How would Indigenous perspectives enrich our understanding of the concepts of aging and care? I will explore the multifaceted meanings of aging and care in Indigenous communities and the extent to which there is a need for understanding elderly care in the community that is informed from their own contexts.

5.1 NEGOTIATING THE "ELDERLY"

To speak of the elderly inevitably draws from discussions concerning age and aging. Classifications concerning aging people are varied and different categories are utilized to refer to different sub-groups of the elderly, where elderly people are classified by their level of disability and chronological age.⁶³ While it is common to see scholars arguing that “the elderly” is far from a homogenous group, little interest has been paid to exploring how to differentiate them from each other and how concepts and theories would need to be reconfigured to pluralize the understanding. Indeed, if we endorse the definition of frailty that comes with age as deficits and contribute to making the elderly person more vulnerable (Nourhashemi et al., 2001, cited in Marcoen, Coleman & O’Hanlon, 2007, p. 61), it is easy to notice the causal link between the chronological age and the level of frailty.⁶⁴ Yet age and aging are more than just deteriorating functionality and an increase of deficits in one’s bodily condition. My approach to the meaning of aging takes the stance of critically engaging with the often taken-for-granted classification concerning the aging people. Specifically, I explore the meaning of age and aging with a lens informed by Indigenous research paradigm that sees aging as culturally-grounded, multidimensional and wholistic.⁶⁵ The aging people should not be automatically perceived as disabled and “defective” seniors. Instead, aging people—some of which are ‘Elders’—can be a true gift and regarded as sources of power from whom tribal knowledge emanates and in whom indigenous resurgence lies. This conceptualization resonates with the idea of aging shared by Jon Hendricks’ article “Coming of age”, in which aging is seen as complex, “often times messy packages lodged in lifeworlds that have been years in the making” (Hendricks, 2008, p. 113). Inspired by Hendricks’s reflection of his own aging experience, the anthropologist Cathrine Degnen (2012a) proposes that the concept of aging should be seen as a process that takes place incrementally over a period of time. Aging should not be seen as a clear-cut temporal boundary (e.g. aged 65 or above) or via physical indicators, e.g. through Activities of Daily Living (ADLs) or Instrumental Activities of Daily Living (IADLs). To better understand the different terms of age and aging as well as their ontological and epistemological presuppositions, I follow

⁶³ For example, the “young old” and “old old” (Myerhoff 1984), the “oldest old” (Featherstone and Hepworth 1989), “advanced old age” (Heikkinen 2004) and the “frail elderly” (Kayer-Jones 1981).

⁶⁴ Gerontologists tend to disagree that frailty is the same as disability. More about comparing concepts between frailty and disability, see Marcoen, Coleman and O’Hanlon 2007.

⁶⁵ I choose to use “wholistic” rather than “holistic” on purpose, following other Indigenous writers, such as Bowers (2010) and Absolon (2016) there. While the concept of “holistic” seem to suggest an emptiness or a void glaring back at you, “wholistic” entails warmth and strength coming from the wholeness of Indigenous knowledges (P. Mataira, personal communication, June 10, 2017). In the rest of the dissertation, unless I am directly quoting certain author’s usage “holistic”, I will use the term “wholistic” to reaffirm the wholeness of Indigenous ways of knowing.

Degen's approach as it allows a more open-ended understanding of these terms.

"Aging" is a term that occurs increasingly frequently in political debates, the media and everyday conversations, yet its meaning is rarely explained (Timonen, 2008). The quotidian concerns of aging that occur in policies can be identified with at least three dimensions. Virpi Timonen (2008) has made use of OECD criteria and argues that three different aspects of aging should be distinguished, namely (1) individual aging, (2) population aging and (3) qualitative aspects of aging.

Individual aging entails that people live longer. In fact, life expectancy from 1820 to the end of the twentieth century has more than doubled everywhere in the world, with the largest increase in the past 100 years (OECD, 2008, p. 16). With men expecting to live for another 16 years on average and women nearly 20, longer life affects the meaning of old age on the individual level for both men and women. Population aging, on the other hand, refers to a greater number of older people in relation to younger people within a population group. In other words, it concerns the population age structure of our societies and potential consequences concerning pensions, retirement, education and health and social services.

The third aspect of aging consists of qualitative changes that are occurring in people's daily lives as they grow old and they are more controversial in nature. Indeed, it is not enough to view aging merely as a demographic phenomenon—whether it is individual or population aging—that is divorced from the social, political and economic contexts surrounding the notion of aging (Timonen, 2008). The qualitative aspects of aging help us to examine contextual aspects through interrogating patterns of activity and changing expectations (OECD, 1996). Timonen argues that adopting a qualitative angle will allow us to analyze older people's attitudes, perceptions and behavior patterns better, and in so doing we can understand aging in a more profound way. There is no single correct or complete definition of old age, and at the same time, attitudes of a society which perceive aging and "being old" come through in everyday lives and policy documents (Timonen, 2008, p. 6, pp. 153-162). This observation is not unique, as social scientists have been for a long time keenly engaged in the cultural construction of old age—how oldness is expressed in complex ways, and how old age is perceived, negotiated and experienced by older people themselves (Vesperi & Ferro, 1985; Degen, 2012a, p. 81).

For the purpose of this dissertation, I focus on discussing the issues that fall largely under what Timonen (2008) calls qualitative aspects of aging. Unlike Timonen, Yanow and Schwartz-Shea (2006) question the usefulness of the term "qualitative" as it has baggage of getting too close to positivist philosophical presuppositions (Yanow & Schwartz-Shea, 2006, pp. xv-xviii). In my study I deem it crucial to spell out ontological and epistemological presuppositions of my choice of words and I shall be very clear about on what kind of a basis knowledge is produced in relation to the concept of aging. This

is one of the core ethical principles in the Indigenous research paradigm. Therefore, below I discuss aging from an *interpretive* perspective. In so doing, I focus on three aspects: I view the concept of aging as embedded in a complex web of social, political and economic factors; I understand that what we know about aging is co-produced by both researchers and the people studied and I conceptualize that an understanding of aging towards a better and fairer world is achieved by making the concept of aging more inclusive in terms of having multiple epistemological grounds.

It is tempting to stop at the level of population aging and start orienting towards finding solutions in societal systems to the aging population. Indeed, it perhaps explains a research shift from “what’s going on” research towards “how can we make it work better” research in the late 1970s and 1980s (Biggs, 2008, p. 116). Under the premise of “how can we make it work better”, we can identify trends on the macro level and come up with solutions that would work better. For example, identifying a shift in fertility and mortality rates from high to low(er) one leads to attempts to solve problems resulting from the fact that people live longer: they need to work for longer and the pension system as well as health care may be more expensive (cf. Timonen, 2008, p. 6; OECD, 2015). It is not surprising that aging is easily reduced to an economic problem of creating resources and the political problem of distributing resources. It is perhaps why terms such as dependency ratio underpinning the ‘crisis’ have become ubiquitous.⁶⁶

The concept of age has many meanings. Timonen (2008) gives four examples of meanings of age: chronological, biological, psychological and sociocultural age. Through these examples, we can see how diverse meanings of age influence how we age. The most straightforward meaning of age is *chronological age*, which is indicative of but the mere number of years someone has lived, and it does not actually yield much information. *Biological age* refers to the physical functions of the body. Biological age, Timonen explains, is a combination of one’s genetic make-up (“longevity genes”) and other factors. Someone who has the longevity genes may have a lower biological age because s/he has not had “the benefit of a nutritious diet, clean air and water, exercise and good medical care” (ibid.). *Psychological age* entails an individual’s level of “memory, intelligence, feelings and motivation” (Timonen, 2008, p. 8). It is related to self-perception: if someone is convinced

⁶⁶ There is a controversy on how to correctly calculate old age dependency ratio. In media, political debates and everyday conversations, the representation of aging people is described as a “growing tsunami” that will inevitably threaten everyone. It is usually backed up by the old age dependency ratio that is regarded to double by 2050. The old age dependency ratio is calculated by dividing the number of people above age 65 by the number of people of “working ages” (usually defined as 15-64 years). This indicator, which seeks to estimate pressure on public pensions and social security systems, has been under severe criticism. Most critically, the old-age dependency ratio fails to reflect the genuine image of elderly people’s lives as they live longer: they might remain healthy long past the traditional retirement age and remain active in labor market (Sánchez Gassen & Heleniak, 2018).

and believes that they are too fragile and unfit to take part in activities, the result is that they are more likely to appear much older than a person with the same chronological and biological age. Last but not least, the *sociocultural age* is associated with the limits (a set of behavioral norms) that societies place on old people (ibid., p. 153-162). For example, it refers to the attitudes and stereotypes towards aging, which can be infused in policies (ibid., p. 165). Belonging to the “qualitative aspects of aging” mentioned earlier, the conception of sociological age is influential and may come through negatively in forms such as ageism. These meanings of age provide us with a starting point for understanding aging in a slightly more nuanced manner. We should not be misled by the popular image of aging as involving grey hair, wrinkles, edentulousness and forgetfulness. Age is much more than simply growing old and showing effects of increasing age.

5.1.1 THE BIO-MEDICAL ORTHODOXY

Before continuing to discuss aging from an interpretive perspective, it is of particular importance to briefly outline the bio-medical perspective of aging because it has been fundamental not only to social policies generally but also to Taiwanese policy framings (cf. Chapter 7) and the Day Clubs investigated in this study (cf. Chapter 8). The bio-medical perspective sees aging as a universal process of physical, economic and social decline (Biggs & Powell, 2001, p. 3), often due to biological (internal and external physiological change) and psychological aging (emotional and cognitive capacities changes) (Powell, 2013). Although the biomedical perspective dates back to the beginning of twentieth century, its influence remains strong in the twenty-first century. The starting point in the biology of aging is to see human as part of animal species. Human aging, in this sense, is caused by functional impairment and accumulated defects in tissues and organs (Westendorp & Kirkwood, 2007). In other words,

Ageing is best explained as the balance between investments in fitness and investmenets in body maintenance: if investment in body maintenance is not optimal, ageing occurs. (Westendorp & Kirkwood, 2007, p. 37)

The explanation of aging above corresponds with the bio-medical perspective that dominates the ways in which aging is seen as a process of decline. It has become ubiquitous in discussions about aging across societal arenas. The biological view of aging has eclipsed other meanings of aging, and has become the “common sense of aging” (cf. Simon, 2008). I will elaborate how this “common sense of aging” has manifested in policy and practice, to which I will return to in Chapter 7 and Chapter 8.

The dominance of biomedical perspective can be observed from the following example: On its official website, the World Health Organization

draws attention to the meaning of aging under the sub-heading “aging explained”. It reads, “ageing results from the impact of the accumulation of a wide variety of molecular and cellular damage over time. This leads to a gradual decrease in physical and mental capacity, a growing risk of disease, and ultimately, death” (WHO, 2018). The explanation is quickly supplemented with a less ‘morbid’ tone that not all elderly grow old with poor health in a linear way, and continues to point out that those who embrace healthy aging can possibly maintain functional ability and maintain good health in older age (WHO, 2015, pp. 25-27).

What about the medical part of the bio-medical perspective? The medical aspect is closely related to the discourse of “senescence”, or the condition or process of gradual deterioration with age by which normal cells cease to divide. Childs and his colleagues (2016) view aging as a progressive loss of tissue and organ functions, and explore the relations between whether removing senescent cells can delay aging dysfunction. So the *bio* and *medical* are two sides of the same coin. The medical viewpoint is a clinician’s response to the biological aging process (Westendorp and Kirkwood, 2007, p. 237). It can be defined as “the process by which some aspects of human life come to be considered as medical problems, whereas before they were not considered pathological” (Maturo, 2012). The medicalization of aging is not a new phenomenon, as it dates to the mid-eighteenth century and continued throughout the nineteenth century (*ibid.*). The domination of bio-medical explanatory framework continues to gain more ground, regardless of other dimensions that play a role in aging and age. In gerontology, the strong influence of the bio-medical dominated research orientation can be observed since the beginning of the twentieth century (Powell, 2013, pp. 2-3).

The biomedical orthodox conception of aging has come increasingly under attack in the past decades. Many critics have analyzed the implications of biomedical conception of aging and further the understanding of aging in an era where biomedical aging continues to play a role, but in a covert manner. For example, Biggs and Powell (2001) utilize Foucauldian analysis to trace the genealogy of welfare, concluding that welfare, like biomedicine and lifestyle, has gained importance in defining what aging identity entails. Van Dyk (2016) engages with the polarization of Third and Fourth Ager and examines how ageism manifests according to the categorization that divides people into a “productive, functioning, active” group (Third Ager) and a “deteriorated, disabled, inactive” group (Fourth Ager).

The sociological school has been one of the early contenders against the bio-medical perspective. In sociology, aging is viewed from many different approaches, such as disengagement theory, activity theory and modernization theory (Timonen, 2008; Powell, 2012), just to name a few. These approaches belong to a social explanatory model, which Powell (2012; 2013) identifies as the second main camp of conceptualizing aging, apart from the bio-medical science informed model. The social explanatory model has made important advancement towards understanding aging from a macro-level perspective.

Below, I will elaborate on the modernization theory as many of its functionalist underpinnings normalize the derogatory image of both aging people and Indigenous peoples.

The “aging and modernization” theory holds the stance that the phenomenon of decline with age should be understood in tandem with the level of industrialization. Burgess (1960) was the first to propose the notion that the status and support of older people decline as societies ‘westernize’ and as extended families give way to the modern nuclear family. Cowgill (1972, 1974, 1986 cited in Aboderin, 2004, p. 30) refined the notion with the structural-functionalist assumption of a linear, uniform path of development from ‘traditional’ to ‘modern’ (Aboderin, 2004, p. 30). Cowgill (1974, p. 127) defines modernization as follows:

The transformation of a total society from a relatively rural way of life based on animate power, limited technology, relatively undifferentiated institutions, parochial and traditional outlook and values, toward a predominantly urban way of life, based on inanimate sources of power, highly differentiated institutions matched by segmented individual roles, and a cosmopolitan outlook which emphasizes efficiency and progress.

The excerpt shows that Cowgill theorizes modernization through a systematic perspective that looks at the societal functions as a whole. Modernization influences elderly people through four central factors that are embedded in the modernization process. They are modern health technology, modern economic technology, urbanization, and education. Cowgill (1974) argues that all these four factors contribute to the lowering of the status of the aged. However, the modernization theory is not the only way to approach aging. From the Indigenous perspective, the modernization theory overlooks several key points of age and aging. I will discuss the counter-claims from the Indigenous paradigm in the following section.

5.1.2 AGING RECONCEPTUALIZED

In this section, I examine the meaning of aging by utilizing the Indigenous paradigm as a critical lens, while drawing from critical theories and localized modes of knowledge vis-à-vis the “common sense of aging”, including modernization theory. With the help of different perspectives, I reconceptualize the meaning of aging, at the same time challenging the colonial order and its power relations. I argue that we need this kind of reconceptualization to understand better what being elderly entails. This dissertation recognizes aging is also a socially constructed category with differential epistemological prisms (Powell, 2012, p. 4). Let us examine three arguments with which the fluid meaning of age and aging align.

First, I wish to discuss new meanings of aging that rise from somewhat antiquated modernization theory. The conception of aging from the point of view of modernization theory has come increasingly under attack in the past decades. I identify three sets of criticism within social sciences. The first critique of modernization theory questions its assumption of a “golden age” for the aged that was believed to have existed earlier in history. The idealistic pre-modernized world where the status of the elderly was high has been questioned (Holmes & Holmes, 1995, p. 276). Second, the association between negative attitudes and modernization may not be as empirically as sound as it is presented to be (Driedger & Chappell, 1987, pp. 23-25). Indeed, modernization theory has advocated eloquently that the more industrialized a society is, the lower the status of the old people will be. Instead, several other factors have been proposed to have impacted the status of the elderly, such as, political ideology (Cherry & Magnuson-Martinson, 1981), religious ideology (Roth, 1981), cultural values (Rhoads, 1984) and ethnicity (Driedger & Chappell, 1987). These examples demonstrate that modernization theory aptly captures a slice of reality while turning a blind eye on the others. It neglects the multidimensionality of aging in societies, perhaps in particular, lived experiences as perceived by the elderly themselves. Given these difficulties with modernization theory’s conception of the elderly, it is time to examine the wholistic and sociopolitical contexts of aging, which are integral to the experience of many indigenous communities. This perspective can be also be regarded as the third and final critique towards modernization theory.

When juxtaposing pre-industrial and industrialized societies, proponents of modernization theory claim that in pre-industrial time, old people controlled scarce resources and valued knowledge of traditions, history and rites. With industrialization, the society has witnessed a rise of mass education and literacy, which results in a state where there is no reverence for the aged on account of their superiority of knowledge. Moreover, the amount of old people has increased in modern time, thanks to the modern medicine and improvements in living standards (Timonen, 2008). In regard to the first claim by modernization theory (“Unlike pre-industrial time, old people are no longer in control in modern time”), one should remain alert towards the fact that modern education has much to learn from its colonial past. For example, modern education has been implemented in the form of residential schools and boarding schools for the Indigenous peoples and has been used as a tool to interrupt and disrupt the cultural continuity of Indigenous societies (Juutilainen, Miller, Heikkilä & Rautio, 2014; Day, 2014). The unproblematic linear depiction of lifestyle advances from pre-industrial to industrialized societies is far from the whole picture. The linear development model underlined in modernization theory sits uncomfortably with the fact that many groups are excluded and marginalized in its portrait of reality. It has become clear that the social oppression, discrimination and inequalities experienced by marginalized groups cannot be sufficiently dealt with by modernization theory. At the same time, how “modern” is the society really if

we are deaf to these voices? Interpreting our societies through the lens of modernization theory which assumes that we are growing towards “egalitarianism” and “individualism”, easily misguides us to believe that the decline of indigenous culture and the status of the elderly are unfortunate “collateral damage”. The neutral language (“collateral damage”) is a manifestation of a colonial gaze that normalizes coloniality (cf. Chapter 1.1). The negative social, cultural, economic and health effects experienced by Indigenous peoples are not neutral, but results of oppression and exploitation perpetrated by nation states. Policy tends to adopt the disguise of neutral language in the making of the “Indigenous problem” (cf. Chapter 7).

With regard to the second claim presented by modernization theory (“modern medicine has prolonged lives and made the world better”), the increase of older population could be a result of the triumph of improved modern medicine and advancement of living standards. Yet, the unproblematic stance towards modern development also risks to give way to worrying trends such as medicalization, pharmaceuticalization and bio-medicalization. On the one hand, this interpretation encourages an overt connection to biological bodily decline while remaining oblivious towards the roles of the elderly in community development and how they pass down knowledge about life as a wholistic process (Day, 2014). On the other hand, presumptions of this claim are rooted in a Eurocentric map of understanding aging, where European voyages of discovery and the emergence of modern sciences in Europe form the backbone of the conceptualization (Harding, 1996). Decolonial scholarship has brought new light to the understanding of how modernization (fails to) serves Indigenous communities.

The unproblematic link from aging to physical decay reminds us that although much has been developed and discussed, a critical stance is still highly relevant to underline that aging is more than biological. This brings us to the next point: in what ways can we challenge biological aging, which is often rooted in long-term care policies, and conceptualize a more encompassing model of care informed by Indigenous perspectives?

To answer this question, let us move on to the second point. There is no denying that a central ideological tenet of aging for the past decades has been the biological explanation of aging and medicalization as a rescue for the decline. It was exemplified in the WHO case above. I argue that the WHO excerpt reveals at least two trends. First, it displays the powerful articulation of aging originating in bio-medical gerontology. This bio-medical perspective on aging has also been criticized to be a neo-liberal attempt to position individualized perceptions of aging (Moody, 1998, cited in Powell 2013 p. 4). Aging—through the biological and psychological lens—becomes an individual quest (through active exercise) to salvage. Second, the pervasive understanding of aging by a bio-medical perspective has circumscribed our perceptions of ‘knowledge’ or ‘truth’ about age and aging. As Arthur Frank (1991, p. 6, cited in Powell 2013, p. 4) notes, the bio-medical model occupies a privileged position in present understandings of aging and it colonizes our

thinking about how the body should be conceptualized, represented and taken care of. The biomedical model has led us to believe that aging must be constructed in a way that features biological losses, physical deterioration, and cognitive capability-declining.

It is important to create more space to an understanding of what constitutes aging outside of the biological lens. In doing so, the notion of age and aging can be considered in a more nuanced manner that reflects the social realities experienced by the people who are living in contextualized epistemologies. We should also consider the factors beyond current understandings of aging which are now constructed as biological losses, physical deterioration and cognitive ability decline. For this reason, perspectives from different contexts and cultures are valuable because they bring a sense of “multidimensionality” of lived experiences (Crenshaw, 1989) also to aging that serve as useful tools to breaking silence and creating more space.

Critical gerontology has been committed to unsettling the hegemony of conceptualizing the biology of aging as the only legitimate way of aging. Critical gerontology addresses a collection of questions, frames of analysis and conceptualizations that have been excluded from the debates on aging (Powell & Hendricks 2009). From the critical gerontological point of view, the conceptualization of aging includes how power is distributed and power/knowledge relations are played out, for example, in the power relations between subjects/objects of knowledge, and between customers and professional experts (see Powell, 2009, p. 139). Foucauldian analysis is the major approach in the enterprise of critical gerontology (Biggs & Powell, 2001; Westerhof & Tulle 2007). A Foucauldian perspective aims to unsettle predominant views offered by the biology of aging and has aided decolonial scholars to conceptualize old age and see through the mask that conceals the person beneath the label of bio-medical aging (Powell, 2012; Biggs & Powell, 2001). Westerhof and Tulle (2007) utilize the Foucauldian concept of discourse to identify three social fields and institutions in which aging and old age are constructed. They are medicalization, social policies and mass media (ibid., pp. 237-243). Addressing issues of how aging with biological decline plays out from the viewpoint of biological decline in discursive contexts demonstrates that there is not a fixed or singular way of understanding aging. Instead, the shape that it takes depends heavily on the context. The Foucauldian analysis makes it visible that there are no universal answers to the question of aging.

Third, aging is simultaneously both biological and sociological. Yet, it would be remiss to restrict the conceptualization of aging to the biological deterioration, or just being influenced by macro-level functions and abstract societal change. Social scientists such as Maria Vesperi wisely pointed out more than thirty years ago that we should move away from the category of “old age”, which is “not a discrete social or even physical caste” (Vesperi & Ferro, 1985, p. 24). This space and openness developed by critical theorists and

postmodernists as a whole have given Indigenous paradigm opportunity to intervene. The restriction of conceptualizing the meaning of aging comes from the trappings tainted by a lingering positivist paradigm.⁶⁷ The conceptualization of aging, therefore, should be understood in a diverse and complex way. The best strategy is to recognize that conceptualizing aging is inevitably situational and partial, and the most viable way is that we approach it in a contextualized manner, by drawing strength from multidimensionality.

One way to start this quest is to pay attention to the different dimensions that have been already proposed here. For example, aging is increasingly being conceptualized in terms of relationships. Askham and her colleagues (2007) take a relational approach to investigate personal relationships in later life. They concluded that older people's subjective experience of personal relationships as well as their control over relationships yield crucial insights in their aging process (*ibid.*). Echoing this trend of expanding aging beyond the individual, Peace and her colleagues (2007) emphasize the crucial link of human aging to environment.

Expanding towards Indigenous ways of knowing

In the previous section, I have proposed three ways of theorizing aging that may help us break away from the biological viewpoint. They are the sociological perspective, the critical gerontological perspective and multidimensionality-informed perspectives. These three ways of conceptualizations can be seen as attempts to engage with aging from a social science perspective (Phillipson & Baars, 2007). They provide critical focuses on both the inequality and the nature of subjectivity in later life (Phillipson & Baars, 2007, p. 78).

While these perspectives are invaluable in providing us lenses to view aging from perspectives that are as important as the bio-medical view of aging, it would be naïve to assume that they are without problems. Indeed, in the case of a sociological perspective, take modernization theory as an example, we should remain alert towards the criticism that functionalism has received, especially that it cannot respond to social change and that it ignores inequalities. In the case of Indigenous peoples, functionalist theorization does not leave much space for them to articulate their marginalized social, economic, and political status in history. On the other hand, critical gerontology succeeds in interrogating the inequalities embedded in aging, but as a whole seems not so keen to provide a concrete viable way forward. Luckily

⁶⁷The positivist trappings are shown in how we understand research. Dimitriadis (2016) proposes to use the word "inquiry" to substitute "research", for inquiry does not carry the positivist trappings. The conceptualization of aging may also benefit from moving towards "open-endedness, uncertainty, ambiguity, praxis, pedagogies of liberation, freedom, resistance" (Dimitriadis 2016 cited in Denzin and Lincoln, 2017, p. 11).

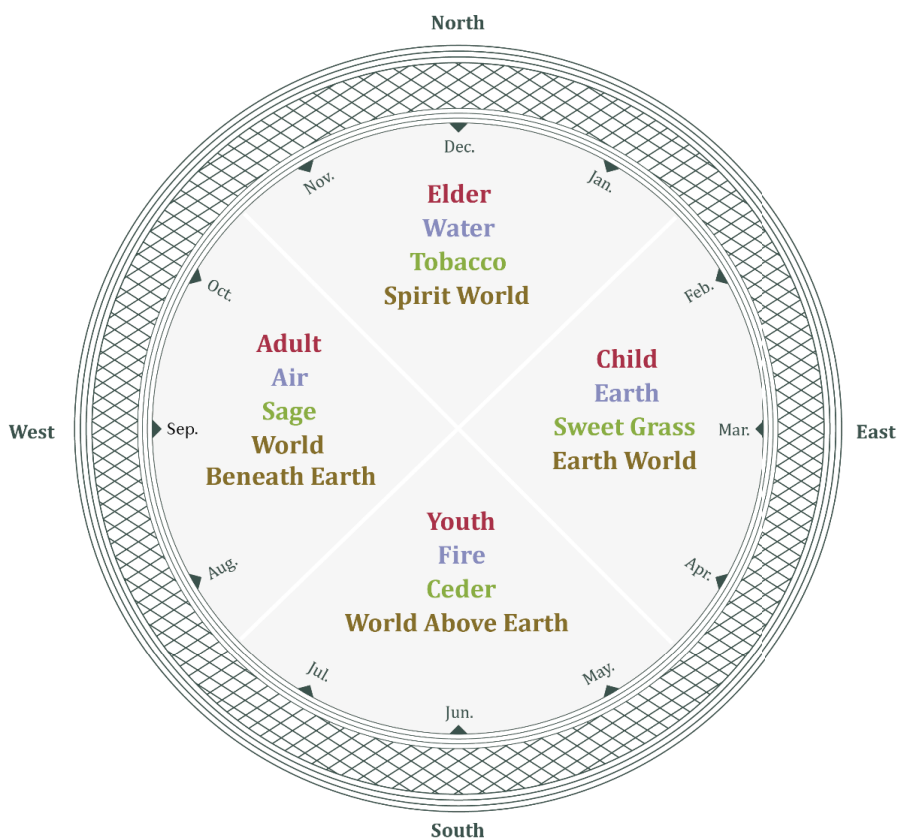
there are proponents within the social gerontology tradition who illustrate ways forward.

For example, Simon Biggs (2008; 2011) argues for a need to approach aging from an intergenerational perspective. Instead of taking generations for granted, we should make sense of our own generational identity and relationships embedded in the very cohort we belong to. As a social gerontologist, Biggs highlights the key roles of social relationships and draws partially introspectively from his mother's childhood, from "a deep sense of the reality of and affection for that preceding generation" (Biggs, 2008, p. 117). His point in offering the generational intelligence as a solution to problems in aging is to engage critically with aging and provide ways for scholarship to reconfigure the notions of continuity, othering as well as within/between age thinking (Biggs, 2017). Following in Biggs's footsteps, Rosie Harding (2017) takes a relational approach to aging, and argues for a re-centering of ourselves to a web of social relationships for making both everyday and legal decisions. Her point in offering this concept of aging is to help us question the taken-for-granted, rational and self-sufficient ideal in the legal context. In the same vein, this critical engagement helps us to question the taken-for-granted biological aging and medicalization.

The relationships are like social environments that play a crucial role in aging. Peace and her colleagues (2007) expand the social relationships to a three dimensional environment and argue that the physical/material, social/cultural and psychological environments play a crucial role in aging. Their insights help us to see the vital role that environment—beyond the social— plays in shaping the meaning of aging.

Building on these perspectives, I am putting the meaning of aging "in its place" by engaging with it from an Indigenous point of view. Understanding that the notions of age and aging are fluid and blurred, I examine how age and aging in the Indigenous context exist. I explain briefly my conceptualization below.

The concept of aging in the Indigenous context is, first and foremost, culturally-grounded. Indeed it is simultaneously biological and psychological, yet it is perceived from beyond the individual level. It is interpersonal, relational, communal, ecological and spiritual. In other words, it is multidimensional and grounded in the contextual Indigenous tribal cosmology. Aging exists in all stages of life, and in an inter-connected relational way. The concept can be visualized in symbols such as a medicine wheel, which is a shared symbol of peaceful interaction among all living beings on Mother Earth (see Figure 4; cf. Bowers, 2010 for the case of A Mi'kmaq Sacred Medicine Wheel).



The Medicine Wheel



Figure 4. The Medicine Wheel exemplifies Indigenous perspective in aging. Adapted from Bowers (2010, p. 118). Graph designed by Pei-Yu Lin.

The symbol entails four interrelated dimensions of directions (East, South, West and North), phases of life (infancy, young adulthood, adult stage, Elder stage), seasons (Spring, Summer, Fall, Winter) and medicines (tobacco, ceder, sage and sweet grass). The Medicine Wheel demonstrates that aging is natural and part of the whole. Unlike in the Western context where age and aging are perceived as problems to be fixed, in the Indigenous contexts, aging is accepted and embraced as a basic constitution. Aging brings balance and is part of the circle of relationships (Pitawanakwat, 2016). This idea of circular

phases of life expressed in the medicine wheel is also present in Tayal culture. In the old times when Tayal Elders started to chant the oral history, there would always be this sentence “nuway phngiyang cikay nyux m’ubah ‘cinruyan wagi’...”, which means “let me, the elder who is close to the sunset, utter voices”. This demonstrates that Tayal use the phases of the sun—from sunrise to sunset—to conceptualize a person’s life (Watan, 2019, p. 178). From the Indigenous perspective, aging entails the opportunities of being given more responsibilities and knowledges from all beings (land, water, landscape, human and non-human) through a web of relationships. In this sense, aging is not a social category of “old age” (cf. Degnen, 2012b), but perceived as an integral process of living.

Second, Elders, in the Indigenous context, are those who have gained experience and knowledge as they have lived a longer life. However, this does not merely refer to chronological age. The meaning of being an Indigenous Elder is more linked to their crucial role in their Indigenous culture—including relations to the land, to the kin and family—than chronological age. Elder, unlike ‘senior’ with a connotation of automatic process of aging, generally entails that one has lived one’s life in a particular manner giving service to the community. It is expected that to be an Elder, one has to be knowledgeable and practiced in the Indigenous language, customs and rules. “Being a kaumatua is not achieved merely by being aged”(kaumatua is Elder in Maori; Wright-St Clair, 2009). For the Sámi, elders are not only important purveyors of knowledge and co-producers of tasks and duties, but they also strengthen affiliations across generations (cf. Joks 2015; Joks & Law 2017). For the Tayal, the *bnkis* (Elders) are the interpreters of the sacred *Gaga* and the knowledge-holders of Tayal tribal tradition *lmuhuw*. Elders know the rituals and the desirable life style that is permitted by *Gaga*. Symbolically, they are the key people to make sure that the culture survives, or *qhutul* (lit. firewood in flames, meaning maintaining the life of this community, see Tanga, 2017, pp. 114-115). The above examples demonstrate that aging has also a situational dimension that is closely linked to culture.

What other aspects do we see as a result when placing the notion of aging in the Indigenous context? Being grounded in the Indigenous culture enables us to see that the meaning of aging is nested in multiple ways. For one, aging in the Indigenous context is intergenerational, as it not only entails an intergenerational tie between generations, but also a link to the ancestors on the land as well as the future generations who have not yet arrived (Wilson 2008). For another, aging in the Indigenous context is relational. It does not just refer to interpersonal social relationships; but also relationships with the animals, spirits, land and all non-human entities that are key components of the ancestral land (Wilson, 2008; Virtanen, 2019). Moreover, aging in the Indigenous context should be understood as upholding a biocultural knowledge and responsibility that sustains the ecosystem (Sterling et al 2017). In short, aging has generational, contextual, ecological, relational and spiritual aspects that make the lives in the life circle balanced (cf. Chapter 5.3). For

example, the experience of aging in an Anishinaabe culture was like “look[ing] through the eyes of elders’ when we see an old tree or waves on a lake and it evokes deep emotions in us” (Day, 2014, p. 29). Here we see that the meaning of age embedded in culture is not simply chronological, biological or psychological, but simultaneously generational, contextual, ecological, relational and spiritual.

Some may be concerned that this may go too far in the other direction. Rather than cherishing the complex link of living well as embedded among generations, contexts, ecologies, relations and spiritualities, this perspective may unintentionally license a static and essentialized category in understanding indigeneity (cf. Chapter 2). Indigenous peoples seem to be stuck in the category of the allegedly intact spiritual and close relationship with nature/the environment, free from the colonial moorings. This is hardly the case. On the contrary, struggling to survive oppressive colonial forces collectively is shared among Indigenous peoples (cf. Gao, 2018). To conceive a more inclusive understanding of aging, it should be clearly stated that adopting the Indigenous perspective is not to reinforce an essentialized category of primitive indigeneity. It is, rather, to redress the values that are central in upholding Indigenous societies and examine how Indigenous peoples negotiate and experience aging and strive for living well in their contemporary care setting (cf. Chapter 3).

In sum, the Indigenous perspective as a situated and contextualized approach within the multidimensional approach has shown us that aging has dimensions other than those pointed out by the bio-medical and sociological perspectives on aging. All these culturally-grounded aspects are equally relevant for the Indigenous elderly, especially in their specific contexts. After all, the meanings of age are often informed by localized wholistic sociocultural practice (cf. Kovach, 2009) and are thus more relevant to Indigenous societies. How then, are we to think about elderly care in a more holistic manner? The central concern here is the need for a more encompassing account of caring that would include a wide variety of caring practices, including situational and culturally-grounded ones. This is what I will address in the following section.

5.2 WHO "CARES": CARE IN CROSS CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

Thus far, we have discussed aspects of the elderly in terms of conceptualizations of age and aging. These concepts are important because the meaning of age and aging is present in a discursive battle in the policies affecting (Chapter 7) and lived experience of the *bnkis* (Chapter 8). The same goes for care and caring. What do care and caring mean for the elderly? I utilize the Indigenous research paradigm as a critical lens to engage with the notions of care and caring for the elderly. I do so by introducing first the characteristics

of care. Then I examine the meaning of care through contrasting practicing care and experiencing care.

Feminism has been devoted for a long time to develop a more inclusive concept of care (Gilligan, 1982; Tronto, 2013; Hoppania & Vaittinen, 2015; Harding, 2017). I am adopting the broad definition of care proposed by feminist care ethics' pioneer and theorist Joan Tronto and her collaborator Berenice Fisher as it is a manifestation of that solidarity.

On the most general level, we suggest that caring be viewed as *a species activity that includes everything that we do to maintain, continue, and repair our "world" so that we can live in it as well as possible*. That world includes our bodies, our selves, and our environment, all of which we seek to interweave in a complex, life-sustaining web. (Tronto & Fisher, 1990, p. 40)

Tronto and Fisher's concept of care posits that care is, and always has been (and always will be), an integral part of human life. Care, not just a sentiment or simply a set of actions, entails a complex set of practices that is essential to uphold the world—our bodies, environments and all the elements that sustain our lives—together. Care comes out of daily life, ranging from very intimate practices, such as “maternal thinking” (Ruddick, 1980), to extremely broad ones, such as devising public systems of elderly care. Kantian models of ethics and their emphasis on individual autonomy tend to devalue care and treat it as a reparation tool for individuals to return to freedom and independence (cf. Mackenzie & Stoljar, 2000). This has sparked debates on how to appropriately understand autonomy, especially among feminists (cf. Mackenzie & Stoljar, 2000; Harding, 2014). To explore what kind of care is at stake, it is helpful to look at the key moral dimensions of care proposed by Tronto and Fisher (1990). According to them, care encompasses five interwoven phases: caring about, caring for, caregiving, care receiving, and caring with (Tronto, 2015). I elaborate on the third (care-giving) and fourth (care-receiving) aspects in the analysis below.

Below, for the purpose of this study, I examine the concepts of care from the viewpoints of the givers and the receivers of elderly care. I wish to stress that this division is not meant to dichotomize them. Indeed, it is epistemologically and ethically problematic to establish the two perspectives as mutually exclusive categories. However, since this dissertation is addressing the concept of care in a specific institutional context, that is, a government-funded project in the community, it is necessary to elaborate on the two sides of care.

5.2.1 CARE-GIVING PERSPECTIVES

In Tronto and Fisher's (1990) definition, care-giving is an aspect of caring and it "requires that the actual care giving work be done" (Tronto, 2013, p. 22). I address the kind of elderly care-giving work done in a broadly-defined institutional setting, as the case which I will examine is part of it. My dissertation will describe more aspects of care-giving in the Day Club, to which I will get back to in Chapter 8. In this setting, care giving in nursing is an important context in which knowledge is built.⁶⁸

The tendency of privileging bio-medical perspectives in nursing has come to occupy a central, if contested, place in caregiving. Just as Carol Gilligan (1982) reminds us that we are all inherently relational, responsive and interdependent beings, it is important to define caring-giving in a wholistic and broad manner. Responding to the need to broaden the scope of care-giving, Madeleine Leininger theorizes the need to involve both the nurse and the patient to develop a caring mode for culturally congruent nursing care (Leininger, 1978). The concept of care-giving, in this sense, entails co-creation and culturally-grounded care. Leininger (1995) has presented the idea of transcultural nursing and she defines it as follows:

[Transcultural nursing is] a substantive area of study and practice focused on comparative cultural care (caring) values, beliefs, and practices of individuals or groups of similar or different cultures with the goal of providing culture-specific and universal nursing care practices in promoting health or well-being or to help people to face unfavorable human conditions, illness, or death in culturally meaningful ways. (Leininger, 1995, p. 58)

The cultural factor thus plays a role in the nurse-client relationship. The idea of cultural care (caring) is significant for two reasons. On the one hand, Leininger alludes that culture-specific nursing practice does not conflict with universal nursing care. On the other hand, care-giving would not meaningfully happen if it is not carried out in culturally meaningful ways. The essence of this can be teased out from her earlier writing that emphasizes the relational aspect of care-giving:

If human beings are to survive and live in a healthy, peaceful and meaningful world, then nurses and other health care providers need to understand the cultural care beliefs, values, and lifeways of people in order to provide culturally congruent and beneficial health care. (Leininger, 1978, p. 3).

This emphasis on cultural care beliefs, values and lifeways of people in taking good care of people, understood as transculturalism, still remains valid and is

⁶⁸ The perspectives of family caregivers or informal caregiving are relevant and many aspects are shared with institutional nursing, but I am not be able to elaborate on this here.

a good starting point for approaching care-giving from a culturally sensitive perspective. It is particularly relevant in developing culturally competent nursing (Leininger, 2002). The attention of making culture visible in care is also echoed by the development of the concept of cultural safety.

The concept of cultural safety was developed in New Zealand by health professionals working with the Māori. They realized that culture is integral to amend the woeful health disparity between the Māori and the non-Māori. The concept of culture in cultural safety is broadly defined, so it has room to address power imbalances and inequalities at intersections. “Culture” is there regarded as “age or generation; gender; sexual orientation; orientation; occupation and socioeconomic status; ethnic origin or migrant experience; religious or spiritual belief; and disability” (Nursing Council of New Zealand, 2011, p. 7).

Following the principles of cultural safety, care-giving personnel are encouraged to look beyond “physical being and medical diagnoses”, that is, the bio-medical aspects. Instead, the approach emphasizes that we should be aware of the structural, contextual and power relations so nursing can “ensure that they [nurse and health professionals] are responsive to, and acknowledge and respect the diversity of world views that may exist between Māori consumers of health services.” Specifically, the nurses are expected to have “an analysis and understanding of the historical processes and social, economic and political power relationships that have contributed to the status of Māori health, the Treaty of Waitangi and of *kawa whakaruruhau* (cultural safety) within the context of nursing practice” (Nursing Council of New Zealand, 2011, p. 17). Indigenous Health Project Critical Reflection Tool (MDANZ, 2007) was utilized to support cultural safety, cultural competence and cultural literacy through providing ways to renew medical curriculum, assessment and evaluation. Overall, we can observe how cultural safety is applied in different stages concerning health professionals from Jones and her colleagues (2010) as well as Reid and her colleagues’ work on the subject (2017). The way in which Indigenous language is utilized to promote cultural safety in care-giving has been promoted by Māori civil servant Keri Opai. Working in the sector of mental health, addiction and disability, Opai (2018) developed a *te reo* (language) glossary for health professionals that is based on Māori worldviews. For example, he argues that the English term “disabled” should be understood in Māori as *whaikaha*, which means “To have strength, to have ability, otherly abled, enabled” (2017, p. 17); “autism” in Māori is *takiwātanga*, which refers to people with his or her own time and space (2017, p. 14).

In sum, for practicing “good” care for the elderly, it is not enough for the care-giving personnel to only address health from the bio-medical perspective, but also from the aspects beyond it. This is important particularly in Indigenous contexts because of the centrality that relationships play in the Indigenous ways of being and knowing.

5.2.2 CARE-RECEIVING PERSPECTIVES

Regarding what kind of care elderly people wish to have, it is challenging to locate a satisfactory answer mainly for two reasons. First, most studies, especially concerning institutional care, emphasize the care *given*, rather than what gives quality to the lives of residents themselves; and the studies have predominantly focused on staff, rather than old people themselves (Birren et al., 1991; Mason, 1990 cited in Brown, Bowling & Flynn, 2004). Indeed, older people's perceptions of what is important for their own well-being are not always appreciated (Bowling, 1995, 2005, cited in Vaara et al., 2016, p. 134). This observation leads us to critically ask whose voices are we listening to, when we ask what kind of care elderly people wish to have. When looking for answers to this question, the odds are that what we find most readily, often are experts' voices.

Predominantly, research on the quality of life identifies several common determinants as answers to the question of what elderly people want. They consist of psychological mechanisms, health and functional status, personal social networks, support and activities, and neighborhood social capital (Vaara et al., 2016). However, it would be a mistake to assume that experts can perceive and identify all factors concerning the kind of care elderly people want just by analyzing their everyday lives. Despite significant overlaps between expert and lay models regarding what kind of care elderly people wish to have, there is a gap between how experts conceive the quality of life and the lay models (Bowling, 2005, p. 40). In contrast to experts' views, the lay model also draws from a more "blood, sweat, and tears" of tramping through life, such as the importance of financial circumstances and independence (Bowling, 2005, p. 40; Vaara et al., 2016, p. 134). A systematic review of more than 40 studies that examined components of the quality of life as perceived by older people themselves supports the idea that older people have a different image of the care they want compared to experts. Older people regarded the following themes constitutive to a good care: social relationships, social and leisure activities, quality of neighborhood, emotional wellbeing, religion and spirituality, independence, mobility, autonomy, finances and standard of living, health, and the health of others (Vaara, et al., 2016, see also Hammarström & Torres, 2012). One of the main reasons contributing to this gap between experts and the elderly may be caused by the tendency that academic and clinical researchers are accustomed to utilize standardized objectives and independent measurements rooted in their preference for developing theoretically pertinent models (Brown, Bowling & Flynn, 2004, p. 47). Consequently, it is challenging to pinpoint what kind of care elderly people wish to have as their ideas and preferences are filtered through experts and their theoretical models and measurements. This is one reason why it is not easy to get a satisfactory answer about what kind of care the elderly themselves wish to have.

Another reason as to why it is challenging to be able to listen to elderly people's voices lies in the heterogeneity of the elderly people represented in

the studies; it affects which aspects of quality of life they prioritize. People tend to mention health as the most important aspect when they are not in good health; people are inclined to underline the importance of independence and social/leisure activities when they are in poor health; people living in residential care give more importance to retaining a sense of autonomy (Brown et al., 2004, p. 87). The above mentioned examples reflect a paucity of knowledge about the kind of care the elderly themselves want in different contextual circumstances. At the same time, it reflects a need for academic contributions that explore the wishes of the elderly in their own distinctive contexts through a respectful and sensitive manner.

Of course, privileging the voices of older people should not be seen as panacea to all problems, but as a starting point to explore more situational meaning of care-receiving (cf. Biggs, 2008, p. 119). Elderly people are different and they age in diverse ways (cf. Timonen, 2008, p. 156). Physical decline happens to everyone, but the pathways and determinants toward it are highly complex and affect certain groups more than others. For example, aging is a gendered experience and it tends to impinge on women's lives more (Timonen, 2008, p. 158). It is detrimental to assume that we can come up with some kind of a universal idea of care merely based on people's physical state and level of disability. It would be perhaps more accurate to also take into account the relational, ecological, intergenerational and spiritual aspects that also contribute strongly to people's sense of aging, and the care they wish to have. In such instances, we might want to look beyond age and find it fruitful to deepen the understanding of elderly people's contextualized experiences by drawing from intersecting identity categories, such as gender and ethnicity.

Let us take a look at what kind of care the Indigenous elderly want. In a critical review on the components that make up successful aging for North American Indigenous populations, Pace and Grenier (2017) report that there are striking similarities among different Indigenous groups, especially regarding aspects beyond the bio-medical horizon. The knowledge of indigenous aging entails "a positive attitude and willingness to adapt to the changes that accompany aging, rather than an absence of disease, disability, and decline" (Collings, 2001, Pace 2013 cited in Pace & Grenier 2017). Behavioral factors (diets and exercise) are important for the elderly, yet connections to family, community and culture as well as fulfilling traditional roles appear to be more salient for them. Most interestingly, researchers note that barriers that hinder Indigenous peoples from successful aging consist of historical trauma (Baskin & Davey, 2015), loss of culture (Brass, 2004), poverty (Collings, 2001; Pace, 2013) and changing lifeways (Lewis, 2013; Pace, 2013). Care-receiving, from the Indigenous perspective, is not just about an individual elderly person being cared for. Instead, the kind of care that matters to the Indigenous elderly also operates on familial, communal, cultural, historical and contextual levels. Recent studies underline the importance of Indigenous elders' active contribution to the well-being of the community (Busija et al., 2020; Viscogliosi et al., 2020). They seem to suggest a blurring

line between care-giving and care-receiving when it comes to Indigenous elders, which I shall explore more in the next subchapter.

Care-receiving, as Tronto and Fisher (1990) define it, is the fourth step in the processes of care, which entails:

“[A] response from the person, thing, group, animal, plant, or environment that has been cared for. (...) ... Sometimes the care receiver cannot respond. Others in any particular care setting will also be in a position, potentially, to assess the effectiveness of the caring act(s). And, in having met previous caring needs, new needs will undoubtedly arise.” (Tronto, 2013, pp. 22-23)

Tronto’s conceptualization of care-receiving emphasizes the centrality of how care is rooted in relationships and we are all located in a web of connectedness and interdependence. Not only is this standpoint congruent with the Indigenous perspective, but also it captures the important aspect of intersubjectivity (Cooper-White, 2014) between the caregiver and the receiver. The conceptualization that one person is exclusively caring and another is only being cared is detrimental. It should be challenged and only then, a sufficient care-receiving would be possible.

So far, I have examined the two interrelated sets of concepts in context: aging and care. I examined the notion of the elderly through focusing at concepts of age and aging and identified two sets of conceptualizations of aging that have bearing on how elderly care is understood. Aligning with care theorists, I take a relational, broad, and inclusive approach towards conceptualizing care. According to this viewpoint, it is not possible that one person is exclusively only giving care and another one only receiving care. “[A]ll humans are at once both recipients and givers of care ... People are both givers and receivers of care all the time, though their capacities and needs shift for each person throughout life” (Tronto, 2015). Indeed, care is not a desultory sentiment nor a personal disposition, but a set of practices that all of us need throughout our lives. As people live across different worlds, the concept of good care takes shape in its differentiated, contextual, cultural-grounded, and lived form.

It is salient to conceptualize care from a multiplicity of positions—different “worlds”—and pay attention to how ethnicity, gender and age intersect and take form in this context. Caring for individuals who have to navigate “multiple worlds” requires even more fluidity and space for understanding how intersections operate. From an Indigenous point of view, first, caring is not only about individuals, but about communities as collectives. Second, caring is not limited to interpersonal social webs, but multidimensional in that it includes cultural, ecological, spiritual and intergenerational relationships. To care (and being cared) well is a prerequisite to living well.

In intersecting indigeneity and age, I draw also from Indigenous perspectives and give examples on how concepts might be reformulated from the Indigenous perspective and taking their experiences into account. In doing

so, I hope to contribute to the scholarship of the richly-woven tapestry of understanding of care for the elderly, when juxtaposing elderly care policy and practice in the context of engaging with Indigenous communities.

5.3 HEALTH, WELL-BEING AND LIVING WELL

Maintaining and strengthening the Indigenous research paradigm in the context of care for the Indigenous elderly is at the center of the inquiry in this chapter. The question is: how do Indigenous peoples' perspectives on the elderly and care enrich our understanding? In looking at the intersection of indigeneity and age, I argue that we need to include an Indigenous perspective in perceiving aging and caring to better uphold the worlds together. From a wholistic viewpoint, the notions of health, care, well-being and living well are not exclusive and isolated from each other. However, since the dissertation is reflecting these concepts in social policy and everyday context, it is necessary to elaborate on the notions—good care, health, well-being and living well—respectively. It is important to point out in which forms these concepts take shape when they are informed from the cultural-grounded and lived experience of Indigenous peoples.

Health, well-being and living well are central tenets when it comes to Indigenous peoples, including elderly care for Indigenous peoples. One of the big reasons is that Indigenous peoples have experienced disparities across all dimensions of health and well-being indicators (Cunningham, 2009; United Nations, 2016). As the individualistic, biomedical approaches to health have dominated Western medicine and medical system, the reasons for health disparities between people are formulated and analyzed through a filter that privileges individual biology (Greenwood, de Leeuw & Lindsay, 2018). After the Ottawa Charter for Health Promotion (OCHP) which called for a reorientation towards prevention of illness and promotion of health in 1986, the Social Determinants of Health (SDoH) framework gradually become dominant in many discourses in public and population health (ibid.). In recent years, it has been increasingly challenged as it does not adequately include many other types of factors that are crucial to Indigenous peoples, for example, spirituality, relationship to land, geography, history, culture, language and knowledge system (ibid., pp. xxii-xxiii). This section addresses the wholistic determinants of indigenous health and well-being through re-centering Indigenous peoples, in particular Elders' and Indigenous Knowledge Holders' experience. To emphasize on the choice of re-centering and anchoring through how Indigenous people understand their own experience, I utilize the notion of "living well". To demonstrate what health and well-being can mean from the Indigenous perspective, I explain first the notion of *buen vivir* (Spanish, living well) and *Ubuntu*, followed by perspectives from the Tayal people.

The concept of living well employed in this dissertation draws from *sumak kawsay* (a life of fullness), a Quechua term that roughly means "good living"

or the “good life” that can be translated as *buen vivir* (or *vivir bien*) in Spanish.⁶⁹ In a nutshell, it describes a way of doing things that embodies a good way of living for individuals “in the social context of their community and in a unique environment situation” (Gudynas, cited in Balch, 2013). The concept of living well is a contested term. It is also a rather nebulous concept as it has multiple definitions, interpretations and understandings (Ranta, 2018). I am aware of the complexities in this term in relation to how coloniality and raciality constitute and continue to shape people’s understandings of living well. For example, in material terms, the notion has been utilized in political battles over meanings, resources and influence. In literature, the term tends to be used to refer to a decolonial form of conceptualization that is rooted in communitarianism, indigenous sovereignty and territorial indigenous self-governance (Ranta, 2018, p. 161). Instead of taking the notion as such, I utilize living well in hopes for opening up space of how well-being, health and quality of life can be conceptualized differently from mainstream classifications. Villalba (2013) argues that living well actually marks a window of opportunity for a radical paradigm shift from a neoliberal-informed development model to more Indigenous-informed sustainable approach. In this dissertation, I am interested in how concepts such as living well open space for us to envision how aging and care take form through Indigenous lens.

Throughout this dissertation, the concept of living well is also drawing from the context of First Nations. In particular, I am referring to two key concepts: *all my relations* and *the sacredness of life* (Sinclair, 2004, cited in Coates, Gray & Hetherington, 2006, pp. 394-395). First, all my relations is a foundational belief in indigenous cosmology, entailing a relational perspective that encourages “to accept the social responsibility for living a harmonious and moral life in the present which comes with being part of a universal family” (King 1990, cited in Coates, Gray & Hetherington, 2006, p. 394). It resonates with what Tagalik (2018) observes is living a good life for Inuit Elders: to live well, for the Inuit Elders, draws from holistic Inuit knowledge, which is grounded in core concepts of connectedness and belonging that are based on respectful relationship building (ibid., p. 93). The second key word is the sacredness of life, which entails “an array of behaviors integrated into daily life” (Coates, Gray & Hetherington, 2006, p. 394). In practical terms, it entails the importance of spirituality for Indigenous living well, which is often neglected in mainstream health systems. The sacredness of life is embedded in the daily practice of sustaining relationships with family and friends. It is extended to connecting with the land, and it also includes care for the community. At the same time, it is inspired by the joy and energy of children. The spiritual aspect of living well is “a communal affair and it is undermined

⁶⁹ Indigenous peoples argue that the Spanish language does not do justice to reflect the wholeness of “sumac kawsay”. Vivir Bien or Buen Vivir are said to be too anthropocentric, and the meaning of life (Kawsay) in fullness (Sumak) lost its relational, spiritual and profound meaning in translation (Villalba, 2013).

by anything that assaults community vitality” (Castellano, 2018, p. 55). I take *all my relations* and *the sacredness of life* as dimensions of living well.

Since the emphasis on relations is central to the concept of living well applied in this dissertation, I regard it appropriate to include Ubuntu in the discussion. The worldview of relationality is in center of the ethic of Ubuntu (Murove, 2014) as well, which is an African philosophy, worldview, moral ethics and a way of knowing (Seehawer, 2018, p. 454; Murove, 2014). Ubuntu can be roughly translated as “I am we; I am because we are; we are because I am” (Chilisa, 2012, p. 22), or simply “I am human therefore I belong. I participate, I share” (Tutu, 1999, cited in Chilisa, 2012, p. 22). So, the idea of Ubuntu is to look beyond individuals and see the interconnected, interdependent and holistic world among people, beings and the environment as a whole.

Three key elements of Ubuntu are relevant for illustrating the outline of living well from the Indigenous perspective. First, it underlines a relational understanding of being human. Kenyan philosopher and theologian John Mbiti (1990[1969]) observes “whatever happens to the individual happens to the whole group, and whatever happens to the whole group happens to the individual.” In other words, individuals exist through community. Instead of automatically being born human, according to Ubuntu humanity is something we develop through relationships with others (Venter, 2004 cited in Seehawer, 2018, p. 455) It is a kind of humble togetherness (Swanson, 2012, 2009, cited in Seehawer, 2018, p. 455). This has relevance to conceptualizing caring in Indigenous communities: caring extends beyond individuals.

Second, Ubuntu calls for a sense of being and becoming as dimensions of humanness, an epistemological understanding of it, not just humanism, which suggests “a conditional of finality, a closedness or a kind of absolute either incapable of, or resistant to, any further development” (Ramose, 2009, cited in Seehawer, 2018, p. 455). Similarly, Desmond Tutu (1999) points out that Ubuntu is about what it means to be human. When someone is said to have Ubuntu, it is perceived to be high praise. It entails that the person is generous, hospitable, compassionate, friendly and caring (ibid.). So Ubuntu involves a notion of humanness that embraces interconnected relationships.

Third, living well should be understood as spirituality and relating positively to non-living entities—the relationship between living and non-living is key to Ubuntu (Seehawer, 2018, p. 455). Through a Western lens, humanity is narrowly understood as relationships between fellow humans, whereas Ubuntu also includes an interconnectedness that includes “ecological togetherness” (Murove, 2009, p. 317, cited in Seehawer 2018, p. 456). Ubuntu is not only a heritage of (southern) Africa, but it has been a source of inspiration to many fields related to living-well, such as care ethics (cf. Chisale, 2018) and conflict resolution (cf. Akinola & Uzodike, 2018). The key to upholding this sense of interconnectedness is to fulfill ones’ duties in a web of relations. In most the Indigenous societies, Elders and Knowledge Holders tend to be the ones who are most familiar with the perspective of how to live a

full life with all its interconnectedness. That is why elders are so central to and respected in the communities. To sum up, based on a wholistic point of view, the concept of living well includes relationality, sacredness, unity, humanness, interconnectedness (between human and non-living entities). What do all these mean in practice?

Guided by a strong sense of responsibility and humility, one needs to be able to manage one's life to fulfill one's duties. As I have given the medicine wheel as an example to demonstrate interconnectedness in Chapter 5.2, I give more examples here to demonstrate how interconnectedness takes shape in the contexts of the Sámi, the Māori and the Tayal. First, drawing from the Sámi context, the importance of being in control of one's life is a core attribute for Sámi elders (Heikkilä, Laiti-Hedemäki & Pohjola, 2013). The idea of living well is conceptualized in "*hyvin pärjääminen*" (Finnish)/"*bures birgen*" (North Sámi), or "*hyvässä elämäntilanteessa eläminen*" (Finnish)/"*buorre dilis eallin*" (North Sámi). Key dimensions relating to the ability to manage life, or *hyvin pärjääminen*, are identified in the following factors: material (livelihoods and living), physical (health and good energy), psychological (creativity, inventiveness and ability to make use of one's talent), social (sense of community and belonging to the society), emotional (ability to feel, perceive and take control of one's emotions), mental (peace of mind, balance and satisfaction) and ethical (individual and community values and trust) (Aikio, 2010, p. 13, cited in Heikkilä, Laiti-Hedemäki and Pohjola, 2013, p. 49). Similar dimensions are reflected in the *hauora* model for the Māori. The wholistic model of living well comprises *taha tinana* (physical well-being), *taha hinengaro* (mental and emotional well-being), *taha whānau* (social well-being) and *taha wairua* (spiritual well-being). Developed first by Sir Mason Durie in his seminal book *Whaiora: Māori Health Development* (1994), the four dimensions show a strong emphasis that embed living well in spiritual connection with the environment and relationships with ancestors and future generations.

The indigenous perspectives remind us of the fundamental principles on being human: we are interconnected, interdependent and we rely on each other. In addition to humans, there are other beings such as animals and spirits in cosmos. The principles of living well are integral to what care means in the indigenous context. The principles of living well drawing from Indigenous tradition are enriching and fruitful, especially when challenging the taken-for-granted classifications pertaining to health, quality of life and elderly care.

Second, the Tayal regard the meaning of living well in multiple interconnected ways that entail individual, family, communal and ecological characteristics. These four dimensions are united under the *Gaga* belief system, where *Utux* is treated as the omnipotent spirit (cf. Chapter 3). The interconnection is embedded in a web of relations between human and non-human entities. Entities in the environment are viewed as extensions of the self. This embodiment is evident in the Tayal language. Many Tayal words for

body parts have dual meanings for the environment. The term *hbun* means the center part of the chest where it is sinking inward, it also means confluence; *kalaw* means human rib and mountain ridge; *lux* means shinbone, also mountain slope; *qolu* means throat and crossroad; *punga* means navel and stone caves in the mountain wall (Kuan, 2013, pp. 87-88). The connected ways of seeing one's body through the frame of the environment signifies relationality among multiple spaces: bodily, geographical and societal space overlap for the Tayal people.

Traces of both "all my relations" and the sacredness of life" can be found in the Tayal context. In this way, the Tayal concept of living well encompasses features of spirituality, relationship and connection to land. These characteristics constitute traditional bedrock values of what it means to be Tayal.

On the one hand, relations manifest in Tayal culture are ones among people, environment/land, animals and other life forms. What makes Tayal different, is perhaps that the relations are acted out following the moral order of *Gaga* (see Chapter 3). The importance of *Gaga* in relation to "all my relations", as a *bnkis* describes,

It doesn't matter if I am going to work or my garden--especially when I go to hunt—we have to return immediately if we see the bird siliq flying swiftly across our faces with the pressing, angry sound of siq. We should by no means continue our steps towards the destination, because our traditional cultural ethics (*Gaga*) tells them and we know from the bottom of our hearts, there will be misfortune happening upon us if we were to continue our steps forward. (Akyo, 2012, pp. 182-183)

Some may wonder what is the use of this tale of superstition? It is not. In fact, it becomes a superstition only when it is accused of being ignorant and false. It is not difficult to find local practices becoming superstitions under the gaze of colonialism, for the purpose of economic exploitation, political oppression and cultural marginalization deepened by racial supremacy. The animistic tradition is particularly a target in the construction of what is true and false, and what is knowledge and what is superstition or ignorance (Helander-Renvall, 2016). The passage above shows the intimate interaction between the human and the environment. It gives us a glimpse of a spiritual principle of cause and effect where intent and actions of a Tayal operate within the moral order of *Gaga* and spirit *Utux*. In this example of the bird siliq, the *bnkis*'s words echo with the principle of "all my relations" in a sense that Tayal are cautioned to be humble and part of a larger collective. This message is common among many Indigenous legends and teachings, the central theme of which is, as Blackstock wisely noted: "a community member becomes arrogant and self-satisfying resulting in the subjugation of communal well-being and survival across generation placing future generations at risk" (Blackstock, 2007, p. 3).

These features of what it is to live well lead us to contemplate the differences at a conceptual level, that is, the difference between knowledge

paradigms. The difference in conceptualizing what it is to live well prompts us to contrast Indigenous knowledge with Western Cartesian knowledge.⁷⁰ Indeed, this contrast is common when describing what makes Indigenous knowledge and practices distinctive from mainstream Western models. When discussing different healing practices between traditional indigenous and Western ones, Cree scholar Michael Hart noted that

Western models of healing separate and detach individuals from their social, physical and spiritual environments, isolating “patients” for treatment purposes and then re-introducing them into the world. Traditional healers are concerned with balancing emotional, physical, mental, spiritual, aspects of people, the environment, and the spirit world (Hart, 1996, p. 63).

Hart observes that Indigenous “living well” encompasses a balanced holistic sense constituted of multiple layers. Living well is not just about one isolated individual being treated. This interconnectedness is embedded in a sense of respect of all relationships and humility. When referring to drawing from Indigenous knowledge to do research, Cree scholar Wilson noted, “I am not more important or knowledgeable than anyone else. All I am doing is sharing some of my relationships, revealing some of the connections that make up this theory” (2008, p. 134). Wilson (2008) encourages us to critically reflect on an “isolated individual being”. Instead, the Indigenous way of living well is about humility, making oneself visible, and connections between all layers—emotional, physical, mental, spiritual, interpersonal, the environment and the spirit world—being made visible.

Agreeing with Hart and Wilson, Canadian-born Gitksan activist for child welfare Cindy Blackstock (2011) contrasts the two knowledge paradigms and argues that there is an epistemological difference between the Western and the Indigenous one with regard to child protection (2011, 2019). She proposes a bi-cultural theory founded in First Nations ontology called “the breath of life” to illustrate the epistemological differences between the Indigenous approach to engagement with a child compared to the mainstream one, arguing for re-centering it in child welfare. The same can apply to elderly welfare. Blackstock (2007) points out that the current practice of child protection centers around a set of beliefs that lead to inefficient and failing welfare system for the children. The set of beliefs is individual-centered, rooted in one divisible reality that worships new knowledge supported by experts while distrusting ancestral knowledge and the collective community. To put it bluntly, Western worldview values knowledge of the new and sees only experts as legitimate knowledge holders. On the contrary, the indigenous worldview encourages

⁷⁰ I am aware of the risks of using the oversimplified terms Indigenous versus non-Indigenous/Western. I understand they are highly heterogeneous, complex and dynamic, in line with what I presented earlier in the section concerning Indigeneity. Nonetheless, they are unavoidable for the sake of presenting this discussion.

ancestral knowledge (in particular oral history) and deems Elders as most respected knowledge holders (ibid.). The bi-cultural perspective reminds us “Two-Eyed Seeing”, a First Nation (Mi’kmaw) concept that describes a principle for walking in two worlds (Marshall, Marshall & Bartlett, 2018, p. 45). When imperialism and colonialism came, Indigenous peoples were forced to abandon their ways of knowing and seeing, their connection to culture disrupted and trauma remained (cf. Brave Heart, 2011). Nevertheless, they are able to walk the two worlds—that of their Indigenous community and that of the newcomers—which should be seen as a strength. The “Two-Eyed Seeing” is a notable capacity, talent and endowment that shapes relationships in the contemporary era.

The Indigenous research paradigm is about being critically aware of the epistemology operating in the social welfare system and re-centering a set of beliefs that is based on Indigenous values and ethics. As an inseparable part of the Indigenous research paradigm, Indigenous knowledge helps us to achieve transformative goals. The contrast between Indigenous and Western knowledge is process, while contrasting them allows us to see from both sides.

Spend time with an Elder. The medicine is specific—the sage and sweetgrass smudge, for example. But medicine is also the stories, the ceremony, the witnessing, and the honoring of the relationships. This is one thing that we seem to forget in Western medical practice, where medicine is reduced to the very specific chemical makeup of a pill and the proper administration of it. Often, anything else around it—the bigger process of healing, relationship making with our relatives, with each other, with the planet—is neglected or forgotten. ... We need to work together to navigate the tension-filled space between these systems in order to move forward in a good way. (Walker and Behn-Smith, 2018, p. 322)

Contrasting Indigenous medicine, knowledge and living well with Western traditions and conceptions is to remind us that there are options and an alternative framework of reference to who we are, and to sources of knowledge. Applying the Indigenous research paradigm, in this regard, has implications to creating meaningful and transformative shifts in how to live well through developing a novel system of well-being for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples.

The dimension of living well, thus, should include a sense of co-existence of both onto-epistemologies, the Indigenous one as well as the Western/non-Indigenous one, allowing for reconciliation and cherishing of both ways of knowing. This idea is also connected to the idea of sacredness of life in Tayal, or *Psbalay* (Tayal language, meaning blessing and reconciliation). It is a ceremony honoring the ancestral land and connectedness between *Utux* and future generations through learning with humility. The temporal aspect brought forth by thinking about future generations reminds us that co-existence of ways of knowing should be integral to the concept of living well.

In explaining the worldview of Tayal, *Babaw Cinbwanan* (*Babaw* means above or higher; *Cinbwanan* means cosmic or the world) reminded of *bnkis* Atung Yupas's words of Tayal wisdom and humility (cited in Akyo, 2012, pp. 99-100):

Cyux kya qu kwara qsya

Cyux kya qu kwara nniqun tayal, cyux kya qu kwara qqyanux tayal

Cinbwannan qasa qa maki lalu qhuniq ru hzyal nya

Giwan khu tayal

Maki squliq sghiloq ru maki tninun qbuci squliq

Maki kya qu sinbilan ke

Maki kya qu tayux hinlungan

Maki kya qu tulin tayal

Maki kya qu lyus (abaw) tayal

Maki kya qu rapal tayal

Maki kya qu qlyum tayal

Maki kya qu sbqi tayal

Maki kya qu cicis teleq

There is water.

There are all the minerals that provide human subsistence, there are all life forms that help us survive.

The world has names for the forests and land

It is like human's storage house

There must be fire and human remains

There are human's vows and pledges

There is human's fire beacon

There is direction for humans

There are directions for human activities

There are footsteps of human

There is wetland of human

There is spring of life for human

There is waterfall

This poem signifies the interrelatedness of all my relations and the sacredness of life for the Tayal. It emphasizes the central role of *bnkis* in teaching their contextual knowledge. Celebrating the relationships with other people is a crucial component of living well. Wilson (2008) notes that for Indigenous communities, “all forms of interpersonal relationship take on special significance” (p. 84). They are based on a relational epistemology, which basically means that their systems of knowledge are built on relationships (Wilson, 2008, p. 74).

5.4 SUMMARY

In this chapter, I have discussed the concepts of aging and care through the lens of the Indigenous research paradigm. Regarding aging, instead of looking at aging as a matter of physical decline, I put emphasis on the Indigenous perspective that sees the aging process as a way to bring a relational balance to life. Regarding care, I apply a broad definition from feminist scholarship to expand the common concepts that are often individualized, medical-centric and care-giving dominated.

In the last part of the chapter I discussed the conceptualization that extends from aging and care towards what it means to live well. In my own approach, I incorporate Indigenous perspectives into the concept, in particular different dimensions in the discussion of the concept of living well from Indigenous perspective. These are, particularly, relationality, sacredness of life, humanness, interconnectedness and co-existence. Treating these features as integral to care and aging, I also conceptualize what these concepts mean in the Tayal context. For example, care for the Tayal constitutes upholding relationships among humans, animals and different life forms. Caring for aging Tayal people, in this sense, requires a break from binary oppositions and a move towards a wholistic way that connects all the components. Simultaneously, in my opinion, living well entails a co-existence of Indigenous voices in the dominant system of care. It is also the reason why the Indigenous paradigm and Tayal hermeneutics are needed in research to make this come true.

6 METHODS AND DATA

This dissertation utilizes critical policy analysis and critical ethnography to answer the set research questions. Grounded in the Indigenous research paradigm, the analysis develops into an inquiry and analysis of competing epistemological grounds and knowledge of the “Indigenous problem” in elderly care in Taiwan in the 2010s.

Adopting the Indigenous research paradigm as my epistemological and methodological positioning, I first present how I utilize critical policy analysis to look for answers to “Indigenous problems” in the long-term care policy documents. Then, I introduce how critical ethnography assisted me to engage with the ways Tayal experience care in the Day Club. I admit there may be some incompatibilities, but as I discussed earlier, the advantages outweigh (see Chapter 4). The mixed method is crucial to examine the relationship between the colonial state and Indigenous peoples.

6.1 PROBLEMATIZING THE POLICY

Critical policy analysis is employed to examine the construction of the notions of care, Indigenous peoples and aging in policy documents as a way to answer the first research question, that is, “What are ‘Indigenous problems’ represented to be in the long-term care policies?”. The analysis is built on both Carol Bacchi’s and Mieke Verloo’s ideas, with emphasis on seeing policies as problematizations and sets of structured interpretations. This provides fruitful grounds for linking research to Tayal hermeneutics and is useful for identifying policy frames.

I take note of the fact that policy documents are located in a static written form, or as Kovach sees it, “a textual universe” (2009, p. 53). Thus it was difficult to apply the Indigenous research approach directly. Therefore, critical policy analysis is utilized as an allied methodology that aids Indigenous research. It operates in line with the decolonizing aim and allows analytical space for multiple epistemologies. I use critical policy analysis to examine how meanings are produced, and in particular, how problems are represented. In other words, I conceptualize policies from the perspective of framing and reframing, from the interpretive and social constructivist-oriented methodology.

6.1.1 TRAVERSING THE TEXTUAL UNIVERSE: CRITICAL POLICY ANALYSIS

Critical policy analysis originates from a critique against positivist-oriented policy analysis: a dispassionate, objective account of context-independent analysis. Diem et al. (2014) explore education policy and summarize the *context-dependent* features of critical policy analysis. First, critical policy analysis draws from a broad range of theoretical lenses. A multi-disciplinary tendency can be observed in it, contributing to novel perspectives in examining the components of the policy process, in particular policy problems. Second, critical policy analysts value “rich description, connection to context and voice, authenticity, and collaboration” (Diem et al., 2004, p. 1085). For advocates of conventional policy analysis, the only appropriate “voice” has been the “voice from nowhere”—only the neutral, cool-headed voices from the researchers have legitimacy. On the contrary, the advocates of critical policy analysis cherish the multiple dimensions of voice—participants’ voices, the researcher’s voice, and the researchers’ reflexive account according to which the “self is the subject of the inquiry” (Hertz, 1997, cited in Lincoln & Guba 2005, p. 183). These three features suggest a close alignment between critical policy analysis with Indigenous methodologies.

To analyze policies from a non-positivist approach, it would be remiss to overlook the framework of interpretive and social constructivist-oriented methodologies underpinning the endeavour. The social constructivist paradigm has provided valuable tools for encountering a world in which reality is not free of interpretation (Bacchi, 1999, p. 49). In particular, a social-constructivist paradigm disagrees with the idea that policies are the way how a “government reacts to ‘problems’ and that policies somehow exist in the world separate from the ways in which ‘problems’ are conceived” (Bacchi, 2009, pp. 32-33). This argument is based on how the advocates of a social-constructivist paradigm perceive policy problems as interlinked to values, ideologies, beliefs and further to the ways in which frameworks inform ways of coping with problems. They argue that it would be naïve to believe that the policy process is rational, objective, orderly and undertaken by experts with unquestionable authority. Instead, policy processes are contested and should be more appropriately understood in terms of framing and reframing of problems (Goodwin, 2012, p. 28). To summarize, the focus of policy analysis has thus shifted from seeking a solution to a problem to analyzing how the problem is represented. (Bacchi, 2009; Bacchi, 2016; Goodwin, 2012).

My research utilizes problem representations as a tool to examine the framing and reframing of the “indigenous problem” (cf. Smith, 2012). By analyzing how the problems are represented in policies, it gives the research two advantages: on the one hand, to complement, deepen and broaden the understanding of the notion of how indigeneity functions in care policies; on the other hand, to provide space for social policy to meet its colonial past (cf. Chapter 1). I identify the following three aspects to exemplify how critical policy analysis challenges the presuppositions of conventional policy analysis

and disrupts the taken-for-granted “Indigenous problem” hidden inside the textual universe of the policies.

First, critical policy analysis contends that knowledge is not generated in a void, but is local and contextualized. Local knowledge is highly relevant for policy-making. This emphasis on local context is crucial in making the “Indigenous problem” visible. An important point of departure is when “puzzles” or “tensions” emerge, by which I mean disjunctures between what “the analyst *expects* [emphasis added] to find and what she actually *experiences* [emphasis added] in the policy or agency field” (Yanow, 2000, p. 8). This mismatch creates a window of opportunity to disrupt understandings of how policy problems are formulated. Through making sense of the tension between expectations and present experience, the interpretive analytic project enables the reframing of alternative options, ultimately leading to a renewed understanding that points to new avenues for action (Yanow, 2000, p. 21). This is highly relevant as “who has valid knowledge to inform policies” is at stake here.

Second, critical policy analysis refuses to take Western paradigms for granted. As Yanow (2000, p. 5) argues, “We live in a social world characterized by the possibilities of multiple interpretations.” The fact that critical policy analysis embraces interpretive constructivism allows other methodologies, such as the Indigenous, to generate knowledge. Instead of upholding the neutral, objective science stipulated by traditional methods, critical policy analysts approach research problems through identifying the meanings that are important to each policy-relevant community (Yanow, 2000, p. 20). This is particularly useful as I wish to initiate a dialogue between Indigenous and Western paradigms.

Third, critical policy analysis similarly challenges conventional policy analysis as social science challenges natural science. Critical policy analysis focuses on problem representations and multiple interpretations, which suggests its engagement with prudence or practical wisdom (phronesis) that entails ethics, pragmatism, and context-dependent knowledge which are oriented toward action (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 57). Commenting on the Aristotelian concept of phronesis, Flyvbjerg (2001, p. 2) argues, “[it] goes beyond analytical, scientific knowledge (episteme) and technical knowledge or know-how (techne) and involves judgments and decisions made in the manner of a virtuoso social and political actor” (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 2). Critical policy analysis shares the core values of the concept of phronesis and social science as a whole. Critical policy analysis makes discourses and interpretations embedded in the policies become visible, thus being a tool for examining the narratives of value and power: “power produces rationality and truth; rationality and truth produce power” (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 124). In sum, critical policy analysis embraces the characteristics of phronetic social science, as it focuses on values, places power at the core of analysis, studies cases and contexts and dialogues with a polyphony of voices (Flyvbjerg, 2001, pp. 130-137). Critical policy analysis, through its close alignment to phronetic social

science, joins forces in unsettling colonial structures and ultimately points a way forward towards a transformative future.

Once we have settled for critical policy analysis as the method, how do we proceed? The analytical framework is drawn from the scholarship established by Carol Bacchi and Mieke Verloo, in particular, the “What’s the Problem Represented to be” approach by the former, and critical frame analysis by the latter. Viewing policy-as-discourse, Bacchi (2000) asks how problems are constituted in policies and introduces an analytic strategy called “What’s the Problem Represented to be” (WPR approach). WPR approach is a practical tool for turning the focus in policy analysis from problems as presumed problematic conditions to *problematizations*. In other words, it pays attention to how problems are constituted—given shape and meaning—within policies. The production of meaning is closely related to the discourses and “how arguments are structured, and objects and subjects are constituted in language” (Bacchi, 1999, p. 41). Bacchi (2016) explains succinctly what she means by policies producing meaning:

This proposition relies upon a simple idea: That what we propose to do about something indicates what we think needs to change and hence what we think is problematic—that is, what the “problem” is represented or constituted to be. (p. 8)

Bacchi suggests that we should read prescriptive texts and follow them “upstream” to where the problematic is located. The policy analysis method in this dissertation follows Bacchi’s proposition and examines *problematizations*. In paying attention to how problems are constituted, I demystify the “Indigenous problem” and link the objective, indifferent and dispassionate voices in policies to coloniality. In fact, Bacchi’s proposition echoes with Harold Lasswell, the founder of the policy science movement, who advocated for a multidisciplinary approach with an explicit normative orientation when engaging with policies (Fischer, 2003, pp. 2-3). Instead of limiting policy science to hypotheses and benefit-calculating techniques, Lasswell emphasized exploring the “knowledge in and of the policy process” and the full complexity of policy problems (Fischer, 2003; Diem et al., 2014). Echoing Lasswell, Murray Edelman recognized the constructed nature of policy problems. Along a similar vein, we should trace “upstream” the *problematizations* of “indigenous problem” and make the value-laden characteristics of the policy visible. How exactly can one operationalize the task of studying *problematizations*? I employ Verloo’s critical frame analysis as a way to deepen the analysis.

Mieke Verloo’s critical frame analysis, like Bacchi’s WPR approach, draws from the social-constructivist paradigm and addresses multiple meanings created in policies. Specifying the need for identifying policy *frames*, Verloo’s critical frame analysis supplements the WPR approach by giving a comprehensive methodological mindmap to operationalize the larger underlying structures in policies. Policy frames are defined as an “organising

principle that transforms fragmentary or incidental information into a structured and meaningful problem, in which a solution is implicitly or explicitly included” (Verloo & Lombardo, 2007, p. 33). In this way, problems are not dealt with in a vacuum, but shaped, defined and circumscribed by a policy frame.

Critical frame analysis is utilized in this research for three reasons. First, to make visible the "conceptual prejudices" that shape the policy discourses. As mentioned earlier, the core concern of this research is to highlight the problematics of knowledge production and power asymmetries by aligning with the indigenous research paradigm. Critical frame analysis is a good tool for examining prejudices which are the socially constructed and cultural filters through which we perceive, understand, and give meaning to reality (Gadamer 1960, cited in Verloo & Lombardo, 2007, p. 32). Second, after making visible these conceptual prejudices, critical frame analysis enables us to reveal latent inconsistencies and biases embedded in the policies. Verloo shows how critical frame analysis is a good tool to expose sexist prejudices in policy discourses (originating even from feminist actors), such as attributing problems of reconciliation, political inequality or domestic violence to women solely. In a similar vein, critical frame analysis can be useful to expose the conceptual prejudices that shape the concept of indigeneity in the policy discourses. Third, critical frame analysis strengthens the interconnectedness of aging and Indigenous peoples through applying the notion of intersectionality. By following the methodology of critical frame analysis, I analyze discursive constructions in policy other than indigeneity and age, which are the focus of the analysis. I also examine other intersecting categories that emerge from the policy documents, such as gender and socio-economic status. The analysis is examined through two dimensions of a policy frame: the "diagnosis" (what is the problem?) and the "prognosis" of a problem (what is the solution?) (Verloo & Lombardo, 2007, p.33). Through drawing from critical frame analysis, this research aspires to delineating different policy frames pertaining to aging and Indigenous peoples through diagnosis and prognosis (2007), as we can see in the following methodological questions. Examining the policies through prognosis and diagnosis enables the analysis to interrogate the “value-free” positivist-oriented tradition. In so doing, it enriches the analysis to further focus on the function of power, hegemony, colonialism on the position of Indigenous peoples.

The WPR approach is utilized in harmony with critical frame analysis on two levels. First, critical frame analysis was developed on the basis of the WPR approach, so the aim of examining what kind of problems are *created* by policy is similar (cf. Keskinen, 2017). This study makes visible "conceptual prejudices" by interrogating taken-for-granted "truths" through studying problem representations, which draws from a Foucauldian concept of problematization (Bacchi, 2012). Second, these two approaches are particularly useful in studying coloniality and imperialism in policies, especially in relation to the creation of subjectivity and the production of

knowledge. The WPR approach provides a means of identifying the underlying conceptual logic through examining problematization in policy discourses, while critical frame analysis has the advantage of exposing prejudices residing in policy discourses.

While Bacchi’s WPR approach focuses on problem identification and representation, Verloo’s critical frame analysis provides more room for interrogating proposed solutions. With an eye on a balanced view of how policy creates specific interpretations, this research thus juxtaposes Verloo and Bacchi in order to achieve a fuller picture of problem identification (diagnosis) and proposed solutions (prognosis). Drawing from both, this dissertation identifies main policy frames with the aid of the following analytical questions (Bacchi, 2016, pp. 8-10; Bacchi, 1999, pp. 12-13; Verloo & Lombardo, 2007, pp. 32-34):

Table 1. Key analytical questions to identify policy frames in policy documents

Level	Problem identification <i>“Diagnosis”</i>	Proposed solutions <i>“Prognosis”</i>
General Level	Problem identification: What is the problem represented to be in the policy? How is the problem constituted?	Solutions: What are the solutions presented?
Focal Level	Indigeneity: problem—Are Indigenous peoples part of the problem? How? Age: problem—Are the Indigenous elderly part of the problem? How?	Indigeneity: solution—Are the Indigenous peoples considered part of the solution? How? Age: solution—Are the Indigenous elderly considered part of the solution? How?
Analytical Aspects for both Levels	1. Problem holders—whose problem is it seen to be? 2. Responsibility—who is considered to be responsible for the problem? 3. Voice—do Indigenous peoples have a voice in formulating the problem? 4. Silences and absences—what are the consequences for not including Indigenous perspectives?	1. Solution holders—who have the solutions? 2. Action—who should do something about the problem? 3. Voice—do Indigenous peoples have a voice in suggesting courses of actions? 4. Silences and absence—what alternative solutions are left unmentioned?

	5. Intersectionality—are other categories (e.g. gender, class) part of the diagnosis of the problem?	5. Intersectionality—are other categories part of the solution?
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On a general level, I examine policy documents by asking what the overall diagnosis is (what is the problem?) and what the prognosis is (what is the solution?) in care for the Indigenous elderly in Taiwanese social policies. On the focal level, I examine both the construction of indigeneity and age. On the one hand, the question of indigeneity is not only the focus of the analysis, but also an opportunity to indigenize research (cf. Chapter 4.2). I examine the ways in which Indigenous peoples are regarded as a way to study the embedded knowledge of how policies *construct* and *produce* the “Other”. On the other hand, I examine the conception of the old age of Indigenous elders in problem representations and proposed solutions. I analyze in particular how key concepts, such as *aging* and *elderly*, are interpreted and contested.

Concerning the analytic aspects for both levels, five aspects are identified: (i) problem/solution holders, (ii) responsibility, (iii) voice, (iv) silences and absences and (v) intersectionality. They are treated as markers and indicators of how long-term care policy is shaped and interpreted. In sum, policies pertaining to elderly indigenous people in the Indigenous territories are studied through critically engaging with the analytical questions posed above. Identifying existing policy frames will enable us to make conceptual prejudices in policies for elderly care visible.

6.1.2 POLICY DOCUMENTS

The policy data has been collected to illustrate how elderly Indigenous peoples are conceptualized in Taiwanese care policies. I am fully aware that the selection of the policies is an interpretive exercise in itself. The policies chosen for scrutiny reflect the interests of my topical concern: indigeneity reflected in long-term care policy documents. First, I selected two core documents as entry-points for analysis. Second, I identified and collected relevant documents associated with these policies that helped establish a fuller picture of how indigeneity and Indigenous elderly are framed in long-term care. These constitute “practical texts” (Bacchi, 2009, pp. 54-55) that I primarily work with. I have chosen these policy documents because they represent major long-term care policies during the past decade, where Taiwan has eagerly taken pride in its turn to “multiculturalism”.

The data include two policy documents at the general level. They are *Long-term Care Service Quality Improvement Plan* (2015) and *Plan of Amicable Care for the Old Persons* (2013). The data include two policy documents at the focal level, consisting of *Ten-Year Long-term Care Plan 2.0, Chapter on Care for Indigenous Peoples* (2017) and *Implementation plan for Tribal Culturally Healthy Centers* (2018). The policy documents at the supplementary level

include *Plan for Indigenous Peoples' Social Safety Development* (2013), *2025 White Paper on Health and Welfare Policies, Section on the Indigenous Peoples* (2016) and *Forward-looking Infrastructure Development Program* (2017).⁷¹ The general level policy papers account for the overarching long-term care plan for all Taiwanese people, while policy documents at the focal level deal with Indigenous elderly exclusively. Supplementary level documents are included in the analysis so that the historical background and contextual long-term care projects pertaining to Indigenous peoples can be examined. They provide the context in which long-term care for Indigenous peoples is situated and the shaping of the discourses in the policies still carries weight in today's long-term care policies.

This dissertation analyzes key policy documents presented above as a way of exploring how Indigenous peoples' care is accommodated within modern states. The policy papers have been produced in 2013–2018, but the secondary sources that aided the analysis are not restricted to this six-year time frame. The results of this analysis will be presented in Chapter 7.

Thus far, I have explained the method and data that is utilized in the analysis of Taiwanese long-term care policies. In the next section, I present the method and data pertaining to the fieldwork that was conducted in the Day Club in Wulai, Taiwan.

6.2 THE EVERYDAY LIFE OF TAYAL ELDERS IN WULAI

This section details the way my second method is applied and integrated in the lived experience of Tayal elders. I utilize critical ethnography to explore how care is practiced and experienced by the *bnkis* in the Day Club. As I have already explained in Chapter 4.7, critical ethnography anchors its validity in the researchers' reflexivity and positionality and recognizes that research is a site of power struggle. In this subchapter, I elaborate how I apply critical ethnography in detail, while engaging with the Tayal community and seeking answers to my second research question, namely: "how do the Tayal experience care in a care center funded by the nation state? How is the policy contested in their everyday experiences? What alternative visions of care do the Tayal have?"

⁷¹ The policy documents with their official names in Mandarin Chinese are as follows: *Long-term care Service Quality Improvement Plan* (2015) (104-107 年長期照顧服務量能提升計畫), *Plan of amicable care for the old persons* (2013) (友善關懷老人服務計畫第二期計畫), *Ten-year long-term care plan 2.0, chapter on care for Indigenous peoples* (2017) (長期照顧十年計畫 2.0 (106~115 年)含原住民專章), *Implementation plan for Tribal Culturally Healthy Centers* (2018) (107 年度部落文化健康站實施計畫), *Plan for Indigenous Peoples' Social Safety Development* (2013) (原住民族社會安全發展第二期四年計畫 102-105 年), *2025 White Paper on Health and Welfare Policies, Section on the Indigenous Peoples* (2016) (2025 衛生福利政策白皮書原住民族專章) and *Forward-looking Infrastructure Development Program* (2017) (前瞻基礎建設計畫).

Critical ethnography complements the Indigenous research paradigm (cf. Chapter 4.7). Both call for values that should be present in the research process, such as respect, reciprocity and responsibility. Guided by the Indigenous research paradigm, the values of respect, reciprocity and responsibility have shaped the cultural protocols during the time that I carried out critical ethnography in Wulai. As reiterated by numerous Indigenous researchers, negotiating a set of cultural protocols with the community is the most important priority (Wilson, 2008; Kovach, 2009; Smith, 2012; Datta, 2018). The reflexive nature of critical ethnography offers an advantage of developing cultural protocols, that is, to allow me to re-connect and reclaim upon returning to the “ancestral home”; to allow me standing before the elders and explaining who I am and that I am from the community. Critical ethnography enables me to uphold the relationships and explore ways to embody the knowledge that the elders have given me. In so doing, adopting this method helps to make my research more authentic and credible. This is crucial as the term *research* triggers pain, anxieties and wariness as it is linked to imperialism and colonialism for most if not all Indigenous communities (cf. Chapter 4). For these reasons, critical ethnography is adopted to allow deeper insight into reflexive positionality and research credibility. With critical ethnography at hand, I returned home and began my journey as an Indigenous learner.

6.2.1 ENGAGING IN EVERYDAY LIFE: RE-SEARCHING WITH CRITICAL ETHNOGRAPHY

I embarked on the journey of engaging with the lived experiences of elderly Tayal people with the Indigenous research paradigm on one hand, and critical ethnography on the other. The term “lived experience” is used to refer to “a representation and understanding of a researcher or research subject’s human experiences, choices, and options and how those factors influence one’s perception of knowledge” (Given, 2008, p. 489). By engaging in lived experiences, I mean that I explore how experiences about living well and care are shaped and negotiated in a Day Club.

Instead of studying experiences per se, I focus on stories about experiences and how good care is practiced. I want to make a clear distinction between these two—to study experiences vs. study stories about experiences—because the methods required are completely different. To fulfill the former inquiry, one needs to delve deep into daily encounters in order to be able to give a thick description of the reasons and context of why the elders behaved in a certain way. This is a valuable method of inquiry in itself, but not what I do. In this dissertation, I set out to study stories about elders’ experiences in relation to living well and care: how good care and living well are shaped, negotiated and talked about. This strategy is productive as it allows me to juxtapose similarities and differences between policies and practices, which is the main question this dissertation aims to answer.

Meanwhile, critical ethnography has the flexibility to support the inquiry of gathering stories about people's experiences. With its sharpened blade after the postmodern turn, critical ethnography is particularly useful in examining entanglements with colonialism and imperialism as well as their legacies. Agreeing with Indigenous scholar Sherwood (2013, p. 204), the term "journey" entails an ongoing passage of learning through active processing of tribal knowledges and experiences from the elders in Wulai.

In practical terms, I kept my questions as broad and open as possible when I did my fieldwork at the Day Club. I was conscious that I was not looking for definitive answers, so I refrained from jumping into in-depth interviews, nor focus group interviews when I was there for the first time in 2015. I was conscious that I needed to create space through participating in the activities of the Indigenous elders so they would not feel interrogated and shut down. After listening to stories from the elders, I have learned that to create space means one needs to be patient, diligent and humble, to get familiar with the tribal culture and language, as well as ways of their being and knowing. I was aware that research was far too often done in a way that objectifies the Indigenous peoples, and a formal interview style would most likely to make them feel that they were being studied as objects. To avoid that, I learned to adapt my style and ways of opening up myself and conversing with them: I ate with them, played games with them, talked with them about their families and shared my story with them.

The style of doing critical ethnography that I have adapted echoes with the indigenous method Dadirri, which comes from the language of the river people, or Ngangikurungkurr people, of Daly river in Northern Territory, Australia.

To know me, is to breathe with me. To breathe with me, is to listen deeply. To listen deeply, is to connect. (Miriam-Rose Ungunmerr, 2017)

Drawing from Dadirri, I adapted and embraced the lifestyle and breathing of Tayal. By breathing, I refer to a rhythm of life that is closely embedded in the relations with humans, mountains, rivers and landscape. This rhythm can be heard by non-intrusive observation and quiet aware watching (Atkinson, 2001, p. 10). Adjusting to the breathing helped me to critically examine my own actions during the research process. This reflexivity was central to my fieldwork from 2015 onwards, and it was combined with participant observation during my journeys to the Day Club three days a week for seven months between 2015 and 2018.

The *bnkis* and knowledge holders trusted me and shared their ways of seeing and living in the community. At the surface level, I engaged with them through probing their perceptions, opinions, ideas, views and what they value. On the contextual level, I remained reflexive and aware about the need to honor the ethical space in the research, following thus Wilson's (2008, p. 113) advice that conducting research in any Indigenous community is a matter of

forming relationships that go beyond the informant-researcher duality to becoming co-learners. The account from Indigenous aging people as well as care workers at the Day Club in Wulai played central role during the participant observation and informal interviews. I carried out my analysis with the community through grounding and re-grounding the research in the web of relationality, that is, focusing on our encounters, weaving and creating together the fabrics of meaning during the analysis process. I am treating this project as a starting point, a pre-work for future collaborative research.

For both the elders and care workers, I was conscious to allow them the freedom to talk outside the scope of my actual questions. This decision is made drawing from the Indigenous paradigm and it is in line with the gist of critical ethnography in relation to transformative goals. This approach aligns with a conversational method proposed by Indigenous scholar Kovach (2010), which “honours orality as means of transmitting knowledge and upholds the relational which is necessary to maintain a collectivist tradition.” (Kovach 2010, p. 42) Drawing from this conversational method, I interviewed local elders, community members, civil servants and activists. I used criterion sampling: I talked to Indigenous individuals who are (or have attended) Day Clubs, Indigenous and non-Indigenous activists who have been involved in long-term care advocacy work and civil servants who were responsible for the Day Club policies at the municipal and central level.

6.2.2 VALIDATING CULTURAL PROTOCOLS WITH TAYAL *BNKIS*

My first round of critical ethnographic fieldwork took place from March to July in 2015 at the Day Club in Wulai, a small community in northern Taiwan (more context see Chapter 3). Three follow-ups were conducted from 2016 to 2018. The process of re-researching Tayal is done through a multi-sited manner. The primary site of the fieldwork was the Wulai Presbyterian church—including the activity hall and the kitchen. In addition to the Presbyterian church itself, the research was conducted in the city, where aerobics competitions took place. The choice of multi-sitedness allowed the research to focus on the theme of care and living well through scrutinizing the elderly care center from various perspectives. The research was not rigidly restricted to the physical boundaries of the buildings, but around the relationships that I as a researcher established with the *bnkis*. The fieldwork also took place in the homes of the elderly, church services and in the community as a whole.

I use the term *bnkis* here, not “participants”, because I do not think it is honest to claim that our relationship is established on the ground of “the researcher (me) and the participants (*bnkis*)”. I want to acknowledge the fact that I see them as hierarchically superior to me: my relation in the community is more important than my status as a researcher. *Bnkis* are an integral part of the study, I see them as interconnected to me. I acknowledge “I am them and they are me”: my deep abiding affection and relationship with them is important and must be reaffirmed before any statement can be made about

the research. Without these (re)connections to genealogy and birthright I would not have access to anything, let alone any permission to do the study. What does it mean when it comes to “entering the field”?

Establishing cultural protocols was of utmost importance to me when I went back to my community to conduct research. Whereas one needs to disclose one’s identity as a researcher upfront because it is a criterion for not breaching research ethics when conducting conventional qualitative research among a group of people, for an Indigenous researcher conducting research in a manner that privileges the Indigenous research paradigm requires an engagement at a cultural level. It meant the need to establish my relationship to the Wulai community and an acknowledgment of my need to (re)negotiate my way back to my community. The community protects and safeguards itself from strangers such as someone like me, an outsider, returning home. Without cultural protocols, “entering the field” is not only rude, dismissive and disrespectful but also unethical. Therefore, when returning to Wulai, I did not initially introduce myself as a “researcher”, but through my grandmother and other sets of mutual relationships we shared—religion, land, language and lived experience in Wulai. When the cultural protocols had been established, the people of the community also knew that I was learning to be a researcher affiliated in an academic institute in a faraway land. They also knew that they could trust me, as I was “validated” through multiple sets of relationships as well as my desire to learn Tayal language and culture.

Although the process of seeking approval was different compared to many other qualitative research projects, I conducted the ethnography honestly, safely, openly and transparently. It was me who decided the research title, questions and I did not conduct collective data analysis with them. I am aware of the vulnerability of my situatedness, as I do not speak Tayal as fluently as I wish and I moved into the urban area for education when I started secondary school. Yet, I want to make it clear that this dissertation could be a starting point for building an ongoing relationship by making the situatedness of my generation visible and by fostering resilience for a common future across generations.

Critical ethnography and collaborative aspects rooted in the Indigenous research paradigm have helped to ground this study throughout the research process. I was able to utilize critical and collaborative methodologies to develop the visualization of ethical space that is particular to the Tayal in Wulai (cf. Chapter 4.6). I was born and raised in this multicultural village situated in the most northern traditional territory of the Tayal people. I am familiar with the people and I have strong networks with the local communities through my family. I knew many of the *bnkis* who went to the Day Club because my grandmother either grew up with them, or had interacted with them, as she was an active local entrepreneur all her life. I practiced “deep-listening” and utilized the methodologies to reflect on the complexities and fluidity of the identities of the *bnkis*. Furthermore, Tayal people in Wulai have been (in)famous in research and media representations that they are one of the

most Sinicized group among Austronesian Indigenous peoples in Taiwan. They are seen as less deserving as they fail to be as “authentic as they should”. I have encountered academics who, upon hearing I am conducting research in Wulai, with the best intentions advising me to choose somewhere else to study because “that (meaning Wulai) culture is dead.” In this sense, the issue of power and the relevance to coloniality are key to understanding experiences in Wulai. Meanwhile, the Wulai Day Club has been recognized for well-integrated Tayal culture and received rewards from the authority (interview with the civil servant 15.12.2017). This is why it is invaluable to observe the relationship between coloniality and indigeneity.

During the process, written records were produced to achieve as much verbatim conversation as possible. Apart from detailed notes produced during activities in the Day Club, I reflected on the participation in a wholistic manner within 24 hours after the activity to record the other aspects emerged from the Day Club activities, such as nonverbal expressions and gestures that are important to understanding the context of the communication.

The data collected during the fieldwork consists of primary data and contextual data. Primary data refers to those directly pertaining to the Day Club and it is composed of reflective field notes (through “participant observation”), personal narratives and stories gifted from the *bnkis* (“interviews and focus groups”). Contextual data refers to those concerning the contextual notion of care from the indigenous perspective and was collected in the form of personal communications, interviews and personal narratives. The fieldwork was messy and embraced multiple themes and techniques. In an attempt to conceptualize the fluidity of field sites and dynamic nature of interlocutors who contributed in one way or another, directly and non-directly, formally or informally, to the research, the data was grouped in accordance with the two sets of ethnographic sets—primary and contextual—outlined above.

The primary data entails how everyday practices and experience from the *bnkis* and management experience are understood and negotiated. I divide the data on three levels: local, municipal and central. The local experiences are collected from the *bnkis*, supervisors (care project responsible person), care workers and volunteers. The municipal and central management experiences are collected through both informal conversations and formal in-depth interviews with the division chief and/or project coordinator who are in charge of long-term care for the Indigenous peoples.

Table 2. Three levels of fieldwork

Level	Role	Form of data
Local (at the Day Club)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - aging Indigenous people (<i>bnkis</i>) - care supervisor - paid care workers - health promotion instructor 	<i>Informal conversations, group discussion, in-depth interviews</i>
Municipal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - division chief 	<i>Semi-structured in-depth interviews</i>
Central	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - responsible coordinating division chief and assisting personnel 	<i>Semi-structured in-depth interviews and informal conversations</i>

While the core of the analysis lies in the interaction with the *bnkis* at the local level, the municipal and central level provided crucial insights that allowed more nuance to be explored in terms of the Day Club’s institutional structure and what kind of care they are aiming for. In terms of ways to gather information, semi-structured in-depth interviews were used with municipal and central civil servants and more flexible methods were utilized at the local level.

Access to “the field” was mainly thanks to the strong relations my *yaki*, grandmother, Huzi Amuy had in the community. Access was also facilitated through a National Cheng-Chi University research project, during which I met the pastor and his wife of the Wulai Presbyterian church. Although neither of them were originally from Wulai, both of them have lived in Wulai for four years—on top of that, they are from different Tayal villages and they speak fluent Tayal. Therefore they are regarded as part of the Wulai community. I introduced myself, disclosed my role as a doctoral student and the pastor granted me access to the Day Club when I visited their Day Club at the church for the first time. The process did not go as formally as signing a consent form and “here you go, you have obtained permission to research our village” kind of way. Instead, in addition to the fact that I explained that I was starting my doctoral research on the long-term care and Indigenous peoples, I was asked where I was from and how I was related to the village. I said I was the granddaughter of Gao Yu-Yun (my grandmother’s name in Mandarin Chinese). As I was unsure whether he was familiar with this name in Mandarin Chinese, I quickly supplemented “Granny Tayal”—the name she gave to our family-owned restaurant that sells “traditional” Tayal food to tourists. The pastor gave me an expression of “ah, I understand” immediately and asked warmly how is your *yaki* doing. This reminded me of how shared relationships are of ultimate importance in the community—forming bonds and rebuilding relationship networks are the basis of trust (cf. Wilson, 2008, pp. 84-85). It turned out that my grandma was a kind of a celebrity in the Wulai village. For people like the pastor, they knew her name “Granny Tayal” because she had

established the restaurant on the commercial street of the village. I asked whether it was possible that I brought my grandmother to the Day Club, since she was not running the restaurant business anymore. The pastor agreed and I took my grandmother to the Day Club throughout the research data collection process.

On the other hand, the contextual data contains the surrounding background information that connects to the notion of care from the Indigenous perspective, although it does not necessarily link to the Day Club in Wulai. After collecting ethnographic field notes from the Day Club for two years, it became necessary to reflect on a deeper level how these phenomena at the Day Club should be interpreted as a whole. Rather than understanding the analysis of the data in terms of triangulation to increase validity, I approach it via seeking sets of relationships to ensure that the concepts are understood and cultural protocols are maintained. Wilson (2008) reminds that rather than aiming for accuracy, it is more crucial to describe the set of relationships that make up the phenomenon from the perspective of the Indigenous research paradigm. The contextual data were collected with this in mind.

In the stage of contextual data collection, I approached Tayal practitioners, activists, elders and knowledge-holders at workshops, seminars, visits and various community happenings. These diverse and various activities enabled me to contextualize the day club experience. Without these, the scope of the study would have been much more limited and it would have been reduced to a superficial understanding only. In both the primary and contextual phases of the data collection, my grandmother played a key role in helping me to recognize my relation to the village.

6.2.3 METHOD OF ETHNOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS GROUNDED IN TAYAL HERMENEUTICS

The method of analysis adopted with regard to the ethnographic data in this dissertation can be largely categorized as thematic analysis. To make it suitable for the research questions, I draw from multiple qualitative and indigenous foundations (cf. Braun & Clarke, 2008; Smith, 2012). Before presenting them below, it is important to reiterate two points, as they set the scene for how I approach the analysis. First, I embrace the stance that doing analysis is in its nature *hermeneutic*, and analysis would be impossible without moving back and forward between data and context. Moving between the data and context transforms the researcher, as well as the scope and depth of the research itself. Second, I embrace that writing is a valid process of inquiry. Writing is, in fact, “an integral *part* of analysis, not something that takes place at the end.” (Braun & Clarke, 2008, p. 86). I found writing down memos and reflective notes incredibly useful and it assisted the process of thematic analysis that was undertaken. In short, analysis is not a linear process of moving from one stage to another, but a *recursive* one (ibid.).

It is important to note that although the Wulai community is not directly involved in analyzing the data, this research has been guided all the time by principles of how to engage continuously with the community in a way that upholds cultural protocols (cf. Smith, 2012; Atkinson, 2001; Wilson, 2008; Marsh et al., 2016). All the names appearing in the dissertation are pseudonyms unless otherwise noted; all interviews and fieldnotes were originally conducted and recorded in Mandarin Chinese, and subsequently translated by the author.

The method of analysis adopted in this dissertation is overlapping and hermeneutic in nature, and it does not follow a linear path. However, in order to present the process of analysis in a format that can be easily grasped, I divide it to the following phases:

Phase 1: Establishing cultural protocols

It is important to be critically aware of our roles in the community, as a researcher and/or a member of the community. It is of particular importance as an Indigenous person when returning to one's "ancestral home", to first (re)connect and reclaim the belonging to the place. In other words, this means grounding the research in the cultural protocols and being physically and emotionally prepared for the analysis ahead. At the same time, one should make space for immersing into the data. I did so by attending reading groups, meetings and conferences to connect with people who are also aware of this issue.

Phase 2: familiarizing with and listening to the data

I collected all the data utilized in this project by myself, so I had prior knowledge of the data and initial analytical thoughts about it. It was supplemented by immersing deeper into the data by "repeated reading" and reading in an active way—taking initiative to identify meanings and patterns in it (Braun & Clarke, 2008, p. 87). I utilized techniques from situational analysis (Clarke, 2005), which it helped me to re-construct the situation (Braun & Clarke, 2008, p. 86) and develop a more contextual, situational and grounded understanding of the data. This situatedness corresponds very well with the Indigenous research paradigm. Situational analysis is, in fact, an analytical tool used to complement other theoretical and analytic approaches already in use (Clarke, 2005, p. 146), therefore it is suitable to include it to encounter sites of engagements. In practical terms, I familiarized myself with the data through several rounds of quick reading, up until the point I started to feel comfortably familiarized with the ethnographic materials. I also drafted an abstract situational map on a big piece of paper to examine the *bnkis* in the Day Club thoroughly. I sketched down both the human elements (individuals, groups, organizations and institutions) and nonhuman elements, as well as the discursive constructions, political/economic elements as well as

sociocultural/symbolic elements. In addition, I noted the temporal and spatial elements as well as the major issues/themes emerging in the analysis. I color-coded them with the highlighter while going back to the field notes and transcripts. This process has taught me that the messiness of the data entails complexities and contingencies which are crucial to understanding the phenomena which emerged in the field. It would not be possible to understand them were they extracted away from the context.

Phase 3: giving oneself time to reflect and consider

Respecting the integrity of the knowledge of the *bnkis* that was passed on to me and learning as much as I can from them, I consciously decided to avoid computer-aided qualitative data analysis software in the beginning of the data analysis.

Analyzing data with qualitative data analysis software in itself is challenging as the *wholistic* meaning gets lost when they were broken down in segments. This problem is identified by other Indigenous scholars who work with qualitative methods. In using software programs to analyze data collected with Indigenous methods, Lavallée (2009, p. 34) assesses, "it became evident that this 'standardized' way of analyzing qualitative data was problematic for this Indigenous approach because it seemed to tear apart the stories of the participants." Echoing this observation, I deemed it imperative to give integrity and space to allow the multiplicity of meanings emerging from the data without computer-aided qualitative data analysis software in the first stage of analysis.

As a consequence, the initial stage of my ethnographic reading was conducted through reading the field notes and interviews. By seeing the stories as a whole, I was able to link the recurrent situations and phenomena to the context more easily. This has to be done to see the richness lies in reading the entirety of the lives of the Tayal. In this stage, deep listening is also crucial in remembering the rhythm and "breathing" of the community.

Phase 4: searching and reviewing themes

After absorbing the entirety of the stories of the *bnkis* in the initial stages of the analysis, I conducted a more focused reading as a way to link the mundaneness of the everyday lives to the concepts and the corresponding relationships in the community. By this I mean that since knowledge is relational from an Indigenous perspective, the analysis should be done to uphold this principle. The corresponding relationships include the communities, Tayal culture, language, religion, food as well as the other layers of temporal, spatial and cultural landscape. These can be seen as initial themes to emerge from the analysis.

Deep listening was crucial in this stage as well. I transcribed the interviews and translated the transcripts that carried weight in the analysis. In some

cases, extracts were re-written in a literary, storytelling manner that aimed to bring forth the deeper layer of their way of life in the context, a way of deep listening to their breathing. Reflecting upon my epistemological position in line with the indigenous paradigm, this literary storytelling creates space between the university research protocol and respecting the community. Meanwhile, it embeds an artful practice that giving life and soul to the fabric of meaning.

In the research journey, I struggled with how to place the weight of “social inquiry” with regard to the lived experience of the *bnkis*. I realized that most *bnkis* did not answer questions I asked. Instead, they told stories. The stories were complex and filled with rich information that encompassed their childhood, rituals of life, happiness, grief and loss. It is hard to give a label to what is “relevant” and what is not in these stories. It would not be possible to continue the research journey of engaging with the lived experiences in the community, if I were to avoid the “confusing dialogue” and dictated the discussion topic so the interview could be more “focused”. Who am I to decide that their way of speaking (through stories) is incorrect, therefore less important and of no scientific value?

Bearing in mind this question helped me to retain the humility, responsibility and reciprocity at all times during the data collection and analysis phase. As a next step of the data analysis, I carefully wrote the initial themes down and drew them in mindmaps. Using the text and mindmaps, I was able to critically reflect and revise the themes. I conducted this not only by myself, by also I relied on the relational trust and credibility with people working in the field. I reviewed and revised the themes based on their feedback and support. The end product of this phase is the thematic analysis based on the ethnographic data. The results of the ethnographic analysis are reported in Chapter 8.

7 SOCIAL POLICIES TOWARDS INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN TAIWAN

This chapter will tackle the question of “Indigenous problems” represented in long-term care policies and answer it in two parts. First, I examine what kind of “Indigenous problems” are produced in elderly care policies by unpacking the sociopolitical development of care in Taiwan. I focus on examining two aspects: how care is organized, and the presuppositions embedded in the manner of organizing it. Second, I identify how “Indigenous problems” are produced in the ruling relations through utilizing critical policy analysis. The goal of the framing analysis is to examine how Indigenous problems are interpreted and which ruling relations are at work.

7.1 LONG-TERM CARE POLICY CONTEXT

Like many other post-industrial societies, Taiwan is facing challenges with aging. The typical way to approach the question of aging from the state perspective is through the population aging discourse. It unfolds around the following three scenarios: domestically, Taiwan became an aging society in 1993, when seven percent of its people were aged 65 or over and it is estimated that the figure increases to 14 percent, making Taiwan an aged society in 2018. By 2025, one in five in the Taiwanese population is estimated to be 65 or older, making it a super-aged society (National Development Council, 2018). Regionally, East Asia is estimated to age fastest, because fertility rates have dropped dramatically and rapid urban industrialization is taking place (Sokolovsky, 2009). Contextually, Taiwan’s rapid aging rate compared with other Western democracies may be a result from a low birth rate (as well as decrease of the total fertility rate), the advancement of medical technology, an increase in elderly people and the limited migration gain from abroad. These perspectives have dominated how problems of long-term care (LTC) in Taiwan are conceptualized and consequently, how policies are made.

The advantages of adopting these views are not hard to find. Compared with other Asian countries, Taiwan has been successful in building a relatively comprehensive LTC system over the last few decades (Lum, 2012, p. 565). However, it does not mean that all citizens in Taiwan are being included in this system and that the care problem would be solved. The comprehensive LTC system has not been entirely a success as far as Indigenous peoples are concerned. For example, LTC regulations continue to deny the legitimacy of contextualized care in Indigenous cultures (Ru, 2015; Wu, 2015; Wang, 2018; Wang, Teyra & Ru, 2018). The LTC system has been beneficial in some aspects,

but it has been unhelpful in other aspects, even leading to worsening injustices rather than remedies to them. I explain why below.

The ideological history of LTC development in Taiwan is by no means neutral. Problematizing why and how LTC services are organized in a certain way is new in the political sphere, given the Martial Law was only lifted three decades ago. Policies tend to be utilized to legitimize political leadership and care policies are not an exception. Literature has suggested that the ideological history can be best summarized by saying that Taiwanese care policies reflect an assumption that centers Han Chinese and patrilineality (Li, 2003; Wang, 2013; Lin, 2016). This assumption is manifested in laws where families are assumed to contribute informal care to other family members (Hu, 1995; Wang, 2002, pp. 132-133). As this chapter unfolds, we will examine how this Han Chinese centric ideological tendency is reflected in the design, delivery and management of LTC, to what extent and with what kind of implications. I focus on the issue especially from the perspective of Indigenous peoples: it is unclear whether the LTC system can benefit marginalized people who are at the peripheries, such as Indigenous peoples. For this reason, in this chapter I shall put the care policies into their historical context and focus on how Indigenous peoples fit into the picture.

Before that, I want to clarify that by long-term care (LTC), I am referring broadly to an integrated system that sustains and supports old people's lives as they move into elderhood. In contrast to the definition presented in the LTC Act, which defines LTC narrowly to those who have been disabled physically and mentally for six months and above, I take a broader perspective. Instead of narrowing such definition of LTC to those who are suffering from chronic disability, illness or impairment, I endorse the meaning that encompasses a broader spectrum of care.

7.1.1 CARE TANGLED IN THE CHINESE SOCIAL THREADS

The long-term care (LTC) development in Taiwan is influenced by Chinese historical developments and shaped by Confucian ideologies (Fetzer & Soper, 2012). This perspective gives rise to a particular type of moral theory of care, which contains profound social and ethical dimensions of the underlying logics of care in the policies. The extent to which the Confucian ideology determines the institutionalization of care is one of the fascinating topics that has triggered intense interest in various areas.⁷²

The connection between the Confucian ethics and the contemporary ethics of care is unresolved (Li, 1994; Yuan 2002; Lambert 2016). While we will not

⁷² Following Esping-Andersen's (1990) typology of welfare regime, the discussion of welfare regimes in Asia has been heated (cf. Walker & Wong, 2005; Lee, 2010). Regardless of many disagreements of how influential Confucianism is in contemporary Asian countries, it is largely agreed that certain characteristics—that may link to Confucianism—play role in many Asian countries in their institutionalizing care practices.

go into detail here, it suffices to say that the logic of what can be conceptualized as care in the Taiwanese system is understood through the lens of Confucian ethics. The Confucian ethics to care, present as a discourse in the policies, contains societal values that privilege three generations in Han-Chinese patrilineal family—grandfather, father, grandson—in the core. Each generation has its own role to play. The grandfather is respected and is source of authority; and the father is breadwinner for the family. His wife in the household, that is, the daughter-in-law, carries the responsibility of providing care for the whole family (Wang, 2014, p. 44). The Confucian ethics was brought to Taiwan with the colonial settlers and was utilized as basis to institutionalize care in the subsequent years. It not only shapes who deserve care, but also can be seen as an expression of imperialism.

Under this Confucian ethics to care, the state only intervenes when the care function within the household fails. That is, it is concerned with those elders who are homeless and left without support from a family network and are thus subjects of state care. Let us look at text of Mencius as an example.

Beneficiaries of charity, according to the ancient text by Mencius, are *guān* (the widower), *guǎ* (the widow), *gū* (the orphan) and *dú* (the childless).⁷³ Confucius conceptualizes an ideal world where the widower, the widow, the orphan and the childless are taken care of. The Confucian ideal of a Commonwealth utopia outlined the prototype of welfare policies (Chen 2005). The ideal still has strong impact on contemporary societies that are built on the social and ethical philosophy of Confucius.

A competent provision was secured for the aged till their death, employment for the able-bodied, and the means of growing up to the young. They showed kindness and compassion to widows, orphans, childless men, and those who were disabled by disease, so that they were all sufficiently maintained. (The Operation of Li [etiquette or propriety] in “Li Ji”, trans. by James Legge)

This ideology had been prominent throughout Chinese history (which is also Taiwan’s history until 1949). Elders were expected to be respected and were the holders of authority. Elders without spouses or children were included to be beneficiaries of charity and subjects of state-funded facilities, which have provided care for centuries.

Confucian ethics to care, rallied as a moral disposition in the Taiwanese cultural identity, plays a crucial role in conceptualizing how the elders should be cared for. This cultural identity is reflected in the idea of filial piety. Filial piety is an important characteristic functioning in the background of Taiwan’s LTC system. It emphasizes parent-child interaction and the basis for harmonious intergenerational relationships that are common within Chinese societies (Yeh, Yi et al. 2013).

⁷³ 鰥 (*guān*, the widower), 寡 (*guǎ*, the widow), 孤 (*gū*, the orphan) and 獨 (*dú*, the childless).

The noble man concerns himself with the fundamentals. Once the fundamentals are established, the proper way appears. Are not filial piety and obedience to elders fundamental to the actualization of fundamental human goodness? (Confucian Analects, Book I, trans. by A. Charles Muller)

In the passage above, Confucius alluded that filial piety and obedience to elders are the fundamentals to achieve a good society. Therefore it was always assumed that adult children are indisputably responsible for taking care of their elderly relatives. The State will not intervene unless the elderly people do not have family members to care for them (Qi, 2002). In Tang Dynasty (618-907), living separately from one's parents was one of the "Ten Sins" because it went against filial piety; similar regulations can be seen over the centuries until Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) (Tang & Chan, 2014).

The Confucian ethics to care started to be institutionalized in Taiwan throughout the Japanese and Chinese eras.⁷⁴ The purpose of institutional care for the elderly was to provide care for those who were not supported by the family. Today, Confucian ideology still plays a role, as the Public Senior Citizens' Homes only accept low income elderly people with no offspring. Elderly people rarely end up in institutions as it has been considered appalling and unacceptable when families do not "do their job". Public LTC services are considered as unwanted interventions in Taiwan and they were developed only since the 1970s.

How has this LTC system served Indigenous peoples? To start with, Austronesian Indigenous peoples, who have been living in Taiwan for centuries, already had their own socio-political autonomous organization, including their way to care for the community (cf. Chapter 3). With the colonial conquest, the Indigenous approach to care was labelled as barbaric and inconsequential (cf. Chapter 5.3).

In the development of the LTC system, colonial governments kept Indigenous peoples outside. It was not until the recent decades—removal of Martial Law and the establishment of the Council of Indigenous Peoples—that

⁷⁴ In Taiwan, institutions of the elderly were streamlined during the Japanese ruling period (1895 - 1945) and the Japan authority regulated how these facilities should be governed and managed. On the other hand, the Japanese emphasized family values through promoting activities that centered on respect for the elderly. For example, the Japanese designated a day for respecting the elderly, they gave the elderly presents and held banquets in honor of them (Lin 2012). This kind of a special day for respecting the elderly corresponds with the traditional Chinese festival of "Double Nine" (重陽). These types of moral-raising activities influence deeply the elderly people's position in the Taiwanese society.

After the Japanese period, in the 1940s the Nationalist government started institutions that accommodated poor persons and veterans. Six out of 32 charity institutions were public in 1961 (Lin 2012). The public facilities turned into Ren-ai Senior Citizen Homes (仁愛之家) in the 1970s to accommodate the unsupported and low-income elderly people. In the 1990s, they were changed into Public Senior Citizen Homes (老人之家) after an organizational reform.

the tide turned slowly (Li, 2003; Lin, 2016). LTC policies in Taiwan have had little input from Indigenous peoples. Wang and Tsai (2019) have identified that Indigenous peoples are facing institutional exclusion. They argue that the service standards, regulations and reimbursement schemes “tend to reflect the lifeworld of urban Taiwanese experiences, in which indigenous experiences are excluded” (2019, p. 220). The care system for the elderly is dominated by urban-centric, Han-Chinese societal values and Confucian ideology, which does not reflect the distinctiveness of Indigenous elders.

In recent decades, societal change has influenced elderly people’s well-being greatly. Rural areas and municipalities that rely on agricultural subsistence face a challenge in that young people move out. There is also an increase in the tendency of elderly people to live alone. In 1986, 70% of elderly people were living with adult children, however the percentage decreased to 57% in 2005 (Xue, 2008). The family structure is rapidly changing and it leads to an urgent need to develop a public system to care for the elderly. However, having a public LTC is not easy in the system that is built on a Confucian ethic of care. In 1992, president of the Executive Yuan proposed the concept “Three Generations under one roof”, or *Sāndài tóng tang*, as a counter-argument against pressure of making LTC public (Wang, 2014, p. 43). Praised as an ideal care tradition in Chinese culture, the government evaded the LTC responsibility and made it a family responsibility. Using the image of a harmonious family where three generations live happily together, the state used the concept “Three Generations under one roof” to mobilize people to uphold the value of filial piety (Wang, 2014, pp. 44-45).

This Confucian ethic of care is not unique to Taiwan, but is common in other Asian countries (Lum, 2012). First, traditionally, most elderly people in Asia live with their children so that family members provide most of the care needed by frail elders. Filial piety is still a dominant value, that is, elderly people are expected to be taken care of by their adult children— especially female family members. Public LTC services has been however rapidly developed since it has been unrealistic to demand adult children to take care of their parents (Qi, 2002; Lum, 2012).

Secondly, what is common to many Asian countries is that migrant workers work as carers to take care of elderly people. The number of migrant workers has increased a lot in Taiwan in the past decade: around 351,000 migrant workers in 2009 and it increased to 718,000 in 2019. In 2019, around 456,600 migrant workers were employed in factories and construction yards, whilst the other 261,000 were employed as care or domestic workers for the elderly or disabled (National Development Council, 2020).

The number of migrant care workers has increased dramatically over the years due to the absence of an affordable public welfare system and the fact that families are unable to care for the elderly themselves. Migrant care workers have become the major working force in LTC system, responding to 30 percent of the LTC needs in Taiwan (Peng, 2019).

The majority of migrant care workers, 180,609 persons, came from Indonesia, and 28,816 persons were from the Philippines (National Development Council, 2020). Ninety-five percent of these migrant care workers are employed as 24-hour in-home carers and five percent in LTC institutions (Chen & Chen 2015). The wages of these carers have been low and their working condition may be tough, due to long hours and no regular days off (Liang, 2018). In fact, the human rights violation perpetrated against the migrant workers was one of the “[p]rincipal human rights problems” in Taiwan; the migrant workers are “vulnerable to exploitation” by the “brokerage agencies” (United States Department of State, 2016).

The high demand of migrant care workers reflects problems caused by Taiwan’s “residual” social welfare model (Lin, 2016; cf. Titmuss, 1974). Residual welfare states believe with certitude that people should deal with welfare needs themselves through the market and within families. The state only intervenes when the family and market have both failed (Titmuss, 1974). As Taiwan’s public LTC services respond only to one tenth of LTC needs in total, migrant care workers become the only solution for families to cope with their elderly family members’ care needs.⁷⁵

These two characteristics lead to a more residual-oriented LTC system such as we see today in Taiwan. Different from economic individualism and social equality welfare ideologies, the LTC system in Taiwan can be identified being based on a “traditional benevolent” welfare ideology (Lin, 1994). This ideology means that social welfare is not people’s right, but governmental charity and relief to people in need. This ideology can be observed from a set of principles which are traditionally endorsed by Taiwan’s decision-making elites. According to Wang (2008), they are: (1) individuals are entitled to rights to social welfare only when they fulfill their corresponding responsibilities; (2) the social welfare system should not replace families’ social function; (3) social welfare must not impede the free market system; (4) social welfare should function on the trinity basis of family, corporation and government. These “familistic” characteristics (Liang, 2018, p. 217) shape the very foundation of LTC’s role and what kinds of formal care are accessible.

Thus far, I have introduced the Confucian ethic of care that has set a base tone in the LTC landscape in Taiwan. Since the 1980s, various projects and measures have been taken to transform Taiwan’s LTC into more being accessible, available and diverse. The LTC Service Act, passed in 2015 and put

⁷⁵ Taiwan’s public LTC services include care at home, care in the community, care in nursing homes (institutions) and respite care (LTC Act, Article 9). Home and community care services include home help, respite care, home physical therapy, home occupational therapy, home nursing, day care centers and local institutions’ physical as well as occupational therapy. There is also institutional care. Institutional care is provided in caring institutions, nursing homes and LTC institutions. For people who utilize public LTC services, institutional care accommodates for 60 percent of needs while home- and community-based care accommodate for 40 percent. Despite all these public services, Taiwan is far from a universal LTC system and the majority of families end up relying on migrant care workers.

into effect in 2017, is recognized as a milestone in this transformation. What implication does this care system have for Indigenous peoples?

7.1.2 NEXUS BETWEEN INSTITUTIONALIZATION AND PRIVATIZATION IN TAIWAN'S LONG-TERM CARE

The LTC system in Taiwan is a hybrid that has come about through two processes which also have influenced the LTC policies pertaining to Indigenous peoples. On the one hand, the Taiwanese LTC system has undergone an institutionalization of care that is entangled in neoliberalism. The study by Hoppania and Vaittinen (2014) offers insights linking neoliberalism to care, pointing out that from the perspective of governmentality, commodification is a central logic in the governance of care (Hoppania & Vaittinen, 2014). Indeed, commodification of care has been one of the key features of the care system in Taiwan pertaining to Indigenous peoples. In a similar vein, Liang (2018) echoes that we can observe the neoliberal-tilted policy in Taiwan by looking at how it reinforces familial responsibility for care while offering a market solution (Liang, 2018, p. 218). Meanwhile, the Confucianism-based family ideology has been the backbone for Taiwan's social welfare design (Wang, 2002). When applying for social assistance, a Han-Chinese patrimonial definition is applied to decide who counts as family (daughters who married out are not included). Caring for lineal family members is not only morally obliging, but also required by the Civil Code (Chou, Kröger & Pu, 2015, p. 96). On the other hand, the LTC system involves the privatization of care services. A modernist belief has rapidly been combined with neoliberal assumptions of how care should be organized. Under this belief, care is seen as a set of practices in a neutral, expert-led, bias-free and rational field. I argue that although care as a family responsibility—the Confucian ethics to care—might seem diminished by the trend of treating care as a product in the market, the Chinese ethics still have impacts on the LTC policies. These policies are actively governing care in Indigenous communities.

Both the neoliberal process and the privatization of care have created a marginalizing effect on Indigenous peoples. Considering LTC policies in contemporary Taiwan are a relatively new phenomenon, and the LTC for the elderly as an urgent matter for the government to deal with did not appear in Taiwan's political discourse until 1980. Meanwhile, channels for the Indigenous perspective to enter the LTC system were non-existent before the establishment of the Council of Indigenous Peoples in 1996. I explain first the institutionalization, followed by privatization of social care model. Then I elaborate the Ten-Year Plan of LTC in the reform as a way to bring the discussion of these two processes together.

The process of institutionalization of LTC can be analyzed through the case of home care. Why home care? Home care has developed for the longest time in Taiwan's LTC history. Research accumulated around home care is much

richer than on other modes of care. I draw from home care also because it has been the most important mode of care for Indigenous communities. I utilize three stages of development to examine how the LTC developed (Liao, in Tsai 2016 p.10): the residual welfare stage (1983-1996), legalizing and institutionalizing public care stage (1997-2001) and the marketization and payment mechanism stage (2002-present). The three stages did not happen in a vacuum, but were heavily influenced by the political climate: Taiwan's care discourses were crystalized when the Kuomintang in the administration experienced a rapid weakening of their governing legitimacy. In order to release the immense pressure, three welfare-related laws were promulgated in 1980 as government started paying attention to protect low-income families, disaster-influenced households, the disabled and the elderly (Chyn 2013).⁷⁶ Echoing the residual nature of LTC policies, families were treated as the main responsible party to fulfill the needs required by the elderly. The social welfare system was developed as a plan B: it would only intervene just in case families and market were not working.⁷⁷

During the first phase—residual welfare stage (1983-1996)—families were treated as the main responsible party to take care of their own elderly. The Confucian ethic of care dictated that the elderly would be immediately disqualified to state care as long as the elders had family to care for them. It was done so to preserve “the responsibility of the families” (Wang, 2014, p. 43). The mandate of the LTC system was to provide care for these specific parts of the population, according to the Public Assistance Act. Only limited public funding was channeled into LTC and the funding was given through a strict monitoring process. Lin (2000) observes that the so-called “new” welfare-related laws in fact entailed nothing novel; what is more important is perhaps that the three laws were used to justify the fact that the state has a limited mandate: the state could choose not to implement the laws, if the state deemed the social welfare unaffordable.

The second stage—Legalizing and Institutionalizing Public Care (1997-2001) —marks a transition. First, this stage marked the milestone that the topic of people with disabilities (including the elderly) had entered the agenda of public care. If we look at who deserved public care, there was a trend of moving from “selectivism” (only poverty-stricken elderly without family members were selected) to “universalism” (all elderly in need were possible care-recipients) (Chen, 2011). Obviously, moving towards “universal” at this stage of development is not the same as the public welfare launched by the

⁷⁶ The social policy was a tool for the then authoritarian government to legitimize their ruling over Taiwan. See also Lin (2006).

⁷⁷ This residual welfare was not open to most of the citizens. People who were in need of LTC were cared by their family member(s), domestic or migrant care worker(s) at the families' own cost. The vast majority of the care work has been done by women. Public input was rare in LTC, unless the family had low-income status or the elderly person lived alone. Under the pressure of women's workforce needing to be released from the familial sphere (Tsai, 2016, p. 10), institutionalizing LTC became necessary.

Nordic countries, for example. In addition, the legalizing and institutionalizing stage entails a model fueled by neoliberalism (Wang, 2014, p. 55). Care had been commodified and itemized (Tsai, 2016, p. 11-12). In other words, instead of narrowly treating state care as a charity directed at homeless elders (stage 1), elderly care became a novel industry that could be used as a target to solve unemployment problems.

Second, this stage witnessed a transition to a more institutionalized LTC. Legislation such as the Senior Citizens Welfare Act (1980) and the Person with Disabilities Rights Protection Act (1980) were made to regulate the municipalities' responsibilities to provide home care for people who need LTC. Care became more public when the government clearly published requirements of what counts as care and who should be delivering care.

The third stage, Marketization and Payment Mechanism (2002-present), has witnessed a clear trend of defining care from the perspective of a neoliberal political ideology. The care industry has been transformed into a solution that is meant to solve both senior citizens' unemployment and care in one go (Chen, 2008). Yet, to move care from the familial sphere to the market, government has to invest first in creating the LTC system that can be later transformed to be bought and sold (Tsai, 2016).

The level of success for pushing forward a marketization and payment mechanism is higher among city inhabitants with higher social economic status. Since 2008 and the launch of Ten-Year Long-term Care Program, home care was given the price of 180 TWD (approximately 5.6 EUR) per hour, which the Taiwanese state subsidized depending on one's income level. The copayment has been too heavy a burden for people with lower income (Wang & Yang, 2017), and the majority of Indigenous peoples fall into this category. In this case, the government's subsidies are the prerequisite for Indigenous people to use the services. A careful reader might notice that Indigenous peoples have not been so visible in Taiwan's LTC design. Why is that and what can be done about it?

To incorporate Indigenous peoples into the care system was arduous before the 1980s due to the Martial law. Two milestone events happened in the 1990s: the Constitution was amended to codify the respect of pluralism and Indigenous will; on the other hand, the Council of Indigenous Peoples was established so a governmental body to plan and coordinate welfare for Indigenous peoples was in place. Between the second and third stages of social welfare development, the Council of Indigenous Peoples launched projects in Indigenous communities to allow LTC to develop from the local level. Unfortunately, the projects were stopped when they were transferred to the Ministry of Interior, marking the diminishing of the status of Indigenous distinct culture in LTC policies (Wang & Yang, 2017, p. 10). In sum, Indigenous peoples' reclaiming their voice in LTC is a fairly recent phenomenon in this institutionalizing process. The establishment of the Council marked the new stage showing that Taiwan's social policy can be more inclusive of Indigenous perspectives (Li, 2003, p. 163). However, the reality, unfortunately, did not

meet the expectations. The Council of Indigenous Peoples did not live up to the expectation to commence a system of social welfare that is different from general social welfare. The main reason for the failure, Li (2003, pp. 172-173) observes, is that the dominant Han-Chinese group in its own cultural hegemony has successfully created a discourse that good life is based on political stability and economic development. If the social policies were expanded to care for minorities, it would only cause financial problems, recession and failure to compete in the international society for the state. In other words, social welfare and social policies for Indigenous peoples are only residual measures to help people within the capitalist society. The Council of Indigenous peoples, under these circumstances, was given capacity to only limitedly alleviate struggles faced by Indigenous peoples in desperate situations, many of which were problems caused by the capitalist society (Li, 2003, p. 172).

This brings us to the second process: privatization. I see privatization as one of the main markings of neoliberalism. To better answer my research question, unpacking neoliberalism as a form of capitalism is needed. Following Tronto (2013, pp. 37-38), I identify three tenets of neoliberalism: (i) an assumption that the market is the institution that is most able to resolve disputes, allocate resources, and permit individual “choice”; (ii) freedom is defined solely as the capacity to exercise choice; and (iii) societies work best when rational actors are able to make choices in the market. What is the implication of this neoliberal account to care? “Neoliberal capital believes itself to be definitive of all forms of human relationships and of all ways of properly understanding human life” (ibid., p. 38). Indeed, in this stage of marketization, how care should be organized is deeply entrenched in the market. The LTC development between 2008 and 2018 has been increasingly subjected to marketization and payment mechanism. The vision, as spelled out by director Chien in a parliamentary discussion, is to achieve “a free market system in organizing care for the healthy old people, and accomplish a regulated market system for the disabled old people” (Ministry of Health and Welfare, 2015). How does Taiwan plan to do that?

Taiwan privatizes its social welfare through the model of “government subsidizes, non-governmental organizations provide” In so doing, Taiwan manages to use the market system to its own advantage.⁷⁸ The model was established as a remedy for deteriorating public trust. Many non-profit and community-based organizations, NGOs, criticized that the government was corrupted in handling elderly service centers, nursing institutions for the disabled and public housing for the low-income households. The Taiwanese government remedied the situation by proposing to cooperate with the existing NGOs and utilize *their* capacities, as the government did not have

⁷⁸ It is otherwise known as “privatization of social services”. It appeared in the 1980s when Taiwan was under increasing pressure from the citizenry due to the wave of democratization. More see Lin (2016).

sufficient money nor people. That was why an implementation plan was promulgated in 1983, which set the ground for the social welfare model that is still present in Taiwan until today: municipalities may subsidize social welfare projects of NGOs and central government will subsidize to facilitate the cooperation between municipalities and their NGOs (Lin, Chen & Chin, 1997, p. 30). The social welfare model has a profound impact on the Indigenous lives today.

Taiwan thus moved to the model of privatization of social welfare: the state subsidizes municipalities, who then contract out to non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to deliver services.⁷⁹ Although this model has the advantage of releasing pressure from limited resources, there are negative consequences. One of the major ones is that the model deepens a regional divide in the development of social welfare services, especially between wealthy urban municipalities and rural municipalities. Municipalities such as Taipei city (the capital) has more experience collaborating with NGOs and has more mature regulations that specify non-governmental organizations' responsibilities and duties (Liu, 1998; Liu, 2008). Rural municipalities suffer from lack of experience and financial resources, which directly lead to the lack of consistent social welfare services.

To solve the problem, the Ten-Year Plan for Promoting the LTC System was launched by the government in March 2007 to enhance the LTC system to be more "diverse, community-based (accessible), high-quality, affordable and differentiated" (Long-term Care Service Quality Improvement Plan, 2015, p. 5). The differentiated aspects refer to the fact that this LTC system envisioned to respond to many layers of differences, including gender, urban-rural, ethnic, cultural, occupational, social economic status and health conditions differences (ibid.). The objective of this plan was ambitious, as it aimed to fill in the gaps of the residual-oriented system by building more diverse service options, home and community based LTC possibilities which would at the same time be affordable.

Before proceeding with the analysis, it is important to note that the pillars to make this ambitious plan happen—including policy planning, implementing and managing—are fragmented. The LTC system is scattered across different administration systems. For the purpose of this dissertation, social administration system (SAS) and health administration system (HAS) are central. They have organized their own types of care service in parallel to different group of people: the SAS are for low-and middle-income people and the HAS for people with chronic medical needs. These two systems organize and manage their own care institutions and personnel at regional and local

⁷⁹ For instance, Eden Social Welfare Foundation provides 12 kinds of long-term care services, while Hondao Senior Citizen's Welfare Foundation provides mostly home care, day care and preventive care. Hospitals, such as Cardinal Tien Hospital in New Taipei City and Saint Mary's Hospital, provide general residential care and/or day care services. Some foundations have specific service focus, for example Taiwan Catholic Foundation of Alzheimer's Disease and Related Dementia specializes in dementia care.

levels, resulting in gaps in Taiwan's home-and community-based as well as institutional care. The Council of Indigenous Peoples has to navigate among the SAS and HAS to promote elderly care for the Indigenous peoples, which has not been an easy task. In fact, the lack of cooperation between SAS and HAS in LTC management centers is observed to be one of the obstacles to promote good care for Indigenous peoples (Wang, 2013, p. 289). Streamlining these fragmented services is one of the targets in the second Ten-Year Plan for Promoting the LTC System, known as LTC 2.0.

7.1.3 LONG-TERM CARE 2.0

The "LTC 2.0" is referred to as a systematic care plan that elaborates why, how, with whom and when Taiwan subsidizes care for which elderly population (2017–2026). It marks the second ten years of promoting LTC in Taiwan. LTC 2.0 is the most recent plan that touches upon how care should be made accessible and available. Most notably, it contains a chapter that focuses on LTC for the Indigenous peoples, which outlines the important milestones what accommodating indigenous rights should be.

President Tsai and her Proposal towards a Better LTC system

The characteristics of Taiwan's LTC development can be observed from the discourses by the then presidential candidate Tsai Ing-Wen and Democratic Progressive Party in year 2015. Although these features were from year 2015, President Tsai's (in office 2016–2024) policy has set the term between the state and the Indigenous peoples for the coming decades. During the election campaign, she promised the voters "to establish an affordable, easy-to-use, heartwarming and humanistic LTC service system." The care vision was to achieve the aim that "every elderly person is able to age in place and to be taken care of in place through suitable care and live with dignity" (Light up Taiwan, 2015). In Tsai's election campaign, eight problems in the existing LTC system ('LTC 1.0') were identified and since then, they have become the defining features of the renewed LTC system ('LTC 2.0'). The eight problems are tied with elements that are central to the LTC debate, including the LTC workforce, over-dependence on migrant care workers, insufficient community-based and home-based services, urban-rural divide of care services, services failing to adapt to local circumstances, lack of funding, privatization and for-profit services and the LTC insurance (Light up Taiwan, 2015.9.1). I focus below on three key themes that are interrelated to the elderly care in the Indigenous communities.

First, Tsai identified that the key to the care problem was that there were not enough trained LTC workforce available. Five categories of the LTC workforce were identified: care workers, social workers, nursing professionals, physiotherapists and occupational therapists. After giving the specific target number of trained professionals in these five categories for the coming year,

Tsai criticized that the real problem was not lack of training, but that people who received official certificates did not enter the care market at all. On the other hand, Tsai stressed that it is a danger that Taiwan's care market relies too heavily on migrant care workers. "Community and home-based LTC building and job-creating are made extremely difficult because of the over-dependence on migrant care workers" Tsai stated in the policy paper (Light up Taiwan, 2015.9.1). As I explained earlier, the high demand of migrant care workers reflects the problems caused by Taiwan's residual-oriented LTC system. Tsai's policy paper demonstrates the dilemma in Taiwan's care system with regard to the role of immigrant workers.

Second, the urban-rural divide was identified as an urgent problem. Tsai pointed out that even in the capital city Taipei, where resources are most abundant compared to other municipalities, there were only 15 home care providers and 13 day care centers for the elderly. Tsai noted that although Taipei had accomplished the goal of establishing a "LTC network" laid out by the Ministry of Health and Welfare, the level of care was still insufficient. Tsai concluded that the home care and day care services are even more insufficient in other municipalities where they do not have the same level of economic resources as Taipei. While I broadly agree that the urban-rural divide is a contingent issue in care for the Indigenous peoples, the complexities of the imbalanced resource distribution among regions and power relations among Indigenous peoples and Han Chinese people should not be overlooked. More and more Indigenous peoples have migrated to urban areas, pursuing better education and working opportunities. These city Indigenous peoples face a different kind of discrimination in LTC.

Third, Tsai observed the problem in LTC services is that it cannot see the difference, or in her words, "fail to adapt to local circumstances". Here, Indigenous peoples were specifically mentioned. However Tsai's concept of local circumstances did not exclusively refer to Indigenous peoples, but included rural villages and offshore island areas. The policy regarding adapting to local circumstances was framed as below:

Indigenous peoples and tribes cannot be regulated with the same standards as urban areas, because they are located in rural areas and professional long-term care has been absent. Therefore, we need to develop a tribal long-term care system that has the cultural characteristics of the Indigenous peoples and corresponds to their geographical condition. As long as quality is not affected, we shall implement differentiated requirements for care professionals and differentiated standards for applying subsidies. (Light up Taiwan, Sep 1st, 2015)

By and large, Tsai's observation on respecting the cultural characteristics echoes with Li (2003) in terms of Indigenous peoples' cultural rights in social policies. A careful reading, however, reveals that Tsai's understanding of respecting Indigenous difference falls largely in the intervention of social

resources (e.g. applying for subsidies), which only constitutes one of the three key components of Indigenous peoples' cultural rights in social policies. The other two basic features that are crucial are (i) policy-making that based on collectives, not individual Indigenous persons, and (ii) involving and/or empowering Indigenous peoples to take part in designing policies and activities in their daily lives (Li, 2003, p. 218). Unfortunately, these two features were not present in Tsai's policy paper (more on how these two features play a role, see chapter 8).

The LTC 2.0 (second Ten-Year Plan of Long-term Care 2.0) has become one of the major policies in the first term of Tsai administration (2016–2020). Loosely based on Tsai's election proposal, it is designated to promote LTC system from 2017 to 2026. The problem identified in LTC 2.0 policy document continues to be based on LTC human resources, insufficient budget, narrow scope of beneficiaries, mismatch between subsidized hours and services quality, the weak support system for family carers, the lack of diverse LTC services, the lack of coherent service delivery system, an overcomplicated bureaucracy, a fragmented LTC information system and a lack of communications concerning available LTC services to the citizens (Ten-Year Plan for Promoting the Long-term Care System, 2016).

The beneficiaries of LTC 1.0 during 2007–2016 were limited to elderly people who are 65 years or older with some exceptions. One exception was that a person belonging to "Mountain Indigenous Peoples" of 55 years or older was eligible. Putting aside the colonial sentiment of utilizing the term "Mountain Indigenous Peoples" (cf. Chapter 1), excluding other Indigenous peoples who were equally facing social and health inequity was problematic (Ru 2016). Critiques like this gave rise to the adjustment in LTC 2.0.

So in what sense is the LTC 2.0 more accessible for all citizens? There are four objectives with which the aim is to be achieved (see table 3 below). First, unlike LTC 1.0 where only 511,000 persons could apply for LTC services, in LTC 2.0, 738,000 persons are able to apply for the LTC services. Second, it is possible to apply subsidies from municipalities for a wider range of care services. In LTC 1.0, there were only eight items that were subsidized; in LTC 2.0, the range has expanded to 17 items. Third, it is now obligatory that service providers make recognizable signs outside their premises so that people are able to find the services. Fourth, the governmental accounting verification process has been made more flexible to increase efficiency.

Table 3. Target group and subsidized service items under LTC 1.0 and 2.0

	LTC 1.0	LTC 2.0
Target group	The following four groups: 1. Elderly people who are 65 years or older 2. Taiwan Mountain Indigenous Peoples who are 55 years or older. 3. Disabled people who are 50 years or older. 4. Sixty-five years or older elderly people who live alone and need only IADL assistance.	On top of the four groups listed on the left, it includes: 1. People with dementia who are 50 years old or above. 2. Taiwan Plain Indigenous Peoples with disability who are 55-64 years old. 3. Disabled people who are 49 years or below. 4. Sixty-five years or older elderly people with frailty and need only IADL support.
Subsidized service items	1. Care services (home care, day care, family care) 2. Transportation 3. Meals 4. Purchasing and renting assistive devices; remodeling homes to be barrier-free environment 5. Home nursing 6. Home and community rehabilitation 7. Respite service 8. LTC institution services	Apart from extending subsidizing requirements for the eight items on the left, nine more items are added: 1. Dementia caring service 2. Community integrative services in Indigenous Peoples' areas 3. Small scale, multifunction services 4. Care givers' support service 5. Community's comprehensive caring model 6. Community's preventive care 7. Services to prevent disability in old age 8. Preparatory services for hospital discharge 9. Preparatory services for home medical

Another key feature of the upgraded LTC 2.0 is that it links all the fragmented services together, in other words, it builds up a “Shèqū zhěngtǐ zhàogù móshì”, a Community Integrated Care Model, that streamlines LTC services within the community. It aims to achieve this by dividing LTC resources into three levels: A, B and C (see Figure 5). The A level signifies a large-scaled community integrated service center, while the B level entails a medium-sized multi-functional day service center (e.g. public health center, physiotherapy center, elderly day care and so on). The C level includes accessible small-sized service spots with very basic LTC facilities. In the policy, the C level is called the “local grocery store”, which signifies its highly accessible nature. This Community Integrated Care Model itself was not a mode of LTC service, but more like a system and/or mechanism that aims to bring all the existing services in the community together. It was greeted with concern, as it turned a blind eye to the communities (and Indigenous buluo) that did not have LTC resources to be integrated to begin with (Chung, 2018). In addition, three levels were supposed to collaborate, but they turned out to compete against each other

over cases (Fu, Liu & Guo, 2017). The unsuccessful progress of this model was due to the conflict between SAS and HAS.

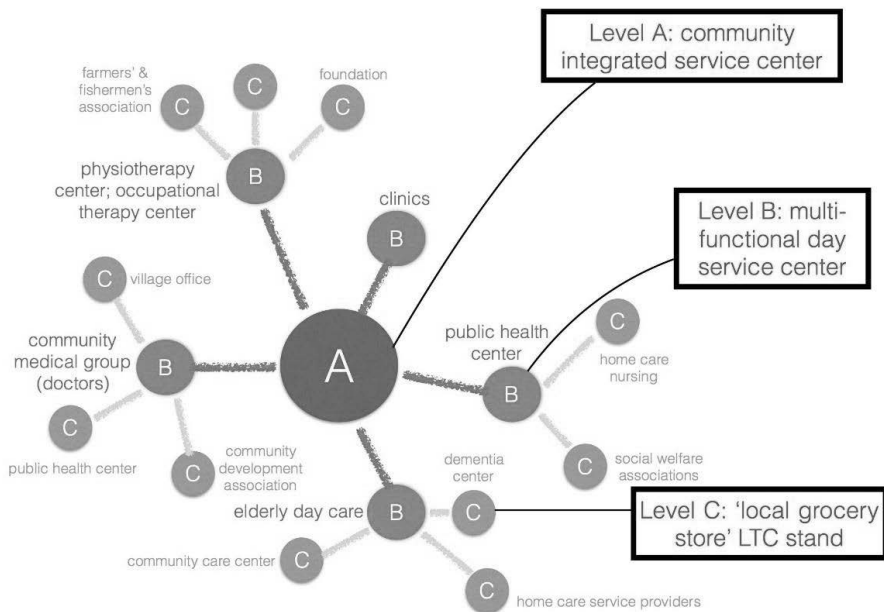


Figure 5. Taiwan's long-term care 2.0, community integrated care model. Adapted from Ministry of Health and Welfare, translated and remade by the author

The shift from LTC 1.0 to LTC 2.0 has shown that it is crucial to make Indigenous peoples included in the care system. In particular, we can see the target group has been made wider (includes plain Indigenous peoples) and a strengthening of community-based care. This being said, the care relations between the state and Indigenous peoples require a closer scrutiny, which I explain in the section below.

7.1.4 STATE POLICIES AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

One of the most prominent dynamics between the state and Indigenous peoples is built on a simplistic hierarchical way, to put it bluntly, “the state generously helps the Indigenous areas in need” scenario. Like with Indigenous peoples elsewhere, there are more elderly Taiwanese indigenous people living in their homeland area compared to the cities (for the case of Sápmi, cf. Keskitalo, 2019). With the increasing marketization and privatization of care, the availability of quality public care in the Indigenous homeland area is low. It is not hard to imagine that when Indigenous elders get old, they often need

to see doctors, visit the hospital and rehabilitate on a regular basis. Some need also dementia treatment and follow-up care. These kind of care services are most likely not available in the Indigenous homeland area.

Consequently, the geographical urban-rural resource divide is a powerful discourse to resort to when discussing the lack of care for the Indigenous elders. Advocates for Indigenous LTC rights tend to start their argumentation by emphasizing that there are more old people in the Indigenous communities, therefore Indigenous communities should be entitled to more care resources. They argue that almost 30 percent of Indigenous areas suffer from lack of LTC resources and they are only a half of the national average, which means that indigenous homeland areas have for a long time been marginalized in terms of LTC resources (Ru et al., 2016). This discourse of concentrating on imbalance resource distribution demonstrates that the well-being and welfare of the elderly indigenous peoples are under threat.

Invoking the geographical urban-rural divide may help attempts to plead for more resources, but it is not so helpful in pursuing a transformative goal. To employ a critical point-of-view, what is needed more is to radically challenge the power imbalance, injustice and coloniality that are perpetuated in the dynamics between the Indigenous peoples and the state. Invoking an Indigenous perspective, I argue that our goal should be a transformative one, by challenging Taiwan's LTC system built on the Confucian ethic of care and the neoliberal commodification of care.

The LTC system in Taiwan was built to reflect Han Chinese ideology at the outset, at the same time it has opened the door for commodification of care (Wang & Yang, 2017). The current system creates challenges to respond to the needs of the Indigenous peoples. A LTC system that fails to address cultural sensitivity makes little difference in improving Indigenous people's lives. What's worse, the current system further stigmatizes Indigenous people's culture and even continues to assimilate Indigenous peoples into the dominant society (Wang, 2013; Ru, 2018; Kasirisir, Lin & Wang, 2018). On the other hand, the commodification of care—initiated by the state—has impacted the Indigenous communities significantly. In the case of home care, Wang and Yang (2017) point out three core aspects for the relationship between the state and the Indigenous peoples. First, the Han-centric ideology interferes and disrupts Indigenous ways of caring. For example, the evaluation index used in the system is based on a male-centric management ruling logic that makes relational-based emotional care—which is central for caring Indigenous elders—invisible. Second, the system ignores Indigenous cultures and commodifies caring in the communities. The relationship-building between the care workers and elders is ignored and labelled as backward. Third, the Han-centric care system values individualized care as products, which excludes Indigenous peoples' collective mode of care (*ibid.*, pp. 27-28). All in all, the scholars argue that the current Han-centric LTC system in Taiwan has been used as a colonial tool of assimilation. The well-being of the Indigenous

elders are threatened by the Confucian ethic of care and the neoliberal commodification of care.

The threat can be delineated from the following three perspectives. The first aspect that manifests the threat is the absence of availability and accessibility of care (see Wu-Zheng, 2017). According to president Tsai and her election proposal, Indigenous peoples do not have LTC resources *because of* the urban-rural divide. Therefore the image of “the state generously helping the Indigenous areas in need” is justified. I argue that the image is false. The problem of accessibility is more complicated and more profound: it is about the exclusion and marginalization of the Indigenous peoples. Or in Linda Tuhiwai Smith’s words, “disciplining the colonized” (2012, p. 71).

Structurally, how people can access LTC services differs from municipality to municipality because the distribution of LTC resources is uneven.⁸⁰ The LTC delivery is executed through Taiwan’s municipal governments outsourcing / calling for bids to non-governmental organizations. In principle, the municipal governments have the autonomy to formulate the ways in which they execute plans that suit the local circumstances and develop the best governing model for themselves. This would have been central to promote Indigenous well-being. In practice, however, the Indigenous territory does not have the resources and capabilities to care for Indigenous elders. The problem extends beyond the level of urban-rural divide and the number of care providers in rural Indigenous areas. It links to a more profound problem: Taiwan’s administrative lines are drawn to fragmentize the Indigenous areas. LTC resources that are distributed on the basis of these borders are bound to fail.

Each municipality organizes and delivers its own care, in principle. However, in practice the municipal administration for care has been insufficiently funded and suffers from a huge lack of regular personnel. The situation got worse when the politicians relentlessly pumped money into LTC without planning, which translated on a local level to a number of policy targets. The imposed targets required a lot of evaluator paper work and administration, but the regular personnel had already been severely overworked. In this way, the quality of LTC organization and delivery was hampered. This problem affects Indigenous peoples greatly.

Indigenous peoples do not receive equal access to care under this structure. They are small in number and scattered in “faraway” places, so it becomes too “costly” to accommodate their needs. They are the first ones to be sacrificed given that the structure cannot take on more people. Why is it the case? The

⁸⁰ To explain, Taiwan’s public administration system consists of three levels: central, provincial and municipal levels. As explained in the previous chapter, the main laws that govern LTC services provision in Taiwan are the Senior Citizens Welfare Act and the LTC Act. They decree that the municipal governments should ‘work out, formulate, promote and execute municipal and city/county elderly welfare relating policies, self-governing regulations and programs’ (Senior Citizens Welfare Act, Article 5-1).

principle goes that if a person needs LTC services, he or she or relatives should contact the municipal government. The care managers from the municipal government will evaluate the applicants using a Barthel index to determine how many subsidized hours the elderly people should receive. Once the hours are determined, the municipal government outsources the services to private organizations, NGOs and hospitals for them to deliver the LTC services. While the process seems neutral and universal, Indigenous peoples in need of evaluation often face marginalization in the process because their applications are systematically delayed. Care managers, who work in care centers in the city areas, are required to tackle a maximum of 200 cases. This principle, however, is followed poorly. Taiwan's Social Welfare Union announced that in some municipalities, one care manager has responsibility for more than a thousand cases ("Care managers tackle over thousands", 2016). The queuing time for LTC evaluation in some Indigenous municipalities was almost 30 days, which was much higher than the national average of only 6.5 days (Taiwan Social Welfare League, 2016). As a consequence, Indigenous elders in the indigenous areas do not get the same access to LTC. To receive care, one needs to be evaluated by the care managers. When the system is designed so that care managers are overworked and at the same time required to achieve key performance objectives, it is not a coincidence that care managers prioritize carrying out LTC evaluation to people in the city areas.

Due to the structural problems embedded in the LTC system, Indigenous elders living in the rural areas do not have the same access to the care managers compared to their city counterparts. It shows that there indeed is a regional divide in LTC resources. Instead of brooding over the rural predicament, Indigenous rights advocates argue that we need to reconfigure the concept of "the rural". The League of Indigenous Peoples' Long-term Care (2017) proposes that all Indigenous areas should be drawn into an independent municipality. Within that independent municipality, Indigenous peoples should be given responsibility to design and carry out their own LTC. This reconceptualizing "the rural" addresses the coloniality of power, through which Indigenous peoples are divided by the arbitrary administrative lines that were drawn for the rulers to divide, rule and extract natural resources (see Yen & Chen, 2013; Yap 2017). The implications of lacking commitment on a structural level are linked to the coloniality of power, which deepens the divide and worsens Indigenous elders' chances to an equitable LTC. The lack of commitment is reflected in the poor quality of care management system, as far as the Indigenous peoples are concerned. So in this sense, the threat of lacking availability and accessibility and the threat of lacking commitment are closely linked to one another. No matter whether it is the lack of availability and accessibility, or respect, Indigenous peoples are made marginal and pushed to the peripheries of care.

One can argue that problem is tied to something more fundamental: a lack of genuine understanding and recognition of Indigeneity. This brings us to the last aspect of threat. Taiwan's LTC design is inadequately equipped with

sensitivity that takes into account the distinctiveness of Indigenous Peoples' needs. The insensitive LTC system has roots in the oblivion of Taiwan towards its own colonial history, and the LTC design that consolidates marginalization perpetrated against Indigenous Peoples. Indigenous Tao nurse Si-Manirei and her organization have been caring for the Tao elders in her community at *Ponso no Tao*. The system has excluded them, nonetheless: the system only recognizes a local organization that has the capacity to give home care to the whole municipality (Wang, Lin & Kuan, 2014).

In addition, other aspects Wang and his colleagues (2014) point out is that the absence of cultural sensitivity lies in the fact that the state's eligibility regulations exclude Indigenous peoples. The LTC system defines "good care" narrowly as only care workers who have national education are eligible. For one, it overlooks the inequity caused by colonial legacy, instead eligibility to provide good LTC is formulated mechanically as a matter of whether a person has national education. For another, equating education to quality care risks the possibility to ignore how other aspects pertaining to culture may play a part in quality care (Chang, 2009; Wang, 2013; Wang & Tsai, 2019).

In this chapter, I have discussed the elderly care needs that are accommodated through Taiwan's LTC system. The analysis shows that the Confucian ethic of care and the neoliberal commodification of care strongly influence how care is managed and delivered. The threats to Indigenous quality of life are coming from Han-Chinese perspectives dominating Indigenous ones. Next, I continue the analysis in more detail by examining closely the policy frames utilized in the care policies for Indigenous peoples.

7.2 THREE POLICY FRAMES AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE INDIGENOUS PROBLEM

In this chapter, I analyze constructions of the "indigenous problem" in policy papers pertaining to elderly care for the Indigenous peoples in Taiwan. Based on an analysis of seven action plans produced during 2013–2017, I analyze the problematizations by asking what is the "Indigenous problem" represented to be. Specifically, I investigate the following questions: How is the Indigenous elderly care problem formulated and which kinds of subjects are constructed? What kind of a problem is identified and what are the proposed solutions? I identify three frames, namely, frame of secludedness, frame of inadequacy and frame of culture. These frames are identified in accordance with the specific interpretations of how the problem is defined and thus produced in the policy papers.

The analysis is conducted with critical frame analysis. That is, I examine the conception of the old age of Indigenous elders through unraveling how key concepts, such as indigeneity, aging and elderly, take shape in the policy frames. Are the policies neutral about indigeneity? How is the Indigenous subject being produced in the policies dealing with elderly care? I also address

additional analytical questions to give a more complete picture of the “Indigenous problem”, including intersectional aspects. I underline that the intersectional aspects are discussed as a way to supplement the general and indigenous level. Intersectional analysis shall not be mistaken for the main aim of this dissertation.

These frames give a picture of how the “indigenous problem” is being created, constructed and represented in policies on the elderly and in doing so, we examine what kind of knowledge is at work there (Bacchi and Goodwin, 2016). To enact the Indigenous research paradigm within critical policy analysis, I utilize Smith’s (2012) spatial vocabulary of colonialism as a conceptual tool that is congruent with the analytical questions proposed by Bacchi (2012) and Verloo (2007). Smith (2012, p. 55) succinctly argues that the spatial vocabulary of colonialism is assembled around (i) the line, (ii) the center, and (iii) the outside. The line demarcates the limits of colonial power and in so doing, establishes “the Center” and “the Outside”. On the one hand, the “center” is not necessarily a geographic point, but no less pivotal as it signifies the source of system of power. On the other hand, the “outside” is important because it demarcates territory and people in an oppositional relation to the imperial center (ibid.). Smith argues that “[c]oming to know the past has been part of the critical pedagogy of decolonization” (2012, p. 36). Engaging with the care policies in their current state-centered form of construction, in a similar vein, is an important part of decolonization. It is time to make visible the colonial frames, in so doing re-writing and re-righting Indigenous experience in elderly care policies.

The remaining part of the subchapter proceeds as follows: I will explain my findings concerning the frame of secludedness, the frame of inadequacy and the frame of culture. Throughout discussing the frames, I will examine the ways in which Indigenous peoples and Indigenous elders are produced and constructed. The analysis will be wrapped up through a summary, entailing discursive effects of the frames as well as temporal elements of how framing of care policy for Indigenous elderly has changed in the last ten years.

7.2.1 FRAME OF SECLUDEDNESS

All of the elderly care policies concerning Indigenous peoples include the construction of seeing secludedness as *the* problem of elderly care for Indigenous peoples. The expression “Indigenous peoples reside in remote and rural locations” functions as a defense against accusations of worse quality elderly care for Indigenous peoples. This problem construction comprises the frame of secludedness.

The frame of secludedness is not new, but a repeated pattern throughout government policies over time. The urban-rural divide, which has played an important part in how Indigenous elderly care is approached during the first Tsai administration (2016–2020), is embedded in this frame (cf. Chapter 7.1). In investigating Taiwan’s Annual Reports of Public Health from 2001 to 2012,

I have delineated that policies tend to treat the health gap between Indigenous peoples and the general population as an unavoidable consequence due to their rural geographic locations (Gao, 2017). Due to the close link between health and care in policies, it can be extrapolated that the frame of secludedness has been dominant and employed for decades.

The frame of secludedness makes the problem of elderly care for Indigenous elders a problem of *their remoteness*. The frame has been used to direct our attention to the secludedness and made us accept that the poor LTC services for Indigenous peoples is just “normal”. The general diagnosis of the problem in this frame is that Indigenous peoples inhabit the resource depleted areas, under the collective label of “Yuán zhùmín qū lídǎo jí piānyuǎn dìqū” (Indigenous settlements, archipelagos and remote areas). Under such a frame, the “Indigenous problem” is lumped together with the discussion of challenges shared by archipelagos (lídǎo) and remote towns (piānyuǎn dìqū) that are out in the back of beyond. The implication of introducing indigeneity into this policy frame is that the quest for recognizing Indigenous identities is sidetracked, social justice questions of elderly care for Indigenous peoples remain untouched, and coloniality remains invisible. Instead, challenges of caring for the Indigenous elders become a problem that is place-based, demography-defined and therefore free from the moorings of Taiwan’s colonial heritage.

The policies establishing Indigenous territory to be “the back of beyond” as a problem is a construct that builds on marginalization.⁸¹ In Taiwan, the line was demarcated as “savage border” during the Japanese occupation a century ago (cf. Chapter 3). The division into “the Center” and “the Outside” still functions in the guise of state policies that utilize the frame of secludedness. The policies purport to address the problem of elderly care as an inherent part of Indigenous peoples living in the peripheries. Meanwhile, as Indigenous peoples are produced as inhabiting “the Outside”, they are not considered to have solutions to their problems.

So, whose problem is the lack of care for the elderly in Indigenous communities seen to be, and who has solutions for this? Caring for the elderly among Indigenous peoples is introduced in the policies through the prognosis of “we, the government, grant Indigenous buluo health resources” (Plan of Amicable Care for the Old Persons, 2013, p. 2). A similar problem shaped through the frame of secludedness can be seen in a policy that was promulgated four years later. Let us consider the passage from *Ten-Year Long-term Care Plan 2.0, Chapter on Care for Indigenous Peoples* (2017):

⁸¹ For one, Indigenous territory (townships) consists of 53 percent of Taiwan’s land surface. For a small country of 36,000 square meters (roughly the size of Belgium), it might sound counterintuitive that more than half of its land mass are considered remote and secluded. To understand why these territories are constructed as secluded, one should not think of it in a literal sense, but from the perspective of spatial vocabulary of colonialism.

Most of the 55 buluo in Indigenous townships are secluded. The cost of sending people and supplies are relatively high. In addition, mountain area is highly climate-sensitive region and prone to change. Whenever [they] encounter natural disasters such as typhoons, heavy rain, earthquake, [they] are facing broken roads, destroyed bridges and mudslides. ... (...)

The professionals and social workers are working in the long-term care management centers that are all located in the municipal center. Whenever Indigenous peoples have temporary care needs, our service professionals need to drive from the municipal care management centers to the buluo. It takes considerable time and money. (p. 128)

The utterance above emerges as the first paragraph of the diagnosis of the Indigenous problem. The implied problem represented to be is that Indigenous peoples themselves living too faraway in the unpredictable nature, making managing them too costly. Indigenous townships and the 55 buluo (Indigenous settlement in this context) are “the Outside”, which are demarcated to be dangerous, unruly and undesirable. On the contrary, “the Center” is the supplier, provider of professionals and care. “The Center” lies in where the management is located, often in the municipal offices in the urban areas. At the same time, the system of power decides what care is and what it is not. “The Center” becomes the source of care, while “the Outside” includes the precarious ones to be saved. The frame of secludedness effectively constructs the Indigenous problem by pushing it to “the Outside”: the Indigenous peoples become a corollary of being secluded, remote and peripheral. The frame shifts the responsibility for the care problem to the Indigenous peoples for being in the “wrong place”, at the same time entitling the state to solve the Indigenous problem.

Once the frame of secludedness sets the order of things, the state becomes the heroic figure galloping to the rescue. The state becomes the carrier of responsibility, and “the Center” is mobilized and legitimized to send resources to salvage “the Outside”. In the *Plan of Amicable Care for the Old Persons* (2013, p. 33), the solution for solving the Indigenous care problem is “to strengthen remote medical care and monitoring” The state provides the solution. Meanwhile, Indigenous peoples are not mentioned to play any active role. As we see in the proposed solution, the policy reinforces an understanding that the problem is about elderly people living in secluded remote areas who are waiting to be saved.

In a similar vein, I identify four characteristics of how the state is given responsibility to tackle the LTC services for the Indigenous peoples: environment, manpower, skills and education from analyzing *Ten-Year Long-term Care Plan 2.0, Chapter on Care for Indigenous Peoples* (2017, p. 151). The policy document constructs the problem of caring for the Indigenous peoples as a set of inconvenient factors stacked up in the environment that makes solutions almost impossible. The frame produces the care problem into

a problem of resource distribution (poor), logistics (unsteady transportation network) and settlement geography (people live sparsely).

The frame of secludedness leaves little space for Indigenous peoples to have a voice in suggesting courses of actions. Indigenous peoples' voices are suppressed by a process of depoliticization. To explain, the frame of secludedness depoliticizes the elderly care of the Indigenous peoples by constructing it into something that is "natural", just as typhoons, heavy rain and earthquakes. Indigenous peoples' care problem is treated as if it were an act of nature: since Indigenous peoples are in the secluded areas, their care problems cannot be avoided. Similar problem representation containing such conceptual bias is evident in the issue of disadvantaged health of Indigenous peoples, which I analyzed elsewhere (Gao, 2017). In this depoliticized construction, there is no point in having a voice. Bad things happen to everybody.

The depoliticized elderly care for Indigenous peoples creates two kinds of silences. Both relate to accommodating indigeneity (cf. Chapter 2.3) and prompt us to consider the care problem differently. On the one hand, from the state's perspective, one could argue that if we were to be serious about accommodating indigeneity, it is ethically problematic to just label the imperfection of elderly care for Indigenous peoples as "natural" given they are secluded. What about the role of human rights, human dignity and the responsibility of the state in achieving basic rights such as equality for all citizens? On the other hand, employing the frame of secludedness also generates a silence that conceals the Indigenous sovereignty and their inherent rights. What about Indigenous peoples' self-determination, autonomy and control over jurisdiction? The depoliticized expert administration has made politics without politics (cf. Žižek, 2014).

What kind of a group is constructed by the frame of secludedness? First, it constructs a group of Indigenous seniors without appropriate support. They, at "the Outside", are represented by frail and disabled seniors living helplessly in a depleted Indigenous territory. Not only that, they are the seniors that are living alone or in dysfunctional families.

It is estimated that the number of disabled Indigenous peoples will be 20,756. It constitutes 3 percent of the entire disabled population. (...) Especially for the economically backward Indigenous territory that are located in remote mountainous areas, many Indigenous old persons who live alone have to take care of themselves by themselves. (Ten-Year Long-term Care Plan 2.0, Chapter on Care for Indigenous Peoples, 2017, p. 124)

The text demonstrates that the Indigenous problem represented in elderly care is specifically about the seniors who are impaired physically or mentally. The text also uses expressions such as "economically backward" to reinforce the construction of the impoverished and helpless seniors. The proposed solution to this problem is "giving Indigenous old persons tailor-made health

promotion activities and social care service” (Ten-Year LTC Plan 2.0, Chapter on Care for Indigenous Peoples, 2017, p. 124). In such a prognosis construction, Indigenous elders are the recipients—they are not considered to be part of the solution. They are constructed through different kinds of lacks (of proper family support, resources, and networks).

On the other hand, the frame also produces two kinds of “Indigenous problems” entrenched in the group. One is the Indigenous elders living in the urban areas and the other is those elders living within the indigenous territory. For the former, the frame of secludedness, in the case of urban Indigenous elders, functions through the construction of their unavoidable social exclusion and lack of social capital (Ten-Year LTC Plan 2.0, Chapter on Care for Indigenous Peoples, 2017, p. 126). For the latter, *wèishēng suǒ*, or the public health center—often renovated from the trading posts that were built on the battlefield between the Indigenous and the colonial troops—are constructed to be the “the Center” within “the Outside”.

The land mass of Shāndì municipalities is immense and the buluo are dispersed. They rely mainly on the public health center for medical resources funded by the government. The funding is scarce, resulting in the infrastructure being in poor condition. ...(...)... Therefore their care needs are not always met due to the lack of infrastructure, professional manpower, geographic and climate factors. (Ten-Year LTC Plan 2.0, Chapter on Care for Indigenous Peoples 2017, pp. 128-129).

The extract describes a divide of medical resources across “the Center” and “the Outside”. On one layer, “the Center” is the municipal urban center and “the Outside” is the Indigenous territory within the “line”. On another layer, “the Center” is the public health center and “the Outside” is the rest of the Indigenous territory. This reaffirms that the construction of “the Center” and “the Outside” does not rest on which geographical locations people live (which the policy tends to reiterate), but alongside the logic of the line that gives rise to those who are deserving and those who are not.

Another prominent structural factor as an implied problem is Indigenous peoples’ social class. We can, nevertheless, read between the lines of the economic backwardness, substandard infrastructure and the dependent Indigenous peoples (Ten-year LTC plan 2.0, chapter on care for Indigenous peoples, 2017, p. 124, p. 128) to have a clue. Social assistance and poverty reliefs matter far more to the Indigenous peoples (Li, 2003) than the general population due to the lack of security in their income, employment, family structures, health and housing (Huang & Chang, 2010). One of the main reasons for these layered social insecurities is that Indigenous peoples have been living in the shadow of Taiwan’s rapid economic development in the 1970s and 1980s, or “Taiwanese miracle”. According to Simon (2002), the immense social and economic costs have been disproportionately borne by the Indigenous peoples. In particular, Indigenous peoples have lost their land to “development”, that being the main reason for the insecurities. In other words,

the problem of elderly care for the Indigenous peoples is a piece of a bigger puzzle of Taiwan's colonial heritage and the loss of Indigenous lands.

Last but not least, what are the effects of the frame of secludedness? Drawing from Bacchi (2009), I assess the discursive effects created in the problem representation in the frame of secludedness by employing the concepts of "fixing" and "shrinking" (Lombardo et al., 2009).

The process of fixing is understood not as repairing something, but freezing it temporarily (Lombardo et al., 2009, p. 3). The process produces one particular understanding in a given context, as a result of a discursive struggle (see Lombardo et al., 2010, p. 107). In Bacchi's (2009) words, the discursive effects are referred to as dictating "the limits imposed on what can be said or thought" (p. 40). An example of such fixing in the frame of secludedness is that the meanings of care for the Indigenous elders are frozen and fixed into "a long-term care service delivery in mountainous areas for the disabled seniors". The process of fixing makes the specificity of care for the Indigenous elders invisible. Instead, the policies create disabled seniors living in Shāndì (mountainous) and secluded areas (LTC Service Quality Improvement Plan, 2015, p. 28). This is perhaps not surprising, since Taiwan's social welfare system has been developed in the 20th century under KMT to be an effective tool for stabilizing vulnerable groups while striving for political and economical prosperity (Li, 2003, pp. 136-142, also cf. Chapter 7.1). In this context, the process of fixing is effective, as it successfully justifies lumping "Indigenous elders" into the larger cluster of "disabled seniors", while assigning the predefined modes of "care" to the Indigenous elders.

The frame of secludedness, under the discursive effects of fixing, also produces a particular classification of care. The classification includes four models: home-based, community, institutional and family care. While all four models have their basis in the Long-term Care Act (2015, article 9), the family care for Indigenous peoples is mentioned more as a problem, not a solution in policy paper (Ten-year LTC plan 2.0, chapter on care for Indigenous peoples, 2017, p. 130). Although the majority of older people with care needs live in the family, cared by family members and live-in migrant care workers (Chou, Kröger & Pu, 2015), the classification is created based on the first three models. The LTC Service Quality Improvement Plan (2015) identifies that the systemic challenge for Taiwan's LTC lies in "not enough home-based and community care, and the imbalanced distribution of institutional care services" (p. 27-28). It goes on to say that LTC personnel is concentrated in institutions, which have double the amount of care personnel compared to home-based care, and fifteen times more than community care. Moreover, instead of emphasizing care for Indigenous elders, the region's secludedness intersects with these three models in the prognosis (p. 28). So the policy identifies the problem to be that remote mountain areas do not have the three models of care and excludes family care which they do have. This brings us to ponder on the advantages and disadvantages that fixing brings to the frame of secludedness.

The fixing of what is to be understood as elderly care for the Indigenous people creates some advantages. Fixing creates categories that could be used to mark the achievements in the struggle for Indigenous rights, as Indigenous needs have been enshrined in the legal and political documents. Fixing also opens up discursive space and opportunities for subjects to act (Lombardo et al., 2010, p. 108). The LTC Service Quality Improvement Plan utilizes home-based, community-based and institutional services as three main categories to examine how abundantly care services are available to the Indigenous elderly and the conclusion was that their resources are depleted. Instead of calculating Indigenous territory, the policy creates a category that aggregates all the remote areas—including Indigenous territory—and the archipelago together. In particular, the policy produces an aggregated category consisting of “30 mountain indigenous townships, 18 archipelagos and 65 remote regions (which includes 38 mountain and archipelagos)” (p.28). The Indigenous peoples under such an aggregated category (“Remote regions of mountains and archipelago”, *shāndì lídǎo piānyuǎn dìqū*) are governed through the (lacking) three care models: “Four percent of the townships do not have home-based care, 22.7 percent have no community-based care, and 86.7 percent of townships have no institutional care.” (ibid.). This shows that fixing gives a specific shape to the problem so the actors can act. On the other hand, the potential problem of fixing is that it prevents reflexivity (Lombardo et al., 2009, p. 4). In the long run, the meaning of care for the Indigenous elders under the fixing is watered down and becomes ambivalent, since the Indigenous elders are invisible under the frame of secludedness.

In addition to fixing, shrinking is also at work as part of the discursive effects in the frame of secludedness. Shrinking means that the scope of a concept is restricted to more limited meanings. The concept is reduced to something that is confined to a particular policy area (Lombardo et al., 2009, p. 4). In the frame of secludedness, care for the Indigenous elders is confined to the area of social and health service delivery. The meaning of care is reduced to two kinds of care: medical and social care. These are also employed as solutions to the Indigenous elderly care problem, as we can see from Ten-year LTC Plan 2.0, chapter on care for Indigenous peoples (2017, p. 136, p. 139) and LTC Service Quality Improvement Plan (2015, pp. 49-57). Medical care is reduced to the meaning of biomedical care provided by the power in “the Center” to the remote people in “the Outside”, whereas social care is shrunk to “out-sourced organizations” (--the organizations are problematized as not been running well because remote areas are too secluded to have a proper market mechanism running). Both forms of the care actually focus on care-giving only. In other words, the idea of care in the frame of secludedness is reduced to medical and social competence training, as well as mechanisms to keep these personnel remained in the care industry. The care-receiving side is left unmentioned and voiceless.

The discursive effects of fixing and shrinking are the manifests of a struggle between the Indigenous rights and Taiwan’s colonial heritage. The frame of

secludedness is long-lasting and prominent and it may seem that Indigenous peoples are completely dominated by it. Luckily, it is not the case. If we examine subjectification effects of this framing, it is not hard to find the practices of resistance from the Indigenous peoples. In fact, the frame of secludedness has been strong throughout the years, and so pervasive, that the Council of Indigenous Peoples—the representative body that has the mandate to speak for Indigenous interests—has utilized it as a leverage for more resources from the state.

Indigenous townships are vast with a sparse population, and the distance between buluo is considerable. If Indigenous peoples' employment service, social welfare, public medical health and healthcare service do not take into account the matter of space and transportation, it would severely influence the availability and accessibility of the services. (Plan for Indigenous Peoples' Social Safety Development, 2013, p. 21)

The Council of Indigenous Peoples utilizes the frame ("vast with a sparse population") to bring forth the need for the state to provide equal services to everyone, including those who live in remote places such as the Indigenous peoples. Indeed, the frame legitimizes and strengthens Indigenous peoples' characteristic as peripheral. By appealing through this frame, however, Council Indigenous Peoples actively engages, adjusts and conforms the meaning that is well-known and familiar to the state (Benford & Snow, 2000). Indigenous peoples are given an entitlement and a right to speak up—arguments such as "the care services are depleted in buluo and the Indigenous elders are impoverished because of it" allows the Council of Indigenous Peoples to gain greater support from the state.

In sum, the frame of secludedness portrays caring for the Indigenous elders as a remote and rural problem of disabled seniors. This policy frame is neutral about indigeneity: it constructs Indigenous peoples in general to be people living in remote and mountainous areas, while produces Indigenous elders as disabled seniors living either in a depleted remote (indigenous) area or facing social exclusion in an urban hub. Indigenous peoples are part of the problem, but constructed as not capable of solving the problems themselves. Instead, the state is the actor to enlighten, empower and salvage those who are at "the Outside". The aspect of intersectionality addressed in this frame is social class, as the factor of class is contingent to the marginalization of Indigenous peoples in contemporary Taiwan. The frame easily produces the problem of elderly care for the Indigenous elders into an irreversible rural, marginalized, depolitical, resource-depleted issue.

7.2.2 FRAME OF INADEQUACY

The frame of inadequacy is closely entangled with the frame of secludedness. LTC for the Indigenous peoples is introduced to the policies in the sense that they are inadequate, dependent and incompetent for caring themselves in their own ways. The frame of inadequacy has its archaic roots in seeing Indigenous peoples as savages, animals and nonhuman (see Wu 2018; Smith 2012). This frame appears out from the racial/colonial superiority that the state has inherited from the Japanese and Chinese colonization.

The frame of inadequacy relies mainly on helping and supporting the logic of the spatial vocabulary of colonialism. It is assembled around a line that distinguishes “the Center” and “the Outside”. “The Center” is constructed to be a core towards which all valid and legitimate care is orienting. It functions like a system of power that dictates what counts as good care. The “outside” is constructed to be beyond the pale of all the valid, legitimate and desirable care. It positions that the Indigenous territory and people are retarded in development and have no solutions to their problems.

The center/outside dichotomy is introduced to this policy frame in two ways: (i) “the Center” possesses the expertise in care and (ii) as a presupposition of treating market as the solution to the allocation of care and services. These two constructions are embedded in an implicit comparison to the norm, that is, the urban center where Han-Chinese majority is located. The expertise in care in the hand of “the Center” is narrowly restricted to the medical and social services, “the Outside” is constructed to be unable to care. Indigenous peoples are part of the problem, as they inhabit “the Outside”. They are constructed to be the non-experts in medical and social services. In this frame, they are not self-sustaining and autonomous subjects who can take care of their own people, but constructed as the care-recipients.

Since Indigenous peoples are constructed as mere receivers of care, they are invisible, not seen as part of the solution. For example, the goal specified in the *Long-term Care Service Quality Improvement Plan (2015)* regarding elderly care for the Indigenous peoples is to “develop versatile and diverse LTC resources as a way to increase the accessibility of remote and Indigenous areas” (p. 39) And how can we achieve this versatile and diverse system? The policy document goes on to explain several aspects of LTC on a general level, such as providing enough day service and dementia service, good support for carers in the families, integrating care management mechanisms and quality control of care institutions. But none of these LTC solutions specifically reflect Indigenous perspectives (pp. 39-47). Indigenous perspectives of care, such as wholistic health and wellness, empowerment and resilience, engagement and staying connected to family, community and culture (cf. Chapter 5) are invisible. Indigenous peoples are not considered playing any active role in solving the problem. Then who has the solutions to the problem of elderly care for the Indigenous peoples?

The solutions formed in the frame of inadequacy is twofold. On the one hand, the solution lies in the hand of the state. That is, the state salvages care

for the Indigenous elders through developing LTC resources, strengthening LTC management systems, integrating LTC information database and training LTC professionals (the LTC Service Quality Improvement Plan, 2015, pp. 39-60). All these contribute to the goal of preparing for a “transparent, fair and professional regulated market” of LTC (ibid., p. 61). On the other hand, the solution is the marketization of care (ibid., p. 60). The LTC Service Quality Improvement Plan (2015) explains the solution to be “using big data to capture seniors’ special needs in their lives. Then we combine high-tech and smart life [devices] to attract different companies to invent senior-oriented products.” (p. 61) The actual responsibility of providing care is relegated to the companies in the care industries.

Under the frame of inadequacy that sets the state and the marketization as solutions, Indigenous peoples hardly have a voice in suggesting courses of actions. Indigeneity is reduced to contain symbolic meaning only and it can only be of decorative usage for the solutions provided by the state and the process of marketization. In *Ten-Year LTC Plan 2.0, Chapter on Care for Indigenous Peoples* (2017, p. 133), the solution is to “establish an integrative care industry in Indigenous tribal areas”. The policy document proposes a solution developed by the Ministry of Health and Welfare to be implemented in the Indigenous areas (the care integrated plan, consisting of ABC levels, cf. Chapter 7.1.3). The plan is made in the ministerial level, that is, “the Center,” and is to be implemented in the Indigenous areas, “the Outside”. The Indigenous voices in this solution are fragmented and the power of their interpretation is largely controlled by the state. For example, Indigenous elders’ voices are reduced to the institutional form of need assessment, carried out by LTC professionals (Ten-Year LTC Plan 2.0, 2017, pp. 133-134). For supporting Indigenous families, the policy document promises a network that promotes their “holistic wellbeing”. Indeed a network that sustains and supports Indigenous peoples’ knowledges, voices and perspectives would be indispensable in promoting Indigenous elders’ wellbeing. Yet, the state just lists out “churches, tribal culturally healthy day clubs, family care centers, public health centers and hospitals” (ibid., p. 137) and does not define how they help to aid the cared elders’ “holistic wellbeing”. The frame of inadequacy has embroiled Indigenous peoples into a (dis)order: they are too incompetent to know their own needs, as the state knows better. The roles of Indigenous peoples are that of bystanders and observers.

What are the consequences for not including indigenous perspectives? They are multiple. One, the depoliticization of Indigenous peoples and care is one of the consequences. Another consequence is restricting care to marketization and a managerial procedural problem. An additional consequence is constructing Indigenous peoples to be a burden to be accommodated, not an active community that is capable to take up responsibility to care for themselves. It is, in essence, a rejection of Indigenous peoples’ ability to autonomy and determination of their own fates. Ultimately, it is a continuation of coloniality. Along similar vein, the alternative solutions

that are left unmentioned are a bottom-up model that involves Indigenous peoples in decision making as well as respect and celebration of Indigenous peoples' interconnected ways to holistically care for their family, social relationships and the land (cf. Pace & Grenier, 2017).

The intersectional category that is part of the problem and solution representations in this frame is linking Indigeneity to poverty. The policy document makes Indigenous poverty an individualized condition of persons who lack ethics, which can be identified in two ways. On the one hand, Indigenous poverty is grounded in the Indigenous households' average annual income being only 61 percent of the national average (Ten-Year LTC Plan 2.0, 2017, p. 131). Instead of taking the inequity as a matter of social justice, the policy goes on to say this Indigenous poverty forms obstacles for Indigenous persons to utilize and purchase care services. In other words, poverty is represented as an Indigenous problem in terms of their incompetence of functioning in the market mechanism. On the other hand, the idea of Indigenous poverty is produced by emphasizing that 58.2 percent of Indigenous households are below the poverty line (Plan for Indigenous Peoples' Social Safety Development, 2013, p. 13). The policy document unproblematically links the Indigenous poverty to the lack of proper family functionality. Through this construction, poverty is bundled up with the lack of normal, desirable and functional families. Under this policy construction, Indigenous peoples and their families are not able to solve the problems, but only capable of receiving assistance from the government to overcome daily emergencies, economic problems and lacks of getting welfare information.

The poor condition of Indigenous peoples in elderly care is presented as manifold, ranging from financial problems, disability and lack of motivation to purchase services to a region that suffers from economic dependency and lack of purchasing power. The problem is represented as an Indigenous applicant's individual responsibility and ability to thrive in marketized care. This silences questions such as why the commodification of care should be the only option, and it leaves aside other contextualized care models that are based on Indigenous cultures.

Last but not least, what about the effects of the frame of inadequacy? The idea of care for elders within this frame, applying discursive analysis according to Lombardo and her colleagues, is *fixed and shrunk* (Lombardo et al., 2010). The fixing process equates care to three areas: (i) adequate manpower, (ii) sufficient knowledge and skills and (iii) both basic and "multicultural" training. Indigenous peoples are constructed as recipients and all three aspects of care have been shrunk to care-giving. The idea of care in the frame of inadequacy, similar to the previous frame, is thus *shrunk* to care-giving. The presence of care-receiving is missing.

First, LTC for the Indigenous Elders has been transformed into a problem of lacking professional manpower (rénlì).⁸² The problem of manpower is

⁸² 人力

constructed so that the solution—professional manpower—is something that originates from the center.

The major manpower for the Indigenous *buluo* comes from the medical personnel from public health centers and medical personnel supported by the IDS (Integrated Delivery Service). But the turnover rate of the people from outside is high resulting from lower income, inconvenient living environments, lack of career prospect. (...)

The manpower required in long-term care service include experts, semi-experts, and non-experts. Indigenous peoples are primarily non-experts—the care service workers. There are 23 out of 55 Indigenous townships that have less than five people who are certified as care service workers. It shows that the care service manpower is lacking severely. (Ten-Year LTC Plan 2.0, 2017, pp. 129-130)

In the first part of the extract, “manpower” who are capable of providing care is defined as being external to and separate from the Indigenous peoples. The construction of care is narrowly restricted only to medical people, revealing the biomedical logic of care trumping the other aspects of care. In the second part of the extract, the lack of desirable expert knowledge is used to justify why the LTC solution could only come from the center (as “Indigenous peoples are unqualified non-experts”). The policy creates a group categorization of experts, semi-experts and non-experts that highlights a social and medical skillset certified by “the Center”, and other ways of conceptualizing the problem remain somewhat silent and unproblematic. Both constructions exhort the state to act as a patron of people living in Indigenous townships where manpower is depicted as insufficient.

Second, elderly care for Indigenous peoples is fixed into a problem that results from their lack of knowledge and skills. It is precisely Indigenous peoples’ presumed inadequacy that makes them undesirable manpower for caring. The inadequacy of knowledge and skills has two subjectification effects. On the one hand, Indigenous peoples are created as non-skilled and non-knowing individuals in LTC. Simultaneously, the desirable skills and knowledge are restricted narrowly to three specialized categories: medical professionals, care management specialists and care service workers (2025 White Paper on Health and Welfare Policies, 2016, p. 327). The policy papers do not directly point out that Indigenous peoples are lacking progress because they do not possess the skills, as this kind of overt discrimination has become increasingly unacceptable in Taiwan. Instead, the policy documents address lack of skills through the expression of Indigenous peoples lacking manpower in the medical, care management and care service categories and urge the need of education. While the requirement to assist Indigenous elders to receive better care is certainly important, there is a pervasive pattern in this frame to omit the norms that the policies are built on. I am referring to the norms of neoliberalism. This brings us to the second subjectification effect: inadequacy

as consumer-citizens. Indigenous peoples are constructed as having inadequate knowledge about the neoliberal freedom of choice in care, therefore having inadequate skills to navigate in the modern, contemporary society.

Unlike the first subjectification effect which concentrated on non-skilled Indigenous peoples lacking knowledge in the care-giving expertise area, the second subjectification technique implies that Indigenous people are ill-functioning consumers in the market economy. In this frame, the availability of care is constructed as a voluntary decision by individuals and groups. The inadequate skills and knowledge constructed in this policy frame are also viewed as an individual's free choice. The frame takes for granted the neoliberal logic and silences other possible ways of development. So the policy frame of inadequacy in the case of lacking skills actually speaks to a larger structural "incompetence": Indigenous people are incompetent of functioning according to market mechanisms.

[Indigenous regions] are similar to general regions, they have problems such as cooperation between community organizations being too weak. They have only one kind of service resource, and they lack integrated service model. (Ten-Year LTC plan 2.0, 2017, p. 151)

The extract above, posed as a solution, embraces a normalcy of well-functioning neoliberal logics of out-sourcing. Under such normalcy, the Indigeneity (Indigenous communal organizations) is constructed as unsuitable and incompetent.

Third, the meaning of care is fixed into effective training under the frame of inadequacy. It is built on the existence of well-trained professionals in the problem representation (LTC Service Quality Improvement Plan, 2015, p. 31), and the motivation of Indigenous peoples to participate in training in the proposed solution (*ibid.*, p. 57). This is closely related to the above mentioned aspects of manpower and skills. Caring for the Indigenous elders, under this construction, becomes an inconvenient logistical problem of training people so there will be manpower with skills to provide service.

The training program for long-term care medical professionals from Indigenous peoples and remote areas: 875 long-term care medical professionals are trained, including 557 nursing professionals, 44 physiotherapists and 17 occupational therapists. In addition, 165 care managers are trained, of whom 19 per cent have an Indigenous background. (Ten-year LTC plan 2.0, chapter on care for Indigenous peoples, 2017, p. 139)

The extract constructs a frame of inadequacy through expressing that Indigenous peoples lack qualified professional education. By highlighting the training program, a sense of legitimacy is given to the production of the categories through which Indigenous elders are governed. Indigenous elderly

are not contributing to the policy solutions in this frame, as the only solution is to provide training for LTC personnel. What contributes to the solutions is the recruitment of care workers from among the Indigenous peoples (LTC Service Quality Improvement Plan, 2015, p. 37) and the existence of a training program that focuses on multiculturalism as well as cultural sensitivity (Ten-Year LTC Plan 2.0, 2017, p. 139).

In addition to the three discursive effects of fixing, bending is also at work in the frame of inadequacy. Bending refers to a process that makes the concept fit some other objectives than that it meant to achieve in the first place (Lombardo, Meier & Verloo, 2009, p. 6). The concept is not frozen as in the process of *fixing*, nor is it reduced as in the process of *shrinking*. Instead, the process of bending is used to describe a process that shapes a notion at the expense of the goal which the concept set to fulfill. For example, the framing of LTC in Taiwan over the past decades was at first connected with the idea of informal charitable help given to the needed (cf. Chapter 7.1). The idea behind LTC policy at that point was providing welfare to the disabled (Wang, 2015). However, as Wang and Yang (2017) argue, when this issue was later incorporated in the Council of Economic Planning and Development in the 2000s, the meaning of care for the Indigenous elderly was gradually shifted away from being “charitable care” (cf. Wu, 2011, p. 254). Instead, the issue of LTC was bent to a market-oriented objective to boost employment.

In the frame of inadequacy, the meaning of care for the Indigenous elders in policy discourses is bent: the focus is no longer care for the Indigenous elders, but has shifted to serve neoliberal discourses. It is closely tied to the rationale of marketization, which is posed as the solution within this frame. In 2013, this bending effect was seen in making old persons a human resource to be brought back to the labor market, as a way to boost economic growth (Plan of Amicable Care for the Old Persons, 2013, p. 6).

In sum, the frame of inadequacy presents a portrait that Indigenous peoples are not competent to give care and they are inadequate in functioning well enough in a neo-liberal world. The frame of inadequacy remains neutral about the factor of ethnicity, treating Indigenous peoples in general as unskilled workers in the care-giving work force and as dysfunctional customers in the market economy. In the problematizations, Indigenous elders become unfortunate “collateral damage” due to aggravated logistic problems. How, then, would the care-receiving experience of the Indigenous elderly become more visible? I explain the answer in the frame of culture.

7.2.3 FRAME OF CULTURE

We have seen bits and pieces of the frame of culture already in the previous two frames. Though the elements of Indigenous culture have been emerging in documents pertaining to social policy since the establishment of the Council of Indigenous Peoples in 1996, the trend however became more apparent in

2017. It was during this time that the most recent action plan, Ten-Year LTC Plan 2.0, with a chapter on care for the Indigenous peoples was published. Briefly put, the frame of culture is based on constructing the Indigenous problem through Indigenous peoples having a unique and special culture. The solutions presented consist of cultural sensitivity trainings so their differentiated needs can be accommodated (Ten-Year LTC Plan 2.0, 2017, p. 139). The accommodating measures are articulated in the policy document through seven characteristics of cultural sensitivity.

The spatial vocabulary of colonialism surrounding the frame of culture has been arranged around the “progressive, modern, intelligent and adaptive Han-Chinese culture” and the “barbaric, pre-modern, naïve and stagnated Indigenous culture”. For example, my analysis has found that a typical response to the disadvantaged Indigenous health from the government and the media used to blame Indigenous people having a problematic culture that makes them susceptible to diseases (cf. Gao, 2017). The discrimination and marginalization against Indigenous culture has become less prominent over time, but not disappeared, just has become more subtle (cf. Li & Xu, 2019).

Different from the other two frames, the spatial vocabulary of colonialism does not exclude Indigenous peoples to “the Outside” based on them living too remotely or due to their incompetence. The exclusion is more subtle. The spatial vocabulary of colonialism is assembled along the lines of cultural diversity. This time, “the Outside” is composed of the deeply-tribal and cultural-rich Indigenous peoples, while as “the Center” rests the system of power entrenched in the Han Chinese colonial gaze that defines and classifies the qualities, values and virtues of the Austronesian-speaking Indigenous peoples. The frame of culture, in this sense, may in fact produce a cultural “other”.

Under the colonial gaze, the cultural others are stripped away from the ability to care for themselves. Indigenous peoples are represented as a group of cultural-rich, harmonious and peace-loving people. Their agency, politics and contemporary societal struggles are not easily allowed under the gaze. When the cultural other is established, “the Center” is again regarded as the only source of power, intelligence, expertise for care.

Due to the fact that Indigenous peoples’ cultures and languages are very special and geographical limitations, we are doing our best to make eradicate obstacles to welfare service delivery channels. In doing so, we hope government’s resources of social welfare can be delivered to all Indigenous *buluo* and Indigenous peoples living in *buluo* can enjoy the same resources of social welfare like the urban areas. (Plan for Indigenous peoples’ Social Safety Development, 2013, p. 19)

In the 2013 plan, the problem was framed as a mixture of special culture and geographical accessibility. They are closely connected: the former relates to the frame of culture, and the latter draws from the frame of secludedness. Both are grounded in the spatial distinction of “the Center” and “the Outside”.

The construction is built around clear dichotomies: mainstream society/Indigenous peoples; urban/*buluo*; an abundance of resources/deficiency of resources. Resources of social welfare are again constructed to be a commodity to be delivered from “the Center” where there is a wealth of resources, to “the Outside” where the deficiencies are.

The solution to the problem of Indigenous elderly’s care is to build a “diverse long-term care service according to the local circumstances” (Ten-Year LTC Plan 2.0, 2017, p. 135). The Day Clubs (“tribal cultural health centers”), as an example of such service providers, play their part in producing services that are appropriate to Indigenous peoples’ “distinctive cultures”.

How are such “distinctive cultures” introduced into policies, and are Indigenous peoples considered part of the problem or solution? There are inconsistencies in the policy papers concerning how culture should be incorporated. For one, the proposed solution seems to reiterate that the state is the sponsor of Indigenous care services and it promotes the accessibility of a multitude of LTC resources that are located in the Indigenous areas (LTC Service Quality Improvement Plan 2015, p. 39). At the same time, accessibility is tied to the responsibility of the state to develop “localized” care for the Indigenous peoples (Ten-Year LTC Plan 2.0, 2017, p. 135). In this construction, the state is the holder of the solution. Indigenous culture is not mentioned in any detail, but subsumed under the label of “local”.

For another, Indigenous distinctive culture is discussed through state’s reimbursement for the infrastructure around Day Clubs (Forward-looking Infrastructure Development Program, 2017, pp. 5-6). In this construction, the state is again the solution holder, whereas the Indigenous peoples are the care recipients. In the Wrap-up Presentation for the Forward-looking Infrastructure Development Program (2018), the communique by the ministry reaffirmed the care-receiving position of the Indigenous elders: “With the advice of the locals and frontline practitioners, and based on the revised forward-looking plan and Culture and Health Station plan [i.e. Day Clubs], the elders expressed their gratitude for the stations, which enable them to grow old happily in the tribal areas.” (Council of Indigenous Peoples, 24.12.2018). In the excerpt above, the agency of Indigenous peoples is diminished. At the same time, their image as culturally-rich and peace-loving is strengthened.

In addition, the policy papers set cultural sensitivity as the policy solution when promoting care for the Indigenous elders. This comes to the fore in the Ten-Year LTC Plan 2.0 (2017, pp. 140-142). In 2016, the policy documents affirm the cultural safety of Indigenous peoples LTC, stating that Indigenous peoples’ cultural characteristics should be the basis for making care workers’ empowerment plans, accreditation system and career planning (2025 White Paper on Health and Welfare Policies, 2016, p. 323). Moreover, Indigenous peoples’ participation mechanisms at different levels should be included to ensure that their culture is seen (ibid.). The frame of culture, contrary to the frame of secludedness and inadequacy, constructs the responsibility to rest on both the state and the Indigenous peoples.

What kind of care is introduced into the policy? In 2017, seven kinds of culture are produced as separate categories as ways to solve the problem of cultural sensitivity problem of Indigenous peoples (Ten-Year LTC Plan 2.0, 2017). The policy document expresses the term “cultural sensitivity” in this way:

Taiwan’s Indigenous peoples are different from [those with] the cultural background and upbringing of the general society.... (...) caregivers should take into account many different aspects when giving care to those with indigenous background, including their culture, financial situation, geographical environment, physical distinctiveness and difference. These should be remembered when providing Indigenous elderly appropriate health and care services. (...) To integrate cultural sensitivity in [identifying] long-term care needs in *buluo*, one should come up with a *buluo*-specific plan according to local circumstances and bottom-up (Ten-Year LTC Plan 2.0, 2017, p. 140)

Although “cultural sensitivity” implicitly draws from the frame of secludedness (e.g. geographical environment) and the frame of inadequacy (e.g. poor financial situation), the extract demonstrates that the problem framing has changed from neutral to specific, that is, from “long-term care resources” to “*buluo*-specific long-term care needs”. Seven categories of Indigenous culture are created in relation to caring for the elderly. I want to examine them carefully below, to see how the frame of culture brings indigeneity into the singularity of ways of governing. I argue that the frame of culture is powerful in calling the government into action, to developing a care system for the Indigenous elderly. However, employing this frame also may risk to essentialize Indigenous peoples.

First, to be able to distinguish differences within Indigenous cultures is emphasized to be the key to cultural sensitivity. In this section, the policy gives a brave nod to recognizing the differences between Indigenous peoples in terms of their lifestyle, living, ontologies, habits and organizational structures, however, the other sections of the policy paper do not conform to this progressive recognition. The rest of the policy relies heavily on treating Indigenous peoples as a homogenous group, which poses a stark contrast with what the policy stated in the specific section on cultural sensitivity in the first place. Moreover, through listing out the officially recognized 16 tribal nations and 42 dialects, the policy creates categories of who is validated as Indigenous. It sets a parameter of the difference and in so doing excludes the recognition struggles of the Plain Indigenous peoples. The Plains Indigenous peoples are not officially recognized, therefore they are not visible regardless of the fact that their indigeneity is no less than that of the recognized groups (cf. Chen & Afo, 2011; Yap, 2013).

A second point of cultural sensitivity is that the policy paper identifies that caregivers are expected to speak Indigenous languages to communicate with the care-receivers (elders). The policy states that “a sense of familiarity” will

be a boost “within the service relationship”. It is indeed a good sign, as the policy paper sees language beyond correctly using the syntax. Instead, the importance of language is acknowledged on the cognitive, emotional and behavioral levels (ibid., pp. 140-141). In other words, language is inseparable from culture. However, I am worried to see the problem representation reduces Indigenous language to merely a tool to promote the one-on-one, contract-based, commodified care service (see the neoliberal relevance in the frame of inadequacy in the previous section).

The third characteristic of cultural sensitivity categorized is Indigenous peoples’ beliefs, including traditional beliefs and Christianity. The prognosis calls upon care-givers to “sufficiently adapt and respect”. The effects produced by this representation is that Indigenous peoples’ beliefs are operationalized as a resource for care. As the following passage tells: “Beliefs are important in the caring process, [caregivers] should fully respect ...so to increase the inner power and inter-clan connection of those who are cared for.” (Ten-Year LTC Plan 2.0, 2017, p. 141). The discursive effect that we are encouraged to overlook is how belief systems and rituals have developed historically since colonialism. The power imbalance and normalcy of mainstream society remain unchallenged. Another interrelated aspect to belief systems is taboo. In the fourth characteristic of cultural sensitivity, the policy paper states that Indigenous taboos should be respected. It specifies that all taboos have their ethical and logical reasons and therefore care-givers should be mindful about the presence of taboos. Of course it is crucial to respect cultural protocols and surely it is an important part in building good relationships. However, the action plan does not allow enough space to describe the taboos as embedded cultural practices. The effects are that the policy document pushes Indigenous peoples to a static, traditional and primitive category, the undertone hinting that Indigenous peoples can only be accommodated, respected and tolerated. The policy talks about taboos, but does not contextualize how it links to Indigenous beliefs and how they impact on Indigenous peoples’ spirituality and ontologies. Nor are Indigenous peoples’ voices heard in formulating the problem. The silence and absence produce an essentialized image of Indigenous peoples.

Fifth, the policy paper reminds us that societal institutions specific to each Indigenous group should be born in mind when carrying out care services. The majority of Indigenous groups, including the Tayal, have a societal structure built around clans and families. The policy paper points out that this kind of societal structure would weigh on how care is organized. Moreover, the policy paper reminds that all churches in buluo have sub-units that can easily be converted into meals on wheels volunteers.

The frame of culture functions here in a way to include Indigenous peoples in proposing solutions to the problems of elderly care. The policy promises that if incorporated correctly, indigeneity (in this case societal structure) could be an asset to care. Instead of Indigenous elders, the responsibility seems again to lie on the care-giving side. Paradoxically, it usually consists of

Indigenous people—most commonly women living in the community who care for the elderly. So the great responsibility of cultural sensitivity is shifted to the shoulders of the individual care workers. At a quick look, it may seem to be an act of empowerment. What could be better than to care for your own elder when you are the one who can decide the course of action? It is however more complex than that, especially given the presence of coloniality and the removal of generations, by which I refer to the phenomenon that colonizers directly or indirectly uprooted an Indigenous generation from its culture, language, and community support (cf. Chapter 3). The elders' generation is the manifestation of removal of Indigenous peoples and cultures in Taiwan: they encountered punishment when speaking Indigenous languages in school, and they faced severe racial discrimination when growing up. Shifting responsibility for cultural sensitivity in elderly care to a generation that may have a relatively fragile connection to their own culture might create an opposite effect to empowerment.

Sixth, the policy notes that food culture is a central characteristic to carry out care with cultural sensitivity. An intriguing aspect of this food culture is that just in the beginning of the policy document on cultural sensitivity, the policy paper says that all groups have cultural differences and thus need to be respected for their difference. Whereas in the tenet of food culture, the policy does not see any contradiction attaching labels to groups, thereby essentializing and homogenizing the group.

Each Indigenous group has their typical preference for food. For example Paiwan people like millet and Cinavu⁸³; Amis are famous for eating vegetables and seaweeds such as Tatukem and Silw; Bunun like to eat meat. These are important reference for preparing food [for the elderly]. (Ten-Year Cong-term Care Plan 2.0, 2017, p. 142)

The policy creates categories of food that Indigenous peoples prefer according to their ethnicity. It creates a fixed and general pattern, representing an oversimplified opinion of the Indigenous food cultures. The policy does not delve into discussions for the basis of singling out the specific preferences for food, but focuses on recommending that meal service should take into account the specific dietary preferences of Indigenous peoples. While it is strategic to utilize dietary preferences as an expression of indigeneity, it risks to strengthen the cultural “other” image infused by the Han-Chinese standard as norm in the background.

Last but not least, cultural sensitivity can be seen as closely related to (Indigenous peoples') unique diseases. The policy paper (Ten-Year LTC Plan 2.0, 2017, p. 142) reads: “Part of the Indigenous peoples have higher prevalence to specific diseases due to their lifestyle and other factors. For example Bunun and Tayal suffer a higher percentage of gout.” The policy

⁸³ Traditional Paiwan millet or taro powder dish stuffed with different fillings and wrapped in shell ginger leaves.

proposes that care-givers should understand this uniqueness and avoid misunderstanding and discrimination because of it. It is counterintuitive that the policy that warns people of discrimination is in effect doing the discriminatory statement by itself.

Do Indigenous peoples have a voice in suggesting how to care for their elderly? To some extent, but not explicitly. In *2025 White Paper on Health and Welfare Policies, Section on the Indigenous Peoples* (2016, p. 323), the policy document outlines the need of involving Indigenous peoples in LTC decision-making. In doing so, Indigenous peoples' culture can be incorporated in the LTC system. This policy document emphasized that having an Indigenous voice is important, but in practice the extent to which Indigenous voices form the foundation in the knowledge-making in the context of care policy is low. Ten-Year LTC Plan 2.0 states: "Experts and scholars with cultural sensitivity knowledge should give cultural sensitivity courses to care workers in the Indigenous townships" (2017, p. 139). Therefore, instead of giving the voice to the Indigenous peoples, the frame of culture is used to highlight experts and scholars having the authority on Indigenous issues to define Indigenous cultures (Ten-Year LTC Plan 2.0, 2017). The extent of which Indigenous voices have been incorporated has bearing on the production of "knowledge" and the silences embedded in the policy texts.

Not including indigenous perspectives produces silences and absences on what care for the Indigenous elders can be. The groups constructed in the frame of culture, differently from the previous frames, include both the care-giving and the care-receiving ones. The care-receiving is built around the Indigenous elderly who live in the buluo and speak their Indigenous language. The care-giving is built around the service people who are not fluent in the Indigenous language. Although including the care-giving perspective is important, the fact that Indigenous voices are absent has consequences for conceptualizing what care for the Indigenous elders can be. Let us examine the policy text below:

Currently those long-term care service providers (especially those providing community services) do not speak Indigenous languages when they call or visit the customers. Indigenous elders can only answer with limited phrases. Although elders may be able to converse in Mandarin, their needs cannot be understood by the carers due to the lack of language ability. It may lead to the fact that care receivers cannot feel they are being cared for." (Ten-Year LTC Plan 2.0, 2017, p.132)

This passage shows the frame of culture is operating in two ways. On the one hand, the frame narrowly equates culture to language use ("speak Indigenous languages", "converse in Mandarin"). A more profound level of culture is cut out and silenced. Focusing narrowly on language ability depoliticizes the issue of elderly care for Indigenous peoples, it diminishes care as a political issue and political struggle. On the other hand, the frame also allows us to observe how emotional work is practiced and felt in a specific cultural context. The

care-receiving aspects are examined (“care receivers cannot feel they are being cared for”) and the relational aspect of care is emphasized. Care, in the light, is not just about executing specific techniques, but also about feelings—understanding, gratitude, aspiration, uncertainty, isolation and loneliness. All these are embedded in the cultural context in which people, land, water, cosmos and history are interwoven. But by linking the emotional work to language, the policy concretizes the effect that only language matters, thus diminishing the possibility of elaborating a more profound level of culture.

From the above instances, we can see the boundaries and utilities of the frame of culture. It easily invokes forms of multiculturalism that may risk to confuse Indigenous peoples with immigrant groups, as far as multicultural measures to accommodate their cultures are concerned (cf. Kymlicka 2000). What is more, the depoliticizing is at work through shaping the issue as a matter of enriching the state’s ethnic diversity. It reinforces a perception that accommodating culture is just exceptional and case-by-case, but not a central issue for political life and balance all states need to face.

The prevalence of the frame of culture demonstrates its powerful usage, especially when it comes to the discussion of indigeneity (more see Chapter 2). It is far from panacea, as the frame can take tokenistic and essentializing forms, serving not to recognize the fluidity of Indigeneity but rather to impose on Indigenous peoples various “cultural scripts” in which they are expected to act in certain ways to prove they are authentic and deserving. One of the common “cultural scripts” in this frame is to focus on their distinctive languages. By introducing Indigenous elders into the policy as a population that is distinctive only in a linguistic sense, the policy not only blurs the boundaries between collective and individual identity, but also omits the other essential and integrated part of being indigenous.

The frame of culture can be used in both positive and negative ways. Its advantage is that it can be used to rally and highlight the idea that Indigenous cultures should be taken into account in caring for Indigenous peoples. One-size-fits-all style of caring is not the solution, especially when it comes to Indigenous elders. With the frame of culture, we can powerfully demonstrate care for the Indigenous peoples requires inclusion of their cultures. An inclusion of Indigenous culture in the elderly care is like a barometer for us to check whether the political promises of recognition and respect carry weight. The frame of culture also allows us to check whether cultural rights are taken into account seriously in the state’s effort in accommodating Indigeneity.

The disadvantage is that cultural scripts run the risk of homogenizing and ethnicizing/racializing Indigenous peoples. Let us look at the following examples.

The cultural and historical distinctiveness of Taiwan Indigenous peoples have been ignored by the mainstream society for a long time. The societal institutions have been built without respecting Indigenous peoples’ uniqueness, this led to their disadvantaged status. (Plan for Indigenous Peoples’ Social Safety Development, 2013, p. 3)

Caring for Indigenous old people is special compared to the younger generation or the ones living in the cities. All Indigenous peoples in Taiwan have their own languages and cultures. For them who live all their lives in *buluo*, *buluo*'s cultures and languages are center to their lives and values. Indigenous old people communicate by and large in their mother tongue. To communicate well and build trust are the basis for good quality of care. The barriers of language between the caregivers and care recipients are in need of urgent improvement." (Ten-Year LTC Plan 2.0, 2017, p. 132)

The first extract constructs a sense of dissimilarity of cultural traits between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. "Indigenous peoples" are defined as being separate from the "majority" who are positioned in the center ("mainstream society"). Their minority-ness is represented through their unique history and culture. At the same time, this excerpt creates Indigenous peoples being "ignored" as a problem and as the source of their contemporary "disadvantages". It is clear that "the Center" is at work, silencing the deliberate process of colonization and assimilation.

The second extract gives us more opportunity to peep into how minority-ness constructs elderly care for Indigenous peoples. I identify two interwoven aspects. First, caring for the Indigenous elders is based on their special culture. The policy acclaims its motivation of caring for them: their authenticity. This authenticity is constructed on generational and spatial oppositions: younger generations and people living in the urban areas are culturally less "rich". At the same time, authenticity is constructed as the use of Indigenous languages. The younger generation and those who live in the cities are produced in the policy as those who are integrated, those who are in "the Center" and thus are not in need of cultural sensitivity. The Indigenous elders, on the other hand, are constructed to be "the Outside". They are not as integrated as the urban people nor the younger generation, and therefore caring for them should include a sense of cultural and linguistic sensitivity.

The second aspect of the construction of minority-ness is setting the parameters of Indigenous culture. Although both language and culture are mentioned in relation to their authenticity, the policy diagnosis only constructs language as the core tenet of Indigenous culture. In other words, a prerequisite to giving good quality of care is constructed to equip personnel to be able to communicate in Indigenous languages. Indigenous culture in this frame is understood narrowly as the ability to speak the language, and the language only. In a policy solution responding to the diagnosis, the action plan identifies the personnel to be the solution—as long as they are trained with multicultural lessons and cultural sensitivity (Ten-Year LTC Plan 2.0, 2017, p. 139). The action plan only briefly mentions that the multicultural lessons and trainings of cultural sensitivity would "facilitate care personnel' understanding and integration to the local culture". "Culture" is mentioned almost like an empty signifier, open to interpretations and equated to language and relevant

training. It opens up for “cultural care” in nursing (see discussion on Leninger in 4.2.1).

Last but not least, what are the effects of the frame of culture? In terms of subjectification effects, the policy documents constitute the subjectivities of Indigenous elders in a way that implies that they have little solutions to their problems. Their cultural uniqueness is constructed to be accommodated by others. The discursive effects of the problem representation under the frame of culture, using the tools developed by Lombardo and her colleagues (2009), prove to be basically twofold. The first set of discursive effects entail that Indigenous peoples’ distinctive culture should be included to develop a good elderly care system. We can see the effect of *fixing* in the frame of culture, which entails freezing the meaning of care for Indigenous elders into a list of rigid categories. The tenets of what counts as culture mark the parameters defined by “the Center”, but at the same time risk to reduce the Indigenous culture to a rigid cultural script and minority-ness.

The second set of discursive effects is *shrinking*. For example, in the frame of culture, shrinking works to accommodate the Indigenous peoples’ distinctive “cultural uniqueness”. The caveat of the process of shrinking is that it easily excludes Indigenous peoples who are struggling with other social and economic inequalities and are most affected by colonization. They tend to be denied of their status just because they are not Indigenous enough. The issue of language is shrunk into a means to boost communication and a sense of familiarity. Nevertheless, the frame of culture does not stop its work here, but appears to be broadening to form a new frame.

The frame of culture absorbs rather than emits meanings. Based on the analysis of the discursive effects above, I suspect that a new frame is emerging. I can see “seeds” of a more emancipatory frame coming through the effect of stretching in the frame of culture. It is not completely independent from the frame of culture, but has been developed based on Indigenous peoples’ cultures and identities. In particular, I examine “buluo” as a concept growing from the broadening of the frame of culture, which comes about through the process of *stretching*. I understand stretching as a discursive process that broadens the meaning of the concept so it encompasses various dimensions that are seen to be contingent (Lombardo et al., 2009). Stretching may however entail that the concept “may be broadened to the degree that it can be in danger of losing some of its substantive meaning” (Lombardo et al., 2009: xiv). The frame of buluo may have significant influence in problematizing “Indigenous problems” in new ways.

Through examining the stretching of the frame of culture, we can see that Indigenous peoples are not passively adapting to governmental plans, but they have strategies and practices initiated from “below” (Petersen, 2003, p. 198 cited in Bacchi, 2009). Stretching the frame of culture to recenter “*buluo*” in the Indigenous culture can be regarded as a strategy by the Indigenous peoples. The problem of elderly care for Indigenous peoples is re-focused in the stretching process. The broadening of the concept helps us to look beyond

“cultural scripts” and make visible the proud, dignified and living subjects of Indigenous peoples who are part of the solutions and are responsible for coming up with their own courses of actions.

Buluo (pronounced as “bù luò”, in Mandarin Chinese 部落) literally means clan or tribe, it can refer to Indigenous settlement and tribal organization—an autonomous political organization on a designated territory. It carries similar meaning to “community”. The concept of *buluo* is not new, it actually emerged already more than three decades ago when Rukai scholar Sasala Taiban coined the term “buluo-ism”. Recentring *buluo* by innovative discourse in a calls for a return to the source of power, the root, e.g. *buluo*, so that one can retain tribal knowledge and revitalize ancestral history and culture (Sasala, 2018). Buluo-ism promotes a relational balance between human and the land. It urges Indigenous peoples to return to their own ancestral territory and culture, to re-connect to the environment and re-discover the subjectivity of buluo (Wu, 2010).

Buluo-ism is an attempt to flip the power relations, and place buluo in the center. The usage of buluo-ism in care discourses is a more recent phenomenon. One can see a rudimentary form of buluoism in Plan of Amicable Care for the Old Persons (2013). In the plan proposed by the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, it identifies 80 Indigenous buluo that are more depleted of resources as sites for Day Clubs (ibid., p.2). The shape of buluo-ism is clearer in the plan proposed by Council of Indigenous Peoples in the following year. The Plan for Indigenous Peoples’ Social Safety Development (2013) openly identifies the policy solution for care problems as a welfare system that is based on buluo development (p.10). In Ten-Year LTC Plan 2.0, Chapter on Care for the Indigenous Peoples (2017), a buluo-based resource network is proposed to be a key solution to make LTC more available for the Indigenous peoples. The most elaborated instance can be observed in the 2025 White Paper on Health and Welfare Policies, Section on the Indigenous Peoples:

We should develop a service model of culturally sensitive care in the Indigenous areas, with “buluo participation” and “buluo subjectivity” as principles, we should discuss and amend the limitation of Indigenous land use under current laws....(...)... so the state can facilitate NGOs in buluo to become Day Clubs so aging of the healthy, sub-healthy, frail and slightly disabled persons can be delayed via long-term care services are provided....(...)... so to realize the vision of aging in place for the Indigenous peoples. (2016, p.328)

We should establish a horizontal network to include political mechanisms in traditional buluo, such as buluo legal person and buluo meeting. Health projects and resources in the community should be brought together. In so doing, we can use concept such as cultural care in community health promotion, Day Clubs and places alike. (2016, p.304)

The passage above signifies a strong motivation to kindle subjectivity from the buluo, and create the space to find solutions in the traditional mechanism of the Indigenous peoples themselves. Instead of asking the state or the care-giving personnel to accommodate Indigenous needs, Indigenous solutions are clearly visible in this novel frame.

Indigenous rights advocates and Council of Indigenous Peoples have played an instrumental role in pushing the frame of culture and its extended meaning of “buluo”. Both Ten-Year LTC Plan 2.0, Chapter on Care for Indigenous Peoples (2017) and 2025 White Paper on Health and Welfare Policies, Section on the Indigenous Peoples (2016) provide powerful push to urge the state to examine the special needs of Indigenous peoples in LTC. The Council of Indigenous Peoples, however, was largely marginalized in the decision-making process concerning health and social administration which is dominated by the Ministry of Health and Welfare. The result of this marginalization was that the above mentioned two chapters specifically on Indigenous peoples were not included in the laws. Luckily NGOs such as Medical Association of Indigenous Physicians of Taiwan and the Indigenous parliamentarians have criticized publicly against excluding the chapters that focus on Indigenous special needs in health and social services (Mulas/uliu, 2016).⁸⁴ These efforts provide momentum for calling for a stronger Indigenous voice in the action plans.

The frame of culture is utilized to include Indigenous perspectives in one of the key action plans: Forward-looking Infrastructure Development Program (FIDP). Acting as the key economic development plan in Tsai’s administration (2016-2020), Indigenous perspectives, including their culture and caring for Indigenous peoples are part of the action plan (2017). In the end of 2018, the Council of Indigenous Peoples’ Deputy Director Iwan Nawi attended a concluding gathering that marked the end of the first phase of the Forward-looking Infrastructure Development Program (FIDP). She stated, “The director and three deputy directors [of Council of Indigenous Peoples have] visited the tribal cultural health centers separately to listen to the voices of the elderly and the care-givers.” She supplemented: “[T]o implement President Tsai Ing-Wen’s LTC policy for Indigenous peoples, 250 tribal cultural health care centers had been deployed by 2018, with the number of elders currently available to be cared for reaching 7603 and 655 the employment opportunities had been provided.” (Council of Indigenous Peoples, 2018). Appealing to the frame of culture, the Council of Indigenous Peoples gains leverage in regard to the state funding. Yet, it is not clear what culture and indigeneity entail as far as the Council of Indigenous Peoples is concerned. The broadened meaning that includes buluo as the center is a powerful resource for the Council of

⁸⁴ The Medical Association of Indigenous Physicians of Taiwan (台灣原住民醫學學會) is an Indigenous non-governmental organization. Funded in 2002, the association is composed of experts of medicine, nursing, as well as policy-making in health and social welfare issues.

Indigenous Peoples to gain conceptual weight. Nevertheless, the Council of Indigenous Peoples seems to be crippled in speaking up in a strong and collective voice for the Indigenous peoples.

In sum, the frame of culture portrays caring for the Indigenous elders as a problem linking to Indigenous peoples' unique culture. Contrary to the previous two policy frames, the frame of culture is not as neutral about indigeneity. Instead, it moves towards privileging the distinctive culture of Indigenous peoples and the strength of buluo. When referring to Indigenous peoples as a whole, the proposed solutions include developing traditional buluo mechanism, participation and kindling a sense of buluo-centric subjectivity. When the frame of culture portrays Indigenous elders, the frame creates a group of culturally rich people living in buluo that needs culturally and linguistically sensitive care. Accordingly, the proposed solution to delay the Indigenous elders' aging is precisely a realization of such cultural sensitive care. And this vision of care can be realized in the Day Club.

7.2.4 HOW CARE POLICY FRAME INDIGENOUS CARE FOR THE ELDERLY: FINDINGS

I have identified three frames in policies pertaining to caring for Indigenous elders: the frame of secludedness, the frame of inadequacy and the frame of culture. The meanings of caring for the Indigenous elders are created in highly political and contested contexts. These frames show on what basis the actors understand the "Indigenous problem" in LTC policies and what lens they use in crafting the meanings of care. The process of meaning-making is inflected by power, but not determined by it. The discourses used in the frames reveal the convictions and contestations that have been deemed to be at stake, and at the same time foreground and shape the ongoing public actions. This is why studying representations and discursive effects are important.

What is the problem of elderly care for Indigenous peoples represented to be in the policy papers? On the general level, the frame of secludedness represents "Indigenous problem" in elderly care as an issue of geographical remoteness. The logic is simple: since the Indigenous peoples live in remote areas of the country, they cannot receive good quality of care. They live in "the wrong place". By contrast, the frame of inadequacy sees the problem as a matter of incompetent Indigenous peoples, particularly in the sense that they are incompetent as service personnel and customers in the growing marketization. The idea, to put it bluntly, is that Indigenous peoples are not qualified experts who have sufficient knowledge to solve the demographic deficiency in the remote areas where they live. On the other hand, the frame of culture treats "the Indigenous problem" in elderly care from the viewpoint of Indigenous peoples' unique and special cultures. Unlike in the previous two frames, Indigenous peoples are not constructed as victims. Instead, the frame enables a sense of agency and legitimacy to the Indigenous peoples themselves

rooted in their culture. In particular, the frame demands an emphasis of cultural sensitivity inserted to the treatment of tribal elders.

In terms of the policy construction of Indigenous peoples and Indigenous elders, the frame of secludedness and the frame of inadequacy are neutral about the factor of indigeneity. Indigeneity is introduced to the frame of secludedness in a dismissive manner, no different than people living in remote and rural places; indigeneity is addressed in the frame of inadequacy in a negligent way, where Indigenous peoples are suggested to be deficient in the right kind of knowledge. In contrast, the frame of culture anchors in Indigenous peoples' distinctive cultures and languages as indigeneity. Indigenous elders are introduced as culturally rich people who need care with cultural sensitivity.

I elaborate a brief summary below by comparing and contrasting the discursive effects concerning how care for Indigenous elders is constructed in the three frames. First, the meaning of elderly care in all three frames is shaped heavily by the process of *fixing*. Under the frame of secludedness, Indigenous elderly have been frozen into disabled seniors, while care has been compartmentalized into home-based, community-based and institutional care. The discourse emphasizes that Indigenous peoples are vulnerable to disability because of the availability of the three kinds of care is unfortunately often insufficient around where they live. Similarly, Indigenous elderly have been frozen into disabled seniors under the frame of inadequacy. The people who are taking care of the elderly has been fixed to those who come from outside the community. That is, "the Center" has the spring of expertise and knowledge, in particular biomedical knowledge. On the contrary, the frame of culture invokes minority-ness and fixes elderly care in the deeply-tribal Indigenousness. Indigenous elderly have been frozen into authentic and cultural-rich elders who speak fluent Indigenous language. The frame of culture is resourceful in redirecting Indigenous peoples from "the Outside" to "the Center". Cultural knowledge plays a central part in providing good care for the elderly within this frame, and Indigenous peoples can easily occupy the position of holders of cultural knowledge.

Second, in addition to fixing, shrinking also plays an important role in shaping what care for the elderly means. In the frame of secludedness, care for the Indigenous elders has been shaped as a logistics problem. Namely, it has been confined into the policy area of resource delivery in an overarching health system. The priority of building a good health system is enshrined in the action plans of LTC 2.0, in particular the community integrated care model (cf. Chapter 7.1). In the frame of inadequacy, the care for Indigenous elders has been shrunk to a matter of recruitment, training and employment. And confined into the policy area of labor market access. Within this frame, Indigenous peoples are seen as incompetent workers in the labor market, which is used to justify educational training and capacity building as ways to make up for their deficits. Last but not least, care for the Indigenous elders in the frame of culture has been tackled as a matter of whether Indigenous

cultures are accommodated. That is, it revolves around the question whether their indigeneity is shown in the policy. I have argued earlier (Chapter 2.3) that if culture is targeted just as an objective to be accommodated it may risk ignoring Indigenous peoples' sovereignty and the colonial legacy. This is precisely the case here: when care for the Indigenous elders is confined to be a matter of accommodation, it hinders us to see through the veil of coloniality.

Third, bending and stretching are also visible in addition to fixing and shrinking. Bending is visible in the frame of inadequacy, where care for the Indigenous elders is no longer the main goal. Instead, it has been bent so that neoliberal goals can be met. Stretching, on the other hand, is visible in the frame of culture, in particular the broadening of the subjectivity of Indigenous peoples. If we see the discursive effects comparatively, the frame of secludedness has a tendency to victimize Indigenous peoples, whereas the frame of inadequacy opens doors for victim-blaming. Most importantly, the frame of culture helps Indigenous peoples to break free from the dichotomized divide of harmer and victim. These discursive effects are central in shaping and crafting the "Indigenous problem".

The policy documents show that the Taiwanese government has attempted to solve the LTC problem faced by the Indigenous elders, but it has created the problem as an apolitical one. Narrowing down LTC for the Indigenous elders as not political limits the extent to which it can be politicized. As a consequence, the documents produce negative and disempowering images that invalidate Indigenous peoples' claim to existence. It happens often because of the government's reluctance to admit the Indigenous question as political and its negligence in questioning problematizations or "meaning in action" (Wagenaar, 2011). In the frame of secludedness, the negative image is simplifying the problem as purely a matter of the secluded wilderness of the Indigenous. The apolitical stance invalidates Indigenous peoples' rightful claim to their traditional territory. In the frame of inadequacy, the disempowering image stigmatizes Indigenous peoples as inept and justifies the state's intervention, which is often backed by "the experts". The policy strengthens the image that Indigenous peoples are not smart enough (or they simply do not have the desirable "expert knowledge") to solve the care problem. The apolitical ideology dismisses Indigenous peoples' way of knowing, living and being. Finally, the frame of culture carves out a space where Indigenous peoples are capable to act and solve problems on their own. Nevertheless, the lack of seeing indigeneity as fluid and the predicament of being Indigenous in a contemporary society are foreshadowed in the apolitical doctrine evident in the frame of culture.

The policy depoliticizes problems and makes Indigenous peoples "invisible". Through the frame of secludedness, Tayal's concept of home and territory—the riverscape—disappear. In the frame of inadequacy, social justice and healing the trauma inflicted by the economic colonization for Indigenous elders are concealed. In both frames, perspectives concerning how Indigenous elders receive and feel about the care is missing. That is, the relational aspect

of care is missing. In the frame of culture, actual Indigenous peoples are made invisible as they are relegated to the role of the essentialized, exotic and subjugated Other. Their languages, beliefs and taboos are stripped away from the onto-epistemological contexts. Instead, they are being used as items to sustain commodified care services in the name of a “multicultural” society. For all three frames, imperialism and colonialism as well as how they have impacted Indigenous peoples and communities become unnoticeable. As a result, indigenous ways of knowing and caring are rendered irrelevant.

What are the time trajectories present in the above mentioned frames? I summarize four trends that have developed through time from 2013 to 2017. First, the presence of Indigenous culture was implicit and almost invisible in the early policies. Not a word of Indigenous culture was mentioned among the 42 pages of the *Plan of Amicable Care for the Old Persons* (2013) published by Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, only “Indigenous areas”. Unlike the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, the Council of Indigenous Peoples published an action plan in the same year that mentioned multiple times care and culture. That being said, the reference to culture was vague and unsure, drawing relevance to language as a determinant (Plan for Indigenous Peoples’ Social Safety Development, 2013, pp. 12-13). Gradually by 2017, the description of culture evolved to be more pronounced and nuanced. The Day Clubs are becoming a site where the state meets and supports Indigenous culture (Forward-looking Infrastructure Development Program, 2017; Ten-Year LTC Plan 2.0, 2017). The Day Clubs have become a synonym to the accommodation of Indigenous elders’ needs.

Second, the trend of care for the elderly evolved from an individual perspective to a more collective stance. It went hand in hand with the first point of culture: when the culture has been more articulated, the collective perspective would flourish. “To return Indigenous peoples’ collective autonomy” was raised in the *2025 White Paper on Health and Welfare Policies, Section on the Indigenous Peoples* states (2016, p. 294). In addition, the policy also problematized the welfare policy, pointing out that it should empower Indigenous peoples collectively, not as if it were giving grace unto them (*ibid.*, p. 295). Evolving from individual to collective perspective allows momentum towards challenging who is “the Outside” and “the Center”.

Third, the emphasis on self-determination has grown stronger in the policies over the years. The Long-term Care Act reflected the distinctiveness of Indigenous peoples in article 14, 18 and 24, through which the Council of Indigenous Peoples has started to interpret and define the problem. Of course, Indigenous peoples’ call for more autonomy and self-determination is not always met in a satisfactory manner. The frame of secludedness is still in constant usage when the Council needs to persuade the government apparatus that more budget is needed for the improvement of care for the Indigenous elderly. However, we can see a slow increase in the use of the frame of culture and the novel and broader understanding of “buluo”, pointing to the direction

that stronger Indigenous voices may be incorporated and Indigenous sovereignty may be accumulating momentum.

Fourth, the state used to be constructed as the solution to many elderly care problems pertaining to Indigenous peoples. It was the state that needed to provide preventive healthcare to boost healthy aging (Plan of amicable care for old persons, 2013), and it was also the state's responsibility to empower people to become good and well-educated members of the workforce (Ten-Year LTC Plan 2.0, 2017). Nevertheless, there is a gradual shift turning the responsibility from the state to the care-giving side (i.e. care-givers and the NGOs that provide care). The development is interwoven with the norm of neoliberalism and out-sourcing. For those care workers working in the Day Clubs, the responsibilities are heavier than before. They are stuck between the state and the community. On the one hand, they are responsible for the relationships with the elderly, and the cultural protocols behind the daily interactions. On the other hand, they are held accountable for giving care and the state is watchful in the background. They shall maneuver the obstacles addressed in the frame of inadequacy, and negotiate a good result through the frame of culture.

In summary, these time trajectories show a dynamic relationship between coloniality and indigeneity in care for the Indigenous elderly in Taiwan. The frame of secludedness is present in all periods and remains distinct; the frame of inadequacy is implicit and more veiled throughout the years; the frame of culture is getting increasingly overt and is showing signs of expanding, such as in the cases relating to "buluo". There are two trends that do not change much over time: the overall depoliticization of care and the lack of attention to care-receivers (elders).

In this chapter my question was what are social policies toward Indigenous peoples in Taiwan, and how they take effect in determining elderly care for Indigenous peoples. I have answered it by analyzing the historical context of Chinese social threads and LTC reforms from 1980s to 2010s on the one hand, and examining policy frames and their discursive formations of LTC policy documents in the past two decades. I came to conclude LTC policies for the Indigenous elders though claiming to solve care problems, in fact, create more complex problems that pertain to how Indigenous peoples are being perceived. My analysis on the "Indigenous problem" in LTC has demonstrated that the problem of elderly care has become a matter of *Indigenous peoples'* secludedness and incompetence, rather than the ways in which Taiwan's colonial legacy and current policy gives rise to further marginalization (cf. Smith, 2012, p. 4, p. 12). The meaning of Indigenous peoples' culture in relation to LTC remains ambivalent. Although it contributes to more autonomy in Indigenous subjectivity, it also hinders the unfixed nature of indigeneity. The ambivalence also gives room for new interpretations, for example the emerging frame of the buluo. In order to understand the ways in which care for the Indigenous elders in a more in-depth manner, we will take a close-up in the next chapter to observe the everyday practices of how

Indigenous peoples interact with the ruling regimes, and how they negotiate their layered identities.

8 THE TAYAL ELDERLY MEET THE STATE IN THE DAY CLUB

In this chapter, my aim is to identify how the state's concept of care is realized in practice by examining the understanding and experiences of *bnkis* (elders in Tayal). My focus is to understand how the Tayal experience care, how care is conceived and interpreted in the context of the Day Club.⁸⁵ Studying the everyday experiences of *bnkis* at the Day Club tells us how the state has envisioned it to function. The background information also reveals how the Day Club sets the terms of how the Tayal “meet the state”.

The Day Club function as part of a government-funded project launched by the Council of Indigenous Peoples (CIP). Its budget comes from the Council of Indigenous Peoples through municipalities and the Day Club is required to fulfill the administrative work both for the central level (Council of Indigenous Peoples) and the municipal level (municipal social and health care office). There were 40 Day Care Centers when the project was launched in 2006. Their number has multiplied over the years: by 2017, 185 Indigenous organizations were contracted as service providers for Day Clubs. In 2020, 380 Day Clubs are targeted to be established to provide care for the *bnkis*.

The Day Club is not a medical service provider. Rather, it functions as a social care center and is touted by the government to be a panacea to solve the long-term care (LTC) problem for the Indigenous elderly through preventing and/or delaying disability with culturally-sensitive measures (Council of Indigenous Peoples, 2017). The aim of “activating” and “delaying disability” of the Indigenous elderly is clearly inscribed in the statutes, as well as passed down to the *bnkis* via the Day Club care workers. The Day Clubs have a dual goal: to promote social rights (e.g. deter inequality) and the cultural rights of the people (e.g. differentiated care).

The Day Club fulfills its function of promoting social rights through three strategies: *aging in place*, *deterring inequality* and *bridging the gap*. First, the Club provides services for free and is open to everyone irrespective of whether one is Indigenous or not, if their health allows participation. Second, the Day Clubs are supposed to promote health and well-being in the Indigenous community through preventive activities, so the Indigenous elders can maintain a certain degree of independence, autonomy, and connection to social support (Wiles et al., 2012). Third, the Day Clubs are supposed to help Indigenous peoples to access the LTC system, which does not function well for them.⁸⁶ Fourth, the Day Clubs were developed in response to the

⁸⁵ The full name of Day Club is Tribal Cultural Health Centers (Bùluò wénhuà jiànkāng zhàn, I use “Day Club” below)

⁸⁶ LTC system is not functioning well in Taiwan in general, but much under-developed for the Indigenous peoples, cf. Chapter 7.1

disadvantages experienced by the elderly living in Indigenous municipalities with respect to preventive and continual care services. The elderly with intensive care needs have been increasing in the Indigenous communities, regular LTC funds were promised to Day Clubs if they upgraded from an informal social care center to a formal and semi-professional care provider. In other words, they had to upgrade to level C or level B in the “Shèqū zhěngtǐ zhàogù móshì” (cf. Chapter 7.1).⁸⁷ The above aspects indicate that promoting social rights is one of the bedrock aims of the Day Clubs. Moreover, the Day Clubs are supposed to provide culturally-sensitive services as a “response to the cultural difference and distinctiveness of Indigenous peoples” and “establish a localized caring model that encompasses culture, health and care” (Council of Indigenous Peoples, 2018).

The aims of the Day Clubs are also supported by law. Article 10 of the Additional Articles of the Constitution of the Republic of China (Taiwan) notes that “provisions, social welfare, health care and long-term care for indigenous peoples are required to respect the will of the indigenous peoples.” Along a similar line, article 24 of the Indigenous Peoples Basic Law (IPBL) promulgates that “the government shall formulate public health and medical policies for indigenous peoples in accordance with the characteristics of indigenous peoples”. The Constitution and the IPBL suggest that the success of safeguarding indigenous rights to health and well-being is closely related to respecting Indigenous peoples’ will and it aims at building a system that is compatible to their cultural characteristics. This provides a rationale of making the Day Club more “tribal”.

But, who defines what counts as “tribal” and how do the interpretations operate in practice? Wang and Tsai (2019) point out that the pursuit of going “tribal” has put Indigenous peoples at risk because participatory mechanisms for the Indigenous people are lacking in LTC policymaking. Indigenous peoples’ autonomy in LTC and the ability to decide what kind of care they want exists only on paper (Wang & Tsai, 2019). Ru (2016) adds that the incomplete mechanisms increase a negative effect on Indigenous peoples’ health and well-being, as the care system invariably generalizes, medicalizes and individualizes Indigenous peoples’ well-being. In the following analysis, I explore how the Tayal experience care in the Day Club by starting with the rim of the state structure—care workers as intermediaries and the physical space—and, after that, go deeper to look at how care at the Day Club is entangled in Taiwan’s colonial present, and how the Tayal are resisting it and reclaiming their own meaning of care. In so doing, I invoke Tayal hermeneutics and aim to deconstruct the complexities of colonialism experienced by the Tayal in Wulai today.

⁸⁷ Before mid-2017, Taiwan did not include Day Clubs as a part of long-term care plan, therefore Day Clubs received only limited funds from the Council of Indigenous peoples. The Day Clubs relied primarily on the public welfare lottery surplus, and it was not until 2018 that regular funds were implemented. (Umas Seqłuman/bazak Tsen Chien-An, 2018, para. 1-2)

8.1 TAYAL CARE WORKERS AS BICULTURAL INTERMEDIARIES

The Tayal care workers are the easily overlooked but immensely intriguing middle people in the state's care project in the community. They are the link between the Indigenous communities to the state, as the state is assured that the cultural aspect is included as long as there are Indigenous workers. From the state's perspective, having the Indigenous care workers in the Day Club automatically accredits the Day Clubs as cultural and tribal. Therefore, their roles as intermediaries stuck "in-between" (cf. Mataira & Silan, 2019) the state and Indigenous communities are relevant here.

There seems to be a trend of returning to the traditional intermediary's role as a way to justify the legitimacy of the state. That is, in "multicultural" Taiwan, centrally appointed care personnel to the Indigenous community neither makes sense from the state budget (cf. Chapter 7.1) nor can it be justified under the banner of "pluralism" (cf. Chapter 1.3). That is, the care workers as Indigenous intermediaries come into the picture. In fact, the role of bicultural intermediaries has existed since the Japanese rule: between the Empire and "the outcast", i.e. Indigenous peoples (cf. Barclay, 2017). Intermediaries used to act as informants on language, local culture, intergroup power relations and sometimes also as brokers (ibid.).

The key actors in the Wulai Day Club were Sayun (project supervisor), Ciwas and Lawai (care workers) and a handful of volunteers.⁸⁸ Ciwas and Lawai were both Tayal women who lived in Wulai and were active members in the Presbyterian church at the Wulai congregation. They were in their late fifties, early sixties. They were not originally trained as professional care workers but had a 90-hours course at one of the hospitals in New Taipei City to train them as such. To my question of why they decided to take this course, they answered:

"We were bored at home. So Lawai and I went to the course, on scooters! ... When we were finalizing the course, Church Elder Li asked in the county office if we wanted to take the job. That's how we started—all because we were classmates in this course—and have continued until now." (Interview with Ciwas and Lawai, 12.12.2018)

Ciwas and Lawai did not have nursing or medical credentials. The training, which lasted for 90 hours only, qualified them as care workers.⁸⁹ The Council of Indigenous Peoples had just launched the Day Club around the time they

⁸⁸ Project supervisor (in Mandarin 計畫負責人, meant literally project responsible person) had monthly stipend of NT\$6000 (around 170 euros). Care worker (照顧服務員) had monthly salary of NT\$23000 (around 650 euros).

⁸⁹ The basic skills learned in the 90 hours allow them to work freelance, in home care and in residential care homes.

were trained. The newly obtained certificate of the care worker made them the only eligible ones in the community to work and thus they were recruited.

Although they were not professionally trained to have biomedical or psychological knowledge, they had other forms of knowledge that made their care valuable: relational, intergenerational, communal and spiritual knowledge. Ciwas and Lawai were familiar with the people in the Wulai community both because they lived in the community, and because of their active work in the church. Many, if not all, elders that attended the Day Club were their (more or less distant) relatives. Chen (2011) argues that what makes the Day Clubs special is that they are given a “mission and vision with cultural features”. The bond between the care workers and the *bnkis* based on trust might be precisely the “cultural features” of care that Day Clubs were devised for in the first place. In other words, the kind of cultural care that absorbs what the community feels is needed organically and develops through being grounded in the relations of the community. But is this the kind of care that the state had in mind? We can observe whether cultural care is permitted by examining the requirements.

The Day Club is a state-funded elderly-care institution that demands the care workers to live up to its requirements, through which “desirable care” and “good carer” are given shape. As Sayun pointed out:

Before, the Day Club changed many supervisors because they [Ciwas and Lawai] had no concept of what the tasks mean. For them, it was merely achievement reports twice a year (...) then provide lunch meal service for the elderly. That’s why their performance was not good. (interview with Sayun, 22.11.2017)

Sayun’s utterance demonstrated the form of knowledge that is needed in running the Day Club: what is needed to survive in applying for state funding. It is this knowledge that helps to translate the state’s recognition of Indigenous peoples’ differences through a Day Club. It is a form of knowledge that gives a nod to the disciplinary gaze. Here we see two kinds of care staff in the community. One is the communal type, like Ciwas and Lawai; the other is the one with the knowledge about the state, like Sayun.

Education is closely related to how they are recruited as care workers. The supervisor, required to have a minimum college education,⁹⁰ is mandated to locate the available resources in and outside the tribe and manage the personnel; the care workers, required to have basic knowledge of nursing and/or care work, are mandated to be responsible to organize and carry out care services for the elderly, conduct administrative tasks and collect data about the care needs of the elderly.⁹¹ Last but not least, both the supervisor

⁹⁰ Before 2016, high school graduates were eligible.

⁹¹ Care workers are required to either have a certificate of care worker or graduate from high school or polytechnic college with nursing or health care as their main focus. An additional flexibility was added for those who had practical experience (more than one year) and received gerontological training in

and the care workers are required to support the official policy promotion from the Council of Indigenous Peoples and municipalities (Council of Indigenous Peoples, 2018, p. 9). Volunteers, on the other hand, are not required to fulfill any educational requirements.⁹²

Creating and organizing suitable activities for *bnkis* have been a recurrent topic of discussion for the care worker. The pressure intensified along with the regulation of the Day Club, which evolves quickly in the long-term care policy development.⁹³ The Day Club offers a range of activities, of which I have participated in dumpling-making, karaoke, elderly aerobics, stretching, knitting, video-watching (from online sources such as YouTube), solving Jigsaw puzzles, health-promotion lectures, Presbyterian worship service and visits from the children at the local school and preschool. At other times, the activities were organized outside the church venue. The elderly visited a community hunting school to learn how to make traditional Tayal bows; other times they went to riverside walks in the nearby forest. The territory where the forest located was present in the Tayal history in the form of *lmuhuw*.

Table 4. An example of Day Club's monthly activity chart

Date	Content of the Lesson	Lesson moderator
Jan 3 (Tue)	Getting to know traditional symbols and motifs of Tayal	<i>Lawai</i>
Jan 4 (Wed)	Spiritual Lessons	<i>Saci Koo</i>
Jan 5 (Thu)	Cup stacking	<i>Lawai</i>
Jan 6 (Fri)	Watching movies	<i>Lawai</i>
Jan 9 (Mon)	Handicraft (pen holder)	<i>Yu-Chi Chang</i>
Jan 11 (Wed)	Religious education	<i>Saci Koo</i>
Jan 13 (Fri)	Public Health education	<i>Cardinal Tien Hospital</i>
Jan 16 (Mon)	Documentaries	<i>Lawai</i>
Jan 18	Spiritual growth lessons	<i>Preist Masao</i>
Jan 20	Aerobics	<i>Family and Women Center</i>

relation to social work or public health for more than 20 hours. They are allowed to start to work as care workers but are required to finish their professional care worker training of 90 hours in six months.

⁹² This design of having the role of volunteers looks rather trivial until we begin to consider the societal structure in the Indigenous ancestral land. That is, Indigenous population in their ancestral land (such as Wulai) tend to be older, with only middle school educational level on average and work in agricultural, forestry, fishery and husbandry (Lin et al, 2015). It means that most of the people living in the Indigenous community, who were already in a disadvantaged socioeconomic status, tend to only fit in the category to be an unpaid volunteer.

⁹³ From 2015 to 2017, the Day Clubs offered gatherings three days a week. From 2018, Council of Indigenous Peoples increased the amount of budget on promoting preventive elderly care and developing care services in the tribes, thus the Day Clubs were encouraged to be open five days a week.

Jan 23	Getting to know traditional cloth of Tayal	
Jan 24	Memory game	Lawai
Jan 25	Spiritual Lecture	Lawai
List of January Lessons for The Wulai Day Club		
Responsible staff for the month: Lawai		

The state demands that all activities to be categorized in a specific way, an analysis of which also shows the underlying epistemic assumption of what counts as desirable care. Table 4 demonstrates an ordinary monthly schedule in the Day Club observed. Under Sayun’s supervision, each care worker is responsible for developing her own “lesson plan” for the month. Activities are categorized into three different categories: spiritual, cultural and physical (health promotion). This reflects the biomedical orthodoxy through the operation of binaries (cf. Chapter 5.1.1), which we can observe from everyday practices in the Day Club. On the one hand, it ties the notion of health to the bodily, physical and the absence of disease. On the other hand, it separates and polarizes nature and culture as well as soul and body. Also, it reflects the imposed categorization, coming from the voice of the state, and excludes the culturally-grounded meaning of health.

The spiritual activities were singing church songs or doing church service, that is, largely overlapping with activities of the Wulai church. In addition to the church, the preschool and elementary school children were sometimes invited to the Day Club to interact with the *bnkis*. The cultural activities entail getting to know Tayal totems and traditional cloth, watching Tayal documentaries and learning traditional dances. The *bnkis* have lost knowledge of these things due to colonization and assimilation, so the Day Club treats the cultural activities as a way to revitalize Tayal culture (Interview with Yutas Hetay, 18.12.2018). The *bnkis* were encouraged to do Tayal handicraft and visit local associations that promote the Tayal way of life (e.g. hunting, weaving, arrow-making and music) together as a group with Day Club staff accompanying them. Last but not least, the physical activities include themes such as games (e.g. stacking cups), aerobics, and a fall prevention training. Also, the elderly got lessons on medicine usage and healthy nutrition. Careful planning of activities is the key aspect of winning state support.

In the beginning when the Day Club was established, care workers organized the activities loosely and the *bnkis* had time chitchatting with each other whenever they wish. As the legislation of the Day Club became stricter, the Day Club became more structured with a more organized program and pre-defined themes. As the care worker Ciwas pointed out:

Mondays and Thursdays are cultural lessons, Tuesdays and Fridays are exercise and health lessons. Wednesdays are for spiritual lessons. They like to attend church service, so we invite the priest to join us. So

Wednesdays are entirely theirs, you know, the elderly like to have time to gather together. (12.12.2018)

The activities were expected to promote *bnkis*'s physical and mental health, as well as strengthen the participants' cultural identity. As care worker Pagung noted, "The point is that they can use both their hands and brain. (...) We need to focus not only on culture but also on health." (Focus group interview 12.12.2018) However, the state requirement does not encourage the care workers to rely on their localized knowledge, but circumscribes care-giving to the biomedical paradigm only.

Care workers were given little space to voice their experience within the state structure and the dominant gaze that gives supremacy to biomedicine. This tendency can be observed in the following instance, when I proposed a question to the care workers in a humid afternoon, after the Day Club has ended.

"How do you experience the Day Club and its meaning to your families and the community?" I inquired casually and smiled encouragingly. "Have you ever thought of it?"

Ciwas stared at me, giggled at this question and blinking blankly. Pagung lifted her head from the paperwork and cleared her throat, "The biggest and most realistic help is that we are given salary." She stood up slowly, continued, "At least [we are] getting old, this place is nearby and gives salary," Pagung described loud and clear, using hand gestures animatedly as if she was hosting an event which she usually does during church gatherings and cultural events at the community. Ciwas smiled and whispered to me, "She knows better." (12.12.2018)

Care workers were constructed by the policy frames as objects—personnel, workforce, human capital—trained to carry out caring tasks. However, a bigger picture of their adapting, processing and shaping of concepts is not easily present in a short interview extract like the one above. I argue that the care workers are the middle-persons, working on behalf of the state to deliver care, meanwhile, they are not passively accepting rules inscribed in the state requirement, but actively engaged in micro activism, such as inventing and interpreting rules. One example can be drawn from the way a care worker tackles the sign-in sheet.

The *bnkis* were having their lunch at the kitchen, I decided to say goodbye to Sara across the road. Upon reaching the top of the stairs, I saw a silhouette of care worker Sara on the chair near the elevated platform. Paper shuffled loudly. Curious at what she was writing, I took a peek at what the papers were: the volunteer sign-in sheets. Sara tossed me a glance and smiled faintly, said "[This is] like writing lines. I will not sign 'Sara Chou-Peng', but only Sara Peng. This way it is much faster." (1.7.2015)

The excerpt indicated a kind of “micro activism” by the care worker Sara at the Day Club. The Annual Report, which was required to proceed with state funding, wanted Day Club to hand in care workers’ signatures from their activities on a daily basis. Instead of spending time signing the sheets every day, Sara chose to deal with the paperwork in her own time (while the *bnkis* were having lunch). She made an explicit connection of the activity of writing her name on the sign-in sheet as if she was “writing lines”, a common punishment handed out to misbehaving students in Taiwan, which was also used in the Sinicization period. The act of writing lines effectively invokes the atrocious memory from the Sinicization period in the 1960s (cf. Chapter 1 and Chapter 3). Another example can be drawn from the mealtime after the activities. I had been to the Day Club and at times had brought family members with me to the church. None of us were on the list, meaning the Day Club would not receive money for giving us food. Throughout the entire time of my fieldwork, however, the care workers at the Day Club have been inclusive in inviting all the people present to the table for lunch, including me and my family. This act of sharing a meal resembles the important Tayal tradition of uniting through eating together, or *Qutux Niqan*.

Care consists of giving and receiving at the same time (Chapter 5.2). My empirical data in the Day Club shows that care workers are not only providing, but receiving care from the *bnkis*. Rovaniyaw explained that care workers often feel their cultural identities are strengthened through learning to use Indigenous languages again with the elders (2019, July). Through being in the enabling environment and grounding relationships with the *bnkis*, the care workers are cared to learn to reflect on what Tayal culture means to them and also learn the Tayal language.

In this subchapter, the context of the Day Club has been explained through taking a close-up examination at the Tayal care workers, who are intermediaries between the state and the *bnkis*. The care workers are supposed to give pre-defined thematic activities to promote *bnkis*’s physical and mental health, as well as boost their cultural identities. However, it becomes clear that including Indigenous workers does not automatically make Day Clubs “tribal”. This context provides a key context for the Tayal experiencing care in the Day Club.

8.2 BNKIS IN THE MODEL DAY CLUB

Wulai Day Club has functioned well and has been promoted as one of the model Day Clubs by the Council of Indigenous Peoples (interview with Council Indigenous Peoples, 30.11.2017). On the request of the Council of Indigenous Peoples, Wulai Day Club even has hosted a semi-official visit from a neighboring municipality to share best practices (Sun & Zhang, 2017). Being evaluated and awarded by the Council of Indigenous Peoples, the care workers

seem to attribute the secret for success to the seamless connection to the elders and Tayal culture. As the care supervisor Sayun put it:

In the tribe, the elderly people could gather together to chat, or learn something. I could say that the Elders' wisdom plays part in it: they are teachers. I will bring [students] from elementary and junior high school, or even preschool, to the day club. So they could come in exchange with the elderly." (Sun & Zhang, 2017, para. 5)

Sayun hoped to make *bnkis* teachers and the Day Club to be a venue for learning traditional wisdom. In the interview, Sayun distinguishes Elder and the elderly. The role of Indigenous Elders are crucial in Indigenous culture. Elder, unlike "senior" or "elderly" which refers to an automatic process of aging, generally entails that one has lived one's life in a particular manner giving service to the community. It is expected that to be an Elder, one has to be knowledgeable and practiced in the Indigenous language, customs and rules. In contrast to Sayun, the *bnkis* do not make such a definitive distinction between Elder and the elderly. My observation is that there are varying areas of expertise of being an Elder. Some *bnkis* are the keepers of knowledge in weaving, others in hunting, still others in building relationships. Instead of perceiving the Elder as a blanket criterion, it is more accurate to say that different *bnkis* are Elders in different areas. The fact that Sayun interchangeably uses the term signifies that the process of negotiating who the elderly were still actively in progress.

Establishing a relationship with *bnkis* in the Day Club was natural and organic. I was immediately drawn into a web of relationships through remembering the mutual family and friends, landmarks, places and events. It developed through a web of factors: kinship, history, memories, ancestral places and events. This relational approach explains why establishing cultural protocols are important. It is on the basis of these layered relationships that I conducted my observation.

The number of *bnkis* who were written in the annual funding proposal of the Wulai Day Club was between 20 and 29 from 2015 to 2018.⁹⁴ The institutional regulation of Day Clubs noted that the participants needed to be 55 years of age or older. In practice, the *bnkis* who showed up were fewer than those on the list.⁹⁵ Most of the people who attended Wulai Day Club were *yaki* (elderly women in Tayal) in their 70s and 80s. There was no official application process nor registration to take part in the Day Club. There was no fee required and no queue (or waiting list) for the *bnkis*. The supervisors and care workers were the ones who map out the number of *bnkis* to participate the Day Club. In fact, even a *bnkis* not present on the list could show up in the Day Club and attend the activities—as long as the *bnkis* is part of the Tayal community—or

⁹⁴ The number of participants increased to 34 in year 2019.

⁹⁵ For Indigenous peoples, they can apply for pension and long-term care services once they are 55 years of age. For non-Indigenous peoples, the age limit is 65.

members of the local congregation. Contingencies of relations in the Wulai *buluo* largely overlaps with the religion. In most of the Indigenous contexts, the Christian church has a stronghold in the community and the care supervisor and workers are somehow attached to the church. So it was feasible for them to recruit participants among church-goers (for more discussion about the entanglement between Christianity and the Indigenous *buluo*, see Chapter 8.3).

The *bnkis* who participated in the Day Club were not physically frail. Rather, they were able to take care of themselves and managed an independent life. Most of them came to the Day Club by scooter, by car or by foot. Care worker Ciwas explained that the health condition of the *bnkis* at the Day Club was not bad, regardless of some of them having chronic/noncommunicable diseases. “Four out of 30 *bnkis* are struggling after a severe stroke. They do not want to participate (in the Day Club) anymore, but we give out meals when we visit them” (interview with Ciwas, 12.12.2018). This seems to suggest that the Day Club due to few staff members and what the municipal authority says, “lack of professional competence” (interview with municipal authority, 15.12.2017), was not able to welcome frail order participants—be it because of stroke, a fall, or dementia. Many elders stopped attending when their level of physical disability increased. This was why the government wanted to streamline the Day Clubs into C level care service centers (cf. Chapter 7.1), but the Day Club’s willingness, competence, legal regulation of space and staff remain a challenge (interview with municipal authority, 15.12.2017).

The following extract described a snapshot of everyday life in the Day Club. It was revised from my field notes taken in November 2017 (fieldnotes, 24.11.2017). It started with me and my *nainai* coming into the day club a bit late:

Care worker Ciwas greeted *nainai* when she waddled up the stairs to the church hall. She pulled us a foldable plastic chair and set it next to the entrance where her mother Wagi was sitting. Yaki Wagi nodded to *nainai* and turned to the platform while retaining the same empty look on her face. It was until then that I noticed a freckled-faced woman in her mid-40s was instructing chair-based strength exercises with a bright orange resistant band in her hands. The participants of the Wulai Presbyterian church-based day club rocked and swayed as the fitness instructor whipped the seniors into a mobility-improving, fall-preventing worship. Their torsos rotated. Legs extended. Chests squeezed. Arms lifted. With the instructor’s chanting through her behind-the-head headset mic, the eleven elders—10 women and one man—hands clasped and raised slowly above their heads toward the heavens as the grandson of Rukun stared at them in bewilderment.

The description shows several things. First, the biomedical gaze is entangled with the Day Club. Judging from the waddling *bnkis* with a hardwood walking stick, and other *bnkis* in the Day Club doing fitness exercise, they were mobile

and able to move around. They were not frail older people who need acute care. The instructor was there to activate them physically and to improve their health (see Figure 6). The exercise was designed in accordance to the national guidelines of physical fitness (Interview with the instructor, 24.11.2017). The guidelines laid out the criteria for healthy aging—muscular strength and endurance, flexibility, cardiopulmonary function and balance— that all old adults (65 years and above) shall fulfill. However, the notion of health and the way it was framed was quite rigid and envisioned by a biomedically dominated perspective. Second, the attention of biomedicine overshadows other aspects of care. The Day Club co-organizes activities such as fitness and preventive health talks with a hospital in New Taipei City, in which the activities reinforce a binary concept of health that equates good health with good physical condition. Relying predominantly on the biomedical approach does not promise good care as far as Indigenous peoples' care-receiving is concerned. In the Wulai Day Club, based on my observation of the *bnkis*'s attitude to care, we can say that care should be conceptualized from their everyday living experience, which is embedded in an ecological, interpersonal, relational and spiritual web. Some *bnkis* feel being cared for in running their bistros, others in walking in the woods, others in listening to a sermon. If we include these perspectives into the activities of the Day Club, we would not need a fitness instructor pushing *bnkis* for a mobility-improving, fall-preventing worship in a concrete building. The *bnkis* may be highly motivated to activate themselves with thematic lessons that are inspired by their everyday living.



Figure 6. Fitness instructor from Cardinal Tien Hospital instructing *bnkis* in the Wulai Day Club during the field trip in 2017. Photo by I-An Gao.

After the story of the fitness instructor's visit showing how "active aging" according to the state is taking form in the Day Club, let us look at an ordinary week and the activities as the last background component. The ordinary day in the Day Club began with *bnkis* arriving in the spacious service hall at the elevated ground floor of the Wulai Presbyterian church. This is paradoxical, as the concrete building walls separate the everyday life on the land, which is closely related to the prerequisite to culturally-grounded care. But the church was one of the few state-approved buildings that had legal registration, so the Day Club's activities were tied there. After arriving, the *bnkis* greeted each other—usually in Tayal—and sat down. There were no assigned seats. The volunteers, who were also *bnkis* participating in the Day Club, would walk around to each of them and check their pulse and blood pressure. Although the action of checking pulse and blood pressure may invoke the biomedical gaze, thus bringing forth a sense of alienation and stress, the fact that the Tayal language was actively employed in the process was a boost for trust and communal solidarity.

The indicators were carefully written down on a sheet of paper where the names of the elderly were written in Mandarin Chinese. It is telling that the names were only in Mandarin: Many of them were born around World War II, and their chances to receive education had been extremely rare. There were also other reasons why they did not write their names in Tayal. On the one hand, as most of the Tayal names of the *bnkis* were not officially registered in the national census, they were not recognized as valid names from the state perspective. Most of the *bnkis* lived through several colonial eras, in which the most "proper" way of transliteration (Qiu, 1998) of Indigenous languages was imposed. *Bnkis*, consequently, learned the writing system that was allowed in that specific colonial era.⁹⁶

On the other hand, Wulai has always been a multi-lingual community, where Tayal, Mandarin Chinese, Japanese and Hoklo were spoken in an interwoven, interchangeable and overlapped manner.⁹⁷ The fact that one has many names does not stir anxiety in the hearts of *bnkis*. Therefore, they accept also their names were written in Mandarin Chinese, as they embrace those names represent part of them.

Bnkis's names in Mandarin Chinese were written down, usually by a care worker or volunteer, on a paper entitled "Sign-in sheet for the Day Club at Wulai *buluo*, Wulai District, Council of Indigenous Peoples of the municipality of New Taipei City". It was necessary to record their attendance at the Day Club every time because their attendance is formally a part of the documentation that needed to be given to the Council of Indigenous Peoples for evaluation at the end of each year.

⁹⁶ Cf. Lapland and the Sámi, where everything "official" was in Finnish because the Sámi did not know how to write a meeting protocol in Sámi, i.e. Toivanen, 2001.

⁹⁷ Hoklo is a language originating from the Minnan region in Southeastern China. It is spoken widely in Taiwan, with approximately 17 million speakers, making up 75% of Taiwan's population.

After two hours, 11.30 a.m., the activities ended for the day, and the *bnkis* headed to a small multifunctional cottage located across the church for lunch. The food offered in the Day Club was paid by the Council of Indigenous Peoples, as was the equipment. Care workers would hand out *bnkis*'s own stainless steel bowls with their names on them. The food provided at the Day Club was always a warm meal prepared by care workers. The genre of the food was an elderly-friendly Taiwanese bistro-style, where dishes such as stir-fried vegetables, seaweed soup, braised pork, steamed pumpkin and dry fried fish were common. *Bnkis* would also bring their own food to share. Sometimes it could be fruits and candies, other times traditional Tayal style millet-fermented pork or fish. When they were sitting around the table sharing the traditional food, it reminded me of the traditional social unit *utux niqan*—a unit made up by the people who eat and work together. Food has relevance for Tayal culture and maintaining culturally-grounded care in the Day Club.

Traditional Tayal food is an important aspect of Tayal's indigeneity. While the policy assumes that Tayal culture is automatically included when having Tayal workers on the job, in the same vein, a person with Indigenous status would automatically prepare an Indigenous menu. The caveat is that it is easy to overlook Tayal's fluid and embodied process of "being" Indigenous in their lived contexts. On the one hand, indeed the care workers were Indigenous people and they had experienced living in their *buluo*. Yet they do not necessarily have the intimate link to the old "tribal experience" that the policy has taken for granted that they had. The goal of "going tribal" implicated in the policy is more complex than just landing Indigenous people on the job.

These difficulties could be seen in the ways the *bnkis* reacted to Day Club's activities. The *bnkis* did not talk much about how they experience the care the Day Club. The only exception was when meeting reporters and politicians, then they would smile and praise the government for caring about them. Other than that, their genuine opinions about the Day Club did not surface naturally in the process of our conversations. Upon hearing my questions concerning whether they like the activities, the *bnkis* just politely nodded and said they liked everything. Nevertheless, I have collected two instances that give a more nuanced picture of how they react to Day Club's activities. *Yaki* Sayoko commented, "We are [treated] like little children! These are lessons for little children." (Focus group interview in the Day Club, 18.12.2018). The expression reveals a strong desire to be treated on an equal footing with other adults. It is linked to a sense of independence and autonomy. *Yaki* Yaway echoes that she was unhappy about being forced to participate in the activities. "I told them I did not want to participate because my legs hurt. They kept pushing me to exercise. I fell and had surgery. I don't understand why the care workers kept forcing me. It is enraging." (interview, 9.9.2020). These frustrations show that care-receiving is not simple. The activities were outlined so that there was little for the elders to decide and participate in deciding what to do and what not to do (especially when the Day Club became more institutionalized, i.e. after 2018). The level of reduced autonomy and agency was observed by Rovaniyaw

(2019), who was commissioned by the Council of Indigenous Peoples to be an evaluator to Day Clubs. She noted that there was a worrying trend to focus on the show-up rates of participants—the written signatures were paid more attention to than the actual socializing—because it decides whether Day Clubs will get funding the year after (ibid.).

Bnkis expressed two reasons that made them attend the Day Club again and again. They were, firstly, that the *bnkis* all know each other; and second, they like the church. These two aspects are not mutually exclusionary, but in most cases intertwined. For the former, “we all know each other” is the typical reason I received when I asked why the elders decided to show up in the Day Club. Knowing each other, and talking stories about “who is who’s who from what place” plays a key role in their socializing conversations. For the latter, *bnkis* were happy to spend time in the church, or more precisely, contribute their time to church-related activities. Yaki Rukun, a volunteer at the Day Club, noted that despite feeling tired and frail, she still participated in an organized aerobics exercise held by churches in Wulai as much as she could (interview 15.6.2015). The *bnkis* doesn’t distinguish Day Club from the church, but see them as linked.

The *bnkis* reiterated that they like to attend church services, and going to Day Club is like a part of such religiosity. However, it should be noted that attending church is less about their faithful devotion as individuals, but more about holding onto a familiar collective identity in the web of relations which the church has created (cf. Christianity integrated *Gaga*, i.e. Chapter 3 more cf. Chapter 8.3). Throughout the time that I spent with them in the Day Club, almost all of them emphasized the same message concerning why they want to attend Day Club: connecting with the people there. Staying close to the kin and the land is important for them. So the Day Club was in a sense re-purposed for the *bnkis* to gather and connect with people.

[The Day Club] activities are all good, especially for the aged people. We can move our bodies and train our brains via hand-making toys. I think all activities are the same, I like them all the same. *As long as there are activities for groups, I have taken part in them all.* (Emphasis added by me, interview with yutas Tamu, 13.12.2018)

The narrative from yutas Tamu told about his experience with Day Club being positive because of the groups. The reason that the groups matter is that “everybody knows each other and stay together” (Interview with yaki Atay, 13.12.2018). It shows that the Tayal experience care through the aspect of relationality. Relationality with people plays a crucial role in defining good care for the *bnkis*.

The Day Club was also re-purposed for the *bnkis* to form solidarity in the face of disease and death. Topics relating to cancer, pain and medicine were common in the Day Club, as speakers in health promotion sessions would talk about how to prevent cancer and how to take medicine. However, the *bnkis* used the Day Club to also form meaningful relationships and to heal by sharing

their feelings about death, dying and pain. The *bnkis* used humor to lighten the topic and comfort each other, and also organized visits by themselves after the Day Club to send final farewells and pray for a family. For example, four *bnkis* decided to send their farewell to the deceased and pray for the grieving family (fieldnotes, 13.5.2015).

The matter of how the *bnkis* experience care in the Day Club, therefore, should be discussed broadly. The reflective notes show other things were happening on a specific day.

The Day club was teeming with activities. Many conversations happening at the same time. The *bnkis* exchanged animatedly news about their lives in Tayal while buying cloths from the vendor; the chicken seller marched in the church, asking in Taiwanese Hoklo does anybody want to purchase a hen; a mailman hopped off his noisy scooter while shouted the receiver's name on the package in Mandarin. At the front of the dais, three *bnkis* followed the music and danced aerobics which were instructed mainly in Chinese—the "official activity" organized by the day club. Other *bnkis* just remained seated and stared at the sky with an empty expression; still other *bnkis* sauntered slowly around the church; or were just casually chatting under their umbrellas on the stairs so to avoid the sunlight. The day club is not a rationalized, military-like coherent collective that has only one thing happening at one time. Instead, it contains life. It is a complex, living and breathing organism. (fieldnotes, 8.12.2017)

Many things were happening all at once. The activities, unlike being neatly planned and transcribed on the sheet to submit to the state, were teeming, flourishing and embedded in the life of the community. It was a circular, community-based process happening in front of me. I witnessed many things happening in the day club and was not being able to see, to listen, to feel and process everything at once.

To conclude this subchapter, the *bnkis* have noted that they experienced good care in the Day Club because they got to see people they knew and be in the church. Just as they did not distinguish Elder from elderly, the *bnkis* did not make a clear distinction between the Day Club and the church. It signifies that the relationship between the state and the Indigenous peoples is complex and is in a fluid process that is entangled with colonial legacies. Indeed, the thematic activities ordered by the state in the Day Club tie care giving to the biomedical norm of aging and care. Yet, the *bnkis* demonstrated alternative visions of care, such as a broader approach of good care that derived from their everyday lives in and out of the Day Club, which are, for example, ecological, spiritual and relational aspects. These care receiving aspects are key to include if we place *bnkis* in the center of care. The care policy shows signs of being contested, as the Day Club was re-purposed to be a space for connecting and forming solidarity by the *bnkis*. Thus far, we have a general picture of how the *bnkis* experience care in the Day Club. Below, I take a step further to explore

more in detail how space, language and religion play a role in their experience of care.

8.3 CARE ENMESHED IN COLONIAL PRESENT

After examining the background of the Day Club, it is time to analyze the stories of care by the *bnkis*. How is caring experienced—what and whom to care for, and how? Yes, I said experience, not perceive or view.⁹⁸ The stories of care are based on the lived experiences of the *bnkis*. Each person’s experience makes up a piece of the holistic tapestry of caring. Each aspect is like a beam of laser that makes up a hologram of the wholeness of care. The idea is based on my understanding that living well is rooted in the inseparable whole, as I here embrace Tayal hermeneutics and expand the epistemological space for understanding care with it.

In the Indigenous paradigm, care is dealt with not just by seeing it as belonging to the physical, nor does it belong to merely the subjective sphere. It belongs to an understanding embedded in the idea of wholeness: finding balance and achieving a sense of peace (see Chapter 5). However, this was not exactly what I encountered in the Day Club. My observation have shown the opposite of the assumed strong tribal subjectivity. To illustrate, I delve deeper into space, religion and language to explicate how *bnkis*’s experience care in the context of colonial history and continuing trauma. It reveals that, no matter how “tribal” the Day Club go, the everyday lives of *bnkis* are still affected by the imperial gaze that downplay Taiwan’s colonial legacies.

8.3.1 NEGOTIATING THE (LACK) OF CULTURE IN SPACE

I start weaving the understanding of care from the aspect of the tangible and the physical world. At first glance, there are not many such weighable elements of the Tayal culture in the Presbyterian church, which is used for the Day Club. Indeed culture is indispensable in caring (cf. Chapter 5), and an environment devoid of *bnkis*’s culture would be hard to imagine that *bnkis* would feel safe and draw strength in their identity. Yet, none of the *bnkis* explicitly expressed to me their dismay that Tayal culture is missing from the physical space. I will elaborate on the meaning of the absence of Tayal culture in the Day Club, why is that, and what are the implications below.

I start with the story of care with space because it is important in two ways. On the one hand, the weighable and physical have a strong and tangible impact

⁹⁸ Here I understand experience as an embodied, lived and wholistic engagement with the world (cf. Kazlauskaite, 2018, pp. 103-115), which entails the ways in which Indigenous research paradigm is upheld. In contrast to experience, notions such as “perceiving” or “viewing” may entail a positivism-driven Cartesian approach that underlines the separation of body and mind (cf. Reddy, 2008; Kazlauskaite, 2018).

in the space. I see space, not as a thing or a container, but as entailing a social reality and a set of relations and forms (cf. Lefebvre, 1991). Spatial arrangement intrigues emotions, which make our bodies circulate and shape our actions as well as interactions with people (cf. Ahmed, 2014). In more general terms, space and care cannot be separated: “Each living body is space and *has* its space: it produces itself in space and it also produces that space” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 170 cited in Fuchs, 2019). On the other hand, the spatial display is politics. Smith (2012) argues that Western conceptions of space tend to compartmentalize the worlds and relationships, and with colonization, Indigenous land, people and the world view were radically transformed to the spatial image of the West (ibid., p. 53). For these two reasons, it would be remiss to omit discussing the implications stemming from the space of Day Club.

The Day Club is an unlikely space to generate care for the Tayal elders (cf. the concept of *malahang* in Chapter 3). The weighable and physical elements of cultural caring seem to be missing—it is a place to promote caring with “tribal” characteristics, yet Tayal culture is not immediately visible in the space of Day Club. This leads us to wonder: can such a space provide appropriate care for the Tayal? I examine the spatial features of the day club first, then tell care worker Lawai’s story as a juxtaposing point of opportunities.

Tangible cultural elements of the Tayal were not immediately visible in the Day Club environment from a rudimentary examination. I was surprised to find out the absence of Tayal visual elements when I first came to the Day Club in 2015. The spatial landscape of the Day Club—the church hall and the kitchen—did not contain much of the Tayal artifacts or other paintings relating to Tayal. All information was written in Mandarin Chinese. There was no Tayal language (spelled in Roman letters) used in the signs in the Day Club. The only exception was the signage on the outer wall of the church, A5-sized acrylic sheets signage for bathrooms and preparation rooms, as well as the content of Wulai church’s weekly bulletin board (see Figure 7 below).

The invisibility of Tayal language and culture can be seen as a barometer that reveals power relations between the Tayal and the Taiwan state; it is an indicator of the vitality, identity and status of Tayal language (May, 2006). Tayal language was barely visible in the church where the Day Club took place. This may suggest that Tayal’s ownership in the place is not strong. Yet, one should not forget that Tayal memories and histories have been passed down through oral tradition, rather than written language. Therefore, it is not enough to decide whether *bnkis* have good care by the spatial landscape of the Day Club only. It requires incorporating different aspects to see a more complete picture.



Figure 7. Day Club in the Presbyterian church hall. Photo by I-An Gao.

The new and modern church hall (see Figure 7) with concrete walls are like confinement that impede that *bnkis* from their everyday lives. Indeed many of the *bnkis* prefer to spend time in the mountains, but an equal amount of them have been attending church their whole lives, and continuing coming to church brought them a sense of peace. It seems the church is important for the *bnkis* to experience care, even though the spatial arrangement does not show much of any signs of Tayal culture.



Figure 8. *Bnkis* having lunch around the kitchen table in the Day Club. Photo by I-An Gao.

Tayal culture is not visible in the kitchen, either (see Figure 8). Water dispensers were placed on the lower shelves, with tags of “Day Care” written in Mandarin Chinese.⁹⁹ An important-looking framed certificate of appreciation stood out on the freshly-painted column: the certificate was issued by the New Taipei City to the Wulai church—and Wulai Day Club immediately afterward in parenthesis—in 2016. The neighboring shelves were filled with artwork made by the *bnkis*. It was the artwork that vaguely resembled Tayal culture (see Figure 9 below). If we put together what seemed mundane at first glance, a closer examination reveals that the items in the kitchen represent the state’s guidelines for the Day Clubs: the office tables, television and water dispensers were bought with the state subsidies that are distributed for improving the quality of elderly care in the rural areas. The framed certificate of appreciation approved that the Day Club was living up to the standards of the state regulations to provide “tribal care”.

The many pieces of artwork on the shelves, which were produced in cultural activities, were the only hints of Tayal culture in the kitchen of the Day Club. They were produced as a way to exhibit that the Day Club is *Indigenous*. I take an example of *bnkis*’s artwork to explore the question of indigeneity and authenticity through conversation with care worker Lawai.

Lawai has the responsibility to design lessons for the elders and make sure there is enough art they can be displayed. To satisfy the requirements placed

⁹⁹ “日托”, Rì tuō, meaning literally “daycare”

by the funding party, the state, she has to make sure the art reflects the main goals of the Day Club. Combining Tayal cultural elements into art is one of the goals. The artwork made by the *bnkis* includes vests made with red textile and decorated with Tayal patterns, wooden pen holders with photo frame shaped and painted in traditional costume for Tayal women, red Tayal headbands decorated with plastic sew-through buttons, imitation pearl plastic beads in clusters and yellow, blue and green rosary-like beads glued on top.

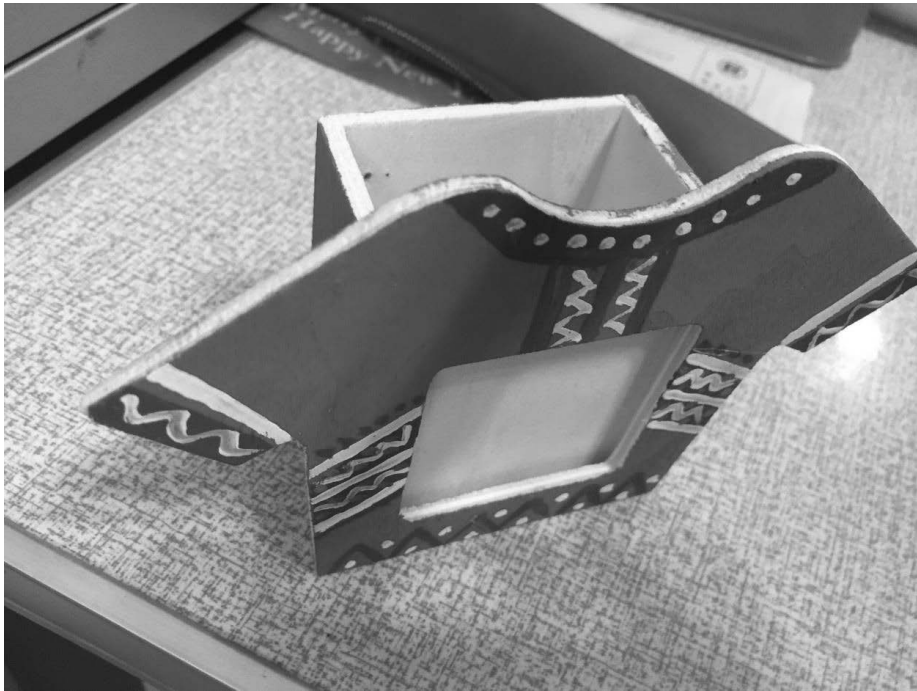


Figure 9. Wooden pen holder with photo frame shaped and painted in traditional costume for Tayal women. Photo by I-An Gao.

A rudimentary examination of the artwork would remind us of “tradition as modernity’s otherness”—where the artworks seem to suggest a primordial traditional Indigenous lifestyle that is often shown in museums. By “shown in the museums”, I am referring to the conceptualized oppositions between tradition and modernity, such as “pre-change” versus “change”, “permanence” versus “innovation”, “simple society” versus “complex society”, “in the old times” versus “nowadays” (cf. e.g. Eisenstadt, 1974, p. 2; Finnegan, 1991, p. 107, cited in Anttonen, 2005, pp. 34-35). In particular, the artworks that were made by the *bnkis* in the Day Club represent a static and romanticized image of Tayal culture, which invokes a sense of dichotomy between tradition and modernity. The dichotomy is constructed in equating tradition as static cultural continuity and conservatism, whereas modernity is conceptualized to be the embodiment of change and innovation (Anttonen, 2005, pp. 33-34). This phenomenon is echoed by Valkonen and Valkonen (2018), observing the

opposition of tradition and modernity in the Sámi context (for Sámi people's migration and the connection to their homeland, cf. Keskitalo, 2019). Aligning with Sayer (2010, pp. 14-17), it is prudent to say that this kind of dualism is beset with misconceptions which may create problems in our understanding of the world and ourselves.

Let us return to the scene where the artwork was shown to me the first time. From there we may observe the intersubjectivity and relationships at work.

The care worker Lawai carefully took out the artworks from the shelves one by one, displaying on the table. The faded eye shadows did not hide her tired eyes, instead, it made her look even more exhausted. Lawai is the kind of Tayal woman who would hold her hands up in victory "Vs" in front of a camera and make sure her hair looked smooth and shiny in the photograph. Obviously, today was not the day that she would allow pictures to be taken. Her eyes fixed on the artwork and unraveled why she looked tired, "[These lessons] take a lot of time to really come about, luckily my daughter helped me out! She was in junior high school and now in high school, (...)... she helped me to draw cultural stuff on the cards and the old people could play pairing with these cards! She drew for example *Utux's* eyes, millet wine and sun. It was really time-consuming--last time we even made them until midnight. (29.11.2017)

The transcript reveals that the artwork, or "cultural stuff", is created as a manifestation of traditions. It legitimizes the existence of the Day Club, in this case with the help of young people such as Lawai's daughter to "invent tradition". In this case, the notion of tradition appears old. However, it is actually quite often recent in origin, and indeed is sometimes invented (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2012). Lawai grew up in a village that had been heavily targeted for relocation during the Japanese era. For a Tayal woman like her, who survived the time of the monocultural nationalism Martial Law period, she was not familiar with the idea of Tayal culture and what it entails (interview, 13.12.2018).

Lawai smiled sheepishly upon hearing my question of how her daughter helped her draw the cultural stuff, and said, "I am not, well, I do not, you know, understand so much about what is (Tayal) culture. Not to mention I am not from here. So I do not get to know this well. (13.12.2018)

This narrative tells us two things. On the one hand, the story demonstrates the contextualized practice of awareness and agency. Although Lawai remained unsure about her grasp of Tayal culture ("I do not understand much of the Tayal culture"), at the same time, she acknowledged the highly contextualized feature of indigenous culture and knowledge ("I am not from here"). On the other hand, the story reveals the direct impacts of colonial legislation and the unfavorable conditions existing for Lawai to learn about her own Tayal identity in the first place.

Things like totem, I had no clue what they were when I was small. My daughter learned about (Tayal) totem from teachers in school. Nowadays in Wulai junior high school, they arrange cultural lessons from time to time. My little daughter has this kind of lesson. Currently elementary and junior high school in Wulai pays special attention to this kind of lessons and she always teaches me. (12.12.2018)

This narrative also tells us two things. On the one hand, the resource of making the present comes from the next generation. Seeking help to navigate better how Indigenous culture should be represented, reflected and applied, Lawai asked her daughter for help. Lawai's daughter did not have much immersion in the Tayal society and community as such, but she learned traditional Tayal culture through a process of transmission at institutions such as school, which has been common after the Indigenous movement and affirmative actions have taken place. The knowledge and interpretation of what culture means, in this case, is transmitted not only from older to younger but also the other way around. At the same time, as a care worker, Lawai also has the freedom to create what it means to be Tayal in the context of the Day Club. Creating the artworks entail the agency of the care worker as a form of interpretation (Handler & Linnekin, 1984, cited in Anttonen, 2005, p. 35). "To do something because it is traditional is already to reinterpret, and hence to change it." (ibid.) On the other hand, the fact that the artwork does not come from the *bnkis*, but from Lawai's daughter through formal education, suggests that so-called Tayal culture is defined by the state. In fact, Lawai had asked the *bnkis* to share traditional craftwork at the Day Club. The *bnkis*'s response were similar to that of the Indigenous survivors of Canadian residential schools: they simply "look the other way" (Monture-Angus, 1999 cited in Czyzewski, 2011, p. 6) when confronted with issues that may inflict pain.

In sum, the Day Club is not just a neutral space where activities take place. The Day Club, funded by the nation state, shows that the absence of Tayal culture and the imbalanced power relations are closely entangled. On the one hand, Tayal people show resilience in responding to the policy in their everyday experience in the Day Club. In particular, Day Club has the potential to become a space for the Tayal to negotiate their identity and indigeneity. On the other hand, the fact that the *bnkis* don't care about the Tayal culture exhibited in the Day Club may point to the open wound of colonial present. The harsh imperialism has made the *bnkis* to think that Han Chinese is the "normal" (cf. Sámi in Finnish society, Toivanen, 2015). The implication is that the traditional skills are discontinued, and the power to define the concept of culture is gradually transferred to the state.

8.3.2 CARING THROUGH LANGUAGES

Language is a central issue in experiencing care and maintaining well-being (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009; Pohjola, 2016; Blix, 2017; Ru et al., 2019). Living outside the community, I expected to hear the familiar sounds of Tayal language echoing in the Day Club. I expected to see *bnkis* telling stories passionately and Tayal culture becoming alive in the space. Yet, what I saw was at first counter-intuitive. The *bnkis* that I encountered were multilingual. They spoke Mandarin Chinese, Japanese, Tayal and even English. They spoke a mixture of languages. Younger ones spoke mainly Mandarin Chinese and sprinkled it with some Tayal vocabulary; older ones spoke mainly Tayal, seasoned with some Mandarin Chinese and Japanese. In any case, I have observed two aspects that link language to care. On the one hand, Tayal language plays a key role in caring, both in caring-giving and care-receiving. On the other hand, it is crucial to recognize the inherent complexity of multilingualism among the *bnkis*.

Socializing in Tayal is a central tenet of caring. In socializing in Tayal, the boundary of care-giving and care-receiving is blurred. Both the care workers and the *bnkis* are capable of giving care and receiving care. The structure of the Day Club dictates that many thematic activities should be carried out in a standardized manner. The care workers have discretionary power and make sure *bnkis* have time to socialize with each other. Although socializing is not prescribed as part of any formal activities, maintaining relationships through socializing with one another is one of the crucial tenets to keep the *bnkis* attending the Day Club. The fluidity of socializing among *bnkis* was recorded on a day where Day Club activity was not pre-planned. The care workers were attending other things while there was nothing on the monitor screen, nobody leading the activities, no video played.

Ciwas rushed in and turned on the computer while my *nainai* was socializing with her sister-in-law Bengah animatedly in Tayal. Two live-in carers from Indonesia, who accompanied their respective *bnkis*, communicated in their mother tongue. Ciwas struggled to find a good video that has Indigenous-related content and at the same time good enough sound quality. All the meanwhile, layers of socializing were happening among the *bnkis*. They could speak to one person in one second and switch to join a group discussion in the next second. In Tayal language and Mandarin Chinese. Suddenly, Akiko started to sing loudly in Japanese the moment when the live-in carer from Indonesia pushed her wheelchair into the middle of the room. At this instant, almost all *bnkis* stopped their socializing and joined Akiko and choired with smiles on their faces. (Fieldnotes, 5.6.2015)

In this story the significance of socializing for the *bnkis* emerges clearly. Tayal language enhances care in the environment of the Day Club. Using Tayal is like expanding a web that connects these *bnkis*. However, it is not only about Tayal. In the socializing, many languages were present: Tayal, Mandarin,

Japanese and even Indonesian. While the care worker Ciwas was fixing an “Indigenous-related video”, many languages took place in the Day Club as the *bnkis* were actively socializing and building their relationship.

To promote an idea of “cultural health” and “tribal”, one would expect that Tayal language should be promoted and held as one of the highlighted criteria in the Day Club. It was not the case, however, partially because the reality is much more complex than the aim of going “tribal”. Regarding receiving care, not every Tayal in the Day Club has the so-called “native-speaker level” of the Tayal language. The majority of the *bnkis* spoke Tayal as what Laakso and her colleagues called “heritage language”, which implies that the users may be more fluent or feel more confident in the majority language, which often is their language of education (Laakso et al., 2016, pp. 11-13). Some spoke a different variation of Tayal or other Indigenous languages, had learned *Squliq Tayal* (the variant of Tayal spoken in northern Taiwan, including river basin of *Taranan*, cf. Chapter 3) after they moved to Wulai. The older *bnkis*, around the age of 75 to 85, spoke fluent Tayal to each other; the younger *bnkis*, for example below age 70, tended to use a mixture of Tayal and Mandarin Chinese. The younger *bnkis* could speak Tayal, but sometimes they did not remember certain words and would switch them into Mandarin Chinese.

While it was common to observe *bnkis* speaking to each other in Tayal, it should be noted that many of the *bnkis* switched to Mandarin Chinese when interacting with younger people. Understanding it may be a sensitive topic and I inquired about it from my *nainai* after attending to the Day Club for three years. The discussion started from young people in general and I was referencing to *yaki* Rukun bringing her grandson to Day Club and speaking Mandarin Chinese to him.

“Do you want young people to learn Tayal?” I ask. She nods. “But if you don’t speak to them, how are they going to learn?” I continue. Grandma raises her eyebrows upon hearing my question. She scoffs at the idea, “Hmpf, you wouldn’t understand what I would be saying [when speaking in Tayal], so I speak *guó yǔ* (lit. National language, referring to Mandarin Chinese)” She straightens her back, continues “Nowadays everyone speaks Chinese. *Yaki* is old, her grandson doesn’t understand *shāndì huà* (lit. mountain tongue, referring to Tayal), so she speaks with him in *guó yǔ*.” (interview with *nainai*, 11.12.2018)

The rationale for choosing not to speak Tayal includes out of habitude and a sense of lack of control. Behind the veil of “practical issue”, it is not hard to speculate that the actual reason for language change is far more politicized. The symbolic violence and discrimination that make languages other than Mandarin Chinese sound embarrassing, strange and “wrong” (cf. Laakso et al., 2016).

Choosing not to speak Tayal to the youth may seem perplexing since the youth can’t learn the language without speaking it. I voiced this bewilderment to another elder who was taking care of his preschool grandchildren at home.

“Yutas, why not speak Tayal to her?” I ask tentatively. He ignore me as if he did not hear me. “She is now in the best age to learn a new language!?” I glance at the little girl and added. He stops weaving the hat and says dismissively, “She would not understand anyway. None of them understand.” I reply, “But if you don’t speak to them, they are not going to learn.” He stares at the half-woven hat and said half-heartedly, “She knows Tayal already. The school has taught her to pray in Tayal. (Fieldnotes, 25.12.2019)

In the story above, speaking Tayal language to children was not perceived as a priority that was taken up in the family. Instead, the school was given the responsibility to teach and pass on the culture (cf. Laakso et al., 2016). However, that does not mean that *bnkis* oppose to speak Tayal with less fluent Tayal speakers. Many *bnkis* were kind enough to share their knowledge of Tayal language. Yaki Sayoko told me that the first lesson of learning Tayal is to call elders respectfully: not just causally by their names, but I need to add *Yaki* in front of the names. Upon hearing that I used a mixture of Tayal and Japanese, she also firmly stressed that “[We Tayal] do not speak the tongue of the gentile, [we] speak our own tongue” (fieldnotes, 22.5.2015). This shows care-receiving is conditioned by language. Care-receiving is not simple, and it is a hard job to be a receiver.

Regarding giving care, incorporating Tayal into activities requires more detailed understanding of the *bnkis*’s everyday life. Often, the activities were carried out in a mixture of Tayal and Mandarin Chinese. The language ability of the instructor played a key role in determining how much Tayal was used. Tayal was absent when the health-promoting lecturer from the hospital came to visit, whereas Tayal was used when pastor Masao chaired a service. Promoting the Tayal language in the Day Club was not seen as central to giving care from the state perspective. The Council of Indigenous Peoples did not give specific guidelines on what languages a care worker should know. Nevertheless, the care workers were able to deal with a situation as it developed based on their “cultural competence” (cf. Chapter 5.2): when a *bnkis* spoke to her in Tayal, she would try her best to reply in Tayal. If she understood but did not know the Tayal terms (passive learning was common among the generation of the care workers), she would answer in Mandarin Chinese. They spoke mainly Mandarin Chinese, with short sentences (for example *maniq mami la* “It is time for food!”) and key terms in Tayal (for example *kakay* “leg”, *m’xan* “pain”, *m’wiy* “tired”, *mhkangi* “walk”). In fact, this cultural competence was demonstrated not only by the care workers but also by the younger *bnkis* (some worked as volunteers). On occasions such as the health promotion lessons, the younger *bnkis* and the care workers worked together to translate the content from the nurse and the pharmacist. Here is an example from Amuy, one of the volunteers at the Day Club, who was Tayal and in the same age group as the care workers.

The pharmacist has finished her presentation and already started taking questions. Amuy was interpreting loudly in the front of the stage for yutas Tengan, because he already asked the first question. Yaki Asun did not understand the pharmacist's reply, and Amuy immediately walked with springing steps to her side and immediately started to interpret the pharmacist's words into Tayal and Japanese. (Fieldnotes, 27.6.2015)

Language, an integral part of culture, should be visible in caring. In the example above, the lessons would not be understandable for the *bnkis* without the help from Amuy. This supports the view that care-giving needs to be considered from a culturally sensitive perspective. Language acts as an example in this case. At the same time, from the springing steps and eagerness, we can observe that it is not just about giving, but reciprocal. That is, Amuy receives a sense of affirmation and confidence from playing the role of an interpreter. But we should not romanticize cultural competence. Amuy spoke the languages of competence as she lived with the Tayal and adapted through the colonial history. Notions, such as care-giving and language, are highly politicized and should not be seen as divorced from the colonial history.

The vitality of Tayal language was not as strong as one would assume in the Wulai Day Club. Why don't Tayal complain? Perhaps it is logical, or even understandable if we consider that the Tayal speakers, especially those in Wulai, have lived through the devastating colonial/imperial impact of the assimilative policies perpetrated by the states. Indeed, Tayal language is central to good care, as *bnkis* like to socialize and connect in Tayal. Yet, according to them, the *bnkis* do not seem to think that they can have an opinion in speaking Tayal. The *bnkis* want children to survive and thrive, but are hesitant about teaching Tayal to their children. Many have mixed feelings about whether learning Tayal will help them in the new society. Even today, they are still concerned that speaking Tayal would cause isolation and make them poorly understood. This shows the ongoing coloniality still alive and well in "multicultural Taiwan".

The linguistic context lived out by the *bnkis* in the Day Club provides an alternative way of how this complex issue is refracted, especially for those who had witnessed colonization. Without analyzing this aspect, the caring that is given and received would be missing something substantial.

8.3.3 CARING THROUGH RELIGION

Religion plays a crucial role in experiencing good quality care-giving and care-receiving in the Tayal context. From the *Gaga qnxan* (traditional way of life according to the moral order of *Gaga*, cf. Chapter 3) in the pre-colonial time to the contemporary hybrid religion of a combination of Tayal and Christianity, the aspects of religiosity and spirituality are indispensable. The Day Club exemplifies this important link between caring and religiosity in constructing what it means to care for the *bnkis*.

The Day Club takes place in a church. The majority of people in the Tayal community are also church attendees. Such a phenomenon sparks curiosity on how caring was shaped by the influence of the Christian religion. It is to be noted that Christianity demonized Indigenous belief systems and rituals when the missionaries entered the communities (for cases in Taiwan, cf. Qiu, 1998). It was an evident and painful history that even the Presbyterian church in Taiwan itself has openly acknowledged. “We repent of these mistakes and confess our sins to the nation and to the indigenous peoples” (2016; see also Lin, 2016, Oct 25), the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan announced in 2016. Today, however, Christianity is promoted in a flexible way that appears to adapt to local culture. This flexibility gives space for Christianity to be combined with Tayal culture: therefore it grows more appealing and familiar for Tayal people. The hybridity between Christianity and Tayal tradition can be found in the Day Club, where we can examine how religion shapes caring.

In finding out whether all *bnkis* felt welcomed in the church, I found that the people I talked to felt welcome to take part in the Day Club activity in the church. Many of them conveyed that they are fond of participating in the Day Club activities precisely *because* they saw the activities are part of the church activities. I asked Yaki Piñas, who has been attending the Day Club with her husband regularly, why she liked to come to the Day Club. Her reply may shed light on the genuine intimate emotion she has with the church:

We like to go to the church. Yes, I have been going to church since I was a child. (...) I like it very much, (because) it makes me feel happy in my heart. I feel a heaviness in me if I couldn't go. (Interview with Yaki Piñas, 12.12.2018)

The utterance above shows a close connection between *bnkis*'s sense of care and church. She likes to attend church worship and activities because the church was bringing her a sense of peace and happiness. Rather than seeing the utterance as an incident that validates the general assumption that religiosity increases with age (Pew Research Center, 2018)¹⁰⁰, I take it as an opportunity to explore one of the “partial truths” and the fluid identities (see Denzin & Lincoln, 2017, p. 145). On the one hand, Yaki Piñas's experience suggests that Christianity has been successfully adapted into Tayal culture, making religion part of her life and general well-being. On the other hand, the act of attending church is an integral part of her relationship-building—with relatives, friends (the pastor) and the community as a whole. It was through these relationships that a sense of inner peace was strengthened. Wang's (2008, pp. 21-26) observation echoes this close alignment of church and Tayal spiritual practice in the example of the conceptualization of heart (*inhungan*)

¹⁰⁰ This assumption, being based on the research conducted in Western countries, may not reflect after all the context of Taiwan. According to Chu's (1988) study, the speculation is weak as he observes that in Taiwan, the interrelation between religiosity and age is ambivalent and explains less compared to level of education, urbanization and gender.

and strength (*behering*). Yutas Tamu made a complementary point in the remembering of his hunting experience. *Mlata*, hunting in Tayal, is less about getting proteins but more about realizing Tayal's belief, ritual, taboo, education (training), men's self-acknowledgment (social status) and most importantly, sharing (Watan, 2019, p. 211). During his high school days, Yutas Tamu recalled vividly that the hunting began with a brief ceremony where *bnkis* gave blessings through speaking to the ancestors, where Tayal's concept of the wheel of life which entails life is like a sunrise to sunset would be reiterated (see Chapter 5). On top of the blessing, he was asked by the *bnkis* to pray to God. So the church and Tayal's spirituality co-existed in the context of nature for the *bnkis*.

The Tayal culture is embedded in the teachings of *Gaga* and has the capacity of changing and re-inventing. This capacity is an invaluable resource and strategy contributing to the contemporary *bnkis*' being able to lead a good life. The hybrid of Tayal ways of living and Christianity exemplifies a strategy that is informed by the Tayal knowledge, way of knowing and perceiving reality.

The idea of *culture*, which is commonly understood as *Gaga gnaxan*, literally means living according to the teaching of *Gaga*. As opposed to the common culture-nature divide, the idea of culture from the Tayal perspective demonstrates a holistic way of living in an ecological setting across human and nonhuman, extending to the rivers and mountains. Culture, as equivalent to living according to *Gaga*, regulates societal rules—for example always listening respectfully to the *bnkis*—that holds the Tayal society together. The *bnkis* are the ones who know the Tayal life well, and pass down principles and teachings of *Gaga* so the culture continues.

Gaga has changed in the past century. In fact, the decline of *Gaga* has been a popular topic for scholars who are interested in the contemporary indigenous societies. For example, Hsia (2010) analyzed how the diminishing of *Gaga* correlates with the meaning of drinking, changing from the medium of communication in rituals to a mere commodity (2010). Kuo (2004) assessed that the fact that Tayal in Wulai have higher prevalence of alcoholism was because their traditional way to sustain themselves as well as the tribal collectivity bonded by *Gaga* has been systematically destroyed by the Japanese and KMT.

Christian denominations—especially Protestant—first started to localize when entering the indigenous *buluo* in the 1950s.¹⁰¹ The end of the Japanese ruling era marked the sudden influx of religions pouring into the indigenous traditional territory. Unlike in Japanese times, where a strict border (“savage border”) was imposed to separate the civilized and those “savages” beyond the pale, the KMT removed the border and continued to impose policies that aimed to assimilate Indigenous peoples into the monolingual ethnic Han society. Policies that aimed to extend the capitalist way of life into indigenous

¹⁰¹ The term “localize”, 本土化, is a translation that is widely used in the Chinese literature.

societies were imposed (Kuo, 2004; Sung 2011; cf. Hsieh, 2004), which radically changed the socioeconomic structure and at the same time led to the weakening of indigenous society. In cases like this, many of the Indigenous peoples turned to Christianity as a key to reinterpret *Gaga* (Icyeh, 2008).

Christian churches have strived to convert Indigenous peoples, the Tayal are no exception (see Wang, 2018 for the case of Seediq). The process of church adaptation to local circumstances involves several characteristics (Chien, 2002). First, the key Christian concepts are not only translated but simultaneously contextualized into the Indigenous language, thanks to the relentless work of missionaries who were Indigenous people themselves (or missionaries who knew Indigenous languages very well), for example, Ciwas Nawi (cf. Huang, 2008). In Seediq language, Father was translated into Tama Balo (*Tama* is father, Tama Balo means Father in the Heaven). In Tayal language, Father was translated into *Yaba Utux Kayal* (*Yaba* is father in Tayal). Many of the *bnkis* that I talked to expressed similar views. Yutas Tamu points out:

Why do Indigenous Peoples accept Christianity easily? I realized that it is because our *Gaga* is similar to the Ten Commandments. For example, (in the Ten Commandments) you need to respect ancestors and elders—this is the value we follow as Tayal. (Interview with Yutas Tamu, 13.12.2018)

Yutas Tamu explained that there is a high compatibility between Christianity and Tayal, judging from the principles of ethics and worship. Yutas Tamu, who was born in the end of Japanese colonization, had converted to Christianity in his adolescence because of his mother's dying wish. He had been actively engaged with church activity all his life. This brings us to the second catalyst: "preach in our language, by our own people". Instead of imposing Christianity as a foreign religion that is external to people's experience, the catalyst of preaching in the Indigenous languages by Indigenous missionaries was proven truly effective.

Third, the importance of dreams, or *spi*, is central to many Taiwan Indigenous peoples, and consequently it is integral to spiritual teaching, including *Gaga* to the Tayal people. *Spi* is important because the Tayal believes that "when one falls asleep, it is like crossing the boundary to death; one's soul crosses the border and communicates with ancestors" (Icyeh, 2011, p. 41) In other words, *spi* is perceived as a way to speak to the ancestors and spirits. For example, Tayal people use dreams to tell whether it is safe to go hunting, starting shifting cultivation and conducting healing ceremonies (for the shaman). Chien (2002) notes that many Seediq people used dreaming as a way to explain to their family members why they should convert to Christianity. In fact, not only to convert into Christianity but changing within Christianity as we see below.

We have been going to Presbyterian church for a while ... my husband's family kept coming to invite us to be Catholics. He said, 'after all, we are one family and we should not be divided.' (...) we decided to wait for the dream and see whether to be Catholics. In the end, my husband said he dreamed of a bright beam of light. He felt wonderful after he woke up. That was why we converted to Catholicism. (Rabe Takun, interview transcript cited from Chien 2002)

The transcript showed that the catalyst of hybridity was mobilized by utilizing the Indigenous cultural trajectory. It also shows how close-knit family relations facilitate the process. Pastors and missionaries in the church are often related to the community in one way or another, so it makes contextualizing Christianity into local practices more straightforward. One might reasonably ask: is the acceptance of Christianity as a source of comfort to be regarded as completely positive?

It would be tempting to think that the church selflessly cares about the *bnkis* by taking the running of the Day Club in its hands. Indeed, the church, using Gaga, brings calm and helps to ameliorate the anxiety imposed upon the *bnkis* during the turbulent periods of ongoing colonialism. While still hopeful about spiritual comfort the church gives to the *bnkis*, I have become increasingly perplexed about what is lying underneath, and uncertain about whether the “church-Day Club” combination is rather paving a way for the *bnkis* into the entrenched colonial society and capitalist economy.

In summary, I have examined the ways in which *bnkis* experience care in the Day Club with the focus of culture/space, language and religion. These aspects exhibit the *bnkis*'s experience is many-sided and complex, as it is deeply enmeshed in the colonial legacy of Taiwan. In all the cases examined, the colonial history of Wulai continues to set the condition for the present of *bnkis*. The kind of care promised to the *bnkis*—a holistic, coherent, embodied experience that allows us to maintain, continue and repair our world, which contributes to an interwoven, life-sustaining web (cf. Chapter 5)—remains distant. This is where I invoke Tayal hermeneutics to map out a vision of care, which I explain below.

8.4 WEAVING LIVING WELL IN A WEB OF RELATIONS

The concept of care is not enough to capture the complex experience of *bnkis*. I invoke the Tayal approach to research as a way to examine the web of relations. In so doing, I analyze the stories of the *bnkis* through the relational paradigm and the wholistic concept of living well. This concept of relationality plays out in the Tayal context in two ways. The first term is *lokah*, referring to the general pathway achieving one's wellness and good. The second term is *qnxan*, meaning life or living, often referring to the balanced lifeways upholding multiple relationships, including the family, community, land/environment and cosmos. Living itself is not necessarily good or bad.

These concepts are central to the Tayal hermeneutics and the basis of their relational knowledge (cf. Chapter 4). So we can say that it is through these two concepts that living well is processed and understood among the Tayal *bnkis*.

Tayal's relational concept of living well should be perceived from the perspective of a verb, rather than a noun. It is not static but changing. Like Meyer (2013b, p. 98) pointed out, "An Indigenous world view thus begins with the idea that relationships are not nouns, they are *verbs*." The web of relations demonstrates a holistic way of contemplating what counts as living well. *Qnxan*, life, is a noun straightly derived from the verb *mgyanux*, which means "to live, to survive, living". When Tayal say "laxi phmut mgyanux sa babaw cinbwanan qani mha qu binkisan ta" ("Ancestors said that we should live within the woven world and should not violate the rules [according to *Gaga*]"), it is clear the Tayal concept of living, existing, and being alive is inextricably embedded in culture (e.g. the woven world, the moral order of *Gaga*). So thinking of the word "*qnxan*" ("life") and "*qnxan na Gaga*" ("culture") from a verb perspective helps to locate the words back to their dynamic coherence and interdependence.

Opaskwayak Cree scholar Shawn Wilson (2008) points out that relational ways defines what it means to be Indigenous (cf. Chilisa, 2012). In addition to relationality's importance to identity, Wilson suggests (2001):

Identity for Indigenous peoples is grounded in their relationships with the land, with their ancestors who have returned to the land and with future generations who will come into being on the land. Rather than viewing ourselves as being *in* relationship with other people or things, we *are* the relationships that we hold and are part of.

Relationality from the Indigenous perspective involves the set of relationships with people, land/environment, a sense of sacredness, generations before and ahead of us. Perhaps more important is the message that humans are not simply embedded *in* a web of relations, but *are* the embodiment of the relationships themselves. In this sense, relationships happen not only between humans, but also among animals, the environment and nature. The relationships between humans share similar qualities as other sets of relationships; There is a sense of equality among these relationships.

The relationality in the Tayal context works similarly. I will explain the aspects of *qnxan*, meaning of living, that I have experienced through the relations. Day Club is an arena, a stage, where the Tayal meet the state. The Day Club certainly gives context to the forms of living in how the everyday care is planned, lived and experienced. I discuss the key components of this idea of living in the following sections.

8.4.1 RELATIONS WITH PEOPLE

Every year when harvesting bamboo shoots for the first time, elders would call the whole family to the kitchen and sit in a circle. Everyone was excited to taste the first bamboo shoot. In our home there was a bustling hub teeming with children's cries and excitement, sat in the inner circle. Then, the oldest elder would walk to the middle of the circle, started to tell stories: the genealogy of the family, history of our people, our original place and the process of migration. Lastly, the difficulties faced by the family during the process of such history and culture. After that, elders would take children's hands and lead the whole family to jump and dance. Elders would raise their voice, "All together, let us dance and jump with all our hearts. May you jump over the obstacles and darkness." (Akyo, 2012, pp. 147-148)

In his book about *Tayal's tradition and culture: tribal philosophy, mythologies and contemporary meanings*, Elder Laysa Akyo (2012) indicated relations in a closely-knitted Tayal community in the ceremonial harvest dance. It signifies, first and foremost, the relations to the people—forming a circle with the generations—as the central tenet of living. The relations with one another are grounded in relations with nature and oral history. The relationships that the *bnkis* share with people is the most straightforward form of living well. By putting a person into relationships through the wider web of families, the *bnkis* are actively strengthening relationships, both old and new. Speaking of Indigenous scholars outside the community, Wilson (2008, p. 84) observes how relationship building is manifested:

One thing that I have noticed of Indigenous people everywhere, though, is that they always ask a new acquaintance where they are from. From this information, an exchange takes place of "do you know..." or "are you related to..." or "do you know where ... is?" or "I was at ... there three years ago.."

Wilson explains that addressing the relationships is powerful, as it helps to place a person in the web and makes him/her comfortable. A sense of familiarity is immediately kindled, allowing people in the web how to behave appropriately. I have experienced every time that shared relationships—introducing myself as the granddaughter of my *nainai* (grandmother in Mandarin)—helped me to gain trust with the *bnkis* (cf. Chapter 4).

Story-telling lies in the core of Tayal's relationality. Below I show how relations with people through the form of story can allow a relationship to flourish. The story-telling is alive, rooted in the historical and cultural formation of the Peoples, and reaching out with fluidity for the narrators to recreate, retell, and restore their cultures and identities.

Cisan (talk story in Tayal) is a form of Tayal story-telling. It has always been important to the Tayal society, as it is embedded in the Indigenous knowledges and ancestral wisdoms (Seed-Pihama, 2019). Indigenous story-telling is

fundamental to understanding the world of Indigenous peoples (Archibald 2008). In the context of Tayal, *cisan* represents this kind of resource. It is within the story-telling of *cisan* that we find the teaching of *Gaga*. For example, what it takes to be a proud Tayal woman. They were *qnyat* (hardworking), *lokah tzywaw* (industrious), *ini psayu'* (tenacious in holding the tongue). These are the key pillars of what it was to live well in *qnxan na Tayal sraral* (the Tayal way of life before) (interview with nainai, 11.12.2018). These qualities are still important to upholding the Tayal society and community.

Cisan does not mean merely communicate or chitchat, but entails telling stories about all important elements in life, in doing so, it also fosters an ability to uphold, strengthen and revive relationships. In fact, the major importance for some of the *bnkis* to attend the Day Club is the opportunity to *cisan*.

“So grandma, what do you like about the culturally healthy center?” I ask. ... Grandma widens her eyes and responds in Tayal, “muha kyokay ga, bya ga sli’.” She turns to me and explains in Mandarin “sli’ means to be together.” She explains to me that the day club is good because she can get together. Not because of the church. “Sli’, not kyokay.” (Interview with Huzi Amuy, 11.12.2018)

The explanation from my grandmother shows a contrasting experience from regular Wulai church attendee such as yaki Piñas. It did not surprise me that she answered that the church is not important. My grandmother has never been part of any church due to her busy entrepreneurial life to run the shop. For the last decade, although she has more time as she has half-retired from running the shop, it is quite rare to see her attending the church by herself. She has always been an entrepreneur and has focused on making money. Even other *bnkis* humorously noted that if we place a stack of cash in front of her, she would recover from any disease (fieldnotes, 24.4.2015). Therefore, it is surprising that she values *sli'* (get together) with the other Tayal people.

“Why is it important to gather? What makes you happy when you gather?” I ask. “To *cisan*, of course! We can chat and be happy.” Dad asks her what topics she chat up in Tayal, grandma responds in Chinese, “We talk about everything. Indigenous people are like this. *Cisan*. We talk about absolutely everything.” (interview with Huzi Amuy, 11.12.2018)

The narrative above reveals that the practice of *cisan*, which entails a sense of *sli'* and strengthens the relationships, links closely with how living well is experienced. My grandmother and Yaki Yaway did not follow much of the activities in Day Club; instead, they held hands and *cisan* about everything (fieldnotes, 15.5.2015). Several of other *bnkis* spoke that they care more about socializing *cisan* with each other, and not so much about the activities

themselves in the Day Club (interview with nainai, 11.12.2018; interview with Yaki Atay 13.12.2018).

This way of recreating, retelling and restoring is important for the Tayal community members who have found themselves drifting away from the community way of living. Reconnecting to the relations with people plays a key role in achieving a sense of living well. My nainai is one of these kinds of people whose upbringing was about learning to survive in the community under tourist-boom and to compete with other shopkeepers. Her Tayal identity was strongly connected to the ancestral place that is now called Wulai, as she grew up in a Tayal household and spoke Tayal as her mother tongue. However, the price she ended up paying for being successful in the endeavor of maintaining her shop was: further distancing from the Tayal community.

Attending the Day Club was one of the first encounters for her to reconnect to the Tayal community. During the fieldwork, my nainai almost always seated herself next to her friend Yaway with whom she had been friends since their elementary school years. Yaway attends church activities regularly. In this context, not attending the church means more than pious or not, but entails a weakened connection with the community.

The story below demonstrates that my nainai reconnected to the community by telling stories with her friends in the Day Club in 2015.

Granny, Yaway and Wagi talked stories that weave their friends from elementary school into their acts of remembering. These friends all have names that end with “ko”. I guess it was because under the Japanese education, everyone was given Japanese names. They talked about a particular old friend called Masako. Teachers used to punish her together with my grandmother. Wagi cherished the memory of visiting her in the U.S. (Fieldnotes, 8.5.2015)

The story-telling took form through yaki's *cisan* in the day club. *Cisan* was always in a rapid and overlapping manner. The exchange of ideas was not static and it was by no means formal. Information did not take form in an orderly way. Instead, it was almost *fluvial*, like running water in the rivers: sometimes a raging torrent and other times a babbling brook. Of course, *cisan* does not always entail sharing positive aspects of life. The elders also shared experiences of hardship (fieldnotes, 19.6.2015) as well as experiences of mourning, grief and death of loved ones (fieldnotes, 22.6.2015).

In addition to *cisan*, story-telling also takes a form that is strongly associated with the Tayal land, where Tayal people are sitting around a fireplace. Usually it was men who took part in this rite. This form of storytelling itself was not present in the Day Club but was described to me by *bnkis* themselves.

Yutas Tali grew up in an upstream village of the Llyung Taranan (Taranan river). He worked his whole life as a civil servant in Wulai village office and is known to many due to his job. He is one of the few *bnkis* who can describe Tayal teaching, history and knowledge in detail (interview with Yutas Tali,

18.8.2018). The content addresses a strong symbiotic relationship between the Tayal and the web of relations involving the ecological aspects of life, environment and land. Yutas Tali recited an anecdote of a hunting group gathered around a bonfire after hunting and demonstrated how the storytelling was done.

[The leader of the hunting group] talked about the encounter of people who took part in hunting: how it interacted, how to catch, the feelings. He sang with a sophisticated formulation of the Tayal language. Not a random singing. Themes were spelled out. There must be a reason. ...(...)... The story would describe the natural scenery in the mountains, how stones and trees are formed. The feelings in your heart. How he caught animals and dealt with them—boars, muntjacs, monkeys, deers—and the scenery after the hunting. (2018.8.18)

For Tayal, story-telling is indeed fundamental to understand Tayal's natural world and social experiences. The stories give us important clues of what *malahang* ("care" in Tayal) entails in a Tayal worldview, and it provides invaluable information that shapes Tayal's cultural identities and understanding. Also, as the utterance above showed, the role of story-telling is linked to land and other land-based practices. It is the basis of everything, including story-telling, the relationality of people, care and how to live well. Elder Tamu used *sbzyux* ("exchange of labor" in Tayal) to explain how the small Tayal society managed to build and develop with communal help from each other, in particular farming *trakis* (millet) and *pagay mma'* (rice from dry paddy field) (Watan, 2019, p. 192). But land is more than just a medium to grow food, as we learn more in the next section.

8.4.2 RELATIONS WITH THE LAND AND SPIRITUALITY

The meaning of living well is not restricted to interpersonal relationships, but extends to the land and spirituality (cf. Chapter 5.3). This holistic notion of land as an integral part of the human being is in stark contrast to the non-Indigenous context. For example, Stanner (1979, p. 230, cited in Atkinson, 2002, p. 30) writes about the contrast between the Aboriginal concept of homeland and the Anglo-Australian's one, explaining that the English language fails to capture fully the meaning of land:

Our word "land" is too spare and meagre. We can now scarcely use it except with economic overtones unless we happen to be poets. The Aboriginal would speak of "earth" and use the word in a richly symbolic way to mean his "shoulder" or his "side"

Stanner outlines the sociolinguistic perspective of the term "land", while juxtaposing the non-Indigenous and Indigenous perspectives. These two perspectives demonstrate a collision of cultures (cf. Atkinson 2002). To put it

concisely, the non-Indigenous perspective can be understood in the context of imperial and colonial ideas of *terra nullius*, which was used to justify the conquest, invasion and dispossession of Indigenous land (Toivanen, 2019). In academia, positivist claims of land are no more than “parcels of space that are devoid of meaning” (Richmond, 2018, p. 180). The Indigenous perspective, on the other hand, represents the land in relation to the coexistence of humans in multiple sets of relations with humans, non-humans and beyond (Zapf, 2005; Coates, Gray & Hetherington, 2006; Briggs, 2015). From the Indigenous perspective, the land is not a thing external to us, but encompasses the environment and the places on which relations are built. The meaning of land has spiritual, cultural and moral connections.

A myriad of literature has demonstrated a special, multifaceted relationship between Indigenous peoples and their ancestral lands (Icyeh, 2008; Kuan, 2013; Tanga, 2014; Lin, 2019; see also Richmond, 2018). From the Indigenous perspective, the being and knowing of Indigenous are unambiguously tied to land. The notion of “land” entails origin, mother, inspiration and environment (cf. Meyer, 2001).

Tayal’s sense of living well cannot be isolated from the land. *Bnkis* talk about *musa lahu*y (do hill work) and *musa rgyax* (go up to mountains) a lot. These concepts, as embedded in *Cinnunan Cinbwanan*, the woven world, are key to Tayal ontologies. *Gaga na Cinnunan Cinbwanan* means the landscape *Utux* defined and functioned according to the moral order *Gaga*. In this sense, land or landscape has an ecological, cultural and spiritual meaning. We can also look at Tayal’s concept of land through its language. *Rhiyal*, land, is like mother, only in her embrace we live (Watan, 2019, p. 182). From the Tayal perspective, the centrality of land is crystallized in the mountains and forests (Hsiao, 2016). *Rgyax*, mountain, in Tayal language, has the same stem words as time (*ryax*), eternity (*krryax*) and usual (*gryax*). So the idea of land and the mountains carry a sense of eternity and unity (Watan, 2019, p. 184).

This aspect of relations with the land is voiced by many *bnkis*. Referring to living well entails a sense of simplicity and happiness,

Our lives were really simple back then. We planted rice, sweet potatoes and taros, and we ate simple food. Life was simple, yet we lived happily with ease. If I wanted something, I planted or I hunted. Boys went hunting and placed traps, so we had fish and game meat at home. If we got money, we exchanged soy sauce and salt with merchants from Xindian. I remembered once young people got a bear. He sold it to Xindian at a regular spot with the merchants. So we needed not to worry about life. (Interview with Yutas Tamu, 13.12.2018)

This tie to land was described about the old Tayal lifestyle and food (rice, sweet potato, taro, game and fish). Relations based on land were the essence of the Tayal way of life that the *bnkis* had directly experienced. The familiarity brings a sense of living well and care that were rooted in belonging and spirituality attached to the Tayal community. Through this passage, yutas

Tamu invites us to consider how intricately the land is linked with the practice of everyday living in the past. Echoing yutas Tamu, my nainai explained that she remembers living with her grandparents on the land, where they used to grow food and bamboo (fieldnotes, 20.11.2017). Relations were strong and it was a life of simplicity. This sense of living well exemplifies a way of being connected with one another out on the land.

The importance of land brings us to explore more complex aspects of relationships between people and the environment. The land, environment and the surrounding ecological aspect cannot be omitted from the web of relations to sustain living well. The presence of “connectivity” between Indigenous peoples and the ecological-cultural landscape around them is crucial for living well. For connectivity, I understand it as a pathway to locate “the well-being of one is enmeshed in the well-being of others. There is no position outside of connection, and therefore what happens to one has effects on the well-being of others.” (Rose, 2011, p. 18). The stories told by Silan Tali emphasized the importance of locating caring in an ecological way.

Ever since Silan Tali’s house in the mountains was destroyed by a catastrophic typhoon and mudslide, potential danger has prevented his mother from going back to her land. This deprivation of connection to the land led to Silan Tali’s mother refusing to walk out from her own house, which was located on the commercial street of Wulai. She complained about her legs and settled for staring at the television. Silan Tali was stunned at the change in her when he brought her up to the land in the mountains. Although the house was in ruins, she contently walked around and occasionally moved around flowerpots as a way to revive the place (Figure 10)—in doing so, she basically “came alive” and revived her well-being (personal communication with Silan Tali 21.6.2019). For the *bnkis*, looking after the mountain, *rgyax* and forest, *lahuy* are key for them to live well. This interconnected sense of well-being for the Tayal can be contextualized in the relationship between Tayal and *Gaga na Cinnunan Cinbwanan* (the woven world).



Figure 10. Silan Tali's mother returned to her land after the disaster. Photo by I-An Gao.

It is important to stress the aspect of spirituality when we talk about living well for the *bnkis*. Social policy often neglects this component of living well, despite having a direct influence on Indigenous peoples' cultural safety and physical wellness (Greenwood, de Leeuw & Lindsay, 2018). Wilson (2008, p. 89) observes, "For many Indigenous peoples, having a healthy sense of spirituality is just as important as other aspects of mental, emotional and physical health." The reason why spirituality for the Indigenous peoples is important is not just because it has a functional utility *per se* to promote their health, and has a way to transmit knowledge intergenerationally. What is at stake is that the understanding of spirituality is embedded in the Indigenous moral order, cultural practice and cultural epistemology (Meyer, 2001, p. 128). What does this mean? Does this mean that living well for Indigenous people, from their relationships with the spirituality, cannot be viewed narrowly through a sense of intelligence based on valid, reliable and objective measurements? Indeed not. Spirituality is not just an item on a scale or index, but should be understood as an integral part of a wholistic system of living well and a way of thinking.

The relevance of spirituality to living well can be sparked in traditional ceremonies, but it is lived beyond ceremonial settings. Drawing spiritual health to community vitality, Castellano (2018, p. 55) states that "it is expressed and sustained in relationships with family and friends. It is enlarged in reconnecting with the land that supports our feet. It is spread abroad in service to the community. It is inspired by the joy and energy of children." Echoing community vitality, Wilson (2008, p. 91) agrees that spirituality

should be seen as a circle around relations with land, environment and the ancestors.

For the Tayal people, dreaming carries spiritual weight. Dreaming is a form of communicating with *Utux* (see Chapter 3). Tayal believe all dreams are connected to *Utux*, and through this the human world is connected to the spiritual domain (Wang, 2008). Yaki Piñas recalled the relationship in her family in her dream, which was embedded in the web of land and spirituality.

My mother had never been dependent on others. She farmed everything. She made banana rice and soup from her own bananas and mung beans. She was all the time cutting and working very diligently. My father also worked hard. They were a good couple. Even until today I dreamed of them together. They were never separated [in my dream]. Their love was profound and they are always together in my dream. (Interview with Yaki Piñas, 12.12.2018)

Tayal believe that one's life on earth continues in the afterlife. In the world of spirits—or the realm of *Utux*—one needs to commit to their labor, and when they do so, their existence in *Utux* overlaps with the human world. From Yaki Piñas's experience, we get to see the way of Tayal life—their fluid sociality (cf. Wang, 2003)—is embedded among living humans and between humans and *Utux*. The same applies to care and living well: they are always embedded in this fluid sociality and spirituality. The intimate relationship between people and land should be conceptualized not as belonging to a certain ethnic group and/or their assumed minority-ness. Instead, the intimate relations emphasized in the Indigenous contexts should be conceptualized as an inextricable part of being human. The names by which Indigenous peoples refer to themselves, in almost all Indigenous languages, means “human”. So being Indigenous is about being human, upholding responsibility and relationships with other beings and future generations (G. Cajete, personal communication, 16.12.2019).

The relations between Tayal people and their ancestral land has been reshaped profoundly through national policies, including 20 years of Japanese colonization and 40 years of privatization effort imposed by the KMT (Kuan, 2014). The ancestral land where the ancestors lived remains a powerful source of cultural inspiration, but it would be naïve to assume that the land remains outside of colonial history. In fact, the Indigenous land is under crisis because the deep-seated broker mechanisms and development projects have successfully pushed for loosening the regulations of Indigenous reserve so non-Indigenous people can sell and buy Indigenous land in the free market (Ku & Chang, 1999). The question about relations with land thus becomes more complex, as it entangles with political and economic factors. What is the role of the environment—rooted in Indigenous epistemological origins tied to cosmology and ontological realities—in Tayal living well in today's context?

In this section I have addressed relations with people, land and spirituality vis-à-vis Tayal's meanings of living well. In so doing, I explicated how the *bnkis*

understand Tayal living (well) through a web of relations. These dimensions of relations do not exist in a static vacuum but are constantly changing and evolving.

8.5 COPING WITH CHANGE

The issue of change is the most intricate layer of belonging manifested in Wulai Day Club. From the Tayal perspective, change is part of *qnxan*, life, and it is not good or bad. This way we may have a balanced, wholistic and simple state of being. Tayal Elder and *Mrhuw* (leader) Icyeh reminded me: “Puqing hiyal bnkis—laxiy pyari, si inlungan mlahang ‘son qnxan laqiy ana knwan kryax (Our homeland was established by our ancestors, it is our root. Do not leave her. Protect her with your heart, so our children’s future can be continued.)” (Hsiao, 2016, p. 85). *Qnxan* is simultaneously a Tayal way of living and Tayal culture, stemming from the past to the future. However, *qnxan* in Wulai has been weakened in the processes of mass tourism and the economic colonization and capitalization (cf. Hsia, 2010). In this subchapter, I discuss Tayal’s survival and adjustment in temporal change that is inextricably associated with multiple forms of colonialism.

One form of colonialism derives from the state. We have learned earlier about the colonial atrocities perpetrated against Tayal in Wulai (cf. Chapter 3.3). Episodes of colonial intrusion into Tayal’s lives have been recurrent on a daily basis. Wulai community and its relationship with the colonial government dates back to as early as the 18th century when Han settlers came to the northern plains. This led to Tayal having to migrate to the upland area (Holo, 2013, p. 208). Under Japanese rule (1895-1945), the claim of Chinese greed and indigenous honesty/*naïveté* justified colonial rule (Barclay 2017, pp. 164-167). What kind of Japanese colonial rule are we talking about? Elder Watan Tanga recalled studying in Jiaobanshan model school for indigenous children. He walked to school every day for one hour without shoes.

Our teacher was a Tayal, but he was the police in disguise. ...(...)... the school had a rule that it was forbidden to speak our language in school. If anyone spoke Indigenous language, we would be given a piece of wood hanging on our necks, which said, ‘savage’. (Tanga, 2014, p. 53)

Elder Watan Tanga’s utterance shows that times had already changed when he was seven. The traditional Tayal way of life had been violently disrupted. We can see it from the fact that he was placed in a school for indigenous children to modify his behaviors, to be indoctrinated to be more civilized (cf. Barclay, 2017, pp. 149-158), and that he was banned from speaking Tayal language in school.

After the Second World War and the Han Chinese state inheriting Taiwan from Japan, official policy was based on monoculturalism and Chinese nationalism during 40 years of martial law (Simon, 2011, p. 21). The colonial

rule perpetrated by the KMT was similar to the Japanese, for example in the case of preventing Tayal language. Many *bnkis* that I talked to recalled that when they went to school in Wulai in the 1960s, Tayal language was banned. If they disobey the rules, they had to carry pieces of wood saying “I will speak Mandarin Chinese” and “I am a good Chinese”.

Colonial repercussions were constantly on *bnkis*'s minds and influenced their everyday experiences. This echoes to the experience of First Nations in Canada, where colonialism is a determinant of Indigenous health (Manitowabi & Maar, 2018). The generation before Yaki Yaway was the first one that experienced the subjectification of Japanization. Yaki Yaway's father had a Japanese name, and she was given one as well. She still remembered now her father was taken away to the Imperial Japanese army to fight the war in Southeast Asia.

“My dad's name is Hanaoka Ichirō. He went to the Takasago army when I was only three years old. I was too small and I don't remember the details. Not even his face. (...) five years ago I had a dream, my dad came back and we hugged. I remembered telling him, ‘mum misses you, where have you been? What keeps you so long that you don't come back?’ Yaki Yaway's eyes were red and her voice broke. She murmured that her dad fought in the marines, the boat sank and he never came back. (Fieldnotes, 22.6.2015)

The passage above suggests an emotional and psychological wound across generations (cf. intergenerational trauma in Czyzewski, 2011). In addition to the colonial policy, what is more influential still is the phenomenon of increasing mass tourism in Wulai since the 1950s. Tourism and the economic colonization that comes with it can be seen as another form of colonialism. The development of tourism was the most important reason, as Hsia (2010, p.41) put it, for the “mode of production in Wulai to undergo the earliest qualitative change among all Indigenous areas in Taiwan”. Yutas Tamu remembered the tourists were like “an army of ants swarming into Wulai” and he built the first concrete house in the *buluo* with the money he earned by taking photos of the tourists (interview, 17.8.2020). My nainai was one of the few remaining Tayal entrepreneurs on the main commercial street of Wulai. Like most of Tayal people in Wulai, her life has been enmeshed in the tourism industry and the process of capitalization. Although weaving is important for her as a Tayal, she never had time to learn how to weave because she had to make money. “My mother asked me to make money first. I was told I can learn to weave after that.” (interview with Huzi Amuy, 22.8.2020) Tayal culture became dispensable in the face of tourism boom.

Although the economic colonization had been devastating on the structural level, *bnkis* had developed a survival strategy to gather tourism resources. This strategy had helped them survive the fierce competition with the *Mugan* (Tayal language, referring to Taiwanese who speak Hoklo as their first language). Heish (1987) notes that the Tayal in Wulai have developed a

strategy to maintain the Tayal existence as a way to adapt to the complex tourism-dominated environment (p.182). In other words, *bnkis*'s ability to adapt to change also have relevance to their perception of living well. This ability can be viewed from the concept of "Two-Eyed Seeing" (Marshall, Marshall & Bartlett, 2018). I regard it as a strength to walk both the world of Indigenous community and the world of the newcomers (see Chapter 5.3). It is strength that combines coping, resilience and being able to adapt and survive. The *bnkis* had addressed their strategies of coping in the areas of studying/academic achievement, entrepreneurship and resilience. I discuss briefly an example of finding employment in the public sector.

Luckily the government in the early days wanted to empower Indigenous civil servants. Well, it says on paper 'civil servant', but it is actually agricultural specialized personnel. The idea is that you will return to your hometown to teach Indigenous peoples planting rice and fruit tree pruning. So we can have modern agricultural knowledge to pass on back home. (Interview with Yutas Tali, 18.12.2018)

The utterance above indicates the strength of a Tayal to cope with change through studying and becoming a civil servant. He then returned to the community and worked as a civil servant for 45 years. With this background, he had expectations for the state's LTC system, but he did not count on it.

The government has been promoting elderly care and long-term care. They have been trying hard. But honestly speaking, no matter how hard they try, without close kin on her side, [my mother] will die regardless of how much money or food she has. [My mother] will die, because she misses her home. (Interview with Yutas Tali, 18.8.2018)

From Yutas Tali's observation, good care should not stay at the level of the government subsidies, but emanate from one's own actions. In particular, the idea of good care for him is amending, reinforcing and upholding relationships through one's everyday practice.

In summary, I have shown how the Tayal have coped with change. The Tayal in Wulai have encountered multiple forms of colonialism and they have adapted to positive and negative aspects brought by such change. This shows that both state and the market are sources of colonialism, and in turn, trauma inflicted on the *bnkis*.

8.6 CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, I focused on how the Tayal experience care in a Day Club funded by the nation state. The Day Club was implemented as a tool to fulfill the state-laid target of active aging through social care, making it an unlikely space for people to connect on the outset. To understand how the *bnkis*

understand care thus requires us to examine their stories of care as a way to explore how caring is experienced in their own lives, reflected and interpreted via my observation as a cultural learner. In turn, it reveals that the view of “multicultural Taiwan” spoken of in social policy still derives from Taiwan’s colonial legacies. For the state, “tribal” is just a flavor.

I begin with the vision of social policy. The nation state envisions to implement Day Clubs as a tool to promote social rights through three strategies: aging in place, deterring inequality and bridging the gap of LTC resources between Indigenous and non-Indigenous. To ensure policy success, these strategies are operationalized by imposing a set of categorizations of care and instilling it through the organization of the Day Club activities. The categorization of care activities—physical, cultural and spiritual—is infused with a biomedical understanding of what care is and suppresses other more nuanced conceptions of health. Chair-based fitness workshops, Tayal-themed handicraft-making and singing religious songs, for instance, are the thematic care activities corresponding to physical, cultural and spiritual topics. The state’s ideal of care in the Indigenous community takes form in the pre-defined activities and Tayal care workers who acted as an assurance to make the Day Club “tribal”.

Linking back to the theoretical discussion, one may reasonably ask whether Day Club is part of the accommodation project that legitimizes the state, or, conversely, whether it is a site for decolonization to challenge state’s accommodation. Indeed, Taiwan has claimed to abandon the idea that homogeneity is a prerequisite of state unity, and that it aims to recognize and accommodate Indigenous peoples. My analysis from the Day Club shows that the long shadow of imperialism and colonialism is still casting over the lives of the *bnkis*. I identify Day Club as a site of struggle between the interests and ways of accommodation of the state and the interests and ways of resisting by the Tayal (cf. Smith, 2012). Through the process, the Day Club has become a place where the Tayal are ‘different’, as they were culturalized and made into the Other, the tribal Other. Nevertheless, the *bnkis* also have stories to tell: the care experiences through the eyes of the Tayal are counter stories that constitute powerful forms of resistance.

With the vision from the state at hand, I continued exploring *bnkis*’s experience of care in the Day Club. Based on my observation on spatial, linguistic and religious dimensions of care, I have identified traces of ongoing colonial present that are still at work. The absence of Tayal culture in the Day Club, the hybrid of Tayal belief and Christianity and the loss of Tayal language suggest a contrasting story from the social policy. But the *bnkis* were able to appropriate the Day Club and make it a space that ignites the imagination for different forms of care: linguistic, cultural, intergenerational and contextual. All these provide the opportunity to re-create and re-claim knowledge, which helps us to see the blurring boundary between binary oppositions, such as care-giving and care-receiving. The Day Club was an arena, a stage that provides a context for the interface of the imperial gaze and Tayal resistance.

The Day Club was thus appropriated, re-purposed and re-defined to negotiate identities and contest the conceptualization of aging by the Indigenous community.

What is living well and how is care experienced in the Tayal context? Are they understood as the same notion? As pointed out earlier in Chapter 5, care is often conceptualized as a means and a tool, while living well is understood as a state of mind. Does it mean that care is like a tool to make an old person to achieve the goal of living well? Indeed not. The meaning of care is not definite in the Tayal context. Relations with people, land, spirituality and change build a much broader vision of care as a tool. In that instance, care is living well. When discussing elders' experience of care and living well, their understanding allows us to peek further into the relationships between these two terms. The elders didn't feel that they were being cared for, or having any kind of good living, when they were deprived of the opportunity to care for others. They upheld relationships by contributing to care—caring for people, the environment, and the well-being of the household—and in so doing they gain a sense of good living. The implication for care is that they have to also care for others in order to feel that they are cared for, or to live well. This conception links to a circular understanding of care-giving and care-receiving.

Change shapes how the Tayal experience care. While the theory has promised a strong tribal subjectivity among the *bnkis*, my findings instead show a more nuanced—at times even opposite—picture. In Wulai, having lived through the changes, the *bnkis* were exposed to structural violence inflicted by colonialism, which cumulated to be trauma. This aspect of care shows that colonialism is not a finished project. Rather, the ongoing imbalanced power relationships have a severe impact on *bnkis*'s care and how to live well. It is necessary to bring both the *bnkis* and Tayal hermeneutics into the center of caring, instead of taking *bnkis* as disabled objects in need of biomedical care.

The Day Club is where the state and Tayal meet. At the same time, it is where individual and community, monolingual policy and multilingual phenomena, caring and being cared for as well as yesterday and tomorrow are assembled by the state to be juxtaposed in a dichotomic manner. However, the Day Club is also the place where the Tayal bring their own meanings and experiences which contest those dichotomies. The experiences of the *bnkis* show us that human life is not, and should not, set in binaries. Instead it is an interconnected whole. By invoking Tayal hermeneutics, the alternative vision of care of the *bnkis* can be linked to Tayal's idea of life (*qnxan*), culture (*qnxan na Gaga*) and living (*mgyanux*) which are inseparable parts of the whole. Care is a circle, with giving and receiving as indispensable parts of the whole, and only with both parts present living well emerges.

9 INDIGENIZING ELDERLY CARE FROM THE TAYAL PERSPECTIVE: A WEB OF RELATIONS BETWEEN CULTURE, CARE AND LIVING

Laqi mu Tayal
ini tnaq ki'an ta la
si gluw llyung musa
karaw rgyax qasa kiy
maki blaq ki'an ta
siy qyanux kya nanak lkiy

Laqi mu Tayal
ana su musa inu
laxi yungi knxan ta
laxi yungi kholan ta
siy blaq mqyanux pkrraw mtyaw kwara

My dear children of Tayal
Our living space is not enough
Follow the river
Go across the mountains
There you will find a beautiful place
Lead a good life there

My dear children of Tayal
No matter where you go
Forget not our life and culture
Forget not our ancestral land
Aid each other and exist for the betterment of everyone
--- Migration song of Tayal (Hsiao & Wang, 2016, p. 108)

This study has explored how Taiwanese social policy deals with Indigenous peoples in the case of caring for Tayal elderly. I have examined care for the elderly both in policy and practice as a way to delineate how relationships between indigeneity and the colonial state are realized in multicultural Taiwan. The results of this study indicate that although Taiwan has vowed to recognize Indigenous rights, care for the Indigenous elderly is represented in social policy as a problem dominated by a set of binaries. In the policy, Indigenous

peoples are represented as rural, inadequate and deeply cultural. At the same time the ethnographic analysis conducted in this study contradicts these binary oppositions, showing that, from the Tayal viewpoint, good care should break the binaries of the caring versus cared for, body versus mind and individual versus community. Care is not a means to achieve living well, but should be regarded as a process and an ethical responsibility to the community. In other words, care should be situated in social policy so that it entails both Tayal culture and its fluid manifestations embedded in living. Care is living. I argue that in producing good social policy for Indigenous peoples in Taiwan, one not only should address indigeneity as a fluid process of negotiating and re-negotiating, but also broaden how “care” is conceptualized and give space to Indigenous way of conceptualizing care.

9.1 MAIN RESULTS OF THE STUDY

This study has argued that we need to examine problematizations of policies as a way to challenge norms and bring social policies closer to encountering their colonial past. The major findings from the care policy documents reveal an unequal relationship between the state and the *bnkis*, and I utilized critical frame analysis and drew from the “What’s the Problem Represented to be” (WPR) to explore nuances.

What are the “Indigenous problems” represented to be in the LTC policies? To answer the first research question, I have identified the frame of secludedness, the frame of inadequacy and the frame of culture. These frames exhibit the grounds and lens the state has utilized to create and produce the “Indigenous problem”. In the frame of secludedness, the problem of elderly care for Indigenous peoples is represented as a logistical challenge of sending care resources to remote and isolated areas where Indigenous peoples live. This frame is neutral about indigeneity, and does not make any distinction between Indigenous peoples and people living in rural places. In terms of discursive effects, the frame of secludedness freezes Indigenous elderly into disabled seniors. Consequently, the kind of care the elderly need is compartmentalized by the location where care is given, e.g. home, community or institution. What this frame creates is a depoliticized task of resource distribution in which Indigenous peoples are victims.

The frame of inadequacy sees the problem of elderly care for Indigenous peoples as a matter of their unqualified skillset for providing professional care for the elderly and incompetence in purchasing care services in the Indigenous areas. Indigeneity is represented as an undesirable quality, as Indigenous peoples are suggested to be deficient in the appropriate kind of knowledge and skills to care. Regarding the discursive effects in the frame of inadequacy, the meaning of Indigenous elderly is again fixed into disabled seniors. In this frame, care is coming from outside the Indigenous community from places with “adequate care skills”. Besides, the discursive meaning of care for the

Indigenous elderly is shrunk to a matter of recruiting, training and employing staff with biomedical expertise; and at times discourses are being bent so other, neoliberal goals can be met. This frame opens doors for blaming Indigenous peoples, and stigmatizes Indigenous peoples as inept and lacking relevant knowledge of care, justifying the intervention of the state.

The frame of culture deals with the problem of elderly care for Indigenous peoples as the absence of culturally sensitive care. The issue of culture is addressed as a critical component to deliver care for the tribal elders. Concerning discursive effects in the frame of culture, Indigenous elderly are represented through a lens of a racialized minority-ness. They are frozen into authentic and culturally rich elders. Cultural competence and cultural sensitivity, in the same vein, are being fixed to the core of best practice. In the frame of culture, the meaning of care for Indigenous elders has been shrunk, i.e., confined to a specific interpretation of “accommodating their unique cultural traits”. This discursive effect reflects the state project of accommodating Indigeneity (cf. Chapter 2.3), as it does not address the legacy of colonialism and question the legitimacy of the Taiwanese state’s claim of sovereignty over the Tayal. At the same time, the meaning of culture in this frame has been stretched to include a resurgence of tribal subjectivity (*buluoism*). Contrary to the depoliticized and victimizing stance of the previous two frames, the frame of culture creates space where Indigenous peoples can act and find solutions on their own. But the question raised is that indigeneity is represented as a homogenized category, foreshadowing how the state will set terms for its relationship with Indigenous peoples in the future. Overall, the analysis of the “Indigenous problem” in the policy documents has demonstrated that the problem of elderly care has become a matter of *Indigenous peoples’* secluedness, incompetence and their authentic culture.

With respect to the second research question, I inquired the ways in which the idea of care is negotiated, contested and altered in the care center, the Day Club. I observed the everyday practices of how Indigenous peoples interact with the Day Club funded by the state and what alternative visions of care the Tayal have. An in-depth analysis of the stories of the everyday lives of the *bnkis* reveals that the view on “multicultural Taiwan” spoken of in the social policy still primarily derives from Taiwan’s colonial legacies. The state envisions the Day Club as a tool to promote social rights in the Indigenous communities and imposes a set of categorizations of care activities infused with a biomedical understanding of what care is. The state’s ideal way of care generates an uneasy tension among the intermediaries (care workers) and the *bnkis* in the Day Club. The tension arises because the idealized “tribal care” promoted in the Day Club turns a blind eye on fluid, contextual and living Tayal culture that gives form to the kind of care that the *bnkis* prefer. The investigation of the stories of the experiences of the *bnkis* shows that the Day Club is appropriated, re-purposed and re-defined by the Tayal community to negotiate identities and contest the conceptualization of aging and care.

The results of the ethnographic analysis indicate that Tayal hermeneutics offers novel alternatives of understanding care as living well. Care is not just a means to an end, and living well is more than a state of mind. The *bnkis* do not feel they are being cared for, when their opportunity to care for others is taken away. Upholding relationships with each other, other members of the community and with spirituality as well as caring for people, the environment and the well-being of the household are key for the *bnkis* to live well. The implication for care is that they have to also give care to others to feel that they are cared for, or to live well. From the Tayal perspective, caring ought to be conceptualized from a broader perspective than is the case at present. Breaking free from the binary oppositions, caring encompasses relationships, as relationships are central to Tayal living.

The Day Club is where the state meets the Tayal. The Day Club is where the state juxtaposes multiple sets of dichotomies, such as individual and community, monolingual policy and multilingual practice (cf. multilingualism as a phenomenon, see Laakso et al., 2016), caring and being cared for as well as yesterday and tomorrow. Meanwhile, the Day Club is also the place where the Tayal bring their meanings and experiences which unsettle those dichotomies. This is where Tayal hermeneutics offer other legitimate ways of understanding the world. The experiences from the *bnkis* exhibit that human life is not, and cannot, set in binaries. Instead, it is an interconnected whole.

Last but not least, regarding my third and last research question, I have investigated the dynamics between social policy and practice vis-à-vis Indigenous peoples and scrutinized the relationship between coloniality and indigeneity in contemporary Taiwan. Today's Taiwanese society seeks to deal with questions arising from "multiculturalism" that has always been there. The results of the analysis from both the policy documents and the ethnography reveal that no matter how multicultural Taiwan has claimed to be, the approach to accommodate Indigenous elders still derives from a middle class, urban, Han-Chinese norm. It individualizes, generalizes and medicalizes what care ought to be, and marginalizes what Indigenous elders' view of good care is. Also, the findings show that the conceptualizations from the Tayal perspective shed light on exploring the state-Indigenous relations in contemporary Taiwan. The relations between the state and the Tayal people largely reflect the state's lack of respect for Indigenous rights and the missing piece of what to do with the legacy of ongoing colonialism. These are the findings to my third research question presented in a succinct manner. I elaborate more aspects of the findings in the following subchapters as a way to delineate the layered coloniality and indigeneity in the contemporary Taiwan.

9.2 UNSETTLING “INDIGENOUS PROBLEMS” IN SOCIAL POLICY

An important objective about social policy *re* Indigenous peoples should be to provide visions that one can exist as an Indigenous person or group without being stifled by models of the “normal” citizen. Chapter 1, 2 and 7 of this dissertation discussed the extent to which a colonial logic continues to constitute the state’s understanding of indigeneity. Although Taiwan has made strides towards recognizing Indigenous rights in order to live up to a “multiculturality” goal, progress has been limited in issues relating to caring for Indigenous elders. I argued that the colonial logic, although subtle on the surface, continues to frame the conceptualization of what is good care for the elderly in social policy. This study has shown that “Indigenous problems” in Taiwan’s LTC policies are created and produced through three policy frames: frame of secludedness, frame of inadequacy and frame of culture. All three point to a set of binaries underpinning the colonial vocabulary of “the Center” and “the Outside” that contrast non-Indigenous vis-à-vis Indigenous peoples: civilized center vs. barbaric outcast, knowing vs. ignorant, deserving vs. undeserving.

Social policy, with its goal to improve well-being in society, cannot evade its colonial past and present concerning Indigenous peoples. To what extent does imperialism continue to frame Indigenous experience? Analyzing the discursive space when examining elderly care for the Indigenous peoples in Taiwan, we can conclude that imperialism continues to frame Taiwan’s Indigenous peoples’ experience through manipulating a set of colonial vocabulary of “the Center” and “the Outside”. In other words, the binaries and dichotomies that function to keep the Indigenous peoples in their place.

These results are in line with those of previous studies. Chi (2005) argues that Indigenous “problems” existing in Taiwan are caused by colonial domination and unequal power relationships. Since the 1980s this colonial thinking was prevalent in academia and made research obsessed with describing Indigenous culture through visual and audio records; at the same time, Taiwanese intellectuals turned a blind eye to the economic, cultural and social challenges faced by the Indigenous peoples daily (Chi, 2005). Theorizing from Nordic colonial/racial histories, Keskinen et al. (2009) argue for an understanding of “colonial complicity”, which refers to “processes in which (post)colonial imaginaries, practices and products are made to be part of what is understood as the ‘national’ and ‘traditional’ culture of the Nordic countries.” (Keskinen, Tuori, Irni & Mulinari, 2009, p. 17). Similar colonial complicity can be observed in the case of Taiwan. The state was a central actor in the colonization of indigenous lands already during the Japanese rule (cf. Chapter 3). After KMT came to the island, the state continued with assimilatory and oppressive policies towards Indigenous peoples. Today, we may argue that social policies have been made to construct and regulate

Indigenous peoples so as to conform to certain versions of colonial/racial histories (Wang, 2013)

These insights contribute in several ways to our understanding of social policy and Indigenous peoples. First, they prompt us to pose questions about the “problems” created in the policies and to engage with the hegemonic “truth regimes” through our ways of being and knowing. Second, they make important steps to contribute to the process of indigenization and the Indigenous project (ch. Chapter 2.3.2) by studying the complexity of indigeneity and what kind of care questions are perceived as problematic. This exploration of relationships between coloniality and indigeneity makes a difference in undoing the logic of coloniality in policies and practice.

9.3 RECLAIMING CARE AND EXPANDING TAYAL HERMENEUTICS

How do the Tayal experience care? Do they have an alternative version of care, and if this is the case, what new understandings of different kinds of colonial/racial histories and power relations are likely to occur? In this subchapter I provide answers to these questions by recapitulating the notion of care and expanding on it.

First and foremost, this study has revealed that the lived experiences of the Tayal offer resources to challenge binary oppositions imposed by the policy. The results from the Day Club offer ways to unsettle binaries, for example caring vs. being cared for. The Day Club informs us of the relationship between coloniality and indigeneity in everyday experience and how policy is contested. On the one hand, the Day Clubs are battlefields of interpretation concerning what “accommodation of Indigenous peoples” entails. The state sets the term of “desirable care” by regulating it through a set of accommodating measures. That is, the state limits “desirable care” to *officially-registered organizations* recruiting *appropriately educated personnel* to carry out *officially-categorized activities* in building on *land with legal permits*.¹⁰² The standard of whether a structure is safe, as it is the case for whether the staff has desirable education, is tied to the state social policy that tends to conceptualize Indigenous peoples as problems (cf. Chapter 7.2).

On the other hand, the installation of the Day Club shows the state’s recognition of Indigenous autonomy and self-determination into the social policy sphere. It does so by encouraging care to “go tribal”, that is, to have Indigenous cultural characteristics incorporated in the social welfare and opportunity for indigeneity to be recognized. However, as we examined, the idea of Day Club going “tribal” was restricted to marginal symbolic purpose, but not addressing the root of the problem. What is the root of the problem?

¹⁰² A series of critique concerning expertise, registration and legal permits have been posed by various Indigenous organizations, such as Taiwan Indigenous Long-term Care League.

The root that privileges Indigenous knowledges and onto-epistemologies, the root that validates the Indigenous research paradigm and makes the colonial gaze visible. Without seeing the root of the problem, Tayal living well and care in the Day Club may risk being conceptualized in a way that reinforces seeing Indigenous peoples as a problem, in a way perpetuating the ongoing colonialism.

Concurrently, the results of this study indicate that the lived experiences emerging from the Day Club challenge state policy's binary presumptions of indigeneity. Who is indigenous and what makes one indigenous *enough*? (cf. Chapter 2.) The most recent policy frame of culture is precisely about giving indigeneity shape and form. The frame of culture is like a double-edged sword for the Indigenous peoples: it can empower and strengthen their subjectivity, or it may further essentialize them. It is dealing with the sophisticated line of whether making Indigenous exotic-sounding would gain them more leverage for resources or not.

A note of caution is due here since the analysis of this study concerning Indigenous peoples and their relationalities may sound like essentializing Indigenous peoples, as it might produce a romanticized and idealized image of them. It may give a misleading impression that the reality is that they are adaptive and resilient, they live extremely well and no further questions need to be asked. It is not the case. My approach is to emphasize the aspects concerning people, land and spirituality in the web of relations serving as a reclamation of Tayal's meaning-making. In so doing, the Tayal hermeneutics is strengthened and grounded. As Greg Cajete noted, "A modern 'ecosophy' would be about the re-discovery of meaning as it relates to our universe. It would require not only a different way of thinking but also a different way of knowing and living" (cited in Meyer 2013b, p. 99). The web of relations gave us a preliminary sketch of how this universe and different ways of thinking, knowing and living look like. To activate this web of relations to living well, however, one could not avoid relating it to our current universe, which is inextricably linked to colonial/racial narratives.

Second, the study has analyzed the lived experience of Tayal *bnkis* and in so doing, helps us to conceptualize a more broad-based, non-fragmented, interrelational and wholistic sense of care for the *bnkis*. Fisher and Tronto (1990) suggest that care is an activity that helps us to "maintain, continue, and repair our 'world' so we can live in it as well as possible" (Tronto & Fisher, 1990, p. 40). The worlds that require repairing, maintaining and continuing are inextricably linked to Indigenous peoples' wholistic epistemologies and dreams for the future and at the same time healing from the dispossession of land, removal of generations and marginalization of tribal ways of knowing. Indigenous scholar Kui Kasirisir identifies caring in *buluo* as embedded in upholding cultural protocols, engaging critically with issues of land and historical (in)justice as well as respecting the organic ways of living are the key to bring warmth back to care (Kasirisir, 2019).

For the *bnkis*, care is more than just a means to an end: care is not something helpful to a desired end (living well), but an indispensable process in itself. “Care” is “living well” when we see it as a process, which entails an ethical responsibility, a reciprocal commitment to the community. If we concur with Meyer’s observation that relationships are not nouns but *verbs* (Meyer, 2013b, p. 98), we should focus on *to care* and *to live*. Centering Tayal knowledge, *mgyanux* (to live) entails simultaneously the crucial elements of care/living well, including responsibility and reciprocity through continuous everyday practice such as sharing, story-telling and reclaiming *qnxan na Gaga* (culture).

Mgyunux, Tayal for to live, is embedded in *Gaga* (see Chapter 3.2). In the Day Club, Yutas Tengan agreed that the old Tayal life he experienced when he was growing up was orderly and united. “*Gaga* was like the Bible. No stealing, no lying and no rapes. (...) *Gaga* was wonderful. We didn’t need to have locks on doors or windows. No one would take away your money.” (Interview, 12.12.2018) He explained that Tayal knew that s/he would be punished by *Gaga* if one committed a crime. This protocol also applies to care. Care in Tayal, *malahang*, is not limited to “giving care to people”, but also has relevance to conduct, govern, protect, defend and shield in Tayal language.

These results further support the urgency of privileging tribal epistemology, indigenizing research paradigms and being critical about beliefs that confine us (Graveline, 2000; Wilson, 2008; Kovach, 2012; Mataira & Silan, 2019). I argue that *malahang* in the Tayal context cannot be meaningfully understood by just one person giving, another one receiving, nor can it be understood through isolating it from *qnxan* (life). It can only be derived from practice; a practice centered on a continuous re-connecting oneself to *qnxan na Gaga* (culture). Kovach (2009) reminds us that Indigenous epistemologies are action-oriented: “They are about living life every day according to certain values.” (Kovach, 2009, p. 62). Inherent within this perspective is that the notion of care as living well within the Indigenous context is interconnected, reciprocal, sacred and embedded in a balance of relations. This reflects the Tayal knowledge system that is grounded in Tayal cultures, ecologies, spiritualities and people (cf. Chapter 8).

I argue that Tayal epistemology, such as *Gaga*, continues to be at the center of Tayal’s knowledge system, and it continues to play a central role in defining who the Tayal are. Indeed, many have hinted that *Gaga* has been quickly disappearing, by which they allude Tayal becoming “undeserving Indigenous peoples without culture”. Yet it fails to identify the missing piece of colonization and the level of resilience demonstrated by the Tayal. *Gaga* should be placed in the very middle of contentious indigeneity in social policy.

From the viewpoint of the Indigenous research paradigm, there are still many unanswered questions about how exactly can we reconfigure care. The dominant lens continues to re-present and re-tell the story of the life of the Tayal through an othering voice, and the Tayal lifestyle becomes “life in shāndi”. Living through the racial/colonial histories, Tayal communities were

scattered and divided, being told that they were not deserving; Tayal ancestral land was told to be barren and inferior to the flat land that was progressive and modern. Tayal thus became the inadequate objects that needed saving. These helpless images of Indigenous peoples have been embedded in the colonial/racial narratives. They are embedded in the colonial narrative in the sense that the construction of elderly care continues the invisibility of Indigenous peoples' own ways of conceptualizing care (Walker & Behn-Smith, 2018). The policy frames identified in the dissertation cast a long shadow in the everyday lives of Tayal in contemporary Taiwan.

The wholistic nature of Indigenous epistemologies often creates a chasm between itself and the beliefs held by Western (positivist/postpositivist) science. With Māori mentor Peter Mataira, we have theorized a critical theory of inbetweenness to engage with its rigid, confined way of thinking. Critical theory of inbetweenness is about a deep reflection of positionality, rooted in Indigenous languages and cultures, which bridge gaps by acting as mechanisms to be grounded in both worlds. This idea helps us to understand Tayal ways of knowing in a changing society. As Indigenous knowledges are context-bound and not fixed in knowing for knowing's sake, this dissertation is one of the first attempts to describe the process of developing Tayal hermeneutics. This is an area of study I am keen to further pursue in the future. As these questions would very much develop into an independent project on its own, the purpose of mentioning it in the conceptual framework is to value the multiplicity of sciences with both eyes open.

9.4 IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY AND FUTURE RESEARCH

The picture that emerges from the analysis in this book is one of many suppressed voices of living and caring, which seems intrinsic to Tayal hermeneutics. We have established, on the one hand, a link between imposed binaries through “problems” represented to be in social policy; on the other hand, a web of interconnected relations between caring, living (well) and culture. What is striking is that the dominant mode of care for the elderly still privileges the bio-medical and physical-oriented ones instead of taking into account the close relationships of Indigenous peoples' lived experience and fluid identities.

These results add to the rapidly expanding field of critical policy analysis, care studies, Indigenous studies, critical gerontology and Taiwan studies, as they raise important questions about what indigeneity is and the role the nation state plays in the making of social policy for Indigenous elders.

If things were done in the Tayal way, what would it be like? First, we have examined different dimensions of living well (cf. Chapter 5.3) and the Tayal visions of care in the Day Club (cf. Chapter 8). To put both results in a broader context, a key study researching ecological care in the riverscapes of Tayal

territories Mrqwang and Mknazi is that of Lin (2019), in which he argues ecological care is a social process that deepens our imaginaries of care beyond the medical gaze. Echoing Tronto (1994), he notes that ecological care in Tayal communities entails a process which requires that we treat unfamiliar people, issues and non-human actors as if they are part of one's extended family and work towards a common goal (Lin, 2019). In this process, care is made possible with the active contribution of Indigenous elders. Viscogliosi et al. (2020) underline the importance of Indigenous elders' contribution to individual and community wellness as they play key roles in "support and relationships; education; attitudes; health; development of products; and contribution in systems, services, and polices" (Viscogliosi et al., 2020, no pagination).

The second aspect when it comes to if things were done in the Tayal way is that we should be able to see that aging is not just a chronological phenomenon, but that diverse meanings embedded in it can be cherished. The aged are not only recipients of care, they should also be given opportunities to care. To put aging in the Indigenous context, many elders have experienced outright assimilation and lived with the consequences of colonial policies. For these reasons, including their experiences and voices in building future public policies is important. However, as King, Smith and Gracey (2009) argue, it is crucial to distinguish between Elders and elderly people (cf. Chapter 3) in the sense that "[m]any elderly people have experienced residential schools, lost children to non-Indigenous adoptions, and lived with the consequences of policies (government-appointed leadership, loss of language, loss of culture), which reduced the role of Elders—all within their lifetimes" (King et al., 2009, p. 82). It is essential to limit the diminishing of the role of Elders in Indigenous societies on the one hand, and to promote an enabling environment so they can address the trauma and heal themselves and the community on the other hand (ibid.).

Overall, this study strengthens the idea that devising care policy for the Indigenous peoples is complex. Through a study of the problematizations of social policy we can observe how coloniality continues to play a part in "multicultural Taiwan" today. The findings of this research provide insights for a critical examination of the framings of "the Indigenous problem" in social policy and how indigenous identities have been embodied and negotiated from the perspective of the Indigenous community. This study adds to the growing body of research that indicates Indigenous peoples should be treated with equal footing and their ways of knowing should be accepted as valid. The vision for the future is shown from the *bnkis's* perspective: instead of seeing themselves as disabled care recipients, they taught me to appreciate the beautiful woven world, *Cinnunan Cinbwanan*. It is the ability to smell the freshly cut ramie and feel the peace from sitting at the fireplace. It is being able to appreciate the hearth of Tayal knowledge and cultural landscape. Seeing the woven world is not only about looking at the community in a different light, but also re-contextualizing their experience in the cultural landscape. The spiritual forces are with us.

The results of my research suggest that the imbalanced state-Indigenous power relations embedded in Taiwanese social policy are operating by portraying Indigenous peoples as rural, inadequate and powerless. The state marginalizes the Tayal people and the *bnkis*, and neglects and dismantles their ways of knowing and living. These state-Indigenous relationships reflect the histories of marginalization, nullification and negligence by the state and care policy for the Indigenous elderly as a manifestation of such ongoing colonial legacy.

Looking forward, I delineate three dimensions of the Indigenist idea of care, *malahang*—which cannot be separated from *qnxan*, life—conceptualized from Tayal hermeneutics as we reflect the relationship between coloniality and indigeneity in multicultural Taiwan. The dimensions are *recovering from the manufactured “margin”*, *reconnecting with the community* and *reclaiming spirituality*. These insights are informed by examining the racial/colonial narratives on the one hand and exploring Tayal’s experience of care on the other. Drawing from the intellectual agenda rooted in Indigenous research paradigm (Garrouette, 2005; Hart, 2010; Hart et al., 2016; Matairea & Silan, 2019) and centralizing community care for Tayal, I wish to highlight that these dimensions include strategies that would help us to see better what is at stake, and where we should be heading to in the future.

First, *malahang* is about healing colonially-imposed marginality, which is manifested through the label of “Indigenous peoples’ remoteness” (cf. Chapter 7). From the perspective of riverscape (cf. Chapter 4), the homeland of Tayal is the center, entailing the holy mountain *Papak* and the surrounding riverscapes. From the Tayal perspective, *rg(rg)yax hlahuy* (mountains) are not recreational, or a pile of wood ready to be logged. *Rg(rg)yax hlahuy* are the source of all being, the basis of living, the root of the culture and the beginning of all life forms (Hsiao, 2016, p. 8). In the same vein, recovering from “the margin” entails an active awareness that the imposed marginality not only marginalizes the Tayal but also uproots their contextualized ways of knowing. So *malahang* is about being cognizant of the fact that the Indigenous peoples are silenced and marginalized so they are “out of place”; and to find a way of unsettling and challenging the dominant taken-for-granted perspectives, and to engaging with the power of imperial discourse (for a radical critique of Han-centric notions of language and literature in Taiwan, see e.g. Nokan, 2003).

The second dimension of *malahang* entails several aspects of connecting and consolidating the Indigenous community at different levels. First, it is to be reiterated that we need to give power to Indigenous voices coming from the community at the grass-root level. Their participation is particularly meaningful when it comes to reconceptualizing what caring and living well mean in their everyday context. Connecting to the Indigenous community, in this sense, contributes to the aim of re-building relations through empowering Indigenous people. This brings us to the second aspect: we should actively engage with the core questions of indigeneity by examining the heterogeneity

within the Indigenous peoples—whether they are officially recognized or not. It is unhelpful to play the colonizers’ game by deepening the ideology of sameness among Indigenous peoples. It is time to re-connect with the broader community of Tayal and Indigenous peoples by reformulating notions of social justice to include more intellectuals to engage with dominant epistemology. Thirdly, reconnecting with the Tayal community entails linking back to the keepers of distinct Indigenous ways of knowing the world, such as *bnkis*. When thinking about care for the *bnkis*, it is important to think beyond the bodily care and extend it to topics such as: how to live one’s life to the fullest form. It is imperative to construct an Indigenous-informed LTC system in addition to the predominant care-giving in a biomedical sense that touches upon merely physical and psychological. It is to be emphasized that the idea of *malahang* is not to reject the biomedical paradigm, instead, it is about constructing a more complete and multi-faceted approach to how to give and receive care. For that, it is important to develop culturally-grounded strategies to use side by side with biomedically-oriented practices.

The third dimension of *malahang* is about initiating the transformation of knowledge paradigms by drawing strength from collective Indigenous identity and reclaiming of spirituality. Critically reflecting the dominant narratives derived from colonial legacies helps us to formulate strategies when engaging with the state. Claims such as “*Gaga* is nowhere to be seen”, or “they [the *bnkis*] don’t know their own culture” are the typical narratives that reflect the imbalanced relations between the Indigenous peoples and the Taiwanese state. Spirituality plays a central role in countering the claims that label Indigenous peoples as a sick and vanishing race. Besides, *malahang* requires us to reclaim spirituality actively in the process of knowledge production and, in so doing, to pose questions about existing knowledge and interpretations about Indigenous peoples produced by the majority society. The ability to pose good questions is much needed, as it brings Indigenous knowledges and epistemological standpoints into the dominant discourses of elderly care.¹⁰³

The notion of *malahang* addresses not only meaningful interpersonal relations and societal participation but extends beyond them to sacred commitments with animals, mountains, water, land and other-than-human beings (cf. Virtanen, Siragusa & Guttorm, 2020). Re-centering spirituality as a way to achieve a wholistic conception of care and living means that we need to incorporate multiple layers of relationalities into care. In the end, it is about validating the knowledge embedded in the *Gaga na Cinnunan Cinbwanan* [the woven world in harmony with the moral order of *Gaga*] (cf. Sundberg, 2013).

These suggestions are by no means a definitive or exhaustive list. They are organic pieces in a puzzle that belongs to an integral whole. As Elder Watan Tanga points out (2017, pp. 382-383), “Talagay aw baq nyu yan qani tnunan

¹⁰³ cf. Turner’s (2006) notion of “word warriors” to engage both the legal and political discourses of the state and Indigenous philosophy. Ror word warriors in the context of Taiwan, cf. Tansikain, 2017

nqu rhzyal qani” (Oh my! The woven land is so beautiful), the imperative is to see the world through the web of relations and ground firmly in the land and the teachings of ancestors. The meaning of living well and care in the Tayal community is an organic culturally-grounded complex way of finding balance, changing and evolving. Just as the indigeneity that we observe from the *bnkis* is constantly negotiated, its identity and the meaning of living well are fluid.

I listened, and I sat with the elders and learned. Reconnecting and reclaiming one’s Indigenous identity through homecoming was an experience on a physical, mental and spiritual level; it is like opening oneself to the warmth of the land that you have experienced but was forgotten and hearing heartbeats of the community that you thought was nonexistent. In that process, I heard consonance and dissonance intertwined in the two storylines of care for the elderly that I set out to examine between the state social policy and the everyday practice of Tayal. On the one hand, the state social policy rang out a successive consonance with its multicultural vision and ways to accommodate the rights of Indigenous peoples in contemporary Taiwan. The consonance was examined in the example of elderly care, where the long-term care policy has developed to tackle rapid aging looming in the horizon (cf. Chapter 7). The progress of this accommodation was dealt with almost surgical precision that defines who qualifies as old and who needs care in the Indigenous community. The background sonance to accommodate the Indigenous elderly was upbeat and harmonious. On the other hand, re-connecting with the Tayal enables us to hear the vocal chords of indigeneity as a lived conceptualization and an unraveling of the jarring dissonance of coloniality. The meaning of indigeneity with regard to care in contemporary Taiwan is like the echos of *lubuw na Tayal* (lit. Tayal’s mouth harp): when its reeds are plucked, layered of relational meanings vibrate outwards. The curing melancholy reminds us of the meaning of how to live well is embedded in the community, the spirit, *Cinnunan Cinbwanan* in the time of change, and that Tayal people are very much here to stay.

APPENDIX

Chapter 8.1

在家裡無聊，騎摩托車嘛，我跟[Lawai]兩個人一起去上課。剛好他在鄉公所問，我們又在那邊上課，那時候督導室[Elder Li]，他就問我要不要接。(…)剛好有機緣，我們有上課，一直做到現在。(interview with Ciwas, 12.12.2018)

以前齣，他們換很多督導是因為對這個業務沒有概念，所以對他們講，就是要 每年兩次成果報告，或是督導照護員執行這些事情，初步只知道在成果報告、然後服務老人吃中餐這樣子。所以前陣子站上績效就沒有很好。(interview with Sayun, 22.11.2017)

一四文化課程，二五是運動健康課程，三是心靈課程，他們可以互相分享阿，他們喜歡做禮拜。會排牧師的時間，所以禮拜三就是他們的時間，我們不會搶他們時間，老人家喜歡聚集在一起的時間。(interview with Ciwas, 12.12.2018)

Puqing hiyal bnkis—laxiy pyari, si inlungan mlahang ‘son qnxan laqiy ana knwan kryax. 這是祖先建立的土地(家園)，是我們的根，不要離開她，要用心來守護，期能延續孩子的未來。~司馬庫斯部落 Mrhuw Icyeh 口述

我們就是喜歡來教會，對阿，我從小時候就在這邊上教會我家很近阿。這個都是我門鄰居是這個是我大嫂，妳的 YAKI le la。我從小就去教會，我很喜歡，去教會心裡開朗。沒有去悶悶的，要開朗一點，多聽一點牧師講話多聽一點，佈道大會沒有去聽我們怎麼知道要做甚麼，多聽一點很好 (Interview with Yaki Piñas, 12.12.2018)

據了解，在苗栗後山的泰雅爾族部落於每年的桂竹筍初採時，特別是整個家族要嚐食第一到桂竹筍之際，家族的長輩一定會呼喊全體家人到廚房來，圍成一個圈缺一不可，家中的小孩會吵成一堆，鬧成一團的帶著興高采烈的心情，圍在最內圈。然後，家族中最年邁的長者走到中間，慢慢的開始講述家族的家譜及歷史，最初的根據地，遷徙過程。以及家族在這一連串歷史文化建構的過程中所遭遇的困難等等；歷史訴說結之後，年邁的長者會帶領全體家族在這一圈中做一個動作，即跳跳跳，年邁的長者會牽著小孩的小手，與小孩一起跳跳跳，同時年邁的長者會一邊帶領全體家族跳，還會提高聲音說：大家一起跳，用心的跳，在跳高一點，跳過困難，越過黑暗。這就是泰雅爾族部落族人與小孩口中所認識及所傳頌的跳跳跳傳說故事 (Akyo, 2012)

Chapter 8.2

文健站進行中，我是看到很多不同的對話在同時進行，比如說那邊在買衣服、賣雞的進來問有沒有人要買、郵差送信大喊誰誰誰在嗎、前面在放健康操音樂兩三個人跟著跳、有人坐在位子上發呆、有人在繞著教會外面散步、有人在曬太陽。文健站不是一個軍事的集體：一個口令一個動作，而是一個有生命的在呼吸的有機體。(8.12.2017)

他一定是叫現場參加的去打獵的過程的交會，跟他互動怎麼抓，它跟他的感覺怎麼樣，他用原住民的詞句去唱，這不是隨便亂唱，而是有他唱的主題。不是亂唱亂套啊，一定有緣由。

他形容今天我跟他去山上的自然景觀、有石頭大樹，怎麼形成的，我通過這個什麼心境，到那邊去碰到野豬山羌猴子路，我怎麼處理抓到處理，下山之後的景觀等等。(2018.8.18)

以前生活非常簡單，吃得很簡單。她們自己種稻，有多少吃多少。地瓜芋頭，生活非常簡單。人生活過的輕快很快樂。自己的東西自己種，男孩子自己打獵放陷阱，抓野獸在家裡用，魚和野獸都可以自己獵。賺來的金錢來買平地的醬油鹽巴，靠新店的商人來烏來交換。所以以前有幾個年輕人抓了熊，抓了一頭，他可以買很多賣到新店。他們自己有固定的買賣的地方。所以生活不擔憂。

我媽媽也是不依賴別人，她甚麼都種。甚麼都會做香蕉飯阿，她自己種香蕉自己種綠豆，來煮湯阿。剪剪剪，我媽媽很勤勞，我爸爸也很勤勞。她門兩個夫妻很好，我作夢她們夫妻都是在一起，都沒有分開，她們感情很好，我作夢都是她們在一起。(Interview with Yaki Piñas, 12.12.2018)

政府正在極力老人長照，長期照顧，他們正在努力做，但是在怎麼努力，我跟你講，沒有親人在你身邊，再多錢再多的東西給你吃，他會死，思念他的家。(2018.8.18)

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